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Middle Woodland Societies on the Lower South Atlantic Slope: A View from Georgia and South Carolina

David G. Anderson
Department of Anthropology
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines, and summarizes, recent Middle Woodland period research on the lower South Atlantic Slope, an area defined here as corresponding primarily to the Piedmont and Coastal Plain physiographic provinces of South Carolina and east-central Georgia (Figure 1). This paper is meant to complement earlier papers on the Middle Woodland of the southwest Georgia Coastal Plain (Smith 1979), and the Appalachian Summit areas of northwest Georgia (Jeffries 1979) and western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee (Chapman and Keel 1979), that were presented at the 1978 Chillicothe Conference on Hopewell Archaeology (Brose and Greber 1979). Work in these areas, at the peripheries of the lower South Atlantic Slope, is therefore noted here only in passing.

Before proceeding, a word on chronology is in order to avoid confusion with existing terminology and sequences. The Early Woodland here refers to the period from roughly 1000 B.C. to 500 B.C. The Middle

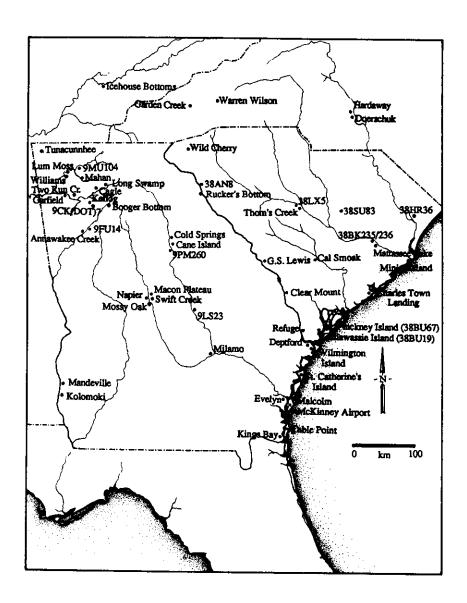


Figure 1. Major Woodland Period Sites in the Georgia/South Carolina Area.

Woodland period, the primary focus for this paper, is here defined as the interval from ca. 500 B.C. to A.D. 500. The Late Woodland refers to the period from A.D. 500 to A.D. 1000, while Mississippian is used to refer to the post-A.D. 1000 prehistoric era. The terminology and periods employed generally follow those proposed by Griffin (1967), with minor revisions to accommodate the local sequences.

GEOGRAPHIC VARIATION IN LOWER SOUTH ATLANTIC SLOPE MIDDLE WOODLAND

During the Middle Woodland on the lower South Atlantic Slope, moving from south to north - from southwest Georgia to North Carolina there is a clear trend in ceramic assemblages, which go from the (typically) carved paddle stamped wares of the Gulf Coast and South Appalachian area to the (typically) wrapped paddle ceramic wares of the Middle Atlantic area. The lower South Atlantic Slope during this period, therefore, can be viewed as an area of mixing, an interface between two major ceramic manufacturing and probably cultural traditions. The Muskogean/Siouan cultural and linguistic boundary was located in this general area during the early contact era (Swanton 1946). Archaeological evidence, such as that noted for the region's ceramics, suggests that this cultural boundary may have considerable time depth. This observation, of course, has been known for almost a century, and has been the subject of continual study and refinement by archaeologists and anthropologists working with artifact, site, settlement, linguistic, and ethnohistoric data from the region (e.g., Holmes 1903; Swanton 1946; Coe 1952; Caldwell 1952, 1958; South 1960, 1976; Hudson 1976; Anderson et al. 1982). Due to the overlap of these differing traditions, however, resolving Woodland occupations in some areas of the lower South Atlantic Slope, particularly those from the Middle Woodland period, has proven difficult.

MIDDLE WOODLAND IN GEORGIA

Component Recognition

Two major syntheses of the Woodland appeared in 1975, one by Garrow (1975) on the area north of the Fall Line (including and roughly corresponding to the Piedmont physiographic province) and the other by Schnell (1975), on the area south of the Fall Line, encompassing the Coastal Plain/Sea Islands area. The discussion that follows draws upon, and updates, their work.

Until quite recently, the predominant Woodland period cultural sequences in the Georgia area were those developed in northwest Georgia. in east-central Georgia in the vicinity of Macon Plateau, and at the mouth of the Savannah (See Figures 2, 4-6). The northwest Georgia Woodland sequence, developed by Caldwell (1958, nd) and Wauchope (1948, 1966), begins with the appearance of Dunlap Fabric Impressed ceramics some time after ca. 1000 B.C. At the same time or slightly later a crude simple stamped ware appears, variously reported as Dunlap or Mossy Oak (Padgett 1980). Sometime after about 500 B.C. these are replaced by somewhat better made plain, check, and simple stamped ceramics of the Cartersville series, traditionally thought to date from ca. 300 B.C. to A.D. 300. The Cartersville series, defined on the basis of work in the Allatoona Reservoir (Caldwell nd), is in turn replaced by the later Middle/Late Woodland Swift Creek and Late Woodland Napier series. These wares, initially recognized near Macon Plateau (Kelly 1938; Fairbanks 1952), are thought to date from ca. A.D. 200-800, and are in turn replaced by the initial Mississippian Woodstock and Etowah series.

