Chapter 2
CULTURE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The 2010 investigations at the Ashe Ferry site focused on archaeological components that date to the Late Woodland (ca. A.D. 800–1150) and Mississippian (ca. A.D. 1150–1540) periods, and the vast majority of contexts and assemblages documented at Ashe Ferry are attributable to these components, with the exceptions of one Middle Woodland period feature (a single cached vessel) and two Late Archaic period caches. Radiocarbon assays of samples from discrete contexts at Ashe Ferry indicate a primary span of occupation ca. A.D. 950–1150, with continued or sporadic lower intensity occupation through ca. A.D. 1325. Test units and extensive mechanical stripping of flood overburden and plowzone from the site also yielded collections that included small numbers of Early, Middle, and Late Archaic projectile points, as well as a few diagnostic Middle Woodland period pottery sherds. The following discussion specifically contextualizes the investigations of Late Woodland period and Mississippian period components at the Ashe Ferry site with an overview of the current state of knowledge concerning these archaeological periods in the central Carolina piedmont, with broader reference to this span in the surrounding region.

Early Woodland Period

The inception of the Woodland period (ca. 3000–1000 B.P.) in the Carolina piedmont is defined by the widespread, ubiquitous use of pottery by human populations who pursued transhumant or semi-transhumant hunter-gatherer strategies refined throughout the preceding Archaic period. This threshold is clearly arbitrary inasmuch as pottery production was commonplace among Late Archaic period societies in the South Carolina coastal plain and along the fall line after 4500 B.P. (Anderson et al. 1996; Sassaman et al. 2006), with some low incidence of Late Archaic Stallings fiber-tempered wares and Thom's Creek sand-tempered wares reported in the lower piedmont region. Slower adoption of ceramic production by central piedmont populations may reflect subsistence practices and settlement systems essentially different from those of coastal plain and Savannah River corridor groups (cf. Goodyear 1988), but relatively little is known about Late Archaic period economies in the Piedmont region northeast of the Savannah River basin (see Sassaman and Anderson 1995).

The emergence of the Woodland cultural pattern has not been specifically documented for the lower Catawba River basin or the north-central piedmont of South Carolina, and developments in this area must be inferred from investigations in surrounding regions (Benson 2006; Trinkley 1990), most notably the middle and upper Savannah River basin and the lower Yadkin/upper Pee Dee basin. Although scattered examples of Late Archaic ceramics have been documented in the lower and central piedmont regions, ceramic wares probably do not figure prominently in central piedmont archaeological assemblages until ca. 2800 B.P., with the appearance of sand-tempered fabric-marked wares similar to the Badin series (Coe 1964:27), documented northeast of the study area, or the Dunlap series (Caldwell 1958) documented to the southeast. These fabric-marked Early Woodland period ceramic wares, which Caldwell (1958) termed the "Middle Eastern" ceramic tradition, exhibit stylistic and technological affinities to more northerly traditions and do not seem to be derived from the Late Archaic period coastal traditions. Other materials diagnostic of Early Woodland components include small stemmed and large triangular dart points, as well as rare objects such as stone bar gorgets, grooved ground-stone axes, tubular carved-stone smoking pipes, and carved soapstone bowls. Survey

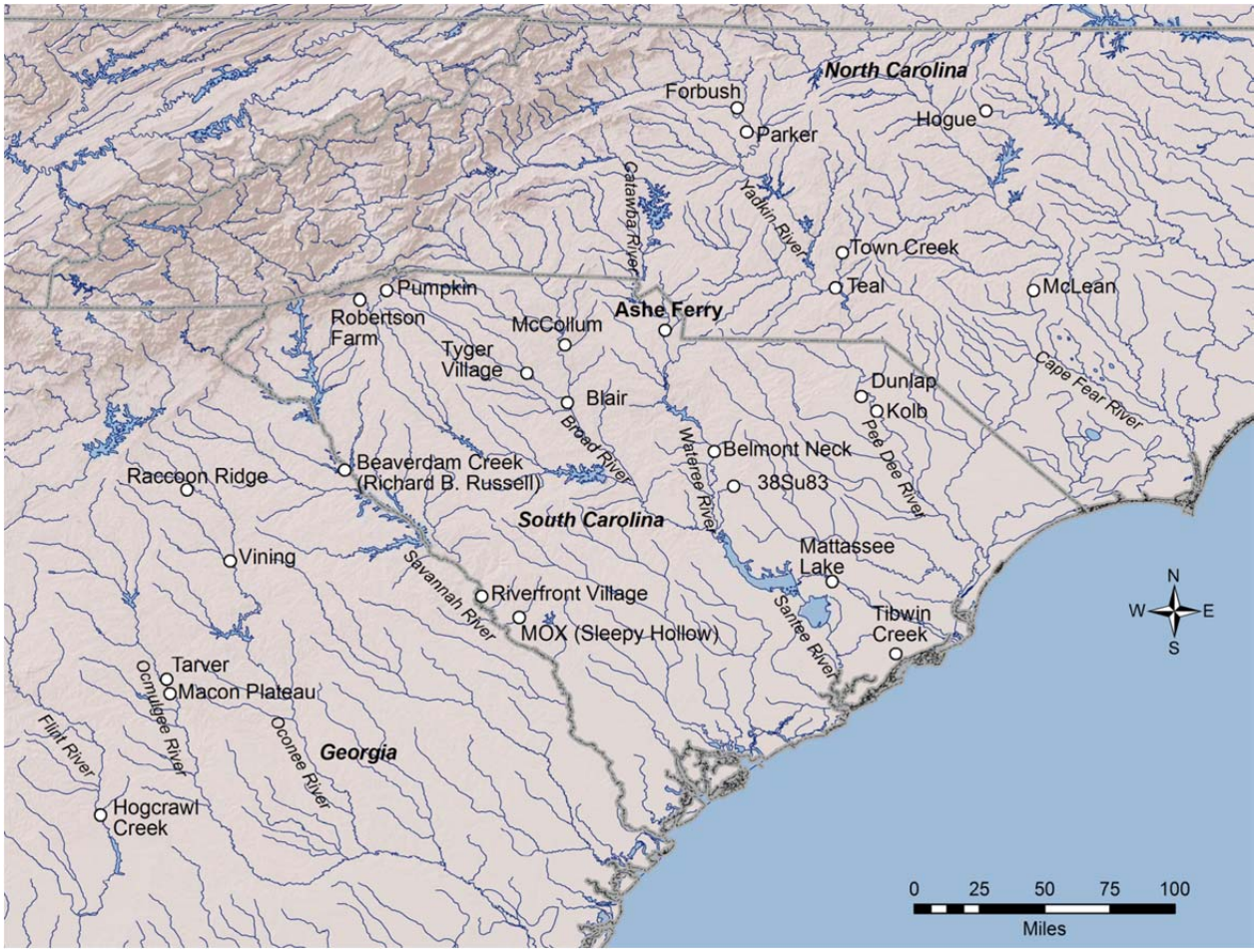

Figure 2.1. Map indicating locations of key archaeological sites discussed in text.

data suggest that Early Woodland period components are infrequent and typically low-density phenomena in the north central Piedmont, distributions which probably indicate low-density occupation by small, mobile groups. In a study of site distributions on the USFS Enoree Ranger District (40 miles southwest of 38YK533), Benson (2006:194) identified a "substantial increase in the number of [Early Woodland period] occupations per 100 years" as compared to the Late Archaic period. Benson (2006:193) further notes that "increased, and presumably more diversified, use of the Piedmont inter-riverine zones during the Late Archaic period initiated a trend that is amplified in succeeding archaeological periods." In sum, the Early Woodland period in the central Piedmont appears to have been an era of gradual change from antecedent Archaic period patterns, and occasioned none of the material elaborations documented for this period in the Midwest, Midsouth, or lower Mississippi Valley and Gulf Coast, where evidence for expansive trade networks, horticultural food production, monumental constructions and ritual (especially funerary) complexity indicate expanding populations, growing sedentism, and increasing sociopolitical integration .

