Time before History

The Archaeology of North Carolina

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Mark Mathis helped considerably in making current the chapter on coastal archaeology. Mark freely shared his research and knowledge, and was always available to discuss the latest archaeological developments along the coast. We also learned from Mark that currency on the coast is as fleeting as the last wave.

Much of the information we present here comes from obscure, unpublished reports of cultural resource–management projects. Without the always friendly help of Dolores Hall, finding and combing through these reports would have been drudgery. Dolores's thorough knowledge and incredible memory made trips to the Office of State Archaeology library productive and pleasurable.

We would also like to thank Susan Myers for proofreading and indexing the manuscript. Her keen eye, conscientious attention to detail, and general knowledge of North Carolina archaeology made her the ideal person for this tedious but necessary task.

Finally we would like to acknowledge the pioneers of North Carolina archaeology. It is difficult to imagine a book like this without the hard work and dedication of individuals like James Bullitt, Harry Davis, Herbert Doerschuk, Guy Johnson, and Douglas Rights. In particular, Joffre Coe must be singled out for his long-term and unique role in starting and maintaining the archaeology program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Much of the information presented in the chapters that follow comes from studying files, notes, and artifacts that were carefully excavated and meticulously curated under Coe's direction and are housed at the Research Laboratories of Archaeology.

1. Introduction

Most people react with awe and surprise when they first learn that North Carolina was settled more than 10,000 years ago. And this reaction is understandable given the brief and usually superficial treatment the unwritten past is given in elementary and high school curricula. For most people, history begins in North Carolina with the voyages of Sir Walter Raleigh and the ill-fated English settlement on Roanoke Island in 1585. Few realize that this "history" only scratches the surface of the real but unwritten history of our state. How these early North Carolinians lived and how they changed through the centuries cannot be discovered from lost documents and the written word. Instead, this history has to be painstakingly reconstructed from the fragmentary and fragile record these early settlers left buried beneath our feet. The shovel and trowel of the archaeologist must be used to recover and decipher our unwritten past.

Cultural-Historical Overview

Most archaeologists working in North Carolina recognize five major cultural traditions. From earliest to latest, these are Paleo-Indian, Archaic, Woodland, Mississippian, and Historic. These traditions reflect general cultural patterns and changes through time. Sometimes they are defined by precise chronological brackets, other times they are not. In some regions of the state, a tradition may begin at one point in time, while in another region, the same tradition may start later or earlier. As the reader will soon come to realize, most things archaeological are shaped by fuzzy, unfocused boundaries rather than by sharp, clearly defined lines.

Paleo-Indian Period (before 8000 B.C.)

The Paleo-Indian period represents the initial stage of human presence in the Western Hemisphere. The first immigrants to North America came from northeast Asia across a land bridge that spanned the Bering Strait. Exactly when the initial wave of settlers arrived is a subject of considerable debate among archaeologists, but there is firm evidence that they occupied most of the continent by around 10,000 B.C. Evidence of these first people, or Paleo-Indians, was first discovered at "kill sites" such as Clovis and Folsom in the southwestern United States. There, distinctive, fluted spear points were found in direct association with now-extinct Ice Age mammals. In North Carolina, and throughout most of the eastern United States, we know of the Paleo-Indians' presence primarily from scattered, usually isolated, surface finds of Clovis- and Folsom-like spear points (Perkinson 1971, 1973).

The oldest site that has been excavated in North Carolina is the Hardaway site, which, based on the kinds of artifacts that occur there, can be dated to the close of the Paleo-Indian period. However, because no radiocarbon dates were obtained from the site, there is some disagreement regarding the precise age of its earliest use and whether the early Hardaway complex should be placed within the Paleo-Indian period or subsequent Archaic period.

Archaic Period (8000–1000 B.C.)

The Archaic period is much better known than the Paleo-Indian period. While most Paleo-Indians hunted animals that lived during the last stages of the Ice Age, the Archaic period heralds the final retreat of the glaciers and a moderating of climatic conditions. It is believed that Archaic peoples settled into an environment similar to what exists today and lived by: (1) hunting mostly animals that can still be found, like the white-tailed deer, black bear, and wild turkey; (2) fishing and collecting both freshwater and saltwater shellfish; and (3) gathering a variety of plant foods such as acorns, hickory nuts, walnuts, seeds, greens, and berries. Because these food resources did not always occur at the same time or place, it was necessary for Archaic peoples to move among several different campsites during the course of a year. Given this mobile way of life, they probably lived in small bands composed of extended families or groups of families.

Archaic peoples used a variety of tools that permitted them to survive successfully and efficiently within their environment. Although many tools were made from perishable materials such as plant fibers, wood, bone, and animal skins, in most instances only their stone tools and the waste flakes from making these tools have survived the ravages of time. Archaic hunters did not possess the bow and arrow but instead used a highly efficient weapon called the atlatl, or spear-thrower. The distinctive notched and stemmed points that tipped their spears commonly occur at Archaic campsites. Because of their relative abundance and the fact that their shapes, or styles, evolved over time, these spear points have been used successfully by archaeologists in North Carolina and elsewhere to develop a chronological sequence of Archaic cultures.

Woodland Period (1000 B.C.–A.D. 1600)

In general, the Woodland period is viewed as a time when peoples throughout the eastern United States began the gradual shift toward agriculturally based economies and their settlements correspondingly became larger and more permanent. It is also seen as a period during which societies became more internally complex, developed elaborate mortuary rituals, sometimes constructed earthen burial mounds and house platforms, and engaged in far-reaching trade and exchange of exotic items. However, the degree to which North Carolina's Woodland peoples engaged in these activities varied greatly from the mountains to the coast.

From a practical standpoint, North Carolina archaeologists usually define the onset of the Woodland period by the appearance of pottery-making, and they use the various styles of the potters to chronologically order artifact assemblages and to study relationships among Woodland period cultures. Potsherds found on early Woodland sites that date prior to about A.D. 200 mostly represent conoidal cooking pots that were stamped with cord-wrapped or fabric-wrapped wooden paddles before they were fired, whereas those from later Woodland sites often reflect a greater range of vessel forms, functions, surface treatments, and decorations. Despite the technological innovation that pottery-making represented, the remaining stone artifacts from early Woodland sites indicate the continuation of an Archaic way of life heavily based upon hunting and gathering.

Because of the dramatic cultural changes that occurred during the course of the Woodland period, it is necessary to summarize it by subperiods. In addition to the introduction of pottery, the Early Woodland period (1000 B.C.–A.D. 200) was also marked in some areas by the incipient development of small villages in localities considered favorable for crop production. Although there is no direct evidence of gardening in North Carolina during the Early Woodland, there is ample evidence from surrounding states that by this time some tropical and

indigenous southeastern plants were being cultivated. Squash, maygrass, sunflower, chenopod, and sumpweed were all being planted in small garden plots around Early Woodland houses (Yarnell and Black 1985:99).

During the Middle Woodland period (A.D. 200–800), gardening continued to grow in importance and influences from vigorous cultural developments taking place elsewhere in the East began to affect some local Woodland groups. This influence was perhaps greatest in the mountains where Middle Woodland peoples were engaged in trade with Hopewell societies in the Ohio Valley and Swift Creek cultures in central Georgia. Elsewhere in North Carolina, equally distinctive cultural traditions emerged as groups in each region responded in their own way to increasing population density, greater economic sophistication, and their own increasingly unique history and network of external relationships. By the end of the Middle Woodland period, each of the major physiographic regions within the state had developed into a culturally distinct area.

One of the hallmarks of the Late Woodland period (A.D. 800–1600) was a broadening of agricultural pursuits. Corn became a staple for the first time, and around A.D. 1200 beans were added to the inventory of cultivated plants. Throughout most of the state, this was a time of growth. Population size increased, and villages became larger and more complex. The intensification of agricultural practices also caused broad fertile bottoms to become prized locales for the establishment of villages.

Along with this growth came conflict. Stockades were constructed around villages to ward off attacks by outsiders. Perhaps these hostilities resulted from conflicts over favored agricultural lands, or maybe they came as a consequence of villages containing stores of surplus produce that could be looted by less industrious neighbors. Sources of conflict may even have been rooted in social or ideological differences that must have accompanied the emergence of regionally distinct cultural traditions earlier in the Woodland period. For whatever reasons, large- and small-scale tribal conflicts were probably commonplace during much of the Late Woodland period.

During the latter half of the Late Woodland period, several elaborate and complex cultures developed throughout the heart of the Southeast. These Mississippian cultures were typified by massive ceremonial mound centers, villages containing several hundred inhabitants, and a highly stratified society with political, religious, and craft specialists. These developments only touched the western fringe of North Carolina in what has been described as the South Appalachian Mississippian complex (Ferguson 1971). Although mounds were constructed and villages grew in size and complexity from Marion to Murphy, Mississippian culture in North Carolina never reached the heights it obtained in the neighboring states of Tennessee and Georgia. The only area outside the Appalachian Summit that exhibits evidence of Mississippian influence is the Piedmont Sandhills, where the Pee Dee culture developed around the ceremonial center at Town Creek State Historic Site.

Historic Period (after A.D. 1540)

Following the voyages of Christopher Columbus, Spanish exploration of the Western Hemisphere began in earnest during the sixteenth century. After establishing a foothold in the Caribbean, the Spanish, in their search for wealth and power, quickly turned their attention to Mexico, the Peruvian Andes, and the southeastern United States. During the first few decades of the century, the Spanish explorers restricted their activities to the Atlantic and Gulf coasts of Spanish Florida, never venturing very far inland. However, when they failed to find riches comparable to what had been found by Hernán Cortés in Mexico and Francisco Pizarro in Peru, they began to mount expeditions into the interior Southeast.

The first of these, led by Hernando de Soto from 1539 until his death in 1541, passed through southwestern North Carolina. A quarter century later, Juan Pardo retraced the portion of de Soto's route that took him into the state. While there is much debate concerning the exact routes taken by these intrepid Spanish explorers and how they impacted the native populations, there is little evidence to suggest that their presence had any lasting effects on the native tribes. They did not introduce the scourge of diseases that apparently followed their trail in other areas of the Southeast, nor did they attempt to establish permanent forts and missions like they did along the coasts of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina.

The story of English exploration in North Carolina is quite a different tale. Unlike the Spanish, the English were not looking for gold and treasure. They were looking for land to settle and new markets for their goods. Although Jamestown was established in 1607, it was half a century later before the English adventurers began to explore the Carolina backcountry in search of new trading partners. During the brief era that followed, native peoples from the coast to the mountains were ravaged by a host of Old World diseases that accompanied the English traders. Shortly thereafter, most native villages east of the mountains were vacated. The remaining native population either left or dispersed, and the land was laid open for the waves of settlers that poured down the Shenandoah Valley into the Carolina heartland.

Unlike the Piedmont and coastal tribes, the Cherokees, ensconced in the southern Appalachian mountains, not only managed to survive, but they also

retained at least part of their ancestral lands. Even after many were killed and others forcibly removed in the 1830s, some of the Cherokees still managed to avoid capture. Today, their descendants continue to live in their mountain homeland west of Asheville.

A Brief History of North Carolina Archaeology

Exploring Indian Mounds

The beginning of archaeology in North Carolina dates back to the last century and was closely tied to the scientific debate that was raging in academic institutions and museums over who built the numerous earthen mounds that dotted the landscapes of eastern North America. Many believed that the mounds and other earthworks were constructed by an ancient civilization of "Mound Builders" unrelated and superior to the American Indians. Only a minority of scientists were convinced that the ancient earthworks were built by Native Americans. The only way to find out for sure was to dig into the mounds and see what clues their builders had left behind.

Not all of the early interest in mound exploration was fueled by scientific curiosity. Mounds were easily recognized by the trained as well as the untrained eye, and many were dug into by relic collectors interested only in the exotic artifacts they contained. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, these specimens began to line the shelves of museums.

Except for J. Mason Spainhour's excavation into a small mound in Burke County (Spainhour 1873:404–6), most of the early archaeological activity in North Carolina was conducted by individuals from outside the state. Many of these early excavations were inspired by a Virginian, Mann S. Valentine, and his sons. During the 1880s, the Valentines and their North Carolina agent, A. J. Osborne of Haywood County, dug into several mounds located in the western part of the state, including the Peachtree Mound in Cherokee County, the Garden Creek mounds in Haywood County, the Cullowhee Mound in Jackson County, and the Kituwah, Nununyi, and Birdtown Mounds in Swain County (Valentine 1883).

The Valentines were searching for artifacts that would later be exhibited in the Valentine Museum in Richmond, but they were also caught up in the question of who built the mounds. By examining the pottery dug from the mounds and comparing it with the clay pots that were being made by Cherokee women on the Qualla Reservation at the time, the Valentines quickly recognized similarities between the two. These similarities led Mann Valentine to surmise that the mounds were made by a race of people ancestral to the Historic Cherokees.

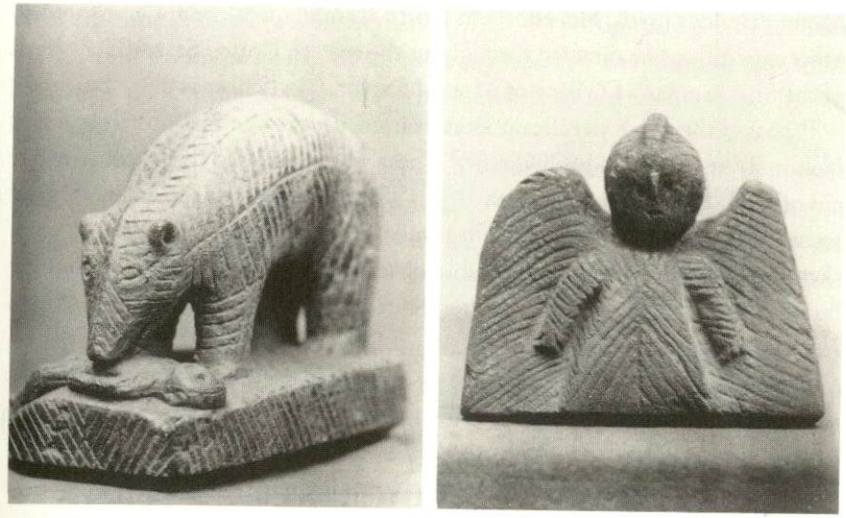

FIGURE 1.1. *Fake artifacts from western North Carolina. These carved steatite sculptures of a bear eating a man (left) and an angel (right) are two of the many fake Indian artifacts that were purchased by Mann Valentine in the North Carolina mountains. (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology)*

This was a remarkable revelation for the time, especially considering that Valentine was an art collector and not a scientist or student of ancient history.

Unfortunately, Mann Valentine became the victim of an elaborate hoax that tainted his otherwise sound archaeological interpretations. Realizing that Valentine would pay top dollar for Indian artifacts, some North Carolinians began to create their own versions of relics they thought would be most appealing to the wealthy Virginian. Using the soft soapstone readily available throughout the western mountains and their fertile imaginations, these local artisans produced an abundance of elaborately carved figurines representing everything from angels to camels (fig. 1.1).

The Valentines were completely duped and concluded that these artifacts were products of an ancient race distinct from the Cherokee and their ancestors. When the fraud was finally exposed, an embarrassed Mann Valentine decided to get out of archaeology altogether and afterward devoted his museum to displaying the fine arts of Richmond (see Coe 1983:162–64).

At about the same time the Valentines were making the folks of Haywood County rich by buying their fake artifacts, Cyrus Thomas of the Smithsonian Institution sent John W. Emmert and John P. Rogan into the mountains and western Piedmont of North Carolina to explore mounds there (Thomas 1887:61–75; 1894:333–50). Thomas was motivated by a desire to debunk the

Mound Builder myth. His efforts in North Carolina were minor compared to other expeditions he directed throughout the eastern United States as the head of the Smithsonian's Division of Mound Exploration (Thomas 1887, 1894).

Probably the most significant sites examined were the Nelson Mound and Nelson Triangle in Caldwell County. These were excavated by Rogan with the aid of J. M. Spainhour. Although Rogan's interpretation of the archaeological record revealed at these nearby sites must be viewed with a healthy dose of skepticism, he did make one notable observation. One of the many human burials uncovered by Rogan and Spainhour contained three chisel-like objects made of iron (Thomas 1887:65–66).

Cyrus Thomas used this evidence to bolster his argument that the mounds were built by the recent ancestors of living Indians who had been in contact with early European explorers. After reviewing the ethnohistoric record, Thomas further concluded (1887:87–95) that the North Carolina mounds were built by the Cherokees.

The pots and potsherds collected by Rogan in Caldwell County and at sites in nearby Wilkes County were later studied by William H. Holmes of the Smithsonian Institution. In his important substantive work on aboriginal pottery in the eastern United States, Holmes (1903) interpreted these artifacts as representing the northeastern limit of his South Appalachian ceramic group. This classificatory group formed the basis for what archaeologists today call South Appalachian Mississippian, a Late Prehistoric cultural complex that extended from coastal Georgia to eastern Tennessee and encompassed the western Piedmont and mountains of North Carolina.

After the Smithsonian Institution left western North Carolina, the Museum of the American Indian–Heye Foundation stepped in. In 1915, George G. Heye, following in the footsteps of the Valentines, revisited the Garden Creek mounds. The excavation of a small mound at the site also sparked Heye's interest in the ancient Cherokees. After leaving Haywood County, Heye and his colleagues continued their Cherokee research, excavating sites in eastern Tennessee and northern Georgia (Heye 1919; Heye, Hodge, and Pepper 1918; Harrington 1922).

A New Focus on North Carolina Archaeology

After a hiatus of some twenty years, interest in North Carolina archaeology surfaced again. This time, it was inspired by a Moravian minister, the Reverend Douglas Rights, who published the first book on the history and prehistory of North Carolina Indians. Rights's book was aptly titled *The American Indian in North Carolina*, and, although published in 1947, it had been "assembled bit by bit at odd moments over a score of years" (vii). Most of Rights's book focused on the Historic tribes encountered by the early Spanish and English explorers; however, two concluding chapters were devoted to archaeology and Indian antiquities.

Rights's terse treatment of archaeology in no way reflected his lack of interest in the subject. He was an avid artifact collector, and he was one of the first to recognize and appreciate the archaeological potential of the state. When the initial organizational meeting of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina was held in 1933, Rights was elected the Society's first president and he presented a paper entitled "North Carolina as an Archaeological Field" (1934). In this paper, he assessed the state's archaeological potential from the mountains to the coast, and he concluded that although many sites had been looted and destroyed by floods, "the field . . . still offers abundant opportunity for exploration that should yield much important material for the archaeologist" (7).

This opportunity was seized shortly thereafter by a young, teenage upstart named Joffre Coe, who also attended the first meeting of the new archaeological society. The following year, Coe presented a paper to the group outlining a statewide survey program (1934:11). The editor of the Society's bulletin at that time was Guy Johnson, a sociologist and anthropologist at the University of North Carolina. In a parenthetical editor's note preceding Coe's paper, Johnson made the following prophetic statement: "The author of this paper is a young man from Greensboro who has shown a deep interest in the Society and has devoted most of his spare time to reading, thinking, and exploring during the past year." Coe went on to lay out a strategy for surveying the state, and he even presented the Society with an archaeological survey form to ensure the consistent recording of site data across the state. From this point until his retirement from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1982, the enthusiastic young man from Greensboro dominated the state's archaeological endeavors (fig. 1.2). Following in Rights's footsteps, Coe opened the ground where Rights had surveyed its surface.

Another influential force during the early days of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina was Dr. James Bullitt, a professor of pathology at UNC from 1913 until his retirement in 1947. He and Johnson gave the Society academic respectability, and Bullitt was also an active fund-raiser for the Society's early excavations.

Following in the Footsteps of Lederer and Lawson

Rights and Coe were both interested in using historic documents to locate Indian villages described by early European explorers. One of the earliest of

FIGURE 1.2. *Joffre L. Coe operating a bulldozer in 1966 at the Coweeta Creek site. Coe was the dominant figure in North Carolina archaeology from the late 1930s until his retirement in 1982 from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology)*

these intrepid adventurers was John Lederer, a German physician who left the Virginia settlement at the falls of the James River (near present-day Richmond) on May 20, 1670, with a contingent of Indians and a militiaman named Major Harris. Less than a month later, all of Lederer's faint-hearted companions abandoned him except for a Susquehannock Indian named Jackzetavon. Undaunted, the German and his guide continued their trip southward into the uncharted wilds of the Virginia and North Carolina Piedmont. Here, they visited the Saponis, Occaneechis, Enos, Shakoris, and other interior tribes. Lederer sketched an intriguing picture of the native people, their likes and dislikes, and how best for foreigners to approach them (Cumming 1958).

John Lederer's descriptions whetted the appetites of subsequent English explorers such as John Lawson, who turned out to be not only literate but also blessed with the eyes of an ethnographer. Being a bit more ambitious than Lederer, Lawson undertook what he claimed to be a 1,000-mile journey that carried him and his party northwestward from Charleston, South Carolina, through the North Carolina Piedmont, and then eastward to the English settlements along Pamlico Sound. He began his adventure on December 28, 1700, and arrived at the plantation of Richard Smith on Pamlico River on February 23, 1701. Lawson's journey, which was actually closer to 500 miles, took him through numerous Indian towns and villages scattered along well-established native paths and trails. Many of the Indians Lawson met had been visited earlier by Lederer as well as by other less literate traders.

Lederer's account, translated from Latin into English and published in 1672, and Lawson's 1709 work titled *A New Voyage to Carolina* provide fascinating clues to the locations of the many Indian villages they visited. Using these clues to find the archaeological remains of Lederer's and Lawson's native hosts, Rights and Coe began the modern study of North Carolina archaeology. It was at one of these village sites that the young Joffre Coe and the Archaeological Society of North Carolina introduced the scientific method of archaeological excavation to the Piedmont.

The Keyauwee Excavation

In 1936, the Society uncovered a small portion of what was thought to be the Keyauwee village visited by Lawson (see Lefler 1967:56–59). Apparently the Society's interest in the site was aroused by earlier "test pits" excavated by some of its members in 1935. The 1935 digging had uncovered a human skeleton accompanied by numerous grave goods. According to the April 1936 *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina*, the individuals to be in charge of the 1936 Keyauwee excavation were Dr. James B. Bullitt (director), Rev. Douglas L. Rights (assistant), Mr. Joffre L. Coe (assistant), and Mr. Harry Davis (assistant). The stated purpose of the project was "not so much to find Indian material as it is to increase the interest of the members and other citizens of the state in the problems of archaeology. In too many cases collectors, 'amateur archaeologists,' and professional archaeologists place too much emphasis on the finding of 'relics,' and in doing so lose sight of the real problems which they are digging to solve." Sanford Winston, the bulletin's editor, went on to stress a theme as current today as it was in 1936 and one that forms the heart and soul of modern anthropological archaeology: "The finding of a handful of potsherds, broken implements, charcoal, and broken or burned bones in a carefully excavated refuse pit will tell more about the life of the people than a dozen perfect pots or axes obtained from careless digging" (Winston 1936a:14).

Apparently the Keyauwee excavation was a smashing success, at least in terms of the stated goals of the project, and interest in North Carolina archaeology increased.

Federal Archaeology Begins at Peachtree

Modern archaeology was born in the eastern United States during the height of the Great Depression. And while these were not good times for research and scientific pursuits in general, they were boom times for archaeology. Throughout the Southeast, massive excavation programs were implemented beginning in 1933 as part of the relief program of the Civilian Works Administration (CWA). Archaeological field research was particularly amenable to these federal programs because large numbers of unskilled workers could be employed for long periods with minimal supervision. The first of these projects in North Carolina preceded the Keyauwee excavations by almost three years.

In December 1933, excavations began on the Peachtree Mound, a Late Prehistoric and Historic site located near the town of Murphy in Cherokee County. The Peachtree Mound had been explored earlier by the Valentines. The federally sponsored work was carried out under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution and was directed by Jesse D. Jennings, a graduate student at the University of Chicago.

Jennings's excavation crew consisted of 104 unemployed local men provided by the CWA. The large size of the crew forced him to modify the formal excavation procedures he had learned at the University of Chicago's archaeological field school. Instead of approaching the mound with a single trench, Jennings advanced his troops simultaneously from three sides. By April 1, 1934, less than four months after the project began, the Peachtree Mound, 200 feet in diameter and 10 feet high, had been leveled (Lyon 1996:36–37). These excavations are noteworthy because they provided North Carolina with its first modern, professional, archaeological publication (Setzler and Jennings 1941), which was based in part on Jennings's master's thesis.

Stalking the Piedmont Siouans

In 1937, the federal archaeology program moved into the Piedmont when excavations began at the Frutchey Mound (better known today as the Town Creek Indian Mound) on Little River in Montgomery County. This Works Progress Administration (WPA) project initiated research that would span half a century, train some of the Southeast's finest archaeologists, and create North Carolina's only state historic site dedicated to its native peoples (fig. 1.3).

When the investigations at Town Creek began, Joffre Coe was ready to take the supervisory reins. Although still an undergraduate student at the University of North Carolina, he had attended the University of Chicago's field school under the direction of Thorne Deuel in 1935, and the following summer he

FIGURE 1.3. *Members of the Frutchey Mound (Town Creek Indian Mound) Excavation Committee in 1937.* Left to right: *Professor James B. Bullitt, UNC; Professor Wallace E. Caldwell, UNC; Joffre L. Coe, UNC; Herbert M. Doerschuk, Archaeological Society of North Carolina; Harry T. Davis, N.C. State Museum; and Rev. Douglas L. Rights, Archaeological Society of North Carolina. (Photo by Coe, 1937; from Coe 1995:15)*

worked with Will McKern on excavations sponsored by the University of Wisconsin and the Milwaukee Public Museum (Griffin 1985:291–92). Coe would remain in charge of excavations at the Town Creek site until his retirement in 1982 (Coe 1995).

The same year the Town Creek project began, Glenn Black, an archaeologist at Indiana University, wrote Coe suggesting that he (Black) might be able to raise some money for research on historically documented Siouan sites in North Carolina. Black was interested in using archaeological data from North Carolina to establish cultural patterns that might help to identify the presence of early Siouan-speaking groups in Indiana. Black was able to convince Eli Lilly, the pharmaceutical magnate, to finance Coe's Siouan research through the Indiana Historical Society.

In May 1938, on his way back to Chapel Hill from the Society for American Archaeology meetings in Milwaukee, Coe stopped by Indianapolis and picked up a check for $1,200. This money was turned over to the University of North Carolina and designated as the Fund for Southeastern Archaeology. Mr. Lilly's gift has the distinction of being the first grant received by the University of

North Carolina to sponsor archaeological research. The only condition attached to Mr. Lilly's generosity was that a report be prepared at the end of the field season (letter from Johnson to Black, May 1938, on file, Research Laboratories of Archaeology [hereafter RLA]).

In the summer of 1938, Coe began his Siouan project at the Wall site located near Hillsborough in Orange County. This site was believed to represent the remains of the Occaneechi village visited by Lawson in 1701 (Lefler 1967:61). After a brief excavation there, Coe moved to the Tutelo and Saponi Islands located near Clarksville, Virginia, just downstream from the confluence of the Dan and Staunton Rivers, where he sought to identify the Historic villages of these two Siouan tribes. Excavations were also conducted at a site on a large island below Saponi Island and on the mainland south of Tutelo Island.

The summer of 1938 was extremely wet, and Coe was not pleased with the results of his work. The Wall site excavations uncovered rich cultural deposits, but the only evidence that it represented a Historic village consisted of a single glass bead. A well-preserved human burial was found on Tutelo Island, but almost nothing turned up on Saponi Island. On the island just below Saponi Island, a rich site was located, but no burials or European trade artifacts were found. The mainland site was also rich, but the material did not "tie in with what we have been finding and apparently is not what we are looking for" (letter from Coe to Black, August 31, 1938, on file, RLA).

Coe requested an additional $400 to continue the Siouan project with excavations at the Lower Saratown site on the Dan River in Rockingham County and at the Trading Ford site on the Yadkin River in Davidson County. Mr. Lilly sent the check, and Coe returned to the field. He began his work at Lower Saratown and ended it at the Trading Ford site in the fall of 1938. He continued to be disappointed with the results that, to him, seemed "entirely too skimpy" (letter from Coe to Black, November 15, 1938, on file, RLA).

The winter and spring of 1939 seem to have been seasons of despair for Joffre Coe. Guy Johnson, his chief supporter at the university, was on leave, and he was left to try to put together an application for a statewide WPA archaeological project. At the same time, Coe was taking courses at UNC and struggling to survive with very little support from the Archaeological Society or the university. This frustration is evident in a letter Coe wrote to Glenn Black on April 28, 1939: "I need to get away from this place a little while. I have been having a terrible time this year, and I have sunk so low in a rut that I can hardly see out. We could probably secure funds enough to do another season's work at the Frutchey Mound this summer, but I would much rather get away for a while and be with someone who knows some archaeology than to work by myself for another year. It is hard to realize how depressing it is to be working by yourself with very meager funds and not seeing more than two people a year who have any interest in your field" (on file, RLA).

Less than a year after writing this letter to Black, Coe would finally have an archaeological colleague with whom to talk at UNC. The statewide WPA project was finally approved in 1940, and the university hired Robert Wauchope, who had just completed a similar project in northern Georgia, to head the program. Shortly after his arrival, Wauchope resumed excavations at the Wall site while Coe focused his energies on Town Creek and began organizing the statewide archaeological survey.

Building Cultural Chronologies

The onset of World War II in late 1941 brought archaeology programs throughout the country to a screeching halt. Archaeological research in North Carolina did not resume until 1948, when Coe returned from a tour of duty in the Army Air Force (1942–46) and had subsequently received his M.A. in anthropology at the University of Michigan (Griffin 1985:298–99). After the war, the research emphasis in North Carolina and other areas of the East shifted from identifying historically documented Indian villages to isolating early stratified cultural sequences.

The development of the atomic bomb during World War II not only revolutionized modern warfare and global politics; it also had a dramatic effect on modern archaeology. One of the technological spin-offs from research on the bomb was radiocarbon dating. This new dating technique was of particular importance to archaeologists working in the eastern United States. While their colleagues in the West had been able to demonstrate the considerable antiquity of tools found at sites like Folsom in New Mexico and Dent in Colorado by their association with extinct animals, no such associations had been found in the East. Archaeologists working on Southwestern Pueblo sites also were able to date their finds by comparing, correlating, and counting sequences of annular tree rings. This technique, called dendrochronology, was possible because of the excellent conditions of preservation offered by the arid southwestern environment. Archaeologists working in eastern North America did not have the benefit of such preservation. Before World War II, archaeological dates in the East were, for the most part, sheer guesses.

This situation changed with the advent of radiocarbon dating. All that was required to determine something's age was a handful of associated charcoal—or any suitable organic material. However, eastern archaeologists were not completely out of the woods. Finding buried, intact cultural horizons where tools and charcoal could be reliably assumed to be contemporary was not an easy task.

Because of erosion, plowing, and other ground-disturbing activities, the archaeological remains left at many ancient habitation sites, which often were occupied repeatedly for several thousand years, have been mixed and homogenized on a single surface rather than stacked or stratified in discrete soil layers.

Coe was one of the first to recognize this problem. Early in his professional career, Coe spent many hours attempting to define distinct archaeological cultures based on spear point and other artifact types that consistently had been found together on surface sites in the North Carolina Piedmont. In 1952, he published descriptions of two such cultures—the Badin focus and the Guilford focus—based on those surface associations of artifacts. Recognizing the folly in this exercise, he later wrote that the artifacts included in each of those complexes represented anything but coherent and contemporary cultural assemblages (1964:8).

To correct the muddled chronologies that were being developed throughout the East, Coe began to search for buried sites along the alluvial terraces flanking the lower Yadkin River, focusing upon unique topographic niches that were characterized by geological forces of deposition rather than erosion. This search led to test excavations at the Lowder's Ferry and Doerschuk sites in 1948. These preliminary tests proved promising, and full-scale excavations were carried out the following year. Coe wrote later that "the work at these sites demonstrated two important facts: first, that stratified sites of depth and antiquity do exist in the alluvial floodplains of the Piedmont; and second, that when an occupation zone can be found that represents a relatively short period of time the usual hodgepodge of projectile points are not found—only variations of one specific theme" (1964:9). These observations had a resounding impact on the archaeology of the eastern United States, and they inspired others to search for similar settings, with similar results (e.g., Broyles 1966; Chapman 1975; Claggett and Cable 1982).

After his success at the Doerschuk and Lowder's Ferry sites, Coe investigated the Hardaway site located just upstream from Doerschuk. This important site produced the earliest stratified evidence of human occupation in North Carolina, and, when coupled with the work at Doerschuk and at sites in the Roanoke Rapids Reservoir, Coe was able to link together an unbroken chain of occupations dating from about 10,000 to 2,500 years ago, or roughly 8000 B.C. to 500 B.C. The cultural sequence that Coe developed formed the basis for his doctoral dissertation at the University of Michigan, which was subsequently published in 1964 by the American Philosophical Society. It remains a standard for the layman's identification of spear points used during the millennia preceding settled village life and the manufacture of pottery.

During this early postwar period, the University of North Carolina began offering a master's degree in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. In addition to directing the newly established Research Laboratories of Anthropology, Coe began teaching archaeology and anthropology courses in the department. For the first time, he had a small but dedicated cadre of students on whom he could depend for help with the archaeology program.

Lewis Binford, Hester Davis, Ernest Lewis, David Phelps, and Stanley South were the first in a long line of students who would receive their training at UNC under Coe. Binford and South worked in the Roanoke Rapids Reservoir; Phelps worked in the Gaston Reservoir; South and Phelps excavated at the Hardaway site; Lewis reported on Coe's 1938 work at Lower Saratown; and Lewis, South, and Phelps continued excavations at Town Creek.

Working for the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, South conducted excavations at Brunswick Town, near Wilmington, between 1958 and 1968. While there, he also surveyed portions of New Hanover and Brunswick Counties in North Carolina and Horry County in South Carolina. In 1959, South published *Indians in North Carolina*, a pamphlet designed to inform the general public and high school students about North Carolina archaeology.

The Cherokee Project

During the 1960s, work continued at Town Creek, and, by 1964, the reconstruction of the site was complete. Shortly thereafter, the first detailed report on the site, "Pee Dee Pottery from the Mound at Town Creek" (1967), was submitted by Jefferson Reid as his master's thesis at UNC. Although surveys and limited test excavations also were carried out between 1960 and 1962 in the Cowans Ford, Gaston, and Wilkesboro Reservoirs, the most important archaeological project of the 1960s was the Cherokee project. The goals of this project were: (1) to define Cherokee culture at the beginning of the Historic period; (2) to study regional variation among the Cherokee settlements; and (3) to identify the ancient cultures from which the Historic Cherokees emerged (Coe 1965). As a prelude to this project, extensive surveys were conducted in the mountainous western counties of North Carolina and adjacent states during 1963 and 1964, and small excavations were carried out in 1964 at the Tuckasegee and Townson sites (Keel 1976:15).

Supported by the National Science Foundation, major excavations commenced in 1965 with two long-term projects. The first focused on mounds and associated village remains at the Garden Creek sites in Haywood County; the second entailed extensive excavation of the mound and village at the Coweeta

Creek site in Macon County. The Garden Creek excavations were completed in 1967, while the work at Coweeta Creek continued until 1971.

Excavations were also begun on the campus of Warren Wilson College in the winter of 1965 and continued during the following summer (Dickens 1976). This stratified, Late Prehistoric Cherokee village was continuously excavated every summer between 1966 and 1985, except 1977 and 1983. Of all the sites studied during the course of the Cherokee project, more has been written about Warren Wilson than all the others combined. Two books, Keel's *Cherokee Archaeology* (1976) and Dickens's *Cherokee Prehistory* (1976), as well as four Ph.D. dissertations, two master's theses, and numerous journal articles, have dealt directly with various aspects of the Warren Wilson excavations. Today, data collected by research carried out as part of the Cherokee project are still being analyzed (Rodning 1996).

North Carolina Archaeology Expands

The 1960s witnessed tremendous growth in the archaeology program at UNC. Whereas before it had been primarily a one-man show in the person of Coe, two permanent staff positions were added between 1961 and 1964 to create the Research Laboratories of Anthropology in its modern form (renamed the Research Laboratories of Archaeology in 1997). Also, the Department of Anthropology gained its autonomy from the Sociology Department in 1965 and implemented a Ph.D. program. Both changes were responsible for substantially increasing the number of students interested in archaeology as a career. The National Science Foundation's sponsorship of the Cherokee project helped ensure that these students were kept fed and, to some extent, happy. Bennie Keel directed the project in the field and was assisted by several graduate students who would go on to become well-known researchers in their own right. Roy S. Dickens Jr., Brian J. Egloff, Keith T. Egloff, Leland G. Ferguson, and J. Jefferson Reid formed the core of the Cherokee project graduates.

During the 1970s, new programs across the state proliferated as more and more universities added archaeologists to their faculties. David Phelps joined the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at East Carolina University in 1970 and began developing a research program focused on the northeastern coastal area. Ned Woodall of Wake Forest University organized systematic surveys and excavations in the upper Yadkin River valley in 1971. In the mountains, Appalachian State University recruited Harvard Ayers and Burt Purrington to train their students, and John Dorwin became the first of several

archaeologists who would staff the Western Carolina University archaeology program during the decade.

It was not by chance that colleges and universities across North Carolina began to hire archaeologists during the early 1970s. Nor was it an isolated phenomenon. Throughout the United States, new archaeology programs blossomed at small colleges, and many of the established programs at the larger universities grew at an unprecedented rate. Archaeologists even began to find jobs in the private sector, working for engineering and environmental-consulting firms. Some enterprising individuals started their own consulting businesses, and others joined various federal and state agencies.

The rapid growth in archaeology programs was primarily the result of federal and state preservation legislation that was passed mostly after 1970. These new laws declared that archaeological sites as "cultural resources" were important components of the environment that must be protected and managed along with natural resources. As a result, almost any ground-disturbing activity financed by public funds or requiring federal authorization had to be reviewed by archaeologists to determine if important or "significant" archaeological sites might be damaged or destroyed.

This government-mandated archaeology, more commonly known as "contract archaeology" or "cultural resource management," precipitated a flurry of archaeological surveys across North Carolina. Because roads, transmission line corridors, and sewer outfalls often traverse eroded knolls, hill flanks, and swamps, archaeologists began to look for sites in environmental and topographic settings that had previously been ignored. They also no longer had the luxury of just walking freshly plowed fields in their search for the surface scatters of artifacts that indicate the presence of "sites." Contract archaeologists were forced to develop techniques to find sites in wooded and overgrown areas with poor to nonexistent surface visibility. Everything from raking the surface bare of vegetation to excavating small "shovel tests" was tried, with varying degrees of success.

One of the largest and most successful cultural resource–management projects carried out in North Carolina was brought about by the proposed flooding of the New Hope River and Haw River valleys to create B. Everett Jordan Lake. Archaeological surveys located over 350 archaeological sites within the impoundment area. In 1979, extensive excavations were carried out at two sites where deeply buried cultural strata dating from the Early Archaic through the Early Woodland periods were discovered. This project, conducted by archaeologists affiliated with Commonwealth Associates Inc. of Jackson, Michigan, was funded by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Today, the Jordan Lake

project still stands as the largest salvage archaeology program to be undertaken in North Carolina (Claggett and Cable 1982).

Recent Research Programs across North Carolina

Although contract archaeology dominated the North Carolina scene during the 1970s and 1980s and continues to be important today, archaeologists affiliated with academic institutions and other state agencies also continued more traditional research programs. At the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, excavations continued at the Warren Wilson site during the 1970s. In 1972, work began at Upper Saratown, a Historic village of the Sara Indians on the Dan River in Stokes County, and excavations were resumed at the Hardaway site in 1975 (Daniel 1998; Wilson 1983). The Upper Saratown and Hardaway excavations were undertaken in response to extensive looting by relic collectors.

