

## **Tennessee Archaeology**

### The Historic Period in Tennessee

#### Contact through Early Federal Period (1540-1810 AD)

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(with a contribution from Sarah A. Blankenship)

The Society for Historical Archaeology defines Historical Archaeology as the study of the material remains of past societies that also left behind historical documentary evidence (Society for Historical Archaeology 2007). It is a subfield that studies the emergence, transformation, and nature of the modern world. This study of the recent past looks at the coming together of cultures due to European expansion across the globe, and how these people transformed in the changes that culminated into today's world. This encompasses all of Tennessee's documented history beginning with contact and has been a useful tool in our understanding of the past allowing us to learn about people and place through the examination of documents and material culture.

The foundation for historical archaeology in Tennessee began with an interest by antiquarians and early archaeologists in trying to understand the origins of the moundbuilders as well as their relationship with historic tribes. This consisted of digging conducted on prehistoric and historic native sites in the region including those of the Overhill Cherokee by Cyrus Thomas (Schroedl 2001:278-279). Excavation of non-native historic sites were however of minimal interest, but there was some small scale digging that occurred. Early consideration was mainly given to Native American sites and this sometimes coincided with sites that were later occupied by Euro-Americans.

The beginning of historical archaeology conducted on non-native sites originally came from the development of site preservation and restoration which started a collaboration of historians and anthropologists to understand the past. The primary focus at first was related to historic structures and large features. Later prehistoric archaeological techniques were applied to historic sites and artifacts were incorporated as a means for analysis.

The first such recorded projects in Tennessee were conducted under the federal work programs in the 1930s and 40s, most in conjunction with the TVA. In 1936, the first known project was conducted at Fort Loudoun on the Little Tennessee River (Kunkel 1960:7-10). The WPA, under the direction of Hobart Cooper, conducted extensive excavations consisting of a series of trenches for the purposes of accurately reconstructing a portion of the site. Though no reports exist documenting the WPA excavations, drawings, notes and artifacts from the project are housed at the McClung Museum and with the Fort Loudoun Association.

Other historic sites were also investigated at this time including Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. William Lockett, a historian at Shiloh National Military Park, and a few CCC workers conducted a small project that basically consisted of digging that was done to uncover the lower water battery magazine at the fort (Lockett 1937; Smith 1996:19).

What could be considered the first true historical archaeology project can still however be attributed to Joe Finkelstein also later known as Joe Bauxar. Working as an ethnohistorian for the University of Tennessee, Bauxar was offered a position with the TVA doing salvage work for the subsequent flooding of Cherokee Lake (Smith 1996:19).

In 1941, investigations were conducted at Bean Station including work on a private fortification as well as a tavern and inn site. A subsequent report was filed with the Tennessee Valley Authority and is sufficient to allow for this title (Finkelstein 1942a, 1942b).

Other TVA/WPA projects also included the excavation of several Cherokee sites in the region though a majority of work was focused on major prehistoric sites some of which had historic Cherokee components.

After World War II, projects concerning historical archaeology were rare until the 1970s. However during this time, archaeology was once again conducted at Fort Loudoun in the 1950s and 60s for further restoration of the site and recording of features (Kunkel 1960:10-22; Kuttruff and Bastian 1976:9). Another early settler's cabin was also investigated in the mid-sixties at the Brake Site in Stewart County (Morse and Morse 1964).

Now at this time there were advents in the field including the rise of processual archaeology and the passing of the National Historic Preservation Act along with other state and federal legislation that would result in the increase of archaeology pertaining to historic period sites. There was also a general growth in interest spurred by the work of Hume at sites like Williamsburg on the east coast helping give rise to this new field of study.

The founding of the Tennessee Historical Commission and the Division of Archaeology was a result of new compliance laws regarding the protection, preservation, and management of historic sites. This ushered in an era of large-scale archaeology projects and thematic surveys. Projects during this time included work at the Netherland

Inn site in East TN, Wynnewood and the First Hermitage in Middle Tennessee, and Fort Pillow along the Mississippi River in West Tennessee (Smith 1996:3).

Other large-scale projects of the time include work conducted through Universities in the state. Most notable is the work conducted during the Tellico Project by the University of Tennessee for the construction of a reservoir by the TVA. Of major focus was the exploration of several Overhill Cherokee villages along the Lower Little Tennessee River Valley and stands as the quintessential work on the Cherokee in Tennessee.

Though non-native historic sites were not recorded during the survey, other major historic site investigations were associated with this project including work at the Tellico Blockhouse, Virginia Fort, Morganton, and the excavation of Fort Loudoun by the Division of Archaeology. Aside from this, many small scale excavations were also performed at other sites throughout the state primarily focusing on domestic and military sites and the first survey project that recorded historic sites was conducted on the Clinch River in East Tennessee by the University of Tennessee (Schroedl 1972, 1974).

Through the 1980's the discipline would truly develop into its modern-day state. The amount of attention to historic sites increased as well as the diversification of site types studied. Industrial, urban, cemetery, and commercial sites would also come into focus. Compliance archaeology began to take into account the importance of recording historic sites and would come to dominate the field. University programs and students also began to take an interest in historic site studies including at the University of Tennessee (Faulkner 2002) and an archaeological program instituted at The Hermitage (McKee 2000) helped to further drive research.

