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A NEW LOOK AT AN OLD SEQUENCE: TIME, TYPOLOGY, AND INTRUSIVE TRADITIONS IN THE CAROLINA PIEDMONT

I. Randolph Daniel, Jr.

The projectile point traditions proposed in *The Formative Cultures of the Carolina Piedmont* (Coe 1964) almost 50 years ago remain the backbone of North Carolina archaeology. And while the typology and associated cultural-historical sequence proposed by Coe (1964) has largely stood the test of time, archaeology done in the Piedmont and surrounding regions over the last five decades indicates that certain aspects of this sequence bear reassessment (e.g., Claggett and Cable 1982; Drye 1998). Here, typological refinements are proposed for point types associated with the Paleoindian and Archaic periods. With regard to the former, fluted point variability is linked to a proposed three-phase sequence in the Piedmont. With regard to the latter, the notion of "intrusive traditions" (Coe 1964) is reconsidered in light of work done at Haw River (Claggett and Cable 1982) and Lowder's Ferry (Drye 1998) as well as related work from outside the state as well (Chapman 1977).

First, however, I present some background and assumptions for this work.

BACKGROUND AND ASSUMPTIONS

The *Formative Cultures* sequence is familiar to all southeastern archaeologists (Figure 17-1). Suffice it to say that the sequence begins with the Hardaway complex that includes a point type marked by a concave eared base form similar to Dalton points elsewhere in the Southeast. Subsequently, a series of side-notched and corner-notched points mark the Early Archaic in the Piedmont, followed by a series of various stemmed points representing the Middle and Late Archaic. Finally, the Woodland period is marked by a series of triangular points.

Sometimes referred to as the Piedmont Tradition (Oliver 1985), Coe emphasized both technological continuity and change in the point sequence. Technological continuity implied a cultural relatedness in point types while technological change implied cultural intrusion. Much of the sequence is characterized by technological continuity. Technological similarities, for example, existed within the "Hardaway complex" that marked the beginning of the sequence: "The earliest material yet excavated in the Piedmont consists of a series of large, thin projectile points that begin with a very simple form and evolved into a very unique side-notched type" (Coe 1964:120). Likewise, technological continuity also characterized subsequent Archaic points as illustrated by the broad blade and squared stem affinities of the "Kirk-Stanly-Savannah tradition" that lasted for several millennia (Coe 1964:35). Implicit in this view of technological traditions is the notion of historical relatedness. Regardless of whether one buys into the notion of evolutionary archaeology (sensu O'Brien and Lyman 1999) and its emphasis on artifacts as phenotypic manifestations, most archaeologists would agree that some artifact types—including projectile points—exhibit attribute changes that reflect historical continuity. Archaeologists have long used changes in artifact form as exhibited by changes in specific characteristics to measure the passage of time. We are speaking more than metaphorically when we say that artifacts "evolve." Coe (1964:35), for example, implies as much when describing the relationship between Stanly and Savannah River point types: "The larger points of this [Stanly]

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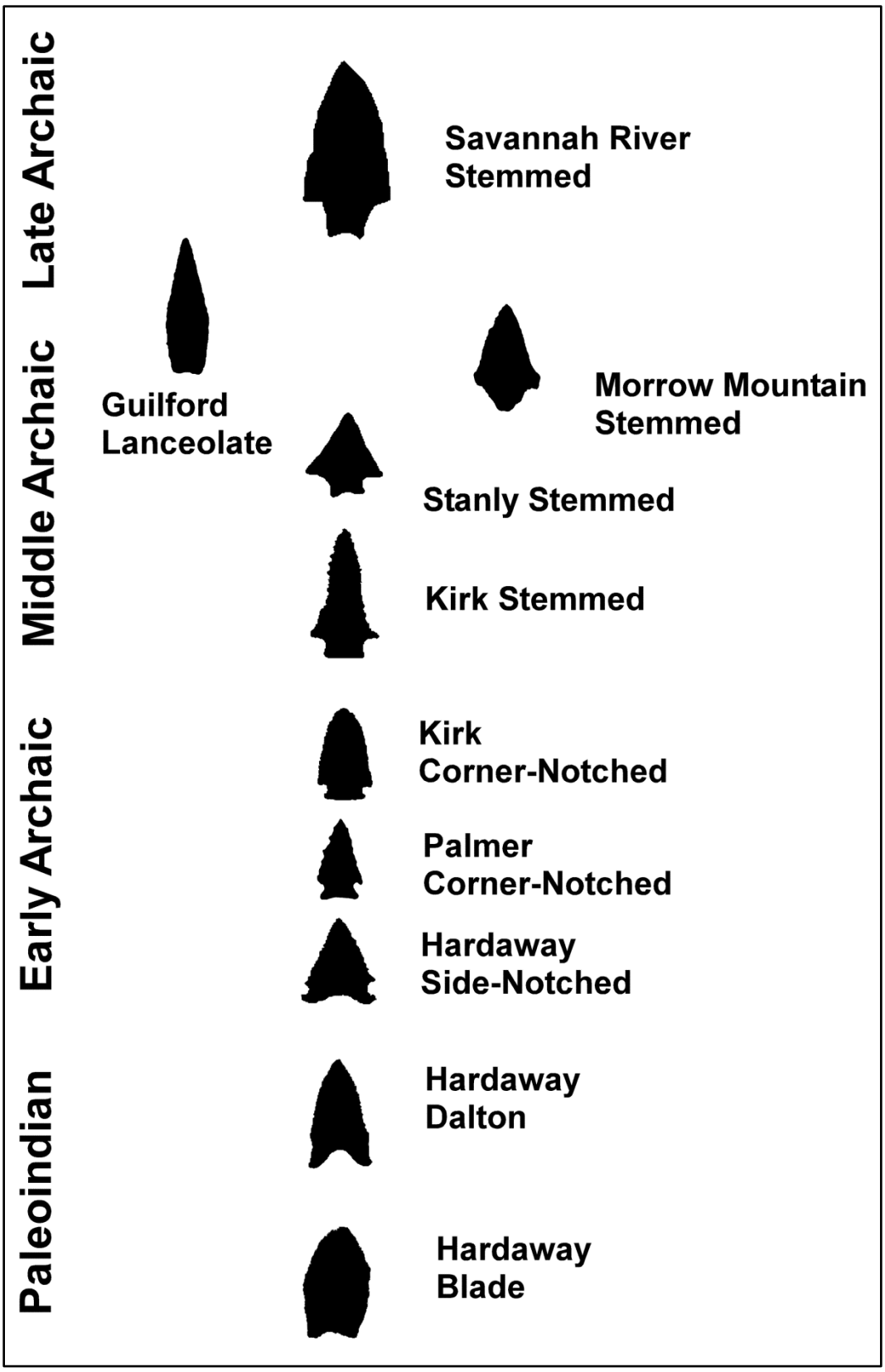

