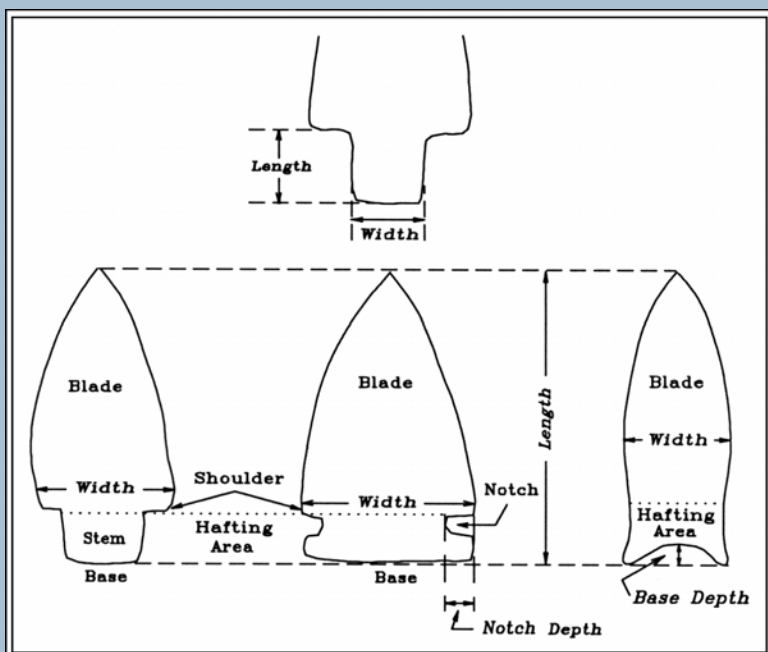


Southern Indian Studies



Southern Indian Studies

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Information for Authors

Southern Indian Studies publishes articles on the archaeology of North Carolina and neighboring states. One copy of each manuscript, with accompanying tables, figures, and bibliography, should be submitted to the Editor. Manuscripts should be double spaced with ample margins throughout. Style should conform to guidelines published in *American Antiquity*, vol. 48, no. 2 (April, 1983). The Editor can assist those wishing to submit a manuscript but who are unfamiliar with *American Antiquity* style.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

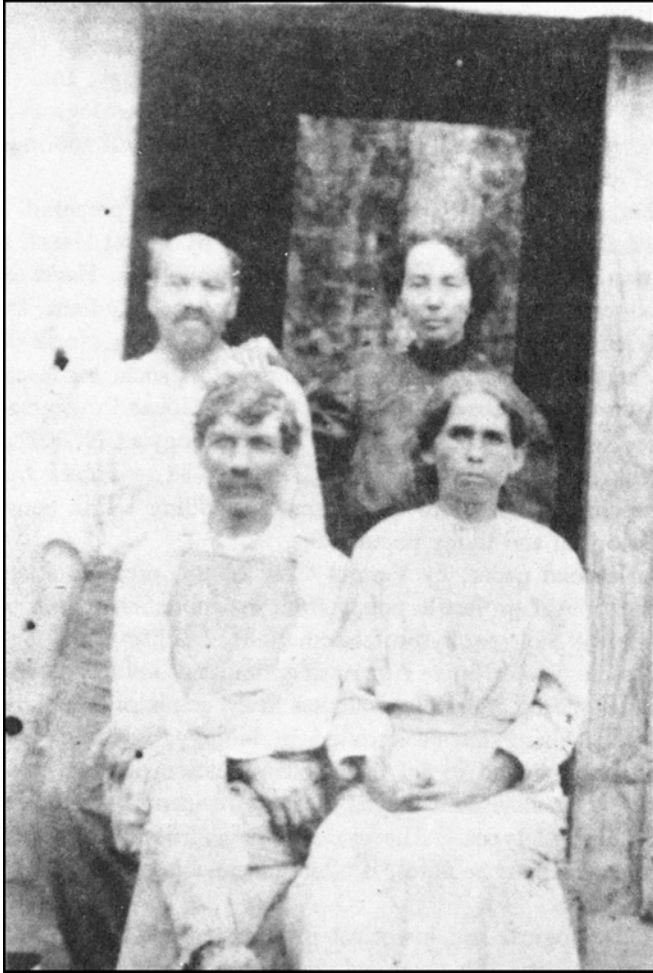
In 1991, the Archaeological Society of North Carolina (founded in 1933) and the Friends of North Carolina Archaeology, Inc. (founded in 1984) merged to form the **North Carolina Archaeological Society**. *Southern Indian Studies*, now in its 40th edition, will continue as the official journal of the new Society.

This edition of the journal contains papers prepared by two avocational researchers. The first paper is by Forest Hazel, a health education advisor with a background in anthropology. Hazel examines the historical records pertaining to the Occaneechi Indians, known to have lived in the vicinity of present-day Hillsborough, North Carolina, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. As such, his research has direct ties to the archaeological studies of the Siouan Project conducted by the Research Laboratories of Anthropology, UNC-Chapel Hill (Dickens et al. 1987; Ward and Davis 1988). Hazel traces the Occaneechi from 1701 to the present, providing a link between the archaeological and living populations.

The second paper, by Vernon Gary Henry, presents a key to the identification of projectile points from the mountain region of North Carolina. A biologist by profession, Henry has had a lifelong interest in archaeology and Native American antiquities, and has recorded well over one hundred archaeological sites in the southern mountains of the the state. Using his background in biology, wherein "keys" are frequently employed to aid in the identification of plant and animal species, he has devised a "keyed" system for identifying chipped stone projectile point types. The system draws from the archaeological literature which, as he notes, is often unavailable or inaccessible to the avocationalist.

Archaeological and historical information are the "stuff" of our collective heritage. Professional archaeologists and historians provide the requisite technical expertise to collect and interpret this information but, in doing so, often must rely on the contributions of avocationalists and amateurs. The papers presented in this volume of *Southern Indian Studies* are examples of such contributions.

Mark A. Mathis, Editor



Bruce and Mary (Martin) Whitmore (seated), Alamance County, North Carolina, c. 1915. Bruce Whitmore probably was one of the last Saponi-Occaneechis who spoke the Indian language.

**OCCANEECHI-SAPONI DESCENDANTS IN THE
NORTH CAROLINA PIEDMONT:
THE TEXAS COMMUNITY**

**by
Forest Hazel**

Introduction

In the past, archaeological research in eastern North Carolina and Virginia has tended to concentrate on bits and pieces of history, telling only parts of the whole story. Seldom has an effort been made to connect the information gleaned from the ground, revealing a picture of Indian life in the past, with groups of Indian people in the state today. Often this is because of the uncertainty of the actual tribal origins of many of the Indian groups presently living in North Carolina. The Meherrin of Hertford and Bertie counties, for example, are almost certainly a mixture of Nottoway, Chowan, and Coastal Algonquin, as well as Meherrin, ancestry. In many cases, archaeologists have not been aware of the existence of Indian descendants in the areas where archaeological work has been done, or have not taken the time to investigate whether or not a connection exists between the living Indians and the sites being studied.

In 1983, when the Research Laboratories of Anthropology at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill began work at the Occaneechi village on the banks of the Eno River near Hillsborough, North Carolina, archaeologists were not aware that there might still be descendants of these villagers living in the area. Yet, within 15 miles of the site are two distinct communities of Indian descendants, both of which conceivably could have had connections with the Occaneechi village. Over

the past six years the author has made an in-depth study of the history of one, the Texas community, and a cursory examination of the other, the Burnette's Chapel community. This is a summary of the information dealing with the Texas community (more commonly known as Pleasant Grove). This information strongly suggests that these families were Saponi who did not die off or wander away into oblivion, but who remained in their old homelands. Gradually, they were deprived of their lands and, ultimately, they were deprived of their very identity as Indian people.

The story of the Texas community is more or less complete. It is an instance where the Indian people living today in Orange and Alamance counties can learn something about how their ancestors lived and take renewed pride in their sense of history. Archaeology here has an opportunity to make the past relevant to the present in a way which is often not possible.

The Texas community is located in the rolling farmland of northeastern Alamance County, in the northern Piedmont of North Carolina (Figure 1). Most of it is contained in Pleasant Grove Township, but it also spills over into adjacent parts of Caswell and Orange counties. It is more commonly known today as Pleasant Grove community. The "Texas" name is of unknown origin; however, it is known to date at least as far back as the 1890s. William Spoon's 1893 map of Alamance County labels a road in the northern section of Pleasant Grove Township as "The Texas Road," and labels the section below it "Texas." This name also occurs on Spoon, Lewis, and Camp's 1928 map of Alamance County, although "Texas Road" is used to identify a different road in the same area. Folk etiology gives two reasons for the name: (1) it was called Texas because the appearance of the people living there resembled that of Indians or Mexicans; and (2) the section was a rough place, like the "wild west," and so it was called Texas. Research has not revealed any other clear or definitive reasons for the name.

Until the 1940s, the area was inhabited almost entirely by related families, most of whom owned their own land and, in some cases, had substantial holdings. Tobacco was the primary

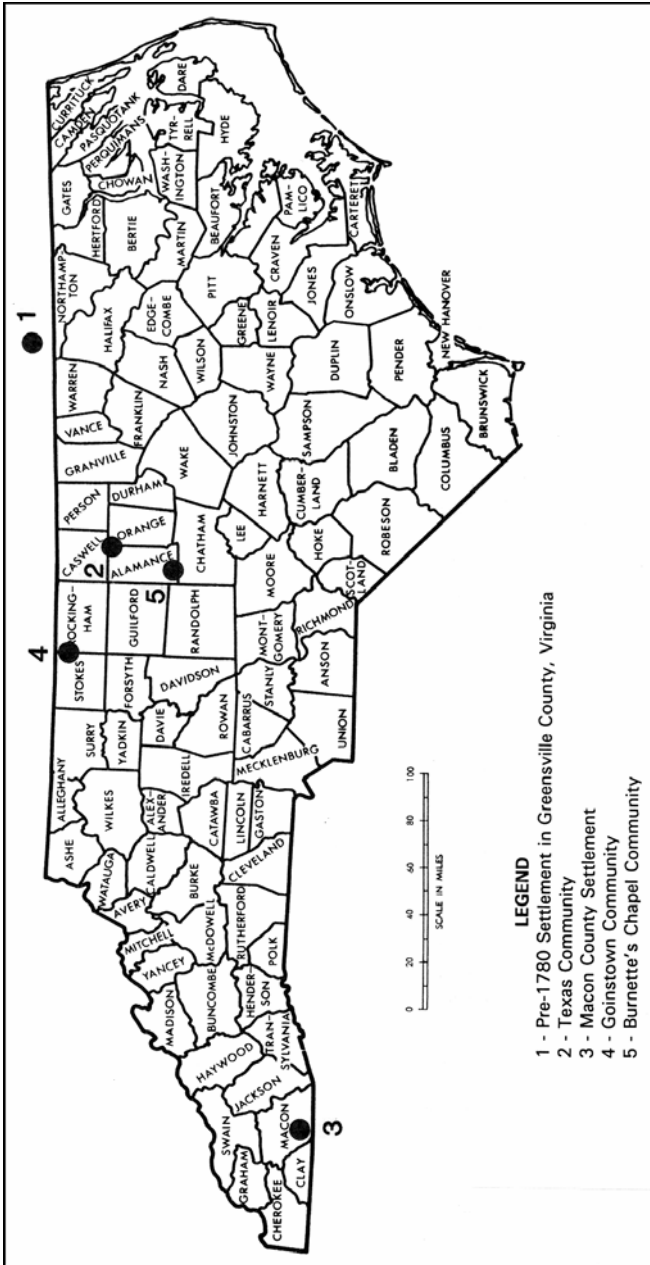


Figure 1. North Carolina map showing selected communities.

cash crop, and it remains important among the community members who still farm. Social life revolved around the churches and community school, and these are still important influences in the community.

Research on the history of the Texas community began in 1984, when the author began investigating the possibility that some of the families living in Orange County were, in part, descendants of the Indians who lived at Occaneechi Town and remained in the area. Initially, this research was done through written sources such as county land records, marriage and court records, and the federal census and military records. After the researcher became better acquainted with the families, oral histories were obtained along with family genealogies to round out the picture provided by the written records.

