“EVEN GOD SEEMED TO HATE NORTH CAROLINA.”: THE TUSCARORA AS MIDDLEMEN DURING THE TUSCARORA WAR.

By

Mallory A. Purser

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Director of Thesis: Charles R. Ewen, PhD

Major Department: Anthropology

ABSTRACT

Long before Europeans stepped foot on North American soil, the indigenous societies had extensive trade networks. As European settlements spread across the continent new opportunities for trade arose. Indigenous societies began to incorporate and adapt European trade goods into their trade networks. In North Carolina, for example, oral histories, ethno-historical accounts, and other studies indicates the Occaneechi and the Tuscarora functioned as middlemen. In the 1990s the excavated artifacts from the Fredricks site, near present day Hillsborough, were used by R. P. Stephen Davis Jr. and H. Trawick Ward to conclude the Occaneechi were in fact middlemen for the neighboring Sara people. Despite the extensive historical research available on the Tuscarora no archeological research to date has examined their role as middlemen similar to what was performed by Davis and Ward on the Occaneechi.

This thesis compares the artifact assemblage from Fort Neoheroka, located near present day Snow Hill, with the assemblages from the Fredricks site and Upper Saratown. The assemblage from Fort Neoheroka was recategorized using Davis and Ward’s methodology. Using their “middleman pattern” on the Fort Neoheroka assemblage demonstrated strong parallels with the Fredricks site. That is to say, Fort Neoheroka, like the Fredricks site, had more European weapons than ornaments. The results of this study suggest that the Tuscarora were likely middlemen during the early eighteenth century.

“Even God Seemed to Hate North Carolina.”: The Tuscarora as Middlemen During the Tuscarora War.

A Thesis

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Mallory A. Purser

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Director of Thesis: Charles R. Ewen, PhD

Thesis Committee Members:

I. Randolph Daniel, Jr., PhD

Benjamin Saidel, PhD

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1: Introduction

Indigenous societies had extensive trade networks long before Europeans arrived in North America. As European settlements spread across the continent, new trade opportunities emerged. Indigenous societies integrated and adapted European trade goods into their existing trade network. In North Carolina, the Occaneechi and Tuscarora acted as intermediaries in trade with neighboring tribes, as indicated by oral histories, ethno-historical accounts, and archaeological studies.

In 1991 archaeologists R. P Stephen Davis Jr. and H. Trawick Ward researched the Occaneechi's role as middlemen by analyzing the artifacts from Occaneechi Town (called the Fredricks site) and the artifacts from the nearby Sara settlement, called Upper Saratown. Occaneechi Town is located near present-day Hillsborough, North Carolina (Figure 1.1). Upper Saratown and the Fredricks site are late seventeenth century sites in the Piedmont. The Occaneechi occupied the Fredricks site after they departed from the Roanoke Valley following Bacon's Rebellion where they moved south into North Carolina. The location of the original settlement in Virginia has not been located but many of the objects were likely brought with them from Virginia. Davis and Ward found that the assemblage from Upper Saratown and the Fredricks site represented their access to trade goods (1991).

Davis and Ward's research, *The Occaneechi and their Role as Middlemen in the Seventeenth-Century Virginia-North Carolina Trade Network*, concluded the Occaneechi served as middlemen for the Sara people (1991). Davis and Ward's results suggest the Occaneechi were keeping European firearms and ammunition for themselves and trading only the less desired trade items like bells, buckles, and other ornaments with the Sara people. At the Fredricks site

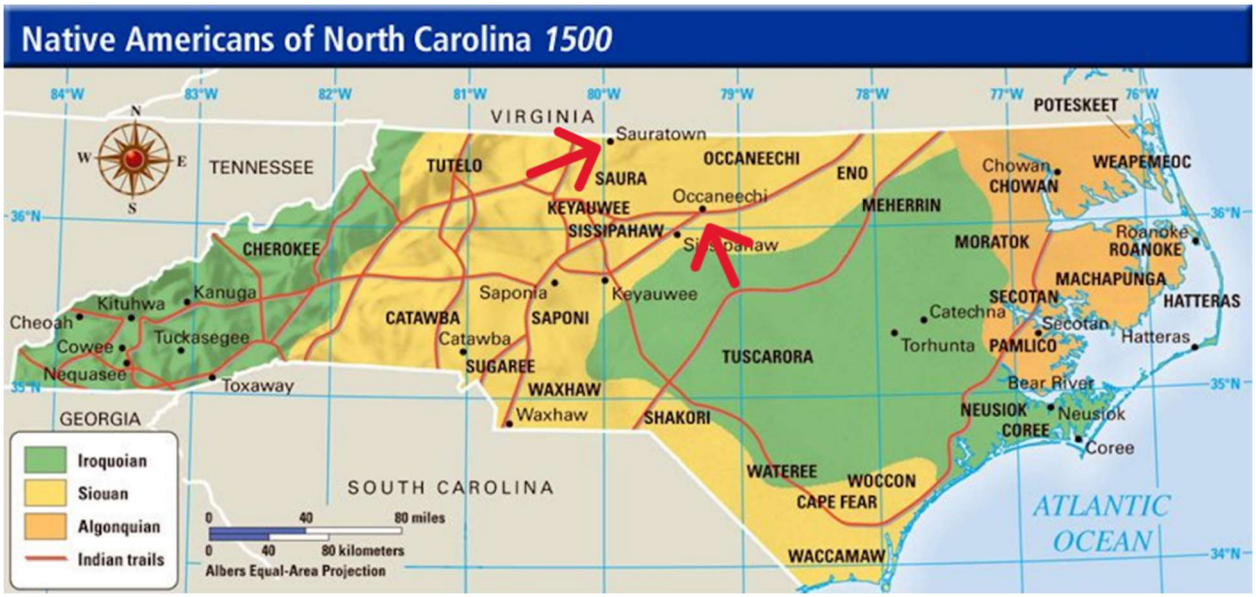


Figure 1.1: Native Americans of North Carolina 1500 (Zwetolitz 2019)

about sixty percent of the trade artifacts were associated with firearms and less than fifteen percent were ornaments. The artifact assemblage from the Fredricks site had notably more weapons than ornaments. Upper Saratown had very few European weapons and significantly more ornaments. Over ninety percent of the artifacts from the trade artifacts assemblage were associated with ornaments. Davis and Ward concluded that due to the Occaneechi's geographic advantage in the Piedmont, they were able to allocate trade items to their advantage.

Despite the extensive historical research available on the Tuscarora no archeological research to date has examined their role as middlemen similar to the work performed by Davis and Ward on the Occaneechi. This study investigated the Tuscarora's role as middlemen by analyzing the artifacts from Fort Neoheroka. Fort Neoheroka was built during the Tuscarora War and is near modern-day Snow Hill, North Carolina. Fort Neoheroka was excavated in the 1990s by Dr. David Phelps, Charles Heath, and Dr. John Byrd (Byrd et al. 2009) (Figure 1.2). Fort Neoheroka is roughly contemporary with the Fredricks site and one of the few Tuscarora structures from the early eighteenth century to be located and excavated. The Fort Neoheroka artifacts curated at East Carolina University's archaeology laboratory were re-inventoried and the trade artifacts, including European weapons, were selected for analysis. A few artifacts are on loan to museums and other institutions and were not included in this research.

One of the many reasons Fort Neoheroka has fascinated historians and archaeologists is its uniqueness. Fort Neoheroka is the only fortification built by the Tuscarora from this period to be located and excavated by professionals. Fort Neoheroka encourages further discoveries about the complex changes and dynamics that resulted from the interactions between Europeans and Native Americans. Davis and Ward were able to compare the Fredricks site's assemblage with

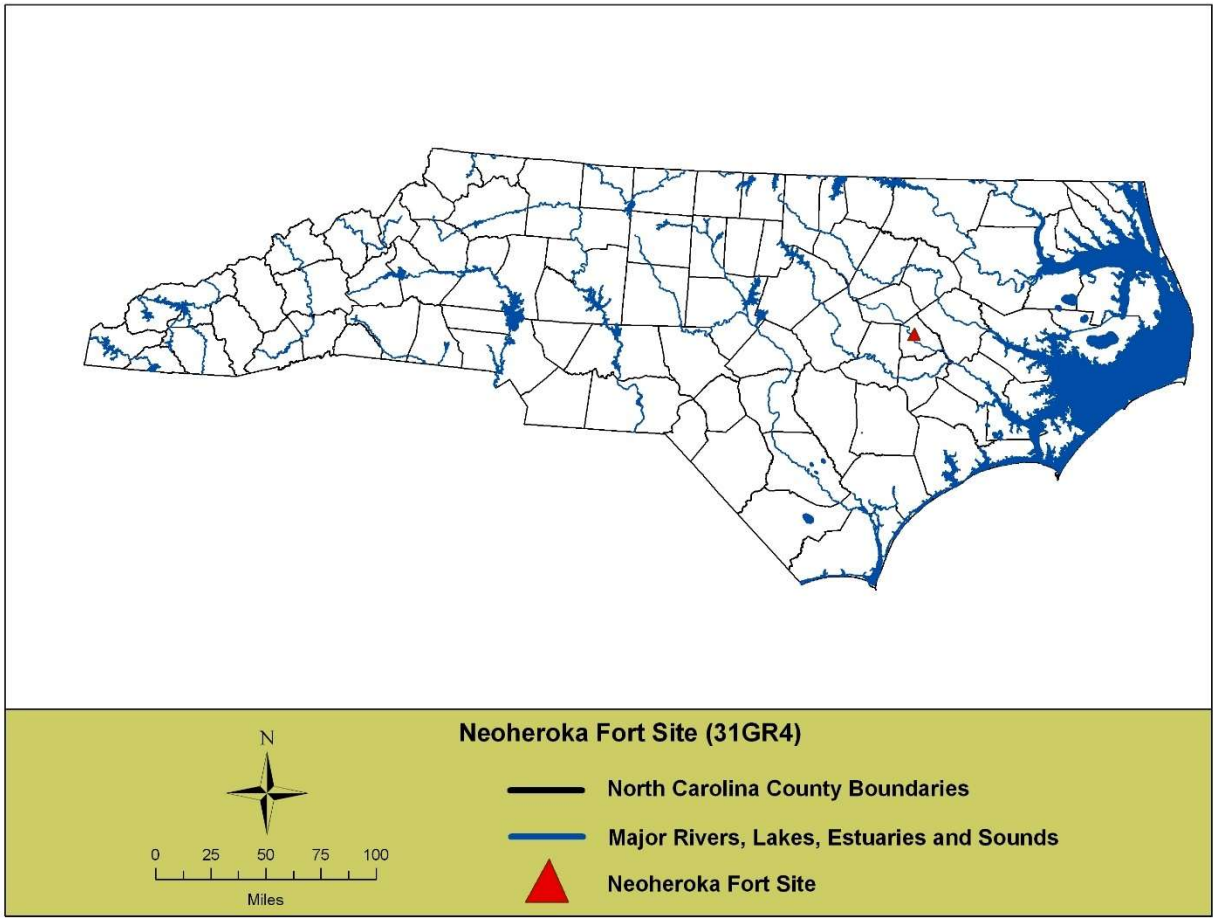


Figure 1.2: Neoheroka Fort Site (31GR4) (Byrd et al. 2009)

Upper Saratown. No other contemporaneous site from an Iroquoian-speaking group has been excavated to compare with Fort Neoheroka.

The Tuscarora were middlemen, as the ethnohistoric accounts and oral histories indicate, and, as this study demonstrates, the trade artifacts from Fort Neoheroka show a similar pattern to that of the Fredricks site. This pattern is referred to as the "middlemen pattern" where advantaged indigenous groups monopolized resources and distributed less desirable goods to neighboring tribes in their trading network. In the Piedmont, the Occaneechi were keeping European weapons for themselves and distributing ornaments to smaller neighboring groups like the Sara. This research is important as it investigates the Tuscarora's role as traders, the impact of North Carolina's colonization had on the indigenous societies, and the evident processes of acculturation within these societies. Using the middleman pattern on a Native American site outside of the Piedmont region shows that the middleman pattern has the potential to be used across multiple sites and regions.

The next chapter introduces the research questions, data collection methods, and anticipated results. Chapter three examines the historical background of the Siouan and Tuscarora peoples, providing context for chapter four which explores the archaeological findings at Fort Neoheroka and the Fredricks site. Chapter five covers trade artifacts from Fort Neoheroka and how they compare within the artifact classifications. Chapter six presents the study’s results which discuss how the trade artifact assemblage from Fort Neoheroka compares with the middleman pattern. Chapter seven is the conclusion and addresses the utility of the middleman pattern for future research.

Chapter Two: Research Statement

This research aims to address the following key questions:

- How do the artifact classifications at Fort Neoheroka compare with the Fredricks site and Upper Saratown?
- Were the Tuscarora middlemen in the North Carolina Coastal Plain during the eighteenth century?

Anticipated Results

In this chapter, the anticipated results of the middleman pattern tested at Fort Neoheroka are described. Based on the Fredricks site, the middleman pattern is present at a site when the trade artifact assemblage contains over fifty percent European weapons (Figure 2.1). The trade artifact assemblage from Fort Neoheroka resembles the findings from the Fredricks site, with over fifty percent European weapons. Fort Neoheroka has over sixty percent European weapons and less than five percent ornaments suggesting the Tuscarora acted as middlemen in eighteenth century North Carolina. Had the Tuscarora been ending recipients rather than middlemen, the assemblage would have contained over fifty percent ornaments like what was found at Upper Saratown. Also, if they were not middlemen, what weapons the Tuscarora did have would be mostly stone arrowheads. The Tuscarora would have played the role of the Sara people where they were receiving trade goods from a nearby group with more socioeconomic control on trade in the region. At Fort Neoheroka European weapons, such as pistols and muskets, were favored over ornaments like buttons, pendants, or bells. The results show that the Tuscarora were middlemen for trade and corroborate the historical accounts of those of German

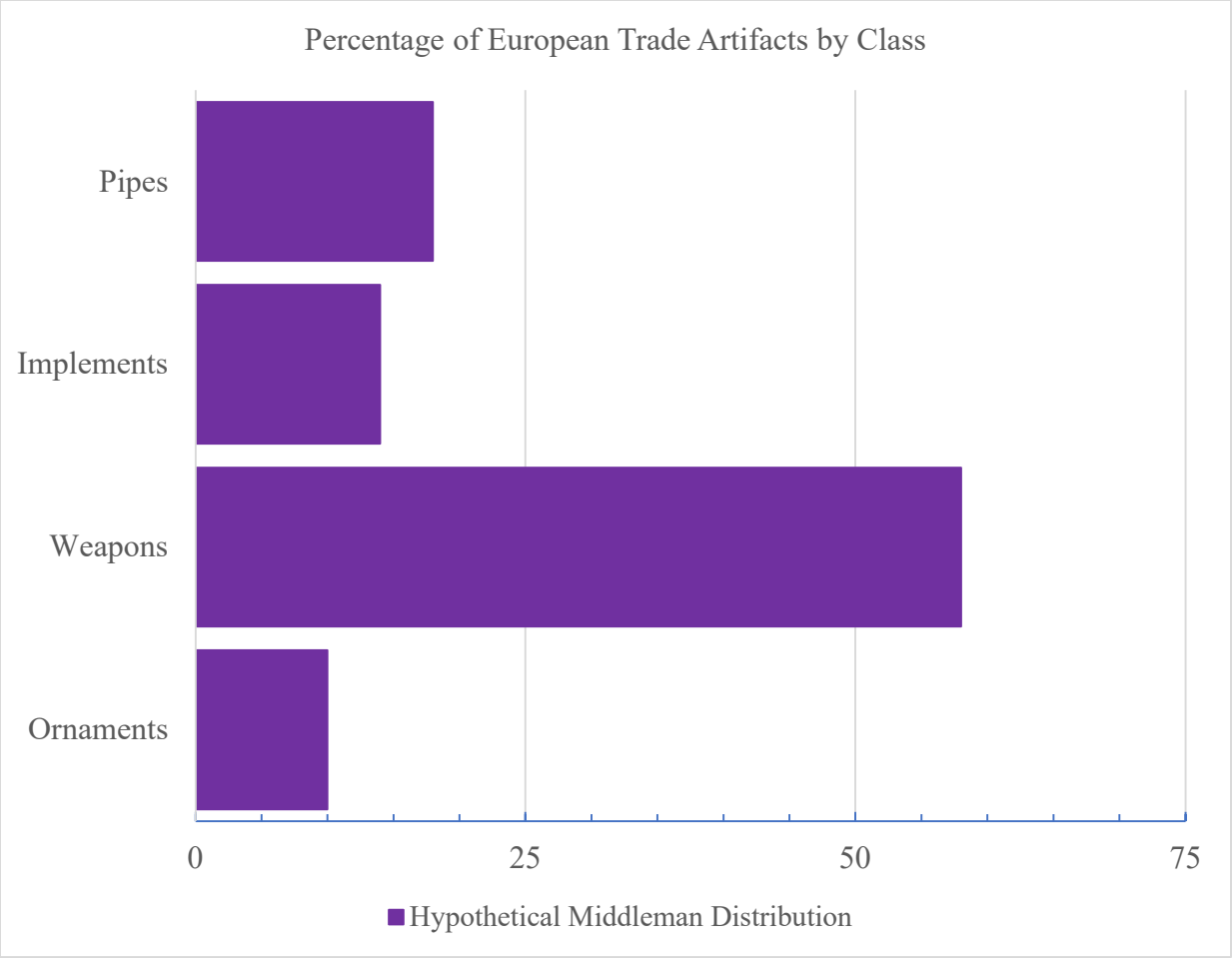


Figure 2.1: Hypothetical Middleman Distribution

explorer John Lederer (1672) and English naturalist and eventual cofounder of New Bern John Lawson (Lefler 1967).

The colonization of North America produced long-distance trade networks between Europe and the New World. Both Native American and European cultures changed as a result. Globalization theory is essentially the expansion of Western institutions and lifeways into non-Western cultures and the emergence of new forms of cultural practice that are global in scope. (Erickson and Murphy 2016:171-172). Immanuel Wallerstein was one of the leaders in globalization theory (Wallerstein 2005). Wallerstein's research shows how political and economic conditions in the sixteenth century changed Europe into a political power. The expansion of this power altered political systems and labor conditions in other parts of the world. According to historic accounts from Lederer and Lawson the Occaneechi and the Tuscarora were located near trade routes that existed before European contact. After contact the Tuscarora and the Occaneechi incorporated European goods into these trade routes and distributed them across their territories. The existence of European objects at Fort Neoheroka that were modified or adapted into the Tuscarora culture is an example in the archaeological record of globalization theory.

This analysis also revealed whether the artifacts represent evidence of acculturation. Acculturation is a process of social, psychological, and cultural change within a group and a term first used in the early nineteenth century. The concept of creolization was developed in the last thirty years and was originally used in the context of Spanish colonization but today is used to discuss any culture. Creolization is defined by James Deetz (1996:213-214) as the interaction between two or more cultures to produce an integrated mix that is different from its antecedents. Creolization was developed out of a need for a theory that could be used to study the interactions

between two groups without defining cultural changes as a dominant and submissive interaction. This was likely a critique of Edward Spicer's definition of acculturation in 1961: "The acculturation is the augmentation, replacement, or combination in a variety of ways of the elements of another culture" (Spicer 1961:519). Spicer breaks down acculturation into incorporation, assimilation, fusion, and compartmentalization. The fusion aspect implicates one culture being dominant over another.

Almost thirty years before Spicer developed his definition of acculturation there was the definition presented at the Social Science Research Council. Here the term is defined as “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (Ewen 2000:36-38). This definition does not implicate a dominant and submissive discussion of cultures. This final definition is the one this study is referring to when using the term “acculturation” and will be explored at Fort Neoheroka since the artifact assemblage and the ethno-historical accounts indicate a close interaction between the Tuscarora and the Europeans.

Data Collection

This study tests the middleman pattern introduced by Davis and Ward in their 1991 research on the Occaneechi’s role as middlemen. Therefore, this study will adopt a similar methodology as Davis and Ward’s research. The research data consists of artifacts collected from the excavations led by Dr. David Phelps at Fort Neoheroka, including trade items such as flintlock muskets and glass trade beads. The artifacts from Fort Neoheroka were meticulously inventoried, organized into Excel spreadsheets, and depicted through bar graphs for comparison with those utilized in the Fredricks site research (Davis and Ward 1991). The entire collection,

totaling approximately 23,200 European and Tuscarora artifacts, underwent a recounting process, and each European trade artifact was examined for any signs of modification by the Tuscarora or other notable characteristics. Examples of these modifications were copper disks used as pendants or bottle glass that have been knapped into projectile points.