Figure 17-1. Pre-Woodland period projectile point traditions of the North Carolina Piedmont (after Coe 1964).

type tend to blend with the smaller points of the Savannah River type, and it may well be that they are related." Implicit, too, in this statement is the notion of "transitional" types. The notion that "blending" reflects morphological variation from a typical form allows us to build a sequence of point types using slight changes in artifact attributes to link types chronologically. Such an assumption underlies much of the following discussion.

IN THE BEGINNING

As noted above, the Hardaway complex marks the beginning of the *Formative Cultures* sequence. In particular, the Hardaway Blade is viewed as a Paleoindian point type for the Piedmont. Elsewhere in the Southeast, however, fluted Clovis-like points more typically mark the Paleoindian period. Clovis points are known from North Carolina (Daniel 2006; e.g., Daniel and Goodyear 2006; Daniel and Goodyear 2011) and in fact Coe (1964:120) did mention that three "Clovis-like" points were recovered from the surface at Hardaway (see Daniel 2006). Moreover, Coe (1964:120) proposed that the Hardaway Blade had technological affinities to Clovis points, noting that in some cases "they could be mistaken for fluted points."

In fact, the degree to which Hardaway Blades resemble Clovis points is questionable. As discussed elsewhere (Daniel 1998:6263; Goodyear 1974:24), morphologically the Hardaway Blade more resembles a Hardaway-Dalton preform than a Clovis point. Furthermore, the stratigraphic evidence from Hardaway does not support the claim that Hardaway-Blades predate Hardaway-Daltons (Daniel 1998:63–65). Not to belabor the issue but since Hardaway-Daltons were made at Hardaway, their preforms must exist, and it seems more parsimonious to interpret Hardaway-Blades as preforms rather than a point type *per se* (Figure 17-2a–e).

Yet, as Coe (1964:64) remarked, those bifaces assigned to the Hardaway Blade type exhibited "considerable variation" such that they were assigned to a single type based more on their common provenience (embedded in the residual clay from Level IV) than on any morphological similarity. A few small, thin specimens (Coe 1964:Figure 56A), for example, are perhaps more difficult to assign a preform designation. Indeed, some specimens (Figure 17-2f–h) arguably appear to be finished. Their trianguloid to lanceolate form is very similar to the two bifaces recovered about 7 cm below a Clovis surface that produced two fluted points among other artifacts at Cactus Hill, Virginia (Feathers et al. 2006; McAvoy and McAvoy 1997). What implications this has for possible pre-Clovis points in North Carolina is difficult to say. But if a microwear analysis were to be done on the small bifaces from Hardaway and yielded results similar to those done on the bifaces at Cactus Hill (e.g., Kimball 2000), then it could be argued that they represent finished specimens rather than preforms. Their temporal placement would have to await recovery from a datable context but their morphological similarity to the Cactus Hill specimens would beg the question of a pre-Clovis point type in North Carolina (McAvoy and McAvoy 1997:157).

Until this occurs, however, known fluted point forms found in the Piedmont represent the earliest recognizable point type for the region. Accordingly, I propose a three-phase sequence for the Paleoindian period that includes Clovis, Redstone/Cumberland, and Hardaway-Dalton points (see also Ward and Davis 1999:24–25). It should be emphasized, however, that the following sequence is constructed largely on typological grounds. No single stratigraphic deposit or any chronometric data yet exists to support it, but it is generally consistent with those proposed elsewhere in the Southeast (e.g., Goodyear 1999).

Figure 17-2. Hardaway Blades: proposed Hardaway-Dalton preforms (a–e); possible pre-Clovis bifaces (f–h).

Clovis points mark the first phase of the sequence. While this category generally corresponds to the Southwestern form (Haynes 2002) and is characterized by a lanceolate shape, straight sided fluted base, and shallow basal concavity, there is considerable size variability within this class that is at least partially attributed to stone raw material (Figure 17-3). With respect to geographic distributions, Clovis points are recorded in every region of the state but are particularly well represented in the Piedmont (Daniel and Goodyear 2006, 2011). Redstone and Cumberland points mark the middle phase of the sequence. Redstone (Mason 1962; Perino 1968) represents the second most frequent category of fluted point in the Piedmont. Redstone points exhibit a distinctive full facial fluting, relatively deep basal concavity, and triangular blade similar to what is called Redstone in the mid-South (Figure 17-4a–b). As such, this type likely represents a post-Clovis manifestation in the Piedmont (Daniel and Goodyear 2006, 2011).

Like Redstone points, Cumberland points also exhibit full facial fluting; but they also display a distinctive eared and somewhat waisted base (Figure 17-4c). While very rare, Cumberland points have been recorded in the Piedmont (Daniel and Goodyear 2006). Much greater frequencies are found to the west in Tennessee (Anderson et al. 2010); hence their presence in the Piedmont may represent rare group forays outside their usual geographic range.

Although these two types likely post dated Clovis, the temporal duration and relationship of Redstone and Cumberland remains unknown. Tentatively, I have placed them in the Middle

Figure 17-3. North Carolina Clovis Points.