The relationships between the Middle Woodland Cartersville and Swift Creek series are currently poorly understood. Some temporal overlap has been documented, but the chronological and spatial extent of these series is not well understood at the present (but see Rudolph

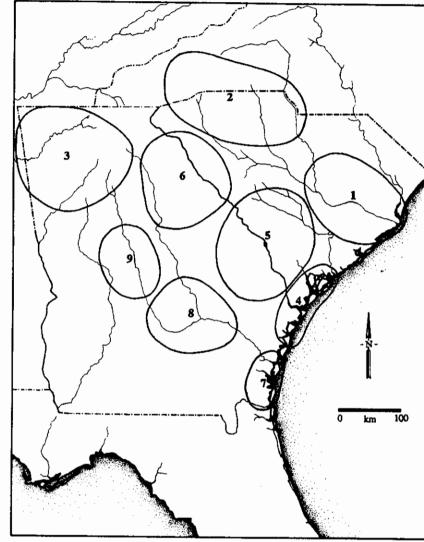


Figure 2. Major Woodland Cultural and Ceramic Sequences in the Georgia/South Carolina Area. (1) Lower Santee River and Adjacent Coastal Areas, (2) Northern/Eastern South Carolina Piedmont, (3) Northwest Georgia/Western Georgia Piedmont, (4) Mouth of the Savannah and Adjacent Coastal Areas, (5) Middle Savannah/Edisto/Brier Creek: Inner Coastal Plain and Fall Line Areas, (6) Upper Savannah River: Eastern Georgia/Western South Carolina Piedmont, (7) South Georgia Coastal Area, (8) Ocmulgee Big Bend/Upper Altamaha/Inner Satilla River Region, (9) Macon Platean/Central Georgia.

1985, 1986 for changes in this position). Apparently related to Cartersville ceramics are the Pigeon and Connestee plain, brushed, simple, and check stamped wares defined by Keel (1976) from the Appalachian Summit area of western North Carolina, which were assigned a temporal range of from ca. 300 B.C. to A.D. 500 in that area (Keel 1976: 239-241; Chapman and Keel 1979: 160). At the present, then, a range of ceramic series - notably Swift Creek and Cartersville and, to a lesser extent, probably also Pigeon and Connestee - can be used to define Middle Woodland components in north Georgia. Clear differentiation between these series, through the development of reliable, replicable, and unambigous sorting criteria, based on well dated samples, however, remains to be accomplished. Some investigators equate Cartersville with Connestee (or Deptford), while others appear to use geographic, rather than taxonomic, criteria to sort these series (see discussion of this problem in Anderson and Schuldenrein 1986: 340-347, 362-365).

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In the Coastal Plain of Georgia, the Middle Woodland sequence encompasses Deptford (the approximate equivalent of Cartersville) and Swift Creek wares (Schnell 1975, Smith 1979). The classic and most durable sequence from the state is that from the mouth of the Savannah River, initially developed in the late 1930s by Joseph R. Caldwell and Antonio J. Waring (1939a, 1939b) and continually refined down through the years (e.g., Waring 1968a; DePratter 1979). The mouth of the Savannah Woodland ceramic sequence - encompassing the Refuge, Deptford, Wilmington, and St. Catherines series - has been used throughout Georgia and South Carolina, and even as far afield as southeastern North Carolina (South 1960).

Use of projectile points as diagnostics in the dating of Woodland components in Georgia is on considerably less secure footing than the use of ceramics. Nevertheless there is a fair body of evidence to indicate that fairly small square stemmed forms (i.e., Swannanoa, Gypsy) were largely replaced by triangular and indented base triangular forms (i.e., Yadkin, Garden Creek, Connestee Triangular) over much of the region sometime during the Middle Woodland (Wauchope 1966: 102-109; Oliver 1981, 1985; Hanson and DePratter 1985; Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985: 328-330, 364). Resolution of effective sorting criteria within these forms remains fairly elusive at the present, although they could probably be resolved by careful research.

Hopewellian Influences In Georgia

In southwestern Georgia indisputable Hopewellian-like influence has been noted at the Mandeville site along the lower Chattahoochee River (Kellar et al. 1962; Smith 1979), and at the Tunacunnhee site in extreme northwestern Georgia (Jefferies 1976, 1979). Both sites are complex; Mandeville included two mounds and an associated village, and grave goods in the conical burial mound included copper panpipes and earspools, prismatic blades, galena, and a number of other classic Hopewellian artifacts. Fourteen C14 dates solidly place this component between A.D. 100 and A.D. 450 (Smith 1979:183), with the period of greatest Hopewellian influence, from roughly A.D. 250 to A.D. 420. also the period with the most pronounced occurrence of Santa Rosa/Swift Creek materials.

The Tunacunnhee site consisted of a series of small limestone and earthen mounds with richly furnished burials characterized by cut mica. copper panpipes and earspools, platform pipes, and other artifacts. These burials with esoteric artifacts occur within well established local traditions - "Cartersville/Connestee" and Candy Creek ceramics were found in a nearby habitation site assumed to be contemporanous (Jeffries 1979:165). The Georgia "Hopewellian" sites are almost universally regarded as local developments, reflecting attenuated connections, perhaps channeled along trade networks, with the classic Hopewell heartlands of the Midwest.

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Middle Woodland period sites throughout eastern Georgia (and South Carolina as well), both in the Coastal Plain and in the Piedmont, appear to be almost completely devoid of Hopewellian influence. Kelly (1979: 1-2) has noted the occurrence of rock and effigy mounds in the region. but the age and context of many of these remain largely unknown and, when examined, have not yielded unusual or extralocal materials (Smith 1962: Kelly 1979; Gresham 1985). Minor occurrences of zoned-incised punctated ceramics, with decorations reminiscent of "Hopewellian" (and Gulf coastal) materials, have been reported from Middle Woodland Deptford sites in the eastern Georgia/South Carolina area. These wares, variously described as Brewton Hill Zoned Stamped and Zoned Punctated (Waring 1968b:140-141) or Deptford Zoned Incised Punctate (Milanich 1971:171; Anderson, et al. 1979:78, 140-141), are currently the only indicators of long-range interaction (through the use of shared, possibly ritualistic design motifs) found on Middle Woodland sites in this area. Recent work by Hanson (Hanson and DePratter 1985) at the G.S. Lewis site, on the Savannah River in the central Coastal Plain of South Carolina, has produced a wealth of this material (much of it red painted), suggesting that local Deptford populations may have participated to some extent in the interregional exchange and ritual typical of the period.

