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Pox, Empire, Shackles, and Hides: The Townsend Site, 1670-1715. By Jon Bernard Marcoux.

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Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993 (often referred to as one of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act amendments), and the subsequent American Indian Religious Freedom Act Amendments of 1994, which among other things provided protection for the traditional use of peyote as sacrament in religious ceremonies.

The author argues in the conclusion and epilogue that as a pan-Indian faith, peyotism has not weakened tribal identity, as feared by some Native American traditionalists. In part, this is because peyote chants and prayers value and use Native languages. Peyote faith is still growing and its future is not in question; however, peyote supply is a concern since access to peyote “buttons” is diminishing and, as a result, quantities are dwindling.

The Peyote Road provides unparalleled detailed ethnographic descriptions of peyote ceremonies, complete with exhaustive information about the differences between the Half Moon and Cross Fire variations. Perhaps the book’s main strength is the author’s skillful and detailed narrative of how peyote religion’s legal and legislative trials contributed to the developments and changes of federal and state policies, as well as the rare descriptions of peyote religious art and music. The comprehensive and detailed account on the origin of the peyote beliefs and practices in the United States and the subsequent development of the Native American Church makes *The Peyote Road* an excellent resource for a better understanding of peyote religion and the struggle for the right of Native American Church members to practice their faith. It is recommended for those readers who are generally interested in Native American struggles for religious freedom, in addition to the evolution of peyote religion in North America and its particular ethnography, history, politics, and folklore.

Orit Tamir

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Pox, Empire, Shackles, and Hides: The Townsend Site, 1670–1715. By Jon Bernard Marcoux. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2010. 192 pages. \$36.00 cloth; \$20.00 paper.

In the broadest sense, in his book *Pox, Empire, Shackles, and Hides: The Townsend Site, 1670–1715*, Marcoux is responding to William Fenton’s call in an essay of five decades ago for scholarly cooperation between historians and archaeologists, what Fenton conceptualized as “ethnohistory.” The author likewise seems to be answering the classic advice of the intellectual father of southeastern studies, Charles Hudson, who has pushed us all to read between the lines. Like Marcoux, readers who are intrigued by such overarching

questions will benefit from also examining Hudson's introductory essay in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540–1760* (2002) coedited by Charles Hudson and Robbie Ethridge, in addition to an essay specifically about Cherokee beginnings found in the same book (Christopher Rodning's ("Reconstructing the Coalescence of Cherokee Communities in Southern Appalachia," 155–175).

Given that Jon Bernard Marcoux's representative site of Townsend lies in the Little River Valley on the northern extremity of the usual geographic region mapped as Cherokee territory (Fig. 3.2, 55), Marcoux's book includes an even wider range of Cherokee settlements into Rodning's geographical picture. Marcoux hopes to inform his readers about two broad questions: Cherokee ethnogenesis, and the related impact of the so-called "shatter zone" on emerging Cherokee settlements. In support of these goals, he offers a detailed analysis of data from the Townsend Site (40Bt89–40Bt91) in Tennessee. Marcoux synthesizes historical research on the interaction of Cherokee peoples with the several European powers as well as with other southeastern Native groups (chapter 2).

From this overview, the author then turns to an archaeological description of data from six Cherokee households at the Townsend site, with clear depictions of this location lying on a terrace south of the Little River near present-day Townsend, Tennessee (Figure 3.5, 61). In the description of potting traditions and pottery from these households unveiled in chapter 4, the author's presentation is at its strongest. Yet these interesting artifactual data do not seem clearly connected to the shatter-zone events Marcoux has explicated earlier. As impressive as the explications offered in chapter 4 on "Potting Traditions and Household Identities at Townsend" are, they fail to reflect the implications of the book's title. Neither does this ceramic analysis persuade effectively that the title of chapter 3 is accurate, that is, that the Townsend site was "The Archaeological Embodiment of a Shatter Zone Community." Likewise challenging to the reader's logic is the argument posited on page 106 drawing a comparison between the Townsend settlements and the Tomotley and Mialoquo towns impacted by the Cherokee War of 1776. As Roy Dickens and Bennie Keel explained more than thirty-five years ago, there is evidence of catastrophic burning of structures in villages ravaged by the invading troops. Those disasters occurred more than fifty years after the Townsend villagers' apparent abandonment of their homes, leaving the scholar with something of a logical stretch.

As he seeks to help readers understand the six households under scrutiny, the author then turns his narrative to accounts of Cherokee structures found in the early travel literature, referring to Henry Timberlake, James Adair, and William Bartram. Interested scholars may wish to consult Duane

King's splendidly edited and illustrated version of *The Memoirs of Lt. Henry Timberlake: The Story of a Soldier, Adventurer, and Emissary to the Cherokees, 1756–1765* (2007) in order to put visual flesh on these archaeological bones. King includes not only the itinerant English officer's prose picture of the Cherokee council house but also an artist's depiction of the "Chota townhouse" (King, 17). The lieutenant's text is also informative because of his claim that the structure at Chota would hold 500 people. Those curious about Bertram and Adair may wish to consult further two current works of scholarship about these eighteenth century travelers edited by Kathryn Holland Braund, a 2005 edition of Adair and a 1995 publication entitled *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians*.

Given that Tuckaleechee Cove, where those villagers lived, lay so close to a Native American superhighway, the so-called "Great Indian Warpath" or Warrior's Path, one might have expected some evidence of outside contact. As appropriate as the dating might be (confirmed by archaeomagnetic techniques), he did not find any direct physical connection to European disease vectors, Atlantic world trading economies (save for some "diagnostic glass trade beads"), market-driven enslavement practices, or international imperial rivalries. The author refers in three instances to "diagnostic glass trade beads" (62, 105, 142) without additional information or any explanation as to their nature or place of origin. Unfortunately, the current book refers readers to information included in the author's 2008 doctoral dissertation and does not include any samples from this glass trade bead data.

Without question Jon Marcoux has given us useful information. The pottery analysis along with the biplots (Figure 4.11, 98) of six households and the posthole patterns (Figure 5.1, 112) instruct the researcher who wishes to imagine this temporarily lost world. Posthole patterns there indicated winter houses and summer houses along with other materials associated with a settlement from that time frame. Again, for the sake of further illumination, readers might consult King's edition for a depiction of a summer house and a winter house (King, Figure 38, 32) attributed to the village at Chota that Henry Timberlake visited; Marcoux found a similar distribution of structures in the Townsend site. Despite some weaknesses, Jon Marcoux has added substantially to our understanding of the distribution both of Cherokee settlements and their accompanying ceramic traditions. Scholars of Cherokee studies and especially Cherokee archaeology will benefit from this addition to the literature.

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