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THE POST-ARCHAIC OCCUPATION
OF CENTRAL SOUTH CAROLINA

by
George E. Stuart

A Dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Anthropology.

Chapel Hill
1975

Approved by:

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Archeological research in the area covered by the present state of South Carolina has lagged far behind that of neighboring areas of the North American Southeast, despite a precocious beginning in the nineteenth century.

The present study is concerned with an archeological locality in that state, one that embraces some 20 miles of the Middle Wateree Valley near the town of Camden. The basis of the study consists of surface collections from nine sites, the analysis of which is largely typological and comparative, utilizing well-documented stratigraphic assemblages from the Savannah Locality on the Georgia-South Carolina border and the Uwharrie Locality of the North Carolina Piedmont. The chronological framework developed for this analysis employs five major divisions: Early Prehistoric (10,000-2000 B.C.), Middle Prehistoric (2000 B.C.-A.D. 1000), Late Prehistoric (A.D. 1000-1400), Protohistoric (1400-1650), and Historic (1650-1715). The treatment is broadly anthropological in nature since its ultimate concern is culture, and it draws not only upon archeological data, but those of history and ethnohistory as well.

Scant evidence related to the Early Prehistoric period--noted as a preamble to the main scope of the present study--is suggestive of the initial habitation of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality by part of the sparse but widespread population of big game hunters that characterized the eastern North America of late Pleistocene times. The distribution of remains pertaining to the interval between 8000 and 2000 B.C. indicates an increasing population living mainly in upland sites who ex-
exploited a variety of localized natural food resources.

Indirect evidence shows that pottery making may have begun in the locality around 1000 B.C., but its importance in terms of human culture here is not yet known. Subsistence patterns of the span of the Middle Prehistoric period are clouded as well. Deposits at the Horatio site point to intensive exploitation of fresh water mussels during one horizon, while widespread occurrences of Deptford pottery may correlate with a gradual shift to upland and valley farming. The ceramic sample from the Guernsey site suggests that valley technological and subsistence traditions were rooted in Deptford culture--and perhaps earlier Woodland traditions of the north--and reached their culmination here, but occupation of the Guernsey site appears to have ended abruptly around A.D. 1400.

At that time, newcomers--probably Muskogean in affiliation, and from the south--apparently moved into the Middle Wateree Valley Locality, displacing the resident population and settling on virgin lands on the alluvial plain. Such locations as the five sites that are known served as settings for large-scale agricultural activity that formed the core of the basic Protohistoric cultural pattern. Platform mounds were eventually constructed at these sites, many of which also reflect a strong concern for defense.

Around A.D. 1650, some or all of this population of valley farmers departed, to be replaced by the Siouan-affiliated Wateree of the Historic period. This group, possessing a culture identical in subsistence pursuits and similar in technological and artistic output, confined their occupation of the valley to some of the sites abandoned by the earlier invaders of the locality. Some mounds and defensive
works may be attributable to them. The departure of the Wateree from the area in 1715 marked the end of aboriginal occupation of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality.

The culture history of this South Carolina locality appears to reflect quite well the major culture trends of the prehistory of eastern North America, one notable exception being the lack of evidence that its peoples ever participated in the widespread trade of exotic goods that accompanied the Hopewell manifestation centered in the Ohio Valley.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The debts of time, patience, and advice that come with the completion of the present study are numerous and extend over many years. My first and deepest thanks go to my wife Gene and our children for their patience through the years in which I have had to combine graduate studies, family life, and professional pursuits. A large measure of appreciation goes also to Dr. Melvin M. Payne, President of the National Geographic Society, Washington, D. C., for his unflagging encouragement in this endeavor.

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George E. Stuart
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Ideally, modern historically derived political boundaries should have little pertinence to our degree of knowledge of the past. In reality, however, such is not so. South Carolina archeology had an early and auspicious beginning in William Blanding's survey of prehistoric sites along the Wateree River near Camden in the first decades of the nineteenth century (Squier and Davis 1848:105-108). But between the time of Blanding's work and the establishment of a state archeological agency in the 1960's, published research related to South Carolina was unusually scant. As a consequence, the present state boundary embraces a zone that, despite its strategic position within the broader context of the North American Southeast, is virtually "terra incognita" in the extant archeological record.

The sporadic nature of the history of archeological research in South Carolina is underscored by the occurrence of but 21 entries for that state among some 1100 compiled up to 1963 for the archeology of the Southeast (Rouse and Goggin, eds. 1947:71-83; Guthe and Kelly, eds. 1963:43-52). Of these 21, six date from the nineteenth century, five are minor descriptions of artifacts, and only ten constitute modern studies of any depth.

Available data indicate that South Carolina possesses great potential for furthering and refining our knowledge of the cultural
dynamics of the prehistoric Southeast. In effect, the state covers the geographical overlap of two archeological zones which have long been recognized as distinctive cultural entities: the Virginia-North Carolina portion of the Middle Atlantic subarea, and the northern Georgia part of the Southeast subarea, both defined by Willey (1966: Fig. 5-1).

The most readily apparent contrast between those two cultural subareas lies in the nature of their ceramic remains. To the south is concentrated the long-standing tradition of using carved paddles to shape and/or decorate pottery vessels, the elaboration of which gave one distinctive flavor to the cultural manifestation discussed by Caldwell (1958:34ff.) and so usefully presented by Ferguson under the rubric South Appalachian Mississippian. To the north, on the other hand, the general tradition of cord, fabric, or net marking for ceramic decoration creates an entirely different picture for the Middle Atlantic zone (Caldwell 1958:27ff.).

Even allowing for this oversimplification of what is obviously a cultural situation of great complexity and appreciable time depth, the archeology of South Carolina emerges as a subject crucial to our understanding of the geographical and cultural relationships of the prehistoric Southeast. At this stage of research, priorities clearly lie in providing intensive studies of particular archeological localities within South Carolina.

Such is the primary purpose of the present study. It expands upon earlier work (Stuart 1970) that resulted in a preliminary chronological ordering of archeological data from the Middle Wateree Valley, the locus of Blanding's pioneer work a century and a half ago (Fig. 1).
Fig. 1. Physiographic regions, principal rivers, and selected archeological sites and localities in South Carolina and adjacent states. Scale: 1:4,118,400, or 65 miles to the inch.
In doing so, it uses available material from nine sites, and concentrates mainly on the cultural implications of those data that pertain to the span of time between the appearance of ceramics in the cultural milieu of the locality—around 1000 B.C. (Stuart 1970:124)—and the beginning of intensive European settlement around the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Following the introductory material, one chapter provides a general review of the natural setting of the Middle Wateree Valley and a summary of archeological research that has taken place there. The next contains data related to the sites themselves, and includes comparisons of the material known from each with established stratified artifact complexes documented from other areas of the state and from Georgia and North Carolina. The concluding section utilizes not only the existing archeological evidence, but historical and ethnohistorical data as well, to recapitulate the nature of human occupation of the locality during the 2,700-year span defined above. It is hoped that the interrelating of such diverse categories of evidence will serve to show the value of a general anthropological approach to a local problem, for such is the broad purpose of the present work.

This study reflects certain concepts related to archeology that have been developed by Deetz (1970) and others. Underlying the entire approach is the basic assumption that culture, or the learned patterns of human behavior, results in at least some observable modification of the world of nature. The study further considers the fundamental definition of archeology as a system of scientific inquiry that is primarily concerned with understanding the relationship between a particular set of environmental modifications and/or tangible material
remains, and the intangible universe of human behavior that created those remains. The methodical use of that relationship can result in any or all of what most archeologists agree are the closely interrelated purposes of their work: the recapitulation of lifestyles from material remains; the establishment of gross chronological culture history; and the elucidation of culture process through recognition and explanation of culture change through time. While the above definition and stated purposes of archeological inquiry do not necessarily limit the scope of the science to the study of the past, the practice of archeology is most often directed toward that area of study since it is indeed our sole recourse for recovering knowledge of cultures that are both extinct and undocumented.

Given the present state of archeological methodology, however, most "archeological facts" must be considered as approaches to reality rather than reality itself. Such facts, derived from the classification of cultural remains in terms of time, space, and content, are meaningful only through the conceptual arrangement imposed by the archeologist, and the adequacy or inadequacy of that arrangement, model, or hypothesis determines the amount and the kind of information available to others.

Many potential hazards exist in the interpretation of archeological data. These range from the unavoidable circumstances of actual preservation of material remains in the ground to the many problems inherent in the sampling of those remains by excavation or surface collection. Such fundamental problems are often compounded by the pitfalls common to the utilization of analogy, typology, and statistical manipulation.
All possible problems, it appears, were inherent in the collections that form the basis of this study. Because of the manner in which they were recovered, they amount to no more than a selected surface collection of varying size for each site (Stuart 1970:2). Acknowledgement of this, but with the recognition that these data are the best that exist at the present time, has hopefully fostered an extra degree of caution in the analysis of these data for the conclusions that follow.

In expanding the study of the Wateree Valley material, I have continued to follow the terminology and definitions adapted from Willey and Phillips (1957). These are as follows: a site is any continuous area containing remains of early human occupation; a locality, any geographical area small enough to permit the working assumption of cultural homogeneity at any given time; and a region, a larger area than a locality--and one with general environmental similarity throughout--within which a high degree of cultural uniformity at any given time may be considered probable. The geographical scope of the present study, mainly confined to a 15-mile stretch of the valley, corresponds most closely to the locality. The comparative discussion below draws principally upon the region of which that locality is a part--the zone of land between the edge of the Piedmont and the coast, and from central Georgia to south-central North Carolina (Fig. 1).

My use of the term phase also derives from Willey and Phillips (1957), and may be defined as a regional or locality-wide archeological unit possessing distinctive traits and confined to a relatively brief chronological span. The term component refers to the manifestation of a phase at a single site. Concepts of integrative units
follow those of the same authors: horizon refers to culture traits or complexes whose similarity and distribution imply some rapidity of spread over a large geographical area; tradition, to the persistence through time of particular cultural patterns or traits.

Because of the sampling problem, the term complex that I use below really means ceramic complex, especially in regard to the material culture of the Guernsey site. The ultimate expansion of total complexes of chronologically equal type and their validation as markers of phases must await much more controlled excavation in the locality.

In the preliminary ordering of the archeological data from the Middle Wateree Valley Locality, a gross chronological arrangement by periods was stressed (Stuart 1970:6ff.), rather than the tradition-trend approach that has been used by others (Goggin 1949; Caldwell 1958). Given the nature of the material, that scheme seemed most appropriate, for its terminology implies nothing except a simple sequence of temporal intervals convenient as a frame for discussing the material. The arrangement, moreover, is flexible enough to accommodate additional evidence that will doubtless come to light in the future.

Before reviewing that chronological arrangement, it should be noted that it avoids the use of such traditional terms as "Woodland" or "Burial Mound," and "Mississippian" or "Temple Mound," that have long been utilized in the discussion of Southeastern prehistoric culture history (Willey 1966; Griffin 1967). I have no objection to these terms in the context of area-wide syntheses, but am somewhat uneasy with them as terms for the preliminary ordering of an unknown archeological locality. The confusion that can be fostered by the use
of such terms as indiscriminate classificatory devices is exemplified in the study by Mason (1970) with regard to another area of Eastern North America.

In the scheme used below, the period termed **Early Prehistoric** bridges the span of time from the first datable evidence of man in the Southeast, around 10,000 B. C. (Williams and Stoltman 1965:670), to 2000 B. C., the approximate end of the pre-ceramic period in the area (Bullen 1961). In terms of the framework customarily used for the eastern United States, this Early Prehistoric period includes the Paleo-Indian period and all but the last millennium of the Archaic period (Willey 1966:250-51), and corresponds to the Paleo-Indian and Meso-Indian eras used by Williams (1963:270) and others.

The **Middle Prehistoric** I have bracketed between 2000 B. C. and A. D. 1000, or between the appearance of fibre-tempered pottery (Bullen 1961) and the beginning of intensive Mississippian influences in the region (Williams 1968:323). The span includes the major periods Late Archaic, Burial Mound I and II, and part of Temple Mound I as used by Willey (1966:250); the Late Archaic and Early, Middle, and Late Woodland periods as used by Wauchope (1966); or the Neo-Indian era through its Period IV as given by Williams (1963:270).

The **Late Prehistoric** interval lasts from around A. D. 1000 to 1400. Its ending date coincides roughly with the first occurrence of complicated stamping as the dominant technique of pottery decoration in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality (Stuart 1970) and in south-central North Carolina (Coe, personal communication). That date might also be considered, therefore, as the approximate time by which the complicated stamping technique had reached all parts of the
central Georgia-south central North Carolina region. In terms of other chronologies, this period is equated to parts of Temple Mound I and II (Willey 1966:250-51); Early and Mature Mississippi (Wauchope 1966:15-17); and most of Period IV of the Neo-Indian era of Williams (1963:270).

The Protohistoric span I have placed between A.D. 1400 and 1650. The latter date marks the beginning of influential European contact in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality, and thus the beginning of the Historic period. The 1400-1650 interval falls within the Temple Mound II period (Willey 1966:250); closely coincides with the Late Mississippi and Protohistoric as used by Wauchope (1966:17-18); and includes the last periods of Williams' Neo-Indian era (1963:270).

In utilizing comparative data for analysis of the Middle Wateree Valley site collections, I have drawn upon three particular localities that have been studied in some depth—the Savannah Locality, around the mouth of the Savannah River on the Georgia-South Carolina line, recently synthesized by Williams (1968:315-24); the nearby Groton Plantation Locality (Stoltman 1967); and the Uwharrie Locality on the Yadkin-Pee Dee drainage in south-central North Carolina (Coe 1964; Reid 1967). The geographical relationship of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality to these others is shown in Figure 1.

The North Carolina data have been especially useful for the well documented changes in ceramic styles that took place from the Late Prehistoric period on. The ceramic record is also quite good in the Savannah Locality from the beginning of the Middle Prehistoric period on, and important details are supplemented by the evidence from Groton Plantation. Though some differences in the time and nature of cultural
change are apparent between the Savannah and Uwharrie Localities, certain of their manifestations exhibit useful cross-relationships that will be noted in the following summary:

**Middle Prehistoric Period**

The first known appearance of pottery in this region of the Southeast is well dated at around 2000 B.C., by a series of radiocarbon dates (Bullen 1961). The well-known Stallings Island ceramic complex of fibre-tempered plain, incised, and punctated wares has close regional counterparts in the fibre-tempered pottery of the Bilbo phase in the Savannah Locality, dated between 2000 and 1000 B.C. (Williams 1968:321). The sand-tempered pottery of the Thoms Creek complex of central and coastal South Carolina, known mainly through its distinctive punctate decoration (Griffin 1945:Plate 1), has not been securely dated, but appears to succeed the fibre-tempered wares at the Groton Plantation Locality (Stoltman 1967:384-85). A stylistic continuum from Stallings Island pottery via Thoms Creek Punctate to the check-stamped ware of the later Deptford phase has been suggested (Williams 1968:321). A possible bridge to this Deptford horizon in the Savannah Locality is manifest in the Refuge phase of about 1000 B.C., a short interval of apparent cultural discontinuity marked by simple-stamped and dentate-decorated pottery (Williams 1968:322).

The type site for the succeeding Deptford phase, about 600 B.C. to A.D. 1 (Williams 1968:Fig. 98), is situated in the Savannah Locality, but its diagnostic ceramic complex--dominated by check-stamp decoration--is widespread over coastal and interior Georgia and northern Florida (Williams 1968:323). The last part of the Deptford
phase is contemporary with the Swift Creek ceramic complex of central Georgia, and Brewton Hill Complicated Stamp wares of the Savannah Locality—stylistically related to the Swift Creek material—has been renamed Deptford Complicated Stamp (Williams 1968:322-23).

The introduction of cord-marked pottery and burial mounds into the cultural picture in the Savannah Locality marks the beginning of the little-known Wilmington phase (A.D. 1 to 1000), which, according to Caldwell (1958:32) is a manifestation of the Northern Woodland cultural tradition. Toward the end of Wilmington times, the cord-marking ceramic practices blended with the local Georgia tradition of stamping pottery (Williams 1968:323).

The picture of ceramic development in the Uwharrie Locality during the first part of the Middle Prehistoric period is, so far, less clear than that reconstructed for the Georgia coast, for Uwharrie sites that pertain to the span between 2000 B.C. and the beginning of the Christian Era have not been found (Coe 1964:124). At the Doerschuk site, a cultural discontinuity is indicated between the Savannah River Archaic occupation of around 2000 B.C. and the appearance of developed cord- and fabric-marked pottery of the Badin series, a Northern Woodland ceramic manifestation that spans the period between the beginning of the Christian Era and about A.D. 500 (Coe 1964:55). Beginning with this Badin phase is the tradition of triangular projectile points that continues into the Historic period (Coe 1964:Fig. 116). In general, those of the Badin complex are relatively large percussion-flaked points, while those of the succeeding Yadkin phase (about A.D. 500 to 1000) are small and pressure-flaked, and tend to have concave rather than straight bases (Coe 1964:Figs. 41 and 42).
Pottery of the Yadkin series, like the earlier Badin wares, is cord- or fabric-marked, but shows a shift in tempering material from the fine sandy paste of Badin pottery to a coarser quartz temper (Coe 1964:30). A few examples of linear check stamp decoration appear on sherds of the Yadkin phase as well (Coe 1964:30).

