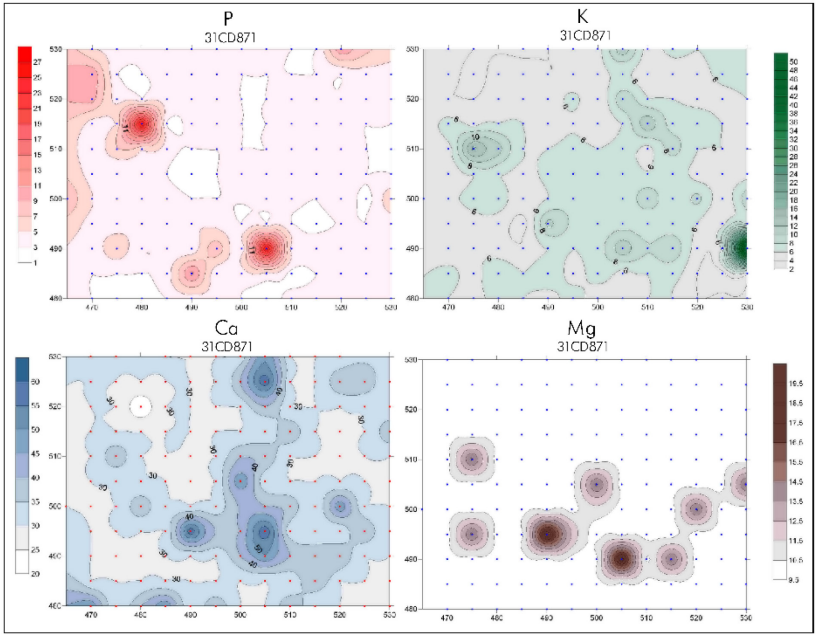
North Carolina Archaeology



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ARCHIVAL EVIDENCE FOR WOODLAND PERIOD MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE IN WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA

by

Benjamin A. Steere

Abstract

Research at the Garden Creek and Biltmore Mound sites in western North Carolina provide the bedrock for our interpretation of the Middle Woodland period in the Appalachian Summit region. However, our understanding of Woodland period monumental architecture in western North Carolina beyond these sites is not as well developed. In this article I attempt to add useful data to this enterprise by presenting underutilized archival evidence for other, poorly understood mounds in the region. Through a close examination of nineteenth- and twentieth-century archival records, I suggest that the Woodland period built environment of the region was more complex than previously thought.

What do we talk about when we talk about the built environment of the Woodland period in western North Carolina? Until recently, we have talked almost exclusively about the Garden Creek site (31HW2) (Wright 2014, 2019) and the Biltmore Mound (31BN174) (Kimball et al. 2010, 2013), two well-documented Middle Woodland period sites located in the Pigeon and French Broad river drainages, respectively, in the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Carolina (Figure 1). Excavations at Garden Creek's Mound 2 (Keel 1976) and remote sensing survey and excavation at Enclosure 1 (Wright 2014, 2019) indicate that people there interacted with communities in the Adena-Hopewell core of the Ohio Valley beginning in the early AD 100s and continuing until at least the late AD 300s. Investigations by Kimball and colleagues (2010, 2013) at the Biltmore Mound demonstrate that local people constructed a low, square-to-oval-shaped mound surrounded by a ditch and marked with a large central pole. The mound appears to have served as a platform for large public buildings for ritual and ceremonial activities, including feasting, from approximately A.D. 400 to 600 (Kimball and Wolf 2017). An excavation of ~100 m2 in the village area exhibits structures and features dating from 200–600 cal AD (Kimball et al. 2019). A preliminary magnetometer survey by Wright and Horsley (2019: Figure 4) demonstrates the presence of numerous structures and pit features in all

of the site area surrounding the mound. The research carried out at these two sites suggests that indigenous communities in western North Carolina were active participants in the Hopewell Interaction Sphere, constructing monumental architecture in both the Adena-Hopewell style of small geometric enclosures and in what Jim Knight (1990:170–171) identifies as the Kolomoki pattern of platform mounds, scatters of posts, large posts, and pits.

However, even with these advances, our current vision of Woodland period monumental architecture in the region — various configurations of ditches, enclosures, mounds, and large posts — is in many regards still limited. Garden Creek and the Biltmore Mound are located in neighboring watersheds, and while they were clearly important centers, they were not the only important places in the Woodland period cultural landscape of the Appalachian Summit region.

Indeed, cultural resource management projects in western North Carolina have produced well-documented examples of Woodland period enclosures and ditches similar to those found at Garden Creek and the Biltmore Mound. Table 1 summarizes extensively-excavated examples of Woodland period monumental architecture for the region. In addition to the platform mound at Biltmore and the platform mound and enclosures at Garden Creek, there are a series of large circular or semi-circular ditch features, sometimes segmented and sometimes nearly complete, at the Cullowhee Valley School site in Jackson County (Moore 1992) the Cherokee Emergency Operations Center site in Cherokee (Benyshek 2010), and at the Macon County Airport (Benyshek 2020; Benyshek and Webb 2009) in Macon County. There is also a segmented circular ditch feature at the Coweeta Creek site (Rodning 2010) which predates the Cherokee occupation. Far afield from the study area, the Town Creek site also contains a segmented, semi-circular ditch feature that may date to the Woodland period and precedes the Mississippian period occupation at the site (Boudreaux 2007:49).

Comparing the large features and structures from these sites suggests that some of the architectural forms identified at Garden Creek and the Biltmore mound were found throughout western North Carolina. This would include segmented or continuous ditches or enclosures, (sometimes semi-circular or square-with-rounded corners), low platform mounds, and circular and square-with-rounded-corner wooden post structures.

Table 1. Woodland Period Monumental Architecture from Well-excavated Sites

Site	County	Architecture	Dates	Comments	Source
Garden Creek	Haywood	Square/oval enclosures	A.D. 60-100	Intentionally filled	Wright 2014
Garden Creek	Haywood	Platform mound	A.D. 184-360		Wright 2014
Biltmore	Buncombe	Platform mound surrounded by ditch	A.D. 400-600	30 m diameter by 2 m high	Kimball et al. 2010
Cullowhee Valley School	Jackson	Circular ditch	A.D. 990–1260	Not clearly segmented	Moore 1992 Benyshek et al. 2010
Cherokee EOC	Swain	Circular ditch	A.D. 800 - 1100	Habitation debris; Swift Creek, Napier, and Woodstock-like sherds; 13 m diameter.	Benyshek et al. 2010
Macon County Airport	Macon	Circular ditch, segmented	Possibly Late Woodland	Four segments, contain Connestee and Swift Creek ceramics, used as cemetery area. 12 m diameter.	Benyshek 2012
Coweeta Creek	Macon	Semi-circular ditch, segmented	Possibly Late Woodland/Early Mississippian		Rodning 2010
Town Creek	Montgomery	Semi-circular ditch, segmented	Possibly Late Woodland/Early Mississippian	East of study area	Boudreaux 2007:49

Our understanding of monumental Woodland period architecture in the region has been diminished by site destruction from agriculture, development, and antiquarian excavations. It can also be attributed to the difficulty of incorporating useful gray literature into published regional archaeological syntheses. As a result, some very basic questions about the nature of monumental and ceremonial Woodland period architecture in western North Carolina remain unanswered. How many sites with platform mounds and/or large enclosures were there in the region during the Woodland period, and where were they located? Was there a shared architectural grammar among these sites, and if so, how did such patterns compare to monumental architecture from other parts of the Southeast during the Woodland period? This is a particularly vexing gap in our knowledge, given that the region was an important source of mica for exchange in the Hopewell Interaction Sphere (Wright 2014), and lies within the ancestral homeland of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (Steere 2015).

In this article, I offer additional archival and archaeological information to address such questions. These data were collected in 2011 and 2012 while conducting research for the Western North Carolina Mounds and Towns Project (WNCMTP), a collaborative project between the Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO) of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians and the Coweeta Long Term Ecological Research Project at the University of Georgia to systematically document poorly understood prehistoric and historic period mound and town sites in the eleven westernmost counties of North Carolina (Steere 2013, 2015).

The study area for this project (Figure 1) includes the 11 westernmost counties of North Carolina, which were home to the Valley, Middle, and Out Towns of the Cherokee in the eighteenth century (Boulware 2011:19–21; Smith 1979). The 11 counties fall within the Southern Blue Ridge Province of the Appalachian Mountains (Fenneman 1938:37), and the terrain is dominated by steep mountains, sharp ridge tops, and narrow valleys. The major river drainages in the study area, from east to west, are the French Broad, Pigeon, Tuckasegee, Little Tennessee, and Hiwassee rivers. This area is generally considered to be the center of the Cherokee "heartland" (see Gragson and Bolstad 2007:438), and it includes the mother town of Kituwah, which, according to oral tradition, is the Cherokee place of origin (Mooney 1900:15).

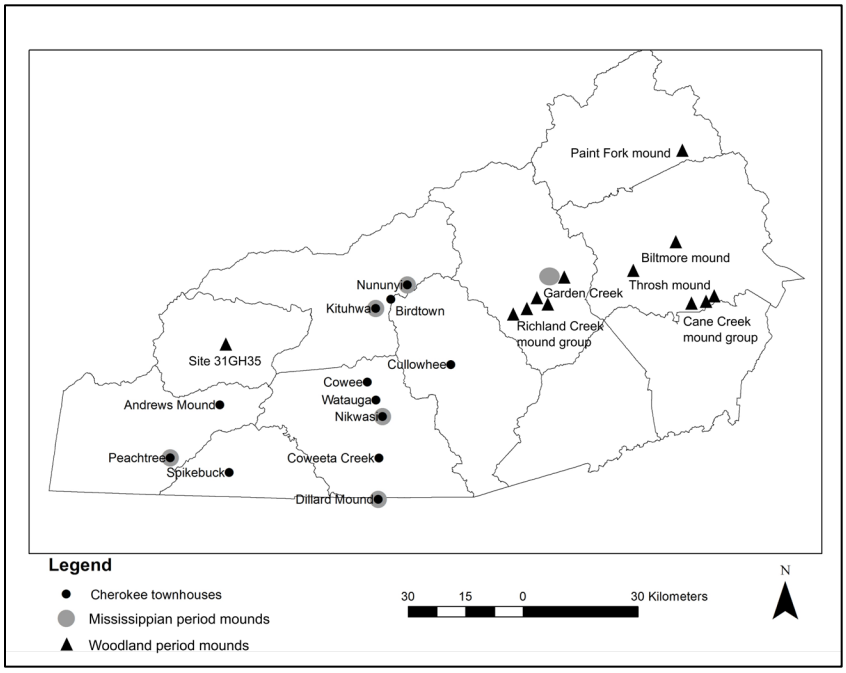

Figure 1. Map of study area.

While the WNCMTP was primarily focused on compiling information about sites from the Mississippian and historic periods, in the course of this research I also examined many archival records that describe what may have been Woodland period mounds excavated or destroyed prior to the first formal, modern archaeological surveys in the region associated with the UNC-led Cherokee Project in the 1960s (Keel et al. 2002). There are, for example, intriguing accounts of a multi-mound complex along Richland Creek in Haywood County, North Carolina, that may have been similar in scale and function to the complex at Garden Creek, as well as reports of possible conical burial mounds excavated by the Smithsonian Institution's mound expedition and earlier antiquarian digs (Heye 1919; Thomas 1891, 1894). Many of these records are problematic, but in the aggregate, they suggest that our current reconstructions of the Woodland period built environment of the region may underestimate the scale and extent of monumental and ceremonial architecture.

Archival Research and Archaeological Survey: Methods and Results

The history of antiquarian excavations and site destruction in western North Carolina suggests that many Woodland period mounds, ditches, and enclosures may have been destroyed prior to the first systematic archaeological studies in the region (see Steere 2015; Steere et al. 2012; and Ward and Davis 1999:6–8 for a more detailed discussion). Until the late nineteenth century, western North Carolina still contained many intact mounds. In the 1880s the Smithsonian Institution mound expedition spearheaded by Cyrus Thomas identified approximately 40 mounds in western North Carolina (Thomas 1891, 1894). Several of these mound sites were nearly obliterated by museum excavations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and many more were damaged or leveled in the context of mechanized agriculture and commercial development. In 2011, there were only 16 mound sites officially recorded with the state site file. By the 1980s, archaeologists working in western North Carolina had identified many of the better-preserved mounds, but only carried out intensive research at a few sites, and made few systematic attempts to relocate damaged or destroyed mounds (Steere 2015).

Archival research carried out for the WNCMTP in 2011 suggested that while there were only 16 known archaeological sites containing mounds or townhouses officially recorded on state site forms, there may have been as many as 68 mound and townhouse sites in the study area (Steere 2013). This finding contrasted with the prevailing notion that there were relatively few mound sites in the region, and that fewer still could be identified archaeologically.

Following this archival research, archaeological fieldwork was carried out in the winter of 2011 and spring of 2012. Initial reconnaissance surveys were completed at 37 of the 68 sites to determine which of the newly identified possible mound sites contained archaeological evidence for mound construction (the remaining sites were inaccessible; most were on private property, and a few were inundated by lakes). Mapping and shovel test surveys were completed at 10 of the 37 locations with the goal of defining unknown or poorly understood site boundaries and generating ceramic samples for dating.

During the reconnaissance survey, our research team visited possible mound sites, often accompanied by local residents, archaeologists, and historians. Site boundaries were defined by the presence of artifacts, either recovered from the surface in areas appropriate for pedestrian survey, or from subsurface contexts in shovel tests. In accordance with the research design developed with the EBCI THPO, no invasive subsurface testing took place directly on known or possible mounds. Older ceramic collections and new, systematic artifact collections were analyzed to assign approximate dates of occupation to sites.

The archaeological survey completed for this project revealed that 18 of the 68 archaeological sites identified through archival research lacked reliable archaeological or historical evidence for Woodland or Mississippian period mounds or Cherokee townhouses. Of the remaining 50 sites, 25 can be conclusively identified as containing Woodland or Mississippian period mounds or historic period Cherokee townhouses. An additional 25 sites represent possible mound and/or townhouse locations, but further archival and archaeological research will be necessary to verify their status.

The discussion that follows provides a brief description of 15 possible mound locations in the study area that have received little professional attention, but which may improve our understanding of Woodland period monumental architecture. Table 2 provides summary information for these sites. The project also produced new information about the sites containing Mississippian period mounds and historic period Cherokee townhouses, but they are not discussed here. Interested readers can refer to a technical report (Steere 2013) and article (Steere 2015) for details on the other confirmed and possible mound sites identified by this project.

Woodland Period Mounds in Western North Carolina

With the exception of one possible low mound on a hilltop in Graham County located on inaccessible private property (31GH35), all of the possible Woodland period mounds are located in the eastern part of the study area, in the Pigeon and French Broad drainages, near the Garden Creek and Biltmore Mound sites. These include: the Garden Creek, Singleton, Wells, Nichol's Cove, Richland Creek, Plott's Farm, Long's Farm, and Brown's Farm mounds, and sites 31HW96 and

31HW98 in Haywood County; the Biltmore, Throsh, Lytle's Farm, Connor's Farm, and Alexander's Farm mounds and site 31BN12 in Buncombe County; and the Paint Fork Mound in Madison County. Archaeological and historical evidence for each of the mounds is summarized below.

Confirmed and possible Woodland period mounds in Haywood County, North Carolina

The Singleton Mound. The Singleton and Wells mounds, located just south of the Garden Creek site, were both excavated by antiquarians. George Heye led an excavation of the Singleton Mound in 1915. He describes a small, low mound on a low ridge above the Pigeon River. He took a photograph of the mound prior to his excavation, which produced a nearly complete incised and punctated vessel. Heye offers a brief description of the mound and the results of his fieldwork in a short report (1919:42–43):

> The mound averaged twenty feet in diameter and from a foot to two feet above the general surface. Being situated in Mr. Singleton's front dooryard, it had been used as a flower-bed. At one time two large trees stood on the mound, but they were removed by the present owner of the place, who informed us that they were between sixty to eighty years old.
>
> The work of excavation was commenced on the roadside of the earthwork. In the southern part several potsherds and a pitted hammerstone were found, and in the center an earthenware jar, which stood upright but was somewhat crushed, although the base and portions of the side were in place. This vessel is of the pointed-bottom type and has two crude nodes projecting from the rim for handles (pl. IV). The decoration is of the incised and punctate type, and consists of three panels, in each of which is an ornamental figure. The diameter of the jar at the mouth is 5 ¼ inches, the maximum width is 6 ½ inches, and its height 8 ¼ inches. Nothing else was found in the mound.
>
> The Singleton mound was composed of earth and showed no stratification. Particles of charcoal were found here and there but there were no charcoal deposits such as were found in the Plott mound. The mound earth extended to the natural clay surface which was four feet below the summit of the earthwork at the center.

Four photographs of the mound taken by George Heye, designated "Mound in yard of T. D. Singleton," are on file at National Museum of the American Indian Photo Archives. Two of the photographs appear to show a low rise in front of the Singleton house while the other two illustrate the ceramic jar mentioned above.

Edward Dolan revisited the Singleton Mound for the Cherokee Project and recorded the location as site 31HW4 in 1963. Dolan reported that the mound had been completely removed by the Heye Foundation excavation, but he was able to make a small surface collection of pottery, lithics, and projectile points from the general location of the mound. The ceramic collection from 31HW4, curated at the Research Laboratories of Archaeology at the University of North Carolina, consists of 11 small, eroded body sherds.

The Wells Mound. The Valentine brothers (see Keel 2019; Ward and Davis 1999:6–8) recorded five mounds on the nearby Wells property, four of which were already badly disturbed. They completely excavated the remaining mound and encountered a burial. On a 1937 North Carolina Archaeological Survey site form attributed to Hiram Wilburn, the Wells Mound is recorded as site 31HW5, on the west bank of the West Fork Pigeon River, approximately one mile south of Bethel, North Carolina. Until recently, it has been accepted that the 31HW5 was the location of the Wells mound, but recent historical background research for a testing and data recovery project at this site have thrown doubt on this location (Idol et al. 2011).

The earliest reference to the Wells Mound, and the only primary documentation on the excavation of the mound, appears in the records of Valentine expedition. On August 14, 1940, Howard G. McCord transcribed two passages "from a book of miscellaneous information" written by Mann S. Valentine. The field notes do not provide a location for the Wells Mound, but they indicate that there were five mounds on the Wells farm, which covered approximately 75 acres of land in the river bottom.

According to the notes, four of the five mounds had been nearly plowed away, and Valentine dug them to the ground surface, finding "traces of broken pottery, charcoal, etc." A fifth mound had not been plowed as heavily. Rather, a farmer had piled rocks from field clearing on top of the mound. Valentine and his crew removed these rocks to

reveal a mound 3.5 ft (1.1 m) high and 25 to 30 ft (7.6 – 9.1 m) in diameter. According to Valentine, the mound contained a burial and a layer of charcoal.

Cyrus Thomas (1891:155) lists three mounds along the West Fork Pigeon River, a "mound on the west side of west fork of Pigeon River," and "two small mounds on east side of the same stream and early opposite last, opened by Valentine." It is possible that the Wells Mound is one of two mounds on the east side of the Pigeon River, especially given the reference to the Valentine expedition. However, this would place the mound on the side of the river opposite 31HW5. Valentine's notes do not specify if all five mounds he observed were located on the same side of the river. It may be that the Wells mound, which was opened by Valentine, is located on the east side of the river. If Wilburn identified a mound on the west side of the river at site 31HW5, it may have been one of the other low mounds noted by Valentine, but not one of the two recorded by Thomas.

Possible mounds along Richland Creek. There is a dense cluster of known and possible mound sites in the Richland Creek watershed in what is now Waynesville, North Carolina. This group comprises at least five mounds reported by the Smithsonian expedition, including a mound on a ridge above Richland Creek excavated by J.W. Emmert, one of Cyrus Thomas's field agents, and purported to contain two burials and "small lots of mica" (Thomas 1894:347). Superficially, this description seems consistent with a Woodland period burial mound. Today, the floodplain of Richland Creek in Waynesville has been heavily developed, primarily for activities associated with a local paper factory.

Thomas (1891:155) records a cluster of several mounds in the Richland Creek watershed near Waynesville, North Carolina. These locations are closely spaced, and difficult to plot without the aid of James Mooney's annotated 1886 U.S.G.S. 30' series Asheville and Cowee quad maps. While there is little archaeological evidence for these mounds, archival research and reconnaissance survey completed in December 2011 and January 2012 suggest that there may have been as many as seven mounds located along a roughly six km length of Richland Creek. Some of the records present confusing and conflicting information about the locations and nature of these sites.

To begin, a comparison of James Mooney's annotated field maps and Thomas's published reports of the BAE mound expedition reveals discrepancies in the reported locations of several mounds situated in the Richland Creek watershed near present-day Waynesville, North Carolina. Thomas (1891:155) records five mounds in this general vicinity:

(1) "Mound 3 miles below Waynesville, on west bank of Richland Creek, just below Nichol's Cove."

(2) "Mound on east bank of Richland Creek, 2 ½ miles below Waynesville, on Dr. Love's farm."

(3) "Mound on Ridge on Plott's farm, west bank of Richland Creek, about 2 miles above Waynesville."

(4) "Mound on Long's Farm, on west bank of Richland Creek, about three-fourths of a mile below Raccoon Creek."

(5) "Mound on Walter Brown's farm, one mile south of Waynesville."

On the 1886 Asheville and Cowee quad maps, Mooney identifies five mounds in the Waynesville vicinity. While Thomas and Mooney's records are generally consistent for the first three mounds, they differ with regard to the fourth and fifth.

The northernmost mound, labeled (1) above, appears to be the first cataloged by Thomas. "Nichol's Cove" is no longer used as a place name, but on the 1886 quad maps it is identified as a town located approximately two miles north of Waynesville, and Mooney records a mound in this vicinity. Based on the location data provided on Mooney's map, this mound appears to have been situated in the general vicinity of what is now the Waynesville Hi Tech Center, a small industrial park located north of the confluence of Raccoon Creek and Richland Creek. The principal investigator carried out a pedestrian survey over the accessible parts of this property in January 2012. This roughly 9 ha property has been graded and developed. Intact cultural features may be present in some areas on the property, but it seems likely that most evidence of a mound and associated habitation area within the boundaries of the Hi Tech Center will have been badly disturbed. Additional archaeological survey, including subsurface testing beneath

the graded and paved surface of the Hi Tech Center, would likely be necessary to determine if intact cultural features are still present.

Moving south, mound (2) above, labeled "Loves farm" by Mooney, is located on the east bank of Richland Creek. Based on Mooney's map, this site may have been located on a low topographic rise near the confluence of Richland and Raccoon Creek. Site 31HW19 appears to be the closest recorded archaeological site in this vicinity. According to a site form completed by Bennie Keel, the site was located on a "point" near the confluence of the two creeks, but there is no mention of a mound. Keel collected a total of six prehistoric ceramic sherds and a single flake from 31HW19.

"Dr. Love" most likely refers to Samuel L. Love, who is listed as a physician living in Waynesville on U.S. Census records in 1870. Love was a prominent member of the Waynesville community and a state auditor from 1877 to 1881 (Allen 1977[1935]:306). Additional deed research may provide more information about this possible mound.

On his 1886 Cowee quad map, Mooney places a mound symbol on the west side of Richland Creek just south of the mouth of Plott Creek. This mound appears to be on a ridge and would correspond with the third mound listed for Richland Creek, the "Mound on Ridge on Plott's farm." According to Haywood county historian W. C. Allen (1977:579), "the old Plott home" was thought to be located on Plott's Creek in the early twentieth century. This provides additional support for the consistency between Mooney's mapped location and Thomas's written description.

If the location provided by Mooney on his annotated map is correct, this mound would appear to be located on a ridge on the west bank of Richland Creek. This is in the vicinity of site 31HW13, which Bennie Keel recorded in 1964 as a large Woodland site located on a 25-foot-high ridge. Keel indicated that the site had been destroyed by the construction of the Waynesville bypass in August of 1964.