In 1983, a new Siouan project was begun at UNC–Chapel Hill as a multiyear research program to study the impact of European contact on the native peoples of the North Carolina Piedmont. At the time of this writing, the Siouan project is still active. Excavations have been conducted at Late pre-Contact and Historic period sites in the Haw, Eno, and Dan River drainages in the north central Piedmont (Dickens, Ward, and Davis 1987; Ward and Davis 1993).

While recent archaeological research by University of North Carolina archaeologists has focused on the north central Piedmont, Wake Forest University concentrated its efforts in the Great Bend of the upper Yadkin River valley in the northwestern Piedmont. Ned Woodall and his students began their Great Bend Research Project in 1972 with excavations at the Late pre-Contact Donnaha site (Woodall 1984). Surveys in the upper Yadkin River valley located numerous sites, several of which also have been excavated by Wake Forest crews (Marshall 1988). The overriding goal of the Great Bend project was to address changes in subsistence and settlement patterns, particularly during the Late pre-Contact period, and to examine native trading networks (Woodall 1990).

David Phelps of East Carolina University tested and excavated many sites along the northeast coast and Coastal Plain. Phelps's work has refined the Woodland period coastal chronology and provided much-needed linkages between the Late pre-Contact and Historic Algonkian- and Iroquoian-speaking tribes of the region. His most recent research efforts have been directed toward the Historic Tuscarora villages of the Coastal Plain and Historic Algonkian villages on the Outer Banks. Tom Loftfield, at the University of North Carolina at Wilmington, was active in redefining the chronological sequence of the southwest coastal region through numerous excavations and surveys. Recently, Loftfield's interests have shifted to the seventeenth-century site of Charles

Town and the interaction between Native Americans and the English settlers. Mark Mathis, of the North Carolina Office of State Archaeology, has recently completed an extensive salvage excavation of a large coastal Algonkian village, the Broad Reach site, located in Carteret County. The site was occupied for several hundred years and has offered one of the most complete pictures archaeologists have of fishing and shellfishing villages on the North Carolina coast. Billy Oliver, also of the Office of State Archaeology, began a long-term archaeological project in the 1980s to study the Pee Dee culture of the southern Piedmont and Sandhills regions. Oliver's work has resulted in a refinement of the Late Prehistoric Pee Dee chronology and also has provided insights into the lives of the village farmers living around the ceremonial center at Town Creek in Montgomery County (Oliver 1992).

Although the University of North Carolina ceased its research activity in the mountains in 1985, marked by the last season of the Warren Wilson excavations, others have filled the void. In 1982, David Moore, working out of the Asheville branch of the Office of State Archaeology, began an active program of public archaeology. Moore, Kenneth Robinson of Wake Forest University, and Ruth Wetmore, a consulting archaeologist from Brevard, have worked with a cadre of volunteers to refine the cultural sequence of the western part of the state. Moore also has carried out pioneering research in the upper Catawba River valley. Downstream on the Catawba, archaeological research by Alan May and Ann Tippitt of the Schiele Museum and Janet Levy of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte have complemented Moore's work. Levy, May, and Moore also have collaborated in an attempt to verify the locations of sixteenth-century Indian towns visited by Hernando de Soto and Juan Pardo.

The archaeology program at Western Carolina University, under the direction of Anne Rogers, also has focused on finding and verifying evidence of the sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions through the western part of North Carolina. Recently, Rogers and her students have studied European trade artifacts from the Spikebuck Town site in Clay County. Their research is part of an effort to understand the broad network of trade that existed among Cherokee villages during the eighteenth century (Rogers and Brown 1995).

Brett Riggs of the University of Tennessee has conducted archaeological investigations in the Hiwassee Reservoir area and located several Historic period Cherokee homesteads dating between 1780 and the time of the removal of many Cherokees from their homeland in 1838. Riggs's research has documented noticeable social and economic changes in Cherokee society prior to removal (Riggs 1995).

In 1972, archaeologists at Appalachian State University (ASU) began a long-term excavation project at the Ward site in Watauga County. This site was

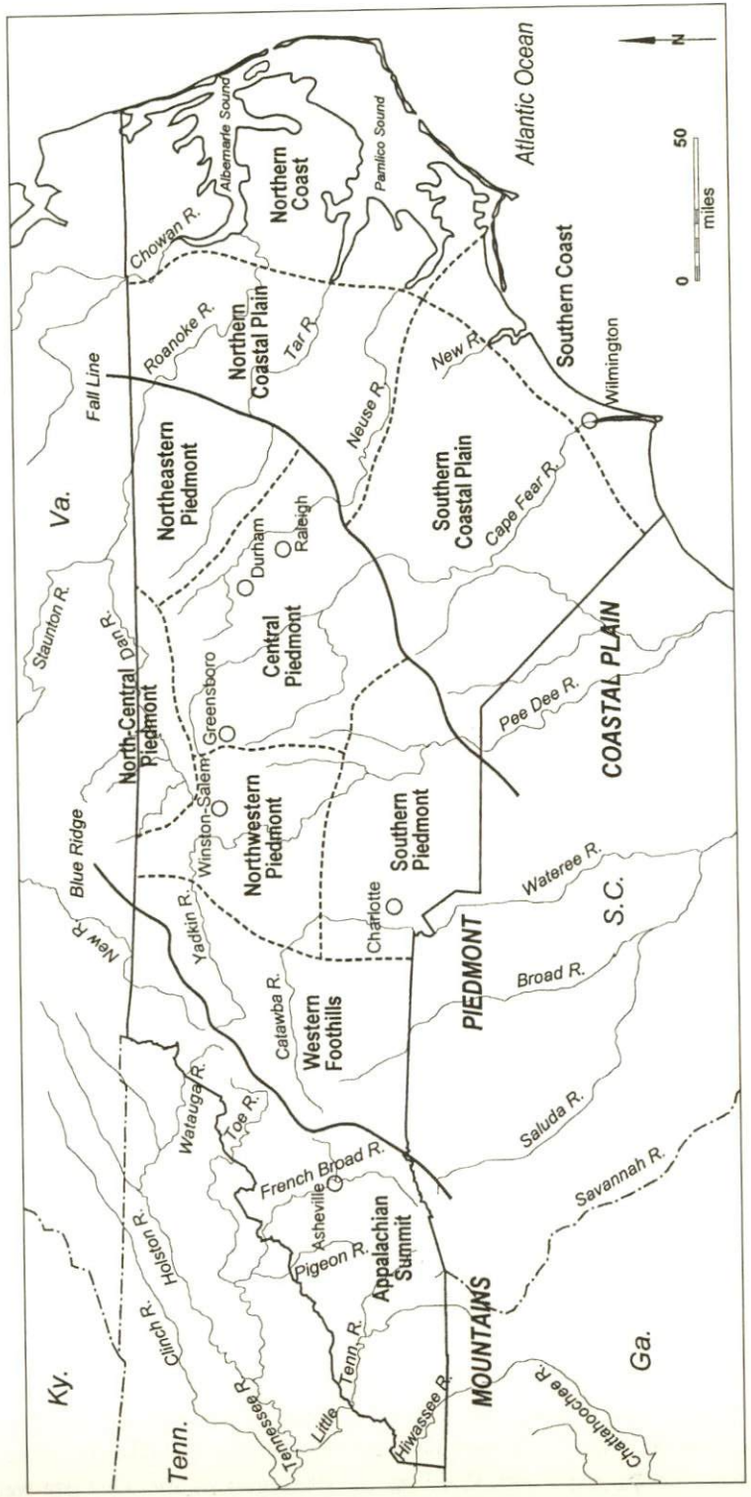

FIGURE 1.4. *A map of North Carolina showing physiography, river drainages, and archaeological regions.*

discovered by Stanley and Jewel South in 1952 (see RLA files). The Appalachian State research made it the first site in the northwestern mountains of North Carolina to be systematically excavated (Ayers, Loucks, and Purrington 1980). Although the Ward site was occupied sporadically for over a thousand years, the main occupation took place around A.D. 1400, during the Pisgah phase. Since 1972, the Ward site excavations have been complemented by numerous surveys and excavations conducted by ASU archaeologists Harvard Ayers, Jill Loucks, and Burt Purrington (Purrington 1986).

Recently, Larry Kimball, also of ASU, completed a testing project along the Swannanoa River near Asheville. Kimball (1991) was able to show that many sites may be deeply buried in the floodplain and not visible on the surface. These sites can only be detected by systematic subsurface testing.

More projects have been started and others have been expanded while this book was in preparation. We have tried to be as inclusive as possible, but as with any publication, the time lag between preparation and printing forces some research to be left out. However, we have maintained contacts with archaeologists across the state during the preparation process in an effort to keep the following chapters as current as possible.

Notes on Organization

Although native cultural diversity gradually increased over time, the archaeological records of the earliest two periods—Paleo-Indian and Archaic—are similar from the coast to the mountains and indicate similar patterns of economy, technology, and social organization. Consequently, each of these periods is treated as a separate chapter that covers the entire state. With the beginning of the Woodland period, about 3,000 years ago, distinctive cultural traditions began to emerge within each of the state's three major physiographic regions. By the Historic period, when the first European contacts with the native populations occurred, these regional traditions coincided with four distinct linguistic and cultural groups: Algonkian, Tuscarora, Siouan, and Cherokee, which occupied the coast, Coastal Plain, Piedmont, and mountains, respectively. Because of this regional diversity, the Woodland and Historic periods are presented in chapters that focus on the cultural developments that took place within each of the major physiographic regions. Figure 1.4 provides a map of North Carolina showing these physiographic regions and the subregions within them as they are employed within this book. Figure 1.5 provides a chronological chart showing the archaeological sequences within each subregion as they are currently understood.

The purpose of this book is to present an introduction to our native past in a

DATE	CULTURAL PERIOD	MOUNTAINS		PIEDMONT		
		Appalachian Summit	Western Foothills	Southern Piedmont	Central Piedmont	Northwestern Piedmont
	Historic Tribe(s)	*Cherokee*	*Catawba*	*Keyauwee*	*Occaneechi Sissipahaw Shakori, Eno*	*?*
	Contact	Late Qualla	?	Caraway	Fredricks	?
		Middle Qualla	Burke		Mitchum/Jenrette	
AD 1500					Hillsboro	
	Late Woodland / South Appalachian Mississippian	"Early Qualla"?	McDowell	Leak	Haw River	Donnaha
		Pisgah		Town Creek		
AD 1000				Teal		
		Late Connestee	Late Connestee		Uwharrie	
AD 500	Middle Woodland	Connestee	Connestee / Yadkin?	Yadkin		
		Pigeon	Pigeon? / Yadkin?			
AD 1						
1,000 BC	Early Woodland	Swannanoa	Swannanoa / Badin?	Badin		
2,000 BC	Late Archaic	Otarre		Savannah River		
		Savannah River				
3,000 BC						
4,000 BC	Middle Archaic	Guilford		Halifax Guilford		
5,000 BC		Morrow Mountain		Morrow Mountain		
		Stanly		Stanly		
6,000 BC						
7,000 BC	Early Archaic	St. Albans / LeCroy / Kanawha Kirk		St. Albans / LeCroy / Kanawha Kirk		
		Palmer		Palmer		
8,000 BC						
	Late Paleoindian	Hardaway - Dalton		Hardaway		
	Middle Paleoindian	Cumberland - Suwannee - Simpson				
9,000 BC	Early Paleoindian	Clovis				
10,000 BC						

PIEDMONT		COASTAL PLAIN			
North-Central Piedmont	Northeastern Piedmont	Northern Coast	Northern Coastal Plain	Southern Coast	Southern Coastal Plain
Sara	*Occaneechi Tutelo Saponi*	*Carolina Algonkins*	*Meherrin Tuscarora*	*Cape Fear Indians Waccamaw*	*Lumbee*
Late Saratown	?	Colington	Cashie	White Oak	?
Middle Saratown					
Early Saratown	Gaston				
Dan River					
	Clements				
Yadkin		Mount Pleasant		Cape Fear	
	Vincent				
Badin		Deep Creek		New River	
Savannah River		Savannah River			
Halifax Guilford		Guilford			
Morrow Mountain		Morrow Mountain			
Stanly		Stanly			
St. Albans / LeCroy / Kanawha Kirk		Kirk			
Palmer		Palmer			
Hardaway		Hardaway			
Cumberland - Suwannee - Simpson					
Clovis					

FIGURE 1.5. *North Carolina chronology chart showing the archaeological sequences recognized in various regions of the state.*

way that will be informative to the lay person as well as the professional archaeologist. Rather than a final statement on the archaeology of North Carolina, this book is a beginning, a summary of what is currently known. We hope it will see many revisions in the future as more and more light is shed on our past by the shovels and trowels of new generations of North Carolina archaeologists.

2. The Paleo-Indian

An Elusive Quarry

If you ask any amateur archaeologist or collector what he or she most dreams of finding, invariably the quick response will be "a fluted point." This fascination with the oldest and the rarest is to be expected and has led to some of the most worthwhile joint efforts between professional archaeologists and collectors. A statewide survey of Paleo-Indian points has been conducted in almost every state east of the Mississippi River, and often these have been carried out by amateurs (e.g., McCary 1947; Perkinson 1971, 1973). In fact, most of the Paleo-Indian data, at least in the eastern United States, has been gathered by amateur collectors (see Anderson 1990:166–67). In North Carolina, most fluted point finds have been made by amateurs, and it is usually the amateur collector who calls the professional archaeologist to report a possible Paleo-Indian site. This relationship has a long tradition. In 1937, Herbert M. Doerschuk directed Joffre Coe to the Hardaway site, and, more recently, Randy Daniel has solicited and received the help of countless collectors from across the state in his study of Early Archaic and Paleo-Indian settlement patterns (Daniel 1998).

Paleo-Indian research did not begin in the eastern Woodlands but in the Southwest. In 1926, near the little town of Folsom, New Mexico, a group of paleontologists from the Denver Museum of Natural History discovered the now-famous Folsom points unequivocally associated with the bones of extinct bisons. Although this association of man-made tools with a now-extinct Pleistocene animal was clear to the paleontologists, J. D. Figgins, the director of the museum, had trouble convincing archaeologists.

The skepticism that Figgins faced was deep-rooted. During the last half of the nineteenth century, extravagant claims had been made regarding the time when the first settlers arrived in the New World. Some, like Fiorino Ameghino of Argentina, believed humans evolved in his country some 15 million years ago,

4. The Woodland Period in the Piedmont

Most archaeologists agree that three interrelated innovations marked the end of the Archaic period and the beginning of the Woodland period: pottery-making, semisedentary villages, and horticulture. All of these innovations had their origins at the end of the Archaic period, but during Woodland times they became the norm rather than the exception.

During the Late Archaic period, people living along the south Atlantic coast from Florida to North Carolina, as well as on shell midden sites in the interior Southeast, began to make and use fiber-tempered pottery. The earliest expression of this pottery along the Carolina coast is called Stallings series, after the type site located on an island in the Savannah River (Claflin 1931). Most Stallings series pottery was formed by molding lumps of clay into simple vessel forms. Periwinkle shells, reeds, and sticks were used to create punctated decorations. Incising and finger pinching were also popular techniques used to decorate the surfaces of Stallings series vessels. The fibrous material used as temper is believed to have been Spanish moss that was carbonized when the pots were fired. As a result, this "hole-tempered" pottery is very porous, and some Stallings sherds will almost float in water, like a cork (Simpkins and Allard 1986). Stallings pottery was made as early as 2500 B.C. until about 1000 B.C. (Stoltman 1974; Trinkley 1980, 1989).

In the Carolina coastal region, a pottery type called Thom's Creek began to be made at about the same time as Stallings series pottery but seems to have persisted longer. The methods and styles of decoration on Thom's Creek pottery are nearly identical to those of Stallings. However, more Thom's Creek pottery was made by coiling annular segments of clay, and sand replaced fiber as the tempering agent (Trinkley 1980).

At about the same time fiber-tempered pottery was being made along the

southern coast and elsewhere in the Southeast, steatite-tempered vessels were being made in the tidewater area of the Middle Atlantic region. This pottery, called Marcey Creek, contains large amounts of steatite (soapstone) particles that vary in size from a powder to the size of pebbles. The exterior surfaces of these vessels are plain except for basal portions that often show the impressions of a woven mat. In form, Marcey Creek vessels are similar in shape to earlier stone pots made from steatite. They also contain large lug handles around the rim that are identical in form to those found on steatite vessels. Marcey Creek pottery dates between 1200 and 800 B.C. (Egloff 1985; Manson 1948).

In the Virginia Coastal Plain, Marcey Creek pottery is partially contemporary with, and succeeded by, a variety of wares that contain clay and sometimes a mixture of clay and steatite as tempering agents. Around 800 B.C., a ware tempered with sand and crushed quartz, called Accokeek, made its debut in the Potomac region, while south of the James River, a sand-tempered ware called Stony Creek was made. Vessels of both types share a conoidal shape and surfaces that were finished with cord-wrapped, fabric-wrapped, and sometimes net-wrapped paddles (Egloff 1985; Stephenson and Ferguson 1963).

By the beginning of the Woodland period in North Carolina, several different ceramic traditions had been established across the state. From the coast to the mountains, Early Woodland pottery types share many attributes that reflect varying degrees of influence from the cradles of pottery-making to the south and north. Sand was the most popular tempering agent, but crushed quartz was also used. Vessels were formed by coiling annular segments of clay into simple bowls and conical jars with pointed bottoms. These coils usually were welded together by stamping a vessel's exterior surface with a wooden paddle wrapped with cordage or textiles. Sometimes carved paddles also were used.

The widespread appearance of pottery-making throughout the Southeast at this time is usually viewed as going hand in hand with an increasing reliance on wild and domesticated seed crops and more permanent settlements (Smith 1986).

The processes of plant domestication that began at the end of the Late Archaic period intensified and diversified during the Woodland period. Knotweed, sumpweed, squash, bottle gourds, sunflower, maygrass, and goosefoot were planted and harvested in small garden plots as Woodland villages drew closer to floodplain environments to take advantage of the fertile, friable soils they offered. Archaeological evidence of small-grain crop foods, namely charred seeds, increases substantially at Early Woodland and Middle Woodland sites (Yarnell and Black 1985:Table 4; Smith 1992:14). Still, there is no reason to suspect that gardening was of overriding importance in the subsistence cycle.

The relatively large quantities of seeds found in Early and Middle Woodland contexts could have been easily produced in small garden plots. It seems likely that subsistence during this time still depended primarily on the hunting and gathering of wild plant and animal foods (Steponaitis 1986:378).

The primary importance of these early local cultigens probably lies in the fact that the knowledge and skills that led to their domestication also laid the groundwork for the acceptance of new, more productive crops that were originally domesticated in Mexico. Corn, the first of these so-called tropical cultigens, appears to have arrived in the eastern United States around A.D. 200, but it was not widely grown until more than half a millennium later. In North Carolina and many other areas of the Southeast, corn did not become an important food crop until around A.D. 1000. And, it was not until about A.D. 1200, with the introduction of beans, that the eastern agricultural triad of corn, beans, and squash was completed (Smith 1992:203). The combination of these three crops permitted true agricultural systems to develop over much of the East and supported the rise of large, complex societies during the Mississippian period. These societies rivaled their contemporaries in Europe and the rest of the world in political complexity and territorial control.

The Piedmont Village Tradition

The Woodland cultures of the North Carolina Piedmont were only marginally influenced by cultural traditions that evolved elsewhere in the eastern United States. The rich and elaborate Hopewell and Swift Creek cultures that influenced wide areas of the Southeast had little impact on cultural developments in the Piedmont. And the powerful Mississippian chiefdoms that later dominated most of the Southeast were only able to penetrate the southern fringe of the Piedmont.

Although we know comparatively little about their origins during the Early Woodland period, from about A.D. 1000 until the time of first contacts with Europeans, cultures throughout most of the Piedmont steadily evolved along an unbroken continuum with few outside influences. Small villages and scattered hamlets gradually developed into larger, more nucleated settlements as agriculture, particularly corn agriculture, became more important. But even as agriculture increased in importance, hunting and gathering continued to make a significant contribution to the diet. The subsistence base seems to have remained evenly balanced between crop production and wild plant and animal resources.

The dead were buried in simple pits with few belongings, usually within or

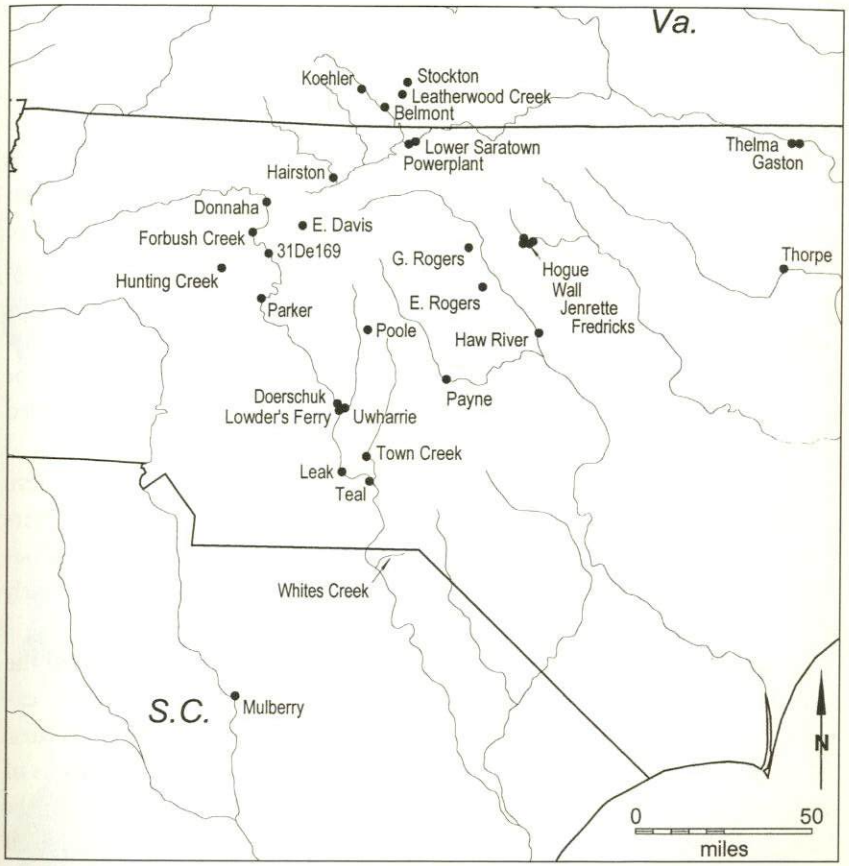

FIGURE 4.1. *Map of the North Carolina Piedmont showing Woodland and South Appalachian Mississippian sites discussed in the text.*

close to houses. Mortuary studies show that social distinctions were based primarily on age and sex. Woodland societies were egalitarian, woven together by a web of kinship where leadership roles were achieved rather than ascribed.

Like other features of Woodland culture, patterns of pottery-making changed gradually. Innovations reflecting ideas derived from outside the Piedmont are seen mainly at the beginning and end of the Woodland period, and even then old styles and techniques persisted alongside the new.

We call this continuum of cultural development the Piedmont Village Tradition. And only in the southern Piedmont is it broken by the spread of the South Appalachian Mississippian tradition into the Yadkin–Pee Dee River valley (fig. 4.1).

The Early Woodland and Middle Woodland Periods (1000 B.C.–A.D. 800)

The Badin Phase

One of the earliest archaeological phases in the Piedmont Village Tradition is called Badin, named for the small Stanly County town of Badin located in the southern Piedmont, near the Doerschuk site. Pottery attributed to the Badin phase was first recognized at Doerschuk, where it occurred within a soil zone overlying the preceramic Savannah River level. This early pottery, defined as the Badin ceramic series (Coe 1964:27–29), was well made and tempered with sand and an occasional pebble. Vessels were formed by building up annular segments of clay that were then welded together using a cord-wrapped or fabric-wrapped paddle. Vessel forms were simple, consisting of straight-sided jars with conical bases (fig. 4.2).

The fact that Badin pottery was so well made led archaeologists to believe that there must be an ancestral ceramic type that was not present at the Doerschuk site. This hypothetical ancestral type was seen as bridging the gap between the Late Archaic Savannah River phase and the beginning of the Early Woodland period (Coe 1964:27).

Joseph Caldwell (1958:23–27) included Badin pottery in what he called the "Middle Eastern" tradition of fabric-impressed ceramics. This tradition extended over much of the deciduous forest region of the eastern United States. Also included in Caldwell's Middle Eastern tradition was the Kellog focus of northern Georgia. Because of the "discontinuity" in artifact styles between the Late Archaic period and the Early Woodland Kellog focus, Caldwell believed that Kellog and Badin ceramics, as well as other similar types, resulted from a migration of people out of eastern Tennessee into the Georgia and Carolina Piedmont regions.

North Carolina archaeologists, like Caldwell, also proposed a "cultural discontinuity" between the Late Archaic Savannah River phase and the Early Woodland Badin phase. In addition to the abrupt introduction of ceramics, an entirely different form of projectile point was thought to be associated with the Badin phase. These crudely flaked, triangular "Badin" points represented quite a departure from the large, stemmed spear points of the Savannah River phase, and were thought to mark the beginning of a tradition of triangular points associated with the arrival of the bow and arrow (Coe 1964:124) (fig. 4.3).

Without the benefit of radiocarbon dates, it was initially believed that the Badin phase dated to around the first century A.D. (Coe 1964:55). Today we know that this estimate is too late. Basing their belief primarily on radiocarbon dates for the succeeding Yadkin phase, archaeologists now say that the Badin phase must date to around 500 B.C. (Blanton, Espenshade, and Brockington 1986:10).

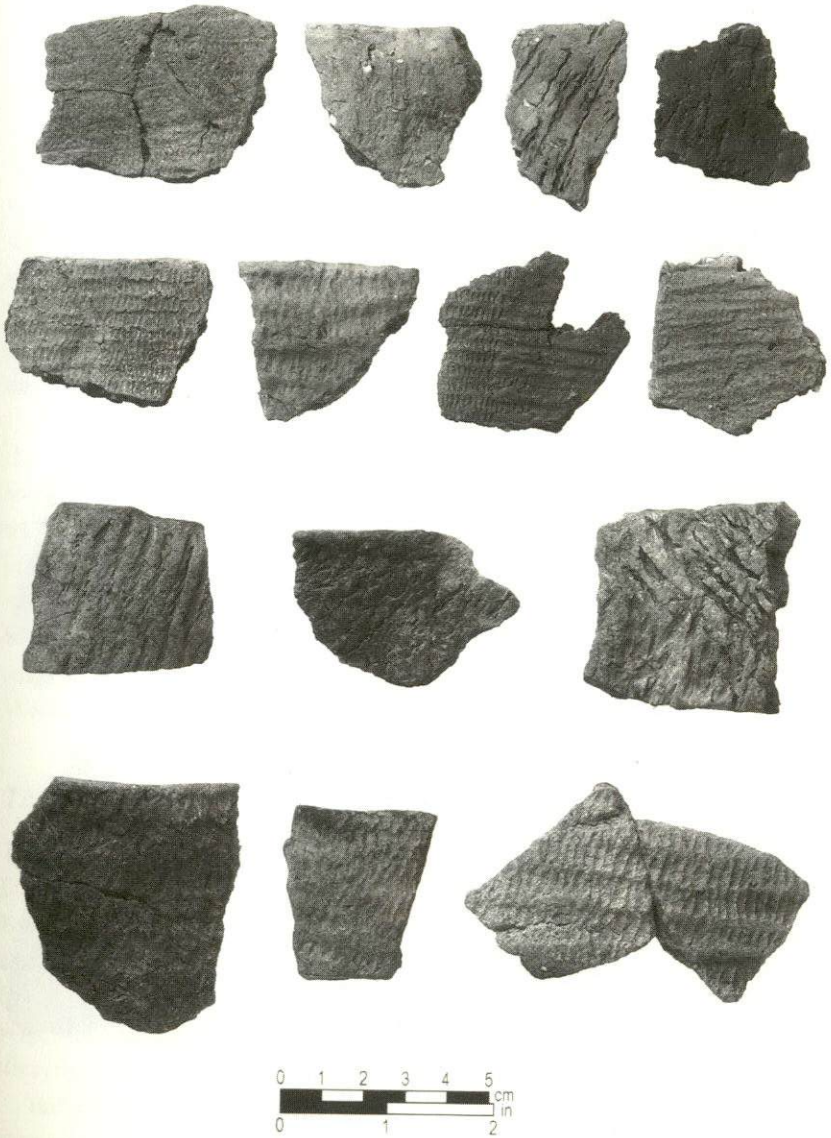

FIGURE 4.2. *Badin Fabric Marked (bottom row), Badin Cordmarked (third row), Yadkin Fabric Marked (second row), and Yadkin Cordmarked (top row) potsherds from the Doerschuk site.*

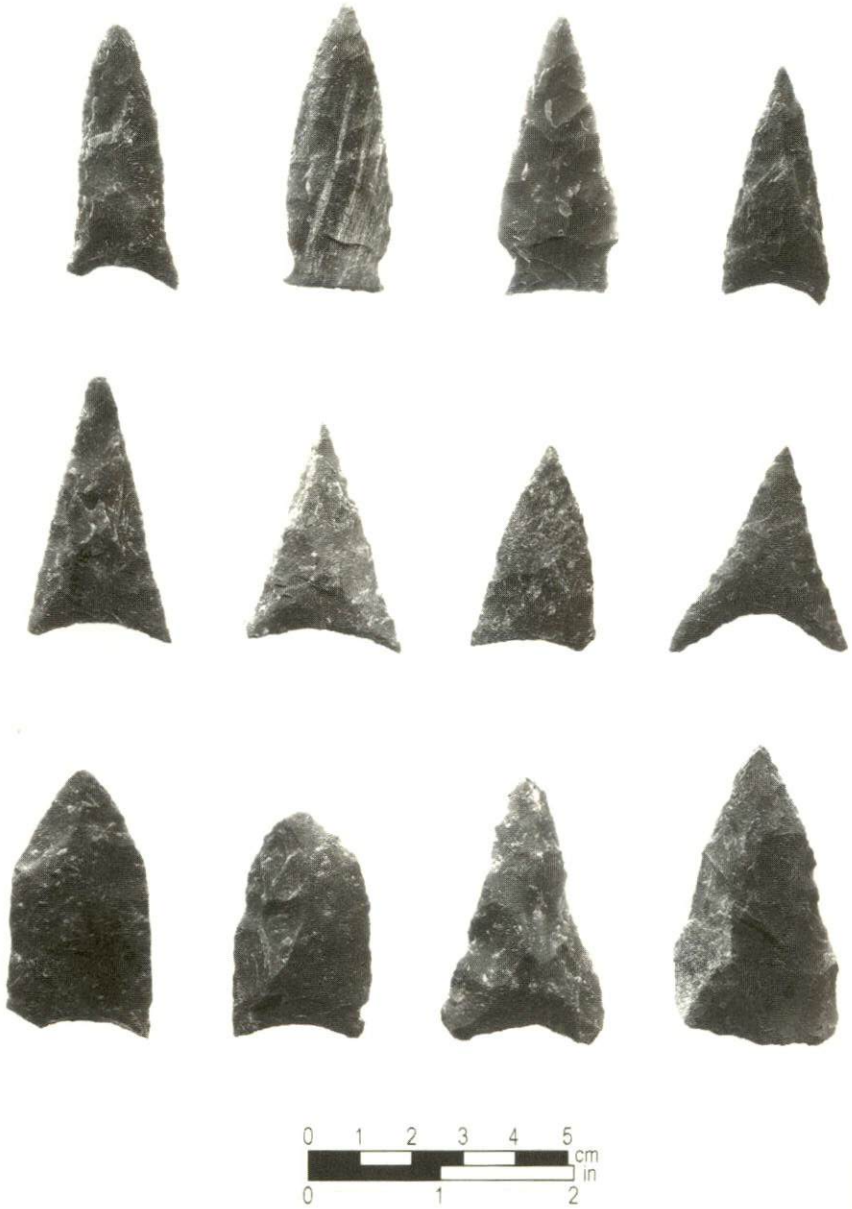

FIGURE 4.3. *Badin Crude Triangular (bottom row) and Yadkin Large Triangular (top two rows) projectile points from the Doerschuk site.*

Badin ceramics appear to be related to the Early Woodland Deep Creek wares of the North Carolina coastal region, and it has been observed recently that Badin and Thom's Creek pottery have a similar "feel," although their surfaces were finished in very different ways (Coe 1995:154). Whereas most of the early ceramic wares that evolved from the fiber-tempered pottery along the south Atlantic coast display surfaces stamped with a carved paddle, Badin and Deep Creek wares were usually finished with a cord-wrapped or fabric-wrapped paddle. Although the exact chronological relationships among Early Woodland ceramics in the North Carolina Piedmont and elsewhere in the Southeast are unclear, the use of sand as a tempering agent seems to tie these early wares together.

Other than ceramics, we know very little about aboriginal lifestyles during the Badin phase. Probably little changed from the Late Archaic period except for the gradual incorporation of the bow and arrow and ceramic containers in a technology that was still primarily adapted to a hunting-and-gathering way of life. One thing that is surprising in the North Carolina Piedmont is the small number of Badin and subsequent Yadkin phase sites compared with the relatively large number of Late Archaic Savannah River phase sites. Current data suggest that the Piedmont was not a favorite place to live during the Early Woodland period, and therefore population density was relatively low.

The Yadkin Phase

The Yadkin ceramic series was defined based on additional evidence from the Doerschuk site excavations. Yadkin phase pottery is generally thought to follow Badin (Coe 1964:30–32; 1995:154); however, the stratigraphic evidence at Doerschuk was inconclusive. These two pottery series are very similar, except that Yadkin pottery is tempered with crushed quartz. Vessel forms are the same, and vessel surfaces were still stamped with cord-wrapped and fabric-wrapped paddles (figs. 4.2 and 4.4).

Yadkin pottery also exhibits three new kinds of surface treatments—check stamping, linear check stamping, and simple stamping. These stamp designs were created by using a carved wooden paddle instead of one wrapped with a cord or fabric. A simple-stamped surface treatment is produced by using a paddle with parallel grooves carved on its surface. A check-stamped treatment is achieved by adding another series of grooves perpendicular to the first. The linear effect is created by some of the grooves being more pronounced than others and by differences in groove spacing.

These kinds of surface treatments tie Yadkin phase pottery to the Early Woodland Deptford wares common in Georgia and South Carolina. A few

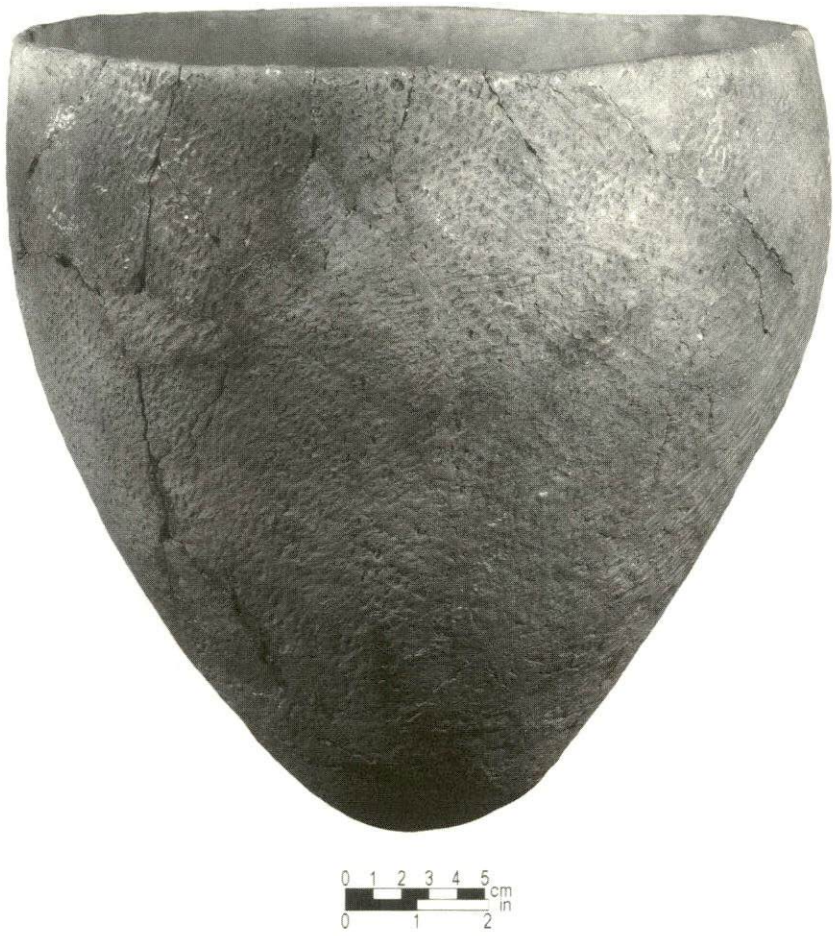

FIGURE 4.4. *Reconstructed Yadkin Fabric Marked pot from Stanly County.*

Yadkin potsherds also were tempered with particles of clay, similar to Hanover phase ceramics found along the southern North Carolina coast and Coastal Plain (South 1976). Projectile points associated with Yadkin pottery are typically large triangular forms that resemble Badin points but are more finely flaked (Coe 1964:30).

Although typologically separated, Badin and Yadkin ceramics were found in the same soil zone, Zone III, at the Doerschuk site. The upper levels at Doerschuk, where the ceramics occurred, were disturbed to varying degrees by natural processes, and the sandy soils comprising the Badin and Yadkin zone were not conducive to the formation of stable soil horizons. These natural conditions were exacerbated by pit digging and other cultural activities that

took place on the site during the last millennium of its occupation. The extent of the mixing and disturbance of the stratigraphy at Doerschuk is illustrated by the fact that the sherds from a single vessel were found scattered throughout five vertical layers and across nine 5′ excavation units (Coe 1964:27).

These conditions should be considered when evaluating the stratigraphic basis for typologically separating Badin and Yadkin ceramics, although both occurred in the same soil zone. The rationale for this separation was the fact that a larger percentage of Badin sherds was recovered from the bottom of Zone III, whereas a larger percentage of Yadkin sherds occurred in the upper portion of Zone III and within Zone II. The same was true with the distribution of Badin and Yadkin projectile points. However, in terms of total numbers of potsherds, the counts were relatively small. Only 63 Yadkin specimens and 346 Badin sherds were recovered from all of Zone III. It also should be noted that 90 Late Woodland Dan River phase sherds, dating at least a thousand years later than Badin, were recovered from the bottom of Zone III (Coe 1964:29).

In short, there is no strong stratigraphic evidence at the Doerschuk site to suggest that Badin and Yadkin wares represent two distinct periods of development within the same ceramic tradition. The typological distinctions between the two pottery types may be valid, but today this distinction has become blurred and still lacks stratigraphic verification. Moreover, Badin Crude Triangular points have not been found in a clear stratigraphic context that separates them from Yadkin Large Triangular points. Most researchers today see the Badin type as probably reflecting Yadkin-like points in their early stage of manufacture, a possibility that was recognized earlier but dismissed (Coe 1964:45).

Yadkin phase sites occur more frequently than Badin phase sites, especially in the southern Piedmont and the South Carolina Coastal Plain (Coe 1995; Ward 1978). Still, subsistence remains and other evidence relating to the way Yadkin people lived are rare. Evidence that some Yadkin sites may have been occupied for relatively long periods of time can be seen at the Town Creek site, where a large circle of overlapping Yadkin phase hearths were uncovered. In addition to fire-cracked rocks comprising the hearths, large amounts of pottery and animal bones were found with the hearths. It is believed that these hearths date to the latter part of the Yadkin phase, around A.D. 500 (Coe 1995:90, 154).