Late Prehistoric Period

In the Savannah Locality, this span of four centuries is largely taken up by the Savannah phase and the period of transition that appears to link it to the preceding Wilmington phase. This Savannah phase, dating from approximately A.D. 1100 to 1400 (Williams 1968: Fig. 98), is characterized by the first appearance of platform mounds in the archeological record of the Savannah Locality (Williams 1968: 323). Both Caldwell (1952:319) and Sears (1964:284) consider this Savannah phase as representing a fusion of the Southern Appalachian ceramic tradition of stamp-decorated pottery and strong Mississippian influences that appeared in central Georgia around A.D. 950, according to a radiocarbon date from the Ocmulgee site (Wilson 1964).

Irene, the type site for the Savannah phase, has produced not only platform mound constructions but a large ceramic sample that includes the types Savannah Fine Cordmarked, Savannah Check Stamp, and Savannah Complicated Stamp (Caldwell and McCann 1941; Caldwell and Waring 1968).

In contrast, the archeological record of the Uwharrie Locality does not exhibit any evidence of Mississippian influence or presence of complicated stamping as a mode of ceramic decoration during the Late Prehistoric period. Instead, the tradition of cord and fabric
marking that characterized the Badin and Yadkin pottery continued in
the simple-stamped wares of the Uwharrie phase of around A.D. 1200 to
1400 (Coe 1964:307).

Protohistoric Period

In the last period of prehistoric occupation of the Irene site,
the Savannah phase is succeeded by the Irene phase, and the latter is
estimated to have ended around A. D. 1600 (Caldwell and McCann 1941:
63). The Irene ceramic complex includes the types Irene Filfot Stamp,
Irene Plain, and Irene Incised (Caldwell and McCann 1941; Caldwell and
Waring 1968). The first of these includes stamp motifs in which the
filfot cross and filfot loop occur exclusively, along with certain
distinctive modes of rim ornamentation, mainly the use of a row of
cane-end impressions, on wide-mouth globular vessels (Caldwell and
McCann 1941:Fig. 20). Plain wares of the Irene complex--mainly shal­
low bowls--are often burnished and frequently adorned with rows of
small oval pellets appliquéd around the vessel shoulder (Caldwell and
McCann 1941:Fig. 22). Irene Incised pottery, a minority ware at the
type site, usually bears simple parallel lines and loops on the upper­
most portion of the vessel (Caldwell and McCann 1941:Fig. 21).

According to the detailed study of the pottery of the Town Creek
site by Reid (1967), the ceramics of the Pee Dee phase in the Uwharrie
Locality are essentially identical to Irene phase pottery in most re­
spects, but the Pee Dee complex does not include the same type of in­
cised ware as that found at the Irene site. Also, the whole Pee Dee
manifestation is clearly intrusive into the Uwharrie Locality (Coe
1952:308), around A. D. 1400, according to a series of radiocarbon
The dates derived from Town Creek material and cross-dated to the contemporary Pisgah complex in the mountains to the west (Reid 1967:62). The bearers of Pee Dee culture, probably Muskhogean-speaking peoples from the south (Coe, personal communication), appear to have withdrawn from the Uwharrie Locality as suddenly as they appeared, and the date of their departure—and the end of the Pee Dee phase—is estimated to be around A.D. 1650 (Reid 1967:63).

The Protohistoric ceramic types shared by the Savannah and Uwharrie Localities have been termed variants of Lamar pottery, named for the type site near Macon, Georgia (Kelly 1938), and described by Jennings and Fairbanks (1939). Lamar or Lamar-like pottery, however, appears to have subtle but significant temporal and areal differences, and diverse ethnic affiliations (Fairbanks 1952:297) that have not yet been thoroughly defined. Sears' statement (1958:178) that the term Lamar "covers many sins" is well taken, and the problem has recently been summarized by Reid (1967) and Ferguson (1970), who trace the ambiguity of the term in the literature of the Southeast.

Summary

The sudden appearance of fibre-tempered clay pottery in the Savannah and Groton Plantation Localities around 2000 B.C. and the elaboration of the ceramic arts over the succeeding two millennia is a situation not duplicated, according to present evidence, in the Uwharrie Locality. Around the beginning of the Christian Era, however, both the Savannah and Uwharrie Localities show the presence of simple Woodland pottery—probably intrusive from the north in each case—that characterizes their ceramic profiles until the end of the
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Fig. 2. Chronological summaries of two archeological localities, 2000 B.C. to A.D. 1700. A: Savannah Locality (after Williams 1968: Fig. 98). B: Uwharrie Locality (after Coe 1964:Fig. 116).
Middle Prehistoric period, around A. D. 1000.

During the Late Prehistoric period, differences once again are distinct between the localities in question: The Woodland tradition and Southern Appalachian pottery stamping tradition fuse with the sudden influx of Mississippian influences in the area of the Savannah drainage, producing an elaboration of ceramic decoration and a ceremonialism manifest in the first platform mounds along the lower Savannah River. Meanwhile, in the Uwharrie Locality, cultures continue essentially unchanged from their Middle Prehistoric period expressions.

Around A. D. 1400, both localities again exhibit close similarities in their respective cultural remains. The Protohistoric manifestations of the Savannah Locality appear as continuations of previous local interactions of culture and technological fusions—and a nearly identical type of culture complex is intrusive into the Uwharrie Locality at about the same time.

The area between the Savannah and Uwharrie Localities, virtually an archeological blank, is approximately centered by the Middle Wateree Valley Locality. The remainder of this study will be devoted to an interpretation of the archeological evidence of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality in relation to the data summarized above.

Unless otherwise stated in the figure captions, the artifacts illustrated below are now part of the permanent collections of the Research Laboratories of Anthropology at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

The artifact photographs were made with a fixed Nikon F 35 mm. single lens reflex camera equipped with a 55 mm. f3.5 Auto Nikkor
Micro lens, shooting downward to a horizontal plane upon which the specimens were placed and illuminated to best advantage by two oblique 500-watt floodlights. Except where noted, and in the obvious cases of large artifacts, the illustrations of potsherds, projectile points, etc., are labeled as "approximately one-half actual size." This merely compensates for any small discrepancy in scale introduced by the difference between the vertical distance from the plane upon which the artifacts lay, where the scale is precisely one-half actual size, and the surface of the artifact closest to the camera.
CHAPTER II
THE MIDDLE WATEREE VALLEY LOCALITY

The Wateree River originates in the mountains of western North Carolina, where it is known as the Catawba. Its source branches drain the seaward slope of the Blue Ridge Mountains and unite east of Mt. Mitchell. From here the river traverses the rumpled landscape of the Piedmont, flowing almost directly eastward for some 50 miles before it turns in a southerly direction and crosses the state line. At Wateree Creek near Great Falls, South Carolina, the name Wateree replaces Catawba until the river unites with the Congaree River 60 miles to the south to form the Santee River. The latter enters the Atlantic Ocean just south of Georgetown, South Carolina (Fig. 1).

In its middle course, about eight miles north of the town of Camden, the Wateree passes suddenly out of the reddish clay hills that characterize the edge of the Piedmont, or "up country," into the slightly undulating sand hills that mark the beginning of the Atlantic Coastal Plain. The Fall Line--geological boundary between the two physiographic regions--is marked by shoals in the river bed immediately south of the Wateree Dam. The transition from one region to the other is further reflected in the more pronounced meander pattern of the river south of this point (Fig. 12).

The alluvial valley of the Wateree River also begins south of the shoals, where the hills begin to fall back from the edge of the water-
course, and the extent of the flat land becomes greater as one proceeds southward: two miles downstream from the dam and shoals, these bottomlands measure slightly more than half a mile across. Opposite Camden, a short distance below, the valley widens suddenly and soon attains a width of some four miles--an average that is maintained all the way to its juncture with the valley of the Congaree.

The area with which this study is specifically concerned is that part of the alluvial valley and its adjacent terrace edges that traverse the western portion of Kershaw County and the joined edges of Richland and Sumter Counties to the south. In terms of the river, this stretch is bounded on the north by the Wateree Dam and extends southward to the Horatio site, approximately the latitude of the small town of Horatio, almost due south of Camden. The straight-line distance between these two points measures about 22 miles; the distance along the meandering river, around 40 (Fig. 12).

The Wateree River here is elevated between 140 and 120 feet above mean sea level. The rounded hills that hug the river and its tributaries north of the dam attain elevations up to about 400 feet above sea level. In contrast, the more gentle topography that borders the eastern margin of the alluvial valley south of the dam seldom rises to more than 250 feet. The relief of the corresponding lands west of the valley is more pronounced, the average elevation somewhat greater, and isolated spurs occasionally reach an elevation of some 400 feet. The alluvial valley itself, relatively flat and fairly homogeneous, is elevated between five and twenty feet above the level of the river.

Where not under cultivation or covered with second growth, the high terraces that border the valley are clad in a mantle of long-leaf
pine and oak. The valley proper consists of generally flat bottom-lands interspersed with subsidiary terraces and frequent expanses of slightly higher level land, many of which have been under at least sporadic cultivation for about two centuries. The uncultivated lands of the valley are blanketed by dense forest that extends into the low marshes that occupy some of the alluvial plain (United States Geological Survey 1938, 1945, 1953a, 1953b, 1953c, 1953d).

Until the Wateree Dam was completed in 1919, the alluvial valley of the Wateree was subject to occasional freshets, or floods, some of great violence. Existing records note 15 of particular severity between 1771 and 1916 (Kirkland and Kennedy 1926:323-27) that, as will be seen below, have had a destructive effect on the archeological sites within the valley, and certainly must have played a part in the lives of those who once occupied the sites. The Wateree Dam and others on the river to the north have served well to regulate flood conditions on the Wateree; and, though the release of excess water from Wateree Pond often inundates the very lowest portions of the valley, conditions have been neither as destructive nor as unpredictable as they were before the construction of the Wateree Dam.

Aside from the floods, the action of the river itself in constantly changing its meandering configuration within the valley has had a decided effect on the chronological distribution of preserved sites. To anticipate briefly what will be treated below in more detail, no very early sites—if they indeed existed—are preserved within the limits of the alluvial plain. If any come to light in the future, they will doubtless be fortuitous exposures of strata long buried beneath river silt.
From a broad geographical overview of the region centered by the Middle Wateree Valley Locality (Fig. 1), it is apparent that two very generalized sets of potential culture-movement routes emerge from the configurations of topographic zones and their superimposed systems of drainage. One trends southwest-northeast, paralleling the arc of the Fall Line; the other follows the general northwest-southeast courses of the parallel rivers that fall from the Blue Ridge and crosscut the Piedmont and the Coastal Plain on their way to the Atlantic.

Historical and Archeological Background

The recorded history of the Middle Wateree Valley began with the first effective settlement of Camden in the late 1700's (Kirkland and Kennedy 1905), although some mention of the area had appeared in earlier travel accounts (Lederer 1672, Lawson 1709). The earliest known mention of an archeological site in the vicinity comes from a short entry in the diary of James Kershaw, who noted on January 18, 1796, that a severe freshet has occurred and that a group "went in flatts to the Indian Mounts" (Kirkland and Kennedy 1905:407)--certainly the Adamson site just west of Camden.

In 1820, John Boykin completed his cartographic survey of Kershaw District for the atlas of the state later published by Robert Mills (1825). The published version of the map (Fig. 3) shows three hatched features on the east bank of the river, each labeled "I. Mound," that clearly mark the locations, respectively from north to south, of the Blanding, McDowell, and Belmont Neck sites. It is curious that the Adamson mound site was not shown by Boykin, since it was closest to town and certainly the best known, but perhaps the crowding of
Fig. 3. Detail of the John Boykin map of Kershaw District, surveyed and compiled in 1820, showing mound sites and Indian Ditch (After Mills 1825). Scale, 2 miles to the inch.
other local place names precluded its inclusion. Unfortunately, the original manuscript map of the Boykin survey, which doubtless contains much more detail than the published version, is one of the few among those compiled for the Mills Atlas that remains unlocated.

It remained for William Blanding to give the archeology of the Wateree Valley its first--and what, for over a century, amounted to its last--extensive treatment in print.

From 1801 until sometime in the 1830's, Blanding lived in Camden, where he conducted an extensive medical practice and, in spare time, gave full leash to his bent as a scientist and naturalist (Kirkland and Kennedy 1926:103). In the 30 or so years of his Camden stay, Blanding gathered a collection of antiquities from the local archeological sites. More important, he mapped the locations of these sites and set down many of his on-the-spot observations in letters written during the 1840's to the eminent scientist Samuel George Morton, a friend and fellow member of the Academy of Sciences in Philadelphia.

Despite extensive effort and much correspondence with potential sources of help, I have not been able to locate any of Blandings diaries for this key period, or any of the original Blanding-to-Morton correspondence. Two excerpts of the latter, however, were eventually published. The first (Morton 1846:12-13) concerns discoidal stones "found at the foot of the different mounds," and was accompanied by a wood engraving of five specimens, probably including three presently in the collection of the University Museum in Philadelphia (Catalogue numbers 13506, 13507, and 13651). The second publication of Blanding-to-Morton correspondence is the long excerpt included in the survey by Squier and Davis (1848:105-08). This provides the first descrip-
tions and discussions of specific sites in the vicinity of Camden, and the necessary starting point for any consideration of the archeology of the Middle Wateree Valley.

The publication of the Blanding information also accounts for virtually all the brief mentions accorded South Carolina in late nineteenth century publications dealing with antiquarian remains (McLean 1879, Powell 1880, Thomas 1891, etc.). The artifacts illustrated by Schoolcraft (1851-57:2, Plates 43-46) were doubtless from the Blanding collection (Figs. 5-7).

The manuscript map of 15 archeological sites or features along the Wateree River in Blanding's hand (Fig. 80) is extant, and differs in important respects from the published version (Fig. 4). These differences will be discussed below in relation to specific sites and detailed in Appendix A. For purposes of this study, all references to the Blanding map will apply to the manuscript rather than to the published version.

Following Blanding's work, the next chapter in the archeological history of the Middle Wateree Valley is centered on the brief exploratory work carried out at the McDowell, or Mulberry, site under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, in the spring of 1891. Before the project was cut short by the sudden death of Henry Reynolds, the field director, the party recovered pottery fragments and other artifacts from Mound A at that site. An analysis of the material was included in the monumental survey of Eastern Indian mounds published by Thomas (1894).

Sometime around 1916, and presumably after the great flood that occurred that year, E. Y. Guernsey of Indiana made a small collection
Fig. 4. Published version of the William Blanding map of archeological sites in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality. After Squier and Davis 1848.
Fig. 5. Clay pipes found in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality in the early 1800's (after Schoolcraft 1851-57:2, Plate 45).
Fig. 6. Stone pipes and spatulate ax found in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality in the early 1800's (after Schoolcraft 1851-57:2, Plate 44).
Fig. 7. Miscellaneous artifacts found in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality in the early 1800's (after Schoolcraft 1851-57:2, Plates 45 and 46).
of potsherds from what I have below designated the Guernsey site—an island in the Wateree River due west of Camden (Fig. 13), and sent it later to the University of Michigan. A brief analysis of the sample was published by Griffin (1945).

Shortly before water began backing up behind the newly-constructed Wateree Dam in October, 1919, W. DeF. Haynes excavated a mound in the flood area on the west, or Fairfield County, bank of the Wateree (Pepper 1924). This mound was evidently that labelled "Harrison's" by Blanding (Fig. 4, 1), who described it as being "four hundred and eighty feet in circumference at the base, fifteen feet high, and has a level area one hundred and twenty feet in circumference at its summit" (Squier and Davis 1848:105). The extent of Haynes's excavation is not known, but a large vessel decorated with filfot cross stamping was illustrated by Pepper (1924). Also mentioned is another mound at Longtown, in the vicinity of Harrison's mound (Pepper 1924:75). I do not know the location or present condition of the Longtown mound, despite several lengthy attempts to find it or to elicit local information concerning it. An incised clay figurine torso (Figs. 8-10) and small clay vessel (Fig. 11) that Haynes recovered there, along with the material from Harrison's mound, are now in the collection of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York City.