This mound was excavated by J. W. Emmert, and it is unclear if any part of the mound remains. Thomas (1894:347) describes the mound as follows:

> It is apparently double, 70 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 3 ½ feet high at each end, but considerably lower in the middle. At the bottom, under the highest point of the west end was a bed of dark earth in which

> were the remains of two skeletons lying at full length side by side. With these were found seven arrow heads, one stone axe with a hole drilled through it, one polishing stone of iron ore, two broken stone gorgets, and small lots of mica. Under the highest point of the east end was a similar bed of dark earth in which were the remains of one skeleton, also stretched out at full length. By this were three flint knives or scrapers and a clay pipe.

Emmert's description of this mound and the associated artifacts, Keel's description of nearby site 31HW13 as a destroyed Woodland period settlement, and the location of mound on top of a ridge suggest that the mound dated to the Woodland period.

The information regarding the fourth mound described by Thomas does not correspond with Mooney's annotated map. Mooney maps a mound on a ridge overlooking the west bank of Richland Creek about 1.5 miles north of Waynesville, and labels the feature "Kinse Howells farm," not "Long's farm," as it is described in Thomas's report. There is no mention of "Long's farm" in the notes accompanying Mooney's map.

Census records from 1870 to 1930 indicate that the Long and Howell families maintained farms on Richland Creek at the time of Mooney's fieldwork. Allen (1977:326) includes "Kimsey Howell" in his genealogy for the Howell family of Haywood County, and the 1880 U.S. Census lists "Kimsy Howell" as a 28-year-old farmer living in Iron Duff, Haywood County, North Carolina. There is also a James R. Long, a gospel minister with a large family, listed on the 1880 census as living in Waynesville, Haywood County, North Carolina.

Thomas's fifth mound in the Waynesville area, the "mound on Walter Brown's farm," one mile south of Waynesville, does not appear on Mooney's map. Mooney makes no reference to a landowner named Brown, nor does he record a mound in this general location on his annotated 1886 Cowee Quad map.

Instead, Mooney maps a fifth mound on the west bank of Raccoon Creek that does not appear to be listed in Thomas's catalog of mounds. Mooney locates this mound approximately one mile south of the confluence of Richland Creek and Raccoon Creek. In the bottom margin of the map, Mooney provides additional details about this mound, noting, "mound west side of Raccoon Creek, 1 ½ miles from W(aynesville?).

Small, never opened. Cultivated. About 1 ½ miles from mouth (creek) on W. A. Herren's farm. W----- post office."

William A. Herren is listed as living in Waynesville, Haywood County, North Carolina on the 1870, 1880, and 1920 censuses. His trade is given as "Leather Dealer" on the 1880 Census, when he was 29 years old. Allen (1977:584) claims that "the Will Herren place was on the edge of Waynesville on the left side of 284 as one goes east." Allen (1977:584) also indicates that the Herren family owned many acres of land around Waynesville, including property "near the negro school in Waynesville."

In addition to Mooney and Thomas's late-nineteenth century records of mounds near Waynesville, North Carolina, more recent accounts of mounds in Haywood County provide additional information which may help interpret the fragmentary archaeological record in the Richland Creek watershed.

In 1958, Don Grooms, a reporter for the Waynesville Mountaineer, described the destruction of a possible mound near the confluence of Richland Creek and Raccoon Creek. According to Grooms (1958), "workmen with the Jerry Liner Construction Company cut off the end of an Indian Mound at the site of the Proctor and Schwartz plant and discovered pieces of Indian war weapons – tomahawks, stone tools, pottery, and other artifacts." This site is now the location of the Blue Ridge Paper Packaging plant, and based on Mooney's annotated maps, may have been close to the location of the "mound on Dr. Love's farm."

Hiram C. Wilburn, who photographed and mapped several intact mounds in 1937, also witnessed the destruction of this site. In a letter to Joffre Coe on file at the UNC RLA, Wilburn (1958) indicates that the location of the Proctor and Schwartz plant was the site of a mound, and that the mound had been partially excavated during the course of the construction project.

Kathy Ross, longtime Haywood County resident and reporter for the Waynesville Mountaineer, published additional information about the destruction of this site (Ross and Beadle 2009). Ross's article was based primarily on interviews with Arthur Moon, a Haywood County resident who witnessed the destruction of the archaeological site as it was graded for a construction project. Moon, along with other residents, collected

artifacts from site in 1958 as it was being destroyed. Ross and Beadle (2009:14) write:

> Construction workers uncovered another significant Native American site near the confluence of Richland and Raccoon creeks in 1958, when grading was done for what was to be a Proctor and Schwartz plant. Artifact hunters asked that construction be held up long enough to bring in archaeologists, but the county's industrial commission refused to delay the project. In the brief time collectors had to scour the region, they uncovered rough stone tools, bone awls, a clay pipe and bowls. Arthur Moon wrote a description of the site:
>
> "The village lay roughly in an easterly direction toward old U.S. 19. Individual stone-lined fire pits where dwellings would have been were approximately 20 feet apart, laid out in a triangular fashion. The main fire pit was full of clean charcoal many inches deep and contained many artifacts and charred or uncharred bones… The dwelling fire pits were round and approximately 3 feet in diameter and 2 feet deep, completely lined with stones and filled with clean, black charcoal, as if the fire had just been extinguished."

Based on Wilburn and Ross's description of the archaeological features and artifacts exposed during the 1958 construction project and the location data provided by Thomas and Mooney, it seems possible that the former site of the planned Proctor and Schwartz plant was a densely occupied archaeological site, and may have also contained a mound.

It is important to note that this site destruction occurred prior to the large-scale survey of Richland Creek carried out during the Cherokee Project. As a result, no archaeological sites were recorded within the footprint of the plant prior to the 1958 construction project. The two closest archaeological sites, 31HW19 and 31HW171, bore no evidence of a mound.

In sum, historical records suggest that at least one mound and one complex archaeological site with multiple pit features and rich artifact deposits were destroyed by grading for an industrial site near the confluence of Richland Creek and Raccoon Creek in Waynesville. While it may be impossible to verify archaeologically, Cyrus Thomas's early mound reports and the local reports of site destruction suggest that this site may have been a multi-mound center with low platform mounds, large pit features, and possibly geometric enclosures and/or ditch features.

Sites 31HW96 and 31HW98. Two additional possible mounds in Haywood County were recorded during survey associated with the Cherokee Project in the 1960s. These mounds were not recorded by the Smithsonian expedition of the late nineteenth century. Cherokee Project era site forms suggest that site 31HW96 contained a possible ridgetop mound that was purportedly excavated by local amateur archaeologists and students prior to the 1960s.

Site 31HW98 is a possible conical mound, and a local family with over 150 years of uninterrupted land ownership claims the feature is a mound (Steere 2013). In an exhaustive study of the Valentine field records, Keel (2019:10) indicates that this mound was explored by A. J. Osborne on behalf of the Valentines on December 8, 1879, and that this may have been the first recorded excavation of an archaeological site in the Cherokee heartland. Unfortunately, there are no details of Osborne's work at this site in the Valentine papers.

Confirmed and possible Woodland period mounds in Buncombe and Madison Counties, North Carolina

According to Thomas (1887:74–75, 1891:151, 1894:348), J. W. Emmert recorded three mound groups southern Buncombe County. These all appear to have been located on low ridges on a terrace overlooking Cane Creek. Cane Creek was systematically surveyed by Harold Johnston in 1941, and there have been a few small-scale surveys along Cane Creek, but the mounds originally recorded and excavated by Emmert have yet to be relocated. This research represents the first attempt since Johnston's survey to relocate these sites.

Mounds on Lytle's Farm. The first group of mounds, identified as the "mounds on Lytle's farm," was apparently located on the north side of Cane Creek, approximately five miles east of the confluence with the French Broad River. Thomas's initial (1891:151) report places these mounds in Henderson County, but they are located in modern-day Buncombe County. J. W. Emmert appears to have excavated at least one mound at each of the three sites. Harold Johnston (1941:28–29, 45) surveyed Cane Creek in 1941 and recorded several large sites, but makes no mention of mounds.

In his 1891 report, Thomas claims that there were "several" mounds on Lytle's farm. However, Thomas only describes one mound from this site in his 1894 report. This mound was excavated by Emmert. According to Thomas (1891:348) the excavated mound at Lytle's farm measured 45 ft (14.6 m) on its east-west axis, 35 ft (11.6 m) on its north-south axis, and 8 ft (2.4 m) high. Thomas attributed the oval shape of the mound to continual plowing in a single direction. The mound contained a single zone of yellow sandy fill, lain over an ash lens approximately 3 inches (8 cm) thick. There is no record of artifacts recovered from the fill.

Deeds on file with the Buncombe County Register of Deeds indicate that Albertus Lytle owned property along Cane Creek. A 1903 road map of Buncombe county drawn by the surveyor A. Rogers shows the home of "A. Lytle" on the north side of Cane Creek, east of Limestone Creek and on the west side of a small, unnamed branch. The stream labeled "Limestone Creek" on the 1903 Rogers map appears to be the stream now called "Merrill Cove Creek" on the most recent USGS Fruitland Quad map. The confluence of streams may represent the approximate location of the Lytle Farm.

Conner Mound. Thomas (1887:74, 1891:151, 1894:348) describes another mound approximately one mile east of A. Lytle's farm, on the property of Rebecca Conner. Emmert excavated this mound in 1884 (Thomas 1887:74). Based on Thomas's (1887:74, 1894:348) description of Emmert's findings, it seems likely that the mound was trenched or bisected, if not completely excavated. According to the Thomas, the mound was conical, with a base measuring 44 ft (13.4 m) in diameter and a height of 6 ft (1.8 m). There appears to have been a single fill episode, laid over a large cone of burned of burned logs. Thomas (1894:348) writes:

> There were small trees growing on it. It was found to contain what, to all appearances, were the remains of a charcoal pit. In the center had been placed pine poles, as shown in Fig. 229, and burned to charcoal and ashes. The diameter of the base of this conical heap was 16 feet (4.9 m), the height nearly 6 feet (1.8 m), the sides sloping regularly to the apex. The interior portion consisted of ashes and small coals, mixed with earth, in which were found some burnt bones and two perforated stones.

Alexander Mounds. Thomas (1887:74–75, 1891:151, 1894:348) describes two mounds located approximately two miles east of Rebecca Conner's farm, on the property of J. B. Alexander. Thomas (1887:74) claims that Emmert completely excavated one of the mounds, "to the original surface of the ground." It is unclear if the second mound was also completely excavated.

The first mound had apparently been plowed for decades when Emmert arrived and was approximately 30 ft (9 m) in diameter and 2 ft (60 cm) high in 1884. However, locals told Emmert that the mound had once been 10 ft (3 m) high and had a "tail or ridge" running from the mound toward the creek. If this report is accurate, this feature may have been a ramp, or the result of plowing and erosion. Emmert excavated the mound to the original ground surface and observed a single zone of red clay fill placed over a circular pit filled with ash, 12 ft (3.6 m) in diameter and 4 ft (1.2 m) deep. Thomas (1887:74) writes:

> A mound on the farm of Mr. J. B. Alexander, 2 miles above the one just described, was examined by Mr. Emmert, and found to cover a pit similar to those explored in Caldwell County.
>
> This mound was situated on an elevated level, about a quarter of a mile from the creek, in an old field which had been plowed over for sixty years. It was 2 feet high when he explored it, but the old people stated to him that it was formerly 10 feet high, and had a tail or ridge running away from it 200 feet long; but the only indication of this that Mr. Emmert could see was a strip of clay running off where it was stated to have been. It runs in the direction of the creek bottom, where any quantity of broken pottery may be picked up. The mound, which was 30 feet in diameter and composed wholly of red clay, was entirely removed to the original surface of the ground. Nothing was found in it, but after reaching the surface he discovered a circular pit 12 feet in diameter, which had been dug to the depth of 4 feet in the solid red clay. This he found to be filled full of ashes and charcoal, but failed to find any bones or specimens in it.
>
> Although Mr. Emmert failed to find any evidence that this was a burial mound, its similarity with those of Caldwell County will, I think, justify us in concluding it was constructed for this purpose.

Emmert excavated a second mound on the Alexander property. This mound does not appear to have been as heavily plowed, and at the time of excavation measured 52 ft (15.8 m) in diameter and 9 ft (2.7 m) high,

with three identifiable fill zones. Thomas (1887:75) writes that Emmert discovered five burials with artifacts at the base of the mound:

> Another mound on the same farm as the last one mentioned, a cross section of which is shown in Fig. 36, is of the common type, examples of which are found in most districts; diameter of 52 feet and height 9 feet; the upper layer, No. 1, red clay, about 4 feet thick, No. 2, a thin layer of charcoal, about 3 inches thick; the lower stratum or central core, No. 3, dark-colored earth. In this lower layer were found five skeletons, on the natural surface and at the points indicated by the dots, which were crumbled to pieces as soon as exposed to the air. With them were sixteen large, rudely made, white flint arrow-heads, so nearly alike as it was apparent they were the work of one individual, and with another a small pipe and some arrow-heads.

The Throsh Mound. According to Thomas (1891:151, 1894:350), J. W. Emmert excavated a mound on the Throsh farm, located 1.5 miles north of Hominy Creek, on a ridge .5 miles north of Hominy Station. Thomas (1894:340) reports that the mound was approximately 33 ft (10 m) in diameter and 4 ft (1.2 m) high, and that Emmert's trench revealed two strata, a top layer of red clay and a bottom layer of dark brown soil. Emmert did not recover any artifacts from the mound. The small size, simple stratigraphy, paucity of artifact, and ridge-top placement of the mound suggest that it may have dated to the Woodland period.

Mooney records the location of the Throsh mound on an 1886 USGS 30' series Asheville quad map. He places the mound on the south side of Hominy Creek, between the mouth of South Hominy Creek and Beaverdam Creek, and south of the Western North Carolina Railroad. This location does not immediately appear to match the description in the Thomas report, although it may be that the "Hominy Creek" in Thomas's entry refers to modern-day South Hominy Creek. Mooney's annotation on the map, "Throsh-Em." is a likely reference to J. W. Emmert.

Census and deed research indicates that a John Thrash, rather than Throsh, owned property along Hominy Creek during the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Additional deed research may help refine the location of this mound.

Site 31BN12. In 1940 Harold Johnston recorded site 31BN12 as a mound located on the west bank of the Swannanoa River, approximately 100 yards south of the confluence of the French Broad River. On a UNC-

WPA site form dated to October 22, 1940, Johnston notes that the mound was approximately 100 ft (30 m) long, 30 ft (9 m) wide, and 11 ft (3.3 m) tall, and that "this appears to be an Indian Mound, although some large boulders are visible." Johnston made a small surface collection near the base of the mound, which included ceramics.

By 1964, when Brian Egloff visited the site for the Cherokee Project, the possible mound appeared to have been graded for construction near the Biltmore Estate, and no evidence of a mound remained. Moore (1984:12–13, 43) conducted survey and testing at 31BN12, recovered Connestee phase ceramics at the site, and determined that the purported mound was most likely a natural feature but may been used as a mound.

There is anecdotal evidence for a possible large archaeological site on the east bank of the Swannanoa River, across from 31BN12. In a 1929 letter to the Asheville historian Forster A. Sondley, on file at the Pack Memorial Library Newspaper File Collection, Owen Edgar describes a conversation with J. A. Webb, age 96, her son, W. A. Webb, age 75, and her daughter, Mrs. Emma Gorrell, age 75, regarding a mound at approximately the same location recorded by Johnston. According to Owen Edgar, W. A. Webb claimed that his grandfather:

> Often referred to the old Indian mound which was located in the bottom, east of the east bank of the Swannanoa River, opposite where it empties into the French Broad, which all three of them said they had seen themselves, and it was their belief that this mound, or evidence of it, may yet be found, near where the present round house of the So. R. R. is located, and around this mound is where they state the main town was located.

This property was inaccessible during the 2011–2012 field season and was not surveyed.

The Paint Fork Mound. Archival research only produced evidence for one mound in Madison County. Thomas (1891:156), identifies a mound "on the north side of Paint Fork of Ivy Creek, 1 mile southwest of Paint Gap post-office," and indicates that it was excavated by J. W. Emmert. The entry in Thomas's report refers the reader to the Report of the Peabody Museum, volume 3, pp. 351–370. Mooney's field notes on file at the Smithsonian Institution provide additional details. He states that the mound is located on the property of D. W. Angell, "between the

road and the creek." Unfortunately, Mooney does not appear to have mapped this mound on his set of USGS quad maps.

Based on the descriptions of the creeks and post office provided by Thomas and Mooney, it seems likely that this mound was located somewhere along Ivy Creek or Paint Fork Creek, near the modern-day post office of Ivy, North Carolina. Additionally, the 1870 U.S. Census records a 31-year-old farmer named Daniel W. Angel in Township No. 4, Madison County, North Carolina, and lists Ivy, North Carolina as the corresponding Post Office. Paint Gap, North Carolina, is located in modern-day Yancey County, less than two miles east of the Madison County line. There is an Angel Cemetery in Madison County, south of Paint Gap on Paint Fork Creek, and approximately two miles east of the Ivy Post Office.

The Peabody Museum report cited by Mooney and Thomas provides some additional insight. According to the museum curator, F. W. Putnam, "Mr. J. W. Emmert was also employed to explore a burial mound on Joy Creek in North Carolina, from which he obtained two pipes excavated in stone, several stone implements and numerous fragments of pottery" (1884:351). No other details of the excavation are presented. A catalog at the end of the report describes the artifacts in more detail: "30476 – 30527 Stone axes, celts and points of different sizes and shapes, earthen pipe, and fragments of pottery, teeth of animals, shell beads and perforated shells, and a conical stone of unknown use, from a mound on Joy Creek, Madison Co, NC" (Putnam 1884:370).

After examining Mooney's field notes and comparing them to the completed entries in the BAE reports, it seems likely that the "Joy Creek" described in the Peabody report is most likely "Ivy Creek," and that the disagreement is the result of a transcription error. Both Mooney's field notes and Thomas's (1891) catalog of mounds only list one mound for Madison County, and both documents indicate that Emmert excavated the mound.

The "Joy Creek" collection is currently curated at Peabody Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts. In August 2012, Curatorial Associate Susan Haskell and Imaging Services Coordinator Jessica Ganong provided updated information about the collection. While the complete collection described in the 1884 catalog is no longer intact, four sherds

from the collection and what appears to be an original label are still held at the museum. The label provides additional information about the mound, including overall dimensions (106 ft in diameter and 9.5 ft high) and a description of two burned clay basin-shaped features filled with charcoal at the base of the mound. Ceramics from the collection include two cord-marked sherds and two eroded, unidentifiable sherds. Based on the description of the mound from Emmert's notes and the associated artifacts, it seems most likely that this mound dated to the Woodland period.

Discussion and Conclusions

Table 2 summarizes the location and types of possible Woodland period mounds identified though archival research and archaeological survey. In spite of the discouraging history of site loss and the frustrating lack of reliable archaeological records and collections, this synthesis produces some useful pieces of information that can augment our understanding of the Woodland period built environment.

First, many of the mounds excavated by the BAE, unlike the mounds at Garden Creek and Biltmore, were located on terraces or ridgetops well above the floodplain. This is a pattern seen in East Tennessee and other parts of the Southeast (Sullivan and Prezzano 2001). The antiquarian field records also suggest that there may have been small, perhaps conical burial mounds in the Pigeon and French Broad drainages, something we have not typically discussed in syntheses for the region. In addition to Garden Creek, there may have been other sites in the Pigeon River and Richland Creek drainages with multiple mounds. While it would be imprudent to make overly bold claims about spatial patterning when our chronological controls are so poor, it does seem safe to say that there is more diversity in Woodland period monumental architecture in the eastern part of the study area than in the west. Further, in the Pigeon and French Broad drainages, there may be additional, regional-scale evidence for ties to both the south (Swift Creek and Kolomoki patterns) and the north (Adena-Hopewell) made manifest in the built environment (see Knight 1990).

These insights can help us expand our view of the architectural grammar of the local built environment, and also suggests that there may have been more sites with monumental architecture in the Middle Woodland period in western North Carolina than we have typically

Table 2. Possible Woodland Period Mounds Recorded by Antiquarians

Site	County	Architecture	Comments	Source
Throsh Mound	Buncombe	Conical or platform mound	Two strata, ridge-top placement, few artifacts	Emmert in Thomas 1891
Lytle's farm	Buncombe	Conical or platform mound		Emmert in Thomas 1891
Connor's farm	Buncombe	Conical or platform mound		Emmert in Thomas 1891
Alexander's farm	Buncombe	Conical or platform mounds; burial mound		Emmert in Thomas 1891
31BN12	Buncombe	Natural feature possibly used as a mound	Connestee phase ceramics recovered	Johnston 1940; Moore 1984
Singleton Mound	Haywood	Platform mound	Excavated; incised and punctated vessel recovered	Heye 1919
Wells Mound	Haywood	Conical or platform mounds; burial mound	Four or five mounds explored by Valentines	Valentine n.d.; Thomas 1891
Nichol's Cove	Haywood	Conical or platform mound		Thomas 1891
Richland Creek	Haywood	Conical or platform mound	Possible multi-mound site destroyed by grading. Local reporters describe numerous pit features with charcoal.	Thomas 1891
Plott's Farm	Haywood	Conical or platform mounds; burial mound	Ridge-top placement, burial	Emmert in Thomas 1891
Long's Farm	Haywood	Conical or platform mound		Thomas 1891
Browns Farm	Haywood	Conical or platform mound		Thomas 1891
31HW96	Haywood	Conical or platform mound	Ridge-top placement	Thomas 1891
31HW98	Haywood	Conical mound	Oral history collected in 2012 suggests site contains a mound	Steere 2013
Paint Fork	Madison	Conical or platform mound	Two basin-shaped features and artifacts recorded by Emmert	Emmert in Thomas 1891

thought. Sadly, given the severity of ground disturbance at some of these sites, particularly the ones in the floodplain of Richland Creek, there may not be many intact deposits left to test. Given the new insights from remote sensing at Garden Creek, it seems highly likely that ditches and enclosures might have been constructed near these mound sites.

In terms of the spatial distribution of architecture, there is currently no good evidence, archaeological or archival, for platform mounds west of the Pigeon River drainage, and stand-alone circular ditch features may be restricted to sites west of the Balsam Mountain range. On the other hand, Middle Woodland period post structures that are square with rounded corners appear on both sides of the study area. In terms of chronology, the square-with-rounded-corner enclosures at Garden Creek are the oldest features, with platform mounds and circular ditches appearing during the Middle and Late Middle Woodland period. This admittedly simple typology offers a testable model which might help make sense of the more problematic data from antiquarian excavations.

While this is a very descriptive and preliminary synthesis of admittedly problematic data on Woodland period mounds and earthworks in an area that has been badly impacted by antiquarian digging and development, there is still value in interrogating these records. There may be limited research potential at these damaged sites, but they provide an important context to position future work aimed at reproducing fine-scale histories of the built environment in our region.

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A LATE WOODLAND CAMP IN THE NORTH CAROLINA SANDHILLS

by

Shawn M. Patch and Christopher T. Espenshade

Abstract

Site 31CD871 was located in the Carolina Sandhills in an upland setting adjacent to a minor wetland system and had never been plowed. Archaeological investigations generated multiple datasets including lithic and ceramic artifacts, features, radiocarbon dates, thermoluminescence dates, ethnobotanical samples, soil chemistry, ceramic petrography, and absorbed residue analysis. These datasets yielded new information about the Woodland period. Based on these data, the site is interpreted as representing a series of short-term visits that were likely focused on exploitation of seasonally available upland resources.

Site 31CD871 was located as part of the archaeological assessment for the North Carolina Department of Transportation's (NCDOT) Fayetteville Outer Loop (Gunn and Sanborn 2005; Figure 1). Gunn and Sanborn (2005) identified Early and Middle Woodland components and interpreted this site as a logistic camp of short duration based on the lack of projectile points, low artifact density/diversity, and few ceramics.