Structural and Community Data

Some of the best information on how people lived during the Middle Woodland period in Georgia comes from Deptford/Cartersville sites. Some of the better reported examples of these from Georgia include House 6 at Two Run Creek (Figure 3C), reported as Early Woodland in age, but with artifacts - simple and check stamped pottery, and Yadkin-like triangular projectile points - suggesting a later, Middle Woodland placement (Wauchope 1966: 223, 450). Another probable Cartersville period

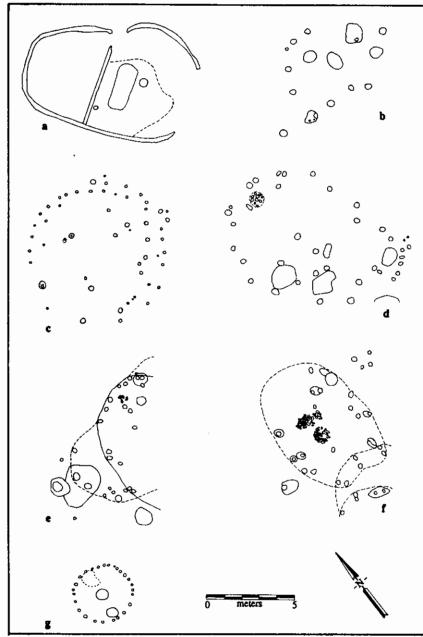


Figure 3. Excavated Woodland Period Structures in Georgia. (a) Table Point (Milanich 1971), (b) 9CK(DOT)7 (Bowen 1980), (c) Two Run Creek (Wauchope 1966), (d) Rucker's Bottom (Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985), (e,f) Cane Island (Wood 1981), (g) Kellog (Caldwell 1950,

structure (Figure 3G) was reported by Caldwell (1950, nd) from the Kellog site; the small size of this structure may be atypical, as it contrasts with most other houses from this time level (except for a few from 9Fu14, described below). One of the best documented late Early Woodland structures from the Georgia area comes from the site 9CK130 (formerly 9CK(DOT)7) (Figure 3B), where both the artifact assemblage (fabric impressed pottery) and absolute dating to ca. 500 B.C. are consistent with a Dunlap occupation (Bowen 1980).

In 1969 and 1970 Kelly (1973, 1979:2) conducted salvage excavations at 9FU14, the Six Flags site, along the Chattahoochee River in southwest Atlanta. Over 20 circular to oval structures thought to be domestic units and ranging from 3.7 to 6.7 m in diameter were exposed, together with three larger structures that may have served as community social and/or ceremonial centers. The collections included simple stamped sherds, plus "a few sherds of rocker stamped" (Kelly 1979:2), together with mica plates, prismatic chert knives, quartz crystals, and acorn, hickory nut, and chenopodium seeds. A single radiocarbon date of A.D. 214 has been reported from the site, which is thought to date between ca A.D. 200 - A.D. 500 (Kelly 1973:33). The site record, which unfortunately remains only minimally reported, may prove to be some of the best Middle Woodland settlement data from the region.

The number and variety of structures at the Six Flags site (9FU14), if from a single component, suggests that fairly large, organized villages may have been present in the lower South Atlantic area during the Middle Woodland period (Smith 1986:92-93). The G.S. Lewis site, on the Savannah River, appears to be a similar, Coastal Plain version of this site type (Hanson 1985). At Lewis, several apparent domestic structures and a range of other features, including pits, hearths, and burials were found below a 20 cm thick artifact-rich midden. The assemblage is dominated by Deptford Check, Deptford Linear Check, and

Deptford Simple Stamped pottery, and has produced a wealth of subsistence information, including identifiable faunal remains from more than 40 species (Hanson and DePratter 1985; Reitz 1985).

Structures similar to those found at 9FU14 have recently been documented in two other areas of the Georgia Piedmont, at the Cane Island Site (9PM209) on the upper Oconee River, and at Rucker's Bottom (9EB91) on the upper Savannah. At the Cane Island site (Wood 1981), examined as part of the University of Georgia's Wallace Reservoir investigations, two structures were encountered (Figure 3E, F). Both were oval and roughly five by seven meters in extent, and were characterized by single and paired post construction, central rock-filled hearths, and large interior and exterior pits. Plain, check, and fabric marked ceramics dominated the assemblage, and recent radiocarbon dates place the age of the site around A.D. 100 - A.D. 300 (Dean Wood: personal communication 1985). The associated subsistence remains suggested extended, spring through fall occupation. Traces of domesticates - corn and squash - were found; such remains are rare at this time level in the region (Ford 1981, 1985; Smith 1986:38), however. and the majze may be intrusive. The contribution of horticultural products to the local Woodland diet remains unknown, although given the paucity of domesticates found to date, it appears to have been minimal.

