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Reconsidering the Late Woodland: A Critical Reassessment of Perception and Periodization in the Ohio Valley, 400-1000 CE

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by

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Abstract

The Late Woodland period in eastern North America has traditionally been conceptualized as a cultural hiatus between the region's Hopewell and Mississippian traditions. As a drastic (though not complete) reduction in the practices of monumental architecture and art produced with nonlocal materials occurred during this time, the end of the preceding Hopewell tradition (and its related Interaction Sphere) has been depicted as a "collapse" or "devolution" by multiple researchers. However, the Late Woodland also saw a rise in population, intensification of agriculture, and technological innovation. Although the combination of these factors and the period's architectural and artistic reduction appear contradictory, I argue that this contradiction stems from improper applications of evolutionist thought and outdated notions of cultural progress. The ways in which archaeologists (and the communities with whom they can interact) perceive this period in the chronology of the Eastern Woodlands must be reassessed. Through an examination of the connections between archaeological theory and the material record of the Late Woodland, I reconsider the period as a dynamic and crucial transition central to the history of the region.

Land Acknowledgements

We want to take a moment to acknowledge that we gather as members of the College of Wooster community on indigenous land. The name "Ohio" is an Iroquoian word derived from the Iroquois/Mohawk language. It came from the Seneca name for the Ohio River, Ohiyo, which means "great river" or "beautiful river." What is now known as the state of Ohio has been populated by diverse indigenous communities for centuries, including the Wyandotte, Mingo, Shawnee, Delaware, Lenape, Miami, Huron, Ojibwe, Potawatomi, Odawa, and many more. These population movements, both willing and unwilling, resulted from complex social processes which unfolded for over 10,000 years. Throughout that time, native peoples, including Algonquian and Iroquoian speakers, built dynamic communities, cosmologies, economies, and innovated long-term sustainable approaches to caring for this land. The erasure of their narratives and experiences from our sense of the collective history of this land has resulted in grossly misguided perceptions about indigeneity in the Americas. These narratives must be restored and recognized as being as central to our story as those of European settler colonizers have been.

Drafted collaboratively by members of the College of Wooster working group on Indigeneity:

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I believe it essential to acknowledge here the Indigenous lands upon which I have personally lived and worked. As stated above, the lands that presently make up Ohio have been variously peopled by the Delaware, Huron, Lenape, Miami, Mingo, Odawa, Ojibwe, Potawatomi, Shawnee, and Wyandotte. These lands have also been the home of various groups which we presently know only by imposed names: the Adena, Hopewell, and Fort Ancient – to name but a few. I grew up on a farm in southwestern Ohio and was surrounded by a rich Indigenous past. My home is located between the Fort Ancient site and the Great Serpent Mound. Numerous burial mounds and earthworks were a part of the landscape I knew from a young age. My fascination with these monuments and desire to understand them form a key aspect of what brought me to archaeology in the first place. But these structures are not my heritage, nor will they ever be. They – much like the lands upon which I have lived – have been forever marked with a legacy of blood, erasure, and violence. The atrocities that have been committed (and continue to be committed) in the name of settler colonialism on the part of European invaders and the United States can never be forgotten. The acknowledgement of Indigenous lands and their pasts is the first step. The second step is to do something beneficial with that acknowledgement. We must learn and we must act but, most importantly, we must listen.

Acknowledgements

This thesis was created and completed in a time of immense difficulty – personally, nationally, and globally. As such, it is right and proper that I take a moment to acknowledge the contributions and support of those who helped make this project possible.

First, I want to acknowledge the immense debt of gratitude I owe to my advisor, Dr. Olivia C. Navarro-Farr. This project would never have come to fruition without her wisdom, insight, and feedback. In addition, her mentorship has shown me what it means to be a just archaeologist. That is something I will remember forever. I next want to acknowledge Dr. P. Nick Kardulias, my laboratory supervisor and former advisor. I am immensely appreciative of his knowledge, advice, and our countless conversations. I also want to recognize Dr. Siavash Samei for giving me the opportunity to TA his Introduction to Archaeology class in the fall semester of 2020. While it is a shame that we have shared limited time at the College of Wooster, I have greatly enjoyed getting to know him.

I also would like to recognize the numerous other faculty members who have made my time at Wooster so fulfilling, especially those in the Earth Sciences department. I can say with all certainty that you have made my undergraduate education much more comprehensive than I ever could have imagined. I also wish to acknowledge the contributions of the other staff at the College who have enabled my success here.

I now want to acknowledge the support of my family throughout the years. Thank you so much for helping me get to where I am today and where I hope to go tomorrow. The enormous impacts you all have made on my life are a debt I can never repay, but I hope I can at least honor that debt with my work. To Ian and Aidan, thanks for having my back when it matters most. I am more grateful to have you as my brothers than you can ever know. To my parents, no words could ever express how much you mean to me and how thankful I am for you. I love you both dearly, and I will make you proud.

I want to acknowledge all my friends – both here at Wooster and around the world. I am so glad for the gift of each and every one of you. Thank you for the joy you bring to my life. To the members of the Archaeology Student Colloquium, ASC is in your hands now. Do good work and know that I am proud of you all. I look forward to hearing about your individual and collective successes in the future. To Jonas and Natalia, thank you for being the dearest of friends in both sunshine and storm. I have treasured the time we have spent together, and I look forward to the time we will spend together in the future.

