CHEROKEE TOWNHOUSES: ARCHITECTURAL ADAPTATION TO EUROPEAN CONTACT IN THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS

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ABSTRACT

Public structures known as townhouses were hubs of public life in Cherokee towns in the southern Appalachians during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries A.D., and in towns predating European contact. Townhouses were sources of cultural stability and conservatism during periods of dramatic change, and they were an architectural medium through which Cherokee towns adapted to life in the postcontact Southeast. This paper summarizes the characteristics of townhouses in the southern Appalachians dating from the thirteenth through the eighteenth centuries A.D., focusing on size and shape, the surfaces on which they were built, sequences of building and rebuilding, and the presence or absence of burials inside townhouses. The architectural form of townhouses rooted people to particular places, but Cherokee townhouses also enabled towns to move from one place to another, because a town could build a townhouse at any particular place, old or new.

INTRODUCTION

Dozens of Cherokee towns dotted the southern Appalachian landscape during the eighteenth century (Figure 1). There were several groups of Cherokee towns, including the Lower, Middle, Valley, Out, and Overhill towns (Dickens, 1979; Goodwin, 1977; Schroedl, 2000). As reported in the *South Carolina Gazette* in 1760, only those settlements with structures for "public consultations" were known to the Cherokee as towns (Smith, 1979:47). The English Lieutenant Henry Timberlake wrote in 1762 that these public structures, or "town–houses," were settings "in which are transacted all public business and diversions" (Williams, 1927:59). Documentary sources from the 1700s and early 1800s refer to these structures as "townhouses," "town houses," "council houses," and "rotundas" (Schroedl, 1986:219–222). Building a townhouse materialized the identity of a local group of households as a town.

For much of the eighteenth century, the principal town of the Cherokee people was Chota, or Echota, located along the lower Little Tennessee River in eastern Tennessee (Schroedl, 1986). During the course of the deerskin trade with English colonists in the eighteenth century, and following periodic attacks by colonial militias on Cherokee towns, many towns moved to new locations. The Lower Cherokee settlements, located along the headwaters of the Savannah River in northwestern South Carolina and northeastern Georgia, were some of the first settlements—and entire areas—that were abandoned. When William Bartram visited the southern Appalachians in 1775, many Lower Cherokee settlements had already been abandoned (Goodwin, 1977; Smith, 1979; Waselkov and Braund, 1995:74–88). Between then and 1782, and perhaps as early as 1777, some residents of Lower Cherokee towns moved west, to the junction of the Conosauga and Coosawattee rivers, where they built a settlement and founded a

town known as Ustanali (Mooney, 1900:60, 71, 80–81). This settlement was placed at or near the location of an earlier town known as Gansagi, and, during the early nineteenth century, the capital of the Cherokee Republic, New Echota, was built here (Mooney, 1900:514, 518–519, 543; Duncan and Riggs, 2003:295–311). In the aftermath of the American Revolution, the town of Ustanali eclipsed Echota as the principal Cherokee town, and several Cherokee council deliberations were conducted at Ustanali in the late eighteenth century (Mooney, 1900:81; Persico, 1979:98). Documentary sources indicate that Ustanali was a major town, and that its townhouse was the setting for Cherokee councils—one Moravian missionary wrote in 1801 that the Ustanali townhouse could accommodate 1000 people (Schroedl, 1986:221). Mid–twentieth–century archaeological excavations at the site of New Echota did unearth remnants of a large public structure that may have been associated with either the late eighteenth–century town of Ustanali or the early nineteenth–century town of New Echota itself (de Baillou, 1955). On one hand, this structure was rather different than late prehistoric and historic Cherokee townhouses in the greater southern Appalachians, mainly with respect to its size, at almost 37 meters in diameter. On the other hand, this large Cherokee townhouse shared much in common with public structures that had been part of the southern Appalachian landscape for several hundred years.

Strictly speaking, Cherokee towns were groups of people, first and foremost, rather than particular places in the landscape (Schroedl, 2000). Towns were composed of local groups of households that participated in shared ritual practices and civic leadership (Persico, 1979). The core members of Cherokee households were members of one of seven clans, and in most large Cherokee towns, there were households affiliated with each of those seven clans (Perdue, 1998). A town manifested its identity as such by building and maintaining a townhouse (Smith, 1979).

A townhouse formed a setting for public events and activities, and along with the fire kept in its hearth, the townhouse symbolized the status and vitality of a local group of households as a town (Riggs, 2008).

When the people of Ustanali built a townhouse near the confluence of the Conasauga and Coosawattee rivers, they participated in a tradition of public architecture that can be traced back to the period before European contact in the Americas. Archaeological examples of Cherokee townhouses dating to the eighteenth century, visible primarily as posthole patterns, are generally circular or octagonal, with rectangular ramadas or "summer townhouses" placed beside them, and beside entryways into the "main townhouses" themselves (Baden, 1983; Riggs, 2008; Russ and Chapman, 1983; Schroedl, 1986, 2009). Examples of townhouses in the southern Appalachians dating from the 1600s, and going back as early as the 1200s, are generally square, with rounded corners, and, often, they are smaller than Cherokee townhouses dating to the 1700s and early 1800s (Schroedl, 1978, 1986, 2000, 2001, 2009). Other authors have noted these and other general trends in the evolution of Native American public architecture in the southern Appalachians, and they have pointed out that Cherokee townhouses are the architectural descendants of structures that predate European contact (Hally, 2008; Hally and Kelly, 1998; Schroedl, 1998; Sullivan, 1987, 1995). This paper considers ethnohistoric evidence about Cherokee townhouses, and it compares and contrasts the dimensions and other characteristics of public structures in northern Georgia, northwestern South Carolina, southwestern North Carolina, and eastern Tennessee, dating to late prehistory (A.D. 1300 to 1540), the protohistoric period (A.D. 1540 to 1700), the historic period (A.D. 1700 to 1776), and the period between the end of the American Revolution and the mid–nineteenth century. Townhouses are seen here as an architectural adaptation, in the sense that they have an architectural history, and in the sense

that they were altered to fit the needs of Cherokee towns during the course of European contact and colonialism in the American South.

ETHNOHISTORIC SOURCES

Schroedl (1986, 2000, 2001, 2009) and Riggs (2008) have thoroughly reviewed documentary evidence about Cherokee townhouses dating to the 1700s and early 1800s. These sources are reviewed more briefly here, with an emphasis on ethnohistoric evidence about the general dimensions of Cherokee townhouses, their placement within Cherokee settlements, and the broader significance of these public structures to Cherokee towns.

Alexander Longe was a trader who lived in Cherokee towns from sometime before 1710 through 1724 (Corkran, 1969:3–4). His journal about his experiences has been lost, but the postscript to his journal is extant. Longe noted that a townhouse, or temple, was built on a "high place where their temple is builded [sic] quite round with and is supported with great pillars of wood, a round hearth in the middle of the [town]house," and that the fire in the townhouse hearth "never goes out" (Corkran, 1969:12). He noted the presence of a "temple porch," or a "summer townhouse," beside each Cherokee townhouse (Corkran, 1969:22). Longe did not describe any specific events during which a townhouse was built, or rebuilt, but he did write that when a new townhouse was built, "there was commonly ten towns about building one of them," and that the major wooden posts were made of "prodigious strong timber" (Corkran, 1969:36). He recorded a story that he heard from a priest about a mythical town and townhouse that could be accessed

through a whirlpool in a river (Corkran, 1969:40). The major details of interest here are that at least some townhouses were built on high places, presumably earthen mounds; that the major wooden posts were very substantial; that there were summer townhouses (or "temple porches") built beside the primary townhouse structures; and that the fires in townhouse hearths burned constantly, symbolizing the vitality of the towns themselves. The story about the mythical townhouse in the whirlpool underscores the significance of townhouses to Cherokee cosmology. The reference to perpetual townhouse indicates some significance attached to building and rebuilding Cherokee townhouses in place, such that the hearths and the fires kept in them never went out, in the sense that they were in the same place for several generations of townhouses and several generations of towns themselves.

Colonel George Chicken, a Scottish immigrant to South Carolina and a member of the South Carolina militia, visited Cherokee towns in 1714 and 1715 and again in 1725 (Williams, 1928:91–104). In 1714, along with Major John Herbert, he met with several Cherokee town leaders at Quanassee, one of the Cherokee Valley settlements in the upper Hiwassee Valley in southwestern North Carolina (Williams, 1928:95, 1937:73). In 1725, he participated in conferences with several Cherokee town leaders at the Lower Cherokee settlement of Keowee (Williams, 1928:96), at the Middle Cherokee settlement of Ellijay, or "Elejoy" (Williams, 1928:97–98), and at the Overhill Cherokee settlement of Tanasee, or "Tunisee" (Williams, 1928:99–104, 1937:83). Before traveling to Tanasee, Chicken visited the Overhill Cherokee settlement of Great Tellico, on the Tellico River, in eastern Tennessee (Smith, 1979:56). He wrote that "This Town is very Compact and thick Settled" because of the threat of attack by enemy warriors (Williams, 1928:98–99). He noted that "Here are two town Housses [sic] in this Town by reason they are the people of Two towns settled together wch [sic] are both Enforted

and their houses which they live in all Muskett [sic] proof" (Williams, 1928:99). Located at the same settlement was the town of Chatuge, and the people of both Chatuge and Great Tellico maintained their own townhouses (Riggs, 2008:7).

Sir Alexander Cuming, a Scottish baronet, visited Cherokee towns in 1730 (Williams, 1928:115–143). He met with several leaders of the Lower Cherokee town of Keowee, located along the Keowee River in northwestern South Carolina, in its townhouse (Randolph, 1973:120; Williams, 1928:124–125). Along with traders Ludovick Grant and Eleazer Wiggan, he met with Cherokee town leaders and warriors in the Tanasee townhouse (Williams, 1937:89). He later met with leaders from many different Cherokee towns in the townhouse at Nequassee, one of the Middle Cherokee settlements in the upper Little Tennessee Valley of southwestern North Carolina, and this event involved dancing, chanting, and fasting (Randolph, 1973:121; Williams, 1928:124–125). Just as Chicken, Cuming, Grant, and Wiggan had met with the leaders of several towns in Cherokee townhouses, George Pawley met with leaders from all seven Overhill Cherokee towns in the Tanasee townhouse in 1747 (Riggs, 2008:10).

James Adair, a Scottish trader, visited many Native American towns throughout the American South during the 1740s and 1750s, including Cherokee and Creek towns (Williams, 1930). He wrote that each town had its own public structure. He referred to these public structures as "mountain houses," often built on hilltops, separating them from household dwellings. It seems likely that at least some of the "mountain houses" seen by Adair were built on artificially constructed hills, or earthen mounds, as were the townhouses seen by Bartram at Whatoga and Cowee. Adair and others, including William Gerard DeBrahm (DeVorsey, 1971:110) noted that Cherokee townhouses were very comparable in design and materials to

Cherokee winter houses, and that these public and domestic structures differed mainly in their dimensions and in their placement relative to other structures (Williams, 1930:453).

The Reverend William Richardson visited Overhill Cherokee settlements in 1758 (Williams, 1931:133; Schroedl, 1986:220). He wrote that Cherokee townhouses could accommodate 400 to 500 people. He noted that townhouses had dome–like sugar–loaf shapes, with roofs supported by "ten Pillars," referring, presumably, to roof support posts.

Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, from the Virginia militia, visited the Overhill Cherokee settlements in 1761 or 1762 (King, 2007; Randolph, 1973; Schroedl, 1986; Williams, 1927). Timberlake was welcomed to the town of Citico, near Chota, with a public event on the large plaza beside the townhouse that included speaking, gift giving, and dancing (Randolph, 1973:144–145). Timberlake noted that a townhouse could accommodate several hundred people; that there was a hole in the roof of a townhouse to let out smoke from the fire kept in the hearth; and that flags were flown on log posts placed beside a townhouse, with a red flag symbolizing that the town was at war, and with a white flag symbolizing peace (Randolph, 1973:149–150).

William Bartram, a Quaker naturalist with considerable interest in Native American societies, visited several Cherokee towns in 1775 (Rodning, 2002b). At Cowee, one of the Middle Cherokee settlements, Bartram visited a large townhouse built atop an earthen platform mound (Waselkov and Braund, 1995:84–85). He described the Cowee townhouse as having been more than 30 feet tall, with the earthen mound supporting it at about 20 feet tall. He estimated that the Cowee townhouse could accommodate several hundred people. At Whatoga, another Middle Cherokee settlement located between Nequassee and Cowee, Bartram saw a

townhouse built atop an earthen mound, with houses and household gardens nearby (Waselkov and Braund, 1995:76–77).

Bartram described the Cowee townhouse as having been built as follows. First, a circular range of posts was placed in the ground to form the framework of the walls. These posts were notched at the top to support roof beams and wall plates. Then, a circular range of larger posts was placed inside the walls, as further support for roof beams. Another set of stronger and taller posts—"fewer in number" than the first set of roof supports—was placed near the center of the structure. The rafters converged at the center of the structure, and they supported a roof made of bark, and, sometimes, covered with a thin layer of earth. Bartram referred to a large post at the center of the structure, supporting the point at which the rafters meet, although such center posts have not been identified archaeologically. Bartram described a hearth placed near the main center post, and in archaeological examples of townhouses, hearths are indeed placed in at or close to the center points of them, inside the main set of large roof support posts. Along the walls were built benches, supported by log posts, and covered with woven mats. Bartram indicated that there was only one entryway into the structure, and this point is consistent with what is known from archaeological examples of townhouses.

Bartram participated in a large gathering of townspeople in the Cowee townhouse as part of a ritual preparation for a ballgame between Cowee and another Cherokee town that was to take place the following day. This event included public speaking, music, singing, and dancing, by women and men, of varying ages. Bartram wrote that the event began with a talk by a town elder—"an aged chief"—who recounted the history of ballgames played and won by men from his town.

