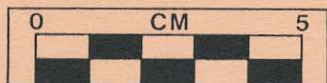


# Southern Indian Studies



## **Southern Indian Studies**

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**RICHARD PLEASANTS GRAVELY, JR.**  
**1914-1988**

Richard Pleasants Gravelly, Jr. was born in Martinsville, Virginia on March 30, 1914. He suffered a heart attack and died September 29, 1988, near his Martinsville birthplace. Dick was a prominent retired Martinsville businessman and civic leader; he also was widely recognized for his advocational accomplishments in archaeology and history. He graduated from Martinsville high school and studied at the University of Virginia for three years. In 1935, the economic pressures of the Depression forced him to terminate his studies and to join his father's furniture business.

Dick's interest in archaeology galvanized in the early 1960s when he began studying the prehistory of the Sara Indians who lived along the Dan River and its tributaries. In 1961, he was instrumental in organizing a local chapter of the Archaeological Society of Virginia, and in 1967 he was elected president of the statewide organization. During his two-year tenure as head of that society, he worked hard to encourage professional standards and to bring amateurs and professionals together whenever possible. In a September 2, 1969 letter to Dr. C.G. Holland, Dick summed up his views concerning the role of the ASV by characterizing it as:

... a ready-made instrument through which much might be done. All the Society needs is some patient (and firm) professional guidance and it could do a great deal of good. Meanwhile, those of us who are concerned should try to move the ASV in the right direction in as many ways as possible.

Faced with the rapid destruction of several important village sites by pothunters, Dick approached professional archaeologists, first in Virginia and later in North Carolina, and sought their assistance in stemming the tide of growing devastation. In most cases, his pleas for help fell upon already busy ears, tight schedules, and even tighter budgets. Realizing help from the professional community was to be limited, Dick set about learning the fundamentals of field archaeology on his own. His historical instincts had already provided him with an uncanny grasp of the extant literature and an understanding of the known archaeological record that rivaled that of many of his professional contemporaries.





Richard P. Gravely (left) with the Blue Family during a 1983 Visit to the Catawba Reservation, Rock Hill, South Carolina.

## RICHARD PLEASANTS GRAVELY, JR.

With unlimited energy, he got to know and eventually earned the respect of most of the individuals involved in looting sites along the North Carolina-Virginia border. Dick became a one-man crusader who lectured, begged, and sometimes cajoled the looters to stop destroying the rich but diminishing reservoir of archaeological sites in the Dan River basin. In situations where he could not stop the destruction, he unselfishly devoted his time to documenting and recording as much information as possible about the sites and the cultural materials that were being robbed from them. Detailed scale-drawings were complimented by copious photographs and concise excavation notes revealing a keen understanding of site formation processes.

These uncommon efforts led to the accumulation of a large body of data pertaining to the prehistory of the Dan River valley. And because Dick was not content to rest at the end of a long Saturday or Sunday in the field, these data were organized in a manner that would make most professional archaeologists envious. Artifacts were carefully cleaned and cataloged, and field records were systematically filed to facilitate analysis.

Dick was not content to just retrieve data from the ground. His research was reported to professionals and amateurs alike through his active participation in the Eastern States Archaeological Federation, the Archaeological Society of Virginia, and the Archaeological Society of North Carolina. He regularly presented papers at meetings and published numerous articles in the *Eastern States Archaeological Federation Bulletin* and the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia*.

Early on, Dick's interest in prehistory led him to seek information about the past from its living descendants. These he found on the Catawba reservation in South Carolina, where he made many friends during his numerous visits and acquired several specimens of contemporary Native American crafts.

Dick also was an excellent pilot who used his flying skills to serve his archaeological pursuits. He spent many hours in the air surveying the fertile bottoms of the Dan and its tributaries. This aerial vantage point allowed him to recognize and record numerous stone fish dams along the Smith and Mayo rivers. These Dick also researched in his typical thorough fashion, sifting

through historical records and the geological literature to document their presence in the past and to explain their survival into the present.

Although at the time of his death Dick was actively involved in studying and analyzing data he had collected over the years, he realized the necessity for having this huge store of information curated in a setting that would enhance its research value to other scholars. In 1983, he generously donated his entire collection of artifacts, notes, drawings, photographs, and other documents to the University of North Carolina's Research Laboratories of Anthropology to achieve this end. He also gave the Research Labs his entire archaeological library to aid students in their research. And Dick's support continues after his death. Because of a generous donation to the Research Laboratories stipulated in his will, excavations will be conducted during 1991 at a site on property that is part of Dick's estate.

In addition to his interests in archaeology and history, Dick was an avid philatelist and book collector. In 1986 he was appointed by Virginia's Gov. Gerald Baliles to the State Library Board and the Library Board Foundation. He also had been a member of the Martinsville School Board, the Henry County Red Cross, and had served on the Mayor's Commission of Human Values. He was a past president of the Martinsville Exchange Club and a member of the Lions Club. In the 1940s he organized one of the few survival-oriented Boy Scout troops. In his capacity as a pilot, he served as chairman of the Blue Ridge Airport Authority. He also was a Southern Conference champion in swimming and diving, and organized the Martinsville Bulldog Booster Club. He was active in the Nature Conservancy and a member of the Museum of Natural History in Martinsville and the Science Museum of Western Virginia.

All these activities were pursued in addition to a highly successful business career that included being president of the Gravely Furniture Co. and later Henry County Plywood. He also was chairman of the Patrick Henry Manufacturer's Association. After his retirement from the furniture and plywood businesses, he remained chairman of the board of Henry County Plywood until his death.

## RICHARD PLEASANTS GRAVELY, JR.

Dick Gravelly was a rare and remarkably talented human being who possessed a laser-like intellect and a wide-ranging curiosity about the world around him. His many archaeological achievements are but a small part of the successes of a varied and rich life. We miss him deeply, and his presence remains fresh in our memories--as it will for many years to come.

H. Trawick Ward  
R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.

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# EARLY RADIOCARBON DATES FROM A SITE ON THE PEE DEE-SIOUAN FRONTIER IN THE PIEDMONT OF CENTRAL NORTH CAROLINA

by  
Joseph B. Mountjoy

## Introduction

In Coe's (1952) discussion of the Pee Dee focus and in a subsequent study by Reid (1967) of Pee Dee pottery from the mound at Town Creek in Montgomery County, North Carolina, accounts are provided of the intrusion and eventual withdrawal of the Indians responsible for the remains of the Pee Dee culture found there. These Mississippian-related people are said to have invaded south-central North Carolina from the southwest at about A.D. 1450, originating in the area of the South Carolina-Georgia border and dispossessing people of the archaeological Uwharrie culture in the process. The people of the Pee Dee culture brought with them a new mode of life which included living in large villages supported by well-developed agriculture, the construction of a ceremonial center containing a large temple mound, infant burials in "killed" pottery urns, and stamped surface treatment of a considerable proportion of their pottery vessels. This new way of life was centered at the Town Creek site and radiated out along the Pee Dee River and its tributaries for about 30 miles. After some 200 years of constant warfare, during which time they are said to have contributed nothing to and received nothing from the indigenous culture other than strife, the Pee Dee people were forced to withdraw by the Siouan tribes which were known to occupy the area in historic times.

Coe (1952:308) has called this intrusion "one of the best archeological records of the movement of a people in the southeast. . . ." As such, this situation should provide great opportunities to investigate such cultural processes as colonization and acculturation, or lack thereof, on a prehistoric frontier as they are reflected in archaeological remains. Thus far in North Carolina, most investigation relevant to this cultural development has been focused on the site of Town Creek and what is

considered a satellite village of the Town Creek center, the Leak site, located some 10 miles southeast of Town Creek (Reid 1967). In addition, a few Pee Dee potsherds have been found in the Appalachian Summit region of North Carolina (Dickens 1976) as well as in the northern Piedmont near Hillsborough and along the Dan River (Jack Wilson, personal communication 1985). Ned Woodall (personal communication 1988) also has found one sherd of Pee Dee complicated stamped pottery at the McPherson site on the Yadkin River.

In 1973, 1974, and 1985, controlled surface sampling and test excavations were conducted at the Payne site (31MR15), located in the southern fringe area of the North Carolina Piedmont about 30 miles (48 km) northeast of Town Creek. Approximately 47% of the classifiable pottery recovered from the site pertains to the Pee Dee archaeological culture, which may be related to historic Creek peoples (Fairbanks 1952), and another 47% is attributable to the Uwharrie-Caraway-Dan River series, best known from sites of probable Siouan affiliation (Coe 1952) and located mainly to the north of the Payne site. In 1986, two samples of wood charcoal and one of carbonized corncobs from three excavated features were submitted to the Beta Analytic Laboratory in order to help answer three questions about possible Pee Dee-Siouan interaction in this frontier setting: (1) was the Payne site occupied over a long or short period of time?; (2) does the site occupation date to the early phase of Pee Dee intrusion into North Carolina or near the end?; and (3) was the site occupied by two different Indian groups with different pottery traditions, or by one group possessing pottery from two different traditions? This article reports the results of the radiocarbon dating and how they relate to the interpretation of the archaeological remains found at the Payne site and elsewhere in the North Carolina Piedmont.

### Research at the Payne Site

The Payne site is located on the western bank of the Deep River in northern Moore County, North Carolina (Figure 1). The prehistoric occupation is found on a relatively high terrace of Congaree Silt Loam in the northern half of an 11-acre patch of

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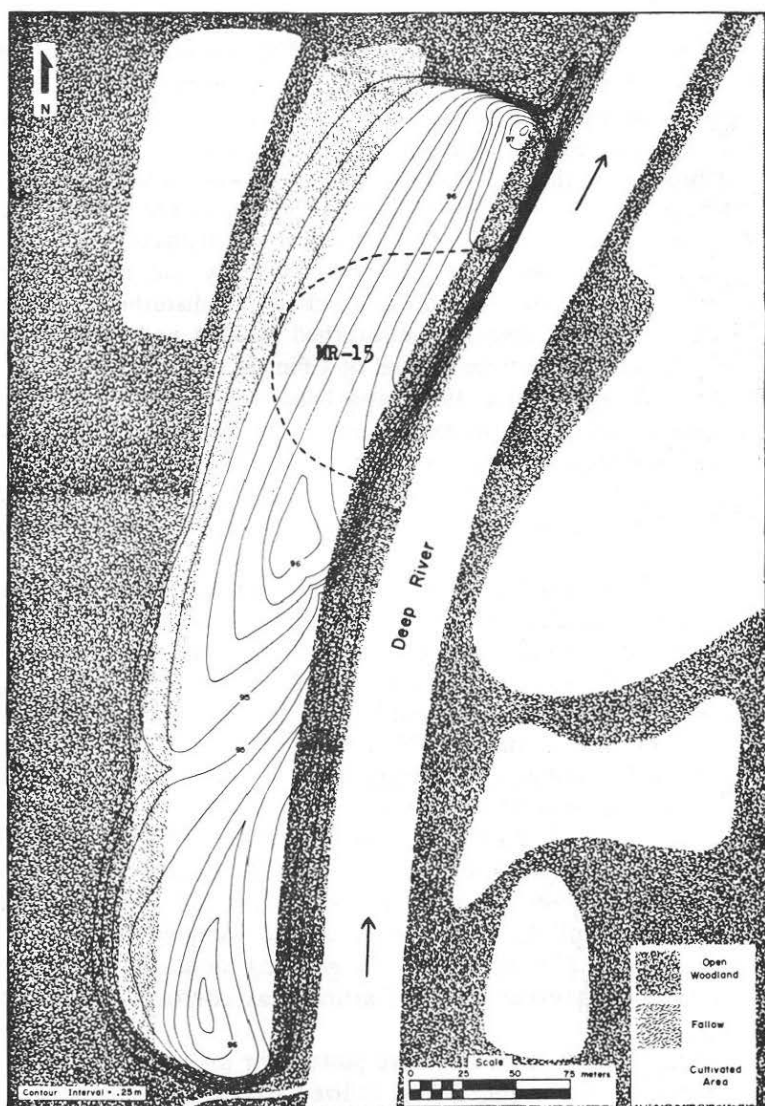


Figure 1. Limits of the Payne site (Mr-15) based on Surface Collection.

cultivated bottomland and extends into the narrow strip of climax forest vegetation along the riverbank. The site was called to the attention of the author in 1973 by the owner of the property who reported having found potsherds in a portion of his field. The site was visited by a crew from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro in the fall and due to the heavy ground cover of weeds, a 1 m by 1 m test pit was excavated in the area of the field where the owner reported having found artifacts.

The test pit was dug primarily to verify the information provided by the owner and to check for undisturbed cultural remains. The pit revealed undisturbed midden under the plow zone. In addition, a flexed burial of a female, estimated to be 18-21 years of age (Knick 1974) and lying on her right side, was discovered well below the midden layer. No burial offerings were found associated with the skeleton. This discovery prompted an expansion of the excavation to 2 m by 2 m in order to expose more sub-plow zone midden and better check the context of the burial.

Investigations at the Payne site were resumed in the summer of 1974 and included the systematic intensive surface collection of approximately two-thirds of the entire bottomland field area, the excavation of a trench 18 m long and 2 m wide in the site area, and a strata cut 5.2 m long and 2 m wide along the riverbank on the eastern edge of the site (Figure 2).

The surface collection was made after the field had been disked and three rains had fallen. Seventy-three 20 m by 20 m collection squares were plotted over the disked area and all artifacts were collected from the surface of each square. This collecting method yielded 12,027 items (Table 1). Then, the different types of artifacts were plotted on a map of the sampled area: hoes, hammerstones, nutting stones and grinding stones as individual occurrences, and other types of artifacts as contours of artifact density.