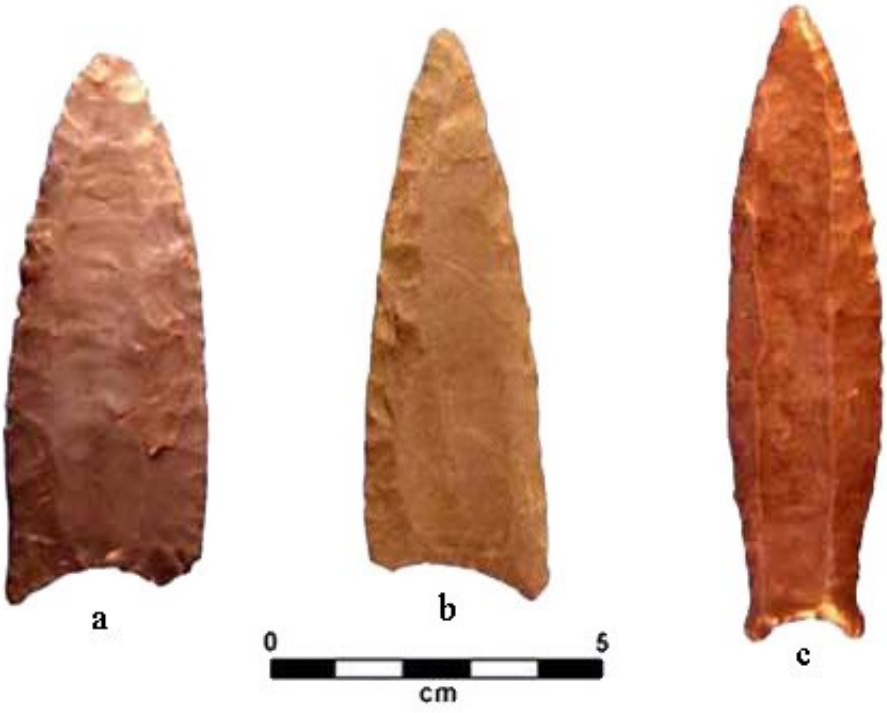

Figure 17-4. North Carolina Redstone Points (a–b) Cumberland Point (c).

Paleoindian phase as two coeval but geographically overlapping traditions. Although speculative, the greater number of Redstone points versus Cumberland points suggests that Redstone is part of the Piedmont sequence *per se*. Cumberland points, on the other hand, likely have their origins in the Mountains to the west and would represent an "intrusive" type in the Piedmont.

Greater regionalization is seen in the final phase that is represented by Hardaway-Dalton points. To date, they remain the only Paleoindian point type documented from good stratigraphic context in the region, being the earliest type recovered from Hardaway (Coe 1964; Daniel 1998) and Haw River (Claggett and Cable 1982). While surface collections indicate their presence across the state, their dense occurrence in the Piedmont (particularly in relation to fluted point types) and their clear raw material association with metavolcanic stone bespeak a strong demographic association with the Piedmont.

BIFURCATES: INDIGENOUS OR INTRUSIVE?

Bifurcated base points were not recognized by Coe (1964) as part of the *Formative Cultures* sequence.[1] Nevertheless, bifurcate points do exist in the Piedmont and this begs the question of their temporal and technological relationship to other notched and stemmed points in the region. Generally dating to the latter part of the Early Archaic elsewhere in the Southeast (ca. 10,000–8700 cal B.P.) (Anderson and Sassaman 2012:72), bifurcate points were initially identified by Broyles (1971) at the St. Albans site in West Virginia, and later were substantiated by the work of Chapman along the Little Tennessee River (Chapman 1975, 1976). Perhaps the best stratigraphic evidence for bifurcate points in North Carolina comes from the excavations at the Haw River site (31CH29), discussed further below.

The presence of bifurcate points in North Carolina *vis-a-vis* their presence elsewhere in the Southeast begs the question of their cultural-historical relationship to other Archaic point types of the *Formative Cultures* sequence. That is, do bifurcate points represent a cultural-historical tradition indigenous to the Piedmont—and overlooked in the *Formative Cultures* sequence—or do bifurcate points represent a tradition centered outside the region, perhaps in the Appalachians (e.g., Cable 1982:440–444; Chapman 1975:235–276) and thus "intrusive" to the Piedmont? The answer to this question has important implications for understanding Archaic period adaptations in North Carolina. If bifurcate points are indigenous to the Piedmont then the Piedmont tradition (cf. Oliver 1985) concept needs modification. On the other hand, if bifurcate points are intrusive, then it calls into question the "Coe axiom"[2] (Brennan 1967) and raises the possibility of two contemporaneous point traditions—the intrusive bifurcate tradition and a coeval local point tradition—at use in the Piedmont. In any case, with few exceptions (e.g., Cable 1982; Ward and Davis 1999), when researchers have documented bifurcate points in North Carolina, the implications of the presence of such a tradition essentially have been ignored.

Bifurcated base points are so-called for a distinctive small notch in the stem that results in either rounded or pointed basal ears. Two successive point types are recognized in the state: St. Albans Side Notched points and LeCroy Bifurcated Stem. St. Albans Side Notched points are relatively short and thin with triangular and often serrated blades and slightly notched, bifurcated

[1] That is not to say that no bifurcate points are present at Hardaway, rather they are present in such low frequencies as to represent a marginal presence (e.g., Daniel 1998: Table 2.1).

[2] Brennan coined this term based upon Coe's (1964:8) assertion that in archaeological contexts of short occupation spans, only one type of projectile point is found.

bases with distinct rounded ears. Although labeled a side-notched point, Chapman (1977:39) notes that this type is, in fact, corner-notched; it is the degree to which blade widths are reduced that creates the impression of side-notching. LeCroy Bifurcated Stem points are also relatively small, thin points with deeply notched bases and straight to slightly pointed basal ears. Most blades are triangular in shape and appear to have been resharpened and greatly reduced in length, resulting in an overall stubby appearance.