Recent Research and the Early-Middle Woodland Chronology

Probably the greatest advance in Woodland period research since the pioneering work of the 1950s and 1960s has been the accumulation of a relatively large number of radiocarbon dates for the early end of the Woodland period. These

have pushed back in time considerably the original Piedmont Woodland chronology that rested primarily on intuition.

More recent stratigraphic excavations also have shown that a transitional period existed between the end of the Late Archaic period and the beginning of the Woodland period. Today, archaeologists believe that the use of pottery and other types of artifacts associated with Woodland culture were gradually incorporated into the Archaic lifestyle. There were no cultural "disruptions" caused by migrations of newcomers into the Piedmont, as earlier investigators had proposed (Claggett and Cable 1982:771).

Excavations at 31De169, on the Yadkin River in Davie County, uncovered sherds from a sand- and grit-tempered, cordmarked pot that was believed to be typologically similar to Badin ware. Some of the sherds from the vessel were recovered from a burned tree stump that was radiocarbon dated to 140 ± 70 B.C. (Webb and Leigh 1995:19–21). Given the dates for Yadkin discussed below, this date appears to be too late, if the Badin phase does represent the earliest ceramic-making archaeological complex in the Piedmont.

Radiocarbon dates for Yadkin and Yadkin-like ceramics generally fall between 290 B.C. and A.D. 60 (Blanton, Espenshade, and Brockington 1986:10). At the E. Davis site in Forsyth County, a radiocarbon date of 220 ± 80 B.C. was obtained from charcoal contained in a rock-filled pit. The pit also contained Yadkin pottery and a small, stemmed Gypsy point (Davis 1987; Eastman 1994b:43). At one of the Haw River sites, 31Ch8, a date of 290 ± 95 B.C. was obtained from charcoal in a refuse pit containing two Yadkin series vessels. The stratigraphic level where this pit originated also contained a Badin Cordmarked pot (Claggett and Cable 1982:601). This date is in line with those from Kellog phase sites in South Carolina and Georgia, where pottery types similar to Badin and Yadkin have been found (Blanton, Espenshade, and Brockington 1986:12). Also at 31Ch8, stratigraphic and typological evidence suggest that a "pre-Badin" ceramic complex might exist (Claggett and Cable 1982:769).

These dates, coupled with the lack of strong stratigraphic evidence from Doerschuk and the Haw River sites, make it unclear as to whether Badin ceramics predate Yadkin in all areas of the Piedmont. As Webb and Leigh noted (1995:29), the situation may be that there is no "neatly linear, developmental relationship between Badin and Yadkin ceramics." As Early Woodland research continues across the Piedmont, we will probably see more and more variability in the early ceramic traditions and find that what holds true for one region may not hold true for another. Badin-like ceramics may be earliest in some areas, whereas Yadkin-like pottery may represent the earliest ceramic tradition in other areas. And future excavations may verify the "pre-Badin" ceramic phase suggested by Claggett and Cable.

Early Excavations in the Northeast Piedmont

Excavations at the Doerschuk site consisted of small block units that were designed to recover artifacts in their stratigraphic contexts. Mostly potsherds and projectile points were found. A different strategy was used at sites located in the Roanoke Rapids Reservoir in the northern Piedmont. At the Gaston and Thelma sites extensive site areas were examined, and a broad range of Early-Middle Woodland artifacts were found in association with numerous archaeological features.

The archaeological investigations within the Roanoke Rapids Reservoir were salvage archaeology in the purest sense of the term. The project was initiated by plans of the Virginia Electric and Power Company (VEPCO) to construct a hydroelectric dam that would create Roanoke Rapids Lake on the Roanoke River. The initial survey to locate sites began the very day an agreement to fund the project was worked out between the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and VEPCO. Because the project was initiated in April, during the middle of the spring semester at the university, most of the archaeological surveys were undertaken on weekends (Coe 1964:84; South 1959a:4).

During the survey phase, seventy-three sites were recorded and six were tested, including the Gaston and Thelma sites. Most of the excavation effort was devoted to the Gaston site, where Stanley South, Lewis Binford, and Stanley's wife, Jewel, worked from sunrise until sunset every day during June until the site was flooded on June 29, 1955 (Coe 1964:90; South 1959a:4).

The Gaston site was located on the south side of the Roanoke River, across from the upstream end of Vincent Island, in an area of narrow floodplain. Initially, twenty 5′×5′ squares were excavated by hand in order to determine the site's stratigraphy and to provide control for the mechanical stripping that would follow. In addition to the buried Archaic strata found there, discussed in Chapter 3, a rich, ceramic-bearing midden extended across the site. Because time was precious, the decision was made to use a road grader to remove the midden from large areas of the site. This procedure exposed the tops of pit features, which were easily recognized as dark organic stains in the yellow sand beneath the midden (South 1959a:252).

The mechanical stripping exposed 200 features, most of which were described as "garbage pits" or "fire pits" (fig. 4.5). Some of the garbage pits were large, up to 7 feet across and as much as 4.5 feet deep. They contained varying amounts of refuse, including animal bones, potsherds, freshwater mussel shells, stone tools, charcoal, and burned clay daub. A few of the garbage pits also contained human skeletal remains. These consisted of teeth, finger and toe bones, skull fragments, and a mandible. The fire pits were described as pits

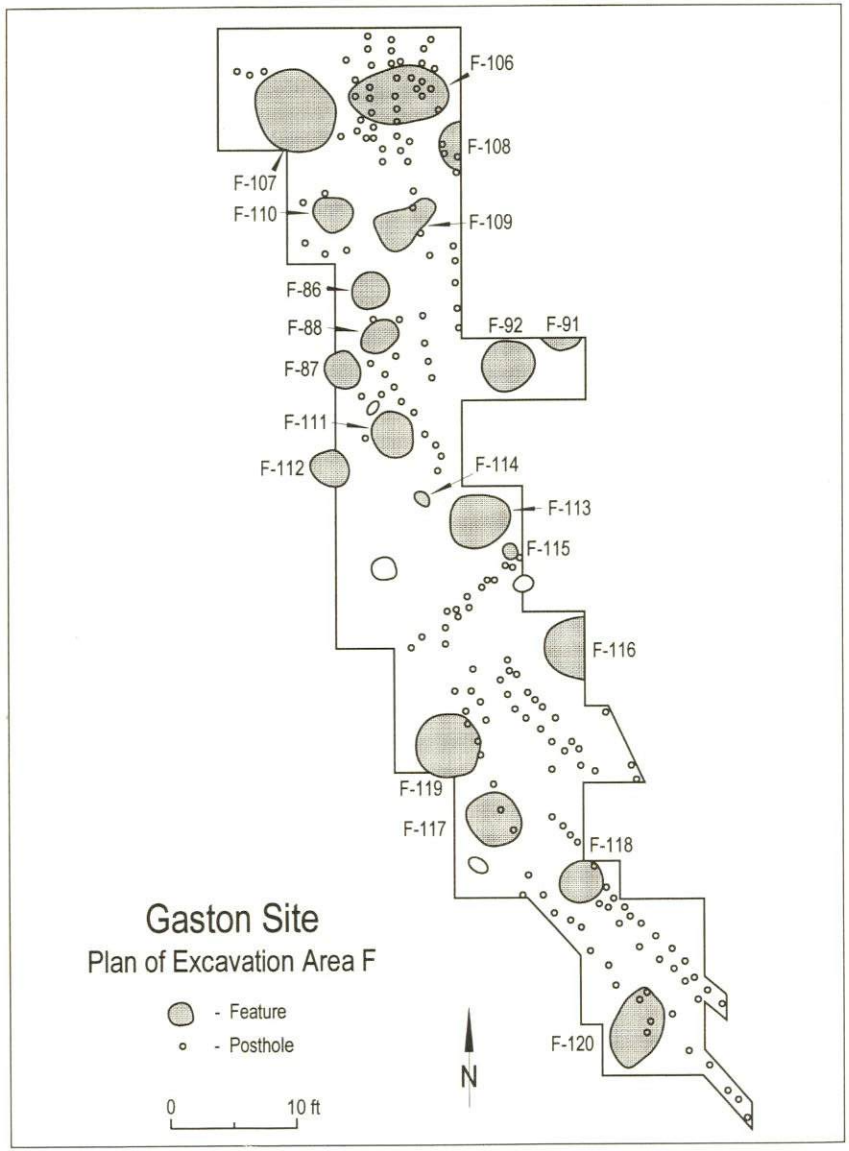

FIGURE 4.5. *Excavation plan of Area F at the Gaston site showing Woodland features and palisade posthole alignments. (Based on South 1959a:269)*

containing either layers of charcoal and ash or, in a few cases, rock-lined bottoms that showed evidence of having been exposed to high temperatures (Coe 1964:92–93; South 1959a:272–75).

Other pits at the Gaston site contained human and dog burials. The human remains, with one exception, were tightly flexed and placed in simple oval pits.

FIGURE 4.6. *Stone pipes found during excavations at the Keyauwee (top) and Gaston (bottom) sites.*

One burial consisted of a bundle of disarticulated bones, indicating that the flesh had been removed prior to interment. Only one burial contained an associated artifact: an engraved stone pipe made from chlorite (fig. 4.6). This burial contained the remains of at least two, and perhaps three, individuals (South 1959a:297). In contrast, most of the articulated dog remains, also placed in simple oval pits, were accompanied by offerings of deer bones (Coe 1964:93; South 1959a:275).

Coe (1964:106) and South (159a:391) identified three primary ceramic traditions while working at the Gaston site—Vincent, Clements, and Gaston (fig. 4.7). Vincent series pottery occurred near the bottom of the midden at the Gaston site, whereas Gaston specimens were concentrated near the top. Clements potsherds were not clearly associated with any particular level; instead, they appeared to be scattered throughout the midden deposit. Vincent

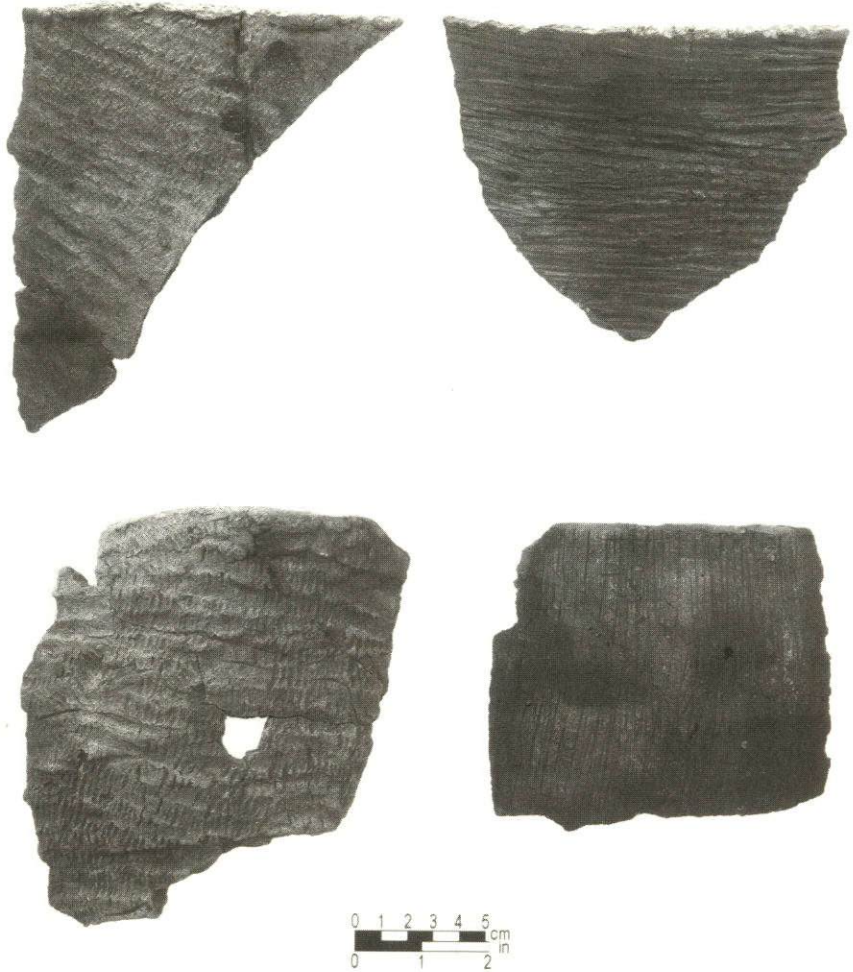

FIGURE 4.7. *Vincent Fabric Marked (bottom left), Clements Cordmarked (bottom right), Clements Fabric Marked (top left), and Gaston Simple Stamped (top right) rim sections from the Gaston site.*

and Clements ceramics were assigned to the Early and Middle Woodland periods, whereas Gaston pottery was thought to have been made as late as A.D. 1700.

The features at the Gaston site usually contained potsherds representing all three ceramic series, although a seriation of the feature pottery indicates that in most of the pits one ceramic series clearly dominated the others (fig. 4.8). These seriation charts also suggest that most of the features contained a larger portion of Vincent series sherds than either Clements or Gaston pottery (Coe 1964:100, Fig. 94; South 1959a:333, Fig. 37). At the time, it was believed that the mixing of

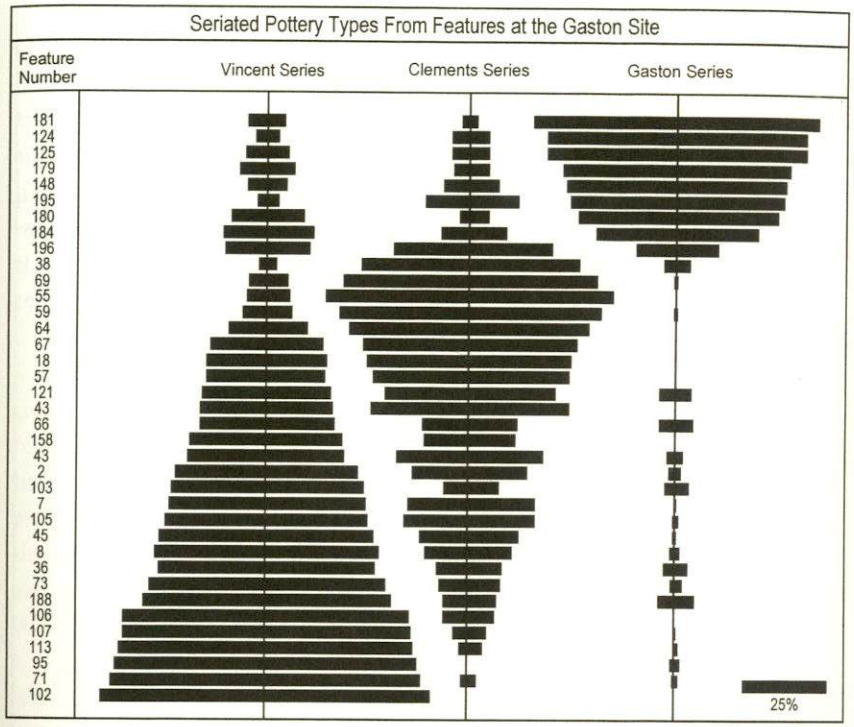

FIGURE 4.8. *A seriation of Vincent, Clements, and Gaston series pottery from excavated features at the Gaston site. (Based on Coe 1964:100)*

earlier and later ceramic series in most of the pits was clear evidence of disturbances created by the later inhabitants of the site (Coe 1964:107).

This "mixing" of pottery also reflects the difficulty the archaeologists had typologically distinguishing many of the potsherds. It was particularly difficult to separate the Vincent and Clements sherds. In fact, Stanley South simply referred to the two series as the Vincent-Clements tradition and did not attempt to separate them in many instances. These typological problems were viewed as a consequence of the fact that both ceramic series represented a single tradition over a long period of time. And during most of the tradition, both were being used (Coe 1964:102; South 1959a:393).

Vincent series pottery has a hard, compact paste that was tempered with sand and an occasional pebble or fragment of crushed quartz. Vessel surfaces were finished by being malleated with a cord-wrapped or fabric-wrapped paddle. Interiors were usually smoothed by hand. Vessel forms consist of bowls and jars with straight to slightly flaring, undecorated rims. Bases are usually pointed, but sometimes are rounded (Coe 1964:101–2; South 1959a:62) (fig. 4.9).

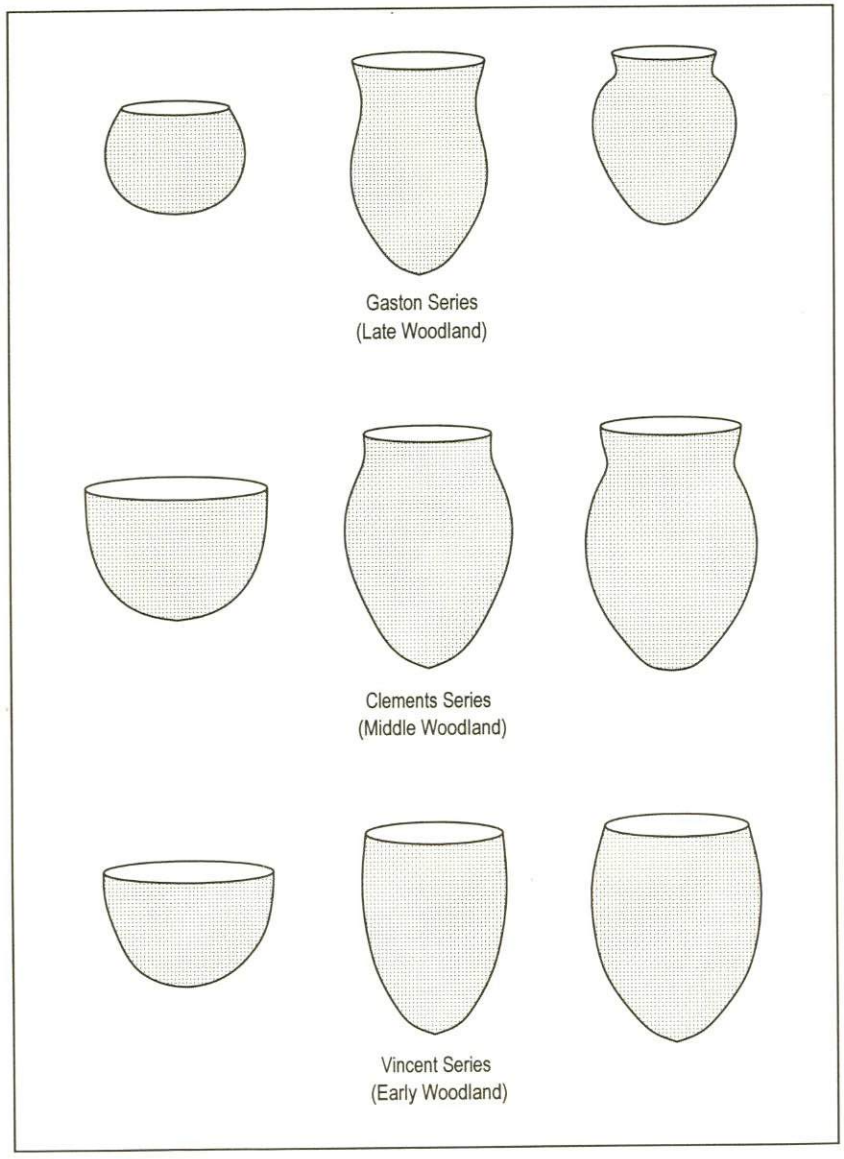

FIGURE 4.9. *Evolution of Woodland pot forms in the lower Roanoke valley. (Based on Coe 1964:107)*

Clements pottery also contains sand temper and crushed quartz. The particle sizes of the tempering materials are variable, ranging from fine to large, angular fragments. Cord-wrapped and fabric-marked paddles were also used to stamp the exterior vessel walls. The interiors of Clements vessels were generally hand-smoothed, but a few sherds were slightly scraped, using tools other than the hands. Bowls and jars were both made with bases varying from conical to rounded. In general, the cord and fabric finishes on Clements pottery are finer than those of the Vincent series, and the vessels' walls are also thinner (Coe 1964:103–4; South 1959a:83–85).

A distinctive type of projectile point was also associated with the Vincent and Clements ceramic series at the Gaston site. These large, triangular points were called Roanoke Large Triangular, and although large and small varieties were recognized, Coe considered them to represent a single type. South, on the other hand, distinguished Roanoke points from a type he called simply Large Triangle, but he did not feel that the data were sufficient to place the two types in their relative chronological positions. Coe, however, believed that the larger varieties of triangular points were earlier and affiliated with the Vincent phase (Coe 1964:111; South 1959a:358).

The chronological relationship between Clements and Vincent was somewhat clarified about a mile upstream at the Thelma site. Here, the main occupation occurred during the Vincent phase, and Clements ceramics were present only in the upper level of the midden (South 1959a:416). At the Thelma site, Vincent ceramics were associated with a small, stemmed point, appropriately named "Thelma." These points, although smaller, represent a continuity of form from the Late Archaic Savannah River styles (409). The Thelma site also contrasted with the Gaston site in other ways. Although some features at the Gaston site contained freshwater mussel shells, there is no indication that the midden was rich in mollusk remains. However, the midden at the Thelma site was described as a "shell midden" (396).

Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of the Thelma site was the presence of a group burial, or ossuary, containing the remains of four individuals. The ossuary was discovered below a flexed, primary burial within a pit that also contained a large piece of a Vincent pot. The ossuary remains had been covered by a layer of clean white sand and probably would not have been discovered, except for the fact that a skull was exposed while the excavation unit was being cleaned after the removal of the primary burial (South 1959a:403).

Several atlatl weights were also found in association with Vincent, but not Clements, ceramics. These weights may represent the last gasp of the atlatl in the northern Piedmont as the use of the bow and arrow became more popular.

This transition is also reflected in the shift from small, stemmed Thelma points to the Roanoke triangular varieties (cf. Oliver 1985:209).

Just how early is the Vincent ceramic complex? At the time of the excavations, archaeologists believed that Badin and Vincent pottery were in use "at about the same time" (Coe 1964:27). At the Gaston site, a single radiocarbon date was obtained from a charcoal sample that combined smaller samples from four different features. When the samples were submitted for dating, the ceramic typology had not been worked out, and it was subsequently determined that two of the samples were from Clements phase, and not Vincent phase, pits. Thus, the date of A.D. 916 ± 200 was considered to be too late and A.D. 500 was thought to be closer to the mark (Coe 1964:118–19; South 1959a:384).

Several years after the Roanoke Rapids excavations, a date of A.D. 685 ± 75 was obtained for Clements pottery found in a pit feature at the Thorpe site (31Ns3). This site is located in Nash County, approximately sixty miles south of the Roanoke Rapids Reservoir (Phelps 1980:71). Obviously, if the Clements phase dates to the end of the Middle Woodland period, Vincent must be earlier and probably overlaps temporally with the first half of the Yadkin phase in the southern Piedmont.

Based on the abundance of shell within the midden at the Thelma site and the lack of evidence for extensive use of mollusks at the Gaston site, significant differences in subsistence and settlement patterns may have existed between the Vincent and Clements phases. However, such differences were not reflected in the other faunal remains from pits at the Gaston site. In the samples of animal bone collected from Vincent, Clements, and Gaston phase features, deer, muskrat, raccoon, beaver, opossum, otter, turkey, and turtle were represented in roughly the same relative frequencies. Dog remains were found only in pits dating to the Vincent and Clements phases, and half of these pits were intentional burials.

Of course, the animal bones reflect only a portion of the total subsistence remains. The charred plant food remains were not collected using fine-grained recovery techniques such as flotation. Nor were they systematically analyzed, except to note that corn was absent and hickory nuts were plentiful. The relative amounts of mussel shells from different features also were not tabulated (Coe 1964:117–18; South 1959a:352–54).

In terms of settlement variability, two patterns were observed by South. First, there were about twice as many Vincent phase sites as there were Clements and Gaston phase sites combined. Secondly, most of the sites containing a preponderance of Vincent pottery were located at the western end of the reservoir (South 1959a:229, 234). While the meaning of these patterns is still unclear, the relatively large number of Early-Middle Woodland sites within the Roanoke Rapids Reservoir stands in stark contrast to patterns observed to the south and west in the heart of the Piedmont, where such sites occur only infrequently.

The Whites Creek Survey and the Forbush Creek Excavations

Before summarizing our discussion of the Early Woodland and Middle Woodland periods in the Piedmont, two additional studies should be mentioned. The first study was a survey carried out along Whites Creek in Marlboro County, South Carolina, just south of the North Carolina state line, in the Sandhills region (Ward 1978). The second study was of the mostly unreported excavations conducted at the Forbush Creek site (31Yd1) in Yadkin County, North Carolina. This site, located on an alluvial terrace of the Yadkin River, lies in the western section of the Piedmont (Keel 1972; McManus 1985).

The most interesting aspect of the Whites Creek survey was the fact that of the sixty-seven sites recorded, twenty-seven produced Yadkin-like pottery, and several of these sites also contained Savannah River Stemmed spear points. A similar co-occurrence of Savannah River points and Early Woodland ceramics has also been noted in the upper Yadkin River valley (Woodall 1976). Although not all of the Savannah River phase sites in the Whites Creek survey produced ceramics, most were situated in the same topographic setting as ceramic-bearing sites. Several low ridges lie perpendicular to Whites Creek, and the toes of these ridges are normally bounded on three sides by low, poorly drained, swampy land. The last high ground on the ridge toes, closest to the creek, was favored by the Savannah River and Yadkin occupants of the area. Apparently they established their camps there to exploit the rich and varied environment of the surrounding swamp and creek. These campsites were also well situated to take advantage of food resources within the pine-hardwood forests covering the higher, better-drained elevations of the ridges.

The Whites Creek survey data pose several questions. The most obvious and basic questions center on what the co-occurrence of Yadkin phase pottery and Savannah River Stemmed points means. Does it indicate that the Late Archaic points and the Early Woodland pottery were being made at the same time in the Whites Creek area? Or does their occurrence on sites occupying similar environmental niches indicate a persistence in settlement and subsistence strategies from the end of the Archaic period into the Early Woodland period? If Late Archaic settlement-subsistence practices did persist, where are the earlier ceramic-bearing sites coeval with the Badin phase? Or does the Yadkin material represent the earliest pottery in the region? Unfortunately, these and similar questions cannot be adequately addressed using information from only surface artifact distributions. Excavations to retrieve hard subsistence information and

radiocarbon dates are sorely needed before we can go any further in sorting out the Whites Creek puzzle and assessing how it fits in the broader regional picture of the Archaic-to-Woodland transition in the Piedmont.

Like the Whites Creek survey, the Forbush Creek site investigations also hold tantalizing clues to our understanding of the Early Woodland and Middle Woodland periods in the Piedmont. However, the Forbush Creek data were derived from archaeological excavations. While most of the artifacts recovered by these excavations have never been analyzed, some of the stone tools from Forbush Creek have been studied (McManus 1985).

The first excavations at the Forbush Creek site, located on the west bank of the Yadkin River just west of Winston-Salem, were carried out in November and December 1957. Stanley South, working for the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, directed the work that salvaged portions of the site that would be destroyed by the construction of U.S. Highway 421.

In 1972, the North Carolina State Highway Commission proposed to construct a second bridge across the river and to widen the highway to four lanes. In order to salvage the portion of the site that lay within the new highway corridor, Bennie Keel of the University of North Carolina led a second salvage project. The excavations lasted from early March until mid-May and uncovered a large area of the site adjacent to South's earlier excavations (Keel 1972).

Based on South's and Keel's excavation notes, and a brief field report by Keel (1972), a few observations can be made that seem relevant to our discussion of the Early and Middle Woodland periods in the Piedmont. The Forbush Creek site appears to have been occupied intermittently throughout most of the first half of the Woodland period. Based on Keel's (1972:13) field observations and a cursory examination of the pottery from Keel's and South's excavations, most of the sherds appear to be associated with the Uwharrie phase (discussed later in this chapter), which dates around A.D. 1000. Some of the ceramics, however, are earlier and represent a Yadkin phase occupation.

There are marked differences between the archaeological features that Keel found in 1972 and those that South encountered in 1957. South uncovered twenty-eight human graves, whereas Keel found none. South also excavated two dog burials. There were none in the area of Keel's excavation. At least two distinct types of burials were encountered, and some of the burials can only be described as unusual. Eighteen of the twenty-eight graves were made in simple pits dug into the subsoil. These pits contained the articulated, flexed skeletons of single individuals. Six of the graves were ossuaries, or group burials, that contained the disarticulated, bundled remains of between three and thirteen individuals each. Of the four remaining features with human remains, two were simple inhumations that were accompanied by a second skull, which may represent a "trophy" taken in combat. One was the fragmented skeleton of an individual placed within the pit fill above an articulated dog skeleton, and the final burial was that of a child placed in the bottom of a refuse-filled pit. Other than the trophy skull, no grave goods were associated with any of the interments. Although the burials were all located within the same area of the site, the ossuaries were generally segregated from the primary pit burials (field notes on file, Research Laboratories of Archaeology [hereafter RLA]).

In addition to the burials, several rich pit features were excavated by South and Keel. Some of these contained human skeletal fragments mixed in with food remains and other refuse. Several of the pits also contained thick, compact deposits of freshwater mollusk shells. While most of the features were described as "refuse" or "storage" pits, a few were identified as "hearths."

The similarities between the Forbush Creek site and the Gaston and Thelma sites are many. Simple pit burials, burials in ossuaries, dog burials, a heavy reliance on freshwater mollusks, and the presence of human remains in refuse pits argue strongly for Early-Middle Woodland connections between the western and northern Piedmont. The Forbush Creek site data also provide a glimpse of the transition between the Yadkin phase and the beginning of the Late Woodland Uwharrie phase.

Summary

The stratigraphic and stylistic relationships among the various ceramic types made during the first half of the Woodland period are still unclear. Badin, Yadkin, Vincent, and Clements series ceramics reflect varying degrees of influence from regions to the north and south, where pottery-making seems to have originated. Although later in time, the sand-tempered Badin ware suggests a relationship with southern coastal types such as Thom's Creek (Coe 1995:154). Yet its cordmarked and fabric-impressed surfaces are more reminiscent of types of the "northern tradition" such as Accokeek and Stony Creek wares of Virginia. Yadkin pottery also points to multiple areas of influence. In addition to the fabric-marked and cordmarked surfaces, the use of crushed quartz temper is a trait common to pottery throughout the Virginia Coastal Plain and appears to have evolved from the earlier use of steatite as a tempering agent. At the Marcey Creek site, crushed steatite gave way to crushed quartz and vessel surfaces changed from plain to cordmarked (Manson 1948:226). Still, the Yadkin check-stamped and simple-stamped types show affinities to the widespread Deptford wares of the Georgia and South Carolina Coastal Plain.

During the Early and Middle Woodland periods, the Piedmont of North Carolina seems to have been an area of merging influences from different

regions. A carved-paddle, sand-tempered tradition of pottery-making arrived from the south, whereas a tradition of using crushed stone and fabric- and cord-wrapped paddles arrived from the north. The exact timing of the arrival of these ideas in the Piedmont is still unclear, but we know today that the previous notion of a simple lineal progression from Badin to Yadkin or from Vincent to Clements wares is untenable. Badin pottery may be earlier in some areas, whereas Yadkin pottery may be earlier in others. And both types may occur at roughly the same time in still other parts of the Piedmont. The chronological position of Vincent and Clements wares is even less clear since they can be tied to other Piedmont wares by only a single radiocarbon date for the Clements phase.

The Roanoke Rapids Reservoir sites and the Forbush Creek site suggest that freshwater mollusks and other aquatic resources were important food resources during the first half of the Woodland period. A wide variety of mammals and birds were also eaten. During this period, the bow and arrow completely replaced the atlatl as the weapon of choice.

Evidence from sites in Tennessee and elsewhere in the Southeast indicate that several species of weedy plants, including maygrass, knotweed, goosefoot, and sunflower, were cultivated and that hickory nuts and acorns were seasonally harvested. No direct evidence (such as charred plant food remains) of horticultural practices has been found on the North Carolina Piedmont. However, the floodplain locations of the Doerschuk, Haw River, Gaston, Thelma, and Forbush Creek sites suggest that a similar array of plants may have been grown around these Early-Middle Woodland settlements to begin the Piedmont Village Tradition.

The Late Woodland Period (A.D. 800–1600)

No sharp breaks or glaring innovations distinguish the beginning of the Late Woodland period in Piedmont North Carolina. However, between about A.D. 1100 and 1600, major cultural changes took place across the Piedmont as regional manifestations of the Piedmont Village Tradition began to emerge. This was a time of population consolidation and the beginning of intertribal conflicts. Larger villages were often surrounded by stockades to protect their inhabitants from raids by hostile neighbors. It should be kept in mind, however, that these developments did not take place uniformly across the region. In some areas of the Piedmont, scattered hamletlike settlements, rather than compact villages, were the norm. Sometimes the two settlement types appear to have coexisted in the same region at roughly the same time. Still, when viewed from an overall perspective, a developmental trend toward larger, more permanent villages is evident.

Most archaeologists and anthropologists see this evolutionary trend as the result of an increase in agricultural production and efficiency. Intervillage rivalries and hostilities arose as access to good agricultural lands became increasingly important to the subsistence economy. The increased reliance on crop cultivation also meant that it was possible to produce food surpluses that required storage. Raids were no doubt also carried out to purloin these surpluses from neighbors. This is not to say that game and other wild foods were abandoned in favor of foods produced from domesticated plants. They certainly were not. Hunting, gathering, and collecting continued to play a balanced role in the overall subsistence economy.

It is during the Late Woodland period that archaeologists can begin to identify archaeological complexes left by cultures that may be ancestral to the linguistic and tribal groups described by European explorers during the subsequent Contact period. Siouan-speaking groups occupied the central and northern Piedmont when the first Europeans arrived. The Dan River and Saratown phases of the northern Piedmont probably represent the remains of peoples ancestral to the Sara Indians. In the north central Piedmont, along the Eno River, the Late Woodland Hillsboro phase may be related to the Historic Eno, Shakori, and Occaneechi tribes. A little farther south in the Haw River drainage, the Haw River, Hillsboro, and Mitchum phases define archaeological complexes possibly linked to the Sissipahaw Indians. Although poorly defined, the Gaston phase may represent the ancestral remains of the Occaneechis, Tutelos, and Saponis.

The southern Piedmont saw the arrival of new ideas and innovations from the south. Archaeologically, this infusion is known as the Pee Dee culture, first identified at the Town Creek site in Montgomery County. During their heyday, the Pee Dee were mound builders, and atop their mounds they placed temples and chiefly residences. They organized themselves in a highly stratified and politically complex society that had not been seen before in Piedmont North Carolina. However, by the end of the Late Woodland period, the past glory of the Pee Dee was only hinted at by a few surviving ceramic styles (Coe 1952, 1995; Oliver 1992; Reid 1967).

Pee Dee culture shares more traits with the Pisgah phase of the Appalachian Summit than with the Siouan cultures of the Piedmont. Pee Dee and Pisgah phase people participated in a cultural tradition known as South Appalachian Mississippian (Ferguson 1971; Griffin 1967). This tradition was part of the widespread Mississippian cultural pattern that witnessed the consolidation of large, highly stratified political systems headed by a hereditary elite. Before its

decline, the influence of Mississippian culture was felt from Minnesota to Florida, and from Texas to Georgia.

It is important to remember that although these archaeological phases and cultures are distinct from each other, their connections with specific Piedmont tribes of the Contact period are often tenuous. When native cultures were first encountered by Europeans, they were observed to make frequent moves, and we suspect that similar movements, although probably not as frequent, took place prior to the arrival of Europeans. As a consequence, establishing linkages between archaeological complexes and specific tribal groups is often difficult and sometimes impossible. There is, however, a marked increase in the diversity of the archaeological record throughout the Piedmont during the latter half of the Late Woodland period, and much of this diversity no doubt coincides with ethnic and tribal differences that were beginning to take shape at this time.

The Uwharrie Phase (A.D. 800–1200)

The earliest Late Woodland phase defined in the Piedmont was called Uwharrie, after the Uwharrie River in Montgomery and Randolph Counties (Coe 1952). The Uwharrie-type site (31Mg14) is located on a large sandbar at the mouth of the river, where it empties into the Yadkin. This location places the Uwharrie site across the river from the Lowder's Ferry site and less than two miles downstream from the Doerschuk site.

Like Doerschuk, the Uwharrie site was also discovered by Herbert M. Doerschuk. Although excavations have never been conducted at the site, Doerschuk was able to obtain a collection of artifacts, mostly pottery, that washed out during the 1916 flood (notes on file, RLA). The name Uwharrie was assigned to the cultural complex represented by Doerschuk's artifact sample and excavated materials from the Lowder's Ferry (see Chapter 3) and Keyauwee sites (Coe 1952:307–8). Although initially discovered in the southern North Carolina Piedmont, Uwharrie phase sites have a wide distribution, occurring throughout central North Carolina. In fact, it can be said that the Uwharrie phase is the "mother" of all succeeding phases that comprise the Piedmont Village Tradition.

From what we know today, Coe's 1952 description of life during the Uwharrie phase is remarkably accurate, given the limited amount of information that was available to him at that time. Though still relatively small, Uwharrie villages were more sedentary than those of the preceding Woodland periods. Hunting, gathering, and fishing were still the mainstays of Uwharrie subsistence, but garden crops, including corn, became important, particularly toward the end of

the Uwharrie phase. This increased reliance on domesticated plant foods is not only reflected in the archaeobotanical record but also in the large subterranean storage facilities found on Uwharrie phase sites. These pits were presumably used to store surpluses produced by growing crops (Coe 1952; Newkirk 1978; Woodall 1990). Woodall (1990:82) has suggested that the typical Uwharrie pottery vessel, a large conical jar, was also ideally suited for storing and preserving seasonally available food resources.

Uwharrie pottery continued to be made in the same basic tradition as the Badin, Yadkin, Vincent, and Clements styles. However, the wickerlike fabric wrapped around paddles to finish earlier vessel surfaces was gradually abandoned in favor of a coarse, netlike material. Large particles of crushed quartz were added to the clay as tempering agents, and vessel interiors were usually finished by scraping with a serrated tool. Uwharrie potters also began to decorate their pots with crudely incised parallel lines that encircled the vessel just below the rim (Coe 1952:308) (fig. 4.10).

Burials were placed in simple oval pits. The bodies were tightly flexed and sometimes were adorned with shell beads and other ornaments. It also appears that some Uwharrie burials were placed in cemeterylike areas located away from the main habitation site. It seems likely that most of the flexed primary burials at the Forbush Creek site date to the Uwharrie phase. Although they cannot be securely dated, dog burials from the Parker (31Dv25) and Donnaha (31Yd9) sites on the Yadkin River in Davidson and Yadkin Counties suggest further continuity between the Yadkin and Uwharrie phases (Newkirk 1978:108).

Surveys along the Great Bend of the upper Yadkin River in Yadkin and Surry Counties found that, although Uwharrie phase sites were spaced widely apart along this section of the river, they still occurred more frequently than Early and Middle Woodland sites. Increased site frequency coupled with the fact that Uwharrie sites usually reflect more intense and permanent occupations imply an increasing population that was becoming more and more adapted to the fertile floodplains of the Piedmont (Woodall 1990:83, 91). From this widespread pattern of Uwharrie adaptation emerged the riverine-focused, nucleated settlements that characterized the last half of the Piedmont Village Tradition.

An exception to the riverine-focused settlements typical of the Uwharrie phase is the Hunting Creek site (31De155) in Davie County. This rich site is situated atop a hill approximately 1,500 feet from the nearest water source. Excavations have uncovered several burials, cultural features, and a midden area. Although Hunting Creek has received considerable attention from amateur and professional archaeologists, there are no written reports describing the results of the excavations.