Additional research data was drawn from historical documents, particularly ethno-historical accounts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries concerning Tuscarora trade relations. These accounts report how the Tuscarora received ornaments such as beads, European weapons, pots, pans, and cloth (Feeley 2007:81). Various sources provided relevant information on the Tuscarora and their practices and interactions with Europeans at this time. Other sources, such as Col. John Barnwell (1908) provide a broader historical context, including events leading up to Fort Neoheroka's construction and destruction. The historical evidence of trade and historic events around Fort Neoheroka are discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Data Analysis

At the Fredricks site and Upper Saratown, Davis and Ward (1991) inventoried and classified the artifacts into categories: ornaments, weapons, implements, and pipes (Table 2.1). To answer the research question, "how do the artifact classifications at Fort Neoheroka compare with the Fredricks site and Upper Saratown?", these artifact categories will be used at Fort Neoheroka to compare Fort Neoheroka with the Fredricks site and Upper Saratown artifact categories. Ornaments included items worn by the Occaneechi or Sara people, such as buttons, copper pendants, or beads. Beads were excluded from the final trade artifact count since beads were such a large quantity they would have biased the results of their research. Beads are an important aspect of trade since they were often traded between Europeans and Native Americans. Trade beads are still discussed in chapter five of this research but are not included in the trade

Table 2.1: Inventory of European trade artifacts from Upper Saratown and the Fredricks site (Davis and Ward 1991)

Artifact Types	Material	Saratown	Fredricks
Awls	Iron	-	2
Axes	Iron	-	5
Beads	Copper or brass	519	3
Beads	Glass	324,779	11,790
Bell fragments	Copper or brass	-	2
Bells	Copper or brass	149	33
Bottle fragments	Glass	28	48
Bottles	Glass	-	2
Bracelets	Copper or brass	-	2
Buckle fragments	Copper or brass	-	6
Buckles	Iron	-	1
Buckles	Copper or brass	-	3
Buckles	Pewter	-	9
Bucket fragments	Iron	-	-
Buttons	Copper or brass	2	1
Buttons	Glass	-	11
Buttons	Lead	-	3
Buttons	Pewter	-	6

Coiled wire	Copper or brass	-	2
Cones	Copper or brass	18	-
Cut ornaments	Copper or brass	5	-
Copper's tool	Iron	-	1
Ember Tenders	Iron	-	2
Fishhook	Copper or brass	1	1
Fishhook	Iron	-	1
Glass projectile point	Bottle glass	1	-
Glass flakes	Bottle glass	9	6
Gun	Iron	-	1
Gun parts	Iron, steel, brass, or copper	-	2
Gunflint	Flint	10	47
Hoes	Iron	1	5
Hooks	Iron	-	1
Fragments	Copper or brass	-	3
Fragments	Iron	34	98
Jews harps	Iron	-	3
Kettle	Copper or brass	-	1
Kettle fragments	Copper or brass	-	1

Knife or sword blades	Iron	-	8
Knife or sword handles	Bone or wood	-	9
Knife or sword	Iron	1	14
Lead sprue	Lead	-	27
Mirror fragments	Glass	-	1
Nails	Iron	8	39
Pendant	Copper or brass	7	-
Pin	Copper or brass	-	1
Pipe fragments	Kaolin clay	-	146
Pipes	Kaolin clay	-	4
Pipes	Pewter	-	4
Porringers	Pewter	-	3
Rings	Copper or brass	30	-
Scissors	Iron	2	6
Scrap	Copper or brass	6	-
Scrap	Pewter	-	2
Scrap	Lead	-	8
Sheet or strip	Copper or brass	74	22
Sheet or strip	Indeterminate	1	-
Sheet or strip	Iron	3	85
Shot/musket balls	Lead	26	410

Snuff box	Copper or brass	-	1
Snuff box	Iron	-	1
Spoons	Copper or brass	-	1
Sword guard	Iron	1	3
Tack	Copper or brass	1	-
Tack	Iron	-	1
Thimble	Copper or brass	-	1
Wire fragments	Copper or brass	-	12
Total		**325,716**	**12,911**

artifact categories. Weapons encompassed European weaponry like gun flints, flintlocks, or swords. Implements are tools like axes, hoes, or utensils. Implements are also objects like bottles, ceramic vessels, or kettles. Pipes refer specifically to European Kaolin pipes. Notably, Native American groups frequently repurposed European trade items changing the way these objects would have been used. For example, bottles were used for drinking and storing alcohol but the Tuscarora used the glass to make projectile points. Repurposing items changes the function of them and in this research, they would be categorized based on their usage by the Tuscarora.

Davis and Ward converted their data into bar graphs representing the percentage of artifacts in each category. To answer the question, "how do the artifact classifications compare with the Fredricks site and Upper Saratown?", the data from Fort Neoheroka will also be converted into percentages within each artifact category and displayed in a bar graph. The results showed that at Upper Saratown, the trade artifact assemblage contained over fifty percent ornaments, while the Fredricks site had over fifty percent weapons. These findings aligned with the historical accounts of Occaneechi trade relations and their economic role in the North Carolina Piedmont, suggesting that the Occaneechi were middlemen in regional trade. The Occaneechi appeared to retain highly desired items like guns while passing ornaments to nearby Upper Saratown.

To test the middleman pattern and answer the question, "were the Tuscarora middleman in the North Carolina Coastal Plain during the eighteenth century?", this research began with establishing the historical evidence for trade with the Tuscarora during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By inventorying artifacts at a new site and classifying them into ornaments, weapons, implements, and pipes, and then converting this data into tables and bar graphs,

comparisons can be made with the Fredricks and Upper Saratown sites. This will help determine if the Tuscarora functioned similarly as middlemen, with an artifact assemblage showing a high number of weapons like the Fredricks site. This comparison will be discussed in a later chapter.

Chapter Three: Historical Background

This chapter provides an overview of the environment and history of the Piedmont and Coastal Plain from the prehistoric to early historic period. This research explores the connection between the Siouans and Tuscarora peoples and their environment. While the primary research centers on the Tuscarora people of the Coastal Plain, it builds upon the work of R.P. Stephen Davis and H. Trawick Ward at the Fredricks site. This study incorporates not only the background of the Tuscarora but also that of the Occaneechi, aiming to provide the analytical depth needed in archaeological research. It will involve a discussion of the environment, culture, and their involvement in trade.

It has been argued that a significant problem researchers face when studying Native American people of the Piedmont is the perceived unreliability of historical accounts (Davis 2002:13). Historical accounts focus primarily on the recorded activities of the wealthy and powerful during important events. Archaeology can investigate the everyday activities of the rest of the population. The archeological record in tandem with historic documents is how they can be most useful as they provide a multifaceted research approach.

The Siouan People of the Piedmont Region

Little archaeological or geographical research had been undertaken in the Piedmont before the 1980s. Since then, significant attention has been placed on this region, especially the Siouan Project, which began in the spring of 1983 (Davis and Ward 1991:1-2). The Piedmont is located between the Coastal Plain region to the east and the Mountains to the west (Figure 3.1). One of the Piedmont's most distinctive features is the river drainages that divide into three branches. In the Piedmont the Dan River has several tributaries (Ward 1983:53). Water drainage

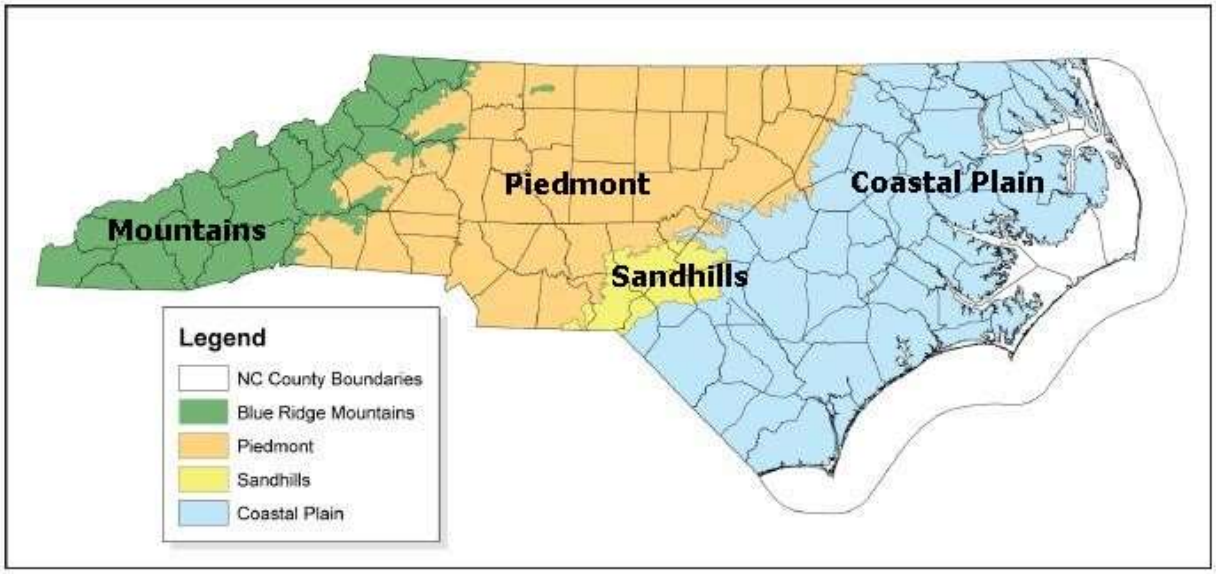


Figure 3.1: Environmental Regions of North Carolina (N.C. Wildlife Resource Commission 2015)

systems extend from the central part of this region by way of the Neuse, Tar, and Cape Fear Rivers to the east of the Yadkin River and south of the Dan River. In this area, the tributaries of the Haw and Deep Rivers are significant as they form the Cape Fear River, which is a major river system in the Piedmont. The final drainage system in the Piedmont is the Yadkin, Broad, and Catawba Rivers that course through the southwestern Piedmont. These rivers were significant in the development of the settlements in this region. It is well-known settlements typically develop around rivers as they provided fresh water, subsistence, and travel needs of the tenants (Ward 1983:54). In pre-Contact Periods, these river systems impeded movements from east to west, however, they facilitated movement in north-south directions. The latter pattern aligns with our understanding of the movements along the Great Trading Path, also known as the Occaneechi Path, which will be described in detail below (Ward 1983:54) (Figure 3.2).

Lithic resources, such as igneous, sedimentary, and metamorphic rocks are abundant in the Piedmont. This region is also well-stocked with natural resources such as animals and natural plants (Ward 1983:54). Changes in the forests of the Piedmont have occurred throughout time as the environment warmed and the lumber industry increased. During the Piedmont's colder climate period, the forests were likely oak and hickory similar to the forests in the cooler northeastern climates of North America. Today the forests contain mostly pine and oak trees. Pine is a massive industry throughout North Carolina's history since colonization (Ward 1983:56). For example, during the American Revolution, extensive longleaf pine forests covered a significant portion of the southeastern coast of North America. Often referred to as Naval Stores they are the products derived from longleaf pine trees and utilized in ship building. These products, commonly known as “stores,” include turpentine, rosin, tar, and pitch.

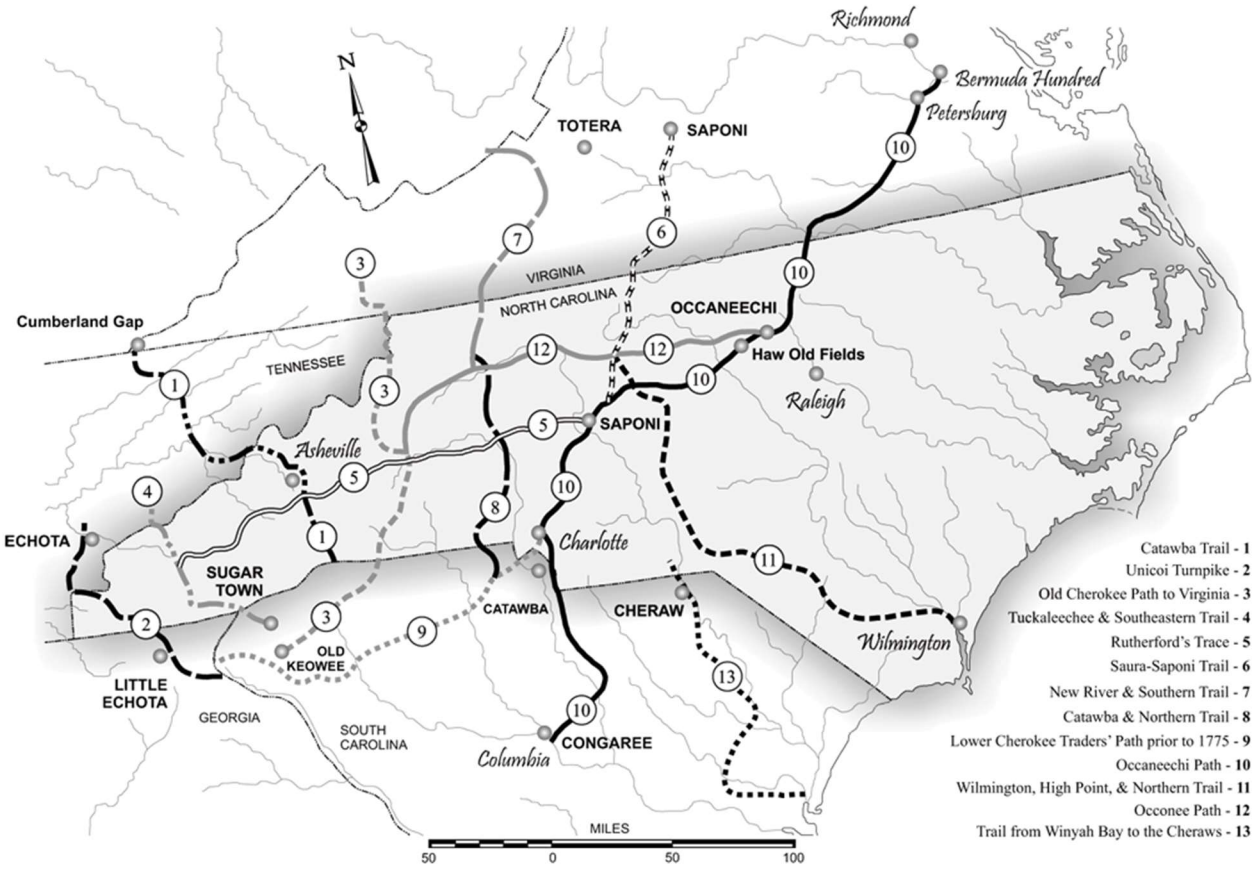


Figure 3.2: Native American Trading Paths Within North Carolina (Magnuson 2006)

This period likely had more hospitable habitats for wildlife than today. In 1701 English explorer, surveyor, and writer John Lawson recorded twenty-seven different animal species many of which are not found or rarely found in the Piedmont today. These animals included: buffalo, panthers, wolves, and elk (Lefler 1967:120). During Lawson's journey throughout North Carolina, he documented not only the wildlife, but the local inhabitants most notably the Occaneechi (Ward 1983:56). Lawson remarked "Their Cabins were hung with a good sort of Tapestry, as fat Bear, and barbakued or dried Venison; no Indians having greater plenty of Provisions than these. The Savages do indeed, still possess the Flower of Carolina, the English enjoying only Fag-end of that fine Country" (Lefler 1967:61). The Piedmont's rivers provided pathways for trade and communications with other groups. Much of the indigenous economy was provided for by these natural resources which were scattered throughout the low hills around the many streams and rivers.

The Piedmont region was once rich fertile ground, but today it is considered one of the most eroded agricultural regions in the United States (Ward 1983:56). Following colonization of this region and the massive destructiveness of early European cultivation practices the fertile bottoms were exhausted. Areas around hills were cleared and farmed but soon abandoned once erosion became too extreme. In the uplands, the soil eroded and filled the streams and rivers creating swamp-like areas. The swamp-like areas replaced the once agriculturally rich soil. Today the destruction caused by cultivation has been reversed since commercial fertilizers and widespread conservation measures have been deployed (Ward 1983:57). Unfortunately, these past farming practices have affected archaeological sites in the Piedmont. Artifacts have been displaced from their context it has become more important than ever to understand the complexity of factors that affect the archaeological record.

During the historical period, European explorers found that the Native Americans of the Piedmont were of similar culture and language. Referred to as Siouan these tribes shared a mixed subsistence of hunting, gathering, and agriculture, and a social system regulated by ties of kinship and reciprocity (Davis and Ward 1991). The Occaneechi and the Sara people were Siouan-speaking. The meaning of Occaneechi is unknown, however, could be derived from the Tutelo word *yuhkan* meaning "man" or "people" (Wetmore 1975:62).

Like many indigenous groups at this time, the Occaneechi were being displaced and pushed off their traditional lands. The period after Bacon's Rebellion when the Occaneechi moved from the Roanoke Valley to the Eno River is known as the Fredricks phase (A.D. 1680-1710) (Ward and Davis 1999:242). In this phase the Occaneechi experienced social upheaval, however, they maintained their traditional subsistence practices. For example, deer continued to be a main source of protein that was supplemented by fish, turkey, and turtle. The Fredricks site is the only confirmed archaeological site from this period (Davis and Ward 1991). The Dan, Eno, and Haw River drainages comprised the heartland of the Piedmont Siouan during the historical period.

In 1670 German physician and explorer John Lederer visited the Occaneechi settlement on the Eno River where he described the village as a fortified habitation with extensive corn fields (Rights 1957:62). According to Lederer, the village was run by two chiefs. The Piedmont villages were occupied for short periods before European colonization caused demographic upheaval (Davis 2002:13). By the time Europeans became interested in recording these groups, their traditional lifeways were already being replaced by new ones. Many of the archaeological sites found in the Piedmont region share similar characteristics. Their palisaded villages were situated around major waterways. These sites have circular or rectangular single-post or wall-

trench structures inside the boundaries of the palisade. Burials have been discovered at these sites and they are often located inside the palisade walls and close to buildings (Byrd and Heath 2004:150). However, at the Fredricks site, the burials are not near buildings but clustered away from them.

Groups like the Siouan have been linked to the trading path networks that extend through Georgia up through Virginia (Davis et al. 2021). Natural resources are not distributed evenly across a landscape resulting in a demand for trade (Wetmore 1975:112). Over time groups began trading food, minerals, and stone within territories they identify with. There is evidence that trade networks often were established between regionally dissimilar groups who desired items from each other. For example, Native Americans from the coastal region traded with the inland areas and Native Americans from the mountains traded with the lowlands. Trade also provided a means of contact between groups and other groups became traders due to their strategic locations (Davis et al. 2021, Wetmore 1975, Davis and Ward 1991).

The Occaneechi when they lived along the Roanoke River acted as middlemen between fur trappers in the Piedmont and the mountains. During the seventeenth century before Bacon's Rebellion, changes in the trading patterns of the Occaneechi occurred (Davis and Ward 1991, Davis et al. 2021). They began to incorporate European trade items into their established trade networks. It was at the early eighteenth century Fredricks site that archaeologists H. Trawick Ward and R. P. Steven Davis found supporting archaeological evidence for their role as middlemen, which will be discussed below. The Occaneechi were retaining European arms, armaments, and possibly other items for themselves while only trading non-utilitarian items such as beads and gorgets to Saratown. This monopoly began after 1650 and continued unimpeded

until Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 giving the Occaneechi a political and economic dominance over other groups (Davis and Ward 1991).

Ethno-historical evidence from Lederer and English politician, fur trader, and explorer Abraham Wood give accounts with firsthand experience with Occaneechi traders (Lederer 1672, Davis et al. 2021). Both accounts indicate the Occaneechi valued their middlemen status and often fought to defend it. Lederer's observations during his visit to Occaneechi island in 1670 describe an encounter where a Rickohockan ambassador was murdered due to suspicions that the ambassador intended to undermine the Occaneechi's trade. Lederer's account underscores the Occaneechi's dominance and desired to keep their control on trade. They preferred goods such as trading cloth, and tools, and prohibited items like arms and ammunition, maintaining control over the flow of essential items (Davis et al. 2021).

Wood witnessed the Occaneechi go to extreme lengths to resist rival trade connections that could undermine their monopoly. Wood's description of the Occaneechi as "strongly fortified by nature" emphasizes their geographical advantage and the reputation they held as a refuge for rogues and a crucial trading hub for tribes within a 500-mile radius (Davis et al. 2021). This, coupled with their strategic control over arms and ammunition, made the Occaneechi a formidable force, able to exert influence and intimidate others in the region.

The Tuscarora People of the Coastal Plain Region

From 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1650 in the Inner Coastal Plain of North Carolina, the Native American group referred to as the Tuscarora were known to have occupied this area (Figure 3.3). This time is referred to archaeologically as the Woodland period. The Cashie phase (A.D. 800-

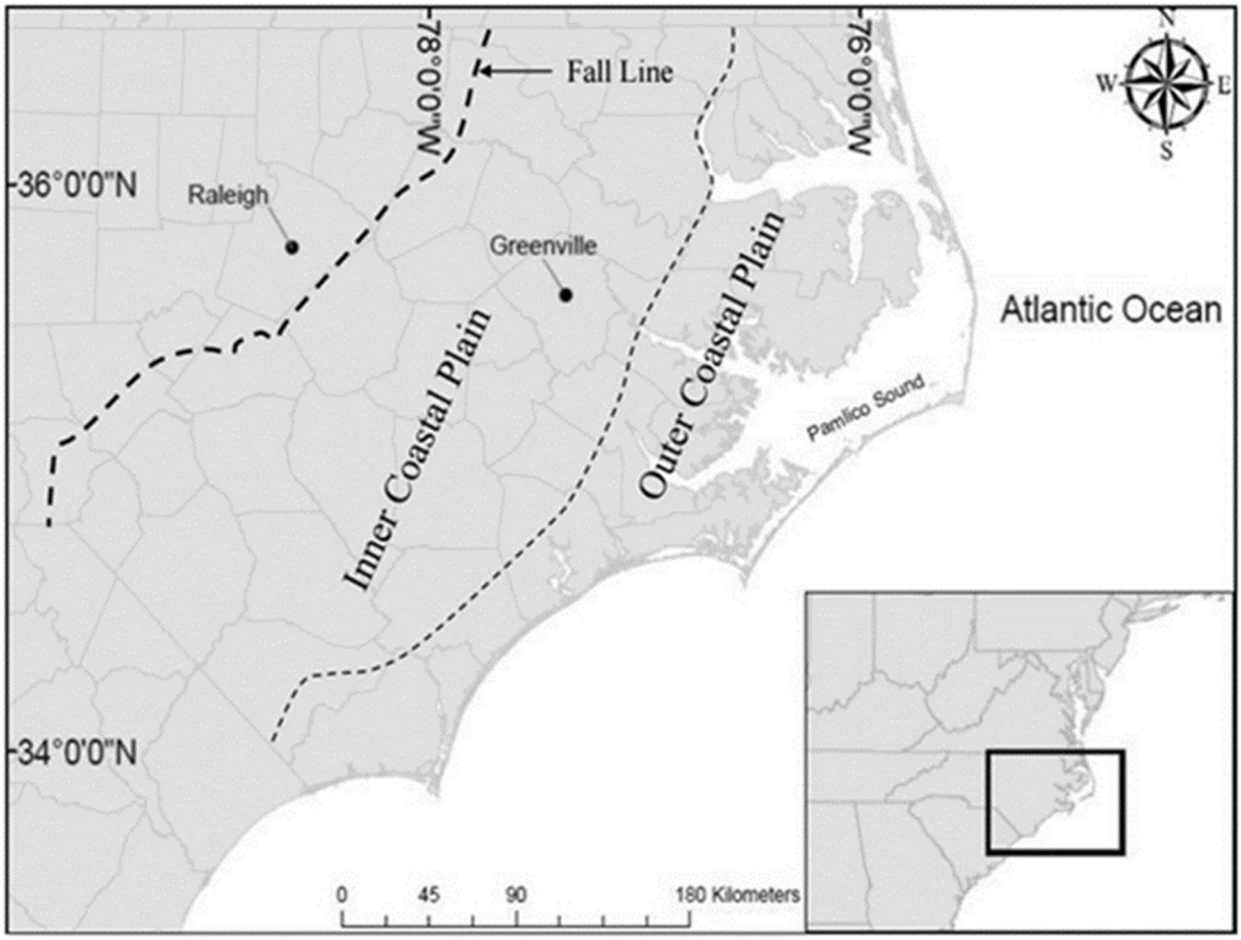


Figure 3.3: North Carolina Inner and Outer Coastal Plain (Benfield and Mitra 2018)

1650) which takes place in the latter part of the Woodland period is quintessentially associated with the Tuscarora. The Cashie phase was coined by archaeologist Dr. David Phelps and is defined by the ceramics of the same name found in the Cashie River in Bertie County (Phelps 1983:43). Today the Iroquoian-speaking Tuscarora are the Sixth Nation of the League of the Iroquois. Due to their similarity in culture, language, and tradition to the northern Iroquoians, scholars believe the Tuscarora migrated to what is modern North Carolina (A.D. 800) when they separated from the Iroquois settlements in the Great Lakes region (Johnson 1967:9). Once they settled in North Carolina, the Coastal Plain Iroquois, (as they are also called), became their own distinct group called the Tuscarora. Much of the information on the Tuscarora culture has been collected from oral histories, accounts from the historical period, and anthropological research (Ward and Davis 1999:224). The following summary represents the current research available on the Tuscarora.