Patch et al. (2011) conducted intensive data recovery investigations for NCDOT to mitigate adverse effects from road construction. Although the site was located on Fort Bragg, the Federal Highway Administration served as the lead federal agency. The investigations were multidisciplinary and included large block excavations, sedimentology and soil chemistry analysis, optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) dating of sediments, ethnobotanical and faunal analysis, radiocarbon dating, thermoluminescence (TL) dating of pottery, absorbed residue analysis of pottery, and thin-sectioning of pottery. The investigations yielded numerous datasets including abundant lithic and ceramic artifacts, features, radiocarbon dates, thermoluminescence dates, ethnobotanical samples, soil chemistry, ceramic petrography, and absorbed residue analysis. Patch et al. (2011) analyzed the datasets at different levels beginning with the overall site, then individual blocks, and then specific artifact clusters. The ultimate goals were to identify and

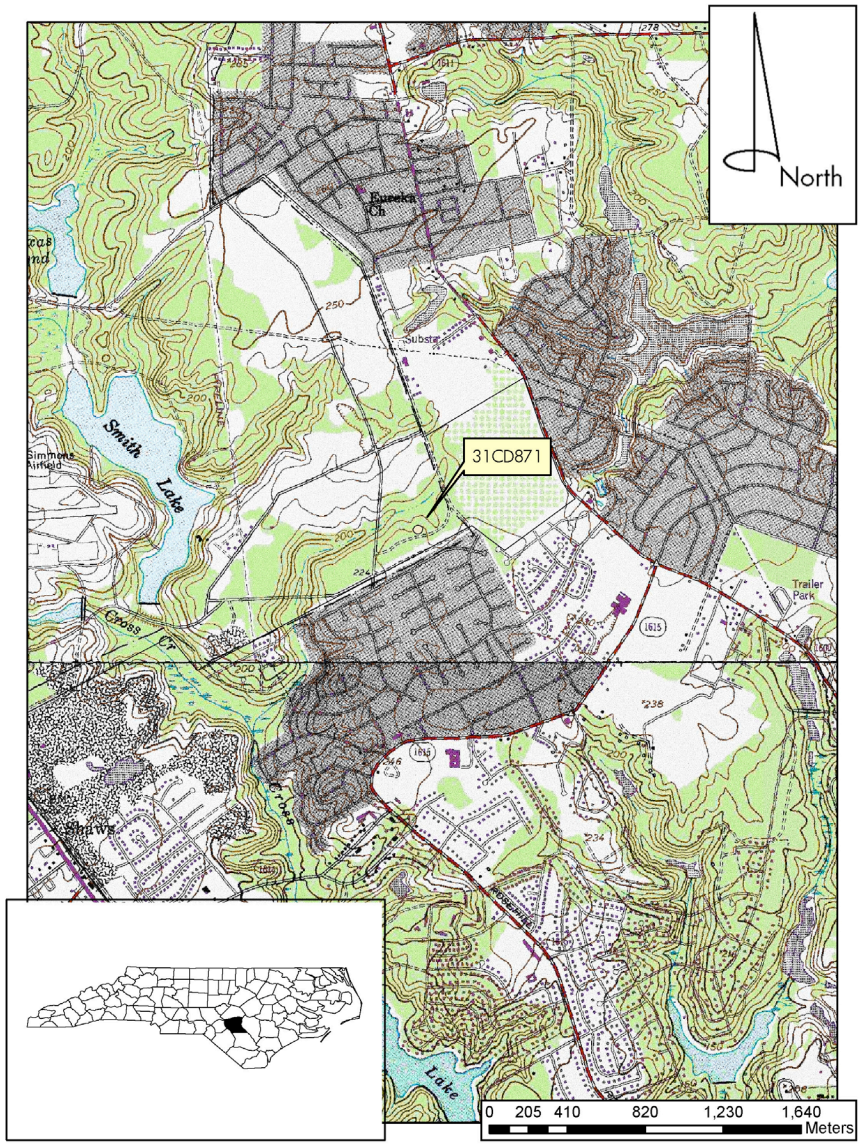

Figure 1. Site location in Cumberland County, North Carolina.

to characterize distinct site use episodes. The site was formed as a result of repeated visits and activities. The article focuses on the Woodland episodes in general and the Late Woodland in particular.

The site is located in an upland setting on the south side (north–facing slope) of an unnamed tributary of Cross Creek. As is typical in the Sandhills, stratigraphy consisted of an A horizon approximately 15–18 centimeters thick, followed by a well-developed E horizon approximately 30–40 centimeters thick, and then a Bw horizon. Organic material was largely absent due to leaching of the E horizon. Sedimentology showed a distinct stratigraphic boundary between 30–40 centimeters (Patch et al. 2011:119). The dominant burial process was determined to be Aeolian activity rather than bioturbation.

Excavations included 158 square meters in 11 discrete blocks that recovered 3,545 artifacts, including lithics (n=2,287), ceramics (n=1,075), non-lithic organics (n=134), and FCR (n=49) (Figure 2). Although artifacts were found across the site, the best datasets were located in Blocks 1, 6, and 9, accounting for approximately 73 percent of the total investigated area.

Lithic Analysis

Lithic artifacts included debitage, projectile points, bifaces, hammerstones, and cores. Although a light to moderate scatter was present across most of the site, a dense cluster of lithic artifacts was identified in the upper 20 centimeters in association with Features 6, 9, 11, and 12. Differences were noted in the vertical distributions of lithic artifacts in Blocks 1, 6, and 9 (Figure 3). Block 1 showed an increase in lithic frequency with depth and a peak at 30–40 centimeters. Block 6 showed a decrease in lithic frequency with depth and a peak and 10–15 centimeters. Block 9 showed increased frequency with depth with a peak at 20–25 centimeters before trailing off slightly. These data suggest these loci were used at different times.

The 23 projectile points included a large sample of Late Woodland types. Vertical distribution of projectile points indicated a clear break between Archaic and Woodland deposits at approximately 25 centimeters below surface. Ten of the 14 identified types are either Pee Dee or Caraway (Figure 4 A–I and N); one is a Yadkin Eared (Figure 3 J); and one is Morrow Mountain II (Figure 3 K). Six of the Pee

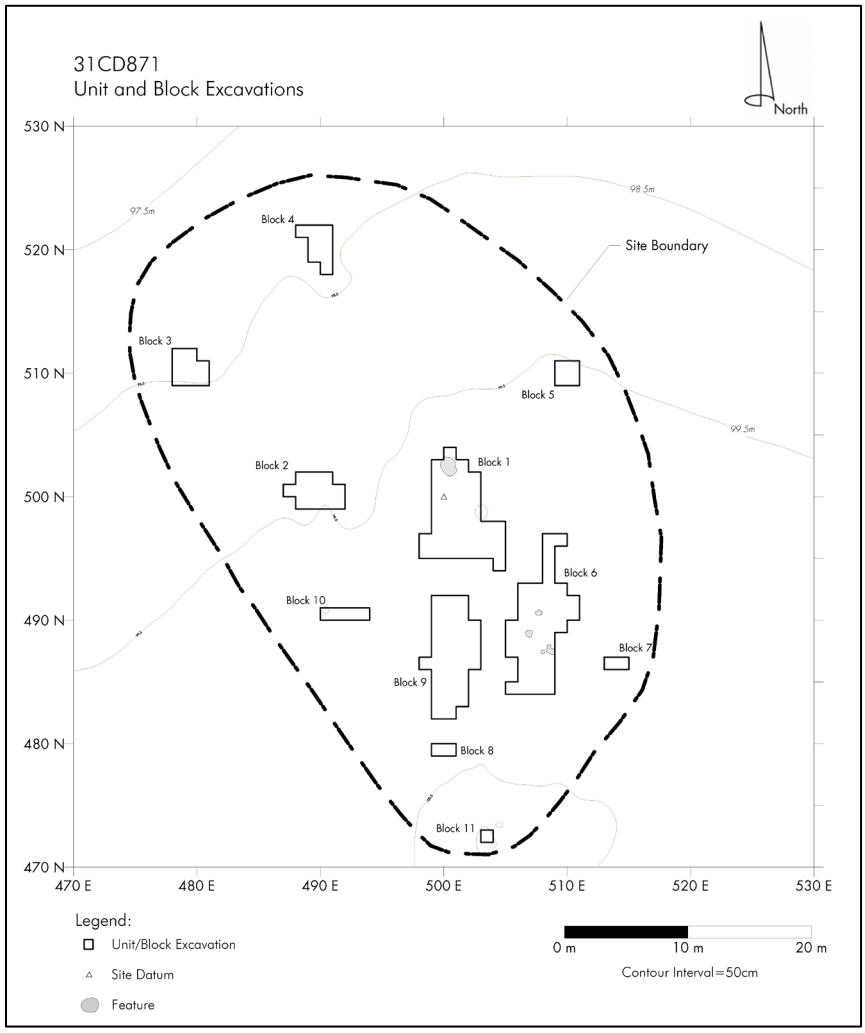

Figure 2. Map of excavation blocks at site 31CD871.

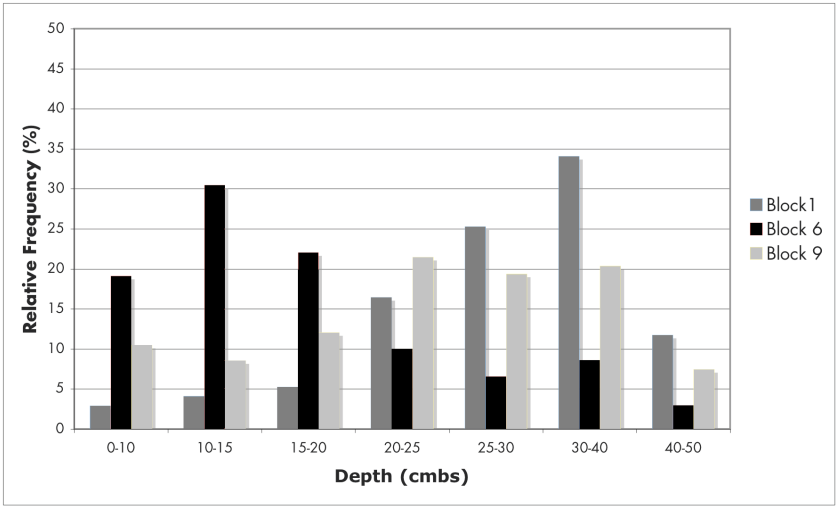

Figure 3. Bar chart showing vertical distribution of lithic artifacts in Blocks 1, 6, and 9.

Dee/Caraway hafted bifaces were found within an area measuring only a few square meters. All of the Pee Dee/Caraway specimens came from the upper 20 centimeters, and the Morrow Mountain II specimen was recovered from 25–30 centimeters.

The assemblage includes a large number of bifaces. Seven of these are non-hafted varieties and were typed as Stages 2 and 3. All of these are incomplete, suggesting they were discarded during manufacture. Quartz and rhyolite are both represented in almost equal frequencies. The lack of early stage bifaces and high volume of debitage are good indicators of late stage reduction and/or biface production.

Several quartz cores were recovered (Figure 5). All of these were found in the upper 20 centimeters within the dense lithic cluster in association with Features 11 and 12. As a group, they all are small, exhausted, and amorphous, with multi-directional platforms. Their presence offers direct evidence of intensive lithic activity that was likely geared toward the production of new tools or useable flakes for resource processing.

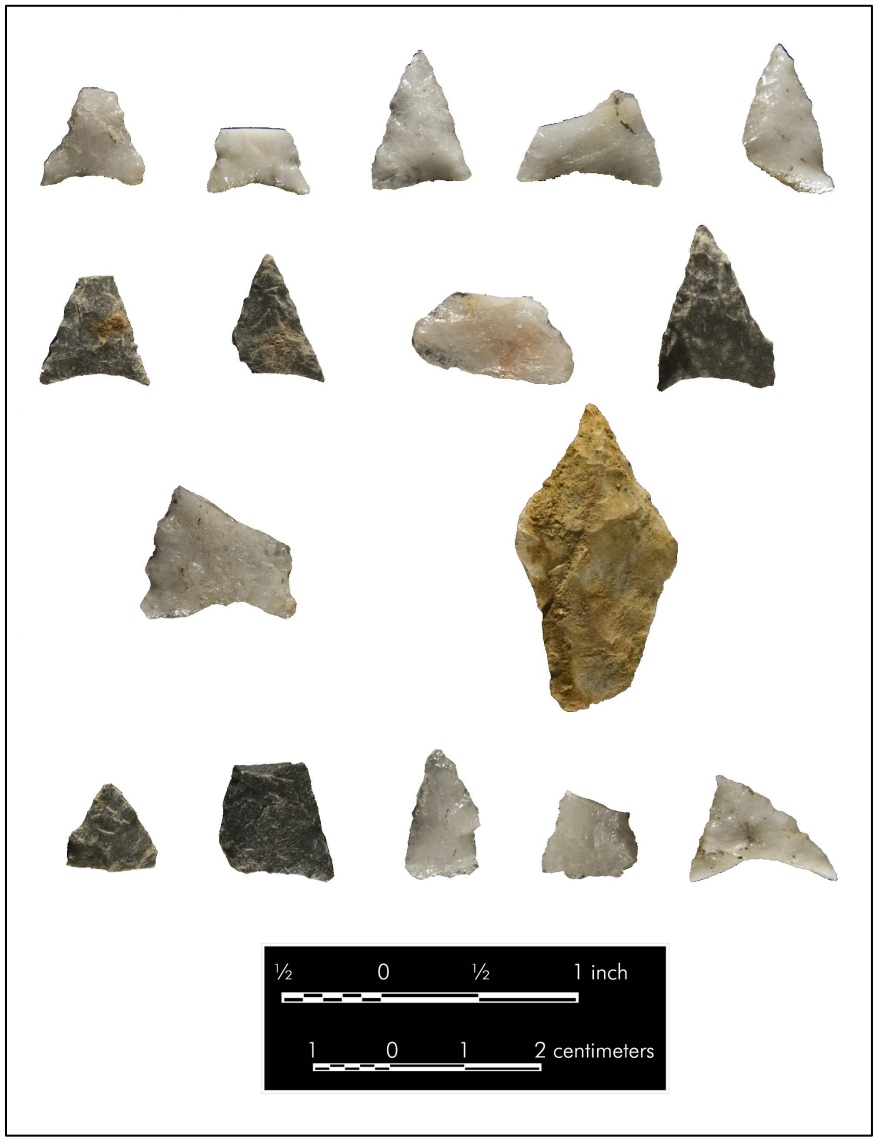

Figure 4. Photographs of selected projectile points.

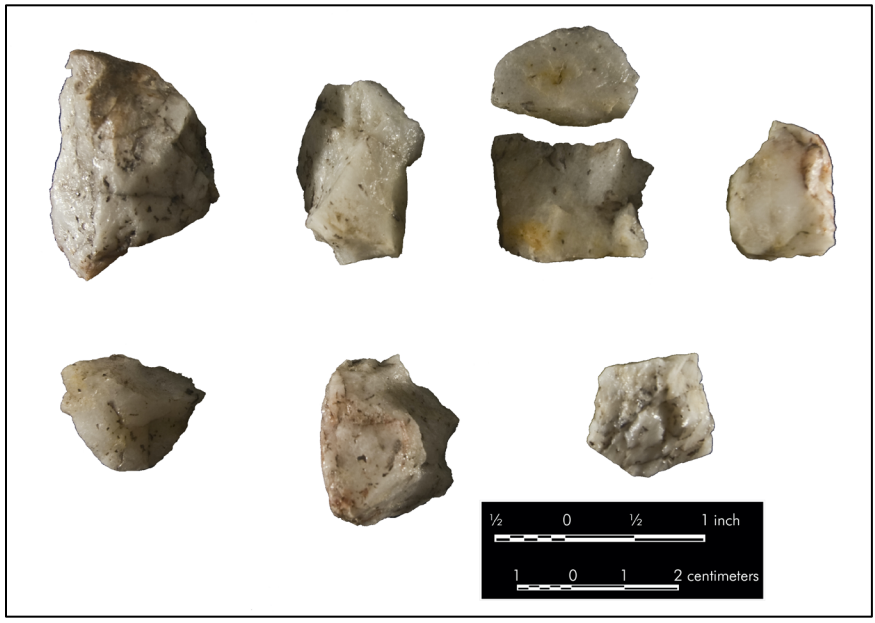

Figure 5. Photographs of lithic cores.

Although multiple raw material types were identified, the assemblage was overwhelmingly dominated by quartz and rhyolite. In Block 6, where the densest cluster of quartz was identified, quartz (n=1051) outnumbered rhyolite (n=157) by a ratio of almost 6:1. Vertical distribution of raw materials indicated an obvious break at approximately 25–30 cmbs. In the same area, approximately 85 percent of the quartz was distributed in the upper 20 centimeters, before dropping off rapidly (Figure 6). The trend for rhyolite was just the opposite, with rhyolite increasing steadily in each level before reaching its peak between 30–40 centimeters. Approximately 80 percent of the rhyolite was found below 20 centimeters.

There was a consistent stratigraphic break at approximately 25–30 centimeters. In the upper 20–25 centimeters, quartz occurred in significantly higher frequency than rhyolite, Late Woodland projectile points were more common, non-hafted bifaces were more common, and cores were more common. The horizontal and vertical patterns were also associated with multiple hearth features. Six of the seven hafted bifaces came from the upper 20 centimeters, with the seventh from 20–25 centimeters. The other bifaces were recovered from the upper 15 centimeters. All cores (n=8) came from the upper 20 centimeters. Both

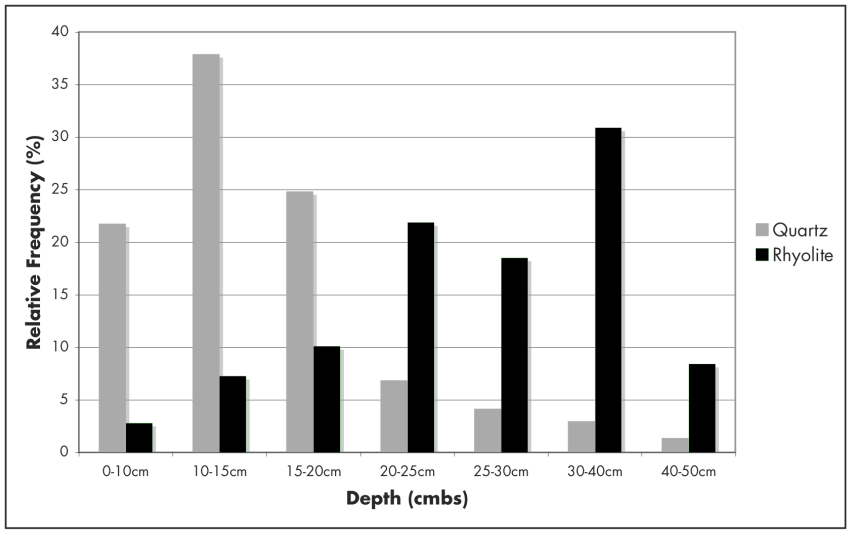

Figure 6. Bar chart showing vertical distribution of quartz and rhyolite in Block 6.

the horizontal and vertical distributions of quartz are clearly associated with the features identified in Block 6, all of which date to the Middle and Late Woodland periods.

Technological differences were observed in raw materials. Rhyolite, being generally of better quality and more costly to obtain, was likely reserved for formal tool production and curated at higher rates. Quartz, because of its local distribution and greater abundance, was used for a wider range of tasks and there was less pressure to curate or conserve the material.

In the Woodland deposits, quartz is common in the early reduction stages (primary and secondary) and cores. This is an expected trend given its local distribution. More than 90 percent of the cores (n=10) are quartz, with a single rhyolite example. Woodland groups likely collected quartz from local outcrops and brought it with them for tool production while conducting other activities.

All of these data offer clear support for intensive lithic activities during the Late Woodland period. The high frequencies of cores, debitage, and discarded bifaces are direct evidence of lithic reduction. Cores are generally discarded at or near the locus of reduction activity,

and this site has a high number. Production activities are also reflected in the high number of hafted bifaces that were discarded in this block.

Pottery Analysis

The site had a high density of pottery (n=1,075, 3,991.6 grams). Most of the individual sherds were small, weighing less than 100 grams. Although a light scatter was present over most of the site, the densest concentrations by weight were found in Block 9 (2,067.3 grams, 51.8%), Block 1 (1,327.1 grams, 33.2%), and Block 6 (406.5 grams, 10.2%).

Nineteen vessels were defined for 31CD871, representing approximately 47.4 percent of the total sherd weight (Table 1; number 13 was not used). That is, almost half of the sherds, by weight, were sortable to sample vessels. For information on classification methods, see Patch et al. (2011). Following the typology of Herbert et al. (2002), the vessels were assigned a type based on the aplastic content (established at 40x magnification) and surface treatment. Ceramic types for the vessels include Cape Fear Fabric Impressed (n=6), Cape Fear Cord Marked (n=4), New River Fabric Impressed (n=5), New River Cord Marked (n=3), and Hanover Fabric Impressed (n=1). Representative photographs of each vessel type are presented in Figures 7–11.

Herbert et al. (2002) reported on the use of thermoluminescence (TL) dates to help build a chronology in the Sandhills in the absence of radiocarbon dates. As part of the data recovery research design, Patch et al. (2011) submitted sherds from multiple vessels for TL dating by two separate laboratories. Although the results were not useful for building independent chronologies, they provide at least rudimentary dating of individual vessels (Espenshade et al. 2014; Herbert and Feathers 2015). Petrographic (thin-section) analysis is typically used to characterize the sherd paste and temper and can be informative for identifying potential clay sources. Sherds from all 19 vessels were submitted for petrographic analysis and assigned to previously identified groups for the Sandhills (Herbert and McReynolds 2008; Smith 2004, 2008). Petrographic analysis by Dr. Michael Smith showed possible diachronic differences in raw material selection (Smith 2011). The Early Woodland TL results are associated with vessels assigned to Groups IIB, IIIB, and IIB/IIIB, while the Late Woodland vessels are assigned to Groups II and IIIX. In both time spans, the petrographic analysis suggests that clay sources in the Piedmont and the Coastal Plain were used.

Table 1. Summary of Vessels at Site 31CD871.

Vessel	% of Vessel	Type	TL Date(s)	Period	Thin Section	Residue(s)
Vessel 1	2%	Cape Fear Fabric Impressed	NA	Late Woodland	Group IIIX	plants and fish
Vessel 2	<1%	Cape Fear Cord Marked	NA		Group IIIB	plants and fish
Vessel 3	<1%	New River Fabric Impressed	NA		Group II	non-pine tree resin, meat, plants
Vessel 4	2%	New River Fabric Impressed	1499 B.C. +/- 262 (UW), 1772 B.C. +/- 440	Early Woodland	Group IIIB	plants and fish
Vessel 5	<1%	Cape Fear Fabric Impressed	NA		Group IIIA	plants, fish, and meats
Vessel 6	1%	New River Fabric Impressed	A.D 1433 +/- 35 (UW), A.D. 1533 +/- 35 (Oxford)	Late Woodland	Group II	plant, fish, and meats
Vessel 7	1%	New River Fabric Impressed	A.D. 1317 +/- 53 (UW), A.D. 1473 +/- 45 (Oxford)	Late Woodland	Group IIIX	non-pine plants
Vessel 8	<1%	Cape Fear Cord Marked	NA	Late Woodland	Group IIB	NA
Vessel 9	1%	New River Cord Marked	2538 B.C. +/-290 (UW), 1127 +/- 210 B.C. (Oxford)	Late Woodland	Group IIB or IIIB	plants, fish, and meats
Vessel 10	<1%	Cape Fear Cord Marked	NA		Group IIIB	plants and fish
Vessel 11	<1%	New River Cord Marked	NA		Group IIIB	Hard to interpret; meat and plants, non-pine tree resin, limited range of processed resources
Vessel 12	<1%	New River Cord Marked	NA		Group IIIB	plants and fish
Vessel 14	<1%	New River Fabric Impressed	NA		Group IIIA	plants and fish
Vessel 15	1%	Cape Fear Fabric Impressed	A.D. 1306 +/- 56 (UW), A.D. 1543 +/- 35	Late Woodland	Group II	plants and fish
Vessel 16	<1%	Cape Fear Cord Marked	1755 B.C. +/- 254 (UW), 942 B.C. +/-195	Early Woodland	Group IIB	Hard to interpret; plants, meat, non-pine tree resin
Vessel 17	1%	Hanover Fabric Impressed	A.D. 1294 +/-62 (UW), A.D. 1443 +/-55 (Oxford)	Late Woodland	Group II	plants, fish, and meats
Vessel 18	2%	Cape Fear Fabric Impressed	A.D. 1342 +/-57 (UW), A.D. 1003 +/-30 (Oxford)	Late Woodland	Group IIIX	plants and fish
Vessel 19	<1%	Cape Fear Fabric Impressed	A.D. 1473 +/-31 (UW), A.D. 1533 +/-35 (Oxford)	Late Woodland	Group II	plants, meats, and fungus
Vessel 20	<1%	Cape Fear Fabric Impressed	A.D. 1241 +/- 51 (UW), A.D. 1448 +/- 55 (Oxford)	Late Woodland	Group II	plants, fish, and meats

Figure 7. Cape Fear Fabric Impressed (Vessel 15).