Louis–Philippe, the Duke of Orleans who later became King Louis I of France, visited the Cherokee town of Toqua in 1797, and he compared the conical shape of the Toqua townhouse to the shape of wheat ricks seen in France (Schroedl, 1978; Sturtevant, 1978; Williams, 1928:431–441). Louis–Philippe wrote that the Toqua townhouse had a single entryway, with a long, narrow corridor, and a hearth was placed at the center of the structure. He did not enumerate the inner posts, but he described the townhouse as hexagonal, suggesting, perhaps, that there were at least six major roof support posts. He noted that different sections of benches were reserved for members of different clans. Louis–Philippe added that when Cherokee townhouses collapsed, they were covered with earth, and another townhouse was built in another spot. Archaeologists have unearthed the remnants of two different Cherokee townhouses at the Toqua site itself, and both townhouses are represented by octagonal posthole patterns (Schroedl, 1978:208–211). These townhouses were not built and rebuilt in place, but were located in two different areas of the site, and while one of them was clearly burned down, the other apparently was not (Polhemus, 1987:342–344).

In addition to the main townhouses in Cherokee settlements, documentary sources also do record the presence of rectangular sheds placed outside the entryways to townhouses themselves (Schroedl, 1986:223). In 1835, George William Featherstonhaugh, an English geographer, described the shed beside the townhouse at Red Clay, Tennessee, as a parallelogram made of logs, with open sides and benches (de Baillou, 1967:31–32; Schroedl, 1986:221; Williams, 1931). In 1799, Moravian missionaries saw a long, open shed with benches and a clapboard roof beside the Chota townhouse (de Baillou, 1967:28; Williams, 1928:492). Bartram described the typical Cherokee “Summer Council House” as a spacious, open loft, or pavilion, on the top of a very large oblong Building” (Waselkov and Braund, 1995:183–184).

Archaeologists commonly refer to these rectangular sheds as “summer townhouses” (Schroedl, 1986:223, 2000:204, 2001:288; Sullivan 1987, 1995).

Townhouses were still present in the Cherokee landscape during the first half of the nineteenth century. Having visited Cherokee towns in 1835, J.P Evans (1979:13; Schroedl, 1986:221) referred to circular public structures that were settings for councils and for dances, with angled windbreaks placed inside entryways, and plazas formed of level ground beside these structures. Likewise drawing upon observations of several Cherokee townhouses in 1835, John Howard Payne (quoted in Schroedl, 1986:221) described townhouses as heptagonal structures, supported by a circular arrangement of seven major posts, covered with bark roofs and walls composed of layers of thatch and earth. Payne and Evans both noted the presence of small sheds beside the entryways into townhouses. They both likewise noted the presence of benches surrounding the central areas inside Cherokee townhouses, and Payne also added that there was seating on seven sides of townhouse, with one side for representatives of each of the seven Cherokee clans.

Despite overarching similarities between these examples of Cherokee townhouses with those from preceding eras, the characteristics of townhouses did begin to change significantly in the nineteenth century, at least in some areas. Rather than structures with vertically placed log posts, some early nineteenth–century townhouses were built with horizontal logs, not unlike log cabins. Major John Norton, who was born in the Cherokee town of Keowee but who grew up in Scotland and was later adopted by the Mohawks, lived in Cherokee towns in 1809 and 1810, and in his 1816 journal he described townhouses built with horizontal logs (Fogelson, 1978; Klinck and Talman, 1970:54; Schroedl, 1986:221). Featherstonhaugh visited southeastern Tennessee for the Cherokee national council that took place at Red Clay in 1837, and he described

townhouses built with horizontal logs (de Baillou, 1967:31–32; Duncan and Riggs, 2003:253–260; Schroedl, 1986:221). Before this shift from vertical posts to horizontal logs, the basic template for public structures in the southern Appalachians had endured for several hundred years.

Major Norton noted another point about the Cherokee landscape in 1809 that is relevant to understanding Cherokee townhouses (Hill, 1997:90). Norton described Cherokee settlements spreading along the Conasauga River in Georgia for as much as 40 to 50 miles (Klinck and Talman, 1970:70; see also Goodwin, 1977; Pillsbury, 1983; Wilms, 1974)—comparable dispersal is seen in Creek Indian settlements in the lower Southeast (Ethridge, 2003). If houses within a single community were spread across such a large area, it may have become increasingly difficult for Cherokee towns to mobilize the people and resources necessary to build and to sustain traditional townhouses.

The Moravian missionaries Abraham Steiner and Frederick de Schweinitz visited Cherokee towns in eastern Tennessee in 1799, and, similarly, they noted lightly forested areas surrounding Cherokee town sites (Hill, 1997:90). In the vicinity of Hiwassee Town and Great Tellico, they noted that houses were scattered across large areas with only small sections that were wooded (Williams, 1928:478–480). They saw only small numbers of widely scattered houses at Chota and Toqua, which had formerly been populous and prosperous settlements (Williams, 1928:470–472). These characteristics of the Cherokee landscape in eastern Tennessee in 1799 owe much to the effects of trade, warfare, factionalism, and disease epidemics of the eighteenth century (Goodwin, 1977; Hatley, 1989, 1993, 2006; Kelton, 2002, 2007, 2009), and, probably, to the effects of farming, cutting wood, and periodically setting fires to manage forest and fields. They also underscore the difficulty that Cherokee towns may have had in

procuring the timber and bark necessary for building townhouses, as the fields and forests surrounding Cherokee settlements changed.

James Mooney (1900) recorded several Cherokee myths and legends that refer to townhouses. The historical myth, "The Mounds and the Constant Fire" (Mooney 1900:395–397), describes the practices of placing a circle of stones on the ground, building a fire, and burying recently deceased community leaders and sacred community possessions, before building a mound and a townhouse on top of it. This myth refers to the "everlasting fire" (Mooney 1900:396) burning in the mounds at major Cherokee settlements like Nequassee and Kituwha, as well as to the periodic practice of taking fire from these townhouse hearths to other Cherokee settlements. Several myths and legends refer to cases in which all the townspeople in a town would gather inside the townhouse, for periods of fasting, and for deliberations by towns and town leaders. Other myths and legends refer to mythical townhouses on mountain summits, or underground in places where the sounds of drumming, dancing, and chanting were audible.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Schroedl (1986, 2000, 2001, 2009) and Riggs (2008) have discussed archaeological examples of Cherokee townhouses dating to the 1600s and 1700s in great detail. Riggs (2008:2–20) outlines the characteristics of Cherokee townhouses dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, noting that townhouses tend to increase in size (Schroedl, 1978, 1986); that this increase in size corresponds with a shift from four to eight roof support posts (Schroedl,

2000:220, 2001:288); and that the shapes of townhouses change from square to round. Schroedl (2000) relates these temporal trends in Cherokee townhouse size through this period to the effects of demographic shifts resulting from warfare, disease epidemics, and the concentration of more people in fewer and larger towns. As towns grew in size, townspeople built larger townhouses to accommodate more people. Townhouses dating to the 1700s are often described as circular (Figure 2), and townhouses dating to the 1600s and earlier are often described as square (Figure 3), with rounded corners. The following discussion relates these trends in townhouses postdating European contact in the Southeast to the characteristics of townhouses dating to late prehistory.

—insert Figure 1 here—

The dataset for this study includes the dimensions and other characteristics of 35 stages of public structures, from 12 sites, dating from the 1200s through the early 1800s (Table 1). Townhouses must have been present at dozens of other sites during this long period, both before and after European contact. There were 50 or more Cherokee towns in the early 1700s (Smith, 1979:47). By contrast, there were only about 40 or fewer Cherokee towns by the late 1700s, and many old settlements had been abandoned (Duncan and Riggs, 2003:16–17; Smith, 1979:49; Waselkov and Braund, 1995:87–88). There are only seven historically known Cherokee settlements where townhouses have been identified archaeologically, including four Overhill Cherokee town sites in eastern Tennessee (Schroedl 1978, 1986, 2000, 2009), the Chattooga site in northwestern South Carolina (Howard, 1994; Riggs, 2008; Schroedl, 1994, 2000), and the site at the confluence of the Oostanaula and Coosawatee rivers associated with the late eighteenth–

century town of Ustanali and the early nineteenth–century capital town of New Echota (Schroedl, 2000). The seventh archaeological example of a townhouse associated with a historically known Cherokee town is that at the Kituwha site, on the Tuckasegee River in southwestern North Carolina, where geophysical surveys (not excavations) have identified remnants of a series of townhouses in an earthen mound, although there are no precise data yet on the dimensions of the Kituwha townhouse (Riggs and Shumate, 2003; Moore, 2009; Moore and Schroedl, 2008). An eighth site with Cherokee townhouses dating to the 1600s and early 1700s is Coweeta Creek, located in the area of the Middle Cherokee settlements in southwestern North Carolina, but this site cannot be definitively associated with an historically known Cherokee town name (Rodning, 2007, 2008, 2009a, 2009b).

The sites and structures that predate European contact and that are included in this study cannot be identified as Cherokee towns, strictly speaking, but these sites are all attributable to the broader South Appalachian Mississippian tradition, which is considered ancestral to the material culture and lifeways of both Cherokee and Creek towns (Anderson, 1994; Hally, 1994; King, 2002, 2003, 2006; Wesson, 2001, 2002, 2008). For example, the residents of the King site in northwestern Georgia formed a town that was part of the chiefdom of Coosa, and during the eighteenth century, towns in the Coosa River Valley were part of the historic Creek confederacy (Hally, 2008; Knight, 1994; Smith, 1987, 2000, 2001). There are many similarities, on the other hand, between the public structure at the King site, which dates to the mid–to–late sixteenth century, after Spanish contact in the Southeast, and examples of townhouses at Toqua, Chattooga, and Coweeta Creek (Hally, 2008). Most of the late prehistoric sites included in this study are associated with the Late Mississippian Dallas phase (A.D. 1300–1600), including Toqua, Dallas, Hixon, and Hiwassee Island (Lewis and Kneberg 1946; Lewis et al., 1995;

Polhemus, 1987:99–144, 229, 232, 236–240; Schroedl, 1998:73–83). The last site included in this study is Ledford Island, which is associated with the late prehistoric Mouse Creek phase (A.D. 1400–1600). As noted elsewhere (Riggs, 2008; Schroedl, 2001), there are striking similarities in the settlement plan and architecture of the Coweeta Creek and Ledford Island sites (Lewis et al. 1995; Sullivan, 1987, 1995), making these comparisons worthwhile, even though Ledford Island is not identified as a prehistoric Cherokee settlement, strictly speaking.

Dallas structures included in this sample include only those identified by Polhemus (1987) as Type 4a or Type 4b public structures at the Toqua site, and only those at Dallas, Hixon, and Hiwassee Island characterized by "log construction" as opposed to "pole construction" (Lewis et al. 1995). For the most part, public structures built with "pole construction" techniques are associated with the Early Mississippian Hiwassee Island phase (Schroedl, 1998:67–73)—they are typically rectangular in shape, as opposed to square or round (Lewis and Kneberg, 1946; Lewis et al. 1995:56–66). Structures built with pole construction include poles set into wall trenches, with earthen embankments surrounding rectangular structures. Although these structures differ significantly from the post–in–ground wattle–and–daub structures typical of structures attributable to the Dallas phase, and from Overhill Cherokee structures dating to the eighteenth century, the pairing of structures seen at Hiwassee Island is an early example of the kind of pairing seen in the presence of "winter townhouses" and "summer townhouses" at historic Cherokee sites (Schroedl, 1998; Sullivan, 1995). There are examples of such public structures—attributable to the Hiwassee Island phase—at some of the east Tennessee sites included in this sample, although the present study includes only those public structures built with "log construction" techniques, more comparable to the post–in–ground wattle–and–daub architecture of historic Cherokee townhouses (Lewis and Kneberg 1946; Lewis et al.

1995:13–26, 68–78). The late prehistoric public structures from Toqua, Hixon, Dallas, and Hiwassee Island are all associated with platform mounds at those sites. Public structures at Ledford Island are not associated with platform mounds, nor are the public structures at King, Coweeta Creek, Chattooga, Chota–Tanassee, Mialoquo, Tomotley, and Ustanali/New Echota.

The townhouse at Kituwha is associated with an earthen platform mound. Documentary evidence indicates that there were townhouses placed on platform mounds at Cowee, Nequassee, Whatoga, and Keowee (King and Evans, 1977; Waselkov and Braund, 1995). Although the documentary evidence is less clearcut, it is possible that public structures were built on the summits of mounds at Chauga, Tugalo, Estatoe, Quanassee (the Spike Buck site), Little Hiwassee (the Peachtree site), and Nacoochee (Dickens, 1967; Duncan and Riggs, 2003; Heye et al., 1918; Kelly and de Baillou, 1961; Kelly and Neitzel, 1961; Setzler and Jennings, 1941; Smith et al., 1988). It has even been suggested that an historic Cherokee townhouse may have been built atop one of the platform mounds at the Garden Creek site in western North Carolina (Dickens, 1976:100, 1978:126). Based on the characteristics of pottery from these sites, there clearly were late prehistoric and postcontact Cherokee occupations at all of them, but archaeologists have not clearly identified townhouses at any of them (Hally, 1986; Smith, 1992; Wynn, 1990). At the Peachtree, Chauga, Tugalo, and Estatoe sites, there is archaeological evidence for structures associated with mound stages and mound summits, but the posthole patterns are not clearly understood in these cases (Anderson, 1994).

—insert Table 1 here—

For purposes of temporal comparisons, townhouses are here grouped into the following four temporal intervals: from 1200 to 1540 (late prehistory), from 1540 to 1700 (the protohistoric period), from 1700 to 1776, and 1776 to 1838 (Table 2). The first interval includes public structures at the Ledford Island, Toqua, Dallas, Hixon, and Hiwassee Island. The second interval includes the King site townhouse, and most stages of the Coweeta Creek and Chattooga townhouses. This interval corresponds to the period between Spanish entradas in the southern Appalachians and the beginning of the deerskin trade with Charles Town and English traders in the late 1600s and early 1700s (Crane, 1929:3–21; Mooney, 1900:23–29; Rodning, 2001a, 2001b, 2002b, 2002c; Schroedl, 2000, 2001). The third interval spans the eighteenth century, when the slave trade and deerskin trade had dramatically altered the cultural landscape and lifeways of native peoples in the Southeast (Braund, 1993; Chapman, 2009; Ethridge, 2003; Foster, 2007; Goodwin, 1977; Hatley, 1993; Hill, 1997; Marcoux, 2010; Martin, 1994; Rogers, 2009; Schroedl, 2009). This interval includes the last stages of the Coweeta Creek and Chattooga townhouses, and several Overhill Cherokee townhouses in eastern Tennessee.