The Tuscarora traditionally occupied the mid-eastern region of the state referred to as the Coastal Plain. The Coastal Plain was the least known archaeological region within North Carolina. Since the 1980s numerous sites have been excavated providing much of the previously missing basic information on this region. Archaeologists, like Dr. David Phelps, consider these frameworks vital to the continued research in these areas providing contextual data for cultural resource management (Phelps 1983:1-2).

The North Carolina Coastal Plain landscape we know today has remained the same for the last 5,000 years. This region has had extensive changes throughout its climatic and geologic history. The changes that occurred during the late Pleistocene and Holocene periods have been considered important to the development of people in the Coastal Plain (Phelps 1983:2-3). Today the Outer Coastal Plain (sometimes referred to as the Tidewater Region) and the Inner Coastal

Plain are what make the Coastal Plain region. The Outer Coastal Plain consists of the immediate coast of the state and the barrier islands. The Inner Coastal Plain lies on the west of the Outer Coastal Plain and extends to the Piedmont region in the central part of the state. The Outer Coastal Plain contains North America's most complex coastlines which during the early Contact Period affected the colonization and development of North Carolina. The Outer Banks hindered shipborne commerce in North Carolina which prevented the colony from ever becoming a true merchant hub like Charleston, South Carolina just to the south (Phelp 1983:2-3).

Eastern North Carolina has the richest agricultural lands in the state. This region contains sandy and loamy areas that are divided by major rivers and tributaries producing broad floodplains. The soil consists of Norfolk sandy loams which provide drainage that is beneficial for successful agriculture (Lemert 1935:300). The land teems with wildlife like whitetail deer and the forests contain various edible flora. The Coastal Plain is abundant in rivers, streams, and estuaries which provide fish, mussels, and other aquatic fauna (Byrd 1997:9-10). Within the Inner Coastal Plain there are large swamps and pocosins mostly in the southern area of the region but scattered across the region are various lakes and swamps called "Carolina Bays". The forests in the uplands of the Inner and Outer Coastal Plain are pine and oak-hickory while cypress, plain while gum, pond pine, and various other trees are found in the swamps, pocosins, and floodplains (Phelps 1983:4-5).

The indigenous groups of this region were well-adapted to the environment, unlike the European colonists. Hurricanes were common in the summertime and nor'easters in the winter. The environment was hot and muggy and smallpox and malaria were common after the arrival of Europeans (La Vere 2013:3-4). The environment was a challenge for the Europeans who were from a much different climate, but the indigenous groups thrived until disease, land

encroachment, and war brought on by colonization destroyed the lifeways of these people (Phelps 1983:5).

Archaeological excavations at Jordan's Landing in Bertie County were performed by Dr. John Byrd while he was a student at East Carolina University (Byrd 1997:27). These excavations have provided most of the knowledge about the Tuscarora during the Cashie phase (A.D. 800-1650) (Ward and Davis 1999:224). Byrd concluded that villages were previously occupied year-round and after European contact villages were thought to be abandoned during the winter hunting season. During this period, smaller hunting parties would disperse during the winter when food was scarce covering more area and following the migration patterns of game animals they hunted. There is evidence at Jordan's Landing that the Tuscarora hunting parties left the village but the village was never abandoned. (Byrd 1997:9-10) House patterns could not be determined at Jordan's landing but trash pits, hearths, and burials were found. The northern Iroquois commonly occupy longhouses and are frequently mentioned in Tuscarora myths (Johnson 1967:212). Those built in North Carolina are described by Lawson as being smaller than the northern Iroquois. The framework was constructed by heating wood poles to bend them into shape. The poles are then tied together, bark or moss is layered over top, and a hole was left in the roof for smoke to leave the fire that is set inside the building.

At Jordan’s Landing the subsistence economy is a mixture of agriculture, hunting, gathering, and fishing. Agriculture focused heavily on the triad of corn, beans, and squash (Ward and Davis 1999:224). This is likely to complement a diet of deer, bear, turkey, opossum, and other local animals. The Tuscarora settlements are located along rivers and provide access to fish, turtles, and freshwater mussels. Tuscarora oral history mentions cultivating strawberries and this is again mentioned in their mythology (Johnson 1967:219). Agricultural practices involve

communal fields and individual plots which is a similar practice among the Algonquins and Sioux. The agricultural process began with clearing the land by encircling trees with cuts to let the trees die, followed by planting crops, and utilizing the dead trees for firewood. According to the insights of John Lawson, Tuscarora women were actively involved in cultivation, employing either animal rib bones or sticks for tilling the soil and fostering crop growth. A large variety of nuts, fruits, and berries are gathered in the Inner Coastal Plain. Berries such as huckleberries, mulberries, blackberries, raspberries, cherries, damsons, plums, grapes, and peaches (Johnson 1967:220). Berries were dried and stored for later consumption. Walnuts, chestnuts, hickory nuts, chinquapins, and acorns are stored in baskets. The hickory nuts and acorns are used for the oils to prepare foods and conduct rituals.

Bows and arrows made from black locust or white mulberry wood were the primary hunting tools (Johnson 1967:221). During Lawson's journey, he noted the material and type of tools used by the Tuscarora. He noted that the wood found by the rivers is the best for arrows as they are straight and strong (Lefler 1967). The arrowheads are typically made from shells and glass. The quivers were made from animal skin or bark. Tuscarora oral history and ethno-historical accounts mention the Tuscarora starting fires by creeks to attract fish.

The Tuscarora are a matrilineal society similar to the northern Iroquois. A basic family group of one or more families form to make a clan (Johnson 1967:227). Clans are grouped to form two phratries within a tribe. The actual size of these social organizations is not clear. Marriages were arranged by the families and marriages were typically between two people of different clans. Bride prices were common where men were required to pay the woman's family for the loss of her labor. Children take the name of their mother's clan and nation. The women are the heiress of the household, and the children remain with her if she remarries. The woman's role

was typically making clothing, gathering food, making pottery, and other domestic aspects. The men made bows, arrows, clubs, axes, pipes, and canoes (Johnson 1967:231). Men were warriors who often attended ceremonies and hunted local animals. Often men were the conjurers, prophets, and chiefs within the community. Whether male or female, the roles of each individual were important to the larger community and the flow of everyday life.

Mortuary practices at Jordan's Landing indicate burials during the Cashie phase consisted of ossuaries (Ward and Davis 1999:225). Usually, these burials contain two to five people. Secondary burials where the body is manipulated before it is buried is typical practice. In this case, often the flesh is removed from the body and the remains are bundled before it is buried. These burials represent individual families instead of multiple families that are present with the Algonkian.

In 1708 Lawson recorded fifteen Tuscarora towns with about 1,200 men (Johnson 1967:7-8). Not long after Lawson's accounts, John Barnwell reported around 1,200 to 1,400 warriors. From these numbers, it is likely the population of Tuscarora at the start of the Tuscarora War (1711-1715) was around 5,000 to 6,000. Much of the population lived in plantation communities rather than towns by 1711 (Johnson 1967:211-212). Overall, the settlement patterns, subsistence, and social organization of the Tuscarora had not changed drastically from the Cashie phase.

Tuscarora oral tradition indicates that even before the arrival of Europeans, the Tuscarora had economic control of North Carolina's Coastal Plain. Their location between the Algonquians on the coast and the Siouan in the Piedmont provided a buffer between the two. Many tribes feared crossing into Tuscarora territory. This position provided the Tuscarora with a monopoly over trading paths that crossed from the coast to the Piedmont (Johnson 1968:9-10).

In 1670 Lederer indicated that guns were in great demand over bows and arrows (Lederer 1672). This change likely provided the Tuscarora an opportunity to monopolize certain items over others. Meaning the Tuscarora likely were keeping these desired guns and trading the less sought-after items (Johnson 1968:50). Even before European contact the Tuscarora were known to make wooden bowls and ladles to trade with the tribes to the west for animal skins. During the Contact Period, mats were made to trade with the English for rum. It was the Tuscarora in the seventeenth century that introduced rum to the Piedmont tribes (Johnson 1968:50).

Before European contact tribes like the Occaneechi had access to the Virginia trading paths and in the same way the Tuscarora became traders because of their location. In the late seventeenth century, explorer John Lederer described the Tuscarora settlements as "a place of great Indian trade and commerce" (Lederer 1672:19). By the eighteenth century European traders provided extensive merchandise to the Tuscarora who added these goods to their established middleman position (Feeley 2007:81). The Tuscarora settlements positioned along the Contentnea Creek and near European settlements, such as the town of New Bern, likely provided trade opportunities. Davis and Ward (1991) indicated that like the Occaneechi, the Tuscarora were offered unprecedented opportunities through trade. The introduction of firearms and the increased desire to obtain them resulted in the Tuscarora using them to improve their economic and political power. Their location in the middle of the advancing colonial frontier could have influenced contacts with remote tribes to the west (Wetmore 1975:113).

Based on historical accounts, it is clear that the English knew of the Tuscarora's dependence on trade. By the early eighteenth century, the relations between the colonists and the Tuscarora were strained (La Vere 2013:12). The English government of Virginia knew the Tuscarora were dependent on trade and restricted their trade relations in North Carolina in an

attempt to control them. Traders in North Carolina instead were making more money off this boycott (Johnson 1968:50). This evidence suggests that despite the historical documents indicating a restriction on trade those involved in trade were still profiting from it, emphasizing the influence trade had on the populations of North Carolina.

Stephen Feeley (2007) reports that around the Roanoke River there was a trading road called the "tuscaroora path." Archaeological investigations around this area found potsherds of Tuscarora and Powhatan origin indicating that this region had a consistent flow of trade (Feeley 2007:81). "This choosiness on the part of the Tuscaroras and other southeastern Indians shows that new goods being brought by traders were being weighed against traditional native products and used in familiar ways" (Feeley 2007:81). Feeley's words suggest a significant change in the Tuscarora culture. This could indicate a kind of incorporation of culture brought on by the European's presence in North Carolina. Feeley also indicates that the Europeans provided the initial goods but the Tuscarora who had established trade networks shifted trade back into the hands of the Native Americans.

The Tuscarora War

In terms of human lives lost, the battle of Fort Neoheroka was considered the most devastating battle to take place during the Tuscarora War. The war began in the late summer of 1711 and continued until the winter of 1715. Although this battle officially marked the end of the war the violence continued for several years to follow.

David La Vere's quote from his book, *The Tuscarora War*, "Even God seemed to hate North Carolina" perfectly represents the European and eventually the Tuscarora's feelings of North Carolina by 1711. From its beginning, North Carolina was considered a harsh place by

Europeans. North Carolina was not a paradise to the colonists but it was home to the Tuscarora, Meherrrins, Cores, Neuse, Pamlicos, Bear River, Weetock, Chowans, Pasquatanks, Hatteras, Poteskeets, and Yeopims. The colony was late to be settled in part due to its many barrier islands were an impediment to navigation and trade. North Carolina would never have a major port. North Carolina was considered by many to be a place only for people of low moral character; to others, it was a new beginning.

Over the late seventeenth century, North Carolina's European population increased and so did interactions with the Tuscarora (La Vere 2013:7-17). In 1710 Baron Christopher de Graffenried led 400 Swiss and German Palatines to the intersection of the Trent and Neuse River where they established a settlement. Today this town is known as New Bern. The surveyor general for the colony at this time was Englishman John Lawson. It was also around this time that Lawson wrote and promoted his book, *A New Voyage to Carolina*. His book painted North Carolina as a paradise, a land of plenty. When de Graffenried settled in New Bern, he did not realize it was also the location of an important Tuscarora town called Chattoka.

Initially, relations were mostly peaceful and the Tuscarora sought the benefits of trading with the Europeans for weapons, pottery, and metals. As more and more Swiss and Palatine settlers flooded the area tensions began to rise over shared hunting grounds, encroachment on Tuscarora land, and abuse at the hands of the colonists. De Graffenried recounted on several occasions his partner Frantz Ludwig Michel insulting the Tuscarora and physically assaulting them. Lawson describes what he views as Tuscarora women prostituting themselves in exchange for gifts, these women are referred to as "trading girls." In reality, this started due to Tuscarora women being raped and abused by European visitors. These women then used this as a way to

make a profit when their outrage at their treatment brought nothing but repercussions from the colonists.

Tensions reached a peak in 1711 when Lawson, de Graffenried, and a few enslaved individuals traveled up the Neuse River in search of new land to settle. They were quickly stopped by a group of Tuscarora who asked them to turn back. De Graffenried and Lawson refused and a few miles up the river they were captured and taken before King Hancock at Contentnea. The Tuscarora did not like Lawson since his job was to survey the land he appeared as the figurehead for all their troubles with the colonists. According to de Graffenried, he talked himself out of the situation and was released to walk back to New Bern. When de Graffenried arrived at New Bern he found that nearby settlements had been attacked by the Tuscarora. Lawson on the other hand somehow talked himself into death. Little is known about how Lawson was killed since de Graffenried was not a witness and was informed of Lawson's death after he was released. It is thought that a Tuscarora had used Lawson's pocket knife to slit his throat or they impaled him with sticks and then lit them on fire (Figure 3.4).

September 22, 1711, marked the start of the war when Chief Hancock of the Tuscarora led his people with the help of the Bear River, Coree, Cothechney, Machapunga, Mattamuskeet, Neuse, Pamlico, Senequa, and Weetock allies attacked the settlements along the Roanoke, Neuse, and Trent rivers. Over the next three months, 130 English and German landholders were killed.

Figure 3.4: The Death of John Lawson (N.C. Department of Natural and Cultural Resources 2016)

Many fled to Bath for safety. The North Carolina government was already weak from a previous uprising called, Cary's Rebellion. They turned to Virginia and South Carolina for assistance. Virginia refused while South Carolina was eager for more Native Americans to sell in the Caribbean slave market. South Carolina sent soldiers led by Colonel John Barnwell with the assistance of the Apalachee, Catawba, Cherokee, and Yamasee to North Carolina where they attacked the Tuscarora (La Vere 2013:96). This was the first of two waves sent by South Carolina to control the Tuscarora.

In 1712 Colonel James Moore arrived with more European and Indian mercenaries (Figure 3.5). At this time there were two major Tuscarora chiefs in North Carolina, Chief Blount, and Chief Hancock. (La Vere 2013:39). Blount was offered control over all the Tuscarora if he aided the settlers in victory over Hancock, who was killed in 1712. Sometime between 1711 and 1712, the Tuscarora constructed a fort near their town of Neoheroka. In 1711 the town had been raided by Barnwell. Fort Neoheorka's construction shows a change in strategic thinking where instead of ambushing and running battles in the forest they were protecting themselves in a single location. Fort Neoheroka was a marvel of engineering even when compared to Handcock's fort at Catechna. Built across an acre and a half with palisade walls and a trench around it (Figure 3.6). It was square on its north, west, and south sides facing the creek. Built with blockhouses for protection and a trench that ran from the back wall down to the creek. The gate was at the northeast side of the wall and a protection trench ran from it. This would allow the Tuscarora to leave the fort and safely attack Moore's soldiers. Several underground bunkers were also a part of the structure and some connected by a tunnel. These would have been used for storage, for women and children, and for defense.

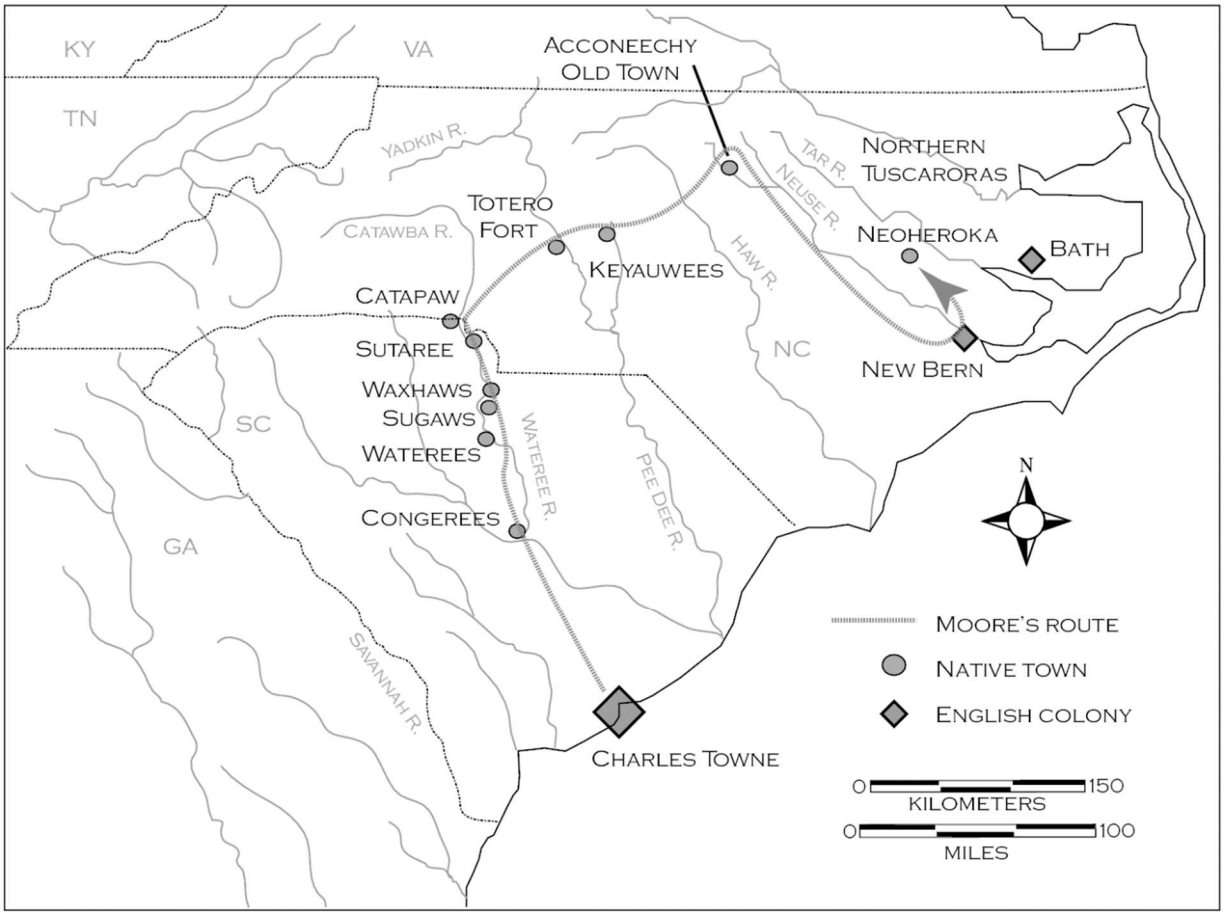


Figure 3.5: Moore's Route (Beck and Hudson 2013)

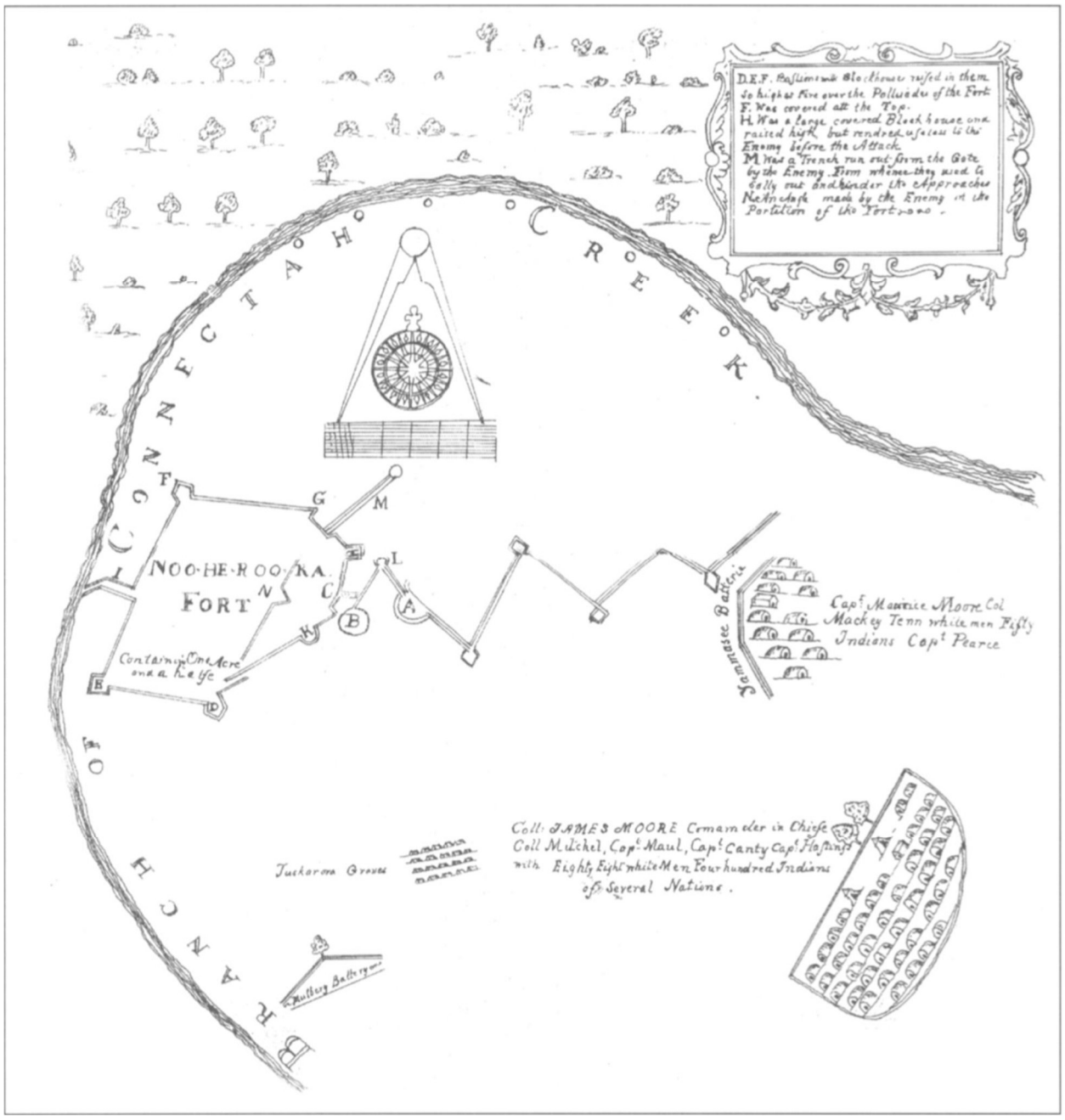


Figure 3.6: Map of Fort Neoheroka (Wilson County Public Library Local History and Genealogy Blog 2013)

In 1713 the Tuscarora fought to defend Fort Neoheroka but ultimately lost to Colonel Moore's troops. Moore had over 700 white and Native American soldiers with him. Moore and his men used barrels of gunpowder as mines under the walls collapsing the eastern wall. Both sides using European and Native American weapons fought. Eventually, the fort was set on fire and some Tuscarora retreated to the underground bunkers. In the end, Moore recounted that he had taken 392 prisoners for the slave trade. His Native American allies collected 192 scalps. 200 had been burned alive inside the fort and 166 were killed outside the fort. In total 558 Tuscarora and allies were killed and 392 were enslaved. A huge blow to the Tuscarora and other eastern Native Americans. The Tuscarora continued sporadic attacks against the settlers but the war was essentially over due to their dwindling numbers (La Vere 2013:135). Some stayed in North Carolina but many were sold into slavery or fled to the Iroquois communities in New York. Today there is the federally recognized Tuscarora who live with the New York Iroquoians and the local Tuscarora who remained in North Carolina after the war.