Through the 1990's and into today these general trends have continued. Major site surveys and large scale excavations have also continued as well as the dominance of CRM in the interpretation of our historic resources. As noted in a *Bibliographic History of Historical Archaeology in Tennessee*, by 1980 only around 60 archaeological historic site reports existed, excluding Phase I surveys (Smith 1996:5). In 1995, that number would reach 217 (Smith 1996) and by today it has surely doubled giving us a vast amount of data regarding Tennessee's historic sites.

The following paper is an attempt to synthesize this data concerning Tennessee's historical archaeology. Beginning with contact and ending with the mid-nineteenth century, this paper summarizes the historic period in Tennessee through the lens of a historical archaeological framework. The organization of this paper is based upon a discussion of different site types and/or studies that contribution to our knowledge of Tennessee's past including domestic, military, industrial, and mortuary sites.

### **Contact through Protohistoric (1540-1672 AD)**

The beginning of history in Tennessee starts with the exploration of the area by the Spanish. These were the first peoples in Tennessee whom we know to have a written language and left documents of their travels. These entradas begin in 1540 with the entrance of De Soto into East Tennessee and continued exploration with later expeditions by De Luna and Juan Pardo ending in 1672. Though archaeological evidence is lacking for these expeditions in Tennessee, a discussion of their "discovery" of the area and impact on Native peoples is relevant for this synthesis.

With the discovery of the New World, Europeans were eager for expansion of their empires. Most notable in the beginning were the Spanish and Portuguese conquests

of Latin America, later to be followed by Britain and France in the north. These conquests lead to an expansion of the Spanish empire and eventual exploration for resources in unrecorded areas like the southeast. Exploration was a viable means for colonization and the exploitation of resources taken up by Conquistadors who were in search of riches and glory for themselves and country. This motivated the drive for discovery and is why the Spanish influence was the first to be felt in the southeast. With the entry of the Spanish, Tennessee would be brought into the world scene and share in the age of discovery.

The beginning of exploration in Tennessee is documented in the Hernando de Soto expedition of 1539-43. Landing in the Tampa Bay area of Florida, De Soto led his group of soldiers, slaves, and priests totaling about 700 men, north through Georgia, the Carolinas and eventually into Tennessee. He then continued on towards the south through Alabama and returned north through Mississippi crossing the Mississippi River south of present-day Memphis. The expedition then met with disaster with De Soto's death from fever on the western bank of the Mississippi in 1542. The demoralized men then headed south finally to arrive in Mexico City later that year. The excursion was seen as a total disaster since no riches were gained and no permanent settlements had been established.

Four major accounts are used to reconstruct the northern route of De Soto's travels which led through Tennessee though the exact track is still debated. These consist of records compiled by Rodrigo Rangel, De Soto's private secretary, Luis Hernandez de Biedma, the Gentleman of Elvas, and Garcilaso de la Vega's account in *La Florida del Inca* (Beck 1997:162). [footnote: translators John E. Worth (1993), James Alexander

Robertson (1932)] Interpretation of these documents has been taken upon by such scholars as Swanton (1939), Hudson et al. (1984), and Beck (1997) for reconstructing the route in the Appalachian Summit region.

Initial interpretation began with the United States De Soto Expedition Commission in the 1930's in which John Swanton (1939) placed the entrada near the Hiwassee River drainage. Later interest was rejuvenated by Charles Hudson (1984) as well as his colleagues Chester DePratter and Marvin Smith during the 1980's. Their reconstruction puts the expedition farther north following the French Broad and Pigeon Rivers into Tennessee (Schroedl 2001:283). Robin Beck (1997) recounts new information about the De Soto expedition from documentary sources as well as archaeological information. He places the entry point over the Appalachians even farther north along the Nolichucky River. This assessment was based on the location of the town of Xuala described in the written accounts which is believed to be the Berry Site in western North Carolina (Beck 1997).

Once over the mountains, the De Soto expedition heads south along the western side of the Appalachians in eastern Tennessee exiting into the primary towns of the Coosa chiefdom in northern Georgia.

The next entrada into the Tennessee area was that of Tristan de Luna. This expedition of 1,500 settlers and soldiers originally settled in the Pensacola Bay area in 1559. The purpose of their colonial expedition was to establish a town and then to find route overland to the settlement of Santa Elena on the coast of South Carolina (Dye 1998). With supplies dwindling from a hurricane that decimated their ships, De Luna was forced to relocate. From the Pensacola area, De Luna moved inland to form a second

town on the lower Alabama River from which he sent a contingent of infantry and cavalry even farther north into Coosa territory to seek food (Hudson 1997a:313). The Coosa then allied with the Spanish and launched an attack on the Napochies in the north (Dye 1998). The Spanish-named “River of the Napochies” has been interpreted as the Tennessee River and places this section of the De Luna route near present-day Chattanooga (Hudson 1997b:470). Once this action was completed, the company returned to Coosa and later reassembled with the rest of the party in the south. The De Luna expedition was later abandoned in 1561 and the Spanish once again retreated into Mexico.