Finally, I want to acknowledge you – the reader. Whatever your reason may be for reading this thesis, I am grateful that you are doing so. I hope it stokes the same fire of scholarship in you that it has in me.

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Introduction

Problem Statement

The Woodland Period (~1000 BCE to ~1000 CE) remains a relatively enigmatic chapter in the history of human settlement in the Ohio Valley region and, more broadly, eastern North America – despite several centuries of study. The lack of a written record in the area, coupled with problems of preservation and the deliberate destruction of archaeological sites and knowledge, leaves a highly fragmentary view of its past peoples. In addition, understandings of these (and all) Indigenous cultures in the region have been actively harmed by the systemic impacts of white supremacy, physical and cultural genocide propagated by the government of the United States, and the suppression of education on the Indigenous past of the country. However, despite the devastating nature of these factors, the information that *is* known about Woodland cultures in the region indicates a complex and vibrant history.

The Early and Middle Woodland periods (~1000 BCE to ~400 CE) are the hallmark of the Adena-Hopewell tradition, which is seen as one of the most impressive examples of the practice of earthen architecture in the region and – perhaps – the world. The construction of elaborate monumental structures (including burial mounds, circular embankments, geometric works, and hilltop enclosures) and the masterful artistic utilization of a plethora of materials indicate transregional interaction/exchange and fascinating (though largely obscured) cosmological, ideological, and metaphysical understandings of the universe. The achievements of the tradition's Hopewell expression – which Griffin (1966:211) termed a "high culture" – are so impressive that their very existence has been a detriment for the archaeological understanding

of the cultures that followed the Middle Woodland period. The Late Woodland period (~400 to ~1000 CE) saw a drastic (though not complete) reduction in the practices of monumental architecture and art produced with nonlocal materials. The nature and scale of these changes have led to a perception of a societal collapse or cultural devolution in the terminal Middle Woodland (Dunnell and Greenlee 1999:377). According to the traditional narrative of the region's chronology, this "dark age" (see Munson 1988:7) would last until cultures such as the Fort Ancient (in southwestern Ohio) and various Mississippian groups (throughout the region) arose in the Late Prehistoric period (~1000 to ~1650 CE). However, the connotations of these labels are inconsistent with the archaeological record of the Late Woodland period. The Late Woodland saw an overall rise in population, intensification of agriculture, increased sedentism, and technological innovation (see Milner 2004). Far from the "colorless interval" described by Phillips (1970:19), the Late Woodland period was a dynamic and crucial era in the history of the region.

However, research on the overall chronology of the region has been hindered by long-standing theoretical frameworks and understandings of cultural change in the archaeological community. Notions of progress, overly reductionist evolutionary modeling, and arbitrary qualifications for different types of societal organization remain deeply engrained in the study of the region. The fact that the end of the Adena-Hopewell material tradition is referred to by such words as "collapse" and "devolution" (see Dunnell and Greenlee 1999:377) is powerfully indicative of the extent to which value judgements and the prejudices of researchers permeate archaeological work. Given these biases and the nature of cultural changes in the Late Woodland period, it becomes necessary to synthesize the evidence present for its transitions and critically reassess the manner in which its study has been approached.

To me, interest in the shift from the Middle to Late Woodland seems to almost always focus on why the Adena-Hopewell tradition ends – and almost never on how people were living, thinking, acting, and interacting in the early Late Woodland period. As such, the study of social organization in the entirety of the Late Woodland has been regulated almost entirely to the realm of understanding how Late Woodland cultural practices are simply not Adena-Hopewell ones. The Late Woodland is characterized as being bookended by two carefully evaluated periods because those periods represent different kinds of social interaction, cultural markers, and key characteristics. Even if we are only to study the Late Woodland period on basis of its connections to those periods bracketing it, the fact that it conjoins two very dynamic and distinct periods makes it indicative of some very important changes in social organization and, thus, crucial to investigate.

But in not examining the Late Woodland as a period in its own right, we fail to comprehend how the interaction of different human and nonhuman actors actually impacted societies in the Ohio Valley and wider Eastern Woodlands during this time. As an example, the rise of Mississippian chiefdoms and other Late Prehistoric societies has often been argued to be inherently linked to the adoption of maize agriculture in the region, yet maize was first widely embraced in the Late Woodland. Prior to this time, the so-called Eastern Agricultural Complex (or EAC) was the predominant subsistence strategy for most peoples in the Eastern Woodlands.

Another key point of my argument involves shifting away from the traditional perception of the Late Woodland as a "colorless" period (Phillips 1970) where nothing happens – because, quite simply, crucial developments in the history of the region occur here. How do we approach the Late Woodland in such a fashion as to move away from the generalizing notion that, say, the bow and arrow was adopted during this time but did not have major impacts until the Late