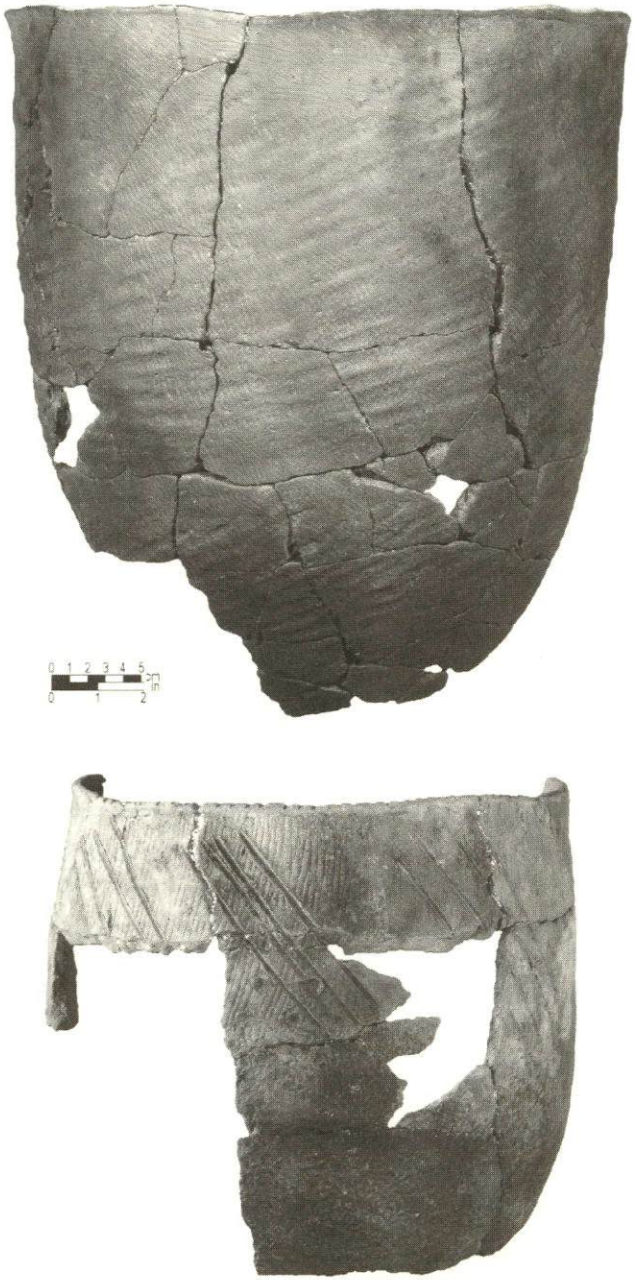

FIGURE 4.10. *A Uwharrie Fabric Marked pot from the Forbush Creek site in Yadkin County (top) and a Uwharrie Net Impressed pot from the Trading Ford site in Rowan County (bottom).*

The Haw River Phase (A.D. 1000–1400)

The Haw River phase is restricted to the north central Piedmont. Pottery styles during the first half of the phase are typologically similar to Uwharrie phase ceramics, and settlements consisted of small scattered hamlets. Still, seeds of change were sown during the first half of the Haw River phase that would culminate in permanent, nucleated village settlements across much of the Piedmont at the end of the Late Woodland period.

The Hogue site (31Or231b/31Or233), located on the Eno River near Hillsborough, is one of four sites situated within a broad U-shaped bend of the river. These four sites—Hogue, Wall (31Or11), Jenrette (31Or231a), and Fredricks (31Or231)—span some 700 years of occupation within an area of approximately twenty-five acres. The Hogue and Wall sites were occupied during the Late Woodland period and clearly demonstrate the transition from small, scattered settlements to compact, palisaded villages.

The Hogue site, the earlier of the two, was first tested by the Research Laboratories of Anthropology in 1984. More extensive excavations were carried out during the summer of 1989. These tests and excavations revealed a dispersed settlement that was separated by a large wooded ditch. In 1989, the two sections of the site were named "Hogue East" (Or231b) and "Hogue West" (Or233). In addition to these two concentrations of artifacts and features, other pits dating to the Hogue site occupation were uncovered while the adjacent Jenrette and Fredricks sites were being excavated, both of whose primary occupations date to the Contact period (ca. A.D. 1650–1710).

Although postholes were found scattered across the Hogue site excavations, no clear house patterns could be discerned. Features consisted of large, basin-shaped pits whose function was unclear, cylindrical storage facilities that were subsequently filled with refuse deposits, and human burials. The burials were perhaps the most interesting discovery at Hogue. They were clustered in the eastern portion of the site in what appeared to be a cemetery. The skeletal remains were poorly preserved, but all seemed to have been placed in the graves in a flexed position. No burial offerings accompanied the remains, although large rocks were sometimes placed near the feet of the deceased. The placement of the burials in a cemetery may have begun during the Uwharrie phase, as evidenced by the concentration of primary interments described at the Forbush Creek site. Large rocks were also placed near the feet of some of the Forbush Creek burials.

Similarly, continuity between the Uwharrie and early Haw River phases can be seen in the ceramics from the Hogue site. Here, the most popular vessel form was a large, undecorated, conical-shaped jar with a straight or slightly constricted neck. Most often the surfaces of these vessels were finished with a net-

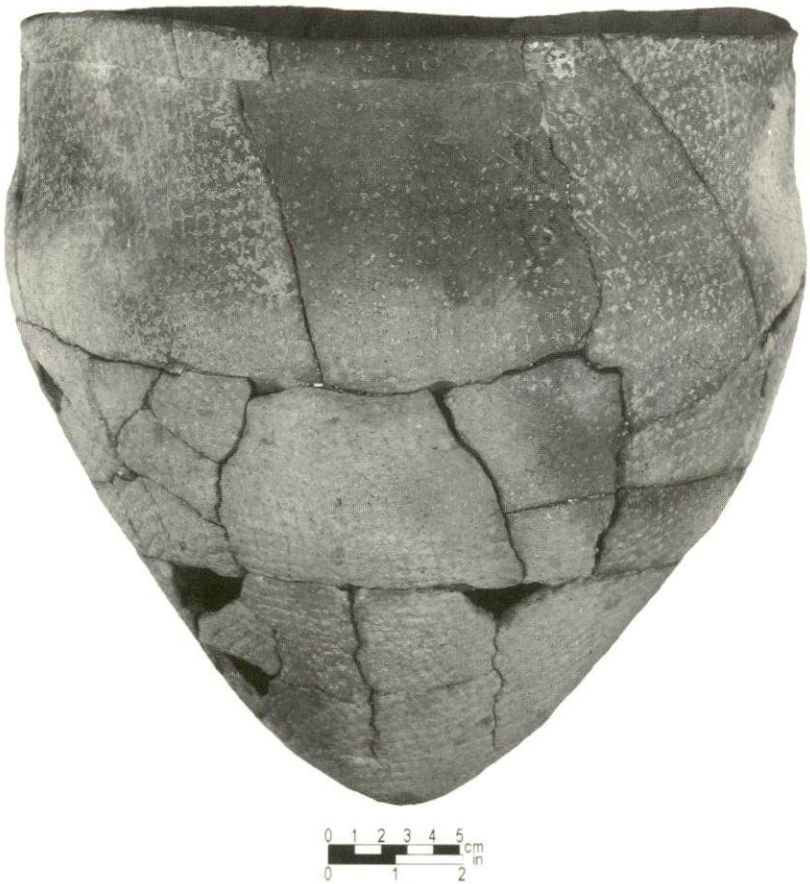

FIGURE 4.11. *A Haw River Net Impressed jar from a small site along Morgan Creek in Orange County.*

wrapped paddle. After a careful study of the Hogue site pottery, archaeologists have determined that it is a late manifestation of the Uwharrie series and is ancestral to the Haw River series pottery that became popular during the latter half of the Haw River phase (Ward and Davis 1993:408).

Surveys and excavations at late Haw River phase sites have revealed settlements similar to that of the Hogue site—with the exception of the cemetery. Most appear to represent small dispersed households, indicated archaeologically by low artifact densities and a low frequency of postholes and pit features. These settlements are frequently found along the ridges and knolls bordering the narrow floodplains of secondary streams (Ward and Davis 1993) (fig. 4.11).

Typical pit features are fairly large cylindrical storage facilities that were filled with soil and refuse once they were no longer used for storage. Evidence of

agriculture has been found in all the Haw River phase storage facilities excavated so far. This evidence consists primarily of maize kernels and cupules, but beans, squash seeds, and sunflower seeds also have been recovered. In addition to domesticated plant food remains, these pits usually contained charred fragments of acorns and hickory nuts, alongside a variety of animal bones, including deer, squirrel, and rabbit. This evidence suggests that although domesticated plants—particularly corn and beans—began to be an important food staple during the first half of the Late Woodland period, wild food resources also continued to be important (Gremillion 1989; Holm 1994; Ward and Davis 1993).

The Dan River Phase (A.D. 1000–1450)

In the upper Dan River drainage of the northern Piedmont a cultural pattern identified as the Dan River phase emerged at the same time as the Haw River phase in the central Piedmont. Although archaeologists do not know for sure why, a much larger resident population occupied the Dan River valley during the Late Woodland period than the Eno and Haw River drainages. It has been speculated that the extensive bottomlands along the Dan and its tributaries offered more access to good agricultural soils and, therefore, attracted larger numbers of people. Still, it was not until after the thirteenth century that these groups aggregated into substantially larger villages (Ward and Davis 1993:418).

Excavations at the Powerplant site (31Rk5), located on the south side of the Dan River in Rockingham County, North Carolina, and at the Leatherwood Creek site in Henry County, Virginia, suggest that early Dan River phase settlements were very similar to those of the Haw River phase. A linear community of houses and associated features were loosely strung out parallel to the banks of the river. Surveys and excavations also indicate that artifact densities at these sites are relatively low, at least compared to those found on later sites (Gravely 1983; Ward and Davis 1993).

Large storage pits occur frequently on early Dan River phase sites. When found by archaeologists, these pits usually contain secondary deposits of refuse, reflecting their use as garbage receptacles after they were no longer suited for storage. Subsistence remains from the Powerplant site indicate a mixed economy of hunting, gathering, and agriculture. Although animal and plant food samples from this site were comparatively small, they did represent a wide variety of resources, and evidence of maize was recovered from almost every pit feature. The presence of beans and sunflower seeds, along with corn, clearly indicates the importance of agriculture on the Dan River after A.D. 1000 (Gremillion 1989; Holm 1994; Ward and Davis 1993).

A single burial placed in a simple oval pit was excavated at the Powerplant

site. The body was flexed and not accompanied by burial offerings—at least any that had been preserved. The pit form and body disposition were similar to Haw River phase burials; however, the single interment contrasts with the group burials uncovered at the Hogue site (Ward and Davis 1993:237).

Dan River phase pottery was first recognized by Joffre Coe and Ernest Lewis, who thought it was the product of the historic Sara Indians (Coe 1952; Coe and Lewis 1952; Lewis 1951). More recent investigations have shown that the pottery described by Coe and Lewis was not made by Historic tribes but rather by their ancestors several centuries earlier. During the first half of the Dan River phase, Uwharrie influences are clearly evident. Crushed quartz was used as the tempering agent, and vessel interiors were usually heavily scraped. Most vessel surfaces were net impressed, but other techniques such as cord-marking, smoothing, corncob impressing, and brushing were also used (fig. 4.12). Most of the pots were formed into large storage and cooking vessels. Decorations consisted of notches along the lip, incised or brushed lines around the neck, or sometimes fingernail pinches or punctations in the neck area (Ward and Davis 1993:418–19) (fig. 4.13).

During the last half of the Dan River phase, settlement size and density increased dramatically over that of the early Dan River phase. Many of these settlements were located along the banks of the Smith and Mayo Rivers in southern Virginia, as well as along the Dan River in North Carolina. Although few Dan River sites in North Carolina have been excavated, many such sites were investigated in Virginia during the 1960s and 1970s (Davis and Ward 1991; Gravely 1983). The Late Prehistoric component at Lower Saratown (31Rk1) on the Dan River in Rockingham County, and sites such as Belmont, Koehler, and Stockton in Virginia, suggest that these settlements consisted of circular, stockaded villages from one to two acres in extent (Coleman and Gravely 1992; Davis et al. 1997a, 1997b; Ward and Davis 1993). Located within the stockades were from fifteen to twenty households represented by circular house structures with associated storage pits, burials, and hearths. These formed rings adjacent to the stockades and encircled open, central plazas where community activities took place. Late Dan River phase villages were located on the wide alluvial terraces of the Dan River and its major tributaries.

As mentioned earlier, the increase in size and occupational intensity seen during the latter half of the Dan River phase was associated with rapidly growing populations relying more and more on the cultivation of corn. It also seems likely that the rise of large fortified communities may be partially related to an increase in Iroquois raids from the north into the Eastern Siouan heartland. Internal strife probably also increased as villages vied for access to good crop lands.

Most (80–90 percent) of the late Dan River phase pottery is net impressed,

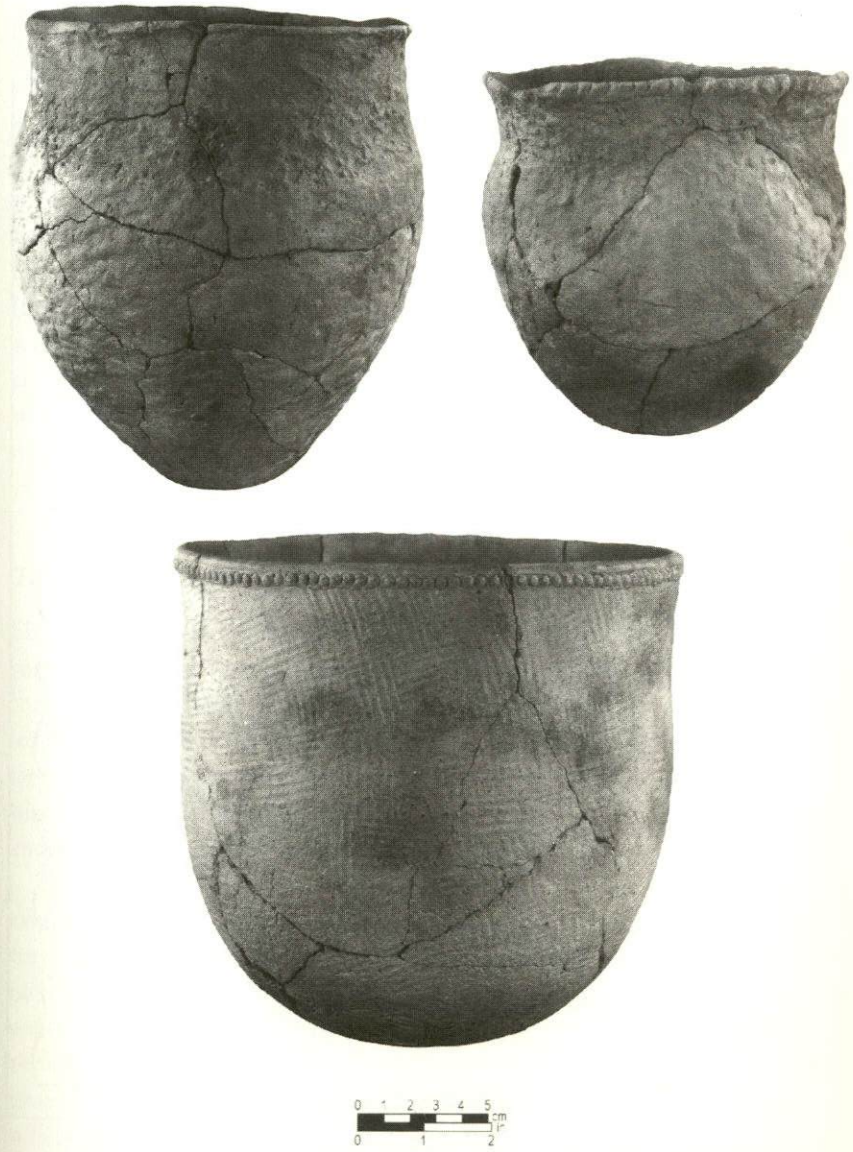

FIGURE 4.12. *A group of three pots found with a burial along Dan River in Rockingham County. The top two vessels are Dan River Net Impressed, and the bottom pot is Pee Dee Complicated Stamped.*

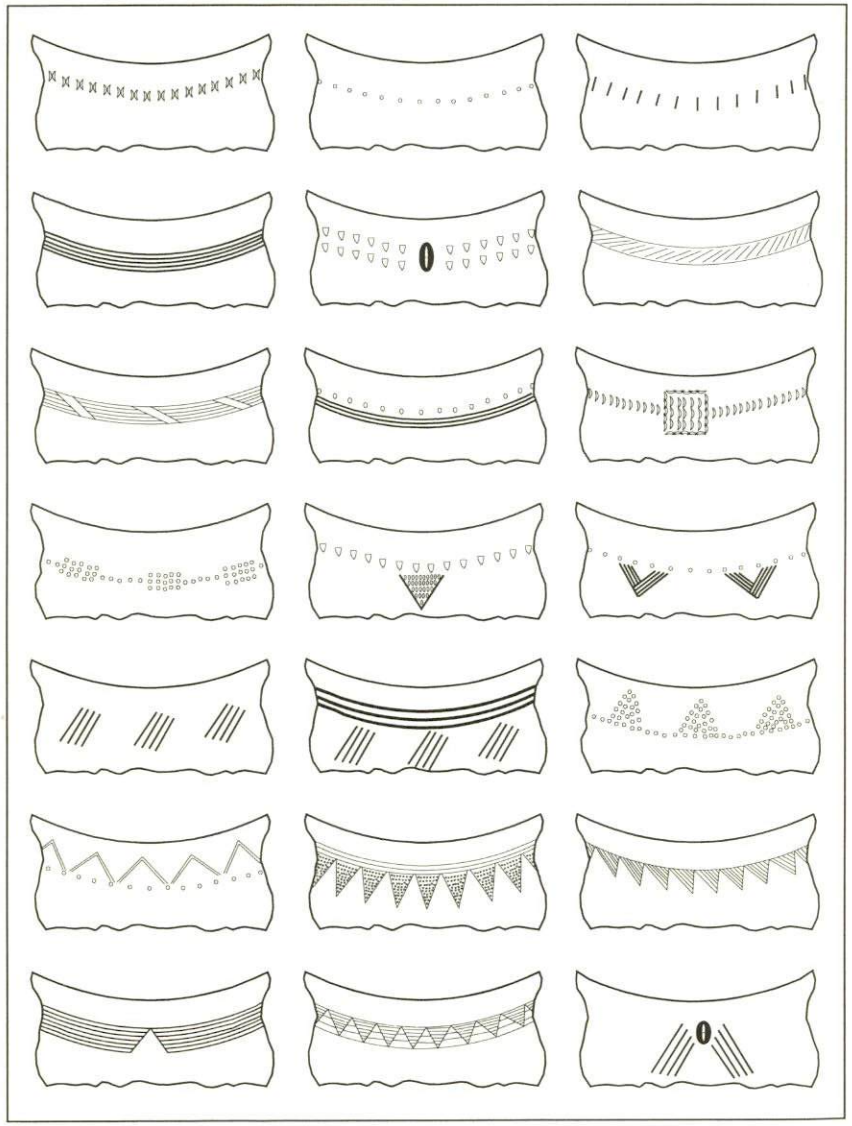

FIGURE 4.13. *Some Dan River pottery decorations found in the upper Dan River drainage. They were applied to the vessel neck and shoulder using fingertips, sticks, and sharp-pointed instruments.*

although a few sherds display cordmarked, cob-impressed, or smoothed surfaces. The interiors of most vessels usually were heavily scraped, but sand replaced crushed quartz, which was used during the early Dan River phase, as the most popular tempering agent. Large storage and cooking jars with constricted necks and flaring rims continued to be made along with smaller bowls.

Vessel decoration increased in popularity and variety over that of the early Dan River phase. Finger pinches, stick incisions, and reed punctations were applied in bands around the shoulder area, while lips were commonly notched, incised, or punctated with reeds (Ward and Davis 1993:419).

One of the most striking features of the Dan River phase is the variety of ornaments and tools made from bone, shell, and clay. Awls, pins, needles, fishhooks, beamers, gouges, antler flakers, antler picks, and turtle carapace bowls and cups, as well as a variety of beads, represent some of the bone artifacts (fig. 4.14). The edges of freshwater mussel shells were serrated and used as scrapers. The marine whelk was carved and ground into long columella beads, shorter barrel and disk beads, gorgets, and pendants. Marginella and olive shells were also used to make a wide variety of beads. Clay, in addition to its use in the manufacture of pots, was fashioned into cups, spoons, dippers, beads, and a variety of smoking pipes (Ward and Davis 1993:419).

The Donnaha Phase (A.D. 1000–1450)

Since 1973, archaeologists at Wake Forest University have been conducting surveys and excavations in the Great Bend area of the Yadkin River valley. Initially, this research focused on excavations at the well-known Donnaha site located on the west side of the Yadkin River in Yadkin County. Although this large, rich site was occupied throughout most of the Woodland period, the main occupation appears to have occurred during the Late Woodland period and is related to the Dan River phase (Woodall 1984).

The Donnaha site is characterized by a difficult and complex stratigraphy exacerbated by modern flooding and looting by relic collectors. In 1973, exploratory excavations were undertaken to determine the site's limits and stratigraphy and to begin to interpret the nature of the features and burials. To this end, a series of two-meter squares were randomly selected for excavation after the site's limits were determined by a walk-over survey. In 1975, excavations continued at the site in order to enlarge the sample of features and burials, and to try and identify house patterns (Woodall 1984:12–14).

The Donnaha excavations recovered "hundreds of thousands" of ceramic, bone, stone, and shell artifacts. "To write that artifacts were abundant at Donnaha would be an illustration of understatement" (Woodall 1984:61). The nonceramic artifact assemblage from Donnaha, particularly the array of shell and bone tools, is very similar to that found on Dan River phase sites in the Dan River valley. Although much of the pottery also is clearly related to ceramics of the Dan River phase, an assortment of earlier and later materials has also been recognized (Woodall 1984).

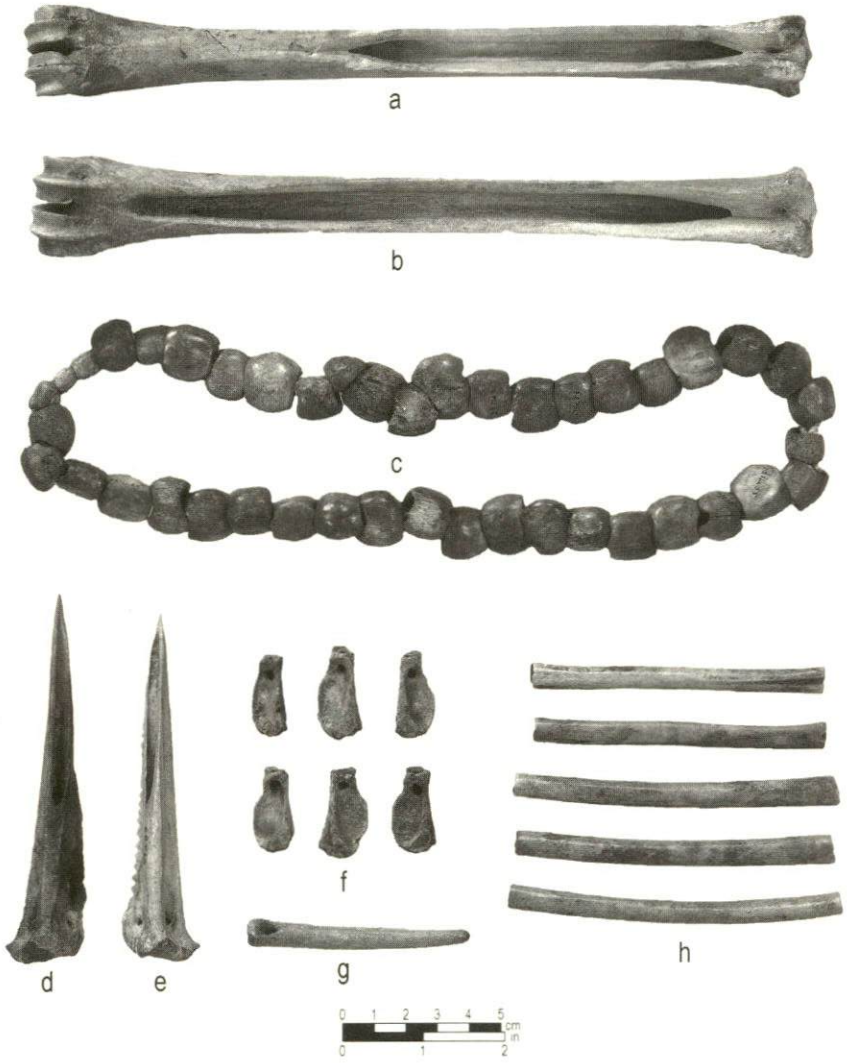

FIGURE 4.14. *Bone tools and ornaments from Dan River and Hillsboro phase sites: beamers (a–b), barrel-shaped beads (c), awls (d–e), drilled turkey wing-phalanx beads (f), antler pin (g), and tubular beads (h).*

No definitive house patterns were identified at Donnaha, although partial posthole alignments suggest that some of the burials might be associated with small houses or enclosures. Numerous trash-filled pits and nineteen human burials were excavated. The trash pits contained high densities of mussel shells. All of the burials were flexed and placed in oval or circular pits. Several contained a variety of shell and bone beads. Marginella shells were apparently sewn on burial garments, whereas tubular-shell beads and cut-disk beads made of bone and shell were strung and worn as necklaces. Conch shell gorgets were found with two individuals (Woodall 1984).

Although no remains of corn—either kernel or cob fragments—were identified during the early phases of the research at Donnaha, Gregory Mikell, a Wake Forest graduate student, later identified numerous carbonized cob fragments from pit features (1987). Ned Woodall, the archaeologist in charge of the Donnaha excavations, hypothesized that maize was introduced into a fledgling horticultural system based on squash and other native crops. Corn increased horticultural productivity and caused populations to grow, which, in turn, placed additional pressures on food resources. This cyclical process led to a greater reliance on the production of cultivated crops and the need for well-drained, fertile levee soils. As native farmers had to travel farther and farther to find good soils, they eventually established smaller, autonomous villages, and the population of the upper Yadkin valley began to stabilize (1984:107).

This settlement model is similar to the one proposed for the Dan River valley, where the increased reliance on maize agriculture resulted in population increases during the Dan River phase. However, rather than the population growth resulting in the fragmentation of large villages, the Dan River data suggest that smaller, more dispersed groups coalesced into larger, more compact settlements. In reality, both processes, fragmentation and coalescence, were probably responsible for Late Prehistoric settlement patterns in the upper Yadkin and Dan River valleys.

Since the Donnaha excavations, surveys and excavations by Wake Forest University have extended up the Yadkin River valley almost to the edge of the Blue Ridge escarpment, and south of the Great Bend area to the Davie County line. Whereas the early research focused on subsistence and settlement patterns, the most recent efforts have been directed toward identifying the size and extent of sociopolitical entities. So far, research indicates that there is insufficient stylistic variability, at least in the Dan River–like ceramics of the upper Yadkin valley, to isolate and identify social and political units above the village level. Even within villages, a lack of ceramic variability suggests that pottery-making was not regulated by kinship or group affiliations (Woodall 1987). However, at sites on the upper Yadkin near the Blue Ridge escarpment, the ceramics clearly reflect a blending of traditions from both the mountains and the Piedmont. This blending points to a high degree of social interaction between the two regions along the zone of their interface (Woodall 1990).

The Hillsboro Phase (A.D. 1400–1600)

The Hillsboro phase was defined by excavations conducted in the north central Piedmont. Although small, scattered settlements similar to those of the Haw River phase continued to dot the landscape during the Hillsboro phase, a few sites dating to the first half of the phase represent compact, nucleated villages with relatively large populations. The best example of this kind of community is the Wall site on the Eno River at Hillsborough. Wall has a long excavation history, beginning in 1938 when Joffre Coe launched the first Siouan project with funds provided by Eli Lilly, the pharmaceutical magnate, and the Indiana Historical Society.

Coe's objective was to locate and excavate Historic villages of the Piedmont Siouan tribes that had been described by early explorers like John Lawson and John Lederer. At that time, the Wall site was thought to be the Occaneechi village that John Lawson visited in 1701 and described in his journal published in 1709 (Lefler 1967).

The 1938 excavations consisted of a 100′ trench that varied in width from 5 to 10 feet. The trench uncovered several archaeological features and a portion of a circular house but no Historic artifacts other than a few specimens screened from the plowzone. In 1940 and 1941, as part of the statewide Works Progress Administration (WPA) archaeological project, Robert Wauchope directed excavations at the Wall site, uncovering an extensive area of approximately 12,000 square feet. Wauchope's work revealed several houses, multiple stockade alignments, burials, and other pit features—but still no evidence of the Historic Occaneechi settlement (Petherick 1987:30) (fig. 4.15).

In 1983, excavations were resumed at the Wall site as part of the Research Laboratories of Anthropology's newly organized Siouan project, which was designed to study culture change in the Piedmont as a consequence of early European-Indian interaction. After reviewing Lawson's journal, the RLA staff felt that Coe and Wauchope were correct in assuming that the Occaneechi village should be located in the same vicinity as the Wall site. By using more refined screening techniques, the researchers thought they could recover small trade artifacts that the earlier excavators may have missed. However, it soon became apparent during the course of the 1983 fieldwork that the only European-made artifacts at the site were restricted to the plowzone and dated to the late, not early, eighteenth century. In 1983, radiocarbon samples obtained from charcoal found in Wall site features confirmed that the site was occupied during the middle of the fifteenth century (Ward and Davis 1993:412).

It is estimated that the Wall site covers approximately 1.25 acres, of which one-fourth has been excavated (fig. 4.16). These excavations have uncovered

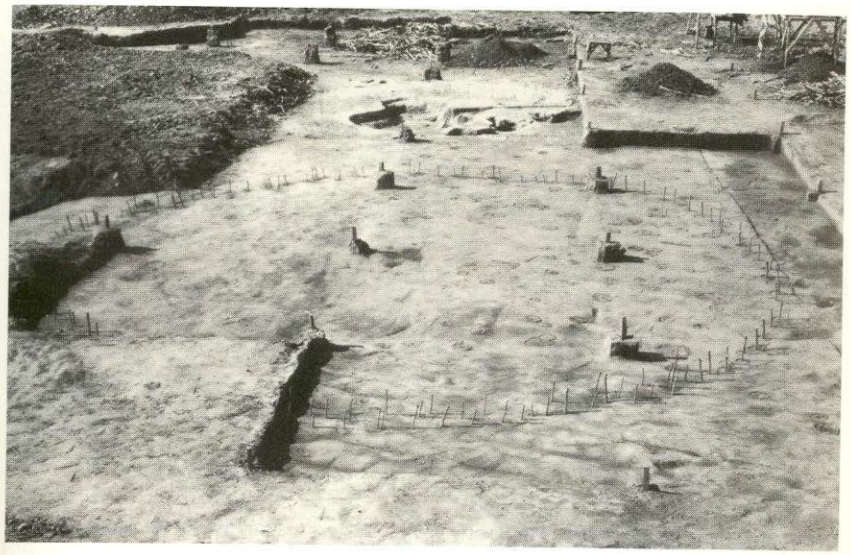

FIGURE 4.15. *View of Robert Wauchope's 1941 excavation at the Wall site showing the circular wall alignment of House D marked with stakes. (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology)*

seven circular houses that average almost 35 feet in diameter. Two smaller "special purpose" structures that may have served as cribs or sheds also have been identified. In addition, eight burials and seventy-three other pit features have been excavated. All the structures and features are contained within one of five stockade alignments. Coincident with the stockades is a thick midden deposit that surrounds the ring of houses. The Wall site was probably occupied by a population of 100 to 150 people for less than twenty years (Petherick 1987; Ward and Davis 1991).

Most of the "features" at the Wall site were large postholes that were assigned numbers during the early years of excavation. True pit features rarely occurred; however, a few large, shallow, basinlike facilities were uncovered, which have been interpreted as communal roasting pits. These pits may have been used to prepare food for large feasts that marked communitywide ceremonies and celebrations. Typically, they contained large amounts of plant and animal food refuse, as well as charcoal, ash, and fire-cracked rocks. These deposits suggest that after the facilities were used as roasting pits, they became handy garbage receptacles.

Most of the Wall site burials were placed in what archaeologists call shaft-and-chamber pits. These were usually formed by digging a cylindrical shaft into the subsoil and then excavating a tunnel-like chamber off to one side at the

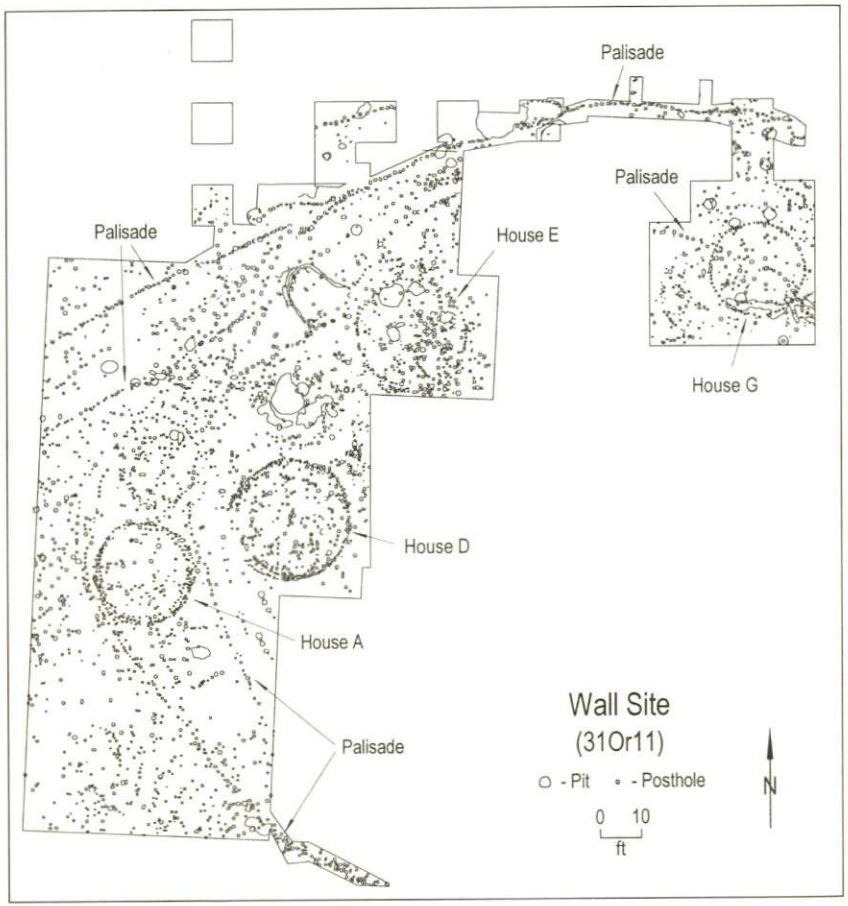

FIGURE 4.16. *Excavation plan of the Wall site showing pits and posthole patterns of houses and palisades.*

bottom of the shaft. The bodies of the deceased, after being placed in a flexed or fetal position and wrapped in mats, were placed in the chambers. The chambers were then sealed—sometimes with timbers, sometimes with large stones—and the shaft was then filled with the soil removed during the excavation of the pit. Two of the graves from the Wall site also contained upper layers of fill rich in food remains and other refuse, similar to the fill found in the roasting pits. This similarity in richness and content has led to the suggestion that feasting may have been an important aspect of the mortuary ritual (Ward 1987; Ward and Davis 1993:412).

At the Wall site, all the burials were oriented with their heads pointing in an eastward direction and usually located within or just outside houses. Grave

offerings consisted of small clay pots that probably contained food remains to sustain the deceased during their journey to the other world. Often shell beads were sewn on the burial garments or strung and placed on the bodies as jewelry. Engraved shell gorgets were sometimes hung around the necks of children (Ward 1987:108).

The mixed subsistence base that developed during the Haw River phase continued to provide sustenance for the Wall site inhabitants during the early Hillsboro phase. The rich bottomlands contained within the broad U-shaped bend of the Eno were planted in fields of corn, beans, and squash. The edges of cultivated plots provided wild fruits and berries, while the surrounding hardwood forest produced seasonal supplies of acorns, hickory nuts, and walnuts. The primary source of meat was the white-tailed deer. Small mammals, turtles, fish, wild turkeys, and passenger pigeons supplemented the venison and added variety to the diet (Holm 1987:245; Ward and Davis 1993:411).

Although continuity can be seen between Haw River and Hillsboro phase subsistence practices, discontinuity characterizes the two ceramic assemblages (fig. 4.17). Only about 1.5 percent of the pottery sample from the Wall site displayed attributes characteristic of the Haw River phase, such as net-impressed, cordmarked, or brushed surfaces. Instead, almost 75 percent of the Hillsboro phase pottery had simple-stamped surfaces. The remainder were check stamped or plain. Temper consisted of medium-to-fine sand or finely crushed feldspar. These ceramic differences, in conjunction with the nucleated community pattern, strongly suggest that the early Hillsboro phase population of the Wall site probably moved into the Eno valley from outside the area, much like the Pee Dee Indians did in the southern Piedmont.

Ceramics typical of those found at the Wall site were found alongside net-impressed and complicated-stamped pottery at late Hillsboro phase sites. The net-impressed sherds represent the last gasp of the ceramic tradition that began during the Uwharrie and Haw River phases. The complicated-stamped specimens are typologically similar to the Caraway series pottery found at the Poole site (31Rd1) in Randolph County, which is discussed in detail in the following section. We suggest that the presence of complicated-stamped and net-impressed pottery, along with plain and simple-stamped sherds, like those found at Wall, is indicative of increased contacts between local groups and those living in adjacent regions (Ward and Davis 1993:98).

In contrast to the early Hillsboro phase Wall site, late Hillsboro phase sites show more affinities to the earlier Haw River phase settlements. At sites like George Rogers (31Am220) and Edgar Rogers (31Am167) in Alamance County, the resident population seems to have been dispersed. There is no evidence of stockades. These and other late Hillsboro phase sites are not located on the

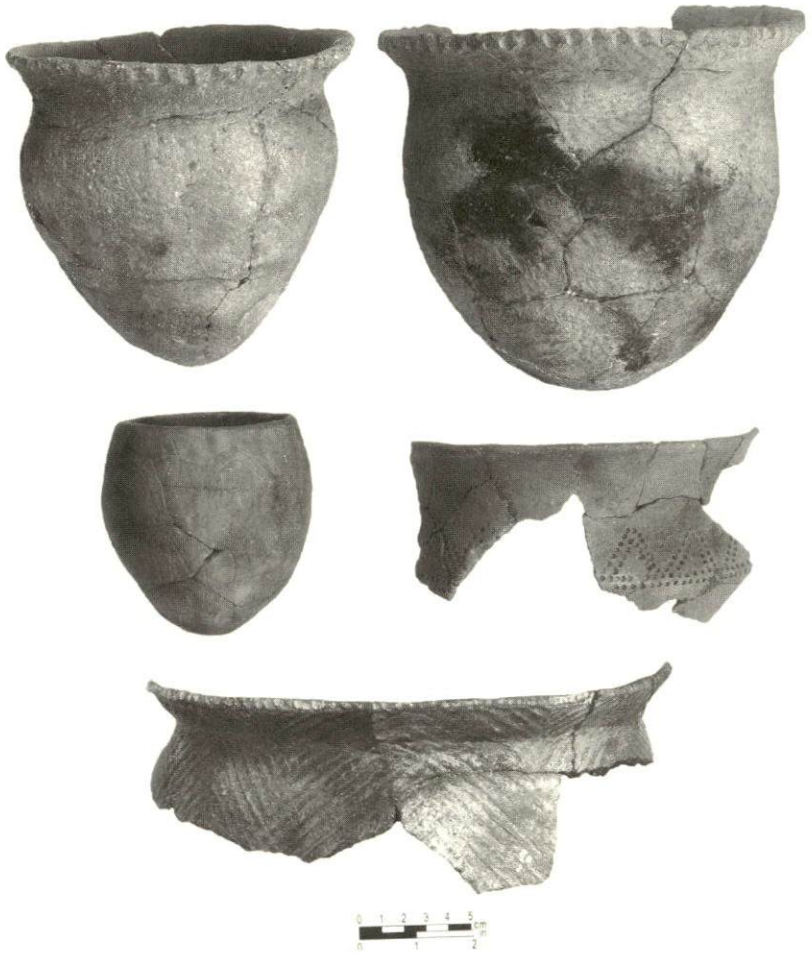

FIGURE 4.17. *Hillsboro phase pots and vessel sections from the Wall site.*

broad floodplains of major streams but rather along valley margins or adjacent uplands of small tributary streams. Although similar in form to Haw River phase settlements, feature and artifact densities are much greater, reflecting a more intense occupation. At the George Rogers site, a portion of a circular house wall, similar to houses at the Wall site, was uncovered. Also, the large, shallow basinlike features, first identified at the Wall site as roasting pits, continued to be used during the late Hillsboro phase. These facilities were used to prepare the same array of wild and cultivated foods as those at the Wall site (Ward and Davis 1993:410).