Two structures similar to those at Cane Island were found at the Rucker's Bottom site in Elbert County during the Richard B. Russell Reservoir investigations (Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985:371-373). One of the two structures was well defined, oval in shape, and measured five by six meters (Figure 3D). Central support posts, an entrance or portico to the southeast, and several large interior and exterior pits were found associated with this structure. Plain, burnished plain, and simple stamped ceramics dominated the features' assemblages, which also contained minor amounts of Swift Creek and unknown complicated stamped

ceramics. Surface artifact and feature distributions indicated that a number of other structures, and possibly a small village, had been present on the terrace. Six radiocarbon dates ranging from A.D. 340 - A.D. 1180 were obtained from features producing these artifact classes. The average of these dates (A.D. 782), however, is somewhat later than other recent estimates for these or similar materials, which run to ca. A.D. 500 (Chapman and Keel 1979:160; Manning 1982:31-35). Due to extensive prehistoric reoccupation at the site - a 10,000 year cultural sequence is present in just over a meter of deposits - the precise age of these structures and, indeed, of this horizon, remains uncertain. Construction between A.D. 300 and A.D. 1000, and probably in the latter half of this range, is suggested. No domesticates were found in any of the Woodland features from the site, in spite of extensive flotation efforts (Moore 1985).

Although Cartersville components were found to be fairly common in the Russell Reservoir, few features were found at other sites where the series occurred. Swift Creek components, in contrast, were much less common, represented by incidental remains - one to a few sherds - when they occurred at all (Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985:710, 717-720). A single major Swift Creek component was examined, at 38AN8 in Anderson County, South Carolina. It was dated to A.D. 700 (Rudolph 1981; Wood et al. 1986). The assemblage included a number of pits and posts; plain, burnished plain, and complicated stamped ceramics (some recognizable as Swift Creek Complicated Stamped); and squash pollen, carbonized chenopodium seeds, and a single possible grain of maize pollen. A fairly extended occupation was suggested.

The Swift Creek/Cartersville "Problem"

The relationship between the seemingly contemporaneous Swift Creek and Cartersville components in the Russell Reservoir and across the

region is currently the source of some discussion (e.g., Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985:343-347, 362; Rudolph 1986). The absence of Cartersville materials at 38AN8 suggests possible temporal or cultural differences between the makers of Swift Creek and Cartersville ceramics. A cultural, rather than temporal distinction of some kind appears most likely, since evidence for the contemporaneity of these or related series has been noted at several sites (Kelly and Smith 1976:48; Chapman and Keel 1979:157; Kelly 1979:2; Manning 1982:31; Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985:368; Williams and Shapiro 1985). If interaction between differing societies or people from differing regional ceramic manufacturing traditions is represented, this interaction appears to have been fairly peaceful, since no evidence for warfare, such as palisades or other fortifications, have been found to date.

The recent work along the Savannah River highlighted an important point noted earlier by Wauchope (1966:436-438), Ferguson (1971:67), Garrow (1975:24), and Keel (1976:221-222), namely that Swift Creek and particularly Napier ceramics appear to be comparatively rare in the Georgia Piedmont. Few sites with these finishes were found in the Russell Reservoir, leading the present investigator (Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985:345) to conclude "Swift Creek and Napier ceramics... are decidely uncommon in the Piedmont of eastern Georgia and South Carolina." Recent analyses by Terri Rudolph (1985, 1986), with collections from the Wallace Reservoir, and from across the Georgia and western South Carolina Piedmont, however, have forced a reappraisal of this position. Rudolph has documented the occurrence of both Swift Creek and Napier ceramics on appreciable numbers of sites in the northeast Georgia Piedmont. These wares decrease in incidence but are still noted (albeit extremely infrequently) as one proceeds further east into the South Carolina Piedmont.

Rudolph's work thus suggests that Swift Creek and Napier ceramics may be reliable, widespread indicators of Middle/Late Woodland components across much of northern Georgia. The infrequent occurrence of Swift Creek and Napier ceramics from the Savannah River east, however. suggests that either that region was sparsely populated during the Middle/Late Woodland, or that other wares, currently unrecognized, were in use. Even given recent recognition that their occurrence is more widespread than previously thought, the traditional diagnostics - Swift Creek and Napier ceramics - remain far too rare in South Carolina to be considered effective indicators of Middle and Late Woodland components. Given the apparent density of these components in Piedmont Georgia, reliance on these diagnostics forces us to accept that much of Piedmont South Carolina was depopulated during this time - something hard to accept. Definition and refinement of the Middle/Late Woodland cultural sequence is therefore a critical issue facing archaeologists working in Piedmont Georgia and South Carolina.

A possible solution to this problem, currently the subject of some controversy, is that plain and simple stamped wares - traditionally described as Cartersville and/or Connestee - extend later in time than previously thought, to about A.D. 800 - A.D. 1000, and effectively encompass the interval in question (Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985:346). The coexistence of these finishes with Swift Creek ceramics has been noted at large numbers of sites in central and northern Georgia, and a co-occurrence of these finishes up to approximately A.D. 500 is now not seriously questioned by anyone (e.g., Keel 1976:222, Kelly 1976:5, Kelly and Smith 1976:48; Manning 1982). In the Russell Reservoir (Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985:340-347), at the Cane Island site (Wood 1981:29), at the Booger Bottom site (Caldwell et al. 1952:320, 326), and apparently at Two Run Creek (Wauchope 1966:226), furthermore, evidence has been found for a replacement of check by simple stamped ceramics in

the Middle Woodland. The Russell Reservoir work additionally documents changes in paste over this interval, from coarser to finer grained, something also noted by Keel (1976:247, 256, 260) in the Appalachian Summit area of western North Carolina:

The evidence from Ruckers Bottom, and from surrounding sites, suggests that locally a sandy paste linear check, check, and simple stamped (Deptford) assemblage is gradually replaced by a finer tempered (Cartersville) series with the same finishes, which in turn is gradually replaced by a predominantly plain, simple stamped, and brushed (Connestee-like?) assemblage. Although previously a single series has sometimes been used to accomodate the variability within these finishes, it is evident that two or more series are present, and should be differentiated (Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985:346).

Thought along these lines has been largely forced by recent radiocarbon dates from both Georgia and South Carolina dating simple stamped ceramics to the interval from roughly A.D. 800 to A.D. 1200.