The last Spanish Conquistador to arrive in Tennessee was Juan Pardo. The Juan Pardo expedition left Santa Elena on the coast of South Carolina in 1566 heading for areas traveled by De Soto twenty years earlier. A party of 125 soldiers left in order to establish trade routes for supply of the dwindling colony. Upon arrival at the town of Joara (De Soto’s Xuala), Pardo constructed Fort San Juan, the earliest European fortification in the interior southeast and is interpreted as being located at the Berry site in western North Carolina (Beck 1997:165). From here Pardo departed for Santa Elena in 1567 and left Hernando Moyano as sergeant in charge of the fort with twenty other soldiers. Moyano then lead a foray towards the west into Tennessee that spring in order search for mineral resources and to subdue hostile Native Americans. He took his twenty soldiers and Joaran allies and attacked a palisaded village believed to be located at the Plum Grove site (Hudson 1990:28). From here the expedition went south to the town of Chiaha visited by De Soto and believed to be located on Zimmerman’s Island in the French Broad. This site is where Moyano constructed a small fort named San Pedro and



waited for the arrival of Juan Pardo (Hudson 1990:28). Pardo did arrive later in 1567 for his second expedition into the interior. This route took his back to Fort San Juan and then over the Appalachians to the French Broad River. He followed this route back to Chiaha to relieve the beleaguered Moyano party. From here Pardo headed south to Satapo interpreted as being situated at the confluence of Citico Creek and the Little Tennessee River (Hudson 1990:39). After hearing about a threat of attack by the Coosa, Pardo headed back to Santa Elana via Joara ending the expedition in 1568 (Beck 1997:167-168).

The documentation of the Pardo expedition is recorded in six different accounts, most coming from the second expedition. The most informative would be that of Pardo's scribe, Juan de la Bandera, followed by accounts from Francisco Martinez, Domingo de Leon, and testimonies of Luisa Mendez and Juan de Ribas in 1600 (Beck 1997:162-163). Most attribute the same route that De Soto took into Tennessee for the Moyano foray; however, Beck (1997) states that the route is most likely farther north once again following his proposed trail along the Nolichucky. The second Pardo expedition is placed along the French Broad River when entering Tennessee and is generally agreed upon by scholars.

For the most part, the debate is clear. How do we identify the route of these entradas from the historical record? It would be utterly impossible without the aid of archaeology. Archaeology has the ability to solve such historical dilemmas by giving definitive proof. By understanding recorded history like that previously mentioned or old trail maps, we can relate that to the archaeological discovery of 16<sup>th</sup> century artifacts or settlement patterning of townships during this period. More recent interpretations of the

Spanish chronicles as well as new archaeological evidence like that at the Berry site has placed the trail of these early explorers on a more solid footing.

Within Tennessee however these entradas have left sparse evidence of their arrival. They were premodern people, whose material possessions were few, and everything they did possess was carried on the backs of a human, horse, or mule (Hudson 1997b:427). Another issue is the preservation of these sites and the materials associated with them. Some evidence as mentioned earlier has put these sites in association with known archaeological sites but the discovery of 16<sup>th</sup>-century European artifacts in the context of Native American sites alone cannot necessarily define the presence of these explorers. Trade could have easily dispersed artifacts throughout the region. Recent evidence in the vicinity of Chattanooga (Alexander and Trudeau 2007; Redwine and Alexander 2007) has however yielded evidence of Spanish contact showing that these sites do still exist and have the ability to yield clues to this ephemeral and vaguely understood period of history.

### **Frontier through Early Federal (1673-1810 AD)**

After the unsuccessful attempts at colonization by the Spanish, Tennessee passed into unrecorded obscurity for the next hundred years. The native peoples left were left relatively unscathed by further European contact during this time. Though hunters or traders did probably enter the area, the first thoroughly documented accounts of European encroachment begin in 1673 with the arrival of the British in the east and the French in the west. This also marks the beginning of sustained settlement by Europeans in the Tennessee area.

The increase in competition for resources in the Americas drove for more exploration inland. Competing factions like the Spanish, French, and English by this time had developed profitable colonies and were steadily in search of increasing their capital gain. Tribes in the area were able to supply them with items they desired like beaver furs or deer pelts. The promise of trade and the acquisition of new land for settlement drove the growing number of Europeans in Tennessee.

The first to depart for the Tennessee area was the French expedition of Louis Joliet down the Mississippi River in the spring of 1673. Joliet, a fur trader, along with Father Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit Missionary, followed the Mississippi down to the Arkansas River probably stopping along the way at the Chickasaw Bluffs near present-day Memphis (Bergeron et al. 1999:8). This was the first navigation of the Mississippi that far south by the French and was later to be followed by La Salle in 1682.

British incursion into Tennessee came in the same year as Joliet's expedition with the entry of James Needam and Gabriel Arthur in the east. Setting out from Virginia as a business venture sponsored by Abraham Wood, Needam and Arthur arrived at a Cherokee town across the mountains in July (Bergeron et al. 1999:8). Needam then returned to their point of departure at Fort Henry while Arthur was left behind to establish trade relations.