As noted above, the best stratigraphic context for evaluating the cultural-historical relationship of bifurcate points in North Carolina comes from the Haw River site in Chatham County. In brief, the Haw River site represents a stratified sequence of remains beginning with Dalton and ending with Woodland period materials. As elsewhere in the Southeast, St. Albans and LeCroy points were found in stratigraphic order above Kirk Corner-Notched points and beneath Stanly Stemmed points; however, each bifurcate type was also stratigraphically associated with one or more other point types. St. Albans points, for instance, were associated with a small corner-notched point referred to as Small Kirk Corner-Notched. Stratigraphically above the St. Albans/Small Kirk Corner-Notched zone was a zone containing LeCroy, Small Kirk Corner-Notched, Kirk Stemmed, and Stanly Stemmed points (Cable 1982). The stratigraphic co-occurrence of these point types has never been resolved. Cable succinctly summarized the situation as follows: "It is not known whether this indicates overlapping ranges of distinctively different groups, stratigraphic mixing of sequential relationships, or functional differentiation within a single cultural system" (Cable 1996:113).

When examining these alternative explanations I think serious consideration should be given the "overlapping ranges" interpretation, although stratigraphic mixing and functional differences of point types cannot be dismissed entirely. That is, the Kirk Stemmed and Kirk Serrated types (Coe 1964:70) would represent a Piedmont tradition that was roughly contemporaneous with a Bifurcate tradition that represented a mountain-based tradition. The occurrence of bifurcate points in the Piedmont, then, reflects the presence of an Appalachian adaptation that reached into the Piedmont. If true, both traditions could have their origins in a Kirk Corner-Notched type. This would be consistent with the notion of a Southeastern Kirk horizon proposed many years ago by Tuck (1974).

With respect to the Kirk tradition, Coe (1964:70) viewed a stemmed Kirk form existing "midway" between earlier corner-notched and later stemmed point types representing a "continuity of style" between Kirk Corner-Notched and Stanly Stemmed points culminating in a larger stemmed type referred to as Savannah River Stemmed. Kirk Stemmed/Serrated[3] points are medium sized with a relatively long, thick, and sometimes serrated blade and a broad, squared to slightly expanded stem. As such, they represent the earliest stemmed point type in the Carolina Piedmont. Although this type is identified as having a stemmed base, Coe (1964:70) describes the stem as being produced using a corner-notching technique that resulted in "broad notches" creating a stem that expanded slightly at the base. Presumably, this "notching" is a trait that links Kirk Stemmed and Kirk Corner-Notched points. In any case, technological continuity is implied (Coe 1964).

While also originating from a Kirk Corner-Notched technology, the Bifurcate Tradition is seen in the Little Tennessee River Valley as an intermediate stage between the Early Archaic practice of corner-notching points and the later practice of stemming points during the Middle Archaic period. Chapman (1977:124), for example, sees the shift from a corner-notched technology to a bifurcate technology in the Little Tennessee River Valley as "a gradual

[3] For present purposes, no distinction is made between Kirk Stemmed and Kirk Serrated types.

modification in the hafting element." This interpretation is plausible since, as noted above, the St. Albans type is essentially a corner-notched point, despite the presence of a bifurcated base. Historical affinity with the succeeding LeCroy Bifurcated Stem type is easily recognized as well with the presence of a bifurcated base, albeit more in the form of a stem than the preceding St. Albans type. The bifurcate tradition concludes with the Kanawha Stemmed type which exhibits a short stem with rounded corners resulting in a basal concavity that might be viewed as a vestige of bifurcation. In the Lower Little Tennessee River Valley of east Tennessee, Kanawha immediately precedes Stanly (Chapman 1985). To the best of my knowledge Kanawha points are not found in North Carolina, but given its clear morphological similarity to the Stanly Stemmed type in North Carolina, they are probably comparable in age.

The idea of coeval but separate point traditions in the Mountains and the Piedmont may also explain why Kirk Stemmed points are rare and bifurcates are common in the Lower Little Tennessee River Valley (Chapman 1977), while the reverse is true in the Piedmont. And while Kirk Stemmed points are not abundant across North Carolina, they occur in frequencies almost twice as great as bifurcates in the state (McReynolds 2005). The rarity of these points in North Carolina is highlighted in a study of some 35,000 points recovered from surface contexts prior to 1980 and curated by the Research Laboratories of Archaeology; only a fraction of a percent of these specimens were classified as bifurcate points (i.e., St. Albans and LeCroy points) (McReynolds 2005).

Although scarce statewide, Kirk Stemmed points appear to be relatively more common in the Mountains than elsewhere in the state (Purrington 1983). Interestingly, the vast majority of bifurcate points recovered in the Mountains are made of nonlocal cherts from outcrops in eastern Tennessee. These and other data suggest that bifurcate occupations in North Carolina represent temporary excursions of small groups from the more densely settled Ridge and Valley region of Tennessee (Ward and Davis 1999:69). Accordingly, the limited presence of metavolcanic bifurcate points in the North Carolina Piedmont and Coastal Plain could represent the further movement of such groups expanding their geographic range of adaptations using local toolstone.

That said, the apparent absence of bifurcate points at stratified sites like Hardaway and Doerschuk is somewhat puzzling. Chapman (1975:255) suggests their absence can be explained by the fact that bifurcate points occur too early to be represented at Doerschuk (where Stanly represents the earliest occupation) and too late to appear at Hardaway (where Kirk Corner-Notched represents the latest relatively undisturbed occupation).[4] While the absence of bifurcate points at Doerschuk *may* be explained by Stanly being the earliest occupation at the site, it is harder to explain their relative absence at Hardaway since both Kirk Corner-Notched and Kirk Stemmed/Serrated points were recovered from Zone II or the "Kirk midden" (see Chapman 1975:255; Coe 1964:57; Daniel 1998:17–27). If there was a bifurcate presence at Hardaway, one would expect to find it in the upper portion of Zone II or even in Zone I (plow zone) where a variety of point types post-dating corner-notched points were stratigraphically mixed. In short, bifurcate points are conspicuous by their absence.