What follows is a summary of the records dealing with the Occaneechi from the time they were living along the Eno River at Occaneechi Town in 1701 to their absorption into the Saponi while in Virginia, and finally to their dispersal and return to the Piedmont where they formed the Texas community in the late 1700s.

Pre-Revolutionary War

John Lawson, who visited the Occaneechi in 1701, gives us what is probably our latest, best known view of how the Occaneechi were living prior to their incorporation with the Saponi. Coupling Lawson's (Lefler 1967) written account with the information gained by recent excavations at Occaneechi Town by the Research Laboratories of Anthropology (Dickens et al. 1987; Ward and Davis 1988), it is possible to gain a fairly clear picture of a society undergoing rapid change, and yet endeavoring to maintain some semblance of a traditional lifestyle. In a period of time when small fragmented groups across the Piedmont were banding together for mutual assistance and protection, the merging of families and small tribes at Occaneechi Town would not have been unusual.

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Occaneechi Town was almost completely abandoned by 1713, when the Occaneechi signed a Treaty of Peace with the Virginia colonial government at Williamsburg. At that point, it is indicated from reading the document that the Occaneechi, Stuckanok, and Tottero, although signing the treaty separately, were dominated by the Saponi. At least, the Whites seemed to regard them all as Saponi. Governor Spotswood of Virginia would later refer to the Fort Christanna Indians as all going under the name of Saponi. There are very few references of the Occaneechi as a distinct tribe after the settlement at Fort Christanna, which operated from 1714 to 1717.

After the Indians were settled on the Meherrin River near present-day Lawrenceville, Virginia, a school and minister were provided for their instruction, along with a small company of rangers who were to guard the eastern colonists from attacks from western tribes such as the Cherokee. Once they were "civilized" by the influences of Christianity and the English language, the Saponi were no doubt expected to assist in this duty. The fort also served as a trading center for the Indian trade, but the profits apparently were not great enough to satisfy the project's backers and the fort was closed in 1717.

This left the Saponi in peace for several years. It is evident that Virginia continued to trade with the Saponi and found the trade relations important enough to employ an interpreter as late as 1730. The Virginia Colonial Records show that on May 27, 1730, Charles Kimball petitioned the House of Burgesses for "his allowance Interpreter to the Saponi and Occaneechi Indians may be levied. . . ." (McIlwaine 1910:757). This also indicates that there were still a number of monoglot Saponi speakers, enough to warrant an interpreter. It is not known when the language died out completely; indeed, very little is known about the Occaneechi and Saponi languages. The name of the Indian town at Fort Christanna, Junkatapurse, meant "Horse's head," probably in reference to a nearby bend in the river. That is one of only a few dozen words that were recorded for the Saponi language.

There is some indication that the language may have been

remembered until after the Civil War, at least in fragmented form. Mr. G. C. Whitmore, a resident of Alamance County and, at 97, one of the oldest Indians still living, remembers his grandfather, Andrew Whitmore, speaking a language that was not English, and said that his (G. C.'s) father understood what was said and would then translate for the boy. It is unlikely that Andrew Whitmore could carry on a conversation in the Indian language (if indeed it was an Indian language), but he may have known words and phrases. This would have been a situation similar to that of the Indian languages of the Virginia Tidewater, which had been reduced to a few words remembered by a handful of individuals by the turn of the twentieth century (Mooney 1907:143, 146). Unfortunately, Mr. Whitmore is unable to remember any of the words of the language his grandfather spoke. Further fieldwork may reveal other individuals who remember some bits and pieces of the old language, but the situation does not look promising.

Also in the Virginia state papers, there is a reference in 1727 to the Occaneechi and the Saponi. It comes as part of a letter to the Governor from one R. Everard, a settler living near the Meherrin Indians, and it refers to disturbances involving the Meherrins and the Nottoways. Everard says that the Meherrins deny any attacks on the Nottoways, stating "they lay the whole blame upon the old Occaneechy King and the Saponi Indians. . . ." This certainly gives rise to some questions as to what the position of the Occaneechi was within the larger Saponi society. It infers that the Saponi, even though larger numerically, were actually ruled by individuals of Occaneechi descent.

After 1730, many of the Saponi left the area to take residence with the Catawbas. However, they were not happy there and returned to Virginia in 1733, accompanied by some Cheraws. They were forced to petition Lt. Governor Gooch for permission to resettle in Virginia, which was granted (Merrell 1989:116). It is interesting to note that at about the same time the Indian school at William and Mary--the Brafferton school--listed one Will Jeffries as a student from 1736-1742. Although his tribe is not specified, it is possible that he was Saponi since many of the

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Indians who were students at Griffin's school at Fort Christanna went with him to Williamsburg when the school closed. Many of the names on the school rolls can be identified as Pamunkey, Mattaroni, etc., because of the records of those tribes (Stewart 1988). But the Jeffries name is not found among any of the surviving Virginia Indian tribes, although it is most common name among the families of the Texas community.

When the Saponi returned from the Catawba Nation in 1733, they faced increasing pressure from White settlers in the area. It was at this point that the Saponi apparently fragmented into several small groups. Over the next decade, there are records of them in Amelia County, Virginia (1737) where the "Saponi Indians Cabins" are mentioned in a deed (Holland 1982), and in Orange County, Virginia where, in 1742, 11 Saponi men were brought to court and charged with "terrifying one Lawrence Strouther and on suspicion of stealing hogs" (Orange County Register of Deeds 1741-1743). The Indians were dealt with leniently, having stated to the court that they were leaving the colony within the week. Although not specifically identified as Saponi, one of the Indians was named Charles Griffin, which was the same name as the schoolmaster at Fort Christanna, where the Saponi attended school a generation earlier.

It is also likely that at least some of the Saponi were still living in the vicinity of the old village at Fort Christanna. The Road Order Books for Brunswick County, Virginia, list Junkatapurse as a place until 1742, after which it was known only in reference to Junkatapurse Road, an indication that the settlement no longer existed (Brunswick County Register of Deeds n.d.). As noted above, the Orange County Saponi in 1742 were preparing to leave the area, and it may be that both groups left together.

For the years 1743-1747, Governor Clarence Gooch of Virginia reported to the Colonial Office that the "Saponies and other petty nations associated with them. . .are retired out of Virginia to the Cattawbas" (British Colonial Office 1743). Once again, the Saponi had traveled south to join their old friends; and

once again, they would remain only a short time, returning to Virginia by 1748.

By 1754, at least one group of 30-40 Saponi had traveled to North Carolina and settled on the lands of William Eaton, where they were enumerated in the Colonial Records of North Carolina (Saunders 1888). These Saponi have allegedly been ancestral to several Indian groups presently living in North Carolina, although since none of their names are given, it is difficult to make the claim with any degree of certainty. However, it is known from oral tradition that an Indian named Sam Parker moved to the Texas community from the Vance-Granville county area prior to the Civil War. In 1752, a Thomas Parker was granted land on Tabb's Creek adjoining lands of William Eaton and William Chavis, another individual who seems to have been of partial Indian ancestry. There are still Parkers of Indian descent living in that area near the town of Kittrell. It is also noteworthy that William Chavis, who owned the land near the Saponi settlement in old Granville County, also owned land in what is now Alamance County. The Orange County deed books show that on August 27, 1768, William Chavis "of the County of Granville" sold to Joseph Pritchit some 320 acres on both sides of the Haw River, "it being part of a tract of land granted to the said Wm. Chavis by deed from Wm. Kinchen bearing the date the ____ day of December 1751." It may have been entirely coincidental that Chavis owned land near where the Saponi would resettle 20 years later, or perhaps there were Indian families living on or near Chavis' land in Alamance County as well as in Granville County. The Chavis name is still predominant among the Meherrin Indians of Hertford County and the Lumbee Indians of Robeson County.

At the same time these Saponi were living in North Carolina, there was at least one other group living in Virginia. In 1757, the Virginia governor at Williamsburg received a delegation of Indians including "King Blunt and the thirty-three Tuscaroras, seven Meherrins, two Saponies and thirteen Nottoways" (Hillman 1966). This indicates that not only were the Saponi still in existence, but that they were still a distinct enough group

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to send delegates to a conference with the Governor. Unfortunately for our purposes, the writer does not record where the Saponi were living at the time. It seems likely that they were still in the Brunswick-Greensville county area of Virginia. It was about this time that certain individuals who were ancestral to families in the Texas community began to receive patents of land, primarily in the area around Emporia, Virginia. Joseph Haltcock was one of these early grantees, receiving 200 acres in 1732. Other landowners near him bore names such as Jeffries, Whitmore, Burnette, and Stewart, which figure in the history of the Texas families.

At this point, it should be noted that there is some evidence that the area of Alamance and Orange counties may still have had a few settlements of Indians which never left the region, and who consolidated with the Saponi to form the Texas settlement after the Revolutionary War. Various tax lists for Orange County in the 1750s include several families of so-called "Mulattos" bearing the surnames Bunch, Gibson, and Collins. Jeramiah and Henry Bunch received land grants in the area, near the Eno River. The term "Mulatto" had a somewhat different meaning in the 1700s; rather than defining simply a Black-White mixture, the term was used to classify a wide variety of mixed-blood peoples, so the Bunches and others could easily have been mixed-blood Indians and not Africans (Forbes 1988). It is obvious that when Southern Indians ceased living in what the local non-Indians perceived to be an "Indian" manner, they were relegated to the larger "free colored" class. The situation of the Nottoway and Ginkaskin in Virginia, or the Machapunga in North Carolina, are clear examples of what happened to these remnant Saponi-Occaneechi and other groups like the Meherrin and Chickahominy. This is not to say, however, that the Indians ceased to think of themselves as Indians, or that all the traditional ways were lost. It was simply the perception of their neighbors that changed. Some of the Gibsons later moved to Macon County in western North Carolina where their descendants had the reputation of being of Indian ancestry. Macon County settlement will be discussed at greater length

later. Other Bunches, Gibsons, and Collinses appear to have moved west, arriving in eastern Tennessee by way of Ashe County, North Carolina, and formed the nucleus for the so-called Melungeon settlement in the vicinity of Hancock County, Tennessee (Price 1950:130).

In 1756, the Moravians near present Winston-Salem reported that they received a visit of "Cherokees from the fort near Haw River." Haw River was approximately where it exists today, in Alamance County and far from any known Cherokee settlements (Fries 1922:165). What is more likely is that the Indians were Sissipahau, or a group related to the Occaneechi Town Indians, who were living in a palisaded village similar to that which was used at Occaneechi Town. To the settlers, it would certainly look like a fort. The reference, if taken at face value, indicates: (1) that there were Indians living in the Alamance County area in 1756, years after they were supposed to have vanished; and (2) they were living in a more or less traditional manner. The oral tradition of various White families in the area support this. These traditions say that there was an Indian settlement nearby when the town of Graham was first settled, and that along Piney Branch in the southern part of the county the settlers found "Indian Teepee wigwams" along the creek, again indicating some type of traditional dwelling. Archaeological remains in the Pleasant Grove area indicate widespread habitation over a long period of time. Although no confirmed Contact period sites have been located here, the state archaeological site files include at least one Late Woodland period site in close proximity to an abandoned graveyard that dates to the early 1800s and was once used by the Corn and Jeffries families.

It would make sense for the Indian people who moved back from Virginia to settle near where they once lived, particularly if there were still Indian families in the vicinity. The old Trading Path running through the area would have made the journey a comparatively easy one.

The next to last reference of the Saponi as a distinct tribe in the area of interest (that this researcher is aware of) is from the official papers of Lt. Governor Francis Fauquier of Virginia. In

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1763, he wrote to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantation Affairs in response to various queries about affairs in the colony. Referring to Indians in Virginia, he states "There are some of the Nottoways, Meherrins, Tuscaroras, and Saponys, who tho' they live in peace in the midst of us, lead in great measure the lives of wild Indians" (Reese 1981:1017). Once again, the indication is that the Saponi retained much of their Indian customs and certainly their Indian identity. Fauquier contrasts them with the Pamunkey and Eastern Shore Indians (probably the Ginkaskin) who he says follow the customs of the common planters and wear non-Indian clothing. The location of the Saponi settlement(s) is again not revealed.