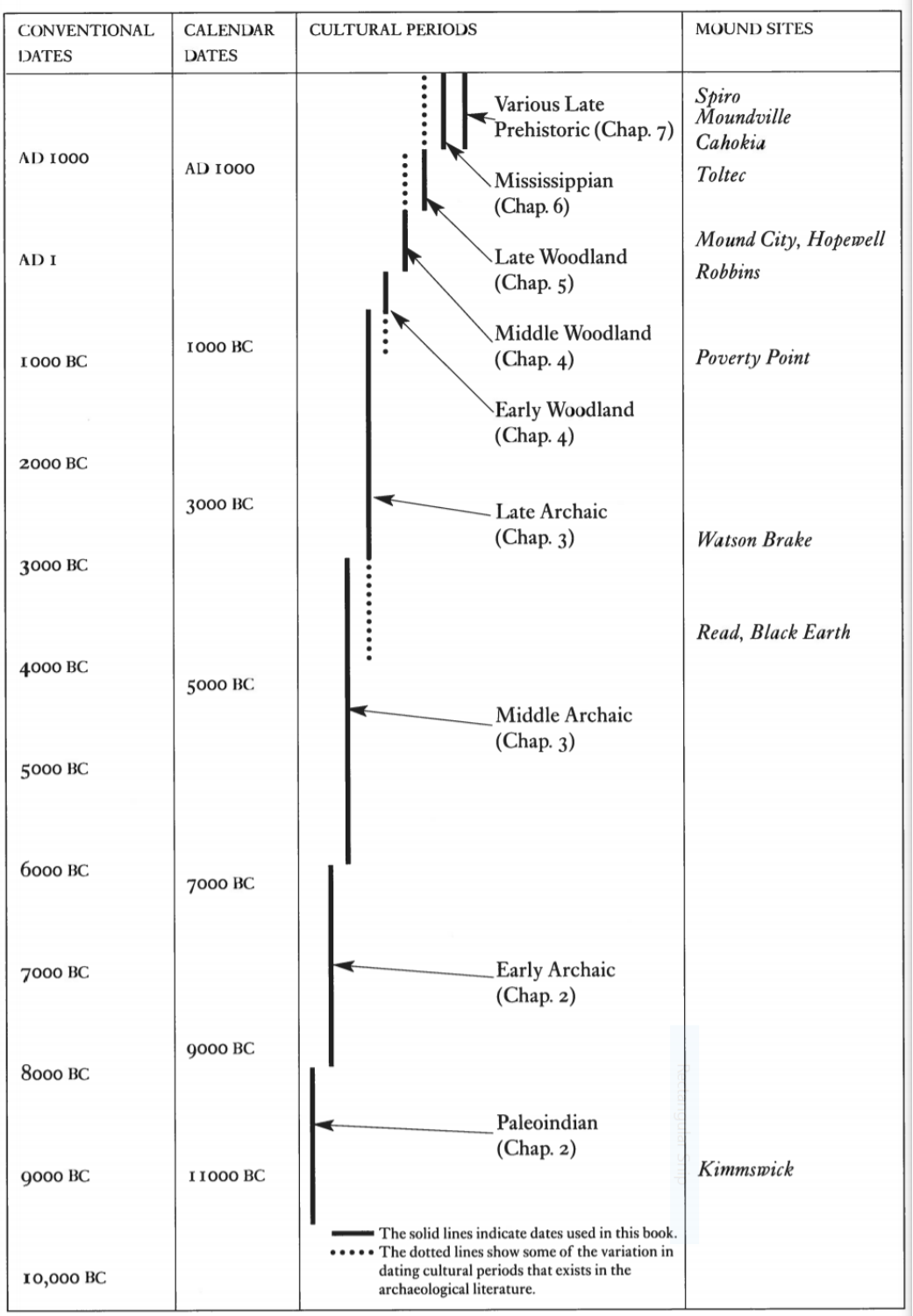
Prehistoric period? To provide a brief example of the issues inherent to the kind of thought in the preceding notion, I will signpost that it relies on (or at least suggests) the assumption that the technology of the bow and arrow was essentially "better" than the spear thrower in all regards. This assumption is overly simplistic, as the archaeological record of North America shows that the spear thrower is a perfectly capable technology in numerous scenarios and – as such – it is highly unlikely that its abandonment would have occurred solely because of some arbitrary state of mechanical inferiority. The choice made by Eastern Woodland peoples to cease to use this technology must then reflect a variety of factors that made the bow and arrow a more desirable technology in particular social, historical, and environmental circumstances.

To return to the core of the argument, how do we envision the Late Woodland in a way that does not rely on *a priori* and ethnocentric notions of progress to explain the changes that occur throughout the period? The tired assumption that technologies such as the bow and arrow were entirely superior to earlier ones and would have been perceived as such immediately and universally by those at the time of their adoption does little to inform us of the rich context that is inherently present in those moments and also undermines the agency of communities in making complex choices in dynamic environments. As such, to truly understand and appreciate the Late Woodland on its own terms (while also acknowledging that it is a period of transition inseparable from those "bookending" it), the manner in which questions are asked about the period must be reframed. To return again to my example of the bow and arrow, we must shift away from questions about the impacts of the adoption of the bow and arrow as a way to understand later periods to questions of why people deliberately chose to adopt the bow and arrow as a technology in the first place. By asking questions such as the latter, we can finally begin to grant the Late Woodland the type of scholarly attention it has been so sorely lacking.

Review of Literature

A note on chronology

The development of an accurate chronology for the Eastern Woodlands has long been a subject of contention and revision. Even at present, a lack of standardization permeates archaeological literature on the region. For sake of clarity, this study will defer to the chronology presented by George R. Milner in his 2004 monograph *The Moundbuilders* (Figure 1.1). The timeline he provides is intended to "simplify the process of comparing information in [the] book with that found in other publications and museum exhibits" (2004:8-9). This focus on comparison dictates that his chronology is inherently flexible. The transitions between periods tend to overlap, as Milner notes that "the beginning and ending of the cultural periods are only estimates, some of which (especially the later ones) are more accurate than others" (2004:8). In using Milner's chronology as a basis for the demarcation of periods in this study, it is my intent to both provide a chronological synthesis of the region and highlight the inconsistencies present in its periodization.