Eight dates for plain and simple stamped ceramics from the Russell Reservoir fall within this range (Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985:8), and a late simple stamped series - variously reported as Camden, McClellanville, and/or Santee Simple Stamped - is documented from the Coastal Plain of South Carolina by six dates ranging between A.D. 810 and A.D. 1340 (Anderson 1982:308). Similarly late dates have been cautiously advanced by Keel (1976:225) for the end of the Connestee series in the Appalachian Summit; the only radiocarbon date Keel cites for this series from North Carolina, in fact, is A.D. 805 (Keel 1976:227). Furthermore, as Purrington (1983:142) has noted, 18 of the 27 radiocarbon dates Keel (1976:Table 32) cites as related to the Connestee period postdate A.D 600.

Given this evidence, the existence of a Late Woodland horizon characterized by plain, simple stamped, and brushed ceramics across portions of the South Atlantic Slope would appear plausible.

Accordingly, such a concept has been advanced (Anderson and Schuldenrein

1983:99, 1985:362) (Figures 4-6). Contemporaneity, and some co-ocurrence with Swift Creek and Napier ceramics is expected; these distributions may reflect the geographic extent, and overlap, of different cultural systems.

Middle Woodland Adaptations in the Georgia Coastal Plain

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In the Coastal Plain of Georgia, Middle Woodland sites characterized by Swift Creek wares are common from the southwest portion of the state to the big bend area of the Ocmulgee (Schnell 1975; Snow 1977, Smith 1979). In eastern Georgia, Swift Creek and Napier finishes are less common, becoming almost nonexistent along the lower Savannah River (Stoltman 1974, Fish 1976, DePratter 1979, Hanson 1985). The Refuge-Deptford-Wilmington-St.Catherines Woodland sequence from the mouth of the Savannah, in fact, is widely used throughout the Atlantic Coastal Plain of eastern Georgia and western South Carolina to delimit Woodland sites (e.g., Fish 1976, Anderson, et al. 1979) (Figures 5, 6).

Work on Middle Woodland sites in coastal Georgia has included Milanich's (1971, 1972) synthetic statement on the Deptford culture, and Thomas' excavations of burial mounds on St. Catherines Island (Thomas and Larsen 1979). Milanich's work with Deptford included the excavation of a circular structure at the Table Point site on Cumberland Island (Figure 3A). Except for the quantities of associated shellfish debris, the floor plan is generally similar in size and shape to the Cartersville structures described previously from the Georgia Piedmont, and the Deptford structures at the Lewis Site on the central Savannah River. Milanich advanced a subsistence/settlement model for the Deptford culture predicated upon sedentary seasonal coastal occupations coupled with a residentially mobile transhumant pattern of exploitation along interior river valleys during the remainder of the year. Basic social units were thought to be patrilocal, exogamous bands. This

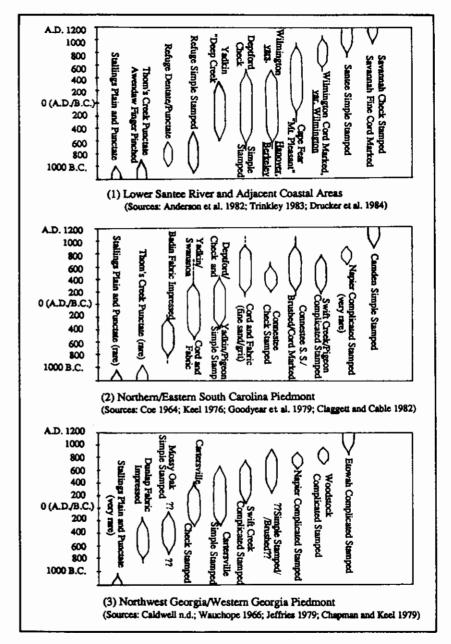


Figure 4. Woodland Ceramic Sequences for the Lower Santee River and Adjacent Coastal Area, the Northern and Eastern South Carolina Piedmont, and the Northwest Georgia/Western Georgia Piedmont.

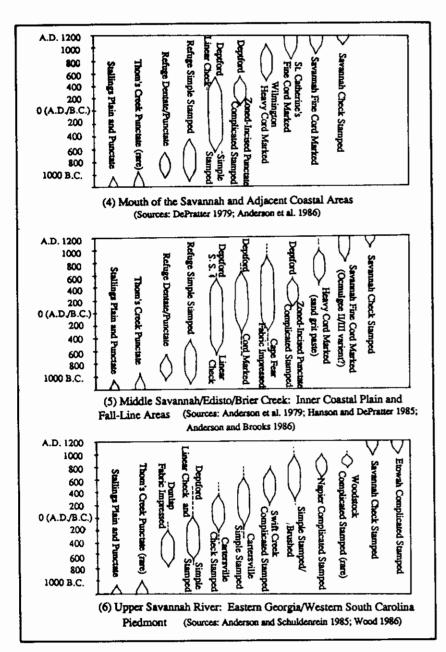


Figure 5. Woodland Ceramic Sequences for the Mouth of the Savannah and Adjacent Coastal Area, the Middle Savannah/Edisto/Brier Creek Inner Coastal Plain and Fall Line Areas, and the Upper Savannah River Eastern Georgia/Western South Carolina Piedmont.

