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Archaeological Testing of the John King Site (9CAM182) and the Cedar Bluff Site (9CAM186)

Jeanne A. Ward
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Jeanne A. Ward entitled "Archaeological Testing of the John King Site (9CAM182) and the Cedar Bluff Site (9CAM186)." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Anthropology.

Charles H. Faulkner, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges
Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)
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Vice Provost
and Dean of the Graduate School
ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTING OF THE JOHN KING SITE (9CAM182)
AND THE CEDAR BLUFF SITE (9CAM186)

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Arts
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Jeanne A. Ward
December 1985
I am indebted to many people for the encouragement, support, and brute labor necessary to complete this thesis. The first of these people are my committee, Dr. Charles H. Faulkner, Dr. Jefferson Chapman, and Dr. Benita Howell. I appreciate their encouragement, comments, and willingness to deal with my shortcomings. The field crew for the project included Stephanie Carver, Linda Dunn, and Phylis Schlyfer, who endured a wet, weary walk through the woods, not to mention hogs, dogs, and poachers who appeared out of nowhere. They had been seasoned by Carolyn Rock. The principle investigator of the Kings Bay Project was Dr. William Hampton Adams. I am indebted to all the investigators who proceeded and came after me. They helped lay the research groundwork in the area.

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I gratefully acknowledge my parents' support, both emotional and financial. They stood by me throughout the entire process. I am also indebted to Anne Midgarden, for keeping life in order.

And I am most sincerely indebted to Christy Johnson, whose efforts were above and beyond the call of duty or friendship. I give you my "M" or my "A."
ABSTRACT

During the winter of 1983, archaeological testing took place at the John King and Cedar Bluff sites on the Kings Bay Naval Submarine Base, Camden County, Georgia. One by two meter units were placed evenly across the area which the site survey had identified as containing representative artifacts from the Late Archaic through early historic settlement. This thesis details the results of this investigation.

Research objectives for the Cedar Bluff Site included an investigation of shifting prehistoric cultural boundaries through time and an investigation of spatial differentiation of settlement throughout the Late Archaic occupation and other cultural phases at this and an adjacent site. Research objectives for the John King Site included an investigation of domestic life of the early settlers in the Kings Bay area through archaeological and documentary research and an investigation into the socio-economic status of the occupant of this site through the analysis and comparison of ceramics recovered from here.

Investigations at this and other sites in the Kings Bay area show that the prehistoric cultural boundary, traditionally drawn at the Florida/Georgia border, had been repeatedly crossed by prehistoric groups. Several ceramic types previously indentified only in the north Florida or the Savannah River area were identified at Kings Bay and were present at the Cedar Bluff Site. An investigation of spatial differentiation of settlement at the Cedar Bluff Site revealed no conclusive evidence of variation in this area.
The John King Site was the earliest historic site identified at Kings Bay. A mean ceramic date of 1794.02 was derived using ceramics recovered during testing. Comparison of ceramics from the John King Site with ceramics from the Cannon's Point Plantation (Otto 1975 and 1977) showed a unique pattern of ceramic types indicating a socio-economic status for the occupant of the John King Site at a level between that of a planter and an overseer or slave on a large coastal plantation.

Other historic components identified in the area of Cedar Bluff were investigated. One of these was a possible peripheral secondary midden related to the John King Site. Another was a late-19th- or early-20th-century house site. The last was a modern concrete foundation.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Between January 19 and March 3, 1983, Phase II testing took place at the John King Site (9CAM182) and the Cedar Bluff Site (9CAM186), Kings Bay Naval Submarine Base (hereafter referred to as KBNSB), Camden County, Georgia. KBNSB and its relationship to the surrounding area can be seen in Figure 1.1. Both sites were located on the bank of Mallard Creek. The John King Site was an historic site superimposed upon the mainly prehistoric Cedar Bluff Site and given a separate site designation in the original survey. The relation of these two sites and other sites in the Cherry Point area of KBNSB can be seen in Figure 1.2.

The Cedar Bluff area was tested with evenly spaced 1 x 2 m units with a crew of four. The Cedar Bluff Site ranged from 50 to 125 m wide and stretched 550 m along the creek bank. The John King Site was a much smaller occupation area, approximately 25 x 25 m. The two sites together encompassed human occupations ranging from the Late Archaic through the Woodland and Mississippian periods during prehistoric times, and historically from the late 1700s through the 1950s. Such a long, though not continuous, span of occupation in one area provided a significant opportunity to study human culture through time and space.

This thesis will explore human culture through spatial and temporal patterns using the results of the archaeological testing of the John King and Cedar Bluff sites. Survey data noted occupation in the area from Late Archaic (1600 B.C.) to the mid-1900s. Testing confirmed this 3600-year occupation. As such, the site provided a valuable basis for
Figure 1.1  The Kings Bay Locality
182—John King Site
183—James King Site
184—Frohock Point Site
185—Mallard Creek Site
186—Cedar Bluff Site
187—Cherry Point Prehistoric Site
196—Cherry Point Historic Site

Figure 1.2 Sites in the area of Cherry Point
the study of prehistoric site characteristics with the potential to increase understanding of local chronologies on the southeast Georgia coast and to resolve inaccuracies in the archaeological record. It also presented a unique opportunity to study the earliest located historic occupation in the KBNSB and to add to the knowledge of historic settlement patterns in the form of small plantation holdings.

The Kings Bay Project

Introduction

The testing of the John King and Cedar Bluff sites was a part of the much larger Kings Bay Project. Kings Bay is located on the southern coast of Georgia just above the Florida/Georgia border (Figure 1.2). During 1982 and 1983, the Kings Bay Project included the testing of 13 different sites (reported in Rock and Ward 1983 and Adams 1985). The John King Site and the Cedar Bluff Site were excavated during the Phase II testing of these sites. A brief history of the Kings Bay Project and its research design follows.

History of the Kings Bay Project

The Kings Bay Project, an archaeological reconnaissance project, has been ongoing since 1977. At that time, the U.S. Navy contracted for the preparation of the Draft Environmental Impact Statement (DEIS) for the development of a naval submarine base. The University of Florida provided an archaeological survey of the proposed area. Since the initiation of this project additional Phase I survey, Phase II testing, and Phase III mitigation have taken place where needed, based on that
survey. The John King and Cedar Bluff sites were included among the sites tested because plans called for increased recreational use of the area.

The Kings Bay Project was undertaken for resource planning. Within the impact area, cultural resources were threatened by the planned construction of a major military facility. A research design was implemented for Kings Bay in order to maximize information gathering capabilities.

The Kings Bay Project Research Design

The research design for the Kings Bay Project (Adams 1984:5-11) contained three major sets of objectives: management, descriptive, and explanatory. Archaeological research was accomplished in three phases: Phase I survey, Phase II testing, and Phase III mitigation.

Management objectives, as established by Adams, corresponded with Phase I, or the survey of the project area. The goal of Phase I was mainly the identification of sites to be dealt with in the planning and construction of a major military facility. Site survey was designed to provide cursory information on site location, size, depth, and cultural association.

Descriptive objectives corresponded with Phase II, the testing phase of the project, and were to provide more detailed information on site size and configuration, depth and stratigraphy, complexity, chronology, and cultural association. Descriptive objectives provide a record of the scientific inquiry, i.e., the site report (complete with methods and artifact descriptions).
Phase III, or site mitigation, would occur when a site had been determined significant but could not be preserved. Thus, Phase III objectives were explanatory and descriptive. Explanatory objectives go beyond the time honored questions of who, when, where, and what to address how, why, and explanations of changes and continuity through time.

Specific Kings Bay Project Research Objectives

As the introduction states, a comprehensive research design was formulated for the Kings Bay Project. This research design embodied three major sets of objectives—management, descriptive, and explanatory—and established goals for each phase of archaeological exploration. The broad questions—what, where, and when—are answered to a degree by most archaeological explorations. The specific questions—what culture, what ceramics, what bones, from where, to where, at what specific time—are tempered by what is already known about the area from previous research and by the particular characteristics of the site examined and the extent of the archaeological research proposed. Although research questions necessarily differed for prehistoric and historic sites, several specific research goals were set for the Kings Bay Project.

The first of these research goals, based on the existence of numerous shell middens in the Kings Bay area, was an inquiry into prehistoric and historic subsistence patterns. Some extremely valuable information has been forthcoming from the Phase III mitigation at the Kings Bay Site (9CAM171) (Adams 1984a and 1984b). The second research
goal for Kings Bay was the delineation of cultural affiliation through time. A third goal was the examination of a small plantation that existed during the early settlement period of Camden County. These goals are discussed in more detail in Chapter III.
CHAPTER II

SITE CHARACTERISTICS

Environmental Overview

Kings Bay was an area of diverse environmental settings. Its geology, climate, soils, plants, and animals have affected human habitation throughout prehistory and history. The following is a brief overview of the environment of Kings Bay.

Kings Bay is located on Georgia's coastal plain, an area of low elevation and minor relief. Three major shorelines exist at Kings Bay: the Pamlico, the Princess Ann, and the Silver Bluff. Formed about 108,000 B.C., the Pamlico shoreline exists at six to 13 meters above the present sea level. The Princess Ann shoreline was formed about 50,000 B.C., and, though not well defined, exists at four to six meters above sea level. The Silver Bluff shoreline developed between 35,000 and 23,000 B.C. Between two and four meters above mean sea level, this shoreline contains the salt marshes, intercoastal flats, and barrier islands (Rigdon and Green 1980:3).

Much discussion has centered around sea level fluctuation since the Wisconsin glaciation (16,000 B.C.) dropped sea level 100 meters below present levels. Sea level began to rise about 15,000 B.C. and by 3000 B.C. was one meter below present levels. By 2500 B.C., sea level was stable, allowing the development of terraces and new barrier islands. There is evidence suggesting that the sea level fluctuated after 2500 B.C. These fluctuations would have had a major effect on the environment of the area. These effects have been discussed by many
The climate at Kings Bay is best described as moderate. The annual mean temperature is 20.2°C. Precipitation averages 139.7 cm per year, of which 54 percent falls between June and September. Occasional hurricanes affect the area (Adams 1984b:4).

Several soil series have been identified at Kings Bay. Cainhoy Fine Sand and Mandarine Fine Sand have been identified in the immediate area of Cedar Bluff. These are described more fully in the section on stratigraphy. Other soils include Bohicket-Capers, Rutledge Soil, Pelham Loamy Soil, and Potsburg Soil (Rigdon and Green 1980).

Plant communities at Kings Bay exhibit quite a bit of diversity. The Draft Environmental Impact Statement (DEIS) described several identifiable plant communities. Among these are pine flatwoods, wooded swamps, freshwater marshes, southern mixed hardwoods, and salt marshes. The latter two occur in the area of Cedar Bluff. A southern mixed hardwood plant community is characterized by an overstory of live oak (*Quercus virginiana*) and laurel oak (*Quercus laurifolia*). These are interspersed with hickory (*Carya glabra*) and persimmon (*Diospyros virginiana*). Also present are wild grape (*Vitis sp.*), cherry (*Prunus sp.*), greenbriar (*Smilax sp.*), saw palmetto (*Serenoa repens*), cabbage palm (*Sabal palmetto*), and yaupon (*Ilex vomitoria*).

The salt marsh was composed primarily of smooth cordgrass (*Spartina alterniflora*), black needlebrush (*Juncus roemerianus*), sea ox-eye (*Borricharia frutescens*), groundsel-tree (*Baccharis lalimifloia*), wax myrtle (*Myrica cerifera*), southern red cedar (*Juniperus silicicola*), and
yaupon (Ilex vomitoria). These are present in succession proceeding from the tidal creek to the shrub border.

Prehistoric as well as historic inhabitants of the Kings Bay area relied on the fauna present for subsistence. Adams (1984b) summarized the fauna available to residents of the area. Mammals include the opossum (Didelphis virginiana), and two species of rabbit, cottontail (Sylvilagus floridanus) and marsh rabbit (Sylvilagus palustris). Also important were the grey squirrel (Sciurus carolinensis) and fox squirrel (Sciurus niger). The flying squirrel (Glaucomys volans) was present but not commonly used as a food source. Raccoon (Procyon lotor) and white-tailed deer (Odocoileus virginianus) were also important food sources.

Adams (1984b:18) found that birds were not well represented in the archaeological record at Kings Bay. Birds present in the area include the greenwinged teal (Anas crecca), bluewinged teal (Anas discors), northern shoveler (Anas clypeata), ring-necked duck (Aytha collaris), greater scaup (Aytha marila), lesser scaup (Aytha affinis), ruddy duck (Oxyura jamaicensis), and the hooded merganser (Lophodytes cucullatus).

Reptiles present at Kings Bay included the Atlantic green turtle (Chelonia mydas mydas), the Atlantic loggerhead (Caretta caretta), and the leatherback turtle (Dermochelys coriacea), the snapping turtle (Chelydra serpentina serpentina), mud and musk turtles (Kinosternidae), diamondback terrapin (Malaclemys terrapin), and the Florida cooter (Chrysemys floridana).

"Aboriginal people occupying the coastal niche were focusing their attention upon several species of molluscs, crustaceans, and fishes. Sea
mammals and reptiles to a lesser extent figured into subsistence strategies" (Adams 1984b:19). The aquatic fauna available at Kings Bay would include sharks, skates, and rays (Chondrichthyes); however, these would not be expected to show up in the archaeological record due to the cartilaginous nature of their skeletons. Fish represented at Kings Bay are too numerous to name by species here; however, representatives of herring and shad (Clupeidae) are found in high saline environments, including the high marsh and tidal creeks. Anchovies (Engraulidae), drum (Sciaenidae), mullet (Mugilidae), and jack (Carangidae) were present in saltwater environments. Catfish (Siluriformes) is a freshwater type but is saltwater tolerant, as is the garfish (Lepisosteidae).

Also present in the Kings Bay locality were the invertebrates: shrimp (*Penaeus* sp.), crab (Brachyura), mollusc (Pelecypods), Atlantic ribbed mussel (*Geukensia demissa*), quahog (*Mercenaria* sp.), and whelk (*Busycon* sp.).

This list is by no means a complete inventory of plant and animal species in the Kings Bay area, but it offers a general overview of available resources and the habitats in which these species are found. As in all cases, the archaeologist must be aware that the environment changes over time and that species present today may not have been present during prehistoric or even historic times.

**Site Location**

The Cedar Bluff Site was located on the north bank of Mallard Creek, just inland from the Kings Bay estuary. Ranging from 50 to 125 m
wide, it stretched 550 m along the bank of Mallard Creek from its confluence with Marianna Creek to an area where two springs originate (Figure 1.2, p.3). The prehistoric component (9CAM186) seemed to extend continuously and undisturbed throughout this 4.8 hectare area. The area also included the possible homestead of John King (9CAM182) as well as a scattering of 19th-century artifacts at the springs, a collapsed structure dating to the 1910s, a surface scatter of brick and whiteware, and, near the artesian well, several concrete foundations of recent origin. The homestead, springs, and artesian well areas did not receive site designations.

Vegetation and Soils

The area of the Cedar Bluff site was 3 to 4 m above mean sea level and was characterized by southern mixed hardwoods growing on Cainhoy Fine Sand. The vegetation also included many eastern red cedars and some pine trees of considerable size. This late pine and mixed hardwood forest indicated that the area had been cleared and succession was returning it to a climax condition. Undergrowth ranged from thick to negligible, while the bluff edge consisted of very thick palmetto bushes. Duff was dense over most of the area but occasional clearings showed moderate shell scatters.
CHAPTER III

RESEARCH COMPENDIUM

Prehistory

Introduction

The prehistory of the Kings Bay locality follows the same basic pattern as that of the rest of the eastern United States. Due to fluctuating sea levels, the first cultural period evident was the Late Archaic. Approximately 3000-2000 B.C., when sea levels stabilized, nomadic hunters and gatherers established semi-sedentary settlements in the area. The Archaic Period was followed by the Woodland Period, which began about 400 B.C., then the Mississippian Period beginning about A.D. 1100. Each of these periods manifested the same basic patterns in the Kings Bay area as in the rest of the eastern United States. However, Kings Bay's coastal locality provided some unique characteristics.

The Kings Bay area was located in an archaeologically "debatable land." The boundary between north Florida and south Georgia coastal prehistoric cultural areas has traditionally been drawn at the St. Marys River. The north Florida culture area, as defined by Milanich and Fairbanks (1980:21-33), is part of the East Florida or St. Johns area which extends from south of Cape Canaveral to the St. Marys River and contains the coast, lagoon system, and drainage of the St. Johns River. The south Georgia coastal area extends from the Savannah River to the St. Marys along the coast and includes the barrier islands, inland marshes, and nearby coastal areas. Recent research (Larson 1958b, Cook 1977, Kirkland 1979, Smith 1978, Smith 1982, Smith 1983, Smith et al. 13
1981, Adams 1984a and 1984b) has shown that this boundary may have shifted over time. The coastal area between the Altamaha and the St. Marys rivers acted as a "buffer zone" during more than one prehistoric and protohistoric period. Ceramic types previously found only in north Florida have recently been identified at KBNSB (Adams 1984a). Thus, an area where little previous research has taken place may provide new insight into the delineation of both culture areas through time. The following summarizes what is generally known about the major periods of prehistory in the Kings Bay area.

**Archaic**

Willey and Phillips defined the Archaic Stage as "the stage of migratory hunting and gathering cultures continuing into environmental conditions approximating those of the present" (1958:107). As stated previously, the Archaic Period first occurred in Camden County between 3000-2000 B.C. At this time sea levels stabilized and the area became desirable for the nomadic cultural pattern adopted by these people. The onset of the Archaic Period was accompanied by increased human population and increased competition for dietary resources. It also heralded more efficient means of resources utilization (Milanich and Fairbanks 1980:50). Archaic people were exploiting the aquatic and terrestrial resources available in the area probably on a seasonal basis.

*the Archaic tradition represents the successful adaptation of the people of the Southeast to the warmer weather and forest flora and fauna that marked the close of the Pleistocene. As the large animals disappeared, these people learned to make their living by using all*
that their environment had to offer: fish, fresh-water mussels, nuts, seeds, and a wide variety of woodland animals. In addition to these purely practical innovations, the Archaic people apparently invented the technique of polishing stone... they may also have invented fiber-tempered pottery independently (Hudson 1976:54).

Though Camden County lacks the distinctive shell rings of this period, it displays a fiber-tempered pottery in association with shell middens. It also displays examples of this ware outside the context of shell middens.

The timing of the Late Archaic in southeast Georgia was dependent upon the fluctuating sea levels of the Holocene geological epoch. It is estimated that, at the peak of the Wisconsin glaciation, sea level was approximately 100 m below its present level, but that by 5000 B.P. it was between 3 and 8 m below today's level (Smith et al. 1981:51). As such, the coastline would have been quite distant from the Kings Bay area. The distant coastline can probably explain the relative absence of prehistoric remains in the area until the Late Archaic. Cultures before that time would have been foraging closer to the shoreline food source, now found on the ocean floor.

Many authors have discussed the Late Archaic in the coastal region of the Southeastern United States (Fairbanks 1942, Williams 1968:193, Bullen and Green 1970). Ceramics first appeared about 2000 B.C. in this region. This was a fiber-tempered ware "in the form of open bowls with thick walls decorated with incised lines and punched indentation..." (Hudson 1976:52). Occurring both in the Savannah River and St. Johns River areas, this pottery ware has been classified into many types.
The Savannah River Focus was a Late Archaic manifestation which features plain, punctate, and incised, fiber-tempered, Stallings Island ceramics, bone pins and awls, stemmed projectile points, stemmed and unstemmed stone knives, steatite net-sinkers, drills, and scrapers. It extended south to the Altamaha River of Georgia and north to the Santee River of South Carolina (Williams 1968:165-196). In 1943, Griffin published the type definitions for the Stallings Island fiber-tempered ceramics (Griffin 1943:159). St. Simons fiber-tempered ceramics were identified as a separate cultural manifestation not observable by Waring in the Stallings Island Tradition at the Bilbo Site (Williams 1968:152-197) nor by Preston Holder (Chance 1974) at St. Simons Island. St. Simons ceramics were first described in print when Caldwell and McCann used Holder's St. Simons classification in their Irene Site report and described the ceramic's characteristics and distribution (Caldwell and McCann 1941:51). Waring used St. Simons terminology for his Bilbo materials and, in addition to a comparison of ceramics, also relied upon a number of cultural comparisons (Williams 1968:152-197). Waring divided the coastal Archaic into Bilbo I and Bilbo II, based upon the presence of plain ceramic and decorated ceramic levels. DePratter gave St. Simons ceramics a type description finally in 1979 (DePratter 1979:115).