In 2013 a monument was built in Snow Hill, North Carolina to commemorate not only the lives lost at the battle of Neoheroka but for the Tuscarora to reclaim their lifeways that were nearly wiped out (Figure 3.7). The monument was collaboratively designed with the Tuscarora Nation, Greene County Museum, and East Carolina sculptors Hanna Jubran and Jodi Hollnagel-Jubran.

As stated at the start of this chapter, exploring archaeological sites becomes more important when we acknowledge the intricate interplay of environmental, historical, and cultural factors, offering a detailed insight into the lives of our predecessors. The primary research centers on the Tuscarora people of the Coastal Plain, building upon the work of H. Trawick Ward

Figure 3.7: Fort Neoheroka Monument, Snow Hill, North Carolina

and R. P. Stephen Davis Jr. at the Fredricks site. The following chapter will discuss the archaeological background of the Fredricks site excavated by Ward and Davis and Fort Neoheroka excavated by Charles Heath, Dr. John Byrd, and Dr. David Phelps.

Chapter Four: Archaeological Background

To investigate the role the Tuscarora played in North Carolina trade during the eighteenth century, this research utilized the data recovered by Dr. David Phelps, Charles Heath, and Dr. John Byrd, who performed the excavations at Fort Neoheroka in the 1990s. To test the middleman pattern, coined by H. Trawick Ward and R. P Stephen Davis Jr. in 1991, this research used the artifacts from the contemporaneous Fort Neoheroka. The previous chapter provided the historical context related to the Fredricks site and Fort Neoheroka. This chapter will cover the archaeological background of these two sites, providing the archaeological context upon which this research builds.

Fort Neoheroka (31GR4)

Fort Neoheroka (31GR4) offers insight into the Tuscarora response to the European presence in North Carolina. The site, located near the town of Snow Hill, Greene County, was built in late 1712 or early 1713, by the occupants of the nearby Tuscarora village of the same name (Byrd and Heath 2004:118). Fort Neoheroka is situated on a tributary of Contentnea Creek, historically occupied by numerous Tuscarora settlements and close to European settlements. Established in the previous chapter, historical documents indicate extensive interactions between the Tuscarora and residents in the town of New Bern (La Vere 2013). The ensuing information mainly comes from the National Register of Historic Places nomination form submitted by John Byrd, Charles Heath, and David Phelps (2009).

In 1951, the first archaeologists to visit Fort Neoheroka were John Witthoft and Margaret C. Blaker. Initially, Fort Neoheroka was identified as Fort Nahunta, another Tuscarora fort built during the Tuscarora war. Witthoft, Blaker, and historians from the University of North Carolina

at Chapel Hill noted and collected prehistoric pottery, pipe fragments, projectile points, and lithics. At the time, A portion of Fort Neoheroka was designated 31Gr1 and called Fort Nahunta. This site was located on the upper northwest side of Fort Run.

In 1971, Dan Penton and Dr. Bennie Keel from the Anthropology Research Laboratories at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill visited the Neoheroka site with a relic collector named William Bryan. They were able to correctly identify the site as Fort Neoheroka and designated it 31Gr4. Using historical maps, oral traditions from the area, and surface collections from the site, Bryan, and Penton concluded that Fort Neoheroka was located there on the south-southeastern side of Fort Run. Sometime before this discovery, Bryan had recovered various artifacts such as iron hoes, iron axes, grapeshot, musket balls, a musket flintlock, a basket-type sword pommel, and white seed beads. Dr. David Phelps of East Carolina University made several attempts to locate and acquire the artifacts from Bryan but was unsuccessful. The current location of Bryan's collection is not currently known to archaeologists. In 1986, another surface collection of artifacts was taken from the site by archaeologists from the Archaeology Branch of the Division of Archives and History. This consisted primarily of Tuscarora pottery sherds.

Local artifact collectors have been aware of the Fort Neoheroka site since the 1950s. Collecting continued in the 1970s and 1980s, with the use of metal detectors. During this time an unknown number of artifacts were removed from the land. The property Fort Neoheroka is on was owned by the Mewborn family and over the years they have attempted to recover many of the artifacts that were removed and donate them to East Carolina University and the North Carolina Office of State Archaeology.

Professional excavations of the site were led by Dr. David Phelps during month-long summer field schools between 1990 and 2001 with the permission of the Mewborn family (Heath and Phelps 1998:2). It had become apparent that the earlier looting of the site was extensive with many collectors traveling across the state for the chance at colonial-era artifacts. Archaeologists concluded that if the site did not receive prompt professional attention, the important aspects of the archaeological record would be lost. Phelps began excavations in May 1990 through the Department of Anthropology at East Carolina University. From 1990 to 1994, Dr. John Byrd of East Carolina University served as Assistant to the Director and in 1995 Byrd was promoted to Co-director of the Neoheroka Fort project. In 2001, the last East Carolina University-sponsored excavations on Fort Neoheroka were conducted by Byrd for the Summer Ventures in Science and Mathematics program with Charles Heath, a graduate student at the time, who helped with some of the excavations of Fort Neoheroka.

The Fort Neoheroka site is a battlefield, fortification, and siege area that covers 37 acres of land. It is unclear how much of the entire site has been discovered but the fortification is about 2,116 square meters and it is estimated around fifty percent was excavated. Phelps and Byrd were able to complete the goals of their research which were to determine the architectural layout of Fort Neoheroka by uncovering remains of the palisaded walls and any structures within the fort and recover samples of in situ archaeological materials for analysis and curation (Figure 4.1). Initially, a series of test trenches were dug to expose potential evidence of the palisade. These exploratory trenches were then expanded into block excavation units. At the start of the excavation, most of the sandy loam plow zone was sifted, but after the first year, it was decided this method was time-consuming and produced little given the level of effort. The excavations exposed post molds from the palisade walls, which were photographed and mapped. Plow zone

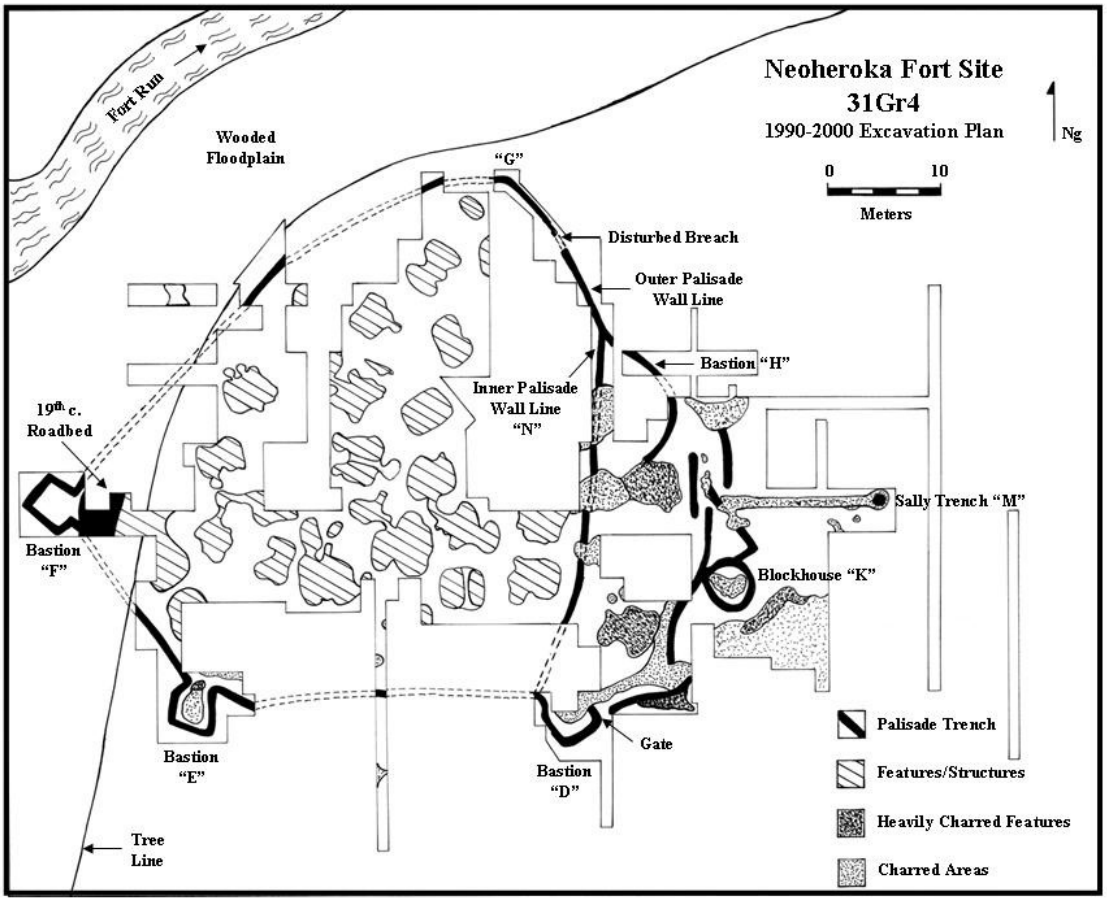


Figure 4.1: Fort Neoheroka 31GR4 Excavation Map (Byrd et al. 2009)

stripping led to the discovery of the interior house bunkers, which were recorded extensively revealing past activity relating to the fall of the fort. The house-bunker features were excavated in ten-centimeter levels. Some features were sectioned to observe and record the collapsed roof in profile.

The site was only occupied for a short period, resulting in very few artifacts associated with the battle. Most of the artifacts found were from features below the modern plow zone, and most of the musket shot, balls, and glass beads related to the battle were found when the soil was overturned through the seasonal plowing. These were the same artifacts collected by the Mewborn family and other residents in the area. By the 1997 field season, one hundred percent of the excavated house-bunker feature fill deposits were processed by flotation. This increased the recovery of botanical specimens, glass beads, lead shots, and flint flakes. The archaeology at Neoheroka confirmed that the historical maps of the fortification were accurate except for the following: The map depicts the fort as being systematically rendered with geometric lines common to European-style forts (Heath and Phelps 1998:4). The map does not show the correct cardinal orientation or the correct location of the sally trench feature (Figure 4.2).

Inside the fort, the houses are semi-subterranean but would more accurately be described as defensive bunkers. The roofs of the structures are made from horizontal log beams covered in branches or reeds. The excavation found that the floor plans for the houses were not identical in size or shape. Some house bunkers were single-chamber types that oftentimes connected to other structures by tunnels. Phelps and Byrd expected to find fire hearth pits in nearly all bunker chambers because of the cold winter temperatures in 1713, but many chambers did not have hearth pits. The largest houses contained storage pits or hidden chambers, possibly

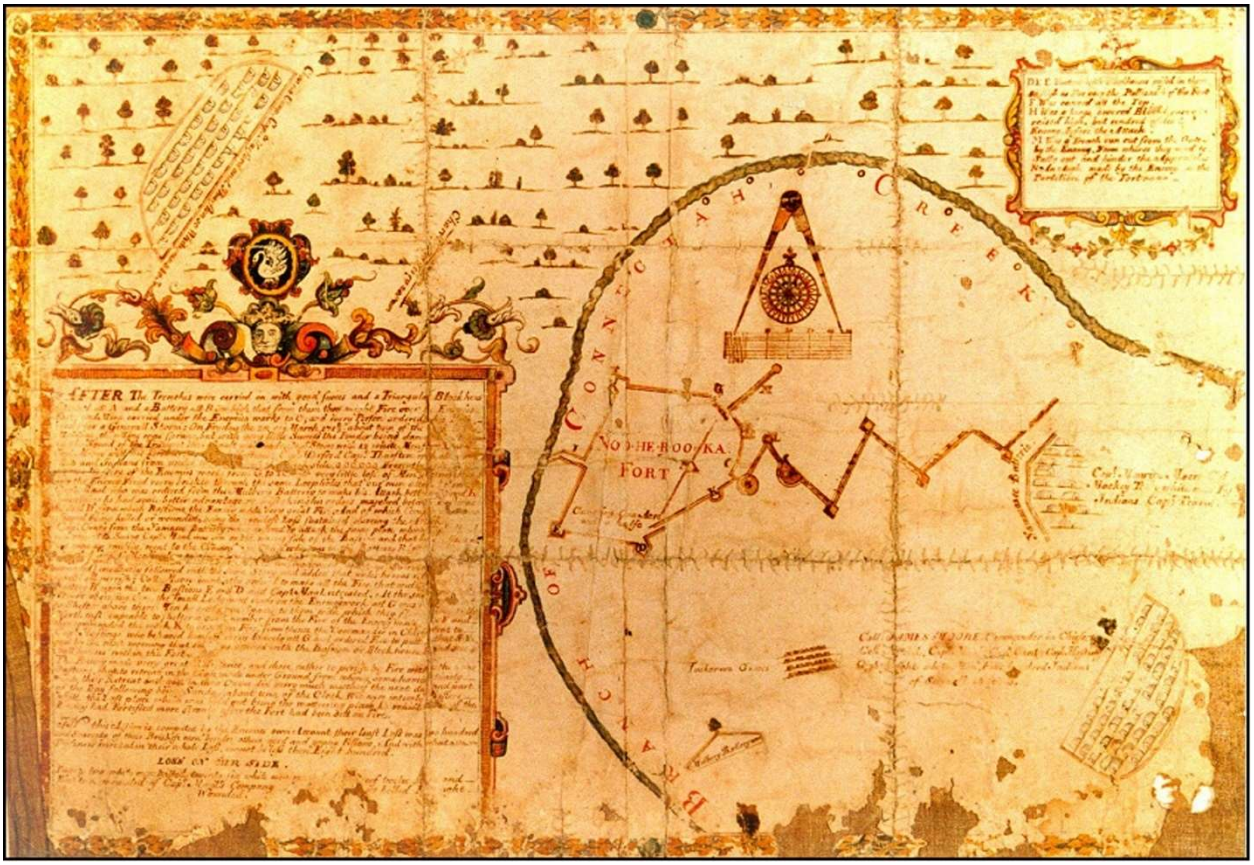


Figure 4.2: Historic Map of Fort Neoheroka (Byrd et al. 2009)

to hide possessions or small children. This was possibly an attempt at evading assaults from the colonists.

Some of the recovered artifacts were Cashie series vessels, green glass bottles, worked bottle shards, iron tools, hardware, smoking pipes, copper ornaments, beads, and buttons. Unusual artifacts found were Rhenish stoneware and lead-glazed earthenware vessels suspected to be from European plantations and farmsteads that were raided by the Tuscarora during the war between 1711 and 1713. Arrow points made from the green glass were found, and unfinished points indicate the Tuscarora attempted to produce additional weapons during the final battle before the site was abandoned. The remains of guns and musket balls in the storage context support the historical record that the Tuscarora were well-armed with English ammunition as well. Finally, human skeletal remains at Fort Neoheroka highlight the brutal nature of close-quarter combat and are categorized into three types: those formally buried by family or friends during battle, those buried by the enemy or survivors after the battle, and those left without formal burial. The remains with no burial treatment are found in various locations such as on house-bunker floors and defensive structures, while formal burials, often intrusive burial pits, were in places like destroyed house-bunkers, indicating that these burials occurred before the fort's final destruction. Historical maps do point to a Tuscarora mass grave which has not been located archaeologically.

Fredricks Site (31OR231)

Located on the Eno River, the Fredricks site was a Siouan settlement occupied by the Occaneechi. Excavations were performed by Roy Dickens, H. Trawick Ward, and R. P. Stephen Davis in the 1980s (Ward and Davis 1987). During these excavations, significant evidence of colonial trade was found. The Occaneechi were an economically powerful group. Davis and

Ward later found archaeological evidence that the Occaneechi had control over the trade of firearms by comparing the artifact assemblage from the Fredricks site and Upper Saratown. It appeared that the Occaneechi were trading metal and glass ornaments while reserving the arms and ammunition they received from the Europeans for themselves. They conclude that the Occaneechi were middlemen in the Piedmont trade network and suggest the Tuscarora could be middlemen in the Coastal Plain region (Ward and Davis 1987). Davis and Ward developed an archaeological signature termed the "middleman pattern." Most of the information on the excavations from the Fredricks site comes from Excavating Occaneechi Town edited by R. P. Stephen Davis Jr., Patrick C. Livingood, H. Trawick Ward, and Vincas P. Steponaitis. This source was originally published as a CD-ROM but has since been published online as an interactive website (https://eotonline.org/html/index.html) with the intent to provide scholars with a complete record of the archaeological findings from the Fredricks site (Davis et al. 2021).

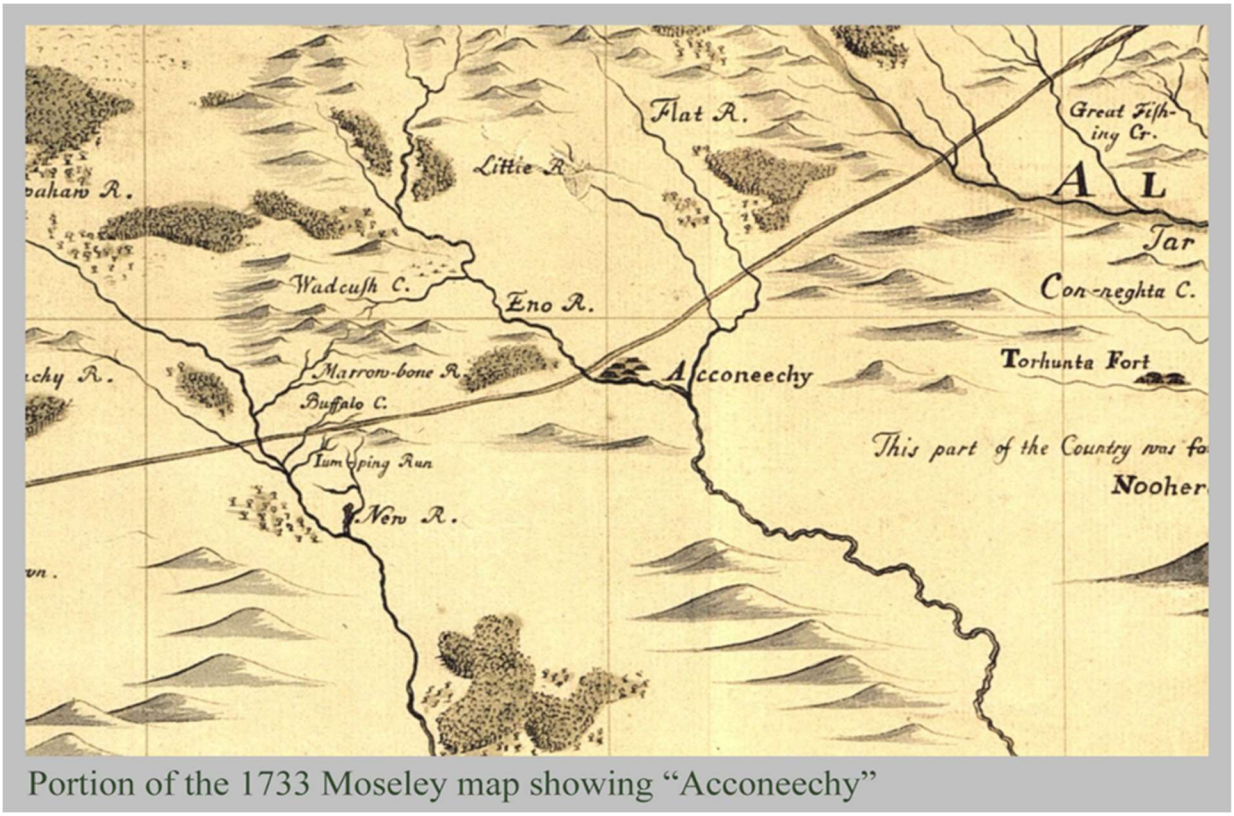
During the 1970s and 1980s, contract archaeology was the primary form of archaeology throughout North Carolina, but excavations through academic institutions and state agencies continued (Ward and Davis 1999:20-23). For example, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill excavated Upper Saratown on the Dan River in 1972. This site was occupied by the Sara people, who are considered a Siouan-speaking group similar to the neighboring Occaneechi. To safeguard the site from relic collectors, Upper Saratown, like numerous archaeological sites, underwent professional excavation. A large multiyear project to investigate the impact of European contact on the Native American people in the North Carolina Piedmont began in 1983 (Dickens et al. 1987:5). This research program, known as the Siouan Project, was conducted by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and investigated sites spanning the late Pre-

Contact and historical period in the Haw, Eno, and Dan River drainages in the north-central Piedmont (Ward and Davis 1999:20-23).