—insert Table 2 here—

The fourth interval includes only the townhouse at Ustanali/New Echota, which is significantly larger than any other public structure in this sample. This structure is more comparable in size to the Apalachee council house at Mission San Luis, located in modern Tallahassee, Florida, and dating from roughly 1656 through 1704 (Hann, 1994; Hann and McEwan, 1998; Shapiro and Hann, 1990), than it is to any historic Cherokee townhouses, or to any late prehistoric public structures from eastern Tennessee and northern Georgia. The large

size of this Cherokee townhouse is probably related to its role as the townhouse within the emerging Cherokee Republic. The town of Ustanali replaced Chota as the major Cherokee town in the late eighteenth century, and the Cherokee capital at New Echota was located at or very close to the same site as Ustanali. For most of the eighteenth century, townhouses were built at many settlements to serve local communities. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, townhouses were built to serve larger communities, thereby necessitating the large size of the Ustanali/New Echota townhouse, for example.

The following sections consider temporal trends in rebuilding sequences, shape, size, numbers of roof support posts, hearths and other features, the presence and characteristics of structure basins and earthen embankments, the presence of burials in public structures, and the presence of ramadas (or "summer townhouses") associated with primary townhouses. During late prehistory, public structures were square with rounded corners, they were built in basins, and they were surrounded by earthen embankments (Figure 2; Hally, 2008). These structures were often built and rebuilt in place. By the late eighteenth century, townhouses were circular or octagonal, and while they may have been built in basins, those basins may not have been quite as deep, and evidence for earthen embankments is less clear (Figure 3; Schroedl, 1978, 1986, 2000). Notwithstanding these temporal trends, the patterns identified here indicate general stability in the basic template for townhouses for a long period, and a period that includes the tumultuous events and upheavals of European contact and colonialism in the Southeast.

Sequences

From the 1200s through the early 1700s, public structures were built and rebuilt in place, in multistage sequences spanning several decades or even hundreds of years, but Cherokee townhouses dating to the mid–to–late eighteenth century were not. Examples of such long–term rebuilding sequences include those at Ledford Island, Toqua, Coweeta Creek, and Chattooga. In contrast, the two stages of the eighteenth–century townhouse at Toqua were offset by several hundred meters, and the first and second stages of the Chota–Tanasee townhouse were slightly offset from each other. The sequence of two townhouses at Chota–Tanasee spans considerably less time than the sequences of five, six, and four successive stages, respectively, of the townhouses at the Ledford Island, Coweeta Creek, and Chattooga, and the examples of multistage structures and multistage earthen mounds at Toqua, Hixon, Dallas, and Hiwassee Island. Townhouses and towns simply did not stay put at particular points in the landscape during the 1700s for as long as they did from late prehistory through the 1600s (Marcoux, 2008). Townhouses did give Cherokee towns an architectural adaptation with which to connect themselves to particular places in the southern Appalachian landscape, but during the eighteenth century, the length of time towns stayed in any one place decreased (Schroedl, 2009).

The public structure at the King site may be an exception to this trend. David Hally (2008:314–329) demonstrates that the formal King site town plan probably lasted for less than 50 years, perhaps even less than 40 years. As Hally (2008:535–544) argues, the King site town probably was founded, as such, after direct contact between native groups and Spanish entradas (either the Hernando de Soto expedition in 1540, or the Tristan de Luna expedition in 1560, or both) in the provinces of Coosa and Ulibahali. The impacts of Spanish contact within this region may have contributed to the relatively brief lifespan of the King site town. Although native

groups in Cherokee town areas did experience early Spanish contact in the Southeast indirectly (Smith, 1987), they did not experience the effects of direct and sustained contact with European colonists until the later 1600s and early 1700s, as the South Carolina deerskin trade developed (Hatley, 1993). The differential impacts of early European contact on native groups in different parts of the Southeast, and the timing of different forms of European contact, may account for the differences in the longevity of towns and townhouses at the King site as compared to, for example, the longer sequences of townhouses at Coweeta Creek and Chattooga.

The best examples of long–term sequences of in–place rebuilding are those associated with the Mississippian–period Dallas–phase settlement at Toqua (Chapman, 1985; Polhemus, 1987, 1990; Schroedl, 1998; Sullivan, 1995). The public structures from Toqua that are included in this study are associated with various stages of Mound A (Polhemus, 1987:116–144). The placement of one of those structures, Structure 3, built on the north platform of Mound A, was the location for sequences of structures, perhaps as many as 12 stages, spanning the entire history of Mound A (Polhemus, 1987:247–257). There are also examples of structures associated with the summit of Toqua's Mound B (Polhemus, 1987:145–159). This mound served primarily as a burial mound, its structures probably were associated with mortuary events, and they probably housed a different range of events and activities than did the public structures and elite dwellings on Toqua's Mound A (Schroedl, 1998:80–81).

Most public structures considered in this study were burned down. Superimposed public structures—as at Toqua, Ledford Island, Coweeta Creek, and Chattooga, for example—experienced life cycles in which they were built, used, burned down, buried, and rebuilt (compare with Krause, 1996; Schambach, 1996). Notably, although one of the eighteenth–century townhouses at Toqua was burned down (Polhemus, 1987:342–344), there is no definitive

evidence that the eighteenth–century townhouses at Chota–Tanasee, Tomotley, and Mialoquo were burned down, nor is there evidence that the sixteenth–century townhouse at King was burned down or rebuilt. During the mid–to–late eighteenth century, townhouses no longer experienced long cycles of construction, use, renovation, burning, burying, and reconstruction, as they did during earlier periods. The shift away from long sequences of townhouse building and rebuilding was related, in part, to the frequency with which Cherokee people and Cherokee towns moved during the eighteenth century (Goodwin, 1977; Marcoux, 2010; Smith, 1979).

The intervals between episodes of building and rebuilding public structures are not known, although 15 to 25 years seems reasonable as an estimate, at least for townhouses dating from the 1500s through the 1700s (Hally, 2008; Rodning, 2002a, 2009a; Schroedl, 1978). This estimated interval corresponds closely to the probable span of one human generation, and, perhaps, sequences of superimposed public structures are related to generational cycles within towns. Surely some posts were replaced and other renovations were done between rebuilding episodes, and even single–stage townhouses such as those at Mialoquo and King show signs of renovations and post replacements. On the other hand, complete rebuilding of public structures became less common through time. From the 1200s through 1600s, events related to building and rebuilding public structures took place in the midst of burned and buried townhouses—the material remnants of community structures from preceding generations. During the eighteenth century, townhouses still manifested town identity, and they still connected a town to a place, but at this point, towns and townhouses were less firmly rooted to particular points in the landscape.

Burials

Numerous burials are associated with the King site townhouse and the early stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse, there are burials associated with many examples of late prehistoric public structures (but not the eighteenth–century townhouses) at Toqua, there are three burials in and beside the "summer townhouse" adjacent to the Chota–Tanasee townhouse, and six more burials in the area around the Chota–Tanasee townhouse. One of the burials beside the Chota–Tanasee townhouse is that of the Cherokee chief Oconostota (King and Olinger, 1972; Schroedl, 1986:134–136). His death and burial in 1783 may have led directly to Chota's decline, the abandonment of the Chota–Tanasee site by most of its households, and to the shift from Chota to Ustanali and New Echota as the major geopolitical centers in the Cherokee landscape (Mooney, 1900:543)—in 1799, Moravian missionaries found only five houses at Chota (Schroedl, 1986:14). With the exception of the burials in the vicinity of the Chota–Tanasee townhouse, burials are largely absent from townhouses dating to the late 1600s and 1700s, including all stages of the Chattooga townhouse, late stages of the Coweeta Creek townhouse, and the townhouses at Mialoquo, Tomotley, and Toqua. The overarching trend is that, from late prehistory through the eighteenth century, the number of burials in public structures decreases, and the number of public structures with burials decreases. This trend in the decreasing number of burials in and beside public structures parallels the temporal trends in the decreasing number of rebuilding stages in townhouses. From late prehistory through the seventeenth century, there was significant emphasis on rebuilding public structures in place, in multiple stages, and late stages of public structures in these sequences were built atop the burned and buried remnants of preceding stages. During the eighteenth century, there was less emphasis on this pattern of

burying and rebuilding townhouses, and, meanwhile, less emphasis on burying select individuals within these public spaces.

Shape

Whereas townhouses dating from late prehistory through the early eighteenth century are square with rounded corners (Figure 2), those dating to the mid–to–late eighteenth century are circular or octagonal (Figure 3). Square structures could actually also be considered octagonal, if each of the four sides and each of the four rounded corners are counted together (Figure 4).

—insert Figure 4 here—

These shapes may have had some symbolic significance. For example, square structures, with four roof support posts placed around central hearths, may have been analogous to quadrilateral Mississippian platform mounds. These platform mounds have been characterized as earth icons, with each of the four corners representing the four corners of the world (Knight, 2006). In the Cherokee myth about how the world was made, as recorded in the late 1800s (Mooney 1900:239–240), the world is characterized as an island of mud, suspended at each of the four cardinal points by cords suspended from the sky vault. Similarly, in square townhouses, there are four corners, and in many cases, four roof support posts around central hearths.

The shape of octagonal townhouses may have been significant in that there were, and are, seven traditional Cherokee clans, and octagonal townhouses therefore included one side with

benches for each of those seven clans, and an eighth side for an entryway (Schroedl, 2000:220). Meanwhile, octagonal townhouses may have followed the same basic template as square townhouses. The architectural template for these structures could have been preserved by simply pushing out at the sides, changing the square form, in the long run, to circular and octagonal forms (Figure 5). Alternatively, those late prehistoric townhouses described as "square with rounded corners" could also be considered octagonal, if all four sides and all four corners are counted together. From this perspective, the differences between "square," "octagonal," and "circular" may be related more to differences in size rather than to major differences in shape—the basic spatial template may have been the same for all of them.

—insert Figure 5 here—

Size

The apparent shift from square to circular or octagonal shapes corresponds to an enlargement of townhouses from late prehistory through the eighteenth century (Table 1). The average diameters (Figure 6) and interior space (Figure 7) of public structures increase through time. Ranges of diameters (Figure 8) and interior space (Figure 9) likewise tend to increase through time, although there is, of course, some overlap in these size ranges.

The shift from square to circular or octagonal townhouses may have been closely related to the enlargement of public structures (Figure 5). As noted, shapes may have had symbolic significance, and temporal trends in the geometry of townhouses (or domestic structures) were

probably related in some way to cosmological principles. The symbolism of specific shapes does not preclude the possibility that circular and octagonal townhouses were an outcome, in part, of an enlargement of the architectural template for square structures with rounded corners. If the sides of townhouses like those at Toqua, Ledford Island, King, Coweeta Creek, and Chattooga are "pushed out" away from the roof support posts, the square shape characteristic of late prehistory through the seventeenth century becomes the circular or octagonal shape seen in several eighteenth–century townhouses. From this perspective, the eighteenth–century octagonal townhouses at Toqua and Mialoquo are larger–sized versions of the square structures with rounded corners dating to the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods.

Increases in the sizes of Cherokee townhouses may also be related to increasing factionalism within Cherokee towns. During the eighteenth century, different factions within Cherokee towns favored alliances with the French or English, and different groups favored war or diplomacy in response to different situations (Hatley, 1993). Perhaps larger townhouses, accommodating larger numbers of people, made it more likely for townspeople to find common ground in making the difficult community decisions that Cherokee towns faced in the course of European contact and colonialism.

The enlargement of Cherokee townhouses through the 1600s and 1700s may have been enabled by the adoption of metal tools in Cherokee towns. Larger townhouses would have necessitated greater amounts of wood, larger posts, and larger sections of bark for roof material, and metal axes would have been helpful in procuring and preparing these raw materials (Schroedl, 2000:220). Meanwhile, such tools would have made it easier for a town to build new structures at a new location. Although new forms of tools may have made it easier to cut the posts and bark sections necessary for large townhouses, finding wood and bark may have

become more difficult. After long periods of settlement and clearance of forested areas nearby for farming and for harvesting wood, it may have been difficult to find enough trees for large timbers and large roofs in some areas.

The increase in average townhouse size from late prehistory through the postcontact period may have discouraged the construction of townhouses on earthen mounds. As Gerald Schroedl (personal communication, 2010) has pointed out, larger townhouses would have necessitated larger mound summits. An alternative, of course, would have been to build townhouses on the ground surface, rather than on the summits of earthen mounds.

—insert Figure 6 here—

—insert Figure 7 here—

—insert Figure 8 here—

—insert Figure 9 here—

Roof Support Posts

Another trend related to increased size of townhouses is the increase, from four to eight, in the numbers of major roof support posts. With the exception of the King site townhouse and one public structure at Toqua, all townhouses dating from late prehistory through the 1600s, and

even several examples from the 1700s, have four major roof support posts. At the Chota–Tanasee site, the first townhouse has four roof support posts, and the second has eight. Similar to this Chota–Tanasee sequence, the townhouses at Toqua (which have four roof support posts) probably predate those at Mialoquo and Tomotley, the latter of which have eight roof supports. The increase in the number of roof support posts in townhouses is largely a function of a corresponding increase in size. Larger structures would necessitate larger roofs, which would necessitate greater roof support, thus the greater number of roof support posts.