Milanich (1971:116-128) defined the Coastal Tradition as "a distinctive way of life" which extended from Cape Fear, North Carolina, to Mosquito Inlet, Florida, and which was characterized by two distinct phases along the South Carolina and Georgia coasts; the Sapelo and St. Simons phases. Some authorities still feel that all coastal
fiber-tempered sites represent a Savannah River Tradition variant (Stoltman 1972). Additional evidence has continued to accrue, lending stronger support to early claims for a Coastal Tradition or Coastal Phase within the Savannah River Tradition.

The Savannah River Tradition exhibited three site types, as defined by Howard, DePratter, and Frey (1980:7): circular shell rings or mounds, linear shell middens, and non-shell coastal sites. The shell mound and ring sites were grouped as belonging to the Sapelo Phase based on early dates, settlement types, local artifact similarities, and the presence of predominantly plain St. Simons ceramics. St. Simons Phase sites are described as being the long linear shell middens or non-shell sites which appear to be somewhat later in time and contain a greater percentage of decorated fiber-tempered ceramics (Milanich 1971:150).

Most fiber-tempered sites at Kings Bay were recognizable as belonging to the St. Simons Phase of the Coastal Tradition by reason of locale, site type, the presence of nearby fresh water, site situation on well-drained soils, and the presence of St. Simons and Orange ceramics. While these cultural traits do describe those manifestations of St. Simons Phase occupations, they vary only slightly from cultural traits recognized for inland, non-shell Orange Period sites. Some of the ceramic motifs overlap and could be classified as either St. Simons or Orange Incised varieties (DesJean 1984:19).

Orange ceramics were part of the Late Archaic manifestation of the St. Johns Tradition. Indeed, the St. Johns I culture was a direct outgrowth of the Florida Transitional period, dated 1200/1000 B.C. to 500 B.C. (Milanich and Fairbanks 1980:152). Sites of the Orange period occurred throughout north Florida and the Gulf Coast area. Orange I and II extended from 2000 to 1450 B.C. During the Orange III period, which dates 1450 to 1250 B.C., people moved east to the St. Johns area.
Orange IV, dating 1250 to 1000 B.C., heralded the appearance of St. Johns ceramics and led into the Transitional culture mentioned earlier. Material culture remained much the same throughout the Orange Period. The core area of the St. Johns Tradition, defined by Goggin (1952:16), included the St. Johns River Valley below the outlet of Lake Harney, parts of the Okefenokee Swamp, and the Atlantic coast from the St. Marys River to Mosquito Inlet, Florida.

As one can see, there are many views of the exact orientation of the Archaic culture on the Southeast coast. DesJean has summarized his conclusions on the Archaic in the Kings Bay area as "belonging to, and interacting with, Orange Period cultures of the St. Johns Tradition. This interaction was revealed through decorated ceramics which increase through time; the lack of any diagnostic St. Simons ceramics at either of two sites (9CAM171; 9CAM177) excavated during the 1981 mitigation phase" (DesJean 1984:25). Whether this relationship holds for the Archaic component of the Cedar Bluff Site will be discussed later in this thesis.

Woodland

The next prehistoric cultural period of the southeast Georgia coast was the Woodland. Although many of the subsistence patterns that characterized the Archaic were continued, the Woodland Period represented a greater degree of sedentarism with a more stable food supply. Milanich and Fairbanks (1980:199) indicated that a typical band at this time would have consisted of 30 to 50 people living in a live oak strand adjacent to the salt marsh. Here, the aquatic
(the marsh, lagoon, and tidal stream) as well as terrestrial environment (mainly live oak stands) could be exploited.

The people of the Woodland Tradition followed the same hunting and gathering way of life that their ancestors had established earlier. In the Woodland Tradition, however, they developed more and more refinements in ways of doing things as they learned to exploit particular foods of their local regions more efficiently (Hudson 1976:56).

These people were culturally more sophisticated than the earlier Archaic people. Ceremonialism was becoming more complex, and evidence of longer occupations, in the form of middens and houses, can be seen (Milanich and Fairbanks 1980:74-75).

In the confined cultural region of the coastal Southeast, the Woodland Period manifested itself in many ways through the continuum of its existence. Alternately called the Coastal Tradition (Milanich and Fairbanks 1980), the Early Formative Tradition (Saunders 1984:33, Willey and Phillips 1958:144), or the Woodland Tradition (Hudson 1976), this cultural pattern was evident on the Atlantic Coast from Cape Fear, North Carolina, to the St. Johns River area in Florida as well as along the Gulf Coast (Milanich and Fairbanks 1980:66).

In discussing the Early Formative Tradition in the Southeast, Saunders (1984:33-42) included the Deptford phase in this tradition. The Early Formative lasted from 500 B.C. through A.D. 1000, with Deptford overlapping and coexisting with such cultures as Marksville, St. John's, and Weeden Island. The latest of these associations shows Deptford to have been phased out and replaced by Wilmington in the Kings Bay area.

The Woodland Period is generally delineated by the development of
sand-tempered, coiled pottery. An initial date for this period is about 500 B.C. Typical Woodland ceramics for the southeastern coastal region were of the Deptford type. DePratter (1977:6) has divided Deptford into three archaeological phases. Phase I (400 B.C.–A.D. 100) included plain, simple stamped, linear check, and check stamped ceramics. Phase II (A.D. 100–500) incorporated cord-marking, complicated-stamping, and bold check-stamping. Phase III (A.D. 500 to A.D. 600) exhibited plain, cord-marked, complicated-stamped, and check-stamped ceramics. Examples of all these types of Deptford ceramics have been recovered at Kings Bay. These ceramics were sand-tempered and of coiled, rather than slab, construction. This characteristic allowed these people to construct thinner walled jars than was possible for the Archaic peoples with their slab construction method.

Wilmington occupied a transitional period between the Woodland and Mississippian periods. It was associated with the beginnings of maize horticulture on the coast, though there is no direct evidence of this at Kings Bay (Saunders 1984:38). Wilmington pottery is sherd- or clay-tempered, exhibiting decorations made by impressing a cord-wrapped paddle on the surface. This type was restricted to the coast of Georgia and South Carolina (Caldwell 1952:317) and was dated between A.D. 600 and A.D. 1000 (DePratter 1977:6). The Wilmington phase seems to have coexisted with a Swift Creek occupation dating from A.D. 500 to A.D. 750 at Kings Bay. Swift Creek was thought to be intrusive into the area (Saunders 1984:39).
Mississippian

The Mississippian Period represents a florescence in population size and social organization and a new dependence upon maize horticulture. In many areas it meant the development of large village sites and ceremonial centers along floodplains, with elaborate ceremonial objects and the introduction of shell-tempered ceramics (Griffin 1967:189).

Early Mississippian cultures developed around A.D. 700. in the middle Mississippi River Valley and spread throughout the Southeast during the next 300 years. Eventually, this culture was found in most areas of the Southeast which possessed the requisite floodplain environment.

Beginning about A.D. 1100, Savannah Phase sites of the Mississippian culture appeared on the Georgia coast. In Camden County, this change was represented by sand-tempered, cord-marked ceramics as well as check-stamping, complicated-stamping, and burnishing. Savannah ceramics extend to A.D. 1300 in coastal Georgia (Smith et al. 1981:89). The settlement pattern was typically Mississippian except for the absence of large mound centers. Hierarchical site types have been identified. Subsistence included small field horticulture, nutting, deer hunting, and fish and shellfish procurement (Espenshad 1984a:45-46).

Coexistent with Savannah phase ceramics are St. Johns ceramics. St. Johns series ceramics are a distinctive ware produced from sponge spicule-bearing clays. Milanich has divided these into six temporal periods lasting from 500 B.C. to A.D. 1565 (Milanich and Fairbanks 21
1980:157). The settlement pattern during the St. Johns period included pyramidal mounds, burial mounds, and villages along the coastal strand. The St. Johns cultures also exhibited Mississippian vessel forms. According to Espenshad (1984a:45), "evidence for intensive horticulture is not conclusive" at Kings Bay. The Late Formative, which included Savannah, also included St. Johns IIA and IIb, dating from A.D. 800 to 1513 (Espenshad 1984a:44). It is unknown whether these ceramics were of local manufacture from an unidentified source or the result of regular trade with the St. Johns region. Alternatively, they may also have resulted from periodic, seasonal occupation of the area by St. Johns pottery-making peoples. These options will be discussed later.

The St. Johns II and Savannah cultures exhibited many Mississippian traits while never developing a dependence on maize horticulture. Because of rich wild resource bases within environments of poor horticultural soils, the St. Johns II and Savannah peoples chose to maintain their subsistence strategies, allowing horticulture to play only a minor part in their subsistence. Nonetheless, both cultures showed a ranked form of social organization, pyramidal mounds, and artifacts of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex. The St. Johns II and Savannah cultures are both best described as Mississippian-influenced, due to the maintenance of their subsistence strategies (Espenshad 1984a:47).

**Historic Aboriginal Groups**

During the early contact period on the north Florida/south Georgia Atlantic coast, two Indian groups, the Timucuans and the Guale, were prominent. The Timucuans were a widespread group of tribes who spoke dialects of the same language but were politically distinct (Milanich and Fairbanks 1980:216). In the area of Kings Bay, several tribes were present. On Cumberland Island, the Tacatucura were making
"Savannah-derived cord-marked ceramics as well as ... pottery brushed and malleated with dried corncobs" (Milanich and Fairbanks 1980:217). Though little is known about the mainland tribes in this area archaeologically, the Yui and Yufera were known to have inhabited the Kings Bay area. Ceramics from the mainland are a mixture of Savannah cord-marked and St. Johns pottery (Walker 1984:57).

Timucuans were agriculturists, growing corn, beans, tobacco, and other cultigens as well as relying on hunting, fishing, and wild foods (Milanich and Fairbanks 1980:217). Timucuans used small triangular Pinellas projectile points, manufactured basketry and cordage, lived in occasionally palisaded villages, and had ranked clans. Women wore moss skirts, were tattooed, and had unbound long hair. Men wore breech clouts, were also tattooed, and tied their hair back (Milanich and Fairbanks 1980:223). The population of this group was quickly decimated after European contact but is estimated to have been 40,000 at that time (Milanich and Fairbanks 1980:227).

The other prevalent group in the Kings Bay area was the Guale. Thought to be derived from or related to the Creek, the Guale inhabited the sea islands in the Savannah River area where the Spanish Jesuits and Franciscans set up their missions and presidios. The Guale were a more linguistically unified group than were the Timucuans and their political and social organization was based on chiefdoms (Walker 1984:59). Several chiefdoms were responsible for the Guale rebellion in 1597.

The archaeologically defined ceramic complexes for the Guale are named Irene and Pine Harbor (Larson 1978). The Irene complex consists mainly of Irene Incised while Pine Harbor adds McIntosh Incised to the
ceramic inventory. During the Spanish mission period, the Altamaha Complex followed the Irene Phase and the Sutherland Bluff Phase followed Pine Harbor. Altamaha and San Marcos series (red filmed) ceramics occur in these phases, respectively (Larson 1978), sometimes intermixed with Spanish ceramics.

After contact with European culture, the Guale Indians turned from a dependence on the marine environment to a life of farming. Individual houses of daub and thatch and larger council houses were built. Burial mounds were discontinued in the historic period. As with most other aboriginal groups, the Guale population decreased dramatically at contact. Due to shifting alliances between various Indian and European groups, the Guale moved south to the St. Augustine area around 1710 (Milanich and Fairbanks 1980:20).

The boundaries of aboriginal cultures throughout time have often been questioned. Kings Bay, on the traditional boundary of the north Florida culture area and the south Georgia culture area, is in a position to add considerably to our knowledge of the Archaic, Woodland, Mississippian, and historic aboriginal cultures and their distribution through time and space.

Previous Research

Southeast Coast

Archaeological exploration on the Southeast coast began with C.B. Moore in the late 19th century. Four of the mounds he investigated were in Camden County. Although Moore's emphasis was on mounds containing exotic grave goods, he also noted that Georgia's shell mounds were not
exotic grave goods, he also noted that Georgia's shell mounds were not as large or numerous as those in Florida (Smith 1983:15). No further work occurred until the 1930s WPA programs in Glynn and Chatham counties. This work produced the first cultural chronology of the area (Caldwell and McCann 1941). The next significant contribution to archaeology in the area was made by Antonio Waring between 1937 and 1967. The results of his work were compiled in a single volume in 1968 (Williams 1968).

Lewis Larson, in a series of studies (1953, 1955, 1957, 1958a, 1958b, 1978, 1980), attempted the first unified, problem-oriented study of the area. These inquiries were focused on the adaptation and acculturation of prehistoric cultures. Work begun on St. Catherines Island by the University of Georgia (Caldwell 1971) is now being continued by the American Museum of Natural History. University of Florida archaeologists extended their work into Georgia, concentrating on St. Simons Island during the mid-1970s. This work produced a series of dissertations such as Martinez (1975), Marrinan (1975), and Wallace (1975). Chester DePratter has published a series of articles on the prehistoric occupation of the coastal sea islands (1976, 1977, 1979). Studies in both prehistoric and historic settlements on the mainland have included those of Fish (1976) and Snow (1977).

**Kings Bay**

Recent work at Kings Bay has included a comprehensive survey of the KBNSB (Smith 1978). Johnson (1978), Smith et al. (1981), Smith (1983), Smith, Council, and Saunders (1985) and Adams (1985) reported on Phase
Descriptive archaeology and zooarchaeology reports on the mitigation of sites to be impacted by construction of a new wharf were prepared by Adams (1984a and 1984b).

**The Cedar Bluff Site**

The Cedar Bluff Site was discovered during the initial survey conducted at Kings Bay during 1977 (Smith 1978). A transect of systematic test pits (.5 x .5 m) every 25 m parallel to the shoreline was used to determine the boundaries of the site. This transect was supplemented by perpendicular transects every 50 m. This prehistoric site produced a large quantity of fiber-tempered ceramics. Composing approximately one-quarter of the survey assemblage from this site, they were identified mainly as St. Simons Plain. Other, less numerous types included Deptford Bold Check-stamped, Linear Check-stamped, and Simple Stamped; Savannah Fine Cord-marked; and St. Johns Check-stamped, Plain, and Incised. In addition to these identifiable sherds, a large percentage of the ceramics were plain/unidentified sand, grog, sand and grit, and grit-tempered sherds. From this evidence an extensive Late Archaic occupation was postulated with later, less extensive occupations by the Deptford, Savannah, and St. Johns phase cultures.

**Prehistoric Site Research Objectives**

The Kings Bay survey determined that the Cedar Bluff Site was large and relatively undisturbed (Smith 1978:7.221). It contained evidence of a Late Archaic occupation with wide variation in the fiber-tempered ceramics. Artifacts representing later cultural phases were seen to
a Late Archaic occupation with wide variation in the fiber-tempered ceramics. Artifacts representing later cultural phases were seen to have a non-uniform distribution over this and two adjacent sites (Figure 1.2, p.3). Research objectives for the Cedar Bluff Site included the investigation of shifting culture areas throughout the Southeast coast through the investigation of cultures present at the Cedar Bluff Site and the investigation of spatial differentiation of settlement throughout the cultural phases at this and other sites in the immediate area.

The examination of shifting culture areas throughout the Southeast coast has a long investigative history. The relationship between ceramic types identified for the St. Johns/north Florida coastal area and those identified for the Savannah River/south Georgia coastal area is a complex problem; many authors have addressed it. A summary of pertinent literature follows. Table 3.1 summarizes the main thoughts contained in this literature.

Located on the traditional boundary of the two archaeologically defined culture areas, Kings Bay possessed the potential to clarify some of these relationships between cultures in these two areas. Examples of ceramics from both areas have been recovered in the Kings Bay area at various sites. Previous research at Kings Bay (Smith 1978, 1984, Smith et al. 1981, Smith, Council, and Saunders 1985, Adams 1985a, 1985b) has revealed an almost continuous spatial occupation over the past 3500 years. Pertinent literature and recent research on the question of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Larson</th>
<th>Cook</th>
<th>Kirkland</th>
<th>Smith</th>
<th>Smith</th>
<th>Espenshad</th>
<th>Ward</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guale</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timucuan</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Johns</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savannah II</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savannah I</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wil/Sav</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelvin</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deptford</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>Refuge</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Simons</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X=present  O=postulated presence
shifting cultural boundaries is summarized here. Rock (1985:35) summarized the prehistoric occupation at Kings Bay as follows:

During the prehistoric period, the inhabitants maintained campsites and small villages, relocating them every few years to different places along the bluff adjacent to the marshes, tidal creeks, and bay. Up until about A.D. 1000 or so, the occupation was focused in the oak hammocks along the shore of Kings Bay. The interior served as a catchment area for exploitation of specific resources, supporting hunting and gathering trips and occasionally occupied seasonal campsites. The first ceramics produced were fiber-tempered St. Simons and Orange types, about 2000 B.C. Later ceramics signalled changes in technology and function, and included Deptford, St. Johns, and some Swift Creek types. With the probable introduction of agriculture, associated with the Savannah Phase occupation on the northern Georgia coast about A.D. 1000, there may have occurred a shift in settlement toward using the interior for garden plots and accompanying homesteads.

In 1958, Lewis Larson published "The Cultural Relationship Between the Northern St. Johns Area and the Georgia Coast" (Larson 1958b). By examining archaeological data from C.B. Moore's excavations and a site survey by the Georgia Historical Commission as well as documentary evidence from Spanish sources, Larson expected to confirm or refute Goggin's (1952:15) hypothesis that the Northern St. Johns archaeological area extended north, perhaps as far as Glynn County.

In his examination, Larson noted the historic cultural situation wherein the boundary of the Northern St. Johns area, an area associated with St. Johns check-stamped ceramics, was drawn at the Satilla River, and the Guale-Pine Harbor boundary, related to the Irene phase, was drawn slightly below the Altamaha River (1958:12-15). In following the movements of historic Indian groups and the presence and absence of historic and late prehistoric ceramic types, Larson found "that Camden
County was a part of the Northern St. Johns culture area during the late prehistoric and historic periods (St. Johns IIa and IIb)" (Larson 1958b:17). He concluded that Camden County, as well as the area immediately north, was influenced by cultures from the northern coast of Florida from the Late Archaic through the Savannah II period, although he did note the presence of Orange Incised ceramics in the area. At the end of the Savannah II period, a northward push to the area above Cumberland Island by Timucuans was postulated. At the same time, Muskogean groups were seen to influence the area near the Savannah River.

In 1977, Fred C. Cook examined the lower Georgia coast and offered "evidence for its role as a specialized buffer zone lying between two major cultural areas" during the Late Woodland Period (Cook 1977). During Woodland times, the lower Georgia coast was the habitat of many successive groups. Cook examined the area between the Altamaha and St. Marys rivers as a cultural buffer zone between the indigenous groups of north Florida and the Savannah River areas. By observing sequential cultural occupations in the area and noting the origin of each, he reconstructed the movements of people in and out of the area (Cook 1977:15-36). The border during Deptford times was drawn at the St. Marys River because a heavy St. Johns occupation was noted between the St. Johns River and the St. Marys. The next phase, Swift Creek, extended below the St. Marys but concentrated at the Altamaha. The Kelvin Phase was almost exclusive to this buffer zone, located between the Altamaha and St. Marys rivers. Cook noted "transient Wilmington exploitation of the lower Georgia coast below the Altamaha River" (Cook
St. Catherines Phase ceramics came only a few kilometers south of the Altamaha. The Savannah I phase seems to be absent, but Savannah II was reported as far south as the St. Johns River. Irene and early historic occupations clustered around the Altamaha River.