Many more travelers and settlers would infiltrate the Tennessee area following these forays into the backcountry, but we have little to no record of their sparse existence. A majority of evidence in the area by Europeans from this early period in Tennessee history comes from military excursions into the vicinity.

With increasing tension between colonial superpowers, the frontier became of prime interest as a staging ground for gaining control of North America. This led to military incursions into Tennessee by the French and English to gain territory and allies. The French are known to have built forts along the Mississippi stretching from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. Fort Prudhomme was the first of the French forts in Tennessee built by La Salle in 1682 followed by Fort Assumption in 1739, both being along the bluffs overlooking the east bank of the Mississippi River though their exact location is still unknown (Smith 2000:141). The English military later came into the East Tennessee frontier from South Carolina to build a fort at the Cherokee's request known as Fort Loudoun.

During the French and Indian War of 1754 to 1763, the British constructed a fort at the confluence of the Little Tennessee and Tellico Rivers. This was beneficial for the English in that it would help solidify alliances and keep hold of their land claims as well as passive any native hostilities while the Cherokee benefited by having a place of refuge from attack by the French or their allies. An expeditionary force led by Captain Raymond Demere set out from Fort Prince George in 1756 to build a fort among the Overhill. Actually a small fort was constructed and abandoned earlier by a Virginian detachment sent to help the South Carolinian party but was quickly dismantled by the Cherokee to keep it from falling into French hands (Bergeron et al. 1999:15). Captain Demere along with John DeBrahm constructed Fort Loudoun, as it would be named, by the end of year and left a garrison of troops to defend it. The alliance held between the British and the Cherokee would soon be fractured and the Cherokee under Oconostota

besieged Fort Loudoun in 1760 eventually forcing its surrender and subsequently thereafter destroyed it (Bergeron et al. 1999:17-18).

Archaeological excavations were conducted at Fort Loudoun in some of the first projects to investigate historic sites (Kunkel 1960:7-10). These excavations of Fort Loudoun were originally initiated by the WPA in order to reconstruct the structure above the original remains. A series of trenches were placed throughout the site in order to locate various features. These include the exposure of the main and inner palisades, the enlisted men's barracks, the powder magazine, the Queen's Bastion well, and the guard house (Kunkel 1960:10). Again in the 1950's and 60's the site would once again be the subject of small-scale investigations which focused on the similar problem of relocating site features.

Later with the flooding of the Little Tennessee River in the 1970s, the site was excavated during the Tellico Project by the Division of Archaeology and the fort was once again replicated on higher ground. These excavations yielded information on the plan of the fort and the position of structures located within its walls as well as information concerning its inhabitants (Kuttruff and Bastian 1976). A near complete sample of the fort was taken before its inundation by the Little Tennessee River.

Hostilities continued between the Cherokee and the English after the fall of Fort Loudoun. A group of Virginian militia were the next to make an incursion into Tennessee territory in 1761 with the construction of Fort Robinson on the Holston River at Great Island (Randolph 1973:142). Troops were garrisoned here for a couple of months until word was received that hostilities had ceased. The group then returned to

Virginia leaving Henry Timberlake to explore the Overhill towns at the request of the Cherokee.

Timberlake's travels in the Overhill territory between 1761 and 1762 represents one of the best descriptive accounts of the Cherokee people and their towns. The peace seeking mission was described in his memoirs published in 1765 and contained accounts of housing, dress, ritual, and warfare. One of the best maps ever produced of the Cherokee towns was also drafted during his journey. This informative narrative has greatly benefited the understanding of the Cherokee in Tennessee during the frontier period.

As mentioned earlier, most of what we know archaeologically about the Cherokee in Tennessee comes from the Tellico Project. Excavation of several large village sites like that of Chota-Tanasee, Citico, and Toqua seen depicted in the classic Henry Timberlake map, as well as other smaller associated sites were undertaken and have generated considerable data concerning Cherokee culture in the 18<sup>th</sup>-century (Chapman 2001). One of the main goals of the project was to understand Cherokee culture change during the 18<sup>th</sup>-century and the influence of Europeans and Americans.

One major aspect of change is the increasing reliance on European trade goods. Metal tools and weapons as well as adornment items like glass beads all became associated with the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Cherokee. Lithic tool use was also reduced during this time due to trade. The use of traditional ceramics would however endure including Overhill and Qualla wares, though incorporation of European ceramics became more popular after the Revolutionary War (Schroedl 2000:224).

As far as subsistence is concerned European domesticates would also become common place among the Cherokee. Traditionally Cherokee diet mainly consisted of hunting deer, bear, turkey, and other animals as well as growing corn, beans, or squash (Goodwin 1977:49-82; Schroedl 2000:207). Later, domesticated animals like cows, chickens and pigs would be increasingly added to their diet as well as agricultural items like wheat and potatoes (Chapman 2001:119).