Dates for major cultural periods are debated, and new means of calibrating radiocarbon dates ("calendar dates") are forcing archaeologists to revise chronological sequences, referred to above as "conventional dates."

Figure 1.1. Regional chronology of the Eastern Woodlands (Milner 2004:9).

Overview of temporal range

Although two major foci of the present study are to present the Late Woodland as a period deserving of more scholarly attention and reexamine the relationship of its study to those of the Early-Middle Woodland and Late Prehistoric periods, it is first necessary to synthesize the history of the study area. The context I provide through this synthesis will not only present an overview of the history of the Ohio Valley and wider Eastern Woodlands as they relate to the Late Woodland but will also serve to impart context for the circumstances leading to the habitual inattention of researchers towards this period. While it could be said that the perception of the Late Woodland period has not been directly impacted by the study of the Early Woodland, a considerable amount of research has been conducted on the relationship between the Early and Middle Woodland periods. Some researchers, like Edward R. Henry, have questioned the validity of the classification scheme traditionally applied to the most noteworthy cultural expressions of these periods (namely, the Adena and Hopewell) and suggested that their separation is a theoretical abstraction not adequately representative of the archaeological record (see Henry 2017). As such, these individuals argue that the Adena and Hopewell are not truly distinct cultures and should instead be viewed as different expressions of a single cultural tradition (2017:189-190). The nature of this debate necessitates that the present synthesis begins with the Early Woodland.

Scope and content of synthesis

The evidence that has been presented (directly or implicitly) for the Late Woodland as a "lesser period" than those bracketing it primarily relies on comparing its (perceived lack of) architecture, art, and nonlocal objects/materials to those of other periods (Dunnell and Greenlee

1999; Griffin 1966; Phillips 1970; Prufer 1964; Williams 1963). As arguments for the status of the Late Woodland stem from this contrast with its bracketing periods, a substantial portion of my Independent Study will thus be devoted to the comparative factors above. My analysis of the period in question (Chapter Five) will be evaluated against data derived from these themes, which will be comprehensively examined in Chapter Four. I will also use Chapter Four to discuss additional factors including subsistence strategies and other technologies (such as the bow and arrow). I will examine these factors specifically because I argue that their misinterpretation and oversight also contribute to the general perception of the Late Woodland.

Early Eastern Woodlands research: moundbuilder myths and their consequences

European and, later, United States colonial interest in Ohio Valley earthworks and their related cultures has existed since the presence of these structures became known to European invaders. The impressive earthworks in the Ohio Valley generated much positive attention for the region and resulted in the publication of numerous works in the 19th century. Among the earliest of these was Caleb Atwater's 1820 *Description of Antiquities Discovered in the State of Ohio and Other Western States*. Atwater was among the first to map and describe many of the most famous sites in Ohio and the wider Midwest. His descriptions, while foundational, would be overshadowed by Ephraim G. Squier and Edwin H. Davis' 1848 *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*. The importance of this publication is well represented by its status as "the first publication ever issued by the Smithsonian Institution" (Meltzer 1998:1). The quality of their descriptions and surveyorship – while limited by the constraints of the era – was an impressive achievement that still holds value in studies of the Eastern Woodlands today. In fact, Squier and Davis' work has helped to provide records and preserve information about many earthworks which have since been destroyed.

While it is important to recognize these early efforts in the formation of American archaeology, it must also be acknowledged that these works (and others like them) served as a justification for the forced removal of native peoples and the occupation of Indigenous lands (Byers 2004:5). In the minds of European colonizers, Indigenous groups in the Ohio Valley were incapable of producing such impressive monuments and could thus not be descended from the groups who constructed the earthworks (see Byers 2004). Colonial efforts to understand the origins of the earthworks and the identity of their builders led to the creation of myths surrounding a "lost mound building civilization" – a decidedly nonindigenous population, "usually specifically presumed to be derived from Old World roots" (Byers 2004:5). As part of this mythology, Indigenous peoples in the Ohio Valley were viewed as the direct descendants of "later indigenous invaders" who destroyed or replaced the "prior" nonindigenous civilization (Byers 2004:5). In addition to dehumanizing and downplaying the cultural sophistication of the Indigenous peoples in the Ohio Valley, this wholly fictitious narrative served as a justification for European and US atrocities in the region. In the minds of the colonizers, they were not invaders – as the fundamentally Eurasian mound building civilization originally inhabited the region. Rather, the peoples encountered by Europeans and the US were the invaders, as they conquered and killed the mound builders. In this way, mound builder myths argued that European and United States colonial powers were not taking the land; instead, they were taking it back. While mound builder myths were a complete fabrication, it is crucial to recognize that their popularization provided a justification (no matter how flimsy) for American expansionism and the bloody theft of Indigenous lands in the Ohio Valley and wider Midwest. It is also imperative to note the longevity of these myths. Claims of a lost mound building civilization were not "officially" debunked until 1894 when Cyrus Thomas published his *Report on the Mound*

Explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology – a comprehensive work that conclusively demonstrated the Indigenous nature of mound building groups and their status as ancestors of contemporary Indigenous peoples in North America.