Artifact density contours were plotted for total artifacts, stone, cracked rock by weight, flakes, utilized flakes, projectile points, potsherds and stone, potsherds, plain pottery, pottery with surface treatment, stamped pottery, net impressed pottery, cordmarked and fabric marked pottery, bones and shells. Contours were plotted in



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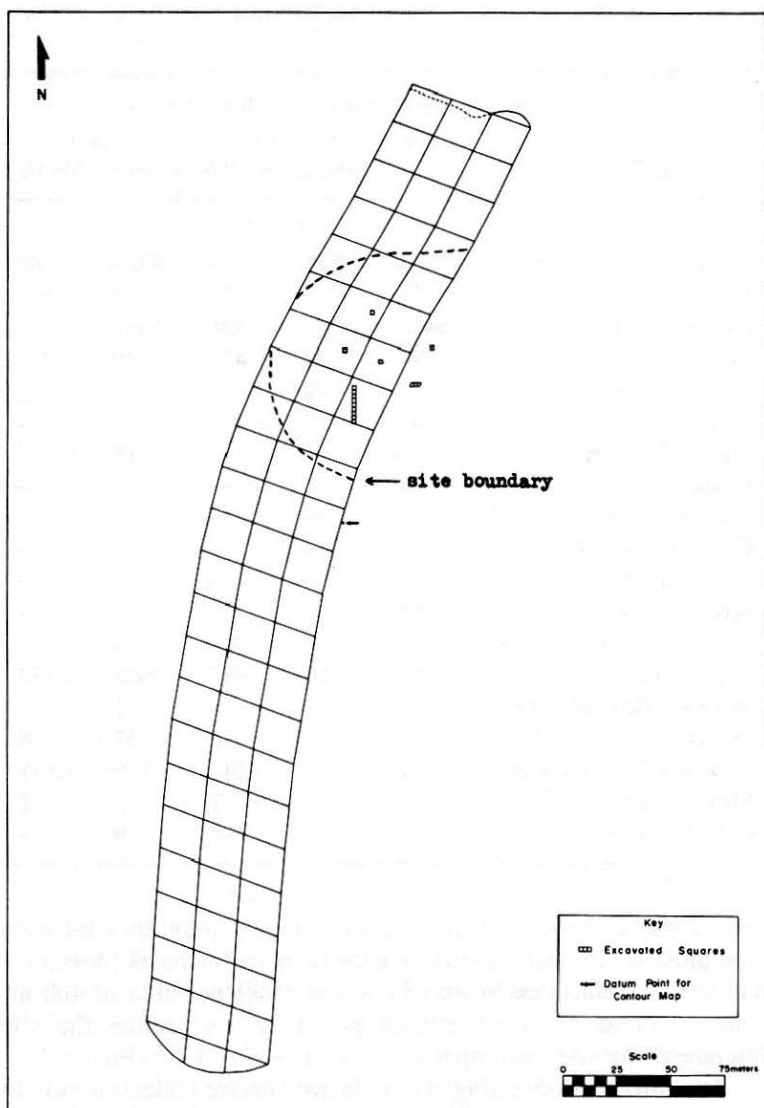


Figure 2. Surface Sampling Units and Excavated Squares at the Payne Site.

Table 1. Items Recovered from Investigations at the Payne Site.

Material Type	Surface Collection		Excavations		
	1974	1974	1985		
		Macro	Micro	Macro	Micro
Potsherds	3588	3375	1916	2365	88
Pipes	8	5	-	2	-
Cracked Rocks	6348	4297	5320	1362	-
Flakes	1331	1448	2413	2039	1787
Projectile Points	199	177	-	92	2
Scrapers	35	7	-	5	-
Quarry Blades	27	-	-	15	-
Hoes	6	2	-	-	-
Nutting Stones	5	-	-	1	-
Grinding Stones	4	-	-	-	-
Hammerstones	-	-	-	3	-
Axes	2	-	-	-	-
Drills	1	-	-	-	-
Bones/Teeth	461	3616	937	1605	4334
Worked Bones/Antler	-	-	-	1	-
Shells	12	-	58	37	8
Lumps of Baked Clay	-	-	240	129	4341
Metal Items	-	-	7	2	1
Other Items	-	-	14	9	8

such a way to produce from five to seven contour lines for each type plotted. By using a surface density of 100 artifacts (potsherds and stone artifacts exclusive of cracked rock) per area of 400 m<sup>2</sup> (one potsherd or stone artifact per 4 m<sup>2</sup>) to define the site boundary, the site encompasses an area of 6,250 m<sup>2</sup> (Figure 2).

The intent in obtaining the intensive surface collection was to study the horizontal distribution of artifacts in the plow zone and to use that information to generate hypotheses about activity areas that might be present in the underlying deposits undisturbed by

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cultivation, generally following the model of surface sampling presented by Redman and Watson (1970). However, when it came time to excavate in 1974 field season, we initially chose to investigate the context of the human burial in relation to other site deposits. At the same time, we examined the relationship between the surface and subsurface deposits by excavating a 2 m wide trench from the square containing the burial directly northward through the area of highest projectile point density. This trench was eventually extended to a length of 18 m although it was not possible during the 1974 season to excavate the sub-plow zone deposits in the northernmost 4 m section. No additional human burials were uncovered, but 14 concentrations of midden type debris were located in the subsoil.

A second trench was excavated into the riverbank terrace on the eastern edge of the site (Figure 2) to check for intact midden deposits and buried early cultural horizons. A 1.3 m deep profile was exposed on the north end of the trench, revealing cultural deposits to a depth of 68 cm. It appeared that the lower half of the midden had not been disturbed by cultivation.

The 1974 excavations, which involved both macro-screening and micro-screening of the deposits, yielded a total of 23,832 items (Table 1).

Further excavations were conducted at the Payne site during the summer of 1985. On this occasion three areas were selected for excavation on the basis of surface artifact densities. One 2 m by 2 m unit was plotted slightly northwest of the north end of the 1974 trench (Figure 2) in the area of the highest density of plain pottery sherds and stone flakes (both utilized and non-utilized), based on the idea that this area, which also had a high density of projectile points, might be a locus of butchering and food preparation. A second 2 m by 2 m unit was excavated farther from the north end of the 1974 trench and slightly northeast (Figure 2) in the area of highest density of stamped pottery sherds, based on the idea that this might be an area of dwelling and food consumption. And a third 2 m by 2 m unit was excavated closer to the north end of the 1974 trench and to the northeast of it (Figure 2), in the area between two peaks in density of bone and shell, in order to find out why there was such

a difference in surface density. It was also possible to complete the excavation of the 2 m by 2 m unit on the north end of the 18 m trench excavated in 1974, which was in the area of highest density of total stone and high density of projectile points and flakes. In addition, a 1 m by 1 m unit was dug in the wooded area between the cultivated field and the riverbank terrace to check for midden deposits in a potentially undisturbed area of the site.

The 1985 excavations yielded, from both macro-screening and micro-screening, 18,236 items (Table 1). The excavation in the area of highest density of plain pottery uncovered six pits that intruded the subsoil below 40 cm depth and contained potsherds, stone flakes, a few other stone artifacts, animal bones, and some shells.

The excavation in the area of highest density of stamped pottery uncovered some 15 possible postmolds extending in a rough arc in the northern third of the square, seeming to indicate the wall of house 3-4 m in diameter. To the south and within the arc was a midden deposit which covered two shallow sub-floor pits containing midden refuse, and one large sub-floor pit 1.29 m in diameter and extending down 35 cm into the subsoil. The west half of this pit was filled with cultural refuse including pottery sherds, flakes, projectile points, a nutting stone, cracked rock, animal bones and the tip of an antler flaker, and the east half had relatively sterile fill. At the bottom of this pit were found the bones of a human fetus which had died near term with a fetal age of approximately 36 weeks (Louise Robbins, personal communication 1986).

The excavation in the area of low density of bone and shell in between two areas of high bone and shell density revealed no sub-plow zone midden or features, but the small test pit in the wooded area almost due east of it (Figure 2) yielded abundant artifacts to a depth of 90 cm below the ground surface, including five potsherds from the 60 cm to 70 cm level which all fit together and had a fillet cross, complicated stamp design.

The remaining 1985 excavation was in the ninth and northernmost 2 m square of the 1974 trench. At a depth of 40 cm below the ground surface were 30 rather small postmolds and



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three subsoil pits that were 11 cm, 26 cm, and 30 cm in depth, respectively. The two deepest pits measured 55 cm and 56 cm in diameter, respectively, and were almost entirely filled with carbonized corn cobs, appearing to be what Binford (1967) has called hide smoking pits.

### The Cultural Context of the Radiocarbon Dates

Three samples of charcoal which were recovered from the excavations at the Payne site were submitted for radiocarbon dating. The earliest radiocarbon date (A.D.  $1040 \pm 60$ ) (Beta-18410) (Figure 3) was obtained from a sample of carbonized corn cobs from one of the hide smoking pits. The only other cultural remains recovered from this pit by macro-screening were two pottery sherds, both classified with the help of Joffre Coe as Pee Dee complicated stamped, one rectilinear and the other possibly curvilinear. Micro-screening yielded 25 stone flakes and 25 bones, all burned, and many pieces of material resembling caked mud.

A slightly later radiocarbon date (A.D.  $1090 \pm 70$ ) (Beta-18412) (Figure 3) was obtained from the large and deep sub-floor pit containing the human fetus burial. The fill of this pit contained 46 pottery sherds, four projectile points, one quarry blade, 100 non-utilized stone flakes, six utilized stone flakes, one nutting stone, 24 fragments of cracked rock, 286 animal bones, and one deer antler tine flaker. Micro-screening yielded nine tiny potsherds, 376 stone flakes, 1,345 animal bones (716 of them burned), 759 globs of fired clay, and seven fragments of carbonized nut shells. The pottery sherds, inspected and classified by Joffre Coe, included 25 Uwharrie plain, five Pee Dee plain, and 16 Pee Dee stamped. Of the Pee Dee stamped sherds, at least 12 are curvilinear complicated stamped. It is possible that all the Uwharrie sherds are from the same pot, but the Pee Dee sherds appear to have come from several different pots.

The latest radiocarbon date (A.D.  $1130 \pm 70$ ) (Beta-18411) (Figure 3) was obtained on charcoal found in a trash pit in the 1974 trench about 8 m from the southern end of the trench. This pit measured 73 cm in diameter (north-south) and extended into the unexcavated area to the east of the trench. This pit contained

six pottery sherds, one projectile point, three non-utilized stone flakes, six fragments of cracked rock, and 21 animal bones. Micro-screening yielded 15 flakes of stone, 10 fragments of cracked rock, 62 animal bones, and 10 pieces of shell. Of the six pottery sherds, one lacked surface texturing, and the other five were judged by Joffre Coe to be possibly Caraway net impressed or at least post-Pee Dee.

### The Significance of the Radiocarbon Dates

First, all three of the dates from the Payne site overlap for a period of 40 years (A.D. 1060-1100) within the range of one standard deviation. It is therefore statistically possible that all three carbon samples have the same radiocarbon age and that the associated cultural material was all deposited at the same time and could have been left by a single group of people using pottery deriving from different traditions. Or, using the maximum range of standard deviation for the three radiocarbon determinations, the dated remains might have been deposited anytime within a 230 year period (A.D. 980-1210), and indicate occupation of the site by at least one group of people using pottery from two different traditions (Pee Dee and Uwharrie), and a second group using pottery from a tradition (possibly Caraway) different from the other two.

Because of the overlap, it is risky to place a lot of confidence in the inference that one date is earlier or later than another. However, the temporal seriation of the dates does suggest the tentative inference that the Pee Dee remains are the earliest dated and are at least in part contemporary with the Uwharrie remains. The post-Pee Dee (Caraway?) remains are generally later than the other two, but not by a great deal.

All three radiocarbon dates are earlier than the dates which traditionally have been assigned to the associated cultural material. Uwharrie pottery in the Piedmont of North Carolina has been dated to the period A.D. 1200-1500 by Ward (1983) in his synthesis of archaeological investigation in the North Carolina Piedmont, and one net impressed Uwharrie vessel from the Donnaha site on the Yadkin river has been radiocarbon dated to

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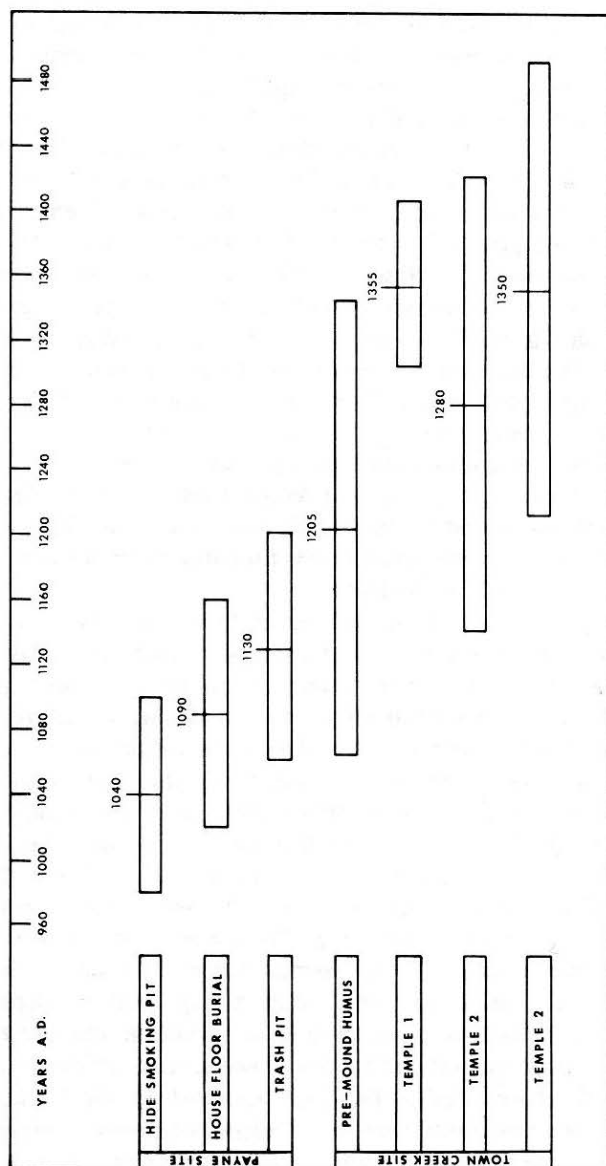


Figure 3. A Comparison of Radiocarbon Dates from the Payne and Town Creek Sites.

the end of this period (Woodall 1984). However, more recent investigations by Davis and Ward (1988) have indicated to them that Uwharrie pottery was probably being made earlier than previously thought and does not appear to them to have been manufactured much later than A.D. 1200.

Pee Dee pottery has been dated A.D. 1550-1650 by Coe (1952) based on his research at Town Creek, A.D. 1450-1650 by Reid (1967) in his analysis of pottery from the Town Creek mound excavation, and post-A.D. 1500 by Ward (1983) in his synthesis of Piedmont archaeology. However, Pee Dee pottery has been dated A.D. 1250-1450 by Dickens (1976) based on the presence of 31 Pee Dee sherds in Pisgah phase deposits at the Warren Wilson site in the Appalachian Summit area of western North Carolina, and DePratter and Judge (1987) have recently dated Pee Dee remains to the mid A.D. 1300s.

It is also apparent from recent research in the Piedmont (Dickens et al. 1987; Davis and Ward 1988), that the Caraway series which was dated between A.D. 1700 and A.D. 1725 by Coe and Lewis (1952) is prehistoric and probably dates no later than the early part of the A.D. 1500s.

The three early radiocarbon dates from the Payne site are potentially important for the resolution of at least three important questions relating to the development of native culture in the south-central North Carolina Piedmont: the date of intrusion of the people responsible for the Pee Dee remains; the nature of that intrusion; and its impact on the local indigenous populations.

Figure 3 shows the three radiocarbon dates from the Payne site in relation to four radiocarbon dates available from excavations in and underneath the mound at the Town Creek ceremonial center (Dickens 1976:198). It appears significant that the earliest radiocarbon date from Town Creek comes from pre-mound humus and that this humus layer contained a higher frequency of Pee Dee complicated stamp pottery than the overlying deposits formed by mound construction and use (Reid 1967:57). This earliest date from Town Creek overlaps on its early end the two dates on Pee Dee pottery from the Payne site, and raises the possibility that the intrusion of people responsible for the Pee Dee pottery in south-central North Carolina occurred

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in the period A.D. 980-1160. Furthermore, it also is possible that this intrusion was not accomplished by first establishing a political and religious center at Town Creek and radiating out from that base. Instead, there may have been an initial population expansion into south-central North Carolina and then perhaps 100 years or so later the Town Creek site was turned into a ceremonial center to serve an already fairly large resident population.