The late prehistoric public structure at Toqua with eight roof support posts (Structure 51), the King site townhouse (Structure 17), and all stages of the townhouse at Chattooga are square structures, with rounded corners, and the roof supports themselves are arranged in square patterns around the hearths of each respective townhouse. The first stage of the Chota–Tanasee townhouse likewise has four roof supports, arranged in a square pattern around a central hearth. By contrast, the eight roof support posts in the second stage of the Chota–Tanasee townhouse, and in the eighteenth–century townhouses at Tomotley and Mialoquo, are arranged in octagonal patterns around the central hearths in those structures (Figure 3). The shift from square to circular or octagonal townhouses is clearly correlated with the enlargement of townhouses, and the need to support roofs of increasing size, covering increasingly large floor spaces. If the architectural template of townhouses was in fact enlarged by "pushing out" at the sides, it makes sense that four (or more) additional roof support posts would have been added, changing the arrangements of roof supports from square to octagonal (Figure 4). The similarity between townhouse shape and the settings of roof support posts around centrally placed hearths probably reflects structural necessity and pragmatic design considerations. Roof support posts would have born the majority of the structural load of roof beams and roof material, and, especially, the

weight of those sections of roofs that included earth or daub. The shape of the arrangement of roof support posts would probably influence the placement of major roof beams, and the shape of the outer walls themselves. These practical reasons for the comparable shapes of townhouses and roof support post arrangements do not preclude the possibility that there was also symbolism in the concentric circles (or concentric octagons or squares) formed by the edges of a hearth, the arrangement of roof support posts, and the outer walls of a townhouse.

Hearths and Features

One central hearth is present in each townhouse considered in this study. There is no known hearth in the Mialoquo townhouse, but it may be missing because it was plowed away—it and other Overhill Cherokee settlements were heavily plowed before excavations of those sites. Hearths in townhouses predating Mialoquo may have been partly protected from plowing by semisubterranean architectural design, and the placement of hearths on the bottoms of deep structural basins, rather than at or close to the ground surface.

In cases in which townhouses were built and rebuilt in place, hearths themselves typically were rebuilt in place, as is evident at Coweeta Creek and Ledford Island. By contrast, the hearth in the second stage of the Chota–Tanasee townhouse was moved from its original location in the first townhouse. The first townhouse at Chota–Tanasee was smaller than its successor, and it had four roof supports, whereas the second stage had eight roof supports, and these changes necessitated new placements for posts and the hearth.

Several pit features outside the townhouses at Coweeta Creek and Ledford Island were filled with ash and charcoal, and these pits may represent receptacles for the periodic disposal of debris from nearby townhouse hearths. Numerous pit features have also been identified in areas near the Chota–Tanasee and Mialoquo townhouses (Figure 3), some or all of which may have originally been dug as borrow pits for earthen raw material. As will be discussed presently, these townhouses, and others dating to the eighteenth century, apparently were not built in basins, or were built in basins that were shallower than those typical of late precontact structures. Structural basins would have been sources of great amounts of earthen material with which to build some elements of structures, such as earthen embankments surrounding the outer edges of walls, and sections of roofs that were covered with earth, bark, thatch, or combinations of these and other materials. Concentrations of pit features like those seen near the Chota–Tanasee and Mialoquo townhouses may represent sources of earth for building and maintaining the townhouses themselves (Schroedl, 1986:266), and, perhaps, these pits represent an alternative source of earth for such embankments in the absence of a deep basin.

The hearths in most of these public structures are circular, as are most known examples of domestic hearths at the corresponding sites. Both circular and square hearths are present in the Ledford Island townhouse, in association with different stages of this public structure. Other exceptions to the more common circular shape are the hearths in public structures at Toqua, all of which are square, with rounded corners (Polhemus, 1987:187–199). There is considerable variability in the hearths in public and domestic structures at Toqua, in general, including several variations on circular and square shapes (Polhemus, 1987:190–191). It is tempting to place some significance on the fact that the square hearths at Ledford Island and Toqua are essentially the

same shape as the structures themselves, and the fact that these hearths and structures are essentially the same shape as quadrilateral Mississippian platform mounds (Knight, 2006).

Basins and Embankments

During the 1400s and 1500s, many examples of public and domestic structures in the greater southern Appalachians were built in basins (Hally 2002, 2008:67–70; Polhemus, 1987, 1990; Schroedl, 1998; Sullivan, 1987). Such basins are evident in depressed floors that slope downward from wall posts towards roof support posts and central hearths (Figure 10; Hally, 2008:68–70). Paired entrance trenches are commonly associated with structures dating from late prehistory through the mid–to–late seventeenth century (Dickens, 1976, 1978; Hally and Kelly, 1998; Keel, 1976; Keel et al., 2002; Lewis et al., 1995; Rodning, 2009a, 2009b; Sullivan, 1987). These entrance trenches are probably foundations for entryways that were built to cut through earthen embankments surrounding the structures themselves (Figure 11; Hally, 2008:74–77). The raw material for the earthen embankments was probably the dirt dug out of the basins in which the structures themselves were placed. Digging basins and building embankments would have taken significant effort, but embankments would have protected wooden architectural elements from weather and precipitation, and they would have provided insulation.

—insert Figure 10 here—

—insert Figure 11 here—

The public structures at Ledford Island were built in a basin (Lewis et al., 1995; Sullivan, 1987), and the first stage of the townhouse at Coweeta Creek was built in a basin (Rodning 2002a, 2009a, 2010), with premound humus piled up around the its edges. There is no definitive evidence that the primary public structure at the King site was built in a basin, but many sixteenth–century domestic structures at King were, and the preservation of the hearth and floor of the King site townhouse indicates that it was, in fact, built in a basin (Hally, 2002, 2008). Townhouses at Chattooga were built in basins, and the floors of these townhouses were placed as much as 30 centimeters below the ground surface. There is no clear indication that eighteenth–century Overhill Cherokee townhouses were built in basins, as there are no examples of paired entrance trenches associated with them, nor any direct evidence for earthen embankments or depressed floors. On the other hand, the sites of Overhill Cherokee settlements were heavily plowed before excavations, and plowing may have removed any traces of structure basins. Hearths have been found at Overhill Cherokee townhouses, indicating the presence of at least shallow structure basins, enabling some hearths to escape disturbance by plowing.

This trend demonstrates that through the seventeenth century, townhouses (and domestic structures) in the southern Appalachians were often built in basins, with embankments surrounding them, but that by the eighteenth century, basins and embankments were less substantial. On the one hand, the shift away from building public structures in deep basins, and surrounding them with substantial embankments, may reflect decreasing amounts of effort and resources invested in building them. On the other hand, larger townhouses would have necessitated greater amounts of wood, bark, thatch, and other architectural materials. Larger townhouses, of course, would have necessitated larger basins—perhaps they were dug less

deeply so as to reduce the effort necessary to build a townhouse, even as greater amounts of wood were necessary. If towns and townhouses moved more often during the 1700s than was the case from late prehistory through the 1600s (Goodwin, 1977; Marcoux, 2010; Schroedl, 2000; Smith, 1979), it may have made sense for towns to expend less effort on digging deep structure basins and building substantial earthen embankments than they had in the past.

Ramadas

Another characteristic of eighteenth–century townhouses that has clear late prehistoric antecedents is the pairing of structures seen at sites like Hiwassee Island, Toqua, Ledford Island, King, Coweeta Creek, Chattooga, and Chota–Tanasee. This pairing is present in late prehistoric public structures at Toqua, but there have been no structures definitively identified in association with the eighteenth–century townhouses at Toqua (Polhemus, 1987; Schroedl, 1978, 1986)—perhaps because plowing removed remnants of them. At postcontact sites like Chota–Tanasee, the structures in these pairs include circular "winter townhouses," and rectangular "summer townhouses" (Schroedl, 2001:219) or "summer pavilions" (Schroedl, 1986:234), and at Coweeta Creek and Chattooga, there are rectangular structures, analogous to "summer townhouses," adjacent to the primary public structures, which are square with rounded corners (Rodning, 2002a, 2009a; Schroedl, 2000). The seasonal references here relate to the same pairing seen in domestic architecture, and clear evidence for rectangular "summer" houses paired with circular or octagonal "winter" houses at Cherokee settlements dating to the 1600s and 1700s (Cable and Reed, 2000; Cable et al., 1997; Faulkner, 1978; Schroedl, 1986, 2000, 2001; Shumate et al.,

2005). The long axes of rectangular "summer" houses and townhouses are generally perpendicular to the entryways into adjacent "winter" houses and townhouses, although the public structures at Chattooga are an exception to this rule, probably because of the local ground surface at that particular site (Schroedl, 2000).

At postcontact sites, these rectangular structures, or ramadas, are clearly public structures associated with Cherokee townhouses. At the King site, posthole patterns and burial clusters adjacent to the townhouse (Structure 17) are likely evidence for a pavilion or ramada beside the townhouse itself (Hally, 2008:145–152). There is clear evidence for a square structure (Structure 16) comparable to a typical domestic house at the King site, which may represent a dwelling for ritual specialists or elite individuals in the community, or a temple in which sacred items were kept (Hally, 2008:139–145). Whatever the precise nature of Structure 16 at the King site, it is clearly associated with the townhouse, and public life within the King site town. The same may be the case for Structure 47 at Ledford Island, which is located adjacent to the townhouse at Ledford Island (Structure 36), and which is located close to large ash deposits that probably represent ashes and embers from the townhouse hearth that were periodically deposited outside the townhouse when the hearth was cleaned out and its fire rekindled (Lewis et al., 1995:528–530; Sullivan, 1987:28–30).

Moving farther back into the late prehistoric period, there is clear evidence at Toqua for paired structures, including some that may have been elite dwellings attached to public buildings. Polhemus (1987:1214) identifies several such elite dwellings, in association with large public structures on Mound A. Hally (2008:144) argues otherwise in most cases, but he agrees that Structure 3 at Toqua is probably an elite dwelling associated with a public building (Structure 132) that was placed at a spot within the Toqua town plan where structures were present for the

entire sequence of Mound A. Structures 3 and 132 were placed on a platform adjacent to the Mound A summit, where another pair of structures were placed (Schroedl, 1998:78–79). These sequences of paired structures resembled the paired domestic structures seen in areas at Toqua between the plaza and the log stockade that enclosed the entire settlement (Schroedl, 1998:81–83).

The pattern of a rectangular "summer townhouse" paired with a circular or square "winter townhouse" is clearly present at Chota–Tanasee during the mid–to–late eighteenth century, but it is first apparent in the seventeenth century, at the Coweeta Creek and Chattooga sites (Figure 12). The more general pattern of paired public structures—or public structures paired with elite dwellings, in some cases—dates back to the late prehistoric period, as seen at Toqua, but the pattern seen at Coweeta Creek and Chattooga is not as clearly evident at Ledford Island and King. During the 1600s and 1700s, members of Cherokee towns were clearly drawing upon an architectural tradition in building "summer townhouses" or pavilions beside the primary townhouse structures in Cherokee settlements.

—insert Figure 11 here—

It is worth noting that the point at which the pairing of a square or circular structure with a rectangular structure may have become widespread as a template for Cherokee public architecture (as at Coweeta Creek, Chattooga, and Chota–Tanasee, for example) is close to the point at which compact, nucleated settlements give way to more spatially dispersed communities. By the early nineteenth century, households within towns were spread out in farmsteads scattered for several kilometers (Schroedl, 2000:225). During the mid–to–late eighteenth century, pairs of

winter houses and summer houses were placed around plazas, at sites like Chota–Tanasee, but this and other Cherokee settlements were less compact than settlements from earlier periods. Without denying the functional reasons for "summer" houses beside "winter" houses—rectangular summer houses would have offered shade and shelter for domestic tasks and social gatherings, and perhaps storage space (see Hally, 2008:106–120)—it also seems possible that there may have been some symbolism in the similarities between Cherokee dwellings and townhouses. As settlements became more spatially dispersed (see Cable et al., 1997; Goodwin, 1977; Greene, 1996, 1999; Hill, 1997; Pillsbury, 1983; Shumate et al., 2005; Wilms, 1974), and as distances between Cherokee household dwellings increased, households may have chosen to build domestic structures that matched public structures in part because dwellings were less often placed directly around plazas, within view of townhouses themselves.

Summary

The major temporal trends in public architecture noted here, from the thirteenth through eighteenth centuries, are the following.

1) Examples of in–place rebuilding sequences were relatively common from late prehistory through the seventeenth century, but eighteenth–century townhouses were typically rebuilt only once or not at all. Late prehistoric settlements demonstrate evidence for architectural sequences spanning well more than 100 years, and postcontact settlements demonstrate evidence for architectural sequences spanning 100 years or less.

2) Townhouses increased in size, and this increase is especially evident in comparing protohistoric townhouses with those from the eighteenth century. Increased townhouse size would have made it more difficult for people to build them on mound summits.
3) Through the 1600s, public structures were square, with rounded corners, but by the mid–to–late eighteenth century, townhouses were circular or octagonal, with rectangular ramadas (or "summer townhouses") adjacent to them.
4) Through the 1600s, townhouses (and domestic houses) were semisubterranean structures built in basins, and surrounded by earthen embankments, but basins and embankments associated with townhouses dating to the mid–to–late eighteenth century may have been less substantial.
5) The numbers of roof support posts in Cherokee townhouses increased from four to eight in the mid–to–late eighteenth century, although there are some examples of earlier public structures with eight roof support posts arranged in square (rather than octagonal) patterns around hearths.
6) The numbers of roof support posts in public structures are largely, if not entirely, functions of the sizes of those structures.
7) Burials were associated with many (but not all) public structures dating from late prehistory through 1600s, but there were relatively few burials associated with eighteenth–century Cherokee townhouses.
8) Public architecture typically includes pairs of structures throughout this sequence, although the template of a square or round "winter townhouse" and a long, rectangular "summer townhouse" seems to take shape during the seventeenth century.

9) Increased townhouse size may have posed considerable challenges to Cherokee towns, both in terms of mobilizing people necessary to build large townhouses, and in mobilizing the necessary raw materials. Larger townhouses would have necessitated larger posts, more posts, and larger amounts of bark for roof material. That would have necessitated ranging farther from settlements to find raw materials. By the later eighteenth century large tracts of land around Cherokee settlements were largely deforested, as a result of woodcutting, farming, burning, and the environmental impacts of the colonial militias that periodically attacked and burned Cherokee settlements and fields (Goodwin, 1977:99–106; Hill, 1997:74–85, 90–91; Williams, 1928:470–481).
10) Townhouses were both portable and permanent. Theoretically, they could be built anywhere, thereby manifesting the identities of local residents and local households as towns. Meanwhile, townhouses anchored towns to particular places, even though the typical longevity of specific settlements tended to decrease as Cherokee towns became more mobile after European contact (Marcoux, 2010).