The most recent work of note in the history of Middle Wateree Valley archeology took place in 1952, when a summer program of excavation was carried out at the McDowell, or Mulberry, site under the joint sponsorship of the Charleston (S. C.) Museum and the University of Georgia, with A. R. Kelly as field director. Although Caldwell completed a preliminary analysis of the pottery (Caldwell n.d.), neither
Fig. 8. Longtown Mound, Fairfield County, South Carolina. Front and left side of incised clay figurine. Approximately two times actual size. Courtesy the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.
Fig. 9. Longtown Mound, Fairfield County, South Carolina. Back and right side of incised clay figurine. Approximately two times actual size. Courtesy the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.
Fig. 10. Longtown Mound, Fairfield County, South Carolina. Roll-out of design incised on clay figurine. Scaled to photographs in Figs. 8 and 9.
Fig. 11. Longtown Mound, Fairfield County, South Carolina. Restored clay vessel. Height, 11.5 cm. Courtesy Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.
it nor the excavation report have yet been published. Since the death of Caldwell, the material and notes from that 1952 season have been turned over to the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina. These will be incorporated into the program of research relative to the site being undertaken by Ferguson (Stephenson, personal communication).

In summary, of the 15 sites mentioned by Blanding, at least five--Harrison's mound (Fig. 4, A), the site at the mouth of Beaver Creek (Fig. 4, C), the "fortification" to the south of Beaver Creek (Fig. 4, D), the site opposite the "fortification" (Fig. 4, E), and the mound near the mouth of Whiteoak Creek (Fig. 4, G)--are now beneath the reservoir behind Wateree Dam. Indian Mortar (Fig. 4, B) can still be seen near Liberty Hill, South Carolina, and its location has been given by Bierer (1969). Indian Grave (Fig. 4, F), too, is apparently intact (Bierer 1969). Of the eight sites that Blanding notes south of the present dam (or, in terms of Blanding's map, south of the "shoals"), six are discussed in detail in the following chapter. The others--the site near the mouth of Town Creek (Fig. 4, I) and Nixon's mound (Fig. 4, N)--I have not relocated. In the addition of sites to Blanding's original inventory, the Longtown mound has been noted above, and eight others not catalogued by Blanding were described by Stuart (1970).
CHAPTER III
SITES AND MATERIAL CULTURE

Of the 13 archeological sites covered in the preliminary study of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality (Stuart 1970:26ff.), four--Burns, Dabney, Red House, and McCaskill--were shown to be mainly Early Prehistoric, or pre-ceramic, in cultural affiliation, and therefore fall outside the scope of the present work. The remaining nine are covered below. Their descriptions occur in order from north to south (Fig. 12), but the treatment is divided into two sections so that sites atop the valley-edge terrace are discussed first and those within the alluvial plain follow.

Site designations in the number-letter-number system that shows state, county, and site number, are those now on file at the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology of the University of South Carolina in Columbia, center for the statewide archeological survey continually in progress under the direction of the State Archeologist.

Valley Edge Sites

Eagles Nest (38KE9)

The Eagles Nest site, named for the nearby promontory that overlooks the eastern end of the Wateree Dam, occupies part of the high spur of land that juts southward between the Wateree River and the last winding mile of Granneys Quarter Creek, some seven miles northwest of
Fig. 12. Archeological sites of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality. Scale 1:190,080, or about three miles to the inch.
Camden (Fig. 12).

Elevated between 100 and 120 feet above the level of the river downstream from the dam, Eagles Nest is generally flat with a slight increase in elevation from south to north (USGS 1938). The exact limits of the site are unknown, but the area of ancient occupation appears to cover most of the southern half of the flat hill top—an area about 1,000 feet long and at least 500 feet wide. This zone was under cultivation up to the late 1950's, and plow action revealed a shallow cover of dark gray to reddish clayey soil with a generous intermixture of quartz gravel. Portions of the site are covered by thick stands of pine and oak, interrupted by patches of tall grass and briers that mark the locations of old cultivated fields.

Collectors frequently visited the Eagles Nest site in the decade between 1945 and 1955 and gathered projectile points and an occasional pottery fragment from the surface, but most of these finds were never documented. At the present time only six projectile points (Stuart 1970:Fig. 6, A) assignable to the Early Prehistoric period, and one sherd can be documented for the site. The sherd—a grit-tempered plain rim fragment with notched edge from a large shallow bowl—resembles some of those of the Pee Dee Series from the Town Creek site in the Uwharrie Locality (Reid 1967:Plate XV), and has counterparts in other Protohistoric assemblages.

In June, 1951, a local man reported that he had found a skeleton while plowing in the southernmost part of the Eagles Nest site. When I investigated the area shortly afterward, I noted only a few scattered fragments of human bone, including a small portion of mandible. There was no indication of any artifacts in association with the shallow bone
deposit. Its preservation so close to the surface suggests that, if it was indeed Indian, the burial might be relatively late in date compared to the predominantly Early Prehistoric manifestations at the site. In regard to this, my notes from the early 1950's indicate that the few pottery fragments observed at the Eagles Nest site were in this same southern portion of the hilltop.

Ferry Landing (38KE18)

Named for its proximity to the abandoned ferry landing just west of Camden, where the old concrete foundations of the early highway bridge still lie, the Ferry Landing site occupies the top of the terrace edge that overlooks the strip of bottomland bordering the east bank of the Wateree River (Fig. 13). The highest portion of the site lies some 40 feet above these alluvial lands, and 50 feet above the river level. Here the terrace is interrupted by two very small streams that join to flow into Bolton Branch, and the site lies mainly between them. Trending northwest-southeast, parallel to the terrace edge, the Ferry Landing site measures about 1,200 feet long and 500 wide, but the range of surface cultural material extends farther to the east and south with a sharp drop in frequency as one moves away from the site proper.

The surface of the site is nearly bisected by a shallow saddle-like depression that trends northeastward into the low area drained by the northernmost of the two streams noted above. The second of the streams originates in a spring centered in the thicket southeast of the approximate center of the site (Fig. 13).

Because of its proximity and accessibility to Camden and the fact that it has long been under cultivation, the Ferry Landing site has been
Fig. 13. Archeological sites west of Camden, S. C. Scale, 1:7,500, or 625 feet to the inch.
ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES WEST OF CAMDEN, S. C.
subjected to intensive surface collecting for many decades. Material now documented for the site includes 86 projectile points or fragments (Stuart 1970:Figs. 7 and 8), seven potsherds (Fig. 18, below), nine fragments of Historic period "trade" pipes (Fig. 15, B), and part of a large incised clay pipe (Figs. 16 and 17). In addition, four miscellaneous stone artifacts—a discoidal, an unfinished celt, and two chipped blades—are known to be from the site (Stuart 1970:Fig. 9).

Of the projectile points, 44 correspond to various horizons of the Early Prehistoric period documented in the Uwharrie Locality (Stuart 1970:103). The remaining 42 (Fig. 17, A) appear to fall in the Middle Prehistoric-to-Historic range of types represented in the same North Carolina sequence.

Concerning the ceramics, even the poor available sample—which by no means reflects the great frequency of tiny sherds reported from the site by local collectors—exhibits a remarkable variety of surface treatment: One (Fig. 18, A) is net-impressed; another (C) is rocker-stamped; while a third (G) appears to be impressed with a cord-wrapped dowel. The others (B, and D-F) exhibit the complicated stamping diagnostic of Late Prehistoric-to-Historic pottery types.

The size, shape, and decoration of the large fragmentary clay pipe (Figs. 16 and 17) found on the surface in the southeastern portion of the site resemble those steatite pipes that commonly occur on a general Middle Prehistoric horizon throughout the Southeast (Griffin 1952:Fig. 150). The Ferry Landing specimen is also similar to the steatite (?) pipe illustrated by Schoolcraft (Fig. 5, A) from near Camden—a piece probably found by William Blanding.

Fragments of kaolinite pipes of non-Indian manufacture (Fig. 15)—
Fig. 14. Ferry Landing site. A: View northeastward from river showing elevation of site above alluvial valley. B: Northwest portion of site with terrace edge to left of large tree.
Fig. 15. Ferry Landing site. A: Projectile points found on surface. B: European trade pipe fragments. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 16. Ferry Landing site. Fragmentary clay elbow pipe. A: Top view. B: Right side view. Total length of fragment, 11.5 cm.
Fig. 17. Ferry Landing site. Fragmentary clay elbow pipe. 
A: Bottom view. B: Left side view. Total length of fragment, 11.5 cm.
Fig. 18. Ferry Landing site. Miscellaneous potsherds from surface. A-D, approximately one-half actual size. E-G, actual size.
generally found in the southeastern part of the site—are probably contemporary with the many fragments of china that have been reported from the same zone, and appear to have no bearing on the aboriginal occupation of the site. The fragmentary bowl with molded face is from a type of pipe that has been dated elsewhere in the Southeast to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century (South, personal communication).

Alluvial Valley Sites

River Sandbars

All of the known archeological sites within the confines of the alluvial valley of the Middle Wateree lie adjacent to, or very near, the river itself. Several are undergoing severe and irreparable damage as the meandering river continues its slow pattern of change within the valley, and some sites have doubtless already been obliterated by the process. As a consequence, a profusion of archeological material has accumulated among the sand, gravel, and modern debris deposited by the water along the inside crescents of meander curves or at various points along the lowermost levels of the river banks where the flowing water loses velocity. Such material, of course, must originate either from adjacent points on the river bank or from sites upstream. It is exposed whenever the floodgates of the Wateree Dam are shut down and the water level downstream subsides several feet. Though not sites in the strict sense of our definition above, two of the largest bar formations are of particular importance to the archeological understanding of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality, and these have been
searched by local collectors since the early 1900's.

The first, which I have termed Sandbar No. 1, parallels the east bank of the Wateree River and lies partly beneath the Highway No. 1 four-lane bridge just west of Camden (Fig. 13). The sample of artifacts known from this extensive bar consists of one nearly whole pottery vessel and two polished stone artifacts (Fig. 19), and 20 potsherds (Figs. 20-22).

Sandbar No. 2 adjoins the west bank of the river opposite the Ferry Landing site, and its southern half marks the locus of the nearly destroyed Guernsey site (Fig. 13). The available sample consists of six sherds from the extreme northwestern end of the bar (Fig. 23) and 54 sherds (Figs. 39-42 and 44-48) that, for reasons given below, are assignable directly to the Guernsey site.

Blanding (38KE17)

William Blanding's brief description of this important mound site is the only one known to date:

The mound...was two hundred and fifty feet in circumference at the base, seventy-five feet at the top, and thirteen feet high. It was situated about a hundred yards from the river on lands subject to overflow. Three other small mounds surrounded it. In 1826 it was levelled, and the material was used for manuring the adjacent lands (Squier and Davis 1848:106).

On his manuscript map (Fig. 80), Blanding labelled this site "Adamson's Mounds," as he did the next mound site slightly downstream on the same side of the river. I have re-named it the Blanding site so it will not be confused with the latter, which still bears the Adamson name.

The Blanding site has not been relocated. Not only have the
mounds seen by Blanding disappeared, but the river edge in the vicinity of the probable location of the site is heavily wooded and difficult to traverse because of the frequent thickets of bamboo. However, remains of the old Chestnut Ferry landing, which appears just north of the mound shown on the John Boykin map (Fig. 3) and on Blanding’s manuscript map (Fig. 80), can be seen at times of low water. Also, traces of the old road that once led from the river overland to Camden are visible. The Blanding site should be somewhere between the east bank terminus of the old roadbed and the slight bend in the river a short distance downstream.

Some indication of the material culture and the stratigraphic profile of the large mound that stood at the site is available in the continuation of Blanding’s narrative:

A part of the treasures which it contained were saved, but the rest are scattered or destroyed. The mound presented, upon excavation, a succession of strata, varying in thickness from six inches to one foot, from top to base. First vegetable loam, then human and animal bones, followed by charcoal of reeds, vessels of clay and fragments of the same, (some not holding more than one pint,) arrow-heads and stone axes, then earth, etc., alternately. In one small vessel was found a tag or needle made of bone, supposed to have been used in making dresses. Near it was the skeleton of a female, tolerably entire, but which fell in pieces on exposure. A stratum of dark-colored mould was mixed in with these articles; perhaps decomposed animal matter. The superstructure of the mound was the alluvial loam, and constituted tolerable manure. It was mixed with great quantities of mica, some pieces three or four inches square. Marine shells, much decomposed, were found in this as well as in other mounds, mixed with the bones, from top to bottom (Squier and Davis 1848:106).

The presence of earthen platform mounds and their grouping as noted by Blanding before the site was destroyed at once suggests a Late Prehistoric or Protohistoric date for the site. The fact that the Blanding site is slightly upstream from Sandbar No. 1 also suggests
the unprovable possibility that some of the material from the latter location (Figs. 19-22) originated at the Blanding site. Indeed, some of the sandbar artifacts are datable to the appropriately recent horizons:

A basal "kill" hole indicates that the nearly whole vessel from Sandbar No. 1 (Fig. 19, A) once may have been part of an urn burial like those associated with the Pee Dee complex of the Uwharrie Locality (Reid 1967:Plate XIV, B); the Irene phase of the Savannah Locality (Caldwell and McCann 1941:38); and other Protohistoric manifestations in the Atlantic-to-Piedmont coastal region. The nested diamond stamp motif on the vessel in question occurs on the North Georgia pottery type, Etowah Complicated Stamped (Sears 1958:189-90; Wauchope 1966:Fig. 216), and is also represented in the Uwharrie Locality (Reid 1967:Plate III, D). Two additional sherds from Sandbar No. 1 (Fig. 20, C and D) bear the same stamp motif, and another (Fig. 20, A) exhibits the line-block motif common in the Woodstock-through-Etowah sequence in Georgia (Wauchope 1966:Fig. 3) and in the Pee Dee Series of North Carolina (Reid 1967:Plate III, E). One sandbar sherd (Fig. 21, D) resembles the Pisgah ceramic type--contemporary with the Pee Dee complex, but common to the mountains of western North Carolina and adjacent areas rather than to the Piedmont or coast areas (Reid 1967:62 and Plate VIII). The two rim sherds from Sandbar No. 1 (Fig. 20, E and F) correspond to the classic description of Lamar Complicated Stamped pottery (Jennings and Fairbanks 1939:2) assigned to the Protohistoric period, and to the illustrations of that pottery in Wauchope (1966:Fig. 288). Six of the sherds illustrated in Figure 21 (A-F) also appear to be Late Prehistoric in their modes of decoration.
Fig. 19. Sandbar No. 1. Miscellaneous artifacts. A: Clay vessel with basal "kill" hole. Height, 31 cm. B: Slate "gorget." C: Slate spatulate ax. B and C shown approximately one-half actual size. B courtesy of Norman M. Fohl, Camden, S. C.
Fig. 20. Sandbar No. 1. Miscellaneous potsherds. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 21. Sandbar No. 1. Miscellaneous potsherds. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 22. Sandbar No. 1. Potsherds of the type Camden Incised. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 23. Sandbar No. 2. Miscellaneous potsherds. Approximately one-half actual size.
The spatulate-form ax from Sandbar No. 1 (Fig. 19, C) might also have come from the Blanding site, for these, too, are known to occur on a Late Prehistoric or Protohistoric time level at various southeastern sites (Webb and DeJarnette 1942). A similar specimen illustrated by Schoolcraft (Fig. 6, C) was found in the Camden area by William Blanding.

It must be emphasized that it cannot be certain that any of the artifacts of probable Protohistoric date from Sandbar No. 1 came from the Blanding site. Their probable contemporaneity with the type of settlement and culture inferable from Blanding's account of the mound site, and the fact that the Blanding site is the only one known of probable Protohistoric date that lies both near to and upstream from Sandbar No. 1, however, strongly suggests that the provenance assigned the artifacts noted above is correct.

Adamson (38K11)

This site, originally named by William Blanding for John Adamson, an early owner of the land upon it is situated, lies on the east side of the Wateree River, two miles west and slightly south of the center of Camden. The two mounds that mark the site center lie in the wooded bottomlands just east of Mount Creek, some 400 yards from the river (Fig. 13).

Mound A, on the edge of a low natural terrace within the alluvial valley, is oval in plan and oriented northwest-southeast, or parallel to this minor terrace escarpment. The mound is about 35 feet high. Its base measures 175 feet long and 135 feet wide, and the flat summit measures 100 by 65 feet. Excavation has disturbed portions of the
northeast and southwest slopes and a small area of the summit, but only slightly. The mound remains extremely well preserved despite its ready accessibility from town.

Mound B lies 140 feet northeast of Mound A, approximately in line with the minor axis of the latter. Most of the center of Mound B had been excavated by the late 1940's, but it is not known when or by whom that work was done. Local stories of that time attributed the excavation to the Smithsonian Institution around the turn of the century. It may be, therefore, that the Mound B pit reflects an ancillary activity of the Reynolds party that worked at the nearby McDowell, or Mulberry, site in the spring of 1891. If so, no mention of the Adamson site was made in the published report of that project (Thomas 1894). In 1951, two fragments of mud daub bearing the impressions of canes or poles were found in the eroded sides of this early excavation (Fig. 26).