As can be seen, Cook considers the region between the Altamaha and the St. Marys mainly as a buffer zone with intrusions of peoples from the north. He did, however, state that his were merely observations open to thought, dispute, and further research, especially in the area of Camden County (Cook 1977:34).

Dwight Kirkland addressed Cook's (1977) call for more data from the south Georgia coast with an article reporting investigations at Floyd Creek in Camden County (Kirkland 1979). Kirkland reported on nine sites which had been investigated through surface collection or limited excavation. He determined that the first culture in the area was the Late Archaic St. Simons phase. In noting the presence and absence of various succeeding phases, Kirkland used DePratter's (1977) analysis of sea level fluctuation. He felt that St. Simons II and the Refuge phase may have been present but were inundated with the most recent rise in the sea level (Cook 1979:18-19).

During the Woodland Period, Kirkland noted light occupations by Deptford and Swift Creek cultures. Sites related to these cultures, however, were found on sand ridges rather than the marsh edges as would normally be expected due to the subsistence strategies of these people. No occupation by Kelvin Phase people was observed, and only one Wilmington sherd was found. A light Savannah occupation is noted and displacement by St. Johns II groups is assumed. This displacement is
attributed to the same Timucuan expansion observed by Larson (1958b).

In concluding, Kirkland stated that:

the survey data shows that the Floyd Creek area was only sporadically affiliated with the northern and central portions of the Georgia coast throughout prehistory. It is evident that the ceramic variation was probably due to the shifting cultural boundaries between the upper Georgia coast, central Georgia, and northeastern Florida. Similarities of such northern coastal manifestation as St. Simons I, Deptford, and Savannah I are noted, but influence from central Georgia by Satilla and Swift Creek, and from northeastern Florida by St. Johns II must be recognized (Kirkland 1979:23).

The Kings Bay Project has provided much information on the prehistoric occupation of Camden County. The results of Phase II testing of 10 sites at Kings Bay (Smith et al. 1981) revealed some new insights into the prehistory of the area. The researchers found that during the Archaic, five of the 10 sites had been occupied by the St. Simons culture. Fiber-tempered ceramics made by these people were found in association with chert flakes but no shell middens or features were identified. A variety of vessel forms was found, but "decorated sherds were uniformly incised with straight lines in a manner similar to what has been defined as St. Simons Incised and Orange Incised" (Smith et al. 1981:938). Preliminary findings of this Phase II testing program indicate that, during the Archaic, influence from either the north (St. Simons from the Savannah River area) or the south (Orange from the St. Johns area) was possible.

Ceramics from the Woodland Period, Deptford and Swift Creek, were noted at two sites (Smith et al. 1981:939) but only in significant quantities at one, the Kings Bay Site (9CAM171). Deptford ceramics were found in association with a hearth and a refuse pit, both dated to A.D.
In other areas it was not possible to determine whether the midden was associated with a Deptford or a St. Johns occupation. Swift Creek was also identified at the Kings Bay Site (9CAM171). These sherds were concentrated in an arc-shaped area suggesting a village (Smith et al. 1981:940). No Kelvin ceramics were noted.

Two Mississippian Period ceramic assemblages were observed; Wilmington/Savannah and St. Johns. Wilmington/Savannah refers to plain clay-tempered ceramics and cord-marked, sand- or grit-tempered ceramics. Smith et al. (1981) chose not to separate these into the Wilmington and Savannah types due to an incomplete ceramic chronology for the area at the time of publication. St. Johns ceramics were sherds made from sponge spicule bearing clays typically decorated with a check-stamped design. Radiocarbon dating demonstrated no temporal separation between the Wilmington/Savannah and the St. Johns occupations.

The Phase III mitigation of selected sites within KBNSB, which took place during 1981 (Adams 1984a and 1984b), produced significant data on the ceramic chronology and, therefore, on the cultural history of the Kings Bay area. Through intensive excavation of these sites at the KBNSB, researchers have constructed a ceramic chronology for the Kings Bay locality (Table 3.2).

As Table 3.2 shows, the earliest ceramics identified in the area were Orange II and Orange III fiber-tempered types. This was followed by a very minor representation of Refuge Phase ceramics. Deptford and Swift Creek were shown to be contemporary for much of their span of occupation. Savannah enjoyed a long tenure, presumably lasting much longer in this area than elsewhere. Once again contemporary cultures,
Table 3.2 Ceramic Chronology in the Kings Bay Locality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Time span at Kings Bay</th>
<th>Decorative method</th>
<th>Temper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guale</td>
<td>A.D. 1650-1725</td>
<td>Simple-stamped, grit, sand</td>
<td>red-filmed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timucuan</td>
<td>A.D. 1420-1650</td>
<td>cob-marked</td>
<td>grog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Johns</td>
<td>A.D. 750-1650</td>
<td>check-stamped</td>
<td>untempered, (sponge spicule)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savannah</td>
<td>A.D. 690-1500</td>
<td>cord-marked</td>
<td>sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swift Creek</td>
<td>A.D. 160-770</td>
<td>complicated-stamp</td>
<td>grit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deptford</td>
<td>480 B.C.-A.D. 730</td>
<td>check-stamped</td>
<td>sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuge</td>
<td>1200-1000 B.C.</td>
<td>simple-stamped</td>
<td>fiber &amp; sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange III</td>
<td>1450-1200 B.C.</td>
<td>incised and plain fiber</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange II</td>
<td>1650-1450 B.C.</td>
<td>incised and plain fiber</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(after Espenshad 1984b:325)
or a "bitypical complex" (Espenshad 1984b:323), were present at Kings Bay because St. Johns phase materials overlapped the time span occupied by Savannah. Following these two cultures are Timucuan and Guale. This sequence was determined through data from features and associated radiocarbon dates.

A study released by Smith (1983) reported on Phase II testing results from the Cherry Point Site (9CAM187). She found evidence of Late Archaic, Deptford, Wilmington/Savannah, Sutherland Bluff, and late 19th or early-20th-century occupations. Some St. Johns material was recovered but only in very minor quantities. Smith concluded that the site was occupied sporadically from the Late Archaic period through recent historic times.

Taken together, these studies present a picture of the cultural history of Camden County that is surprisingly unified. There still seems to be some contention about St. Simons vs. Orange fiber-tempered ceramics during the Late Archaic period. Rufuge and Kelvin present a presence/absence pattern that is yet to be fully defined. Deptford, Swift Creek, Wilmington, Savannah, St. Johns, and later historic materials are present throughout various parts of the Altamaha to St. Marys River "buffer zone," Camden County, and Kings Bay. These cultures shifted back and forth through this area from northern or southern origins as indicated by ceramic distribution.

It is felt that the Cedar Bluff Site will conform with the ceramic chronology defined by Espenshad (1984b). Because this research is the most current and comprehensive available for the area and because the environment of the Cedar Bluff Site is comparable to that of the sites
from which this chronology was derived, it is expected that the prehistoric ceramics at this site will fit into the pattern established in Table 3.2.

The second research objective, the investigation of spatial differentiation of settlement throughout the Late Archaic occupation and other cultural phases, was delineated by the original survey of the KBNSB (Smith 1978). Horizontal patterning was noted for prehistoric ceramic types at three sites in Kings Bay (Figure 1.2, p. 3). One of these sites, the Cherry Point Site (9CAM187), was tested during the fall of 1982 (Smith 1983). Smith (1978) had noted a horizontal distribution of cultural phases which she considered worthy of further exploration and explanation. She hypothesized that associations could be established between prehistoric components of the Cherry Point Site and other spatial attributes such as shell midden and soil associations (Smith 1983:29). The close association of the Cherry Point Site and the Cedar Bluff Site, both physically and culturally, suggested the investigation of these factors at the Cedar Bluff Site. Thus, we have comparative data from the Cedar Bluff Site as well as the Cherry Point Site for testing this hypothesis. It may be possible to define horizontal stratigraphy for these sites and to posit an explanation for this patterning.

Due to the proximity of the Cedar Bluff Site and the Cherry Point Site, it is felt that patterns of horizontal artifact stratification representing cultural phases at the Cedar Bluff Site would be similar to those defined by the Phase II testing at the Cherry Point Site. Smith (1983) found correlations of cultural phases with the distribution of
shell middens at the Cherry Point Site. It is expected that this distribution is related to the landform of the area at the time of habitation and the subsistence pattern of the culture concerned. In other words, temporal and spatial occupation of the Cedar Bluff Site would be dependent on the exploitation of the coastal ecological niche through various subsistence strategies.

History

Regional History

The first European known to have set foot in Georgia was Hernando de Soto. In the spring of 1540 he traversed Florida to Alabama through the southwestern area of present day Georgia. The first European settlers in the area, however, were the French Huguenots. Admiral Gaspard de Coligny sailed northward from the Florida coast in 1562 and attempted a colony at Port Royal in South Carolina. This colony soon failed, but approximately two years later Coligny attempted another colony at the mouth of the St. Johns River called Fort Caroline. This fort was promptly destroyed by the Spanish under Pedro Menendez de Avilez, who also founded the first substantial settlement in the area. Called St. Augustine, it was founded in August of 1565 and was the first permanent European settlement in what is now the United States (Coleman 1976:1-2).

With the founding of St. Augustine, the Spanish "dual colonization policy" was instituted. This policy consisted of founding presidios (military posts) and missions in close association. Accordingly, missions were soon established by Jesuit friars on Santa Catalina and
San Pedro (Cumberland Island). The Jesuits did not prosper in this environment and were replaced in 1596 by Franciscans whose initial success lasted only until a 1597 Indian revolt. Military power was brought to bear on the situation and missionization resumed its course by 1600 (Coleman 1976:2-3).

Missions prospered through the first half of the 17th century. The governor of Florida made a visit along the coast in 1603 and Bishop Fray de las Cabezas Altamirano of Santiago spent Holy Week and Easter in St. Augustine, then journeyed to various missions in 1606. Missions were located in principal Indian villages and were constructed of wood. Usually no more than two friars were assigned to each mission. This construction discounts the theory that the large tabby ruins found on the coast of Georgia and South Carolina could be the ruins of Spanish missions. Though local legend promotes this theory, the structures are, in fact, ruins of sugar houses and domestic dwellings of the late 18th or early 19th centuries (Coulter 1937).

The Spanish missions began to decline during the second half of the seventeenth century. This decline had many contributing factors, including English settlement and Indian hostilities. In 1663 Charles II extended the English coast to below St. Augustine by way of land grants. The English settled Charles Towne, present day Charleston, in 1670 and a 100-year-long conflict over the "debatable land" between Charles Towne and St. Augustine began. The Spanish began a gradual withdrawal from the area after failing to destroy Charles Towne in 1673. To consolidate their position, they began building a stone fort at St. Augustine the same year.
The Indians played a large part in the Spanish movement. Several tribes, including the Yuchi, Creek, and Cherokee, allied with the English and attacked the missions. Though the Spanish tried, many of their Indian allies could not be persuaded to move closer to St. Augustine. An attack against missions on the Apalachicola and Chattahoochee rivers by Indians, led by Dr. Henry Woodward, resulted in the withdrawal of the Spanish frontier to the St. Marys River, and later to the St. Johns (Coleman 1976:4).

Georgia continued to be disputed territory. Carolina wanted a buffer between herself and Spanish Florida. The ship Ann had sailed from England on November 17, 1732, to start the last of the royally endorsed colonies in the present United States. The colony of Georgia finally came into existence with the landing of Oglethorpe at Yamacraw Bluff on February 1, 1733, and the founding of the town of Savannah.

Georgia was unique among the colonies. Run by a group of trustees rather than a royal government, Georgia was a great social experiment. Released debtors were to make up the bulk of the population. In this way, the trustees could relieve England of some of its burden of unemployment. Land grants were to be small and contiguous in order to promote uniform settlement for military defense and to prevent the establishment of elite, widely separated plantations. Great hopes were held for the settlers to produce items such as silk, wine, and spices as well as to maintain themselves after the first year. Slavery and rum were prohibited in this most ideal of all colonies (Coleman 1976:95).

The dream and the reality, however, were separate entities. Few debtors ever made it to the colony through the extensive screening
process of the trustees. The extent of the trustees' investment in these people, free transportation and support for a year or more, agricultural tools, and land, made the trustees extremely careful in their selection of prospective settlers (Coleman 1976:20).

Once the colony was settled, more of the unpleasant realities of life arose. Contiguous 50-acre land grants meant that some people received good, cultivatable land while others received land entirely unsuitable for agriculture. Many of the crops planned for the area were unsuitable to the climate and soil. Though Georgia did export small quantities of silk, silk never became a significant cash crop as it was expected to be. One winery operated at Frederica for a short period. Other crops such as potash, indigo, and olives never made a showing in the colony (Coleman 1976:111-128).

The military detachment at the new colony was a terrible drain on the resources of the trustees. Oglethorpe fortified Savannah, the Ogeechee River, and the Altamaha (Spaulding 1977:22). On a visit to England in 1734, he secured a grant from Parliament to improve defenses on the English frontier. Oglethorpe was interested in garrisoning the area south of the Altamaha, however, because of the Spanish threat from the south. A new settlement, Frederica, was begun on his return. Located on St. Simon's Island, the new settlement had become home to 100 men, women, and children by mid-March 1736.

Of his own volition, Oglethorpe built fortifications further south, including Fort William and Fort Andrew on Cumberland Island. Continuing down the coast, Oglethorpe established Fort St. George on the St. Johns. The latter stirred up old Spanish grievances. Shortly
afterwards, England and Spain went to war. The War of Jenkins Ear began in 1740. Oglethorpe viewed the Spanish-English conflict as a chance to rout the enemy on his southern flank for good. Oglethorpe began gathering forces. The Yamasees raided British positions on Amelia Island, and, in retaliation, Oglethorpe captured two outposts on the St. Johns. St. Augustine proved to be better fortified than Oglethorpe had expected and Oglethorpe's attack was reduced to a seige. The Spanish raided and killed large numbers of Oglethorpe's men. Upon the news of the arrival of Spanish reinforcements, Oglethorpe wisely withdrew from St. Augustine.

The Spanish continued to build strength and in 1742 moved on St. Simon's Island. Though greatly inferior in strength, Oglethorpe and his men managed to break Spanish ranks. In a second encounter, called the Battle of Bloody Marsh, Oglethorpe won again and demoralized the Spanish troops, thus ending Spain's last major attempt to dislodge the English in Georgia. The war ended in 1748, without settling in the least the claim over the"debatable land" (Smith et al. 1981:105).

Desiring a peaceful solution to conflicting claims within the area, the British, along with emissaries from Spain, signed the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Oglethorpe was forced to relinquish Fort St. George. Having lost some ground, Oglethorpe nevertheless had actually gained. His position on Cumberland had not been questioned. The government in Spain, however, refused to accept the treaty. Oglethorpe continued to build his military strength unchallenged (Coleman 1976:55-62), and the land through which armies marched to attack one another and which all but the most desperate settlers avoided remained the "debatable land."
The ultimate Spanish-English confrontation had been put off by the diplomacy exercised in the removal of Fort St. George. The Spanish-English conflict was not resolved satisfactorily until late in the 18th century.

The trustees had received dominion over the colony of Georgia for 21 years. During this period there was much discontent over the laws and regulations of the colony. The prohibition of slavery and rum were major points of contention, as well as the prohibition of inheritance of land by females. Evasion of the slavery law was possible through the hiring of Negroes from South Carolinians until the law was repealed in 1748. The rum law was unenforceable and universally ignored by the end of the trustee period, when it was also repealed. Land law changed gradually throughout the trustee period. In the end, the trustees gave up their claim to Georgia a year early, in 1752, after being denied Parliamentary funds (Coleman 1976:179-180).

Georgia, thus, became a royal colony. The first governor was Captain John Reynolds. Uniformly unpopular, he was allowed to resign in 1756, and was replaced by explorer Henry Ellis, who remained in the post for three years and was well-liked. Unfortunately, "Ill health... drove him from Georgia" (Coulter 1933:82). In Ellis' place the King appointed James Wright of South Carolina. Wright ruled Georgia through the beginning of the Revolution, a time of population expansion and economic stabilization, followed by serious problems as the colonies headed toward revolt. Wright left Georgia in March of 1776 with most of the royal officials. Georgia was now part of the Revolution.

Once again Georgia had an enemy to the south. Having been turned
over to the British government by the Spanish, Florida was loyalist. Attempts to take St. Augustine were unsuccessful, though guerilla warfare took place regularly across the Florida/Georgia border. The British finally conquered Savannah in 1778 then proceeded to the town of Charleston. After several years of fighting within the state, the British left Georgia in 1782 and the peace treaty was signed the following year.

Georgia faced an enormous rebuilding task because of the devastation and population loss caused by the war, and south Georgia was as wild a frontier as it had ever been. Florida was once again a Spanish possession, but not as formidable as before. Rice and Sea Island cotton plantations quickly spread down the coast in the years following the revolution. While the Creeks were being forced to cede more and more land, the westward expansion was becoming especially important. The invention of the cotton gin had made it profitable to grow upland cotton in most areas of the South (Coulter 1933:154-172).

America was neutral in the early years of the century during the Napoleonic Wars. The Jefferson administration declared its neutrality through the Embargo of 1807 and the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809. These acts had drastically reduced European-American trade but southeast Georgia greatly profited from the smuggling made possible by its proximity to Florida.

Though economic hardships had turned public opinion against the Jefferson policies in many areas (Smith et al. 1981:108-110), the British Navy's practice of impressing American seamen incensed most Americans. The State of Georgia sided officially in 1809 with the
national government against the British (Coutler 1933:194). Because Georgia was vulnerable to attack if the conflict spread to America, it became necessary to secure Florida once and for all. Smuggling of European commodities was a secondary consideration. In addition, coastal planters wished to annex Florida, which had great potential for extending the plantation system and which was a haven for runaway slaves (Smith et al. 1981:110, Coulter 1933:193-195).

Commissioners were appointed in 1811 with the authority to annex Florida. The first commissioner was George Mathews. With the support of John Houston McIntosh, a Camden County planter, Mathews engineered a "revolution" in Florida and moved south of the St. Marys with 80 patriots. Fernandina Beach fell quickly; St. Augustine was the next target. In keeping with Georgia's history, the Mathews' group was unable to take this stronghold, even with reinforcements of regular American troops. Mathews was recalled and replaced with Georgia's Governor Daniel Mitchell. Mitchell also was eager to take Florida and unsuccessfully invaded Florida in June of 1812. The administration recalled Mitchell in October (Coulter 1933:196).

During the war of 1812, Georgia saw little fighting. Georgians were angry over the government's refusal to back them in invading Florida, but they lacked the military means to execute the invasion by themselves. Georgia troops were mainly involved in Indian fighting on the western frontier during the war. Using British arms and ammunition, the Creeks fought Andrew Jackson's men for the next two years until the American victory at Horseshoe Bend, Alabama, in 1814. The Treaty of Ghent ended the war in December 1814, but, due to slow communications,
in early 1815 the British attacked the Georgia coast near St. Marys. Although the attack was successful, the attackers learned of the end of the war and returned to England before any major action occurred (Smith et al. 1981:114).

Following the war, Georgia once again enjoyed a period of expansion and prosperity. Florida was a source of aggravation until Andrew Jackson solved the problem by making Florida a United States territory in 1821. The Indians on the western frontier were still troublesome, but coastal Georgia was secure and rice and Sea Island cotton plantations continued to flourish. The coastal area of South Georgia became much more settled and lost its frontier character. The coastal plantations tended to be more stable than their inland counterparts. Rice fields were self-fertilizing and the Sea Island cotton plantations were easily fertilized with marsh mud and manure (Gray 1933:701). Because of the easy cultivation of the area, the coastal strip achieved a settled and civilized character in the early 1800s which contrasted with the frontier conditions elsewhere in the state. The dichotomy between coastal and inland Georgia was still evident when the Civil War began in 1861.