The Fredricks site is considered the remains of the Occaneechi village "Occaneechi Town" or "Achonechy Town" (Ward and Davis 1999:242-247). The village, occupied only briefly from A.D. 1690 to 1710, was discussed by John Lawson during his journey through South Carolina and North Carolina. Lawson's descriptions and Edward Moseley's 1733 map of North Carolina, which labels "Acconeechy" on the north side of the Eno River, provided most of the evidence for its location southeast of present-day Hillsborough (Davis et al. 2021) (Figure 4.3). The final piece of evidence is that this area east of Hillsborough is the only area large enough to be suitable for Native American agriculture.

Originally, an archaeological site called the Wall site (31OR11), also located on the Eno River, was thought to be Occaneechi Town. This site was first excavated in the 1930s and 1940s and was thought to be the Occaneechi village because of its location and estimated date of occupation (Davis et al. 2021). This was the accepted interpretation until the Siouan Project re-evaluated the evidence. In 1983, the Wall site was re-excavated which uncovered a few undisturbed deposits that were radiocarbon dated to an average of A.D. 1545+/-80 years (Dicken et al. 1987:30-47). These new results mean the Wall site is too old to be the village Lawson visited in 1701.

Initial surveys to relocate the Wall site in 1983 uncovered two new villages nearby. One of which is the Fredricks site, which contains many European artifacts and Native American



Portion of the 1733 Moseley map showing "Acconeechy"

Figure 4.3: Portion of the 1733 Moseley Map Showing "Acconeechy" (Ward and Davis 1999)

pottery fragments located on the surface of the site (Davis et al. 2021). After the Wall site was discovered to not be Occaneechi Town, shovel test pits were performed by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to find intact archaeological deposits at the new villages. Shovel testing discovered the edge of a trash pit containing refuse and dark soil. This led to eight contiguous ten-foot by ten-foot square excavation units that uncovered five sharp-corned rectangular pits along with small postholes in a line. Both of these features were aligned in a northwest-southeast direction.

Only four of the five pits were excavated, with three having human remains along with grave goods of Native American and European make within them. The fourth pit resembled a burial in size and shape but did not have grave goods or human remains within it. Two of the pits with human remains were the bodies of children between the ages of three and eight years old (Ward and Davis 1999:242). These burials contained European trade items like scissors, knives, and glass beads. Native American artifacts were shell beads, ceramic vessels, and shell gorgets (Figure 4.4) (Dickens et al. 1987:167;189). One burial of an adult male contained many European artifacts, such as a rum bottle, knives, scissors, pewter pipe, buttons, a pair of ember tongs, and an iron axe head (Davis et al 2021). The trade artifacts found in the burial pits were dated to the 1600s or early 1700s, which aligns with the period of Occaneechi Town. After these initial excavations, it was concluded the Fredricks site contained no evidence of disturbance apart from superficial plowing. With this, it was decided more work was needed at this site, and plans were commenced for a project in 1984. This project would use major excavations and testing programs.

The Fredricks site was discovered at the end of the 1983 field season. During this brief first work, an excavation of 800 square feet revealed a cemetery outside of the village and a part

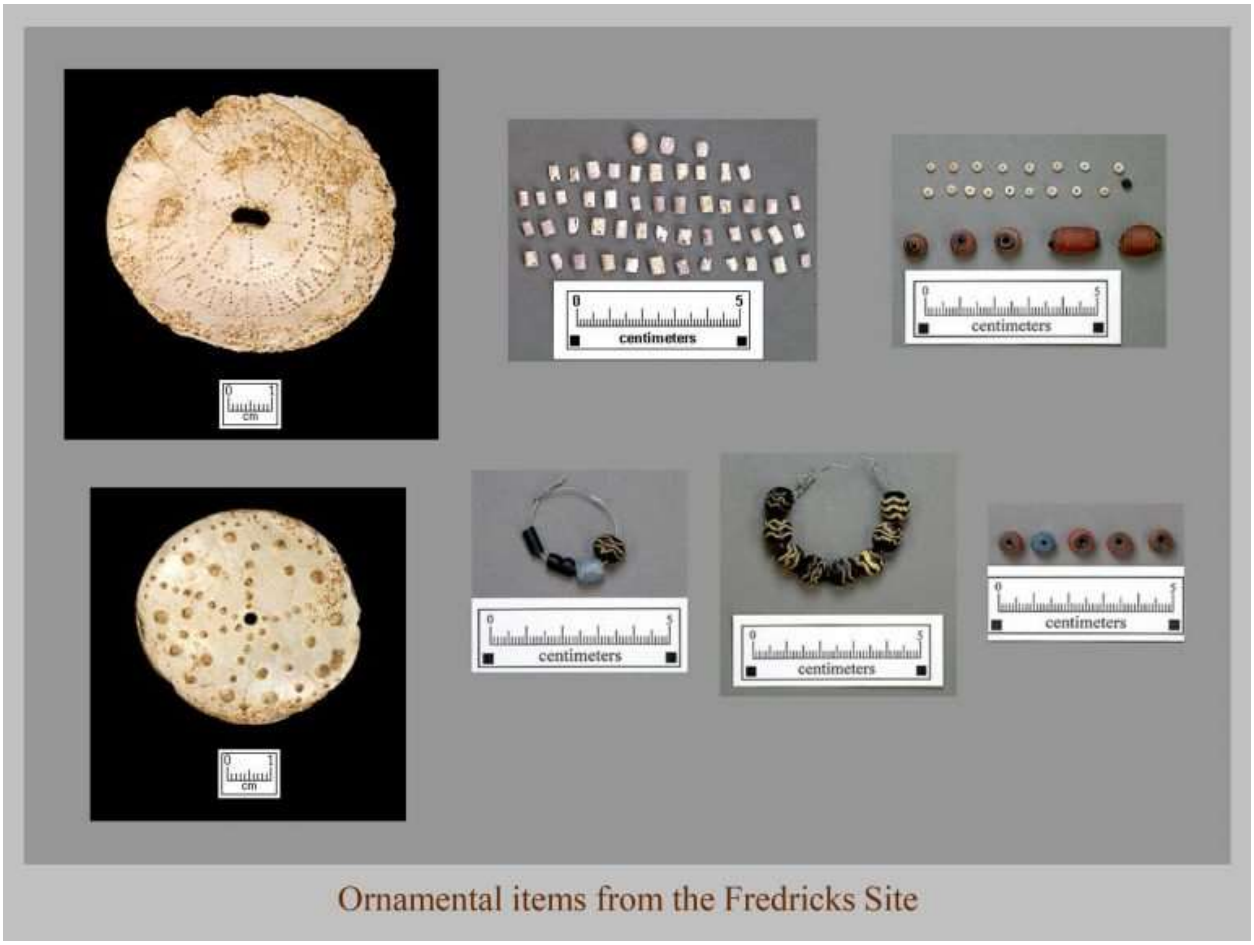


Figure 4.4: Ornamental Items from the Fredricks Site (Davis et al. 2021)

of the palisade (Davis et al 2021). Three burials were excavated in the cemetery and were rectangular with sharp corners. The sharp cornering indicates the burials were likely dug using metal tools and contained Euro-American artifacts. This indicates the Native Americans were adapting Euro-American trade artifacts into their already established cultural practices. A fourth pit was excavated in the cemetery but did not contain human remains or grave goods.

In 1984, the second field season at the Fredricks site began, sponsored by the National Geographic Society. During this season, they uncovered more of the cemetery and nearby village. The goal of these excavations was to gather more information on the mortuary behavior and sample the domestic areas (Davis et al 2021). A secondary goal was to use systematic subsurface testing on unexcavated areas of the site to locate the boundaries of the site and to make preliminary documentation of the internal structure of the village. This field season excavated 27 additional 10-foot by 10-foot units, and six of the eight units from 1983 were re-opened. During these excavations, more burials from within the cemetery were uncovered. A 90-foot palisade and 2,250 feet squared of village was discovered inside the palisade. The postholes were mapped and two domestic structures were exposed (Figure 4.5). A wall-trench sweat lodge with an interior fire pit was also found. The subsurface testing of the unexcavated areas was done using auger sampling at 2.5-foot intervals to locate archaeological features.

The third season at the Fredricks site was in 1985 with continued funding from the National Geographic Society (Davis et al 2021). The excavations during this field season covered over double what had been achieved from the previous seasons, exposing 62 10-foot by 10-foot units. From this, they were able to estimate the size of the village and estimate the internal spatial configuration. From this fieldwork, 25 features and three burials were excavated, with the burials being the last to be excavated in the cemetery. A total of 12 burials were

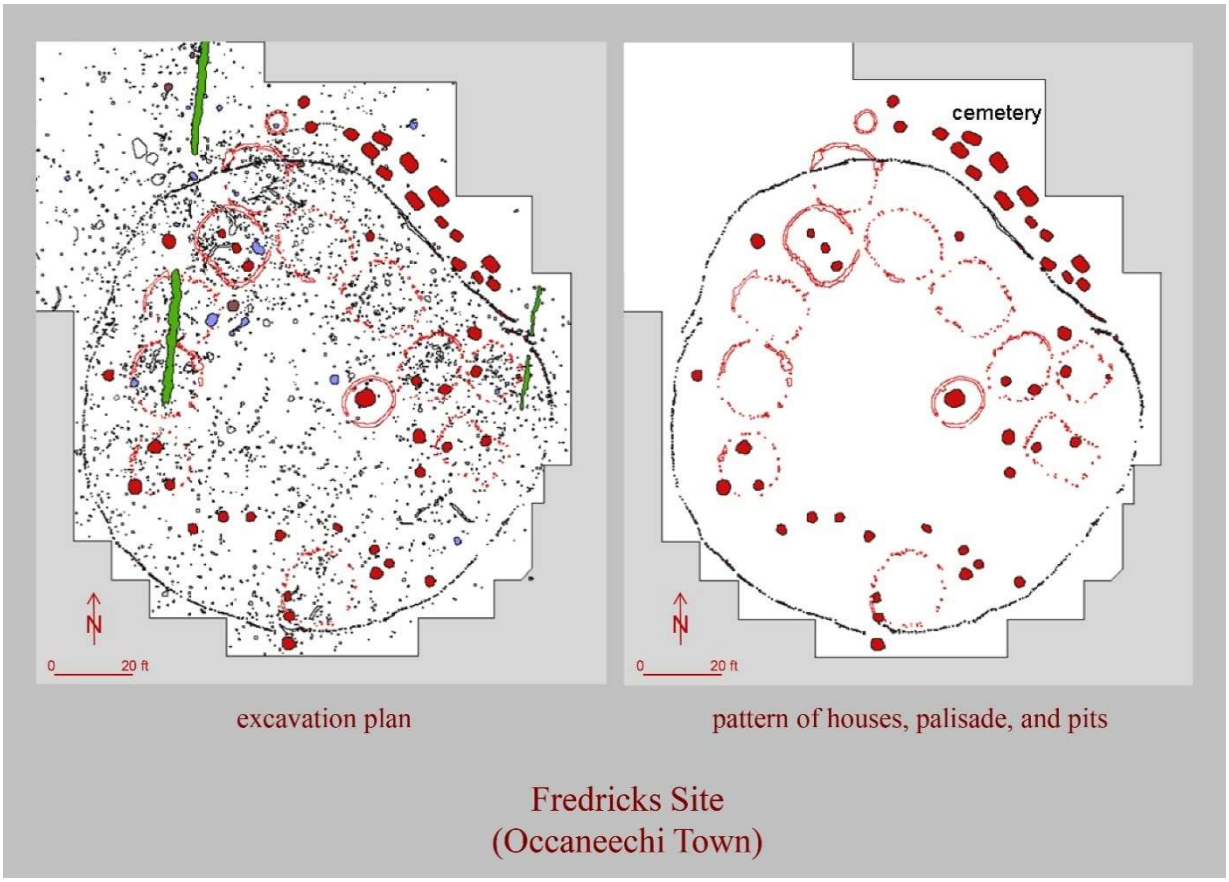


Figure 4.5: Fredricks Site Excavation Plan (Ward and Davis 1999)

excavated. During this work, six new structures were defined, and about 100 feet of palisade were uncovered. Archaeologists estimated that the village inside the palisade was small, about .25 acres, and the total of houses was between 11 or 12 which held 50 to 75 people.

The final excavations were in 1986. This excavation uncovered what was left of the village inside the palisade (Davis et al 2021). It was predicted during the 1985 field school that the village was small, although the 1986 excavations revealed that it was more irregular than originally thought. This shape was thought to be a result of the expansions to the southwest palisades creating a D-shape instead of a typical oval shape. Most of the structures consisted of posthole clusters, but two more wall trenches were defined, and 13 pit features related to structures were found to be very rich in artifacts. Finally, two burials, two possible burial pits, a possible hearth, and an irregular trench were excavated. Between the excavations from 1983 to 1986, the Fredricks site was excavated in its entirety covering about 16,000 square feet.

The archaeologists concluded that the site was a fortified settlement covering a quarter of an acre (Davis et al 2021). Houses were arranged around a courtyard with a sweat lodge. Inside the houses and around them were many storage pits. The village was protected with a wall or palisade. The cemetery was in the northeast area outside of the wall. The population was likely accommodated by ten domestic buildings within the palisade and held no more than 50 to 75 people in the entire complex. The occupation likely only lasted for about 10 years which coincides with ethnohistoric documents and prediction models.

During this time, massive depopulation was occurring due to disease, slavery, and hostilities from neighboring tribes and Euro-Americans. Despite this time of disruption, subsistence practices at the Fredricks site indicate a degree of continuity (Ward and Davis 1999: 244). Trade during this period increased and is reflected in the artifacts found at the Fredricks

site, such as knives, hoes, kettles, and guns associated with Occaneechi burials. The change in grave style from shaft-and-chamber pits to rectangular, straight-sided graves dug with metal tools indicates a creolization-like incorporation of European trade items into the Occaneechi's established cultural practices. The discovery of two separate cemeteries could indicate different ethnic groups being forced together as a consequence of depopulation (Ward and Davis 1999:243). The pottery found at the Fredricks site consists of Fredricks Plain and Fredricks Check-Stamped series. Even though European-made weapons and tools were found among the Occaneechi, it does not indicate the Occaneechi were abandoning their traditional ways of life. The Fredricks site still contains traditional tools and weapons of the Occaneechi although far fewer. This could be from either the recycling of tools or a result of contamination from earlier occupations from nearby sites. The final interesting conclusion to emerge is that the Fredricks site had only a few bone tools, local ornaments, gorgets, beads, or wampum (Dickens et al. 1987:183). It seems the Occaneechi at the Fredricks site were not making shell ornaments or bone tools to meet their needs; they were instead trading with neighboring groups at the coast for these items (Davis et al. 2021).

As stated at the start of this chapter, new interpretations can occur when we address the previous work upon which the research is built. In this chapter, we continued to explore not only the background of the Tuscarora and the Occaneechi people but what led to these sites' discovery, excavations, and the interpretations that followed. The following chapter will discuss the classification of the Fort Neoheroka trade artifacts based on the artifact classifications used by Davis and Ward in 1991.

Chapter 5: Artifact Classification

Previous chapters show that the Tuscarora, like the Occaneechi, held significant political and economic power. Ethnohistoric records suggest that both groups controlled access to English trade goods and distributed specific trade items to neighboring tribes. This research has compared the artifacts from Fort Neoheroka with those from the Fredricks site to uncover the Tuscarora's role in trade. The remaining part of this chapter discusses the artifact types- ornaments, weapons, implements, and pipes-used to investigate the middleman pattern. The following charts and histograms, based on Davis and Ward (1991), have been modified to include the artifacts from Fort Neoheroka.

Ornaments

Of the entire assemblage of European trade artifacts, only 3% were classified as ornaments. This low percentage is likely due to Fort Neoheroka's brief occupation and the structures' purpose for defense. During such periods, resources were probably prioritized for acquiring weapons, ammunition, and food. Brass and copper materials constituted just 8% of the total assemblage, whereas lead made up 43%, flint 2%, iron 27%, and glass 15% (Figure 5.1). Utilitarian materials such as lead and iron used for weapons were valued over copper and brass. Since Fort Neoheroka was designed for warfare and historically housed many European weapons we would expect a higher proportion of weapons. Interestingly, the increase in weapons compared to the Fredricks site is minimal. All three sites- Fredricks, Fort Neoheroka, and Upper Saratown-were active during a period of significant upheaval. Despite Fort Neoheroka's history and function, its artifact distribution closely resembles that of the Fredricks site.

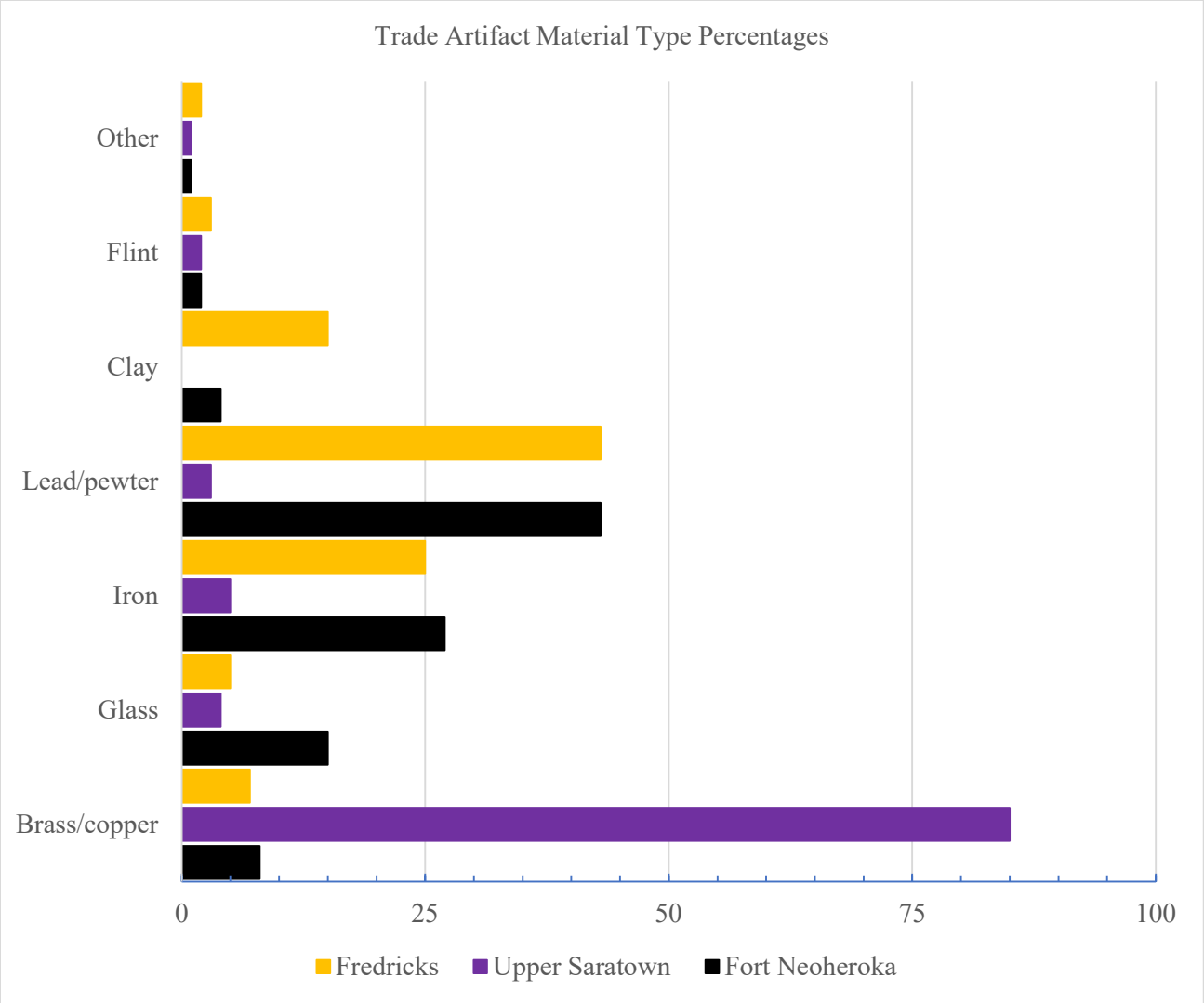


Figure 5.1: Trade Artifact Materials Type Percentages

English Trade Beads

Beads have been an important part of trade between Native Americans and Europeans since the beginning of colonization of North America (Hume 1969:53). Forms of ornamentation such as rings, necklaces, and bracelets existed in the Tuscarora culture long before European contact. These traditional necklaces were made from bird bone beads, shell beads, and sometimes stone beads. The shell beads or Wampum were used as currency among Native American groups and were called "porcelain" beads although true porcelain beads did not exist until the nineteenth century (Hume 1969:55). The pendants or gorgets were made from bone or animal teeth and eventually copper (Johnson 1967:11).

Beads found in North America up until the nineteenth century were likely imported. There is some speculation and debate on where the majority of these beads were made (Hume 1969:53). The majority opinion is that nearly all imported colored beads found in historic sites in the United States were made in the heartland of Venetian glassmaking, called Murano. There is evidence now that beads of similar manufacturing as to the Venetians originated in Amsterdam from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. There is also speculation that Jamestown created beads out of their glasshouse but there is little archaeological evidence to support this claim.