There also is the matter of the early presence of corn in the form of carbonized cobs at the Payne site. The radiocarbon date on the carbonized cobs is the earliest obtained at the site, and the associated pottery consisted of two sherds of Pee Dee complicated stamped. The only direct archaeological evidence of maize in the North Carolina Piedmont cited by Ward (1983) comes from the Parker site in the Great Bend area of the Yadkin River (Barnette 1978) and consists of pieces of cobs and some kernels. The Parker site was occupied during Uwharrie times, but investigations in Uwharrie components at some other sites have not produced maize remains, although chipped stone hoes have been found. Since Ward's (1983) synthesis, analysis of the contents of pit features excavated at the Donnaha site on the Yadkin River has revealed the ubiquitous presence of carbonized maize cobs (Mikell 1986). The pottery sherds at Donnaha are primarily of the Uwharrie and Dan River series, and five radiocarbon dates place the major occupation of the site within the period A.D. 1000-1500 (Woodall 1984). None of the pottery sherds found at Donnaha appear to be classifiable as Pee Dee, but some 20-30 sherds show impressions from a concentric circle stamp, and similar stamped pottery has been found at the nearby Hardy site associated with carbon dating around A.D. 1000 (Woodall, personal communication 1988).

Since the Pee Dee and Uwharrie series are believed to be contemporary in the North Carolina Piedmont, the former probably related to Creek peoples to the south and the latter probably related to Siouan peoples of the Piedmont, did maize enter the native Siouan economy prior to and independent of the Pee Dee intrusion, or rather as a result of that intrusion? The association of Pee Dee pottery with Uwharrie pottery and Pee Dee



pottery with maize at the Payne site suggests possible transmission of maize from Creeks to Siouans associated with the initial period of Pee Dee intrusion.

Another interpretive problem of archaeology in the North Carolina Piedmont is when and by what process the historic Siouan groups acquired the custom of carved paddle stamping as a common surface treatment for their pottery. Such stamping does not appear to be common in the Uwharrie series which emphasizes cordmarking and net impressing and has been proposed to be proto-Siouan (Coe and Lewis 1952). Stamping (simple, curvilinear complicated and check) does become common during the subsequent phases (Coe and Lewis 1952), and has been linked to historic Siouan peoples through excavations at Upper Saura Town on the Dan River in northern North Carolina (Ward 1983:73). Check and curvilinear complicated stamping are found in the Caraway series (Griffin 1945; Coe and Lewis 1952), which has been linked to the historic Siouans through excavations at the Fredricks site, as well as in the Hillsboro, Mitchum and Fredricks phases, the later of which has been linked to the historic Occaneechi (Davis 1987). An early date for the introduction of carved paddle stamping to the North Carolina Piedmont Siouan culture by way of the Pee Dee intrusion of Creek related people from the south would allow ample time for acculturation of Siouan groups to this new aspect of pottery technology and would be one way in which the Pee Dee culture had a significant impact on the culture of peoples with whom they came into contact.

#### Acknowledgments

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# ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT THE CROWDERS CREEK SITE (31GS55): A LATE WOODLAND FARMSTEAD IN THE CATAWBA RIVER VALLEY, GASTON COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

by  
J. Alan May

## Introduction

This article summarizes results of excavations at the Crowdres Creek site (31GS55) in Gaston County, North Carolina, during May, 1985 and June, 1986. Both data recovery and subsequent processing and analysis were accomplished through volunteer participation by interested individuals and groups from the Gaston County area.

The site is well known locally and has been collected by amateurs for many years. This knowledge led to the site's investigation during 1983 by the Gaston County Archaeological Society. A total of eight 5 ft by 5 ft squares were excavated to the base of the plowzone or deeper. The discovery of a human burial and other features during 1983 first brought the site to the attention of David Moore, Archaeologist, N.C. Office of State Archaeology. The remaining portion of the burial was recovered by Moore in November, 1983, at which time he recorded the site. He also noted several postholes in previously excavated units and supervised the excavation of two additional features (Moore n.d.).

Current excavations were begun to address the following problem areas: 1) delimit horizontal and vertical distributions of cultural remains on the site; 2) assess the quantity and integrity of cultural features; and 3) identify cultural/historical components represented (Pace n.d.).

### *Site Setting*

A number of tributary streams flow generally east and south into the Catawba River valley. The Crowdres Creek site is located on one of these streams, Crowdres Creek, which drains an area of 231 square kilometers between its headwaters in the Crowdres-Kings Mountain area and its juncture with the Catawba (Figure 1).

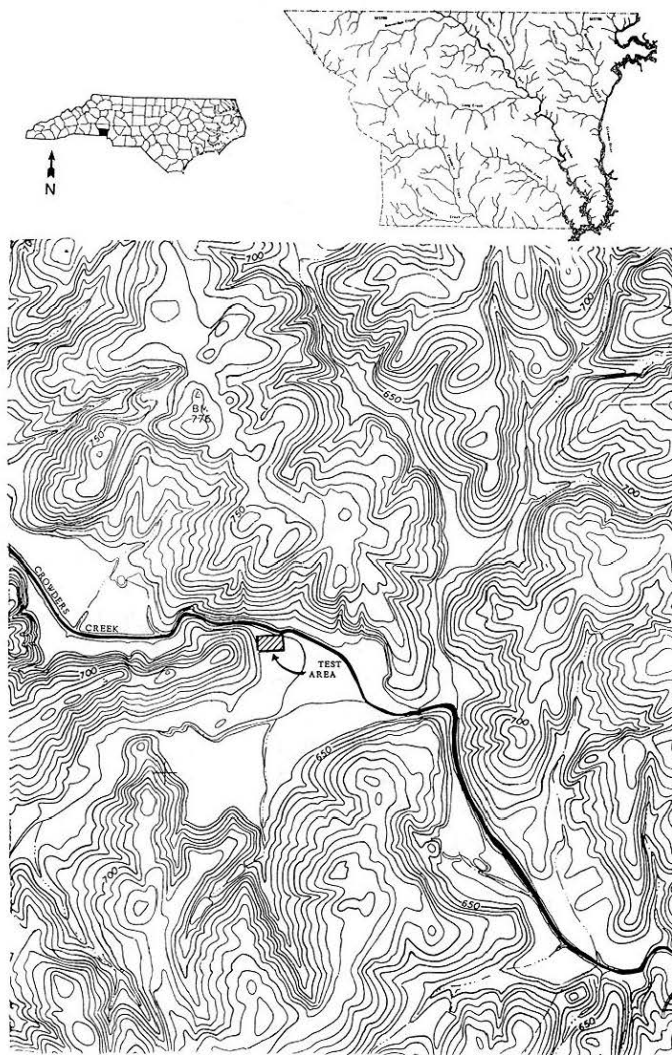


Figure 1. Crowders Creek Site Setting within the South-Central Piedmont Region of North Carolina (from *Gastonia South, NC-SC 7.5-minute series USGS Quadrangle*, Scale 1:24,000).

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The site occupies a broad, relatively level stretch of alluviated terrace on the south side of Crowders Creek which varies in elevation from 192-195 meters AMSL (above mean sea level). The main concentration of artifacts covers 2.5 hectares, or roughly the terrace crest.

The area surrounding the site is characteristic of the central portion of the Piedmont Physiographic Province (Fenneman 1938): smooth, slightly flattened ridges, sloping valleys, and gently graded streams. Local relief varies from 190 m AMSL at the confluence of South Fork Crowders and Crowders creeks, and 225-236 m AMSL on the surrounding ridges.

Soils and sediments within the site boundaries have been classified as Congaree silt loams which are occasionally flooded, well-drained, moderately acid soils, and sandy-clay loams of the Cecil and Gaston series (Woody 1981). Soil profiles obtained from auger tests in the central portion of the test area show (from the surface) 22-35 cm of medium to dark brown silt loam plowzone, overlying 35-55 cm of medium to light brown sediments that grade into pale tan or yellow sandy silts to a depth of at least 185 cm.

### Field Methods and Investigations

A 10 m grid was established within the 90 m by 140 m test area (Figure 2). Two fixed reference points for this grid, consisting of 150 cm sections of reinforcing rod set into concrete, were located in wooded areas to the west and north of the test grid. Elevations were taken from a permanent, central transit station with reference to a fixed datum with an assumed elevation of 194.0 m AMSL.

#### *Shovel Testing*

In May, 1985, shovel testing was conducted to determine the density and distribution of cultural materials within the designated test area (Pace n.d.). This strategy was used to estimate site boundaries and to make preliminary interpretations of artifact density within the site. Shovel tests were made at each grid point (i.e., 10 m intervals), and each test consisted of a 50 cm by 50 cm

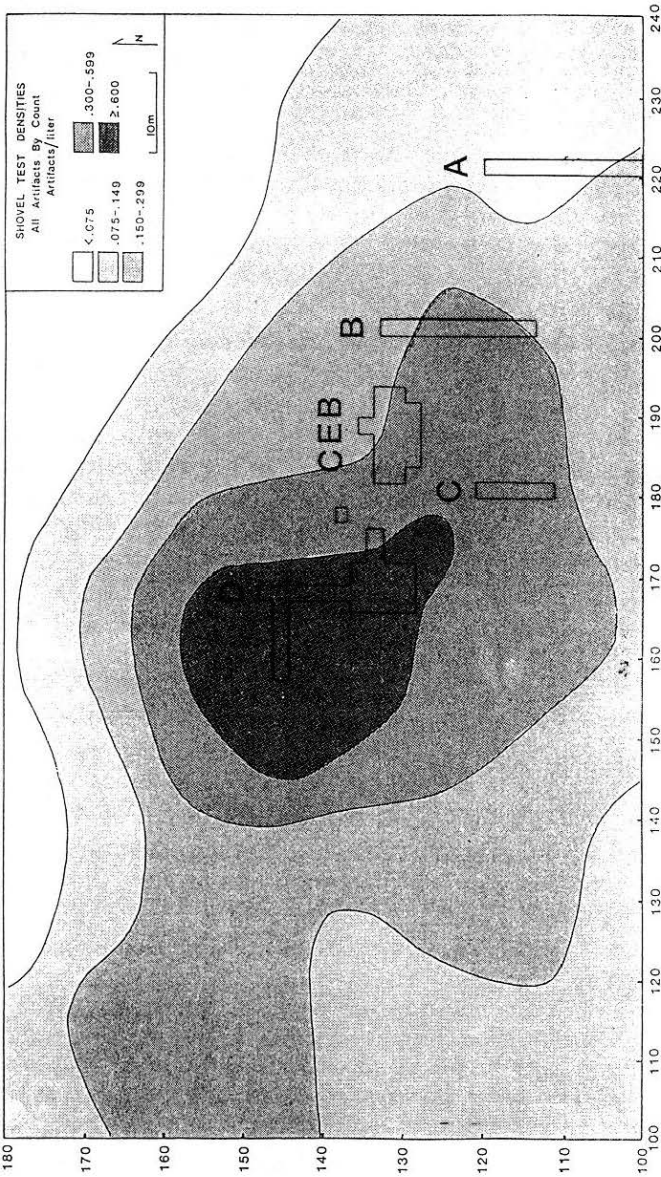


Figure 2. Placement of Test Excavations at the Crowders Creek Site  
Based on Shovel Test Artifact Densities.



## CROWDERS CREEK SITE

excavation from which 20 liters of soil was screened through .64 cm mesh to recover artifacts.

Next, artifact distribution maps were produced, with all recovered materials expressed as either the number of artifacts per liter or grams per liter. These maps show that the major artifact concentrations are located on the highest portion of the terrace and extend along the terrace crest toward the south and east. The distribution of recovered materials also suggests that the heavier fraction of materials, such as fire-cracked rock and possible grinding stones, have a somewhat different distribution with the highest concentration lying further to the east and south of the terrace crest.

### *Excavation Units and Trenches*

The placement of test units and trenches was guided primarily by information generated from the shovel testing (Figure 2). In 1985, four 2 m by 2 m units were opened to connect three of the 1983 squares. These were excavated in 10 cm levels until the base of plowzone was clearly identified and a standard 25% sample of fill was screened (Pace n.d.). In addition, four trenches (designated A through D) were excavated to the base of plowzone using a tractor with a 1.85 m wide box blade. These trenches were oriented with the grid and intersected areas of greatest artifact density.

Subsequently, in 1986, 12 additional 2 m by 2 m units in the central area of the site were excavated to the base of plowzone. Twenty-five percent of all plowed soil, as well as all feature fill, was water screened. Twenty-liter flotation samples also were taken from excavated levels and feature fill. The remaining plowzone soil was dry screened through .64 cm mesh. The south end of Trench D also was expanded in 1986.

### **Artifact Classes**

Lithic and ceramic artifacts were recovered from plowzone and feature contexts. Approximately ninety percent of all artifacts were recovered from the plowzone. Bone and carbonized plant remains were significant parts of several feature assemblages. In

particular, Features 12 and 13 contained over three kilograms of bone and 350 g of wood charcoal. More than 800 g of charred plant remains, primarily wood charcoal but including 350 g of corn cob from Features 39 and 40, were recovered. These quantities indicate the generally good state of preservation encountered in sub-plowzone contexts.

### *Lithic Artifacts*

Lithics (n=2,933) were the largest class (60% of the total) of artifacts recovered from the Crowders Creek site. A variety of chipped, ground, and pecked and pitted stone artifacts were recovered. These artifacts were further sub-divided into the following categories: projectile points/knives, small triangular projectile points, flake tools, cores, and debitage. A small number of soapstone sherds and two unidentified worked soapstone fragments also were found in the plowzone. Lithic raw materials from the site are classified into four groups based on visual inspections. These groups are quartz (54%), rhyolite (35%), unidentified metavolcanic (9%), and chert (1.5%). Of all lithic artifacts recovered, 2,924 (99.7%) represent chipped stone tools and the by-products of their manufacture. Projectile points are summarized in a descriptive typology (Table 1) based on morphological attributes.

The projectile point/knife group represents 54% of all chipped stone tools. Sixty-seven of these artifacts are sufficiently complete and are described in Table 1. Two of these artifacts are from Features 12 and 13. A third small artifact with roughly parallel sides, from Feature 13, is a fine-grained, thermally-altered chert. The remaining member of the group is a fine-grained, black metamorphic biface with incurvate edges and deeper edge retouch which has produced a slightly serrated appearance. This biface has an impact fracture which has removed the tip but it appears to have been somewhat longer in relationship to its width than the other members of this group. Three of the seven points in this group exhibit possible impact fractures.

A second group includes small triangular projectile points (n=23) that have been bifacially or unifacially worked, but where less than half of the flake surface has been altered. All of these

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Table 1. Excavated Bifaces from the Crowders Creek Site.