An extensive irregular depression trends northwestward past the outer northern edge of Mound B to join with the small stream that borders the Adamson site on the northwest, and its extent suggests that it was the source of at least some of the earth used in the construction of the mounds. The area occupied by the site itself appears, from sporadic pits made by local collectors, to be confined to the relatively high ground between the terrace edge that passes near the southwest base of Mound A and this depression (Figs. 13 and 24).

The earliest known description of the Adamson site is again that of William Blanding, who gives the dimensions of Mound A and notes that a covered urn containing shell beads and a large engraved shell gorget had been exposed "while ploughing over the small mound" (Squier
Fig. 24. Adamson site. A: Map showing relationship of mounds to river terraces and drainage depression, scale 1:2,400, or 200 feet to the inch. B: Detail of map showing burials concentrated in area south of Mound A, scale 1:360, or 30 feet to the inch.
and Davis 1848:107).

In this same account, Blanding states that Mound A was enclosed in a circle, and the map published with that text (Fig. 4) shows an embankment nearly surrounding that mound. However, both Blanding's text and his "Directions to engraver" on the manuscript map (Fig. 80) indicate that he intended this semicircle to be shown as a ditch. Either Blanding interpreted the depression mentioned above as an artificial ditch of appreciable symmetry, or such a ditch has been obliterated by cultivation and erosion. The latter is quite possible since the Blanding account notes that the site had "recently been brought under cultivation" (Squier and Davis 1848:107).

A letter among the Blanding papers now in the collections of the Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina, provides an interesting glimpse of the Adamson site as it appeared in the early spring of 1849. Dated April 12 of that year, it was written to Blanding by his sister, L. Carpenter, who had visited the mounds with a friend:

We went through the Cunningham's plantation, rode as far as a fence which separates his plantation from Mr. Can ty's the present owner of the Mounds--he came into possession of it by marrying a daughter of William A. We left the carriage at the fence and so delighted were we (Miss Bonney Eliza Louisa Salmond) and self with the driver with his hoe, that we over looked the scattered relics of the mound which had been leveled, and aimed to reach the large high one expecting to find something on it to repay our toil.

It was well the driver took his hoe--there was but one path to the top, & that so steep and smooth, and the bushes so slender we dared not cling to them. The driver with his hoe made a place for our feet, & after a few slips and falls we reached the top & were repaid by the first view for all our toil. First the mound was gay with wild flowers, a large peach tree growing on its top in full bloom; on one side a fine view of the River and away through the trees the bridge which crosses the Wateree, looking like a rainbow hung so high above the water, the river being low. On the other side the small mound, and the little creek we had passed gay with flowers.
The top of the mound had been cultivated hoed up and tobacco planted by the negroes. We spent some time on top & prepared to descend. The descent was more difficult than we had anticipated. We all reached the level ground in Safety, walked over to the small mound several times around the large one without finding much to repay our toil. The servant was walking toward the fence on his way to the carriage, when he called to say he had found an urn or pot, & was on ground covered with pieces of pottery. We hastened to him, found the ground where a mound had stood, now leveled was not yet ploughed, was planted the past year, the rains had washed deep gullies which were filled with pieces of pottery. We found part of two pipes, many pieces highly ornamented, one arrow & stone to rub paint with. But with all our care the Urn which the plough had taken the top from fell to pieces, we took the pieces some quite large, home with us. The urn must have held eight or ten gallons before broken. We took some beads from it & the stone I mentioned together with the arrow. When the setting sun reminded us it was time to leave this sacred spot...we were all weary and dirty. The next morning I had a tub of warm water and washed my treasure, after being exposed to sun and air they became hard and firm.

Many of our neighbors came in to see them & strange to say had lived two miles of those interesting relics of a Race passed away & had never visited them...all seemed to value them but the owner, he speaks of demolishing the large mound, to enrich his plantation but I hope your description of them published by the Smithsonian Institution may prevent their speedy destruction...

The location of the third mound mentioned in the Carpenter letter is difficult to determine on the basis of the data available. William Blanding never mentions more than two mounds at the Adamson site, and both versions of his map (Figs. 4 and 80) show only two. However, these two are not in the same geographical relationship as the two mounds presently visible at the site (Fig. 24). Blanding's small mound lies northwest, rather than northeast, of Mound A--and there is no sign of a mound there today. The Carpenter letter states that the small mound--presumably what I am calling Mound B--lies "on the other side" of Mound A from the bridge that then crossed the river slightly downstream from the site, a quite correct description of the present mound.
relationship (Fig. 24). One reconciliation of these conflicting data is possible: that Blanding neither saw nor referred to our present Mound B in his report, but meant the other small mound when he noted the location of the burial urn containing the beads and gorget. On his map (Fig. 80), he then properly located this mound northwest of Mound A, near the bank of Mount Creek. Such a location would fit with the Carpenter account of "deep gullies" at the location of that levelled mound in 1859. Why Blanding might have ignored Mound B is not easily explainable. Since the site had recently been brought under cultivation when Blanding saw it, perhaps the depression and its edge, which includes the site of Mound B, had not been cleared of vegetation and that mound simply remained concealed. Speculations aside, the existence and location of a third mound at the Adamson site must remain an open question at this point. Perhaps a search of early property plats would help resolve the problem since, according to the Carpenter letter, the elusive mound appears to have stood near a fenced property line.

A final note of historical interest concerning the Adamson site is the account that a large pot--one of two "dug from the large mound" was on display at Mr. Alexander's shop in Camden, an exasperatingly brief mention that appeared in the Camden Journal on December 24, 1850.

The horizontal limits of the Adamson site are well defined by a stratum of cultural deposit between 12 and 18 inches thick that directly overlies sterile river deposits. Some four to seven inches of alluvium cap this gray zone, but early cultivation has mixed these river deposits with the upper portion of the cultural material, and root action has further blurred the line of separation between the two zones.
This occupation stratum fades out some 450 feet southeast of the mounds. Several pits made about 40 feet northwest of Mound A revealed evidence of occupation as well, but the density of sherds and other remains encountered there was considerably less than from pits made in the area just southeast of the mounds. The low-lying land between Mound A and the river is covered by thick deposits of sediment and no cultural material has been reported from this area. It appears, then, that the site covers an area about 1,200 feet long and 500 wide (Fig. 13).

The part of the site just south of Mound A contained a high concentration of burials, the known data from which are summarized in Fig. 25. These burials were of two principal types, primary adult interments and infant urn burials. All eight of the adult burials had been placed in rounded rectangular pits, the bases of which were from 30 to 35 inches below the present surface. All were apparently flexed and four were associated with artifacts. Of the five urn burials I know of from the site (excluding those mentioned in the historical accounts), four were clustered about 35 feet south of the group of adult burials, and a fifth was found nearer to Mound A (Fig. 24, B). In general, the pits dug for the urn burials were much deeper than those of the adult burials mentioned above. The upturned bases of the cover bowls averaged about 25 inches below the surface, and the bases of the pits holding the container vessels were encountered about 45 inches below the surface--intrusive into the sterile river deposits that underlie the site (Fig. 32). Each of these pits had been made just large enough to accommodate the container urn and, in at least three cases, this upright pot had apparently been intentionally broken immediately
Fig. 25. Adamson site. Summary table of known burials (After Stuart 1970:54).

NOTE: Data for this table were supplied by local collectors in the Camden area, particularly the late Jimmy Little, whose sketch map of burial locations and indications of positions of the skeletons was verified as closely as possible by me in repeated visits to the site.

The skeletal material was, for the most part, very poorly preserved and most of it was left in the pits. If any was removed from the site, it may be among the collection accumulated by Little which, I understand, was sold in 1974 to a collector in Aiken, South Carolina.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BURIAL</th>
<th>POSITION</th>
<th>ASSOCIATIONS</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Flexed on right side.</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>Roots prevented complete exposure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Flexed on right side.</td>
<td>Three complete pottery vessels (Fig. 27).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Flexed on right side.</td>
<td>Three mica cut-outs on skull, six near right elbow.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Flexed on right side.</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>Intruded by Burial 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Flexed on right side.</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Flexed on right side.</td>
<td>Small shell beads (Fig. 28) in area of neck.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Flexed on right side.</td>
<td>Small stone pipe (Fig. 34A), small shell beads (Fig. 29), and four mica cut-outs.</td>
<td>Skull missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Plain bowl (Fig. 33C) inverted over burial.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Infant urn burial.</td>
<td>No data available.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Infant urn burial.</td>
<td>Container vessel and cover bowl (Fig. 31), shell beads (Fig. 29).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Infant urn burial.</td>
<td>Container vessel (Fig. 33A) with crushed smaller vessel inside, shell gorget (Fig. 33B).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Infant urn burial.</td>
<td>Container vessel and cover bowl (Fig. 30).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 26. Adamson site. Fragments of daub recovered from Mound B. Approximately one-half actual size.
after placement in the pit, but before the body had been placed inside, for the "kill" stone—an irregular unmodified fist-sized rock in each case—was still in place below the burial and its associations, and against the inner surface of the fractured vessel bottom. Though traces of infant bones were found in three such burials, all four for which data are available were accompanied by shell beads (Fig. 29, upper right), and one contained a miniature shell gorget (Fig. 33, B).

An excavation made by collectors on the northeast slope of Mound A near its base and slightly north of the center line formed by its minor axis, indicated that three distinct soil zones parallel the outer surface of the mound: a surface layer two and a half to three feet thick, of dark gray soil; about three feet of yellowish clay; and, deepest in the pit, an undetermined thickness of dark gray, dry earth. No artifacts are known to have been found in the fill excavated from this portion of the large mound. In contrast, two shallow pits dug into the opposite, or southwest, slope yielded an abundance of refuse that included broken pottery, shell, pipe fragments, and burned corn cobs, all scattered through the topmost two feet of the mound slope.

The available artifact sample from the Adamson site comes from two main areas, the southwest slope of Mound A, and the stratum of cultural debris that covers the area of the site just south of Mound A. The sample consists of nine whole vessels (Figs. 27, 30, 31, and 33) and two pipes (Fig. 34). The potsherds illustrated in Figures 35 through 38 are only a representative sample of some 400 sherds recorded in various private collections as having come from the Adamson site—either from the occupation stratum southeast of Mound A or from the topmost level of the southwest slope of Mound A itself.
Three of the sherds from the village area (Fig. 37, B-D) closely resemble the pottery type Savannah Complicated Stamped of the Late Prehistoric Savannah component of the Irene site (Caldwell and McCann 1941:45) and other Georgia sites (Wauchope 1966:Fig. 226).

The rest of the Adamson pottery—the bulk of the sample—shows closest typological affiliation with the Irene phase pottery of the Savannah Locality (Caldwell and McCann 1941) and, quite strikingly, with the Pee Dee pottery of the Town Creek site in the Uwharrie Locality as described by Reid (1967). Adamson techniques of rim decoration of complicated stamped vessels include the use of cane punctating, with or without appliqué strips, and occasional riveted nodes (Figs. 35 and 36), and of plain bowls with raised pellets (Fig. 38). Two of the three vessels found in association with Burial 2 (Fig. 27) also fit stylistically into the Pee Dee series by virtue of their shape and punctate decoration (Reid 1967:Plate XVIII). The third vessel from that burial (Fig 27, A) is unique in the Wateree Valley collections, but a similar example from North Carolina is shown by Holmes (1903: Plate CXXIX), who notes that other examples have been found in Tennessee (1903:144). Other sherds of vessels similar to this—but of unknown provenance—have also been reported from the Wateree Valley.

The presence of a burial urn complex at the Adamson site, in which infants were interred in large globular vessels covered by inverted bowls, corresponds with identical cultural traits in both the Irene and Pee Dee manifestations (Caldwell and McCann 1941:38; Reid 1967:71).

Among the illustrated pottery sample from the Adamson site, as well as in the additional 350 or so sherds known from the same place,
there is a total absence of incised pottery.

The stone pipe (Fig. 34, A) from Burial 8 is one of a well-known type that has been noted at many sites in this and adjacent regions of the Southeast. Nearly identical specimens have been found in Caldwell County, North Carolina (Rights 1947:Plate 58), and from the Irene site near Savannah, Georgia (Caldwell and McCann 1941:Plate XXI, D). The typical example has a slightly flaring bowl one and a half to two inches high that makes an angle of about 110 degrees with the stem. Decoration usually consists of incised circles in two levels on the front and sides of the bowl, often at points where almost imperceptible bumps have been left in the final smoothing of the artifact. The rear of the bowl is most often marked with a pointed vertical motif or a simple depression rising above the stem-bowl intersection. In some pipes the incised circles are left off; in others, these incisions assume D-shapes, and general quality of the smoothing and incising varies somewhat from piece to piece. The stem length appears to be the principal variant, ranging from around two to slightly over ten inches. Present evidence suggests that the long-stemmed versions are relatively late in the stylistic development of this pipe type (Coe, personal communication). In the limited area of its occurrence, this popular pipe style serves as a useful horizon marker. Its presence at the Irene site and at the Caldwell County, North Carolina, "ossuary" in association with European artifacts indicates a temporal range of just over a century—from shortly before A. D. 1600 to a decade or so after 1700.

The period of occupation that can be tentatively assigned to the Adamson site appears to correspond closely with that postulated for the Pee Dee occupation of the Town Creek site in North Carolina—about A. D.
Fig. 27. Adamson site. Vessels associated with Burial 2. Relative scale approximate. Height of B, 20 cm. Courtesy of Robert LeFaye, Santee, S. C.
Fig. 28. Adamson site. Columnella beads from Burial 7.
Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 29. Adamson site. Upper right: Shell beads from Burial 8. Lower left: Shell beads from Burial 11. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 30. Adamson site. A: Container vessel and cover bowl for Burial 13. Height of container vessel, 46 cm. B: Detail of cover bowl.
Fig. 31. Adamson site. Container vessel and cover bowl for Burial 11. Height of container vessel, 44.5 cm. Cover bowl restored from poorly preserved sherds.
Fig. 32. Adamson site. Schematic cross-section showing stratigraphic relationship of Burial 11 to occupation stratum southeast of Mound A. Scale 1:12, or one foot to the inch.
Fig. 34. Adamson site. A: Stone pipe from Burial 8. B: Clay pipe from slope of Mound A. Both slightly larger than actual size.
Fig. 35. Adamson site. Rim sherds from southwestern slope of Mound A. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 36. Adamson site. Rim sherds from fill of occupation zone south of Mound A. Approximately one half actual size.
Fig. 37. Adamson site. Miscellaneous sherds from fill of occupation zone south of Mound A. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 38. Adamson site. Miscellaneous sherds from fill of occupation zone south of Mound A. Approximately one-half actual size.
1400 to 1650 (Reid 1967:62-63). The sherds closely resembling Savannah Complicated Stamped pottery, noted above, might indicate that this occupation span extends back slightly earlier.

Guernsey (38KE14)

This important site, now all but destroyed by the river, I named for E. Y. Guernsey, whose surface collection provided the basis for Griffin's short article dealing with the place and its pottery (Griffin 1945:471-76). In that publication, Griffin called the site "Cut-off Island," equating it with the meander-encircled area locally known as Friends Neck, just south of Camden (USGS 1945), which in turn is the large area crossed by the archeological feature known as "Indian Ditch," to be treated below. This location for the origin of the pottery discussed by Griffin can be eliminated in favor of another to the north, and warrants the change in the name of the site that I have made.

The locus of Guernsey's surface collection was "a small island in the Wateree River, almost due east of Lugoff, Kershaw County, South Carolina" (Griffin 1945:471). Lugoff lies across the Wateree from Camden in a west-southwest direction, and just such an island still exists in the river about where an imaginary line connecting the two towns would cross the river, about two miles upstream from Friends Neck (USGS 1953). The island, a short distance downstream from the Seaboard railroad trestle, is about a quarter of a mile long and less than a hundred feet wide, and its major axis parallels the direction of the river (Fig. 13).

According to Griffin (1945:471), E. Y. Guernsey made his sherd
collection around the time of World War I. It was at that time that this island was formed, for the flood of July 18, 1916—most violent in the written history of the area (Kirkland and Kennedy 1926:326)—scoured out a large portion of the west bank of the Wateree River south of the then-newly-constructed railroad trestle, leaving the island to mark the original west bank line. Pottery fragments and other cultural debris were scattered in profusion not only on the island itself, but on the southern part of the gravel bar (designated Sandbar No. 2 above) between the island and the new west bank (Fohl, personal communication).

Large amounts of pottery fragments remained on the island, and continued to wash onto the adjacent bar for many years after 1916. Unfortunately, the largest single collection from the place—an entire barrel full of sherds acquired by the late David Kohn of Washington, D. C., in the late 1930's—was subsequently lost.