Glass beads in general are hard to date due to their similarity, lack of unique details, range of hole diameters, and various colors. The most common bead at Fort Neoheroka was the English seed bead, a small white or black glass bead. In total 3,455 beads were in the Neoheroka assemblage and 3,416 were classified as seed beads (Figures 5.2, 5.3). A small majority of the glass beads were not seed beads but another indeterminate type of glass bead. Only twenty-one wampum beads and six ceramic beads were found among the assemblage. By the time of Fort Neoheroka's construction trade was in full force between Europeans and Native Americans. It is

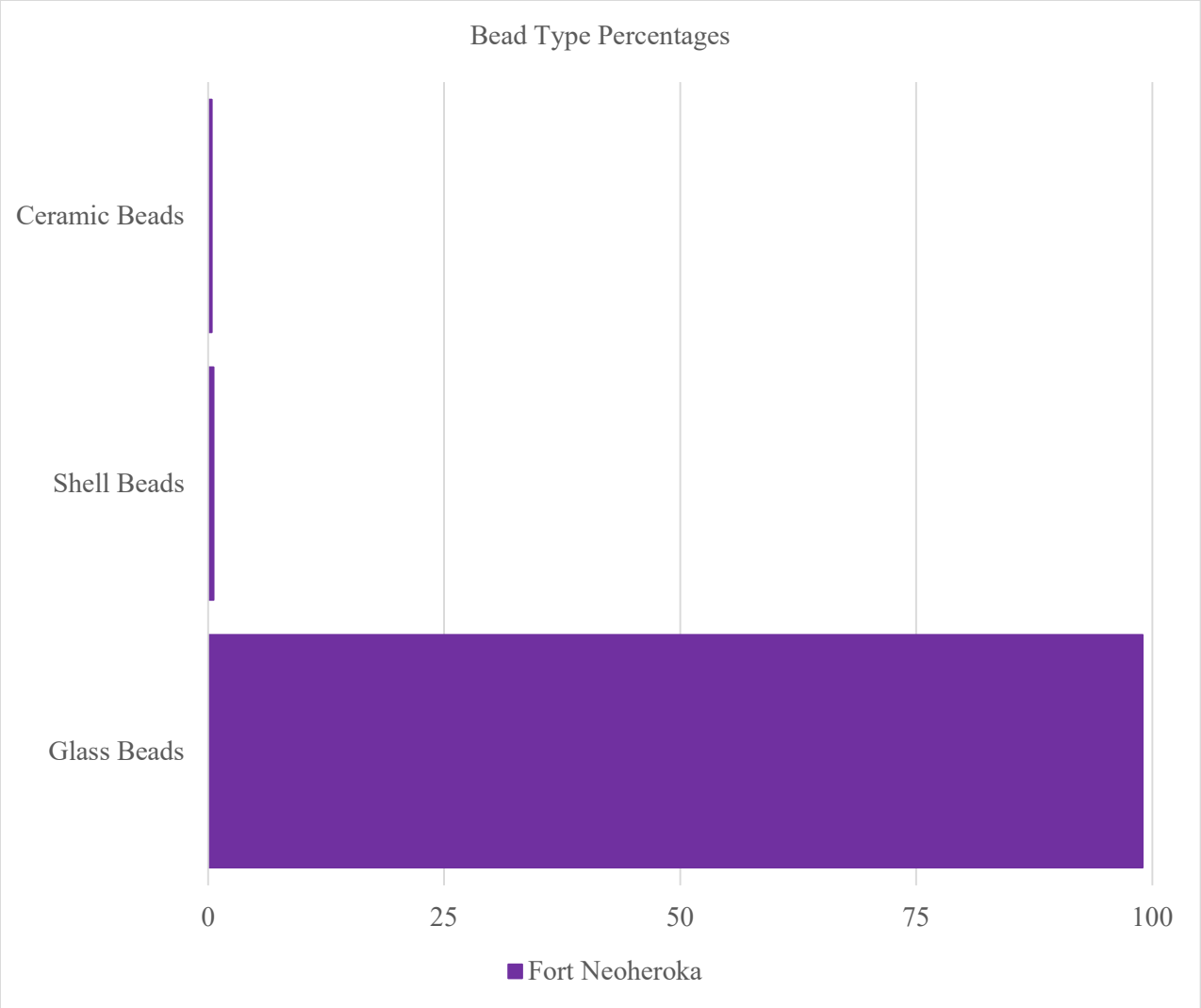


Figure 5.2: Bead Type Percentages

Figure 5.3: Glass Seed Beads

possible by this time English seed beads were more desired and acquired more easily than traditional wampum beads. It is also possible that the fragile materials composing wampum beads limited their preservation in the archaeological record. Following Davis and Ward (1991) beads were not included in the final European trade artifact classification. The English seed beads are worth noting as they are evidence of trade between the English and the Tuscarora. They are also an example of how European manufactured goods were valued and incorporated into the Tuscarora's lives. Beads were already important to the Tuscarora and a direct source of beads from the English trade was inevitable.

Davis and Ward decided that the large number of beads from both the Fredricks site and Upper Saratown would create an outlier in their research analysis, as the high quantity of beads compared to other artifacts significantly skews the percentage distribution of artifacts between the sites. Since there is a significant impact on the artifact percentage distribution, this research will exclude beads from the analysis to ensure a more comparable representation of artifact types across the sites.

Copper Pendants, Cones, and Other Jewelry

Ornaments are an important part of many Native American cultures often symbolizing authority and religious beliefs. Beads, bones, shells, and metal objects were used as ornaments by many Native Americans. When the first English traders came to North America the Tuscarora were eager to possess what they had (La Vere 2013:47). Items considered common to the English were greatly desired by the Tuscarora, such as tin, guns, gun powder, pots, beads, mirrors, glass bottles, needles, tobacco pipes, metal knives, tomahawks, axes, and barrel hoops cut into projectile points (La Vere 2013:48). Before European contact copper was obtained through trade with other Native American tribes where geological sources naturally occurred (Sanger et al.

2018). After contact, trade with Europeans was a more direct way to obtain copper. Repurposing European copper, the Tuscarora would make pendants, cones, bracelets, rings, and other objects to adorn themselves. Acting as middlemen the Tuscarora would have traded ornaments, like copper pendants, cones, and rings, to neighboring tribes. The results show that ornaments were not favored, for example, copper material was only 8% of the total trade artifact assemblage. Identifiable copper ornaments were few and are as follows: ten copper discs, four pieces of copper wire, three copper cones, and possibly two copper rings (Figures 5.4, 5.5). While this research was being performed a unique copper bracelet was on loan and was not available for analysis.

Bells

Three small copper or brass bells were a part of the artifact assemblage from Fort Neoheroka (Figure 5.6). There is limited information on bells and attempts have been made by experts to accurately date bells (Hume 1969:58). From as early as the late seventeenth century bells were being manufactured in the North American colonies. Bells are a common find at archaeological sites and the most common type is the rumbler bell. Also known as a sleigh bell, a rumbler bell is ball-shaped, contains a loose iron ball with a slot at one side, and an ear for suspension opposite it. The function of these bells depended on the size, which could range from the size of a button to an orange. Common uses of the rumbler bell were for tying to a hawk's leg, a baby's rattle, or to hang from a cow's neck (Hume 1969:59).

The bells at Fort Neoheroka share the same characteristics as the rumbler or sleigh bell. The bells at Fort Neoheroka are small and do not contain any apparent initials of the maker, making a detailed identification or determining their origin difficult. The bells used by Native Americans had a very different function than what Europeans used them for. Few

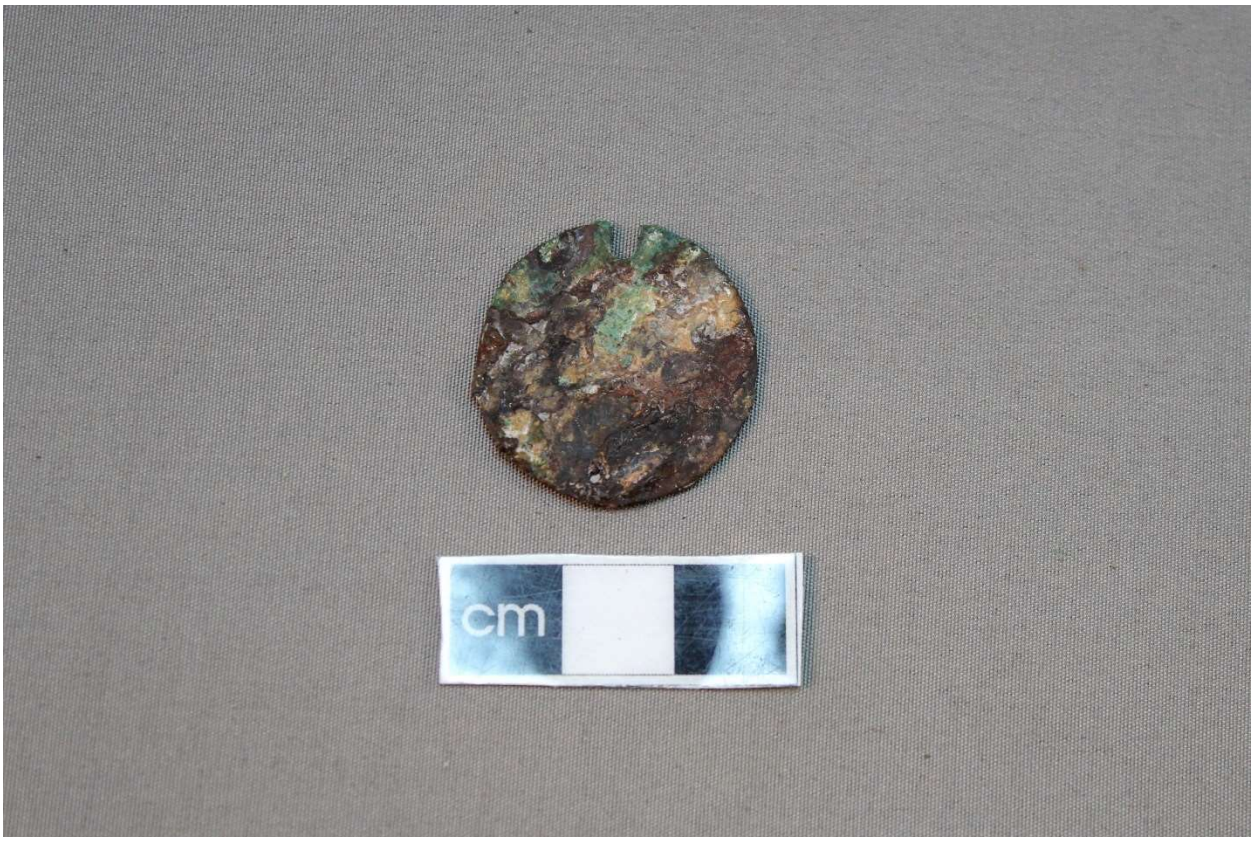


Figure 5.4: Copper Alloy Pendent

Figure 5.5: Copper Alloy Pendent

Figure 5.6: Copper Alloy Bell

examples of these bells are at Fort Neoheroka and no bells were found melted or otherwise modified it seems they likely were used for decorative purposes. The Tuscarora were using rumbler bells for clothing ornamentation.

Clothing Buttons, Buckles, and Fasteners

Buckles are a somewhat common find at historic archaeological sites. At Fort Neoheroka six copper or brass buckles were part of the assemblage. There are usually two categories of buckles, either a harness or a dress buckle (Hume 1969:84). Dress buckles are usually meant for shoes, spurs, belts, baldrics, stocks, knees, and hats. The shoe buckle is the most common buckle to be found at historic sites but was not the common trend in shoes until the last decade of the seventeenth century. Before shoe buckles became popular shoes were fastened with rosettes, thongs, and bows, and by the early nineteenth century buckles were no longer the common fashion choice.

Silver buckles were used by the gentry while brass or copper buckles coated with tin to look like silver were used by the middle class. The lower class used pewter buckles and these cheaper buckles were often molded into elaborate forms. Little information is available on dating these buckles but there has been evidence that more elaborate Rococo brass buckles were created after 1730 (Hume 1969:85). Sock, knee, and hat buckles were often made from similar materials but were smaller in size than the shoe buckle. These buckles were generally not as elaborate but could be set with gems or engraved. The belt buckle and military buckles were very similar to the horse harness in some cases making it very difficult to tell the difference between the two. The buckles found at Fort Neoheroka are made from copper with some simple decorative casting or engraving.

Around fifty button fragments are present in the Fort Neoheroka assemblage. These include mostly copper or brass buttons, but an iron and a silver button are also present (Figures 5.7-5.12). Buttons were the most common ornament found at this site. The chronology of English buttons has been extensively researched but little has been published (Hume 1969:88). Archaeologist Stanley South conducted an extensive study of the buttons from Brunswick Town and Fort Fisher. South's typology has showcased common button types from the eighteenth century, but these buttons likely came from a single tailor shop and represented unsold buttons. From South's research, we have discovered that during the first part of the eighteenth century, white metal or brass with embossed decorations and plain or gilded buttons were common. In the second part of the century flat copper alloy disks were common becoming larger towards the end of the century (Hume 1969:91). With little evidence to say otherwise many professionals believe that buttons were likely imported up until the nineteenth century.

One example from Neoheroka resembles Stanley South's Type 2 buttons with an eye brazed or soldered, a hole for expanding gases, and a seam brazed and polished. The Type 2 button at Fort Neoheroka is made from brass or copper, has a decorative sun motif on the front and if it did have a seam on the back the corrosion has erased it. Another example from Fort Neoheroka was a flat octagonal silver button with a simple front, and small rectangle etching, and is unlike any type from South's typology. An example of South's Type 9 button was found at Fort Neoheroka and is a flat disc with a hand-stamped face design, has no foot with a well-soldered eye, and is brass. The most common buttons found were just the round button fronts. Most of the buttons have corroded together making identification difficult. European buttons were likely used by the Tuscarora for clothing ornaments similar to the rumbler bell.

Figure 5.7: Iron Button

Figure 5.8: Front of Silver Button

Figure 5.9: Copper Alloy Buckle

Figure 5.10: Front of Copper Alloy Button

Figure 5.11: Back of Copper Alloy Button

Figure 5.12: Copper Alloy Buttons

A rather unique and interesting artifact found at Fort Neoheroka was a silver clothing fastener with the letter "W" etched into the face (Figure 5.13). The artifact is in two pieces where the back clip broke off. This fastener resembles an escutcheon and the “W” may represents a person's family initial. An artifact like this could have come from one of the many English soldiers who attacked Fort Neoheroka or perhaps it was traded. Whatever the reason we know the Tuscarora occupied this site for much longer than the English during their attack on Fort Neoheroka and were in a close trading relationship with the English. Also, Byrd, Phelps, and Heath (2009) hypothesized that some of the unusual objects from Fort Neoheroka were collected during their attacks on the European settlements. Therefore, this object will be considered Tuscarora and counted in the ornaments category.

Implements

Iron Axes

At Fort Neoheroka only four iron ax heads are in the artifact assemblage. A few were found during the excavations and others by the Mewborn family during their regular plowing practices. These ax heads date to the eighteenth century and appear to be the common felling ax. The following information on ax history comes from Bernie Weisgerber’s *An Ax to Grind: A Practical Ax Manual* (1999). Axes have existed in basic forms for over 10,000 years. Axes throughout time have changed in materials such as copper, stone, bronze, iron, and steel, although the shape and function have stayed the same. The ax can be considered humanity's first real woodworking tool and one of the very few woodworking tools for a long period of history.

It is difficult to distinguish early American axes from European ones since they both were made in Europe and had distinctly European characteristics. In this early period, these axes

Figure 5.13: Silver Clothing Fastener

would be referred to as European-American axes. The material was iron and unlike wood, iron is similar regardless of the place of manufacture except for maker's marks which were rarely present on these early axes. The first American-made axes were used and manufactured on the East Coast of North America and as European settlements expanded to the west and south, the demand for axes increased. This demand increased specialization in ax forms as blacksmiths began creating axes for individual needs. Eventually, the large manufacturing of axes in the nineteenth century included more widely available specializations in ax forms.

Over time, European axes began to be modified to meet the needs of the New World. European axes were designed for small trees and were ineffective for cutting the massive North American trees. European axes were better suited for hewing timber since they leave a flatter surface than the felling ax. The felling ax was designed to split a tree while a hewing ax was designed to shear a log into lumber with flat surfaces. During the seventeenth century trade between Native American groups and Europeans increased and trade axes became popular. The felling ax in particular was desired, and these axes came from England, France, and Spain. The axes from Fort Neoheroka appear to be felling axes, and given their widespread trade after the seventeenth century, their presence at Neoheroka fits this trade trend (Figure 5.14).

The felling ax was made of two pieces of iron hammer welded down the center of a poll and over time the poll became thinner with flatter surfaces. A blacksmith would weld the ax head behind the handle to provide a larger surface to join the two pieces of iron together and it would create a heavier pole with more weight behind the handle to provide better balance. This is the basic design for modern axes. Early European axe heads were long and were often shortened by grinding them down making the axes easier to wield. Eventually, a shorter ax head was manufactured replacing the long European ax head. The shorter and wider ax head created a

Figure 5.14: Iron Ax Head

better balance making for a better swing of the ax. By the eighteenth century ax blades were square shaped and became known as the American ax. In the nineteenth century, the Bessemer process for steelmaking made steel more affordable thus ax blades transitioned to being completely made of steel.

Iron Hoes

Iron hoes are especially common tools during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Spades and hoes are especially common at historic sites and at Fort Neoheroka four iron hoe heads are a part of the artifact assemblage although no spades were located at Fort Neoheroka. Like the axes, these iron hoe-heads were found on the surface during routine farming by the Mewborn family and seem to date to the eighteenth century. Little studies have been performed on dating hoe heads making it difficult to precisely date these objects (Hume 1969:274).

The basic parts of a hoe can provide information on its general age, function, and manufacturing techniques. A hoe generally has a wooden handle that is inserted into what is called the “eye” of the hoe head and is held in place by a “collar” (Egloff 1980:10). Some hoes have a “neck” which is formed between the collar and the blade. The “shoulder” is then created by the slope of the neck as it connects to the blade. The “back” of the hoe is seen in profile as the flatter side while the "front" is the uneven side. On some hoes, there is a "spine" which is a thicker section of metal between the collar and the blade. This spine reinforces the blade's strength. If a maker's mark or blacksmith's stamp is present on a hoe it will be located just below the spine or near it. Some hoes have been found with stamps or etched initials. The purpose of the initial is uncertain but it is suspected to be a middleman's mark or a distributor. Finally, a "weld seam" is the point where the joining of the collar and blade have been melted together, referred to as a weld (Egloff 1980:10).

Generally, hoes can be divided into either narrow or broad hoe varieties, meaning hoes with long narrow blades and hoes with shorter wider blades. There are three chronological types of hoes that Keith Egloff calls Type I, Type II, and Type III in their research on plantation hand hoes in Virginia (1980:12). Though Fort Neoheroka was not a Virginia plantation it appears that the four hoes from Fort Neoheroka fall into the Type II hoe category (Figure 5.15). Type II dates from 1675-1740 and seems to always have a spine and a lap weld stem which matches the hoes found at Fort Neoheroka. These hoes are highly corroded but there appears to be the remains of a spine and a weld stem described in Type II. Archaeologist Ivor Noel Hume found that by the eighteenth century, broad hoes were far more popular than the earlier narrow hoes (1969:275). The hoes found at Fort Neoheroka do seem to reflect this trend that over time narrow hoes were being replaced in favor of broad hoes.

Knives and Spoons

London and Sheffield were the primary places of cutlery manufacturing in England. Manufacturing knives in the seventeenth century involved several craftsmen, the hafter, the bladesmith, the sheather, and the cutler. The bladesmith is the most important to archaeologists for two reasons, the most common part of the knife to survive is the blade and the most common handles are hard to date (Hume 1969:177). Before the fork became a common eating utensil it was used primarily for only serving and anchoring food to the dish therefore the medieval pointed knife became the most common utensil. In the early part of the seventeenth century, knives were narrow, straight, and long with solid shoulders that were sometimes faceted. In the second part of the seventeenth century, these knife shoulders became smaller and were used until around the 1830s. The curved-blade knife was created with a dorsal ridge in the 1700s (Hume 1969:178). This blade was popular throughout the eighteenth century and corresponds with a

Figure 5.15: Iron Hoe Head

new style of handle called the pistol-grip handle. In the later part of the eighteenth century knife handles were commonly made from bone or ivory. In the early eighteenth century, most blade handles were attached over a spiked tang which extended through and beaten over a washer (Hume 1969:178). Three iron knife blade fragments, one of which was a bone-handled knife, were among the artifacts at Fort Neoheroka.

Two large brass or copper spoons were in the artifact assemblage at Fort Neoheroka (Figure 5.16). The most apparent spoon evolution can be seen in examples from silver spoons. Spoons made from brass, latten, and pewter were designed based on silver spoon styles (Hume 1969:180). Spoons made from copper, zinc, and iron alloy were common after the mid-seventeenth century and were often tinplated making it look like silver. Up until this point, spoons had fig-shaped bowls and a rectangular stem, then the Puritan style silver spoon was replaced with the rat rail spoon which continued to be popular until after the second quarter of the eighteenth century (Hume 1969:183). This spoon had an egg-shaped bowl and a handle that was round, upcurling, and thick at the edge. This style continued to be popular until the end of the eighteenth century. As stated previously, trade was a convenient and profitable way of acquiring new and valuable tools. Finding utensils at Fort Neoheroka is not surprising and seems to follow accounts from Lawson and Lederer who tell how knives and other utensils are often traded with the Occaneechi and Tuscarora.

Hinges, Latches, and Other Hardware

Several implements were found at Fort Neoheroka: five chain links, one lock escutcheon fragment, four iron handles, one hinge fragment, two iron hooks, one kettle bracket, one brass latch, two brass clothing pins, and two brass furniture tacks (Figures 5.17, 5.18). Metal

Figure 5.16: Copper Alloy Spoon

Figure 5.17: Iron Furniture Handles

Figure 5.18: Iron Chain

furniture hardware is more commonly found at an archaeological site than the wooden fragments of the furniture. The most common are brass fittings which are usually easy to date. Brass upholstery tacks are one of the earliest examples and were used to hold the leather to a chair while larger tacks were used as decoration on harnesses (Hume 1969:227). These larger tacks were also used on eighteenth century coaches for the exterior leather and sedan chairs.

As early as the reign of James I, pendant loop furniture handles were used for cupboard doors and drawers. After 1660 brass handles became more common and by 1720 solid teardrop handles held by iron or brass tang or cotter pins were used on small furniture (Hume 1969:228). For larger drawers bale handles were used and attached with cotter pins with decorative plates. Heavy bat or angel wing-style plates were common with bale-style furniture handles from 1720 to 1750. Early versions of these were held by cotter pins and cast with two balusters divided by a disc knop (Hume 1969:229).