Change can also be seen in the architecture and settlement patterning of the Cherokee. With increasing conflict and land cessions, the Cherokee in Tennessee would move from tight-knit village communities to more dispersed settlements in the region. Villages primarily consisted of a townhouse, summer pavilion, village plaza, and associated domestic structures like that seen at Chota, the political center of the Overhill in the mid18<sup>th</sup>-century (Schroedl 1986). The townhouse was where most social, political, and ceremonial life was focused. Associated with the townhouse was the summer pavilion. This was a post in ground construction that consisted of a roofed open shed with benches. Domestic structures include paired winter and summer houses. Winter houses were circular post constructions with four central supports surrounded by a wattle and daub wall and included a conical roof and a central hearth (Chapman 2001:110). Summer dwellings were adjacent to the winter house and were rectangular post in ground structures (Chapman 2001:110).

Other sites like Mialoquo and Tomotley however had single long rectangular domestic structures that were sometimes segmented and grouped at angles to each other (Chapman 2001:110). Cherokee town sites were abandoned or severely reduced after the Revolutionary War due to conflict with encroaching Americans (Schroedl 2001:278).

Communities were either displaced or became more dispersed. Typical architecture at this time changed to log and rail houses that resemble the log cabin in use by settlers of the late 18<sup>th</sup>-century (Chapman 2001:115).

With the ending of the French and Indian War, settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains was restricted by the English with the Proclamation Line of 1763. This however didn't stop people from entering the area. Early private settlement began in earnest at this time in the farthest reaches of northeast Tennessee. These would eventually become the settlements of North Holston, Watauga, Nolichucky, and Carter's Valley. Other settlements would also be established farther west including the eventual formation of the Mero District. Hostilities during this time with local tribes in effect helped to create a strategy of small private defensive fortifications also known as stations.

Archaeologically these stations, also described as forts, have been the subject of investigations in Tennessee. One of these sites includes the excavation of Bledsoe's Station in Sumner County (Smith, K. 2000). Preliminary reconnaissance investigations succeeded in locating the site during the early 1990s, with more extensive excavations being conducted through several field schools hosted by Middle Tennessee State University. These investigations were conducted in an attempt to answer several basic questions concerning the dimensions of the fort, the number of structures, and the living conditions of the inhabitants (Smith 2000:178-184). The excavation of various features including root cellars and portions of the palisade ditch led to a much clearer understanding of what once existed there. It was concluded that the station enclosed about 1.5 acres with a total of 14 structures, three of which were blockhouses. Artifacts recovered from the site suggest that the inhabitants led a relatively lavish lifestyle,



compared to what is commonly considered to be a frontier standard of living. Though they were besieged by Native Americans and were no doubt doing everyday chores for survival, they were also eating on the finest china of the day and wearing clothes that seem to be above par for their assumed living conditions (Smith, K. 2000:181-184).

In 1790, the area between the Appalachian Mountains and Mississippi River formerly claimed by North Carolina became the Territory South of the Ohio. Conflict between Native Americans and settlers increased to the point that federal troops were dispatched to construct defenses and garrison troops. Peace and trade among these groups also drove the construction of military forts.

One such site was that of the Tellico Blockhouse. In 1794, Governor William Blount established this fort along the Little Tennessee River for the purposes of preserving peace and order between the newly formed United States and the Indians (Chapman 2001:107). It served as a place to treat and trade with the Cherokee, as a factory for fur processing, and as a public store for the region. It housed soldiers, Indian agents, as well as non-military persons including women and children, slaves, and Cherokee. This created a place of interaction between many different groups. The fort was later abandoned in 1807 and its soldiers moved to Hiwassee Garrison closer to the heart of the Cherokee nation (Chapman 2001:107).

Excavations conducted at the Tellico Blockhouse took place over several seasons of field work during the Tellico Project. No known drawings or maps exist depicting the structure which allowed archaeologists to confirm the physical layout of the site. Another rare opportunity was also available for researching the different groups of people at the site and their contrasting material remains in order to understand their interactions. One

interesting discovery of this interaction was the recovery of Colonoware from several pit features (Polhemus 1979). Colonoware is believed to be a creation of African-Americans in the New World, but new theories suggest that it might be a creolization of different groups creating these wares (Kelly 2005:1119) and this site would fit nicely into that model.

Other major excavations for the early period of Tennessee history include those completed by the Division of Archaeology at military sites like Fort Southwest Point and Fort Blount. Fort Southwest Point in Kingston was the main headquarters for federal soldiers between 1797 and 1807 (Smith 2000:147). It served as a garrison during this time and housed the Cherokee Indian Agency from 1801 until abandonment by a majority of its troops in 1807 moving to Hiwassee Garrison (Smith 2000:147).

Excavations were first conducted during two seasons of field schools sponsored by the University of Tennessee. Later the Division of Archaeology would return in the 1980s and complete excavation of a majority of the site (Smith 1993). The analysis of artifacts provided an excellent example of the reinterpretation of history through archaeological investigations. The fort was originally thought to be abandoned in 1807, but a large number of buttons which were not in use until 1808 occurred at the site and pointed to a later abandonment date (Smith 1993:299). A reanalysis of the historical data found that the fort was used for storage and shipping of supplies until 1811 helping to confirm these conclusions.