The sample from the Guernsey site (Figs. 39-47) is typologically unique in the Wateree Valley Locality, with the possible exception of three sherds (Fig. 22) from Sandbar No. 1, and the single sherd from the Horatio site (Fig. 74, B). That sample totals almost 80 sherds, and is generally identical to the 42 sherds from the same site discussed by Griffin (1945:471ff.).

Natural conditions at the Guernsey site raise the possibility that some of the material found there has been washed onto the bar from other sites farther upstream. I have tried to avoid such a mixture of the collection by considering only the sherds recovered from beneath the island escarpment as properly documented Guernsey artifacts. That sample easily lends itself for consideration as a dis-
tinctive typological complex. On the basis of similarities in surface
treatment, temper, vessel form, and rim decoration, I have provision-
ally grouped most of the pottery from the Guernsey site under the name
Camden Ceramic Complex. As defined in Appendix B, the complex in-
cludes two basic types recognizable by two mutually exclusive kinds of
surface treatment: Camden Simple Stamped and Camden Check Stamped.
A third type, Camden Incised, combines with either of the two basic
types and is, by virtue of this combination, the most easily recogniz-
ed ware of the complex (Figs. 43-47).

The geographic range of this Camden Ceramic Complex remains un-
known, but available evidence indicates that the occurrence of the
distinctive type Camden Incised is limited to the Middle Wateree Val-
ley Locality. Another site upriver from the Guernsey deposits, in-
dicated by the three sherds noted above from Sandbar No. 1, has not
been located, and another rim sherd, found in the late 1940's, was
reported to have come from a field somewhere northeast of Camden, away
from the river valley.

The chronological placement of the Camden Ceramic Complex is also
difficult at this point in research, for no other complex serves well
for comparison. The original sample collected by Guernsey was assign-
ed by Griffin (1945) to the time span near, and probably immediately
preceding, the use of complicated stamping in the locality. Addition-
al evidence, though indirect, suggests that Griffin's tentative chron-
ological placement of the complex was essentially correct.

Some help in dating the transition—whether in situ technological
and artistic evolution or intrusion—from simple stamping to compli-
cated stamping is available from North Carolina, where the change has
been chronicled along three separate river systems—the Roanoke, in the northeast portion of the state; the Yadkin, in the central part of the state; and the middle Catawba, in the south-central area. Along the Roanoke, such a change is apparent in the archaeological record no earlier than around A.D. 1700; along the upper reaches of the Yadkin, between 1675 and 1700; and along the Catawba and lower Yadkin-Pee Dee, around 1400 to 1500 (Coe, personal communication). An extrapolation of this space-time relationship farther southwestward into the Middle Wateree Valley Locality would suggest a date of no later than A.D. 1400 for the Camden Ceramic Complex.

Reinforcing this chronological placement is the strong resemblance in vessel form and stamp decoration between the Camden Ceramic Complex and the simple and check stamped wares of the early Savannah phase in the Savannah Locality (Caldwell and Waring 1968). Of possible significance as well is the similarity in execution and utilization of rectilinear motifs between Camden Incised pottery and the Early Mississippi type, Woodstock Incised, from the Georgia Piedmont (Wauchope 1966:62-64, and Fig. 212).

The geological circumstances surrounding conditions at the Guernsey site also indicate a relatively late date of occupation. All the sites so far known on the alluvial plain of the Wateree in this locality except for Guernsey (and probably Horatio) appear to date from Prototohistoric times onward, earlier sites, if they existed, having been lost among the changing patterns of the river. The fact that the Guernsey site survived at all into this century would be not only unusual but improbable if the site were appreciably earlier than its Protohstoric neighbors.
Fig. 39. Guernsey site. Sherds of the type Camden Simple Stamped. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 40. Guernsey site. Sherds of the type Camden Simple Stamped. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 41. Guernsey site. Sherds of the type Camden Simple Stamped. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 42. Guernsey site. Sherds of the type Camden Check Stamped. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 43. Guernsey site. A: Vessel of the type Camden Incised, with incising over simple stamping. Height, 36 cm. B: Detail of same, showing decoration of zone below rim. Courtesy of Norman M. Fohl, Camden, S. C.
Fig. 44. Guernsey site. Sherds of the type Camden Incised, with incising over simple stamping. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 45. Guernsey site. Sherds of the type Camden Incised, with incising over simple stamping. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 46. Guernsey site. Sherds of the type Camden Incised, with incising over simple stamping. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 17. Guernsey site. A-F: Sherds of the type Camden Incised, with incising over check stamping. G: Same, with incising over unique stamp pattern. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 48. Guernsey site. Profiles of miscellaneous rim sherds of the Camden Ceramic Complex. Actual size.
McDowell, or Mulberry (38KE12)

I have hesitantly retained the name McDowell for this mound site, since it has appeared several times that way in the literature (Thomas 1894; Griffin 1945; Caldwell 1952; Griffin 1967; etc.). However, the place is much better known, at least locally, as the Mulberry site, for the plantation of which it is part, and I believe that the results of investigations now being carried out by the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina will be published under the name Mulberry. The site is also known as the Chesnut Mounds, and Blanding called it "Taylor's Mounds" (Fig. 80).

The McDowell site occupies a relatively high expanse of the alluvial plain immediately south of the mouth of Pine Tree Creek about two and a half miles south of Camden (Fig. 12). Only the remnants of two mounds are now visible at the site.

Mound A lies about 60 yards downstream from the point at which Pine Tree Creek enters the Wateree, and its eroded cross-section accentuates the 25-foot-high escarpment of the east bank. The present height of the mound is about nine feet, its width from northwest to southeast around 110 feet—both approximate measurements since the mound is badly preserved and totally devoid of measurable symmetry. The original length of Mound A is unknown, for its entire southwestern end has been washed into the river. An estimate based on a length of 154 feet in 1891 (Thomas 1894:326) would place it around 170 feet. Only about 115 feet remain at present.

Mound B, a short distance northeast of Mound A, consists of a broad, low hump in the cultivated field. This is almost certainly the mound that Blanding described as "twelve to fifteen feet high, with a
very wide base" (Squier and Davis 1848:107). The configuration of the
rise that marks the location of this mound indicates that it was ori­
ented northwest-southeast and was, when intact, about 120 feet long
and 80 feet wide.

Traces of a third mound, designated C, were visible until 1953,
when the remains were levelled. This mound, 480 feet northeast of
Mound A along a line that crossed Mound B, was 25 to 30 feet in dia­
meter and about two feet high, nearly as Thomas (1894:327) described
its 1891 appearance. Its center had been completely excavated.

William Blanding's manuscript map (Fig. 80) shows two large and
eight small mounds at the site. The large ones are clearly Mounds A
and B, for even at this early date Mound A was being encroached upon
by the river. The third mound, C above, was presumably the northeast­
ernmost of the eight surrounding Mound B.

Blanding's map (Fig. 80) shows an embankment with exterior ditch
encircling the ten-mound group at the McDowell site, but no sign of
the feature is extant on the present site surface. I doubt that this
embankment and ditch crossed Pine Tree Creek as Blanding indicates,
for it is apparent in both the manuscript and published versions of
the map that scales of mounds and associated features were exaggerated
for purposes of clarity. The McDowell enclosure is a case in point:
on the Blanding manuscript, it extends eastward to the Camden-Charles­
ton road--a distance of about one mile. Though I have no direct evi­
dence to contradict this, the distances between the existing mounds
and the exposure of the occupation stratum in the river bank (Fig. 49)
suggest that the maximum diameter of the McDowell site is no more than
one-tenth that distance.
Tangible evidence of the horizontal extent of the site is visible along the eroded river bank from the mouth of Pine Tree Creek to a point about 350 feet south of Mound A. Here, an occupation stratum 12 to 16 inches in thickness lies directly atop sterile river sand, a situation that duplicates that of the Adamson site. At the McDowell site, this thick gray layer is capped by 14 to 20 inches of alluvium, and consequently cultural material rarely shows up in the cultivated areas surrounding the mounds.

The McDowell site was under cultivation when Blanding first visited it in 1806, and "on the large mound stood the overseer's house; around it, on the smaller piles, were the negro quarters" (Squier and Davis 1848:108). This historical use of the site continued at least until 1849, for the Carpenter letter, cited above in connection with the Adamson site, also mentions an invitation from Col. Chesnut, then owner of the McDowell site, "to visit a mound on their plantation, the overseer's house stands on it" (L. Carpenter to William Blanding, April 12, 1849).

According to local newspaper accounts, extensive damage to the McDowell site resulted from the flood of May, 1886, which exposed artifacts and bones of humans and animals (Kirkland and Kennedy 1905:62). By 1891, river floods and continuous cultivation had effected the destruction of six of the original ten mounds, for Thomas (1894:326) noted "only bare traces of three smaller mounds" adjoining Mound A on the north and east--one of which must have been Mound B. The date at which use of the site proper by the plantation laborers ceased is not known beyond the fact that it was between 1849, the date of the Carpenter letter, and 1891, when the Bureau of American Ethnology began its work.
Fig. 49. McDowell (Mulberry) site. A: Map of existing mounds, scale 1:7,200, or 600 feet to the inch. B: Schematic sketch of site showing stratigraphy along river bank.
Fig. 50. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Projectile points from river bank below and in the vicinity of Mound A. Approximately one-half actual size.
In the spring of 1891, Mounds A and C were excavated by a small field crew working under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology. Traces of a long, deep trench are still visible on top of Mound A, or McDowell Mound No. 1, as it was then termed (Thomas 1894:326), and the pit in McDowell Mound No. 2 (Mound C) was still apparent until that mound was demolished in 1953. The material recovered from that excavation includes potsherds (Fig. 53), several miscellaneous objects of stone (Fig. 67, C-E), part of a stone pipe (Fig. 60, F), and some small metal items or fragments from the Historic period. The latter were probably deposited while the site was in use by the plantation laborers during the first half of the nineteenth century.

A second organized excavation took place at the McDowell site during the summer of 1952. It was arranged by David R. Williams, late owner of Mulberry Plantation, and carried out by personnel from the Charleston (S. C.) Museum and the University of Georgia, aided by teen-age labor from Camden, and under the direction of A. R. Kelly of the University of Georgia. During that excavation a profile of Mound A was recorded and stratified ceramic samples were secured from the mound fill and the stratum underlying it, and from an area of the site atop the edge of the river bank southeast of Mound A.

The sample from the McDowell site to be analyzed here was recovered from the eroded river bank over a four-year period immediately preceding those 1952 excavations. It includes 52 sherds (Figs. 51-52 and 54-59), two covered burial vessels from pits intrusive into sterile river sand beneath Mound A (Fig. 64), projectile points and other miscellaneous artifacts of bone, stone, and clay (Figs. 50 and 65-69), and sev-
en whole or restorable vessels (Figs. 61-63).

The surface collection from the McDowell site provided the basis for a tentative analysis (Stuart 1967) in which I noted that there appeared to be both quantitative and qualitative differences between the pottery from the stratum underlying Mound A on the one hand, and the upper stratum corresponding to the fill of Mound A and the upper stratum of fill north and south of the mound on the other. The preliminary analysis of the pottery collected during the 1952 Charleston Museum-University of Georgia excavation (Caldwell n.d.) reinforced and expanded those conclusions reached through a study of the earlier surface collections.

Caldwell's study drew upon a stratified sample of several thousand sherds recovered from those two parts of the McDowell stratigraphy: the presumably earlier layer beneath Mound A, and the later level of the occupation area south of Mound A. From the total, Caldwell noted two principal types of pottery, complicated-stamped and plain, which he named, respectively, Lamar Complicated Stamped (Mulberry variant) and Lamar Plain (Mulberry variant). Minority wares included, according to Caldwell, Lamar Bold Incised, Etowah Complicated Stamped, and a few sherds decorated by simple stamping, cord marking, or check stamping. Of these, Lamar Bold Incised was confined to the occupation stratum south of Mound A; the rest, to the pre-mound sample (Caldwell n.d.).

The same study led to the inference of a long occupation for the McDowell site and--based on small select samples from the total--an indication of certain pronounced differences between the ceramics of the two levels, as follows: In the pre-mound sample, 1) complicated-stamped ware is generally characterized by clear carving of paddles and care-
ful application of the stamping to vessel bodies; 2) there is more complicated-stamped pottery in relation to plain pottery (ratio=134:49); 3) rim decoration is mainly accomplished by the use of appliqued nodes or simple reed-end punctate. In contrast, the pottery from the later occupation stratum 1) reflects a sharp decline in the quality of stamp carving and application; 2) contains less complicated-stamped pottery in relation to plain (ratio=75:103); and 3) reed punctation decoration of rims is almost totally replaced by the use of pinched or notched appliqued strips just beneath rim edges.

The surface collections and other available data suggest several additions or modifications to the above points: First, the use of covered burial urns for the interment of infants is apparently confined to the earlier, sub-mound level of the site. Second, I believe--and, admittedly, this is more subjective than statistical--that there is a proportionally greater amount of bold incised pottery at the site than is indicated by Caldwell's sample and, third, that this incised pottery is confined to the later level of the site.

In view of the above data, and for convenience in the discussions below, I have tentatively divided the archaeological profile of the McDowell site into two components--McDowell I and McDowell II.

Pottery of the McDowell I phase equals the sub-mound manifestation and coincides strikingly with that of the Pee Dee series represented by the Town Creek site in the Uwharrie Locality of North Carolina, and with the ceramics of the Irene phase of the Savannah Locality.

McDowell I pottery (Figs. 51 and 52) includes all categories of rim decoration enumerated by Reid (1967) for the Town Creek pottery and, except for two (textile-wrapped and herring-bone stamp), all stamp mo-
tifs of the Town Creek sample, including the "arc-angle" stamp (Fig. 63, D), which Reid (1967:6) notes as unique to the Pee Dee series.

The 134:49 ratio of complicated stamped to plain ware in Caldwell's sub-mound (McDowell I) stratum is roughly equal to the 4:1 ratio noted by Reid (1967:3) in the Town Creek collection. Another diagnostic of the Pee Dee complex—the use of burial urns—is clearly characteristic of the McDowell I component at the McDowell site as well.

Sherds resembling Pisgah pottery types (Fig. 54, D-F) also occur at the McDowell site. Whether these particular examples are from the McDowell I level or not is uncertain, but similar sherds of the same Pisgah type, evidently traded from the mountain area of western North Carolina, were found at Town Creek (Reid 1967:Plate VIII). As noted above, none of the bold-incised pottery that Caldwell calls Lamar occurs in the McDowell I material from the McDowell site. Neither does it occur among the Pee Dee pottery from Town Creek (Reid 1967:69).

Instead, the few incised sherds from that Uwharrie Locality site show a motif pattern of incised triangular zones filled with punctate stipple (Reid 1967:Plate XIV). Probable stylistic counterparts of these Town Creek examples are evident in two sherds from McDowell (Fig. 54, B and C), though it is not known if these came from the pre-mound, or McDowell I, level.

Pottery from the postulated McDowell II phase is that which Caldwell found in association with the late village stratum and, as noted above, its differences from that of the McDowell I level are striking. Thus McDowell II pottery does not hold up well in comparison with the Pee Dee pottery from Town Creek. This McDowell II pottery does, however, bear close resemblances in quality of stamping and rim treat-
ment to the North Carolina pottery type Qualla Complicated Stamped, which occurs on the Historic Cherokee horizon in the western part of the state (Coe, personal communication). Specific modes of treatment common to both Qualla Complicated Stamped and McDowell II rim sherds (Figs. 53, A-H; 54, A; and 55, A-H) include both the folded rim and the notching of an appliqué strip just below the rim. Indeed, similarities are so pronounced that a mixture of the two sets of ceramics would be virtually impossible to separate. The incised pottery of the Qualla complex—Qualla Incised—also bears a strong similarity to the incised ware of the McDowell II component at the type site (Figs. 56-57).

On a broader, areal level, this Protohistoric and/or Historic incised ware occurs in sundry and subtle variation over the coastal, piedmont, and mountain zones from Georgia into North Carolina. As Caldwell recognizes, its manifestation at the McDowell site closely corresponds to the type Lamar Bold Incised, first published by Kelly (1938) and later described by Jennings and Fairbanks (1939) and, by extension, to Irene Incised—another variant of Lamar (Caldwell and McCann 1941:48).