Middle Woodland Period

The succeeding Middle Woodland period (ca. 2200–1500 B.P.) in the central Piedmont is marked by the appearance of crushed rock-tempered Yadkin series (Coe 1964:30–32) ceramic

wares with fabric-impressed, cordmarked, check-stamped or plain surfaces; these ceramic wares tend to co-occur with sand-tempered Deptford check-stamped wares (Caldwell and Waring 1939) more characteristic of the South Appalachian tradition (Cable and Hebler 1999). Other diagnostic artifact forms include Yadkin Large Triangular and Yadkin Eared projectile points (Coe 1964:45), and small stemmed or side-notched projectile points (cf. Boudreaux et al. 2004). Less common associations include ground-stone celts, stone bar gorgets, and stone and clay smoking pipes. Middle Woodland Yadkin phase components are not well documented in the central Piedmont region (see Benson 2006; Trinkley 1990), but investigations at 38SU83, located approximately 63 miles south-southeast of 38YK533 in the inner Coastal Plain, provide a proximate base for extrapolation to the study area (Blanton et al. 1986). Investigators here identified 12 cultural features, including irregular pits and postholes, and recovered a substantial assemblage of Yadkin series pottery with a variety of surface treatments (i.e., fabric-marked, cord-marked, check-stamped and simple-stamped) representing deep, straight-sided jars with conical bases. Associated with these wares are both large and small triangular projectile points as well as small stemmed projectile points, a ground-stone axe, and a stone gorget fragment. Radiocarbon assays derived from 38SU83 contexts with direct Yadkin phase associations yielded corrected calendrical dates (calibrated intercepts) of 393 B.C. and 165 B.C. Farther afield, documented Yadkin components at 31CH8 (Haw River, North Carolina) and the E. Davis Site (31FY549) have yielded ^{14}C dates (calibrated intercepts) of 199 B.C. and 193 B.C. (respectively). All of these sites appear to represent relatively small, low intensity occupations, a pattern common across the Carolina piedmont. The presumed absence of large, dense Middle Woodland period site components indicative of long-term group aggregation suggests that occupation of the central piedmont continued to be characterized by low density, mobile populations that continued to pursue transhumant hunter-gatherer subsistence strategies and settlement organization. This pattern contrasts markedly with Middle Woodland period developments across much of the southeastern United States, in which antecedent Early Woodland trends of population growth with increasing aggregation and sedentism, horticultural food production, material elaboration, and increasing sociopolitical complexity are amplified (Anderson and Mainfort 2002). It is somewhat axiomatic to attribute the lack of evidence for such developments in the central Piedmont to the general paucity of data for the region (see Benson 2006; Trinkley 1990), but lack of work in the region is, in part, a function of the inconspicuous (and, some might contend, uninspiring) nature of the Woodland period record.

The latter portion of the Middle Woodland period (ca. A.D. 200–A.D. 700) in the central piedmont is completely unattested, but evidence from surrounding areas indicates probable diagnostic artifacts including sand-tempered fabric-impressed ceramic wares and small triangular projectile points indicative of a shift from atlatl-dart technology to bow-and-arrow technology. At Mattassee Lake, located in the coastal plain 115 miles southeast of 38YK533, Anderson (1982) identifies sand-tempered Cape Fear Fabric Impressed pottery (South 1960:38–41) as the dominant late Middle Woodland period ceramic type associated with rock-filled basins (probable rock oven roasting facilities) that yielded radiocarbon dates ranging from A.D. 520–A.D. 710 (Anderson et al. 1982:355). Anderson subsumes Trinkley's (1981) McClellanville wares into the Cape Fear series and the later Santee series, with the implication that Trinkley's previously undated complex likely dates to the Middle Woodland–Late Woodland threshold. Anderson also indicates late sand-tempered Deptford wares (Caldwell and Waring 1939) and late grog-tempered Wilmington/Hanover wares as diagnostic of Middle Woodland period occupations ca. A.D. 200–A.D. 500, but these components are not independently dated. Investigations at the

Johannes Kolb site (38DA75) on the Great Pee Dee River (74 miles southeast of 38YK533), document Woodland period components dominated by grog-tempered Hanover (South 1976) fabric-impressed and cordmarked wares, with associated radiocarbon dates ca. A.D. 510–A.D. 840 (Hollenbach 2010*; Christopher Judge, personal communication, 2012). Other elements of the late Hanover component include small triangular projectile points indicative of bow-and-arrow technology, which DePratter (1993:40) suggests became commonplace in South Carolina during the fifth century A.D. Large, refuse-filled Hanover storage pits at Kolb yielded abundant subsistence remains, including deer, raccoon, rabbit, turkey, turtle, bass, perch gar, catfish, and bowfin bones (Judge and Reid 2007), and charred remains of acorn, hickory nut, persimmon, walnut, bearsfoot, and maygrass (Hollenbach 2010). Maize kernels and cupules recovered from Kolb site midden deposits may be associated with Hanover or later components. To date, investigations have not revealed whether the Hanover component represents repeated seasonal camps or a more substantial, longer-term occupation.

Evidence from the Pumpkin site (38GR226), located in the Blue Ridge foothills 91 miles west of 38YK533, documents a late Middle Woodland period Connestee phase component with numerous pit features and postholes indicative of sustained occupation (Charles 2001). Radiocarbon assays indicate occupation ca. A.D. 550–650, with associated assemblages of Connestee sand-tempered wares (see Keel 1976:247–255) dominated by plain and cordmarked surface treatments. Crites (2001) identified maygrass and chenopodium in Pumpkin site samples; these are the earliest dated native cultigens identified in South Carolina. Investigations along the upper Savannah River at Richard B. Russell Reservoir (113 miles southwest of 38YK533) documented several later Middle Woodland period components represented by Connestee series and Cartersville series (Caldwell n.d.:176) pottery and large and small triangular projectile points (Anderson and Joseph 1988:230). Anderson and Joseph (1988:230–231) conclude that these late Middle Woodland period components probably represent "a fairly high population density possibly coupled with a moderate degree of residential mobility or seasonal movement," but they discerned no evidence for horticultural production, residential aggregation, interregional trade, or increased sociopolitical complexity.

Late Woodland Period

The transition from the Middle Woodland period to the Late Woodland period (ca. A.D. 700–1150) in South Carolina is thought to have been marked by gradual transformations in material pattern, subsistence practice, and settlement systems. Trinkley (1990) notes that:

> In many respects the South Carolina Late Woodland may be characterized as a continuation of previous Middle Woodland cultural assemblages. While outside the Carolinas there were major cultural changes, such as the continued development and elaboration of agriculture, the Carolina groups settled into a lifeway not appreciably different from that observed for the previous 500 to 700 years. This situation would remain unchanged until the development of the South Appalachian Mississippian complex. [Trinkley 1990:21–22]

However, Trinkley (1990:24) also observed that

> While this apparent absence of Late Woodland pottery over much of the South Carolina Piedmont may be a result of incomplete field work, an alternative explanation is that the historic aboriginal population areas and distributions may have time depth not presently recognized. Much of the South Carolina Piedmont may be within a buffer zone or hunting territory claimed by two or more groups (such as was the situation in the historic period with the Cherokee to the northwest and the Catawba to the northeast), but largely uninhabited by either group. Anderson and Joseph (1988) are unconvinced of this explanation and suggest instead that the "plain and simple stamped wares traditionally documented as Cartersville or Connestee may extend later in time than previously thought in the upper Savannah River." Only

additional surveys and excavations in the South Carolina riverine Piedmont will provide the data necessary to assess Late Woodland occupation.

Similarly, Prentice and Nettles (2003) cite the current state (or lack) of understanding of the Late Woodland period for the Saluda River basin, 70 miles southwest of 38YK533:

> Any attempts at construing Late Woodland lifeways in … the upper South Carolina Piedmont at the present time are hampered by a lack of well understood cultural analogs in the adjacent culture areas. The Late Woodland time period is generally viewed by archeologists as the period in which the economic and social underpinnings that later led to the development of Mississippian culture were established by the appearance of fairly permanent village sites and the widespread adoption of maize agriculture, although it appears that it remained a minor contribution to the overall Late Woodland diet. The degree to which this characterization applies to the upper South Carolina Piedmont remains very much in doubt, however, because well documented Late Woodland occupations have yet to be identified in the immediate or surrounding areas. This conundrum is probably at least partially due to the proposition that locally produced Late Woodland pottery types in the upper South Carolina Piedmont are so similar to Middle Woodland types that Late Woodland components at many sites have simply not been recognized. For example, fine sand-tempered, simple stamped wares (e.g., Connestee Simple Stamped, Santee Simple Stamped, Camden Simple Stamped) long considered Middle Woodland pottery types have recently been recognized as also being Late Woodland/Mississippian (ca. A.D. 500–1400) pottery forms for a large area extending from central Georgia to northern coastal North Carolina. Similarly, projectile point types of the period consist primarily of medium to small triangular forms (Haywood Triangular, Pisgah Triangular) comparable to Hamilton Incurvate and Madison types which also span the entire Late Woodland to Mississippian time frame. The paucity of well dated ceramic trade wares has also hindered the recognition of Late Woodland occupations in the region. [Prentice and Nettles 2003:30-31].