What appears to be the final official reference to the Saponi as a distinct tribe in the South is in 1764 when, according to a report from the Indian Superintendent of the South, they and the Nottoway combined had "60 gunmen" (American Historical Review 1915). This report, although short and lacking in specifics, is an interesting basis for speculation. It may be inferred from the reference that the Saponi "gunmen" were still a noteworthy military force in the eyes of the Superintendent and had adopted the use of firearms (as opposed to earlier references to Indian "bowmen"). It may also be inferred that they were living in proximity to the Nottoway. It is known that the Nottoway were living in what is now Southampton County, Virginia, near the present-day town of Courtland. The Saponi settlement appears to have been in neighboring Greensville County, south of Emporia, Virginia. It is also unknown how many of the "60 gunmen" were Nottoway and how many were Saponi. At least 5-10 must have been Saponi for them to have been listed separately, but there may have been as many as 15-20 of the 60 who were Saponi. If a ratio of 1:4 is used to represent the number of adult males to other family members, this suggests that 50-100 Saponi were living in Virginia in 1764. Added to the 28+ Saponi who were living on Col. Eaton's land in Granville County, North Carolina in 1754, this would suggest that there were at least 125-150 Saponi shortly before the beginning of the Revolutionary War. It is known that some of

the Nottoway fought in the Revolution; consequently, it would not be surprising for Saponi men like William Guy and Simon Jeffries to have also served with the colonial forces.

From the above discussion, it is clear that not all the Saponi died off or removed to the Catawba or the Iroquois. Fifty years after they were commonly thought to have vanished, the Saponi presumably were still living along the North Carolina-Virginia border, retaining many of their traditional ways. At the same time the official records speak of the Saponi sending delegates to the Governor at Williamsburg (1757), a large community of non-White persons, claiming to be Indian, was developing in south-central Greensville County, Virginia. Early family names were Jeffries, Guy, Watkins, Haitcock, Steward, and Whitmore, all families which moved to what would become the Texas community around the time of the Revolutionary War. Several of these community members fought in the Revolution; William Guy, Simon Jeffries, Britton Jones, and John Jeffries are all Revolutionary War veterans from Greensville County who were classed as "Free Persons of Color." Marriage, land, and other official records from the area show a relationship between members of these families. For example, when Delila Jeffries, widow of John, filed for money due her as a pensioner's widow in 1855, Charles Whitmore and Drewry Jeffries both gave evidence supporting her claim. In 1818 (after the community moved to Alamance County), Jacob Jeffries will, on file in the North Carolina Archives, was witnessed by David Haitcock, and one of his daughters was married to a Guy. There are numerous examples of these associations, exactly what might be expected from a group of people of the same background. The tendency toward endogamous marriage is one that has continued up until the last generation or so, and even now the preference is for marriage with a partner of similar background.

Post-Revolutionary War

Beginning with the Revolutionary War, a movement began in

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two directions from the Greensville County area. One was southwest to form the Texas community while the other was west to Ohio and Indiana. A third migration was from the Texas community to the mountains of western North Carolina, to what became Macon County, North Carolina. Each of these will be discussed later.

On the 1790 federal census for Orange County, North Carolina (then including Alamance County, which was formed in 1849), the names of Charles Whitmore, Jesse Whitmore, and Jacob Jeffries appear. Since the 1790 census for Orange County was actually made up from a tax list of 1787, it is clear that these heads of households and their families, and possibly others, were here by that date. In 1787, the Texas community no doubt was a long day's ride from the center of government at Hillsborough, and so it is likely that there were other families there as well. It also is unlikely that the members of the community were completely trusting of these White government officials, and consequently may have actively avoided contact with them. The 1790 census does not list the race of the heads of household in Orange County. Both Whitmores are listed in 1830 as "Free Negro Heads of Households" along with numerous Jeffrieses, Corns, Burnettes, Haithcocks, and others for the North District of Orange County. This "Free Negro" list also enumerates nearly all the families that were ancestral to present-day Indian communities in other parts of North Carolina such as the Lumbee, Coharie, and Meherrin.

By 1820, the Texas community was intact. It is not entirely clear how the original settlers acquired the large amounts of land they did. Some tracts presumably were purchased from Whites who had received land grants earlier; some tracts may have been acquired as bounty land for military service; and some may have simply been acquired by a sort of "squatter's rights" situation. In any case, a few of the families, notably the Corns and Jeffrieses, acquired tracts of several hundred acres, much of which is still owned by the families or their descendants.

The Texas families are almost invariably listed on official lists as "Free Colored" or "Mulatto" during the 1800s, as

opposed to other families of non-Whites who are consistently listed as "Negros" or "Blacks." A notable exception is that of Abner Burnette, who in the 1860 census for Orange County is listed as Indian; however, by the 1870 Alamance County census he is enumerated as "Mulatto." The social-racial position of the Texas people within the largely biracial society around them is unclear. Abner Burnette is also interesting because he appears several times in the court records of Orange and Alamance counties, primarily for violations of the "Black Laws." In 1855, he was indicted in Alamance County for carrying a gun, which was illegal for "Free Colored" persons. He pled guilty, was convicted, and was fined \$31.00. It may be speculated that Burnette believed that the law did not apply to him inasmuch as he was not "Free Colored" in the sense of being of African ancestry. Unfortunately, the details of the trial were not recorded. In 1860, when he was again indicted for the same offense, he pled not guilty, was convicted a second time, but was fined only five cents.

As noted earlier, a group of families from the Texas community migrated to Macon County, North Carolina in the 1820s, after that land was ceded by the Cherokee Nation. In point of fact, there were still Cherokees living in the area, not far from the settlement formed by these families from Alamance County (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850). This settlement was called Sugar Fork, and some of the families who first settled there were Bucker and Sylvia (Jeffries) Guy, John and Aggy (Whitmore) Guy, Richard and Patsy (Whitmore) Guy, Walton Jeffries, and Hugh Gibson. This settlement remained distinct for many years, eventually being absorbed into the White population (Lawrence Woods, personal communication). The community is of particular interest, however, since it was mentioned in U.S. Senate Document #144, dated February, 1897, and entitled "The Catawba Tribe of Indians." The report on this settlement says that "Dr. Joseph McDowell, of Fairmont, Ga., under date of October, 1872, stated that the Indians referred to, and asking relief of the Government, were Catawba Indians, and 81 in number. . . ." Dr. McDowell (who had married one of the Guy

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women and wrote at least two letters to the Indian Office on behalf of her people) also provided a list of the names and ages of the individuals who he said wished the Government to assist them in moving west to Indian Territory. The report further states that "William Guy, of Granville County, Ga. [sic], and Simon Jeffries, of Bellville, Virginia, Catawba Indians, served five years in the Army and were honorably discharged, and these people are their descendants." The error is that William Guy was from Greenville County, Virginia, although he did die in Granville County, North Carolina. The letters from Dr. McDowell are also interesting. For example, he states in his letter of October, 1869, addressed to Eli Parker, U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that "I take the liberty of addressing to you a few lines on behalf of a remnant of the tribe of Catawba Indians. . . . Some 60 or 70 years since they left their tribe and went to Greenville County, Virginia, and then removed to Orange County, North Carolina. . . . They sold out in Orange and moved to Macon County, N.C. where they purchased land and have remained ever since."

The identification of these Indians as Catawba presents a dilemma in that anyone familiar with historic Catawba surnames will readily recognize that the names of these families are not traditional Catawba names. It is this fact that led Chapman Milling (1940:260) to note "The petition, in fact, bears all the earmarks of white effort to collect Indian revenue." Common Catawba surnames such as Blue, Head, Harris, Kegg, or Ayers are conspicuous in the Macon County community by their absence. Why then are these people (as well as the Indians who move from the Texas community to Ohio) identified as Catawba? The Cherokee name would have been a much better known one, if a name was simply to be chosen out of the air to give credence to claims of Indian ancestry. Witness today the existence of groups of "Cherokees" living from Pennsylvania to Florida, including two groups in North Carolina besides the Eastern Band of the Cherokee.

The only plausible explanation based on the information at hand is that these Indian people, although not Catawba in the

strict sense of the word, were aware of the relationship their people once had with the Catawba, and so used that name to identify themselves. Even as the Occaneechi and others came to identify by the name of Saponi, so too, it appears, did the Saponi come to call themselves Catawba, although they were never absorbed by the Catawba Nation as were other small tribes. It is also likely that some of the Saponi who returned to Virginia from the Catawba Nation took with them Catawba spouses, so William Guy, Simon Jeffries, and others who were identified in the 1880s as Catawba may well have actually possessed some Catawba blood.

The other out-migration of Indians from the Texas community occurred from the 1820s to 1840s, when a number of families moved to Greene County, Ohio (with some later moving on to Rush and Whitley counties, Indiana). It is clear that when the Indians arrived in Greene County, Ohio, there was some degree of uncertainty among the Whites as to their ethnic background. This was also true when some of them moved on to Indiana. Their uncertain racial status resulted in three separate court cases involving three members of the Jeffries families.

The first, an Ohio Supreme Court case, occurred in 1842 in Greene County, Ohio, when Parker Jeffries was refused the right to vote by the officials of Xenia Township because "they were of the opinion, as they said, that he was a person of color and not entitled to vote" (Greene County Clerk of Courts 1842). The jury, however, found "that the plaintiff (Jeffries) is of the Indian race, the illegitimate son of a White man and a woman of the Indian race, and that he has not more than one fourth of the Indian blood in his veins." On this basis, Jeffries was awarded six cents and allowed to vote thereafter. Few other details are given in the court records concerning evidence presented or information about Parker Jeffries' mother.

The second case occurred in 1866 in Whitley County, Indiana, and is referred to as *Jeffries vs. Smith et al.* In substance, it was similar to the Parker Jeffries case. The facts were that Mortimer Jeffries had attempted to vote in 1864 and that the defendants "with knowledge of all the facts concerning

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the plaintiff's pedigree and blood, willfully refused to receive his vote on account of his color" (Kaler and Maring 1907). According to court records, Mortimer Jeffries was the son of a quarter-blood Indian father and a White mother, making him White within the scope of the law. The Indiana Supreme Court found in favor of Jeffries. A history of Whitley County, Indiana, gives some additional information about the trial and about Mortimer Jeffries. His father, Herbert Jeffries, was a native of Greensville County, Virginia who married a woman, supposedly of French descent, in North Carolina. It further states that "Herbert was of French and Indian extraction and his children in this township have always claimed to be free from African blood, which their stature and physiognomy does not belie." During the trial, an alleged expert witness was called by the defense to examine a lock of Jeffries' hair, the witness supposedly being able to determine African ancestry by examination of a person's hair. Unbeknownst to the witness, however, Jeffries' lawyer submitted a lock of hair from the presiding judge, which was duly found to be from an individual of African ancestry. The judge was not amused, and Jeffries won his case "and was granted suffrage for himself and brothers, which they afterwards exercised undisputed under the scornful eyes of some of their neighbors."

The third and final case, *Jeffries vs. O'Brien Guinn et al.* (Rush County Clerk of Courts 1869), is the most detailed of the three, and provides more information about the situation of the Indian people while they were living in the Greensville County, Virginia area. This information is contained in the depositions of four witnesses called by William M. Jeffries to give evidence as to the race and background of his parents. Four persons gave depositions; three of them appear to have been White while the fourth, Shadrack Jeffries, was an Indian and a relative of William Jeffries. All agreed that: (1) Jeffries mother was of Indian and White ancestry; (2) she was born in Northampton County, North Carolina, near the Virginia line; (3) she did not associate with Blacks; (4) his father was Macklin Jeffries, of Greensville County, Virginia; and (5) Macklin Jeffries was a

mixed-blood Indian. The testimony of Susan Wooten is particularly interesting in that she states that "Jeffries' mother associated with White people and those who had Indian blood with regard to her Indian blood. She descended from an old Indian settlement in that neighborhood." This indicates that: (1) there were a fair number of these Indian people in the area who had social (as well as kinship and marriage) ties; and (2) they stayed in some distinct geographic location. Jeffries' mother, who was named Mary Turner, could have been Nottoway, Saponi, Meherrin, or a member of some other tribe. All three of these tribes lived in that general area and, although the Turner name was found among the Nottoway prior to their absorption into the general population, it may also have been the Saponi of Greenville County, Virginia, or it may refer to the so-called "Portuguese" settlement near Gaston, in Northampton County, North Carolina, where the Turner name also occurs. It may also refer to another settlement entirely. Susan Wooten was born, by her reckoning, in 1799, so the settlement she refers to could have dated to the mid-1700s, if she thinks of it as an "old" settlement. It could conceivably even refer to Junkatapurse, which may have been inhabited until the 1740s.