During the Civil War, coastal Georgia managed to escape much of the physical damage suffered by the interior of the state (Smith et al 1981:115). Because of the state's great need for salt, a series of salting plants had been established along the coast. These plants were often the target of small-scale Union raids. But the coastal plantations themselves survived the war, escaping much of Sherman's destruction.
The loss of the war brought economic disaster throughout the South. Slavery was abolished and change was necessary for the South to survive. The introduction of tenantry and sharecropping seemed the immediate answer to the problem, but these systems were never able to return the area to its former prosperity. Rice and Sea Island cotton continued to be grown after the war, but these crops were gradually supplanted by the production of timber and naval stores. The paper and pulpwood industry became the most important regional industry in the 20th century and remains so today (Smith et al. 1981:116).

**Local History**

Initially, the area now called Camden County was a no-man's-land. Because of the ambiguous political status of the area, no real settlement occurred there except for "ne'er-do-wells" and "fugitives from justice." Edmund Gray, a "pretended Quaker," and about 200 of his followers came into the region in the 1750s in hopes of being undisturbed by civil authorities. For a time he established his colony on Cumberland Island, but Spanish and English pressure combined to make life very difficult for Gray and his followers (Coleman 1976:225). Gray's settlement was the only one which occurred in the area until the end of the Seven Years War.

There was almost no fighting in southeast Georgia during the Seven Years War, but the area was very much in the minds of residents of the state. Signed in 1763, the Treaty of Paris ceded Florida to Great Britain and coincided with a cession of the Creek Indians giving the colony of Georgia all of the "debatable land." By 1765 four new
parishes had been created south of the Altamaha—St. David, St. Patrick, St. Thomas, and St. Marys parishes (Vocelle 1914:21). Camden County was originally St. Marys Parish. Between 1755 and 1775, more than 100 English Crown Grants were awarded in St. Marys and St. Thomas parishes (Reddick and Bailey 1976:3). The Georgia State Constitution, adopted on February 5, 1777, designated eight counties, among them Camden County, named for the Earl of Camden (Reddick and Bailey 1976:4). Settlers and planters began to slowly filter into the region, moving southward down the coast.

The American Revolution temporarily halted settlement in the area. Most Georgians supported the revolution, but Florida remained loyal to Britain, and groups of Loyalists, called "Florida Rangers," made many raids into Camden County and southeast Georgia. Though minor in comparison with the fighting elsewhere, these actions were sufficient to make settlers hesitant about venturing boldly into the area.

The war ended in 1783 with Georgia an American state and Florida once again a Spanish colony. Spain was now too weak to pose any real military threat (Smith et al. 1981:107), and the Camden County area began to be settled in earnest. Spurring this settlement was the discovery that Sea Island cotton grew very well on the barrier islands. Large plantations were soon established on all of the islands. The soil on the mainland was less fertile, but still capable of producing cotton and rice, and many plantations were established along the coastal fringes. Because of the decreased fertility, mainland plantations were generally smaller than the island plantations, and their existence was always more precarious.
Early accounts describe Camden County as "sparsely settled with poor people" and "sickly" except on the Satilla and in St. Marys (Reddick and Bailey 1976:5–6). A Scotsman who visited southeast Georgia in 1811 made contrasting statements about conditions on the island and the mainland:

The Island of S. Simons is inhabited by a number of very rich Planters, who have been alured to it by the excellence of the Lands for the Production of Black Seed (sea island) Cotton (Mohl 1971:268). The Lands around (St. Marys) are very poor, incapable of producing anything but cotton and maize and there to so small an extent, that the Planters have employed their Negroes for some years past in cutting down the trees on the banks of the river, which they find more lucrative than in agriculture. In consequence of this provisions are very scarce and some times the people are absolutely starving as they trust entirely for this article to their Neighbors. Altho the river produces the greatest abundance of fish and its shoals are stocked with oysters, the Table is always scanty and presents the very picture of Starvation (Mohl 1971:269).

The town of St. Marys was established in 1788 and remained a small frontier settlement for many years thereafter. The town depended on the mainland planters for its existence and reflected their condition. Dr. Daniel Turner, who was later to marry Thomas King's stepdaughter, Isabella Helly, described St. Marys after the passage of a hurricane in 1804:

the storm interrupted all communication from abroad, prevented our hearing from them. The crops in all this neighborhood have been almost entirely destroyed and the planters of course poor—and the town which depends on the planters for its consequences as insignificant as it has been known to be for many yeares" (Murdock 1969:381).

Dr. Turner did not mean to disparage St. Marys, for he later wrote of St. Marys as:
small—and appears to be agreeable of all. There are many respectable characters in it—the circle which I am making myself acquainted with is small, is composed of fashionable in form and appearance—" (Murdock 1969:478).

Rather, he was merely reflecting the unsettled frontier character of the town. In 1811 the aforementioned Scotsman described the town of St. Marys:

The scite (sic) of the town is an extensive square. The streets are broad and laid off intersecting each other at right angles, but very few of these are built upon and the whole town does not contain more than 50 or 60 houses which are principally built near the brink of the river. These houses are all built of wood without much regard to comfort or to exterior beauty. It seems to be [a] very lately settled place, for the forests encroach on the houses and gives the town the appearance of being buried in the Woods" (Mohl 1971:269).

St. Marys did become important enough to need military protection. By 1809, the town was guarded by three gunboats, a blockhouse, and an artillery battery (Reddick and Bailey 1976:26).

In the early years of the 19th century, the St. Marys area began to be affected by the Napoleonic War. The Jefferson Administration's Embargo of 1807 and the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809 drastically reduced American-European trade. Though these restrictions had provided a base for a lucrative smuggling operation, not all Camden County residents were happy about these events. With Florida still in foreign hands, the area was a potential base for attacks on Georgia. Planters were distressed at having such a nearby refuge for runaway slaves. The desire for plantation land and sympathy for the American population in Florida were also factors in Georgia's discontent with Florida's political affiliation (Smith et al. 1981:111).
Georgians began to demand the annexation of Florida in the year before the War of 1812, but the request received very little support from the federal government (Coulter 1933:196-197). In 1811 the Madison administration began to encourage insurrection within Florida without official policy for the annexation of the area. General George Mathews of Georgia was authorized to secure any posts taken by revolutionaries within Florida, and he immediately overstepped his bounds by raising a small army for an invasion. Mathews and his "patriots" crossed into Florida during March 1811 and immediately captured Fernandina. They marched to St. Augustine but were unable to take the fortress. Mathews and his men finally disbanded in 1813 under the threat of English intervention (Smith et al. 1981:112).

There was no real military action in Camden County during the War of 1812, although fear of an English invasion was always present. The invasion finally did come in January 1815, three weeks after the Treaty of Ghent was signed, ending the war. The British commander had not learned of the peace treaty and had landed on Cumberland Island. He crossed to the mainland, landing at Point Peter (Reddick and Bailey 1976:26-28) and marched across land toward Kings Bay and St. Marys. The town was evacuated and the few remaining citizens were not harmed, but there was extensive looting (Smith et al. 1981:114). The British marched up the St. Marys before being turned back by American sharpshooters. They learned of the end of the war and departed for England (Smith et al. 1981:114, Patrick 1954:289-291).

Florida became a United States territory in 1821 (Coulter 1933:201-202). Camden County then turned its attention back to the
plantations and entered upon a period of growth and prosperity which lasted until the Civil War.

The population increase which occurred in the county during the pre-war era was mainly due to a greater number of slaves being brought in to work the plantations (Smith et al. 1981:114, 4th & 6th U.S. Census, Camden County, GA). The town of St. Marys reflected these changes, becoming more settled. By 1837, St. Marys was being commended as a fine place to live and as one of the healthiest seaports in the states: "malignant and bilious fever being almost unknown" (Bailey 1974:3). Most of the planters prospered during this period, although the weather, mainly hurricanes that battered the coast, was a constant problem (Smith et al 1981:114).

The citizens of Camden County were "States' Rights" Democrats and in favor of secession, as might be expected in an area with many planters and a large slave population (Coulter 1933:299). Like other Georgians, the citizens entered the Civil War with high spirits, believing that the war would be brief and that the South would win. The early enthusiasm would quickly be worn down, although stubborn resistance endured until the very end.

During the war, St. Marys was spared the utter destruction which occurred elsewhere in Georgia, but conditions in the town were not good. Union forces were always nearby, holding Fort Clinch on Amelia Island throughout the war. Many citizens fled the town and moved inland to escape the Union Army; those that did remain suffered the consequences in November 1862, when three companies landed in St. Marys. These troops destroyed all but two of the salt works in the county.
After the war, those who returned to St. Marys found desolation and vindictive carpetbag rule. One resident remembered St. Marys during Reconstruction in later years: "The fennel growing everywhere as high as my head; we could hardly tell where we were; only a few buildings remained" (Smith et al. 1981:93). The city and county slowly began to recover although they would remain poor for many years afterward.

In the early years of the 20th century, the boll weevil ended cotton production in the area (Smith et al. 1981:116). However, other activities began to restore some degree of economic vitality in St. Marys and Camden County. The fishing and shrimping industries greatly expanded their operations. A canning plant for shrimp and vegetables was opened and a fish fertilizer (porgy) plant on the North River employed many citizens in that industry (Reddick and Bailey 1976:160). The naval stores industry also began during this period, and turpentine stills became a common sight in Camden County (Smith et al. 1981:116).

In spite of these improvements, Camden County remained a poverty-stricken place well into the 20th century. The county leaders were aware of the economic stagnation and the need for new industry, and in 1940 they persuaded Isaac Gilman to build a paper mill in St. Marys. St. Marys Kraft Corporation was completed in 1941 and quickly became the major employer of Camden County citizens (Smith et al. 1981:116). World War II temporarily delayed the economic growth of the county, but when it ended St. Marys began to grow and prosper.

The first courthouse was built in 1802 at Jeffersonton (later Jefferson). The county seat was moved to St. Marys in 1872 after Jeffersonton had declined and remained there until 1923, when it was
once again moved, this time to Woodbine, where it is today (Reddick and Bailey 1976:7-8).

Camden County was first represented in the State Legislature in 1780. The first election was held at St. Patrick on December 2, 1788, with 58 votes cast. The first census of the United States showed Camden County in 1790 with a population of 305. Of this number, 70 were slaves and 14 were free blacks. In 1800 the population had increased to 1681, 735 of whom were slaves (Reddick and Bailey 1976:4-5). In 1845, the county had 5482 inhabitants, 1721 white. In 1900 the population was 7669; in 1910 it was 7690. In 1920 it was 6,969; in 1930, 6338; in 1940, 5,910; in 1950, 8900; in 1960, 9975; and in 1970, 11,334 (Reddick and Bailey 1976:8).

The military has played an important part in Camden County since World War II. The U.S. Army acquired 13,000 acres on Kings Bay in 1955 for use as an Ocean Storage Terminal. In 1977, the U.S. Navy received the property from the army for development as a Trident submarine facility. The Kings Bay Submarine Base has brought a new influx of people and money into Camden County (Smith et al. 1981:116). The population is expected to have tripled by 1992 and it seems likely that the county will experience some severe growth pains in the future.

Site History

Several archaeological sites, including the John King Site (9CAM182), The James King Site (9CAM183), and the Etowah Park Site (9CAM171EP), were located on property once owned by John King. King was
among the first settlers in early Camden County, and he became a prominent citizen in county life.

John King was thought to have been born in North Carolina about 1740 (Reddick and Bailey 1976:403). He married Jane Morehead of Morehead City, North Carolina. Reddick and Bailey (1976:23) stated that King had served in the American Revolution, based upon records of a John King who served as a private in the First Georgia Battalion, Continental Troops, for about three years during the Revolutionary War. After the war, in 1784, John King petitioned and was granted 230 acres of land (location unknown) in Georgia reserved for soldiers of the First Georgia Battalion (Georgia Dept. of Archives and History). However, there is no proof that this John King and the John King of Camden County were the same person; in fact, several John Kings in various Revolutionary War records fought in the war and received land grants in the state of Georgia. Furthermore, the soldier John King was only a private. A paycheck receipt found in the Georgia Archives showed that instead of signing the receipt, he placed an "X," revealing he may have been illiterate. The John King of Camden County had not only left his signature numerous times, but had also assumed the title "Esquire," had become a justice of the inferior court, and was an influential member of the community. Therefore, we cannot be certain whether John King of Camden County had indeed served in the military during the American Revolution.

Although his war record is speculative, his record of land acquisition is not. The earliest record of John King in Camden County was found in the county's 1787 Land Court Journal. Apparently no land
could be surveyed in the county without first obtaining an order for a warrant from the land court (Camden County Land Court Journal, 1787-1790:1). In May 1787, King received warrants for two tracts of land, one for 920 acres and one for 1360 acres (Camden County Land Court Journal, 1787-1790:7,15). A 1365-acre tract was surveyed in June 1787 (Camden County Deed Book A:179) and granted to King by the governor of Georgia in January 1788 (Georgia Surveyor General, Grant Book PPP:163). This land lay on the south side of the Satilla River, near present-day Woodbine. Voting records show that King resided in the same area where his land lay. He voted in the first election (December 1788) of the town of St. Patrick, near what is now Woodbine.

King later acquired more land, including 200 acres at Cherry Point, where Smith's (1978) survey located an archaeological site from this period. A parcel of land near Morehead City, North Carolina, where John King's wife was from, was also previously named Cherry Point, although a connection between the naming of the two places is unknown. In October 1791, John King was given a warrant for the 200-acre Cherry Point land (Camden County Land Plat Book C, 1791-1794:9). This area included land north and south of a stream now called Mallard Creek (Figure 1.2, p.3) The land was surveyed in November 1791 and granted to King in December 1792 (Georgia Surveyor General Grant Book XXX:226). It was first thought that King had built a house (9CAM182, John King Site) on the north side of Mallard Creek and that his son James later built a house on the south side (Frohock Point Site, 9CAM183) (Smith 1978:189-191); however, the 1791 survey map showed a large house already south of Mallard Creek. Probably John and James lived in the same house located
south of the creek on the Frohock Point Site, with James taking over the property after his father died. Someone else probably lived in the smaller house located on the John King Site. More evidence for this explanation is a map, ca. 1795, presented in Figure 3.1 (Smith et al. 1981:109) showing "John King, Esq.'s" house south of the creek.

We know King actually did reside on his Cherry Point land because a later county deed recorded a gift from John to his son James in August 1801 of "all that tract of land on which I now live" (Camden County Deed Book F:87). The gift included part of King's 200-acre grant and part of an adjoining 200 acres he had bought from Langley Bryant in November 1795. By 1794 King owned 1760 acres and five slaves. He had begun serving as a justice of the inferior court and would continue to do so until 1803 (Reddick and Bailey 1976:403, Camden County Inferior Court Minutes 1794-1801, 1801-1815). This type of position was similar to a modern county commissioner.

Apparently a sawmill and dam were put into operation on King's Cherry Point land. They were mentioned in a five-year lease agreement to Woodford Mabry, which began in January 1801 (Camden County Deed Record Book E:166). The sawmill, dam, and a small bridge north of the dam were located somewhere on Mallard Creek; however, the archaeological survey did not find this site. King leased his land from the creek north to Crooked River, except for 20 acres under cultivation. We speculate that the house at the John King Site was occupied by Woodford Mabry.

King was able to make a tidy profit from some of his land dealings, as evidenced by the 1802-1803 deed records. In January 1802 he was
Figure 3.2 Kings Bay circa 1795 showing the house of John King
granted another 200 acres near Cherry Point (Georgia Surveyor General Grant Book 5-D:582). In February of that same year he bought another 200 acres on the Western Shore River (now Marianna Creek) from South Carolinian John Fulton for $500 (Camden County Deed Book E:329). A year later (March 1803) he sold part of this acreage and part of his 1792 grant land (100 acres of hammock land in all) to William Gibson, merchant, shopowner, and justice of the inferior court (Murdoch 1970:507), for $3000 (Camden County Deed Book F:97-100). By matching the available deed maps, we have found that today's Etowah Park area was included in the land sold to Gibson. According to the deed records, this land included "houses, outhouses, building and improvements" (Camden County Deed Book F:98). Gibson did not purchase the southern part of Cherry Point with its house and buildings; this was part of the land he left to his son James. The exact location of the buildings on the land sold to Gibson is unknown.

Between 1788 and 1803, John King had bought or had been granted 2165 acres of land in Camden County; of these, 1365 acres were near Woodbine, and the remaining 800 acres were on what is now Marianna Creek. Only 400 acres were bought by King (half of the Marianna Creek property); the other acreage was received in grants from the governor of Georgia. Another 750-acre tract on Dover River was granted to a John King in 1797 (Camden County Field Notes 1796-1816:73), but later deeds suggest that this land probably belonged to another John King from Effingham County (Camden County Deed Book K:488).

John King and his wife, Jane, had six children. They left the Woodbine property to their son, William, 300 acres of the Marianna Creek
property to their son James, and sold another 100 acres of the Marianna Creek land. No record was found of what happened to the rest of their land. Reddick and Bailey (1976:403-404) stated that John King died on March 7, 1804. There is a discrepancy with this date since county records show he had died sometime between March 28, 1803, and June 24, 1803 (Camden County Deed Book F:87, 100). On March 28, he was mentioned as a justice of the inferior court, but on June 24 he was mentioned as being deceased.

James King, the son of John King, was born May 2, 1776 (Reddick and Bailey 1976:404). In 1808 he married Margaret O'Neil, born September 26, 1787, in Nassau County, Florida. The Kings resided on the Cherry Point land given to James by his father. The 1820 and 1823 tax digest (Camden County Tax Digest 1819-1820, 1823) lists for James King: 150 acres second quality hammock land near Crooked River, 150 acres pine land; one poll (free white male over 21) and eight Negroes, as well as one four-wheel carriage.

In 1823, James sold all of his Cherry Point land to John Houston McIntosh (Camden County Deed Book K:441). He originally reserved the right to visit his family's burial ground on this property, but rescinded that right in an added paragraph (Camden County Deed Book K:442). King moved to land three miles west of present-day Kingsland and established Woodlawn Plantation. The reason for the move is cited from the memoirs of Julius King, his grandson:

(James King) settled at Cherry Point in Camden County, and engaged in cattle raising and the growing of crops, principally of cotton and corn. . . . The summer range on the coast was not so good for the cattle, as it was a few miles back in the interior, so grandpa established a camp,
something like twelve miles west of Cherry Point, and about two and one-half miles from the St. Mary's River (three miles west of present-day Kingsland), where he found luxurious pasturage among the primeval pines, with an abundance of good fresh water in the ponds and streams. It was to this region about the camp that grandpa drove his thriving herds of cattle, and they would migrate back to the salt water region for their winter sojourn.

My grandparents decided to quit Cherry Point as a place of residence, but they were not satisfied to settle at the camp to rear their growing family. Grandpa made at least two trips, one into Laurens County, Georgia, and one into Florida, prospecting for a suitable place to make a permanent home, but each time he came back more discouraged, and a little more in love with the camp and its surroundings. Then it was that grandma advised him to buy the camp and begin the establishment of Woodlawn. The time must have been very soon after the cessation of hostilities between England and our Country, which cessation was in the early part of 1815.

Woodlawn afforded good water, good health, land capable of development for agriculture, fine pasturage and in the low land and hammocks good hog range. In addition to these facts, the sparsely settled country abounded in game (King 1935:7-8).

The James King family had eleven children; at least seven were born before 1823 and therefore may have been born at Cherry Point (Reddick and Bailey 1976:404). One of these children was John Madison King, whose son, William Henry King, founded Kingsland in 1893. Julius King wrote more about his grandparents James and Margaret King in his memoirs:

To begin with, I will say that I have a very clear recollection of my paternal grandparents. I was the oldest child of their youngest child, and was permitted to visit them for days at a time. These visits were in the exciting and trying days of 1860-1861. My grandparents were then about 88 years of age.

Grandpa was active and directed the affairs of Woodlawn, the old homestead. He was quite a large man, clean shaven, and wore a dark suit, and a white shirt with flaring attached collar, and a black tie. He had blue eyes
and a healthy clear complexion. He walked with a stout hickory cane with curved handle.