Lock escutcheons began in the seventeenth century as the lock plate of small chests or other boxes and evolved similarly to the drawer handle plate. In the early seventeenth century these brass lock plates were often elaborate and stamped to look like a clockface (Hume 1969:230). In the later part of the seventeenth century, they became diamond-shaped and chased with rosette patterns. By 1740 the decoration became less ornate and made from brass. By this time there was a desire for lighter furniture which replaced escutcheons with smaller oval keyholes.

Iron furniture hinges called a butterfly style were seen on cupboards in the early parts of the seventeenth century and replaced with "H" hinges designed in zoomorphic designs (Hume 1969:232). The straight "H" hinge of a similar design followed in the later seventeenth century. Strap hinges were used for trunks and boxes in the seventeenth century with iron bale handles

that were held with cotter pins. These handles were often identified as coffin handles but were more commonly used on all kinds of boxes and trunks. This style was still popular in the eighteenth century only smaller in size on cheap leather boxes. In the late seventeenth century hinges were cast in brass or tin-plated and were used to decorate japanned cabinets. These hinges often looked like bible clasps. Book clasps were common and often identified as furniture hinges but book clasps were decorated with rosettes and acorns. In the eighteenth century, large brass carriage door hinges were common and since these hinges are made from brass they are often in pieces.

Small hooks were often repurposed by Native Americans for fishing but the hooks found at Fort Neoheroka are much larger and were likely used for other utilitarian purposes. A few chain links and a kettle bracket fragment were a part of the artifact assemblage. As interactions between the Tuscarora and the English increased metal kettles and other hardware were valued for their utilitarian usages (La Vere 2013:47). For example, the metal kettle was stronger than traditional containers and could sit on a fire directly. This change allowed food to be simmered over a fire all day making it ready for any visitors that might stop by. It is thus not surprising to find a number of implements at a Tuscarora site such as Fort Neoheroka. Certain European goods would be useful tools easily and eagerly incorporated into the Tuscarora lifeway.

Bottle Glass

A total of 603 glass shards were a part of the Neoheroka assemblage and the majority was from alcohol bottles (Figures 5.19-5.22). Around 170 shards could be identified as melted or burned fragments consistent with the accounts by Colonel Moore that the fort was on fire by the end of the first day of battle. Very few glass shards could be identified as being

Figure 5.19: Glass Projectile Point

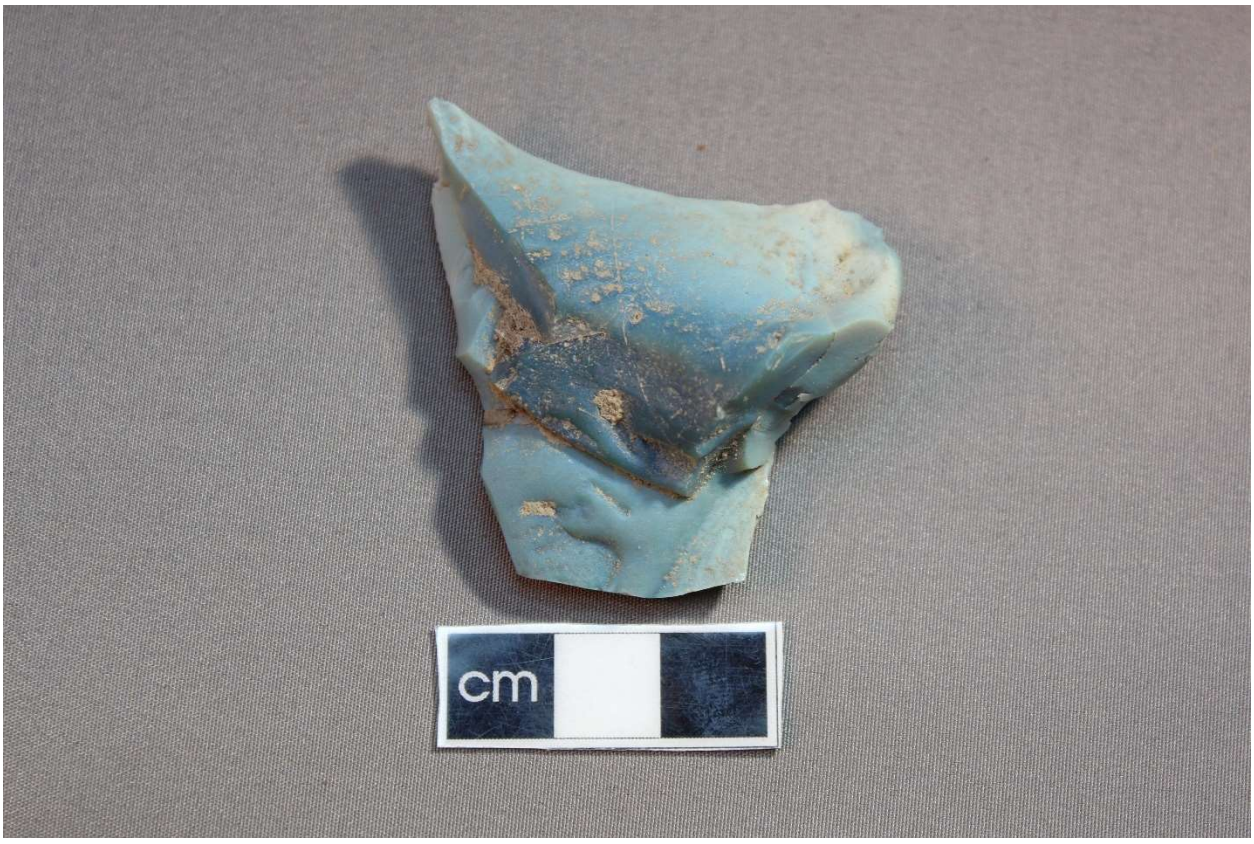


Figure 5.20: Burned Bottle Glass

Figure 5.21: Worked Bottle Glass

Figure 5.22: Nearly Complete Bottle

modified or knapped. Glass tends to naturally flake making identification between man-made marks or natural breaks difficult.

Nearly all of the glass found at Fort Neoheroka was olive green bottle glass. Since glass bottles are used for food preparation and consumption it was counted in the implements category. The only glass that was not included in implements was bottle glass that had been modified for another use, such as projectile points and those shards were counted as weapons. Only one glass projectile point was found at Fort Neoheroka but nine glass fragments have been found with possible intentional flaking. The glass projectile point is made from typical green bottle glass that was widely available. The use of glass to make projectile points shows the adaptiveness of the Tuscarora when it came to using European goods for their own needs.

Glass has been used since the beginning of British America but the first successful glass factory wasn't built until 1739 (Hume 1969:60). Little is known about bottle glass manufacturing before the American Revolution leading many to believe that before this they were exclusively imported. Much research on the evolution of English bottle glass has been conducted with success at showing the distinctive changes between a bottle from 1650, 1690, 1730, 1760, 1780, and 1820. The problem has been in identifying the transitions between these bottle forms (Hume 1969:60). A useful find for archaeologists is the affixed bottle seal which began in the mid-seventeenth century. These seals were usually made for gentlemen or taverns but by this time many had a private stock. These seals are useful to archaeologists for their marks noting ownership or contents. In the mid-seventeenth century, globular-bodied dark green glass bottles were popular. Ivor Noel Hume documented several types of English glass wine bottles. The glass from Fort Neoheroka resembles the wine bottles Hume documents from the early eighteenth century (Hume 1969:64).

European Ceramics

Compared to the entire artifact assemblage from Fort Neoheroka, only a small number of European ceramics were found. In total, only 167 European ceramic sherds were in the artifact assemblage. The largest majority was eighty-three delftware sherds followed by thirty-six earthenwares, fifteen stonewares, thirteen redwares, thirteen indeterminate wares, and four creamwares, and three pearlwares (Figure 5.23). This number is dwarfed by the 12,666 Native American ceramic sherds collected from the site.

Colonial ceramics can be divided into two categories, either earthenware or stoneware. Earthenware is fired at a low temperature which can range from 900 to 1050 degrees Celsius (Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory 2002). Earthenwares require a coat of glaze to be applied to at least one side to keep liquids inside. These glazes usually contain lead oxide and sometimes tin is added to create an opaque effect. Earthenware pastes can appear in buff, yellow, pink, or red colors. This ceramic type is the most commonly found at colonial sites. Redwares are a common unglazed coarse earthenware from the sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. Stoneware is fired at a higher temperature than earthenware at about 1200 to 1300 degrees Celsius creating a nonporous and stone-like ware. The paste can be white, gray, or tan. Stonewares can hold liquids without glaze but are often glazed still. With stoneware, salt glazed is the most common glaze found on them and is produced by throwing salt into the kiln during firing. The salt reacts with the silicates in the clay resulting in an orange peel-like surface.

Creamware is a form of earthenware that is defined by its clear lead glaze, thin pot, and cream-colored body (Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory 2002). Creamware can range from ivory to straw-colored. These wares can also have molding, an underglaze, an overglaze, and transfer printing. Creamwares are fired twice changing the English pottery

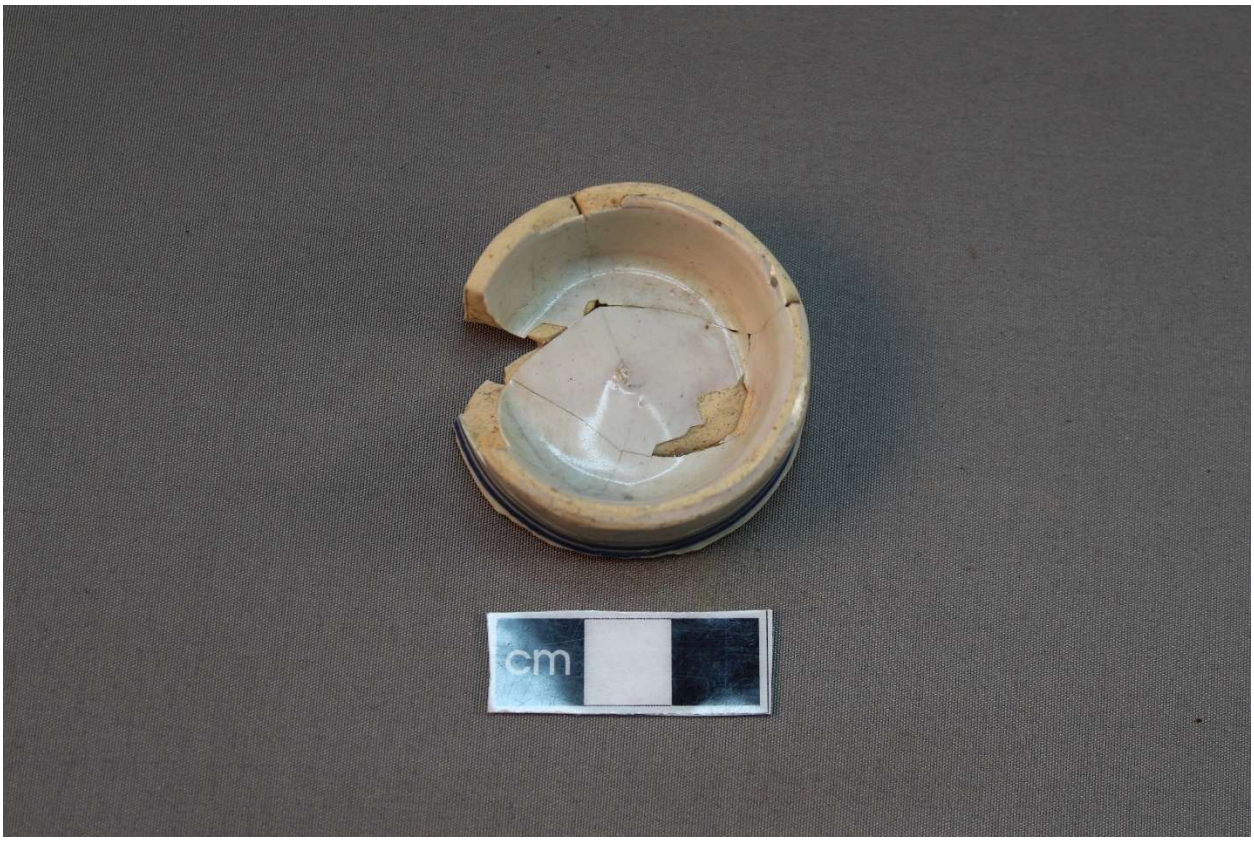


Figure 5.23: Delft Bowl Foot Ring

industry. The first stage was the bisque which allowed for more decorations before the final glazing and firing. Later on, this dual method of ceramic manufacturing became popular. This ware was first introduced in 1740 by Enoch Booth and began to be manufactured in the American colonies by 1771. Around this time another type of refined earthenware was created called pearlware which used a cobalt glaze that gave the body a bluish tint. These ceramics were often used for tableware and teaware. Based on the known information on creamwares and pearlwares these sherds slightly date after Neoheroka. The exact context these sherds were found has been lost but it likely they were surface finds. The land Fort Neoheroka is on experienced yearly plowing and it was reported that many colonial and Native artifacts were collected throughout this process. Since these sherds date after Neoheroka, these will not be a part of the final count for the implements category therefore the final count of European traded ceramics is 160.

Delftware is a lead glaze with tin oxide, soft-bodied earthenware ceramic, and is usually painted with a blue and polychrome design (Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory 2002). This ceramic represented the English attempt at the fine porcelains manufactured in China and was the first white, painted pottery manufactured in England. A very common ware from the seventeenth to late eighteenth century this ware is often found with floral motifs or replica Chinese designs. Often these ceramics were used for plates, drug jars, ointment pots, tiles, and chamber pots. It seems that the abundant delftware was traded with the Tuscarora as well as some utilitarian wares. Based on the abundance of Native American pottery and the few European ceramics, it appears that the Tuscarora were still favoring their pottery over the Europeans. It seems likely that the Tuscarora pottery was better suited for their food preparation needs. A point of note, during Byrd, Phelps, and Heath's (2009) analysis of the ceramics from

Neoheroka, they found unexpected artifacts such as Rhenish stoneware and lead-glazed earthenware vessels suspected to be from European plantations and farmsteads that were raided by the Tuscarora during the war between 1711 and 1713.

Bone Combs

Only one bone comb in 3 pieces was found at Fort Neoheroka (Figure 5.24). This is the only personal item found apart from the silver clothing fastener with the "W" initial. Examples of Iroquoian bone combs have been found in North America (Jamestown Rediscovery 2024). In the case of the comb found at Fort Neoheroka, it appears to be of English origin. This comb is double-sided with a wide tooth side and a narrower tooth side. An earlier example of a similar European comb was found in Jamestown dating to around 1610 (Jamestown Rediscovery 2024). Some examples from the seventeenth century were elaborately carved and often given as gifts. In the case of Fort Neoheroka and of Jamestown these combs are plain indicating they were utilitarian objects. These types of combs are carved from one piece of bone or ivory and are called H combs due to their shape. They were also called nit combs since they were often used for hygiene to remove lice, fleas, and nits. Likely, this comb was being used for the same purposes by the Tuscarora.

Weapons

A simple definition of artillery is the means of launching a projectile too heavy to be thrown by hand (Manucy 1962:1). Artillery in some form has been recorded as far back as the eighth century B.C. but the largest difference between modern artillery and ancient ones is the type of energy used to launch the projectile.

Cannon Balls and Grenades

Figure 5.24: Bone Comb

The Chinese have been cited as the first inventors of the cannon during the twelfth century (Manucy 1962:3). There has been some debate over who invented gunpowder first, Taoist monks, alchemist Wei Boyang, the Turks, or German Berthold der Schwarze. Generally, it has been accepted that the Chinese were the first to create a gunpowder-like substance as early as the ninth century, but it wasn't until much later that gunpowder became the global commodity it was. Cannons did not become popular until the Hundred Years War (1339-1453) but the primitive cannons that preceded these were small, cast from iron or bronze, and fired lead or iron balls (Manucy 1962:3).

By the eighteenth century production of cannons and ballistics had improved and became almost scientific in method. The number of different calibers had reduced over the years and was now generally standardized (Manucy 1962:9). By 1742 Benjamin Robin wrote *New Principles of Gunnery* which helped to further standardize artillery production. Cannons were widely used by the French, Spanish, and English during the colonial periods despite their inefficiency against Native American forces and the challenges of transporting them without waterways. Colonel James Moore discovered this for himself when he had to leave his cannons behind when his ship was burned during his siege of St. Augustine in 1702.

Historic documents from Colonel James Moore indicate that the Tuscarora were using not only traditional weapons but also European weaponry. It is unclear exactly how much artillery Moore brought with him to Neoheroka but the amount could not have been significant (La Vere 2013:167). The artifact assemblage at Neoheroka only contained thirty-four cannon balls or grenade fragments (Figure 5.25). In the case of Fort Neoheroka, determining if the fragments are cannon balls or hand grenades is difficult. It is also hard to determine if these fragments resulted from Moore’s militia or the Tuscarora using hand grenades. If these are cannon balls it seems

Figure 5.25: Grenade or Cannon Ball Fragment

more likely they came from Moore than the Tuscarora. Moore does account how his men would place black powder charges under the palisade walls blasting the eastern side of the fort. He also documents how eventually he was able to dig siege trenches close to the walls so that his men could build a blockhouse and fire artillery over the walls. Apart from grenade or cannonball fragments, there were no remains found of the cannons themselves at Fort Neoheroka.

Pistols and Muskets

The history of firearms is long and incomplete. Like the cannons and other artillery, the origin of firearms seems to begin with the invention of gunpowder. The earliest gun was called the hand cannon or the Medieval handgun and was used for war (Fremantle 1965:283). This weapon fired a large projectile that would be deadly at short range but failed in accuracy due to poor quality gunpowder and imprecision of the design (Dougherty 2016:10). These early weapons fired round balls made from stone, iron, or lead. If a ball was not available, then any small object would be used. No historical documents have a record of the first small lead round used for firearms, but this achievement marked a significant advancement for firearms.

In the fifteenth century, firearms used matchlocks which was a device designed to hold a slow-match and bring it to the firing vent. This firearm was known for a "lock time" the significant delay between the lighting and the firing of the weapon creating even more inaccuracy. From the sixteenth century onward firearms became the primary weapon in European battles marking a turn from hand-to-hand fighting to longer distant fighting (Dougherty 2016:9). Despite the improvements in firearms, they were still unreliable and took a significant amount of time to reload.

By the mid-seventeenth century, the English doglock pistol was created. This weapon is 15.5 inches long with a barrel length of 11.5 inches. It operated using a flintlock and fired a single 10.9-millimeter lead shot. The doglock was the early form of a flintlock consisting of a spring-loaded lever that snapped flint against a plate called a "frizzen" to create a spark. The dog part was a safety feature that held the lock at half cock. The range of flintlock firearms was limited to short range only firing thirty feet. Inaccurate as it was it became popular for personal defense and cavalry (Dougherty 2016:14). Like the flintlock pistol, black powder muskets were also a standard infantry weapon for decades. Designs evolved and many countries created similar designs. These weapons were much heavier at 10.4 pounds and were fairly accurate at hitting a person at 200 to 300 feet but were very inaccurate at around 600 feet. These weapons were generally around 62.5 inches in length with a barrel length of 46 inches. It shot a single 17-to-18-millimeter lead ball using a flintlock operation. Black powder rifles also existed during this period but were not a common weapon for infantry.

At Fort Neoheroka over 68 percent of the total trade assemblage fell under the weapons category (Figures 5.26-5.34). These included 1,740 lead shot and 170 melted lead fragments. Only 166 shot could be positively identified as fired while over 1,000 shot were considered unfired or indeterminate. 66 lead fragments could not be identified. There were also 39 gun parts most of which were doglocks from either pistols or muskets. Other gun parts included butt plates, trigger guards, and gun springs. There were also 87 gunflints found. The artifacts date to Fort Neoheroka and were likely English trade goods for which they had frequent interactions. By far the most interesting aspect of this weapons category is the projectile point made from European bottle glass.

Swords and Sabers

Figure 5.26: Gun Doglock

Figure 5.27: Gun Spring

Figure 5.28: Gun Flint

Figure 5.29: Gun Trigger

Figure 5.30: Musket Hammer

Figure 5.31: Gun Tang

Figure 5.32: Musket Buttplate

Figure 5.33: Gun Flintlock Top Jaw

Figure 5.34: Lead Shot

Swords of some form can be traced back as far as the Stone Age when people wielded handheld flint projectile points and primitive axes. These hand axes and projectile points were clumsy and unreliable tools and over time craftsmanship and design improved. In Sumeria and Mesopotamia bronze and copper began to be smelted together to create better swords and spears. Swords or edged weapons have become more than a tool used for fighting but a symbol of authority, a mark of rank in some societies, and a ceremonial object to others (Withers 2021:6). The shape, blade style, and material can tell you much about the weapon and the owner.

By the seventeenth century, swords were made much smaller than they previously were. These swords were called town, court, or walking swords and were carried by gentlemen. During this period of stability, the need to be heavily armed was no longer necessary (Withers 2021:44). These smaller swords were considered far more comfortable to wear on a regular day and their designs changed based on the changing fashions. The hilt changed in the 1700s, such as a shell-style guard, smaller quillion, thinner guards over the knuckles, and a broader range of pommel styles. Finally, more *pas-d'ane* rings were added to the hilt. The decline in the popularity of larger rapiers and two-handed swords of the past centuries seems to coincide with the increase in the use of firearms making swords a secondary weapon in warfare.

One of the most interesting changes in swords was their function. Swords were no longer simply a tool for warfare but also represented social, political, and military rank and reflected the trends in fashion (Withers 2021:46). Originally, smallswords were mainly favored in court but throughout the eighteenth century became a common part of the military. Most officers at this time purchased more than one sword. Often using the smallsword for parades and balls while still using the traditional fighting sword for battle. While these smallswords were important for this time, other swords existed that were also common and vital to this period, the cavalry swords

and the backsword. The cavalry sword was still greatly popular with cavalry soldiers well into the eighteenth century despite the rise in popularity of firearms. These weapons were more effective on horseback than firearms.