Other local histories refer to the Indian blood of the Jeffrieses. *Dill's History of Greene County* (Dills 1881) contains short biographies of prominent persons, and gives the following information about James Jeffries: "James Jeffries, Furniture Manufacturer. . . was born in Greenville County, Virginia, January 30, 1821. . . son of Silas and Susan (Pruitt) Jeffries. Silas was a descendant of the Catawba tribe of Indians." Similar information is given for Mason Jeffries, son of Uriah Jeffries, of Greenville County, Virginia, who is also said to be a descendant of the Catawba tribe.

The Indian people who moved to Indiana and Ohio appear to have been absorbed into the general population, but as late as 1910, the U.S. Census listed some families of Jeffrieses in the Whitley County area as Indian (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910), showing that the awareness of their heritage may still not have died out completely.

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In 1904, The Eastern Band of Cherokee won a settlement with the U.S. Government based on violations of earlier treaties. This meant that thousands of persons of Eastern Cherokee ancestry were eligible for part of the settlement, and many of these people applied to the U.S. Court of Claims for a share (Jordan 1987-1990). It is interesting to read these applications, since a significant percentage of applicants were not Eastern Cherokee, but members of other tribes. These persons would now be identified as Lumbee, Alabama Creek, Meherrin, Haliwa, and Occaneechi (Saponi), along with a number of individuals who probably were of unmixed White or Black ancestry.

At least three Occaneechi descendants also applied; all were rejected by the Commission as not being of Eastern Cherokee ancestry. The first was Aaron Thomas Guy, born in Caswell County, North Carolina, the son of Henry Guy, and grandson of Henry Guy. Henry Guy, Sr. was the brother of Richard Guy, Buckner Guy, and others who moved to Macon County, North Carolina from the Texas community in the 1820s. Aaron Guy stated that his mother was a free woman of color, born free and raised by the Quakers in Guilford County, North Carolina. There is also testimony from a former slave who knew Henry Guy, Jr. to the effect that he was an Indian, married to a colored woman. Aaron Guy was living in Indiana at the time of his application.

William C. Wilson, from Wichita, Kansas, also applied. He stated that he was born near Hendersonville, North Carolina, and was the son of Sam Wilson, a "half Cherokee," and Julian Guy. Julian Guy was the daughter of Richard Guy and Martha Whitmore, and Martha's mother was Lottie Jeffries. Wilson claimed that his grandfather, Richard Guy, was a White man although the Macon County records list him as a "Free Colored head of Household." He also stated that his father, Sam Wilson, could speak the Indian language. Assuming he was not exaggerating to impress the Government man, William Wilson's father may have spoken the old Saponi language, or he may have learned Cherokee from his neighbors in Macon County.

William and Joe Gibson, from Murphy, North Carolina, applied and the note "Probably Negros" was written on their application. William Gibson stated that his parents "passed as part Indian. No Negro blood in them." He further stated that his father spoke the Indian language. On the bottom of his testimony is a note, presumably written by the agent, which says, "This applicant shows the Indian so does his brother now with him. However, their ancestors were never enrolled." These Gibsons, who lived at various times in Tennessee and North Carolina, probably were also related to the Gibsons found in the so-called Melungeon groups of eastern Tennessee and western Virginia, which appear to have originated in the early mixed-blood populations of the North Carolina Piedmont area.

For the Indian people who remained in the Texas community, life was not too different for them from that of their non-Indian neighbors. For the most part, they farmed their own land which enabled them to remain relatively self sufficient and less dependent on Whites than their Black counterparts. Although much of the traditional culture had been lost by the time of the Civil War, some traditions, particularly ones dealing with food gathering and wild plant use, continued. The art of basket-making had died out only in the last generation; previously, baskets used both for containers and as fishing implements were woven out of oak splints. Herbal remedies were widely used, and many are still remembered. Sassafras, ground ivy, mint, ratbane, pinetops, plantain, and wild cherry were but a few of the plants used for medicinal purposes, and some members of the community were widely known for their use of roots and herbs to heal the sick. Fishing was done both with baskets or with nets woven by some of the older men, and small animals were trapped in so-called rabbit gums, originally made out of hollow logs.

Twentieth Century

Most of the residents of the Texas community were members

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of these related families up until just a few decades ago, when other people began moving in greater numbers, buying land from the original families who were now depending less on agriculture as a way of life. Around the turn of the twentieth century, two churches were formed to minister to the spiritual needs of the community, where formerly circuit riding preachers had provided religious guidance. Jeffries Cross Church and Martin's Chapel Baptist Church were both churches built on land given by members of the community (Joe and Levi Jeffries, and Sam Martin, respectively). The churches are still strong, although they no longer are attended solely by members of the Texas community.

Several small schools served the children of the area, and these were attended primarily by Indian people. The Martin School, Patillo School, and Crawford School all had large numbers of Indian students, with Martin School being almost exclusively Indian; however, this did not prevent the Alamance County Board of Education from classifying them as "Colored." In 1930, the Martin School was consolidated with several other small schools to form Pleasant Grove Union School, a move that was not popular in the community since it meant that the school no longer was exclusively Indian. It did mean an improvement in the educational facilities available to the children, and so it was eventually accepted by the parents. Today, Pleasant Grove School, still in use as an elementary school, is a source of pride to the community members, many of whom still take an active interest in its affairs.

In 1934, an effort was made by some of the members of the community to have the Federal Government provide a school for the Indian children of the area. Clayton Jeffries, Charles Will Jeffries, and others retained an attorney, contacted another local Indian group (in Person County who had an Indian school sponsored by the State), formed a list of Indian families, and began correspondence with Commissioner John Collier of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. This information exists in the National Archives (U.S. Commission of Indian Affairs 1934-1935) and provides some insight into the social situation of the

day in the community. An agent from the Bureau visited Clayton Jeffries and his family, and reported back, in part "that he says his wife nor he have no [sic] colored blood," and further, "I do think we ought to know about these people. It is almost certain that Clayton and most of the 'Texas' people have some Indian blood. . . ." There are also several letters from Clayton Jeffries, which contain some interesting information. He stated that there were 90 families of their people in the area and that they came from Virginia around the time of the Revolutionary War. This would mean an increase from 1830, when 66 families in the area can be identified as Indian or part Indian. The Commissioner and his assistants, despite a letter from Alamance County School Superintendent M. E. Younts which scornfully refers to all members of the Texas community as "Negroes," refers to the community as Indian. However, the Bureau finally ended the correspondence to Clayton Jeffries by saying "we will keep your particular Indian group in mind and should it be possible for us to do anything for you, your case will receive careful consideration." No assistance was ever received from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the only benefit being their recognition of the community as an Indian community.

Present and Future

In 1984, some of the Indians reorganized as the Eno-Occaneechi Indian Association with the goal of preserving the Indian heritage of the community and teaching the young about their own history. To this end, an annual Pow-wow has been held in August for the past six years, with Indians from many different tribes visiting with the community.

A petition for official State recognition was submitted to the North Carolina Commission on Indian Affairs in January, 1990. The tribe is still awaiting some word on its status after more than two years. The tribe has also worked to correct official records of tribal members, so that birth records and other documents

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incorrectly recording the person as Black or Colored may be revised to show the correct race of the individual. Members of the tribe have been active in Indian politics statewide, and two tribal members, John Jeffries, Assistant Chief, and Wanda Whitmore, served as Head Dancers at the 1990 Meherrin Tribal Pow-wow in Winton, North Carolina. With more young people showing an interest in their traditions and heritage, the future looks promising for the Indian people of the Texas community, as they learn to live in a modern world while never forgetting their roots in the Indian tribes of the North Carolina Piedmont.

Finally, there are two other communities which should be noted as possibly relevant to ongoing research into the descendants of historic Indian tribes in piedmont North Carolina: the Goinstown community and the Burnette's Chapel community.

The Goinstown community is located in the northwest corner of Rockingham County, North Carolina, on the border with Stokes County. The prominent family names are: Goins, Hickman, Harris, Richardson, and Kimmons. These related families can be traced back at least to the early 1800s in the area as so-called "free colored" persons. The tradition is that they are descended either from "Croatan" Indians (there was a period in the 1930s and 1940s when it was popular to describe any group of Indian people of uncertain origin as descendants of the "Croatans") or from remnants of the Saura who mixed with non-Indians in the area. The community had a school until the early 1960s which was officially classed as Indian, and has gradually merged with the White community. There is still a perception among the local Whites that the Goinstown people are of Indian descent. With the location of the old Saura Town nearby on the Dan River, it is possible that these people possess, to some degree, Saura ancestry. Further research is needed, but would probably not be popular with the members of the community.

The Burnette's Chapel community of southern Alamance County also can be traced back to the early 1790s, and some families, like the Whites, on into the 1700s. This community, made up of the Bowdens, Burnettes, Whites, Allens, and others, also has a strong tradition of Indian ancestry, with no tradition

of ever having been "under bondage." In the case of this community, as well as that of Goinstown, the physical features of the people clearly show at least mixed Indian ancestry, with some of the older persons appearing to have little mixture other than that of Indian. These people may be of Sissipahau descent, although showing conclusive links would certainly be difficult.

In conclusion, it should be borne in mind that the history of any group of people is a tricky topic to write about. It is all very neat and clean to write about someone as the "last Nottoway" or the "last of the Tutelo," but the actual picture usually is far less simple. The common view of the Piedmont Indians having disappeared either through out-migration or death needs revising in light of the present evidence, circumstantial as it may be in some cases, that the Indian people of the Piedmont still exist. Whether a person visits Goinstown, Burnette's Chapel, or the Texas community, he or she comes away realizing that the Indian people of the Piedmont did not vanish, but continue to survive in the land that they have for so long called home.

Author's Note

On May 31, 1992, Mr. Goetha C. Whitmore passed into the Spirit World. At 97 years of age, he was one of the oldest of the Occaneechi people and his keen memory made much of this research possible. It is to him, and his family, that this research is dedicated.

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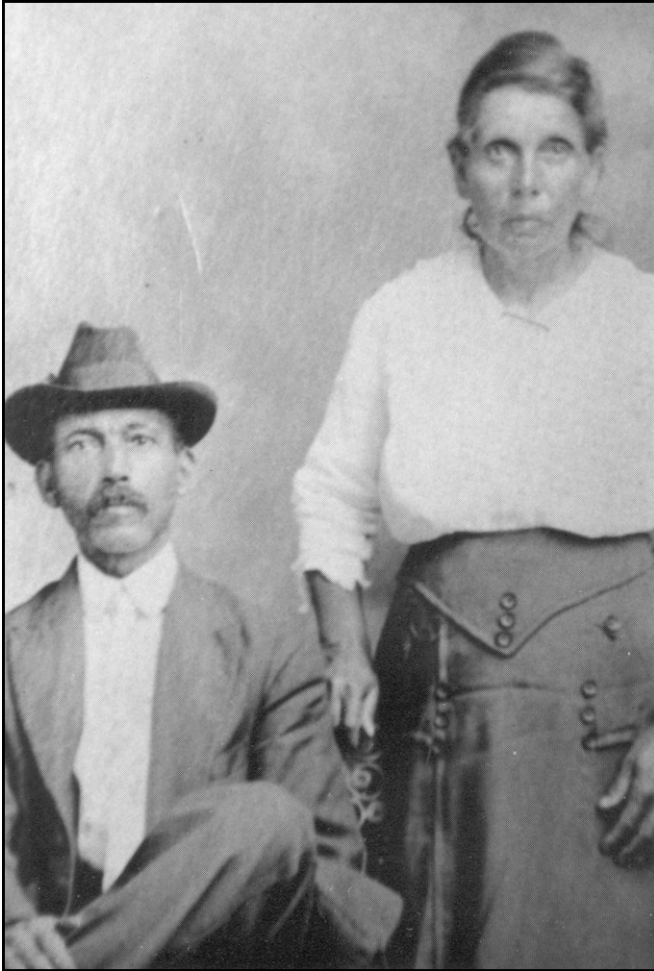
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David and Adeline (Jeffries) Martin, c. 1890. David Martin was the son of Samuel F. Martin, namesake of Martin's Chapel, and Harriet Jeffries.