Biface Type	L	W	TH	MAT
Untyped Early Archaic	52.0	34.1	7.2	Q
Kirk Corner Notched	45.6	21.2	8.5	Q
Stanly Stemmed	-	38.0	7.8	OMV
	-	38.0	9.9	OMV
Morrow Mountain I	44.4	23.3	11.6	Q
	36.4	25.2	10.7	OMV
	-	27.5	9.1	OMV
	-	26.5	7.4	OMV
	36.8	21.1	11.7	OMV
	42.0	27.6	12.0	OMV
	37.2	23.9	10.4	OMV
	34.5	25.6	10.1	OMV
	-	11.9	8.6	OMV
	-	21.0	8.3	OMV
	32.4	22.6	2.5	OMV
	29.5	20.0	8.1	OMV
Morrow Mountain II	39.0	18.7	6.9	Q
	-	28.9	11.0	Q
	-	16.8	9.3	Q
	36.1	19.4	6.4	OMV
	40.8	19.3	6.2	OMV
	-	30.5	13.9	Q
	-	25.4	9.4	Q
	-	22.4	8.4	OMV
Guilford	44.2	18.4	10.2	Q
	51.6	19.4	10.0	OMV

Table 1 (Continued).

Biface Type	L	W	TH	MAT
Savannah River Stemmed	58.0	41.1	13.4	Q
	-	33.6	10.8	RY
	-	39.3	10.0	OMV
	63.9	32.3	14.3	Q
	-	40.0	16.7	Q
	-	43.6	11.3	RY
	-	41.8	12.9	RY
	-	42.7	16.5	RY
	-	47.8	13.0	RY
	-	42.0	12.8	RY
Small Savannah River	-	-	5.7	Q
	-	31.1	10.5	Q
	62.6	30.4	13.6	Q
	55.4	47.0	9.9	OMV
	-	40.7	12.0	OMV
	-	-	-	RY
	51.9	39.9	10.5	RY
Untyped Archaic	-	36.5	13.7	Q
	-	32.9	16.8	OMV
	-	47.0	10.8	OMV
	-	-	7.2	RY
	58.5	27.6	9.6	RY
	35.8	21.5	7.8	OMV
	31.2	28.4	7.1	RY

## CROWDERS CREEK SITE

Table 1 (Continued).

Biface Type	L	W	TH	MAT
Untyped Early Woodland	-	34.7	12.8	Q
	56.9	34.4	10.3	Q
	-	37.3	10.9	Q
	-	36.9	11.6	Q
	-	38.4	8.2	CH
	-	32.3	14.9	Q
	-	33.8	8.7	RY
Large Woodland Triangular	48.9	33.7	9.2	RY
	-	26.2	11.0	OMV
	49.7	28.4	12.5	OMV
	48.1	24.0	8.1	RY
Yadkin Large Triangular	-	25.8	8.3	RY
Woodland Triangular	-	17.2	5.6	RY
Untyped Small Woodland	-	-	6.4	OMV
Stemmed	-	16.8	7.2	OMV
Caraway	-	23.1	7.0	RY
	33.3	14.1	10.6	RY
Fea. 13	-	10.8	3.5	CH
Fea. 12	20.8	13.9	5.9	Q
Fea. 12	21.4	13.0	5.4	Q
	-	15.4	4.7	Q
Fea. 13	22.2	12.5	4.5	RY
Fea. 13	19.8	14.1	3.0	RY
Fea. 13	17.9	12.0	3.7	RY
	-	16.1	3.9	RY
	-	15.6	4.5	RY
	-	11.2	3.2	RY

Table 1 (Continued).

Biface Type	L	W	TH	MAT
Hillsboro	23.0	20.8	5.7	RY
	17.0	14.7	3.6	Q
	19.1	17.1	6.4	Q
	24.6	20.0	5.9	RY
	21.4	19.3	5.0	RY
	18.8	17.0	3.9	RY
	14.2	14.3	3.1	RY
Randolph	-	16.1	11.3	RY
	-	15.6	6.1	RY
	35.1	15.4	8.7	RY
	33.0	12.7	6.4	RY
	43.9	18.7	9.0	RY
	29.9	16.1	17.5	RY
	34.9	37.2	7.9	RY
	24.7	14.2	7.1	RY

Key: L = Length from Tip to Base

W = Width of Shoulder

TH = Thickness

RY = Rhyolite

Q = Quartz

OMV = Other Metavolcanic

CH = Chert

All Measurements are in Millimeters.

## CROWDERS CREEK SITE

are made of rhyolite or vein quartz. One point apparently was made from the snapped tip of a larger biface. In at least six cases, the point was made on a previously weathered flake, presumably removed from the site's surface. Four of these points are from Feature 13.

Flake tools (n=33) include both unifacially retouched and utilized flakes. Two unifacial end scrapers (one from a feature) and a small drill also were recovered. Utilized flakes were recognized on the basis of a distinct pattern of adjacent flake removals (Pace n.d.).

All of the cores (n=8) identified in the lithic assemblage are made of quartz. Seven specimens are of vein quartz and one large core is of translucent crystal quartz. Five of the cores exhibit a random flake removal pattern. Three of these had only one or two flakes removed. Two other specimens are fragments of large bifacial cores. All cores came from the plowzone or surface.

Debitage (n=2,728) is the by-product of chipped stone tool manufacture, use, and maintenance. Ninety-four percent of alldebitage was recovered from the plowzone or surface. The majority of these specimens are small interior and bifacial thinning flakes.

### *Ceramic Artifacts*

A total of 2,327 ceramic artifacts were recovered from the Crowders Creek site. Most (89%, n=2,072) of these came from plowzone contexts and usually (63%) were less than two centimeters in diameter. The remainder (n=255) came from feature contexts (primarily Features 12 and 13). Potsherds and other ceramic artifacts from feature contexts were better preserved (i.e., less weathered) and larger.

Because of the small size of the most vessel fragments, analysis was restricted to the individual sherd, emphasizing attributes of paste, surface finish, and decoration. Even so, it was necessary to classify 56% (n=1,308) of the sherds as residual (i.e., attributes such as surface treatment and decoration were not observable because of weathering or small size).

The primary distinctions made in the paste characteristics of vessel fragments from the Crowders Creek site focus on the



distribution of mineral inclusions. Almost all sherds examined in detail have a fine, relatively porous, clay matrix. The presence of both sand and mica within this matrix has been tentatively interpreted as naturally occurring inclusions with overall variability related to variation in local clay sources. The most common mineral added to the clay body was quartz, primarily crushed vein quartz. Other additives included fragments of unidentified metavolcanic rock, soapstone, and sherds. Paste is described primarily as being crushed quartz tempered, medium sand tempered, or grit tempered. Potsherds are summarized below by surface treatment category (Table 2).

Fabric-impressed sherds have exteriors which exhibit a distinctive pattern of widely spaced warp elements and closely spaced weft elements, referred to as "wicker" fabric marked (cf. Coe 1964). The 15 sherds (Figure 3a) bearing this design contain crushed quartz temper; however, the density of inclusions is less than that reported for other coarse quartz tempered, fabric marked types such as *Swannanoa Fabric Impressed* (Keel 1976), *Watts Bar Fabric Marked* (Lafferty 1981), and *Yadkin Fabric-Marked* (Coe 1964:30).

Thirty-eight cord marked potsherds were recovered (Figure 3b). Although these sherds exhibit some variability in the style and execution of the stamp, they can be divided into two general groups: fine, widely spaced, over stamped; and fine-to-medium, closely spaced.

Sixteen brushed sherds (Figure 3c), with multiple, linear impressions of variable width and depth, were recovered. Most brush marks are light and of uneven width; however, on three sherds the effect is that of even, multiple incisions (Figure 3d).

Nine sherds that exhibited deep, closely spaced knot impressions were classified as net impressed (Figure 3e). This surface treatment is similar to descriptions of the *Dan River Net Impressed* type (Coe 1952, Wilson 1984); however, all but one of these sherds have a crushed quartz tempered paste. Sherds are 6-10 mm thick and have poorly smoothed interiors.

One hundred and seventeen complicated stamped sherds with well defined stamp elements were recovered. The small size (i.e., <2 cm diameter) of these sherds prohibits characterization of the

# CROWDERS CREEK SITE

Table 2. Ceramic Artifacts Recovered from 1985-1986 Excavations at the Crowders Creek Site.

Surface Treatment	Crushed Quartz		Temper Medium Sand		Grit		Total
	PZ	Fea.	PZ	Fea.	PZ	Fea.	
Curv. Comp. Stamped	-	-	15	5	1	-	21
Rect. Comp. Stamped	-	-	4	-	2	-	6
Unid. Comp. Stamped	3	-	66	4	14	-	90
Cob Impressed	1	1	-	22	1	-	25
Burnished Plain	1	6	28	40	3	4	82
Smoothed Plain	23	-	388	17	182	20	621
Cord Marked	11	1	11	1	11	3	38
Fabric Impressed	6	1	8	-	-	-	15
Indeterminate	7	2	26	2	31	5	73
Incised	-	-	15	-	1	-	16
Brushed	3	-	6	3	3	1	16
Check Stamped	1	-	4	1	-	-	6
Simple Stamped	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Net Impressed	5	3	1	-	-	-	9

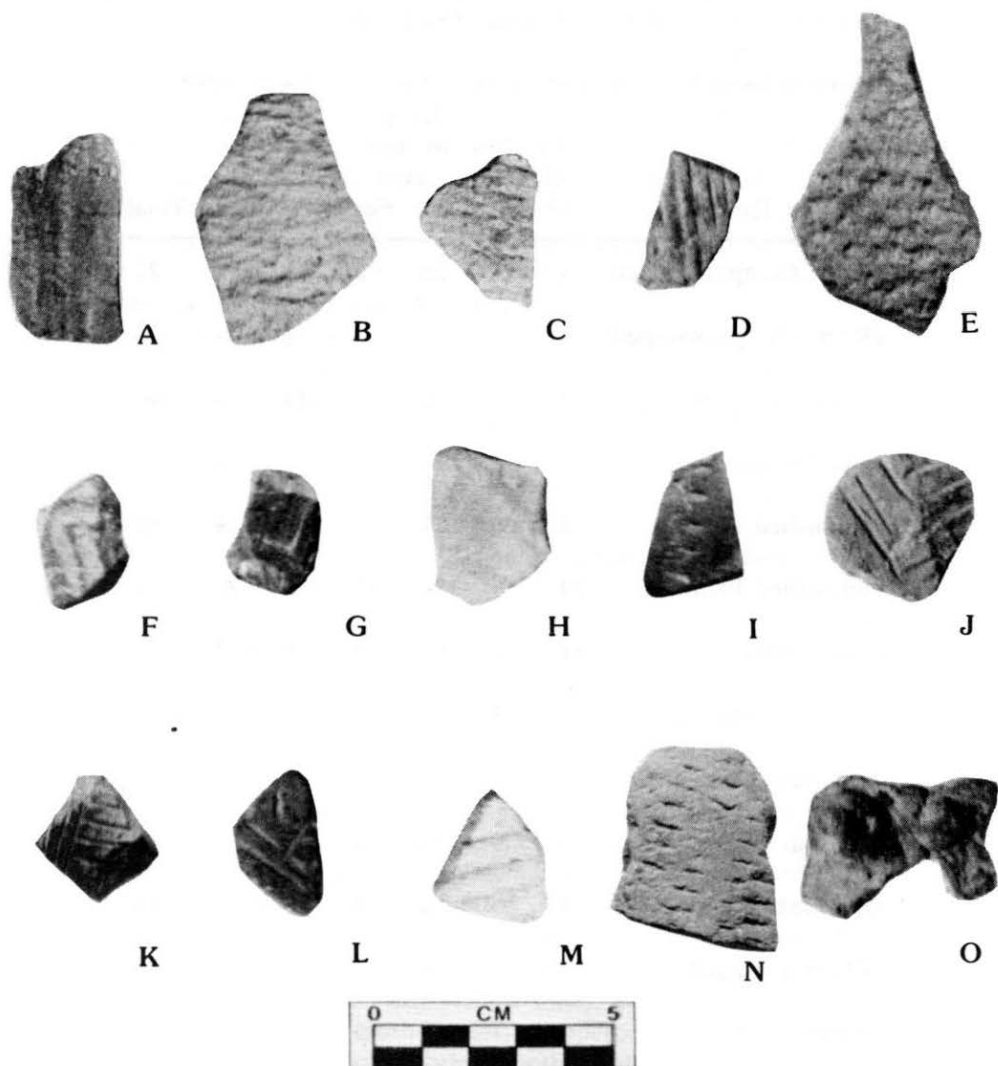


Figure 3. Potsherds Recovered During Test Excavations and Surface Collections at the Crowders Creek Site.

## CROWDERS CREEK SITE

overall stamp designs; however, both rectilinear ( $n=6$ ) and curvilinear ( $n=21$ ) elements are represented. Three sherds exhibit a nested chevron motif (Figure 3f), five show portions of a rectangular block or cross motif (Figure 3g), and the remainder show portions of single or nested curved lines (Figure 3h). One rimsherd from Posthole 41 exhibits a curvilinear stamp which extends to the vessel lip. This sherd has an excurve rim with a thinned lip and a burnished interior.

Thirteen incised sherds, with designs that cover much of the exterior surface, were recovered (Figure 3i). All are executed on plain or burnished plain surfaces, and are portions of zoned decorations on otherwise undecorated vessels. Design elements include nested chevrons (Figure 3j), blocks filled with parallel incisions (Figure 3k), diagonal and perpendicular incisions (Figure 3l), and parallel incisions (Figure 3m). One sherd from a thin, well burnished, hemispherical bowl exhibits a lightly incised pattern of a nested circle connected to three parallel incised lines. Two rimsherds, with straight rim profiles and squared lips, have a nested chevron pattern beneath the lip.

The distinctive group of cob impressed sherds ( $n=25$ ) is characterized by roughly parallel rows of punctations formed by the cupules of a dried corn cob, presumably applied as a roulette (Figure 3n). All but one of the cob impressed sherds were recovered from Features 12 and 13. One rimsherd has an excurve rim with a thinned, rounded lip, while another rimsherd suggests a straight rim profile with an everted lip.

Smoothed plain ( $n=621$ ) and burnished plain ( $n=82$ ) sherds comprise the largest surface treatment categories within the total assemblage. Smoothed plain sherds are variable in the completeness of surface smoothing. Lip decorations include small reed punctates ( $n=3$ ), linear punctates oriented vertically or diagonally on lip exteriors ( $n=5$ ), and small, "finger-end" punctates ( $n=1$ ). Rim decorations which do not extend to the lip include lines of small reed punctates ( $n=2$ ), linear punctates ( $n=3$ ), small, finely executed applique rosettes ( $n=1$ ) (Figure 3o), and small, circular, flattened applique discs. Shoulder decorations are limited to vertical, linear punctations ( $n=2$ ). Lip profiles are generally

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flat, and burnished sherds are typically tan, black, or a combination of the two.

Vessel forms that appear to be represented by the sherd sample include large jars with excurved rims and hemispherical bowls. The occurrence of a few very small rimsherds suggests that small, thin-walled bowls also may have been manufactured.

### Features

Two hundred and thirty-one sub-plowzone disturbances of probable cultural origin, including 102 postholes and 34 other pits or features, were recorded in the test squares and trenches. All were identified at the base of the plowzone. A sample of 30 features were completely excavated. These have been provisionally classified into several functional or morphological types. All feature fill was processed by flotation. Detailed analyses of plant and animal materials from features are currently underway.