As such, any research on the earthworks of the Ohio Valley and their related cultures should only be undertaken with the knowledge that much harm and evil have been accomplished under the guise of scholarship concerning these subjects. Scientific racism has held an insidious grasp on Eastern Woodlands archaeology since its earliest days, and this history cannot be ignored. Finally – and perhaps most importantly – it is the responsibility and moral obligation of those studying the Eastern Woodlands to be ever conscious of their intentions and mindful of their impacts. While American archaeology has benefited from a growing acknowledgment of its relationship with colonialism and much effort has been devoted to the decolonization of the discipline, this project is far from its conclusion (should such a conclusion ever be possible). The ongoing nature of this work and the extreme harm that archaeologists can still perpetuate today must be recognized. Put more simply, we who study the past in North America must be ever vigilant – lest we damn the principles we profess to hold sacred in our arrogance.

Unpacking the origins of an overarching "moundbuilding tradition" in the Eastern Woodlands

Before I begin an overview of the scholarship surrounding the Early Woodland period, I believe it necessary to make several points. First, the peoples heuristically classified as Adena have often been viewed as the progenitors of the great moundbuilding tradition in the Eastern Woodlands. It has been said that with them came not only moundbuilding practices, but also such technologies as farming and pottery (for discussion, see Milner 2004). I have personally seen this narrative presented in many museum displays and exhibitions intended for a "general"

(non-archaeologically minded) audience. However, this narrative implies that the Adena spontaneously appeared in the archaeological record. They, of course, did not. The vast majority of Adena material practices saw their genesis in the preceding Late Archaic period. As such, the Adena should not be viewed as "inventors" so much as they should be viewed as "refiners" of Late Archaic cultural aspects. Second, I understand that this conception of the Adena as "refiners" can be detrimental for the study of the Late Archaic and that – carried out to its logical extremes – its use has the potential to undermine the very argument I am making about perceptions of the Late Woodland. However, the scope of the project necessitates that I focus my examination on the Late Woodland; implications related to the Late Archaic are best saved for a body of research separate from the present study. Third, as the issues I have just addressed demonstrate, there are numerous flaws present in the overall periodization of the region. I believe that a holistic reevaluation of the way in which the region has been periodized is vital for a more complete understanding of its past, and I hope this study can contribute to that project. But, in recognizing the limited scope of this project, I return to the Adena and their popular perception. For sake of clarity and with recognition of the issues I have presented above, let it suffice to say that the Adena did possess a multitude of impressive cultural and material practices – regardless of whether they were the originators of those practices.

Issues in the classification and separation of Adena and Hopewell

The Adena and Hopewell have long been classified as two separate archaeological cultures. Any cursory glance at a collection of Eastern Woodlands archaeological literature will demonstrate the Adena and Hopewell are predominantly studied as two distinct entities. However, it must be acknowledged that these designations are heuristic and not truly analytical in nature. As discussed above, the validity of the separation of the Adena and Hopewell has been

raised by numerous scholars (Henry 2017). In achieving the aims of the present study, I believe it is most beneficial to view the Adena and Hopewell as a cultural continuum and not focus on separating them into distinct cultures. While the dissection of these cultural expressions can yield valuable information on the spatiotemporal aspects of identity and ideology in the Ohio Valley, this work is largely irrelevant to my present examination. What is relevant is understanding how these expressions have been framed as part of an impressive tradition that stands in (perceived) contrast to the Late Woodland. As such, I make the deliberate choice to reference the Adena-Hopewell continuum whenever possible in this study instead of creating a division between Adena and Hopewell. Major exceptions to this terminology will be found in this literature review and Chapter Three (Methods) as they discuss past work and scholarship in the region – the majority of which has traditionally labelled the Adena and Hopewell as distinct entities.

Early Woodland and the Adena

The name of the Adena culture is taken from the farm belonging to "Thomas Worthington, one of the first senators and the sixth governor of Ohio" and the Adena Mound – the type site for the culture – was located on that property and excavated by W.C. Mills in 1901 (Griffin 1974:vii). The advent of the Adena in the Early Woodland saw the widespread adoption of pottery in the region, increased interaction between communities (spurred by population growth much more rapid than in the Archaic), and a broad and increasing commonality in the construction of earthworks (Milner 2004:54). The Adena culture is noted as the first in Ohio to construct artificial burial mounds and enclosures (Lepper 2005:90-92). Earlier Late Archaic peoples, such as the Glacial Kame culture, practiced "mound" burials by coopting features created by natural processes – like the kames from which their name was derived (Converse

1980:8). With these earlier practices in mind, the Adena tradition of earthwork construction is certainly not without precedent.

The most important work of Adena literature is arguably William S. Webb and Charles E. Snow's 1945 volume *The Adena People*. This synthesis resulted from the "long-standing collaboration between two faculty members of the University of Kentucky" and it remains one of the key references for that culture to this day (Griffin 1974:v). This cornerstone of Early Woodland literature was followed in 1957 by *The Adena People No. 2*, which was co-authored by Webb and Raymond S. Baby (Snow contributed a chapter, as did Robert M. Goslin).While the authors' interpretations in both volumes are now firmly outdated (Snow's study of cranial morphology and his insistence on a Mesoamerican origin for the Adena have aged particularly poorly), the importance of their work cannot be understated and their data remain invaluable – especially given that much of the information generated by the excavations of the 1930s and 1940s was never reported (Griffin 1974:v). For additional works of notable Adena literature, see (Caldwell 2014/2015; Clay 1998; Dragoo 1963; Greenman 1932; Ritchie and Dragoo 1960; Spaulding 1952; Swartz 1971).