DISCUSSION

Archaeologists have considered the material outcomes of several aspects of culture contact and colonial encounters: power relations and social dynamics of colonialism (D'Altroy, 2005; Dominguez, 2002; Ferguson, 1992; Gasco, 1992, 1997; Gosden, 2004; Schreiber, 2005; Stein, 1998, 2005, van Dommelen, 2005); factionalism, conflict, and competition within native

societies resulting from colonial encounters (Waselkov, 1993; Wesson, 1999, 2002, 2008); the effects of colonial entanglements on status and wealth distinctions within native societies (Lightfoot et al., 1998; Robinson et al., 1985; Scarry and Maxham, 2002; M. T. Smith 1987; S. T. Smith, 1998; Turnbaugh, 1993; Turner, 1985; Worth, 2002); changes in ritual practices and worldviews (Blakeslee, 1981; Brown, 1979, 1985, 1992, 2006; DeCorse, 1998; Evans, 1998; Saunders, 1998, 2000; Turnbaugh, 1979); practices of trade and exchange (Gasco, 2005; Johnson et al., 2008; Kelly, 2002; Mason, 1963, 2005; Perttula, 1993, 2002a, 2002b; Spence, 2005; Spielmann, 1989; Stein, 2002; Waselkov, 1989, 1992); changes in foodways (Gremillion, 1993, 1995, 2002; King, 1977; Rees, 2002; Saunders, 2002); changes in settlement patterns and land tenure (Davis, 2002; Davis and Ward, 1991, 2001; Fausz, 1985; Thomas, 1985; van Dommelen, 2002; Ward and Davis, 2001) the selective adoption of new forms of material culture and the adaptation of traditional material culture to new conditions and circumstances (Bamforth, 1993; Bradley, 1987; Cobb and Pope, 1998; Cobb and Ruggiero, 2003; Harmon, 1986; Johnson, 1997, 2003; Kaplan, 1985; Gulløv, 1985; Odell, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2003; Perttula, 1993; Quimby, 1966; Riggs, 1989; Rogers, 1990, 1993); the material manifestations of resistance and revitalization (Adams, 1989; Capone and Preucel, 2002; Elliott, 2002; Liebmann, 2002, 2008; Liebmann and Preucel, 2007; Liebmann et al., 2005; Mills, 2002; Mobley–Tanaka, 2002; Preucel, 2002); and the formation and material manifestations of new cultural identities (Engelbrecht, 1985; Galloway, 1994, 1995, 2002, 2009; Jeter 2002, 2009; Knight, 1985, 1994; Smith, 2000; Tuck, 1971; Wells, 1980, 1998). Less effort has been devoted to the study of architecture as an adaptation to situations of culture contact and colonialism (but see Lycett, 2002; Ferguson, 2002; Marcoux, 2008, 2010; Riggs, 1989; Schroedl, 1989, 2000, 2009; Waselkov, 1994). An adaptation, in general, can be defined as an alteration or change in form or

structure, in response to changing conditions. Of course, those alterations are made to extant forms or structures, and, therefore, adaptations combine elements that are new and old, reflecting both innovation and tradition. This paper considers the dual role of public architecture in the greater southern Appalachians as both a source of cultural stability in the wake of European colonialism and as a medium of material culture through which native groups responded to contact.

Architecture is sometimes thought of as the setting for, or even the backdrop to, events and patterns of activity that comprise community life in the past. Architecture does indeed create settings for the practice of public and domestic life, but architecture in and of itself is a form of material culture, and it is susceptible to both the effects of tradition and changes in the natural and social environments in which people live. Architecture is durable, in a sense, but it is also malleable, and it is responsive to change, especially when perishable building materials—such as earth and wood—necessitate periodic renovation and replacement of structures. Architecture is an adaptation. Like other adaptations, architecture has a history of form and function. This history affects the ways structures are built, the reasons why they are built, the symbolic meanings attached to them, and the placement and arrangement of architectural spaces.

Conceptualizing architecture as adaptation does have precedents in the archaeology of the Native American Southeast. Waselkov (1994:195) has noted that Creek domestic architecture in the lower South changed dramatically as a direct result of participation in the deerskin trade in the late 1600s and early 1700s. Traditional villages included rectangular summer houses and octagonal, semisubterranean winter houses, very much like those seen at Cherokee town sites. With the advent of long winter hunting seasons, many Creek villages were largely abandoned during wintertime, with households favoring seasonal hunting camps. Neither winter houses nor

summer structures were very effective for storing large numbers of deerskins, and new forms of ground–level domestic architecture were developed (Mason, 2005). Paired winter houses and summer structures lasted somewhat longer in Cherokee settlement areas in the southern Appalachians (Schroedl, 1989, 2000; Shumate et al., 2005). Schroedl (1986:531–543) has noted the prevalence of paired winter and summer houses at mid–eighteenth–century Cherokee settlements, when Cherokee towns were immersed in the deerskin trade with English colonists, and conflicts with the English and with Creek towns (Gallay, 2002; Hatley, 1993). During the late eighteenth century, individual rectangular dwellings began to replace paired seasonal dwellings, and by the early nineteenth century there were log structures made of hewn timbers, but despite these changes, townhouses were still significant landmarks (Schroedl, 1986:542–543; Riggs, 1989; Sturtevant, 1978).

David Hally (1994, 2002, 2008) has noted that late prehistoric and protohistoric public and domestic structures in the greater southern Appalachians were built in basins, and surrounded by embankments, whereas many structures dating to the eighteenth century were not. Building structures in basins would have improved insulation, and digging basins in the first place may have generated large amounts of dirt that could then be used for embankments and also as earthen material for roofs and walls. Basins and embankments would have necessitated the kinds of entryways that are seen archaeologically in the form of paired entrance trenches. Digging structure basins would have demanded considerable expenditure of effort, which would make sense for public structures and settlements that would stay in place for long periods. Evidence considered here suggests that basins and embankments associated with eighteenth–century Cherokee townhouses may have been less substantial than those associated with late

prehistoric and seventeenth–century Cherokee townhouses, perhaps because of increasing mobility of Cherokee towns and households after the upheavals of the 1600s and 1700s.

Jon Marcoux (2010) has insightfully demonstrated how increasing expediency in Cherokee domestic architecture was an adaptation to trade and other forms of interaction with the South Carolina colony in the late 1600s and early 1700s, and his explanation of changes in domestic architecture is relevant for understanding temporal trends in Cherokee townhouses. Marcoux contrasts the permanence and sequences of domestic structures at late prehistoric and early postcontact sites in the southern Appalachians with the relatively more ephemeral Cherokee settlements domestic structures dating to the late 1600s and early 1700s. Domestic structures at the early sites in his study emphasize permanence, and many structures were built and rebuilt in place, emphasizing close connections between people and places, and between households and particular house placements (see also Hally, 2008; Rodning, 2007). Domestic structures at eighteenth–century sites, by contrast, emphasize expediency of construction, in the context of seasonal and longer–term cycles of movement and resettlement (see also Waselkov, 1994). Marcoux identifies this trend as an outcome of responses by Cherokee households to the conditions and the challenges of contact and interaction with English colonists.

This perspective on architecture as an adaptation helps us understand the blend of continuity and change seen in aboriginal townhouses in the southern Appalachians from late prehistory through the eighteenth century. Practices of building and rebuilding townhouses, as seen in the townhouse sequences at several sites, are probably connected to older moundbuilding traditions in the Southeast, and to practices of adding earthen mantles to Mississippian mounds as part of periodic ritual cycles (Hally, 1996; Knight, 2006). Postcontact townhouses in the greater southern Appalachians were part of a longstanding architectural tradition, as there is

evidence for a variety of forms of public architecture at sites with and without earthen mounds in this part of the Southeast (Anderson, 1994; Rudolph, 1984; Thompson, 2009; Wesson, 2008).

Continuity in public architecture in the southern Appalachians indicates that native towns not only anchored themselves in particular places in the landscape through the form of townhouses, but that they also connected themselves to past generations, including both past generations of particular communities and also ancestral generations of the broader cultural tradition of which they were part. Comparable persistence in architecture is seen in the long history of earthlodges in the Great Plains, an architectural form spanning more than 1000 years, and that endured periods of intense conflict throughout the Plains, and European contact and colonialism in North America, as well (Pauls, 2005; Prine, 2000). From this perspective, Plains earthlodges can be seen as sources of long–term cultural stability. The same can be said of kivas in the American Southwest, an architectural form which spans the period from the late first millennium A.D. through Spanish contact in the 1500s, and through the Pueblo Revolt period of the late 1600s (Cameron and Duff, 2008; Creel and Anyon, 2003; Crown and Wills, 2003; Liebmann, 2008; Liebmann and Preucel, 2007; Shafer, 1995; Wills and Windes, 1989; Wilshusen, 1986). Following this logic, historic Cherokee townhouses also can be considered as sources of stability in the wake of widespread instability in the Southeast after European contact.

CONCLUSIONS

Townhouses were hubs of community life in Cherokee towns during the eighteenth century, and, presumably, townhouses were settings for significant public events at late prehistoric settlements, as well. The characteristics of postcontact Cherokee townhouses, and patterns of building and rebuilding townhouses in place, clearly have late prehistoric antecedents in the southern Appalachians. Public architecture also was a material medium through which Cherokee towns adapted to new conditions of life in the colonial Southeast. As towns grew larger, townspeople built larger townhouses, but even in building larger townhouses, people adhered to a basic template that had deep roots in the southern Appalachians.

The typical late prehistoric and protohistoric townhouse in the greater southern Appalachians was square with rounded corners, and with four (or, sometimes, eight) roof support posts. During the eighteenth century, when larger townhouses were needed, the basic template for these structures was expanded, leading to the shift from square to octagonal shapes. That expansion necessitated enough roof support posts to support larger roofs, thus necessitating the shift from four to major eight roof supports, and, perhaps, the presence of both an inner and outer circle of roof support posts, as Bartram described for the Cowee townhouse, for example.

This conservatism in Cherokee townhouses suggests that forms of town governance, and the public life of Cherokee towns more generally, were open and inclusive, even as Cherokee towns grew in numbers of people. Rather than limiting town councils and public events to smaller percentages of people within towns, townhouses still emphasized inclusiveness, even at Ustanali, whose townhouse was built to accommodate 1000 people, and at the Overhill Cherokee townhouses that Henry Timberlake visited in eastern Tennessee. Documentary sources reflect significant amounts of movement, by individual households and also by entire towns, from one Cherokee town area to another during the late 1600s and early–to–mid 1700s. Many people

abandoned the Lower Cherokee settlements, for example, to escape raids by warriors from French–allied Creek towns, and perhaps also to escape slave raids by English–allied Westos (Beck, 2009; Bowne, 2000, 2005, 2006, 2009; Corkran, 1962, 1967; Crane, 1929; Ethridge, 1984, 2006, 2009a, 2009b; Gallay, 2002; Martin, 1994; Meyers, 2009; Worth, 2009). Following attacks by royal highlanders and provincial militiamen on Middle Cherokee settlements in southwestern North Carolina in the 1760s and again in the 1770s—during which many Cherokee settlements, houses, and fields were burned (Dickens, 1967, 1979; Hatley, 1993; King and Evans, 1977; Rogers, 2009; Waselkov and Braund, 1995)—many Cherokee people moved to the Overhill Cherokee settlements in eastern Tennessee, and these movements are archaeologically visible in the presence of pottery typical of southwestern North Carolina found at Overhill Cherokee sites (Chapman, 1985, 2009; Schroedl, 1986, 2000, 2001, 2009). After the French defeated the Natchez in Mississippi, surviving Natchez groups sought places to live elsewhere in the Southeast, and some are known to have moved to Cherokee settlements during the early–to–mid eighteenth century (Goodwin, 1977; Hatley, 1993). In the aftermath of Spanish entradas in the Southeast during the sixteenth century, as well as the slave trade and the deerskin trade with English and French colonists, these kinds of displacements and movements were relatively widespread across much of eastern North America, and they may have contributed to greater cultural diversity within native communities than was present before European contact.

These developments, the general instability created by them throughout the Southeast, and periodic disease epidemics in the eighteenth century probably accentuated the need in Cherokee towns for forms of public architecture that could accommodate large numbers of people—including people from different communities and different factions within communities—and that could serve as settings for town council deliberations and other events

significant in the public lives of Cherokee towns. Townhouses already served those needs. During the eighteenth century, they were enlarged, as public events and public spaces involved more people, and, perhaps, more diverse groups of people than had been the case before. European contact presented Cherokee towns with many new challenges and opportunities, which did lead to some factionalism within Cherokee towns. Townhouses may have become especially important as settings in which fractured Cherokee communities could meet in public spaces in efforts to find common ground.

Community membership—and the public events, public spaces, and landmarks necessary to create and to maintain a sense of community and a sense of place—were especially significant to native groups in the southern Appalachians in the wake of European contact in the Southeast. Cherokee towns adapted traditional forms of public architecture to fit the new conditions of life in the colonial Southeast. During the eighteenth century, townhouses materialized the identity of local groups of household as towns, as they had before, but the traditional template for townhouses was altered to fit new conditions and new needs. Cherokee townhouses can thus be thought of as an adaptation to European contact, one with deep historical roots in the greater southern Appalachians, but one that also was shaped by responses of native people to European contact. Townhouses were not just settings for public events and activities in Cherokee towns. They were architectural adaptations by Cherokee towns to life in their new world. In building a townhouse near the confluence of the Conasauga and Coosawatee rivers in Georgia, the people of Ustanali participated in an architectural tradition with a long history, which connected Cherokee people to the southern Appalachian landscape, even as it was altered in response to conditions of life in the Southeast following a long period of European contact and colonialism.