### *Human Burials*

Three human burials were found at the Crowders Creek site and include: Burial 1 (Feature 1), salvaged in 1983 (Moore, n.d.); Burial 2 (Feature 4), excavated in 1985 (Reichs n.d.a.); and Burial 3 (Feature 9), excavated in 1986 (Reichs n.d.b.). All were placed in large circular-to-subrectangular pits, with regular, well defined edges, that contained relatively sterile fill. The light colored fill, general absence of artifacts or midden, and well defined pit edges are unifying attributes, and suggest deep excavations that were quickly backfilled with freshly removed soil.

All three burials represent primary flesh inhumations in simple pits. The pits are similar in overall size and shape, being generally cylindrical at the top and belled out at the bottom with no evidence of internal structures (i.e., interior chambers, enclosures, coverings, etc.). Burial 1 was flexed on the right side, oriented north, and facing west or southwest (Moore, n.d.). Burial 2 (Figure 4) was flexed, lying on the left side, oriented north, and facing east (Pace n.d.). In both cases the skeletal material was in fair condition. No diagnostic artifacts were recovered in primary association with these inhumations.

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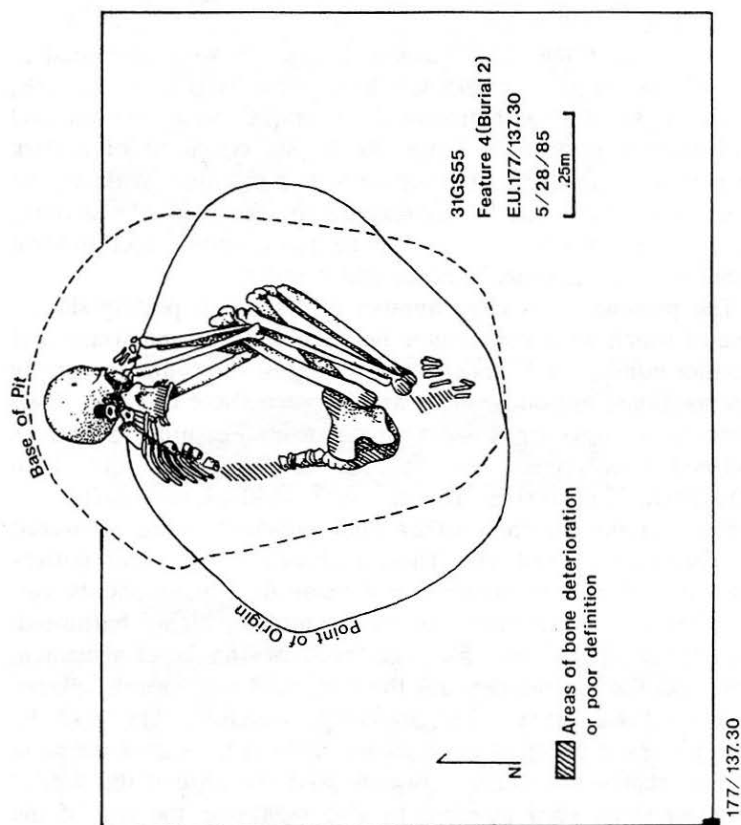


Figure 4. Burial 2, Feature 4, Showing Orientation and Pit Outline.

Burial 2 contained an adult male, at least 45 years of age at death and possibly much older, and exhibited a variety of age-related skeletal and dental changes. The skull was notable for the presence of cranial deformation (i.e., the flattening of the forehead at birth for asthetic reasons).

#### *Refuse-Filled Pits*

Two refuse-filled pits, Features 12 and 13, were excavated in the Central Excavation Block. Both were large, circular pits, cylindrical to slightly bell-shaped in profile, with smooth and relatively flat bottoms. Fill in both pits consisted of a dark organically-stained silt that contained numerous artifacts, an abundance of carbonized plant remains (primarily wood charcoal), and a large amount of animal bone representing deer, several species of small mammals, birds, and reptiles.

The presence of a large number of diagnostic pottery sherds, some of which were conjoinable between features and strata, and a smaller number of diagnostic lithics, suggest the contemporaneity of depositional episodes within and between these two pits. Two radiocarbon assays on wood charcoal from Features 12 and 13 produced uncorrected dates of  $520 \pm 70$  years: A.D. 1430 (Beta-20945), and  $600 \pm 70$  years: A.D. 1350 (Beta-13287).

Five ceramic artifacts other than potsherds were recovered from Features 12 and 13. These included: two circular pottery discs, each 25 mm in diameter and made from plain sherds; two burnished pipe fragments; and one complete, highly burnished, zoomorphic pipe (Figure 5). The "eyes" on this latter specimen, located on the bottom beneath the bowl, and the "mouth," placed on the underside of the stem, are carefully incised. The "nostrils" are represented by small punctations. Incised lines near the stem end may represent strings of ornaments worn around the "neck." A row of small reed punctations also highlights the rim of the bowl.

#### *Cob-Filled Pits*

Six small, roughly cylindrical, cob-filled pits were excavated. These pits contained dark, charcoal enriched sediments, numerous fragments of charred corn cobs, and a smaller amount of wood



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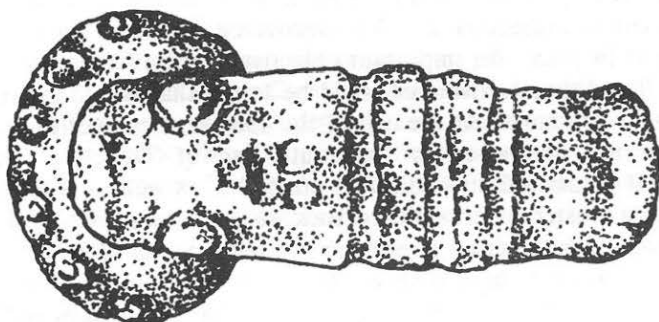
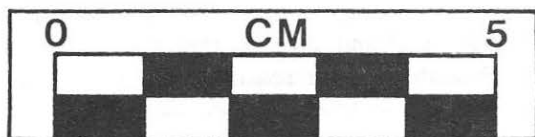


Figure 5. Ceramic Smoking Pipe Recovered from Feature 12.

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charcoal (from the bottom of the pit). A small number of lithic and ceramic artifacts are recovered from these features.

Southeastern native groups burned corn cobs in similar pits for a variety of purposes, including hide smoking (Binford 1967), sealing of ceramic vessel surfaces (Holmes 1903, Binford 1967), and the control of insect pests (Shapiro 1985). A single radiocarbon assay on wood charcoal from Feature 39 produced an uncorrected date of  $350 \pm 50$  years: A.D. 1600 (Beta-13917). The features in this category may be associated with an enclosed structure.

### *Large Shallow Pit*

One large, circular, shallow feature was excavated during 1985. This feature contained a dark homogeneous fill, a small amount of carbonized plant material (primarily fragments of wood charcoal), several highly fragmented pieces of bone and shell, a box turtle carapace, and a small quantity of lithic and ceramic artifacts. A slight reddening of the pit walls is interpreted as evidence of heating and suggests that this feature may have been used as a hearth or other roasting pit.

### *Postholes*

A large number ( $n=67$ ) of postholes (5 to 25 cm in diameter), possible postholes ( $n=44$ ), and small soil stains ( $n=12$ ) were encountered, primarily within Trench D. An arc of postholes (14-16 cm in diameter) also was uncovered at the south end of Trench D in 1985. An important objective of the 1986 season was to see if additional postholes could be found that would assist in defining a structure. At the end of the 1986 season, overlay maps of postholes uncovered at the south end of Trench D were examined (Moss n.d.). Additional postholes, as well as cob-filled pits and a cluster of fire-cracked rock, suggest the presence of an oval-to-circular structure approximately seven meters (N-S) by six meters (E-W). A bark covered, bent pole house with a central hearth is described by Lawson (1937:187) for the Indians of the North Carolina Piedmont. The size, depth, and pattern of these postholes is consistent with this description.

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Excavation data reflect substantial variation in size (5 to 25 cm) and depth (2 to about 90 cm) of posthole features, some of which barely extend below plowzone. One large posthole, Posthole 41, apparently contained at least three large posts, either sequentially or simultaneously. This also was the only posthole that contained artifacts.

### *Other Features*

Several (n=13) small-to-medium sized features were recorded which cannot be ascribed to a particular feature class on the basis of their appearance or associations. This group includes several fire-cracked rock clusters, several small irregular features, root molds, or rodent burrows, and two areas of reddened soil (Features 29 and 30) which may be the remains of hearths or other heating facilities.

### **Summary and Conclusions**

The 1985-1986 excavation project at the Crowders Creek site recovered data to address, at least in part, each of the research goals originally outlined. Several cultural-historical components, Early Archaic through Late Woodland, were identified on the basis of lithic and ceramic analysis. All of these materials, except for a few Late Woodland period artifacts, were recovered from the plowzone. Excavated features were dated to the Late Woodland period by radiocarbon dating and artifact attribute analyses. The Late Woodland component is confined to the low crest of the terrace, between Crowders Creek and a shallow swale to the south, that covers an area of approximately two hectares.

Artifacts are confined largely to the plowzone and a number of features intrusive from that level. No unplowed middens or living surfaces were encountered. The majority of features recorded were in areas predicted to have the highest densities of culturally modified materials. Trench D contained abundant evidence of postholes and other structural remains suggestive of domestic facilities. Features encountered within the Central Excavation Block, located within the area characterized by the highest densities of fire-cracked and other rough rock, and

somewhat lower artifact densities, suggest an area primarily utilized for mortuary activity.

At least one structure appears to be indicated by a posthole cluster in the southern portion of Trench D. It is represented by a small rectangle of large posts (suggestive of the central support structure for a large, enclosed building), a cluster of fire-cracked rock suggestive of a hearth, and an arc of postholes suggestive of the outer wall. A cob-filled pit, Feature 39, is probably an interior feature of this structure. Pottery sherds recovered in association with several of these features and postholes, and a radiocarbon date of A.D. 1600 for Feature 39, suggest that this structure was built and occupied during the Late Woodland Period.

Lithic artifacts recovered from the plowzone within the 90 m by 140 m test area indicate that a number of groups occupied the site over time. Making allowances for small sample size and differences in recovery techniques, this distribution indicates that the Central Excavation Block area was a focus of Early and Middle Archaic period activity (represented by 12 of the 16 specimens with a specific provenience) while subsequent activity was more widespread. The only temporally diagnostic lithic artifacts encountered in unmixed context are small triangular points from Features 12 and 13.

Pottery from the Crowders Creek site appears to follow general trends established for other areas of the Piedmont during the Later Woodland period (Coe 1964, Wilson 1984). These trends include the gradual reduction of temper size through time and a general shift from fabric, cord, and net-impressed surfaces to the smoothed, burnished, and complicated stamped surfaces that appear on grit tempered pastes of late prehistoric, protohistoric, and historic times. The design and execution of incising on plain and burnished pottery also is late. Similar design elements appear in late Lamar Phase ceramics in northern Georgia (Hally 1979, Hally and Rudolph 1986, Wauchope 1966) and, less elaborately, in the protohistoric Dan River phase of the central North Carolina Piedmont (Coe 1952, Wilson 1984).

The association of cob impressed pottery in Features 12 and 13 is notable, as is the general absence of complicated stamped

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pottery. In fact, complicated stamped pottery is relatively rare within the ceramic assemblage. Ceramic pastes represented at the site do not resemble the distinctive, heavily sand tempered Pee Dee wares which have been described as granular or sugary (Coe 1964; Reid 1967). The combination of burnishing with intentional smudging, as observed in the Crowders Creek sample, is more characteristic of historic Catawba pottery (Baker 1972).

Pottery attributes such as burnishing and complicated stamping do not appear in other parts of the Piedmont until the Late Woodland or protohistoric periods. Based on the analysis of a small, presumably late prehistoric assemblage from 311D41 in Iredell County which included burnished and complicated stamp designs (Wilson 1984), and the present study, these traits already were present in the central Catawba valley by the late prehistoric period. A date of A.D. 1350 for the ceramic material from Feature 13 and associated Feature 12 at Crowders Creek, which included the best examples of the decorated plain and burnished wares, supports this contention.

Based on the three radiocarbon dates--A.D. 1350, A.D. 1430, and A.D. 1600--and diagnostic artifact associations, features excavated during the 1985 and 1986 field seasons can be dated to the middle and end of the Late Woodland period. In the Central Excavation Area it has been noted that the two refuse filled pits, Features 12 and 13, are contemporaneous and have been dated to the mid-fourteenth century. No temporal or cultural association can be directly inferred from the group of burials noted at the site. However, some cranial deformation was noted. The Waxhaw (Lawson 1937:30) and likely their neighbors the Catawba practiced cranial deformation, therefore suggesting an additional link between the prehistoric and historic populations living in the Catawba River valley.

### Acknowledgments

A number of individuals and groups contributed to the completion of the field phase of this project. Members of the Gaston County Archaeological Society (GCAS), particularly Sidney and Blair Rayfield, Steve Forrest, Jackay Weisner, and R. B. Jenkins, with the assistance of Schiele Museum Director Alan Stout and Program Coordinator David Cone, started fieldwork in 1983. David Moore,

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Western Office, Division of Archives and History, assisted with excavating Burial 1 and writing the first Survey and Planning Grant proposal in 1984, and has been a friend of the project in the intervening years. Bob Pace and Janet Levy conducted the first field season with UNC-Charlotte students, volunteers, Rita Kenion and her family, and GCAS members. They accomplished much when the temperature was hot and the ground dry and hard. In 1986 more field school students from UNC-Charlotte, more volunteers, and I returned to the project. Bob Pace completed a draft report and artifact analysis during 1985-1986. Additional processing and some lithic analysis was completed by Jon Taylor who spent many hours in the lab as well as the field. Kay Moss completed a preliminary analysis on the postholes uncovered during the two field seasons, and Suzanne Simmons described the distribution and characteristics of cob-filled pits. Ann Tippitt shared her extensive experience with lithics by analyzing materials recovered during the 1986 season. Bob Pace drafted Figures 1, 2, and 4, and Theresa Armour drafted Figure 5. Ann M. Poulos, Curator of Collections at the Schiele Museum, assisted in procuring curation supplies and space, and spent many hours looking out for the project. Bob Pace and Janet Levy made many suggestions during the course of this project, but any errors of interpretation or omission are the responsibility of the author.