In sum, reconciling the inclusion of bifurcate-based points with the other Archaic point traditions in the North Carolina Piedmont is an issue that has received little attention. Given the uncertainty regarding their proper stratigraphic placement, perhaps the interpretation of two

[4] Yet, while Stanly does represent the earliest component identified at Doerschuk—uncovered at ten feet below surface—it may not represent *the* earliest component at the site. That is, Coe (1964:23) notes that excavations were terminated at that depth due to safely issues and not because the cultural deposits had bottomed out. Hence, deeper excavations at Doerschuk might reveal the presence of pre-Stanly (i.e., bifurcate) occupations at the site.

coeval but geographically overlapping traditions—including a Kirk Stemmed complex based in the North Carolina Piedmont with a bifurcate complex centered in the Appalachians—is the most plausible explanation (e.g., Cable 1982:434). Accordingly, Bifurcate points would overlap temporally with Kirk Corner-Notched and Kirk Stemmed but would not be indigenous to the Piedmont sequence *per se,* having their origins in the Appalachian Mountains.

INTRUSIVE TRADITIONS AGAIN?

Turning now to the Middle Archaic portion of the sequence, it is marked by several stemmed point types. While Coe (1964) documented the chronological nature of these types, he did not see this sequence marked entirely by technological continuity. The Kirk–Stanly–Savannah River tradition, for instance, was viewed as technologically unrelated to two other Archaic stemmed types—Morrow Mountain and Guilford. Although they fall stratigraphically between Stanly and Savannah River, Coe (1964) believed Morrow Mountain and Guilford types to be "quite different in style" and hence historically unrelated to either Stanly or Savannah River. Coe (1964) postulated western origins for both types and viewed them as "intrusive traditions." As in the case of bifurcate points, the notion of an intrusive point type has important implications for understanding the culture-history of the Middle Archaic, but the topic has been virtually ignored by researchers.[5] Here I examine new evidence that suggests historical links among these point types and raises doubts regarding the idea of intrusive traditions.

I begin by examining a possible Stanly Stemmed and Morrow Mountain link. Stanly points were defined at the Doerschuk site (Coe 1964) where they represent the earliest identified cultural component. They are characterized by a triangular blade with a small square stem. Its successor, the Morrow Mountain type, also recovered at Doerschuk, is characterized by a short tapering stem. As noted above, Morrow Mountain points were viewed by Coe (1964) as lacking a Piedmont antecedent. (For the purposes of this paper, I am ignoring the variability between Morrow Mountain types I and II, viewing such variability as being related to point use-life and not typological). As such, Stanly points rather than Morrow Mountain points were aligned with the later Savannah River tradition which "continued the development of a broad-blade, broad-stemmed point tradition" (Coe 1964:123).

At first glance, the contracting and rounded stem form of a Morrow Mountain point does appear distinct from the squared stem of the Stanly point that preceded it. Yet, it is unclear why such a change would necessarily represent a tradition based upon "a different cultural orientation" (Coe 1964:54). Why couldn't the change in base shape also represent an *in-situ* adaptation to some functional need to change hafting modes? In the Little Tennessee River Valley, for example, Chapman (1977) includes Morrow Mountain points within the existing stemmed tradition. In this case, the Morrow Mountain type represents the culmination of a hafting trend from square to contracting stems. In fact, his Category 11 point variant with a short contracting stem is viewed as "a possible transition from the earlier stemmed points to the Morrow Mountain types" (Chapman 1977:34).

[5] One exception to this statement is Sassaman (2001, 2010) who has proposed that Morrow Mountain populations of the Carolina Piedmont resulted from fissioning of Midsouth groups who experienced mobility constraints and group conflict about 7500 B.P. Although speculative, his contention does fit the west-to-east movement of Morrow Mountain peoples proposed by Coe.

What implication, if any, this would have for North Carolina is unclear. Yet, a similar trend in stem forms has been postulated to exist in the archaeological sequence from Haw River (Claggett and Cable 1982) and Lowder's Ferry (Drye 1998). Finding few significant differences in point dimensions between Stanly and Morrow Mountain points recovered from the lamellae 5/4 occupation floor at Haw River (Cable 1982:Table 9.33), Cable (1982:488) suggests that the "Morrow Mountain Stemmed type does not represent a radical departure from the Stanly Stemmed type." While not conclusive, this observation raises the possibility that the two types are historically related. Certainly more data are needed to examine the issue, but I suspect that the perceived differences in contracting and squared stemmed technologies are more apparent than real. At the very least, the implications for technological continuity need to be more fully explored. In this regard, I explore the potential historical relatedness of Morrow Mountain, Guilford Lanceolate, and Savannah River points below.

Morrow Mountain Stemmed and its successor, Guilford Lanceolate, are the diagnostic point types for the Middle Archaic period. Guilford points were defined from excavations at the Doerschuk site where they were recovered from Zones V–VII, although Coe (1964:34–35) attributed the primary Guilford occupation to Zone VI. Stratigraphically, Guilford points were placed between Morrow Mountain Stemmed and the Savannah River Stemmed types.

Valuable data regarding these points also were found at Lowder's Ferry. Although Lowder's Ferry was never afforded the significance of the other sites reported in *Formative Cultures*, it is noteworthy in that Lowder's Ferry contained important Morrow Mountain, Guilford, and Savannah River components (Coe 1949, 1964). Located in Morrow Mountain State Park on the west bank of the Yadkin River, salvage excavations were conducted under the direction of Coe in the late 1940s. More recently, Drye's (1998) reanalysis of the Lowder's Ferry data suggests that the current Guilford type definition includes a degree of variability that masks the recognition of a technological continuity between Morrow Mountain and some Guilford points on the one hand and between some Guilford points and Savannah River points on the other. Accordingly, I propose two new "transitional types" within Guilford: *Guilford Lanceolate I* and *Guilford Lanceolate II*. These new types recognize a degree of technological continuity in haft form that suggests a previously unrecognized historical relatedness among Morrow Mountain, Guilford, and Savannah River points.