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Figures

Figure 1. Selected archaeological sites and Cherokee town areas. Townhouses were probably present at these and other sites, and archaeological remnants of public structures have been identified at those sites listed here in italics: (1) *Ledford Island*, (2) *Hiwassee Island*, (3) *Dallas*, (4) *Hixon*, (5) *Mialoquo*, (6) *Tomotley*, (7) *Toqua*, (8) *Chota–Tanasee*, (9) Citico, (10) Chilhowee, (11) Tallassee, (12) Great Tellico/Chatuga, (13) *Kituwha*, (14) Birdtown, (15) Nununyi, (16) Cowee, (17) Joree, (18) Whatoga, (19) Nequassee, (20) *Coweeta Creek*, (21) Old Estatoe, (22) Peachtree (Little Hiwassee), (23) Spike Buck (Quanassee), (24) Nacoochee, (25) *Chattooga*, (26) Keowee, (27) Chauga, (28) Estatoe, (29) Tugalo, (30) *Ustanali/New Echota*, and (31) *the King site* (after Rodning, 2009a:628). Reprinted by permission from *American Antiquity*, Volume 74, Number 4, © 2009 Society for American Archaeology.

Figure 2. Seventeenth–century Cherokee townhouse (after Rodning, 2009a:642). Reprinted by permission from *American Antiquity*, Volume 74, Number 4, © 2009 Society for American Archaeology.

Figure 3. Eighteenth–century Cherokee townhouses (after Baden, 1983:130; Russ and Chapman, 1983:52; Schroedl, 1986:230).

Figure 4. Enlargement of Cherokee townhouse template.

Figure 5. Average, minimum, and maximum diameters of public structures.

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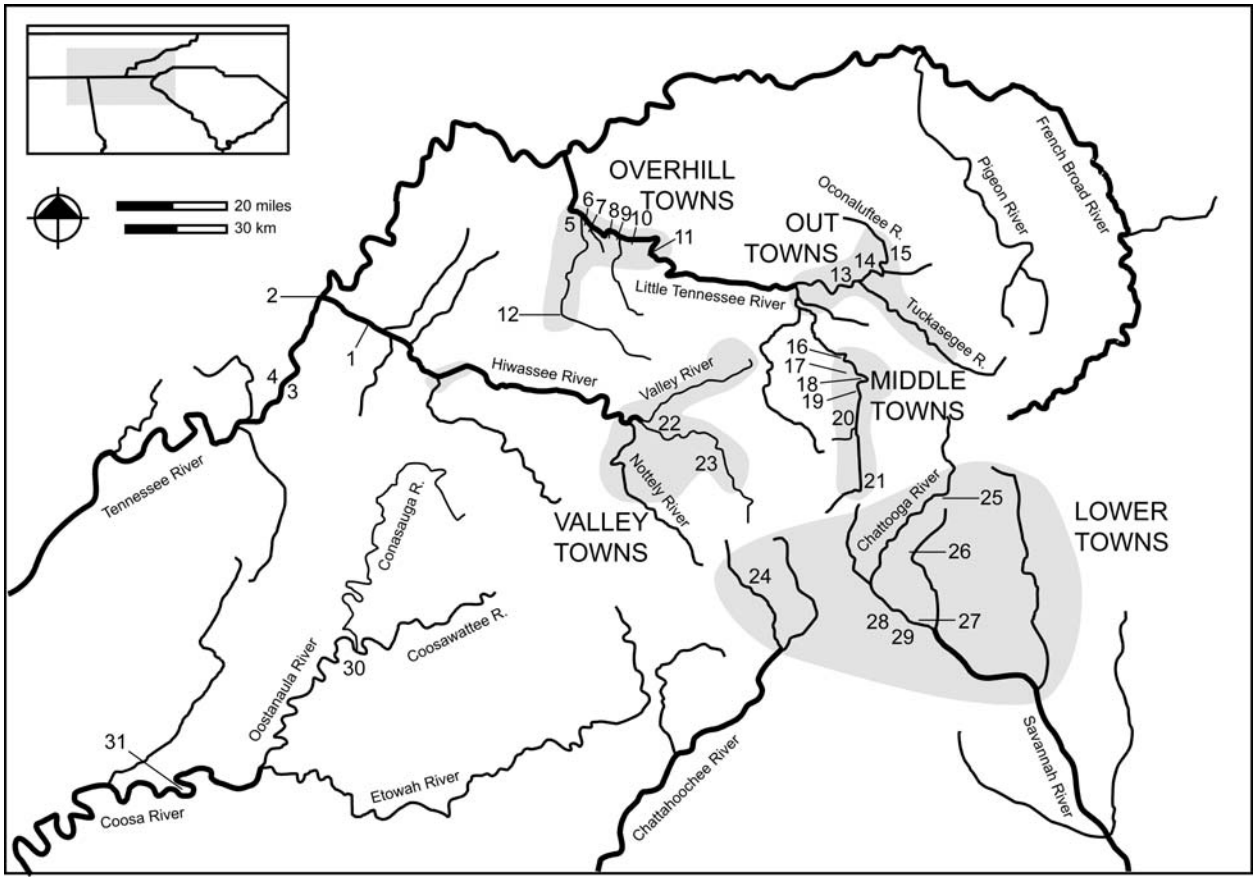

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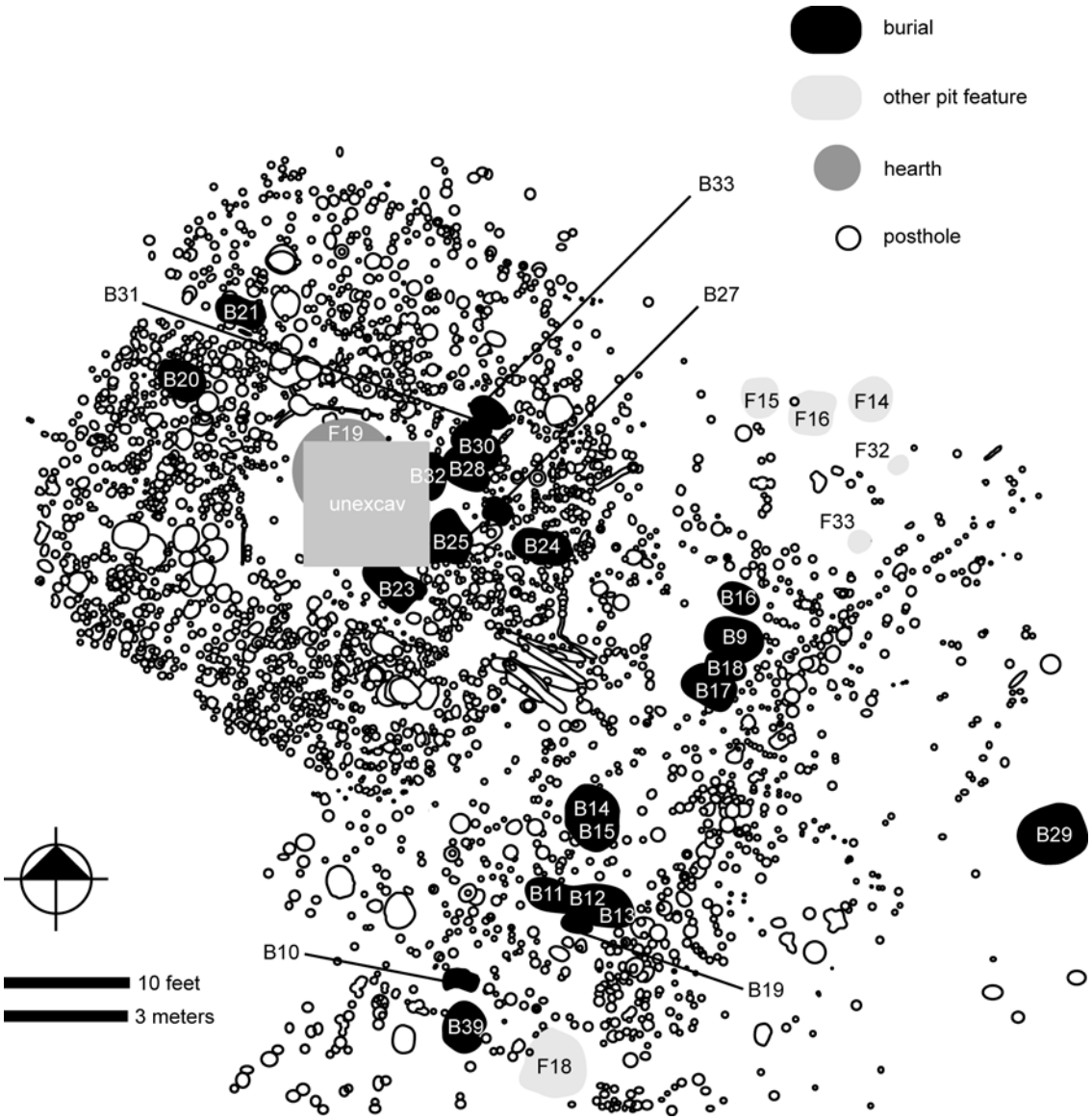

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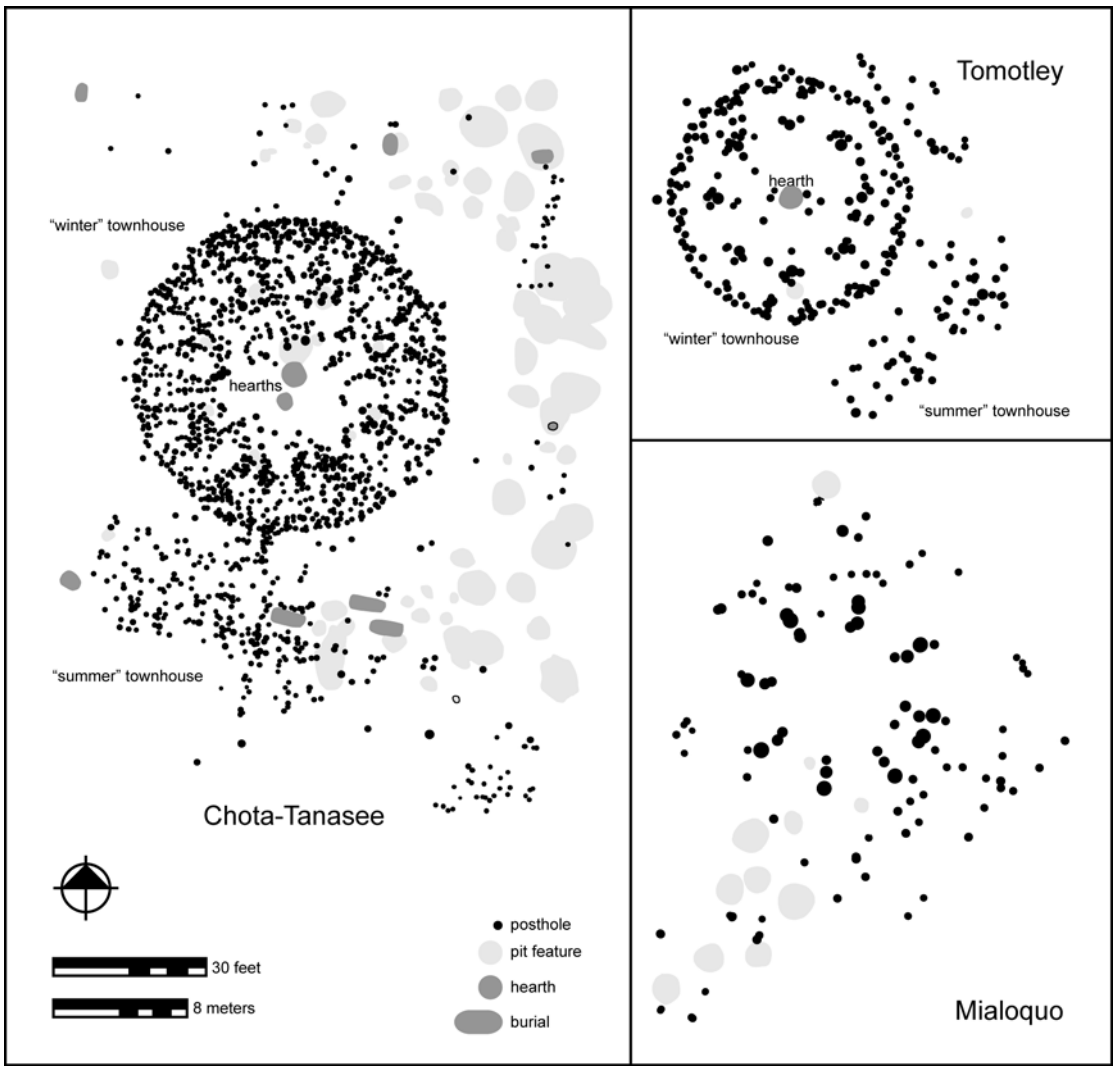