KEY TO THE PROJECTILE POINTS OF THE APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS OF NORTH CAROLINA

**by
Vernon G. Henry**

Introduction

The identification of projectile points often is difficult using narrative type descriptions. In some cases types seem to be subjectively defined, making identification virtually impossible for anyone other than the type "describer", even when reliable type identification criteria have been formulated. Further complicating the matter, type descriptions applicable to a specific area usually are scattered among numerous publications, requiring continuous shifting from one publication to another to correlate closely related types.

The type concept in archaeology has been the subject of considerable controversy in regard to the meaning of types, the manner by which types are defined and way the types are applied. An excellent discussion of the type concept and the controversy can be found in Deetz (1967). While much of the controversy regarding the type concept is irrelevant to this paper, some of the issues involved will be evident.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a "key" to help in the identification of projectile points. Once identified, projectile points may be placed into an established chronological and cultural position. However, I do not pretend to be an expert in point identification; nor do I possess qualifications that would permit me to enter the arena regarding the controversy surrounding the type concept. I am simply bringing the classifications provided in the archaeological literature together into a device that will -- hopefully -- simplify identification and reduce the time involved in making such identifications.

Keys are widely employed for identification purposes in the biological profession. They are less commonly used in the archaeological profession but have received some attention (e.g., Roper 1977; Swartz 1961). As a professional wildlife biologist and amateur archaeologist, my interest in application of identification keys to archaeological resources is a natural outcome of my biological training. I have attempted to develop a key to projectile points several times in the past but gave up in frustration after encountering several points fitting the same description or observing attributes which appear characteristic to two or more different points. Part of the difficulty in separating the points was due to the geographic scope of the effort. This key represents an attempt to narrow the geographic scope to the Appalachian Mountains of North Carolina.

The key is designed for projectile points described in the literature for the Southern Appalachian Region of North Carolina (Purrington 1983). It is intended primarily for identification of points found on the surface or in other non-stratified contexts where cultural affiliations are unknown and/or chronology cannot be determined. The key should be useful to amateurs and others lacking expertise in identification of points; access to the necessary literature to identify points; or, the time to consult the considerable literature that would be needed to identify points.

Projectile Point Type Names

The key covers all point types described in the literature as occurring in the Appalachian Mountains of North Carolina, with a few exceptions. The types, listed in Table 1, include those found in Keel (1976), Dickens (1976), Oliver (1981), Keel and Egloff (1984) and Purrington (1983). These include all of the types defined for the western North Carolina mountains as well as types defined outside of the area but frequently applied to local materials. In all cases, I have employed the original type descriptions. In some cases I also used other sources that

KEY TO PROJECTILE POINTS

Table 1. Literature Sources for Descriptions of Projectile Point Types of the Appalachian Mountains of North Carolina.

Point Type	Literature Sources	
	Original Description	Other Sources
Clovis	Suhm and Krieger (1954)	Bell (1958) Cambron and Hulse (1969) Sulm and Jelks (1962) Wormington (1967)
Unfluted Clovis	Cambron and Hulse (1969)	
Hardaway Blade	Coe (1964)	
Hardaway-Dalton	Coe (1964)	
Hardaway Side Notched	Coe (1964)	
Kessell Side Notched	Broyles (1971)	
Palmer Corner Notched	Coe (1964)	Claggett and Cable (1982) Keel (1976)
Kirk Corner Notched	Coe (1964)	Broyles (1971) Claggett and Cable (1982)
Kirk Stemmed	Coe (1964)	Broyles (1971)
Kirk Serrated	Coe (1964)	
St. Albans Side Notched	Broyles (1971)	
MacCorkle Stemmed	Broyles (1971)	
LeCroy Bifurcated Stem	Kneberg (1956)	Bell (1960) Cambron and Hulse (1969) Keel (1976)
Kanawha Stemmed	Broyles (1971)	
Stanly Stemmed	Coe (1964)	
Morrow Mountain I	Coe (1964)	Keel (1976)
Morrow Mountain II	Coe (1964)	
Guilford Lanceolate	Coe (1964)	Keel (1976)
Lamoka	Ritchie (1961)	Keel and Egloff (1984)
Savannah River Stemmed	Coe (1964)	Oliver (1981) Keel (1976)
Ledbetter Stemmed	Kneberg (1956)	Bell (1960) Cambron and Hulse (1969)
Small Savannah River	South (1959)	Oliver (1981)
Otarre Stemmed	Keel (1976)	Keel and Egloff (1984)
Bradley Spike	Kneberg (1956)	Cambron and Hulse (1969) Keel (1976)
Gypsy Stemmed	Oliver (1981)	
Plott Short Stemmed	Keel (1976)	
Coosa Notched	DeJarnette et al. (1973)	Keel (1976) Cambron and Hulse (1969)
Swannanoa Stemmed	Keel (1976)	Oliver (1981)
Pigeon Side Notched	Keel (1976)	

Table 1 Continued.

Point Type	Literature Sources	
	Original Description	Other Sources
Transsylvania Triangular	Keel (1976)	
Garden Creek Triangular	Keel (1976)	
Copena Triangular	Cambron (1958)	Keel (1976) Cambron and Hulse (1969)
Connestee Triangular	Keel (1976)	
Haywood Triangular	Keel (1976)	
South Appalachian Pentagonal	Keel (1976)	
Pentagonal Corner Notched	Keel and Egloff (1984)	
Pisgah Triangular	Dickens (1976)	
Small Serrated Triangular	Keel (1976)	

provided more descriptive data or data from the Appalachian Mountains of North Carolina.

Several minor point types are not covered by the key, including the unnamed small, broad-stemmed Middle Archaic point illustrated in Purrington (1983, Figure 3.5), two unnamed points in Keel and Egloff (1984), and the Rheems Creek, Ecusta (Harwood 1958), and Madison points. The point illustrated in Purrington (1983) was based on descriptions of three point types in Cridlebaugh (1977). However, as noted by Bass (1977), these types are indistinguishable from later points (i.e., Otarre, Swannanoa, Plott and Gypsy). This may indicate that these small stemmed points were in use earlier and for a longer period of time than just the Late Archaic and Early Woodland. One of the unnamed points in Keel and Egloff (1984) was a small stemmed point that may also be encompassed by the Swannanoa, Plott and Gypsy types. The other unnamed point may be a resharpened Palmer or Kirk Corner-notched. The Rheems Creek and Madison points are discussed below.

KEY TO PROJECTILE POINTS

Discussion

Creating the projectile point key presented a number of challenges. The following discussion details the problems faced and how they were resolved. As a result of the effort I also offer comments on types in general.

The point identification keys should not be used to the exclusion of other information sources. Once a point has been "keyed", published descriptions (including the original, if possible) should be consulted to confirm the identification. The keys were based on characteristics given for the point types covered in the original descriptions. However, other undescribed or previously unrecognized point types are likely to be encountered which exhibit characteristics similar to those of the point types covered in the keys. Thus, false identification is possible if only the keys are used.

The keys also concentrated on the fewest characteristics that could separate a point from closely associated points. Frequently, points have many other characteristics that may be more or equally diagnostic in combination than any single characteristic alone. In addition, some points found in the area covered by this key fit the general description of a specific point type but with size dimensions which fall outside the ranges given in the descriptions. For example, there are Kirk points in western North Carolina that are smaller than the sizes given in Coe (1964). Such small Kirk Corner-notched points were described by Broyles (1971) and Claggett and Cable (1982).

One of the characteristics commonly included in the point type descriptions is the raw material. This characteristic has its limitations, however, when applying the descriptions to points in different geographic or physiographic areas. Raw materials differ from one region to another. For example, Kirk points found in the mountains of western North Carolina are often made of quartz or quartzite instead of the chert noted by Coe (1964). Therefore, for purposes of this key, raw material is used only in a few cases where it appears to be a distinguishing characteristic between two point types.

Most point types could be readily keyed with little difficulty. However, this was not true for three trianguloid points (Connestee, Pisgah and Haywood) and three stemmed points (Otarre, Gypsy, and Small Savannah River with overlapping characteristics. In these cases, I use the non-overlapping portion of the range of measurements to key to a particular point type (see Step 48 of Key). Next, I used that portion of the range of measurements common to the fewest number of points to key to point types with those measurements (see Step 49 of Key). This continued until the range of measurement was exhausted. As a result, points with certain characteristics could only be keyed out to two or three possible point types.

Certain generalized characteristics contained in the published descriptions required more precise definition for purposes of the key. In the cases of "broad-stemmed" and "narrow-stemmed", for instance, a shoulder width to stem width ratio was calculated to define this characteristic in specific terms. Also, certain descriptive terms such as "width/length ratio" had to be reversed (length/width ratio) in order to provide a separation point for identification purposes.

Unfortunately, I was not totally successful in eliminating the problems associated with similar point type descriptions and/or overlapping characteristics solely by narrowing the geographic scope of this project to western North Carolina. This failure illustrates specific concerns regarding the extant point type descriptions and warrants additional comment. Generally, the problems encountered in constructing a projectile point type key system included one or more of the following: (1) incomplete or inaccurate descriptions; (2) lack of recognition or acceptance of a previously published point type description; (3) inclusion of "transitional" points types; (4) definition of type descriptions based on small samples; (5) definition of type descriptions based on material of unknown (thus, possibly mixed) age and cultural affiliation; (6) inclusion of reworked or unfinished points in type classifications; (7) variation resulting from the "mental template" (Deetz, 1967) employed by the point maker; and (8) assignment of points to types described for cultures in other geographical

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areas with no known association to western North Carolina cultures. Each of these problems is discussed below as they pertain to the use of the point key.

(1) Incomplete or inaccurate descriptions. Type descriptions are most useful when standardized information is included. For example, characteristics included in all descriptions utilized in this endeavor were length, width, base description and stem description (for stemmed points). In contrast, items included in some of the published descriptions and not in others included weight, width at base, depth of basal concavity, length of ground hafting area, width at distal end of hafting area, shoulder description, width (at widest point), thickness, blade length, stem length, stem width, internotch width, depth and width of notches, blade width to length ratio, thickness to width ratio, location of greatest width, material utilized, manufacturing technique, tip description and general shape (equilateral or isosceles, for example). All of the above characteristics, and perhaps others, should be included in the type descriptions when possible. A stem width to shoulder width ratio also would be beneficial in quantifying a narrow or broad stemmed point.

In addition to standardizing descriptions, all measurements should include the total ranges for the measurements instead of averages or ranges of averages. Averages are essentially useless in identifying points because they do not provide information on the variation encompassed within the type.

(2) Lack of recognition or acceptance of a previously published point type descriptions. While types can be established for various purposes, most of the projectile point type descriptions utilized in the keys apparently were defined to describe cultural materials in terms of the chronological position of those materials. If these descriptions were for chronological purposes, however, one must assume that the point types are truly different and, further, that a key can be constructed to distinguish these points. Failure to do so based on given descriptions may indicate a lack of real differences between

types and may cast doubts on the validity of the types. To non-professionals and the general public attempting to understand and apply the information, a lack of distinction between types may reflect poorly on the credibility of the archaeological profession itself. Therefore, when the type information is adequate to demonstrate that types are the same, the problem should be corrected by eliminating all but one of the type names from future use.