At the 1995 Hobcaw workshop on native pottery of the Carolinas (Anderson et al. 1996), discussion addressed hypothetical Late Woodland period ceramic assemblages for the South Carolina piedmont. Published notes from the conference indicate a thread of discussion that posits sand-tempered simple-stamped wares (like those predominant at Ashe Ferry) as hallmarks of Late Woodland occupations in the piedmont:

> Chester DePratter …. noted that we know very little about the immediate pre-Mississippian Woodland material from the central Wateree River Valley.… Along the Saluda River valley simple stamped materials with fine sandy paste have been found in pre-Mississippian deposits along the Saluda, in the general vicinity of the Blair and McCollum Mounds. There might be similar simple stamped materials at Mulberry and in the central Wateree, but there is little evidence for it....
>
> A discussion of Late Woodland and Early Mississippian era simple stamping followed. Dave Phelps noted that about A.D. 800–900 an influx of simple stamping occurred in northern coastal North Carolina, and was curious about where the material might have come from. I (David G. Anderson) noted the array of evidence generated in recent years—from Georgia (Vining), the upper Savannah River (Russell Reservoir, late Cartersville), central South Carolina (Mattassee Lake/Santee Simple Stamped and Walnut Grove/McClellanville Simple Stamped), and the Connestee area (late simple stamping from A.D. 500–1000)—that, taken together, demonstrates the existence of a late Woodland simple stamped horizon apparently extending from central Georgia to northern coastal North Carolina.... [Anderson et al. 1996:20]

Anderson's viewpoint was partially informed by the Mattassee Lake investigations, which first clearly defined and dated Late Woodland period components in the Santee River valley (Anderson et al. 1982). Here, Anderson observed that:

> Two discrete assemblages were defined … one characterized by fabric impressed and cord marked pottery, and the other by (predominantly) simple stamped pottery. The earlier assemblage, corresponding to the Middle Woodland, was defined by six dates …. from AD 520 to AD 710. The later assemblage, corresponding to the Late Woodland/Early Mississippian time horizon, was defined by six dates from six

> features…. These features, characterized by simple stamped pottery, yielded dates ranging from AD 810–to AD 1340, for an average of AD 1046. [Anderson 1982:355]

Anderson defines this diagnostic simple-stamped pottery as part of the Santee ceramic series, a ware characterized by fine sand-tempered subconoidal jars and small hemispherical bowls. Anderson describes Santee Simple Stamped (var. Santee) as the only constituent type, but notes the probable inclusion of plain, cordmarked, and fabric impressed treatments in the series, and posits that cordmarked and fabric-impressed treatments date to the earlier portion of the Late Woodland period, while plain wares increase in frequency through time. Most features assigned to this "Late Woodland/Early Mississippian time horizon" are identified as probable hearths; none appear to resemble the rock-filled earth ovens associated with the Middle Woodland component at Mattassee. Lithic tools associated with the Late Woodland component include small triangular points and a range of *ad hoc* flake tools. Subsistence remains attributed to the Late Woodland component include hickory and acorn shell, grape seeds, blackberry seeds, and possibly maize, although this cultigen may be attributable to the later Mississippian component.

Anderson identifies this component at Mattassee Lake as representing the "Santee Cultural Complex," a later manifestation of the "Late Woodland Stage" that follows the "McClellanville Cultural Complex," an accommodation of Trinkley's (1981) undated McClellanville phase. Cable subdivides the Santee Cultural Complex unit into the Santee I phase (ca. AD 700–900) and the Santee II phase (ca. AD 900–1200), an early Mississippian period unit, noting that "Santee I is dominated by fabric impressed surface finishes and bridges the transition from the Middle Woodland period, while Santee II is dominated by simple stamped finishes and occupies a transitional position to the Mississippian period in the region" (Cable 2007:471). More recently, Cable et al. (2013) have suggested revisiting the McClellanville Simple Stamped type (as distinguished from Santee Simple Stamped) as representative of the later Santee II phase.

The Late Woodland Santee complex/phase unit has been successfully applied throughout much of the Santee River basin (e.g., Cable 2007) and appears to be relevant into the Wateree and lower Catawba portions of the drainage as well. Recent salvage excavations at Manchester State Forest along the lower Wateree River identified multiple pit features that yielded sand-tempered simple-stamped and fabric-impressed vessel sections and abundant food remains (Sean Taylor, personal communication 2012; Vanier 2013). Incised and punctated decorations on these wares resemble those described by Stuart (1970:110–113) for the Camden Ceramic Complex, which represents the grit-tempered simple-stamped and check-stamped wares from the Guernsey Cut-Off site on the Wateree near Camden (Griffin 1945). The probable association of incised simple-stamped wares and fabric-marked wares at the Manchester State Forest site indicate a temporal placement comparable to the Santee I subphase.

Farther upstream, investigations at the Concrete Block (38KE192), V. Green (38KE287), and Richardson (38KE288) sites in the Wateree River valley near Camden (48 miles southeast of 38YK533) targeted probable Late Woodland period components identified by the co-occurrence of sand-tempered cord-marked, fabric-impressed, and simple-stamped sherds with small triangular projectile points (McWhorter 2008; Stewart 2008; Vanier 2010; Wagner 2003, 2008). Unfortunately, none of these investigations identified discrete contexts or produced supporting dates, and the collections cannot be interpreted as coherent assemblages.

The recent investigations at the Ashe Ferry site (38YK533), a probable seasonal camp site in the lower Catawba River valley, define the Ashe Ferry phase (ca. A.D. 900–1150) (this volume), which appears closely comparable to the Santee II phase. Site contexts, including large storage

pits and fire-cracked rock filled roasting facilities, yielded sand-tempered simple-stamped wares in association with small triangular projectile points. Subsistence remains from Late Woodland period contexts at Ashe Ferry include large quantities of acorns and hickory, along with chestnut, black walnut, persimmon, blueberry, blackberry, plum, maypop, maize, amaranth, goosefoot, knotweed, little barley and maygrass. AMS dates associated with maize indicate the crop was present ca. A.D. 1000–1100, but the small quantities of maize suggest limited use of the cultigen. Ashe Ferry presented little evidence for architecture, and the limited suite of contexts documented at the site probably indicates redundant seasonal use by small foraging/collecting groups over a two-century span. The presence of garden cultigens in the assemblage, including maize, and possibly maygrass and chenopod, may reflect a settlement system that included longer-term residential bases with horticultural plots.

Incidence of sand-tempered simple-stamped ceramic wares representative of Late Woodland period components like those documented at Ashe Ferry appear relatively common in the lower Catawba River valley, and are reported at Spratt's Bottom (38YK3) (May and Tippitt 2000), 38LA144 (Charles 1984), and 38LA125. Site 38LA125, located immediately across the Catawba River from the Ashe Ferry Site, appears to have formerly included a relatively large (≈4ha –13ha by various estimates), dense Late Woodland period residential component marked by high densities of sand-tempered simple-stamped potsherds and small rhyolite (dacite) triangular projectile points. Since 1980, the site has been completely obliterated by clay borrowing by the Ashe Brick Company and its successor, Boral Industries, but site surface collections made by Janet Surratt Harris indicate a predominant early Ashe Ferry phase component. Site visits by Jackie Rice (then of the Catawba Cultural Preservation Project) noted the presence of discrete pit feature (including graves) associated with the Late Woodland period component (Jackie Rice, personal communication, 2002).

Similar Late Woodland or terminal Late Woodland components are reported from the Blair (38FA48) and McCollum (38CS2) mound sites on the Broad River (Green and Bates 2003; Ryan 1971; Teague 1979), and at Tyger Village (38UN213) on the lower Tyger River (Elliott 1984). Charles and Ferguson (2005) report Late Woodland period contexts, dated ca. A.D. 950–1100, in the upper Saluda River valley, 95 miles west of 38YK533. This component includes sand-tempered recurvate jars and bowls with simple stamped and plain surfaces, along with lineblock-motif complicated-stamped wares (Terry A. Ferguson, personal communication, 2012). At the MOX site (38AK546) on the middle Savannah River, King (2003) and Brummitt (2007) report Late Woodland period contexts that yielded sand-tempered plain and complicated-stamped wares defined as the Sleepy Hollow phase (ca. AD. 800–1150). They regard these complicated-stamped wares as similar to, and perhaps antecedent to, Mississippian-age Pisgah series ceramics (Dickens 1976:171–201; Holden 1966:72–77), but Sleepy Hollow phase wares lack the distinctive thickened and elaborated rims that make their appearance in the twelfth century and are the hallmarks of Pisgah ceramics.