Fort Blount located in Jackson County is another early military site that has received archaeological attention. The fort was built in 1794 and garrisoned militia and later federal troops until it was vacated in 1798. Most of the site was excavated by the

Division of Archaeology between 1989 and 1994 yielding information about the living conditions at the site (Smith and Nance 2000). Only three structures were discovered within its walls and artifacts revealed that fine or fashionable items were few and that ceramics mainly consisted of locally made earthenwares. This exposes the sparse lives of the inhabitants at the fort which was referred to as a Spartan lifestyle (Smith 2000:144).

Aside from military sites, many domestic sites in Tennessee have been the focus of archaeological research. Since the 1970s, a growing number of archaeologists have turned to the study of domestic life as a way to reconstruct past societies. Households, as complex locations of socialization, interaction, and conflict offer archaeologists a unit of social organization at which individuals consume material culture, produce waste and discard, reproduce traditions, and participate in their economic, political, and natural environments. Studies of such sites in Tennessee have produced a vast amount of our knowledge about the past and its social history.

Drawing on a historical household archaeology framework, establishing a social and economic context for households on the Tennessee frontier centers around two conceptual focal points: the use of domestic space on the frontier and adaptive strategies for household maintenance on frontier farmsteads. Tennessee domestic sites need to be first and foremost located within the broader cultural landscape of Euroamerican settlement in the region. Through the lens of an historical geography of Tennessee it is possible to explore the external relations of households. Turning from the external relations to the internal structure of households, the reconstruction of the experience of daily life through domestic practices, material culture, the gendered division of labor in the household, and the architectural forms common on early domestic sites in Tennessee.

Kinship relations and the gendered division of labor within households have been important areas of attention within this sphere of archaeology. Particularly important has been the relationship between the gendered division of labor and the gendered use of space within a domestic site.

Most early domestic sites studied have revolved around the “Big Men” of history. This includes the residences of those such as William Blount, John Sevier, and Andrew Jackson. Aside from studying these elites in history, many such sites have also contributed to our understanding of the undocumented including studies involving slave life and gender.

One site that has yielded information of the common yeoman farmer includes the Gibbs farmstead in northern Knox County. Nicholas Gibbs, a German immigrant, settled the farmstead in 1792 and four subsequent Gibbs households occupied the site through 1972. The still standing one-and-a-half story log house first constructed by Nicholas Gibbs sits on a knoll above Beaver Creek. The Gibbs farmstead was excavated between 1987 and 1996 by the University of Tennessee. Excavations have revealed a possible kitchen ell addition to the structure as well as a smokehouse and pit cellar.

An initial set of research questions explored the spatial layout of structures at the Gibbs farmstead, sought to identify activity areas of the site, and recover artifactual material for functional analysis. An understanding of the transformations of daily life from one Gibbs household occupation to the next as indicative of the changes in the broader rural economy and material life was also an outcome of this excavation. The changing productive and consumptive behaviors of the Gibbs families was analyzed to

understand the linkages between a rural farmstead in Southern Appalachia, consumerism, and the global economy (Groover 1996).

It was demonstrated that the social and economic conditions affecting the Gibbs households was evident in the changes of the fixed and non-fixed material culture at the site as both architecture and ceramic sherds fluctuate with the growth and decline of various Gibbs households. This excavation illustrates an understanding household change and the linkages between those households and the broader economy.

Another focus of historical archaeology in Tennessee has consisted of the study of industrial sites. Industrial Archaeology is an increasingly popular subfield of archaeology focusing on the investigation of labor, work, and industry. Purposes of industrial archaeology and research goals are often similar to other sites researched in historical archaeology. The investigation of physical remains such as structures, artifacts, and by products can be interesting to determine the technology employed. Additionally, the spatial and social relationship between worker and supervisor can be determined by data collected, such as concentrations of artifacts primarily related with one class level or another. Investigation into the industrial landscape can also determine what effect the industry had on the local community, whether by building a company town or by deforestation.

Many different types of industry pervade in Tennessee ranging from cottage industries and service industries at the low level of production to the larger operations like the manufacture and procurement of raw materials. The everyday individual and his or her hard work, however, was what created the infrastructure that shaped Tennessee.

That is why archaeologists are interested in the industrial and labor sites during Tennessee's formative years.

One industry that is present in Tennessee's since its inception is the iron refining industry. Iron was an often needed product, and legislation regarding it was instituted early. In 1788 "North Carolina legislature passed "An Act to Encourage the Building of Iron Works," which provided that the proprietor of such works could receive a grant of 3,000 acres of state land simply by filing an entry and proving that he made a certain quantity of iron within three years "(Scott 1821:403). This same provision continued to apply to the Tennessee region while it was a part of the Territory South of the River Ohio (1790-1796), and was used as a model for a Tennessee act of 1809, which required only that the owner build an ironworks and operate it within two years. Such 3,000- acre grants were exempt from taxation for 99 years (Smith et al. 1988:34).

One of the earlier iron refining sites in Tennessee was the Cumberland Furnace on Barton's Creek, dating to 1795 (Council et al. 1992:46). Another site, this one recorded in Smith's survey of the Western Highland Rim Iron Industry was the Palmyra site, where an iron furnace, later reused as a lime kiln, was found in the corresponding area (Smith et al.1988:101).