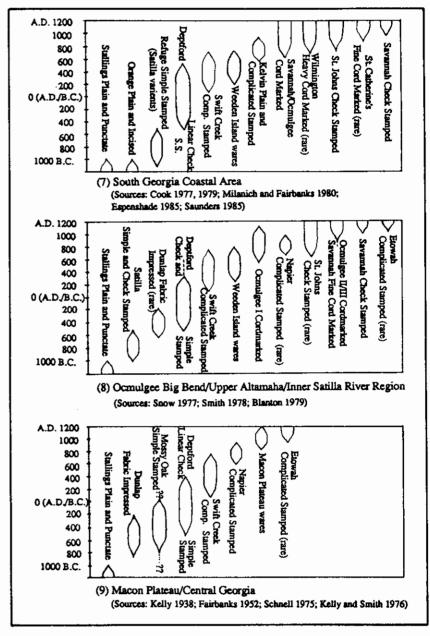


Figure 6. Woodland Ceramic Sequences for the South Georgia Coastal Area, the Ocmulgee/Big Bend/Upper Altamaha/Inner Satilla River Region, and the Macon Plateau/Central Georgia Area.

model, based in large part on inferences derived from ethnographic observation of band level hunting-gathering groups, has been severely challenged in recent years.

The most extensive examination of Milanich's ideas on the nature of Early/Middle Woodland society on the Georgia coast has been the work by Thomas and Larsen (1979) on St. Catherines Island. This work included the excavation of nine presumably Deptford period low circular sand burial mounds, which were found to contain large numbers of both extended and bundle burials, and a few cremations. Grave goods were rare and, where present, were modest, suggesting a relatively egalitarian, band level society (sensu Service 1971). The sample of burials from the mound exhibited an almost 2 to 1 preponderance of females which Thomas and Larsen (1979:150) tentatively equate with matrilineality - something noted in the 16th century Guale groups occupying the area.

Hanson's (1985) recent discovery of an extensive Deptford village along the Savannah in the central Coastal Plain of western South Carolina forces considerable further reevaluation of Milanich's model (Hanson and DePratter 1985). Milanich's interpretation that use of interior river valleys was by small, residentially mobile foraging groups dispersing from coastal aggregate villages no longer appears valid. If anything, the incidence and character of Deptford sites in the interior - where large numbers of such sites have been reported (Anderson 1975; Hanson, et al 1978, 1981) - suggests that the opposite situation may be closer to the truth. That is, given the general dearth of large Deptford sites away from the mouths of major drainages in the Sea Island area (Anderson 1975:186), use of the coast may have been a seasonal phenomenon, by groups occupying permanent villages in the interior. Only two major Deptford sites - Deptford at the mouth of the Savannah and Minim Island at the mouth of the Santee (Waring 1968b,

Drucker, et al. 1984) - have been found north of Cumberland Island, and both may be extensively reoccupied seasonal encampments by groups settled further upriver. Such an inference is supported by the near identity of ceramics from the Deptford and Lewis sites on the Savannah, and the Minim Island and Mattassee Lake assemblages on the Santee (c.f. Waring 1968b, Hanson and DePratter 1985; Drucker et al. 1984, Anderson et al. 1982).

MIDDLE WOODLAND IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Component Recognition

Throughout South Carolina the recognition of components of any period has, until quite recently, relied on work from adjoining areas, notably in Georgia and North Carolina. As late as 1971 Charles Fairbanks, in a paper presented at the Southeastern Archaeological Conference entitled "What We Know Now that We Didn't Know in 1938," was able to state that cultural sequences have been developed for "every southern state, with the possible exception of South Carolina" (Fairbanks 1971:41). Professional archaeological research in the state did not really get off the ground until the late 1960's, with the establishment of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina (Stephenson 1975, Anderson 1977). With the advent of professional archaeologists actually living in the state, and the tremendous infusion of CRM-related funds that has occurred in recent years, however, considerable progress has been made.

Woodland period sites in South Carolina are currently identified by the presence of diagnostic ceramics and projectile points. Because the state lies between areas with well-defined cultural sequences, these extralocal sequences have been widely used until quite recently to recognize sites of all periods. Examples of extralocal sequences in use in South Carolina are the mouth of the Savannah sequence, Phelp's (1983) northern coastal North Carolina sequence, Coe's (1964) Piedmont North Carolina sequence, and the sequence developed by Dickens (1976) and Keel (1976) for the Appalachian Summit area of western North Carolina. There is, of course, nothing wrong with such an approach if the applicability of the extralocal sequences is examined in each specific case. Too often, however, rote citation has occurred, with minimal comparative analyses in justification of such usage.

Some efforts to develop local cultural sequences, and to test the applicability of extralocal sequences, have appeared in recent years in the South Carolina area, and several new ceramic and projectile point taxa have been advanced (e.g., Trinkley 1980, 1981a, 1983; Anderson 1982a, Novick 1982). Where these taxa are based on well controlled excavation data, and large samples – and where drafts of these formulations have been widely distributed through the regional professional community for review prior to publication – there is some justification for such activity (e.g., Anderson 1982a, 1982b). Unfortunately, some investigators have chosen to unilaterally develop and publish new taxa using data from mixed, poorly dated contexts, in some cases using ludicrously low sample sizes. In other cases, well defined taxa have been used to describe wares that only approximate the original type materials.

Considerable confusion thus currently surrounds the identification and sorting of prehistoric ceramics in South Carolina, particularly Trinkley's (1981a) McClellanville, Wachesaw, Catawba, and Kimbell series (Trinkley 1981), Coe's (1964) Yadkin series (c.f. Trinkley 1981b, Ward 1983, Blanton et al. 1986), and Phelp's (1983) Deep Creek and Mount Pleasant series. Surface finish and paste attributes for the latter (Mount Pleasant) taxa, in fact, are so broad - the paste is decribed an encompassing sand, sand with grit in varying quantity, and clay/grog

temper (Phelps 1981:41; 1983:32) - that the type descriptions can be used to encompass virtually every cord and fabric impressed assemblage found in the Southeast. From an inspection of recent publications and (where possible) the associated artifact collections on which they were based, it appears that stratigraphic occurrence, associated artifacts, and radiocarbon dates, rather than unambiguous sorting criteria applicable to individual sherds, are the primary method used to separate Deep Creek from Mount Pleasant wares in South Carolina (see also Anderson 1982a:295-295; 1984:80). This has resulted in a highly confused local literature, particularly in cases where researchers using ideosyncratic taxa, or uncritically adopting taxa from elsewhere, have made little or no effort to justify their systematics.