Only one grave has been found that dates to the late Hillsboro phase. At the Edgar Rogers site, a shallow rectangular pit contained the remains of a child

whose head was pointing to the east. Like some of the burials found at the Wall site, the upper layer of burial fill was comprised of a rich organic soil containing mussel shells and animal bones, similar to the fill of nearby roasting pits (Ward and Davis 1993:412).

The Early Saratown Phase (A.D. 1450–1600)

This phase was defined by data collected from excavations of Early Upper Saratown, or the Hairston site (31Sk1), located on the Dan River near its confluence with Town Fork Creek. Extensive looting took place at the site during the mid-1960s but was followed by formal excavations by the Research Laboratories of Anthropology during the summer of 1981 (Wilson 1983).

Early Saratown phase sites are fewer in number than the preceding Dan River phase sites, but they are larger in size and evidence a more intense occupation. This settlement shift is indicative of a stable population that joined together in fewer but larger villages. The heart of the Hairston site covers 2.5 acres and contains an extensive midden and numerous pit features. It is clearly visible as a large, dark, circular soil stain after fall plowings and was one of the most intensively occupied sites in the Dan River valley (Ward and Davis 1993:420).

During the 1981 excavations, forty features and six human burials were uncovered. The majority of the features were large, cylindrical or bell-shaped storage pits. Earth ovens, shallow basins, and hearths were also found. Although similar to earlier features of the Dan River phase in form, the fill of the Hairston facilities was considerably richer in refuse, particularly food refuse.

Faunal remains suggest the exploitation of a wide range of resources from a variety of habitats. White-tailed deer and black bear were followed in importance by raccoon, beaver, turkey, and mountain lion. Numerous remains of turtles were also found. Compared with Dan River phase faunal remains, the Early Saratown phase samples represent a much broader based subsistence orientation (Wilson 1983:540).

Although no ethnobotanical samples from Early Saratown phase sites have been analyzed, corn and other agricultural pursuits probably increased in importance during this period. The size and intensity of the Hairston site occupation suggest that the increased reliance on agriculture that began during the Dan River phase continued and probably reached its peak just before contacts with the first Europeans. This same trend can be seen to the south during the Haw River and Hillsboro phases (Ward and Davis 1993:420).

While only six burials were excavated at the Hairston site, they contained a rich array of grave goods, in stark contrast to burials of the earlier Haw River and Dan River phases. All but one of the individuals were subadults. Four were

FIGURE 4.18. *Citico-style shell gorgets from the Hairston site.*

placed in shaft-and-chamber pits, whereas two were interred in simple pits. The shaft-and-chamber burials were accompanied by the most grave offerings, including hundreds of bone and shell beads, bone awls, shell hair pins, serrated mussel shells, three "rattlesnake"- or "Citico"-style gorgets, and a single pottery vessel (Wilson 1983:379–85). Contact with a copper bar gorget preserved a piece of a pine bark covering over one burial (Ward and Davis 1993:420) (fig. 4.18).

Early Saratown phase pottery has been described as the Oldtown series (Wilson 1983). This is a well-made ware with a fine sand–tempered paste and smooth interiors. The majority of the sherds have smooth or burnished

surfaces, followed in popularity by net-impressed surfaces. Minority surface finishes include simple stamping, complicated stamping, corncob impressing, cordmarking, and brushing. Decorations include rim notching, finger pinching, and stick punctation similar to Dan River phase ceramics. New decorative techniques include rim castellations, lip burnishing, and the application of filleted strips. Vessel forms include bowls and jars. Almost half of the bowls display a carinated or cazuela-type rim, suggesting influences from the Catawba drainage to the south. Southerly influence in the Oldtown series is also indicated by the presence of burnishing, carved-paddle stamping, and the use of appliquéd, notched rim fillets for decoration (Ward and Davis 1993:421).

The Southern Piedmont

The southern Piedmont region is archaeologically unique within North Carolina. During Late Woodland times, the cultures located between the Uwharrie Mountains and the border between North and South Carolina did not participate in the Piedmont Village Tradition. They were influenced by a very different cultural tradition called South Appalachian Mississippian. Between A.D. 1000 and 1400, Mississippian-influenced societies developed from the coast of Georgia to the mountains of North Carolina. Known archaeologically as Etowah, Wilbanks, Savannah, Pisgah, Irene, and Pee Dee, these politically complex cultures built mounds for their elite, participated in an elaborate ceremonialism, and sometimes ruled over large territories. In the southern North Carolina Piedmont, the most obvious expression of the South Appalachian Mississippian tradition is the Pee Dee culture. And the most obvious archaeological site relating to the Pee Dee culture is the Town Creek site (31Mg2, 31Mg3) located on the Little River in Montgomery County (Coe 1952, 1995; Oliver 1992; Reid 1965).

The southern North Carolina Piedmont is also unique in the history of North Carolina archaeology. It is here that the first formal excavations were organized and launched by North Carolina archaeologists. Excavations in the southern Piedmont began an unbroken tradition of research that gradually spread across the state and is manifest today in a multitude of public and private programs.

A Brief History of Early Excavations

The Poole site, located on Caraway Creek near Asheboro, was the first site in the southern Piedmont to be scientifically excavated. The Poole site is also known as Keyauwee, the name of one of the Indian villages that John Lawson

visited in the vicinity of present-day Asheboro in 1701. These early excavations were carried out by members of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina during June and July 1936. As announced in the society's *Bulletin*, "The Archaeological Society of North Carolina is making preparation for a two to three weeks excavation of a village site in Randolph County, North Carolina, starting June 14, 1936. This site is believed to be the location of the Indian village 'Keyauwee' visited in 1701 by John Lawson, then surveyor general of North Carolina. Soon after his visit the village was abandoned and its exact location remains much of a mystery today. It is hoped that this excavation will yield sufficient evidence to determine the culture of its inhabitants, if not definitely to prove it to be the 'Keyauwee' village" (Winston 1936a:13).

Officially, this expedition was led by Dr. James Bullitt of the University of North Carolina Medical School. Dr. Bullitt was assisted by Rev. Douglas Rights of Winston-Salem, Mr. Harry Davis of the North Carolina State Museum, and Mr. Joffre Coe of Greensboro (Winston 1936a:14). To support the Keyauwee expedition, the Society raised $143.50 in contributions from its membership. As of August 1, the total expenditures for the project were $89.90 (Winston 1936b:16–17).

Joffre Coe was listed as an assistant to Dr. Bullitt in the announcement of the Keyauwee project. In reality, he was much more. Because Coe was the only member of the 1936 crew who had formal archaeological training, he was made field director and put in charge of the day-to-day excavations. Coe had received his training during the summer of 1935 when he worked at the Kincaid site in southern Illinois as a member of the University of Chicago's archaeological field school, under the direction of Thorne Deuel. However, he considered his training at Kincaid to be inadequate for the task he and the Society members faced at Keyauwee.

In November of 1935, Coe contacted Glenn Black, an archaeologist working for the Indiana Historical Society, and asked his advice on organizing the Keyauwee project and on field techniques that might be appropriate to use at the site. Black promptly answered Coe's letter, offering him his sympathies for attempting to set up the project on a shoestring budget and having to rely on unskilled, volunteer labor, but he failed to provide Coe with any tips that might be useful in the actual excavations. Coe was tenacious, however, and repeated his request for advice on excavation techniques the following month, describing in detail the situation at Keyauwee, where three burials had already been plowed out: "What is the best approach to dig where you have an acre field with about a foot of topsoil and burials in pits? Would you trench the field in several places or would you carry, say a twenty foot face across the area containing the burials?" (letter from Joffre Coe to Glenn Black, December 4, 1935, RLA files).

A month later, Black responded with a detailed description of how to lay out a grid and map the excavations. He also included a sketch of the grid system he used. A modified version of Glenn Black's grid system is still used today by the Research Laboratories of Archaeology.

One of the most beneficial outcomes of the Keyauwee project was that it laid the foundation for institutional support for North Carolina archaeology. Coe, James Bullitt, Harry Davis, Douglas Rights, and Guy Johnson of the University of North Carolina's Sociology Department were primarily responsible for organizing the Archaeological Society of North Carolina. Although Coe, Bullitt, and Johnson were all affiliated in one way or another with the University of North Carolina, the university administration at first offered little backing for the Society's fledgling excavation program. Johnson was able to persuade the university to loan the project a truck to haul the tools and specimens from Keyauwee. He also convinced the dean of administration, Robert House, to allocate a little space on campus for storing the artifacts from the excavation. University president Frank Porter Graham accepted Coe's invitation to view some of the artifacts and was apparently impressed—but not enough to commit anything to the archaeology program other than storage space in the corner of the basement of the Pharmacy building (RLA files).

With university support not forthcoming, the State Museum of the Department of Commerce and Development in Raleigh came to the rescue. The curator and later director of the museum was Harry Davis. Davis's interest in archaeology was whetted by the Keyauwee expedition, which he participated in as a volunteer "field assistant." During the course of the excavation he was favorably impressed by the young Joffre Coe: "The experience was quite valuable to me and my fellow diggers, and we did not even blister our hands at that. We certainly came away with better general knowledge on the subject, and all respect for the scientific methods of Joffre Coe" (RLA files).

Harry Davis soon became one of Coe's strongest supporters and a key player in developing the North Carolina archaeology program. Professor Johnson and Rev. Rights also were strong supporters of Coe and made it financially possible for him to attend the University of North Carolina. However, their backing of the archaeology program was channeled through the Archaeological Society, which, at the time, was barely able to support itself.

Davis's pivotal role in getting North Carolina archaeology off the ground is amply illustrated in the planning and organization of the first excavations at the Town Creek site. Following the Keyauwee work in 1936, the Archaeological Society, led by Douglas Rights, applied to the federal WPA for labor to excavate a large mound in Montgomery County, known at the time as the Frutchey mound, named after its owner, Mr. L. D. Frutchey (fig. 4.19). Rights and

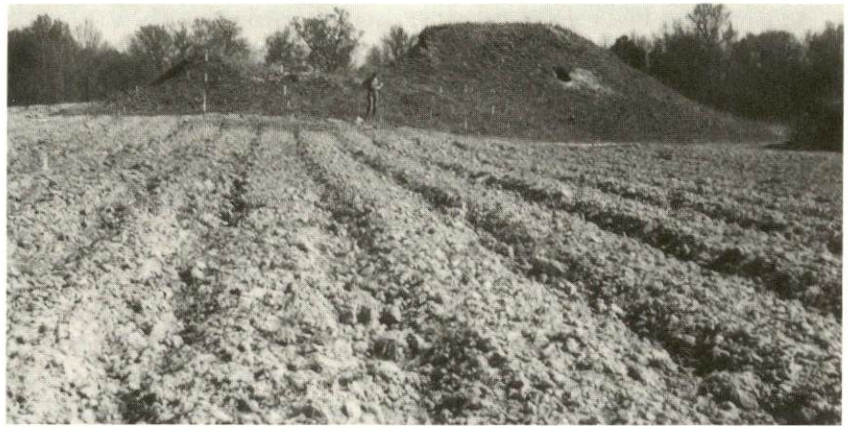

FIGURE 4.19. *View of the Frutchey Mound at Town Creek in 1937, just prior to excavation. (Photo by Coe, 1937; from Coe 1995:62)*

Johnson, as well as Coe, felt the university should act as the co-sponsor of the project, with the Archaeological Society of North Carolina acting as the sponsor (Coe 1995:12).

The university administration, however, continued to be hesitant in becoming involved in archaeology, feeling that the general public might consider it to be too frivolous an undertaking during the hard times of the Great Depression. The administration was afraid that its involvement with the Town Creek excavations might prove to be a bad public relations move and adversely affect the university's efforts to squeeze funds from the financially strapped state legislature. When the WPA balked at the idea of the Archaeological Society acting as the project sponsor, and when the project failed to get university support, Mr. Davis arranged for the North Carolina Department of Conservation to serve as the official sponsoring agency of the 1937 WPA project at the Town Creek site (RLA files).

In March 1937, the project was approved by the WPA at the last minute. But, by this time, there was no WPA labor available in the counties around Town Creek. Again Mr. Davis came to the rescue. He managed to wrangle $300 from the budget of the State Museum to support the excavations. With this money, a few borrowed tools, and an old, broken-down car, Coe dropped his classes at the University of North Carolina and began the first excavations at Town Creek. Davis also arranged to get a few helpers—mostly high school students and volunteers—for Coe. From these humble beginnings in 1937, excavations

at Town Creek would continue off and on for the next fifty years (Coe 1995; RLA files).

Before the 1937 excavations began, Mr. Frutchey donated the mound and two acres of land around it to the state. Additional land was later purchased, and Town Creek became a state historic site in 1955 under the administration of the Department of Archives and History. By 1962, the mound, the temple atop the mound, one of the stockades surrounding the site, and two structures within the enclosure had been reconstructed. The Town Creek site remains today North Carolina's only state historic site dedicated to its native population. A recent publication by Joffre Coe (1995), with contributions by several of his former students who worked at the site, provides a long-awaited account of the Town Creek excavations, excavations that have achieved almost mythic status over the years. As Jefferson Reid wrote in 1967, "The scope of the information collected thus far staggers both mind and imagination, especially, as it is now being called from the inert into publication" (ix).

The Pee Dee Culture

The people who lived at the Town Creek site during its heyday have been referred to as the Pee Dee Indians and their unique lifestyle, the Pee Dee culture (Coe 1952, 1995; Oliver 1992; Reid 1967). The site itself is located on the west bank of the Little River near its confluence with Town Fork Creek, in Montgomery County. A few miles downstream the Little River flows into the Pee Dee, which becomes the Great Pee Dee as it cuts through northeastern South Carolina to empty into the Atlantic Ocean.

Excavations revealed that the mound at Town Creek was constructed over an early rectangular structure that has been described as an earth lodge (Coe 1995:65–72). The walls of the structure were formed by individual posts set in holes (fig. 4.20). Earth was then piled in an embankment around the walls and over the roof to create the earth lodge. Eventually this structure collapsed. Its remains and the surrounding area were covered, creating a low earthen mound that served as a platform upon which a temple or town house was erected. This structure ultimately burned. Its charred remains also were covered by a thick layer of soil that served to enlarge and heighten the original mound. A second structure, identical to the first, was built atop the new mound (79–82).

The mound at Town Creek faced a large plaza or public area where public meetings and ceremonial activities took place. Several structures, including some that may have served as burial or mortuary houses, were constructed around the edge of the plaza. The mound, plaza, and habitation zone were

FIGURE 4.20. *Troweling the top of subsoil at the base of the Frutchey Mound inside the rectangular pre-mound earth lodge. The wall postholes and parallel entryway trenches have been excavated. (Photo by Coe, 1937; from Coe 1995:71)*

enclosed by a stockade made of closely set posts. Evidence of five episodes of stockade building has been found. All but the latest stockade stood before the mound was constructed (Coe 1995:87, 265) (fig. 4.21).

Although not visible like the mound, equally impressive is the large number of burials at Town Creek. A total of 563 burials are thought to be associated with the Pee Dee culture. Several of these graves are clustered in mortuary areas. Most individuals were interred in simple pits with their bodies arranged in a loosely flexed position. A few were buried with their bodies fully extended, and a small number of individuals appear to have been reburied as bone bundles. The bodies of several infants and small children were tightly wrapped and placed in large pottery vessels—called burial urns—which were then buried. A few of the Pee Dee burials were richly adorned with a variety of exotic artifacts made from copper imported from the Great Lakes area and shells from the coast. Copper artifacts include copper-covered wooden ear spools and rattles, pendants, sheets of copper, and a copper ax (fig. 4.22). Beads, gorgets, and pins were fashioned from conch shell (Coe 1995:232, 269).

It is apparent that the Pee Dee culture of Town Creek represented quite a departure from the Piedmont Village Tradition to the north. It was so different, in fact, that in 1952, Pee Dee culture was described as being "one of the best archaeological records of the movement of a people in the Southeast" (Coe

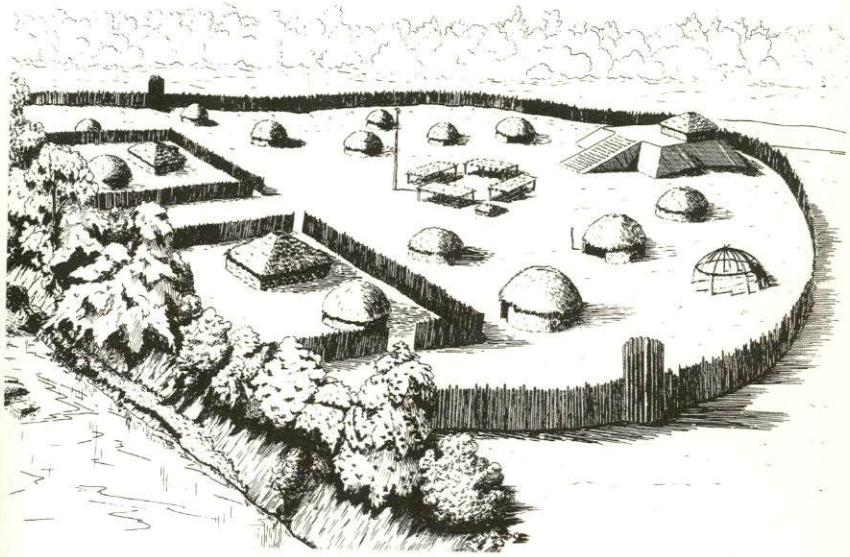

FIGURE 4.21. *An artist's conception of the Pee Dee village at Town Creek. (Drawing by Barton Wright, 1951; from Coe 1995:98)*

1952:308). The people who built Town Creek were seen as invaders from the south who traveled up the Pee Dee River valley and introduced an entirely new and alien way of life on the southern North Carolina Piedmont. At the time, it was thought that this new culture arrived around A.D. 1550 and had disappeared by 1650, like "a beam of light flashing across a dark sky" (309).

Today, archaeologists know that Pee Dee culture is considerably earlier than originally thought and that it was not introduced by invaders from the south who moved en masse into the North Carolina Piedmont. Pee Dee is better viewed as a regional center of South Appalachian Mississippian that interacted and evolved with other regional centers scattered from the Coastal Plain of Georgia and South Carolina to the western North Carolina mountains.

In 1967, Jefferson Reid, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina, analyzed pottery samples from various contexts within the mound at Town Creek for his master's thesis. Reid was interested in determining if temporal differences could be discerned within the Pee Dee ceramic assemblage. His most informative samples came from the humus layer beneath the mound and from refuse deposits along the flanks of the mound. Reid pointed out the obvious temporal differences between these two contexts but cautioned that the ceramic samples from each resulted from very different sets of activities. Therefore, the variability between the samples might not only be an expression of temporal differences but functional differences as well. Specifically, the pre-

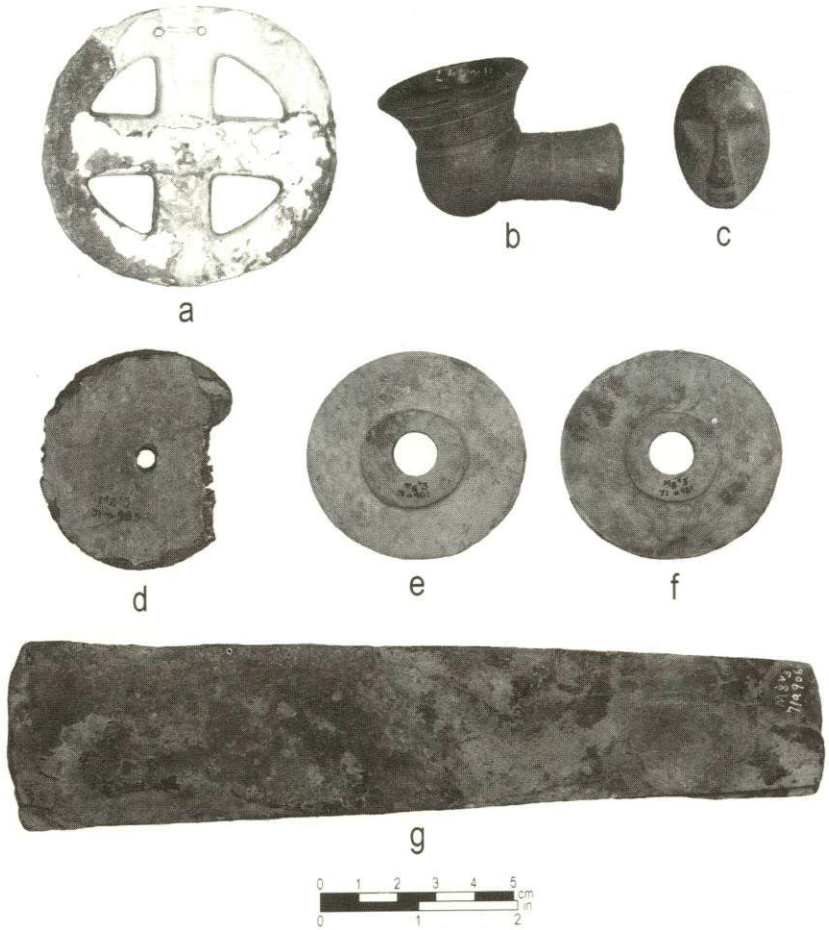

FIGURE 4.22. *Carved shell gorget (a), clay pipe (b), carved stone face (c), copper-coated wooden earspool (d), ground-stone earspools (e–f), and copper ax (g) found at Town Creek.*

mound humus sample could represent a wider range of domestic activities, whereas the sherds from the mound flank resulted from a narrower range of activities associated with ceremonial behaviors that took place in the temple atop the mound (1967:57, 1985:26).

Nevertheless, Reid was able to recognize several differences between the two samples, which he interpreted as being temporal. Sherds from the earlier humus zone were most often from hemispherical bowls and jars with complicated-stamped surfaces. The most popular design was formed by a series of concentric circles. The filfot-cross design was next in popularity. Decorations

were rare except for the occasional addition of nodes and punctations along the vessel rims. In contrast, pottery from the later refuse sample indicated that the filfot cross replaced concentric circles as the most popular surface finish. Cazuela bowls became more popular, as did plain and burnished surface treatments. Vessel decoration also increased in frequency and variety (1967:83).

In addition to the concentric-circle and filfot-cross designs, several other varieties of Pee Dee complicated-stamped pottery were recognized by Reid. Sometimes the concentric circles were quartered by intersecting perpendicular lines. Chevrons connected by concentric arcs created an arc-angle design, and diamond motifs split by a single line often occurred in his samples. Herringbone, nested squares, and line-block designs were also popular (1967:10–19).

Another popular surface finish found at Town Creek is called textile wrapped. Unfired pottery vessels were wrapped with strips of fabric or textiles while still wet. The entire surface of the wrapped vessel was then paddled, which pushed the textile into the wet clay. When the material was peeled off, the textile impressions remained. This kind of surface treatment is unique to Pee Dee pottery. At Town Creek it follows complicated-stamped designs and burnished surfaces in popularity and appears to occur late in the Pee Dee ceramic chronology (Coe 1995:153; Oliver 1992:247; Reid 1967:8, 80).

Reid recognized strong similarities between Pee Dee pottery and pottery from other South Appalachian Mississippian sites in South Carolina and Georgia, including the Hollywood site on the Georgia side of the Savannah River, the Mulberry site near Camden, South Carolina, and the Fort Watson Mound in Clarendon County, South Carolina (1967). However, the ceramics most similar to the Town Creek pottery came from the Irene site, located on the bluffs overlooking the Savannah River near Savannah, Georgia (Caldwell and McCann 1941) (fig. 4.23).

Except for Reid's work, no attempt has been made to divide the Pee Dee ceramic assemblage from Town Creek into more discrete chronological units. The most recent analysis by Coe separated Pee Dee pottery from earlier and later wares but did not attempt to refine the chronological position of the various Pee Dee types. Coe (1995:167) did observe, however, that Pee Dee pottery developed from Savannah wares commonly found in the coastal regions of Georgia and South Carolina.

In addition to pottery, an obvious similarity between Town Creek and other South Appalachian Mississippian sites can be found in the way the construction of the mounds evolved. At the Irene and Beaverdam Creek sites on the Savannah River, earth lodges, or earth-embanked structures, were covered to create platform mounds in a fashion similar to the construction sequence at Town Creek (Anderson 1994; Caldwell and McCann 1941). The earth-lodge-to-

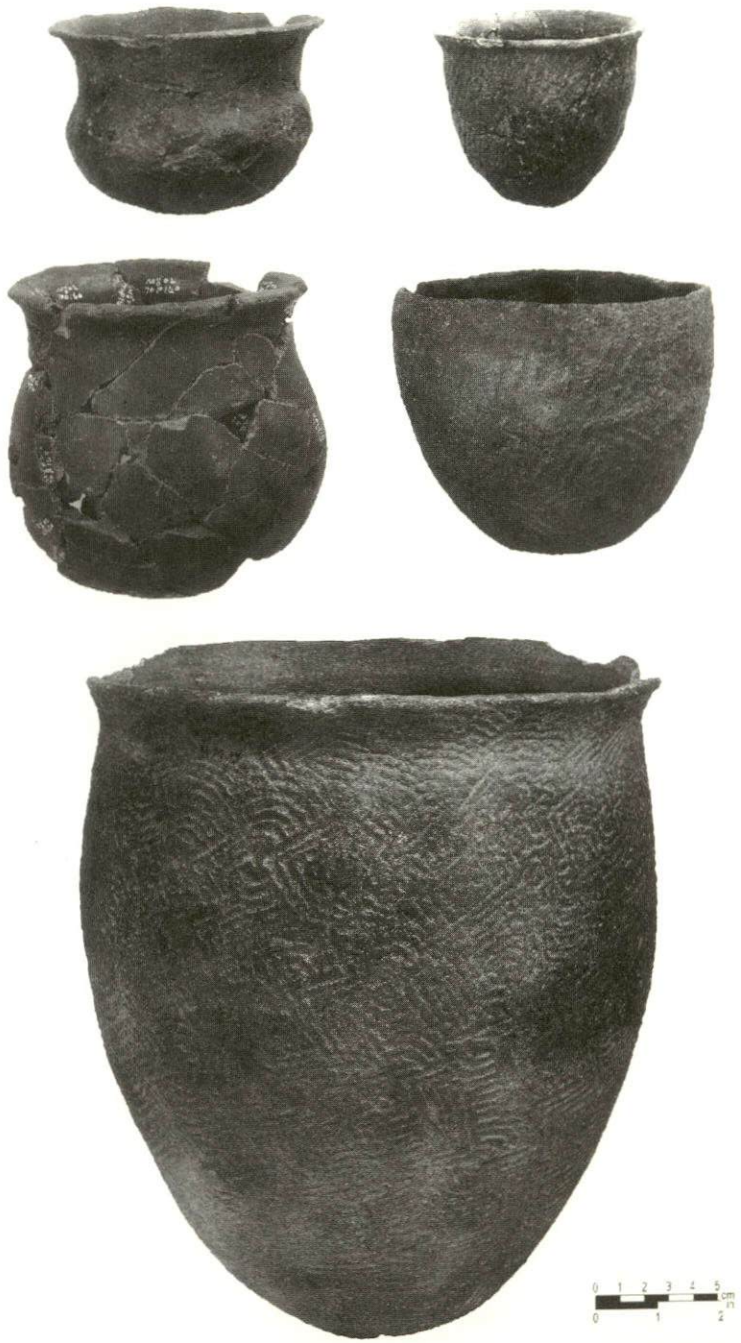

FIGURE 4.23. *Small Pee Dee pots from Town Creek (top and middle rows) and a Pee Dee Complicated Stamped vessel from the Leak site (bottom row).*

platform-mound sequence also was followed in the North Carolina mountains at the Garden Creek Mound No. 1—a Pisgah phase site—in Haywood County (Dickens 1976).

Many archaeologists consider the Irene site to bear the closest relationship to Town Creek (Coe 1952; Ferguson 1971; Oliver 1992; Reid 1967). The primary mound at Irene was built in eight stages. The first four building episodes involved earth-embanked structures, similar in form to the earth lodge at Town Creek. The only difference is the Irene structures were not covered with earth. The next three construction phases created a series of successively larger platform mounds upon which wall-post structures were built. These buildings were similar to the town houses or temples that stood atop the two mound stages following the earth lodge construction at Town Creek. After the seventh construction stage, the Irene mound was abandoned for a period of time.

The final mound-building episode was completely different from the previous stages. The old, flat-topped, rectangular mound was first covered with a layer of shell and sand, and then capped with a layer of clay. These additions greatly increased the size of the mound and transformed its shape from rectangular to circular, and its top from flat to round. This final construction stage was not designed to provide a platform for a building but rather to provide a matrix for human burials (Anderson 1994:174–80; Caldwell and McCann 1941:8–20). The platform mound at Town Creek did not undergo a similar transformation.

The first seven construction phases of the Irene mound took place during the Savannah I/II and III phases, dating from A.D. 1150 until about A.D. 1300. Based on surface finishes, the Savannah wares have been broken down into several types, including fine cordmarked, check stamped, complicated stamped, and burnished plain. The complicated-stamped type exhibits much variety in design, including concentric circles, figure eights, figure nines, barred circles, and diamonds. This type is believed to have developed around A.D. 1200 (Anderson, Hally, and Rudolph 1986:42–44). All of the Savannah types occurred in the occupation layers of the first six construction stages of the mound. However, Savannah Complicated Stamped pottery was not associated with the occupation zone of the seventh and last addition to the platform mound (Anderson 1994:174; Caldwell and McCann 1941:2).

The burial mound stage saw the arrival of a new ceramic ware called Irene. Three types comprise Irene ware—plain, incised, and a distinctive complicated-stamped motif in the form of a filfot cross. The Irene phase is believed to date from around A.D. 1300 to 1400 (Anderson, Hally, and Rudolph 1986:44).

Many of the Savannah and Irene complicated-stamped motifs, sometimes with slight variation, are duplicated in the Town Creek type defined as Pee Dee Complicated Stamped (fig. 4.24). Concentric circles, barred circles, and nested

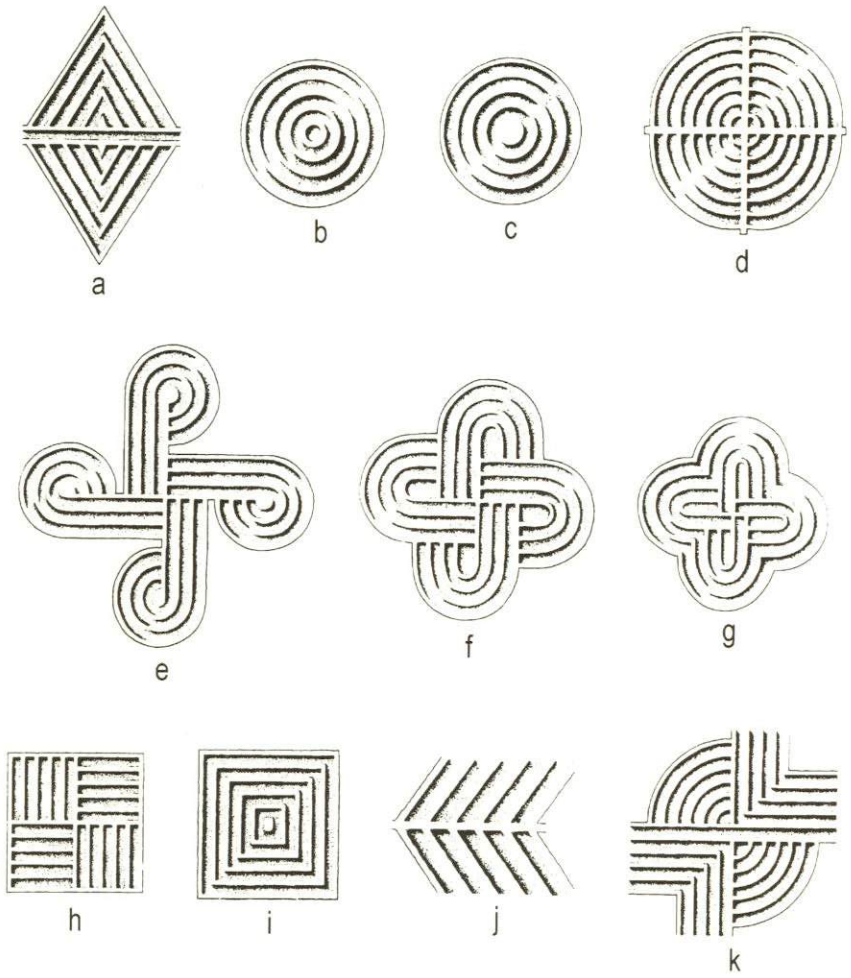

FIGURE 4.24. *Etowah (a), Savannah (b–d), Irene (e–h), and Pisgah and Early Lamar (i–k) design motifs found on complicated-stamped pottery from Town Creek. (Drawings based on Reid 1967:11, 13).*

diamonds, as well as the Irene filfot cross, frequently occur in Pee Dee ware. However, cordmarked and check-stamped finishes have been found only rarely at Town Creek (Coe 1995:153; Reid 1967:71).

It is also interesting to note that several Pee Dee complicated-stamped motifs and textile-wrapped finishes are not found in Savannah and Irene wares. The nested-block, line-block, herringbone, and arc-angle designs reflect influences from the Pisgah and early Lamar phases (Dickens 1976; Hally 1994). Similarities

also have been noted between the Pee Dee nested-diamond motif and pottery from the Etowah Mounds in north central Georgia (Ferguson 1971:124).

Without a more detailed chronological breakdown of the pottery from Town Creek, it is difficult to dovetail the sequence of cultural developments there with other South Appalachian Mississippian sites. It does seem clear, however, that the Pee Dee culture at Town Creek did not appear "like a beam of light" but rather evolved over a period of at least 200 years, beginning around A.D. 1200.

The form of mound at Town Creek and the way it evolved, taken in conjunction with the existing ceramic data, suggest that it was being built and modified at about the same time platform mounds were evolving during the Savannah II/III and Pisgah phases. The widespread presence of filfot-stamped pottery is evidence that Town Creek also was occupied later during the Irene phase. Although no burial mound was constructed at Town Creek, the large number of burials around the plaza may reflect sociopolitical and ceremonial changes similar to those documented at Irene. At both sites, burial of the dead may have become more important than the construction of elevated temples for a priestly elite (cf. Anderson 1994:292).

Archaeologists now believe that the fourteenth century saw the decline of many South Appalachian Mississippian centers like Irene and Town Creek. As the temple mounds were abandoned, burial practices changed to reflect a more egalitarian society. The shift from government by an elite to government by public consensus also is seen in the increased use of large public council houses rather than priestly temples atop mounds (Anderson 1994:293). In the Savannah River valley this decline in chiefly power is viewed, at least in part, as a consequence of prolonged drought conditions that caused a significant decline in agricultural production (Anderson 1995:327). The large number of burials at Town Creek may mean that the Pee Dee Indians faced a similar fate.

The Town Creek site, like a powerful magnet, has drawn the attention of archaeologists for over sixty years. With only mild hyperbole, it could be said that the mound on the banks of the Little River has been the center of the archaeological universe in the southern North Carolina Piedmont. However, since the 1980s, the focus of archaeological excavations has shifted away from Town Creek to outlying Pee Dee villages without mounds.

Joseph Mountjoy of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro recently reported on excavations at a large village site with a substantial Pee Dee component on the Deep River in Moore County. This site, called the Payne site (31Mr15), is located some thirty miles northeast of Town Creek (1989:7). Based on radiocarbon dates from three pit features—two that contained Pee Dee ceramics and one that contained "post-Pee Dee" pottery—Mountjoy concluded

that Pee Dee culture arrived in the south central Piedmont sometime between A.D. 980 and 1160 (1989:19).

A similar conclusion also has been reached by Billy Oliver, an archaeologist with the North Carolina Office of State Archaeology. Excavations at the Leak (31Rh1) and Teal (31An1) sites in Richmond and Anson Counties, respectively, have allowed Oliver to tentatively propose three phases of development within Pee Dee culture. The earliest of these is the Teal phase, dating between A.D. 950 and 1200. These dates are based on radiocarbon assays from the Teal site and the Payne site (1992:240–47).

During the Teal phase, Pee Dee complicated-stamped pottery was accompanied by fine-cordmarked and simple-stamped types called Savannah Creek. Subsistence was based on hunting, fishing, and farming. Although nothing is known of their domestic structures, these early Pee Dee inhabitants built rectangular structures with rounded corners within which they conducted rituals and ceremonies. Infants and adults that had been cremated at death were sometimes buried in large clay urns similar to those that contained only children at Town Creek. Other graves consisted of primary interments in subterranean pits, and these sometimes contained more than one individual (Oliver 1992:243).

The Teal phase was followed by the Town Creek phase, which began around A.D. 1200 and ended around A.D. 1400. As previously discussed, this was the time when the mound was constructed at Town Creek and the site became the ritual and ceremonial center of the Pee Dee. At the Leak site, the filfot-cross motif and textile-wrapped vessels were the most popular pottery styles during the Town Creek phase (Oliver 1992:249). Urns continued to be used occasionally as burial containers, and the deceased were also placed in excavated pits. However, except for the elaboration of ritual activities evidenced by the construction of the mound at Town Creek, life for the Pee Dee continued much as before. Hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plant foods were important, but the mainstay of the subsistence system was maize agriculture (249).

As Town Creek's importance as the ritual and ceremonial center of the Pee Dee began to wane around A.D. 1400, the Leak site grew in size and importance. Oliver believes that the Leak phase, which began at this time, may have lasted until A.D. 1600. However, this assessment is based on uncorrected radiocarbon assays. While calibrated and uncalibrated dates closely correspond to the early end of the Pee Dee chronology proposed by Oliver, they begin to diverge significantly during the later end, particularly after A.D. 1500. When these dates are calibrated to make them consistent with calendrical dating, the Leak phase, for example, ends closer to A.D. 1500 than 1600. This "compression," or pushing the later end of the Pee Dee sequence back at least 100 years, is important

because it allows time for the development of the Late Woodland Caraway phase, which followed Pee Dee in the southern Piedmont.

The Leak phase saw an increase in the popularity of complicated-stamped, plain, and textile-wrapped pottery styles, and cazuela bowl forms. Inhabitants of the Leak site lived in oval houses, and subsistence practices changed little during this time. The large fertile bottoms surrounding the site were planted in corn and beans. Fish and mussels were gathered from the Pee Dee River, and deer and other wild game were hunted. A variety of wild plant foods were collected as they became seasonally available (Oliver 1992:251–53).