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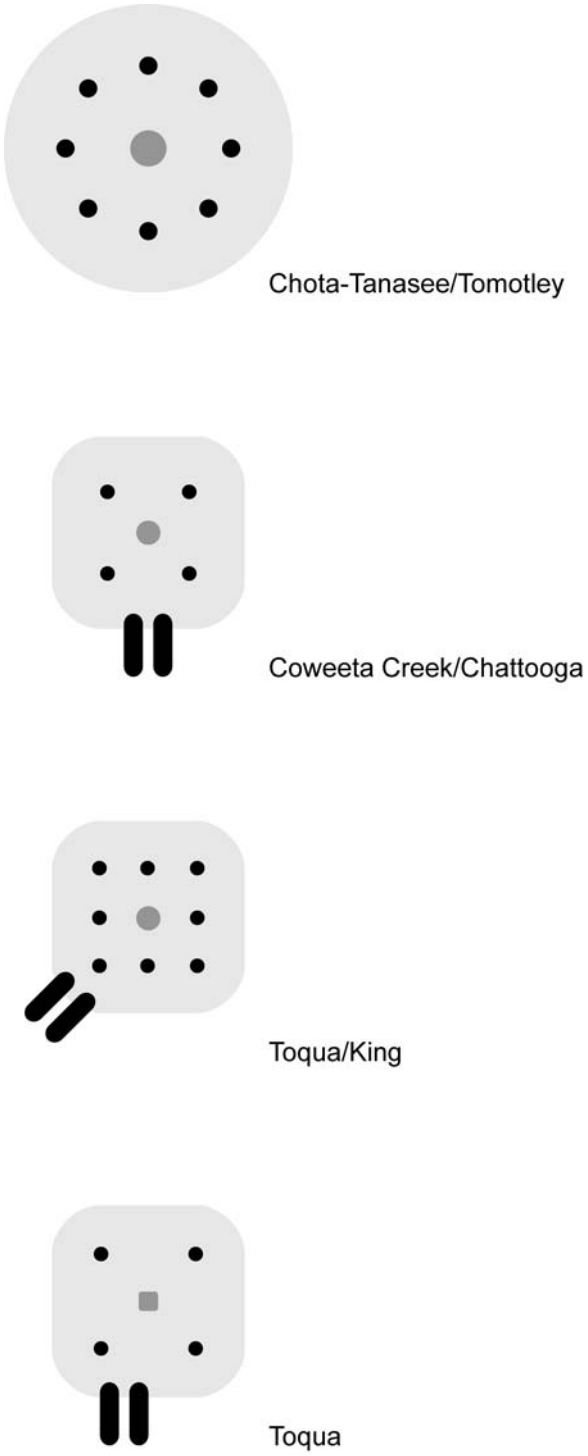
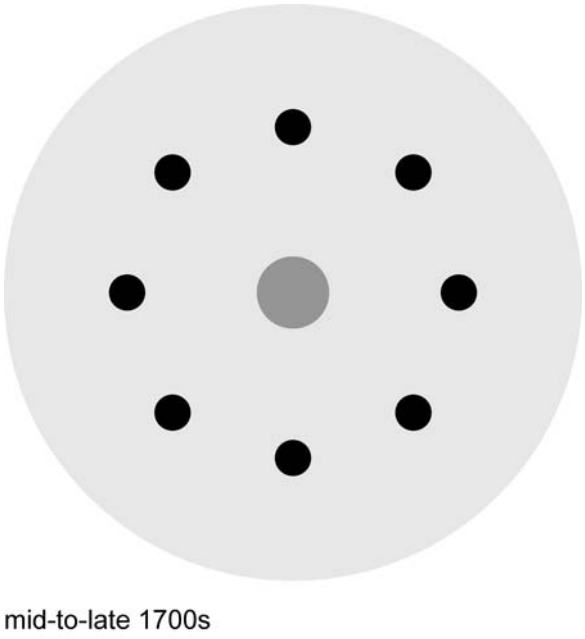


Figure 4. Townhouses from late prehistory through the eighteenth century.



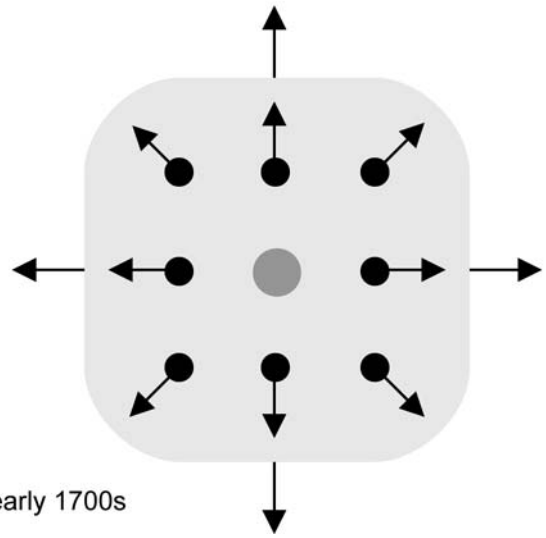


Figure 5. Enlargement of Cherokee townhouse template.

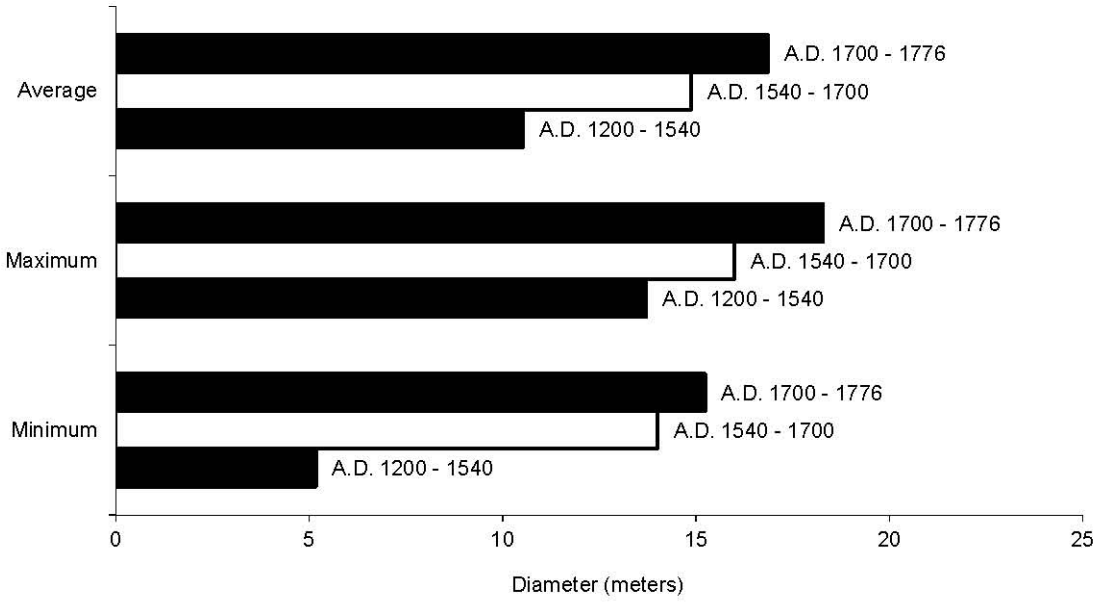


Figure 6. Average, minimum, and maximum diameters of public structures.

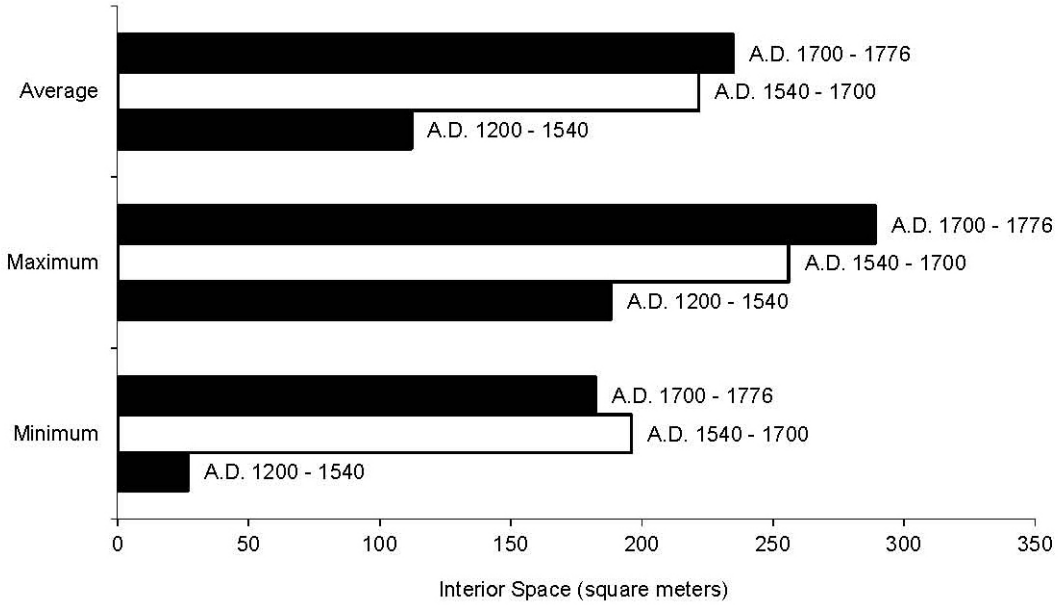


Figure 7. Average, minimum, and maximum interior space in public structures.

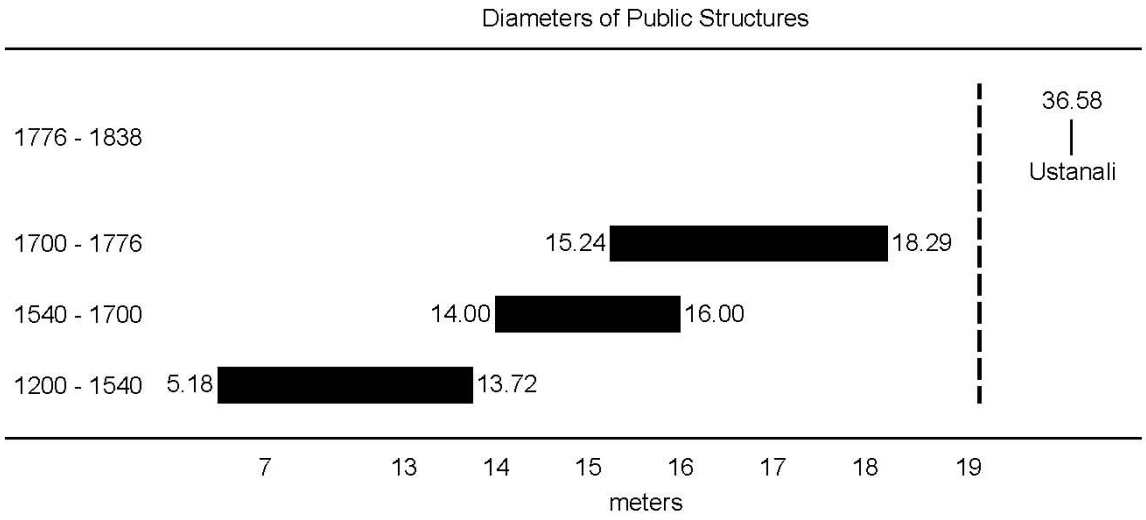


Figure 8. Ranges of diameters of public structures.

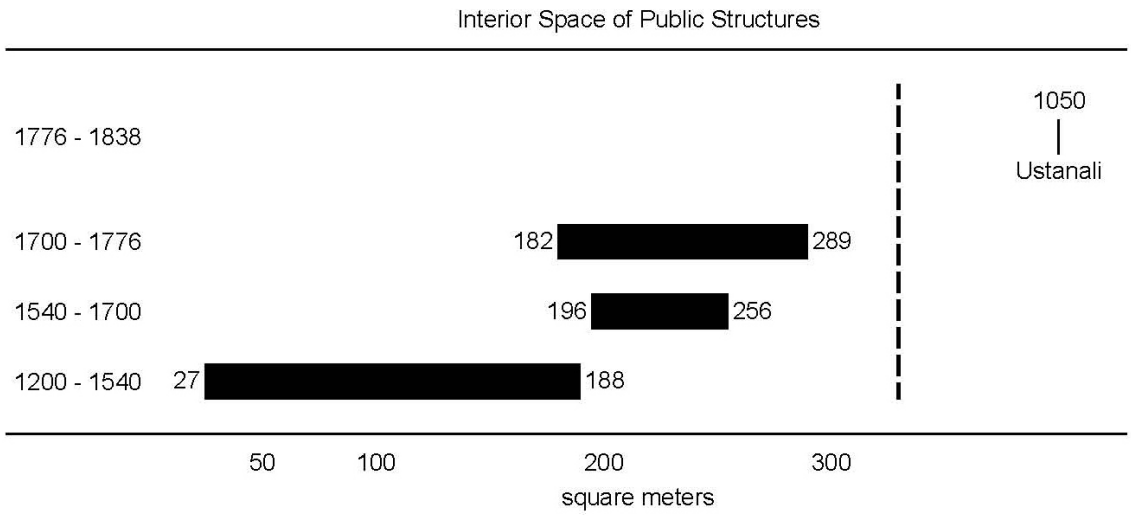


Figure 9. Ranges of interior space in public structures.

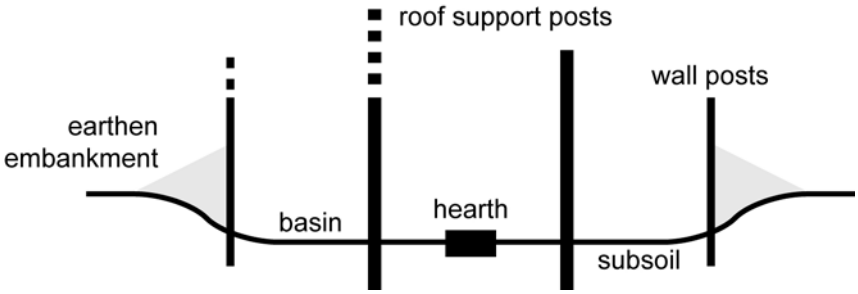


Figure 10. Profile view of a semisubterranean structure built in a basin.

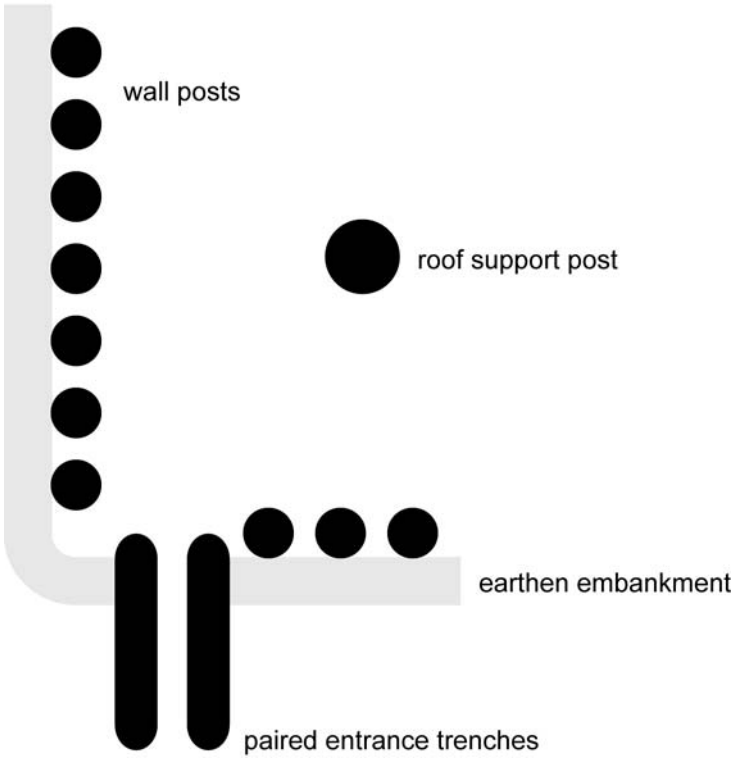


Figure 11. Planview map of a section of a structure with an earthen embankment and paired entrance trenches.