And dear old Grandma, tall and stately, her face wreathed in a mass of wrinkles, moved quietly about the house with that ease and grace not to be expected in one near her four and a half score years. She constantly wore the white lace cap you see in the picture...Her mind was clear even at her advanced age, and her sight was very good. ...Grandma spoke softly, moved with dignity, and was most lovable. Grandpa called her "Peggy", short for Margaret.

One of the prominent figures which looms in my memory is old Aunt Jestina, who was the chef and a very fine before-the-war cook. She used Dutch ovens and trammel or crane hooks to suspend pots over the fire...The kitchen was situated about one hundred feet west from the back door of the dwelling, as most of them were built in the country in prewar days.

I dimly recall the names of some of the slaves...one stood out more prominently than the others, and that was old Daddy Tom, who was two years my Grandpa's junior, and was given to Grandpa when he was born. He was Grandpa's personal waiting boy, his valet if you please.

Daddy Tom was assigned to this position while he and Grandpa was quite young. His servant, Tom, accompanied Grandpa on his courting trips, and it gave Tom delight to relate some of the reminiscenses touching his masters manifest jealousy, when at dancing parties other young men would try to monopolize the attention of the beautiful and graceful Miss Margaret O'Neil." (King 1935:1-3).

Other recollections by Julius King of Woodlawn may have also applied to James King's property on Cherry Point. They provide at least a picture of agricultural industry during the 1800s in Camden County (King 1935:4-5):

I can now at the age of eighty visualize old Woodlawn, with the residence set on high oak pillars in the midst of a setting of large trees - oak, cedar, china-berry, magnolia, wild-cherry, and orange.

Among the interesting relics found at Woodlawn was the cane mill and the cotton gin both in disuse at the close of the war. The cane mill consisted of three well-rounded live
oak rollers about twenty inches or more in diameter and about three feet long, standing upright in a strong frame, and so geared together at the top with wooden cogs, that when the middle roller was turned with a sweep propelled by horse-power, the other two turned in unison.

The cotton gin was for separating the lint of Sea Island Cotton from the seed. This was made by Burns & Vance of St. Marys, and operated by horsepower--crude machinery for this very necessary industry. I remember the old gin with its noisy wooden cog gearing. The horses went around in a circle about twenty-five feet in diameter. The gin house was two stories high.

Also, I recall the hand-powered rock corn mill. In fact, we used this mill quite often after the war when it was not convenient to take corn to a mill to have it ground. The nearest mill was at Kings Ferry, Florida about eight miles distant.

As stated previously, the Kings' Cherry Point property was sold to John Houston McIntosh in 1823. McIntosh had earlier bought the Marianna Plantation (1811), located just south of Cherry Point on Marianna Creek. The Marianna Plantation had existed as early as 1804, when William Gibson advertised it for sale in the Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser (Smith et al. 1981:274-275). The description of the land revealed that present-day Etowah Park, bought by Gibson in 1803 from John King, had been incorporated into the plantation. So, by 1823 John McIntosh owned both the Cherry Point and Etowah Park lands as part of his Marianna Plantation.

After McIntosh's death in 1836, his wife Eliza McIntosh or one of their sons then became owner of Marianna. By 1860 Alexander Scott owned Marianna (8th U.S. Census, Camden County, Georgia). In 1879 it was subdivided into three equal parcels (Smith et al. 1981:279). Records could not be found as to what happened to the northern parcel, which would have included Etowah Park and Cherry Point. The 1918 topographic
map shows several houses on the bluff around Marianna, indicating that perhaps a small community had been started there. Deed records revealed that the land had been divided into several parcels, but the maps and deeds were not clear as to the exact location of each parcel. All the land south of the present fence line was sold to the U.S. Army in the 1950s.

History and Archaeology

Georgia began as a great moral experiment. Conceived as an outlet for England's unemployed masses, it became, instead, a military buffer zone between Spanish and English territorial possessions. As the conception and the reality of the state was unique, so was the position of the Kings Bay area. Though Spanish missions were the first European settlements in the area, its location in the transition zone or "dabatable land" made it a haven for "neer-do-wells" and smugglers during its early history.

Georgia was first settled in 1733, but the town of St. Marys was not established until 1788. Having survived numerous Spanish-English conflicts and the Revolutionary War, St. Marys had yet to face the coming conflicts and the growth and transition of a new settlement reaching maturity. It was shortly after the establishment of St. Marys that John King received the land at Cherry Point where archaeologists, surveying the area in 1978, identified a late-18th- or early-19th-century site. Thus, history meets archaeology.

The preceding section on the history of the state of Georgia, the local area around Kings Bay, and the John King Site itself has been
presented in order to provide an understanding of events leading to the settlement of the Kings Bay area and the events that took place after John King and his contemporaries faded into obscurity leaving sparse written records and archaeological remains.

John King, or the occupant of the John King Site, left little record of his way of life. Archaeology is the only method of filling the gap between deed books and family histories and the life led by the occupants of the land, the transfer of which has been so carefully recorded. Archaeology provides a method of establishing subsistence and settlement patterns, and the status of individuals. The account of archaeological excavations and the presentation of the material remains found at the John King Site cannot give a complete account of the occupant's life. It can give insight into the type of foods that were eaten, the type of home that had been built, and the status of the individuals who lived at this site.

Previous Research

Southeast Coast

Plantation archaeology on the Atlantic Coast is a relatively recent development within the discipline of archaeology. Its history began with the excavations of the Kingsley Plantation, Nassau County, Florida, by Charles H. Fairbanks in 1968 (Fairbanks 1974). Since those early excavations, a number of plantations have been excavated on the barrier islands of Georgia and South Carolina (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Otto 1975; McFarlane 1975; Drucker and Anthony 1979; Hamilton 1980; Singleton 1980; Smith et al. 1981; Mullins-Moore 1981). Significant contributions
have been made to our understanding of the lifeways of two groups of people for whom we have few written records, the slaves and the overseers. Much useful additional information has also been gathered about the lifeways of a group for whom we have some quite valuable written records, the planters. The most successful research has been in the area of status differentiation through the study of subsistence and artifactual data (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Otto 1975; McFarlane 1975; Drucker and Anthony 1979; Adams 1980; Singleton 1980; Baker 1980; Ehrenhard and Bullard 1981; Mullins-Moore 1981). This type of research has been more successful than the search for African traits undertaken by some workers (Fairbanks 1974; Ferguson 1980; Deetz 1977). Some recent work has also addressed plantation settlement patterning (Adams 1980; Singleton 1980).

Large plantations, such as some of those mentioned in the preceding section (Asher and Fairbanks 1971; Otto 1975 and 1977; McFarlane 1975; Singleton 1981; Ehrenhard and Bullard 1981), were not truly typical (Genovese 1972:7). The more common form of historic occupation was the small plantation or homestead. In this area there exists a dearth of information, both documentary and archaeological on this type of site. Some archaeological work has been done on small inland plantations during the postbellum period (Adams 1980) and on later homesteads near the coast (Smith et al. 1981), but significant gaps existed in our knowledge of the early homesteads on the Georgia coast, as well as of the many small plantations in the area, until recent excavations at KBNSB.
Kings Bay

Since 1978, archaeological exploration, in the form of survey, testing, and excavation, has been ongoing at KBNSB (Smith 1978, Smith et al. 1981, Adams 1984a and 1984b, Council 1985, Adams 1985). This work has revealed many historic, as well as prehistoric, sites. Among them were the Thomas King Plantation (9CAM172), a late-18th- or early-19th-century plantation with some well-preserved structural remains of a possible kitchen and slave quarters. Marianna Plantation, the home of John Houston McIntosh, was tested. This site exhibited an octagonal tabby structure reported to be the home of the owner. Also excavated were the remains of the sugar works built by McIntosh. Smaller sites include the Cobb Field Site and the North River Site, both with components from the late-18th or early-19th century. Also among these was the John King Site.

The John King Site

The John King Site was discovered during the initial survey of Kings Bay in 1977 (Smith 1978). Systematic test pits (.5 x .5 m) every 25 m parallel to the coast at the Cedar Bluff Site determined the presence of an historic occupation superimposed on the prehistoric remains. Ten additional test pits were dug in the area of the John King Site because surface collection showed a concentration of historic materials centered on a clearing 25 m from the bank of Mallard Creek. Of these 10 test pits, six yielded historic artifacts, including 17 pieces of ceramics such as creamware, pearlware, and stoneware; 10 pieces of olive green bottle glass; and fragments of tabby and nails...
suggesting a dwelling. The artifacts dated to the late-18th or early-19th centuries and probably related to a domestic occupation area.

A surface scatter of late-18th- or early-19th-century artifacts was found in the area of the origin of two springs. This scatter included ceramics, glass, and stone. Three 1 x 2 m units were excavated in this area.

Also included in the area of Cedar Bluff were two collapsed structures. The first structure lay 100 m east of the springs and 10 m north of a fenceline. Immediate surface indications included a chimney fall, a large circular depression probably denoting a well, an extensive surface scattering of bottles, bed parts, automobile headlights, and stove parts, and increased undergrowth. Surface indications suggest an early-20th-century occupation for this homestead. Four 1 x 2 m units were excavated in this area.

The other structure, located near an artesian well was a series of concrete foundations of relatively recent origin. These remains covered a moderate area with a scattering of glass, concrete, plastic, and porcelain bathroom fixtures. Two 1 x 2 m units were placed in this area. EU 18, placed among this scatter, produced brown glass bottles with plastic screw caps, a shotgun shell casing, amorphous metal fragments, large mammal bones, and many river pebbles. The recent character of the materials made the site ineligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places and made any intensive recording of this structure unnecessary.
Historic Site Research Objectives

The John King Site was the earliest homestead located during the Kings Bay survey (Smith 1978). Artifactual evidence suggested a late-18th- or early-19th-century domestic occupation. Preliminary documentary research suggested this may have been the original homestead of John King, one of the earliest settlers of Camden County. Thus, the John King Site presented the opportunity to illuminate the lifeways existing on small plantations on the mainland during the late-18th and early-19th centuries. Research methods were twofold: archaeological and historical. Through the archaeological record, material culture would be revealed in the form of ceramics, glass, metal, and structural remains. Through documentary research, much could be learned about the agricultural practices at a homestead of this nature and its relationship to other types of historic settlements.

In archaeological testing on a site of this nature, four types of information are sought: date, function, settlement, and subsistence. Phase I survey research provided basic information on the extent, tentative date, and integrity of the site. In further excavations at the site, it was felt that tighter control on these factors could be achieved by collecting a larger artifact sample. Finding structural remnants was also a major goal.

Extensive documentary research was needed to determine the chain of ownership of the site. Ideally, deeds can be traced from the original land grant to the present ownership of the site. Unfortunately, even if this ideal situation could be attained, ownership and occupation are not necessarily synonymous. Other documents such as diaries, letters, and
wills can be helpful but such documents are difficult to find. Even if John King did own the property at the time in question, we cannot attribute the archaeological remains directly to him through documents alone.

Historically, the John King Site could provide a valuable insight into the domestic condition of the early settlers in the area. As the earliest homestead noted in KBNSB, it held a unique potential for the description and explanation of these lifeways. In gathering information on date, function, settlement, and subsistence, we deal with the questions—what, where, and when. In the contexts of a historic site, we also hope to reveal some how's and why's. How did they subsist? Why did they choose this area? Why was their home built from the materials used? How did their existence compare with the large plantation owners of the sea islands?

It was felt that the existence of the small plantation holder on the mainland would be somewhat different from that of the large plantation owner of the sea island. There would be more dependence on subsistence farming rather than cash crops; more hunting and comparatively less livestock propagation. Structures would be smaller and made from readily available materials such as wood and perhaps tabby. Materially, it is expected that the small plantation owner would have owned materials somewhere between that of the large plantation owner's transfer printed flatware and the slave's brown banded annular hollowware. Luxuries would be few but the minimal necessities of life would be present.
CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTIVE ARCHAEOLOGY

Methodology

A grid system aligned with magnetic north was established on the site with the central position (N500/E500) on the eastern edge of the clearing containing the John King Site. This grid extended eastward 140 m and westward 360 m (Figure 4.1) past the limits of the site set by the survey. Transect sampling paralleled the bank of Mallard Creek with a 32 m displacement northward to avoid dense palmetto growth. Ten 1 x 2 m units and six .5 x .5 m units were placed in the area of the John King Site (Figure 4.2) to determine its extent and to clarify features. Outside this area 1 x 2 m units were placed at 40 m intervals along the base line, generally on either side of the line as natural conditions permitted. This method of unit placement was adopted in order to insure a uniform, unbiased sampling of the entire area. Additional units were randomly placed in the area of the 20th-century homestead and at the springs. This resulted in 28 1 x 2 m units, or a total of 38 1 x 2 m units and six .5 x .5 m units for the area. All were excavated to sterile soil unless a minimal number of artifacts for the level could definitely be attributed to the top of the level. In this case the unit was closed. Units ranged from 30 to 70 cm deep. All were excavated using natural stratigraphy, with thicker strata divided into arbitrary levels of 10 cm each. Soil was screened through 1.2 cm (\(\frac{1}{4}\)") mesh and all cultural materials were assigned field specimen (FS) numbers and placed in labeled bags. Presence or absence of oyster shell was noted.
Figure 3.2 Site map: John King and Cedar Bluff sites
Figure 4.2  Excavation Units at the John King Site
and shell was discarded in the field. Wall profiles were drawn and photographed as each unit was completed. The above-ground remains of the 20th-century homestead were mapped in detail. Random surface collections were segregated by site area, such as the John King area or the spring area.

Fill from features was waterscreened through 1 mm mesh in the laboratory where artifacts were washed and catalogued. Then they were identified by type using a typology designed by University of Florida researchers compatible with an Apple computer. A specifically designed program allowed for sorting by type, excavation unit, and field specimen number, as well as sorting field specimen (FS) number by excavation unit (EU).

**Stratigraphy**

The Cedar Bluff Site was a multicomponent occupation area with Cainhoy Fine sand underlying scattered oyster shell visible on the surface in cleared areas. Because the site exhibited no dense middens, definition of anthroposols was made mainly through artifact presence and absence. The depth of the anthroposols ranged from quite shallow to quite deep depending on the area of the site and the length of occupation. Due to the extent of the site, it was impossible to group strata under any single category other than the standard description used for the Kings Bay Project: Stratum A, humus; Stratum B, anthroposols; and Stratum C, various subsoils with low organic content.

Stratum A was generally sandy with varying organic content consisting of a modern humus and root zone found over most of the site.
in a layer 2-10 cm deep. Stratum B was the primary cultural stratum and covered a wide spectrum of colors. In areas of historic occupation, Stratum B was more easily identified since it tended to be darker. There was a more distinct break between the historic matrix and underlying prehistoric deposits. In areas without historic deposits, very little distinction could be made between strata related to different aboriginal occupations. There was a thin scattering of oyster shell throughout the site in this stratum, although density varied from area to area. Stratum C, defined as the underlying Cainhoy Fine sand base, was generally culturally sterile. It also varied in color although not as much as Stratum B. Table 4.1 presents a brief summary of the stratigraphy at the John King and Cedar Bluff sites.

The area of the John King and Cedar Bluff sites was reported to be Cainhoy Fine sand (Rigdon and Green 1980), an excessively drained soil which consisted of dark grey sand underlain by brownish yellow and then pale brown sand. In her work at the Cherry Point Site, Smith (1983) found profiles of both Cainhoy Fine sand and Mandarin Fine sand. The latter was a medium grey or medium grey brown sandy top layer over a light grey sand and underlain by dark brown, weakly cemented organic hardpan. Though the Cherry Point and the Cedar Bluff sites were contiguous (Figure 1.2, p.3), no evidence was found of Mandarin Fine sand at the Cedar Bluff Site. Sterile subsoils were pale brown, light yellowish brown, or yellow. No hardpan was identified.

As shown, Munsel descriptions were used in determining soil color. These were taken from uniformly dampened soils in profile. With mottled soils, a Munsel description was taken for each color present. The major
Table 4.1  Stratigraphy in the Cedar Bluff Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stratum</th>
<th>Munsell</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td>Duff/humus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1</td>
<td>10YR3/3, 3/2, 3/1</td>
<td>Dark brown, very dark greyish brown, very dark grey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2</td>
<td>10YR6/2, 5/2, 5/3</td>
<td>Brown, light brownish grey, greyish brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3</td>
<td>10YR4/6, 5/6, 5/8, 6/8, 5/4, 6/6</td>
<td>Dark yellowish brown, yellowish brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B4</td>
<td>10YR4/1, 4/2</td>
<td>Dark grey, dark greyish brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B5</td>
<td>10YR2/1, 2/2</td>
<td>Black, very dark brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B6</td>
<td>10YR5/1</td>
<td>Grey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B7</td>
<td>10YR3/3:6/6</td>
<td>Mottled dark brown: brownish yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B8</td>
<td>10YR4/2:6/4</td>
<td>Mottled dark greyish brown: light yellowish brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B9</td>
<td>10YR3/2:5/6</td>
<td>Mottled very dark greyish brown: yellowish brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B10</td>
<td>10YR3/1:6/6</td>
<td>Mottled very dark grey: brownish yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B11</td>
<td>10YR7/2:5/3</td>
<td>Mottled light grey: brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B12</td>
<td>10YR3/2:6/8</td>
<td>Mottled very dark greyish brown: brownish yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>10YR8/4</td>
<td>Very pale brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>10YR6/4</td>
<td>Light yellowish brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3</td>
<td>10YR7/8</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
stratigraphic differentiation possible in the Cedar Bluff area was between historic and prehistoric anthroposols. Historic deposits accounted for darker soils (B1, B4, B5) and mottled soils (B7-B12). Prehistoric deposits were generally lighter (B2, B3, B6) and not as often mottled in nature. Though not a steadfast association, this darker/lighter dichotomy was a general rule. Figure 4.3 presents some typical and specialized profiles.

**Features**

During excavations along Cedar Bluff, a conservative approach was taken to the definition of features. In the Kings Bay locality, many aboriginal or historical posts are not distinct enough from tree stump remnants or animal disturbances for one to know their origins for certain, even if some artifacts are present. Features were defined as distinguishable discontinuities of probable cultural origin. This approach meant that the extensive recording of natural discontinuities such as tree falls and rodent burrows was kept to a minimum, although these were noted where they occurred. Even so, one of the five provisional features recorded was determined later, upon excavation, to be a natural disturbance. Unfortunately, this approach also resulted in the collection of one feature (designated later in the lab) as a soil sample without the concomitant field recording being done. Feature 5, a tabby concentration (Figure 4.3), also received its feature status in the lab although sufficient recording had been done in the field.

We were unable to determine any association between features found on the site. Though this lack of association was not unusual, consid-
Excavation Unit 7

Excavation Unit 16

Excavation Unit 27

A - Duff/humus
B₂ - Dark greyish brown sand
B₃ - Yellowish brown sand

Feature 5

A - Duff/humus
B₂ with shell

Tabby concentration
Shell concentration

Figure 4.3 North Profiles: Units 7, 16, and 27
ering the extent of the site and the wide range of occupations, it does present problems in continuity. The two features from the John King Site come closest to being related. Without knowledge of the intervening matrix, however, one can say little about their relationship. Of the other two features determined to be cultural, one is aboriginal and the other historic. The following is a summary of the features for the John King/Cedar Bluff Site (Table 4.2).

Feature 1, in EU 4, was an irregular dark stain containing oyster shell, historical material, and bone. The historical materials appeared to be intrusive in an otherwise aboriginal strata and consisted of two pieces of creamware flatware, two pearlware fragments, one kaolin pipebowl fragment, small bits of brick and tabby, and a small quantity of burned bone in level one between 20 and 30 centimeters below surface (hereafter referred to as cmbs). In Level 2 (30-36 cmbs), materials consisted of two fragments of burned pearlware, two small tabby fragments, and a small quantity of burned bone. The feature's function is unknown.

Feature 2, in EU 28, was a square discoloration noted in the floor of the unit at Level 3. A squarish inner stain presented the possibility of a posthole/postmold configuration. Excavation revealed probable root extensions in the lower portion of the feature. No cultural material was obtained. It was concluded that this was a natural disturbance.