Farther west, the Vining phase (ca. A.D. 800–1200) of central Georgia appears closely comparable to the terminal Woodland Ashe Ferry phase (Elliott and Wynn 1991; Kelly 1938; Meyers et al. 1999; Pluckhahn 1997; Worth 1996). This complex is typified by dense upland sites with pit features and midden deposits that yield sand-tempered simple-stamped and plain ceramic wares and small triangular projectile points. Associated subsistence remains indicate dependence on wild food resources with minor contributions, including maize, from horticultural production (Mozingo 1997). Pluckhahn (1997) characterizes Vining phase as an Early Mississippian period unit and notes the incidence of early Mississippian ceramic types in Vining

contexts at the Tarver site. He also notes apparent contemporaneity of Vining with initial Mississippian development at Macon Plateau.

To the southeast of Ashe Ferry, investigations at the Dunlap site (38DA66) in the Great Pee Dee River valley identified a presumed Late Woodland period shell midden that contained sand-tempered cordmarked and simple-stamped pottery associated with small triangular projectile points (Charles 1984; Chris Judge, personal communication 2012). Other materials recovered from Dunlap include ceramic smoking pipe fragments, ceramic disks, shell beads, and bone tools. No absolute dates have been obtained for the Late Woodland period component at Dunlap, but researchers infer that the component postdates the Hanover phase occupations at the nearby Kolb site and predates the spread of the South Appalachian Mississippian ceramic tradition (ca. A.D. 1150– 1200) across the area. Further upstream at the Teal site (31AN1) in North Carolina (50 miles northeast of 38YK533), Oliver (1992) defines the Savannah Creek ceramic series as representative of terminal Late Woodland period occupations in the uppermost Pee Dee River valley. These sand-tempered simple-stamped and fine cordmarked wares closely resemble Ashe Ferry ceramics with respect to rim form and treatment, and may be coeval with Ashe Ferry and Santee II. These Savannah Creek wares are probably also represented at Town Creek (31MG2, 31MG3), but no discrete Late Woodland period contexts have been defined there (see Boudreaux 2005).

Farther afield, in the middle Yadkin River valley in the North Carolina piedmont, components of the ca. A.D. 800–1200 time horizon are referable to the Uwharrie phase (Coe 1952), distinguished by the predominance of Uwharrie series ceramics. These crushed quartz-tempered wares exhibit cord, fabric or net-impressed surfaces on conoidal jars and hemispherical bowls with distinctive scraped/combed interiors. Unlike the sand-tempered simple-stamped wares found across the South Carolina piedmont, Uwharrie ceramics appear to derive directly from Yadkin series antecedents. Other documented elements of Uwharrie phase assemblages include small isosceles triangular projectile points, carved-stone alate-stemmed tobacco pipes, marine shell (*Olivella* and *Marginella*) beads, ground-stone celts, bone awls and bone fishhooks. Radiocarbon dates for Uwharrie phase contexts cluster in the A.D. 1000–A.D.1200 range (Eastman 1994a, 1994b), with considerable outliers that may reflect classificatory issues. Investigations of Uwharrie phase components at the Parker (31DV25), Forbush Creek (31YD1), Donnaha (31YD9), and Hunting Creek (31DE155) sites have documented midden deposits, large storage pits, human burials, and probable structures in both riverine and upland settings (Newkirk 1978; Ward and Davis 1999:100–101; Woodall 1984). These components appear indicative of more sustained, higher intensity occupations, and have been interpreted as representing hamlets or small-scale villages which probably date to the later end of the phase. Surveys in the Great Bend area of the Yadkin River valley have identified numerous Uwharrie phase components (Woodall 1990) in a variety of settings, an indication of population growth and growing complexity of settlement systems during this era.

Mississippian Period

Late Uwharrie phase trends of group aggregation, settlement stability, and increased sedentism, and increasing complexity of settlement/subsistence systems, parallel the contemporaneous development of Mississippian cultural patterns across South Carolina and the southern North Carolina piedmont during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Mississippian period cultural patterns include: the development of sociopolitical complexity, including sociopolitical hierarchies (e.g., chiefdoms) with institutionalized controls; markedly higher levels of group aggregation and sedentism (i.e., development of “permanent” villages and towns); the

development of settlement hierarchies; economic dependence on horticultural food production (based upon maize) coupled with surplus production and storage; the organization of labor for construction of political and religious monuments; and the development of a broadly shared system of iconography and related material trappings that point to moderately well-integrated communication networks across disparate societies. These trends find their earliest and most complete expressions in the central Mississippi River valley with the rise of Mississippian centers during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Expression of these trends varies widely across the Mississippian sphere, and the Mississippian "culture" constitutes polythetic sets of practices often overlaid on local antecedent Late Woodland period patterns. In South Carolina, the South Appalachian Mississippian regional variant is most basically represented by ceramic assemblages predominated by grit- or sand-tempered complicated-stamped ceramics (rather than shell-tempered plain ceramics that define Middle Mississippian archaeological cultures) (Ferguson 1971). Mound centers, the archetypical Mississippian village sites with monumental earthen substructure platform mounds, are widely but sparsely arrayed along major stream valleys across the interior of South Carolina. These administrative and religious centers undoubtedly anchored a landscape populated with smaller subsidiary villages, hamlets, and farmsteads, but these smaller sites have not been well documented in the South Carolina piedmont.

Adoption or development of South Appalachian Mississippian cultural practices in the South Carolina piedmont appears to span the twelfth century, with a general inception horizon proceeding northeastward from the Savannah River corridor beginning ca. A.D. 1100 and reaching the Pee Dee River (the northeastern Mississippian frontier) by ca. A.D. 1200. In the upper Savannah River basin, the initial Mississippian Jarrett phase (ca. A.D. 1100–1200) is defined at the Tugalo and Chauga mound sites, where it is associated with the earliest stages of mound construction (Hally and Rudolph 1986). Jarrett phase ceramic assemblages are dominated by even proportions of grit-tempered plain (46%) and complicated-stamped (Etowah) (47%) wares. Anderson (1994:375) identifies small, hamlet-scale Jarrett phase components at Clyde Gully and 9EB219 in the Richard B. Russell Reservoir project area, and notes probable Jarrett phase settlement hierarchies represented in the region.

The succeeding Beaverdam phase (ca. A.D. 1200–1300) is defined at the Beaverdam Creek mound and village site in the Richard B. Russell Reservoir (Hally and Rudolph 1986; Rudolph and Hally 1985). Investigations there yielded evidence of a large, compact nucleated village with probable square domestic structures and rectangular earth lodges that may have functioned as public buildings; one of these earth lodges was superimposed by a low platform mound. Excavations within the village area focused on occupational midden and pit features. The Beaverdam phase ceramic assemblages are dominated by plain and burnished plain grit-tempered wares (86%), but include Etowah Complicated Stamped, Savannah Complicated Stamped and Savannah Check Stamped types. Collared rim forms, with a variety of punctated or incised decorations, are conspicuous. Beaverdam Creek wares represent a range of at least eight vessel types and sizes that reflect the increasing complexity of Mississippian ceramic production and use. Other elements of Beaverdam Creek assemblages include small equilateral or isosceles triangular arrow points, drills, perforators, ground-stone celts, carved soapstone or ceramic tobacco pipes, marine shell beads and gorgets, and sheet copper ornaments. Botanical remains from Beaverdam Creek include maize, squash, gourd, sunflower, and sumpweed, indicating a well-developed and prominent horticultural complex. Wild plant foods, particularly acorn and hickory nut, are ubiquitous. Faunal remains include deer, raccoon, opossum, rabbit, squirrel,

turkey, passenger pigeon, snapping turtle, soft shell turtle, box turtle, gar, suckerfish, bullhead catfish, bass, and sunfish.