In spite of these problems, a range of diagnostic artifacts can be used successfully to identify sites of approximate Middle Woodland age in South Carolina (Figures 4,5). Deptford wares, ranging from ca. 500 B.C. to A.D. 500, occur widely over the state, and linear check stamped sherds are perhaps the single best indicator of Middle Woodland components. Wilmington wares (var Hanover, var Berkeley, as defined in Anderson 1982a) also occur throughout this time range, although specific varieties (e.g. var. Wilmington) may run as late as A.D. 1000 or so in the central and south coastal areas (South 1976, DePratter, 1979 Anderson 1982a, Trinkley 1983). Sand/grit tempered cord and fabric impressed wares exhibiting a considerable range in paste also occur during this period, and continue considerably later, through the late Woodland and into the Mississippian. Since sorting criteria for these materials variously typed as Deptford, Cape Fear, Savannah, Deep Creek, Mount Pleasant and, sometimes, Baden and Yadkin - remain highly ambiguous (see Anderson 1982a:294, Anderson and Brooks 1986; and Trinkley 1983:47 for alternate views on this issue), these finishes cannot be considered reliable Middle Woodland diagnostics. In the Inner coastal plain and/or

north of the Fall Line classic Yadkin (Coe 1964; Blanton, et al. 1986) and Connestee (Keel 1976) wares occur which, with the Deptford types, help identify Middle/Late Woodland components in these areas (Beuschel 1976. Ward 1983). Swift Creek and Napier types, as noted previously, are quite rare, although when found offer finer grained temporal resolution.

Projectile points remain less satisfactory than ceramics as a means of component identification. Yadkin Triangulars (Coe 1964) are common throughout South Carolina and eastern Georgia, and a Middle Woodland age for most of these points is likely. A replacement of small, square stemmed Gypsy (Oliver 1981: 1985) or Swannanoa Stemmed (Keel 1976) points by large, triangular Yadkin-like forms appears to occur sometime during the early Middle Woodland (Wauchope 1966:102-107). During the later Middle Woodland or Late Woodland, smaller triangular and stemmed points appear as well (Novick 1982; Hanson and DePratter 1985; Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985; Oliver 1985; Blanton, et al. 1986).

In spite of some difficulties, a Woodland sequence is emerging for South Carolina, in large measure because of an increasing body of stratigraphic data and radiocarbon dates from well-documented site and/or feature assemblages (e.g., South 1976; South and Widmer 1976; Dorian and Logan 1979; Trinkley 1980; Anderson et al. 1982; Drucker et al. 1984; Hanson and DePratter 1985; Anderson and Brooks 1986). In the Coastal Plain, for example, there is unambiguous evidence for a succession from Late Archaic/Early Woodland Stallings, Thom's Creek, and Refuge wares to the early Middle Woodland Deptford and Wilmington (vars. Hanover, Berkeley) series, which are in turn replaced by the cord and fabric marked ceramics of the later Middle Woodland Cape Fear and Wilmington (var. Wilmington), series (Anderson, et al. 1982) (Figures 4, 5).

The "Northern Intrusive Horizon"

Middle Woodland

A shift from assemblages dominated by carved paddle stamping to those dominated by wrapped paddle stamping occurs over much of the South Carolina area during the Middle Woodland, particularly in the Coastal Plain and Fall Line areas of the state. A stratigraphic replacement of Deptford check and linear check stamped finishes by assemblages characterized by cord and/or fabric impressed finishes occurs on many sites at this time (e.g., Anderson, et al. 1979; 1982; Trinkley 1983; Hanson and DePratter 1985; Anderson and Brooks 1986). This replacement has sometimes been interpreted as the result of an intrusion of populations from the Middle Atlantic area (Caldwell 1952, 1958), although very little about the cultural dynamics of the situation is actually known.

Cord and fabric impressed wares are clearly present at an early time level across much of South Carolina. Grog/sherd tempered Wilmington (vars. Hanover, Berkeley) ceramics have been found coeval with Deptford wares, as have sand tempered cord and fabric marked ceramics. Given the long and persistent overlap of carved and wrapped paddle stamped ceramics, this "intrusion" - if any such actually occurred - was probably a slow process. The later Middle Woodland over much of the South Carolina area is, however, clearly dominated by what are considered "northern" ceramic elements (wrapped paddles finishes). The re-emergence of the carved paddle stamped tradition over much of the area does not occur until the Mississippian, with the appearance of Savannah and Lamar-like complexes--locally called Jeremy, PeeDee, and Ashley (Coe 1954, Reid 1967, South 1976, Trinkley 1980; Anderson 1982a) -- across much of the state.

Middle Woodland in the Piedmont

Work in the South Carolina Piedmont has lagged well behind that in the Coastal Plain. Along the upper Savannah at the edge of the Blue Ridge, evidence for a Pigeon-Connestee-Qualla sequence comparable to that described by Keel (1976) from the Appalachian Summit was apparently found during the Keowee-Toxaway reservoir excavations conduced in the middle 1960's (Beuschel 1976). These findings remain, however, to be reported in detail. In the Russell Reservoir, in the central Piedmont, as previously noted, a sequence was found within what have locally been described as Cartersville materials, together with evidence for limited Swift Creek and Napier remains. Away from the Savannah River drainage. only limited test excavations have been conducted at Woodland sites, and survey data remains a primary source of information. A widespread occurrence of Connestee-like wares is inferred (Goodyear et al. 1979). although little evidence for sites with these (or indeed any) ceramics has been found away from major drainages, in the interriverine area. This pattern is exactly the opposite of that noted in the Coastal Plain. where a greatly increased use of the interriverine zone is indicated during the Woodland, particularly during the Middle/Late Woodland (Brooks and Scurry 1976; Anderson et al. 1982; Brooks and Canouts 1984).