Feature 3, in EU 32, was a relatively recent post and postmold in the west wall of the unit. The mold was roughly circular and vertical in profile. The post was rotted above 20 cmbs but well-preserved below
Table 4.2 Features in the Cedar Bluff Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>EU</th>
<th>Depth (cmbs)</th>
<th>Dimensions N-S</th>
<th>E-W</th>
<th>Description/Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20-36</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Irregular dark stain with shell and historic artifacts. Possible postmold. Late 18th- or early 19th-century associations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30-35</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Regular discoloration. Determined to be natural disturbance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22-48</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Relatively recent post in mold visible in profile. Mold vertical and circular.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Diffuse concentration of bone and shell in two spots. One St. Johns ceramic present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15-30</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Linear tabby concentration; brick, shell, late 18th- or early 19th-century artifacts. Possible wall, floor, walkway.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
this level. It appeared to be pine. This post was probably associated with one of the numerous fencelines in the area.

Feature 4, in EU 24, was a dense concentration of small bone fragments and shell in the eastern end of the unit. Because this concentration was extremely diffuse, delineation between it and the surrounding matrix was difficult. It was excavated as two separate areas, the first containing large amounts of oyster and mussel, one St. Johns sherd, and several species of fish. The other, somewhat smaller in size and quantity of shell, contained several species of fish and crab, but no cultural material. An aboriginal origin of an undetermined nature was suspected for these deposits.

Feature 5, in EU 7, a tabby concentration confined to the western portion of the unit, was thickest (10-15 cm) in the central portion, with a width of 50 cm running north/south through the unit (Figure 4.3, p. 78). The concentration was thinner (5-10 cm) in the rest of the western portion of the unit. This configuration presented a pattern somewhat like a wall, floor, or chimney fall and may be considered definite structural evidence. We first noted the feature at 15 cmbs as a dense scattering of tabby in association with an increased artifactual deposit. Artifacts included a partially reconstructable creamware plate, etched tumbler fragments, a metal cabinet latch, a buckle, white clay pipe fragments, brick, and nails. Some tabby associated with the feature showed lath impressions. These were collected and given a separate FS number.
Artifacts

Introduction

The artifacts excavated at the John King and Cedar Bluff sites were numerous and varied. Considering the 3600 years of sporadic occupation here, this variety was not unusual. However, for the archaeologist, the diversity of the artifacts and their origins presented problems not only in analysis but also in the interpretation and presentation of the data in an understandable fashion. A brief summary of the types of artifacts found and their general distribution follows.

Prehistoric Ceramics

Aboriginal ceramics were ubiquitous at the Cedar Bluff Site. Six hundred and thirty-one sherds were recovered during testing. Rim sherds were rare and, with one exception, vessel form was indeterminate. For this reason, analysis was based on temper and surface treatment (Table 4.3).

The prehistoric artifacts found at the Cedar Bluff Site characterized identifiable phases of the Late Archaic, Deptford, Swift Creek, Wilmington-Savannah, and St. Johns. However, many sherds were unidentifiable as to an archaeologically defined culture. A total of 631 prehistoric ceramics was recovered from the excavated units (Table 4.3). Fiber-tempered ceramics represented 17.3 percent of the prehistoric collection, with 109 examples. These ceramics were aggregated in the central area of the site west of the homestead. The original survey noted 24 percent fiber-tempered ceramics, much of it
### Table 4.3 Prehistoric Ceramics from the Cedar Bluff Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sand-tempered</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain/indet.</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>26.0%</td>
<td>647.8 g</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cord-marked</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>385.0 g</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check-stamped</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>299.7 g</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamped</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>1281.3 g</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incised</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>59.8 g</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punctate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>10.5 g</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnished/Polished</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>94.3 g</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Filmed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>8.2 g</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cob-marked</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>41.2 g</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Sand-tempered</strong></td>
<td>381</td>
<td>60.4%</td>
<td>2827.8 g</td>
<td>55.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fiber-tempered</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponge Spicule</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>133.5 g</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grit-tempered</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>446.3 g</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grog-tempered</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>316.5 g</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed-tempered</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>429.9 g</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>631</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>5099.1 g</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
incised. No incised specimens were recovered during testing. It seems probable that a single incised vessel was recovered during the survey. Because the ceramics from the testing phase were plain surfaced, it is difficult to associate them with a particular culture. Both St. Simon's and Orange wares have been identified in Camden County.

The most numerous type by temper was sand-tempered, with 381 examples. Of this total, 164 (43.0 percent) exhibited plain surfaced or were eroded and unidentifiable in surface treatment. Neither of these could be identified by culture. Cord-marked sherds, generally associated with the Savannah culture, accounted for 80 specimens (20.1 percent): check-stamped, associated with Deptford culture, accounted for 59 (15.5 percent): and simple-stamped, or Swift Creek, for 50 (13.1 percent). The majority of the simple-stamped sherds came from a single Swift Creek tetrapodal vessel found in EU 16 near the artesian well. Much of the vessel was reconstructable. Other surface treatments included four incised, three punctate, 14 burnished sherds, four red-filmed, and three cob-marked sherds. The latter three types were indications of a very small San Marcos component in the area.

Several other temperings were encountered at the Cedar Bluff Site. St. Johns ceramics made from sponge spicule bearing clays represented 6.0 percent of the collection, with 38 representatives. The percentage for this type during the survey was 7.1 percent. These St. Johns ceramics clustered in the area of the John King Site during testing with the exception of two sherds each from Units 24 and 25. Grit-tempered ceramics represented 6.2 percent of the collection, with 39 specimens. Only three specimens of this ceramic type were recovered during the
survey. The sherds recovered during testing were evenly distributed across the site. Grog-tempered ceramics represented 4.4 percent of the collection, with 28 specimens. None of this type was reported in the survey. Mixed-tempered ceramics, of which there were 36 examples, included sand/grit (5), sand/grog (15), sand/fiber (10), grog/grit (3), and fiber/grit (3).

Prehistoric Ceramic Distribution

No meaningful clustering could be determined for any of these ceramic types. Grit-tempered and grog-tempered ceramics recovered during testing displayed an even distribution across the site. Sand-tempered, indeterminate/plain, cord-marked, check-stamped, and polished sherds were also evenly distributed across the site. As stated earlier, simple-stamped sherds clustered in Unit 16, with the exception of one sherd each for Units 8, 10, 11, 27, and 30. Incised sherds were recovered from Units 6, 9, and 32. Punctate sherds were recovered from Units 16 and 40. Red-filmed sherds were recovered from Units 4, 24, and 31. Cob-marked sherds were recovered from Unit 15.

In general, the prehistoric ceramics at the Cedar Bluff Site were evenly distributed with the exception of fiber-tempered wares, St. Johns ceramics, and the sand-tempered simple stamped vessel. Most types represented in the survey were also found in comparable quantities during testing. One exception was the inclusion of grog-tempered ceramics in the testing collection when none were present during the survey. No red-filmed, punctate, or cob-marked ceramics were noted during the survey but were represented in small quantities during
testing. Incised, fiber-tempered wares which were noted during survey were not noted during testing. Indications of ceramic type clustering were not readily available from the testing collection. This may be due to the nature of the site or the limitations of phase II testing.

Lithics

Thirty-five lithic artifacts were recovered from the Cedar Bluff Site. Two of these were unworked river pebbles found in Units 34 and 37. One possible uniface was excavated in Unit 6. Other lithics were various chert flakes. This category included both thermally and non-thermally altered chert. Chert colors included red, pink, and yellow/brown. Distribution can be seen in Table 4.4. Lithics tended to be associated with the Late Archaic ceramics. At the Cedar Bluff Site the majority of both chert flakes and fiber-tempered ceramics were recovered from EU 33. This distribution was noted by Smith during Phase II testing of ten sites in the Kings Bay area (Smith et al. 1981:938) and during the Phase II testing of the Cherry Point Site in 1983 (Smith 1983:71). It was determined that Late Archaic Period people utilized stone to a much greater degree than did succeeding cultures.

Research questions for the Cedar Bluff Site included an investigation of the horizontal stratigraphy of prehistoric cultures at the Cedar Bluff Site through ceramic analysis. These results were to be compared with the results of a similar analysis for the Cherry Point Site. As stated previously, the Cedar Bluff and the Cherry Point sites were contiguous. During the survey they exhibited similar artifact assemblages. It was expected that any cultural patterns exhibited at
Table 4.4 Lithic Distribution in the Cedar Bluff Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>EU</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bifacial Thinning Flake</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Chert</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thermally Altered</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.3 g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thermally Altered</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2 g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pink Chert</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thermally Altered</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6 g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thermally Altered</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5 g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thermally Altered</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8 g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-thermally Altered</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.3 g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow to Brown Chert</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-thermally Altered</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14.8 g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unifacial Tool</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5 g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River Pebble</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.8 g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.6 g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cherry Point would also be exhibited at Cedar Bluff. To this end, Smith (1983) prepared artifact distribution maps and subjected her data to several statistical manipulations. Her conclusion: "the horizontal stratification of components within the Cherry Point Site which can be verified by graphic or statistical representations is very limited" (Smith 1983:79).

Because testing data are so fragmentary, it is possible that the distribution of components at the Cedar Bluff Site could be the result of a subjective rather than a random testing strategy. Though coverage of the site was generally uniform, more units were dug in the area of the John King Site as a result of the historic site investigation there. The same percentage of coverage for the entire Cedar Bluff Site might produce a larger percentage of St. Johns ceramics. This skewed collection strategy was not a factor in the area where the fiber-tempered wares were found because units were evenly spaced in this area.

The results of the investigation of prehistoric cultural boundaries in the Kings Bay area are shown in Table 3.1 (p. 28). At the Cedar Bluff Site cultures found to be present included the Guale, Timucuan, St. Johns, Savannah I and Savannah II, Swift Creek, and Deptford. It was not possible to specifically identify with certainty the Rufuge and Orange cultures although their presence is indicated by the fiber-tempered ceramics. These results compare well with the ceramic chronology derived by Espenshad (1984b:325) for the Kings Bay area.
Historic Artifacts

The Cedar Bluff area contained three historic material clusters in addition to the one at the John King Site. The first was an area that has been referred to as the homestead, an early-20th-century dwelling that exhibited a dense surface scatter of artifacts as well as a chimney fall and a possible well. The second area, referred to as the spring area, revealed several late-18th- or early-19th-century artifacts on its surface. The third area was identified by concrete foundations located at the artesian well and was dated to the mid-20th century. This area has been referred to as the artesian well area. Each of these areas produced distinctive historic artifact collections and each is considered separately in the following summary.

The artifacts recovered from the historic components of the Cedar Bluff area have been grouped according to Stanley South's (1977:95-96) artifact classification and have been separated by the areas noted earlier. Ceramic type identifications based on Noel-Hume (1970) are used in calculations of the mean ceramic date (South 1977:210-212). These types are used in the artifact descriptions for the John King Site and the springs area. These identifications are not applicable to the homestead area or the artesian well area because 18th- and early-19th-century ceramic types were not found in these areas. It was determined that tabulation by level or stratum would be unproductive since the shallow historic midden generally was distinct from the underlying prehistoric materials and therefore was kept separate from them during excavation. There were no identifiable strata within the
historic midden, thus, historic artifacts were assumed to be from a single occupation period.

The John King Site

In South's artifact classification, ceramics are considered part of the kitchenware group. The John King Site produced 130 pieces of historic ceramics, including 15 stoneware fragments with brown salt-glazed exteriors. The interiors of these fragments were variously of white, grey, and pink glaze. One fragment displayed evidence of a handle attachment, but this attachment was too fragmentary to determine its form. Stoneware sherds were too small to determine vessel form since only one partial base and no rim fragments were recovered.

The John King Site produced 100 fragments of creamware (Type 22). The creamware was concentrated in the central area of the site, with the most dense concentration in EU 7. This unit was thought to contain a possible tabby wall or chimney fall. All creamware fragments were plain with the exception of two brown banded annular sherds (Type 14). The large sample available allowed us to determine several vessel forms, such as cups, a possible bowl, soup plates, and platters. The rim of one reconstructed soup plate exhibited a typical Queen's shape rim pattern (Noel-Hume 1970:116). First produced in 1759, creamware had become widespread by the late-18th century (Noel-Hume 1970:124). The presence of such a comparatively large sample of creamware, as opposed to pearlware (26 fragments), attests to an early occupation of the site.

Pearlware was first produced in 1779 (Noel-Hume 1970:128). Twenty-six fragments of plain and decorated pearlware were analyzed.
Thirteen of the pearlware sherds were plain (Type 20). One cup was noted in this type category. Two fragments were blue edgeware (Type 19) and one pearlware fragment was mocha annular ware (Type 13). Underglazed blue handpainted pearlware (Type 17) accounted for six fragments. The remaining two were polychrome (Type 12); one fragment was identifiable as a bowl. Underglaze blue transfer printing (Type 11) accounted for two fragments. These were identified as willow pattern, a typical oriental motif popular in the United States during the early-1800s (Noel-Hume 1970:130).

The ceramic collection from the John King Site has been dated by South's mean ceramic date formula (1977:217). The formula establishes a median date for each ceramic type, multiplies this date by type count, and divides the product of all multiplications for a site's collection by the total number of ceramics. The calculation for the John King Site is shown in Table 4.5.

The early date of 1794.02 derived from application of the mean ceramic date formula correlates fairly well with the history of the site. It is known that John King acquired the land in 1791 (see p. 52). This land was leased to Woodford Mabry in 1801 for sawmilling purposes. If the occupant was King, this date can be considered fairly accurate. If the occupant was Mabry, this date is somewhat early since the mean date of his occupation would be around 1805. This early date is perhaps due to the use of creamware in this remote part of the country past its peak popularity.

In addition to the calculation of mean ceramic dates for historic sites, historic ceramics have been used to determine socio-economic
Table 4.5  Mean Ceramic Date Calculation for the John King Site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Type Median</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>159,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1788</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23,465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.13</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>117</td>
<td>209,901</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\frac{209,901}{171} = 1794.02
\]
status of a site's inhabitants. This interpretive value is best illustrated by the research of John Otto (1975 and 1977) in which he compared the ceramics of planters, overseers, and slaves by type and form to determine how status differentiation might be reflected in the archaeological record on the Cannon's Point Plantation on St. Simons Island, Georgia. The determination of status is an important factor in archaeology because it allows insight into the lives of the people who produced the archaeological record at a particular site. Table 4.6 presents Otto's tabulation of ceramic types by status (Otto 1977:98). Ceramic type frequencies for the John King Site have also been placed in this table in order to compare the status of the occupant of the John King Site with the known statuses of the occupants of Cannon's Point Plantation. The types referred to in the table are pearlware except in the case of "undecorated" which includes creamware, pearlware, and whiteware. For the John King Site, "other" consists of stoneware.

Comparison with ceramics recovered by John Otto from Cannon's Point Plantation, which was occupied during the mid-19th century, provides a unique opportunity to compare the status of the occupants of Cannon's Point; the planter, the overseer, and the slaves with the status of the occupant of the John King Site, a homesteader in a newly settled area. Due to the different ceramic types in use during the late-18th and early-19th century (the date of the John King Site) the figures for the John King Site are divergent from those derived by Otto for mid-19th century habitations (1977:98).

Undecorated creamware made up a very small percentage of the sample from Cannon's Point (Otto 1975:175). The predominance of creamware in
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Planter %</th>
<th>Otto Overseer %</th>
<th>Slave %</th>
<th>John King %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banded</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue/green edged</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underglazed handpainted</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer-printed</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecorated</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total sherd count</strong></td>
<td><strong>1242</strong></td>
<td><strong>179</strong></td>
<td><strong>543</strong></td>
<td><strong>130</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the collection from the John King Site has skewed the percentage for undecorated category. If transfer-printed pearlware from the Cannon's Point Plantation is compared to plain creamware from the John King Site, a correlation is found between the figures produced. The planter at Cannon's Point had 77 percent transfer printed pearlware. The John King Site had 78 percent undecorated ceramics, mainly creamware.

These figures suggest an equivalent function: the planter at Cannon's Point was using transfer-printed pearlware as his everyday ware; the occupant of the John King Site was using creamware for the same purpose. Thus, function was equivalent, but was status?

George Miller examined the economic scaling of 19th-century ceramics in an article published in 1980 (Miller 1980). In that article he discussed the results of an examination of documents which established prices for ceramics produced from the late-18th century until the mid-19th century. Miller found that, from the late-18th century until the late-19th century, the price of plain creamware remained relatively stable. Using creamware as a standard, he plotted the cost of other types of ceramics (by decoration) in comparison. In 1796, one could purchase three transfer-printed pearlware or nine shell edged plates for the same price as 12 creamware plates (Miller 1980:8). In 1846, one could purchase four transfer-printed or 11 shell edged plates for the same price as 12 creamware plates. Translated into Miller's "CC Index" it is found that in 1796 transfer-printed pearlware was four times the price of plain creamware. In 1846 this figure had decreased to 2.5 times the price of plain creamware because production had increased as demand decreased.
Though the function of the two ceramic types may have been the same on the two sites, the status of the individuals using them probably was not. The price and availability of the two ceramic types was significantly different. Though transfer-printed pearlware did decrease in price from four to only 2.5 times the price of plain creamware between 1796 and 1846, this type of ceramic appears to have been beyond the reach of the occupant of the John King Site.

A comparison of shell edge ceramics from the three areas of the Cannon's Point Plantation and the John King Site produces interesting results. The planter at Cannon's Point had only two percent edgeware; the overseer five percent; and the slaves 12 percent. The John King Site produced two percent shell edged ceramics. According to Miller (1980:10), in 1796, one could purchase more than five shell edged bowls for the same price as 12 plain creamware bowls. By 1846, this figure had dropped to nearly eight for each 12 creamware bowls. Translated to the "CC Index," shell edged ceramics were worth about 1.3 times plain creamware in 1796. In 1846, shell edged ceramics were worth about 1.1 times plain creamware. These figures are all fairly close. The planter and the occupant of John King Site had equal percentages of this type. That the overseer and the slave sites had greater amounts of shell edged ceramics is probably indicative of a lower socio-economic status. Though the transfer-printed ceramics have indicated that the occupant of the John King Site may not have been a peer of the planter, shell edged ceramics suggest that neither was he the peer of the overseer or slaves.

It is unfortunate that complete figures are not available for banded wares. This type was the predominant ceramic at both the
overseer and the slave sites at the Cannon's Point Plantation. The overseer site had 30 percent banded wares, while the slave site had 25 percent. At the John King Site banded wares represented only two percent of the collection.

Another indication of status in some areas of the United State in the 19th-century is the presence of porcelain (Smith 1980). Minimal quantities of porcelain, both European and Oriental, were recovered at Cannon's Point (Otto 1975:186). No porcelain was recovered at the John King Site. These wares may have been difficult to obtain in this area at the time of occupation or the occupant was not of high enough status to possess them.

In addition to type comparison, it must be noted that a diverse collection of vessel forms was recovered from the John King Site. Otto (1977:102) observed that, on plantation sites, vessel forms exhibit a distinct distribution with flatwares, plates, platters, and soup plates predominant at the planter's site, and serving bowls predominant at slave sites (1977:99). Because the sample from the John King Site was so small, cross-mending was difficult, or impossible in many cases, and no minimum vessel count is available. However, vessel forms were noted and included platters, bowls, soup plates, cups, and saucers. The collection indicated the presence of a matched creamware tea service. The latter would be considered difficult to obtain on sites of low status individuals.

Taken together, the ceramic data indicate that the occupant of the John King Site did not have as high a socio-economic status as the planter at Cannon's Point. Though he owned vessel forms of many types,
including the flatwares that indicate high status (Otto 1977:99), these
ceramics were much less expensive than those owned by the planter. The
results of comparisons with data from the Cannon's Point Plantation, due
to the difference in site dates, are still debatable, however. The
difference in the dates of the two sites produced a dichotomy between
the presence of transfer-printed pearlware, shell edged pearlware,
banded ware, and plain creamware. The comparability of these ceramic
types is uncertain, though Miller's "CC Index" has allowed some
comparison (Miller 1980). From the figures presented by Otto, it
appears that the planter was using the transfer-printed pearlware for
every day use. It appears that the occupant of the John King Site was
using plain creamware for every day use. The quantity of edge wares is
negligible.