Absorbed residue analysis is useful for identifying the types of resources that might have been processed in a particular vessel (e.g., plants, meat, fish, etc). Absorbed residue analysis involves the extraction of lipids from cooking or other pot use that have been absorbed within the ceramic matrix of a potsherd (Reber 2008). It can also be helpful for determining whether vessels may have been used as general, multipurpose tools, or for specialized processing. Results indicated that residue preservation was remarkably good. The pots were generally used to process a wide variety of plant, fish, marine, and meat resources. There is no evidence of specialized pots. There is no evidence of a subsistence shift through time. The interpretation of probable marine resources suggests indirect evidence that these pots were transported over wide distances as part of seasonal rounds.

Figure 8. New River Fabric Impressed (Vessel 6).

Figure 9. Cape Fear Cord Marked (Vessel 8).

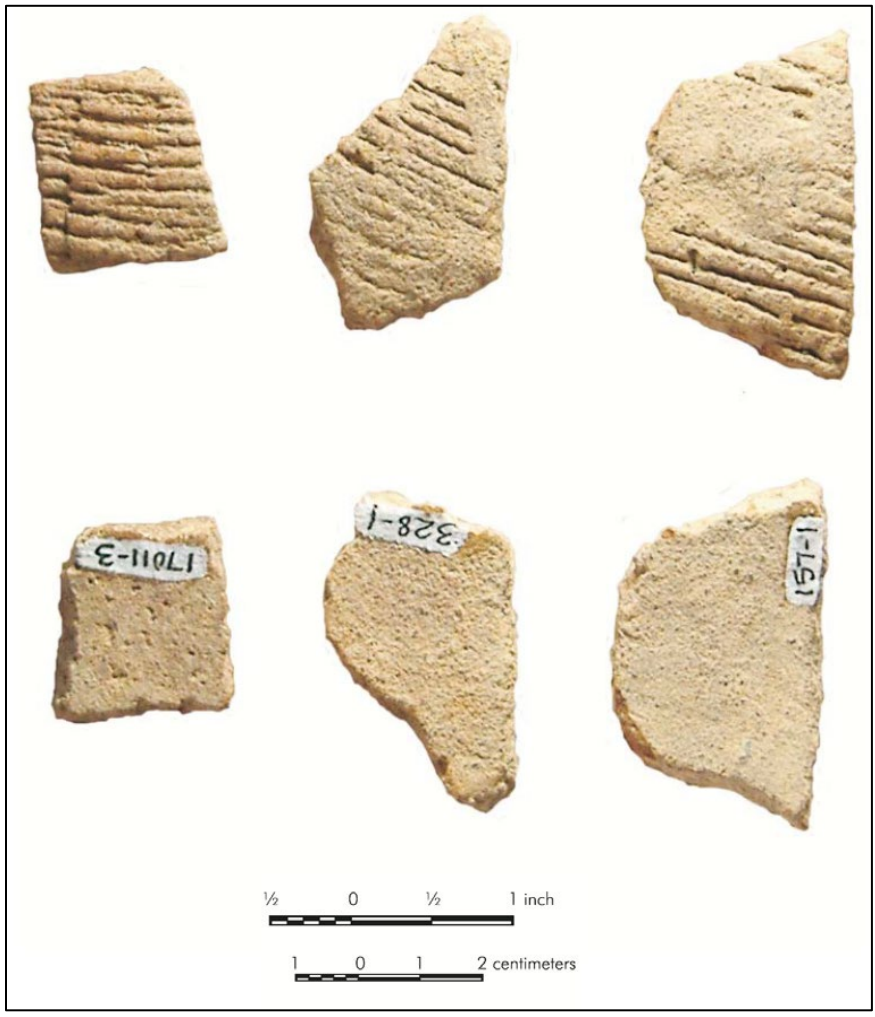

Figure 10. New River Cord Marked (Vessel 9).

Figure 11. Hanover Fabric Impressed (Vessel 17).

Vessel distributions suggest a blank space between the two cluster-rich loci and contemporary deposition. This deposition apparently occurred around a ceramic void measuring approximately five meters in diameter. Such a void is probably too large for a typical toss zone around an exterior hearth, but may be consistent with the deposition of pottery outside a small structure. By this argument, small sherds were left where they fell, in activity areas outside the residential structure. The distribution of the centra (point where the highest weight from each vessel was recovered) is consistent with activity and refuse disposal in a yard area surrounding a house (Figure 12). The patterning of constituent sherds from the sample vessels showed links across the central void, indicating coeval deposition of the Late Woodland pots. As discussed more fully below, the soil chemistry results showed strong peaks of potassium and calcium in the areas between the two pottery clusters.

The tight clustering (and TL results) suggests contemporaneous, focused, Late Woodland, activity was responsible for Vessels 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, and 20. The TL-dated pots from 31CD871 showed a trend with the cord-marked pots all being Early Woodland and the fabric-impressed pots all being Late Woodland. This would suggest that cord-marked Vessels 8, 11, and 12 should be considered Early Woodland, and should not be considered to contribute to the Late Woodland assemblage. This reduces the suspected contemporary, Late Woodland pots to nine.

The 19 vessels represented small portions of their parent vessels: 12 were less than one percent of their parent vessel, four were one percent, and three were two percent. These percentages argue against the vessels as cached items or pot busts. These low figures may suggest either a high degree of ceramic curation and/or a refuse disposal dichotomy. Although tool curation is commonly discussed and widely accepted in lithic studies (Binford 1979), curation of pots is not often addressed. It is possible, especially given the posited lack of suitable clays nearby, that the Woodland Period in the Sandhills saw a high level of ceramic curation. Use breaks on pottery commonly occur on the rim or lip, and such breaks need not end the use life of a pot. We suggest a use trajectory in which a large pot slowly is reduced in size as the vessel moved through the seasonal round. All usable vessels and vessel portions for potential adaptive reuse may have been removed when the site was abandoned.

Alternately, refuse disposal may have been two-pronged, with small sherds left where they dropped, but larger sherds and vessel sections tossed elsewhere. Ethnographic accounts of sedentary farmers show that this pattern often applies (Arnold 1991; Deal 1998). By this scenario, the larger refuse items might be tossed into the wetlands or down a stump hole. The activity area would be left with only small sherds representing a low percentage of their parent vessels.

The number of identified vessels can be used to model length of site use. If, as argued above, nine Late Woodland vessels were contemporary, and if an average use life of one year is used, there were nine use years during the occupation. Ethnographically, five to 10 vessels per household is a common range, meaning a single household would have been occupied for 0.9 to 1.8 use years. The 0.9 to 1.8 years would not necessarily have been continuous, but rather may represent re-use of a seasonal house over several years.

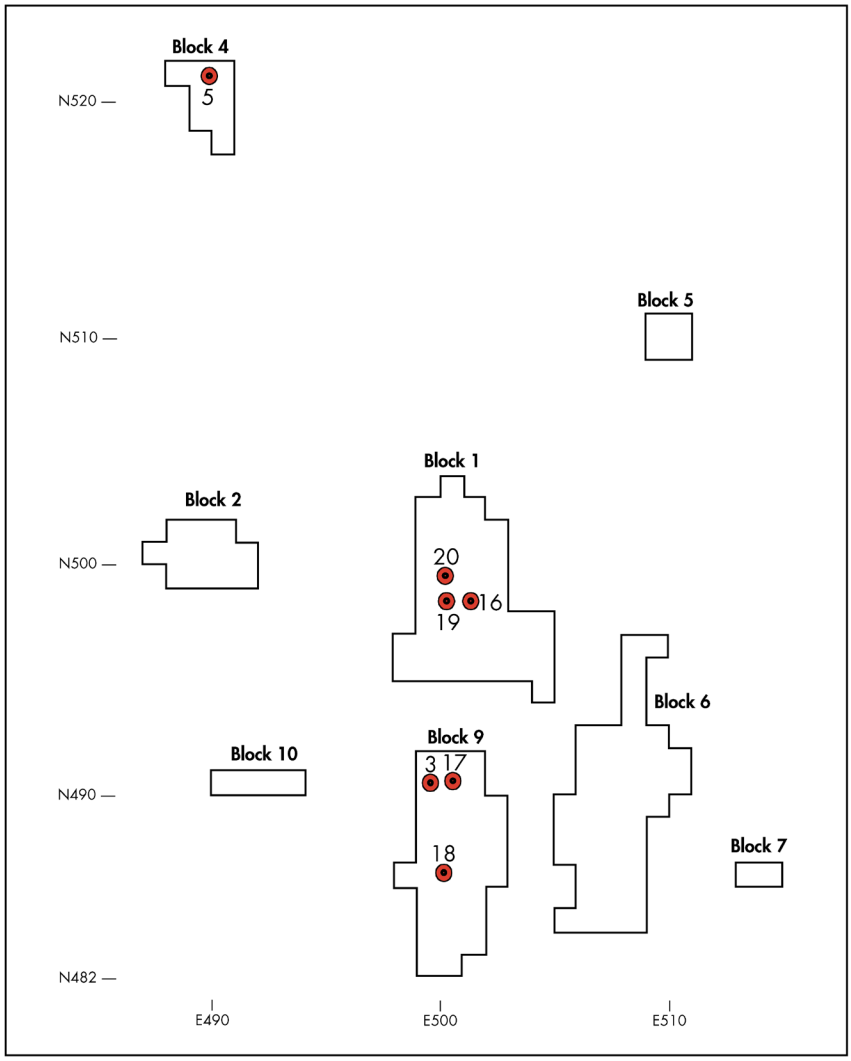

Figure 12. Spatial distribution of selected vessels.

Alternately, using the modified modeling approach that should better fit hunter-gatherer behavior, it can be argued that a vessel lost a sherd on average every three months (0.25 year) (Patch et al. 2011; Patch and Espenshade 2019). The nine vessels would then imply 2.25 years of ceramic use. If a single household has 5–10 pots in use, the refuse would suggest 2.5–5 weeks (0.2–0.5 year). Because the total number of vessels is near the maximum for a single household, it is appropriate to consider at least one revisit. If there were possibly two seasonal visits, each would

have averaged 1–2 weeks (0.1125–0.225 year). If the site was used seasonally over three years in the Late Woodland, each episode would have lasted 1–2 weeks (0.075–0.15 year.

There are no ceramic vessels strongly associated with Features 9, 10, 11, and 12. In contrast, Feature 6 is located in an area of considerable overlap of Vessels 1, 6, 7, 8, and 9. Feature 6 yielded a calibrated, two-sigma radiocarbon result of A.D. 1420–1480. Vessel 9 generated an Early Woodland TL result and is therefore not temporally associated with Feature 6. Vessel 6 (TL result, one-sigma, A.D. 1533 ± 35 years) and Vessel 7 (TL result, one-sigma, A.D. 1473 ± 45 years) are spatially and temporally linked to Feature 6.

Based on the TL results and the radiocarbon dating of nearby features, 31CD871 contains both Early Woodland and Late Woodland components. Using two-sigma results, the Early Woodland saw at least two episodes of site use, one at approximately 1700 B.C., and one at approximately 950 B.C. The Late Woodland site use episodes occurred circa A.D. 1500 and possibly circa A.D. 1000.

Ethnobotanical and Faunal Analysis

A variety of organic materials was recovered including charcoal (n=10), bone (n=113), and shell (n=10). Almost all of the bone and shell came from the hearth features in Block 6. Overall, the assemblage is highly fragmented, sparse, and heavily weathered, and approximately 52 percent were calcined. The calcined bone may have resulted from the discard of bones in a fire rather than cooking. Only turtle could be identified to the level of family, genus, or species, but other vertebrate remains were also present. Despite the small and fragmentary condition of the faunal remains, analysis indicates the presence of turtles, mammals, and vertebrates (Patch et al. 2011:815).

Flotation samples of feature fill produced wood charcoal, charred pine needles, resin, charred grass stem fragments, and charred seeds (e.g., huckleberry, lespedeza, maygrass, persimmon) (Patch et al. 2011:806). Although botanical materials did not occur in particularly high frequencies, they were consistent in feature contexts. Huckleberry fruits are available for harvest from July through August and were growing in the site vicinity in the past. Grass seeds ripen throughout the summer and early fall months. Pine seeds ripen and fall from their cones

between the months of September and November. The ethnobotanical data suggest plants were being collected and processed in the summer and fall.

Carbonized nutshell was completely absent from all feature contexts. Although nutshell is common to many precontact sites in the Southeast, its absence was also noted at site 31HT425 in Harnett County (Abbott et al. 2005). The lack of nutshell is likely due to local environmental conditions rather than cultural preferences or preservation. The presence of organic materials is a reliable indicator of the overall good preservation of both the material itself and context. Both preservation and integrity are likely due to the relatively young age of the deposits (i.e., Late Woodland) and the site being protected from plowing and other modern activities that might have altered or destroyed the deposits.

Features

Multiple soil stains were observed during fieldwork, but only five were confirmed as cultural features (Table 2). They were all interpreted as hearths. Radiocarbon dates indicate Feature 10 was from the Middle Woodland and Features 6, 9, 11, and 12 were from the Late Woodland. Feature 10 was identified at a depth of 20–25 centimeters but was likely at the surface when it was used and subsequently buried. Sedimentology suggested the feature may have been deliberately lined with B-horizon material and its highly cemented nature indicated it may have been used repeatedly (Patch et al. 2011:119). The remaining features were all identified at depths of 10–20 centimeters and were at the surface when they were used. It is important to note that all of these features would have been destroyed if the site had been plowed.

Spatially, Features 6, 9, 11, and 12 were all found in the same general area measuring approximately eight square meters. They are all interpreted as hearths because of their physical properties, depth, and artifact content. These overlap with the densest concentration of hafted bifaces and debitage. Although not perfect, they are generally circular to oval, with slightly oxidized sand as a result of heating, and less than 20 centimeters in depth and no more than 10–15 centimeters in thickness. Moderate quantities of fragmentary bone, shell, and debitage were observed during excavation and also recovered came from feature fill. The physical similarities of Features, 6, 9, 11, and 12 in conjunction with

Table 2. Summary of Excavated Features and Radiocarbon Dates.

Feature	Block	Type	Calibrated Radiocarbon Date(s)	Component
6	6	Hearth	A.D. 1420 – 1480	Late Woodland
9	6	Hearth	A.D. 1240 – 1300 and A.D. 1370 – 1380.	Late Woodland
10	1	Hearth	A.D. 400 – 570	Middle Woodland
11	9	Hearth	A.D. 680 – 890	Middle/Late Woodland
12	9	Hearth	A.D. 1450 – 1650	Late Woodland

their associated radiocarbon dates suggest activities that were included processing and cooking plant and/or animal resources.

Soil Chemistry

Soil chemistry data can be successful at identifying cultural deposits such as features and living surfaces, especially elements such as nitrogen (N), phosphorous (P), calcium (Ca), magnesium (Mg), and potassium (K) (Cook and Heizer 1965). The basic principle behind this approach is that chemical signatures can be enriched as a result of cultural activity (e.g. burned wood, animal bone, animal/human waste). Petersen and Mohler (2002:117) analyzed phosphates from site 31MR205, also located in a Sandhills setting. Those results showed a correlation between buried artifact concentrations and phosphates that were interpreted as intact cultural horizons.

Soil chemistry samples were collected systematically across site 31CD871 and then analyzed for calcium (Ca), magnesium (Mg), potassium (K), and phosphorous (P) (Figure 13). Elevated concentrations of phosphorous, potassium, calcium, and magnesium were detected in features and activity areas (Patch et al. 2011:125). Feature 9 showed results similar to background samples, Feature 10 had elevated concentrations of potassium, magnesium, and calcium, and Feature 11 had elevated concentrations of phosphorous, potassium, and calcium (Patch et al. 2011:80). Calcium and potassium showed higher

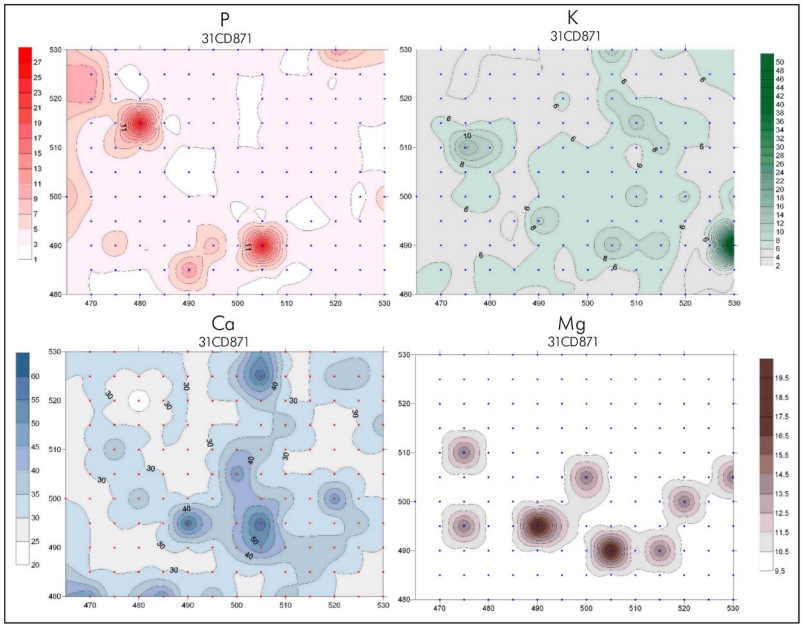

Figure 13. Contour maps of soil chemistry results.

concentrations in Blocks 1, 6, and 9, which correspond to the areas of dense artifact clusters and features (Patch et al. 2011:85).

Continuous samples from a single profile showed elevated concentrations for all four chemicals in the A-horizon, decreased levels in the E-horizon, and then increased levels again in the B-horizon (Patch et al. 2011:82). This suggests that each chemical was affected equally by natural processes, especially leaching.

Elevated concentrations of potassium and calcium were also noted extending north from the main site toward the stream (Patch et al. 2011:125). Possible explanations of this pattern include 1) enrichment from human activity in the form of a residual chemical trail, 2) refuse disposal areas, and 3) post-depositional enrichment. The lack of artifacts in this area does not support refuse disposal and post-depositional enrichment of only this area seems unlikely; therefore, enrichment due to cultural activity is the best explanation at present.

Three dates were obtained from sediments at site 31CD871 using optically stimulated luminescence (OSL). This method is frequently used

for dating soil horizons and although it provides an absolute date, the results are dating the process of soil formation and its average age, not a single event. Two samples from the datum location yielded dates of 270 +/- 10 years (40–45 cmbs) and 290 +/- 10 years (65–70 cmbs). These dates are relatively young in geologic time, but correlate well with the Middle and Late Woodland components. One sample from the profile adjacent to Feature 10 yielded a date of 14,900 +/- 640 years, but the date is likely too old because the sand above the hearth was likely deposited during the Middle Holocene (Patch et al. 2011:119).

Summary and Interpretations

Although site 31CD871 is typical of many sites in the Sandhills in terms of its artifact types and its multicomponent nature, it is also unique in terms of preservation and recovered datasets. Numerous intact features and artifact clusters were identified. Stratigraphic profiles, feature identification, and geomorphology all indicate that site 31CD871 was not plowed and was stratified. As such, it has a high level of physical integrity.

Data from vessel analysis, radiocarbon samples, and diagnostic projectile points all indicate multiple visits spanning the Early, Middle, and Late Woodland. The visit(s) with the highest archaeological visibility occurred during the Late Woodland period, from approximately A.D. 1200–1650.

The site location was deliberately selected by precontact groups because of its proximity to a small stream/wetland system. Though not extensive, the botanical and faunal evidence indicate the presence of locally available aquatic species such as turtles and maygrass. Direct evidence exists for exploitation of turtle and other unidentified animals from the feature contexts.

The volume of quartz debitage and frequency of Woodland projectile points and pottery in Blocks 1, 6, and 9 are more than would be expected from a single visit by a small logistical group. In addition, the vast majority of the quartz artifacts were restricted to the upper 30 centimeters. The concentration of features in the approximate center of the quartz scatter indicates that these areas were the focus of cultural activity. At least nine unique Late Woodland vessels were identified, with evidence for processing a diversity of plant and animal resources.

The spatial arrangement and artifact concentrations indicate exterior work zones where cooking and food preparation activities took place, adjacent to a shelter. The locational specificity of site revisits in the Late Woodland suggests that these episodes of reuse occurred within a single generation.

The vessels from both the Early and Late Woodland components are consistently represented by one to a few sherds that together account for less than one percent of their parent vessels. This breakage/deposition pattern matches the expectations for mobile hunter-gatherers, whose pots moved with them through the seasonal round. There was very limited diversity in vessel forms, and the absorbed residue analysis suggests that each pot was used for a variety of foodstuffs. These are consistent with the pots having been used as generalized tools, serving a variety of functions as they were carried through the seasonal round.

The results overwhelmingly indicate a strong Woodland component with hearth features, abundant ceramics, and dense clusters of locally available quartz. The available datasets suggest an emphasis on processing local aquatic resources. Given the presence of hearths, faunal remains, and abundant lithic reduction areas, it can be inferred that groups camped for short durations and processed resources directly, rather than collecting them and returning to a base camp. The ceramic data for the Late Woodland suggest that a single house may have been occupied for one to three months. The lithic tool diversity and the debitage density are also consistent with a seasonal, single-family occupation.

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A HOME ALONG THE BORDER: THE PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENT OF NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

by

Forest Hazel

Abstract

This short essay examines the Portuguese Settlement, one of several remnant communities in western Northampton County which descend from a combination of tribal groups, as well as varying degrees of non-Indian ancestry. While this community has been greatly impacted by out-migration and intermarriage with the general population, and most residents of Northampton County know little about it, there are still numerous descendants in the area, some still living on land that has been in their families for generations.

Northampton County, North Carolina is found along the Virginia–North Carolina state line in the state's sandy northeastern Coastal Plain. Formed in 1741 from Bertie County, Northampton is still sparsely settled, agriculturally based, and administered from its quiet county seat of Jackson. The population as of the 2010 Federal Census was 22,099, which breaks down into roughly 58% Black, 39% White, 1.4 % Latino and the remaining 1.6% American Indian or other racial categories.

Historically, Northampton County, represents a border area between three American Indian cultural groups. On the northwest were the Saponi-related groups such as the Occaneechi and the Tutelo. To the northeast lay the Iroquoian Nottoway, as well as their related cousins the Tuscarora and Meherrin to the southeast, and to the east were the Algonquin-speaking Chowanokes. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, most of these tribes had disintegrated or moved from their old homelands due to the effects of warfare, disease, or assimilation. Today, there are several remnant communities in the area which in all likelihood descend from a combination of tribal groups, as well as varying degrees of non-Indian ancestry. Little of the Native languages survive and most of the indigenous culture has been lost. The largest of these is the Haliwa-Saponi Tribe of Halifax and Warren Counties and the Meherrin Indian Nation of Hertford County. The Chowan Indians are represented by small groups of descendants living as part of the Black community in

Gates County as well as among the Meherrin descendants in Hertford[1] Oral traditions of Tuscarora ancestry remain among some of the families living in the Indian Woods area of Bertie County today.[2]

Theoretical Framework

The southeastern United States has literally dozens of communities which are difficult to define racially. Comprised of varying mixtures of White, American Indian, and in some cases Black ancestry, they range in size from the 50,000+ Lumbee of Robeson County, down to small communities such as the Goins Community of Williamsburg County, South Carolina, with probably less than two dozen people today. These communities can be found from the coastal plain swamps to the foothills of the Blue Ridge and on up into the mountains themselves. Some have achieved official recognition by their home states as Indian Tribes, others have merged with the Black or White societies around them, and others remain as what some scholars have termed "little races" or "tri-racial isolates", occupying an uncertain middle ground between the major racial groups. These terms, while no doubt useful to academics, are often looked upon with distaste by members of the communities themselves, particularly those who see themselves as American Indian and who resent the sense that outsiders are focusing on their non-Native ancestry.