Middle Woodland Adaptations in South Carolina

Goodyear et al. (1979) have suggested that the apparent riverine orientation of Piedmont Woodland sites may be due to an intensification of horticultural/agricultural activity, although the general absence of solid survey and excavation data is recognized. This Piedmont site distribution, if accurate, is almost exactly opposite the pattern noted in the Coastal Plain. There, the intensive use of the interriverine area has been equated with a generalized foraging adaptation by

residentially mobile groups moving up and down, and away from, the major drainages over portions of the year (Widmer 1976; Brooks and Canouts 1984). The period has been characterized by some as the epitome, or climax, of Caldwell's (1958) Primary Forest Efficiency adaptational scheme, just prior to the large scale introduction and use of domesticates. Recent discoveries of apparently sedentary village communities dating to this period in the Coastal Plain (Hanson and DePratter 1985), however, would appear to warrant some reappraisal of these views.

As in Georgia, a number of presumably Woodland period sand burial mounds are known from the immediate coastal area, indicating some form of collective mortuary behavior by local populations. C.B. Moore (1898) examined some 14 mounds along the southern coast at the end of the last century. While his reports and procedures were excellent for their time, his general strategy of saving only whole pots or unusual artifacts resulted in rather minimal samples from these sites which, as a result, are hard to date with any degree of accuracy. At least some of these mounds appear to be Middle or Late Woodland in age, and contain both extended and flexed burial, and several possible secondary bundle burials.

Two sand burial mounds/ossuaries have been examined in coastal South Carolina in recent years, one on Callawassie Island (38BU19; Brooks et al. 1982), and one in Horry County (38HR36; Rathbun 1984a, 1984b). Both sites appear to date to the later Woodland (probably after A.D. 500) and are similar to, but apparently somewhat later in time than, many of the Woodland burial mounds excavated in coastal Georgia (as summarized in Thomas and Larsen 1979). At the two South Carolina sites large numbers of burials were found, most in secondary context, suggesting temporary storage of the bodies prior to interment.

Defleshing may have occurred in nearby charnal houses or, equally

plausibly, may have occurred in a range of locations (assuming some degree of group mobility, such as possible seasonal use of the coast and/or the interior), with the bones carried to the burial area for formal interment. As at similar sites in coastal Georgia. little evidence for status differentiation was found within the burial assemblages, suggesting a fairly egalitarian social structure. These mound/ossuary complexes appear to represent principal burial areas for local lineages or other currently unrecognized social entitles (Brooks et al. 1982:56-57; Thomas and Larsen 1979).

CONCLUSIONS

From this review, it may be seen that several features characterize Middle Woodland settlement in the lower South Atlantic Slope. Evidence for involvement in classic Hopewellian interaction is minimal over much of the area and, where present, occurs primarily at the extreme southern and western peripheries of the region. These elaborations, at Mandeville, Tunacunnhee, and in western North Carolina, occur within local sequences, and appear to have developed as part of a trading-based, indirect procurement network. Elite gift exchange, between locally prominant high (achieved) status "big men", may account for most if not all of the observed occurrences of Hopewellian items in the area (Smith 1986:48).

Most archaeological research to date on the Middle Woodland period in the lower South Atlantic Slope has focused on sequence definition. While sequences are known from several areas, confusion surrounds the recognition of many components from this period, particularly over much of South Carolina. This paper has attempted to overcome some of this ambiguity by presenting a series of ceramic sequences encompassing much of the area and periods in question (Figures 2,4-6). Hopefully

detailing these sequences will encourage the use of both local and regional reference frameworks in future investigations.

While a number of structures are known from this general period in Georgia and North Carolina, evidence for community size and internal organization remains minimal. The evidence from the Six Flags (9FU14) and G.S. Lewis sites, when reported, should help resolve questions about the size and duration of these occupations. The presence of oval to circular structures four to seven meters in diameter flanked by large (storage?) pits suggests a family, rather than communal, economic focus. Larger, communal meeting and/or ceremonial buildings are suggested at 9FU14, however, and collective mortuary behavior is indicated by the presence of sand burial mounds with multiple, typically secondary interments. Communal meeting arrangements, and collective interment with minimal status differentiation, suggests the presence of fairly large, albeit more or less egalitarian social groups.

Efforts to recover subsistence information through fine screening and flotation are increasing. As of yet little evidence for the intensive use of domesticates has been found, and horticulture may have played only a comparatively minor role in local Woodland economics. Use of local materials characterizes most assemblages. Evidence for interaction or trade over appreciable distances is minimal and, where present, appears directed to prestige items, rather than staples. The presence of large numbers of Middle Woodland sites throughout the region, particularly along interior drainages, suggests either a fairly high population density or moderate residential mobility or settlement relocation. The evidence for settled villages that have been found in some areas and the indication (albeit minor) of involvement in region-wide ritual and/or trading networks, however, clearly suggests a more complex situation for the Middle Woodland on the lower South Atlantic Slope than the traditional picture of loosely organized, highly

Middle Woodland

mobile foraging bands, little changed from their Archaic ancestors (Milanich 1971). Until extensive, well-controlled excavations can be conducted (and reported!) at more Middle Woodland village sites on the lower South Atlantic Slope, however, our understanding of this period will remain incomplete.

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