The comparative status value of these ceramics (transfer-printed
pearlware was 2.5 to four times as expensive as creamware) suggests that
the occupant of the John King Site was not at the pinnacle of his
society. Nor was he the dregs of it. Comparison of shell edged
ceramics revealed a status probably higher than that of the overseer or
slave. Due to the lack of written records concerning banded wares, it
was not possible to compare these wares.

Without data from the same time period as the John King site any
conclusions drawn about the status of the occupant are debatable. The
only realistic solution to this problem would be a comparison with
figures from sites of individuals of known status from the same time
period and preferably in the same area. It is unfortunate that no other
sites of this early date have been located at Kings Bay.

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Ceramics were not the only artifacts recovered from the John King Site. Kitchenware artifacts included glassware and tableware. Glassware included six clear container fragments, three light green (champagne) container glass fragments, 30 fragments of dark green container glass, and nine tumbler fragments. These last were delicate, clear glass etched with a grape design near the rim. Fragments of this type of glass were found to be extremely rare on slave sites at Cannon's Point Plantation (Otto 1975:225). They were slightly more frequent on overseer sites and were more frequent but not abundant on the planter's site. Therefore, these glasses are a definite indication of a relatively high status, especially considering the frontier conditions in which they existed. The only tableware recovered was a three-tined, bone-handled fork. A total of 170 fragments of kitchenware, including ceramics, glassware, and tableware, was recovered.

The bone group contained minimal representatives at the John King Site. Twenty-five fragments of bone were attributed to units at this site. A summary of faunal remains for the Cedar Bluff area can be found at the end of this chapter.

The architectural group contains such items as window glass, nails, spikes, construction hardware, and door lock parts. No window glass was recovered at the John King Site. This is most likely a factor of the frontier conditions at the time of occupation. Other architectural group artifacts at the John King Site were metal artifacts in minor quantities that might attest to the probability of a dwelling. Three fragments of indeterminate metal were recovered from the site. These three fragments were probably extremely rusted nails. Fasteners at the
site included four wrought nails, as would be expected for the late-18th century, and two indeterminate fasteners.

Although not included in the architectural group by South (1977:95), architectural detail was available for the John King Site through the analysis of such artifacts as tabby and brick as well as nails and other hardware. A light scattering of tabby and some brick was noted at the John King Site. Lath impressions in the tabby excavated at the site gave tenuous architectural detail. A lath and tabby plaster construction is postulated. The tabby concentration designated as Feature 5 is suspected to be a wall or a possible chimney fall.

Aside from the kitchen group and the architecture group, other artifact groups were not well represented. The sole representative of the furniture group was a single brass cabinet latch. The arms group was represented by one ball shot and a Peters No. 12 Referee shotgun shell casing. The latter, because of its 20th century date, is intrusive. The clothing group was represented by one rectangular iron buckle. The activities group included a possible barrel hoop, and one fishing sinker.

The tobacco group included five fragments of white clay pipe found at the John King Site. This small sample may represent sampling error, use of other forms of tobacco such as cigars, snuff, or chewing tobacco, or general lack of tobacco use. No pipe fragments were recovered during the survey. Our recovery of five fragments was most likely a factor of increased areal coverage, suggesting that further increased coverage could produce an even larger sample.
The artifact collection from the John King Site represents either a peripheral or an adjacent secondary midden. Peripheral secondary middens are composed of refuse that is removed from its area of origin and discarded elsewhere, such as over a bluff edge. Adjacent secondary middens, as defined by Schiffer (1972) and South (1977:179-182), are composed of refuse removed from its area of origin and discarded elsewhere, in this case adjacent to a dwelling. This type of midden is characterized by a relatively high percentage of kitchen group objects and a low percentage of both architectural group artifacts and bone. This pattern would result from the discarding of broken dishes and bottles by sweeping or throwing them into the yard but removing odor bearing refuse (bone) from the immediate vicinity. It is possible that other artifact group objects from all historic components of the Cedar Bluff area—clothing, personal, tobacco, activities, and arms as well as some kitchen, architectural, and bone items—became part of the archaeological record through discard, as described earlier or are de facto refuse, i.e., they were lost. Artifact group patterns for the John King Site and other areas are presented in Table 4.7.

The figures presented in Table 4.7 show a general correspondence between the John King Site and the springs area. Both had kitchen group percentages of nearly 80 percent and low architectural group percentages. The homestead area had a kitchen group percentage of 17.97 and an architectural group percentage of 73.27. The homestead was a known house site as evidenced by a chimney, a well, and a raised house mound. The presence of a house at the site would explain the high architectural percentage and the relatively low bone group percentage.
Table 4.7  Historic Artifact Group Patterns for the Cedar Bluff Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>John King No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Homestead No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Springs No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>79.44</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>17.97</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>76.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architectural</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>73.27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11.68</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>100.01</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>99.99</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus, the artifact scatter at the homestead definitely represents an adjacent secondary midden.

The John King Site had a rather low architecture group percentage and a comparatively high bone group percentage. The artifact scatter here could represent a peripheral secondary midden or an adjacent secondary midden. In the latter case, the lack of architectural objects could be due to the lath and tabby construction, which would not require as many nails as frame construction techniques. It could also be due to a general lack of nails in this area during the late-18th or early-19th century, or recycling behavior. It must be noted that tabby is not included in the architecture group and thus is not quantified.

The sample for the springs area is so small that definite conclusions about the nature of the artifact scatter here are difficult to draw. As with the John King Site, there is a distinct lack of architecture group artifacts and a high percentage of kitchen group artifacts. However, in this case, there are no structural features and no tabby was noted during excavation. That this area is a peripheral secondary midden is probable.

The Homestead

Kitchenware artifacts such as ceramics, glass, and tableware were numerous at the homestead. This area produced five fragments of common earthenware. Included were one bisque redware sherd, two glazed redware sherds, one buffware sherd with a glazed grey exterior and a glazed baby-blue interior, and one sherd of lead-glazed earthenware with a beige exterior and a dark brown interior.
Two fragments of plain pearlware were recovered at the homestead. Though this type is fairly well-defined, in some cases, the definition of ceramic types is a rather arbitrary exercise. As technology changed, types blended into one another. Early creamware is more yellow than later creamware, early pearlware is more blue, and early whiteware may have a hard paste but a bluish tint. Thus, for this project, the type pearlware/whiteware was defined as having a hard paste but a bluish tinted glaze. Fourteen examples of this ware were recovered from the homestead. All were plain. Five examples of whiteware, having a hard paste and clear glaze, were found at the homestead. Three of these whiteware sherds were identified as ironstone. They had the general appearance of hotel china, heavy, durable, and cheap. South's mean ceramic date formula does not include pearlware/whiteware but does include whiteware (the predominant types in this area). However, the site was too late for the mean ceramic date formula to be applicable to these materials.

Glassware was divided by form as well as by color. Most glass was found on the surface, including several whole or nearly whole bottles. One of these was a rectangular apothecary bottle with "Cardui The Woman's Tonic" "Chattanooga Medicine Co." embossed on the narrow sides. "Wine of Cardui," which was manufactured from the late-19th century until the present, originally contained in addition to the "necessary preservative" " a formula employing golden seal, black haw, and blessed thistle, and enjoyed such confidence that Southern ladies frequently took the remedy direct from the bottle" (Carson 1961:21). This proprietary medicine, advertised before the Food and Drug Act, declared
that "This medicine will correct all irregularities of the monthly Periods of women." It was prohibited from sale on Indian Reservations as an intoxicating beverage (Palmer and Greenberg 1938:71). Today it contains the same ingredients—acetaminophen, pyrilamine, and pamabrom—as do many other products designed for the relief of menstrual problems (Benowicz 1983:215).

Other surface finds at the homestead included clear, amethyst, and green wine or liquor bottles with cork or screw caps. The amethyst bottle fragments were exclusive to the homestead. Amethyst glass generally dates before 1917 (Riordan 1980:503). In addition to surface finds, bottle fragments were found in excavation units throughout the Cedar Bluff Site but especially at the homestead. Eleven fragments of glass containers of colors other than clear, amethyst, or green (black) were recovered. These included dark brown, light brown, and light green sherds. Fourteen green glass wine bottle fragments were recovered. Five of these were surface finds, while nine were modern green wine glass fragments. Five tumbler glass fragments were recovered from the homestead and were plain and clear. Other kitchenware items included a pot hanger, stove door fragments, a condiment can key, and a table knife.

Architectural group artifacts found at the homestead included clear and greenish-blue tinted window glass. With the exception of eight fragments not found in historic contexts, window glass was recovered only from the homestead. A total of 113 fragments was recovered there. The mean thickness of the window glass recovered was 1.95 mm. As stated above, both clear and greenish blue window glass were found. The
greenish-blue glass had a mean thickness of 1.91. The clear glass had a mean thickness of 2.05 mm.

Historically, window glass became thicker through time as technology improved. It also became clearer as technology provided better decolorizers and purer raw materials (Roenke 1978:20–21). Several attempts have been made to date archaeological sites through window glass thickness. The most notable study of window glass thickness was published by Roenke in 1978. In this study of numerous sites in the Pacific Northwest, Roenke presented a chart of dates correlated to window glass thickness. Because a comparative sample derived from structures of known dates in the area of Kings Bay is not available, no date has been derived from the mean window glass thicknesses for the homestead.

Other architecture group artifacts included indeterminate fasteners (unidentifiable nails) with 91 fragments. Machine cut nails were concentrated at the homestead with 42 examples. Wrought nails found at the homestead totaled 45. There were 22 wire nails recovered from this area as well as one lead-headed roofing nail. One bolt, one carriage bolt, one rivet, one iron screw, and one flat-headed wood screw were recovered at the homestead.

Wrought nails date from the time of the Greeks and Romans until about 1800, when they were eclipsed by the manufacture of machine cut nails. They continued in use until 1850 due to their ability to withstand jarring and the limited availability of cut nails in frontier situations (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962:50). Nails were scarce in the United States in the 1600s and the South was still importing many of its
The first cut nails were manufactured in the 1770s. Unlike wrought nails, which taper to a point on all four sides, cut nails taper on only two sides. These are made by cuts across an iron plate and were headed by hand or machine. Through the years, innovations produced nails tapered on all four sides by the tapering of the iron plate. No earlier than 1870 the annealing process was introduced to toughen the nails. Wire nails were invented in France in about 1850. They were slow to spread because breaking of the heads produced problems (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962:47). The first wire nail factory in the United States, T.C. Richards and Company, began operation in 1875 (Loveday 1983:136). In 1888, wire nail production was one-fifth of the total nail production, but by 1895, it was three-quarters of nail production. Lead-headed roofing nails were introduced in 1900. By 1902, wire nails had taken over the market. However, cut nails were and still are produced for special purposes (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962:44-64).

The collection of nails from the homestead area was quite diverse, containing samples of almost all nail types. From these we can date this area to the early 20th century. This is due mainly to the presence of the wire nails first produced in the late-19th century and the lead-headed roofing nail first produced in 1900. Other architectural group items included machine made brick and mortar, very evident at the homestead due to the presence of a collapsed chimney.

The furniture group included the various parts of a bedframe recovered at the homestead; nonetheless, there were many metal objects which defy classification. EU 29 produced two iron bar fragments, two
cast iron fragments, one cast iron fragment with a nail, and one iron grating. EU 30 produced a round iron tube and an indeterminate iron knob. EU 31 produced a piece of strap iron and a small brass sheet. EU 34 produced a curved iron bar. It is suspected that many of these fragments relate to the iron stove and bedframe found on the surface. Other metal objects found in the area of the homestead included indeterminate metal, consisting of 45 fragments weighing 148.8 g. Indeterminate metal holds little value for site analysis except as an identification of historic, as opposed to prehistoric, context. Other miscellaneous objects included many fragments of plastic, leather, rubber, and asphalt, as well as a plastic tire valve.

The rest of the assemblage included arms group items: three twelve gauge shotgun shell casings. The clothing group included a clothes hanger, three buttons; one iron loop, one brass loop, and one overall button, as well as one rectangular iron buckle with a single prong.

Bone group artifacts included a boar tusk, a bovid long bone, and two unidentified teeth. The activities group included the two axe heads found on the surface near the homestead and one cat's eye marble found in EU 30. The marble dates to some time after 1950, the beginning date of manufacture of this marble type (Riordan 1980:500). The area of the homestead also produced wire and a wheel rim.

As opposed to the John King Site, the homestead produced a collection of artifacts dating to the early-20th century. Ceramics found there were pearlware/whiteware and whiteware almost exclusively with the exception of two pearlware fragments. Five fragments of common earthenware were also recovered in the area. Glassware was a prevalent
artifact at the homestead. Many whole or nearly whole bottles were found on the surface. This included a "Cardui" apothecary bottle, clear, amethyst, and green wine or liquor bottles with cork and screw caps. Amethyst bottle fragments were found exclusively at the homestead. The homestead produced most of the container glass as well as five plain, clear tumbler fragments. The kitchen group artifacts represented 17.97 percent of the artifact collection from the homestead area.

Artifactual evidence of a dwelling included clear and greenish-blue window glass, numerous nails, and other metal objects. Most of the fasteners recovered came from this area. This included indeterminate, wrought, cut, and wire nails, in addition to bolts, a rivet, and screws. The architectural group represented 73.27 percent of the collection from the homestead. This did not include brick, tabby, and mortar. Prominent features indicating an occupation in the area were a chimney fall, a circular depression denoting a well, and a raised rectangular area, which could have been caused by water washing outside a structure. The area under the structure which was not exposed to the elements would not have been washed away as would the area outside the structure. Thus, the area under the house would be identifiable as a rectangular ground rise.

A variety of miscellaneous artifacts was also recovered at the homestead. The surface in this area was littered with automobile headlights, iron strap, bar, knobs, and bed parts. Also included were plastic, leather, rubber, asphalt, and a tire valve. Two axe heads were also recovered, along with a wheel rim, a clothes hanger, stove parts,
and a condiment can key. Percentages of these items by artifact group are presented in Table 4.6 (p. 94).

The calculation of these percentages does not include the metal and other objects for which an identification could not be determined. Even so, the architectural group represents a very high percentage of all artifacts present. It is postulated that the structure at this site was abandoned and that these items are primary refuse from the structure's disintegration. The kitchen group objects and some other objects may represent an adjacent secondary midden from the habitation of the area. However, there appears to have been some later dumping in this area as evidenced by the automobile headlights and recent liquor bottles. Whether this dumping was done by occupants of the area or outsiders is unknown.

The Springs Area

The three units placed at the springs produced three creamware fragments, seven plain pearlware fragments, and one annular pearlware fragment. This very small sample of 14 ceramic fragments yielded a mean ceramic date of 1791.28.

Other kitchenware artifacts included six glass fragments. Two of the glass fragments were green wine (black) glass, two were clear container glass, one was rose colored container glass, and one was window glass. Tobacco group artifacts from the three units included three pipe fragments of which two were stems and one was a bowl. Two stone fragments were found on the far side of the springs. One was
identified as slate, the other as quartzite. The function of these stones is unknown.

No structural features were discovered in this area. An unusual trench-like feature several meters wide with an equally wide berm extended northeast from the terminus of one of the springs. Pine trees growing in the berm appeared to be 15 to 30 years old or older. Unit 34, on the edge of this feature produced two amber glass fragments and one window glass fragment. This drainage feature appeared to exist for the marshy area surrounding it. No documentary evidence of its date has been recovered.

With no structural evidence and very little artifactual data only tenuous conclusions can be made as to the date of this area. A mean ceramic date of 1791.28, based on only 14 ceramics, generally conforms with the other artifacts present. It is possible that the area represents a peripheral secondary midden from the occupation of the structure on the John King Site. More data are required for any further conclusions.

The Artesian Well Area

The last historic area, and the most recent, was a concrete foundation located at the artesian well. The only ceramics located were bathroom porcelain and one fragment of whiteware. Pieces of amber container glass and modern liquor bottles were also found. Three indeterminate fasteners and several machine cut nails were present as well as two shotgun shell casings and flashlight battery parts. A comparatively large number of river pebbles of undetermined origin was
recovered from excavation units in this area. This collection of artifacts confirmed the probable late date of this site.

**Historic Artifact Summary**

A total of 202 fragments of historic ceramics was recovered from the John King and Cedar Bluff sites and is presented in Table 4.8. These had a total weight of 1479.1 grams. Stoneware made up almost half of this weight. Creamware made up almost one half of the total number of fragments. Other types were pearlware, common earthenware, pearlware/whiteware, whiteware, and ceramic pipes. Stoneware, creamware, pearlware, and ceramic pipes were concentrated at the John King Site with lesser representation at the springs. Based on the ceramics found in these areas these sites can be dated to the late-18th or perhaps early-19th century. Little can be said of the inhabitants in the springs area without a larger sample. A larger sample would also be helpful at the John King Site, but from available information, we can infer that it was a somewhat prosperous homestead with a few luxury wares but mainly utilitarian, plain creamware. Recognizable vessel forms are predominantly cups, bowls, soup plates, and platters. This combination suggests neither the hollowwares of the slaves nor the flatwares of the planter. Instead an existence somewhere in between is postulated.

A total of 265 fragments of glass was recovered during testing at the John King and Cedar Bluff Sites and is presented in Table 4.9. Window glass accounted for 46.0 percent of these fragments. The surface collection made up 68.6 percent of the weight. At the John King Site,
Table 4.8 Historic Ceramics from the Cedar Bluff Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stoneware</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>711.2 g</td>
<td>48.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pipes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamware</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>49.5%</td>
<td>458.9</td>
<td>31.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgware</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annularware</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handpainted</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer Print</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Pearlware</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>24.1%</td>
<td>137.6</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearlware/Whiteware</td>
<td>14*</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>8*</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Earthenware</td>
<td>5*</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>99.8%</td>
<td>1479.1 g</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Note: these came from only the homestead area.
Table 4.9  Glassware from the Cedar Bluff Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bottles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>986.7 g</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>810.3</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amethyst</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>513.2</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>470.6</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Bottles</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>48.6%</td>
<td>2780.8</td>
<td>88.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumblers</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Window</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>46.0%</td>
<td>282.0</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
<td>3129.5 g</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dark green wine bottles, champagne glass, and etched tumblers were found. The springs produced two clear, three green, and one clear green bottle fragment. The homestead produced copious quantities of clear, green, amethyst, and brown bottle fragments as well as all the window glass.

The metal objects found in the Cedar Bluff area were varied. Though the majority were fasteners of one type or another, many other identifiable as well as unidentifiable metal objects were recovered. These ranged from ball shot and shot gun shell casings to bed parts, stove parts, a cabinet latch, a fishing sinker, a condiment can key, ax heads, tableware, and battery parts. Metal artifacts for the Cedar Bluff area are summarized in the following table (Table 4.10).

### Faunal Remains

Preservation of bone at the Cedar Bluff Site was variable, but generally poor. Because Phase I information had revealed this lack of preservation, no funds were allotted for faunal analysis. Table 4.11 presents faunal material by excavation unit. Context (historic or prehistoric) is noted and field identifications are given where available. As can be seen, faunal recovery was minimal. Many fragments were too small to identify. Historic contexts produced mainly turtles and mammals, while prehistoric contexts produced turtle, opossum, and fish.
Table 4.10  Metal Artifacts from the Cedar Bluff Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminate Metal</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>148.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron Bar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cast Iron</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>39.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strap Iron</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Round Iron Tube</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curved Iron Bar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>74.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass Strap</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron Grating</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>75.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass Sheet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminate Iron Knob</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fasteners</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminate</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>272.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrought Nails</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>86.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut Nails</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>152.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spikes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead-headed Roofing Nail</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wire Nails</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>134.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolts</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
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<td>Wire</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Wheel Rim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brass Loop Buttons</td>
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<td>5.0</td>
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<td>Buckles</td>
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<td>Fishing Sinker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clothes Hanger Wire</td>
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<td>9.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pot Hanger</td>
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<td>Stove Door Fragment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Three-Tined Fork</td>
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<td>Table Knife</td>
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<td>Condiment Can Key</td>
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<tr>
<td>Battery Parts</td>
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Table 4.11  Faunal Distribution in the Cedar Bluff Area

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<th>Weight</th>
<th>Context</th>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>Historic</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Historic</td>
<td>indeterminant mammal</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>Prehistoric</td>
<td>fish, mandible</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>2.5</td>
<td>Prehistoric</td>
<td>otter mandible</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>Prehistoric</td>
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<td>24</td>
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CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The John King Site (9CAM182) and the Cedar Bluff Site (9CAM186) were located during Phase I survey of the KBNSB (Smith 1978). The Cedar Bluff Site was a prehistoric site with representation of many prehistoric phases. The John King Site was the earliest historic site found during this survey. Plans for increased recreational use of the area necessitated Phase II testing. Testing and documentary research were undertaken to determine site date, function, settlement, and subsistence. It was hoped that tighter control of these factors could by achieved by collecting a larger artifact sample and by researching historic documents pertaining to the property.