Brewton Berry's dated but still useful work, "Almost White," provides a sympathetic view of many of these communities[3], while Charles Weslager[4], Dr. Helen Rountree[5], and Patricia Spurlock Elder[6] have all added valuable contributions to the history. Dr. Warren Eugene Milteer, Jr.'s recent work *North Carolina's Free People of Color, 1715–1885*[7] also provides valuable insight into the uncertainties life held for communities and individuals who lived in the social grey area between Whites and Black slaves, in a legal and social system that often provided no place for them.

Some of these communities, like the Melungeons, have been the subject of scores of books and articles, while others, like the "Smiling Indians" of Robeson County, or the Skeetertown Community near Suffolk, Virginia, have received little attention from scholars and historians. The Portuguese Settlement of Northampton County, North Carolina falls into the latter group (Figure 1).

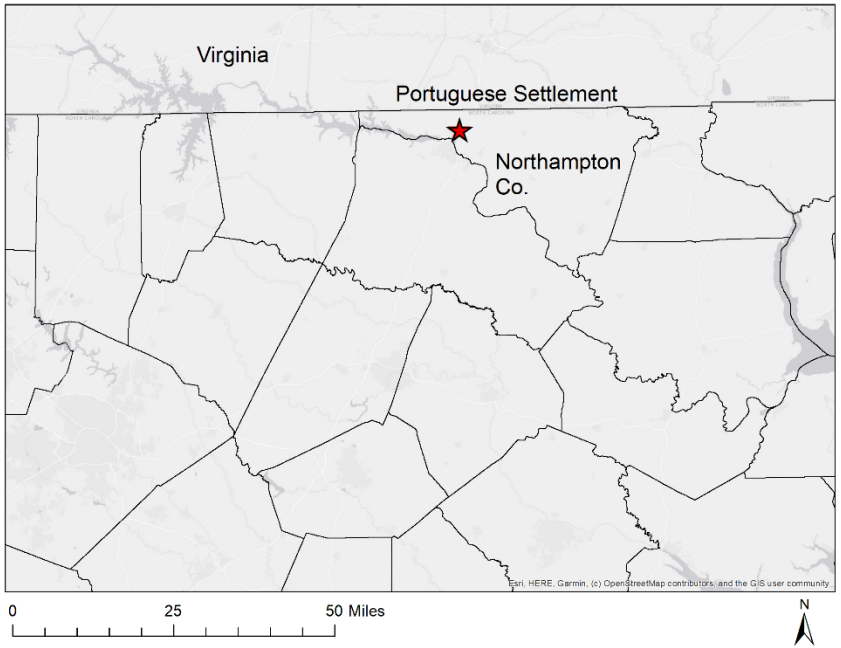

Figure 1. Location of the Portuguese Settlement in Northampton County, NC.

Defining Terms

A short note about racial terms is in order here. An examination of terms associated with the Portuguese community, as well as most of the remnant Indian communities in the Southeast, includes many that today we would interpret as implying African ancestry. Terms like “Negro”, “free colored” or simply “colored”, and most commonly “mulatto” were frequently applied to individuals in these remnant communities by newspaper reporters, census takers, and local officials.

While the term “mulatto” is often considered today to mean a half White, half Black individual, a careful examination of eighteenth and nineteenth century records shows that it was applied to a broad range of individuals of uncertain racial origins, sometimes including persons with no provable African ancestry, but instead, of Indian ancestry. A better way to interpret the term “mulatto” as it was understood for much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the South might be simply as “mixed”.

Most southern states codified racial definitions at some point in time, although they were frequently not enforced with any consistency. Virginia passed the following act in 1705: "…"be it enacted and declared, and it is hereby enacted and declared, that the child of an Indian and the child, grandchild, or great grandchild, of a negro shall be deemed, accounted, held and taken to be a mulatto."[8] This means that an individual who is ½ Indian and ½ White with no African ancestry would be a mulatto, as well as an individual who was as little as 1/8 African. While the law does not specifically so state, presumably an individual of mixed Indian, White, and African ancestry could also be classified as a mulatto.

The reality is that the terms "mulatto", "colored", and even "negro" historically were used to cover a broad range of mixtures, some of which may have contained no African ancestry at all, or at least had significant Native ancestry. Examining the contest of how the terms are used is essential to understanding what the writers meant. For example, consider the following descriptions of runaways: *"*A mulatto or half Indian man named Frank"[9]; "A servant man, named Moses Williams, an Indian mulatto, being half Indian and half Irish…"[10]; "a servant Negro man, half Indian, named Charles"[11], and "a very big Negro man, named Sampson, has some Indian blood in him….has taken his son with him…was born of an Indian woman… can both talk Indian very well…likely they have dressed themselves in Indian dress and gone toward Carolina"[12]; "Ran away from the subscriber…an indented Indian mulatto boy, named Israel Tolman, whose father was a white man, and mother an Indian…"[13]; "A reward of $500 … for...my servants Jane and Julia…. Jane is…a mustee… Julia is half Indian…I will give a reward for any person…harboring…either of the above negros."[14] All these demonstrate that the terms "Negro", "mulatto", or "colored" can and often do refer to persons of Indian ancestry.

By the mid-1800s, North Carolina law stated "That all free persons descended from negro ancestors to the fourth generation inclusive, though one ancestor of each generation may have been a white person, shall be deemed free negroes and persons of mixed blood."[15] Numerous court cases arose as a result of this. The most widely cited is *North Carolina v. Chavers*, out of Brunswick County, NC in 1857. William Chavers was a "free person of color" who was charged under state law with carrying a shotgun as a free person of color without having first obtained a license from the county court. Chavers was convicted in the

Brunswick County court, and appealed to the NC Supreme Court, arguing that the statute specifically prohibited 'free negroes" from carrying arms, and denying that he was a free negro. The NC Supreme Court found in part that, "Free persons of color may be, then, for all we can see, **persons colored by Indian blood**,[16] or persons descended from Negro ancestors beyond the fourth degree." The Supreme Court reversed the decision of the lower court, ruling that the terms "free negro" and "free person of color" are not necessarily synonymous. Also of note is their opinion that Indians can be "free persons of color". The Chavers/Chavis family name in southeastern North Carolina today is often part of the Lumbee Indian community of Robeson and adjacent counties.[17]

Defining the Community

Defining the Portuguese Settlement is not an easy task. There is no organization in the community that issues "Portuguese cards" in the manner of tribal cards given out by the Lumbee, Cherokee, or similar Indian tribes. There exists no "Portuguese Reservation" inhabited exclusively by them. Their neighbors may disagree at times as to who is or is not a member of the group, and their surnames are not exclusive to the Portuguese. Even their physical appearance is not always a determining factor, as they may possess a broad range of physical features, from blue-eyed blonds to brown skinned brunettes. How then should we define who we are talking about?

One method might be to use the 1910 and 1940 Federal Census for Gaston Township in Northampton County, which identifies certain families as Portuguese. In 1910, 17 households containing 89 individuals in Gaston Township are enumerated at "Ot" ("other") for race, with "Portuguese" written in the left margin. Surnames identified as Portuguese in 1910 are Turner, Scott, Poythress, Peters, Newsome, Ellis, Conwell, and Bass. In 1940, there are 14 households bearing the surnames Turner, Newsome, Scott, Peters, Poythress, Bass, Hobbs, and Jerrall.

Another way would be to examine military, birth, and death records to see who is listed by that designation; there are several World War I registrations for Turners and Scotts from Garysburg that state: "They claim to be Portuguese but register as Negro."[18] Newspaper articles about the community could also be used, as for example, when Perry G.

Poythress was murdered in 1962 due to an argument over "some barrels at an illegal liquor still." The paper reported that "Poythress, about 58, a member of a Portuguese colony at Gaston was found floating in a creek last Sunday."[19]

One problem with these identifications is that they are often based on the beliefs and prejudices of outsiders. Census takers may have based their categorization of individuals on skin color, residence, or surname, without asking the person being enumerated how he identified himself racially. An example of this is the testimony of Nathaniel Turner, born ca. 1820,[20] in an 1880s county court case which hinged on the ethnicity of his family. After hearing testimony from a Mr. John Grant, who had been the census taker for part of Gaston Township in the 1880 Federal Census and who had stated, "I put Nat Turner down on the colored list. He made no objection to being so put down." Turner replied "Mr. Grant, census taker was never at my house in his life. If he put my name on his list as a Negro I knew nothing about it." Turner adamantly testified that he was a mixture of White and Portuguese.[21]

In addition, the Federal Census listings are not consistent for the Portuguese from decade to decade. Norman Bass and his household, for example, are enumerated as Black in 1900, Portuguese in 1910, Black in 1920, White in 1930, and again as Portuguese in 1940 when he is dead but his widow is still there living with her son Haywood and his family. His 1931 Northampton County Death Certificate gives his race as "White", while his son Haywood's 1956 death certificate identifies him as Portuguese. The Bass family probably descends in part from the Nansemond Indian Basses of the Dismal Swamp area, some of whom filtered down into Northampton in the mid-1700s.

Ethnic Background

The Portuguese Settlement is[22] located in Gaston Township of Northampton County, although it will not be found on any map. It lies in the vicinity of the intersection of State Route 46 and Cal Floyd Road, near what was once called Gum Forks, a mile or so west of Gaston, NC. Some older maps identify Gaston as Camp Store, a name no longer in use. If you find a topographical map and can locate "Bethany School" just north of NC 46, you are in the right neighborhood.[23] The families lived scattered from around NC 46 up towards the Virginia state line, with some families living in adjacent Greensville County, Virginia.

The principal surnames in the community were Turner, Poythress, Peters, Scott, and Bass, with a few others like Jerrell and Newsome that have more recently come in through intermarriage with outsiders. It should be emphasized that these surnames are not unique to the Portuguese Settlement; there are Turners, for example, in the vicinity with no known connection to the community.[24]

There is no documentable genealogical connection of the families in the Portuguese Settlement with any actual Portuguese ancestry. That is not to say that there is no Portuguese ancestry in the community, but that it would have to have entered the families at a very early date, perhaps the early 1700s. The surnames mentioned above are, for the most part, common British surnames. I have opted to use the term "Portuguese" for the purposes of this project simply for lack of any other convenient title to give and because of the historic use of the term.[25]

So why then are they called Portuguese? Was this a term that originated with the people themselves, or an identification that was put on them by their neighbors? Certainly, there are numerous other examples of similar labels applied to communities of uncertain or complex racial origins. The "Turks" of Sumter County, South Carolina, the "Cubans" of Person County, North Carolina, the "Guineas" of West Virginia and others are all examples of names that have been applied to these communities by outsiders who were seeking a convenient term to use to refer to these isolated groups of people who seemed to be neither clearly White, Indian, or Black.[26] Most of these names are disavowed today by members of the communities to which they were applied, many of whom now self-identify as Indian or some other race. The use of the term "Portuguese" can be found in areas far removed from the Gaston area, with groups and individuals with no discernible connection to Northampton County.

In the case of the Northampton Portuguese Settlement, some local traditions state that they were descendants of Portuguese workers brought to the area in some unspecified manner to do some unspecified work for some unnamed person. The time frame is usually given as being around the time of the Civil War, which would be at least some 60–70 years too late to have any connection with the Portuguese of Gaston Township. Even traditions that have them coming into the area to work on the Roanoke Canal, which began around 1818, can be shown to be inaccurate, although it is quite possible that some of the community

members whose families had been in the area for decades in 1818 did indeed help build the canal.

These legends get reproduced in news articles like those printed in the Greensboro Daily News and the Carolina Israelite that state, respectively, "In one of these, Northampton, there are 33 white clients and 100 colored clients, the latter figure probably including the descendants of the original Portuguese colony brought over here to cultivate cotton before the Civil War,"[27] and "In Northampton County of North Carolina there are a group of Portuguese, descendants of Portuguese farmers who were brought over to work the plantations in the early part of the 19th century."[28] Unfortunately for this legend, it is very unlikely that any significant group of Portuguese laborers could have arrived in rural Northampton County before the Civil War while all having Anglo names like Turner and Scott and having escaped the attention of anyone keeping any type of official records in the county. At present, nothing aside from vague oral tradition supports any connection of the Portuguese with anyone actually from Portugal.

At the same time, it is a fact that in some judicial cases in the South, individuals mixed or uncertain ancestry asserted Portuguese blood in order to be legally categorized as White during the 1800's and early 1900's. A strain of Indian or African blood might legally relegate a person to a lower social class, whereas Portuguese ancestry, though it might confer an olive complexion and/or vaguely "non-Anglo" features, would still be considered European, or, White. One case of note was that of *Robert Gilliland v. the Avery Creek Township School Board* in 1905 from Buncombe County, North Carolina. The six children of Robert Gilliland had been refused admission to the white school because some of their neighbors believed that their great-grandfather, Jeffery Graham, had African ancestry. The family patriarch, Theodore Graham, "testified that not a drop of negro blood coursed through his veins or the veins of his descendants; that his father Jeffrey Graham was of Portuguese descent" and that that was why some of the family was of dark complexion. The jury found in their favor and the children were allowed to go to the White school.[29] This case went all the way to the North Carolina Supreme Court, which on May 26, 1906, found in favor of the Gillilands. Similarly in 1812, when the State of South Carolina charged Thomas Hagans with not paying the special tax on free Negros and Mulattos, he had several neighbors testify that his grandfather, Thomas Ivey, formerly of Bladen County, was "of Portuguese descent, that his

complexion was swarthy, his hair black and straight…"[30] A case of similar nature took place in Northampton County in the 1890's regarding school attendance, which will be mentioned later.

At least two other remnant Indian communities in North Carolina have a tradition of partial Portuguese ancestry. The Lumbee tradition dates back to the Civil War era, and is attached specifically to the Cumbo family, which married into, among others, the family of renowned Lumbee outlaw Henry Berry Lowrie.[31] In 1871, when Giles Leitch, a prominent neighbor of the Lumbee, testified before a joint House and Senate committee regarding the "free colored" population of Robeson County he said, "I think they are mixed Portuguese, Spaniards, and Indians. I mean to class the Spaniards and Portuguese as one class, and the Indians as another class… They are called mulattos, … as contradistinguished from Negros."[32]

The other community with a tradition of Portuguese ancestry is that of Goinstown, located on the Rockingham–Stokes County line near the Virginia border. In the early 1950s, a writer from "The State" magazine wrote a short account of the Goinstown people, ending with the report that: "In Wentworth, a native said his grandfather told him the group originated with the infiltration of Portuguese settlers."[33] The surnames of the community are Goins, Richardson, Gibson, Kimmons, Harris, and Hickman. Their school was classed as an Indian school for many years by Rockingham County, separate from the White and Black schools, and as late as the 1940 Federal Census some of them were being enumerated as Indians.

It is the author's belief, based on the admittedly circumstantial evidence, that the earlier tradition was that the Portuguese were believed to have been of Indian ancestry, but that for the reason mentioned above, they themselves gradually began to emphasize the Portuguese aspect of their family history at the expense of the Indian ancestry. This may have come about particularly after the changes made in the North Carolina Constitution in 1835, which, while directed at freed Blacks, had negative effects on Indians and all free non-Whites. There is no evidence that the Portuguese were fabricating anything, just telling their story in the light most favorable to themselves in terms of social/legal status in Northampton County at the time. Consider the following examples of what the earlier account of the history may have been.

The case of *William M. Jeffries v. O'Brien Guinn et al.* (Rush County, Indiana Clerk of Courts 1869), provides more information about the situation of the Turners living in the Northampton County–Greensville County, Virginia area in the early 1800s. This was a lawsuit against the judges of the elections in Rush County, Indiana who had refused to allow William Jeffries to vote because they believed him to be of African ancestry.

The pertinent information is contained in the depositions of four witnesses called by William M. Jeffries to give evidence as to the race and background of his parents. Four persons gave depositions; three of them appear to have been white while the fourth, Shadrack Jeffries, was an Indian and a relative of William Jeffries. All agreed that: (1) Jeffries mother, Mary Turner, was of Indian and white ancestry; (2) she was born in Northampton County, North Carolina, near the Virginia line; (3) she did not associate with blacks; (4) she married Macklin Jeffries, of Greensville County, Virginia; and (5) Macklin Jeffries was a mixed-blood Indian. The testimony of Susan Wooten is particularly interesting in that she states that "Jeffries' mother associated with White people and those who had Indian blood with regard to her Indian blood. She descended from an old Indian settlement in that neighborhood." This indicates that there were at least a few of these mixed Indian people in the area who had social (as well as kinship and marriage) ties, and they stayed in some distinct geographic location. Mary Turner could have been Nottoway, Saponi, Meherrin, or a member of some other tribe. All three of these tribes lived in that general area. Susan Wooten was born, by her reckoning, in 1799, so the settlement she refers to could have dated to the mid-1700s, if she thinks of it as an "old" settlement. It could conceivably even refer to Junkatapurse, the Indian town at Fort Christanna near Lawrenceville, in nearby Brunswick County, Virginia, which was inhabited as late as around 1740. On the other hand, it is also possible that this Mary Turner was from a branch of Turners entirely unrelated to the Turners of the Portuguese Settlement, but that seems unlikely given the geographic proximity.

A final pertinent case which helps illustrate the shift from the emphasis on Indian ancestry to that of Portuguese is that of the Underwood/Grimes family of Caldwell County, North Carolina. When Calvin Underwood applied for a license to marry Susan Bentley in 1894, he was refused on the grounds that he was a colored person, she being unquestionably white. Calvin’s father, Lafayette Underwood, made the

following declaration on his behalf before a Justice of the Peace: "14 Dec 1884: lafayett underwood [sic] being sworn says his grandsire on Mothers side was an indian [sic] half and white his grandmother full white their Daughter was his Mother his father was full white Calvin Underwood is his son whose grandfather was half Indian half Portuguese his grandmother was full white his Mother Peggy their Daughter is my wife."[34] Lafayette Underwood was married to Peggy Jackson, according to his daughter Mary's 1917 Caldwell County death certificate. The Jacksons and Underwoods were fairly consistently enumerated as "mulatto" in Patterson Township where both families lived and were associated with the Grimes/Graham family who went to court in 1905 in Buncombe County, claiming to be of Portuguese descent. In 1889, when Nancy Grimes Scott died, the Lenoir Topic reported "This old woman…, though a mulatto, was always a free woman and claimed to have Indian blood in her veins."[35] As noted before, her brother Jeffrey's children in Buncombe claimed to be of Portuguese descent, although when Plaintiff's witness S. B. Bishop was asked, "Did he (Jeffrey Graham) have the appearance of being a Negro?" he replied "No sir, he had the appearance of an Indian, not a Negro."[36]

In terms of relations with other similar groups in the area, it appears that the Portuguese stayed relatively to themselves. There were at least three intermarriages/relationships with members of the Jeffries family of Greensville County, Virginia, a family which proved numerous times in court that they were of Indian descent[37]. One of these, the Drewry Jeffries family, would later form the core of the Occaneechi-Saponi community of Alamance County, North Carolina. The Bass family may have a genealogical connection to the Nansemond Basses of the Dismal Swamp area near Suffolk, Virginia, but this has yet to be proven, as is the case of the Turner family and the Nottoway Indians of Southampton County, Virginia. Most of the surnames found in the Portuguese Settlement are common and would take a great deal of time to trace accurately back to their origins, if it could be done at all and doing that lies outside the scope of this paper. The author has been told by some of the Haliwa-Saponi Indian people from Halifax County that their people were aware of the Portuguese and had some associations with them from time to time, hunting being one that was mentioned.

As a final thought on the claims of Portuguese ancestry from the Northampton group, it is instructive to note the following from the Northampton County News of March 5, 1958. In an interview with

Zollie Newsome, the reporter writes "An illiterate (Newsome), **he confessed only a vague notion of Portugal, and once asked 'What is a Portugee?**'" Newsome specifically identified his great-grandfather Axum Newsome as the Portuguese ancestor, describing him as a shoemaker and fiddler who came up the Roanoke River and settled in Northampton County.[38] This raises an interesting question, namely, was the understanding Nathaniel Turner, Zollie Newsome, and the other members of the Portuguese Settlement had of the meaning of the term "Portuguese" the same then as today? What was the understanding the Grahams of Buncombe County had in 1905 of what being a "Portuguese" meant? Today most of us, if asked what a Portuguese was, would likely respond that it was a native of Portugal or someone whose immediate ancestors came from Portugal. How would the older members of the Settlement have explained it in the 1880's, if we could go back and ask them? Perhaps they would have given the same explanation as we would today, but there may be another possibility.

Is it possible, that the concept these people held by the late nineteenth–early twentieth century of what constituted a "Portuguese" would be closer to an understanding that would today be described by such terms as mestizo (Mexico) or metis (Canada), that is, someone of mixed American Indian and European ancestry, with a culture that also contains elements of both parent cultures? The above cases seem to provide at least some small degree of circumstantial evidence for such an argument. Even though the communities are widely separated geographically, the use of "Portuguese" as a term of racial distinction is not without its parallels.

Consider the term "Croatan", which came into official use on February 10, 1885 in North Carolina as a designation for the mixed Indian people in Robeson County, NC The General Assembly codified this term as part of state law, and it remained the legal name of this community for some time, until it was replaced by simply "Indians of Robeson County", then later "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County", and finally, "Lumbee" in 1956. [39] The name Croatan rapidly fell into disfavor among the Indians, due in large part to their neighbors shortening it to "Cro", and an implication of African ancestry, which the Indians as a group denied in the face of extreme social pressure from a segregated system in the region.[40]

"Croatan", however, rapidly spread across the South as a term that could be adopted on a local level to describe similar populations to the one in Robeson. On December 25, 1910, a letter in the *Richmond (NC) Times-Dispatch* states, "There are a good many Croatan Indians living around here…." (referring to Hamlet in Richmond County, NC).[41] On October 29, 1908, *The Caucasian* (Clinton, NC) published a story with the headline "Negros and 'Croatans' Create Trouble Over School Question– 'Croatans' Fired Upon" regarding a feud over establishing an Indian school in Carver's Creek Township of Cumberland County.[42] An 1895 *Charlotte Observer* letter asks, "Are There Croatans in Georgia" regarding a community of, oddly enough, Turners in Clayton County, Georgia, who were thought to be of Portuguese ancestry and kept aloof from Blacks and Whites.[43] The *Charleston News and Courier* reported in 1908 of a controversy in Marlboro County, SC where a school teacher refused to accept a "Croatan" child of the Sweat family as a pupil at a white school., and when the Indian people of Halifax County, Virginia and Person County NC were given a new school in 1924, it was as the "Croatan Indian tribe".[44] In 1926 when Dick Rufus Richardson, and Indian from Halifax County, NC committed suicide, he was identified as a Croatan[45]. Chesterfield County, SC murderer David Jacobs was nearly hung in 1891 and *The State* newspaper claimed "Jacobs has a strong tinge of Indian blood in his veins, being of the Croatan race…."[46] Finally, in Chatham County, NC several members of the Goins-Walden group at Glover's Chapel were recorded as "Croatan" on various official documents.[47]

The use of the term "Croatan" to refer to these mixed-Indian communities whose historical origins were uncertain became widespread. It is almost surprising that it never was applied to the members of the Portuguese Settlement at Northampton, except that by the time it came into usage in the 1880s it is clear that the identification of the Northampton community under the designation Portuguese was already established, at least informally. Testimony in the Nathaniel/ Dollarson Turner case in 1886 would seem to indicate this. In any case, the spread of the term "Portuguese" throughout the South seems to have followed a similar path as that of "Croatan". In some cases, it was a term imposed by outsiders on a group of people, in others seemingly a term of identification latched onto by the people themselves.