Below the Savannah River fall line, the Lawton phase appears to be coeval with the Jarrett phase (Anderson 1994; Stephenson 2011). Recent investigations at the Riverfront Village site (38AK933) at North Augusta documented an apparent Lawton phase component dated ca. A.D. 1050–1250 (Whitley et al. 2012). Lawton phase contexts there included bell-shaped pits, hearths, and residential structures set in subterranean basins. The associated ceramic assemblage contained coarse sand/grit-tempered wares with plain (65–93%), cobmarked (1–10%) and curvilinear complicated stamped (1–11%) surfaces along with low incidences of rectilinear complicated-stamped, check-stamped, and cordmarked surfaces. Subsistence remains indicate a broad-based economy that included maize production, but with greater emphasis on gathering-hunting-fishing; acorn remains are particularly prominent in Early Mississippian period contexts at Riverfront Village.

The ensuing Hollywood phase (ca. A.D. 1250–1350) (Hally and Rudolph 1986) is defined from investigations at the Hollywood mound and village site and best documented at the Lawton and Red Lake mound sites (DeBaillou 1965; Stephenson 2011). This phase witnessed development of multiple mound centers with palisaded or ditched nucleated settlements indicative of growing sociopolitical complexity. Stephenson (2011) indicates that these centers served a dispersed population of farmsteads and hamlets. Subsistence remains from Lawton suggest increased reliance on maize production, but continued heavy use of acorn and hickory as second line foodstuffs. Associated ceramic assemblages include coarse sand-tempered Savannah wares with plain/burnished plain (40%), check-stamped (44%), and complicated-stamped (16%) surface treatments (Hally and Rudolph 1986). Ceramic rims are typically simple in form, but are frequently decorated with cane punctations or punctated nodes (Anderson 1994:370; Anderson et al. 1986:40–41; Hally and Rudolph 1986:62–63). Large utilitarian jars and carinated bowls were also used as containers for urn burials, a diagnostic (if infrequent) Hollywood phase characteristic. Brummitt (2007:16) emphasizes the broad distribution of diagnostic Hollywood phase ceramic attributes as evidence of "more cultural similarity across the region during this time than in preceding periods. The pottery of the Hollywood phase is very much like that from other areas across the region, ranging from the Irene (9Ch1) site near Savannah, Georgia to the Town Creek site (31Mg2) in Montgomery County, North Carolina."

A still broader frame of interaction is indicated by a wide variety of Hollywood phase Southeastern Ceremonial Complex artifacts, including repoussé copper plates, imported "water" bottles painted or engraved with Braden-style Mississippian cosmological motifs, elaborate stone and ceramic tobacco pipes, shell beads and gorget fragments, and copper covered earspools (Anderson et al. 1986:33). These iconographic objects from Hollywood phase contexts signal common participation in a Mississippian ritual complex that extended from the eastern Plains to the Atlantic and from the upper central Mississippi Valley to the Gulf Coast.

Mississippian period development is not as well documented in the piedmont region between the Savannah and Santee-Wateree-Catawba rivers (Benson 2006). Test excavations at the Blair Mound site (Teague 1979) on the Broad River revealed a burned submound structure, which yielded a radiocarbon date of A.D. 1195. Associated materials include ceramic wares that resemble the Pisgah series (Dickens 1976) and Pee Dee series (Coe 1952; Reid 1967), and a span of ca. A.D. 1200–1300 is indicated (Green and Bates 2003). Investigations at the McCollum Mound site, located upstream from Blair (and approximately 54 km west of Ashe Ferry) identified a similar component that included Pisgah-like wares as well as Pee Dee and Savannah

series ceramics; a ca. A.D. 1200–1400 occupation span is likely. Recent investigations at the Roberson Farm site on the upper Saluda River has documented early Pisgah phase contexts dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Charles and Ferguson 2005; Terry Ferguson, personal communication 2011). These contexts yielded distinctive, grit-tempered complicated-stamped Pisgah pottery with punctate rim collars (Dickens 1976). Similar ceramic wares are documented throughout much of the Broad, Saluda, Enoree, and Tyger basins (Benson 2006; Bridgman-Sweeney 2006; DePratter 1989; Green and Bates 2003; Elliott 1984), indicating an Early Mississippian period trajectory distinct from that documented on the upper and middle Savannah.

Mississippian period occupation in the Santee-Wateree-Catawba basin has been more thoroughly explored, and Mississippian cultural sequences have been developed for the lower Santee and middle Wateree regions (Anderson 1982; Cable 2007; DePratter and Judge 1986, 1990). At Mattassee Lake, Anderson (1982:250) identifies Santee II phase (ca. A.D. 900–1200) as an initial Mississippian period complex. Associated ceramic wares are sand-tempered Santee Simple Stamped, sand-tempered Woodland Plain (unspecified), grog-tempered Wilmington Heavy Cordmarked (Caldwell 1952), and grog-tempered Wilmington Plain, all wares found in the preceding Santee I phase, but lacking Cape Fear ceramic types. Anderson's basis for associating Santee II with the Mississippian period rather than the Late Woodland period appears to be primarily temporal. Major changes in the Mattassee Lake assemblage follow with the Jeremy phase (ca. A.D. 1200–1400) (Trinkley 1980), characterized by the appearance of Savannah Complicated Stamped, Savannah Check Stamped, Savannah Fine Cord Marked, and Mississippian Plain types—wares that are comparable to those in Hollywood phase contexts on the middle Savannah River. Cable (2007:471) observed a significant change in settlement pattern between Santee I and Santee II phases at Tibwin Creek on the lower Santee, and noted a significant increase in site size and density during Santee II. Cable more definitively associates Santee II with the Mississippian inception, and describes Santee II communities as the foundations for successive Jeremy phase communities (Cable 2007:476). He also suggests that the evidence for initial Mississippian culture on the Santee should articulate directly with the Wateree River valley sequence defined by DePratter and Judge (1986, 1990) for the Camden locality.

This Wateree River valley sequence begins with the Belmont Neck phase (ca. A.D. 1200–1250) (DePratter and Judge 1986, 1990); no antecedent Late Woodland period or initial Mississippian antecedent has been defined, although DePratter (Anderson, et al. 1996) suggests a probable Santee II-like precursor. DePratter and Judge based the phase definition on surface-collected materials from the Belmont Neck site, a mound and village complex near Camden that yielded Early Mississippian period collections characterized by sand/grit-tempered wares with complicated-stamped (43%) and plain/burnished (40%) surfaces. Belmont Neck phase rims are primarily simple in form. Test excavations by Cable et al. (1999) at Belmont Neck obtained samples that suggest a broader range of occupation, with Etowah Complicated Stamped wares posited as representing an initial Mississippian occupation ca. A.D. 1000 (based on the incidence of Etowah wares), but the inception of the Belmont Neck phase is not independently dated.

The ensuing Adamson phase (ca. A.D. 1250–1300) is characterized on the basis of surface collections and test excavations at the Adamson site, a large mound and village complex also located near Camden (Cable et al. 1999; DePratter 1985; DePratter and Judge 1990). Similar to the Hollywood and Lawton sites, Adamson boasts paired mounds (a reported third mound is no longer apparent). These multiple-mound centers are interpreted as reflective of multi-town

settlement hierarchies, and are believed to represent mature development of Mississippian sociopolitical systems (Anderson 1994). A similar contemporaneous multiple-mound complex is documented downstream at the Fort Walton/Scott's Lake site (Ferguson 1975).

Adamson phase ceramic assemblages consist of grit or coarse sand-tempered wares with plain/burnished plain (59%) and complicated-stamped (23%) surfaces, and with stamp designs dominated by filfot cross and line-block motifs. Decorated rims increase over the antecedent Belmont Neck phase, with notching (13%), punctations (13%), and applique rosettes (3%) being most prominent. Adamson phase ceramics are generally comparable to Pee Dee wares defined at the Town Creek site in North Carolina.

At the Ashe Ferry site (this volume) on the lower Catawba River (48 miles northwest of the Camden site localities), the transition from terminal Woodland to initial Mississippian is marked by later Ashe Ferry phase (ca. A.D. 1100–1150) contexts, which yielded homogeneous assemblages of sand-tempered simple-stamped wares comparable to the Santee II phase. The succeeding (early Mississippian) Early Brown phase (ca. A.D. 1200–1350) is characterized by grit- or sand-tempered plain and burnished plain wares, which primarily represent shouldered bowls with distinctive round dowel-notched rims. No complicated stamped wares are clearly associated with Early Brown phase contexts, but Savannah Complicated Stamped sherds recovered from the plowzone are likely Early Brown phase elements. Pisgah-like collared jar rims recovered from plowzone contexts at Ashe Ferry exhibit notching identical to that evident on the Early Brown burnished bowls and may also be attributable to the sparse Early Brown phase component. The absence of Etowah-type complicated-stamped wares at Ashe Ferry, and the presence of Pisgah-like wares indicates Early Mississippian development distinct from the nearby Belmont Neck phase and, perhaps, more similar to developments in the Broad River basin (Green and Bates 2003). The predominance of plain/burnished plain wares in the Early Brown phase also resembles the Beaverdam phase (ca. A.D. 1200–1300) in the upper Savannah River basin and the Lawton phase in the middle Savannah River basin, where plain/burnished plain wares account for 80–90% of the ceramic assemblage.