Although some archaeologists (Coe 1952, 1995; Mountjoy 1989; Oliver 1992) believe that Pee Dee culture represents a foreign way of life introduced by a people who invaded from the south, many others, including us, see Pee Dee as an invasion of ideas, not people. Pee Dee is one of several regional expressions of the South Appalachian Mississippian tradition. Although contacts between people living at sites like Irene and Town Creek certainly happened, "invasions" or other large-scale group movements are not necessary to explain the spread of temple-mound ceremonialism and complicated-stamped pottery—the hallmarks of the South Appalachian Mississippian period. It seems more likely that local centers were tied into a vibrant communication network that facilitated the free flow of information, as well as the exchange of nonlocal goods and raw materials. These regional ties continued to be strong after the downfall of most of the mound centers, and they can be seen in the subsequent development of Lamar culture, whose spatial distribution overlaps that of the South Appalachian Mississippian tradition (Ferguson 1971; Hally 1994).

There is also a long-held view that Town Creek was a very special place where the Pee Dee Indians were allowed to visit but not live. Oliver (1992:60), for example, states: "Other than priests and their attendants, few people actually lived at Town Creek. Instead, people traveled from surrounding villages to participate in periodic religious, social, and political events held at Town Creek." The fact that the Town Creek site was special and important in the ceremonial activities of the Pee Dee who lived in the surrounding area cannot be disputed. However, it seems doubtful that the site was only occupied on a permanent basis by a small cadre of religious specialists. Evidence from other South Appalachian Mississippian sites clearly indicates occupations by large residential populations on a permanent basis (Anderson 1994; Dickens 1976). And at Town Creek, large amounts of domestic refuse, numerous postholes representing a maze of overlapping structures, and multiple stockade alignments also suggest a substantial residential population, as does the large number of burials. If Town Creek was the home of only a handful of high-ranking

priests, they must have had voracious appetites and the itch to constantly move and rebuild their houses and surrounding stockades.

The Caraway Phase (A.D. 1500–1700)

The Caraway phase was first recognized at the Poole, or Keyauwee, site (31Rd1) mentioned previously for its role in the early history of North Carolina archaeology. Keyauwee is located on Caraway Creek in Randolph County, west of Asheboro. Before the 1936 excavations, the site had been disturbed by plowing, and several features and burials were exposed on the ground surface. Recognizing the disturbance, members of the state archaeological society conducted "preliminary" excavations at Keyauwee during the spring of 1935. They removed a burial richly adorned with a variety of shell beads that had been partially plowed out (Winston 1936a:13).

The more formal excavation strategy in 1936 was to explore simultaneously two areas of the site, designated Area A (fig. 4.25) and Area B. This kept the cadre of shovel-happy volunteers separated and thus minimized the risk of lost toes and fingers. For similar reasons, many archaeologists use a similar strategy today in their field school excavations. This approach also permitted the simultaneous sampling of two distinct areas of the site. Burials were concentrated in Area A, located in the eastern part, whereas pits containing village refuse were concentrated in Area B, located in the western portion of the site (Coe 1937:8–9). Still, the richest pit feature was uncovered in Area A, and a single burial was excavated in Area B (Coe 1937:Plates II and III).

A total of twelve skeletons were found in eight burial pits. It was reported that two graves contained two individuals and one contained three. All burials were shallow, and most had been badly disturbed by plowing and erosion (Coe 1937:11). Photographs of the burial excavations show that the "multiple" burials resulted from later graves intruding into previously dug burial pits. The individual pit outlines probably had been obliterated by erosion, or went unrecognized by the inexperienced excavators. All of the individuals were placed in their graves in a flexed position; two were children and the rest were adults at the time of death. A variety of artifacts were found associated with the burials, including bone and shell beads, shell gorgets, stone discoidals, and a stone pipe (11–14) (see fig. 4.6).

In addition to the burials, several other pits also were excavated. These were located in both excavation areas, but none was in the northern part of Area A where the burials were concentrated. The most interesting pit was located south of the burials in Area A. This large, shallow, oval pit measured some 6 feet in diameter and 10 inches deep, and it contained a rich assortment of refuse

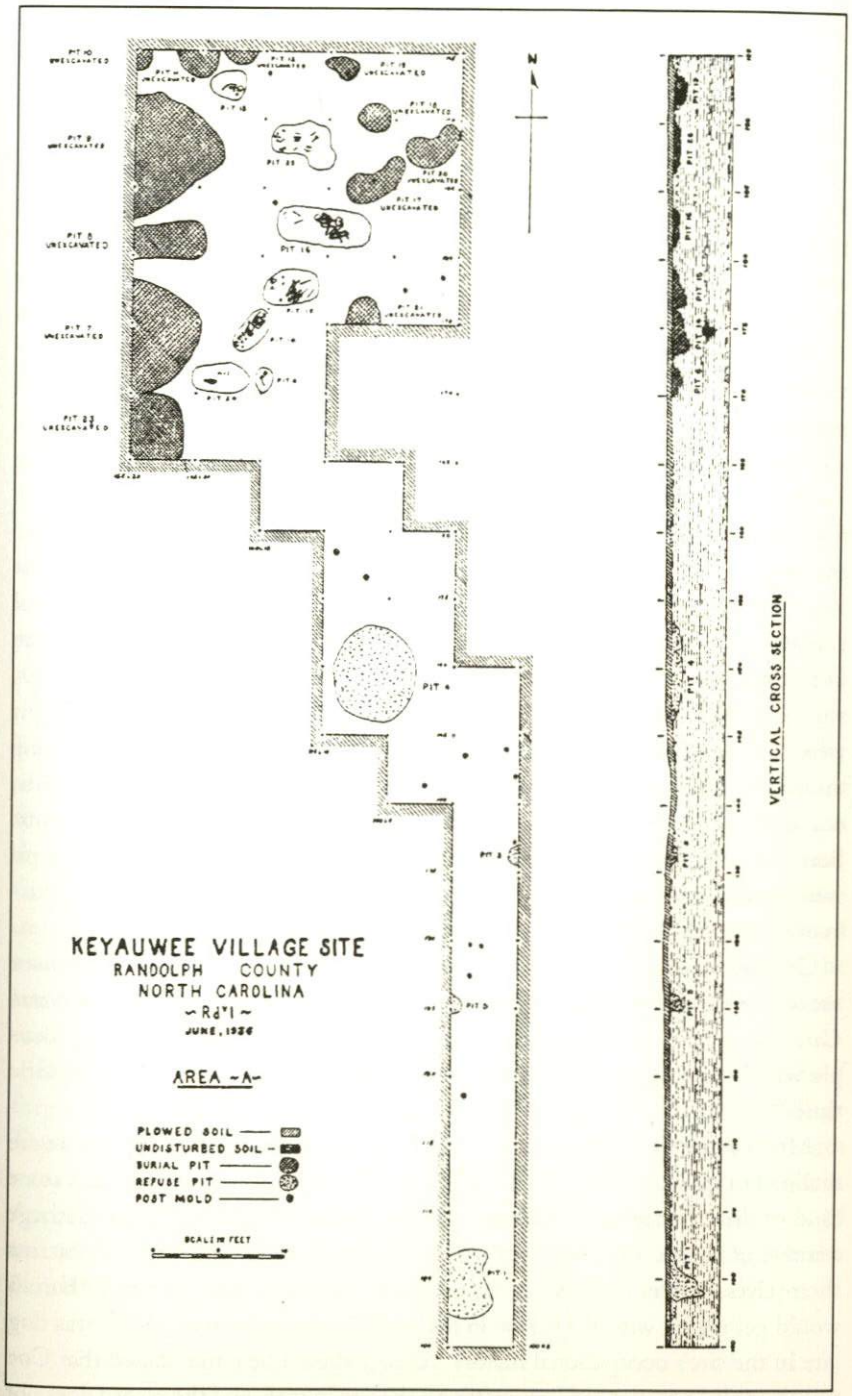

FIGURE 4.25. *Excavation plan of Area A at the Keyauwee site. (From Coe 1937)*

including pottery sherds, animal bones, ash, charcoal, and fire-cracked rocks. It was also the only pit that produced evidence of European contact—138 glass beads and kaolin trade pipe fragments (Coe 1937:15; RLA files).

But what intrigued Coe, the archaeologist in charge of the day-to-day excavations, most about this feature was the presence of thirty-seven fragments of human bone mixed in with the animal bones and other refuse. "This suggests that within historic times the people living at this site practiced cannibalism in some form," Coe wrote in 1937 (15). This assessment sparked a brief but lively debate between Coe and Rev. Douglas Rights. At the fall 1936 North Carolina Archaeological Society meeting, Coe reported on the results of the Keyauwee excavations and discussed the possibility of cannibalism being practiced. Apparently Rights said nothing at the meeting, but a few days later he wrote Coe and suggested that the presence of human bones in the pit was probably the result of some kind of disturbance, not cannibalism. Coe responded the same day he received Rights's letter and informed him that he stood behind his initial interpretation. He still considered the human bones to be evidence of cannibalism during the Historic period because "[t]he evidence gathered shows several things: 1. A low shallow pit, 4 to 5 feet in dia and 6 to 8 inches deep. 2. In the bottom of the pit there were scattered at random numerous fire cracked rocks, showing that at one time the pit contained fire. 3. The contents of the pit were mainly broken, cracked, charred, and calcined animal bones. 4. Occurring under the same conditions were a few human bones, several skull fragments, one half of a lower jaw, a few finger bones, and several other small fragments. Some of the human bones were burned - charred. 5. Scattered through the pit were small glass trade beads" (letter from Joffre Coe to Douglas Rights, October 10, 1936, RLA files).

Coe did not change his mind. When the preliminary report on the Keyauwee excavations was published in the *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina* in 1937, he concluded, "Evidence . . . would suggest that the people who lived at this site practiced some form of cannibalism during historic times" (16).

After re-examining the human bones from the Contact period feature, we are inclined to agree with the Rev. Rights—the bones got into the fill through some kind of disturbance or inadvertent mixing, not as food refuse. With the large number of burials disturbed by plowing and the disturbances by the inhabitants themselves, it is not surprising that some pieces of human bone from burials would get mixed with the refuse in feature fill, especially in a pit that was dug late in the site's occupational history. Also, it should be remembered that Coe was the only "experienced" excavator on the site in 1936, and the record does not show who actually excavated the feature in question. Moreover, none of the human bones appeared to us to have been burned or charred. The exuberance of youth has a way of creating its own reality, particularly when challenged by the wisdom of age.

Based on recent information gathered during the course of the Research Labs' Siouan project, most of the materials recovered during the 1936 excavations appear to date to the Late Woodland, and not the Contact, period (Ward and Davis 1993). Excavations at several Contact period sites have shown that some categories of trade artifacts, particularity small glass "seed" beads, are ubiquitous and occur in virtually all the features on these sites (see Chapter 7). Their presence in one pit and absence from all the others excavated at Keyauwee strongly suggest that most of the features and burials did not date to the time of European contact. Also, the shell and bone artifacts associated with the Keyauwee burials are very similar to grave goods found at sites dating to the Hillsboro, late Dan River, and Early Saratown phases (Ward and Davis 1993).

What all this boils down to is that some of the types that have been described as Caraway (Coe 1964:34; 1995:160–66) may date to the time of John Lawson's visit. However, Caraway phase ceramics represent types spanning some 300 years, and most seem to date to around the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Although a formal type description of Caraway ceramics has never been published, they have been described as representing the culmination of the Badin, Yadkin, Uwharrie, and Dan River ceramic traditions with an overlay of some Pee Dee influence. Caraway is the southern Piedmont's version of the widespread Lamar style. Smoothed or burnished surfaces predominate and are followed in popularity by complicated-stamped and simple-stamped surface treatments. A few sherds display brushed, corncob-impressed, and net-impressed surfaces (Coe 1964:33–34, 1995:160–65; Coe and Lewis 1952). Based on recent research at Lower Saratown, the Wall site, and the Hairston site, the smoothed and burnished types probably date later than those with stamped surface treatments (Ward and Davis 1993).

By the end of the Late Woodland period, the Caraway phase inhabitants of the southern Piedmont had returned to the mainstream of the Piedmont Village Tradition. Only a few vestigial stylistic ceramic traits and abandoned villages remained to hearken the accomplishments of the Pee Dee. Although the South Appalachian Mississippian tradition, as expressed by Pee Dee culture, was brief and not widespread in the Piedmont, it dominated cultural developments in the North Carolina mountains throughout the Late Prehistoric period.

cultural sequence with the sensitivity of that of the mountains and Piedmont can be worked out. This sequence probably will have to rely heavily on nonceramic traits such as mortuary practices, house types, village layouts, and settlement patterns. Unfortunately, these kinds of data cannot be obtained easily from reconnaissance surveys and salvage excavations.

7. The Contact Period

Tribes, Traders, and Turmoil

The time of contact between Indians living in North Carolina and Europeans arriving from Spain and England varied considerably across the state. The dates of the first arrivals of early explorers from the Old World do not necessarily herald the beginnings of significant changes in the histories of North Carolina's Indian tribes. The traditional territories of some tribes afforded them relative isolation, and they managed to avoid contacts with the newcomers for several years, even decades, after their arrival from Europe.

After Columbus landed in the Bahamas in 1492, over thirty years passed before a European set foot on North Carolina soil. In the spring of 1525, an expeditionary party sent out by Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, under the command of Pedro de Quejo, sailed along the Atlantic Coast from Andrews Sound in southern Georgia to the Delaware Bay area. During the voyage, Quejo's party made several landfalls to explore possible sites for settlement by Ayllón's colony. Some of the areas explored were located along the North Carolina coast (Hoffman 1994:40).

The expedition of Hernando de Soto, embarking from La Florida in 1539, arrived in what is now west central North Carolina in the spring of 1540. According to some scholars, the first town de Soto described in North Carolina was Guaquili, located near Hickory in Catawba County. His army then may have traveled west over the Blue Ridge and north into Tennessee before heading south into northern Georgia (Hudson et al. 1984:73–75) (fig. 7.1).

In 1566, the Spanish fort of Santa Elena was established on the southern end of Parris Island, off the southern South Carolina shore. From there, Juan Pardo led two expeditions in 1566 and 1568 that roughly retraced de Soto's route through western North Carolina.

During the first expedition, Pardo built a small fort near present-day Marion

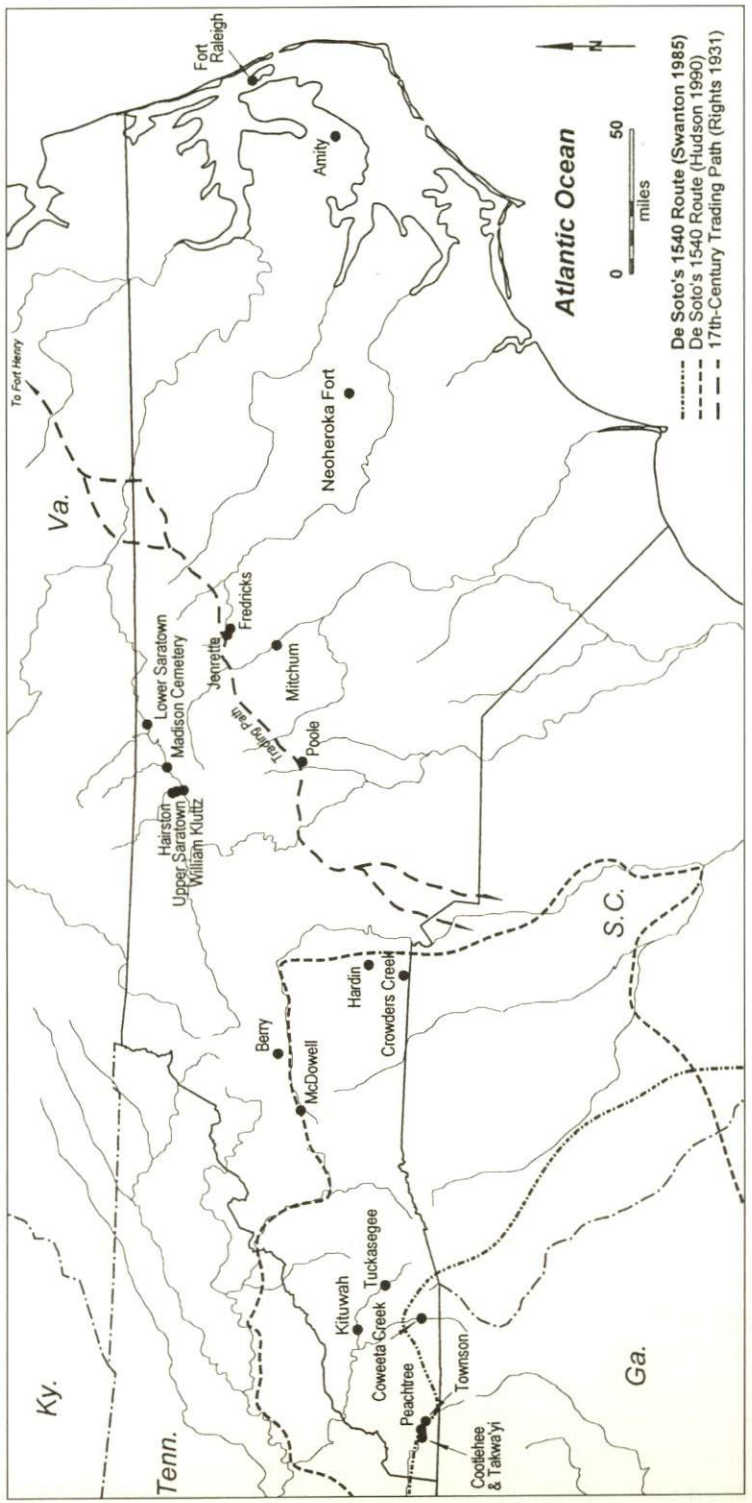

FIGURE 7.1. *Map of North Carolina showing Contact period sites discussed in the text, proposed routes of Hernando de Soto and Juan Pardo through the western part of the state, and the trading path from Virginia.*

in McDowell County and left it garrisoned with thirty men. The fort was under the command of Sergeant Hernando Moyano de Morales. Moyano was befriended by local Indians, and he and his men joined with them in raids against rival tribes (Hudson 1990:26–27).

Although several Indian towns were visited by the Spaniards while they were in North Carolina, none have been located with any degree of accuracy, and the routes taken by de Soto and Pardo through the interior Southeast are themselves the subject of debate among southeastern archaeologists (e.g., Boyd and Schroedl 1987; Larson 1990).

Debate also revolves around the impact the Spanish expeditions had on the native populations of the Southeast. Some archaeologists believe that the newcomers introduced Old World diseases that triggered waves of epidemics, or "pandemics." This view sees diseases like smallpox spreading rapidly and unabated throughout the Southeast, destroying a large portion of the native population and causing a widespread cultural collapse (Dobyns 1983; Smith 1987).

Other researchers have taken a more cautious view and see the impact of Old World diseases as being governed by a number of local factors such as native population densities, the intensity of interaction between natives and newcomers, and geographic and topographic factors related to population isolation. They believe that some areas may have suffered severe depopulation as a consequence of the Spanish expeditions, whereas other areas may have escaped the scourge of Old World diseases altogether (Milner 1980; Larsen 1994; Ward and Davis 1991). More will be said about this issue later, but for now we can state that there is no archaeological evidence to indicate that the sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions into North Carolina had any impact on the Indians living along the presumed paths taken by de Soto and Pardo.

Not to be outdone by the Spanish, Sir Walter Raleigh organized three expeditions between 1584 and 1587 in what proved to be a futile effort to establish an English colony on Roanoke Island, situated in the narrow neck of Croatan Sound. After a reconnoitering voyage in 1584, led by Arthur Barlowe and Philip Amadas, Raleigh sent a larger fleet the following year under the command of Sir Richard Grenville. Ralph Lane was appointed deputy governor of the colony and was in charge once the party landed on Roanoke Island. Soon after landing, Grenville returned to England for additional supplies.

After building a fort on the island, Lane and his men, around 100 in all, explored the surrounding territories. During these explorations, they seem to have gone out of their way to anger their native hosts. Lane chose to settle petty disputes and frivolous conflicts with force rather than diplomacy, killing several Indians during the course of his stay. Almost a year passed, and Lane began to give up hope of Grenville's return. As luck would have it, Sir Francis Drake

stopped by the Roanoke colony for a visit on his way to England, after having spent the winter in the Caribbean attacking Spanish ships. Lane and his party were happy to accept Drake's offer of a ride home. The long-awaited supply fleet commanded by Grenville landed soon after Lane had left with Drake. Finding the settlement abandoned, Grenville left fifteen men and supplies with orders to hold the fort and surrounding territory in the name of Mother England. Unfortunately, Grenville was not aware of the public relations debacle that Lane had created with the local Indians (Powell 1989:42).

In 1587, John White, who had been a member of Lane's expedition, returned with 150 men, women, and children to establish a permanent colony. Remembering the hostile environment that Lane had created with the local Indians, White was not surprised when his party found only the bones of one of the men left on the island by Grenville (Powell 1989:43; Quinn 1985).

After settling the colonists in their new home, John White returned to England for more supplies. Because of England's ongoing war with Spain, White was unable to gain passage back to Roanoke until 1590. And when he did, he found even less evidence of his colony than he had earlier found of Grenville's contingent—no bones or bodies but only the letters "CRO" carved on a tree near the shore (Morton 1960:3).

As with the earlier Spanish expeditions in western North Carolina, the early English explorations do not seem to have had any measurable impact on the native cultures of the northeast coast. However, these early contacts did make the Indians aware of the contentious nature of the English, and they set the stage for the bloody encounters that took place during the first half of the seventeenth century.

Although conflict and strife between native peoples and Europeans often erupted in armed hostilities and ended in death during the early 1600s, it was not until the latter half of the seventeenth century that North Carolina's Indians felt the brunt of the European presence in their land. And the initial advance of English explorers, traders, and settlers into the backcountry of North Carolina came from Tidewater Virginia and not coastal North Carolina.

In 1644, fearing that their hunting territories would be overrun, tribes affiliated with the Pamunkey attacked and killed several hundred Virginia settlers who had ventured westward from the Tidewater region. This uprising, known as the Second Pamunkey (or Powhatan) War, was soon put down, and by 1645, several forts had been established along the falls of the major streams north and south of the settled James River to protect its English residents. Fort Henry was established south of the James, at the falls of the Appomattox, for the security of settlers in the southern region of the colony (Morton 1960:155–57).

Fort Henry, and the town of Petersburg, which sprang up around the fort, became the jumping-off point for the exploration of the Carolina backcountry south and west of the Virginia settlements. In addition to searching for a short route through the Blue Ridge Mountains to the "South Seas of China and India," the early explorers from Virginia also were interested in finding an untapped supply of furs and skins that could be exchanged for their guns and trinkets. By 1670, a steady stream of traders and packhorses had begun to pour into the heart of North Carolina, from Albemarle Sound to the eastern edge of the Blue Ridge.

The traders not only brought strange new tools, weapons, and ornaments; they also carried new germs that caused epidemic diseases, diseases that most North Carolina Indians had managed to escape during the earlier Spanish visits. After traveling through the heart of North Carolina in 1701, John Lawson observed that there was not the "sixth Savage living within 200 miles of our Settlements as there were fifty years ago" (Lefler 1967:252).

Throughout most of the seventeenth century, the Indian trade was dominated by Virginians. Men like Abraham Wood and William Byrd I, headquartered at Fort Henry, made handsome profits before the Piedmont populations became so decimated by disease, warfare, and slave raids that they could no longer supply the peltry that had become fashionable in Europe. By the end of the seventeenth century, the center of trade had shifted from Petersburg, Virginia, to Charleston, South Carolina. The Charleston traders focused their attention on the remote interior tribes that had been only indirectly affected by the Virginia trade. They established direct contacts with tribes as distant as the Choctaws and Chickasaws of Mississippi and western Tennessee, and the Creeks of Georgia and Alabama.

The Charleston traders also opened up the Appalachian Summit region in western North Carolina and brought the Cherokees into the web of colonial commerce (Martin 1994:310). And as had happened in the Piedmont and in the coastal region earlier, this new arrangement did not bring peace and prosperity but instead created turmoil and strife. The last half of the eighteenth century for the Cherokees was a time of political intrigue and warfare that culminated in 1838 with the tragic removal of many Cherokee families from their mountain homes.

The Contact Period in the Central Piedmont (A.D. 1600–1710)

Although interest in the Contact period began early in the development of North Carolina archaeology, it was short lived. The 1936 excavations at the Poole site (31Rd1), thought to be a historic Keyauwee village visited by John

Lawson in 1701, were followed by surveys and excavations along the Dan, Eno, and Yadkin Rivers between 1938 and 1941 as part of the first Siouan archaeological project. The goals of this project were to locate and identify historic Siouan villages that had been described by the German explorer John Lederer in 1670, the Virginia traders James Needham and Gabriel Arthur in 1673, the English surveyor John Lawson in 1701, and the Virginia colonel and surveyor William Byrd in 1728 (Coe 1964; Rights 1947).

Almost fifty years passed before the results of the first Siouan project research were scrutinized. And over thirty years lapsed before excavations were resumed at a Piedmont village site that had been occupied after the time of first contacts with Europeans.

On a cold January day in 1972, Bennie Keel and Keith Egloff, archaeologists with the University of North Carolina's Research Laboratories of Anthropology, visited the seventeenth-century village of Upper Saratown, located on the Dan River in Stokes County. When they arrived, they discovered a teenaged pothunter looting a grave. After lecturing the looter, the archaeologists salvaged the partially disturbed burial and returned to Chapel Hill. The following summer, Keel led a small UNC field crew that began systematic excavations at Upper Saratown. The purpose of these excavations was to try to save as much of the village as possible, before it was completely destroyed by pothunters whose appetites had been whetted by the rich funerary offerings placed with many of the Sara burials. These excavations continued every summer until August 1981.

The Upper Saratown excavations sparked memories of the 1938–41 Wall site excavations conducted by Joffre Coe and Robert Wauchope. Based on Douglas Rights's reconstruction of John Lawson's route through the Piedmont, Wall was thought to represent the Occaneechi village visited by Lawson in February 1701 (Rights 1947). In 1982, a cursory look at the artifacts that were found at the Wall site raised doubts that it had been occupied during the Contact period. Very few Historic artifacts were recovered, and those that had been found came from the disturbed plowzone and dated to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

In 1983, a new program of Siouan research was organized by archaeologists at the University of North Carolina. The overall goal of this project was to study culture change in the Piedmont during the Contact period. The research was designed to explore the question of what happened to the native inhabitants as European explorers, traders, and settlers moved into the North Carolina backcountry during the last half of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century.

Initially, excavations were resumed at the Wall site to determine if, in fact, it was Occaneechi Town. Fine-grained recovery techniques were used to see if

things like small glass trade beads had fallen through the screens of the earlier investigators. These excavations also failed to recover European trade artifacts from undisturbed contexts. Even more convincingly, charcoal samples collected at the site in 1983 yielded radiocarbon dates that placed the Wall site occupation in the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries.

Realizing that Rights's reconstruction of Lawson's route to Occaneechi Town was probably correct, other areas of the large field containing the Wall site were tested in 1983 for evidence of Indian occupation. During this search, a few English kaolin pipe stems and aboriginal potsherds were found in a small garden plot about 100 yards west of the Wall site. Subsurface tests in a grassy area adjacent to the garden uncovered evidence of intact cultural features. Upon excavation, these turned out to be graves that comprised a cemetery associated with a Contact period Indian village. This site, named Fredricks, was completely excavated between 1983 and 1986. The age of the associated trade artifacts and the site's location left little doubt that it was the Occaneechi village visited by Lawson in 1701.

After 1986, Siouan project excavations were expanded to include other Late Prehistoric and Contact period sites located in the Dan and Haw River drainages, and additional sites were excavated along the Eno River. By 1990, fourteen Siouan sites had been excavated by UNC's Research Laboratories of Anthropology, and extensive surveys of all three drainages had been completed (Simpkins 1985; Simpkins and Petherick 1986; McManus and Long 1986). These investigations led to the development of a detailed cultural chronology and allowed archaeologists to study processes of culture change in the central and northern Piedmont during the Contact period (Ward and Davis 1993). The results of the Siouan project research are summarized below, beginning with the investigations along the Eno and Haw Rivers and ending with the Dan River excavations.

The Mitchum Phase (A.D. 1600–1670)

Information on the Mitchum phase was obtained from excavations conducted at the Mitchum site (31Ch452) during the summer of 1983 and the fall of 1986. The site is located in northern Chatham County on a low alluvial terrace adjacent to the Haw River. Archaeologists believe that the Mitchum site and the Mitchum phase can be attributed to the Sissipahaw Indians who lived along the Haw River during the last half of the seventeenth century. Although John Lawson did briefly mention the "Sissipahau" Indians, he did not visit a Sissipahaw village as he crossed the Haw River in February 1701 (Lefler 1967:60). Lawson's failure to take advantage of Sissipahaw hospitality may reflect their

early cultural disintegration at the beginning of the Contact period. Trade artifacts suggest that the Mitchum site probably was occupied around 1650 and abandoned before Lawson's journey (Davis and Ward 1989; Ward and Davis 1993).

Excavations at the Mitchum site revealed a small stockaded village covering less than 1.5 acres. One oval-shaped house, measuring 18′×24′, was uncovered. The wall posts of the house were set in individual holes and showed little evidence of rebuilding. The structure was probably a dome-shaped wigwam covered with bark or skins, since no evidence of clay plaster or daub was found.

Most Mitchum phase features were poorly defined. The only functional categories recognized at the Mitchum site were storage pits, smudge pits, and hearths. Two burials were excavated. In each, the body was flexed and placed in a shaft-and-chamber pit like those of the earlier Haw River and Hillsboro phases. However, unlike these earlier phases, glass trade beads and brass ornaments, rather than shell beads and ornaments, were placed with the dead (Ward and Davis 1993:413).

Pottery of the Mitchum phase developed out of the preceding Hillsboro phase and is very similar to pottery found at the Jenrette site on the Eno River. Sand and crushed feldspar were used as temper, and vessel forms consist primarily of small and medium-sized jars and bowls with smoothed exteriors, and large simple-stamped jars. The vessels were sometimes decorated by notching the lips and applying circular reed punctations to the lip, neck, or shoulder. The lips of simple-stamped jars were sometimes paddle stamped as well (Ward and Davis 1993:414).

Subsistence practices changed little as a consequence of contact with Europeans. Deer provided the main meat source and was supplemented by a variety of small mammals. Fish, turtles, and mussels were taken from the Haw River, and corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers were planted in the fertile soils along the river bottoms. Peach pits provide the only evidence of European influence on the Mitchum phase diet (Gremillion 1989:143).

The inhabitants of the Mitchum site obtained a limited variety of English items through trade, and these probably were supplied through an indirect trade network among native groups living in the region. The use of firearms was indicated by only a few gunflints, but no gun parts were found. Knives, hatchets, hoes, and other iron tools apparently were not available. Instead, the English trade inventory consisted mainly of ornaments—brass bells, rolled brass or copper beads, and mostly small, white and blue, glass beads.

Milder forms of non-native tobaccos, perhaps from the West Indies, may have been an important commodity in the English trade network. That a new kind of tobacco was introduced is suggested by the appearance, in relatively

large numbers, of finely made clay pipes that resemble European kaolin pipes, except that they lack mold seams. These were found alongside more traditional pipe forms and suggest a change in smoking behavior after 1650. Prior to this time, native tobacco seems to have been used only in rituals or to commemorate important events. The use of tobacco, particularly milder, imported varieties, became much more widespread during the Mitchum and Jenrette phases and continued to increase in popularity during the last half of the seventeenth century. While the numbers and styles of pipes changed to reflect European influence, traditional pipes, in which native tobaccos were smoked in ceremonial and ritual settings, were still made (cf. Swanton 1946:383–84; Ward and Davis 1993:367–68).

The Jenrette Phase (A.D. 1600–1680)

Like the Mitchum phase, the Jenrette phase is defined from archaeological information obtained at a single excavated site, the Jenrette site (31Or231a). Jenrette is located in a large bend of the Eno River, just a stone's throw from downtown Hillsborough. It is situated next to the Fredricks site (31Or231), believed to be the remains of early-eighteenth-century Occaneechi Town (fig. 7.2). The Jenrette site may represent the remains of a village occupied by the Shakori Indians, who were visited by John Lederer in 1670 (Cumming 1958).

Excavation of the Jenrette site began in 1989 and was completed in 1998 (fig. 7.3). The stockaded village revealed by archaeologists covered a one-half-acre area and consisted of a ring of houses surrounding an open plaza; however, the architectural remains of only two houses were clearly identified. Many additional houses were no doubt present when the site was occupied, but their remains have been plowed and eroded away. Several pit features were found inside the stockade, but only four burials were found that can be attributed to the Jenrette phase. The small number of burials suggests that European diseases had not yet affected the Eno River population (Ward and Davis 1993).

Unlike most houses found on sites in the Piedmont (see Chapter 5), the Jenrette structures were built by placing wall posts in long trenches rather than placing them in individual postholes. Wall trenches were also used in house construction at the slightly later Fredricks site. The Jenrette houses are slightly larger than those at Fredricks, but they are smaller than Mitchum and Hillsboro phase structures. The larger house at Jenrette contained a little over 300 square feet of floor space, while the smaller one contained 220 square feet. Both had two or three large storage pits dug into their floors (Ward and Davis 1993:344) (fig. 7.4).

The ceramic assemblage from the Jenrette site is very similar to that of the

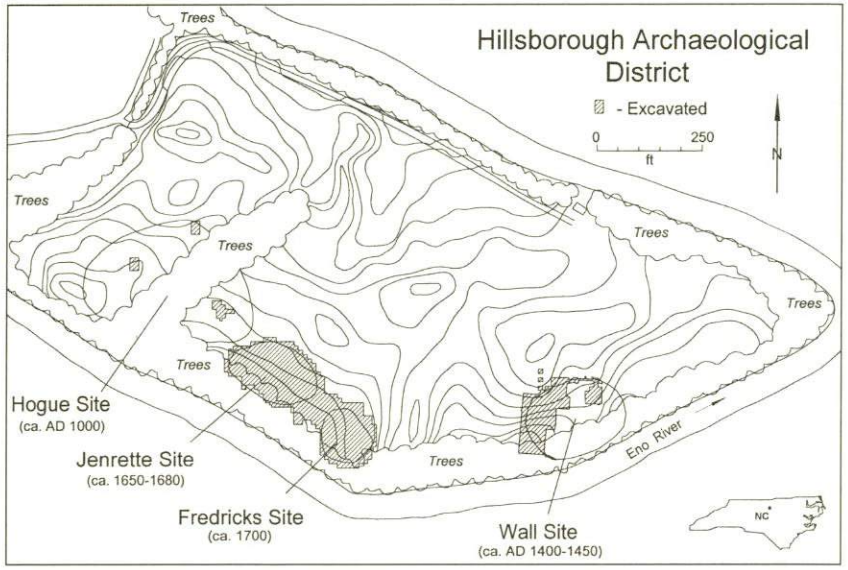

FIGURE 7.2. *A map of the Hillsborough archaeological district showing the locations of the Hogue, Jenrette, Fredricks, and Wall sites.*

Mitchum phase. Both comprise the Jenrette ceramic series; however, it is believed that the Jenrette pottery was made by Shakori, not Sissipahaw, potters. Almost half of the Jenrette phase sherds have plain or roughly smoothed exterior surfaces, while most of the remaining sherds are simple stamped. Minority surface treatments include brushed and cob impressed. The primary difference between Jenrette and Mitchum phase pottery is that Jenrette pottery is more often tempered with finely crushed quartz. Although similar to the earlier and ancestral Hillsboro series, Jenrette series vessels are heavier, have thicker walls, and are, in general, more crudely made (Ward and Davis 1993:415).

Faunal and ethnobotanical remains from the Jenrette site are similar to samples from sites occupied just prior to European contact, and they show no significant changes in subsistence practices and diet. Meat was obtained primarily from the white-tailed deer. Important wild plant foods included acorns, hickory nuts, and walnuts. Corn, beans, bottle gourds, and sumpweed were cultivated in the fertile fields along the Eno River. The river also provided a variety of fish, including gar, sucker, catfish, and sunfish, as well as turtles (Ward and Davis 1993:373). As was the case at the Mitchum site, peaches were the only non-native food harvested, and they were probably introduced earlier by native middlemen who were in contact with the Spanish settlements along the South Carolina and Georgia coasts.

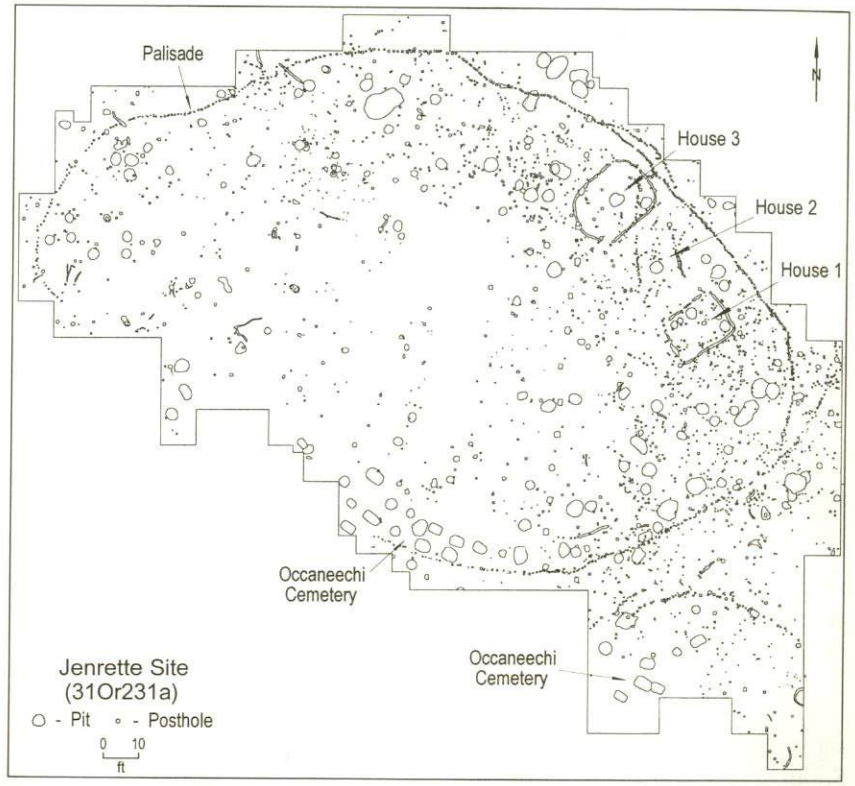

FIGURE 7.3. *Excavation plan of the Jenrette site showing pits, postholes, and the palisade. The two Occaneechi cemeteries are associated with the nearby Fredricks site.*

Most of the Jenrette phase features consisted of storage pits and large, basin-shaped food preparation facilities called "roasting pits" or "earth ovens." As mentioned previously, several storage pits were found inside the two houses. Several others were found within a 30′ band just inside the stockade and probably mark the locations of additional houses whose remains have been destroyed by plowing.

One thing common to all storage facilities found on sites in the Piedmont is that they were quickly filled once they were no longer used for storage. Often the soil removed while a new storage pit was being dug was thrown into the old facility. As this soil slumped, refuse was often added to fill the resulting depression. Sometimes these abandoned storage pits were completely filled with refuse that was produced over a short period of time (Ward and Davis 1993:415).