Rather spike-like in form, Guilford points are relatively long and slender with a lenticular and relatively thick cross-section. Guilford points are highly variable in their manufacture. Some specimens are quite well-flaked, while others are much less well made. Base shapes are straight, rounded, or concave (Coe 1964:43). Coe (1964:43) noted that a majority of his sample from Doerschuk displayed "precisely shaped concave bases," while about 10% had rounded bases. Straight bases were rare. Similar variability in base shape is seen at Lowder's Ferry where slightly more than 40% of the bases were either round or concave while about 14% were straight (Drye 1998:57) (Figure 17-5). If Coe attributed any significance to this variation in base form, he made no mention of it. In any case, Guilford points include a range of basal shapes not seen in other point types in the sequence. While little attention has been paid to this fact, I find this variation important. Based on the assumption that changes in haft style have temporal significance, I speculate that the variation in base shape among Guilford points represents evidence of transitional types. Following Drye (1998), I submit that the rounded bases on Guilford points technologically link them with the tapered stems of Morrow Mountain points, while Guilford points with concave bases are technologically linked to Savannah River points.

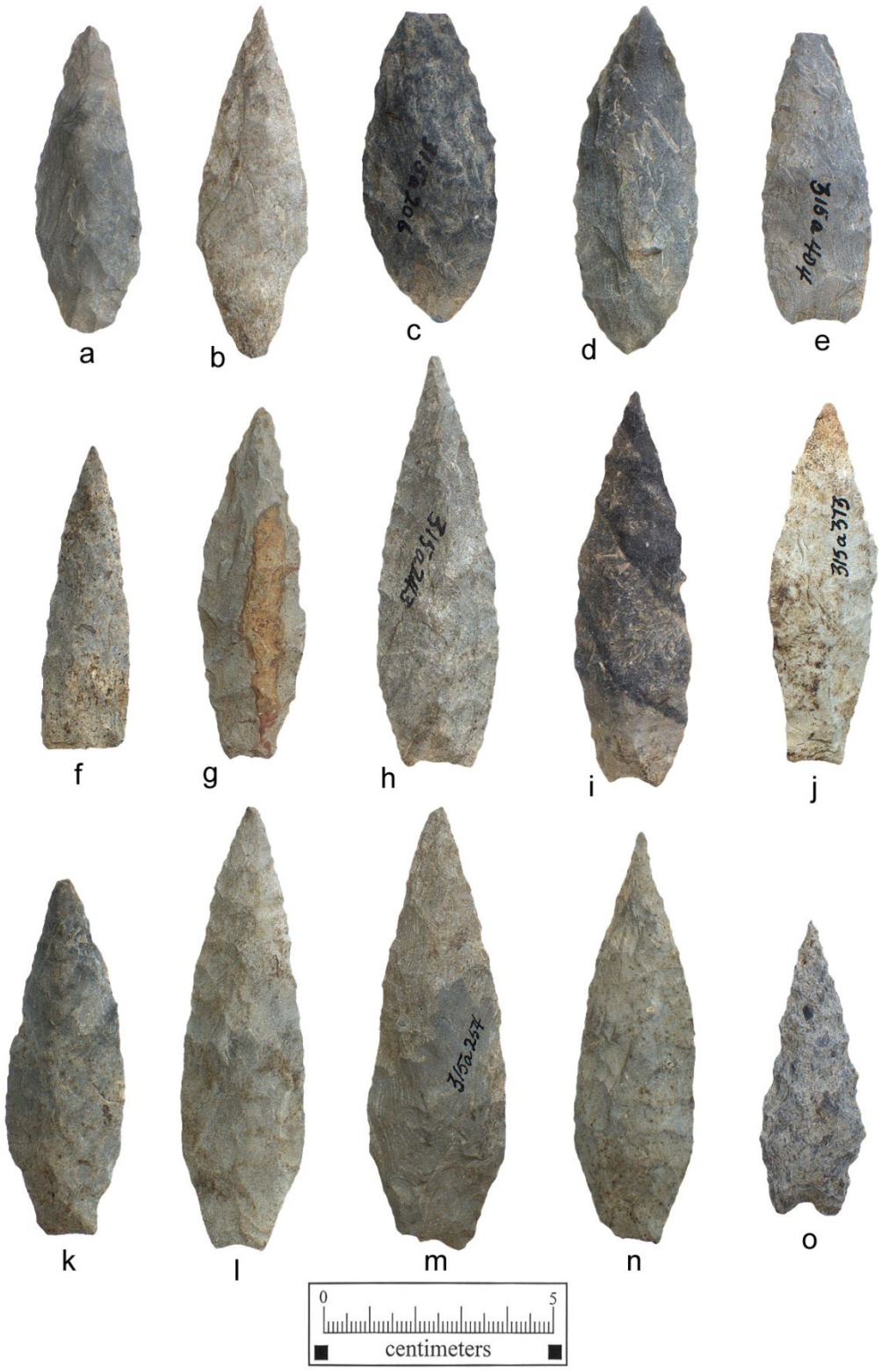

Figure 14.5. Variation in Guilford Lanceolate point bases found in stratified context from Trench 1 at Lowder's Ferry. Points with tapered bases (a–d); points with concave bases (e, h–o); and points with straight bases (f–g) (from Drye 1988:Figure 14).

Evidence supporting typological continuity among these types comes from Lowder's Ferry (Drye 1998). Although Drye's analysis indicates some stratigraphic mixing at the site, Guilford points predominate in the lower two strata described as "light sand" and "red soil" zones. These soil zones also contained several points that "were not typologically distinct from one another" (Drye 1998:37). That is, several of the specimens were ambiguous with respect to their classification as Morrow Mountain, Guilford, or Savannah River types (Figure 17-5).