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## THE TRADING PATH TO THE INDIANS

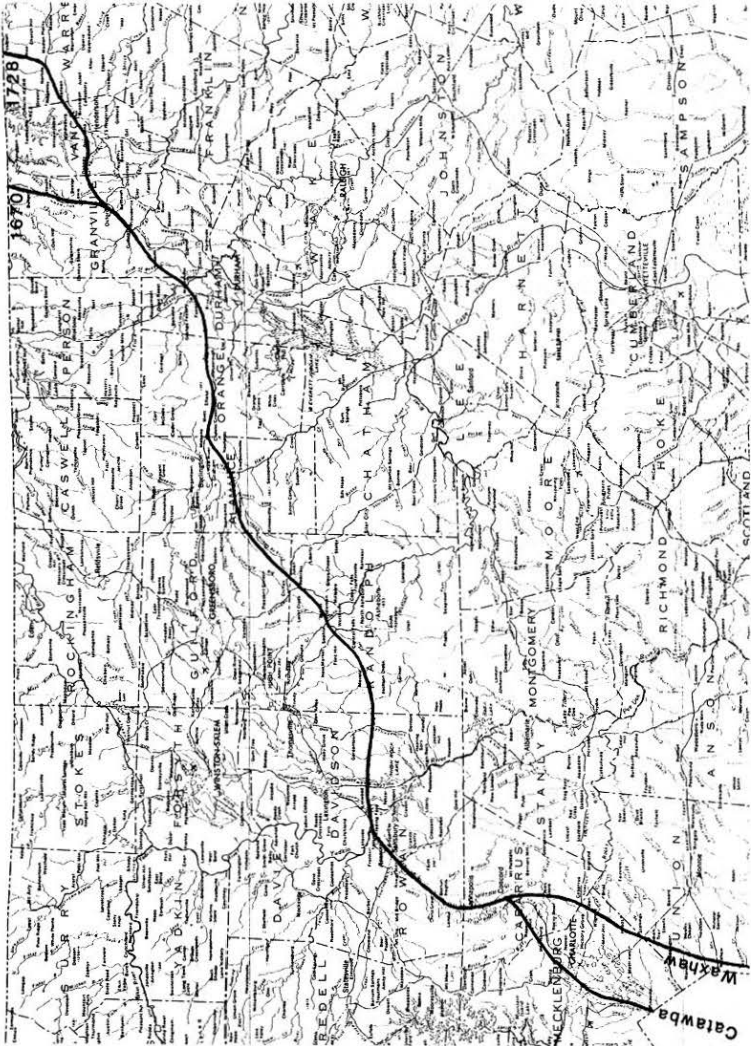
by  
Douglas L. Rights

[Editor's Note: This paper was first published in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp. 403-426, 1931, and subsequently reprinted in the *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1935. It is reprinted here with the kind permission of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History.]

In the preparation of this paper the writer telephoned to the local office of the American Automobile Association and asked for the most direct route over hard surface from Petersburg, Virginia, to Augusta, Georgia, which would lead within easy reach of the most populous trade centers between the two cities. It was a question any traveling salesman might ask. Instructions were as follows: Within North Carolina, National Highway 1 to Henderson; thence on state highways, 57 to Oxford, 75 to Durham, 10 to Salisbury, 15 to Charlotte and beyond.

The young man in the office did not know that he was prescribing travel over the oldest and one of the most historic highways across North Carolina. Though there have been some slight modifications due principally to connection of railway lines and to development of trade centers on branch highways, the road runs much along a course traveled for centuries. The object of this paper is to show that this highway is a development of the Trading Path to the Indians, and incidentally to offer solution for the problem concerning the route of the first explorers who ventured into central Carolina.

Within this State the road prescribed extends approximately 250 miles, now marked as a portion of five state highways, from the Roanoke River region southwest to the Catawba River basin. It cuts nearly through the geographical center of the State. The railways follow closely: the Seaboard Air Line, and the main lines of the Southern both east and west, and north and south. The southeastern air mail and passenger service covers this route. More than half a million people, or about one in every five of



Trading Path to the Indians, Traced on a Map of Present-Day North Carolina.

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population, live within a short drive of this highway. For an agricultural state it forms an industrial backbone. A large proportion of the institutions for higher learning are situated on or near it.

During the Civil War this was an important thoroughfare. President George Washington traveled a portion of it on his southern tour in 1791. Lord Cornwallis and his army were on the road in 1781 when the high water at Trading Ford forced a detour. In 1771 the Battle of Alamance was fought near by.

This was the gateway for pioneer settlers. Older settlements of the interior such as Charlotte, Salisbury, Winston-Salem, Greensboro, and Hillsboro were located on the road or in its vicinity. When Spangenberg,<sup>1</sup> in 1752, reached the Catawba River west of Salisbury, he recorded in his travel notes: "Hitherto we have been on the Trading Path where we could find at least one house a day where food could be bought; but from here we were to turn into the pathless forest." The family of Daniel Boone settled on the Yadkin River north of the Trading Path. President Andrew Johnson, as a youth in the tailor shop at Raleigh, and President James K. Polk, as a student at Chapel Hill, were located not far from the ancient road. From the Waxhaw settlement came President Andrew Jackson. The ancestors of President Herbert Hoover were settlers in the Uwharrie region.

Yet today this highway bears no commemorative name. No monument tells its story save a modest shaft that recalls eventful history at a river crossing, Trading Ford. We search in vain for its legend on maps current in this generation. No tourist, history-hungry, beholds it starred on a road map; no school boy eager for romantic traditions finds it charted in geography text book. If we are interested in recalling this lost trail, we must in the fashion of the archaeologist dig beneath the surface.

The Alamance County soil survey map of 1901 designates a road leading westward beyond Alamance Creek called Old Salisbury Road. This is probably copied from older maps of the county. The Mouzon map of North Carolina, dated 1775, and the Collet map issued five years earlier describe plainly the same road marked "Trading Path." On the line of this road today older residents of Randolph County remember it as the old trail to

Trading Ford on the Yadkin River. The divergence of this road from the hard surface highway leads in a more direct line from Haw River to Salisbury. As the ancient maps show, the old trail branched to reach the important settlements of Wachovia and New Garden that had been established some distance to the north. Along this branch, especially since the extension of the railway lines to meet the Danville road, there was a rapid absorption of travel that has continued. This shift may have been responsible for the neglect of the central portion of the original trail as a popular thoroughfare.

An itinerary drawn from these maps lays clearly before us the ancient trail. From Roanoke River the road passes over Tar, Flat, and Little rivers to Hillsborough; thence to the Haw Fields and across Haw River not far from the present town of Swepsonville; there are two arms of the next stage: the upper arm across Little Alamance and Alamance creeks, styled the Trading Path, and the lower bending south around the hills, called the Western Trading Path; thence across Pole Cat Creek and Deep River a short distance above their confluence, near the present town of Randleman, skirting the Back Creek Mountains near Asheboro of today, and through the Carraway Mountains beyond, crossing Carraway Creek; beyond the stream designated Wharce, known as Uwharrie River, it branches toward the settlements to the north, while the Trading Path so marked continues across Abbotts Creek and over the island in the Yadkin River at Trading Ford; across Crane Creek near Salisbury the road is again marked Trading Path and continues over Buffalo Creek to Charlottesville, extending to the Catawba settlement, a location near the mouth of Sugar Creek marked in quadrangular outline and inscribed "Catawbaw Nation-144000 acres," including the village "Catawbaw Town."

The Collet map of 1770 is doubtless the basis for the Mouzon map. The former had been prepared largely from information gathered by William Churton,<sup>2</sup> Lord Granville's chief surveyor, who was thoroughly familiar with the Trading Path country. The description of the Trading Path on these two maps is almost identical.

The Mitchell map of 1755 shows only two roads in the piedmont area. Though not named, the Trading Path is outlined

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from Virginia to Georgia and is intersected within the limits of North Carolina by a single road. The intersection occurs between Deep River and Uwharrie River where the Cape Fear Road of the Collet map extended north through the Wachovia settlement which had been started in 1753.

The usefulness of the Trading Path to the incoming settlers is shown by the journey of Bishop Spangenberg<sup>3</sup> in 1752. With William Churton the Surveyor of the colony and several other companions Spangenberg started at Edenton, journeyed west to the Blue Ridge, crossed the mountains and returned, making his selection of land for settlement in the region of which Winston-Salem is now the center, this tract later called Wachovia. His journey west followed the Trading Path from near the present town of Warrenton to Trading Ford on the Yadkin. He furnished a travel schedule for the most part of the way and the mileage is helpful in tracing locations:

Our journey from	
John Sally to Edcock . . . . .	15 miles
Edcock to Patrick Bogin's . . . . .	15 miles
Bogin's to Sennett . . . . .	8 miles
Sennett to Maprin . . . . .	18 miles
Maprin to Haw River . . . . .	8 miles
Haw River to Dutchman's . . . . .	15 miles
Dutchman's to Reed's at Polecat . . . . .	18 miles
Reed's to Rich's on Caraway . . . . .	22 miles
Rich's to Smith's . . . . .	26 miles
Smith's to Atkin . . . . .	6 miles.

In order to check the locations on the central portion of the Trading Path we may start at Trading Ford on the Yadkin and follow this schedule. The six miles to Smith's bring us to the neighborhood of Abbotts Creek; twenty-six miles from Smith's to Rich's reach Caraway Creek; twenty-two miles from Rich's on Caraway to Reed's cross Deep River and Polecat Creek near Randleman; eighteen miles from Reed's at Polecat to Dutchman's extend to the ridge between Stinking Quarter or Stinking Water and Alamance Creek; fifteen miles from Dutchman's to Haw River cross the two forks of Alamance and run to the ford near Swepsonville; eight miles from Haw River to Maprin or Mecpern locate the Haw Fields road to Mebane, the name recognized in

the two varied spellings; eighteen miles from Mepern to Sennet cross Eno River, run through the neighborhood of Hillsboro and eight miles beyond to Sinnot's Mill of the old maps; the remaining thirty miles of schedule continue the Trading Path.

By 1767 the Wachovia settlement had become an important trading center. The Trading Path was useful, as we have seen, in providing means of travel for the surveyors who were seeking a location for the Moravians. Meanwhile three towns, Bethabara, Bethania, and Salem had been established on the Wachovia tract. In the year 1767, when roads from these towns were being built or improved, the colonists decided upon a new road from Salem to the Cape Fear. The Wachovia diary<sup>4</sup> records: "The petitions being granted, Loesch went to Salem Dec. 28th and swore in the Jury appointed to run the road from Salem by way of Abbots Creek, to the Huware and the Trading Path."

The Rev. George Soelle,<sup>5</sup> a home mission evangelist of the Moravian settlement, made extensive preaching excursions in the years 1771-1773. He included the Uwharrie and Haw River neighborhoods in his tours and recorded interesting information concerning the settlers along this old road. His journey of 1772 led him by way of Belews Creek to the Buffalo Settlement in the neighborhood of the site of Greensboro, where he observed that "all the residents here were Presbyterians, rich and well-satisfied with themselves." In the Alamance section he was shown hospitality by Ludwig Eisele, progenitor of the Isley family. Next he visited Jacob Christmann and held service in the local meeting house. After the service he set out, took the wrong path, and wandered into "the Trading Path just where the battle of Alamance had taken place; near by was a fenced-in burying ground." He traveled this road some distance and then turned off south to Rock River. After some time spent in evangelistic labors he was led by a man named Seiler, a name retained in the family name Siler of Alamance and Chatham counties, to the "big road" to Carraway Creek, another stage of the Trading Path. He passed through "Poolcats Settlement" and visited the home of a settler named Breiel, evidently a member of the Briles family whose descendants are found in that neighborhood today. His meetings on Carraway Creek were largely attended; he recorded of

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the inhabitants that most of the English on the Carraway were Baptists, and that there were many Irish highwaymen in the vicinity.

We are now in position to follow the Trading Path according to an earlier important authority, Colonel William Byrd,<sup>6</sup> who recorded in 1728 the following:

About three Miles from our Camp we passed GREAT CREEK, and then, after traversing very barren grounds for 5 miles together, we crost the Trading Path, and soon after had the pleasure of reaching the uppermost Inhabitant. .

The Tradeing-Path above mention'd received its name from being the Route the Traders take with their Caravans, when they go to traffick with the Catawbas and other Southern Indians. The Catawbas live about 250 Miles beyond Roanoke River, and yet our Traders find their Account in transporting Goods from Virginia to trade with them at their own Towne.

The Common Method of carrying on this Indian Commerce is as follows: Gentlemen send for Goods proper for such a Trade from England, and then either Venture them out at their own Risk to the Indian Towns, or else credit some Traders with them of Substance and Reputation, to be paid in Skins at a certain Price agreed betwixt them.

The Goods for the Indian Trade consist chiefly in Guns, Powder, Shot, Hatchets, (which the Indians call Tomahawks,) Kettles, red & blue Planes, Duffields, Stroudwater blankets, and some Cutlary Wares, Brass Rings and other Trinkets.

Their Wares are made up into Packs and Carry'd upon Horses, each Load being from 100 to 200 Pounds, with which they are able to travel about 20 miles a day, if Forage happens to be plentiful.

Formerly a Hundred Horses have been employ'd in one of these Indian Caravans, under the Conduct of 15 or 16 Persons only, but now the Trade is much impair'd, insomuch that they seldom go with half that Number.

The Course from Roanoke to the Catawbas is laid down nearest Southwest, and lies thro' a fine Country, that is Water'd by Several beautiful Rivers.

Those of greatest Note are, first, Tar river, which is the upper Part of Pamlico,<sup>7</sup> Flat River, Little River and Eno River, all three Branches of the Neuse.

Between Eno and Saxpahaw rivers are the Haw old fields, which have the Reputation of containing the most fertile high land in this part of the World, lying in a Body about 50,000 acres.

This Saxpahaw is the upper Part of Cape Fair River, the falls of which lye many Miles below the Trading Path.

Some Mountains overlook this Rich Spot of Land, from whence all the soil washes down into the Plains, and is the cause of its exceeding Fertility. Not far from thence the Path crosses ARAMANCHY<sup>8</sup> River, branch of Saxpahaw,



and about 40 miles beyond that, the Path intersects the Yadkin, which is there half a Mile over, and is supposed to be the South Branch of the same Pedee.

The Soil is exceedingly rich on both sides of the Yadkin, abounding in rank grass and prodigiously large Trees; and for plenty of Fish, Fowl and Venison, is inferior to No Part of the Northern Continent. There the Traders commonly lie Still for some days, to recruit their Horses' Flesh as well as to recover their own Spirits. Six miles further is Crane Creek, so nam'd from its being the Rendezvous of great Armies of Cranes, which wage a more cruel War at this day, with the Frogs and Fish, than they us'd to do with the Pigmies in the days of Homer.

About three-score Miles more bring you to the first Town of the Catawbas, call'd Nauvasa, situated on the banks of Santee River. Besides this Town there are five Others belonging to the same Nation, lying all on the same Stream, within the Distance of 20 Miles.

These Indians were call'd formerly by the general Name of the Usherees, and were very Numerous and Powerful People. But the frequent Slaughters made upon them by the Northern Indians, and, what has been still more destructive by far, the Intemperence and Foul Distempers introduc'd amongst them by the Carolina Traders, have now reduc'd their Numbers to little More than 400 Fighting Men, besides Women & Children. It is a charming Place where they live, the Air very Wholesome, the Soil fertile, and the Winters ever mild and Serene. . . .

So soon as the Catawba Indians are inform'd of the Approach of the Virginia Caravans, they send a Detachment of their Warriors to bid them Welcome, and escort them Safe to their Town, where they are receiv'd with great Marks of Distinction. And their courtesys to the VIRGINIA Traders, I dare say, are very Sincere, because they sell them better Goods and better Pennyworths than the Traders of Carolina.<sup>9</sup> They commonly reside among the Indians till they have barter'd their Goods away for Skins, with which they load their Horses and come back by the Same Path they went.