Middle Woodland and the Hopewell

The Middle Woodland (and, indeed, the Woodland period in its entirety) is principally and predominantly known for the Hopewell tradition. The interaction sphere associated with this cultural expression spanned a considerable portion of the present contiguous United States and produced one of the most remarkable ancient economies in world history. It brought exotic materials into Ohio and the surrounding regions, and the Hopewell manipulation of these goods shows their status as masterful artists and engineers. In addition, the Hopewell were builders of

major ceremonial centers and earthworks – including Fort Ancient, Hopeton Earthworks, and Newark Earthworks (see Lepper 2005). The monuments of the Hopewell were intertwined with their elaborate and intensive burial practices (Baby 1954:4). Although there is a general tendency in archaeology to classify the unknown as "ritual", the wealth of Hopewell material culture clearly identifies the tradition as deeply ceremonial. Of course, the intricacies of the elements and purposes of that focus on ceremony remain, in many ways, obscured and elusive. Large, nucleated Hopewell villages are few and far between. Hopewell villages appear to have mostly been hamlets located away from earthworks (Pacheco 1996:32). This "Hamlet" or "Vacant Center" model (first argued by Olaf H. Prufer and supported by William S. Dancey and Paul J. Pacheco) hypothesizes that earthworks were visited periodically by the various communities dispersed in their vicinities (Pacheco 1996:32). For selected important works of Hopewell scholarship, see (Byers 2004, 2011, 2015; Carr and Case 2004; Charles and Buikstra 2006; Dancey and Pacheco 1997; Moorehead 1922; Pacheco 1996; Prufer 1968; Romain 2009).

Late Woodland and the diversification of local cultural expressions

The advent of the Late Woodland period has traditionally been signaled by the archaeological "end" of the Hopewell expression of the Woodland moundbuilding tradition and the rise of new forms of social organization and material culture, including a major increase in the establishment and occupation of sites located away from river valleys, a widespread adoption of the bow and arrow, and an increased emphasis on defense and warfare (Milner 2004:105-106, 117-122). Late Woodland art is lesser in quantity than that from the preceding periods and is often cited as a marker of the cultural "devolution" at the start of the Late Woodland (see Dunnell and Greenlee 1999). However, see Genheimer (1981) for evidence of cultural continuity and deliberate recognition of and interaction with Adena-Hopewell art. For ritual and ceremonial

work, see Redmond (2012), which works to deconstruct the notion that long distance interaction ceased in the Late Woodland. Other works that discuss this particular subject are (Blatt et al. 2011; Brose et al. 1993). Settlement pattern studies appear to occupy a substantial space in Late Woodland research (for reasons that will be discussed in Chapter Three), as seen in (Bechtel and Stother 1993; Church 1988; Dancey 1988; Shott 1992; Waffen 2011). Another area of Late Woodland study that has received attention is the adoption of the bow and arrow (and its implications). An article that does well to encapsulate some of the dynamics of this research is (Blitz and Porth 2013). Additional works that the reader should consult are (Baby and Potter 1965; Emerson, McElrath, and Fortier 2000; Moeller 1992; Yerkes 1988). The volume by Thomas E. Emerson and others is of particular importance, as it seems to be the most complete and comprehensive synthesis of relevant Late Woodland research available. It is an excellent source and does much to illustrate the dynamic and colorful nature of the Late Woodland. However, the fact that it is two decades old and the most recent major work of synthesis for the subject clearly demonstrates the necessity of increased focus on the Late Woodland. This can be directly contrasted with the Hopewell literature above, which has seen a multitude of works of this nature in the past two decades. As the breadth of Late Woodland literature I have overviewed above shows, while there is a shortage of literature, there is not nearly the shortage of data related to the period that might initially be assumed.

Late Prehistoric period and the Fort Ancient

The transitions that began with the Late Woodland would all be harbingers of the Late Prehistoric period. Great chiefdoms and other highly-stratified societies arose across the Midwest – many of which relied principally on maize agriculture. In Ohio, the Fort Ancient culture is seen

as the principal cultural expression of the era. Composed of numerous foci, the Fort Ancient culture was spread across areas of Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, and West Virginia (Griffin 1966:7).

Griffin's *The Fort Ancient Aspect* (first published in 1943) is the cornerstone of Fort Ancient research. While the Fort Ancient and the Late Prehistoric cultures in the Ohio Valley have not received the same attention as those in the American Bottom and Southeast, there is by no means a shortage of scholarship on the subject. For research on the societal impacts of warfare, see Cook (2012). Fort Ancient subsistence strategies are a major focus of research (particularly in their differences from those of the earlier Woodland period and their implications for Mississippian interaction) and notable works include (Cook and Price 2015; Cook and Schurr 2009; Sharp 1996). An exceptionally interesting piece of research dealing with subsistence strategies is Martin's 2009 *Eastern Agricultural Complex Traditions in Small Fort Ancient Communities – The Wildcat Example*, in which the author examines the persistence of the EAC in the context of different types of Fort Ancient settlements. Another major area of Fort Ancient research is pottery (and, again, its implications for Mississippian interaction). Notable works on ceramics include (Cook and Fargher 2007, 2008; Cotkin et al. 1999). A final work to mention is an article by Bebber and colleagues (2017), as the authors' examination of projectile points will provide useful context for this study's examination of the adoption of the bow and arrow and related changes in lithic technology.