Another type of industry investigated that was common during Tennessee's formative years was that of milling. The newly tamed frontier of Tennessee held farmers who needed to process their grain into usable meal or flour. Many mills are improved upon over time, so determining the earliest components and structure of the mill is sometimes made more difficult. Although this did tend to occur more as a cottage industry, building the initial mill was a large investment of resource and labor capital.

Kelso's Mill, in what is now Morgantown is an example of an archaeological excavation at this type of site. Here, the research goals were to determine the structural components, their size, and the technology used. This mill originally dated to 1799, but technology employed was found to improve over time, including the incorporation of a new type of turbine in the nineteenth century. Material culture at this mill included structural artifacts such as the ubiquitous nail (Lautzenheiser 1986).

After Tennessee declared Statehood, development increased. This included growing communities in the mountains with cottage industries, plantations and their monocrops gaining power, and the development of urban areas with their increased workforce to meet increased consumer and developer demand.

Domestic activities also sometimes take a more industrial appearance when a regulated, large scale production occurs. These types of activities are present either in large-scale households, such as plantations, or as an extra source of support for the household, such as a cottage industry. The James White Second Home Site contained such possible large scale activity areas within its domestic space, including elongated sections of fired earth which may have been used as the location of tubs for scalding hogs while butchering (Faulkner 1984:20). Sites impacted with similar intensity have also been found relating to Molasses Production.

Another type of archaeological site that will be discussed includes caves and their use during the historic period. Archaeologists working in Tennessee caves have, for the most part, concerned themselves with pre-Columbian cave usage. Although a historic material record does indeed exist in the caves of Tennessee and certainly deserves the attention of the archaeological community, few archaeological studies have been

undertaken in an attempt to understand the utilization of caves during the Historic period. Systematic research on the subject has almost entirely been the work of historians, whose primary focus has been Euro-American interactions with the underground environment. The historian Joseph Douglas (1993, 2001a, 2001b, 2004) in particular has documented the variety of ways Euro-Americans have been utilizing Tennessee's caves over that past two centuries.

As reliable sources for both shelter and water, caves became important resources for early settlers and long hunters that began to penetrate the frontier region of the Cumberland Plateau during the eighteenth century (Douglas 2004). The use of both caves and rockshelters for temporary shelter apparently became quite common (so common, in fact, that many of these features became known as "rockhouses"), and was a practice that continued into the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Douglas 2004: 20). As settlers began to establish permanent residence, caves were often utilized for domestic household activities. As Douglas notes, "One of the most typical functions of Upper Cumberland caves was as a root cellar or springhouse; both functions were important and highly desirable in the long years before electricity and refrigeration" (2004: 21).

During the early nineteenth century caves became incorporated into the local and regional commercial economies. Some of the earliest extractive industries in Tennessee involved the mining of cave minerals, such as alum (a hydrated potassium aluminum sulfate believed to have been used as an astringent), Epsom salt (magnesium sulfate), and copperas (a ferrous sulfate used in the manufacture of black dyes and ink), (Douglas 2004: 22). Arguably the most important extractive industry was saltpeter mining.



Salt peter, or potassium nitrate, was the primary ingredient in the manufacture of gunpowder and could be obtained rather reliably from cave sediments. In Tennessee, small-scale salt peter production began in the late 1700s (Smith 1990). However, it was not until the onset of the War of 1812 that large-scale salt peter mining operations were established in the state, as demands for domestic sources of salt peter were deemed crucial to the war effort.

One final type of investigation relating to this period includes mortuary or bioarchaeological studies. The deceased of European colonists during the early 18<sup>th</sup> century were buried in family cemeteries, community burial grounds, or on church burial grounds depending on the extent of settlement development by the colonist at the time. Prior to the construction of churches and other community centers or among the extremely poor rural colonists individuals were most often buried in family cemeteries. This was also the case in Britain and other parts of Europe from whence these settlers came (Mytum 2004).

Burials located in churches were usually oriented east-west. The reason for this east-west orientation is unclear; the most popular consensus is that this behavior is religious in origin. In family cemeteries and community burial grounds grave orientation was dependent on a number of factors. Many graves were oriented in relationship to buildings, fences, and cemetery roads (Mytum 2004:20).

Inter- and intra-site spatial patterning reveals a lot about social status, age, kinship, and ancestry of the deceased. However information regarding inter-site and intra-site spatial patterning for this time period is scarce. There are generally two reasons for this, the first being that there have been very few extensive excavations carried out for

this period. The second reason can, for the most part, be attributed to taphonomic processes. It is simply unlikely that grave memorials will have survived or remained in good condition after over 200 years of weathering, decay, and cultural impingements. Furthermore the survival of such relics in situ is rare. “Nevertheless, the fragmentary evidence from many sites, combined with documentary sources, does provide some important indications for intra-site patterning” (Mytum 2004:19).