The Colonel had never traveled the Trading Path in Carolina. However, there were three sources of information available. His language and the information he imparted bear close resemblance to reports of the few adventurers who were thoughtful enough to leave a written record of their journeys through the territory in question. His home community was still rich in traditions of the fur trade expeditions to the interior and among his fellow citizens were still to be found the traders. He had also another source of information not to be overlooked; Bearskin, the young Indian hunter who was with Byrd at the time of the crossing of the Trading Path on the Virginia line, was a Saponi whose ancestors once lived at Trading Ford on the Yadkin River. He furnished his patron with a great store of information concerning his people,

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and he doubtless provided or confirmed information regarding the Trading Path.

Colonel Byrd's geographical errors with regard to the rivers, his tendency to exaggeration, his exalted pride in business dealings of his fellow citizens of Virginia, and his complaints which might be addressed to some interstate commerce commission, are quite pardonable for he has given a valuable description of the Trading Path when it was the Broadway of Carolina. Though not even a wagon road at the beginning of the eighteenth century it was the great north and south highway. The value of the fur trade, the chief object of its traffic, must have reached proportions which would be regarded as considerable even in our own day.

### The Path of the Adventurers

In turning now to the question of the journeys of the early explorers we would do well to acquaint ourselves with two things: first, with a forgotten little mountain range in central North Carolina; second, with the location of Indian villages.

In regard to the former, attention is called to the rugged hills locally called mountains that extend southward in small broken groups or ranges from Randolph and lower Davidson counties through Montgomery County, falling across the Yadkin River into Rowan and Stanly counties on the west. The name Uwharrie is applied to the group although quite a number of the hills bear individual names such as Dutchman Mountain, Flat Swamp Mountains, and the like. A small group called Carraway Mountains lies in Randolph County on the line of the Trading Path. These mountains do not appear on current maps of the state. The outside world does not know about them, nor do the people in North Carolina learn of them from textbook maps. However, upon the traveler coming from the more level ways they make an impression and reveal themselves truly as mountains. This section of country had a peculiar attraction for the Indians for here they found in abundance stone suitable for making projectile points. The writer has discovered their quarries where quantities of material had been chipped out to be transported into

other regions of the State. It is evident that from earliest days the trail of the Indians led through these hills.

In regard to the location of Indian villages, the first consideration seems to have been water supply. Only along the streams could populous villages be maintained. Indian villages were not compact like our towns; they demanded room. It was not unusual for an Indian village to extend several miles along a stream. There were certain sites sought more eagerly than others. Rich soil of wide bottom land that afforded advantage for primitive agriculture, ample room for games or ceremonial dances, adjacent hunting territory--these furnished situations especially desirable. A good location, therefore, might be the site for camp or village of several tribes in succession.

While some sections remained in the possession of a tribe over a long period of years, it seems that there were frequent changes of locations among the tribes. Not only was the Indian roving by nature, as we say. He was forced by nature to be a rover. His methods of hunting were often wasteful. Food supply was easily exhausted. Natural or human enemies could compel migration. Indians seemed to have an aversion for long habitation at any place where numbers of their tribe had died. After the intrusion of Europeans tribal movements were very frequent. It is not surprising, therefore, that a tribe located in 1670 along the Yadkin River had by 1700 disappeared and that another tribe had possessed the same village site.

Between the Indian villages there would naturally develop paths of communication and the more favored locations would be assured of a trail constantly traveled. In trading and in ambassadorial relations the Indians did much traveling. Over a long period the trails between locations fitted by nature as choice sites for settlement would become widely known and well marked. Many of our modern cities have been located on sites chosen for advantages that attracted the savages and many highways that link cities are the development of the aboriginal trails. Not only the Trading Path, but also other trails in our State have in time been converted into highways.

## The Journey of John Lawson

In the year 1700 John Lawson,<sup>10</sup> surveyor general of North Carolina, began his thousand-mile journey of exploration. He left Charleston and made his way by the trail easily followed up the Santee River to the vicinity of the present capital of South Carolina; next he visited the Wateree Indians, whom he called Weteree Chickanee, near the Wateree River, passing on to the Waxhaws located near the southern border of Union County.

Lawson hired an Indian guide to direct the way from the Waxhaws "to the Esaw Indians, a very large Nation, containing many thousands of people." These were the Catawbas, the largest and most influential tribe of the piedmont country. He passed several Indian towns pleasantly situated near the creeks that drain this section near the border of Mecklenburg County. A number of these "towns" belonged to the "Sugeree," evidently situated on or near Sugar Creek, a tribe probably related to the Catawba. The stronghold of the Catawbas was on the Catawba River near the mouth of Sugar Creek in South Carolina, and their settlements extended for miles up and down the river. When he arrived at the "Kadapau King's House," the Catawba chieftan's lodge, Lawson met "one John Stewart, a Scot, then an Inhabitant of James River in Virginia, who had traded there for many years."

Lawson now turned toward Sapona and recorded the following stages of travel: Saturday, leisurely travel with some hunting; Sunday, a halt in waiting for the return of a horse that had wandered back to the Catawbas, which allowed a wild pigeon hunt; Monday, 25 miles through a pleasant dry country; Tuesday, leisurely travel over hilly country with a night camp by a swift stream; Wednesday, 25 miles over very pleasant country and numerous creeks; Thursday, about 30 miles through a "delicious" country to the Indian town on the banks of Sapona River. The estimate is about 100 miles in five days of actual travel and corresponds with the distance of the ridge road Trading Path from the Catawba Nation to Trading Ford on the Yadkin. (Lawson had a tendency to overestimate distance.)

Lawson was charmed with the Yadkin Valley. He wrote: "Nor could all England afford a pleasanter Stream, were it inhabited by

Christians, and cultivated by Ingenious hands. These Indians live in a clear Field, about a Mile square, which they would have sold me because I talked about coming into these parts to live. . . . This pleasant River may be sometimes larger than the Thames at Kingston, keeping a continual pleasant Noise, with its reverberating on the bright Marble rocks. It is beautiful with its numerous train of Swans, and other sorts of Water Fowl. . . . The forward Spring welcomed us with her innumerable train of small Choristers, which inhabit those fair Banks; the Hills redoubling, and adding sweetness to their Melodious tunes, by their shrill echoes. One side of the River is hemmed in with Mountainy Ground, the other side proving as rich a soil to the eye of a knowing person with us, as any this Western World can afford. . . . We walked along the River-side, where we found a very delightful Island, made by the River, and a Branch, there being several such plots of Ground environ'd with this Silver Stream."

The Sapona Town<sup>11</sup> site is identified as the valley location near the present power plant at Dukeville. The Islands to which Lawson referred have been submerged in the backwater of High Rock Lake, but may still be seen when the water is low. Lawson noted the numerous waterfowl of the region, commented upon by Colonel Byrd, and attested today by the flocks of white herons that make this a favorite haunt. The Saponi Indians had not been long at Trading Ford, although they had a palisade and were well located on the pleasant valley site. They had previously migrated from the Virginia foothills to one of the islands near the confluence of Dan and Staunton rivers, later moving to the Yadkin. They were now preparing to unite with other broken tribes and to move east to the settlements under the protection of the colonists.

After an agreeable halt with the Saponi, Lawson resumed his march. He crossed several small creeks beyond the river, and 8 miles from Sapona crossed "a very pretty River, called Rock River, a fit name, having a ridge of High Mountains running from its Banks to the Eastward, and disgorging itself in the Sapona River." This stream was doubtless Abbotts Creek. The "high ridge of Mountains" near its mouth is recognized today as the Flat Swamp Mountains.<sup>12</sup> Two days' travel of 30 miles brought him to the

## TRADING PATH

Keyauwees. At noon of the second day he "passed over such another Stony River, as that eight Miles from Sapona," called Highwaree, or Heighwaree. This was, of course, the Uwharrie.

We must pass over more interesting portions of his narrative, of the hospitality of Keyauwee Jack the "king," of the "princess" whom Lawson described as "the beautifullest Indian I ever saw," of the traveler's Sunday School lesson about King David, and other romantic details, and confine ourselves to the itinerary of the explorer.

The location of the Keyauwees has never been definitely identified. They could be called a lost tribe of Carolina. The most noted authority on the subject, James Mooney, whose scholarly labors have revealed the surest record of the interior tribes, placed the location of the Keyauwee near the present city of High Point.<sup>13</sup> This is not a bad assumption. However, we believe that we can come 20 miles nearer. Let us follow Lawson's journal.

Five Miles from this River [Uwharrie] to the N. W. stands the Keyauwee's Town. They are fortified in with Wooden Puncheons, like Sapona, being a People much of the same Number. Nature hath so fortified this town with Mountains, that were it a Great Seat of War, it might easily be made impregnable, having large cornfields joining to their Cabins, and a Savanna near the Town, at the foot of these Mountains, so that no hard Wind ever troubles these inhabitants. These high cliffs have no grass growing on them, and very few Trees. . . . These Indians make use of red ore to paint their Faces withal, which they get in the Neighboring Mountains. . . . Near the Town is such another Current as Heighwaree.

Fortified with a soil survey map of Randolph County the writer spent several days searching for this lost town. The Uwharrie River was visited in the vicinity about 25 miles distant from Trading Ford. There is no like current northwest of the Uwharrie, and Lawson's direction is evidently an error. The next stream east of the river is Carraway Creek, which differs not much in size from the upper Uwharrie. About five miles from the river to the northeast, Carraway Creek emerges from the Carraway Mountains. There is a beautiful wide valley surrounded by the knobs of the little mountain range. In early spring the rocky hills appeared just as Lawson described, high cliffs with few trees. The natives of the region today say that the creek and the mountains are named after

the Carraway Indians, of whom they can say little more.<sup>14</sup> Here in the pleasant sheltered valley were found, in spite of ravages of freshet and plow, the vestiges of an Indian village. Thus it appears that the lost Keyauwee is restored under the name Carraway. The location coincides with the early maps showing the line of the Trading Path through the Carraway Mountains.

Twenty-eight years after Lawson's journey Colonel Byrd<sup>15</sup> and his party surveying the dividing line were examining the Pilot and Sauratown Mountains more than a score of miles distant south of the line. Lover's Leap, as they called what is probably Pilot Mountain, was thought by some of the Indian traders to be "Kiawan" or "Katawa Mountain," which they had formerly seen on their trading journeys to the Cherokees. The name suggests "Keyauwee Mountain" which may have passed into "Carraway Mountains," and as such Colonel Byrd was right in insisting on their location further south. He was also correct in his belief that a continuation of the dividing line would lead to the Cherokee country reached by trading parties at that time only by the circuitous journey over the old Trading Path by way of the Catawbas.

The day after leaving Keyauwee Town Lawson journeyed 20 miles and passed over "two pretty Rivers," the route corresponding with the Trading Path outlined on the map, the two water courses being Deep River and Polecat Creek. The next day he traveled over "very good Land, but full of Free Stone," a section which runs into outcrops of white quartz and rhyolite. The third day from Keyauwee he "likewise passed over three Great Rivers." He mentioned the last one as "Hau River," and there is little question that the two preceding were Alamance and Little Alamance. Haw River was described as a rapid stream, "having large Stones, about the bigness of an ordinary House, lying up and down the River." In the chilly weather the travelers stripped and forded the stream, although Lawson had learned that "it used to frighten passengers from fording it." The streams were probably deeper than they are today and in high water seasons were formidable. The engineering of the Indians in running their trail as much as possible on the ridges seems evident.

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On the following day the journey was begun toward the Occaneechi town on Eno River. On the way was met a pack train with thirty loaded horses and four or five men. The leader was an Englishman named Massey, a native of Leeds in Yorkshire, trading out of Virginia. The travelers commented on the rich land of the vicinity, which was widely known as Haw Fields. About three o'clock in the afternoon the Indian town was reached. The Occaneechi had been driven sometime before from their island home near the junction of the Staunton and Dan Rivers and were now situated in the neighborhood of Hillsboro. The Occaneechee Hills near that town still bear their name. The Enos were then living a short distance east and were combining their weakened tribe with the Shoccoree and the Adshusheer. Regaled with good fat bear and venison provided by the Indians Lawson was refreshed for the continuance of his journey. The next morning he met the noble Indian, Enoe-Will, whom he engaged as guide, and set out eastward, soon leaving the Virginia path and proceeding more directly on his way to eastern Carolina.

Thus the journey of John Lawson has been seen to trace the well beaten trail of the famous Trading Path.

### The Journeys of Needham and Arthur

The journeys of Needham and Arthur have been called "the most truly remarkable as well as romantic of the English explorations of the seventeenth century." We are now to review the chronicle very unsatisfactorily and almost in the cold light of vivisection with an eye solely to the paths traveled.

Fort Henry, now Petersburg, was a famous trading center of Virginia. In 1673, Abraham Wood was the moving spirit of the trading post. At this time the boom in fur trade aroused keen ambition for extensive traffic.

A letter from Abraham Wood to John Richards of London gives the information of the travels under consideration. Only a small part of it concerns our subject, and the reading of the original letter is advised, both for enjoyment and for historical information.<sup>16</sup>



In April, 1673, Wood sent two men with a party of Indians to travel into the hinterland and to reach, if possible, the mountains, that they might open up the productive trade of the interior. They were turned back by the warlike Occaneechi. These Indians held a strong position on the largest island below the confluence of the Dan and Staunton rivers, and controlled the back country traffic. They were a powerful tribe; their dialect was the common language in trade and religion among the Indians throughout the region. They were jealous of their position and being fierce warriors they maintained their advantage by striking fear into the hearts of both the white and the red men. A traveler could enter what is now Piedmont North Carolina only through their gateway and only with their permission. Here was the entrance to the famed Trading Path. When Colonel Byrd crossed the path in 1728, he was 25 miles or more to the east where the path had been shifted after the power of the Occaneechi was broken.

Abraham Wood, not to be deterred, sent his men again in May, more strongly provided. The Englishmen of the expedition were James Needham and Gabriel Arthur--the former a gentleman of some repute in the colony; the latter a youth without schooling but possessing courage and adaptability.

About a month after they left Fort Henry they fell in with a party of Tomahitan Indians, a tribe located beyond the Blue Ridge of North Carolina. These Indians agreed to lead the adventurers to their country with the object of opening up trade.

They passed the Occaneechi barrier not without trouble, but gained their objective. The route of these travelers is of most concern to us. They journeyed nine days from "Occhonechee to Sitteree" west and by south, past nine rivers and creeks "which all end in this side ye mountains and emty themselves into ye east sea." Sitteree was the last town of inhabitation and there was no further path until they came within two days' journey of the Tomahitans.<sup>17</sup>

This brief description, in direction and enumeration of water-courses, agrees strikingly with the line of the Trading Path we have already traced. Further reference to the journeys will be even more convincing. "Sitteree" seems to be another name for Sugaree, spelled on the Popple map of 1733 "Sataree" and on the

Winsor War Map of 1715 "Suturee." This suggests strongly the Catawba center at the mouth of Sugar Creek south of Mecklenburg County. Nine days of steady travel by horse with the fleet footed Indians could give the mileage expected.

We must omit the thrilling narrative that follows of the entry of the first Europeans into the present state of Tennessee, simply recording that Needham left Arthur among the Tomahitans and returned to Fort Henry.