A Brief Historical Account

The Scotts, Peters, and Poythresses can be traced back to the 1790 Federal Census of Northampton County as “free people of color”. They are joined by the family of Simon Turner by 1800. Turner appears previously to have been living near the state border in Greensville County, Virginia. Land records for the area indicate that their relatives had been there for at least a generation or two earlier. For example, on August 3, 1761, Abraham Scott conveyed 100 acres of land in Northampton County to his son George Scott,[48] and on February 19, 1784 he sold 100 acres to Nathaniel Norwood “on the north side of Falling Run, joining Abraham’s Branch”[49]. On December 3, 1777, Odom Poythress purchased 50 acres in Northampton County, probably in the vicinity of Jack Swamp.[50]

These families were living as small farmers, as were most of their neighbors. Tracking them through the Federal Census shows their occupation almost invariably listed as “farmer” or “farm laborer”. There are occasional exceptions, as in the case of Gilliam Peters, who was listed in 1860 as a “railroad hand”, or Winny Turner, in the same Census, who helped support herself as a “cake maker”. Cotton seems to have been the main crop, although like most small farmers they would have raised a variety of livestock and food crops for their families.

In 1816, when Gilliam Peters’ grandfather, also named Gilliam, had his estate sold at auction, it included: large pot, small pot, Dutch oven, loom, 2 beds and furniture, spinning wheel, cupboard, coffee pot, pine table, 4 chairs, gun, bay mare, 14 swine, 7 geese, 3 cattle, 3 grubbing hoes, broad ax, hand saw, 2 bee hives, and one cart and wheels, along with a variety of small items that all indicate that Peters was a moderately prosperous small farmer for the time. Most of the property was bought by his son, Washington Peters. Similarly, when Nathaniel Turner died and his estate was listed by his son Dollarson in 1904, it included 4 cattle, 7 hogs, a horse, cart, 15 fowls, 7 chairs, draw knife, auger, foot adze, saw, spinning wheel, 2 bed steads, oil stove, 5 hoes, shotgun, Bible, and various other housewares. The Bible would tend to indicate that he was literate. Both these households should have been, based on the possessions, relatively self-supporting in terms of food, clothing, and shelter, perhaps lacking the ability to produce only the coffee for Gilliam Peters’ coffee pot.

The work was hard, even for the families that held onto their land. Some worked as tenant farmers or sharecroppers for some of their neighbors, a position where the families usually could not make enough each year to get out of debt from the previous year. In 1939, Miss Bernice K. Harris interviewed two families from the community about their lives on the farm. One subject, "Fanny Wiggins" stated:

> We run a two horse crop here, but this year we didn't make no money at all farmin'. All we got was two bales of cotton; a bale to the horse ain't nothin'. Our peas wa'n't no account neither; they all turned out to be pops this year…Charles gets work as a day laborer when he can and cuts pulp wood to sell to the mills, anything to pick up a little money. We try to raise somethin' to eat, don't we couldn't live, for it takes money to live out of a store. We've got a cow and hogs and have plenty milk and butter and meat to use. We raise chickens too; my hens stay nice and fat, and the eggs help out a lot.[51]

During the Civil War times did not improve for the members of the community. Some of the men were conscripted to work as manual laborers. Nathaniel Turner testified in court in 1893 that he did not go in the Confederate Army because he had a wife and seven children. Gilliam Peters is known to have served as a laborer near Weldon[52], and according to the testimony in the Turner case, men from the Settlement were forced to go and work building defensive breastworks near Garysburg and Weldon. They were paid, but it was still hard and unpleasant work. This same situation happened in many of the Indian communities of the State, notably in Robeson and surrounding counties with the ancestors of the Lumbee Indians.[53] Testimony from the Turner case implies that many of the men from the community served, but Gilliam Peters is the only one whose paperwork has been located. A James Scott, "Free colored" laborer has also been located, but it cannot be verified that he was from Northampton County.

While the families in the settlement can be traced back to at least the late 1700s, and the oral tradition of Portuguese ancestry reached back into at least the mid-1800s, mention of them as a distinct group does not seem to begin until the early 1900s, when the 1910 Census for Gaston Township enumerates at least part of them as "Ot" for race, with "River Road" "Portuguese" handwritten in the left margin. There are 17 families so listed, with a total of 89 individuals.[54] All these families are enumerated consecutively as #113–129, on three separate Census pages, with one White family at the very end which appears to be a tenant of

one of the Portuguese farmers. The count includes the surnames Scott, Poythress, Newsome, Peters, Bass, Conwell, and Turner. Since it is unlikely that all these families lived in one contiguous group of residences, but rather that they had "non-Portuguese" families scattered among them, it is clear that these were seen as a distinct group of people by the census taker. The count is almost certainly not all the families who would have been considered Portuguese by the members of the group themselves. Some families with the same surnames were enumerated in 1910 as Black or white but would likely have been acknowledged as kin by the Portuguese.

Military Service in World War II

Men from Gaston Township were expected to register for the draft in World War I, regardless of their race. The local draft board obviously had problems with men from the Portuguese Settlement in terms of racial classification. Perhaps no other set of documents shows more clearly the prejudice faced by members of the community from Northampton County bureaucrats of that generation. In a situation similar to that faced by the neighboring Haliwa-Saponi community in Halifax County, most of the members of the Portuguese Settlement were classified as "Negro", by the local draft board, regardless of their physical appearance. Men with "light brown hair" and "grey eyes" or "blue eyes" were classified as "African" in both communities. The only difference was that in Northampton; about half a dozen members of the Turner and Scott families were registered with a note written on the form that said, "Claims to be Portuguese but registered as Negro." Of these, five of the six were signed by W. B. Fitzhugh.[55]

Roland Turner's case was probably the best documented of any of the applicants. Born in Greensville County, Virginia August 1, 1922, he was the son of Rebecca Turner and Peter Mitchell, a resident of Emporia, Virginia. Rebecca was the daughter of Ed Turner. The confusion over how to classify the applicants from the Portuguese Settlement resulted in a letter from Mr. J. E. Daniel, Chairman of the Selective Service Board in Jackson, NC, to Dr. Walter A. Plecker, Virginia State Registrar, regarding the race recorded on the delayed certificate of birth for Roland Turner. The birth was not recorded until 1944, by his grandfather, and gave his parents race as White for both. Plecker had replied to Daniel that Virginia could not endorse either the race or the date of birth on the certificate because of the delay in recording it. Plecker "advised Mr.

Daniel that we could not guarantee the correctness of the race, and we told him that since he had seen the applicant and knew himself what he was, he should be guided by his own knowledge and not what the certificate said". In his reply he (Daniel) said: "We have a very peculiar settlement in our county, about 30 miles from here. There are a group of people who claim to be Portuguese, but who have intermarried with Negros, or whose ancestors were Negros and Whites, making them part Negros. They all have colored birth certificates, yet they claim to be White. We were getting a group of them ready for Ft. Bragg, and wanted to attach the birth certificates, and we had been informed by Red Cross Worker in that section that they all had Negro blood. This Roland Turner's mother is one of these so-called Portuguese, and we have been informed that his father was Peter Mitchel, a white man of Emporia."

Plecker wrote to Mrs. E. P. Hyman of the American Red Cross at Gaston, requesting additional information regarding the Turner family and the Portuguese Settlement, but if she replied, there is no record of it that has been located.[56] On Turner's actual registration form, the choices for race are crossed out and in the slot marked "Indian", the word Indian has a line drawn through it and above it is written "Port" for Portuguese. Voting was a right exercised by the Portuguese, at least after the Civil War. They voted in the early twentieth century under what was known as the "Grandfather Clause", which meant that a person could vote if he descended from a person who was a voter in 1867, or if he had been a voter himself. Many of the remnant Indian communities were allowed to vote by this means. An examination of the Voter Books for Northampton County in the first decade of the 20th Century shows the following voters, their age, and their ancestor who they claimed as a voter in 1867. These are not the only voters from the community, just a sample.

Gilliam Peters	66	W(ashington) Peters
R. P. Portress	26	Jim Portress
Jas. Portress	30	Jim Portress
Jerry Scott	69	David Scott[57]
Preston Scott	56	J. C. Scott
Nathaniel Turner	87	Sam Garner
Dolison Turner	55	G. W. Peters
E. J. Turner	28	William Conwell
A. J. Turner	57	A. Turner
L. F. Turner	25	Nat. Turner

All the above were registered in 1902, and there is no racial designation by their names. On March 6, 1925 a Bill was passed by the North Carolina General Assembly that was titled "An Act to Allow that Race of People in Gaston Township, Northampton County, known and Designated as "Portuguese" to Register Upon the Registration Books Under a Separate Page or Pages to Be Designated by the Registrar as "Portuguese"[58]. This bill was introduced by W.H. S. Burgwyn, the same representative who two years earlier had gotten the law passed giving a separate school to the Portuguese Settlement. As with the school bill, this act seems to have been introduced at the request of the members of the community themselves.

Bethany Church

In 1906, the members of the Portuguese Settlement formed their first known identifiable community social institution: Bethany Church. On January 1, 1906, Albert A. Conwell and his sister, Mary Turner, (both of whom were children of William Conwell and Maria Turner) sold one acre of land to Trustees Albert A. Conwell, Lunda Turner, and Lewis F. Turner (Figure 2).[59] This property was bounded on the north, south, and west "by the lands of William Conwell's estate, east by the lands of Mrs. S. A. Thomas….the said acre of land is sold for a church site and to the trustees as long as it is kept up for church purposes, or church ground, and the said church is to be named "Bethany.*"* The deed was witnessed by Dollarson Turner and Catherine Scott Conwell.

On March 4, 1909, the *Raleigh Christian Advocate* mentioned the Bethany Chapel although not by name) and the Portuguese in a letter printed from Rev. D. L. Earnhardt, who was then acting as pastor. It is worth quoting completely.

"An Explanation"

> Dear Editor: Since the conference Journal has appeared, I have had it in mind to write an explanation of report from Garysburg. That report says number churches, six, when really there are only five. There is a mission church attached that is composed of people who will not identify themselves with the colored people, nor can they identify themselves with the whites. They are called Portuguese. We are trying to furnish them the Gospel because there seems to be nobody else to do it.

A.

B.

C.

D.

Figure 2. Descendants of the Portuguese Settlement (Photos courtesy Crystal Marvin). A) Lewis Turner B) Charles Lee Poythress C) Charles Washington Scott D) Betty Turner.

> The Conference of 1907 having ordered that we report each church separately, I wrote report for that as a mission church. When the Conference of 1908 ordered that action rescinded, my report was already in the box. So we are down as having six churches, but if that implies that this one has equal claims upon the pastor, or equal rights in the Quarterly Conference, then we have five churches only on Garysburg Circuit, and it will read that way next time.
>
> Truly,
> D. L. Earnhardt

On July 23, 1909, Rev. Earnhardt apparently felt compelled to make further explanation about the situation with the Portuguese congregation near Garysburg, as he sent another letter to the *Advocate*. He states in part that:

> I would not write so often for the Advocate if the brethren would let me alone, but occasionally I hear a brother say he reads every word of it. Then, again, I read or hear a criticism that provokes me to write. I have recently heard of a preacher who is greatly disturbed by my attitude towards the Portuguese on my work, or rather, because I chose to discontinue the regular appointment at their church. Now I would be glad to discuss the subject in the Advocate with any brother who is inclined to do so. Understand, it is not a question of whether the Portuguese shall have the Gospel. That question was settled by the Savior Himself. All are entitled to its benefits. And they, the Portuguese, are being supplied. None are so mean but that they need the Gospel, and none are so good but that they want it. But the question is, shall these people be grouped as part of my Circuit, involving as it does equal rights and benefits with the other churches on the charge. This is the question, and my people all take the negative side. Their answer is "No", with an emphasis on the last word, and it will be their answer "when the gold is turning gray"… Sometimes it is hard to tell just what to do, and it has been hard for me to decide what was my duty in this case…. In settling the Portuguese question I have sought the advice of the best people I know, and if I suffer the fate of John Chinaman, I will take it for my share.[60]

It would seem that the Portuguese were welcome to the Gospel, as long as they enjoyed it in a separate congregation from their neighbors. Nonetheless, Bethany, or Bethany Chapel, as it was usually referred to in the *Advocate*, continued to function, sometimes under the leadership of a lay member. At that time, many of these small rural churches met for

preaching only once a month, serviced by a circuit riding pastor who might have several churches under his care.

On June 2, 1910, the *Advocate* reported that "Brother W. H. Allen is putting stars in his crown out at Bethany Mission Chapel." The use of the title "Brother", as opposed to "Reverend" would seem to indicate that laymen sometimes conducted the services in the absence of an ordained minister. On January 4, 1912, the *Advocate* printed a small report from Norman Harrison, of Garysburg regarding Bethany which stated:

> There is within the bounds of Garysburg Circuit a settlement of people, some of whom are descended from Portuguese stock. They number about two hundred and fifty. Until five years ago these people were without the gospel. Brother J. G. Johnson and Sister Susan A. Thomas built them a nice little church. Now they have a church membership of about sixty and a live Sunday school. It would be hard to tell of the changed life of that community and of their hunger for the gospel. Last year they gave $35 to foreign missions.

By February 8, 1912, at least one lay brother from the Portuguese Settlement can be identified from the written reports to the Advocate. Dolison Turner, "Superintendent of the Methodist Sunday School at Bethany Chapel" made a report on that date to the effect that "Rev. E. N Harrison was on full time last third Sunday afternoon at Bethany Chapel and preached an able sermon.[61] It seemed that the Holy Spirit was upon him. We had a very interesting Sunday School lesson before us on the birth of Jesus, and he used several verses of the Sunday School lesson. I pray that the Advocate and ministers may have a happy and prosperous year."

Norman Bass is also identified as a church leader, a steward, when he writes to the *Advocate* on May 30th of the same year and notes that a prayer meeting had been organized at Bethany Chapel, and that Brother William Allen had conducted last Sunday's service. Dolison Turner and Norman Bass are both enumerated on the Portuguese pages of the 1910 Federal Census, and so are clearly tied into the community's social life. They are at this point the only two Portuguese individuals who can be identified as church leaders, and Dolison Turner was also active in the school affairs of the community. Brother J. T. Poythress of Wilson, NC is also mentioned as assisting in a revival at Bethany Chapel on August 15, 1912. He is likely James Thomas Poythress, the son of Joseph Poythress and Mary Gardner, who married Bettie Ann, who was also a

Poythress prior to their marriage, the daughter of Luvel Poythress and Amanda Peters.[62] All these were members of the Portuguese Settlement.

Throughout its existence, Bethany Chapel continued to receive assistance from its neighbors. According to the *History of the Severn Baptist Church, Severn, NC 1892–1967*, "The organ we had previously used was later donated to the Portuguese Mission Church near Gaston, NC on August 27, 1950. The organization of this church stemmed from the efforts of Severn Methodists who began a mission for the Portuguese people in Northampton County."[63]

The site of the old Chapel lies to the west of Gus Smith Road on private property owned by one of the Scott descendants. By the mid-twentieth century, the church was sometimes referred to as "The Scott Church" probably because that family made up a significant segment of the remaining members.[64] The building seems to have burned in the early 1960s and was never replaced. There is an adjacent graveyard with a handful of marked graves, but nothing remains to mark the place of the old church building.

School Matters

School attendance seems to have been problematic for the Portuguese at least from the late nineteenth century. It is not known where the members of the community attended school, if they did at all, after the Civil War. At least two members of the community took legal action in 1886 to force the Northampton County Board of Education to allow their children to attend the public schools for White citizens. On September 28, 1886, Nathaniel Turner Sr. and his son Dollarson Turner filed a complaint against Joseph High (the schoolteacher) and Walter Grant, A. J. Kirkland, and F. A. Ingram, members of the District School committee. The complaint alleged, in part, that:

1. *That the relator, the said Lewis F. Turner, is his son, between the age of six and twenty-one years, to wit, eight years old, and is a White child and has no Negro blood in his veins, and lives and resides with his father, the plaintiff, in school district number two for White schools, in the county of Northampton, North Carolina, and where he was born and has lived all his life, and by law, has the right to go to the White free or common school of said district….*

5. *That on or about September 14, 1886, the plaintiff, through Nathaniel Turner Sr., informed the defendant High of said desire (that the child should attend the school), when the said High answered that he was employed by the school committee…, and that the committee had decided to refuse to receive the relator as a pupil….*
8. *That the relator is a good and well behaved and respectable child, and…was refused admission as a pupil in said school solely because it was falsely and erroneously said by some of the neighbors that he was not a White child….*
9. *In truth and in fact the relator is a White child and has no Negro blood in his veins. There was never any Negro blood in this family.*

Turner did not ask for any monetary damages, only that the children be admitted to the White school and taught alongside their neighbors. The summons was served on the defendants October 1, 1886 by W. T. Buxton, High Sheriff of Northampton County. The first court date was set for October 13, 1886. The action was continued to allow the defendants to respond, which did not happen until April 13, 1887, when they filed a written response. The response, in brief, alleges that the Turners are not eligible for admission to the said school "for the reason that in truth and fact he is not a White man but has Negro blood in his veins." The defendants requested a trial by jury in the matter.

In the Spring Term of Superior Court in 1890, the Turners were still involved in the suit on behalf of Nathaniel Turner Jr. and Louis F. Turner, respectively.[65] The cases were continued over and over again, until it was finally heard on December 4, 1893. The following quotes are all found in the case transcript located in the unindexed Northampton County Superior Court Civil Action Papers 1886–1893 in the North Carolina State Archives.

When Nathaniel Turner (ca. 1825–1900) testified in his son Dollarson Turner's case against the district school Board, he stated:

> My mother (Winifred Turner, born ca. 1780) was half Portuguese, her mother being Portuguese and her father a white Virginian of respectable ancestry… No negro blood in Louis F. Turner's (his grandson, the subject of the suit) mother. Hair long and straight. Never heard of any Negro blood in her… I married Washington Peters'

> daughter. No negro blood was in her or her ancestors… The white people in this county treated me always as a white man…[66]

In the same case, Dollarson Turner testified that: "My wife's father was Portuguese and American white; no Negro blood. No Negro blood in my wife's veins or mine… People treated me as white…" Turner's wife was Mary Conwell, daughter of William Conwell and Maria Turner; whose family is enumerated as "m" for "mulatto in the 1860 Northampton County Census.

The questions before the court were (1) "Is the plaintiff entitled to admission to School #2 for White children as alleged in the complaint?", and (2) Do defendants wrongfully refuse to admit plaintiff thereto? The decision of the jury regarding both questions was "No". This meant that the Turners, and by extension all the members of the Portuguese Settlement, were barred from the White schools of Northampton County, and would remain so for another 70 years.

On February 5, 1894, less than two months after having his son and grandson denied admission to the White school, Nathaniel Turner turned to North Carolina Governor Elias Carr for help. In a letter written to the Governor, Turner states:

> I sent my son to the White school and he was refused. Also my son sent his son sent his son at the same time. I brought suit against the committee. They did not appear against me so the case was continued and so on for about seven years…. I had certificate sign by ten subscribing witness of the first class men of my county. These witness certify that there is no African blood in these veins. I am lawfully abiding citizen and a free holder and pays all taxes that the law require."[67]

The ten witnesses who signed the certificates were B. Moore, J. P., R. B. Garner- Sheriff, John W. Squires, Squire Rook- Merchant, James Vincent, W. S. Vincent, W. D. Norwood, M. A. Moore, Mary H. Hodges, and Martha Hodges. There is no evidence that Nathaniel ever received any help from the Governor, or any reply at all. Nathaniel died before 1904, and his son Dollarson Turner died June 5, 1931, but Dollarson did live to see the day when his people were allowed their own school in Gaston Township.

It is not known exactly what year the community members first organized a school for their children. Dollarson Turner is listed as clerk of the school in District #2 Colored, Gaston Township, from October 1891 to October 1893, and was a school committeeman as early as 1885. In 1886 Turner was paid $6.60 for taking a count of school aged children in District #2. Whether this school was attended solely by Portuguese students is not known, but it may have been at least predominantly Portuguese.

On September 4, 1895, the school committee for District #2, White race, purchased one acre of land from J. A. Squires and his wife Ellen, for the purpose of setting up a school. This land was located "in Gaston Township, Northampton County, State of North Carolina, adjoining the land of J. A. Squires and others and bounded as follows: viz. west, south, and north by the lands of J. A. Squires, east by public road leading from Courthouse Road to state line, containing one acre more or less." [68] This land would initially be used as the "Squires School" for White children. The original Bethany School was about 1 mile north on Cal Floyd Rd on the west side of the road. No official paperwork has been located relating to the purchase of land for the original school, although it almost certainly was provided by the Scott or Turner families, given its location and the historic ownership of the land around it. The 1925 North Carolina Soil Survey Map for Northampton County clearly shows the location of both schools. When the county consolidated its schools in after WWII, the old Squires School was closed for White children and the building was then used by the county for the children attending Bethany School.

The 1900 Census for Gaston Township indicates that four children of the Scott, Turner, and Newsome families were attending school, and there may have been others. In the now well-known 1958 *Virginian-Pilot* newspaper article[69] about the community, Ms. Osceola Crew, the teacher at that time, stated that she had heard that there was a private school for the children started after the turn of the century along with Bethany Church. Another news article on March 2, 1958 in the *Roanoke Rapids Herald* indicates that the original school began in 1915, and was still standing in 1958.[70] This article also indicates that Charles Coleman and Mr. and Mrs. Lee Harris also taught there, and notes that the new legal status of the school as a state supported school in 1923 meant that "North Carolina had its fourth school system, the others being the white, Negro, and Indian systems, all separate since the Reconstruction days."[71]

In 1914, the Northampton County Board of Education purchased another acre of land from J. A. and Ellen Squires, "the same being adjacent to old {Squires}school site which makes two acres in all." [72] This was added to what would become part of the Bethany School tract after consolidation. This wooden building burned in 1952 and the still-standing cinderblock building was constructed. It was used from about 1953 until 1963, when the Bethany School was closed for good.

What seems to be the last mention of Bethany School in the county school board minutes is on January 4, 1965, when the two acre tract was allowed to revert from the county to the Squires, in accordance with the reversion clause in the original deed. The land is specifically called the "Bethany School campus" when the board abandoned its claim to it, stating that it was no longer needed for school purposes. The Northampton County tax card for the property refers to it as the "Turner Tract", and it may be that J. A. Squires had originally purchased it from a member of the Turner family prior to selling it to the school board.
The official state-supported school for the Settlement began in 1923 as the result of legislation introduced by W. H. S. Burgwyn, a local representative from Northampton County. It read as follows: "An Act to Provide Separate Schools for the Race of People in Gaston Township, Northampton County, Known as the Portuguese". It became effective June 15, 1923 and provided "a separate school from the white or colored schools in said county". It further provided that the county Board of Education would provide teachers who "shall be either of the said race known as Portuguese, or white persons…"

It would appear that Burgwyn introduced the bill at the urging of community member Zollie Newsome, although it is probable that others, like Dollarson Turner were also involved. According to the *Northampton County News*, "Burgwyn was reluctant to do this, but was finally persuaded after Newsome convinced him that he had a Portuguese forebear and marriage records showing the line of descent. On this evidence, the bill was introduced, with the school designated for "Portuguese" children". Zolly Newsome's racial designation was listed as Portuguese in the 1940 Federal Census for Gaston Township, Northampton County.