The concept of archaeological mythmaking: its impact on literature and implications for theory

Before I begin a comprehensive discussion of the theory that will be used in this study, I believe it is useful to note two major aspects in the generation of archaeological literature that will be expanded upon in the succeeding chapter (Chapter Two). These aspects are academic

storytelling and the arbitrary nature of the archaeological past. Much as some might argue otherwise, the creation of narratives is a fundamental part of archaeology as a discipline. We are not just researchers and educators; we are storytellers as well. After all, it is no coincidence that the history of our species is often colloquially referred to as the "human story." While a comprehensive overview of the debate surrounding the role and extent of narrative construction within archaeology is beyond the scope of this study, it is my position that engaging in the practice and process of archaeology inevitably generates narratives – regardless of whether this is deliberate or inadvertent. Coupled with narrative construction is the arbitrary nature of archaeological study. As the Ford-Spaulding debate and countless other dialogues have demonstrated, many of the divisions present in archaeology are not necessarily inherent. Types, periods, and cultures all engage with the mental categorization of the observer (see Ford and Steward 1954). In this way, the past is not discovered so much as it is created. When these imposed abstractions are combined with the process of narrative construction, the potential for archaeological mythmaking occurs. This concept is well suited to the aims of the present study, as the devaluing of and chronic inattention paid to the Late Woodland is itself a form of archaeological mythmaking. I argue that the "colorless interval" mentioned by Phillips is only colorless because he has chosen to view it as such (1970). In reexamining the Late Woodland, I combine its material record with the work of prior researchers to construct a counter-narrative. It is my hope that this narrative can restore some of the Late Woodland's obscured colors.

Chapter Two

Theory

In identifying theory that I view as central to a critical reevaluation of the Late Woodland period, I begin by discussing theories that have already been used in its evaluation. In these discussions, I highlight the flaws that exist in each and in aggregate. I then present theory that can help us reassess the Late Woodland and our perceptions about this important period.

Culture-historical archaeology and periodization

Fundamental to this study is an understanding of the ways in which culture-historical archaeology created lasting impacts on the structure and nature of American archaeology as a discipline and practice. Culture history was a prevailing theoretical paradigm in American archaeology during the first half of the 20th century. The foundation upon which culture history was built came from "two key assumptions: first, that *art[i]facts are expressions of cultural norms*, ideas in people's heads, and second, that *those norms define what 'culture' is*" (Johnson 2010:17). The agreement with these notions can be considered a form of normative thought. This line of reasoning can be seen in Childe's argument that collections of recurring materials traits form an archaeological culture, which can be considered the equivalent of a "people" in the modern day (Childe 1929:v-vi). When the tenets of a culture-historical approach are considered together, its conceptual framework is as follows: a culture is the collected series of norms or standards held by a people. It is expressed directly through the artifacts produced by that people. As such, studying the material remains of archaeological cultures enables the archaeologist to directly understand the norms of past peoples. Central to this endeavor was the creation of typologies. A typology is defined as "[t]he classification of objects, structures, or specimens by

subdividing observed populations into a theoretical sequence or series of groups (types)" on basis of "their qualitative, quantitative, morphological, formal, technological, and functional attributes" (Darvill 2008:473). The construction of typologies will be discussed below but, for now, let it suffice to say that the typology was one of the fundamental techniques of culture-historical archaeology.

The effort to satisfy the principles of a culture-historical approach had several major impacts on the archaeology of its era. The first impact was a trend of particularization over generalization. These two tendencies are also referred to as splitting and lumping, and they can be found across numerous academic disciplines. While I believe neither of these tendencies is inherently superior to the other in all circumstances, it must be recognized that they each influence research goals and dictate interpretations *a priori*. Their potential impacts will be discussed in greater depth below. For now, let it suffice to say that the first consequence of culture history was an overwhelming focus on differentiating artifacts, sites, cultures, etc. This practice stemmed from the aforementioned culture-historical view of material remains as direct expressions of norms. As differences in material traits were understood to be demonstrative of different norms, archaeological cultures were defined on a basis of trait lists: collections of material attributes considered to define and separate one culture from another. This trend also led to an extreme focus on periodization, where the past was sorted into as many different eras as possible to ensure that archaeological cultures were chronologically distinct.

The second impact of culture history was that cultures were perceived as unchanging and internally static, which caused culture-historical researchers to argue that cultural change resulted from two exterior mechanisms: migration and diffusion (Johnson 2010:10, 18). The promotion of these mechanisms as an explanation for all change meant that culture-historical understandings

of the past were little more than geo-temporal descriptions, wherein artifact typologies were used to demonstrate that certain cultures existed in specific places at particular times. Although migration and diffusion can be mechanisms for cultural change, their incorporation into the theoretical body of culture history was little more than a way to account for artifactual variation. As such, the superficial nature of the explanatory framework associated with culture history essentially consigned it to the realm of description.

Robust explanations of cultural change are simply not possible in a culture-historical model because its core assumptions severely limit the ability of cultures to be dynamic. This leads to an overgeneralization of the past as a series of static periods with clear demarcations. As this understanding severely reduces the visibility of cultural change, it obscures transitory periods and leads to their systematic inattention. However, it is precisely in those transitory periods between culture-historical phases which receive less attention that my study focuses on, and I argue that this form of heuristic classification is a crucial factor in the flawed way that the chronology of the Eastern Woodlands has traditionally been conceptualized.