According to late sixteenth century accounts, the Spanish were trading sword blades with Native Americans in exchange for their goods. Trading swords would have been an uncommon practice since swords were an important and often personalized weapon (Cartwright 2022). The English understood the advantage these weapons had over the Native Americans and wished to keep them out of the Native American's hands. Laws were passed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to stop the trading of European weapons with the Native Americans. Fort Neoheroka and the Fredricks site have European weapons suggesting that despite efforts made by the North Carolina and Virginia governments, colonists were trading their weapons to the Occaneechi and Tuscarora. Few sword fragments were discovered at Fort Neoheroka and due to the corrosion, little can be determined from what remains (Figure 5.35). Historically is it known that long-bladed weapons were not desired by the Native Americans and they preferred shorter blades that were better suited for preparing food and other tasks for daily living (Cartwright 2022). It's possible that like the Rhenish or tin-glazed earthenware discussed previously, swords were confiscated by the Tuscarora during raids or during trade. It is equally possible these sword fragments were left by Moore's army during the battle at Fort Neoheroka.

Tobacco Smoking Pipes

The exact origin of clay pipes is unknown but European pipes were modeled after Native American pipes during the mid-sixteenth century. After the introduction of tobacco to the Old World smoking quickly became a global practice and manufacturing of clay pipes began in

Figure 5.35: Possible Sword Blade

England around 1558. Nearly everyone including women and children partook in tobacco smoking or "tobacco drinking" as it was called at this time (Ayto 1994:4).

Pipestem length and bowl size changed with changes in fashion, the improvement in the mold maker and pipe maker's craftsmanship, and the cost of tobacco (Ayto 1994:4). The length of the stem did not affect the size of the bowl but did influence the diameter of the hole that passed through the bowl. European pipes were made by pouring clay into a mold and the hole that passes through the stem to the bowl is made by pushing a wire through the stem while it is still in the mold. In short pipe stems a thicker wire could be used without damaging the walls and in longer pipe stems a thinner wire is often used (Hume 1969:297). The earliest written account by William Harrison in 1573 calls pipes "an instrument formed like a ladell" (Hume 1969:296, Ayto 1994:4). The ladle shape described by Harrison is similar to the Native American pipe which was used for medicinal and religious purposes.

The least common smoking pipe found at Fort Neoheroka was the kaolin pipe. Only 8 kaolin pipe fragments were part of the assemblage. Commonly used for trade the Kaolin pipe is produced by Europeans. To paraphrase historical archaeologist Ivor Noel Hume, kaolin pipes provide important information for archaeologists because they are manufactured, imported, smoked, and thrown away within a year or two (1969:296). Kaolin pipe shape evolved in distinctive ways before the start of the seventeenth century and continued to change into the nineteenth century. Kaolin pipes were cheap and sold in the early eighteenth century for as little as two shillings a gross making them available to all economic levels during the colonial period (Hume 1969: 296).

In North America from 1720 to 1820 pipes were believed to be imported from Bristol. By the 1700s many important changes occurred in the manufacturing of clay pipes. The process of

pipe manufacturing had achieved greater precision in dimensions, a smoother surface finish, and an increased level of fragility (Ayto 1994:6). The pipe bowl walls became thinner and the stem slenderer in diameter suggesting an improvement in craftsmanship. The angle of the bowl changed from a downward angle to being level with the stem and according to craftsmen and author Eric Ayto (1994:6), this change indicated a new manufacturing method that was influenced by the gin-press. The gin press was a hand vice that squeezed the excess clay out of the mold and the bowl was formed by pressing a lever on the gin press that forced a stopper into the bowl portion of the mold.

Smoking pipes made up 0.3% of the trade artifact assemblage. Fort Neoheroka has 244 pipe fragments and 236 of those fragments were "Chesapeake" pipes (Figures 5.36-5.40). The term Chesapeake pipe was coined by archaeologist Matthew Emerson (1988, 1994) and later expanded by archaeologist James Deetz (1993, 1996). In Virginia and Maryland archaeology there is discourse over whether the maker of these Chesapeake pipes is Native American, African slaves, or European (Magoon 1998:107). It is known that the clay used to create these Chesapeake pipes matched clay deposits from the area and dated to the late seventeenth century. These pipes were made using blended clays and sometimes used stamps and rouletting wheels to create impressions (Hume 1969:308).

Emerson argued that Chesapeake pipes were manufactured by early West African slaves or White colonists while others like Deetz have argued they were made by Native Americans. In the late 1990s, Dane Magoon researched similar Chesapeake pipes found in North Carolina using Fort Neoheroka as one of the case studies (1998:111). Magoon referred to these pipes as locally produced instead of Chesapeake pipes because the clay used for the pipes was from local North Carolina clay deposits and not clay from the Chesapeake region. Magoon tested Emerson's

Figure 5.36: Tuscarora Pipe Bowl

Figure 5.37: Tuscarora Pipe with Stamp

Figure 5.38: Tuscarora Pipestem

Figure 5.39: Tuscarora Pipe with Imprint

Figure 5.40: Tuscarora Flat Pipe

“Chesapeake model” and found many similar or identical pipes from the Tidewater of Virginia and southern Maryland in North Carolina sites such as Fort Neoheroka. Magoon found that Emerson's model did not properly explain why these pipes were produced by Native Americans outside the Chesapeake region. Both Deetz and Magoon agree that "Chesapeake pipes" were produced by different Native American groups using traditional and European techniques in various places along the East Coast. These “Chesapeake pipes” or locally produced pipes found at Fort Neoheroka were made by the Tuscarora. These pipes are an example of how an exchange of culture and ideas occurred back and forth between the Europeans and the Native Americans after the sixteenth century. Europeans adapted the Native tradition of tobacco smoking into their daily lives and created new ways of making pipes. Then Native Americans, like the Tuscarora, later used traditional and new European techniques to create the "Chesapeake" pipe.

Chapter 6: Results

It is evident that the Tuscarora, like the Occaneechi, possessed and maintained a high level of political and economic power. The Tuscarora were using their power and access to European trade goods to control what items were being distributed to neighboring tribes. Davis and Ward's (1991) research compared the trade artifact assemblage from the Fredricks site and Upper Saratown which are two late seventeenth-century sites in the North Carolina Piedmont. My research added the trade artifact assemblage from Fort Neoheroka, an early eighteenth-century site in the Coastal Plain of North Carolina, with the results from Davis and Ward (1991) (Table 6.1). The artifacts from Fort Neoheroka were classified as weapons, implements, pipes, and ornaments. Many of these artifacts were European in origin but have been repurposed by the Tuscarora for use within their cultural purposes. The results show that the Tuscarora, like the Occaneechi, were keeping European weapons for themselves and only distributing items classified as ornaments to other tribes in the area.

Davis and Ward (1991) discovered that around 58% of the trade artifacts from the Fredricks site were weapons. In my research, I found that 68% of the trade artifacts at Fort Neoheroka were weapons. Both the Fredricks site and Fort Neoheroka's trade artifact assemblages are over 50% European weapons meaning both the Occaneechi and the Tuscarora were favoring weapons over other trade items (Figure 6.1). Both the Tuscarora and the Occaneechi had direct trade relations with the English, were positioned near trading paths, and had the political power to maintain control over the trade of European weapons. The Tuscarora and the Occaneechi were monopolizing resources and distributing less desired resources to neighboring tribes in their trading network. The Occaneechi were distributed to the

Table 6.1: Inventory of European trade artifacts from Upper Saratown, the Fredricks site, and Fort Neoheroka

Artifact Types	Material	Neoheroka	Saratown	Fredricks
Awls	Iron	-	-	2
Axes	Iron	4	-	5
Beads	Copper or brass	-	519	3
Beads	Glass	3,428	324,779	11,790
Bell fragments	Copper or brass	-	-	2
Bells	Copper or brass	3	149	33
Bottle fragments	Glass	637	28	48
Bottles	Glass	-	-	2
Bracelets	Copper or brass	-	-	2
Buckle fragments	Copper or brass	-	-	6
Buckles	Iron	1	-	1
Buckles	Copper or brass	5	-	3
Buckles	Pewter	-	-	9
Bucket fragments	Iron	5	-	-
Buttons	Copper or brass	43	2	1
Buttons	Glass	-	-	11
Buttons	Lead	-	-	3
Buttons	Silver	1	-	-

Buttons	Pewter	5	-	6
Buttons	Indeterminate	1	-	-
Ceramic sherds	Clay	160	-	-
Coiled wire	Copper or brass	1	-	2
Coiled wire	Iron	4	-	-
Cones	Copper or brass	1	18	-
Cones	Iron	2	-	-
Cut ornaments	Copper or brass	2	5	-
Clothing fastener	Silver	1	-	-
Comb fragments	Bone	4	-	-
Copper's tool	Iron	-	-	1
Decorative ornament	Copper or brass	3	-	-
Ember Tenders	Iron	-	-	2
Fishhook	Copper or brass	-	1	1
Fishhook	Iron	-	-	1
Glass projectile point	Bottle glass	9	1	-
Glass flakes	Bottle glass	-	9	6
Grenade or cannonball	Iron	34	-	-
Gun	Iron	-	-	1
Gun parts	Iron, steel, brass, or copper	35	-	2

Gunflint	Flint	87	10	47
Handles	Iron	4	-	-
Hoes	Iron	4	1	5
Hooks	Iron	9	-	1
Hinges	Copper or brass	1	-	-
Fragments	Copper or brass	258	-	3
Fragments	Iron	798	34	98
Fragments	Lead	55	-	-
Jews harps	Iron	-	-	3
Kettle	Copper or brass	-	-	1
Kettle fragments	Copper or brass	1	-	1
Knife or sword blades	Iron	10	-	8
Knife or sword handles	Bone or wood	1	-	9
Knife or sword	Iron	-	1	14
Lead sprue	Lead	-	-	27
Latch	Copper or brass	4	-	-
Locks	Iron	1	-	-
Lock fragments	Iron	3	-	-
Mirror fragments	Glass	-	-	1
Nails	Iron	129	8	39
Pendant	Copper or brass	4	7	-

Pendant	Iron	3	-	-
Pin	Copper or brass	2	-	1
Pipe fragments	Kaolin clay	8	-	146
Pipes	Kaolin clay	-	-	4
Pipes	Pewter	-	-	4
Porringers	Pewter	-	-	3
Ram rod	Copper or brass	1	-	-
Rings	Copper or brass	-	30	-
Scissors	Iron	-	2	6
Scrap	Copper or brass	-	6	-
Scrap	Pewter	-	-	2
Scrap	Lead	-	-	8
Sheet or strip	Copper or brass	36	74	22
Sheet or strip	Indeterminate	-	1	-
Sheet or strip	Iron	-	3	85
Shot/musket balls	Lead	1,799	26	410
Snuff box	Copper or brass	-	-	1
Snuff box	Iron	-	-	1
Spoons	Copper or brass	2	-	1
Sword guard	Iron	1	1	3

Tack	Copper or brass	2	1	-
Tack	Iron	-	-	1
Thimble	Copper or brass	-	-	1
Tool collar	Iron	1	-	-
Wire fragments	Copper or brass	-	-	12
Total		**7,607**	**325,716**	**12,911**

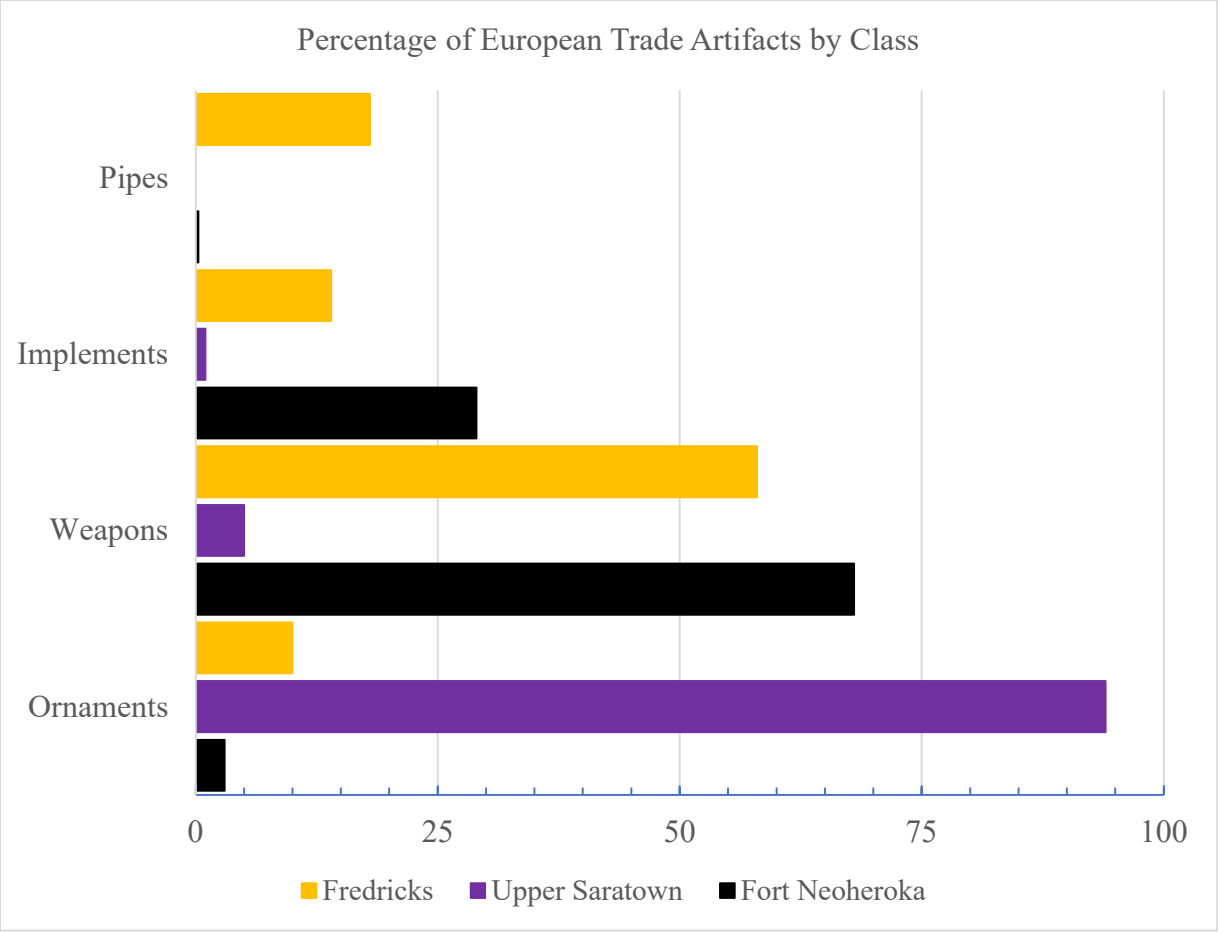


Figure 6.1: Percentage of European Trade Artifacts by Class

Sara people in the Piedmont region. There is currently no evidence to suggest to whom the Tuscarora were distributing European trade items to but they appear to have been acting as middlemen in the eighteenth century Coastal Plain region.

The Tuscarora do not appear to be secondary recipients of trade goods, like the Sara people. Davis and Ward (1991) discovered that around 94% of the trade artifacts from Upper Saratown were ornaments. In my research, I found that 3% of the trade artifacts at Fort Neoheroka were ornaments. Upper Saratown and Fort Neoheroka's trade artifact assemblages are distinctly different. Nearly all the trade artifacts at Upper Saratown were ornaments and only 5% were weapons. Davis and Ward determined the more powerful Occaneechi were not allowing European weapons to be traded with the Sara people. The only artifacts associated with European weapons found at Upper Saratown were gunflints and lead shots but were rarely found. Davis and Ward determined that no gun parts were found in the feature or burial context at Upper Saratown but a potsherd with an incised representation of a musket was found meaning the Sara people were familiar with European weapons.

Between Fort Neoheroka, the Fredricks site, and Upper Saratown each site has a low percentage of pipes and implements. In my research, I found Fort Neoheroka's trade artifact assemblage is 29% implements. Davis and Ward (1991) found the Fredricks site trade artifact assemblage had 14% implements and the Upper Saratown trade artifact assemblage had only 1% implements. In the implements category, Fort Neoheroka also resembles more closely the Fredrick site than Upper Saratown. Very few European pipes make up the assemblages from all three sites. Davis and Ward found that Upper Saratown had 18% European pipes in its trade artifact assemblage. Fort Neoheroka has less than 1% European pipes and Upper Saratown has 0% European pipes in their assemblages. The European pipe category is the only category from

Fort Neoheroka to resemble Upper Saratown since both sites have nearly no European pipes. Very few European pipes were found at Fort Neoheroka, but several examples of Tuscarora pipes made using European and Native techniques were discovered.

Not only are the artifact categories from Fort Neoheroka more like the Fredricks site and different from Upper Saratown but the materials from the trade artifact assemblage show this same pattern. Both the Fredricks site and Fort Neoheroka's trade artifact assemblages are over 40% lead and around 25% iron materials. At Upper Saratown 85% of the materials in the trade artifact assemblage were brass or copper. Two materials Fort Neoheroka has that are distinctly different from the Fredricks site are clay and glass. Fort Neoheroka has around 15% glass materials which is far more than both the Fredricks site and Upper Saratown. The Fredricks site has around 5% glass materials and Upper Saratown has a little less than 5% glass materials in the entire trade artifact assemblage. The Tuscarora were receiving more bottle glass than the Occaneechi and Sara people. The Fredricks site has around 15% clay materials in the trade artifact assemblage while Fort Neoheroka has a little more than 5%. Upper Saratown has none or nearly no clay materials in the trade artifact assemblage.

According to Ward and Davis's research, a pattern will be present in the trade artifacts assemblage when the majority of artifacts are European weapons. The trade artifacts from Fort Neoheroka shows a similar pattern. This pattern is referred to as the "middlemen pattern" where during trade relations advantaged indigenous groups were monopolizing resources and distributing less demanded resources to neighboring tribes in their trading network. This research found evidence the Tuscarora were acting as middlemen in the Coastal Plain and the trade artifact assemblage from Fort Neoheroka had notably more European weapons than ornaments.

Fort Neoheroka has fascinated historians and archaeologists for its uniqueness. Neoheroka is the only fortification built by the Tuscarora from this period to be found and excavated by professionals. Fort Neoheroka is a fortification and not a settlement like the Fredricks site and Upper Saratown. This was a time of upheaval for Native groups like the Siouan and the Tuscarora, but they were not abandoning their old life ways for new ones. Based on these results, it seems the Tuscarora were incorporating European trade goods into their lifeways. Another change that occurred to the Tuscarora was in their fighting style. Before the Tuscarora War, the Tuscarora fighting style was done by ambushing an enemy group and then retreating into the woods. During the Tuscarora War, the Tuscarora started building European-style fortifications built with bunkhouses and bastions. The Tuscarora were also using European weapons like muskets, flintlock hand pistols, and traditional weapons. Outside of warfare, the Tuscarora desired European implements such as metal kettles, copper objects, and beads. The Tuscarora used these objects in their lives seeing the utilitarian value of many of the objects but also using copper and beads for ornamentation, an important aspect of their culture. Many parts of their culture seemed to change throughout the colonial period, but some aspects remained the same such as the continued use of traditional pottery for cooking and food preparation over European ceramics. Fort Neoheroka and the artifacts from the site represent the Tuscarora people's resilience, embodying their ability to combine new influence with longstanding traditions while also forging new cultural identity during a turbulent time.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

The objective of this chapter is to explore the implications the middleman pattern has for future research. The middleman pattern is presented in the archaeological record and represents how during trade certain indigenous groups were controlling the distribution of various trade goods to other tribes. The middleman pattern is identified at an archaeological site when the trade artifact assemblage from this site contains over fifty percent European weapons, like what was found at the Fredricks site. At the Fredricks site, the Occaneechi were keeping European weapons for themselves and distributing ornaments to the Sara people. This research investigated whether the Tuscarora were middlemen in the Coastal Plain and if the trade artifact assemblage from Fort Neoheroka had more European weapons than ornaments. The ethnohistoric accounts and oral histories indicate the Tuscarora were participating in trade during the eighteenth century and the trade artifacts from Fort Neoheroka show a similar pattern to that of the Fredricks site.

As European settlers moved farther into North Carolina the Tuscarora began trading with them for guns, ammunition, liquor, and other valuable commodities. Over 50% of the trade artifacts at Fort Neoheroka were related to weapons and it is likely the Tuscarora were keeping guns and ammunition for themselves. Based on the current information we do not know what tribes the Tuscarora were trading European goods with. We know the Occaneechi were trading with another Siouan-speaking group, the Sara people. Perhaps the Tuscarora were trading with a fellow Iroquoian-speaking group. During the Tuscarora War, the Tuscarora had many allies, the Bear River, Coree, Cothechney, Machapunga, Mattamuskeet, Neuse, Pamlico, Senequa, and Weetock. Whether or not they are linguistically related, it is possible these allies also participated in trade with the Tuscarora. Finding evidence the Tuscarora were middlemen is the start of more research into the complex trade relations of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

The current limitation for future research using the middleman pattern is that it has not been tested at enough sites. Repeated testing of the middleman pattern will help verify that the pattern is reliable and consistent. Apart from Davis and Ward's 1991 research and this thesis the middleman pattern has not been tested elsewhere. The middleman pattern has now been tested at Fort Neoheroka and shows to be true but with more testing across multiple sites and settings, it will add to the evidence that the middleman pattern is a valid phenomenon rather than a random occurrence. Further testing will demonstrate that the middleman pattern is not limited to a specific situation. The middleman pattern will be broadly applicable and not restricted to certain conditions once proven to be successful at other sites. Future research can then focus on understanding the middleman pattern in different contexts, potentially leading to discoveries of shared mechanisms across cultures. There could be variations in the middleman pattern. The results from Fort Neoheroka were slightly different from the Fredricks site. Multiple tests can show exceptions or other variations to the middleman pattern. Then understanding these differences between cultures or locations within the middleman pattern can provide further insight into the conditions that influence the pattern. There can also be further explanations of the middleman pattern that are being missed by not continuing to test it. Examining other sites can refine our existing theories or create new theories about the Native American's role in trade during this time.

The next step is to use this pattern to develop more precise testing or more in-depth analysis on trade. The middleman pattern can be used to shape theoretical models related to trade. Using the middleman pattern theoretical frameworks can be refined, leading to more accurate theories and guide future research. For example, testing the middleman pattern on earlier contact period Native American sites and sites outside of North Carolina could reveal

shifts in desired trade goods. The middleman pattern can inform research in fields like cultural anthropology, history, and archaeology. Understanding this pattern can lead to interdisciplinary studies exploring its implications across different domains. For example, this thesis used historical accounts from Lederer and Lawson with the archaeological record to discover new information on the Tuscarora trading practices. Given the implications and findings of this research further analysis is important. Researchers are encouraged to build upon these results and explore the middleman pattern to progress our understanding and address any remaining questions.

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