Point types with similar characteristics could be acceptable, however, if they were produced by different cultures from different time periods. Surface finds which could not be associated with other datable culture remains would not then be distinguishable between the two similar types. For example, Haywood points found on the surface could not be distinguished from Pisgah points. This type of problem is uncommon, however, because techniques of point manufacture were often evolutionary processes and later cultures were not likely to digress to techniques abandoned in the past. Such a problem can occur, however, in points from cultures in chronological sequence, as illustrated by the Late Woodland and Mississippian triangular points and the Late Archaic and Early Woodland small stemmed points. Although some of these points can be distinguished even if found on the surface, others cannot. In such instances it would perhaps be safer to use one type description for the entire sequence of points and simply recognize that the type occurs over an extended time period encompassing several cultural phases.

Professional botanists, ornithologists and mammalogists, among others, have established committees of peers to rule on the scientific names of plants and animals that will be formally accepted and used by the profession. One basic rule employed by these committees is that the earliest name (with some exceptions) prevails. Of course, one must place parameters on what constitutes an acceptable name. For example, does it have to be published and, if so, in what type of format (i.e., technical journal)? A similar need exists in archaeology with respect to projectile point types. While similar point types described in

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different sections of the country may not be the same, since the cultures producing them cannot be determined to be the same, more than one point type name has been applied to the same cultural material from a given geographic or physiographic area. Examples in these keys include the Kessel and Big Sandy, Savannah River and Appalachian Stemmed, Plott and Thelma, and Garden Creek and Camp Creek. I submit that if two point types are morphologically alike and are not significantly separated in time and space, they are likely the same in terms of cultural association and function. The likelihood of two completely different peoples independently producing the same point at the same relative time and place seems highly unlikely.

(3) Inclusion of transitional points. There appears to be a continuum in the evolution of many point types (cf. Oliver 1981). Along this continuum, a product -- in this case a projectile point style -- changes to something distinctively different from previous products. However, in the process, there are products that exhibit characteristics of both "ends" of the continuum, characteristics which are "transitional". The problem of transitional products is evident in the Palmer-Kirk material from the Haw River area of the piedmont (Claggett and Cable 1982), and provide some basis for combining some existing types (e.g., Palmer and Kirk corner-notched). While transitional points are valuable in terms of chronology, I question the logic of including them in the sample upon which type descriptions are based. We should simply recognize and accept that points having characteristics of two types in chronological sequence are or may be transitional. Of course, recognition of transition points may be difficult at times. At present, some point type descriptions are based on all of the similar material from the same culture and time period, including transitional types, resulting in overlapping descriptions and making it virtually impossible to distinguish between types with certain characteristics.

Some professionals believe that projectile points should only be classified into different type "clusters" (e.g., Justice 1987).

An even broader classification system using traditions such as Early Archaic corner-notched, bifurcate, Woodland small stemmed, Mississippi triangular, etc., has merit. Such classifications would solve most of the problems with the identification of transitional types. While I understand the reluctance, difficulty and problems involved in attempting to be more specific than broad type clusters or traditions, it is human nature to try to pigeon-hole things into as specific and minute categories as possible. Professional archaeologists have provided the type definitions utilized in these keys; therefore, one can hardly fault other professionals and amateurs for using these types to identify their finds and, therein, place them into a chronological sequence.

(4) Type descriptions based on small samples. Some point type descriptions are based on relatively few examples from nominally stratified assemblages or from surface collected materials. Problems resulting from such type descriptions include (1) failure to include the variation inherent within the type; (2) failure to recognize the material as potential variations encompassed by existing point types; (3) acceptance of odd-ball variants not normally included in type descriptions; and (4) mixing of cultural material from more than one culture. These are obvious problems to be avoided whenever possible.

(5) Type descriptions based on material of unknown (thus, possibly mixed) age and cultural affiliation. Perhaps the best local example of this problem is the Rheems Creek point described by Cambron and Hulse (1969). The type definition is based solely on surface collected specimens and is generally not recognized by North Carolina archaeologists for obvious reasons. The point closely fits the description for Otarre points.

(6) Inclusion of reworked or unfinished points. Reworked or unfinished points presents yet another problem. As recognized by Oliver (1981), among others, obviously reworked or

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unfinished points should not be included in point type descriptions. If used, however, only the characteristics of the original (for reworked points) or final (for unfinished points) points that exist intact in the points should be included in the point type descriptions. The main problem may be in recognizing points as reworked or unfinished.

(7) Variation and the "mental template." Now we come to the possible problem for which there is no obvious solution -- variation in points due to the "mental templates" employed by the artisans to create the "proper form" of projectile points (Deetz 1967). Some of the factors leading to this class of variation include (1) artisan expertise; (2) degree of variation acceptable to the individual manufacturer or society; (3) availability and selection of raw material; (4) intended function of the artifact; and (5) reworking of broken or previously discarded artifacts -- among others. As pointed out by Deetz (1967), artifacts produced by subtractive manufacture, such as projectile points, cannot be repaired if the artisan makes a mistake. Compared to artifacts produced by additive manufacture, such as pottery, in which mistakes can be corrected, the variation around the "mental template" is much greater for subtractive manufactured items. Thus, it is possible for the "mental template" variation acceptable for two otherwise distinctive point types to share a number of morphological characteristics. In such cases, artifacts exhibiting a significant number of these shared or overlapping characteristics may not be distinguishable to either established type.

(8) Assignment of points to types described for cultures in other geographical areas with no known association to western North Carolina cultures. An example of this problem is the Madison point (Scully 1951, Perino 1985). Perino (1985) states that the type name "Madison" should not be used for points found outside of the St. Louis/Cahokia area until and unless an association is established between the cultures producing the points. On average, the western Madison point is larger than

those in North Carolina (Keel 1976). The larger Madison points of the Upper Mississippi Valley also are often basally thinned while those of western North Carolina are not. It is also interesting to note that the Madison point was the only small triangular point described from the Tuckaseegee site, whereas it was not identified at on the Garden Creek or Warren Wilson sites (Keel 1976). In contrast, the Garden Creek site contained Connestee and Haywood points, plus an unnamed small triangular serrated point, while the Warren Wilson site contained both Haywood and Pisgah points. Based on the type descriptions, these point types are not readily distinguishable from the local Madison type. The Madison point was assigned to the Qualla phase (Cherokee) while the other points were thought to be earlier (Pisgah and Connestee phases). However, the Tuckaseegee and Garden Creek sites contained both Pisgah and Connestee phase material, as well as material comparable in age to Qualla but more typical of the piedmont, rather than the mountain cultures. Based on this information, I believe the Madison points described for western North Carolina should be included within existing type descriptions for the Connestee, Pisgah and Haywood points. Therefore, the Madison point is not included in the key.

Other undescribed or previously unrecognized point types are likely to be encountered in the western North Carolina region, and some of their characteristics may overlap those covered in the key. Therefore, use of the key alone may result in false identifications. Unfortunately, there is little way to escape this problem until the new types are defined based on a valid sample, preferably from a documented context.

Summary

This paper attempts to bring together projectile point type descriptions scattered throughout the archaeological literature into a "key" to simplify and reduce the time involved in making type identifications. Once identified, placement into an

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established chronological framework is usually possible. The key is intended primarily for the identification of points collected from the surface in the western North Carolina mountains and should be useful to those lacking expertise in point identification, access to the necessary literature, or time to consult the numerous literature sources.

With the exceptions discussed above, most points can be keyed with relative ease. Problems encountered in construction of the key have been noted and some general solutions offered. It is hoped that future type "describers" will consider these problems, as well as the possible remedies.

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KEY TO PROJECTILE POINTS

KEY TO PROJECTILE POINTS OF THE APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINS OF NORTH CAROLINA

Using the Projectile Point Identification Key

This key is best used as a first step in the identification of points. Whenever possible, identifications should be confirmed by referring to the original published descriptions. One must also remember that not all points are identifiable by the key method. This would include previously undefined or unrecognized point types. Therefore, forcing specimens into one of the defined types may result in misidentifications. The key also concentrates on the fewest characteristics which distinguish one point from other similar points. However, points have many characteristics that may be more diagnostic in combination than any single characteristic. In addition, some points may fit the general description of a given point type but with size measurements outside the ranges given in the descriptions.

Figure 1 illustrates the terminology used in the key. Figures 2-11 show all of the point types used in the key except the Unfluted Clovis and Hardaway Blade. Examples of these types were not readily available to the author. In addition, the Hardaway Side-Notched points illustrated are incomplete. Therefore, the references cited for these types should be consulted for additional examples. The Copena Triangular points illustrated are from central Tennessee.

Tools: To use the key one needs only a metric scale, a metric caliper, and a calculator for figuring ratios.

Type Names: Point type names in parentheses represent alternative names for the same point. Type names separated by commas or conjunctions indicate that each of these types share the same characteristics defined in the published descriptions.

How to Key a Projectile Point: To key a projectile point, match the first key CHARACTERISTIC (on the left of the key), then find the corresponding NEXT KEY NUMBER/TYPE NAME on the right. If a number is shown, move to the corresponding CHARACTERISTIC number. Continue in this fashion until a type name is encountered.

CHARACTERISTIC	NEXT KEY NUMBER or TYPE NAME
1. a. Stemless	10
b. Corner notched	2
c. Side notched	4
d. Stemmed	26
2. a. Pentagonal	<i>Pentagonal Corner Notched</i>
b. Not Pentagonal	3
3. a. Straight, ground base; or pressure flaked, serration flake scars overlapping toward center of blade; or ≤ 19 mm wide	<i>Palmer Corner Notched</i>
b. Unground base, or percussion flaked with edges pressure flaked, or ≥ 60 mm long, or ≥ 38 mm wide	<i>Kirk Corner Notched</i>
4. a. Notched, bifurcate or bilobate base	5
b. Deeply concave, frequently recurved base	6
c. Straight, excurved or incurvate base	7

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5. a. Base from shoulder to shoulder heavily ground *MacCorkle Stemmed*
- b. Base from shoulder to shoulder unground or lightly smoothed *St. Albans Side Notched*
6. a. Narrow, deep, U-shaped side notches *Hardaway Site Notched*
- b. Broad, shallow side notches *Hardaway-Dalton*
7. a. Shallow (1 mm deep) side notches resulting in ill-defined hafting area *Pigeon Side Notched*
- b. Well defined hafting area produced by side notches 8
8. a. Square, auriculate or parallel pointed hafting area *Kessell (Big Sandy) Side Notched*
- b. Hafting area not square, auriculate or parallel pointed 9
9. a. Finished, usually thinned stem ≤ 9 mm long *Coosa Notched*
- b. Unfinished stem ≥ 10 mm long, as thick as blade *Lamoka*
- 10.a. Fluted *Clovis*
- b. Unfluted 11
- 11.a. Base thinned 12

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b. Base unthinned	14
12.a. Length:width ratio $\geq 2:1$	13
b. Length:width ratio $< 2:1$	<i>Hardaway Blade</i>
13.a. Triangular or ≥ 7 mm thick	<i>Copena Triangular</i>
b. Auriculate or ≤ 6 mm thick	<i>Unfluted Clovis</i>
14.a. Pentagonal	<i>South Appalachian Pentagonal</i>
b. Lanceolate or ovate	15
c. Triangular	16
15.a. ≥ 44 mm long, non-chert	<i>Guilford Lanceolate</i>
b. 40-43 mm long, non-chert	<i>Guilford Lanceolate or Swannanoa Stemmed</i>
c. < 39 mm long or chert	<i>Swannanoa Stemmed</i>
16.a. Concave base 3-5.5 mm deep	<i>Garden Creek (Camp Creek) Triangular</i>
b. Straight, excurvate or incurvate base	17
17.a. ≥ 10 mm thick	<i>Transylvania Triangular</i>
b. ≤ 9 mm thick	18
18.a. Serrated	19
b. Unserrated	20