The large, shallow roasting pits at Jenrette are like those described earlier for the late Hillsboro phase and were usually located near the stockade. They are believed to reflect feasting activities associated with communitywide rituals and

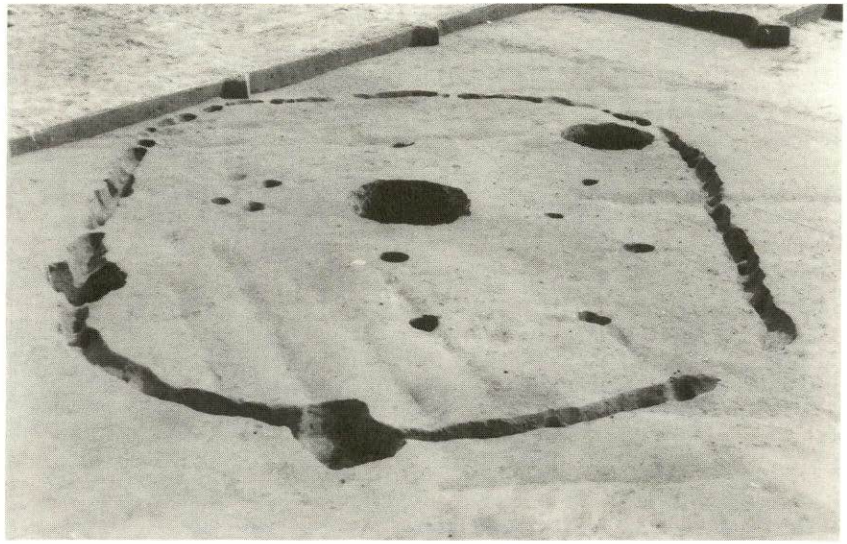

FIGURE 7.4. *A wall-trench house (House 3) excavated at the Jenrette site. The house measured 16′ × 22′ and had two interior storage pits. (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology)*

celebrations, probably similar to the Busk ceremony celebrated throughout the Southeast. Similar facilities have been found at sites on the Dan River that date to the early Contact period; however, they have not been found on late Contact period sites in the Haw, Eno, or Dan River drainages. This may reflect a breakdown in community celebrations brought on by disease and depopulation during the last half of the seventeenth century.

The inhabitants of the Jenrette site buried their dead in both shaft-and-chamber and simple, straight-sided pits. Associated funerary objects reflect the beginnings of trade with the English and consist primarily of small glass beads that probably were sewn on burial garments. As was the case during the Mitchum phase, contacts between natives and Europeans were probably indirect and neither regular nor sustained. The nature of these contacts may explain the lack of evidence for epidemic diseases during the Jenrette phase.

The increased popularity of pipe smoking that took place during the Mitchum phase can also be seen in the Jenrette phase. Numerous fragments of terra-cotta pipes were recovered along with more traditional forms. Fine, rouletted designs, like those found on "Tidewater" pipes throughout the Middle Atlantic region, often occurred on the bowls of terra-cotta pipes from Jenrette (fig. 7.5). This style of pipe is also commonly found on sites dating to the

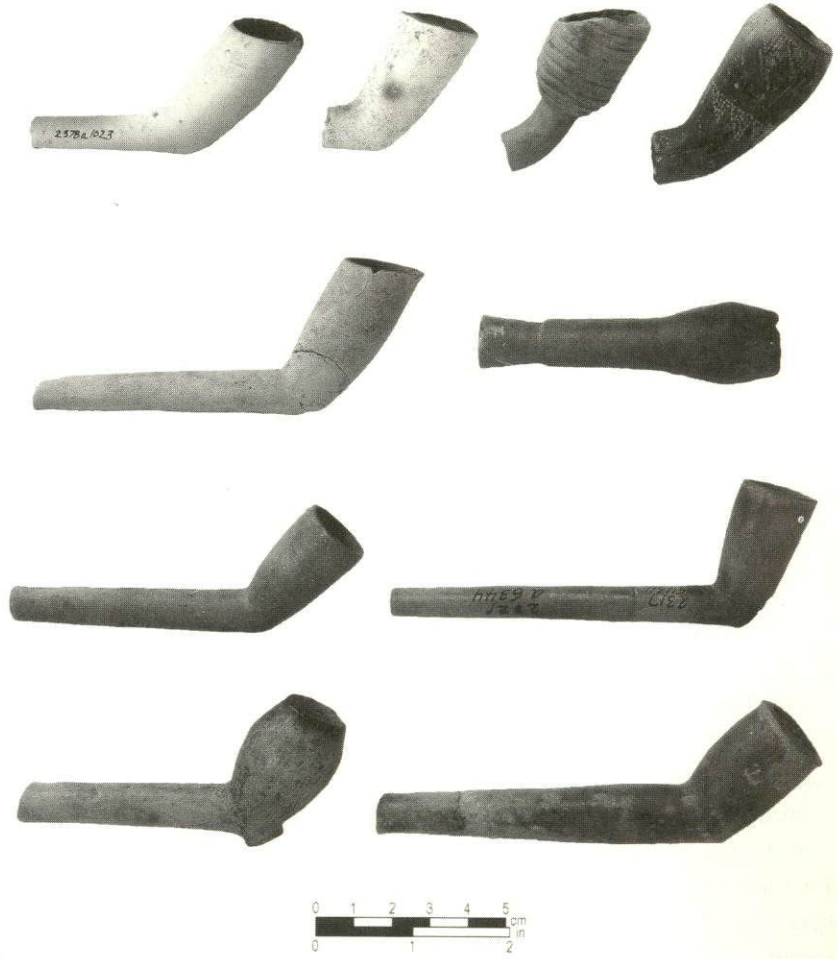

FIGURE 7.5. *Tobacco pipes found at Contact period sites in Piedmont North Carolina. The two specimens at the top left and the specimen to the left in the second row are English trade pipes; the specimen at the top right (from the Jenrette site) and the specimens in the third row are terra-cotta pipes with rouletted designs.*

Middle Saratown, Late Saratown, and Fredricks phases. Although archaeologists debate who made these pipes—African Americans, colonials, or natives—they are excellent horizon markers for the period between 1650 and 1700 in the North Carolina and Virginia Piedmont (Heite 1973; Kent 1984; Ward and Davis 1993).

During the Jenrette phase, small, triangular arrow points continued to be made. Many appear to have been casually shaped from small flakes with little

effort. Other stone tools include drills, perforators, gravers, spokeshaves, scrapers, and a variety of used and retouched flakes. Ground-stone celts, chipped hoes, and milling stones were also used at Jenrette.

Bone and shell tools used during the Jenrette phase closely resemble those of the preceding Hillsboro phase. Disk beads were made from marine shells, and scrapers were formed by finely notching the edges of mussel shells. A number of animal bones were cut and split to create awls, needles, beamers, and other hideworking implements.

Boneworking and shellworking techniques show a strong affinity to toolmaking technologies used during the preceding Hillsboro phase. However, bone and shell tools were only rarely used during the later Fredricks phase, when iron hoes, knives, and other European-made tools took their place (Ward and Davis 1993:414).

The Fredricks Phase (A.D. 1680–1710)

The Fredricks phase defines the archaeological remains of the Occaneechis after they moved from the Roanoke valley to the Eno River, following Bacon's Rebellion in 1676. At present, the Fredricks site is the only site that can be assigned to this phase (Davis and Ward 1991). This site is believed to be the remains of "Achonechy Town," which was visited and briefly described by John Lawson in 1701 (Lefler 1967:61). The small stockaded village was completely excavated between 1983 and 1986 (figs. 7.6 and 7.7).

Although most native traditions appear to have remained intact during the Fredricks phase, trade between Piedmont Indians and the English intensified considerably during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. This intensification is seen primarily in the grave goods associated with the Occaneechi burials. Knives, tobacco pipes, hoes, kettles, and guns were added to the beads and ornaments common during the Mitchum and Jenrette phases (figs. 7.5 and 7.8). Shaft-and-chamber burial pits were abandoned in favor of rectangular, straight-sided graves dug with metal tools. Bodies were still flexed, but the burial pits were no longer placed in and around dwellings. Instead, the Fredricks site burials were carefully aligned and interred in three cemeteries located outside the stockade surrounding the small village.

The first cemetery to be discovered contained the remains of thirteen individuals and lay adjacent to the Fredricks site stockade. The second cemetery contained four graves and was located between the Fredricks and Jenrette site stockades. The third cemetery contained eight graves and was located just inside the stockade surrounding the Jenrette village. Although the village likely had been abandoned by the time of the Fredricks occupation, the alignment of

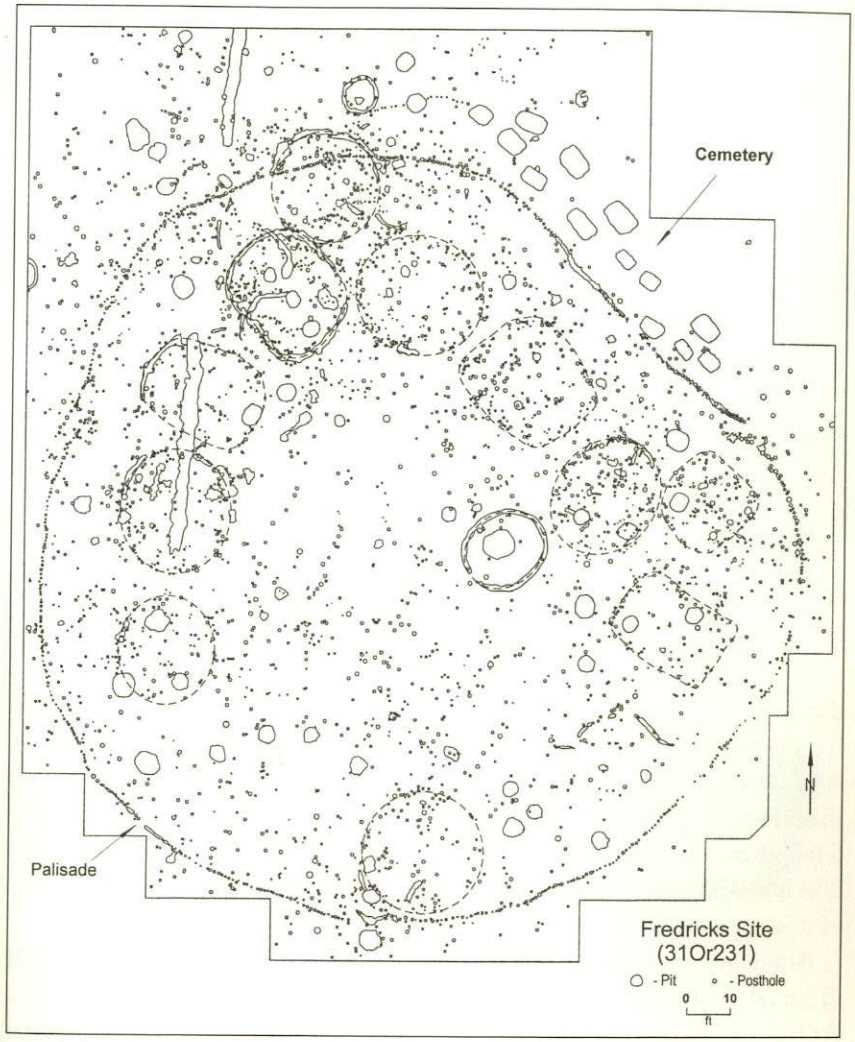

FIGURE 7.6. *Excavation plan of the Fredricks site showing pits, postholes, houses, and the palisade.*

the graves suggests that the stockade wall may still have been standing at the time the burials were made. The cemeteries appear to have contained members of related families. Three families were interred in the first cemetery; one was interred in the second; and two were interred in the third. The existence of separate cemeteries may reflect the amalgamation of different ethnic groups forced to band together as a consequence of depopulation (Ward et al. 1996).

By the time of Lawson's visit, European diseases and warfare had decimated

FIGURE 7.7. *An artist's conception of the Occaneechi village at the Fredricks site. (Drawing by Orna Weinroth, © 1998)*

the Occaneechis and other Piedmont tribes. Archaeologically, this decimation is indicated by the small size of the settlement and a very high mortality rate. A single stockade of small posts, some placed in wall trenches, enclosed no more than ten to twelve houses of wall-trench and single-post construction. Probably fewer than seventy-five individuals lived in the village for less than a decade. The burial population of the three cemeteries accounts for a substantial portion of that population (Ward et al. 1996; Ward and Davis 1991).

Although the Fredricks phase represents a time of dramatic disruption and upheaval, a surprising degree of continuity is reflected in the subsistence data. As was seen during the Mitchum and Jenrette phases, the peltry trade and the introduction of European tools and trinkets seem to have had a minimal impact on the day-to-day subsistence of the Occaneechis. Deer, turkey, fish, turtle, and numerous small mammals were hunted and trapped. Only one bone each of a pig and a horse attest to the European presence (Holm 1987:245). The only evidence for the use of Old World plants during the Fredricks phase consists of a single watermelon seed and numerous peach pits (Gremillion 1987).

Fredricks phase pottery is represented by two types: Fredricks Plain and Fredricks Check Stamped (fig. 7.9). Fredricks Plain pottery is associated with a variety of vessel forms, including small and large jars and small bowls, whereas Fredricks Check Stamped pottery is almost exclusively associated with cooking vessels. The presence of check stamping indicates that the Fredricks series is

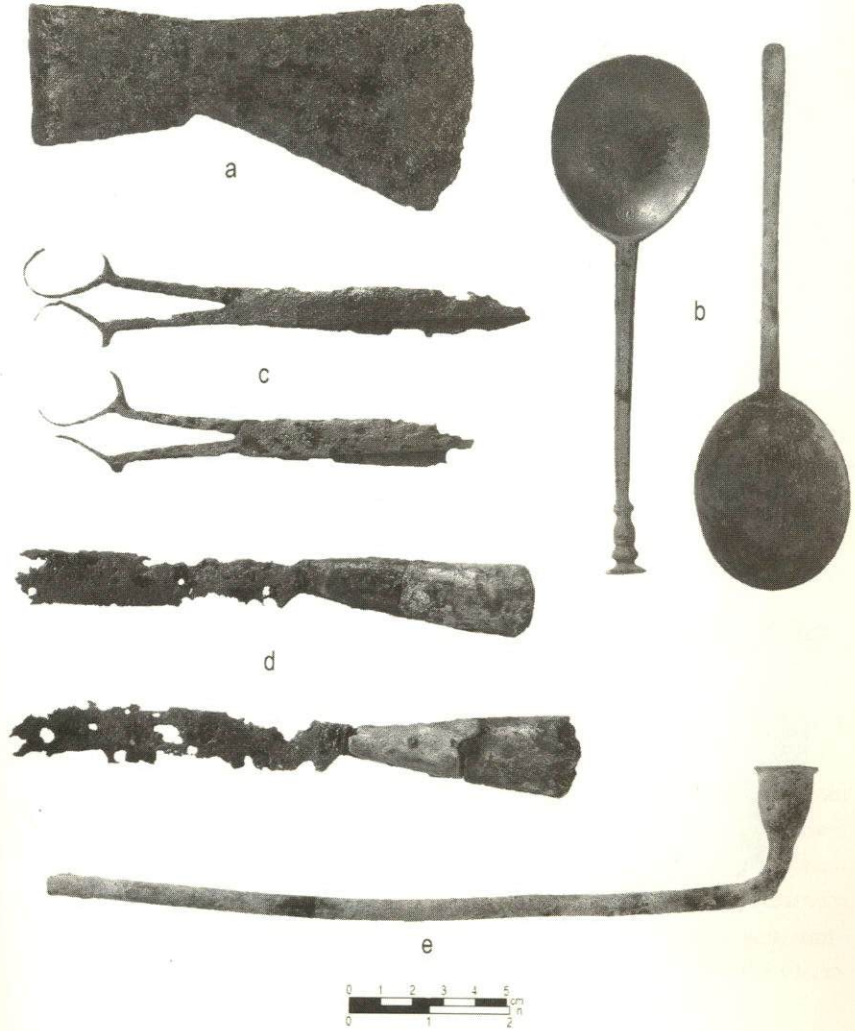

FIGURE 7.8. *European trade items found at the Fredricks site: ax (a), spoons (b), scissors (c), knives (d), and pewter tobacco pipe (e).*

more closely related to the Hillsboro series than to the Jenrette series. Unlike the Jenrette pottery, all the Fredricks pottery was tempered with sand, had thin walls, and lacked evidence of simple stamping. Furthermore, the homogeneity within the Fredricks series suggests that all the pottery recovered from the Fredricks site was made by one or a few potters (Ward and Davis 1993:416).

Although European-made weapons and cutting tools were available to the Occaneechis, they continued to make and use stone tools in styles that can be traced back several hundred years. Arrows were tipped with small triangular

FIGURE 7.9. *Fredricks series pots from Occaneechi Town.*

points, and hideworking, woodworking, and plant-processing tasks were often carried out using stone tools. Drills, gravers, perforators, scrapers, and a variety of used and reworked flake tools were found at the Fredricks site, along with manos and milling stones. However, the Occaneechis do not appear to have been heavily engaged in boneworking or shellworking. Although numerous shell ornaments, including gorgets, columella beads, disk beads, wampum, and

runtees, were found at Fredricks, these were probably manufactured by groups living along the Atlantic Coast and traded to the Occaneechis (Hammett 1987).

The North Central Piedmont during the Contact Period

The Middle Saratown Phase (A.D. 1620–1670)

The Middle Saratown phase represents the mid-seventeenth-century occupation of the upper Dan River drainage by the Sara, or Saura, Indians. This phase was defined from excavations at the Lower Saratown site (31Rk1) located on the Dan River, just below the mouth of the Smith River, and it marks the first arrival of European trade goods in the northern Piedmont. Although Spanish explorers traveled through the southwestern North Carolina Piedmont during the mid-sixteenth century (Hudson 1990), their visits left no discernible traces in the archaeological record of the Dan River drainage. Even the early-seventeenth-century English settlements on the lower James River meant little to the Piedmont tribes. It is doubtful that many of the Sara living along the Dan River during the Middle Saratown phase ever laid eyes on the English or felt the deadly sting of their diseases. The few beads and trinkets that found their way into Sara villages probably were passed along from Indian to Indian through traditional trade networks.

Settlement patterns during the Middle Saratown phase changed little from those of the preceding Early Saratown phase, discussed in Chapter 4. The Sara continued to occupy large, stockaded villages, and the population of the Dan River valley seems to have stabilized. Limited excavations at Lower Saratown uncovered two superimposed houses of single-post construction that were similar in size and shape to wall-trench and single-post houses built by the Occaneechi, Shakori, and Sissipahaw along the Eno and Haw Rivers.

Middle Saratown phase features are very similar to facilities found on other Protohistoric and Contact period sites in the Piedmont. Large, shallow roasting pits or earth ovens indicative of communitywide food preparation activities were common and usually were placed around the periphery of the village. These facilities do not appear to have been recycled and were usually filled with food remains and cooking debris. Circular storage pits and small, corncob-filled smudge pits also were common during the Middle Saratown phase. The large storage facilities, like those on other Piedmont sites, were quickly filled with soil and refuse after they were no longer suited for their primary purpose.

Although contact with European traders is indicated by the presence of glass and brass beads, European influence is not seen in the subsistence inventory.

The rich assortment of food remains from Lower Saratown points to a varied diet balancing wild plant and animal resources with indigenous crop production. As was the case during the Early Saratown phase, turtles, mussels, and fish from the Dan River provided an important supplement to the terrestrial diet of deer, turkey, and bear. Maize was abundant and ubiquitous. Beans also were grown, along with squash. However, sunflower and other common Eastern North American cultigens were not harvested (Gremillion 1989).

Pottery of the Middle Saratown phase closely resembles that found at the Hairston site (31Sk1), about thirty miles upstream in Stokes County. Most of the sherds had smoothed or burnished exteriors; many others had net-impressed surfaces. A few were cob impressed, check stamped, simple stamped, and complicated stamped. The most popular vessel form was a small jar with a smoothed surface. These vessels were infrequently decorated.

A variety of chipped-stone tools were used. These often were made from large, patinated flakes or from Archaic spear points scavenged from sites of much earlier settlements. Small triangular arrow points and bifacial drills were also frequently used. Other stone tools included chipped hoes, manos and milling stones, celts, numerous hammerstones, and large cobble choppers.

The rich boneworking and shellworking traditions begun during the Dan River phase persisted into the Middle Saratown phase. Numerous awls, beamers, antler flakers, needles, fish hooks, turtle carapace cups, and beads were manufactured from bone, whereas scrapers were made from freshwater mussels and large and small cut-disk beads were made from marine shells.

The single Middle Saratown phase burial found at Lower Saratown was placed in a shaft-and-chamber grave and indicates the continuation of this unique method of interment begun by the early Dan River phase. The occurrence of a relatively small number of grave goods, mostly rolled copper or brass beads, contrasts with the extensive use of shell beads and ornaments during the Early Saratown phase. However, a sample of one burial does not permit even a superficial comparison of mortuary practices between these two phases.

The Late Saratown Phase (A.D. 1670–1710)

By 1670, the flow of English-made goods reaching the Sara increased dramatically. It was also during the Late Saratown phase that European diseases struck with devastating force, making many of the excavated villages appear more like cemeteries than habitation sites. The Upper Saratown village, located near the confluence of the Dan River and Town Fork Creek, is the most extensively excavated Late Saratown phase site (fig. 7.10). As previously mentioned, excavations began here in 1972 and continued until 1981, uncovering numerous

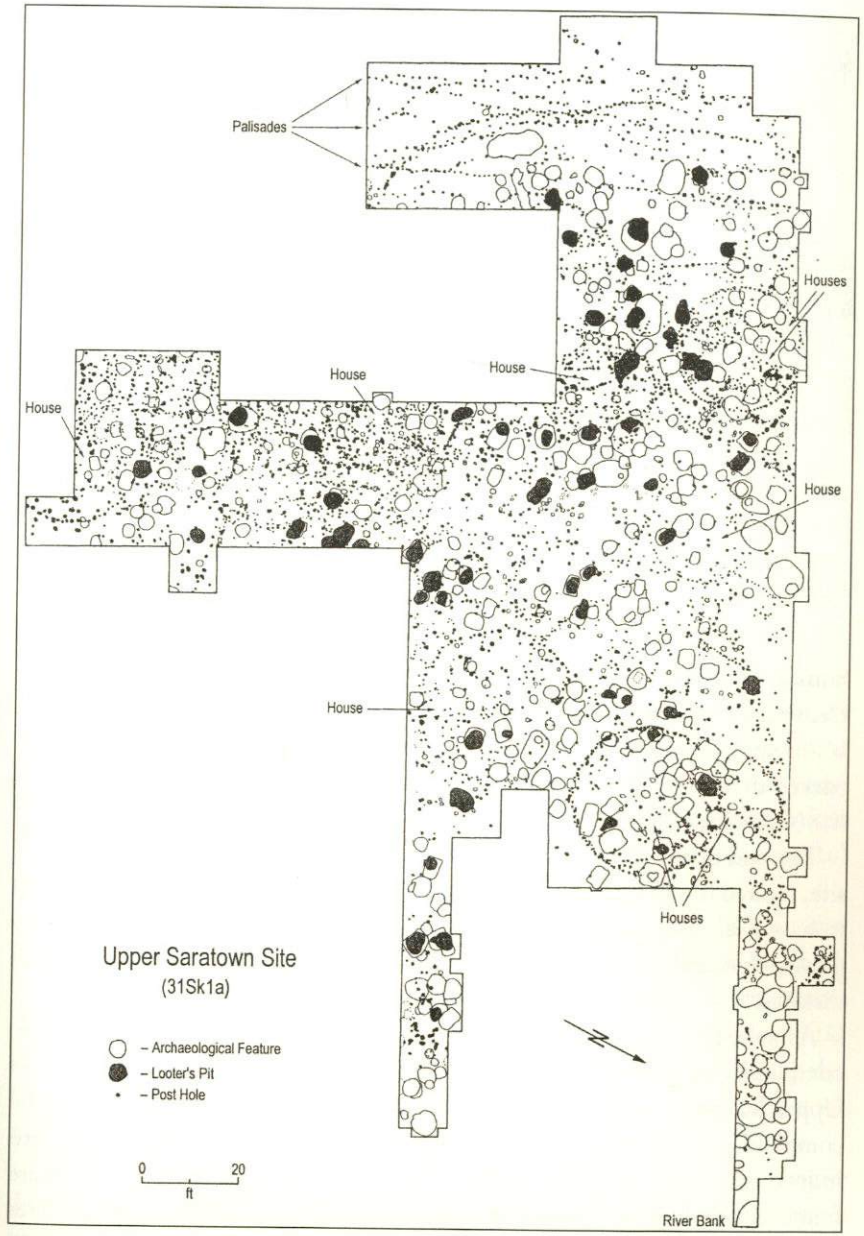

FIGURE 7.10. *Excavation plan of the Upper Saratown site showing pits, postholes, palisades, circular house patterns, and looter's pits. (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology)*

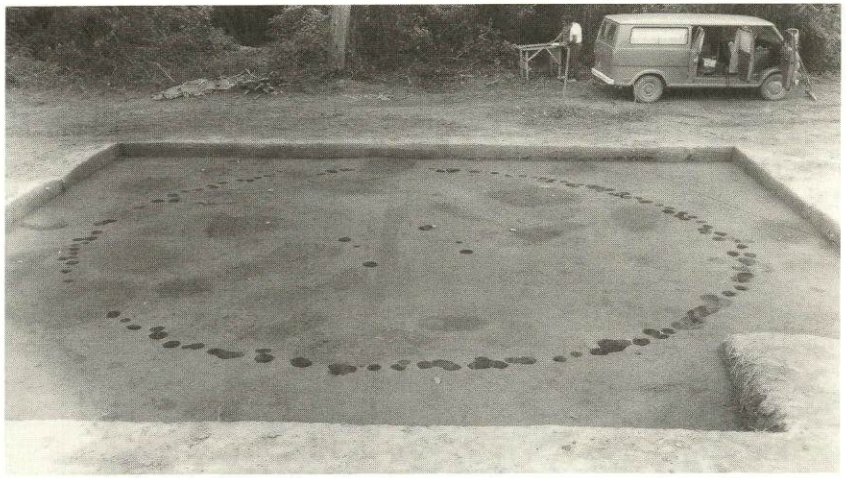

FIGURE 7.11. *A circular house excavated at the Upper Saratown site. This house measured 23 feet in diameter and was intruded by numerous burial pits. (Courtesy of the Research Laboratories of Archaeology)*

houses, pit features, and burials (Ward 1980; Wilson 1983). At the Madison Cemetery site, located about nine miles downstream near the confluence of the Mayo and Dan Rivers, an amateur archaeologist uncovered graves so tightly packed that he thought he was working in a cemetery rather than a habitation site (Gravely 1969:11).

The end of the Late Saratown phase is represented by the William Kluttz site, located less than one mile downstream from Upper Saratown and thought to have been occupied between about 1690 and 1710. Here, numerous shallow graves, clustered in a cemetery area, attest to the continuing devastation of alien diseases.

As evidenced at the Upper Saratown and the William Kluttz sites, Sara community patterns changed drastically during the Late Saratown phase. At Upper Saratown, which was occupied during the first half of the phase, the community consisted of a stockaded village occupied by between 200 and 250 individuals living in circular houses (fig. 7.11). Although no structures were found at the William Kluttz site, the distribution of artifacts and features suggest a very different community pattern by the close of the seventeenth century. By this time, communities no longer consisted of compact, stockaded villages; instead, they appear to have been comprised of widely dispersed households. Ceramic evidence further suggests that fragments of ethnically diverse Siouan tribes may have merged with the Sara at the William Kluttz site to form a dispersed refugee community.

The most characteristic type of Late Saratown phase feature consists of a large, deep, and almost perfectly circular storage facility. These pits were usually over 3 feet in diameter and often were as deep. Typically they contained stratified deposits rich in food remains and other domestic refuse. Large roasting pits or earth ovens also were frequently encountered at Upper Saratown. These are identical to those described for the late Hillsboro, Jenrette, and Middle Saratown phases. Usually these large cooking facilities were located around the edge of the village, near the stockade, and it is believed that they were used to prepare large amounts of food consumed during ritual celebrations (Eastman 1996; Ward 1980; Wilson 1977).

Late Saratown phase pottery has been described based on an analysis of rimsherds and vessels from the Upper Saratown village and an analysis of a large number of vessels and vessel sections from the William Kluttz site (Ward and Davis 1993:285–98; Wilson 1983:425–54). Pottery from both sites comprises the Oldtown series. Smoothed and burnished surface finishes were most popular, followed by net impressing, which accounts for less than 25 percent of the overall assemblage. In contrast to earlier Dan River phase net impressing, Oldtown Net Impressed sherds were paddled with a very fine, netlike material. Minority surface finishes include scraping, brushing, check stamping, simple stamping, and complicated stamping. Most of the pots used during the Late Saratown phase were large cooking or storage jars with slightly everted or flaring rims. These sometimes were decorated with notches on the vessel lip. Hemispherical and cazuela bowls also were found, and these were often decorated with incised lines and punctations (Ward and Davis 1993:425–26) (fig. 7.12).

The basic subsistence pattern described for the earlier Protohistoric and Contact period Siouan phases continued into the Late Saratown phase. A balance was struck between wild and domestic food resources. Corn, beans, squash, and gourds were cultivated, and peaches continued to be a popular Old World addition to the diet (Wilson 1977). Like other Siouan phases during the Contact period, there is no evidence that European animals played an important role in the subsistence cycle.

As with community patterns, mortuary patterns also reflect dramatic changes during the Late Saratown phase. At Upper Saratown and the Madison Cemetery site, graves were placed within and around houses. Usually, these graves were deep shaft-and-chamber pits, with the "central chamber" type occurring most frequently. Bodies were flexed and often accompanied by large amounts of European-made ornaments, particularly glass beads and copper trinkets (Navey 1982) (fig. 7.13). Toward the end of the Late Saratown phase, however, a drastic change in mortuary practice took place.

FIGURE 7.12. *Oldtown series pots from the Hairston site (top left) and Upper Saratown (top right and middle and bottom rows).*

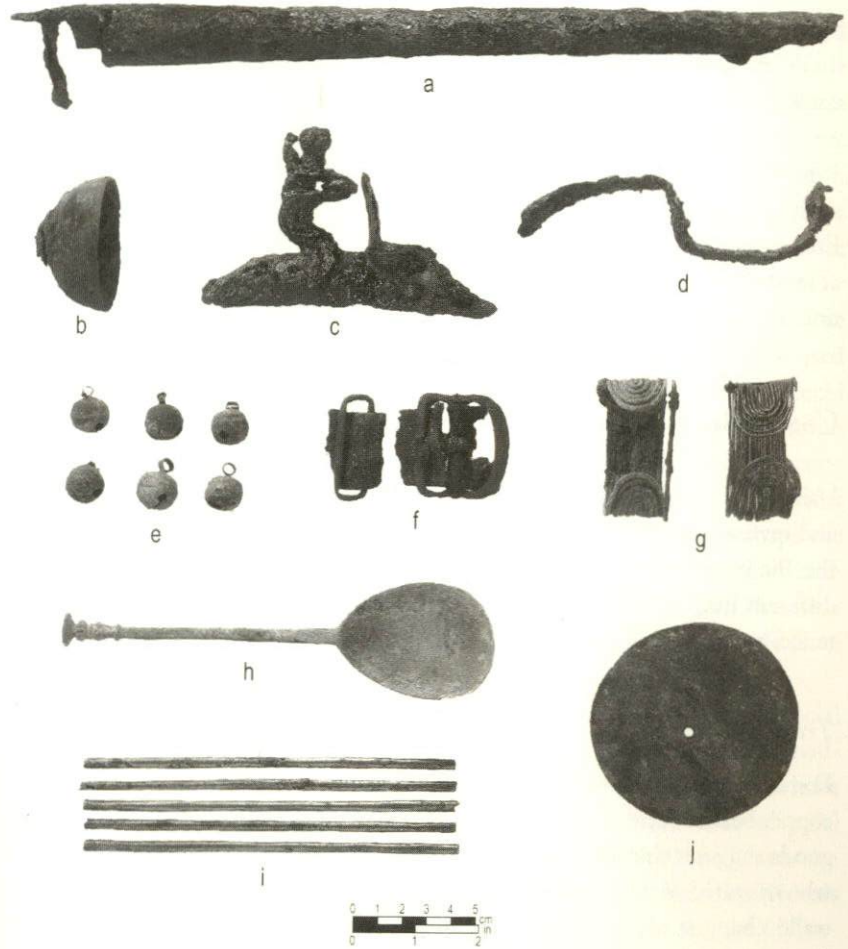

FIGURE 7.13. *European trade items found at Upper Saratown: bells (e), spoon (h), circular gorget (j), and brass tubular beads (i); and additional items from the nearby William Kluttz site: parts of flintlock pistol (a–d), buckle and leather belt fragments (f), and brass wire bracelets (g).*

Excavations at the William Kluttz site uncovered a cemetery containing numerous shallow pit burials. Most of these were subadult interments that did not contain any associated artifacts. Collectively, these graves suggest that sufficient energy to continue traditional mortuary practices could no longer be mustered within the community. The isolation of the dead in a cemetery also may indicate an increasing awareness of the contagiousness of the alien microbes, a lesson that was perhaps learned less than a generation earlier at Upper

Saratown. The fact that most of the dead were subadults further suggests that their deaths resulted from a single epidemic. Those adults who survived earlier epidemics at Upper Saratown would have developed some immunity to new waves of European diseases.

In addition to the cemetery burials, two individuals were placed in traditional shaft-and-chamber pits. One of these was a young adult male outfitted in European attire, with a pistol in his belt (fig. 7.13). Although most of the dead, at least those in the cemetery, seem to have received comparatively little attention, this grave suggests that some individuals still warranted special treatment.

Contact, Interaction, and Cultural Change in the Piedmont

Using the chronological framework presented above, we can now synthesize and review some of the more specific consequences of the interaction between the Piedmont tribes and Euro-Americans. This discussion will focus on four different but, in most cases, related topics: trade, intertribal relations, subsistence, and disease.

Trade

During the Jenrette and Middle Saratown phases, only a few glass and brass or copper beads found their way into the Piedmont villages. The scarcity of trade goods suggests that these items were exchanged through native intermediaries who operated within traditional trade networks. However, during the 1670s, the trade changed abruptly and dramatically. At this time, the Virginia traders began making regular trips into the backcountry searching for new markets.

The intensification and spread of the peltry trade is directly reflected in the Late Saratown and Fredricks phases. Literally thousands of glass beads, copper bells, and other ornaments—but few tools and weapons—have been recovered from Upper Saratown. At Occaneechi Town, guns, iron knives, hatchets, beads, and trinkets were obtained in quantity. Prior to 1676, the Occaneechis' role as middlemen in the Virginia trade had allowed them to control the flow of goods to the more remote groups like the Saras. And by controlling access to firearms and using intimidation when necessary, the Occaneechis were able to maintain their dominant position (Davis and Ward 1998; Merrell 1987). Abraham Wood, a prominent Virginia trader, noted that the Occaneechis' supply of arms and ammunition made them "the Mart for all the Indians for at least 500 miles" ("Virginias Deploured Condition" 1871:167).

The Occaneechis' stranglehold was broken by Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, and groups like the Saras began receiving the full inventory of goods offered by the English traders (Davis and Ward 1998). For example, the young adult male from the William Kluttz site was buried with a 1680 English military-issue pistol, tucked in a leather belt with a brass buckle that was used to hold up cloth trousers. After 1680, the Saras were no longer satisfied to deal strictly in glass beads and copper trinkets, for they had gained access to weapons and other utilitarian goods offered by the Virginia traders.

The introduction of iron tools and firearms, however, did not have a drastic effect on the traditional technologies of the Piedmont tribes. They were used alongside, but not in place of, their aboriginal counterparts. At Occaneechi Town, lead shot and gunflints were recovered from almost every excavation unit, but so were stone arrow points. Clay pots were still made, although copper kettles were available, and glass beads were worn and sewn on garments just as their shell counterparts had been earlier. Other than firearms, perhaps the only new technology introduced by the traders was the use of scissors, which were now needed to cut and shape the bolts of European-made cloth that were used to make clothing, bags, and other items that formerly were made from animal skins.

The peltry trade perhaps had a greater impact on traditional Siouan social structure than it did on their technology. Among the Piedmont tribes, individuals who could deal most successfully with the Virginia traders appear to have gained a level of prestige and influence not possible within the traditional social structure. Mortuary data from Occaneechi Town and the William Kluttz site suggest that, during the Fredricks and Late Saratown phases, these individuals were young adult males and adult females (Ward 1987; Ward et al. 1996). Mortuary evidence indicates that only adult females achieved positions of highest prestige during the earlier Middle Saratown phase (Navey 1982). These differences in status recognition appear to reflect the relative impact of trade on the social structures of the Saras and Occaneechis at the beginning and end of the Contact period (cf. Davis and Ward 1998).

The ethnohistoric documents also point to similar differences. John Lederer observed in 1670 that kinship was traced through the female line, and among the "remoter" tribes such as the Eno, the government was democratic. However, a "democratic" social order did not seem to be the norm among the tribes that had been heavily engaged in trade with the English. The Occaneechi, for instance, were said to have had two "kings" governing them when they lived on the Roanoke River and controlled the trade. And the nearby Saponis were ruled by an "absolute monarch" (Cumming 1958).

European Plants and Livestock

The Europeans not only brought new tools and strange weapons to the New World, they also filled their boats with horses, pigs, chickens, and other creatures unknown to Native Americans. They packed seeds of wheat, barley, and peaches to be planted in the fertile soils of their new home. How were these new plants and animals received by the Piedmont Siouans and what changes did they forge in the native subsistence cycle? Surprisingly, archaeological evidence has shown that new plants and animals were virtually ignored by most Piedmont Indians. Peaches and watermelons were planted, but the traditional trinity of corn, beans, and squash remained the mainstay of the diet (Gremillion 1989).

Old World animals were even less popular than Old World plants. The only evidence of their use comes from the Fredricks site, where one bone each of a pig and a horse were recovered (Holm 1987). As was the case with tools and trinkets, only those items that did not require a re-organization of the traditional ways of doing things were incorporated, and these were used alongside, not in place of, familiar native resources (Gremillion 1995).

Intertribal Relations

Stockaded villages such as the Hillsboro phase Wall site attest to the fact that intertribal conflict and warfare preceded the arrival of the Europeans. However, hostilities increased dramatically during the Contact period when Indian slaves and stolen deerskins could be traded for the prized kettles and guns of the foreigners. The knife-scarred skull of a scalp victim and a lead ball flattened against the fibula of a young woman in the Occaneechi cemetery at the Fredricks site are clear evidence of such hostilities. Often, these conflicts took the form of raids by larger, well-armed groups from as far north as New York and Pennsylvania. In 1701, John Lawson was forced to turn off the main trading path to Virginia and head due east toward the English settlements along Pamlico River after being warned of a "Sinnager" (Seneca) raiding party in the vicinity of Occaneechi Town (Lefler 1967:61).

Not only did the infusion of European goods and arms increase external threats, but the competition for foreign trade and a market for native slaves also heightened hostilities among the Piedmont tribes themselves. Whereas in the past blood feuds and revenge fueled the fires of conflict, the European presence introduced new motives and new ways of conducting warfare.

At various times during the latter half of the seventeenth century, groups such as the Wainokes, Occaneechis, and Tuscaroras were offered unprecedented opportunities, through trade and the acquisition of firearms, to obtain and exert considerable economic and political power. Each of these groups was located along the ever-advancing colonial frontier; therefore, each was in a position where it might control or at least influence contacts with more remote tribes. The Occaneechis, being positioned astride the principal trading path out of Fort Henry, were particularly successful in this respect. By controlling access to firearms and using intimidation when necessary, the Occaneechis were able to maintain their dominant position as middlemen. Significantly, when their downfall came in 1676, it was not at the hands of their deprived "trading partners" but by the superior forces of Nathaniel Bacon and his well-armed militia.