The skeleton reflects the environmental, biological, and cultural realms in which the deceased lived (Reitz et al. 1985). Through extensive analysis of skeletal remains one can obtain data regarding demographics (age, sex, ancestry, and stature), mortality, disease, health, and stress levels. Human skeletal analysis of European, African, Native, and Melungeon American remains from this period in Tennessee is sparse. The style and material component of grave adornments, grave spatial patterns, and demography based on gravestone inscriptions and historic records, informant interviews, and personal observation are the most common realms in which historic mortuary archaeology resides.

One site that has received archaeological attention includes the Tipton-Haynes Cemetery in East Tennessee. Many of the graves in the cemetery were unmarked during initial analysis of the site. Phase I testing was done in order to reveal graves and establish boundaries for the cemetery (Young 1993). The result of this testing over two field seasons revealed 10 grave pits and the possibility for more outside of the current cemeteries boundaries (Young 1993). This cemetery was used initially by the Tipton family and their slaves from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century (1780's-1850), then by the Haynes family and their slaves from the mid-nineteenth century to the twentieth century (1850-1900's).

The Tipton family graves are clustered together and face almost true east. The clustering of family graves and the east-west orientation of graves corresponds to traditional burial practices of early European American colonists. Unmarked graves are indicated of either impoverish times or the lack of skilled stone cutters. This could also be the result of taphonomic processes that would have totally demolished wooden grave markers if present.

Cool Branch Cemetery located in Hancock County is another cemetery site in which archaeology has been able to yield evidence of Tennessee's past. In it were interned five graves with artifacts that helped to narrow down deposition dates to between 1800 and 1830 (Matternes 1998). Five soldered single-shanked solid-metal buttons, machine cut nails with hammered and machined heads, and six uninscribed grave marker and marker fragments made of Rome limestone which represented head- and footstones aided in narrowing down the temporal distribution of these remains. In addition to these artifacts, the grave pits themselves further assisted in obtaining temporal information. The grave pits were constructed as two stage burial chambers composed of large external shafts and interior shafts dug at deeper levels in the shape of the coffin were. These graves contained biological information that was used to shed light on the lifeways of an early nineteenth century Appalachian population. Graves were identified by the presence of uninscribed field stone markers and/or the presence as oval shaped depressions. They were traditionally oriented on an east-west axis.

Biological analysis of the five graves revealed the remains of two adults, one female between 35-50 years of age and one male between the age of 35 and 50. The other three graves were identified as infant burials. This infancy was established by

assuming that grave pit sizes represented maximum body length given that coffins, during this time, were constructed to fit the individual and not for mass production (Lang 1984).

Due to the small sample size at Cool Branch Cemetery a comparative TVA sample of 25, 000 relocated graves dating to the early nineteenth century was used to determine whether or not the Cool Branch sample was representative of population mortality patterns of the region during this time. The TVA sample life expectancy was around 40.62 years. This low age at death was the result of high infant mortality in the early 19th century. Almost a third of this population died in childhood. Individuals who attained the age of 10 were more likely to survive to middle age. This suggests that during the early 19th century young adulthood was a safe period in individual's life in East Tennessee. Individuals over the age of 35, however, had a greater chance of dying. This implies an increase in the susceptibility of mature to elderly individuals to infectious diseases and other ailments. "High infant and late middle-aged representations in the TVA mortality sample are reflective of the pattern observed in the Cool Branch Cemetery sample (Matternes 1998:79)."

The living populations age distribution indicated a population with 40% of its individuals between the ages 12 and 50. This suggests that a large percent of the TVA sample was made up of the breeding population. Thus "to counter the effects of high childhood mortality or even to maintain a balance between birth and death rates, a high number of children must be born (Matternes 1998:79)." This was in fact the case as indicated by children who represent 20% of the TVA assemblage. The Cool Branch cemetery corresponds to this population distribution in that 2(40%) of the individuals in

the assemblage would have been in the breeding population. The other 3 (60%) subadult graves are indicative of high childhood mortality which was also the case in the TVA sample. It is assumed that the population associated with the Cool Branch Cemetery might have the same structure as the TVA sample.

One adult grave which was best preserved was identified most likely as individuals of European American decent. It is still, however possible that this individual and the adult female could have been Melungeon.

The quality of life of these individuals appeared to be stressful. The adult female had 13 carious lesions and very little dental calculus. The adult male exhibited extensive resorption of alveolar bone and loss of most of his dentition; all of the posterior dentition on the top and bottom had been lost during life. Lack of posterior dentition would have prevented this male from consuming many foods leading to malnourishment. The high incidence of dental caries, lack of dental plaque, and loss of posterior teeth suggest ineffective dental hygiene and a diet rich in sucrose from carbohydrates which promotes caries development through the proliferation of streptococcal bacteria (Hillson 1996). The presence of only a small amount of plaque in the female burial also implies a diet rich in carbohydrates (Hillson 1996). “These dietary features are consistent with the diet of corn meal, sorghum, and occasional pork products commonly followed among economically disadvantaged Southern populations” including Appalachian farmers during the early 19th century. Everyday agricultural life in addition to a diet high in carbohydrates would have put a strain on the community’s health by affecting the ability of adults to consume foods, consequently leading to a high mortality rate among adults.

In addition, malnourished subadults, due such an inadequate diet, would have had a hard time fighting infectious diseases and other ailments.

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