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- 19.a. ≥ 31 mm long, uneven thickness, chert *Small triangular, serrated*
- b. ≤ 30 mm long, even thickness or chert *Pisgah Triangular*
- 20.a. Excurvate base *Pisgah Triangular*
- b. Straight or incurvate base 21
- 21.a. ≥ 31 mm long or ≥ 22 mm wide *Connestee Triangular*
- b. ≤ 30 mm long or ≤ 21 mm wide 22
- 22.a. ≤ 11 mm wide *Pisgah Triangular*
- b. 12-14 mm wide 23
- c. 15-19 mm wide 24
- d. 20-21 mm wide 25
- 23.a. ≥ 23 or ≤ 17 mm long, or length:width ratio $> 1.3:1$ (isosceles) *Pisgah Triangular*
- b. 17.5-22 mm long, or length:width $< 1.2:1$ (nearly equilateral) *Pisgah Triangular or Haywood Triangular*
- 24.a. ≤ 17 or 23 mm long *Pisgah Triangular*
- b. 17.5-22 mm long *Pisgah Triangular or Haywood Triangular*
- c. 24-30 mm long *Pisgah Triangular or Connestee Triangular*

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- 25.a. ≤ 23 mm long, or length:width ratio
 $< 1.2:1$ (nearly equilateral) *Pisgah Triangular*
- b. 24-30 mm long, or length:width
ratio $\geq 1.2:1$ (isosceles) *Connestee Triangular or
Pisgah Triangular*
- 26.a. Pointed stem 27
- b. Stem not pointed 28
- 27.a. Short stem $1/5$ - $1/10$ length of point,
width:length ratio $1:1-1:2$ *Morrow Mountain I*
- b. Long, contracting stem $1/3$ - $1/5$
length of point, width:length
ratio $1:3-1:5$ *Morrow Mountain II*
- 28.a. Notched, bifurcate or bilobate base 29
- b. Straight, excurvate or incurvate base 32
- 29.a. Broad, bifurcate base; short,
stubby point; stem nearly
 $1/2$ length *LeCroy Bifurcated Stemmed*
- b. Shallow, notched base; short stem 30
- 30.a. Base heavily ground *MacCorkle Stemmed*
- b. Base unground 31
- 31.a. Square stem or ≥ 49 mm long *Stanly Stemmed*
- b. Expanding stem or ≤ 39 mm long *Kanawha Stemmed*

KEY TO PROJECTILE POINTS

32.a. Serrated		33
b. Unserrated		35
33.a. Square shoulders and stem	<i>Kirk Stemmed</i>	
b. Expanded stem		34
34.a. Shoulders wide, straight or tapered toward tip	<i>Kanawha Stemmed</i>	
b. Shoulders inversely tapered	<i>Kirk Stemmed</i>	
35.a. Unfinished stem as thick as blade	<i>Lamoka</i>	
b. Stem thinner than blade		36
36.a. Expanding stem		37
b. Straight or contracting stem		40
37.a. ≤ 22 or 37-42 mm long	<i>Kanawha Stemmed</i>	
b. 23-36 mm long		38
c. 43-48 mm long		39
d. 49 mm long	<i>Small Savannah River</i>	
38.a. ≤ 18 mm wide	<i>Plott Short Stemmed</i> <i>(Thelma Stemmed)</i>	
b. 19-24 mm wide	<i>Plott Short Stemmed</i> <i>(Thelma Stemmed) or</i> <i>Kanawha Stemmed</i>	
c. ≥ 25 mm wide	<i>Kanawha Stemmed</i>	

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- 39.a. 6 mm thick or ≤ 21 or
 ≥ 36 mm wide *Kanawha Stemmed*
- b. 7 mm thick or
22-35 mm wide *Small Savannah River or
Kanawha Stemmed*
- c. ≥ 8 mm thick *Small Savannah River*
- 40.a. ≥ 70 mm long 41
- b. ≤ 70 mm long 42
- 41.a. Unequal shoulders; blade asymmetrical,
reversed recurved; or excurvate base;
or contracting stem *Ledbetter*
- b. Equal shoulders, similar blade edges;
or concave base; or square stem *Savannah River
(Appalachian) Stemmed*
- 42.a. Spike-shaped (blade length:width ratio
 $\geq 2:1$), or shoulders asymmetrical or
base exhibiting rind (cortex) of
parent material *Bradley Spike*
- b. Triangular-bladed (blade
length:width ratio $< 2:1$) 43
- 43.a. Stem < 7 mm long *Plott Short Stemmed
(Thelma Stemmed)*
- b. Stem > 8 mm long 44
- c. Stem > 9 mm long 45

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- 44.a. > 43 mm long *Small Savannah River*
- b. < 36 mm long *Plott Short Stemmed
(Thelma Stemmed)*
- 45.a. Contracting stem not well defined,
or, if well defined, broad (shoulder
width:stem width ratio < 1.7:1);
or ≤ 27 mm long; or ≤ 15 mm
wide *Swannanoa Stemmed*
- b. Straight or contracting, well defined,
narrow (shoulder width:stem width ratio
 $\geq 1.7:1$) stem, or ≥ 44 mm long;
or ≥ 25 mm wide 46
- 46.a. ≥ 66 mm long, or ≥ 36 mm wide, or
stem ≥ 16 mm long, or stem width
 ≤ 11 mm, or ground stem edges, or
pentagonal-shaped with resharpening *Otarre Stemmed*
- b. 47-65 mm long 47
- c. 43-46 mm long 48
- d. 37-42 mm long 50
- e. ≤ 36 mm long, or ≤ 21 mm wide,
or 6 mm thick *Gypsy Stemmed*
- 47.a. ≥ 11 mm thick *Small Savannah River*
- b. ≤ 10 mm thick *Small Savannah River or
Otarre Stemmed*

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- 48.a. 12 mm thick *Small Savannah River*
- b. 11 mm thick *Small Savannah River or
Gypsy Stemmed*
- c. ≤ 10 mm thick 49
- 49.a. Stem 14-15 mm long *Small Savannah River or
Otarre Stemmed*
- b. Stem 11-13 mm long,
or stem 12-17 mm wide *Small Savannah River,
Otarre Stemmed, or
Gypsy Stemmed*
- c. Stem 9.5-10 mm long, or
stem 10-11 or 18 mm wide *Otarre Stemmed or
Gypsy Stemmed*
- d. Stem 9 mm long *Gypsy Stemmed*
- 50.a. 27-35 mm wide *Otarre Stemmed*
- b. 18-26 mm wide 51
- 51.a. Stem 14-15 mm long *Otarre Stemmed*
- b. Stem 9.5-13 mm long *Otarre Stemmed or
Gypsy Stemmed*
- c. Stem 9 mm long, or
point 11 mm thick *Gypsy Stemmed*

KEY TO PROJECTILE POINTS

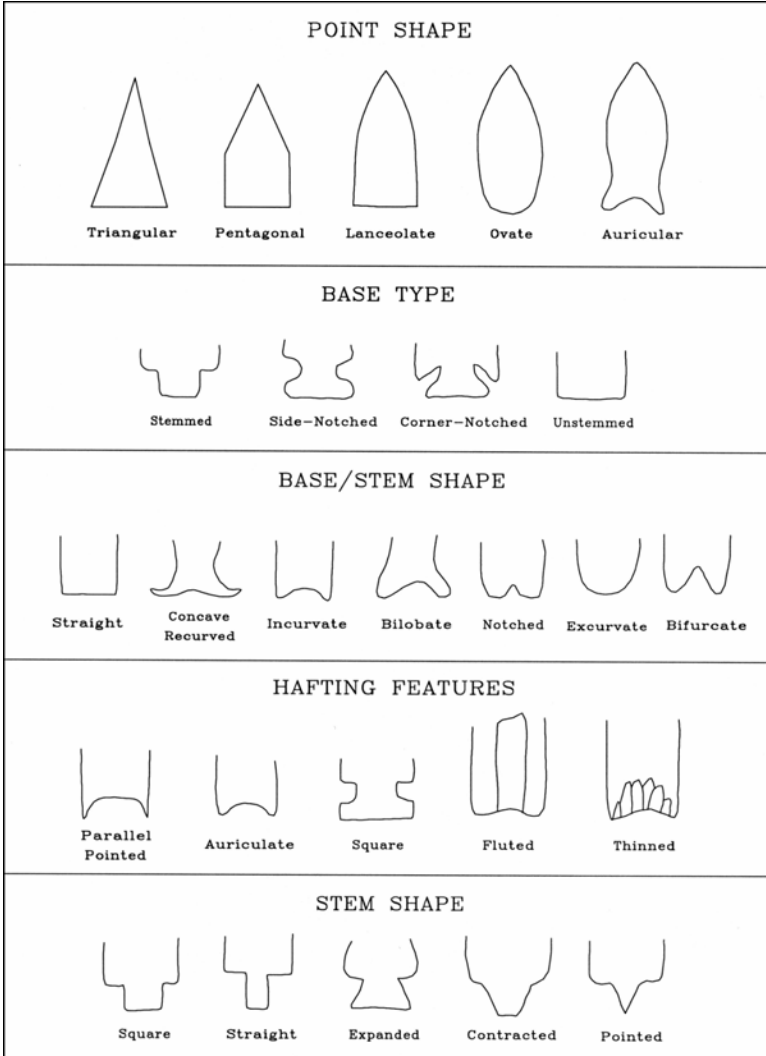


Figure 1. Illustrations of point shape and feature morphology.

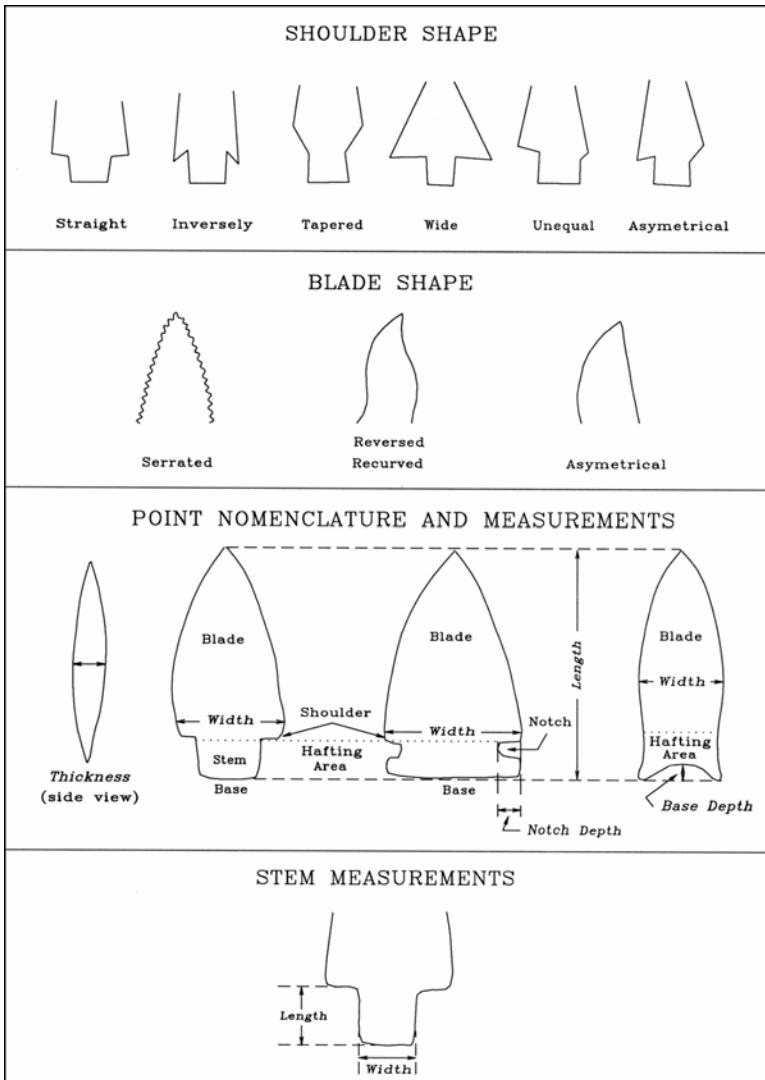


Figure 1 (Continued).

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Figure 2. Paleo-Indian Points. *Top (l-r)*, Hardaway-Dalton, Hardaway Side-Notched (2); *bottom*, Clovis (2), Hardaway-Dalton (2).