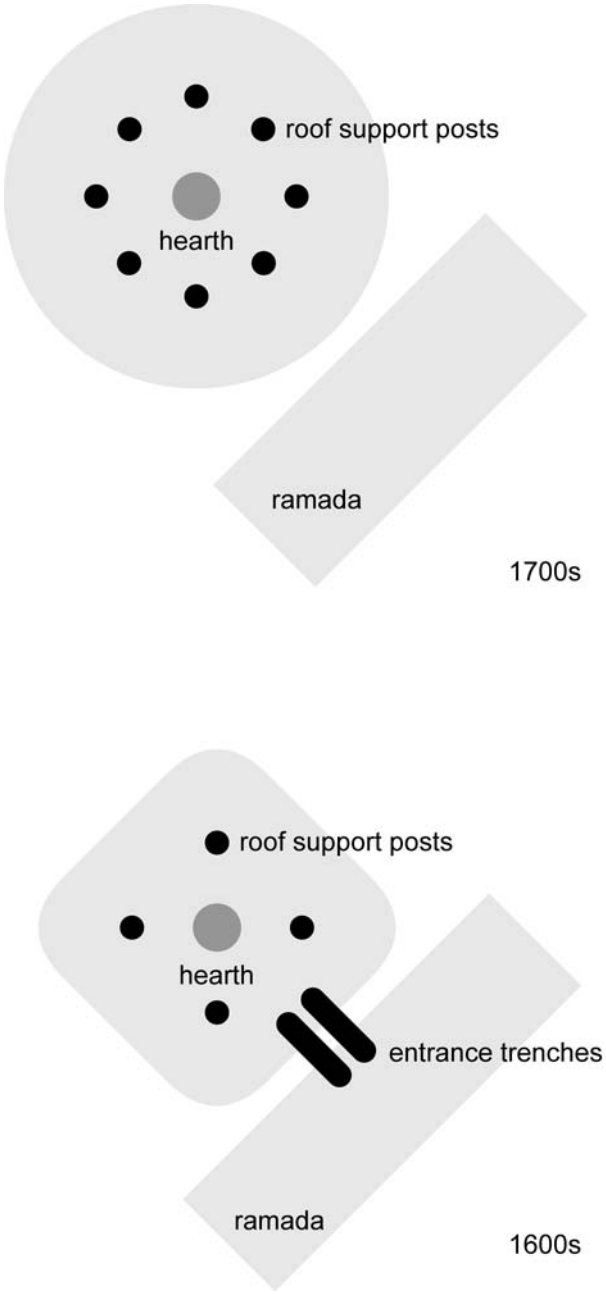


Figure 12. Comparison of seventeenth–century and eighteenth–century townhouses.

Table 1. Dimensions of Public Structures

Site	Structure	Stage	Shape	Width	Length	Diameter[1]	Area[2]	Basin
1776 - 1838								
New Echota/Ustanali	Unit 17	1 of 1	circular	-	-	36.58	1050.41	?
1700 - 1776								
Mialoquo (maximum estimate)	Structure 7	1 of 1	octagonal	-	-	18.29	262.60	probably
Mialoquo (minimum estimate)	Structure 7	1 of 1	octagonal	-	-	15.24	182.32	probably
Tomotley	Structure 28	1 of 1	circular	-	-	15.85	197.21	probably
Chota-Tanasee	Townhouse 2	2 of 2	circular	-	-	18.29	262.60	probably
Chota-Tanasee	Townhouse 1	1 of 2	circular	-	-	15.50	188.60	probably
Toqua	Structure 73	1 of 1	octagonal	-	-	17.07	228.74	yes
Toqua	Structure 75	1 of 1	octagonal	-	-	15.85	197.21	yes
Chattooga	Townhouse 5	5 of 5	square	17.00	17.00	-	289.00	yes
Chattooga	Townhouse 4	4 of 5	square	17.00	17.00	-	289.00	yes
Coweeta Creek	Structure 1F	6 of 6	square	15.85	15.85	-	251.22	yes
1540 - 1700								
Chattooga	Townhouse 3	3 of 5	square	16.00	16.00	-	256.00	yes
Chattooga	Townhouse 2	2 of 5	square	14.00	14.00	-	196.00	yes
Chattooga	Townhouse 1	1 of 5	square	?	?	?	?	yes
Coweeta Creek	Structure 1E	5 of 6	square	15.85	15.85	-	251.22	yes
Coweeta Creek	Structure 1D	4 of 6	square	14.63	14.63	-	214.04	yes
Coweeta Creek	Structure 1C	3 of 6	square	14.63	14.63	-	214.04	yes
Coweeta Creek	Structure 1B	2 of 6	square	14.63	14.63	-	214.04	yes
Coweeta Creek	Structure 1A	1 of 6	square	14.63	14.63	-	214.04	yes
King	Structure 17	1 of 1	square	14.63	14.63	-	214.04	yes
1300 - 1540								
Ledford Island	House 36	5 of 5	square	13.72	13.72	-	188.24	yes
Ledford Island	House 36	4 of 5	square	13.72	13.72	-	188.24	yes
Ledford Island	House 36	3 of 5	square	13.72	13.72	-	188.24	yes
Ledford Island	House 36	2 of 5	square	13.72	13.72	-	188.24	yes
Ledford Island	House 36	1 of 2	square	13.72	13.72	-	188.24	yes
Toqua	Structure 53	2 of 2	square	10.36	10.36	-	107.33	yes
Toqua	Structure 53	1 of 2	square	10.36	10.36	-	107.33	yes
Toqua	Structure 11	1 of 1	square	10.06	10.06	-	101.20	yes
Toqua	Structure 12	1 of 1	square	7.77	7.77	-	60.37	yes
Toqua	Structure 20	4 of 4	square	9.93	9.93	-	98.60	yes
Toqua	Structure 20	3 of 4	square	9.93	9.93	-	98.60	yes
Toqua	Structure 20	2 of 4	square	9.93	9.93	-	98.60	yes
Toqua	Structure 20	1 of 4	square	9.93	9.93	-	98.60	yes
Toqua	Structure 14	1 of 1	square	8.35	8.35	-	69.72	yes
Toqua	Structure 41	1 of 1	square	7.32	7.32	-	53.58	yes
Toqua	Structure 51	2 of 2	square	10.06	10.06	-	101.20	yes
Toqua	Structure 51	1 of 2	square	10.06	10.06	-	101.20	yes
Toqua	Structure 3	5 of 5	square	11.58	11.58	-	134.10	yes
Toqua	Structure 3	4 of 5	square	11.58	11.58	-	134.10	yes
Toqua	Structure 3	3 of 5	square	11.58	11.58	-	134.10	yes
Toqua	Structure 3	2 of 5	square	11.58	11.58	-	134.10	yes

Table 1. Dimensions of Public Structures (continued)

Site	Structure	Stage	Shape	Width	Length	Diameter[1]	Area[2]	Basin
Toqua	Structure 3	1 of 5	square	11.58	11.58	-	134.10	yes
Toqua	Structure 3	1 of 5	square	11.58	11.58	-	134.10	yes
Dallas	House 31-7	1 of 1	square	8.53	8.53	-	72.76	yes
Dallas	House 13-8	2 of 2	square	10.36	10.36	-	107.33	yes
Dallas	House 14-8	1 of 2	square	9.14	9.14	-	83.54	yes
Hixon	House 36	3 of 3	square	5.18	5.18	-	26.83	yes
Hixon	House 42	2 of 3	square	6.10	6.10	-	37.21	yes
Hixon	House 56	1 of 3	square	7.62	7.62	-	58.06	yes
Hiwassee Island	Building 3	?	rectangular	?	?	-	?	?
Hiwassee Island	Building 7	?	rectangular	?	?	-	?	?
Hiwassee Island	Building 13	2 of 2	circular	-	-	10.67	89.34	?
Hiwassee Island	Building 14	1 of 2	circular	-	-	14.63	168.03	?
Hiwassee Island	Building 17	1 of 1	circular	-	-	13.72	147.68	?
Hiwassee Island	Building 49	1 of 1	circular	-	-	10.67	89.34	?

1 Diameter measured from wall to wall.

2 Interior floor space, calculated as area within a square, or area within a circle.

Table 1. Dimensions of Public Structures (continued)

Embankment	Burials	Roof Supports	Associated Structure	Source
?	no	?	?	de Baillou 1955:28-29; Mooney 1900:543
?	no	8	indeterminate	Russ and Chapman 1983:51-54
?	no	8	indeterminate	Russ and Chapman 1983:51-54
?	no	8	Structure 29	Baden 1983:129-130
?	yes	8	summer townhouse	Schroedl 1986:228-234
?	yes	4	summer townhouse	Schroedl 1986:228-234
?	no	4	indeterminate	Polhemus 1987:343-345
?	no	4	indeterminate	Polhemus 1987:342-343
?	no	8	summer townhouse	Schroedl 2000:214, 2001:288
?	no	8	summer townhouse	Schroedl 2000:214, 2001:288
yes	no	?	Structure 2	Rodning 2002a, 2009a, 2009b
?	no	4	summer townhouse	Schroedl 2000:214, 2001:288
?	no	4	summer townhouse	Schroedl 2000:214, 2001:288
?	no	?	summer townhouse	Schroedl 2000:214, 2001:288
yes	no	?	Structure 2	Rodning 2002a, 2009a, 2009b
yes	no	4	Structure 2	Rodning 2002a, 2009a, 2009b
yes	possibly	4	Structure 2	Rodning 2002a, 2009a, 2009b
yes	possibly	4	Structure 2	Rodning 2002a, 2009a, 2009b
yes	yes	4	Structure 2	Rodning 2002a, 2009a, 2009b
yes	yes	8	Structure 16	Hally 2008:126-139
yes	yes	?	Structure 28	Lewis et al. 1995:68-72, 525-530
yes	yes	?	Structure 28	Lewis et al. 1995:68-72, 525-530
yes	yes	?	Structure 28	Lewis et al. 1995:68-72, 525-530
yes	yes	?	Structure 28	Lewis et al. 1995:68-72, 525-530
yes	yes	?	Structure 28	Lewis et al. 1995:68-72, 525-530
yes	no	?	-	Polhemus 1987:124, 326
yes	no	?	-	Polhemus 1987:124, 326
yes	yes	4	Structure 13, 87, 88	Polhemus 1987:268-270
yes	yes	4	Structure 13, 38, 88	Polhemus 1987:270-272
yes	no	4	Structure 27	Polhemus 1987:291-292
yes	no	4	Structure 27	Polhemus 1987:291-292
yes	no	4	Structure 27	Polhemus 1987:291-292
yes	no	4	Structure 27	Polhemus 1987:291-292
yes	no	4	Structure 30	Polhemus 1987:273-285
yes	no	4	Structure 128	Polhemus 1987:310-311
yes	no	8	Structure 52	Polhemus 1987:319-322
yes	no	8	Structure 52	Polhemus 1987:319-322
yes	yes	4	Structure 132	Polhemus 1987:247-259
yes	yes	4	Structure 132	Polhemus 1987:247-259
yes	yes	4	Structure 132	Polhemus 1987:247-259
yes	yes	4	Structure 132	Polhemus 1987:247-259

Table 1. Dimensions of Public Structures (continued)

Embankment	Burials	Roof Supports	Associated Structure	Source
yes	yes	4	Structure 132	Polhemus 1987:247-259
yes	yes	4	Structure 132	Polhemus 1987:247-259
yes	no	4?	-	Lewis et al. 1995:67-71, 311-317
yes	no	4?	-	Lewis et al. 1995:67-71, 311-317
yes	no	4?	-	Lewis et al. 1995:67-71, 311-317
?	no	?	Mound Level A	Lewis et al. 1995:380-381, 387-391
?	no	?	Mound Level A	Lewis et al. 1995:380-381, 387-391
?	no	?	Mound Level A	Lewis et al. 1995:380-381, 387-391
?	?	?	Building 7	Lewis and Kneberg 1946:74
?	?	?	Building 3	Lewis and Kneberg 1946:74
?	no	?	Mound Level C	Lewis and Kneberg 1946:70-72
?	no	?	Mound Level C	Lewis and Kneberg 1946:70-72
?	no	?	Mound Level C	Lewis and Kneberg 1946:70-72
?	no	?	Mound Level E	Lewis and Kneberg 1946:70-72

Table 2. Public Structures by Period

	1200 - 1540	1540 - 1700	1700 - 1776	1776 - 1838
Sites	5	3	6	1
Structures	34	9	9	1
Shapes	square	square	square octagonal circular	circular
Diameter				
Minimum	5.18	14.00	15.24	36.58
Maximum	13.72	16.00	18.29	36.58
Average	10.54	14.88	16.87	36.58
Area (Interior Space)				
Minimum	26.83	196.00	182.32	1050.41
Maximum	188.24	256.00	289.00	1050.41
Average	112.13	221.68	234.85	1050.41
Roof Support Posts				
Minimum	4	4	4	?
Maximum	8	8	8	?
Mode	4	4	8	?
Adjacent Associated Structures	yes	yes	yes	no
Basins	yes	yes	yes	possibly
Earthen Embankments	yes	yes	possibly	no
Entrance Trenches	yes	yes and no	no	no
Burials	yes and no	yes and no	few	no
Maximum Rebuilding Sequences	12	5	1	0