During testing, many artifacts were recovered from these sites. Considering the 3600 years of sporadic occupation, diversity would be expected. Aboriginal ceramics were ubiquitous at the Cedar Bluff Site. Historic ceramics, glass, and metal were recovered from the John King Site, as well as from the homestead area, the springs area, and the artesian well area.

Research objectives for the Kings Bay project were stated in Chapter I. Summarized, they were management: or site identification; descriptive: or a record of the scientific inquiry including site location, size, depth, and cultural association; and explanatory: or how and why, addressed after the cultural historical objectives of who,
when, where, and what had been answered. Phase II testing was to address the descriptive objectives of the research design. The goals of Phase II testing were to provide information on site size, configuration, depth, stratigraphy, complexity, chronology, and cultural association.

Supplementing the broad categories of description and explanation were specific research goals set for Kings Bay. The first of these was an inquiry into subsistence patterns for both prehistoric and historic cultures in the area. Another was the delineation of cultural affiliation through time and space. The last was the examination of lifeways on small plantations in the early settlement period of Kings Bay.

Research objectives for the Phase II testing of the Cedar Bluff and John King sites were stated in Chapter III. For the Cedar Bluff Site there were two objectives. The first was an examination of shifting culture areas throughout the Southeast coast. The second objective was an examination of horizontal stratigraphy at the Cedar Bluff Site as compared to the Cherry Point Site.

Research objectives for the John King Site sought information on date, function, type of settlement, and subsistence. In gathering this information, the questions what, where, and when were asked as well as how and why. How did they subsist? Why did they chose this area? Why was their home built from the materials used? How did their existence compare with the large plantation owners of the sea islands?

In the case of comparative existence, it was postulated that the existence of the small plantation holder on the mainland during the early settlement period would be different from the existence of a large
plantation owner. A dependence on subsistence farming rather than cash crops; more hunting and comparatively less livestock propagation; and smaller structures made from readily available materials such as wood and tabby would be expected. It was expected that the lifeways of the occupant of the John King Site would not be like that of the large plantation owner with his transfer printed flatware, nor like that of the slave, with his brown banded annular hollowware but a lifeway somewhere between the two idealized extremes.

Summary

The prehistoric artifacts found at the Cedar Bluff Site characterized the identifiable phases of Late Archaic, Deptford, Swift Creek, Wilmington-Savannah, and St. Johns. The collection also included many sherds that were unidentifiable as to archaeologically defined cultures. A total of 631 prehistoric ceramics was recovered during testing. In addition to the ceramics, 32 chert flakes were recovered from excavated units. These chert flakes tended to be associated with fiber-tempered ceramics and clustered in the central portion of the site. No incised fiber-tempered ceramics were recovered, although results from the survey suggested they were present. Because no decorated fiber-tempered sherds were recovered it is impossible for us to associate them with either the St. Simons or Orange cultures.

Sand-tempered ceramics were the most numerous type recovered. These included unidentified/plain, cord-marked or Savannah phase ceramics, check-stamped or Deptford phase ceramics, simple-stamped or Swift Creek, as well as burnished, red-filmed, incised, punctate, and
cob-marked. Grit-tempered ceramics, grog-tempered, or Wilmington phase ceramics, and various mixed-tempered sherds were also recovered. An even distribution of these types over the site was noted. The St. Johns ceramics clustered in the area of the John King Site.

Historically, the Cedar Bluff area covered much of the known history of the Kings Bay area. The John King Site and the springs area dated to the late-18th or early-19th century. The homestead dated to the early-20th century and the concrete foundations at the artesian well to the recent past. Historic materials from all of these sites confirmed these dates. These materials included ceramics, glass, metal, various miscellaneous artifacts, and minor quantities of food bone.

The earliest historic area was the John King Site, an historic occupation which dated to the late-18th or early-19th century. A mean ceramic date calculation produced a date of 1794.02, which correlates well with the early history of the site. This site produced a large quantity of creamware, some pearlware, stoneware, wine bottle fragments, tumbler fragments, a three-tined, bone-handled fork, a few nails, a cabinet latch, a ball shot, and pipestem fragments. Significantly, no window glass was recovered here. Architectural details were few with the exception of tabby with lath impressions. Thus, this area could represent either a peripheral secondary midden or an adjacent secondary midden of a late-18th-century domestic structure.

The homestead area was identified by a raised house mound, a chimney fall, a possible well, and a dense surface scatter of artifacts. Testing in the area produced common earthenware, pearlware, pearlware/whiteware, whiteware, bottles, stove parts, bed parts, a cat's
eye marble, miscellaneous, unidentified metal objects, and numerous nails and other fasteners. This area represented an adjacent secondary midden with artifacts confirming an early-20th-century date for this domestic structure.

The springs area produced a light scatter of ceramics and glass. These artifacts dated to the late-18th or early-19th century. No structural features were identified. This area was thought to be a peripheral secondary midden possibly associated with the dwelling at the John King Site.

The artesian well area was identified by a surface scatter of bathroom porcelain around a concrete foundation. Artifacts recovered were modern. This was not considered a culturally significant site.

Conclusions

Research objectives for the Kings Bay Project and the Cedar Bluff and John King sites were summarized in the introduction to this chapter. Results of specific investigations of the prehistoric and historic components are summarized on the following pages. At this point, it would be useful to examine the Kings Bay Research Design, which consisted of three components: management objectives, descriptive objectives, and explanatory objectives. The cultural resource management process at Kings Bay consisted of three phases: Phase I survey, Phase II testing, and Phase III mitigation. Each phase of research was theoretically designed to address higher level research objectives. Thus, Phase I could address management objectives, Phase II
could address management and descriptive objectives, and Phase III could address explanatory objectives.

In keeping with these objectives, descriptive data were abundant for the Cedar Bluff and John King sites. These data have been presented in the previous chapters. However, the specific research questions proposed for the Kings Bay Project were cultural historical objectives. They addressed prehistoric and historic subsistence, cultural affiliation through time and space, and lifeways on small plantations during the settlement period. In trying to address these objectives with testing data, the restricted data base left many questions unanswered. With a limited cultural historical base, explanatory objectives also went unanswered. Adams (1985:7) summarized the problem in the following statement: "explanatory objectives are more difficult to obtain. Because they are broad in nature and are dependant on the data recovered...the sample size for testing data rarely is large enough to address these matters in any but a cursory manner."

Research goals for Phase III, should it be proposed for these sites, are stated following the summary of each research objective and the testing results. In all cases, it may be considered that Phase III data will be more complete and accurate than testing data.

Two major research questions were proposed for the Cedar Bluff Site. The first addressed shifting cultural boundaries through time. Traditionally defined as the Florida/Georgia border, resent research has indicated that prehistoric cultures crossed this boundary from both the north and the south. In reference to these cultural boundaries, traditionally the boundary has been drawn at the St. Marys River.
However, it has been found that throughout prehistory and early history, cultures moved into and out of the area between the Altamaha and the St. Marys rivers. These cultures came from the St. Johns area to the south, or the Savannah River area to the north. Recent, extensive Phase III mitigation of several sites at Kings Bay (Adams 1984a) produced a ceramic chronology for the area (Table 3.2, p.34). Artifacts from the Cedar Bluff Site followed this chronology fairly closely, with representative ceramics of Deptford, Swift Creek, Savannah, and St. Johns present. Also present were very minimal quantities of cob-marked (Timucuan) and red-filmed (Guale) ceramics. Definite identification of the Orange series and the Rufuge ceramics was not possible for the Cedar Bluff collection because no decoration on the fiber-tempered ceramics recovered meant they could be either St. Simons or Orange. Smith (1978) recovered incised, fiber-tempered wares from this site which she identified as St. Simons. A reexamination of these specimens would be advisable in light of later findings in the area. It is unknown whether the ten fiber/sand-tempered ceramics recovered were Refuge Phase ceramics or ceramics made from clay with a particularly high sand content.

Cob-marked ceramics confirm Larson's (1958) hypothesis of a Timucuan move into the area from the south and red-filmed ceramics indicate the presence of Guale Indians from the Savannah River area. The presence of other ceramic types confirmed the occupation of the area by St. Johns cultures, as well as a contemporaneous occupation by Savannah cultures during the Mississippian Period. Swift Creek and Deptford seem to have shared the area during the Woodland Period.
The Phase III mitigation, which produced the ceramic chronology for the Kings Bay area, has answered fairly well the question of which cultures were present at Kings Bay and when they occupied the area. This chronology was based on extensive samples and corresponding radiocarbon dates. Thus, excavations at Kings Bay have identified many prehistoric cultures in the area. It can be stated that the St. Marys River was not a strict boundary to these prehistoric cultures. It was not the Indians who did not cross over but the archaeologists. The southern boundary of most of these cultures is fairly well-defined. Most seem to have originated in the north Florida area (Milanich and Fairbanks 1980). However, the northern boundary is still to be determined. Excavations north of Kings Bay is necessary to determine this northern boundary. The Phase III chronology has raised the possibility that two cultures coexisted in the area. St. Johns ceramics (A.D. 750-1650) and Savannah ceramics (A.D. 690-1500) had overlapping time spans. Swift Creek ceramics (A.D. 160-770) and Deptford ceramics (480 B.C.-A.D. 730) also exhibit this overlap. That coexistence actually occurred is unlikely, though perhaps these cultures exhibited a sequential pattern of movement into and out of the area.

The nature of the Cedar Bluff Site makes it unlikely that this site could exhibit the potential to illuminate this movement. Though the site possesses the same ceramic sequence that the Kings Bay area as a whole exhibits, it lacks the shell middens and features that would be necessary to clarify this movement. Clarification would require numerous radiocarbon dates in association with identifiable ceramics. No suitable radiocarbon samples were found at the Cedar Bluff Site and a
majority of the ceramics were unidentifiable as to specific culture. Studies of quahog clams have provided much information as to seasonality of occupation (Quitmeyer, Hale, and Jones 1984). This type of information could be used to determine whether different cultures were using the area during different seasons. Once again, the Cedar Bluff Site lacks this type of information.

The second research objective for the Cedar Bluff Site was based on the findings of the survey conducted in 1977, which suggested a nonuniform distribution of cultural material over the Cedar Bluff Site. One of the objectives of this testing program was to ascertain the validity of this assumption. Testing found that prehistoric ceramics, sand-, grit-, grog-, and mixed-tempered wares, were evenly distributed across the site with two exceptions; St. Johns ceramics were clustered in the area of the John King Site and fiber-tempered ceramics clustered to the west of the homestead and were found in association with the small sample of chert flakes recovered at the site.

The testing sample was relatively small and a higher percentage of excavation units was located at the John King Site, making it possible that the clustering of St. Johns ceramics in this area is the result of the larger number of units. However, this clustering could represent an occupation by people with access to St. John's ceramics in this confined area. The number of fiber-tempered sherds and flakes recovered in the homestead area suggests a more intense Late Archaic occupation. Why these artifacts clustered in these areas is as yet unknown. No distinct midden was identified in either area. Present environmental conditions along the bank of Mallard Creek show little variation that would suggest
that one area would be more hospitable than another. Environment as a factor in ceramic distribution could be ruled out if conditions were uniform during prehistoric times.

The Cedar Bluff and the Cherry Point sites were contiguous, and, during the survey, exhibited similar artifact assemblages. Cultural patterns exhibited at Cherry Point were expected to be exhibited at Cedar Bluff. Smith (1983) prepared artifact distribution maps and subjected her data to statistical manipulation. She concluded that "the horizontal stratification of components within the Cherry Point Site which can be verified by graphic or statistical representations is very limited" (Smith 1983:79). As represented by the artifact distribution at Cedar Bluff, this lack of verifiability was also true for this site. Therefore, this type of investigation appears to hold little potential value in further research.

The Kings Bay research objective regarding subsistence was unaddressed at the Cedar Bluff Site. The survey indicated poor faunal preservation; testing confirmed this assumption. With no significant shell middens, faunal preservation in the area was poor. Faunal analysis was not performed on the few specimens recovered.

Further archaeological research addressing the prehistoric components of the Cedar Bluff Site would only be recommended if the site was to be slated for destruction by construction or other activities. At this time, the site is projected as a recreation area with no major construction planned. Passive preservation, where possible, is always recommended because techniques and theories in archaeology are changing rapidly. This site could possibly answer archaeological questions of
the future which have not been considered in the present study. However, were destruction eminent, some research objectives present themselves.

First, further research into the presence or absence of Orange and Refuge ceramics as well as confirmation of other ceramic types are recommended. This could be accomplished by testing coverage of a larger area of the site. Large area excavation is not recommended unless significant numbers of features are identified during subsequent test excavations, since this technique is essentially a method for structural delination. The second objective would address the small shell middens which were identified at the Cherry Point Site. Due to the proximity of the Cherry Point and Cedar Bluff sites, it is felt that such middens may also be present at Cedar Bluff. Should they be found, samples for faunal analysis should be taken because such analysis is the only means for defining subsistence patterns on these sites.

The historic areas of the Cedar Bluff Site presented a different set of research objectives. In order to address the objective of providing insight into the lifeway of the early landowners in the Kings Bay area, extensive documentary research was undertaken. This information was presented in the site history section of Chapter III. Land ownership was traced and, through the writings of Julius King, the life of John King's son, James, was described. It is unfortunate that agricultural census data for this time period are not available. From Julius King's manuscript it is known that John King was raising cattle, cotton, and corn. James King later settled at the summer cattle range near Kingsland.
Using the artifactual remains from the John King Site, a comparison with the research of John Otto (1975 and 1977) was undertaken. This comparison produced an interesting dichotomy probably created by the difference in site dates. The predominant ceramic at the John King site was plain creamware. The predominant ceramics at Cannon's Point were transfer printed pearlware at the planter's kitchen, and plain pearlware and banded ware at the overseers and slave sites. With 77 percent transfer printed pearlware at the planter's site and 78 percent "undecorated" ceramics at the John King Site the conclusion was drawn that these were the everyday wares of these individuals.

With this equivalent function in mind the research of George Miller (1980) was consulted in regard to status. Miller's research indicated that, while the relative cost of transfer printed pearlware in comparison to creamware did decrease from the late-18th century to the mid-19th century, it still remained a ceramic of the elite. Its presence at the planter site and relative absence at the John King Site indicate a differential status between these two individuals.

In addition to transfer printed pearlware, shell edge ceramics were compared between Cannon's Point and the John King Site. It was found that the planter and the occupant of the John King Site both had very minimal quantities of this ceramic type. The overseer and slave sites exhibited larger quantities of shell edged ceramics indicating a status different from that of the occupant of the John King Site.

Complete figures for banded ware were not available in Miller's (1980) research, however, this ware was the majority type at both the overseer and slave sites, while the John King Site had only two examples.
of it. Another indicator of status was porcelain which was present at the planters site but absent at the John King Site.

Vessel form has also been shown to indicate status. In this case the John King Site exhibits a diverse variety of vessel forms, including cups, bowls, platters, plates, and soup plates. A tea service was thought to be present. These objects indicate a high status individual.

Comparison with data from the Cannon's Point Plantation (Otto 1975 and 1977) in conjunction with George Miller's work on economic scaling of ceramics (Miller 1980) has shown that the occupant of the John King Site, while not the social elite of his time (perhaps due to the frontier conditions of the St. Marys area) was not a "ne'er-do-well" from the area's earliest history. He was, instead, an early homesteader with a few luxury pieces in addition to the utilitarian items necessary to survive on the frontier.

The questions raised by comparison of sites from different time periods must be addressed through comparison with sites of the same date and ideally of individuals of known status in the same area. This comparison might be possible with the data available from the Harmony Hall Site (9CAM194) and the Thomas King Plantation Site (9CAM172). In addition, data from excavations nearby by Smith, Council, and Saunders (1985) might make this comparison possible. However, such a comparison is beyond the scope of this thesis.

It is also uncertain whether the John King Site was a peripheral secondary midden or an adjacent secondary midden. There was a rather high percentage of bone at the site and a low percentage of architectural group artifacts. Unfortunately, tabby is not included in
the architecture group. This was the best indicator of a habitation in this area and suggested a lath and tabby construction.

Further excavation at the John King Site would focus on these structural remains. Was a house located here, and if so, what was its form and date? This determination could be accomplished with a large area excavation centering on EU 7, in which the tabby concentration was found. With further information on the dwelling, it might be possible to identify the occupant of the site.

It seems unlikely that John King would live an isolated existence, even at this early date. It is known that he owned slaves. However, no outbuildings or occupations of a similar date have been found in the vicinity of this site. A 1795 map shows the house of John King on the opposite side of the creek from the John King Site. The ceramics found at the John King Site do not show the value that the possessions of a man of John King's status would exhibit. These considerations make it possible that Woodford Mabry was the occupant. He would not have had the entourage that accompanied John King. In addition, Smith, Council, and Saunders (1985) have identified a site nearby with possible slave cabins that was attributed to James King, John King's son. It is possible that the two were living together at this site.

Further documentary research would be necessary to clarify agricultural techniques used at these sites. From the writings of Julius King, some of the agricultural techniques of King's ancestors are known. Agricultural census data are available, but only for the years 1850 and after. Faunal remains from the John King Site could add substantially to knowledge of subsistence during this time. Testing at
the site did not reveal significant faunal remains. Phase III should concentrate on the recovery of faunal material if it is present.

Should the area of the homestead be in danger of destruction, additional research would be recommended at this site. Documentary research into land ownership would also be necessary. Considering the late date of the site, this could probably identify the owner and the time of occupation. Records of agricultural practices from this time are probably available. Also, the date of this site leaves open the possibility of the use of oral history to interpret the archaeological remains. It is possible that inhabitants of the area are still living. Additional excavation would be suggested at this site, specifically, excavation of the well. Wells, when no longer used, were favorite dumping areas. Excavation to further define the structure, especially around the hearth, is advised.

At the springs area, only minimal additional excavation is recommended. As a peripheral secondary midden no major architectural features are likely to be expected. Further documentary research on the ownership of the area and the origin of the drainage trench feature is recommended. Its date and original purpose could provide valuable information on agricultural techniques in an area dominated by marshland.
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n.d.a. 4th U.S. Census, Camden County, Georgia. On file, Department of Archives, Atlanta.

n.d.b. 6th U.S. Census, Camden County, Georgia. On file, Department of Archives, Atlanta.

n.d.c. 8th U.S. Census, Camden County, Georgia. On file, Department of Archives, Atlanta.

Vocelle, James T.
1914 History of Camden County, Georgia. The Southeast Georgian, Kingsland, Georgia.

Walker, Karen Jo
Wallace, Ronald

Willey, Gordon R. and Philip Phillips

Williams, Stephen (editor)
Jeanne A. Ward was born in Jacksonville, Florida, on January 31, 1958. She attended schools in Jacksonville, Daytona Beach, and Sarasota, Florida. Having moved to Americus, Georgia in 1975, she graduated from Americus High School in August of that year. She entered the University of Georgia after a year of study at Georgia Southwestern College in Americus and received a Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in anthropology from the University of Georgia in June 1978.

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