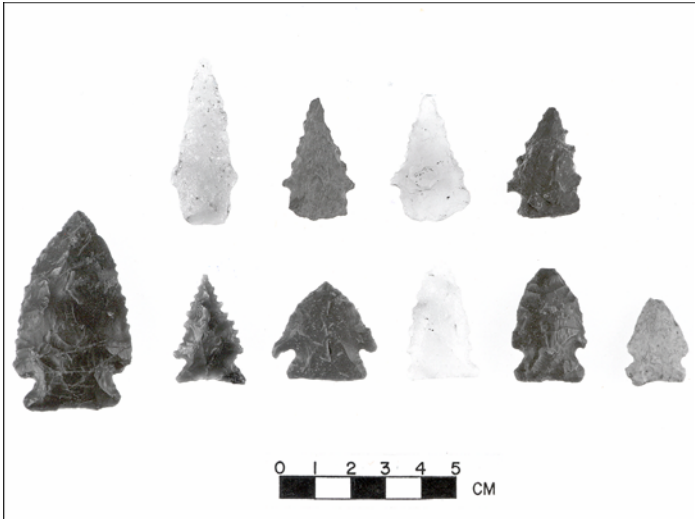


Figure 3. Early Archaic Points. *Top (l-r)*, Kirk Serrated (2), Kirk Stemmed (2); *bottom*, Kirk Corner-Notched (2), Palmer Corner-Notched (2), Kessel Side-Notched (2).

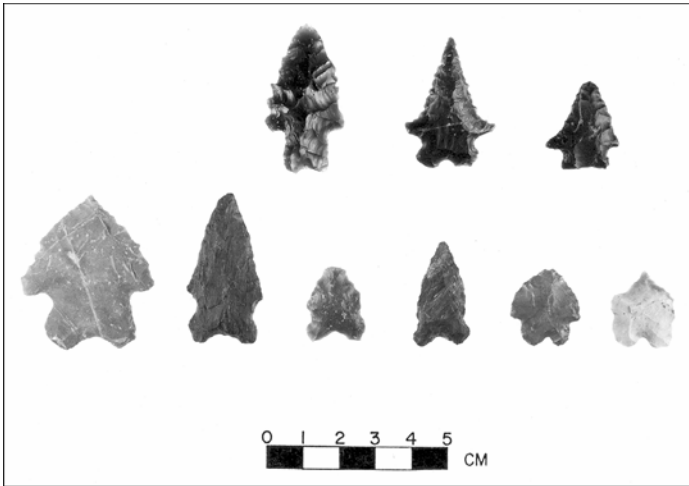


Figure 4. Early Archaic Points. *Top (l-r)*, Kanawha Stemmed (3); *bottom*, MacCorkle Stemmed (2), St. Albans Side-Notched (2), LeCroy Bifurcated Stemmed (2).

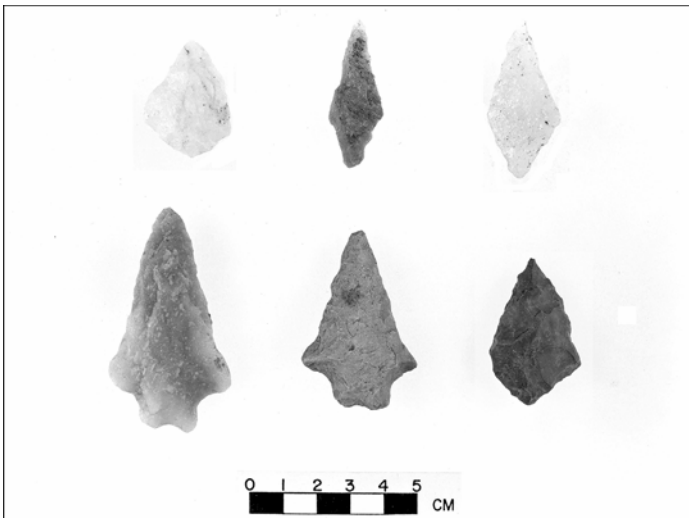


Figure 5. Middle Archaic Points. *Top (l-r)*, Morrow Mountain I, Morrow Mountain II (2); *bottom*, Stanly Stemmed (2), Morrow Mountain I.

KEY TO PROJECTILE POINTS

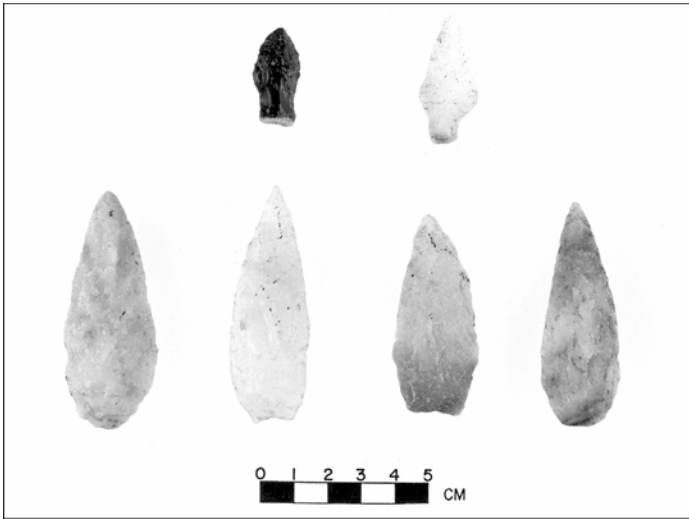


Figure 6. Middle Archaic Points. *Top*, Lamoka; *bottom*, Guilford Lanceolate.

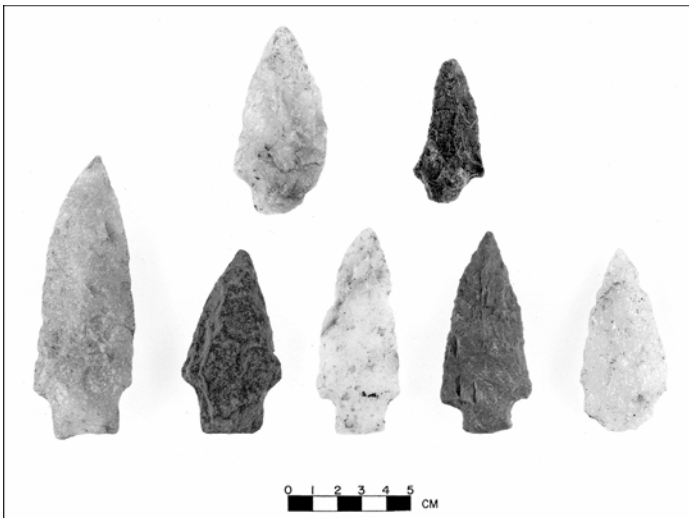


Figure 7. Late Archaic Points. *Top*, Ledbetter Stemmed; *bottom*, Savannah River Stemmed.

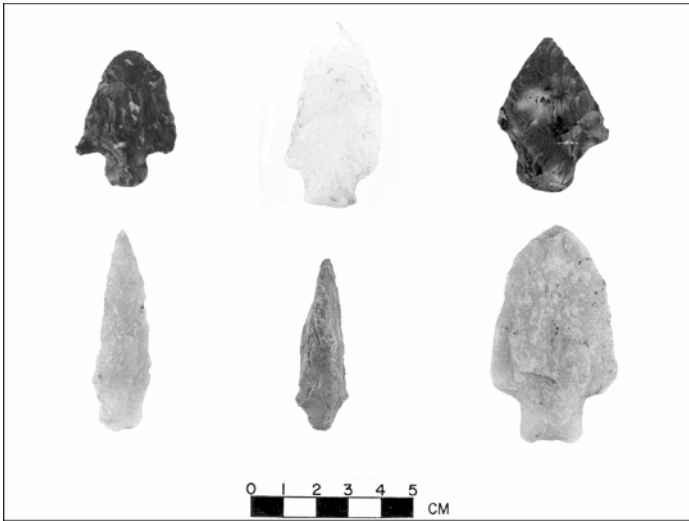


Figure 8. Terminal Late Archaic Points. *Top (l-r)*, Otarre Stemmed, Small Savannah River; *bottom*, Bradley Spike (2), Otarre Stemmed.

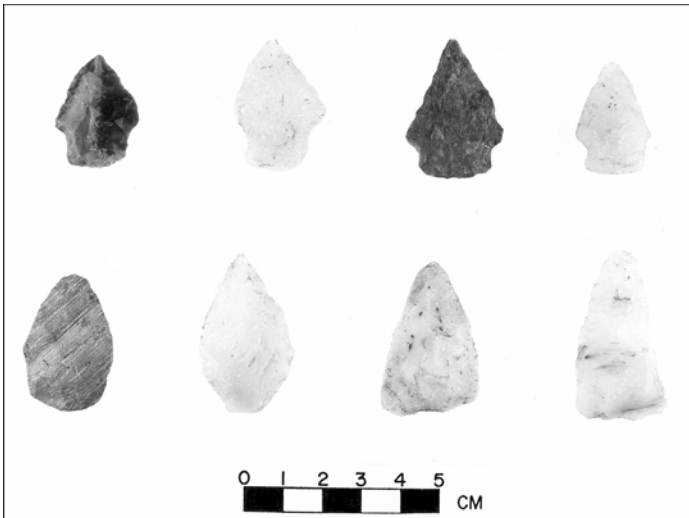


Figure 9. Early Woodland Points. *Top (l-r)*, Gypsy Stemmed (2), Plott Short Stemmed; *bottom*, Swannanoa Stemmed (2), Transylvania Triangular (2).

KEY TO PROJECTILE POINTS

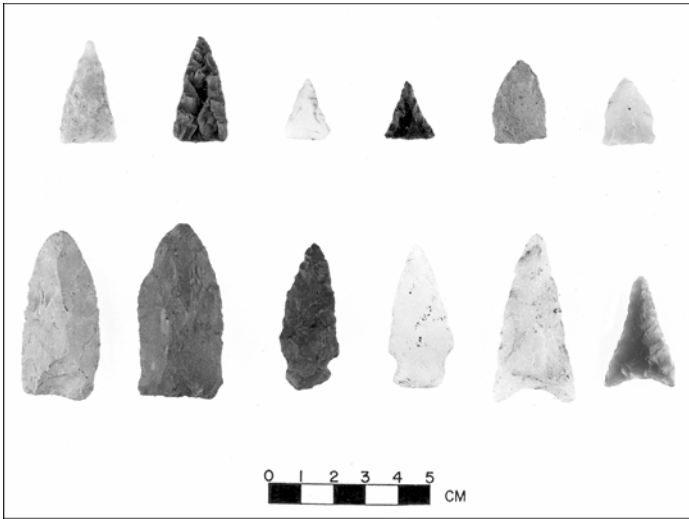


Figure 10. Middle Woodland Points. *Top (l-r)*, Connestee Triangular (2), Haywood Triangular (2), Pigeon Side-Notched (2); *bottom*, Copena Triangular (2), Coosa Notched (2), Garden Creek Triangular (2).

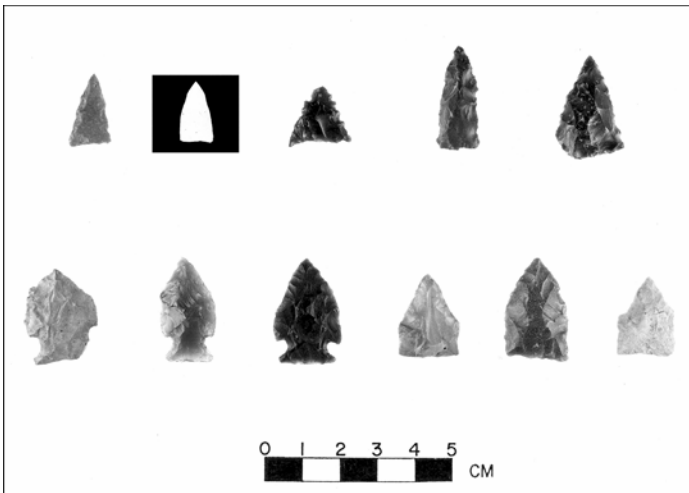


Figure 11. Late Woodland and Mississippian Points. *Top (l-r)*, Pisgah Triangular (2), small serrated triangular (2); *bottom*, pentagonal corner-notched (3), South Appalachian (3).