The ultimate validity of the proposed McDowell II phase in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality depends in part on an explanation that will account for the occurrence of this incised pottery in the McDowell II component at the type site, and its appearance with the Irene ceramic complex of the Savannah Locality, for the latter, as indicated above, corresponds very closely with the McDowell I manifestation in all other respects. One rather speculative explanation is suggested by the spatial and temporal distribution of this particularly distinctive type of incising is that it diffused as a separate trait from the coastal area.
centered around the lower Savannah drainage, for it relates in slightly different ways to the pottery complexes within which it has been found. Its occurrence as part of the Irene complex has been noted and, though extremely rare, the incised ware occurs with Irene- (or Pee Dee-) like pottery at the Rembert site, farther up the Savannah River (Caldwell 1953). As one moves away from the Savannah and inland, however, this type of "Lamar" incised pottery appears to fall later in relative relation to specific local sequences. Lamar Bold Incised, for example, appears in the uppermost level of its type site on the Ocmulgee River (Kelly 1938)--a situation similar to that of the stratigraphic profile of the McDowell site. An even later manifestation appears in unusual "hybrid" forms in which instances bold incising and complicated stamping appear together on the same vessel, not at McDowell, but at Lamar (Kelly 1938:Plate 12, A), at Nacoochee (Heye, Hodge, and Pepper 1918: Plate XXXIX), and at the Peachtree site in western North Carolina (Setzler and Jennings 1941:Plate 36, A). No variants of Lamar Bold Incised ware appear--or, in terms of diffusion, never reached--the Pee Dee site of Town Creek (Reid 1967). Though this areal picture is undoubtedly an oversimplification of a highly complicated situation of cultural interaction, it could account for the appearance of a variant of Lamar Bold Incised pottery in the McDowell II phase of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality rather than in McDowell I.

The radiocarbon dates that place the beginning of the Pee Dee manifestation in the Uwharrie Locality around A. D. 1400 (Reid 1967: 62) suggest what appears to be a reasonable starting date for the McDowell I phase I have proposed for the Middle Wateree Valley, though the apparent southwest-to-northeast movement of culture that termin-
Fig. 51. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Miscellaneous rim sherds of the McDowell I phase. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 52. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Miscellaneous sherds of the McDowell I phase. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 53. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Miscellaneous sherds of the McDowell II phase. Approximately one-third actual size. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
Fig. 54. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Miscellaneous sherds of the McDowell II phase. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 55. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Miscellaneous sherds of the McDowell II phase. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 56. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Miscellaneous sherds of the McDowell II phase. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 57. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Miscellaneous sherds of the McDowell II phase. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 58. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Miscellaneous sherds from river bank. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 59. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Miscellaneous sherds from river bank. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 60. McDowell (Mulberry) site. A-E: Tobacco pipes and fragments of same from river bank. Approximately one-half actual size. F: Stone pipe bowl from fill of Mound A. Approximately two-thirds actual size. F courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
Fig. 61. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Whole vessels from river bank south of Mound A. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 62. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Restorable strap-handled vessel of probable McDowell II context from river bank. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 63. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Miscellaneous whole or restorable vessels from river bank. All drawn to relative scale, with B 15 cm. high.
Fig. 64. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Burial vessels and cover bowls from McDowell I stratum below Mound A. Height of burial vessel B, 38 cm. Courtesy of Mrs. J. Hubert Reese, Camden, S. C.
Fig. 65. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Miscellaneous sherds and effigy fragments. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 66. McDowell (Mulberry) site. A: Grooved ax found on surface near northeast edge of Mound A. B: Grooved ax from river bank below Mound A. C: Celt from river bank. Approximately one-half actual size. B courtesy of Norman M. Fohl, Camden, S. C.
Fig. 67. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Miscellaneous stone artifacts. A-E: Discoidal stones. A and B approximately one-half actual size; C-E, two-thirds actual size. F: Engraved piece of polished catlinite, full size. C-E courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.; F courtesy of Mrs. J. Hubert Reese, Camden, S. C.
Fig. 68. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Miscellaneous bone objects. A: "comb," originally set in beaver incisor. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 69. McDowell (Mulberry) site. Pottery discs from river bank below Mound A. Approximately one-half actual size.
ated in the Pee Dee manifestation at Town Creek might force a slightly
earlier beginning for its appearance in the Middle Wateree Valley.
An ending date for McDowell I is suggested by the estimated terminal
date for the Pee Dee occupation of Town Creek, around 1650 (Reid 1967:
62-63). This corresponds closely to the estimated end of occupation at
the Irene site, about 1600 (Caldwell and McCann 1941:73). If this
span is correctly defined, the McDowell phase in the Middle Wateree
Valley Locality must have lasted from sometime around A. D. 1600 into
the Historic period.

Indian Ditch (38KE7)

Blanding called this feature "the most remarkable ancient work in
the valley" (Squier and Davis 1848:107) and, according to his account
and map (Fig. 80), it consisted of an embankment parallel to a ditch
immediately to the east, both of which crossed Friends Neck, the land
within the meander loop opposite the McDowell and Belmont Neck sites
(Figs. 12 and 70).

Internal evidence in Blanding's narrative suggests that he first
saw Indian Ditch in the 1820's, at which time it "was about eight feet
deep and the wall of corresponding dimensions" (Squier and Davis 1848:
107), but notes (ca. 1845) that "it is now all under the plow and fast
disappearing."

I have not visited the location of Indian Ditch, but a line of
relatively dark vegetation shows up on aerial photographs of Friends
Neck (U. S. Department of Agriculture: Negative PE-5F-108, April 4,
1949) and indicates that some parts of it may still be discernable on
the ground. Apparently it traversed the narrowest portion of the mea-
ander neck--a distance of about six-tenths of a mile. Bierer (1969)
describes and illustrates what he considers an extant terminus of the feature.

No artifacts are known to have been found in association with this unusual feature. Indian Ditch appears to be relatively late in date, however, for it seems to have had the same relationship to the river meander loop that its builders intended when Blanding mapped it early in the nineteenth century. Further support for a late date is suggested by its geographical relationship to the Protohistoric mound sites, McDowell and Belmont Neck, that lie on the opposite side of the Wateree River (Fig. 70).

Belmont Neck (38KE6)

The Belmont Neck site is located one and a half miles southwest of the McDowell site on the same side of the river. The alluvial land that surrounds the single mound here is almost completely encircled by a river meander (Fig. 70).

Blanding described the Belmont Neck mound as being some 15 feet high, "the site for many years of an overseer's house" (Squier and Davis 1848:108), and thus it may be this mound, rather than one at the McDowell site, referred to in the 1849 Carpenter letter cited above, for both sites are situated on Mulberry Plantation.

Of the mound itself, little remains. On the single occasion I visited it, in 1950, it had been almost completely levelled by cultivation and had the same general appearance as Mound B at the McDowell site. The limits of the Belmont Neck site are not known, for the land here is blanketed by alluvial deposits, and no artifacts are in evidence on the surface.
Fig. 70. Map of Indian Ditch and nearby mound sites. Scale 1:36,000, or 3,000 feet to the inch.
The only artifacts I know of from the site are the two large urns and polished discoidal stone mentioned by Blanding (Squier and Davis 1848:108). The presence of a platform mound and the possible presence of a burial urn complex inferable from the Blanding account suggest an occupation on the Protohistoric horizon that matches, in cultural content, the Pee Dee manifestation of the Uwharrie Locality, and at least the McDowell I component of the neighboring McDowell site.

**Boykin (38KE8)**

The Boykin site is situated on the east bank of the Wateree River about three miles south of the McDowell site (Figs. 12 and 70). By 1950, all but a small portion of the site had washed into the river.

When Blanding first saw "Boykin's Mound," as he called it, "large trees covered it, and it was entire" (Squier and Davis 1848:108). If Blanding made his map and wrote his account in the mid-1840's, as biographical data indicate he did, his first visit to the Boykin site took place in the 1820's. A second visit, four years after the first, revealed that two-thirds of the Boykin mound had fallen into the river, and its eroded face "beautifully exhibited the various strata composing it. It had the usual layers of earth, pottery, charred reeds, etc. Some few of the vases were entire, containing fragments of bones, and were well arranged in tiers, one above the other." Today, nothing remains of the mound either at the site or in the memory of local inhabitants.

A tree that toppled from the rim of the river-edge escarpment at the Boykin site sometime shortly before my 1951 visit to the place contained most of a burial entwined in its roots. Though damaged by its
20-foot fall and subsequent erosion by river waters, this Burial 1 was sufficiently intact to define it as a primary adult interment that appeared to be slightly flexed. Measurements made from a remnant of the original ground surface that clung to the inverted tree trunk indicated that the burial, when in its original location atop the bank, had been in a pit about 30 inches below the ground surface of the site.

The artifacts associated with Burial 1 included six small mica cut-outs (Fig. 71) near the skull—one in place on the left parietal—and a long-stemmed pipe of chlorite schist (Fig. 72) that lay broken over the pelvic area. Two double-bird effigies carved from white-tail deer tali (Fig. 73) were found shortly after the excavation of Burial 1. These were not in direct association with the skeleton, but in the muck nearby, but were almost certainly among the artifacts originally placed with the burial.

Only one potsherd (Fig. 71) in the collection under study is known to have come from the Boykin site. In addition, the collection of Mrs. T. J. Wooten of the nearby settlement of Boykin, includes a fillet-stamped burial vessel and plain cover bowl, as well as a single plain bowl that came from the Boykin site (File 38K000. Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia).

If the burial urn in the Wooten collection comes from the Boykin site, a correspondence with the Town Creek material from the Uwharrie Locality is suggested and, by extension, a Boykin component matching the McDowell I material of the locality is indicated.

The single sherd from the Boykin site resembles the incised ware from the McDowell II component of the McDowell site, though its motif differs in detail from any of those excavated at the latter place, and
its execution appears to be much more casually done than most of the samples from McDowell.

Concerning the artifacts associated with Burial 1, the stone pipe (Fig. 72) is of the same general kind found both at Adamson (Fig. 34, A) and McDowell (Fig. 60, F)—a type that has been discussed in some detail above in connection with its occurrence at the Adamson site. Noteworthy in relation to the Boykin specimen, however, are two features: the long stem which seems to represent the latest variation of the type (Coe, personal communication), and what appear to be the marks of a metal file used in its manufacture (Fig. 72, B).

The double-bird effigies have clay counterparts from an unknown level at the Etowah site in Georgia (Moorehead 1932:Fig. 69, A), and from the area along the Santee River, southeast of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality (LeFaye, personal communication).

Horatio (38RD16)

The Horatio site, least known of all those treated in the present study, is located in densely forested bottomland on the Richland County side of the Wateree River some 15 miles south of Camden (Fig. 12). It is named for the small settlement of that name on the opposite side of the river.

The shell layers that mark the site lie some 25 yards from the west bank of the river, and their expanse over the area is only approximated in Figure 74. One section of the deposit is at least six feet thick, as exposed by what appear to be drainage canals that lace the area, but may be features somehow related to the prehistoric occupation of the site. The face of one exposed profile shows lensed
Fig. 71. Boykin site. Cut-out mica ornaments from Burial 1. Approximately one-half actual size. Bottom: Incised sherd, approximately one-half size.
Fig. 72. Boykin site. A: Stone pipe from Burial 1. B: Detail of same, showing file marks on bowl. Pipe shown approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 73. Boykin site. Double-bird (duck?) effigies made of deer bone, found near Burial 1. Approximately two times actual size. Courtesy Robert LeFaye, Jr., Santee, S. C.
Fig. 74. Horatio site. A: Map showing configuration of "canal" depressions in relation to shell midden. Scale, 1:1,580, or about 132 feet to the inch. B: Sherd from shell fill. C: Fragment of bone beamer from shell fill. B and C shown approximately one-half size.
Fig. 75. Chronological Summary of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality.
dark earth interspersed with thick beds of mussel shells.

The material culture from the Horatio site is scant, for collectors seldom visited the site since it is so very inaccessible and difficult to locate, even when one is in the immediate vicinity. The one sherd from Horatio in the present sample (Fig. 74, B) may be related to the Camden Ceramic Complex defined by the material from the Guernsey site mentioned above. Another sherd of the same kind, but with two parallel incised lines instead of one, was unavailable for photography. The fragment of beamer (?) made from the cannon bone of a white tail deer (Fig. 74, C) was found in the late 1940's at the base of the exposed midden profile.
CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

The major objectives of this final chapter are two: first, to analyze the archeological evidence from the Middle Wateree Valley Locality in terms of the history and nature of culture and, second, to evaluate the contribution of this study to the broader pictures of the archeology of South Carolina and that of the Southeast. In the course of the discussion that follows, certain hypotheses will be generated and some recommendations made regarding the aims and priorities of future research in central South Carolina.

In an adaptation of Willey's area-wide synthesis for eastern North America, Stoltman (1967:368) has framed the general development of southeastern culture in terms of six main trends discernible in the extant archeological record:

1. The spread of a thinly dispersed population of big game hunters

2. The adaptation to diverse localized natural resources in conjunction with the onset of climatic, floral, and faunal regimes that succeeded the Pleistocene Epoch.

3. An increasing dependence on agriculture, presumably of the slash-and-burn variety.

4. The rise of a burial cult involving interment in earthen mounds and nurtured by widespread trade in exotic goods.

5. Increasing agricultural efficiency involving floodplain farming and improved strains of maize.

6. The growth of ceremonialism involving priest specialists and special religious structures elevated on earthen platforms.
While these six trends comprise no more than a convenient set of culture traits or characteristics, and some—particularly 5 and 6—are closely related, they do retain a certain chronological integrity in terms of the periods traditionally used by Willey, Williams, and others. Thus they provide a frame of reference by which the degree of participation by the inhabitants of the Middle Wateree Valley in the cultural mainstreams of Southeastern prehistory can be measured.

In relation to the temporal spans that furnish the framework for the Middle Wateree Valley Locality—and ignoring for the moment the degree of participation by the prehistoric inhabitants—Trends 1 and 2 generally characterize the Early Prehistoric period (10,000-2000 B.C.); Trends 3 and 4 correspond to the Middle Prehistoric period (2000 B.C.-A.D. 1000); and Trends 5 and 6 relate to the Late Prehistoric (A.D. 1000-1400) and Protohistoric (1400-1650) periods.

Early Prehistoric Period

Although the long span of the Early Prehistoric period lies outside the scope of the present study, it is appropriate to summarize the scant evidence available in order to provide a foundation for the discussion of the span of time that began around 2000 B.C.

Scattered finds of fluted Eastern Clovis projectile points have been confined to surface collections in Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, and dated typologically to the period of the Clovis sites of the Great Plains and Southwest—the general horizon of 10,000 to 8000 B.C. (Williams 1968:318). For the time span between 8000 and 2000 B.C., the Hardaway and Doerschuk sites in the Uwharrie Locality have yielded a complete sequence of stratified complexes.
The Hardaway complex has been dated about 8000 to 7000 B. C. by comparison with material from Graham Cave, Missouri, and Modoc Rock Shelter, Illinois, whose dates are indicated by radiocarbon analysis to be just after 8000 B. C. (Coe 1964:120). However conservative this 8000-to-7000 B. C. date for the Hardaway complex might be, that complex—stratigraphically the lowest at the Hardaway site—is marked by the broad, thin Hardaway blade, the Hardaway-Dalton point, and, ultimately, the Hardaway Side-notched point (Coe 1964:Figs. 56-58). In the succeeding Palmer phase, dated at about 6500 B. C., projectile points of the Hardaway types give way to the distinctive Palmer Corner-notched point (Coe 1964:Fig. 59). This trend of stylistic evolution continues in the next phase of the Uwharrie Locality, defined by the Kirk complex of about 5500 B. C., the principal markers for which are, in turn, the Kirk Corner-notched, Kirk stemmed, and Kirk Serrated points (Coe 1964:Figs. 60-61), all of which have possible typological counterparts in the Early Prehistoric period sequence of Georgia (Wauchope 1966:4). In the Stanley Shelter material of around 5000 B. C. (Coe 1964:122), the Stanley Stemmed point becomes the dominant type (Coe 1964:Fig. 31), and polished stone artifacts—the atlatl weights from the Doerschuk site—make their first appearance in the Uwharrie sequence (Coe 1964:122). In Georgia, points similar to those of the Stanley complex appear in the Ocmulgee Bottoms and at Lake Springs (Phelps, cited in Wauchope 1966:5).

The next phase of prehistory in the Uwharrie Locality, represented by the Morrow Mountain complex—apparently an intrusive occupation, and dated around 4500 B. C. (Coe 1964:122-23)—is characterized by two similar types of projectile point: Morrow Mountain I, with its triangular
blade and short pointed stem, and Morrow Mountain II, a longer, narrower point with long tapering stem (Coe 1964:Figs. 33 and 34). The little-known Old Quartz Culture manifestation of western South Carolina and elsewhere seems to have stylistic affiliations with this Morrow Mountain complex, and Phelps hypothesizes that both Morrow Mountain and the succeeding Guilford complex, along with their respective counterparts in Georgia, represent a migration from the west between 4500 and 3500 B.C., coinciding with the extension eastward of the prairie environment during the Altithermal climatic period (Wauchope 1966:6).

In the Uwharrie Locality, the Guilford complex dates around 4000 B.C. (Coe 1964:123), and is marked by the presence of the Guilford Lanceolate point (Coe 1964:Fig. 35).