The Early Brown phase Mississippian component at Ashe Ferry appears to have been small scale and relatively low intensity, and only eight discrete feature contexts yielded Mississippian period pottery. Distributions of diagnostic Mississippian sherds indicate two probable loci of occupation at opposite ends of the terrace; these may be referable to individual farmsteads that were largely obscured by the construction of the SC Highway 5 causeway. By contrast to the preceding Ashe Ferry phase component, which was characterized by large earth ovens and large and small storage pits, Early Brown contexts were all small pits or basins, and a major shift in site activity is indicated. However, other aspects of material assemblages appear closely similar to those of the Ashe Ferry phase, and the suite of edible plant remains in Early Brown phase contexts (e.g., acorn, hickory nut, walnut, grape, persimmons, maygrass, and maize) resembles those documented from Ashe Ferry phase contexts.

No other early Mississippian period occupations have been identified in the middle Catawba River basin in the North Carolina piedmont, and survey collections from the middle Catawba may reflect the late persistence of Late Woodland period patterns in this segment of the valley (Moore 2002). Moore (2002:177–178) describes Pisgah phase components at the headwaters of the Catawba as the initial Mississippian occupations; radiocarbon dates from the Tyler-Loughridge (Robinson 1996) and McDowell sites indicate an eleventh-century Mississippian inception.

To the northeast of Ashe Ferry, the Pee Dee River basin marks the northeastern extent of the South Appalachian Mississippian cultural pattern, most notably at the Town Creek site, a mound and village complex on the Little River at the foot of the Uwharrie Mountains. Analyses by Oliver (1992) and Boudreaux (2005, 2007) define the inception of the Mississippian pattern in this area as the Teal phase (ca. A.D. 1000–1150) based upon evidence from the Teal site in Anson County, North Carolina (Oliver 1992). Contexts at Teal yielded early Etowah-like Pee Dee Complicated Stamped wares, together with plain wares, and sand-tempered simple-stamped wares and fine cordmarked wares that are characterized as Late Woodland period Savannah Creek series (Oliver 1992). However, the contextual association of the Mississippian Pee Dee wares and the Late Woodland Savannah Creek wares is not particularly robust, and interpretation of Teal as a bridging transitional assemblage is not supported. Radiocarbon dates derived from putative Teal phase contexts span the tenth through sixteenth centuries. Boudreaux notes that the various elements of the Teal phase, such as Etowah-style complicated stamping, fine cordmarking, and simple stamping, all find expression in other Early Mississippian phases in the A.D. 1100–1200 time horizon (Boudreaux 2005:82).

The succeeding Early Mississippian Town Creek phase (ca. A.D. 1150–1300), which is largely contemporaneous with the Early Brown phase, is much more securely constructed from extensive investigations of the Town Creek site (Boudreaux 2005:82–86). Town Creek phase contexts include thousands of postholes that constitute dozens of structures, storage pits and basins of various sizes, hearths, burials (including urn burials), and an earthen substructure platform mound. The early (pre-mound) segment of the Town Creek phase (ca. A.D. 1150–1250) is characterized by sand-tempered Pee Dee series ceramic wares that exhibit complicated-stamped (54%) or plain/burnished plain (28%) surfaces, with minority representations of check-stamped, simple-stamped, cordmarked and fabric-impressed surfaces (exclusive of indeterminate stamped surfaces) (Boudreaux 2007:26). The later Town Creek phase (ca. A.D. 1250–1300) ceramic assemblage evinces an increase in plain/burnished plain surfaces (43%) parallel to the Adamson and Hollywood phases, but also sees an increase in rim decoration, particularly the addition of applique rosettes on jars and applique pellets on bowls. Other materials associated with Town Creek phase contexts include small triangular projectile points, drills, perforators, ground-stone celts and adzes, carved-stone and pottery tobacco pipes, ground-stone beads, marine shell gorgets and beads, bone scratchers/scarifiers, awls, and scrapers, sheet copper, and a copper axe. Associated subsistence remains include abundant evidence for use of maize and hickory, white-tailed deer, raccoon, squirrel, rabbit, turkey, ducks, bobwhite, passenger pigeon, fish, and turtles (Trinkley 1995; Wilson and Hogue 1995).

The early Town Creek phase (pre-mound) community at Town Creek constituted a small nucleated and palisaded village of 10 or more circular, small-post residential structures that surrounded a central plaza (Boudreaux 2007). At opposite sides of the plaza were larger rectangular public structures, including an earth-embanked "earth lodge" similar to those documented in Early Mississippian period contexts at Macon Plateau, Irene, and Beaverdam Creek (Caldwell and McCann 1941; Hally and Rudolph 1986; Kelly 1938). During the late Town Creek phase, the community was marked by installation of a platform mound over the earth lodge ruin at the western edge of the plaza and an enclosure around the public structure on the east side of the plaza. Domestic residential occupation appears greatly reduced, and large, corporate group buildings constitute the majority of structures around the plaza, indicating a possible shift in focus from residential to ritual activities at the site by A.D. 1300. The population that this center served was presumably dispersed across nearby agricultural lands.

Occupation of the Ashe Ferry site appears to have ceased by the mid-fourteenth century, a time when many South Appalachian Mississippian centers in the surrounding region remained ascendant, and during an era of expanding sociopolitical complexity. One such center apparently arose 8.5 miles south of Ashe Ferry at 38LA14, site of a large village and mound (once 30 ft tall and since leveled) occupied during the McDowell phase (ca. A.D. 1350–1450) (see DePratter and Judge 1990). This poorly documented mound center may have served as the hub for a sociopolitical organization that spanned the lower Catawba River valley, as no other Mississippian mound centers are reported in the middle or lower Catawba River basin (Moore 2002). Furthermore, evidence from surveys and testing projects indicate that Mississippian cultural patterns do not appear to have taken hold in much of the middle or lower Catawba River basin until the fifteenth century (Moore 2002:181–182). The presence of native towns within this region in the very late prehistoric and protohistoric eras is intimated by interpretations of the narratives of sixteenth-century Spanish entradas into the southeastern interior (Baker 1975; DePratter 1989; Hudson et al. 1984). These readings of the routes of the DeSoto and Pardo expeditions place the paramount center of Cofitachequi in the Camden district and posit a Wateree-Catawba River corridor for Spanish exploration. On the basis of these accounts, Booker et al. (1992), DePratter et al. (1983), and Hudson et al. (1984) suggest that the native settlements of Tagaya the Lesser, Gueça, Aracauchi, Otari, Yssa, and Quinhaqui were all located in the lower or middle Catawba River basin. Linguistic analyses (Booker et al. 1992) identify these as Catawban place names, implying continuity with the later historic-era populations of the region.

Post-Contact Site History

No materials recovered from the Ashe Ferry site indicate native occupations after ca. A.D. 1350, and the record of site use is obscure until the dawn of the historic era, when Lawson (1709) describes this area along the presumed edges of Waxhaw and Esaw territories; the river bottoms opposite the site were once considered part of the "Waxhaws Old Fields." Mooney (1900:380–381), however, notes Cherokee tradition that asserts that the land between the west bank of the Catawba River and the east side of the Broad River was a mutually agreed buffer between Cherokee and Catawba possessions. Throughout most the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the site locality was recognized as part of the territory of the Catawba Indian nation (successor to both Esaw and Waxhaw nations); however, Catawba occupation of the west side of the Catawba River is undocumented until 1781 (Drayton 1802; Feltman 1853). The boundaries of the Catawba nation defined by the Treaty of Augusta (1763) strike the Catawba River at the mouth of Twelvemile Creek and include the Ashe Ferry site at the edge of that boundary (Figure 2.2).