This school operated until at least the 1962–63 school year, when it was down to 15 students in grades 1–8, with one teacher. Bethany School is not on the list of Northampton County Schools after this. It is

interesting to note that in the School Board Minutes of April 25, 1939, that the Northampton County schools in District 2 are classified three ways: White, Colored, and "Bethany Special", taught by Mrs. E. E. Harris.[73]

On January 26, 1958, the *Virginian-Pilot* newspaper published an article that probably did more to ensure that the history of the Portuguese Settlement would be remembered than any other single event. This article would, literally, create an international incident involving the State of North Carolina and the Government of Portugal. The article is too lengthy to reproduce completely but may be accessed on microfilm at the State Library of Virginia in Richmond. Parts of the article have been referred to throughout this paper, and it is notable that it apparently was reprinted in Portuguese in a New England newspaper aimed at Portuguese-Americans and was then picked up by the press overseas in Portugal.[74]

The headline read "Portuguese Youngsters Segregated in Carolina– Century Old Stigma Remains". What followed was an almost full-page account of the history of the Bethany School, and the educational limbo that the Portuguese found themselves in in Northampton County. It was clear that the Board of Education's policy, expressed in the comments of Superintendent of Schools H. L. Turner, was one of benign neglect, in hopes that the situation would soon resolve itself as the Portuguese dispersed through out-migration and marriage with persons from outside the Settlement. No school bus was provided for the students, meaning some students had to walk several miles one way to the school; many who could have attended probably did not even bother. Bethany was likely one of the last one room schools in Northampton County, with no indoor plumbing and a wood stove for heat in the winter. By the time the article came out in 1958, less than 20 children attended the school, apparently most from the Scott and Newsome families. Bethany had one teacher for grades 1–8, not an uncommon arrangement in the 1920s or 30s, but unusual for the late 1950s.

Within a few weeks, official Portuguese displeasure with North Carolina's treatment of the members of Northampton's Portuguese Settlement made the papers widely throughout the State. Headlines like "Portuguese Official Hits 'Portuguese' Segregation in North Carolina"[75] brought the Settlement to the attention of people outside Northampton County for the first time in history. Bernardo Teixeira, the press and

cultural affairs attaché from the Portuguese embassy in Washington, D. C. was sent to Northampton County to investigate the matter after the Portuguese language newspaper "Diario de Noticias" of New Bedford, Massachusetts reported on the *Virginian-Pilot* story, and then it came to the attention of the Portuguese press. Teixeira, after visiting the school and talking with some of the community members, specifically Zollie Newsome,[76] was not pleased with the way the children were being treated by the school authorities in the county. He said "If it were in my power, even though their Portuguese ancestry is very remote, I would recommend that they be given a chance to live in Portugal with the peace and dignity of a human being."[77]

Teixeira's report to the Portuguese ambassador did nothing to quiet the controversy. On May 7, 1958, North Carolina Governor Luther Hodges met with the Portuguese Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Luis Esteves Fernandes, in Washington D.C. Hodges, who characterized the meeting as discussing a "misunderstanding", presented the ambassador with a set of silver Pine Cone cufflinks from North Carolina as a gesture of goodwill, and apparently was able to resolve the problem.[78] One key factor in satisfying Dr. Fernandes regarding the situation apparently was that the Portuguese themselves had requested a separate school for their children, as well as a separate voting designation.[79] Hodges assured the Ambassador that he was going to recommend to the nest General Assembly that the laws providing for separate status for the Portuguese of Northampton County be repealed, resulting in the "cleansing of our books of all reference to this group as Portuguese."[80]

While Bethany provided at least minimal education for the Portuguese children, it seems to have eventually become less than satisfactory to the members of the community. By the late 1950s, some of the Portuguese were dissatisfied enough with the facilities to contact the Governor himself for assistance. On July 29, 1958 Mrs. Martha Scott[81] of Rt.1, Garysburg,[82]wrote to Governor Hodges as follows (in part): "I think it is a shame that you have to leave our own county to go to some other school to get an education when you should ought to go here….[83] We go to see one of the school board, they will tell you send them away [to school} or move away….My sister lives in Virginia just 10 miles from me, her children go to White school. I live in Northampton my children have to go to a little hut in the woods look like a brooder house for chickens…" Written on her letter is a note stating "Mr. [Robert

E.] Giles (administrative assistant to the Governor) does not want to answer this."

However, Mr. Giles sent a letter dated September 4, 1958 to Dr. C. G. Parker, Chairman of the Northampton County Board of Education along with a copy of Mrs. Scott's letter asking him for his opinion on the matter, since "the matter has been has been brought to his [Governor Hodge] attention for comment in the fairly recent past". Dr. Parkers turned the matter over to Mr. H. L. Turner, Superintendent of the Northampton County Schools for a reply dated September 8, 1958. Mr. Turner briefly explains the history of the separate school for the community. Then he states "I may say, that the work in this school is only in the elementary field. We have very few that ever complete the eighth grade. At the present time, we have one girl who went away to school last year and the state of North Carolina paid $25.00 as a transportation charge for this child. Therefore, this seems to be their request, and until some further action is taken, the Board of Education in Northampton County has no alternative except to provide this school for these people who claim to be descendants of the Portuguese people." The letter ends with a note that Mrs. Scott's daughter has been approved for a $25.00 payment for the 1958–59 school year "so that she may live with some of her relatives and attend high school", presumably outside of Northampton County.

In 1961, the county board of education valued the building and contents of Bethany School at $5000 for insurance purposes. For comparison purposes, Gaston Elementary School was valued at $105,000 and Jackson Elementary at $92,000. James Scott and Cora Hobbs, members of the community, were paid as custodians during the last couple years of the school's existence.

After the county school board discontinued use of the Bethany School in 1963, the question arose of what to do with the children who had attended school there. Because the parents did not want to move away, or to send their children to Black schools where they would probably have not been well received, they asked to have their children sent to the Gaston School for White children. On September 5, 1963, the minutes noted that "Mrs. Adam Scott appeared before the Board and requested that her children, Arline, Linda, Irma, Arvin, and Earl be assigned to some school in the county. She said that she preferred that they be assigned to the Gaston School. The members of the board

discussed the matter at length; however, no action was taken on the matter. It was decided to meet again at 8 PM on September 5, 1963 for the purpose of deciding what action to take on Mrs. Scott's request." The board met at the appointed time and date and voted to assign the Scott children to the Jackson (White) School, which no doubt created a transportation issue for the family.

The only structure still standing connected with the Bethany School is the block building built in the early 1950s, which was a residence at one point when the author was there, and is now a storage building surrounded by livestock (2014). Nothing would suggest to the casual observer that this small non-descript building was ever used as a building for educational purposes.

As a final note of interest on school matters, the author was advised in the 1990s by residents of Greensville County, Virginia, that at one time a school was provided for some of the Portuguese children living in the southern part of the county. This school was identified as the Diamond Grove School, which was still standing and photographed by the author in the ca. 1995. The informants stated that the school was originally a school for Black students, that was later used for the Portuguese children. The author has not been able to verify this information. What can be verified is that Diamond Grove was a Rosenwald School,[84] built between 1917–1920. The informants also specifically remembered the Turners of Greensville County as being "gypsy-looking", and the general belief was that they were of Indian descent.

Conclusions

Several visits to the area of the Portuguese Settlement show that there are still numerous descendants in the area, some living on land that has been in their families for generations. Old Bethany church is gone, however, as is the original school building mentioned in the 1958 Pilot news article. Trailer parks have sprung up along NC 46 and its side roads near Gaston, further diluting the distinct character of the community, which was never completely distinct geographically to begin with. As with many similar communities throughout the South, what was once a distinct "third race" community has been for the most part, absorbed by the surrounding mainstream society. Few residents of the area now seem familiar with the story of the Portuguese Settlement; hopefully this short

paper will help in preserving the memory of an interesting sidelight of North Carolina history for future generations, as well as helping the families connected with the community gain some insight into their own history.

A final note of thanks to Crystal Marvin, who provided the family photos for this article, and who has read the draft of this article and made comments as a community member, and who served as my guide on a couple trips to the area of the Portuguese Settlement. Thanks also to Dr. Warren Milteer Jr., a friend and colleague who also helped to keep me from wandering too far into left field.

Notes

[1] Looking for Indian Town: The Dispersal of the Chowan Indian Tribe in Eastern North Carolina, 1780-1915. *North Carolina Archaeology*. Oct 2014, Vol. 63, p. 34-64.

[2] "Cap'n Noah Can Remember Ol' Days" *High Point* (NC) *Enterprise* June 15, 1961 p.26 Discusses the Tuscarora ancestry of the Smallwood family from Indian Woods.

[3] "Almost White" The McMillan Company New York 1963.

[4] *Delaware's Forgotten Folk.* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 1943.

[5] *Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland.* University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville 1997.

[6] *Melungeons: Examining an Appalachian Legend*. Continuity Press Blountsville, Tennessee 1999.

[7] *North Carolina's Free People of Color 1715-1885* Louisiana State University Press Baton Rouge 2020.

[8] Source: "The Statutes at Large" Hening, ed. Vol. 3, p. 250-252.

[9] *South Carolina Gazette* April 26, 1773 Charleston, SC.

[10] *Pennsylvania Gazette* September 26, 1745 Philadelphia.

[11] Ibid. August 6, 1767.

[12] Ibid. October 1, 1747.

[13] Freeman's Journal September 14, 1791 Philadelphia.

[14] *Wilmington* (NC) *Journal* March 22, 1864.

[15] Chapter 107 Revised Code of North Carolina, Section 79.

[16] Emphasis by author.

[17] For a thorough explanation of the terms Mustee, mulatto, and other racial terms as they relate to Indian people in the Carolinas, read *Black Africans and Native Americans* by Jack D. Forbes. University of Illinois Press 1993.

[18] World War I Draft Registrations of Raleigh Scott, Warren Turner, Sam Turner, Jesse James Turner, Charley Turner, and George Washington Turner.

[19] "Man is Charged With Murder" *Greensboro Daily News* Greensboro NC, February 12, 1962 p. 10.

[20] According to the 1850 Northampton County Census.

[21] See elsewhere for a brief discussion of the "White" versus "Portuguese" idea. The quote comes from the case Dollison Turner ex. Rel Lewis F. Turner vs. Walter Grant et al,.1886-1893 Northampton County NC Superior Court. It was found in the Northampton County Miscellaneous Civil Action papers.

[22] While it is questionable whether or not the present or past tense would be more appropriate in referring to the community, I have decided, for convenience' sake, to use the present tense.

[23] The 1925 Soil Survey Map of Northampton County would be a good example.

[24] The Turner surname in particular, in nearby Southampton County, Virginia, is or was shared by Whites, Blacks, and Nottoway Indians. Attempts to ascribe Indian ancestry to Nat Turner, of the 1831 Slave uprising fame, is unsupported by any known evidence, and the fact that the Indian Turners were not wiped out by vengeful Whites after the uprising was put down suggests strongly that the Nottoway Tribe's White neighbors understood that the Indians had nothing to do with the ill-planned and short-lived action.

[25] It should also be noted that many of the descendants would find the use of the term "Portuguese" to be insulting, and so I have tried to avoid using it except for individuals who applied it to themselves, or when quoting from historical sources that made use of the term.

[26] At least, it wasn't clear to folks who weren't members of the group….

[27] *Greensboro Daily News*, June 6, 1936 "7,591 Tarheels on Rehabilitation Rolls" p. 4.

[28] *Carolina Israelite*, Charlotte NC October 1, 1957 "The Portuguese of North Carolina and the Turks of South Carolina" p.7.

[29] "Not Negro, But Portuguese" *Charlotte Observer* November 24, 1905 p. 1.

[30] Court of Common Pleas, Marion District, South Carolina October term 1812 testimony of Robert Coleman.

[31] "The Lowrie History, As Acted in Part by Henry Berry Lowrie" Lumbee Publishing Company Lumberton, NC 1909 p. 8 Not credited, but written by Mary C. Norment.

[32] Karen Blu, *The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People*, 1980 Cambridge University Press, Cambridge NY Press p. 57.

[33] "The Lost Tribe" Robesonian April 24, 1953 Lumberton NC.

[34] The affidavit is/was attached to the original marriage license in the Caldwell County NC Register of deeds office 12/14/1884.

[35] *Lenoir Topic*, October 23, 1889 Lenoir, NC.

[36] Sylvia Gilliland et al versus the Buncombe County Board of Education and School Committee of Avery's Creek. September 26, 1905.

[37] Drewry Jeffries married Sylvia Scott in 1790 Greensville Co, Va., and Macklin Jeffries married Mary Turner (see text). It is not known precisely when or where the latter marriage took place but it is testified to in 1869 Rush County Indiana case of Jeffries vs. O'Brian Gwynn. See below for the testimony. A third "relationship" occurred shortly before Lindsey Portice (Poythress) had John Jeffries charged with bastardy in Greensville County, Virginia in 1831.

[38] "Portuguese Become World Problem" *Northampton County News*, Jackson, NC March 6, 1958 p. 1 Zollie Newsome was born in 1884, according to his stated age, 74, in 1958. His great-grandfather would have been born in 1798, according to the 1850 Northampton Census, Household #1202: Exom Newsome, a 52-year-old Mulatto male, born in North Carolina. Emphasis by the author.

[39] 1885 Laws of North Carolina Ch. 51, "An Act to Provide for Separate Schools for Croatan Indians in Robeson County." 10 Feb. 1885.

[40] When I began visiting the Indian community in Robeson County in the mid-1970s, even then calling one of the Indians a "Croatan" would have been considered a grave insult.

[41] "Fierce Feud in Cumberland" *The Caucasian*, Clinton NC, October 29, 1908.

[42] "Are there Croatans in Georgia" letter January 5, 1895 *Charlotte* (NC) *Observer*.

[43] "Wouldn't Teach Croatan Child" *Charleston* (SC) *News and Courier*, February 22, 1908.

[44] "Croatan Indian Tribe to Have New School" *Greensboro* (NC) *Daily News,* June 24, 1924.

[45] "Croatan Indian a Suicide" *Greensboro* (NC) *Daily Record*, February 2, 1926.

[46] "Snatched From Death's Jaws" *The State*, August 15, 1891 Columbia SC

[47] Certificate of Death for Rebecca Goins date July 31, 1916 Bear Creek Township Chatham Co., NC Some of the Goins of this area claimed Portuguese ancestry through John Harmon See Randolph Co. NC Deed Book #63, p. 227 regarding the ancestry of Daniel Goins. Harmon occurs as an Indian name among the Nanticoke Indians of Delaware and, at one point among the Nansemond of Virginia.

[48] Northampton Co. Deed book # 3 p.134.

[49] Northampton County Deed book #7 p.219.

[50] Northampton County Deed book #6 p.237.

[51] Federal Writer's Project Interview NC 169 "The Portuguese": Fanny Wiggins Folder 444 Southern Historical Collection UNC Chapel Hill. The writer uses pseudonyms for the persons interviewed.

[52] Fold3 Gilliam Peters Confederate Reference card # 5023 shows him to have entered service at Weldon, NC as a laborer.

[53] "Col. Eccles Didn't Know What to Do With Us: Native Participation in the Confederacy from the Carolinas" Forest Hazel 2014 (in press).

[54] Including one person listed as a Black "servant" in one of the families.

[55] Raleigh Scott, Warren Turner, Sam Turner, Jesse James Turner, George Washington Turner and Charlie Turner.

[56] John Powell Papers MSS7284, 7284-n, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Va.

[57] Abraham Scott, an early "Free Person of Color" of Northampton County, had one son named David, probably born around 1770. Jerry Scott is born around 1830-35, depending on what census you look at. There are few David Scotts in Northampton or Halifax other than Abraham Scott's son, and the author's opinion is that Jerry is probably naming his grandfather in this case, since the ages don't work particularly well for Jerry to be a son of David. It is possible, but not probable.

[58] "Public, Local, and Private Laws Passed by the General Assembly at Its Session of 1925 Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, Raleigh, NC 1925 p.399.

[59] Northampton County deed Book 131, p.314.

[60] "John Chinaman" refers to a long story Earnhardt tells in the middle of the letter about a Chinese man who is killed after meeting a bull in a shop. I have omitted it for the sake of brevity.

[61] This is probably the Norman Harrison mentioned above. His exact church status, layman or pastor, is not certain.

[62] Wilson County NC Death Certificate for James Thomas Poythress, Nov 15, 1942 and that of Mrs. Bettie Ann Poythress, January 22, 1962, also of Wilson County, NC.

[63] Found on the church website www.severnbaptistchurch.com

[64] Northampton County Death Certificate of James Franklin Newsome April 11, 1946 Gaston Township. Race given as Portuguese, and place of burial as the Scott Church.

[65] Dollarson and Nathaniel were father and son, so Nathaniel Jr. was Dollarson's grandson.

[66] Although there were clearly two separate cases initially, they seem to have been combined by the court at some point under Dollarson Turner's name.

[67] Grammar is as written in original.

[68] Northampton County Deed Book 98, p. 151.

[69] *Virginian-Pil*ot, Norfolk, Virginia, January 26, 1958, first page of Section "C" "Portuguese Youngsters Segregated in Carolina".

[70] "Northampton's Portuguese Go Elsewhere for Higher Education" *Roanoke Rapids* (NC) *Sunday Herald* March 2, 1958 p.1.

[71] It would later be joined by a fifth system; the single school created for the Smilings in Robeson County, prior to their admittance to the Indian schools there.

[72] Northampton County Deed Book 161, p. 327.

[73] Northampton County School Board Minutes 1872-1961 NC State Archives. 1 microfilm reel.

[74] "The Forgotten Portuguese" Manuel Mira 1998. The Portuguese American Historical Research Foundation Franklin, NC p. 214.

[75] *Burlington Times News*, Burlington, NC March 1, 1958.

[76] Mentioned above.

[77] Ibid: *Burlington Times News*.

[78] "Governor, Ambassador Confer in Washington on 'Internal Problem.'" *Greensboro Daily News*, Greensboro NC May 8, 1958 p1.

[79] "Hodges Sees Portuguese Envoy" *News and Observer*, Raleigh, NC May 8, 1958.

[80] Hodges to Fernandes, May 7, 1958 Governor's Papers NC State Archives Raleigh, NC

[81] This is Martha Jerrall Scott, wife of Adam Scott, whose family was counted as Portuguese in the 1940 Census of Gaston Township, Northampton County.

[82] The address of most of the families, apparently….

[83] Bethany School only went through the 8th grade, after which the students were on their own. Limited travel funds were provided by the school board if the students wanted to go to school outside the area.

[84] Named for Julius Rosenwald, creator of the Rosenwald Fund in 1917 to assist local communities in building schools for Black children in the South.

BOOK REVIEWS

Archaeology in South Carolina: Exploring the Hidden Heritage of the Palmetto State. Adam King, Editor. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia, 2016. xvii, 249 pp., illustrations, maps, end notes, index. $39.99 (cloth), ISBN 978-1611176087.

Charleston: An Archaeology of Life in a Coastal Community. Martha A Zierden and Elizabeth J. Reitz. University of Florida Press, Gainesville, 2016. xxi, 350 pp., illustrations, maps, end notes, references, index. $34.95 (hardcover), ISBN 978-0-8130-6290-7.

Reviewed by Thomas E. Beaman, Jr.

The prehistory and history of North and South Carolina are inextricably intertwined. Throughout prehistoric times, limited only by a few geographic features, Native Americans migrated, hunted and foraged, manuported and traded resources, and eventually settled throughout the areas that would become the Carolinas. In 1663, King Charles II of Britain granted the lands of Carolina to eight Lords Proprietors, and settlement began. For example, with no border, the Cape Fear Region began to be settled in 1725 by families from Goose Creek, near the then fledgling center of Charleston. Soon after, in 1729, when seven of the eight proprietors sold their interests back to the crown, a political dividing line was established, and North Carolina and South Carolina became separate royal colonies. Though divided by a political boundary, the historic Native American and European populations still shared common cultures and commerce. Bounded by this common past, archaeologists in North Carolina and South Carolina generally share the overall methodological recovery and analytical understanding of the same and similar cultures, with many of the same behavioral considerations of settlements, migrations, ethnicities, and exchanges.

Two books on the archaeology of South Carolina have been released in the past few years and should be of immense interest to archaeologists in North Carolina as well. The first is an edited collection of chapters on the prehistory and history of different time periods, cultural groups, and archaeological sites by Adam King. The second is an intensive archaeological study of the urban center of Charleston from its 17th century inception to the post-bellum era of the late 19th century,

by Martha Zierden and Elizabeth Reitz. This review encompasses both works.

Archaeology in South Carolina: Exploring the Hidden Heritage of the Palmetto State is a much-needed compilation of 13 chapters collected by Adam King. Beginning with a thorough introduction, King covers a brief explanation of what archaeology is, the different aspects that archaeology is conducted under, a review of the cultural chronology of the prehistoric eras in South Carolina, as well as the range of agencies and projects that the volume authors represent. The material contained in this introduction will likely be familiar to professional archaeologists, especially those in the neighboring states and the Southeast. Yet the depth and breadth of the introduction will be extremely valuable to those outside of the archaeological community interested in South Carolina's past, as it establishes a tone for the volume that, "…archaeology is about figuring out the past, not just appreciating or possessing pieces of it" (pg. xi).

Following the introduction, the well-illustrated chapters in this volume are each substantial in their assessment of archaeologically defined prehistoric and historic cultural resources related to either a specific time or topic. Each selection is written by prominent archaeologists, all of whom have been involved in the research of their subject or site for many years. Each chapter contains a complete bibliography of older and more recent sources and publications, from both seasonal research summaries and cultural resource management reports, from which modern archaeologists would be wise to consider when addressing any of the subjects in this work.

The primary prehistoric contributions are by Albert Goodyear, Kenneth Sassaman, Adam King, and Keith Stephenson. Goodyear provides a good overview of the history of Paleo period research, from early studies of Paleo artifacts to the more current pre-Clovis work at the Topper Site. This contribution is enhanced by the images of the stratigraphy of Topper, photographs of a number of pre-Clovis microblades, and drawings of fluted bifaces and blades recovered from this site. Sassaman explores the cultural history of two distinct cultural groups that, when joined together, formed what archaeologists term the "Stallings" culture. With an excellent overview of the current understanding of Stallings culture, Sassaman details coastal traditions as its early roots and establishment of trade relationships with upland

groups, as well as the eventual overall demise after a brief florescence of the Stallings culture. Adam King and Keith Stephenson explore the Woodland and Mississippian periods in the middle Savannah River valley. Broad social changes led households during the Middle Woodland to increasingly shift from foraging strategies to limited horticulture, eventually leading to the emergence of young chiefdoms that brought greater changes in the social landscape of mound centers and larger settlements. Yet in less than two centuries, these central sites had been abandoned, and the dispersal of natives generally abandoned the Savannah River valley for other regions.

The shift from prehistory to the historic period for Native Americans is the subject of the contribution of Charles Cobb and Chester DePratter, and Alex Sweeny and Eric Poplin. Cobb and DePratter attempt to define borders of frontiers that emerged with the arrival of the English and establishment of forts and trade. They review the archaeological evidence of hybrid cultures and material evidence of trade at Fort Monroe, Palachacolas Town, Mount Pleasant, Rae's Creek, and the North Augusta site. The diversity of native ethnic groups over a century led to many different changes in artifact patterns and housing styles, and provide a challenge for archaeologists to fully unravel, but is evidence of an established southern frontier for the promise of trade among Europeans and Native groups. Sweeny and Poplin consider the history and culture of the Yamasee, a multiethnic conglomeration of native groups in the 17th and early 18th centuries. While providing a detailed and riveting complex history of relationships with the rival Spanish and English settlements, with over 30 archaeological sites of the Yamasee explored, Sweeny and Poplin argue their ability to maintain much of its traditional identity though their material culture, architecture, and diet.

The non-Native historic projects discuss plantations, urban sites, sunken underwater resources, and public outreach. Tammy Herron and Robert Moon discuss the Silver Bluff property of Irish immigrant George Galphin, who rose to prominence in the mid-1700s through his trading posts and plantation. In their attempt to reveal the build environment during Galphin's occupation, Herron and Moon focus on geophysical surveys with multiple methods, followed by ground truthing, which did reveal a portion of the southern end of a palisade wall and three additional structures beyond those found in the 1990s. The search for the quarters of enslaved African Americans at Middleburg Plantation is

detailed by Leland Ferguson. Many may be familiar with Middleburg from Ferguson's presentations of colonoware from the site. Yet in this chapter, his focus is on the discovery and layout of the three rows of quarter buildings arranged with concerns of European symmetry.