The widespread Savannah River complex is well represented in both the Uwharrie and Savannah Localities. In North Carolina it is dated from about 3000 to 2000 B.C. (Coe 1964:123-24), and marked by the presence of large square-stemmed Savannah River points (Coe 1964:Figs. 37-39) and the use of steatite vessels. The end of the Savannah River phase is not well documented in the Uwharrie Locality, and the occupation it represents seems to end abruptly in a cultural discontinuity succeeded by another whose hallmarks include large triangular projectile points and well made cord- and fabric-marked pottery. In the Savannah Locality, the end of this final pre-ceramic phase comes with the sudden appearance of fiber-tempered pottery.

Two of the 18 fluted points documented by Waddell (1965) from South Carolina were found in or near the Middle Wateree Valley Locality, but none occurred in the locality-wide sample under study here, with the possible exception of two rather unconvincing possibilities from the
Ferry Landing site (Stuart 1970:121). In 1971, however, an anonymous collector from Columbia exhibited an entire fluted projectile point alleged to have come from that site.

Accepting fluted Clovis-like points as general markers of the Paleo-Indian horizon, or the pre-8000 B.C.-span of the Early Prehistoric period, it appears that the Middle Wateree Valley Locality was indeed inhabited at that time. The relative paucity of diagnostic data, however, suggests that this habitation was sparse and perhaps geographically peripheral to the known concentration of Paleo-Indian remains in the Interior Low Plateau Province of Alabama, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and near the Fall Line zone of Virginia (Williams and Stoltman 1965).

If the Hardaway-like points from the Ferry Landing site (Stuart 1970:Fig. 7) can be equated chronologically with their counterparts in the North Carolina Piedmont, they provide a more secure anchor for postulating a general occupation of the Middle Wateree Valley from around 8000 B.C. onward. Not only are typological resemblants to projectile points of the Hardaway complex present in the valley-edge sites along the river and many other upland sites near its tributaries (Fohl, personal communication), but projectile points of succeeding complexes—Palmer through Savannah River—are present as well (Stuart 1970:122).

In summary, little can be said at present regarding the Early Prehistoric period in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality except that material remains exist that appear to cover at least most of the span. Thus Trends 1 and 2 of the earliest recognized cultures of eastern prehistory are evident in the locality. Regarding the occupation of the val-
ley between 8000 and 2000 B.C., it appears that site distribution is confined to areas away from the alluvial plain--either to the high terrace edges of the river valley itself, or to the high, rolling lands that flank the tributary system of the Middle Wateree. Whether the lack of Early Prehistoric sites within the alluvial plain reflects their actual absence or simply the pattern of preservation remains to be seen.

I would hazard the speculation that sites with Early Prehistoric period components, such as Eagles Nest, Ferry Landing, or others noted in my earlier study (Stuart 1970), will eventually be shown as representing adaptations to local natural resources—a situation that matches Trend 2 of the scheme outlined above. At this point of research, it is tempting to consider that cultures of the Early Prehistoric period of Middle Wateree Valley prehistory revolved around upland hunting, probably with increasing exploitation—but without occupation—of the alluvial plain itself through the span of the Early Prehistoric period. Such a picture would be quite consistent with the general nature of culture known in the Southeast during this span, and so far there is no evidence to even suggest a contradiction.

Stratigraphic relationships within the Middle Wateree Valley Locality, along with considerations of cultural intrusion versus in-place cultural development, can only be inferred from neighboring areas. Moreover, nothing is yet known regarding patterns of artifact distribution as possible correlates of environmental adaptation, for the lack of stratigraphic data is matched by the absence of information concerning climatic and environmental change in the region since Pleistocene times.
Middle Prehistoric Period

According to the cultural trends noted above for the Southeast in general, this span between about 2000 B. C. and A. D. 1000 should relate most closely to Trends 3 and 4--respectively the increasing dependence upon agriculture, and the rise of a distinctive burial cult.

By inference from archeological evidence of both the Savannah and Uwharrie Localities, the Middle Prehistoric period begins with, or at least includes, the introduction of clay pottery to the Middle Wateree Valley Locality. Only indirect evidence is presently available on this milestone in local cultural prehistory: While the range of distribution of the fiber-tempered pottery associated with the Stallings Island culture and the Bilbo site--both on the Savannah River--appears to preclude the presence of this early pottery in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality, the Thoms Creek site does lie in the same region, only 35 miles to the southwest (Fig. 1), and the distinctive Thoms Creek Punctate occurs there along the Congaree River, and also along the upper reaches of the Santee. At the latter location, at a site that occupied the high terrace edge that now forms the north shore of Lake Marion, I collected 13 Thoms Creek Punctate sherds (Fig. 76). Both Thoms Creek itself and this Santee locale lie in environmental settings identical to that of the lower portion of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality, and the Santee-Wateree drainage relationship duplicates the continuous pattern of the Santee and Congaree Rivers (Fig. 1). There is no reason, therefore, why sites of the Thoms Creek complex should not eventually come to light in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality. If so, these would be datable to around, or just after, 1000 B. C., providing current estimates of the Thoms Creek manifestation are cor-
Fig. 76. Thoms Creek Punctate sherds from the north shore bank of Lake Marion, South Carolina. Approximately one-half actual size.
While dependence upon maize agriculture ultimately had an appreciable effect on human culture in the Southeast, its date, or dates, of development, or importance in the early part of the Middle Prehistoric period in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality—or in any other locality for that matter—cannot be ascertained from evidence presently available. Of possible relevance to this problem is the Deptford ceramic complex of the Savannah Locality (Waring 1968).

The Deptford complex is at once the most distinctive and widespread ceramic manifestation of the Middle Prehistoric span, at least during its first half, but, unfortunately, it is also one of the least known in terms of material culture associations and non-material culture correlates.

Stoltman (1967:386) considered the distribution of Deptford ceramics in the Groton Plantation sites as reflecting a fundamental shift in subsistence base for that part of the Savannah region. Whereas earlier phases there appeared as indicators of intensive exploitation of marine mussels on the alluvial plain, Deptford seemed to indicate a gradually increasing dependence on upland wild plant foods and later slash-and-burn agriculture. Such a model fits the Wateree Locality.

The extensive shell midden at the Horatio site suggests the intensive utilization of river resources during at least one time horizon in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality, which, based on no more than an educated guess at this point, was probably during the early part of the Middle Prehistoric period.

Great quantities of Deptford check-stamped and linear-check-stamped sherds have been reported by collectors from upland sites in Sumter
Fig. 77. Deptford sherds from various upland sites in Kershaw and Sumter Counties, South Carolina. Approximately one-half actual size.
County, some 15 miles south of Camden; from other sites along the tributaries of the Wateree and Little Lynches River in eastern Kershaw County; and also from an area of the north shore of Lake Marion in the Santee drainage (Fig. 77). Of possible relevance to the question of Deptford occupation in the Middle Valley Locality is the close resemblance in style between certain wares of the Camden ceramic complex—noted above in relation to the Guernsey site—and Deptford Check-stamped and Deptford Simple-stamped pottery. If these stylistic similarities reflect a continuum between Deptford and the Camden ceramic complex—as I believe is the case—then a Deptford occupation of the alluvial plain is suggested that matches that of the surrounding upland areas.

So far, there is no indication of a Middle Prehistoric burial cult in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality, with the possible exception of the stone mound noted by Blanding (Fig. 4, F), the nature or date of which remain unknown. Nor is there yet any material evidence that the inhabitants of the Middle Wateree Valley during this period participated in the elaborate Hopewellian cult or culture that was centered in the Ohio Valley, or in the widespread trade in exotic materials that accompanied it.

I feel that many of the answers to the problem of the nature of culture in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality during the long span of the Middle Prehistoric period lie in the chronological relationship between the Horatio and Guernsey sites.

**Late Prehistoric Period**

Trend 5—increased agricultural efficiency—appears to correspond
well with the apparent nature of the Middle Wateree Valley beginning around A.D. 1000.

Indirect evidence indicates that the pottery types I have tentatively placed together in the Camden Ceramic Complex (Appendix B) fit chronologically into this period and appear to be largely confined to the alluvial plain. The Guernsey site seems to have been the main locus for the occurrence of this pottery complex, but it is possible that at least one component of the Horatio site will be found to have coexisted with some occupation of Guernsey. Another site, or sites, exist upstream from Sandbar No. 1 as well.

The pottery of this Camden complex may be a stylistic descendant of the check-stamped and simple-stamped wares of the Georgia Deptford complex, but the incised ware so distinctive of the Camden material apparently lacks counterparts of any kind among the Deptford material. Sears (1952) noted two broad stylistic trends in the ceramics of the South Appalachian Province and, based on studies in Georgia, pointed out an apparent regional evolution of each from earlier check- and simple-stamping: A Georgia Piedmont sequence from Middle Woodland Napier complicated stamping via Woodstock through Etowah types—all of which were predominantly rectilinear; and a parallel coastal tradition of curvilinear motifs, beginning with Swift Creek pottery and continuing into Lamar via changes evident in Kolomoki and Savannah types. Cross-cultural influences, Sears contended, produced mergers of these regional style traditions from Etowah times onward, and actual intrusions of people appear to have accounted for specific Piedmont similarities with the coastal complicated-stamped wares of the Savannah phase. If the rectilinear incising that marks the type Camden Incised (Appendix
B) represents an expression of Sears' Piedmont stylistic tradition, then the resemblance and approximate contemporaneity of Camden Incised and Woodstock Incised of the Georgia Piedmont may not be coincidental.

Stylistic descendents of the Camden ceramic complex wares are as difficult to suggest as their stylistic ancestors. A rim sherd (Fig. 23, B) from Sandbar No. 2, on the edge of the sherd deposit that washed out of the Guernsey stratigraphy, exhibits both check-stamping and a rim specialization characteristic of later, or Protohistoric, pottery of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality. Thus it may represent a late mode of decoration at the Guernsey site.

On the evidence now available, an important interruption, or cultural discontinuity, is strongly indicated around A. D. 1000, or between the Late Prehistoric occupation of the Guernsey site and the Protohistoric settlement of nearby sites with platform mounds. Not only is there a conspicuous lack of check-stamping among the ceramic samples of the latter sites, but the tradition of decorating pottery by incising--so diagnostic of the Camden ceramic complex--appears to end abruptly for nearly the whole span of the subsequent Protohistoric period.

Protohistoric Period

This span appears to have witnessed the fullest development of Trends 5 and 6 in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality. The stratigraphy of the two sites best represented in the present collections--Adamson and McDowell--indicates that the initial occupation of both was characterized by a sudden intrusive movement of people onto unoccupied land. This nature of the initial peopling of the Wateree Valley mound
sites strengthens the contention of a cultural discontinuity between them and the preceding occupation of Guernsey and other Late Prehistoric sites.

Both Adamson and McDowell—and probably other mound sites catalogued in the Middle Wateree Valley—were, by analogy to other Southeastern sites of the same horizon, primarily agricultural settlements. All featured at least one platform, or "temple," mound, and all are situated in alluvial valley settings with fertile planting areas adjacent to the nuclear settlement.

Many of these Protohistoric valley sites reflect a concern for defense, particularly evident in the ditch-embankment complex that encircled the McDowell site. This feature, again by analogy to other Protohistoric settlements, probably formed the foundation for a log stockade (Griffin 1967). There is no evidence for an enclosure at the Belmont Neck site, but its situation within a narrow-necked meander loop (Fig. 70) may have rendered such a construction unnecessary. No vestige of an enclosure has been noted at the Boykin site. Regarding the Adamson site, I doubt, despite Blanding's account, that anything other than the largely natural depressions ever surrounded the large mound.

A projection backward of the historical records suggests that floods were frequent in the bottomlands of the Middle Wateree Valley. In the event that the waters reached a height sufficient to cover the ground level of the settlements—as they have indeed done in recent history—the inhabitants had only to retreat to the higher ground back from the river. Instances of this nature may account for the presence of Protohistoric material in such valley-edge sites as Ferry Landing, near Adamson (Fig. 13); the high land near the probable location of
the Blanding site; and Eagles Nest. The concentration of late material at the Ferry Landing site may indicate a permanent Protohistoric settlement there.

That trade of material goods, either direct or indirect, was carried on from distant areas is suggested by the small catlinite object from the McDowell site (Fig. 67, F) now in the Reese collection in Camden, but its authenticity and provenance can never be fully proved. Closer to home, the mountain area to the northwest provided the mica, and probably the distinctive stone pipes that have been noted from the Adamson, McDowell, and Boykin sites. Most interesting in this consideration of trade with the Blue Ridge Province are the Pisgah-like sherds that appear at the McDowell site and on Sandbar No. 1 below the Blanding site.

Non-material culture of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality during Protohistoric times is difficult to reconstruct from the available data. Several sets of five to eight sharpened bird bones, some set into a beaver-incisor base, have been found at the McDowell site (Fig. 68, A). These are similar to archeological specimens from Etowah, Georgia; Cahokia, Illinois; and Town Creek, North Carolina, and to ceremonial scratchers noted in the ethnographic literature (Howard 1968:79), but may instead be simple combs.

The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, or Southern Cult, first defined by Waring and Holder (1945) is represented in only one certain instance among the known cultural material from the Middle Wateree Valley: The clay figurine (Figs. 8-10) found in the Longtown Mound, Fairfield County, bears two distinct "barred ovals," each within an "open eye" motif, among the dotted bands and other linear configurations that form
the textile-like design around the torso of the figurine. Though both motifs are diagnostic Southern Cult markers (Waring and Holder 1945: Fig. 2, V-VI), their occurrence in north-central South Carolina probably represents a temporal vestige and/or a geographically marginal expression of the "hard-core" Cult complexes that occur from Etowah, Georgia, westward in Late Prehistoric contexts. The incised vessel (Fig. 11) that accompanied the figurine appears to belong to a late horizon. Within the region approximately centered by the Middle Wateree Valley Locality, other Southern Cult manifestations are known, but rare: the engraved pottery vessels from the Hollywood Mound on the Savannah River (Thomas 1894); a monolithic axe from York County, South Carolina (Waring 1968:83); representations of the equal-arm cross from Town Creek (Coe, personal communication); and a scalloped circular paint palatte—identical to those from the Cult burials in Mound C at Etowah—from somewhere on the Yadkin River (Rights 1947:Plate 42).

The McDowell I phase of Middle Wateree Valley prehistory, which I equate essentially with the Protohistoric period, appears to include the bulk of the material culture of the Adamson site and—on the basis of burial urn practice—one component at Boykin and Harrison's Mound, and perhaps Blanding and Belmont Neck. Farther afield, McDowell I also resembles the pottery I have seen in private collections from the Scotts Lake (Ft. Watson) site on the Santee River (Figs. 78-79). Caldwell (n. d.) noted that Scotts Lake pottery appeared to carry the peculiarities of the sub-mound (McDowell I) pottery from the McDowell site even further in use of cane punctate rim decoration, the use of knobs and nodes, and the quality and care of stamping.

Unlike the McDowell site, Adamson appears to have no McDowell II
Fig. 78. Scotts Lake (Ft. Watson) site. Clay effigy pipe bowl and miscellaneous rim sherds collected from the surface on lake side of Mound A. Approximately one-half actual size.
Fig. 79. Scotts Lake (Ft. Watson) site. Miscellaneous potsherds collected from the surface on the lake side of Mound A. Approximately one-half actual size.
component, the ceramic characteristics of which have been noted as including the extensive use of notched-band appliqué in place of cane punctate decoration; careless stamping techniques; and the use of incising as a mode of decoration. The occupation of the Adamson site, therefore, seems to have ended at the termination of McDowell I times. The scant evidence available from Boykin and Blanding material culture indicates that these sites match the McDowell site in possessing a McDowell II component.

It is interesting to view this postulated temporal relationship between Adamson and McDowell in terms of mound construction at the two sites. McDowell I pottery comprises the sample in the debris-filled topmost zone of Mound A at Adamson, indicating that the large earthwork was constructed in McDowell I times. In contrast, McDowell I material underlies Mound A at the McDowell site, showing that the mound was begun later, closer to the end of McDowell I times or at the beginning of McDowell II times. If the Pee Dee occupation of Town Creek ended abruptly around A.D. 1650 (Reid 1967:63), and this Pee Dee complex corresponds to McDowell I, as it appears to, it is suggested that the abandonment of the Adamson site corresponds roughly with this date. As for what happened subsequent to this time at McDowell and the other sites with McDowell II components, two alternate possibilities are most likely: 1) Occupation continued, and the material culture differences between McDowell I and II represent a gradually-changing continuum, or 2) The local McDowell I population—At McDowell and other sites as well as at Adamson, abandoned their sites and were supplanted by another people with a distinctively different material culture. My own speculations favor the latter alternative.
According to Coe (1952:309), the bearers of Pee Dee culture in the Uwharrie Locality were evidently Muskogean in affiliation, possessed of unusual skills in their intensive maize agriculture, and marked by some degree of ceremonialism in practices ultimately related to agriculture. These people, according to the Town Creek data, represented a short-lived invasion from the southwest—the northern Georgia and Savannah drainage areas—that forced resident Siouan peoples into the neighboring Piedmont. When the Pee Dee culture bearers withdrew, these Siouan peoples re-occupied their old lands.