Early documentary accounts and maps indicate a ford crossing of the Catawba River adjacent to the site, immediately upstream from the mouth of Twelvemile Creek. In 1772, John F.D. Smyth used the ford and noted:

> … I left the Catawbas, and set out on a journey to a very distinguished place of trade, in South-Carolina, lately entitled Camden…
>
> We set out from hence in the morning very early, and … crossed the Catawba river, at a ford just above the confluence of a considerable rivulet that falls into it on the north-east side named Twelve Mile creek, leaving the great road or trading path on our right, that leads west towards the Cherokee country, our course being almost due south a little easterly; and during all this morning's ride hitherto, we have still been upon the territory belonging to the Catawba nation.

> The Catawba is a large and rapid river, containing an enormous quantity of water: it is about three hundred and fifty yards wide, and, although fordable, is deep, and runs in a rocky channel with great velocity. [Smyth 1784:196–197]

Contemporary maps indicate that Smyth traversed the "New Catawba Road" that linked to the Salisbury-Camden road, passed through the main Catawba Town, and crossed the Catawba River above Twelvemile Creek to pass down the west side of the Catawba-Wateree (Fig. 2.2). Smyth re-crossed the Wateree by ferry near Camden. The road on the west side of the Wateree continued southward through Amelia Township, Dorchester, and eventually attained Charles Town.

At the end of the American Revolution, a new Catawba Indian settlement headed by Col. John Ayers was established on the west side of the Catawba River, approximately 650 m west of the Ashe Ferry site. It is likely that the inhabitants of Ayers Town regularly traversed the Ashe Ferry site in crossing Twelvemile Ford, but use of this river crossing probably lapsed when the Ayers Town community moved upstream around 1800. The ford is not depicted on the 1798 Price-Strothers map or on the 1825 *Mills Atlas* maps of York and Lancaster counties (Mills 1825; Price and Strothers 1808).

The Ashe Ferry site remained within the territory of the Catawba Indian Nation until the 1840 Treaty of Nation Ford, but the property may have been leased to whites after abandonment

Figure 2.2. Detail of the 1775 "An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina With Their Indian Frontiers" [Henry Mouzon], indicating the 1763 boundary of the Catawba Nation and the river crossing at Twelvemile Creek.

of nearby Ayers Town (ca. 1800). Informal leasing of Catawba lands began before the American Revolution, and in 1785 South Carolina instituted a formal leasing system for Catawba lands to promote white settlement and use of the tribal territory (Pettus 2005:29). Under this state sanctioned system, three state-appointed commissioners oversaw and recorded lease transactions between whites and Catawba representatives, maintained surveys, and recorded lease payments (Pettus 2005:29). Surviving records do not indicate the leasing of the Ashe Ferry site locality, but acquisition of the tract by Benjamin Sykes Massey in 1843 may reflect his prior lease of the land. Surviving records for the east side of the river indicate that Massey leased lands adjoining Twelvemile Creek in 1839, positioning for purchase of that property after the Nation Ford treaty (Massey was an acting commissioner for Catawba lands). Because Massey also acquired 430 acres of land on the opposite side of the river (including the Ashe Ferry Site), he may have "preconditioned" this property through long-term lease as well (York County Register of Deeds 1843). The initial survey plats for both properties, drawn shortly after the treaty was signed, indicate that Massey operated a ferry immediately upriver from the Ashe Ferry site.

It is unclear how long Massey operated his ferry after 1841, but the Ashe Ferry site remained part of Massey's holdings until his death in 1854, when the property passed to his son, L.H. (Lycurgus Herschel) Massey. Benjamin Massey maintained his residence in Lancaster County throughout his life, and there is no evidence for residential occupation of the Ashe Ferry property during his tenure. L.H. Massey, who lived north of the Ashe Ferry property near present-day Catawba, South Carolina, held the property until 1872. Massey fell into bankruptcy as a result of losses suffered during the Civil War and ensuing economic collapse in the South, and in 1872 was forced to liquidate his real estate holdings to pay debts. W.B. Metts, the court assignee in Massey's bankruptcy, sold 300 acres, including the Ashe Ferry site, at public auction in 1872 to Massey's niece, C.A. (Charlotte Addie) White and her husband, Dr. W.J. White (York County Register of Deeds 1872). The Whites held the property until 1909.

In 1888, the Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad (later, the Seaboard Air Line Railway [1900], the Seaboard Air Line Railroad [1946], the Seaboard Coast Line Railroad [1967], and CSX Transportation [1986]) acquired right-of-way and constructed a rail line across the property, with embankments, causeways, and bridges that effectively split the tract and created new agricultural field patterns on the parcel. The rail line is approximately 100 m south of the Ashe Ferry site and did not directly affect the archaeological site, but the railroad imposed impediments to water flow that modified the site during subsequent floods of the Catawba River. In 1901, a major flood swept away the railroad and floated a newly-built resort hotel (from 100 miles upstream) across the property. The Seaboard Air Line Railway quickly rebuilt the rail, setting the stage for a major train wreck near the site in 1904. Saboteurs had damaged a trestle over the backswamp 250 m southwest of the site, causing a passenger train to derail and plunge down the embankment, followed by a light engine and caboose that derailed atop the first train and killed four (Associated Press 1904).

In 1909, C.A. White sold the 300-acre property on the west side of the Catawba River to Rock Hill entrepreneurs S.N. Sowell and J.L Sowell (York County Register of Deeds 1909). The Sowells, who operated the Sowell Brick Company, merged that business with William Nelson Ashe's brickmaking companies (the Rock Hill SC Brick Works and the Catawba River Brick Works at Van Wyck) in February 1910 to form The Catawba Press Brick Company (South Carolina Secretary of State 1910:76). The Sowells then sold their private interests in the Ashe Ferry Site property to the Catawba Press Brick Company in 1913 (York County Register of Deeds 1913).