Disease

Without a doubt, the most devastating result of the European arrival on the North Carolina Piedmont was the introduction of new diseases for which the native populations had little or no resistance. Smallpox, measles, and other viral diseases swept across the region, killing and disabling thousands. The lack of biological resistance to the new diseases made them particularly deadly for the native tribes. Their devastation was accelerated during the late 1600s by increased population movements and expanded intertribal contact as native peoples adapted to the economic and political changes brought about by the trade. In short, the intensification and spread of traditional trade networks to accommodate the flow of European goods and deerskins also facilitated the rapid spread of deadly pathogens (Wood 1987:31).

There can be no argument concerning the final, disastrous result of the introduction of foreign diseases; however, there is considerable debate concerning the timing and spread of these diseases into the interior Southeast. Many researchers (e.g., Ramenofsky 1987; Smith 1987) generally support the position taken by Henry Dobyns (1983), who believes that waves of pandemics swept through the interior Southeast soon after the arrival of the first Spanish explorers into North America. According to Dobyns (13), diseases spread from population to population on their own momentum, without the necessity of face-to-face contacts between natives and foreigners. Others (e.g., Blakely and Detweiler-Blakely 1989; Henige 1989; Larsen 1994; Milner 1980; Snow and Lamphear 1989) have suggested that, instead of occurring as continent-wide pandemics on the heels of the Spanish entradas, the spread of Old World diseases depended on a number of local and regional factors. Population density, community size, and the degree and nature of the contacts between natives and foreigners all affected the timing, speed, and scope of the devastation

caused by diseases such as smallpox, measles, and influenza. Both of these positions depend heavily on historical and ethnographic data.

In the Siouan project area of north central North Carolina, there is no ethnographic or archaeological evidence of epidemic diseases until the arrival of the Virginia traders in the last half of the seventeenth century. In 1670, John Lederer passed through southern Virginia and central North Carolina, visiting the villages of the Saponis, Occaneechis, Enos, Shakoris, Saras, and others, without mentioning any signs of population disruption or decline (Cumming 1958). Three years later, James Needham and Gabriel Arthur also traveled through the north central Piedmont without reporting any evidence of depopulation (Alvord and Bidgood 1912). Even John Lawson in 1701 was impressed with the numbers of people he encountered during the southern leg of his journey through Catawba country (Lefler 1967:46). However, as he moved northward and began to visit groups that had been intensively engaged in the Virginia deerskin trade, his observations changed. Here, Lawson described large vacant areas and small towns of "not above 17 houses." At Sapona on the Yadkin River, he noted for the first time the amalgamation of once distinct tribes into single villages as a consequence of depopulation (50–53). It was his experience with these more northern groups that led Lawson to remark that "there is not the sixth Savage living within two hundred Miles of all our Settlements, as there were fifty years ago" (232).

The archaeological record also points to a late arrival of epidemic diseases in the Siouan area. Late Hillsboro phase sites (ca. A.D. 1500–1600), which would have been occupied when the Spanish first arrived in the Southeast, consistently contain few burials and show no evidence of increased mortuary activity. Even after archaeologists auger tested extensive areas at sites such as Edgar Rogers and George Rogers and focused excavations in areas with a high concentration of subsurface pits, few burials were found (Ward and Davis 1993:29, 85). Nor is there any evidence of a breakdown or disruption of other cultural components during the Hillsboro phase. On the contrary, population density increased, subsistence practices became more intense and diverse, and ceramic and lithic technologies became more elaborate.

One could argue that cemeteries were located away from the habitation areas and that archaeologists have simply failed to find them. Some archaeologists also have suggested that the living were so weakened that they were unable to bury their dead and therefore they are not represented in the archaeological record (Ramenofsky 1987; Smith 1987). The first argument can never be completely dismissed because of the nature of archaeological data. However, the typical pattern of Siouan burial from Late Prehistoric times until the end of the Contact period was to place graves within or near domestic structures. These

are the site areas that have been intensively sampled and excavated by archaeologists. During the Fredricks and Late Saratown phases, this pattern did change and graves were placed in cemeteries. Still, using the same subsurface testing strategy as employed at earlier sites, archaeologists were able to locate these cemeteries at the later sites (Davis and Ward 1987).

There is also ample archaeological evidence that the dead were buried even during the most virulent epidemics. At Upper Saratown and the Madison Cemetery sites, both of which were decimated by diseases during the late seventeenth century, individuals were buried in traditional shaft-and-chamber pits. Even at Occaneechi Town, where probably fewer than seventy-five individuals survived, deep graves were arduously dug into a stiff subsoil clay, and the dead were laid to rest with full, traditional ceremony.

Only at the William Kluttz site, which represents the last desperate gasp of the Saras on the Dan River, is there evidence that the decimation had become so great that it affected the burial of the dead. Here, children and subadults were interred in shallow, oval pits within a cemetery, apparently with little attendant ritual. Adult graves, however, were placed away from the cemetery in deep shaft-and-chamber pits. Burial goods indicate that these individuals were given their last rites in a traditional manner. Even during the worst of times, the dead were still buried, and more often than not, they too were laid to rest with full ceremony.

There is further evidence for the late arrival of epidemics on the Carolina Piedmont from excavations at sites occupied during the Jenrette and Middle Saratown phases (ca. A.D. 1600–1680). At the Jenrette site, almost 20,000 square feet of the stockaded village have been excavated, exposing numerous pit features but only four graves. Extensive auger testing and excavations at Lower Saratown uncovered only a single burial (Ward and Davis 1993). Both of these sites contained trade materials that suggest only indirect contacts between Indians and European traders.

This evidence alone may not be entirely convincing to some scholars, and contrary arguments can still be made with regard to the reliability of the excavation samples and the possibility of drastically altered mortuary patterns. However, when the burial density data from sixteenth-century and early-seventeenth-century sites are compared with that from late-seventeenth-century sites, the differences are so striking that they cannot be explained away by "sampling error." At Upper Saratown, the graves were so numerous that it was impossible for the archaeologists there to dig a 10′ square excavation unit without uncovering the tops of one or more burial pits. At the Madison Cemetery site, the number and density of graves led a vocational archaeologist to mistakenly assume the site was a cemetery (Gravely 1969). The sheer numbers and

concentrations of burials on sites postdating 1670, compared with the numbers at earlier sites, make it clear that diseases and not sampling error or burial practices were responsible for the dramatic differences between the earlier and later sites.

By studying the archaeological data from the Piedmont during the Contact period against the background of the ethnohistoric record, it is possible to create a composite picture of native cultures during the seventeenth century with a relatively high degree of clarity and focus. At first glance, this picture appears to be one of explosive and dramatic change. Yet, as one moves in for a closer look, it becomes clear that change was tempered by stability and that many native traditions persisted in the face of the devastation brought on by disease and depopulation. Nevertheless, except for a few scattered, isolated families whose relatives remain in the region today, the first Europeans to permanently settle in the North Carolina Piedmont found only abandoned villages and vacant fields.

The Contact Period in the Appalachian Summit

In 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed a commission of scholars to examine the documentary and scientific evidence for reconstructing Hernando de Soto's 1539–43 route through the southeastern United States, including the southwestern North Carolina mountains. John R. Swanton, an anthropologist with the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology and the foremost authority on Indians of the southern United States, was appointed to head the commission. The results of the commission's study, which for the most part were the results of Swanton's individual efforts, were published in 1939 (Swanton 1985). This report represents one of the many remarkable achievements accomplished by Swanton, a founding father of southern Indian studies. As with many of Swanton's other works, the report has been reprinted and is still found on the shelves of modern scholars' bookcases, with pages dog-eared from frequent use.

During the early 1980s, Chester DePratter, Charles Hudson, and Marvin Smith of the University of Georgia, using information not available to Swanton, presented evidence suggesting a realignment of segments of the de Soto route as it had been reconstructed by the De Soto Expedition Commission. Much of this new evidence came not from the de Soto chronicles but from documents recording the day-to-day activities of the 1566–68 Juan Pardo expeditions through South Carolina, western North Carolina, and eastern Tennessee. Pardo and his men visited at least five of the same towns through which

de Soto had traveled some twenty-seven years earlier. Although Swanton also used accounts of the Pardo expeditions to aid in orienting the commission's reconstruction of de Soto's route, he did not have access to the most detailed account of Pardo's explorations. This document, known as the Bandera (or "Vandera") account, did not become available to scholars until the early 1980s (Hudson et al. 1985; Larson 1990).

Juan de la Bandera, the official scribe of Pardo's second expedition in 1567–68, kept detailed notes on daily distances traveled, the names of the native chiefs they met, and descriptions of the local terrain. According to the Georgia scholars' interpretation, Bandera's narrative, when coupled with recent archaeological discoveries, provides firmly fixed reference points that can be used to accurately orient the alignment of de Soto's interior route, particularly through portions of South Carolina and western North Carolina (Hudson 1990; DePratter, Hudson, and Smith 1983).

Not all scholars accept the reconstructions of the routes followed by de Soto and Pardo as presented by DePratter, Hudson, and Smith. Tennessee archaeologists Clifford Boyd Jr. and Gerald Schroedl (1987:841) have questioned, among other things, the correlations of some of the key towns and political territories described in the narratives with known archaeological sites and cultural complexes.

After reviewing the Bandera documents, Lewis Larson, then state archaeologist of Georgia, concluded that Hudson, DePratter, and Smith had Pardo's heading from Santa Elena off by some 110 degrees. Larson argued that instead of leaving Santa Elena and heading north-northwest along the Broad River in South Carolina, Pardo headed in a south-southwesterly direction along the Georgia coast before making a turn west into the interior. Larson's research focuses only on the first leg of Pardo's journey, and he emphasized that he did not know what effect his findings might have on the remainder of Pardo's route—or de Soto's (Larson 1990:137). DePratter, Hudson, and Smith (1990:140) argue that Larson uses only selective maps and documents and ignores other evidence that supports their conclusion that Pardo headed in a northward direction from Santa Elena.

Although other scholars also have offered interpretations that differ from Swanton's reconstruction of the de Soto route (cf. Brain 1985), Hudson and his colleagues are alone in reinterpreting the entire route from Florida to Texas. The most noticeable thing about the different reconstructions, when viewed from an overall perspective, is not their differences but their congruity. In the heart of the Southeast, most scholars agree on the route de Soto's army took through Florida, Georgia, and Alabama. Divergence of opinion focuses on portions of the western alignment in Louisiana and Texas and the eastern

segment running through South Carolina, North Carolina, and Tennessee (National Park Service 1989:fig. 1). The eastern segment is the one that concerns us—and other southeastern archaeologists—the most.

According to Swanton (1985:348c), de Soto passed through the very northwestern edge of South Carolina and the southwestern tip of North Carolina, on a north-northwesterly heading from the Georgia border. Once in North Carolina, the army turned sharply to the west and barely skirted the southeastern corner of Tennessee before turning southward near the Georgia-Alabama line. This reconstruction has de Soto entering North Carolina in the vicinity of Highlands, along the Jackson-Macon County line. He then traveled northwest toward the town of Franklin in Macon County. From Franklin, the expedition turned to the west in the direction of the present-day towns of Andrews, Marble, and Murphy in Cherokee County. The Spanish explorers then exited North Carolina by following the Hiwassee River into Tennessee.

According to Hudson and his colleagues (1984:73–75), de Soto's army traveled northward along the Wateree River through central South Carolina and crossed into North Carolina near the town of Gastonia. Following the Catawba River, they continued their northward trek toward Hickory, and then turned to the west on a heading that would have taken them to the vicinity of the present-day towns of Morganton and Marion in Burke and McDowell Counties. Following a trail that roughly paralleled Interstate 40, de Soto would have entered the Blue Ridge Mountains at Swannanoa Gap. From there, the expedition traveled northward, closely following the French Broad River. The army left North Carolina and entered Tennessee near the present-day community of Hot Springs in Madison County.

These two reconstructions of de Soto's path through North Carolina are based on detailed and tedious analyses of evidence from the various documentary sources, as well as more general archaeological information. A critical evaluation of the different interpretations of the documentary sources is well beyond our scope here. We can, however, offer a review of the relevant archaeological data.

Janet Levy of UNC-Charlotte and Alan May of the Schiele Museum have conducted excavations at the Crowders Creek (31Gs55) and Hardin (31Gs30) sites in the lower Catawba River drainage, near the North Carolina–South Carolina border in Gaston County. David Moore of the North Carolina Office of State Archaeology has studied the McDowell (31Mc41) and Berry (31Bk22) sites in the upper Catawba River drainage in McDowell and Burke Counties. All of these sites are located in the vicinity of de Soto's and Pardo's routes as proposed by Hudson, Smith, and DePratter. The Gaston County sites are located near the territory of Chalaque mentioned in the de Soto narratives. The

McDowell and Burke County sites are located in the vicinity of Guaquili (Guaquiri) and Xuala (Joara), two towns that were visited by de Soto and Pardo (Hudson, Smith, and DePratter 1984).

Radiocarbon dates from the four sites suggest that they were occupied during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, although earlier dates also have been obtained. Most of the ceramic samples from the sites fall within the general Lamar style. The Gaston County pottery is similar to pottery from the Mulberry Mounds in South Carolina, whereas the upper Catawba ceramics are very similar to Pisgah and Qualla types (Levy, May, and Moore 1990:162–63).

Based on the ceramic assemblages and the radiocarbon dates, it seems likely that at least some of these sites were occupied during the period of the de Soto and Pardo expeditions. Direct evidence of Spanish contacts, however, is questionable. A small copper tube was recovered from the plowzone at the Hardin site. This has been described as a possible Spanish "lacing tip." The specimen might also represent a native-made tubular bead, a common artifact type found on late-seventeenth-century sites. An iron knife was found with an extended burial at the Berry site. Some authorities have dated the knife to the sixteenth century, whereas others have dated it to the eighteenth century. The extended form of the burial suggests the later date is probably correct. Very small fragments of iron from the plowzone at the McDowell site have been identified as possible fragments of chain mail; however, the fragments lack any diagnostic attributes of chain mail, and they are so fragmentary that they could represent almost anything (Levy, May, and Moore 1990:158–59).

Olive jar fragments from three vessels have been recently identified from excavated and surface contexts at the Berry site. Most of these small sherds are not temporally diagnostic; however, one sherd has been identified as Caparra Blue Majolica, which has a temporal range from 1492 to around 1600. A similar ceramic type was found at the site of de Soto's first winter camp in present-day Tallahassee, Florida. Another small sherd has been identified as a type similar to ceramics from the sixteenth-century Spanish fort of Santa Elena on the South Carolina coast. This evidence, as well as a handful of other artifacts from the Berry and McDowell sites, has convinced some archaeologists that the upper Catawba River valley was visited by de Soto and Pardo (Beck 1997; Moore and Beck 1994).

Equally tantalizing—and questionable—archaeological evidence exists to support the route reconstructed by Swanton and the De Soto Expedition Commission. Anne Rogers, an archaeologist at Western Carolina University, has identified several glass trade beads, believed to date to the sixteenth century, in privately owned artifact collections from the Cherokee County area in extreme southwestern North Carolina (Rogers, personal communication).

Local artifact collectors report that many of these specimens came from the Peachtree Mound site (31Ce1), excavated by the Smithsonian Institution in 1933 (see Chapter 1). Swanton believed that the Peachtree site was the remains of the village of Guasili, which was described by one of the de Soto chroniclers as having a mound. Although numerous European trade artifacts, including knives, scissors, copper bells, and glass beads, were found during the course of the Peachtree excavations, Jesse Jennings, who headed the excavations, felt that the European trade goods postdated the Spanish entradas (Setzler and Jennings 1941; Swanton 1985:202).

Today, we know that Jennings was generally correct in his assessment of the European artifacts. Most of the trade goods recovered during the Smithsonian excavations appear to date to the eighteenth century. Some of the glass beads, however, probably have a Spanish origin. The question is whether they were left by members of the de Soto and Pardo expeditions or were introduced later through trade with the Spanish colonies along the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia.

In 1673, James Needham and Gabriel Arthur noted that the Cherokees had earlier traded with a "white people which have long beardes and whiskers" and who lived in brick houses arranged in streets. These strangers also raised cattle and swine. When a Cherokee party of eight men and four women accompanied Needham to Abraham Wood's home in Virginia to set up trade relations with the English, they were reported to be carrying "bout sixty gunnes, not such locks as oures bee" (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:214). These guns were probably Spanish and either obtained through trade or raiding. While living with the Cherokee, Gabriel Arthur accompanied them on an eight-day march to the south and east to raid a Spanish town that was presumably located on the coast of South Carolina (19–20).

Apparently the Cherokee had ample opportunity to acquire Spanish goods, and their presence on archaeological sites does not necessarily prove or disprove that these sites represent villages that lay along the routes taken by the early explorers. Even if artifacts from the mid-sixteenth century are found in an undisputed archaeological context, there is no way of knowing if they were left there by Spaniards, or if they found their way into the archaeological record through a circuitous route of trade or inheritance.

What all this means is that the precise routes of the de Soto and Pardo expeditions through North Carolina may never be established with certainty. The existing documentary records are too vague and will always be subject to different interpretations. Much like religious texts, one's belief in the written word depends more on faith than fact. And the fragile and incomplete archaeological record appears to have little potential for clarifying matters.

Although it would be nice to erect monuments along the roadside, confidently tracing de Soto's trail through North Carolina, a more important anthropological and archaeological question is what impact did the early Spanish entradas have on the native populations of the state. This question is usually framed in terms of the disease issue. Did the armies of de Soto and Pardo spread waves of epidemics that wiped out significant portions of the native population? Or did their visits have only limited and isolated impacts on the towns and people they visited?

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this question recently has been the subject of some debate among archaeologists, historians, and physical anthropologists. There is no doubt that the Spaniards and their African slaves introduced Old World diseases that had devastating effects on native populations in the Western Hemisphere. Lacking any immunity to diseases such as smallpox, measles, and certain kinds of influenza, American Indians often suffered high mortality rates when they came in contact with Old World germs. But did these new diseases sweep over most of the Southeast on the heels of the earliest Spanish explorations in Mexico and Florida? While some scholars say yes, others are more cautious and question whether or not widespread pandemics resulting in massive depopulation occurred during the period of initial contacts between Indians and newcomers.

After extensive research on Contact period native populations from Florida to Hawaii, paleoarchaeologist Clark Larsen has come to the conclusion (1994:143) that there is no clear dichotomy between pre-Contact and post-Contact populations in terms of overall health and well-being. His position does not deny the deadly impact of Old World diseases in some areas, but Larsen points out that before the arrival of Europeans, native populations were not free from devastating diseases, nor were they free from death and injury due to dietary stress and conflict.

It is also clear from the archaeological record that many of the complex cultures of the Southeast were in a state of decline and collapse long before Christopher Columbus's first voyage. As discussed in Chapter 5, many Mississippian centers were abandoned around the end of the fourteenth century. Large mound and village complexes such as Moundville in Alabama, Etowah, Irene, and the Lamar site in Georgia, and Town Creek in North Carolina were in a state of population decline or had been abandoned years before Columbus first laid eyes on San Salvador (Anderson 1994; Coe 1995; Ferguson 1971; Steponaitis 1983).

In the Appalachian Summit region, the evidence for massive depopulation during the sixteenth century is even less convincing than that seen at sites along de Soto's purported route. Just as in the Piedmont, no sixteenth-century sites

have been found that suggest increased mortality due to epidemic diseases. Even those sites that have been regarded as possible candidates for towns visited by de Soto and Pardo have failed to yield evidence of unusually high mortality rates. At the Hardin, Crowders Creek, Berry, and McDowell sites, the remains of at least four structures and numerous pit features have been uncovered, but only two burials have been reported (Levy, May, and Moore 1990). This pattern is similar to that of Piedmont sites that date to the same time period, and it stands in sharp contrast to the numbers of burials found on late-seventeenth-century Piedmont sites like Upper Saratown, Occaneechi Town, and the Madison Cemetery site (cf. Ward and Davis 1991:180). However, only a half century later, the Cherokee would face the same devastation and disruption as their Piedmont cousins.

During the early eighteenth century, English traders began to push west through the Blue Ridge mountains of North Carolina into the Ridge and Valley province of Tennessee. They also made their way into the upper Piedmont of South Carolina and Georgia, searching for new markets for their guns and trinkets, as well as new supplies of peltry. Here, they found the Cherokees, a populous people who resided in a widely scattered collection of towns and communities that maintained a common identity through a shared language and culture (Gilbert 1943; Mooney 1975).

Although the Cherokees recognized a common cultural heritage that united them as one tribe, they also recognized clusters of settlements that were geographically, linguistically, and politically distinct. These were known as: (1) the Lower Settlements, located along the upper tributaries of the Savannah River in Georgia and South Carolina; (2) the Middle, Valley, and Out Settlements of western North Carolina, reaching from the Little Tennessee and Tuckasegee Rivers westward to the Hiwassee River; and (3) the Overhill Settlements of Tennessee, located along the upper Tennessee and lower Little Tennessee Rivers (Gilbert 1943:178).

Of these divisions, the Middle and Valley Settlements represented the cultural core of the Cherokees. Unlike the inhabitants of the Lower and Overhill Settlements, this group managed to retain a small portion of their native territory, along with much of their traditional culture. The Qualla Boundary, as the Eastern Cherokee reservation is referred to today, consists of a little over 56,000 acres of rugged terrain along the Tuckasegee and Oconaluftee Rivers in the heart of the Middle Settlements (Egloff 1967; Gilbert 1943).

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the Cherokee Archaeological Project focused research on Middle and Valley town sites between 1965 and 1971. This research, in conjunction with more recent work by Brett Riggs of the University of Tennessee, has resulted in a refinement of the Late Qualla phase, which archaeologically represents Cherokee culture during the Contact period (Dickens 1976; Riggs 1995).

The Late Qualla Phase (A.D. 1700–1838)

The first fifty years of the Late Qualla phase was a time of relative cultural and political stability for the Cherokee; however, they did not fully avoid the destructive turmoil brought on by warfare, disease, and trade. While contacts with Virginians and South Carolinians were established during the late 1600s, and the Spanish presence to their south had been felt for more than a century, the Cherokee remained somewhat isolated until the close of the Tuscarora War in 1713. As an ally of South Carolina during that war, the Cherokee were afforded an opportunity to attack their hereditary enemy, the Tuscarora. This alliance resulted in an unstable peace between the colony and the Cherokee, a succession of treaties designed to maintain that peace, and an economic relationship that grew stronger throughout the eighteenth century. While the benefits of trade kept this alliance from falling apart, it was severely strained by both sides because of relationships between the South Carolinians and the Creek and between the Cherokee and the French. By the late 1730s, European diseases had spread to Cherokee country, and a smallpox epidemic in 1738–39 was estimated by trader James Adair to have destroyed nearly half of the tribe. While this epidemic likely was most devastating to the towns in the upper Savannah drainage that were closest to South Carolina, the more remote Cherokee towns in western North Carolina probably also suffered severely (Mooney 1975:22–26).

With the onset of the French and Indian War in 1754, the Cherokees came under ever-increasing pressure to change their traditional ways, as the British and emerging Americans vied for control of the southern Appalachians. Although the Cherokee sided with the British against the French and their Indian allies, and even assisted in the retaking of Fort Duquesne under George Washington, many frontier settlers and colonial militiamen suspected the Cherokee's loyalty. In 1760, these suspicions and mistrust by both sides led to war along the Carolina-Cherokee frontier and the siege of Fort Loudoun in the heart of the Overhill Cherokee. Colonels Montgomery and Grant led punitive expeditions into the heart of the southern Appalachians, where they killed many Cherokees and burned numerous towns. During the American Revolution, similar expeditions were led by General Rutherford of North Carolina and Colonel Williamson of South Carolina in 1776 because of the Cherokee's alliance with the British. The Cherokee suffered greatly during these wars and lost much of the political and military power they possessed earlier. While the period following the Revolution was relatively peaceful compared to the previous thirty years, it

was also during this period that the Cherokee began to lose control of their own destiny. Beginning with the Treaty of Hopewell in 1785 and culminating with the Removal of 1838, each new treaty between the Cherokee and the newly formed United States cost them more and more of their mountain homeland (Mooney 1975:29–40).

The pottery of the Late Qualla phase reflects the relative stability and conservatism that mark the beginning of this phase. No drastic changes occurred to clearly demarcate the Late Qualla ceramic tradition from pottery made during the preceding Middle Qualla phase. Instead, curvilinear, complicated-stamped designs gradually became more popular as rectilinear motifs declined. After the middle of the eighteenth century, all complicated-stamped designs became bolder in form and cruder in execution. Concomitantly, incised decorations and the burnishing of vessel surfaces decreased in frequency as cordmarking and corncob impressing became more popular methods of surface treatment (Egloff 1967:38–43).

Excavations at the Tuckasegee site (31Jk12), located in Jackson County, North Carolina, revealed a small circular structure and a large collection of Qualla ceramics. This site is thought to have been occupied during the first half of the eighteenth century. The ceramics recovered from the house floor conform to the above description, with the addition of brushing as a minority surface treatment (Dickens 1978:123; Keel 1976:45).

Another collection of Late Qualla phase pottery, dating to the last half of the phase, was excavated from the Townson site (31Ce15), located near the junction of the Hiwassee River and Brasstown Creek in Cherokee County. This site may represent a Cherokee village that was attacked by General Griffith Rutherford in 1776. A burned house was excavated at the site in 1964 by archaeologists from the University of North Carolina. Several mostly intact pottery vessels were found on the house floor (Dickens 1967) (fig. 7.14).

Although the pots varied in size and surface finish, their general form was very similar. Most were globular jars with broad shoulders and out-flaring rims. Some of the rims were folded, creating a rolled lip, and were unadorned. On other vessels, the folded rim formed a filletlike strip that was notched in much the same way as Middle Qualla rims. Instead of a notched, folded fillet, a thin, simple clay strip was sometimes added below the lip and decorated with vertical notches.

In general, the surface treatments found on the Townson site pottery are similar to those found on earlier Qualla pottery. Curvilinear and rectilinear designs were used. However, these were bolder in form and more crudely executed in comparison to similar surface finishes on earlier wares. Coarse

FIGURE 7.14. *Late Qualla pots from a burned house at the Townson site.*

cordmarked, simple-stamped, and check-stamped vessels also were found on the burned house floor.

All of the pots were made from clay that contained medium-sized or large particles of grit or crushed stone. This coarse tempering material added to the overall crude "feel" of the ceramics. Of course, the Townson site sample is too small and spatially restricted to provide a definitive statement regarding all Late Qualla pottery. Nevertheless, the attributes displayed fit well in an overall pattern that has been observed by other archaeologists working in the Cherokee area of western North Carolina (e.g., Dickens 1979; Egloff 1967; Riggs 1995).

The house excavated at Townson differs greatly from houses of the Middle Qualla phase and the structure excavated at the Tuckasegee site. Instead of being constructed of posts set individually in the ground, the walls of this rectangular house were formed by split rails, laid horizontally atop one another and anchored to four corner posts. Cracks between the rails were chinked with clay. The house measured approximately 18′×12′, and, from the outside, it probably looked very much like a contemporary Euro-American log cabin. Inside, however, it retained the traditional, centrally located, puddled-clay hearth found in earlier Cherokee houses. Sadly, the charred remains of an old man who apparently was trapped in the burning structure during Rutherford's attack were found inside (Dickens 1978:123).

A structure very similar to the one uncovered at the Townson site was described in an 1825 letter from Lewis Williams to Archibald Murphey. The description was related to Lewis by his father, a colonial soldier who in 1776 had participated in an attack on an Overhill Cherokee village in eastern Tennessee: "The towns destroyed were irregularly built on various sites along the Tennessee river—The Houses were generally of an oblong figure, constructed by placing four posts in the ground, and extending rails representing the four sides of the square from one post to the other—The space on the sides between the rails were filled with reeds in the form of wattle or wicker work, and over these again on the inside was spread a coat of plaster—The roofs of the Houses were covered with bark peeled from the Trees at the proper season of the year—Thus constructed the Houses would be warm and comfortable in the winter" (Dickens 1967:34).

The earlier circular structure uncovered at the Tuckasegee site was defined by an outer ring of individually set wall posts. It measured 23 feet in diameter. An interior ring of roof support posts surrounded a central, puddled-clay hearth basin, similar to ones found in the Coweeta Creek town houses. The circular outline of the structure and the similarity in form of the hearth to those in the town houses led to an initial speculation that this structure also may have served as a town house (Coe and Keel 1965). However, because of its small size and the lack of evidence that rebuilding took place to form an accretional mound, this

interpretation has changed over the years. Today, most scholars agree with Dickens's assessment that the Tuckasegee structure served as a domestic dwelling (Dickens 1978:123; Keel, personal communications 1996).

If this interpretation is correct, then the Cherokee during the Late Qualla phase built both circular and rectangular houses. According to the historical records, circular houses in the interior Southeast were used mainly as winter dwellings, whereas the rectangular form was used in the summer (Faulkner 1977). After an extensive study of European descriptions of Cherokee houses, Gerald Schroedl of the University of Tennessee concluded that the rectangular floor plan became the dominant form after 1776 (1986:227).

As house types changed during the Late Qualla phase, so did village configurations. The Townson site reflects a dramatic shift in settlement type from the compact, usually stockaded villages of the Middle Qualla phase. The site covers approximately fifty acres and is comprised of houses scattered along a terrace on the north side of the Hiwassee River. Although the overall extent of the Townson site is considerably larger than earlier Qualla sites (for example, the Coweeta Creek site covers only about three acres), the size of the resident population probably was not much greater than that of the earlier villages (Dickens 1978).

When the Townson site is plowed, it is possible to stand on U.S. Highway 64, which bisects the site, and view the dark oblong stains of earth that mark the locations of individual structures burned by the 1776 Rutherford expedition. These stains for the most part are separated by several hundred feet of light brown soil where small gardens were once tilled. In 1761, a British army captain described the nearby town of Nuquasee as being composed of houses separated by distances that could not be reached by a musket shot (Hatley 1989:228). This process of population dispersion intensified as acculturation and pressures to change increased. By the time the Cherokee were forcibly removed in 1838, most families lived in isolated farmsteads and small hamlets.

In the early 1990s, the water level of Hiwassee Reservoir on the Hiwassee River below Murphy was temporarily lowered by the Tennessee Valley Authority, and archaeologists from Appalachian State University conducted extensive surveys of the exposed land. Their research located over fifty Middle Cherokee residential sites dating between 1775 and 1838. Two basic settlement types were recognized during the study: (1) loosely clustered villages similar to those at the Townson site; and (2) more isolated farmsteadlike settlements. The clustered settlements were surrounded by small farmsteads and eventually were replaced by them just prior to Removal (Riggs 1995:1–3).

One of the clustered settlements, thought to be the village of Cootlehee, was defined by two large, dense artifact scatters. One of these areas contained as

many as three rectangular structures, a possible town house, and numerous pit features. Artifacts recovered from the site included Late Qualla ceramics, gun parts, lead shot, glass beads, pieces of bottle glass, and brass kettle fragments. Another site, thought to be the settlement of Takwa'yi, was represented by seventeen household clusters spread out and spaced like those at the Townson site (Riggs 1995:3–4).

The farmsteads, in contrast, were evidenced on the ground surface by small, low-density scatters of artifacts where family cabins and outbuilding once stood. Some of these sites produced relatively large numbers of artifacts, including many non-native, commercially manufactured items. Others contained mostly native-made artifacts. Archaeologists believe that these differences may reflect varying degrees of acculturation to Western values and different intensities of participation of individual families in the colonial market economy (Riggs 1995).

During the Late Qualla phase, subsistence practices changed as European plants and animals were introduced. The latter appear to have been particularly important. Unlike the Siouan-speaking peoples of the Piedmont, the Cherokees readily adopted Old World animals, and most families kept horses, cows, pigs, and chickens. Horses increased in importance during the eighteenth century as the deerskin trade became an important economic pursuit among the Cherokee. These animals were invaluable in transporting large numbers of hides to the British markets as far away as Charleston, South Carolina. The Cherokees were so successful in breeding and raising horses that they supplied packhorses to the white traders during the height of the deerskin trade (Hatley 1989:236; Mooney 1975:26).

Although the Cherokee population became more dispersed during the Late Qualla phase, the town house continued to be the focus of public and ceremonial activities. And many of these town houses continued to be used and rebuilt at the same locations long after the surrounding villages had been abandoned. Moreover, the religious and ceremonial realms of Cherokee culture retained their traditional form and practice throughout Late Qualla times, even though many other aspects of daily life changed to accommodate newly introduced European goods and customs.

The Contact Period along the North Carolina Coast

Although the first European footprints on North Carolina soil were made by Spaniards, the first settlements were made by Englishmen. Sir Walter Raleigh's failed attempts to establish a colony on Roanoke Island between 1584 and 1590 represent the beginning of English colonization in the New World. The successful settlement at Jamestown on the lower James River in 1607 gave the English the toehold they needed to expand into new territories. However, even with the establishment of Jamestown, North Carolina's Indians were given a fifty-year respite before having to deal with the English again.

Around 1650, Virginia settlers began to push into the Albemarle region of northeastern North Carolina. By 1655, Nathaniel Batts had built a house on the west end of Albemarle Sound and had begun trading with the local Indians. By 1663, when the colony of Carolina was established, some 500 white settlers occupied the area between Albemarle Sound and the Virginia border (Powell 1989:52).

In 1662, Captain William Hilton explored the lower Cape Fear region looking for a suitable location for a settlement. He was dispatched by a group of Massachusetts Bay Puritans who wanted to move to a warmer climate. Acting on Hilton's advice, they established a small settlement on Cape Fear River in the winter of 1663. The Puritan settlement was short-lived and unpleasant. They departed abruptly, leaving a warning message at the point of the cape that advised others to stay away (Lee 1971:4–5).

Ignoring the Puritans' warning, a group of English colonists from Barbados established a small settlement on the west bank of Cape Fear River in 1664. This settlement thrived for a few years with as many as 800 inhabitants, but it too was doomed to failure. By 1667, the Cape Fear area was once again left to its native inhabitants (Lee 1971:5–6). Although Charles Town was a thriving port that served the southern portion of the Carolina colony after 1670, no further attempts were made to settle the lower Cape Fear until after the Tuscarora Indian War in the early 1700s (Gray 1997:71).

Meanwhile, the Albemarle region thrived as small farmers and merchants moved from southern tidewater Virginia onto the fertile sandy soils of northeastern North Carolina. At first these settlers faced few threats from the natives whose lands they encroached upon. However, in 1675 hostilities between Indians and whites spread throughout the English colonies and erupted in Albemarle County as the Chowanoc War. After a couple of years, the firearms of the colonists brought the Chowanoc to defeat, and those who survived were moved to a reservation located on Bennetts Creek in what is now Gates County (Lee 1963:16).

For the most part, the settlers of the Albemarle did not venture very far inland. They chose instead to find new lands and opportunities by spreading southward and staying near the coast. By 1675, the southern shore of Albemarle Sound was settled, and by 1691, newcomers were starting to settle along Pamlico River. The area of the Neuse was settled shortly after the beginning of the eighteenth century (Lee 1963).

The rapid encroachment of settlers on the territory south of the Albemarle sowed the seeds for the Tuscarora War, the worst conflict ever between colonists and natives. The North Carolina colonists were instructed by the Lords Proprietors to deal with the Indians as they saw fit, and they often appropriated tribal lands with little or no compensation in exchange. Resentment grew as prized hunting territories were declared off-limits to Indians who for countless generations had reaped their bounty. But land-grabbing was only part of the story. Though illegal, a lively trade in Indian slaves was carried out from Virginia to South Carolina. Charles Town, the center of the fur trade, was also the center of the native slave trade. Many Indian slaves were shipped to the West Indies, while others were traded throughout the colonies. In addition to this reckless disregard for Indian land and Indian freedom, many traders also lacked honesty and fairness in their everyday dealings with the Indians (Boyce 1973:16).

Relations became so bad that the Tuscaroras asked permission to leave North Carolina and move to Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania authorities agreed to the move, but only if the North Carolina government would agree to certify the past good behavior of the Tuscaroras. This certification was not granted. Left with little choice, the Indians turned to violence in an attempt to rectify what they perceived as an unbearable state of relations with the North Carolina colonists.

The Tuscaroras attacked on the morning of September 22, 1711, killing 130 colonists who lived along the Neuse and Pamlico Rivers. Most of the warriors were from southern or lower Tuscarora villages, and they were aided by several smaller tribes in the Neuse-Pamlico area. The northern Tuscarora villages remained neutral during the conflict, which lasted some three and a half years. In the end, 200 whites and nearly 1,000 Indians had been killed, and an equal number of Indians had been sold into slavery. Of those who were left, some 3,500 were forced from their homes. Most of these people emigrated north to Pennsylvania and New York (Boyce 1973:15; Lee 1963:23).

Although recent archaeological excavations have been conducted at Contact period sites on the coast and Coastal Plain, in general, the results of much of this research have not been reported at the time of this writing. At a site on Hatteras Island near Buxton, David Phelps has uncovered large numbers of European trade artifacts from an Algonkian village thought to be Croatan, the capital of the Croatan chiefdom.

The Amity site (31Hy43), excavated by Paul Gardner, also produced European trade artifacts. These consisted primarily of glass beads, pipe fragments, and a few glass arrow points. The site, located east of Lake Mattamuskeet, was originally thought to represent the remains of the village of Pomeiock. However, excavations revealed a small farmstead, comprised of two to three houses,

that dated to the middle of the seventeenth century and not the end of the sixteenth century, when Pomeiock existed (Gardner 1990).

For the past several years, archaeologists from East Carolina University have focused their research on the historic Tuscarora. In addition to David Phelps's seminal work in the Coastal Plain, John Byrd has recently completed an intensive survey of the Contentnea Creek drainage in Greene County. This work has allowed Byrd to identify five of the six Historic Tuscarora communities reported to have been located along Contentnea Creek. These communities consisted mostly of scattered hamlets or farmsteads. Byrd (1996, 1997) estimates the Contentnea Creek population to have been around 5,000 individuals in 1712. The total Tuscarora population is believed to have been around 8,000.

During the Tuscarora War, the Tuscaroras built at least a dozen forts to protect individuals living in the dispersed hamlets. One of these, Neoheroka Fort (31Gr4), has been partially excavated by East Carolina archaeologists. Located near Snow Hill in Greene County, this was the last of the Tuscarora forts to be captured by the colonists. Excavations inside the fort have revealed a maze of bunkerlike structures interconnected by a series of tunnels. Archaeologists also found abundant supplies of foodstuffs, consisting primarily of corn, beans, and other plant foods. Relatively few animal food remains were found (Byrd 1997:7).

Pottery-making, subsistence, and patterns of settlement do not seem to have changed much during the first part of the Contact period. Ceramics similar to those of the Cashie, Colington, and White Oak/Oak Island phases of the Tidewater and Coastal Plain continued to be made. Longhouses were still constructed, and a mixed economy based on hunting, gathering, fishing, shellfishing, and agriculture continued after the first colonists arrived.

However, aboriginal life was rapidly disrupted as more outsiders moved in. Warfare, slavery, and epidemic diseases combined to decimate first the natives living near the coast and then those who lived within the interior Coastal Plain. In 1701, John Lawson observed that the coastal tribes were "very much decreas'd . . . and all other Nations of *Indians* are observ'd to partake of the same Fate, where the *Europeans* come" (Lefler 1967:17).

Summary

The Contact period was a time of sweeping and often devastating change among native cultures across North Carolina. Many thousands of people fell victim to war and disease, and many more were caught up in a firestorm of cultural change and disruption brought on by contacts with Europeans. How-

ever, North Carolina today is the home of the largest Native American population east of the Mississippi River. Some 85,000 individuals representing six recognized tribes and organizations are spread throughout the state, from the coast to the mountains. And much of the robust cultural diversity seen in the archaeological record of the last 12,000 years survives today in the tribal traditions of North Carolina's native peoples.

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