Ferguson also considers the active and passive resistance of the enslaved workers through their material remains of independent activities such as "the prodigious amounts of folk-made pottery, together with fishhooks, gunflints, and a wide range of plant and animal remains…" (pg. 113). The very active and prolific Martha Zierden discussed the guiding paradigm of understanding the daily life of Charleston in all projects conducted there since devised in 1984. As presented by Zierden, this paradigm allows for a seamless narrative of historic and archaeological resources of the establishment and evolution of Charleston, and features data from the early peninsula period through the colonial and 19th century. She concludes with a warranted boast that, "Archaeology has become a key player in the ongoing study, restoration, and interpretation of Charleston's past" (pg. 132).

The underwater resources focus on the *H.L. Hunley* and the search and exploration of U.S. Naval vessels. Steven Smith gives a past and present perspective on the notable *Hunley* Confederate submarine. His contribution is actually two separate essays combined, the first of which on the history and rediscovery of the *Hunley* was previously published in *Archaeological Perspectives on the Civil War* (University Press of Florida, 2000). The second half of Smith's contribution provides a modern perspective on the initial concerns of the funding of the restoration, which now has been shown to be successful through tourism of the conservation facility as well as funds provided by private and corporate donors, as well as donations of expertise and equipment. Noting the recovery and reburial of the remains of its crew, Smith states the *H.L. Hunley* has become a proud icon of southern heritage for some and a valuable archaeological discovery in its own right for others. Christopher Amer and James Spirek discuss the search and exploration of U.S. Naval vessels among the hundreds of vessels shipwrecked in South Carolina territorial waters. With a discussion of the Navy Wreck Survey, results led to the investigation of two Civil War era wrecks, the U.S.S. *Harvest Moon*, a steamship that was part of the naval blockade of Charleston, and the Station Creek, a floating repair facility. The process described involved the general location of the wrecks, followed by remote sensing with a magnetometer and side-scan sonar, followed by a

ground truth of the results with a probe to measure the entire vessel and its orientation. This process described by Amer and Spirek is argued as the most economical and effective way to document shipwrecks and its post-depositional history. Their results have allowed the development of a GIS database to better help manage and analyze South Carolina's underwater resources.

Carl Steen, Christopher Judge, and Sean Taylor detail the investigations and results from years of exploration of the Johannes Kolb site. This is a site very rich in both prehistoric and historic archaeological resources that span over 12,000 years. The authors convey its discovery, the balance between excavation and preservation, a thorough discussion on the prehistoric lithic and ceramics, as well as historic artifacts, recovered to date. But the main thrust of this chapter is the successful program of teaching students and volunteers in excavation, as well as disseminating project results through public outreach, which has led to the sustaining research at the Kolb site.

The last two chapters offer good insight into methods of documentation. The first is by Jonathan Leader who offers a detailed discussion on non-invasive geophysical investigations. He presents both the workings and use of metal detectors, electrical resistivity survey, gradiometers, and ground penetrating radar, as well as the advantages and disadvantages of each. This chapter should be read by any student who considers archaeology as a career for its valuable information on the real workings of these geophysical methods. The last chapter was appropriately authored by the late Stanley South. South offers a narrative summary of his experiences in historical archaeology since 1968 when he joined the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA). Throughout the last decade of his life, South documented his personal and professional perspectives and projects with which he was involved. This chapter highlights the myriad of projects he directed, the places he investigated, and the people he influenced through his words and deeds. As those who knew or worked with South can attest, there will likely never be another individual who influenced historical archaeology in South Carolina as much as he did. This chapter is a good summary of his time at SCIAA in his own unique storytelling style, and as such, is an appropriate as a bookend to *The Archaeology of South Carolina*.

Evaluating edited collections of essays can be difficult. Some can range in contributions from simple expanded conference papers to others more detailed and complete from years of research. This is not the case with this work. King and the chapter contributors have produced a consistently strong and complete volume. Though previous publications have touched on certain sites, regions and time periods, but none have expressed the complexity of South Carolina's past as this volume does.

Many, if not all, of the sites and topics in this work, will likely be familiar to archaeologists. Some sites and aspects of these chapters are discussed in other general publications, such as *The Paleoindian and Early Archaic Southeast*, *The Woodland Southeast*, *The Savannah River Chiefdoms*, *Carolina's Historical Landscapes*, *Down & Dirty: Archaeology of the South Carolina Lowcountry*, many issues of the *Southeastern Archaeology* and *Historical Archaeology* journals, and a host of theses and dissertations to name but a few. However, the appearance of material in other publications does not detract from the use in this volume, as it provides an updated perspective on many topics and sites already familiar to archaeologists.

The only notable absences from this book are chapters on the Spanish presence in South Carolina, especially at Santa Elena, the first settlement of Charles Towne, and the Catawba Project conducted by archaeologists at the University of North Carolina. Each of these would have been welcome additions and added to the completeness of this volume. Fortunately, information on all these sites have been well-published and are readily accessible elsewhere.

Archaeology in South Carolina: Exploring the Hidden Heritage of the Palmetto State provides a modern, essential reference to the topics and sites contained within and provides a terrific platform for research to continue with new questions generated by this volume. Each state should regularly take stock and summarize the knowledge on their archaeological resources like archaeologists from South Carolina have done here and as North Carolina did in three symposia in 2011 (now published in electronic format by the North Carolina Archaeological Council). This work will be useful for the professional archaeologist or general public interested in learning about the region's past.

The port city of Charleston was arguably the historically largest coastal commercial center south of Philadelphia. From its beginnings in

the late 17th century, the port became a center of the southern Atlantic coast for both international and intra-coastal imports and exports. Though archaeological projects have been previously presented in a number of venues on either urban loci or different aspects of the evolving urban landscape, *Charleston: An Archaeology of Life in a Coastal Community* by Martha A. Zierden and Elizabeth J. Reitz, crafts a complete picture of daily life in the development and evolution of Charleston through the end of the 19th century. With the publication of this volume, Charleston joins a limited club of urban centers whose extensive litany of archaeological accounts have been summarized in widely published works, notably Philadelphia, New York ("Gotham"), Annapolis, Miami, and Pensacola.

However, Zierden and Reitz, whose fieldwork in Charleston span more than three and a half decades, take a different approach to study of Charleston than the simple cumulative recounting of archaeological projects. They deftly weave the results of excavations, artifacts recovered, studies of the faunal remains, and historical documents into a multidisciplinary synthesis of foodways, which encompasses food availability, preparation, presentation, and consumption, from different segments of the overall population. This concept involves the complexity of wealth, status, and ethnic groups, including Europeans, Africans, Native Americans, and Asians, all of which evolved as the city did.

As outlined in the introduction (Chapter 1), their database for this study is based on Zierden and Reitz's analysis of 134,309 faunal specimens and food-related artifacts from 55 excavated sites (or portions thereof) of residential, commercial, defensive and public functions, which yielded a MNI of 2,171 individual animals (pg. 3). From markets and townhouse work yards, cattle consumption is central to their study, but dozens of other animals are also part of the colonial cookery, including pigs, goats, chicken, fish, and a host of wild game. Their approach to this voluminous undertaking was the three intertwined topics of the urban environment, provisioning the city, and urban foodways and cuisine, all of which were conceptually well explained in the chapter. The evolution of these topics is presented in four main parts, each with multiple chapters.

Part one, "The Settling", serves to well establish a context for their study and the settlement of Charleston. A history of the archaeology in Charleston that began in the 1970s is presented, including the

establishment of a city-wide perspective taken to investigations, the challenges of urban archaeology, as well as general information on excavations and zooarchaeology for non-archaeologists. Chapter 3, "The Bountiful Coast", is one of the standout chapters in this work, as it gives rich environmental descriptions to the plants, game, and fish available naturally, as well as introduced species, that formed the variety of dietary potentials for these early settlers. The last chapter of this part provides a quick historic tour through the early settlement of Charleston on the peninsula, through the Civil War and its aftermath. These three chapters provide excellent context for the remainder of the text.

The second part, "The City and Coast: The Eighteenth Century", contains a wealth of information on the shifting markets of material goods and meats from through the 18th century. Faunal studies of the earliest settled establish the predominance of beef in the early diets, and prompts discussion of wild cattle and the founding of cattle herds. Through "Raiding and Trading", tensions with Spanish Florida led the settlers to move the location of Charleston to the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper rivers, in which the harbor led to the growth of the settlement. A wall was built to protect the city in the late 17th century, portions which have been located archaeologically. The task of provisioning the city discussed five prominent 18th century contexts, including the Beef Market. Some urban lots began to show space to keep and process animals. Almost half the diet was wild animals (119 different types) and eight domesticate animals, though beef was still the primary source of meat.

"City Life", the third part, contains only two chapters, one on townhouses and the other on commercial sites. Townhouses focus more on households of the socially elite class and the shared space of their lots, "with people of varied backgrounds and status living and working in a confined area, a space shared with animals" (pg. 145). Such spaces could also include stables, carriage houses, quarters for the enslaved, and privies. The diversity of artifacts recovered in townhouses attempt to present an air of gentility, including tea and chocolate cups, the newest creamware pottery style, and exotic pets. Excavations in the shared space of the work yard provided the best information on the more formal, elegant household, as on-site butchery became more common. Many of the particular cuts of meat transcend status, ethnicity, and value. Insight into the commercial life of Charleston became much more crowded by public facilities, craft production centers, commercial shops, and

warehouses. Larger properties on blocks began to be subdivided into businesses from the docks westward across the peninsula and were often densely occupied by middle- and lower-class citizens on the second floor of buildings.

The final section is "The Nineteenth Century", and overall details the difficulties of urban density that Charleston experienced between the 1820s – 1850s, all of which have archaeological signatures. Brick replaced wooden structures and walls, as fires regularly destroyed wooden buildings, prompting reconstruction in brick. Growing feelings of segregating enslaved population were curved by the construction of walls and fences that subdivided lots. Increase in refuse, and concerns over public health, led to paving over refuse. Factories brought industrialization to the Neck, an area of burgeoning suburbs. Clean water was obtained through digging wells and constructing cisterns. The Civil War took a transformative toll, as the fire of December 1861 destroyed most of the town, and the end of the war essentially terminated the plantation economy that supported the city. In the 1880s, the practice of phosphate mining led to civic improvements, including streetcars, gas works, and electric lighting plant. Mass produced goods became more available and began to dominate archaeological assemblages.

Chapter 12 provides an excellent conclusion as to the evolution of the volume. What began as a general study of the material culture recovered through numerous excavations, the focus changed as more animal bones were accumulated, allowing a more intimate view of the past by "peering into the stew pot" (pg. 255). The Powder Magazine is recounted as the prime example of how a structure can change function over time, and how that change can be reflected in the archaeological record. Lessons learned through their three plus decades of investigations reveal that the archaeological record of Charleston is largely intact, how to manage the politics of mitigation projects, the growing alliance between archaeology and historical preservation benefits both fields, and the complexity of urban archaeological environments reflect the complexity and intimacy of urban life. Through the different historical periods, the evidence is compelling in their demonstration of how the environment, including the merger of local and global elements, influenced localized foodways and cuisine. As noted by Zierden and Reitz, "Charleston may have been on the frontier, but it was never isolated" (pg. 264). Above all, they conclude by noting, "If archaeology provides only a partial picture of city life, it provides one that differs

from our traditional view of Charleston's past and is likely to continue surprising us" (pg. 264).

The final section of this work contains by six appendices which should not be overlooked. In addition to the citations for the archaeological reports of Charleston sites and a list of the sites studied, there is a list of artifacts from the sites organized by period in Carolina Artifact Pattern format. There is a list of vernacular and scientific names for the plants and animal specimens, as well as a master species list organized by MNI and time period. The final appendix includes the richness, number of identified specimens, MNI, and specimen weight by time period. Much of the data in the appendices is in table form and offers great sets of valuable comparative data for other urban centers.

As many of us have read about and heard presentations on the excavations in Charleston for years, it does bear mentioning that some of this content in this volume has previously appeared in print. Selections on Charleston archaeology have been chapters in such as the previously reviewed *Archaeology in South Carolina*, *Archaeology of Southern Urban Landscapes*, *Carolina's Historical Landscapes, Another's Country: Archaeology and Historical Perspective on Cultural Interactions in the Southern Colonies*, *Material Culture in Anglo-America*, *Down & Dirty: Archaeology of the South Carolina Lowcountry*, many issues of the *Southeastern Archaeology* and *Historical Archaeology* journals, and a host of theses and dissertations to name but a few. While certainly not a complete list of previous publications, the material contained in these volumes in no way detracts from the complete portrait of Charleston presented here.

Zierden and Reitz have taken a tremendous amount of data and produced a very impressive volume to be read and reread. It contains a great perspective of the evolution of the urban landscape over two centuries, foodways and its associated material culture by era, woven with interesting and appropriate historical data. Charleston is also very accessible for a general reader who is interested in Charleston or the development of the modern city. For those reasons, *Charleston: An Archaeology of Life in a Coastal Community* was awarded the James Deetz Book Award by the Society for Historical Archaeology in 2018, which is only awarded to books that are well written and accessible to all.

Charleston: An Archaeology of Life in a Coastal Community also stands as a testament to the value that archaeology can bring to light for urban history and historic preservation efforts. The guiding paradigm set by Zierden in 1984, that all excavations should seek to understand the daily life of the city from research, development, or cultural resource management project, is shown to be successful by the accumulated data that has been presented in this work. Zierden has also relied upon the gracious enthusiasm of the Charleston Museum, the City of Charleston, nonprofit preservation agencies, many governmental and civic agencies, academic institutions, professional colleagues, and private citizens who seek information of the city's past through aspects of advocacy, protection of archaeological sites, funding, and many other contributions of researchers and preservationists. She has also worked with a near legion of those who have volunteered in fieldwork and the artifact processing process, just as Reitz did with her students to produce the zooarchaeological data. It is certainly apparent that Zierden and Reitz have earned the respect of the Charlestown community and their colleagues through their shared efforts to understand the past of this important port-town, as well as for providing this fascinating, readable, and affordable archaeological feast through the culinary and material culture of the people of its past.

North Carolina Projectile Points: Identification & Geographic Range. Christopher A. Cameron. Self-published through Field Technologies, Inc. 2020. 114 pp., illustrations. $19.99 (paperback). ISBN 978-0-578-64239-0.

Reviewed by Mary Elizabeth Fitts

The intent of Cameron's work, "increased consistency of artifact classification" (p. 5), is commendable. Projectile points play a fundamental role in structuring archaeological knowledge, especially regarding Native people who lived before the use of pottery became commonplace. The more consistent we are in classifying projectile points, the less our interpretations will be influenced by inter-observer variation. From this perspective, a classification guide has the potential to affect the quality of data created by everyone who collects and shares information about projectile points. According to Cameron (pp. 5–6), this publication was developed to address shortcomings of other projectile point guides: the citation of "unreliable sources" such as "amateur

publications by various collector and hobbyist societies"; the tendency to contribute to "the illegal looting of our nation's cultural resources" by encouraging the valuation of artifacts; the use of "unclear geographic ranges"; and the fact that as "mere lists," they do not provide a process for actually identifying newly collected artifacts. While the contents of this volume show that Cameron has worked to address these concerns, it nevertheless suffers from several problems in design and execution that limit its effectiveness and would have benefited from peer and editorial review.

This 8.5" x 11" paperback volume contains a 5-page introduction, a hierarchically-structured projectile point identification key, descriptions of 51 projectile point types, and a bibliography. The introduction highlights the deficiencies of previously-published guides and explains the criteria used for selecting point types to include in the volume, as well as the approach taken in compiling sources. Cameron also provides advice regarding the features of a projectile point most likely to be diagnostic and considers the nature, utility, and limitations of point typologies. The introduction concludes with an explanation of the "identification flow chart" (p.9) included on the following page. As the projectile point descriptions in this volume are copied from previously-published works, the flow-chart key constitutes Cameron's original contribution to the goal of increased consistency of artifact classification.

The key itself consists of 30 yes/no questions regarding the physical characteristics of projectile points. Given the hierarchical ordering of the flow chart, several questions recur in different parts of the key ("Is it asymmetrical?"; "Is the base flat?"). After answering all questions relevant to a point under investigation the reader is directed to one or more of the 51 point types included in the volume for further consideration. Most of the questions refer to the shape of the artifact ("Is it clearly pentagonal (five sides)?"; "Is the angle of the shoulder and stem acute?"; "Is this point triangle shaped?"). Others address flaking patterns ("Is the point fluted?"; "Is the edge serrated?") and dimensions ("Is the thickest part of the base >10mm?"). The questions are derived from the point type descriptions quoted in the volume and "are meant to be taken at their most obvious meaning" (p. 9). As no glossary of terms is provided, use of the key "does require a minimum amount of knowledge on the part of the user," but should be navigable by "any archaeology field technician and many avocational participants" (p. 8).

The key does enable narrowing down potential point types for those familiar with the terminology Cameron uses. However, shrinking the entire chart onto one portrait-oriented page has resulted in text that is difficult to read due to its small size (a hand lens or magnifying glass may be necessary for some readers) and the fact it is printed as white lettering on blue rectangles. The use of color is at best superfluous, and at worst detracts from the legibility of the chart; an editor would likely have recommended the use of black text on a white background. Since many of the flowchart questions refer to projectile point shape, one wonders if a shape-based, rather than purely text-based system could have been used to achieve similar results while also making the key accessible to a wider audience.

The projectile point descriptions themselves follow a consistent format. Cameron quotes the original type description, followed by a summary of any subsequent modifications to the date range initially proposed. Every type is accompanied by "a silhouette of an 'average' point of that type" which is "of dimensions that fall in the middle of the accepted range" (p 7). No details are provided regarding how these silhouettes were created. Cameron also reproduces drawings published in Cambron and Hulse's (1964) *Handbook of Alabama Archaeology*, which, as he notes, is now in the public domain. (Their illustration of a Kirk Corner-Notched point, unattributed, also adorns the front cover of this work.) Finally, each type description is accompanied by a map of North Carolina, with counties that have reported finds of the subject projectile point type highlighted in red. Again, the choice to use color here is confusing; these maps would communicate the same information in greyscale. To document each map, a list identifying the data source(s) for each county is provided. Most of this spatial data comes from one of two sources: the North Carolina Archaeological Site File Database maintained by the NC Office of State Archaeology (cited as Office of State Archaeology 2020), and the UNC-Chapel Hill Research Laboratories of Archaeology *Projectile Point Classification Project* (Daniel and Davis 1996, Davis and Daniel 1990). Given this redundancy of sources, an editor might have recommended that the county lists, which make up more than 47 pages of the 114-page publication, be condensed either as footnotes or in a table.

Cameron used two criteria to select the projectile point types included in this volume. First, he determined whether they were described in a "reliable, scholarly source (typically a peer-reviewed

journal or a book published by a university or well-known academic press)" and have subsequently been "widely cited in other scholarly sources" (p. 7). Second, at least two specific examples of artifacts classified as belonging to the point type, again published in "reliable, scholarly sources," had to be documented as having been recovered from a site (or sites) in North Carolina. Cameron notes that this process was adopted because it proved "incredibly hard to ascertain" what point types were known in North Carolina (p. 6).

It should be noted that the current North Carolina Archaeological Site Form created by the NC Office of State Archaeology (after Davis and Daniel 1990) contains a list of projectile point types found in the state. Of the 51 types included in Cameron's volume, 41 are listed on the state site form. Of the remaining 10 types, 4 (Cumberland, Quad, Redstone, and Ross County) are Paleoindian Period types cited in Daniel's (2005) North Carolina Fluted Point Survey, and 4 (Brewerton Side Notch, Iddins, Ledbetter, and Nolichucky) are reported from three sites in the northeast corner of the state (Robertson and Robertson 1978, Whyte 2014). Pigeon, defined by Keel (1976), should be on the state site form list along with the other types defined in that volume, but presently is not. Finally, Cameron includes Ely's Ford Pentagonal because it was found at three sites documented in Miller's (1962) John H. Kerr Reservoir survey report, "although it is not explicitly clear which side of the state line each point was found upon" (Cameron, p.28).

This notation highlights the effects of archaeological practice on our understanding of past peoples who lived long before modern state lines were established. Archaeologists who defined point types in the twentieth century did so with reference to carefully excavated "type sites." The geographic extent of these types, as we understand them today, is the result of both past human activity and the sociopolitical and economic conditions under which archaeology has been conducted for the past 50 odd years. Given that much of this work, particularly compliance archaeology, has been organized at the state level, it would be worthwhile for anyone seeking to identify a projectile point found near state lines to familiarize themselves with point types commonly used in the adjacent state(s). This volume does include several types defined west of North Carolina (citing Whyte 2014), but does not systematically include possibilities from the mid-Atlantic or South Carolina. Yet in recognizing the need to look beyond the types defined

by Coe (2006 [1964]) and Keel (1976), Cameron is blazing a path forward toward the goal of consistency in artifact identification.

As noted above, most of the point distribution data in this volume comes from the North Carolina Archaeological Site File Database maintained by the NC Office of State Archaeology (cited as Office of State Archaeology 2020), and the UNC-Chapel Hill Research Laboratories of Archaeology *Projectile Point Classification Project* (Daniel and Davis 1996, Davis and Daniel 1990). Cameron (p. 6) states that the reports of professional archaeological consultants were not used for this book due to their varying quality and the difficulty involved in acquiring them "in bulk." However, the North Carolina Archaeological Site File Database consists primarily of data generated from just such reports, if in the guise of site form data.

Had Cameron notified the Office of State Archaeology (OSA) regarding his intent to publish point distribution data from the database without checking the original reports, it likely would have been recommended that he notify his readers about certain limitations of the data. First, because site form data is not submitted as delimited text, OSA staff have been responsible for data entry. The version of the data supplied to Cameron contains information only from forms that have been data entered, which account for approximately 77% of all submitted site forms. Second, OSA has not completed systematic data cleaning and validation of the database, so it may contain errors associated with data entry, coding of the site form, or artifact identification. While reporting data at the county level should limit the effect of these errors, checking original site forms and reports from which this information was generated would be important for counties that appear as outliers in any given point type's distribution. Based on the references Cameron provides, it does not appear such checking was done for this volume. Possibilities for future verification include the identification of Garden Creek in Harnett County (OSA database), Madison in Onslow, Hertford, and Bertie Counties (OSA database), and Roanoke in Allegheny County (Robertson and Robertson 1978).

Carefully defining the geographic ranges of projectile point types is critical for understanding past communication networks. As Cameron notes, lithic points "should not be mistaken for cultural identity" (p. 8); points do not "equal" people any more than pottery does. However, they do seem to represent accumulated knowledge, innovation, and skill

within constellations of practice (Wenger 1998), as interpreted by archaeologists observing similarities in the results of lithic reduction sequences. These similarities suggest the existence of apprenticeship networks that are of interest in their own right, while also being useful for generating archaeological hypotheses regarding other aspects of precolonial lifeways. Over 50 years of compliance archaeology in North Carolina has generated a mass of information regarding lithic technology, and a synthesis of this data for any given point type, region, or time period would certainly produce new information for refining and revising existing archaeological narratives. Such work will be time consuming, but when undertaken, will revolutionize what we know about Native North Carolina.

Cameron's identification flow chart is intended as a "supplement, not a replacement, for the user's own judgement and primary references" (p. 9), and this volume as a whole is best viewed in a similar light. While 8 of the 44 works cited are out of print books and journal articles that may be difficult to obtain, the remainder are readily accessible. Half of the works cited[1] are available for free online, most hosted by UNC's Research Laboratories of Archaeology. Anyone seeking to classify a point found in North Carolina will benefit from looking at the examples illustrated in Coe (2006 [1964]) and Keel (1976) to get a sense of the variation in shape and flaking patterns within a defined type. Also helpful are a growing set of online resources, including 3D models created by Research Laboratories of Archaeology students and staff.[2] Despite its flaws, by directing his readers to the original source materials, this work should ultimately contribute to the author's goal of consistency in artifact identification.

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Notes

[1] One source quoted in this volume is not included in the reference list: Stanley South's (1959) UNC-Chapel Hill master's thesis, *A Study of the Prehistory of the Roanoke Rapids Basin*. In his thesis, South defines the Small Savannah River projectile point on page 66.

[2] See https://sketchfab.com/rla-archaeology/collections/

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