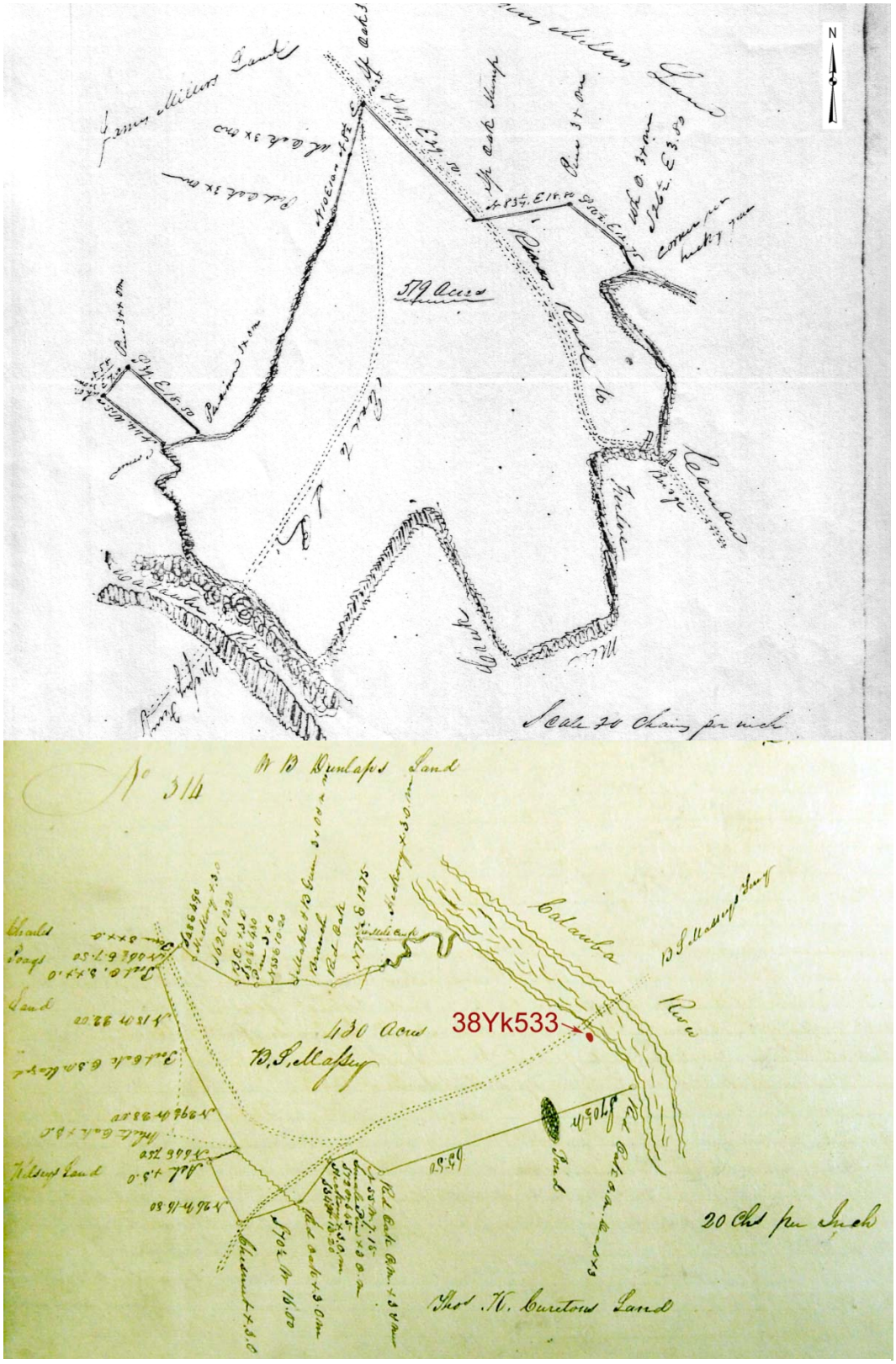

Figure 2.3. 1843 plats for land deeded to Benjamin S. Massey on both sides of the Catawba River above Twelvemile Creek. Note the road crossing the tract and river crossing labeled "Massey Ferry." The Ashe Ferry site (38YK533) is indicated by red annotation on the bottom plat for the tract on the west side of the river.

The Catawba Press Brick Company operations were largely limited to a plant at Van Wyck on the east side of the river, and the former White property appears to have remained in agricultural use until the epic flood of 1916. In July, 1916, two successive hurricanes inundated the southern Appalachian Mountains and the eastern flank of the Blue Ridge, and caused massive flooding along the entire Catawba-Wateree drainage (Southern Railway Company 1917:7–9). The Lake Wylie dam at Rock Hill burst, and all bridges and rail trestles along the Catawba and Wateree rivers were destroyed (Southern Railway Company 1917:93). Flood waters that swept across the Ashe Ferry site (eight meters above normal river level) were slowed by damming from the Seaboard Air Line Railway trestle and causeway, and deposited a foot or more of sterile sands over the long-stable surface of the site. This deposit effectively sealed the Ashe Ferry archaeological site from further plowing damage.

When the Catawba Press Brick Company went into receivership in 1917, William N. Ashe purchased full ownership of the tract that included the Ashe Ferry site (York County Register of Deeds 1917). Ashe, whose holdings also included the property on the opposite side of the river, established Ashe Ferry in 1927 to link his properties and facilitate travel to his Ashe Brick Company plant (est. 1906) in nearby Van Wyck, South Carolina. The April 26, 1927 issue of *The Yorkville Enquirer* reported:

> "Thanks largely to the enterprise of Mr. W. N. Ashe, there will soon be a new ferry on the Catawba at Catawba Junction which will cut the distance across the river between Van Wyck and Catawba Junction," said Dr. G. W. Hill, veteran physician of Catawba Junction who was a visitor in York last Wednesday. "A site near the Seaboard Bridge crossing the river has been selected by Mr. Ashe for his flat boat and ferry."
>
> Dr. Hill went on to tell: landings have been constructed, the boat has been completed and it is presumed that the new crossing will be ready within a short time now. The new ferry will be the means of elimination of that big hill on the Lancaster side at Cureton's and as I say make a more direct route between the village of Catawba and that of Van Wyck.
>
> The understanding is that Mr. Ashe's principal idea in constructing this new ferry was in order that he might have a more direct connection between his extensive farming interests on both sides of the river; although the general public is to have the benefit of it. And we people down around Catawba Junction feel mighty good over it. [*Yorkville Enquirer*, April 26, 1927]

William Moore, Ashe's nephew, later related that:

> Ashe operated the Ashe Brick Co. on the Lancaster County side of the river and owned a farm on the York County side. In 1927, he built the ferry and a mile and a half of road leading to it. He was aided by both York and Lancaster counties.
>
> Originally called the Ashe Ferry, the square-looking boat went into operation in 1928. When it wore out it was succeded [sic] by another ferry, and finally by the present craft.
>
> The first ferry was poled across the river. But today's ferry, built in 1942, is motorized.
>
> The original ferry was operated by the Ashes on a private basis. It was taken over by the state in 1942 and became an official link for State Rt. 504. [*Rock Hill Evening Herald* 1959]

Upon W.N. Ashe's death in 1932, the Ashe Ferry site property passed in estate to his sister, Elizabeth Ashe Moore, and devolved into trust with her death in 1966. Operation of Ashe Ferry, adjacent to the Ashe Ferry archaeological site (38YK533), continued throughout much of Elizabeth Ashe Moore's tenure. The state of South Carolina assumed operation of Ashe Ferry in 1942, and employed Early Brown, a Catawba Indian ferryman who had once run Cureton Ferry, to manage the crossing on SC State Route 504 (Figure 2.4). Brown resided in a house on the west bank of the river and on the north side of Highway 504, "above the reach of high water, yet

near enough to hear any motorist who needs ferrying across the river" (*Rock Hill Herald* 1950; Bigham 1954). W.D. Workman, who visited the ferry in 1953, described its operation:

> The entire scene of the ferry reflects by-gone days, for approaches on both sides of the river are dirt, the ferry is an old flat-bottomed barge, and its motive power comes from the push exerted by the ferryman as he poles the craft across the river. Nowadays, that push comes from a wiry young man named Howard George, who does the job for his grandfather, Early Berley Morgan Brown. Both are Catawba Indians…. [Workman 1953]

Brown, with assistance from his relatives, continued to operate Ashe Ferry until 1959, when the state constructed SC Highway 5 and a new bridge across the Catawba River that obviated the ferry. Local politicians and businessmen had long pushed to have a highway bridge that connected southern York County with northern Lancaster County, but it was the May 1956

Figure 2.4 View to west of Ashe Ferry in operation in 1954. Early Brown (inset) operated the ferry ca. 1942-1959. Brown's house is at right; the Ashe Ferry site (38YK533) is immediately downstream (left) from the ferry landing.

announcement of plans by the Bowater Paper Corporation to build a $100 million dollar pulp mill on the banks of Catawba River just outside Catawba (formerly Catawba Junction) that finally prompted the state to approve state and federal funds for construction of a two-lane highway and bridge connection (*Charleston News and Courier* 1956). The decision on where to site the bridge was delayed until Bowater's design plans were finalized. Construction of the highway, bridge, and pulp mill began in 1957, and all were completed in 1959. On October 9, 1959, Gov. Ernest F. "Fritz" Hollings dedicated the Ashe-Bradford bridge, named in honor of W.N. Ashe and W.R. Bradford, editor of the *Fort Mill Times* and long-time member of the South Carolina State House of Representatives (Pettus 2001). With completion of the Ashe-Bradford bridge, the old Ashe Ferry that connected Catawba Junction and Van Wyck was decommissioned and the Route 504 approach adjacent to 38YK533 was abandoned.

Construction of Highway 5 and the Ashe-Bradford bridge cut a 17-meter wide swath through the long axis of the Ashe Ferry archaeological site, and destroyed or obscured approximately 30% of the total site area (Figure 2.5). In addition, a construction access road snaked through the site along the north side of the highway, and soil borrowing along the construction access destroyed an additional 10% of the original site area. Agricultural use of the property probably ceased after highway construction, and the site lapsed into old field succession.

Figure 2.5. Aerial view [1959] of the construction of the SC Highway 9 bridge and the approach across 38YK533. Ashe Ferry and the Early Brown house are visible in the background.

The Ashe Ferry site tract passed into trust after the deaths of Elizabeth Ashe Moore (d. 1966) and her son, James M. Moore (d. 1975). The heirs, as substitute trustees, deeded the land to the Ashe Brick Company, Inc. in 1985 (York County Register of Deeds 1985), then filed a quitclaim deed on the property in 1987 as Ashe Farms, Inc., following the 1986 sale of Ashe Brick Company to Boral Industries (York County Register of Deeds 1987). Ashe Farms, Inc. sold the Ashe Ferry site property to Calhoun Newsprint Company (a division of Bowater Incorporated) in 1993 (York County Register of Deeds 1993); the property was retitled to Bowater Incorporated in 1996 (York County Register of Deeds 1996). The South Carolina Department of Transportation acquired right-of-way for the current bridge replacement project from Bowater in 2009, setting the stage for the 2010–2011 archaeological investigations.