Abraham Wood was overjoyed at the success of his venture and, unmindful of impending tragedy, dispatched Needham again to the over-hills Indians. In January rumors began to reach him through the enigmatic reports of Indian intercourse that his man had been cruelly murdered. The dark rumors were at length confirmed. Needham had among his company for the return trip an Occaneechi Indian who had been well paid for his services as protector on the former expedition, Indian John, or Hasecoll, who accompanied the party from "Aeno to Sarrah." When one of the Indians in crossing Sarrah River, either by accident or with intent, let his pack slip into the water, a quarrel ensued between Needham and Indian John. Ill feeling continued all day until they passed "Yattken towne" and "soe over Yattken river," described as being near the foot of the mountains. Here the travelers pitched camp for the night. The disgruntled Indian continued complaining and threatening until Needham threw a hatchet upon the ground, grasped his sword, and challenged him whether he meant violence. Thereupon Indian John, of whom the best that can be said is that he was a good shot, caught up a gun and with quick aim sent a bullet through Needham's brain. The Tomahitans made an attempt at rescue, but too late, and then bewailed the tragedy. The culprit, however, before their startled eyes drew out his knife, ripped open the body of his victim and tore out the heart, held it aloft, and looking toward the east vaunted his rage at the Englishmen.

The scene of this memorable tragedy was in all probability near the famous Trading Ford on the Yadkin River. The travelers had come from Occaneechi Island to the Eno where the Eno Indians dwelt, thence over the well known trail, crossing "Sarrah River," probably the Uwharrie, in the morning and by nightfall reaching

the ford of the Yadkin within sight of the Flat Swamp Mountains that were noted by Lawson and other explorers along this route, their night camp being in the domain later to be occupied by the Saponi, at this time in possession of the Saura Indians, as further evidence of this narrative affirms.

Meanwhile the young man, Arthur, was virtually a prisoner among the Tomahitans and participated in some of the most remarkable exploits that ever befell pioneer adventurers. In May of the following year he was allowed to return. We find him again on the trail of the Trading Path, undisturbed until he came to "Sarah," the scene of Needham's tragedy and the settlement of the Saura Indians on the Yadkin River, where Arthur saw some of his lamented fellow-traveler's effects that had been left scattered on the ground by the murderer. Here four Occaneechi were lying in wait. They made attack at night, according to Indian custom, but in the confusion Arthur escaped into the bushes. The Tomahitans fled leaving Arthur with his packs. He therefore hired four "Sarrah Indians" to carry them to Eno. However, his pack bearers would go no further than the Eno town. The resolute youth left the goods with the Eno, and with a lone Tomahitan continued over the trail, crossed the island stronghold of the Occaneechi by night, and arrived June 18 at Fort Henry.

The events of the journeys add another colorful chapter to the story of the Trading Path, tracing again the old trail, and leading in this brief series of thrilling exploits to the discovery of what is now the state of Tennessee by men of European blood.

### The Journey of John Lederer

Ethnologists and not a few historians treating the theme of the North American Indians have pondered over the journey of John Lederer.<sup>18</sup> In the last decade of the nineteenth century Cyrus Thomas, writing in the *American Anthropologist*, declared that "the journey into the Carolinas is a myth." In 1912, Messrs. Alvord and Bidgood in their excellent volume *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region* speak of "his alleged journey into the Carolinas," and state that "after he left the Saura village, no certainty can be evolved from the mass of palpable falsehood."

Even among the believers there is much dissention in the household of faith as to the itinerary of their hero. James Mooney<sup>19</sup> commented "that the attempted identification of Lederer's route by Hawks, in his history of North Carolina, seems to be entirely incorrect. After making him swing around a narrow circle instead of proceeding along the lines of the trading path toward a definite point, he leaves the traveler floundering in the marshes of Albemarle Sound, when in fact he must have been on Catawba river on the border of South Carolina, and finally gives up the identification in despair with the statement that 'Lederer's itinerary presents difficulties which we confess we cannot satisfactorily solve.'"

Mooney himself made a near solution of the mystery, and furnished the best commentary of Lederer, but his location of the visits of Lederer to tribes of the Piedmont is not to be reconciled with the journal of the explorer.

After the consideration of such weighty minds it is presumptuous for the humble layman to invade the field. However, if we can afford some confirmation of John Lederer's statements concerning the course of his journey, we will not only assist in solving a puzzle of long standing, but will also help to save the reputation for veracity of the brave and estimable doctor, the Father of Explorers in the Piedmont.

It is readily admitted that Lederer was credulous and accepted some Indian yarns as veritable; that he expressed freely his interpretations which were not always correct, as when he supposed the transmontane land of great waves, described by the Indians, to be the sea, although the receding mountain peaks were being depicted; that he had a gift for exaggeration, not an exclusive property as other travelers have revealed.

The narrative of his two journeys to the mountains in Virginia are quite acceptable, and the journey into Carolina is described in such a way as to lead to the belief that that narrative also was based on experience.

The German physician, of whom little is known, set out from the falls of the James, now Richmond, on May 22, 1670, under authority of Governor Berkeley. With him were Major Harris, "twenty Christian horse," and five Indians. After a few days a

disagreement arose. All of the party turned back except Lederer and a Susquehanna Indian named Jackzetavon.

Not far below the present city of Lynchburg at "Sapon," they found the Saponi Indians. The tribe subsequently moved to the island near the Occaneechi, later migrating to the Yadkin River where they were in 1701 at the time of Lawson's journey.

From the Saponi, Lederer took a southeast course, rather than southwest as he recorded, and arrived June 12 at "Akenatzy," i.e., Occaneechi Island, with which we are already familiar through the journeys of Needham and Arthur who passed there three years later.

He did not remain long at the fortified island home of these fierce warriors. The following day five Rickohockans, presumably Cherokee Indians, ambassadors from the mountains, were treacherously murdered by the Occaneechi, and the travelers were frightened away.

For two days, June 14 and 15, Lederer traveled "sometimes by a beaten path, and sometimes over hills and rocks," reaching the "Oenock" Indians who were not over "thirty odde" miles distant from Occaneechi in a direct line. There is no difficulty in recognizing here the location of the Eno Indians on the river of their name. Lederer said of the Enos, "They are of mean stature and courage, covetous and thievish, industrious to earn a penny; and therefore hire themselves out to their neighbors, who employ them as carriers or porters." He described their town "built round a field," which was their athletic field wherein they exercised strenuously at ball-play, using stones for balls. Omitting other interesting details we must leave the Enos, who had evidently been a stronger tribe but were now much reduced in power.

"Fourteen miles west-southwest of the Oenocks, dwell the Schakory-Indians, upon a rich soil, and yet abounding in antimony, of which they showed me considerable quantities." It is not difficult to trace here the trail from Eno River to Haw River by way of the Haw Fields where the Shoccoree Indians were then located. Later these Indians had retreated east beyond Hillsboro where they were found by Lawson.

Lederer found that the Shoccoree differed little in customs and manners from the Enos. He recorded: "I made no stay here, but

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passing thorow thickets and marish grounds, I arrived at Watary above fourty miles distant, and bearing west-southwest to Shakor." This is the portion of the Trading Path over the rocky ridges and thickets of the little stream valleys beyond Alamance Creek, across Polecat Creek and Deep River to the neighborhood of Carraway. Time, distance, and description of travel agree with Lawson's record, and the mileage corresponds well with Spangenberg's travel schedule. Within Carolina the directions by Lederer's compass are remarkably trustworthy.

Lederer did not find the Keyauwee; at any rate, he called the inhabitants of the place "Watery." These may have been the Wateree Indians, called Weteree Chickanee by Lawson thirty years later when he found them near the Wateree River some miles below the Waxhaw and the Catawba. That the Waterec were located in the region to which we have traced Lederer is not improbable. There is an old tradition<sup>20</sup> that the lower Yadkin or Great Pee Dee River was once called Wateree, and the tribe may have worked upstream and into the small tributaries such as Uwharrie River or Carraway Creek. Lederer described the "Watary" as being slaves rather than subjects of their "king." Although the chieftan was grave and courteous, he shocked Lederer greatly by hiring three youths to kill as many young women of their enemies in order to serve his son who had recently died. The braves returned with the scalps before Lederer could take his departure.

If we follow our assumption, we would guess that the next stage of Lederer's journey would lead 30 miles west to Trading Ford on the Yadkin within sight of the southerly Flat Swamp Mountains falling away westward beyond the river, and that he would reach the Saura Indians. We read:

I departed from Watary the one and twentieth of June: and keeping a west-course for near thirty miles, I came to Sara: here I found the ways more level and easie. Sara is not far distant from the mountains, which here lose their height, and change their course and name: for they run due west, and receive from the Spaniards the name Suala. From these mountains or hills the Indians draw great quantities of cinabar, with which beaten to powder they colour their faces.

We have here the details noted by Lawson: thirty miles of travel; the mountains running east and west, which were noted also in the narrative of Needham and Arthur; paint mineral secured in the neighboring mountains (in the hills of upper Moore County, about forty miles south, and perhaps at other places in the mountains, is to be found stone with pockets of red and yellow powder, ferruginous material, which could be mixed with bear grease to form paints of brilliant colors). The location of the Sara is the same as that three years later when Needham and Arthur passed Trading Ford.

We may now consider the difficulty at this stage of the narrative that has led many to question Lederer. The explorer thought he was passing near a low gap of the Blue Ridge, calling the mountains after the Saura Indians, and stating in his narrative that the mountains fall off due west and take the name "Suala." He was not impressed with their height, calling them "mountains or hills." Certainly the time limits and the mileage recorded forbade any approach of Lederer to the Blue Ridge. It seems that the solution lies in the forgotten chain of small mountains in central Carolina. The Uwharrie Mountains which skirted the Trading Path answer every description.

The name of these mountains should not be overlooked. The Saura Indians were living near by, though they were found later on the Dan River fifty miles north, and some of the tribe may have migrated there before Lederer's time. The story of Needham and Arthur indicates that their home on the Trading Path was not an advantageous location for them at that time. Lederer used the following names for the Saura: Sara, Suala, Sasa, and Sualy. He stated that the neighboring mountains received from the Spaniards the name Suala, another name for Saura. It has not yet been confirmed that the Spaniards invaded the Uwharrie region. However, the Spanish appellation given by De Soto<sup>21</sup> for the tribe he met somewhere near the southern border of the State was Xuala, pronounced Shuala or Suala, as by Lederer, which later became Huala or Hwala. The name Uwharrie, applied to the clusters of mountains and to the small river of the region, has never been explained definitely. Its suffix agrees with the demonstrative ending of words used in the language of the interior



tribes, and the stem bears resemblance to others of the same tongue. However, the resemblance of "Highwaree" as given by Lawson and "Huwarrie" as pronounced by early settlers<sup>22</sup> is close to the "Xuala" and "Xualla" of the De Soto narratives and demands consideration. The interior tribes used the "l" and "r" sounds interchangeably.<sup>23</sup> The pronunciation of "Xuala" of the Spaniards would become "Huara" or "Huarrie" of the native tribes. The Saura gave their name to the mountains fifty miles north near which they were found later, also to the town Cheraw, South Carolina, their last settlement, and it is not out of reason that in the neighborhood of Trading Ford on the Yadkin this strong tribe that possessed the territory should have left their name. Hence the name Uwarrie may be, after all the Xuala of the Spaniards, possibly transferred by the Saura through a previous migration from the southwestern hills of the Piedmont region where De Soto is thought to have discovered them in 1540.

Lederer's stay among the Saura was brief, according to his testimony:

These Indians are so indiscreetly fond of their children, that they will not chastise them for any mischief or insolence. A little boy had shot an arrow thorow my body, had I not reconciled him to me with gifts: and all this anger was, because I spurred my horse out of another arrows way which he directed at him. This caused such a mutiny amongst the youth of the town, that the seniors taking my horse and self into protection, had much ado (and that by intreaties and prayers, not commands) to appease them.

Since the Indians for certain reasons feared to exercise parental restraint, thus was narrowly averted another Trading Ford tragedy. Lederer left hastily, probably without ascertaining careful direction, and with his companion Jackzetavon continued the trail.

"From Sara I kept a south-southwest course until the five and twentieth of June, and then I reached Wisacky." This three days' march was rough and troublesome. Lederer evidently took the trail that branched from the Trading Path more directly to the Waxhaw Indians near the southern border of the State, his course running near the site of the present town called Indian Trail in Union County. The following day he proceeded to the "Usheryes" or Catawbas. Much interesting information is recorded of these Indians, some of it evidently having been received with great



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credulity or stated with exaggeration, but most of it having an important bearing on the history of this powerful tribe.

Lederer did not care to retrace his journey over the Trading Path; he feared to make the circuit by way of the northwest on account of the Cherokees who overran that territory; he decided upon an eastern route. His return may be traced with little difficulty by anyone familiar with the sand hills and pine barrens of eastern Carolina and with the former location of the Tuskarora Indians.

### Notes

1 Fries, A. L., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Vol. I. p. 30.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 760.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 518.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 352.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 798.

6 Boyd, William K. (ed.), *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, pp. 298, 300, 302. Col. Byrd's camp mentioned here was located near the dividing of the states about ten miles west of the intersection of the line by Roanoke River.

7 Pamlico.

8 Alamance.

9 The Carolina traders under Col. Byrd's censure were probably South Carolinians working out of Charleston up the Santee trail.

10 Lawson, John. *The History of Carolina*, pp. 1-33.

11 A small settlement in Davidson County a short distance northeast of Trading Ford retained for many years the name Sapona.

12 The dam and power plant at High Rock have been built across the 1200 foot gap where the Yadkin River broke through the ridge of the Flat Swamp Mountains.

13 Mr. Moonoy supposed that the Southern Railway followed more closely the line of the Trading Path; hence his location of the Keyauwee site is quite reasonable. However, we have seen how the railway has probably been instrumental in shifting the main route of travel some miles north of the original trail.

14 There is a manufactured legend of the Carraway neighborhood which tells of an Indian maiden disappointed in love who in desperation leaped from the rugged mountain cliff—not to destruction, for the favoring winds carried her away; hence the name Carraway. This far-fetched attempt to explain the name Carraway is an example of fiction often associated with nature's beauties and wonders. And should not the beautiful Keyauwee princess have left inspiration enough for romantic expression?

15 Boyd, William K. (ed.). *Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, pp. 244-245.

## TRADING PATH

16 Alvord, C. W., and Bidgood, Lee. *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674*, p. 210.

17 The trail of the Tomahitans seems to have led through Hickory Nut Gap or Swannanoa Gap across the French Broad River and other streams flowing northwest passed on the south side of the Great Smoky Mountains until the Tennessee was reached. The conjecture of the editors that these streams were tributaries of New River is hardly tenable, since the headwaters of the New flow northeast and these would have led a considerable distance from the course described.

18 Lederer, John. *The Discoveries*, pp. 1-17.

19 Mooney, James. *Siouan Tribes of the East*, p. 34.

20 Gregg, Alexander. *History of the Old Cheraws*, p. 7.

21 Bourne, E. G. (ed.). *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto in the Conquest of Florida, as told by a Knight of Elvas and in a Relation by Luys Hernandez de Biedma factors of the Expedition*, Vol. II, p.15.

22 Fries, A. L. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Vol. I, p.433; II, 833.

23 Mooney, James. *Siouan Tribes of the East*, p. 57.