With regard to Guilford points, Drye (1998:57) identified a few "transitional" specimens that resemble a Guilford point in overall form but exhibit stems that "showed a tapering similar to that of the Morrow Mountain II Stemmed point type." I view this as a significant observation and would include all rounded-base Guilford points in this category. This is based on the assumption that the rounded base on Guilford points is a hafting attribute derived from the tapered stems of Morrow Mountain points. Accordingly, I tentatively propose the type name *Guilford Lanceolate I* for Guilford points with rounded bases, some of which may also exhibit slight shoulders (Figure 17-6). This type likely represents a cultural-historic type immediately following Morrow Mountain. Moreover, I submit the technological similarities in basal form reflect an historical relatedness inconsistent with the notion of cultural intrusiveness.[6]

Similarly, I see a transitional form in the morphological similarities between the concave-based Guilford and the concave stem on Savannah River points. Drye (1998) noted such a type at Lowder's Ferry and regarded it to be a transitional form between Guilford and Savannah River types. I propose *Guilford Lanceolate II* as the type name for those points (Figure 17-7). It is characterized by a relatively long narrow shape similar to Guilford Lanceolate I but also displays a slight break in blade-base outline that is atypical of conventional Guilford points. Importantly, the stem on this type tapers into a concave base similar to Savannah River points. Interestingly, Coe (1964:43) included a "small percent" of Guilford points with slight shoulders in his definition, although he did not comment on the significance of this trait (Coe 1964:Figure 35a). However, the data from Lowder's Ferry (Drye 1998) suggest that this morphological variation could have chronological significance as large "shouldered" Guilford points—shoulders otherwise being an atypical trait on this point type—were recovered from the red soil zone containing Morrow Mountain, Guilford, and Savannah River points. Moreover, the "shoulder is slightly tapered into a straight or concave-based stem, similar to the stem of a typical Savannah River point" (Drye 1998:62). Thus, the shouldering on Guilford points may represent a technological link reflecting a transitional stage between those points currently recognized as Guilford Lanceolate and Savannah River Stemmed (Drye 1998).[7]

In any case, I regard the concave or straight base as the diagnostic attribute for this type. Moreover, I also regard the base shape of type II Guilford points as a technological trait that indicates an historical relatedness to the subsequent Savannah River point type.[8]

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[6] Indeed, researchers in the Southeast have long noted the frustrating problem of distinguishing a Morrow Mountain point with a narrow blade from some Guilford points (e.g., Goodyear et al. 1979:204).

[7] In his volume on Town Creek, Coe (1995:Figure 10.4A) illustrates several examples of "Guilford blades with crude stems or notches." A distinct break in the blade-base outline occurs in those specimens. Unfortunately, those examples appear to have come from midden or mound fill context, making any determination of their temporal assignment impossible.

[8] With regard to Savannah River points Coe noted that the shoulders tended to be straight and at right angles to the stem. Yet he also illustrates some points (Figure 40 A & C) that lack a well defined shoulder. Rather, these specimens exhibit shoulders that taper into a stem. These points I would also regard as Guilford Lanceolate II.

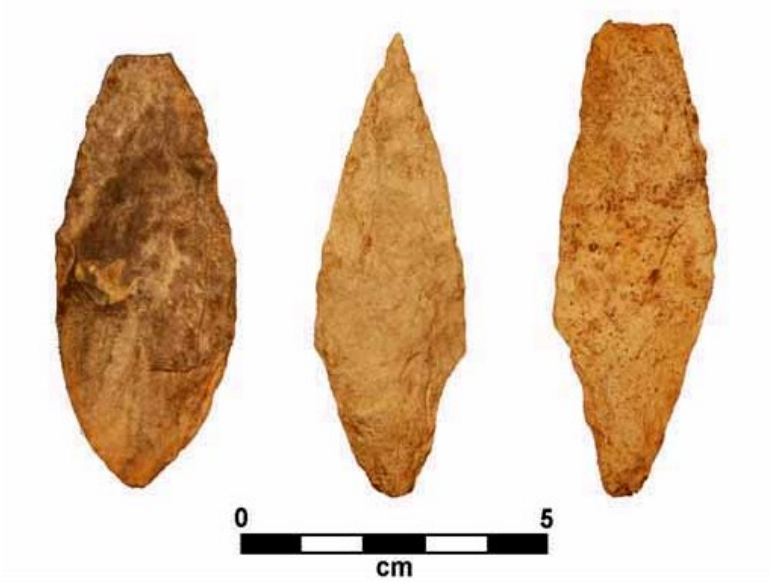

Figure 17-6. Guilford Lanceolate I. Note that these points have rounded bases that resemble the tapered stems present on Morrow Mountain points. The technological similarities in basal form reflect an historical relatedness with the Morrow Mountain type.

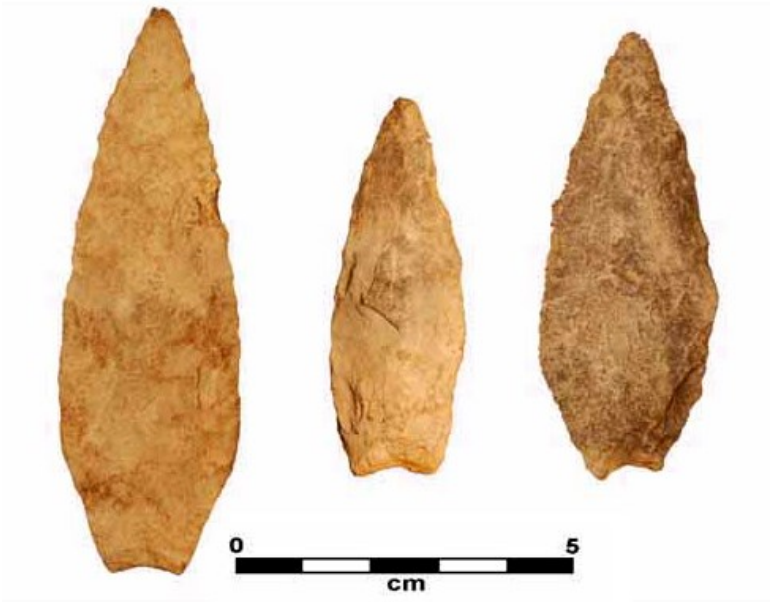

Figure 17-7. Guilford Lanceolate II. These lanceolate points display a slight break in the blade-base outline that is atypical of conventional Guilford points. This creates a shouldered effect whereby the blade tapers into a straight or concave-based stem that is the antecedent to the stem on a Savannah River point.

CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing discussion, I proposed some revisions to the Paleoindian and Archaic period point types of the Carolina Piedmont. This revision is summarized in Figure 17-8. The key differences between Coe's (1964:Fig. 116) original point sequence and my proposed revision are as follows. First, I recognize the morphological variability among Hardaway Blades that seem to belie their common provenience at Hardaway. In particular, the small, thin, trianguloid forms do not seem to fit within the bounds of either Clovis or Dalton. Do they represent something earlier? Second, I recognize a fluted point tradition in the Piedmont represented by Clovis, Redstone, and Cumberland points. The variability in base shape and fluting likely has some spatial and temporal significance. Cumberland points are more common in Tennessee than North Carolina, and their presence in the Piedmont likely reflects the eastern limits of group forays from the west. As such, Cumberland points represent an intrusive point type that likely overlaps temporally to some degree with the more numerous and presumably indigenous Redstone type. Third, the "Piedmont Tradition" (Coe 1964; Oliver 1985), as originally conceived, makes no allowance for bifurcate-based points which are present in North Carolina. I speculate that bifurcate types also represent an intrusive tradition in the Piedmont that overlap temporally to some extent with Kirk Corner-Notched and Kirk Stemmed points. Fourth, in contrast to Coe (1964), I do not view the Morrow Mountain and Guilford Lanceolate types as successive intrusive traditions. Rather, I see a level of technological continuity in stemming that reflects some historical relatedness with the other stemmed types in the Piedmont. As such, the Morrow Mountain and Guilford Lanceolate types fit chronologically between Stanly Stemmed and Savannah River Stemmed.[9]

It bears repeating that the *Formative Cultures* sequence is as important today as it was five decades ago. Yet, it still does not account for all the variability seen in North Carolina points. In this paper I have attempted to provoke some reassessment of the *Formative Cultures* point typology. Finally, let me emphasize that I make no claim to having demonstrated any assertion I've made. Rather, I submit them as hypotheses to be tested in the same way that Coe's (1964) claims regarding intrusive point traditions should be tested. Whatever the outcome—whether the typological variability represents cultural continuity, discontinuity, or something else entirely—it's time that we recognize the variability exists and make serious efforts to explain it.

[9] For present purposes the Halifax Side-Notched point type is not included in this revision. It will be addressed in a future publication.

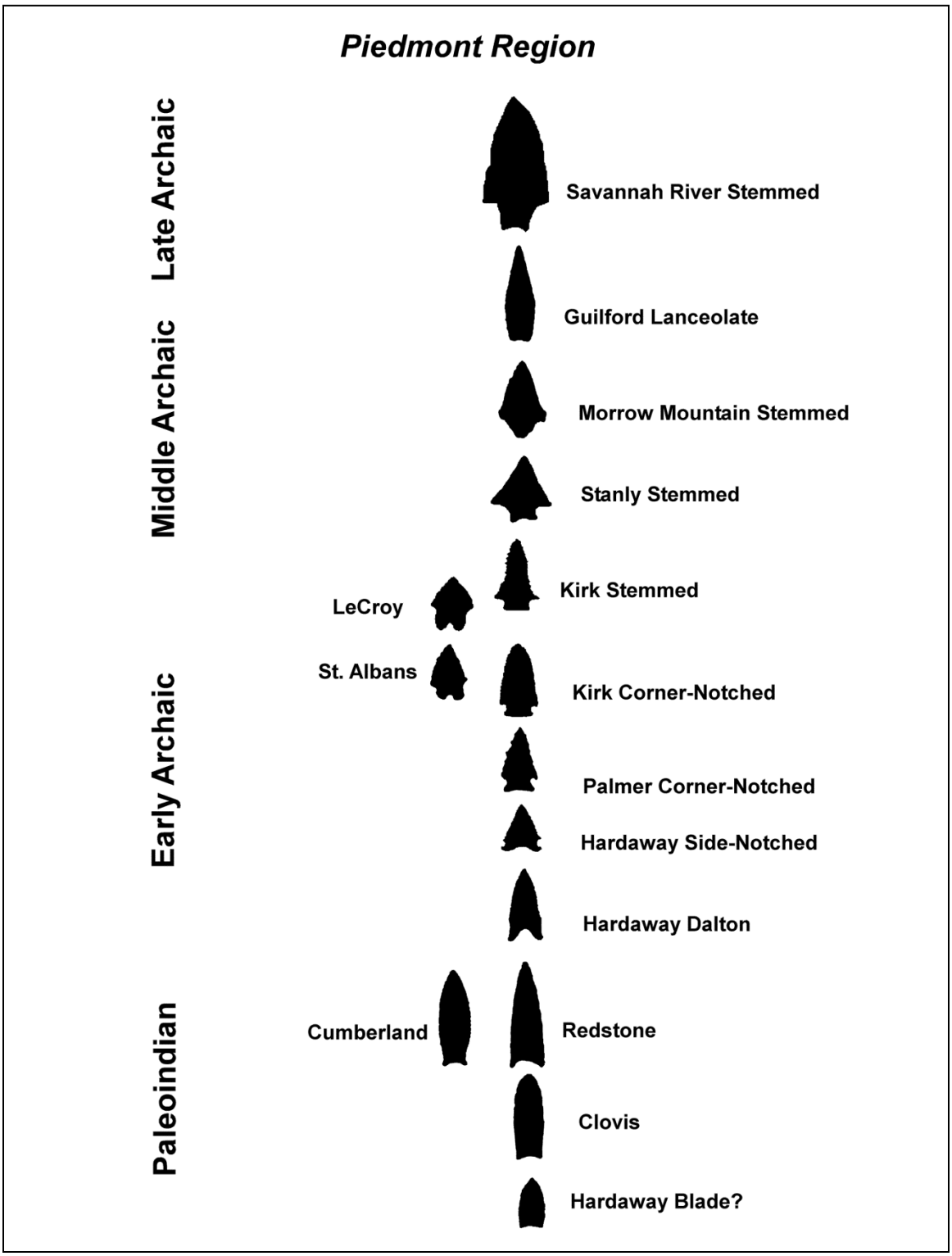

Figure 17-8. Proposed revision to the projectile point typology and chronology of the North Carolina Piedmont.

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