The archeological evidence almost forces one to equate possessors of McDowell I culture with the Muskogean invaders of the Uwharrie Locality. Even when regarded in its broad geographical setting, the Middle Wateree Valley Locality fits perfectly into the Town Creek-Irene axis—a region of close cultural interaction in Protohistoric times—postulated by Reid (1967:84). This geographical-cultural unit defined by Reid appears to have embraced the broad band of land between the coast and the valley-dissected edge of the Piedmont from Georgia northeastward across the Savannah and Congaree-Wateree-Santee systems to the upper reaches of the Pee Dee River, near the line that separates the Carolinas. The mainstreams of cultural movement within the region appear to have paralleled the Fall Line boundary between the Coastal Plain and the Piedmont—a locus that suggests to Larson (personal communication) and others that the underlying basis of culture in the Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric periods consisted of the exploitation of both those physiographic provinces as a supplement to the intensive agricultural activity carried on in the extensive river valleys.
Historic Period

The assignment of the McDowell II phase of the Middle Wateree Valley to the Historic period is based on scant evidence at this point, but that evidence is highly suggestive. Unfortunately, the stratigraphic picture at the McDowell site is clouded by the known presence of non-Indian houses on the mounds in the early 1800's. On the other hand, if the marks of abrasion on the stone pipe from Boykin Burial 1 (Fig. 72, B) are file scratches, the case for Indian occupation of that McDowell II component in Historic times is made, a case even further strengthened by the relatively late terminal date that various lines of evidence have indicated for the McDowell I phase in the locality. Given, then, the McDowell II phase as the reflection of a very late Protohistoric-into-Historic period occupation of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality, the conclusion is inescapable that its culture bearers were the Wateree themselves, a Siouan group assignable to this area at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Swanton 1952:101).

When the Spanish explorer Juan Pardo encountered the Wateree in 1566, they appear to have been located in the interior, "not far from the Cherokee frontier" (Milling 1940:215; Swanton 1952:101). In 1670, John Lederer visited the Wateree, then perhaps on the upper Yadkin (Swanton 1946:205), although their precise location cannot be reconstructed satisfactorily from either the map or the narrative of that journey (Lederer 1672). By 1701, however, the Wateree were definitely "on the river below the present Camden" (Swanton 1946:205) when they were visited by John Lawson (1709). The Wateree remained in the Camden area until the end of the Yamasee War in 1715, then moved north where they were gradually assimilated into the Catawba tribe (Swanton...
1952:101). Thus ended the Indian occupation of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality.

In 1733, the first survey of Fredricksburg Township was carried out on the east bank of the Wateree River, and it centered on the mouth of Pine Tree Creek (Kirkland and Kennedy 1905:10). This spot—the precise location of the then-abandoned McDowell site—was briefly considered for the site of the settlement that would become Camden (Meriwether 1940:99). Seven years after the survey, the Wateree Indians, still living a short distance to the north, laid claim to all the land in Fredericksburg Township (Swanton 1946:205), but in vain.

In summary, the earliest European accounts, though varying in degree of reliability, place the Siouan-affiliated Wateree in the exact area of the mound sites of the Middle Wateree Valley from late in the seventeenth century until 1715—a temporal span that matches almost exactly the interval of the McDowell II phase of the local archaeological record. The apparent confinement of the Wateree to the east bank of the river (Swanton 1946:Map 11) may be explained by early claims of the Historic Cherokee, who cited the Wateree River as the eastern boundary of their southern lands (Mooney 1900:Map). Of possible relevance to this territorial boundary is the fact that all known archaeological expressions of the McDowell II phase also occur on the east side of the river.

Appropriately, William Blanding himself added our final note to the Indian use of the Middle Wateree Valley. Writing around 1845 of the Town Creek area, he noted, "A very fine description of clay is found at that spot, which is resorted to by the Catawba Indians every spring and autumn, for the purpose of manufacturing pottery from it
With the onset of the Historic period, the abandonment of the Middle Wateree Valley by its last original permanent inhabitants, and the ever-increasing incursion of European explorers and settlers, we have come full circle in our treatment of ancient culture in the valley, reaching that era when James Kershaw could make the casual entry in his diary of a Sunday excursion to the "Indian Mounts."

The evidence that served as the basis for the present study has not been of the quantity or quality that would have been desirable. Consequently, it has been handled with care, and with what I hope has been an appropriate degree of caution. From the conclusions allowed by that evidence, the nature of the prehistoric occupation of the Middle Wateree Valley Locality has been recapitulated only in terms of the broadest generalizations. Even so, these have been sufficient, first, to show that peoples of the valley participated in varying degree in the major cultural trends that obtained through time in the archeological past of eastern North America and, second, to help toward completing our knowledge of an important area where knowledge has been lacking.

In seeking to elicit the finer points of Middle Wateree Valley culture history and process, one can only proceed so far on such evidence as we have had before the cumulative chain of "ifs" renders meaningless the final interpretation. The filling of blank spaces in our present knowledge, and the glimpsing of the subtle and complex changes that took place in the locality in the millennia preceding A. D. 1715 must therefore await the future.
Epilogue

While future archeological research in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality will be governed to some extent by problems and needs that are not necessarily those that have arisen from the present study, certain priorities have been suggested as this work has progressed toward completion.

A complete site survey of the Middle Wateree Valley certainly must stand high on the list of programs to come. Many places that Blanding mentioned in his extraordinarily useful account I was never able to re-locate, and others I heard about from local people I was not able to visit. Examples of the first that immediately suggest themselves for search are the "Indian Town" near the mouth of Town Creek, just north of the Boykin site; "Nixon's Mound" on the west bank of the river south of the Boykin site; and, of course, the Blanding site itself, northwest of Camden.

Another site of probable importance lies where the cemetery is located in the southwest corner of Camden. Its situation in relation to the alluvial valley duplicates that of the Ferry Landing site, which lies only a short distance away. While exploration of the cemetery itself is an unlikely possibility, perhaps some fringe area is available for testing.

As for excavations oriented toward problems related to the earliest occupation span in the Middle Wateree Valley Locality, I am not optimistic on the possibility that stratigraphy of appreciable depth is extant in the valley-edge sites. Coe (1964:11) has discussed this problem in relation to sites along the Yadkin-Pee Dee drainage where it crosses the Fall Line—a topographical situation duplicated in the
Middle Wateree Valley Locality:

valley-edge sites, if located above the flood plain upon older terraces, would not be subject to overflow and, therefore, would not develop natural stratification. If they were located in the flood plain, but lost to the main course of the river, they would be subjected only to overbank deposition which is usually inconsequential. In any event, the broad aggraded or stable river valleys are unprofitable places to search for sites that contain the stratified remains of former human occupation of considerable antiquity.

In areas where the rivers fall rapidly, however, such as along the fall line of the Carolina Piedmont, their beds are being cut rather than filled. In this situation the valleys are narrow and rocky and the high velocity of the water prevents the development of characteristic meander patterns. These rivers are usually confined to a relatively broad but shallow bed that is interspersed with outcropping rocks and small islands. As these streams move from one side of their confining valley to the other, they frequently pass places where fingers of resisting rock extend from the valley wall to the edge of the river. Behind these projecting rocks the river forms large eddies when it is in flood and deposits sand and silt at a faster rate than elsewhere along the narrow flood plains. Since these areas build up faster, their rate of flooding becomes progressively less until...they are higher than the normal flood stage. It is a curious fact that many of these deposits which began building early in the Holocene are still preserved and have continued to build to the present. It suggests that there has been comparatively little change in the courses of these rivers through the fall line since the end of the last glaciation and that there are many places where the remains of aboriginal man have been buried and preserved.

If this parallel can be extended to the Middle Wateree Valley Locality, it indicates that early sites with useful stratigraphy lie in its extreme northern portion. Although some possibility exists that early sites will be found in the narrow river valley between the dam and the Blanding site (Fig. 12), it appears that most of the land suitable for such locations is now submerged beneath the reservoir behind the Wateree Dam.

Moving to later sites and occupation spans of the Middle Wateree Valley, the Guernsey site appears to be of utmost importance in fill-
ing a relatively unknown part of our story; in finer definition of the postulated Camden Ceramic Complex; and in documenting the possible relationship between the Deptford manifestation and that Camden complex. Due to its peculiar geographical situation, Guernsey is also the valley site most threatened by the river. It is therefore highly recommended for testing, perhaps on the high northwestern end of the island that remains where the site once was, or—if this proves sterile—on the present bank of the river next to the island.

The unique Horatio shell midden is, I feel, of crucial importance in the eventual understanding of the Middle Prehistoric period in the valley, and would lend itself well to small scale testing that should produce high dividends for a relatively small investment in time and money.

Collectively considered, the Protohistoric mound sites along the Middle Wateree afford an unparalleled opportunity for study because of their proximity to one another, and because of apparent differences in their ceramic profiles that I have only touched upon above. Their study will doubtless have some bearing on intrasite differences that have been observed before in the region, but only among sites separated by great geographic distances where those distances have provided an unnecessary variable in the manipulation of material culture data.

The McDowell site, of such importance up to now in generating hypotheses of culture change that span the Protohistoric-into-Historic period, should be placed high on the list for future excavation, with special objectives of recovering a larger ceramic sample, confirming or denying Historic-period Indian use of the site, and excavating enough skeletal material to indicate whether or not the material culture dif-
ferences between the early and late levels correlate with a change in population. Such a project would possess the added advantage of providing an occasion for finally bringing all the McDowell, or Mulberry, data together in one publication to supplant what is now a research record of uneven quality and publication that does ill justice to the site.

Excavation is also suggested for the Adamson site, not only for clarification of its archeological relationships, but for possible restoration as an outdoor museum to instruct the general public and those people residing in the Camden area. The site is by far the best preserved in the locality, and its picturesque setting and proximity to town make it eminently suitable for such a purpose.

Much of the data and site descriptions that form the raw material for the present study were collected between 1948 and 1953. Conditions have since changed at many of the sites, and my sporadic visits to the locality since 1953 have been more disheartening than not. I noted the destruction of the Early Prehistoric period Dabney site in an earlier study (Stuart 1970), and a recent visit to the Ferry Landing site indicates that its time, too, will come soon, for encroaching housing developments have appeared on all horizons. Interstate Highway 20 now crosses the Wateree just north of the McDowell site, and much archeological material doubtless vanished in its right-of-way. And, of course, those sites that remain untouched since the 1950's have slowly yielded to another twenty years of erosion.

On the positive side, there remains much work to be done in the Middle Wateree Valley, and it is heartening that the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology in Columbia is highly active in initiating the
sort of archeological research that the State of South Carolina lacked for so long. It is my hope that this tentative ordering of data will help provide a sound base for the Institute's future work in an important sector of the state.
APPENDIX A

THE MANUSCRIPT OF

WILLIAM BLANDING'S MAP
THE MANUSCRIPT OF WILLIAM BLANDING'S MAP

The original manuscript of the Blanding map of prehistoric sites along the Wateree River is among the collection comprising the E. G. Squier Papers in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. It is one of many such documents accumulated by Squier in the preparation of the monumental "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley" that initiated the publication series of the Smithsonian Institution in 1848.

The manuscript, reproduced in Figure 80, measures 11 by 16 inches and was rendered in ink and pencil on thin laid paper typical of the decades around the middle of the 19th century. Various lines of evidence, including the types of pen, ink, and paper used; the numerous place names and features depicted; and the span of Blanding's residence in the Camden area, suggest that the manuscript was done around 1845, and this date fits well with the dates of other maps and letters in the corpus of the Squier material.

The manuscript map is important, for it differs in many points from the version finally published by Squier and Davis (Fig. 4). Among these, the manuscript shows a ditch or depression surrounding Mound A at the Adamson site; the engraved published version, a wall. The manuscript shows an embankment with exterior ditch circling the McDowell site; the published version, only the embankment. Other differences include the number and relative position of mounds at
the McDowell site and a great difference in the number of named features shown. The published version of the map which, of necessity, separated the coverage of the manuscript into two segments, also treated scale casually, as is evident in the compression of county boundaries and, more importantly, in the size of the oval "fortification" north of Camden. For these points of difference, all references to Blanding's map in the present study are to this primary document rather than to the published version.

It is not clear what Blanding used as the base for his inked configuration of the river and the relative position of Camden. Though the scale is identical to that of the Boykin map (Mills 1825), the two are quite different. It is possible that Blanding either copied by eye, rather than tracing, the published Boykin map or used John Boykin's original survey of Kershaw District--a document that would have been in Camden at the time, and one that never was deposited with the other manuscript surveys in the Mills Collection in the State Archives of South Carolina.
Fig. 80. Manuscript map by William Blanding showing archaeological sites in the Middle Wateree Valley locality. Scale 1:126,720, or two miles to the inch. Courtesy of the manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE "DIRECTIONS TO ENGRAVER" IN MANUSCRIPT MARGIN:

"The mounds should be all shaded dark, so as to give them prominence. 4-9-10 & 11 have a wall shaded light, and a ditch dark around them. 9 is a simple ditch around the mound. The 'Alluvial line' should be as fine dots, fine but distinct. The roads rather fine, the distinct lines bold. The names to be clear and distinct, and the figures rather bold. The marks around the huts in 13 & 3 to be left off as in 5--huts to be distinct".
APPENDIX B

TYPE DESCRIPTION OF

THE CAMDEN CERAMIC COMPLEX
TYPE DESCRIPTION OF THE CAMDEN CERAMIC COMPLEX

Camden Simple Stamped:

Paste:
- Method of manufacture: coiling.
- Temper: grit; appears to be predominantly quartz or quartzite with some feldspar.
- Texture: ranges from fine, with occasional inclusions up to 3mm. diameter, to medium coarse.
- Color: black through gray to buff, with predominance at black end of range. The buff in cross-sections of the paste is usually the penetration of exterior body color.

Surface:
- Finish: mostly smooth, but tempering material occasionally shows; tool marks rarely visible.
- Color: buff through gray, with predominance at buff end of range.

Decoration:
- Technique: stamped or pressed with a flat, presumably wooden, striated paddle, or perhaps a cord-wrapped paddle in rare cases. Condition of most of the sherds and quality of stamping precludes this distinction.
- Design: parallel lands and grooves. Average raised lines on sherd --corresponding to paddle grooves--are 1.0mm. wide, some 2.0mm. wide, with interstitial grooves--lands on the paddle--ranging from 2.0 to 4.0mm. wide. Cross stamping common.
- Distribution: according to small sample, over entire exterior of vessel.

Form:
- Rim: most often straight with some tendency to taper inward; rarely everted, then only slightly. Rims are characteristically flattened and impressed, either with the paddle used to stamp the exterior body or with a narrow stick.
  - Body: globular or conoidal vessels with rounded bases. Some bowls evident in the sample.
  - Thickness: 4.0 to 6.0mm. Average toward lesser end of range, with occasional sherds around 2.5mm. thick.

Illustrated examples: Figures 39-41
Camden Check Stamped:

Paste, surface, and form descriptions match those of Camden Simple Stamped, except for tendency of check-stamped sherds to have a slightly greater average thickness than that noted for the simple-stamped sherds.

Decoration:

Technique: stamped or pressed with a wooden paddle carved with a grill of parallel lines intersecting at right angles.

Design: right-angle grid. Raised lines on sherds--grooves on the paddle--average 1.0mm. wide and 5.0mm. apart.

Distribution: uncertain, but appears to be over entire vessel exterior.

Illustrated examples: Figure 42

Camden Incised:

Represents a mode of rim decoration applied as secondary adornment to vessels of both the Camden Simple Stamped and Camden Check Stamped as described above.

Decoration:

Technique: incising executed with a flat stick 1.0 to 3.0mm. wide that produced a striated rectangular impression in the widest examples. The overall subjective impression is that the incising was of bold and sure execution done with only a casual regard for precise symmetry.

Design: always rectilinear. In the small sample available are four broad categories into which motifs of varying complexity can be conveniently fitted. Components of the motifs range from continuous lines through relatively long lines and short slashes to squarish punctations produced by the end of the decoration stick. The four general categories:

1) Horizontal line: one to four lines parallel to, and just below, the edge of the rim.
2) Vertical line: lines or short vertical slashes just below the rim edge. These may be evenly spaced around the vessel, or segregated into sets of four to seven lines each.
3) Oblique line: opposing pairs of groups of seven (or less?) lines that produce dangling triangles beneath the rim line, or a horizontal cheveron motif pointing in one direction beneath the rim.
4) Combinations: usually no more than two of the above categories together--most often 1 and 2 in various combinations.

Distribution: always confined to area immediately below rim of vessel.

Illustrated examples: Figures 43-47
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