Issues inherent to heuristic classification

I now turn to heuristic classification and the way in which it has influenced perceptions of the East Woodlands. The Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary defines the word heuristic as "involving or serving as an aid to learning, discovery, or problem-solving by experimental and especially trial-and-error methods" (2021). Archaeologists, like any other researchers, seek to classify and order data in a way that provides standard frames of reference for said categories out of a sense of expediency and approximation. As such, labels that are assigned are not understood to reflect how or whether ancient peoples ordered their world in such ways. Rather,

archaeological categories based on principles of culture history are meant to be imposed understandings which order and systematize what we call the archaeological record. As discussed above in the literature review (Chapter One), the separation of Adena and Hopewell into two separate cultures was fundamentally heuristic in nature and execution. Additional research since the time that these labels were first applied suggests that the Adena and Hopewell are most likely two expressions of a cultural continuum, rather than two separate and distinct cultures (see Henry 2017). However, the heuristic names assigned to these cultures are deeply engrained in archaeological understandings of the Eastern Woodlands and, as such, are unlikely to be discarded. It must nevertheless be recognized that the continued use of these labels has many implications for the periods, peoples, and materials they designate. Thus, it is vital that the expedient and imprecise nature of these classifiers is recognized and discussed explicitly. Without this kind of discussion, false (or, at the very least, misleading) perceptions of the past are encouraged. Why is this? Because labels like "Adena" and "Hopewell" are heuristic in nature and do not therefore reflect ancient understandings; they reflect understandings imposed by researchers. This is not to say that heuristic labels do not have a place in archaeology, nor that they are always blatantly and fundamentally incorrect. Rather, in acknowledging that heuristic labels are imposed by archaeologists, we recognize that archaeological understandings of the past are constructions created by those who study these pasts. This again means that knowledge of the past is not discovered so much as it is created. Below, I will provide a few notes on Ford's position in the (in)famous Ford-Spaulding debate to demonstrate how unacknowledged or underrecognized imposition can be detrimental to the processes and goals of archaeological research.

Archaeological imposition, interpretations, and the construction of typologies

The Ford-Spaulding debate is the name given to a series of articles published in 1953 and 1954 concerning the nature of typologies. The principal opponents in this debate were the eponymous James A. Ford and Albert C. Spaulding. A complete examination of the tenets and validities of the authors' respective arguments is beyond the scope of this study, but a brief discussion of a portion of Ford's argument highlights the issues with archaeological interpretation mentioned above. Ford's argument that typologies are subjective and influenced by the interpretations of archaeologists was essentially an argument about the subjective nature of archaeological interpretation, an idea that presaged central tenets of postprocessual thinking in an era predating objectivity-centered processual archaeology (Ford and Steward 1954).

Ford astutely identified that archaeological types are created from abstractions chosen by the researcher. Types are thus ultimately constructed by an archaeologist on basis of their personal interpretation (Ford and Steward 1954). This argument is relevant because it acknowledges the role of researcher bias in identifying heuristic categories created by archaeologists. In addition, it demonstrates that because types are subjective, they are dynamic. They can be altered by differences in interpretation. Taken together, these two points demonstrate that – in essence – understandings of the past are constructed rather than discovered. This recognition of the construction of the past helps us understand how the social, economic, and political circumstances surrounding an archaeologist influence their interpretations and theorization. Below, I will discuss 19th century evolutionary theory and mid-20th century neoevolutionary theory and demonstrate how they were products of their respective eras.

19th century evolutionary theory

To understand the issues that have arisen from neoevolutionary thought, we must first turn our attention to evolutionary theory – its intellectual predecessor. Importantly, the term "evolutionary archaeology" denotes multiple schools of thought. The evolutionary archaeology to which I am referring here is that of the 19th century. While this paradigm predates culture-historical archaeology, the examination of its ties to neoevolutionism in this study makes it most logical to examine these schools of thought thematically instead of chronologically. Darwinian (biological) evolution provided the template from which analogies were framed in early evolutionary archaeology, but it is important to note that its influence on this theoretical framework was overshadowed by the social attitudes of its era.

The most notable proponent of 19th century cultural evolutionary thought was Herbert Spencer. He began to promote a "general evolutionary approach to scientific and philosophical problems" beginning in the 1850s (Trigger 1989:93). In Spencer's view, many aspects of the universe (including the solar system and human society) developed "from simple, uniform homogeneity to increasingly complex and differentiated entities" (Trigger 1989:93). Crucial agents of cultural evolution in this paradigm were "individualism and free enterprise," which were highly attractive to the progress-obsessed thinkers of the industrial era (Trigger 1989:93). This paradigm was a form of universal linear progressivism where "the evolution of material culture betokens social and moral improvements as well" and "progress…was inherent in human nature" (Trigger 1989:109). As such, in the 19th century cultural evolutionist mindset, evolution possessed a directional end goal for human society. Cultural complexity, which was identified according to presence/absence of certain kinds of material traits, was indicative of cultural progress which, in turn, designated the level of a society's cultural advancement. As such, more

complex societies were perceived as more highly evolved than less complex ones. Because this paradigm argued that evolution possessed directionality and brought social and moral improvements, the complexity of societies could be theoretically linked to their value. This body of theory provided a convenient "scientific" justification for European and United States colonialism by promoting the colonial project as a humanitarian endeavor. As these colonial powers saw their societies as more complex (and, thus, more valuable) than others, they argued that it was their responsibility to "bring civilization" (and its aforementioned perceived social and moral improvements) to less-complex societies. In this way, colonizers claimed that they were actually aiding "uncivilized" peoples by hastening their cultural progress on the path toward "civilization" and "rescuing" them from the barbarism of their own societies. Needless to say, arguments for a "civilizing mission" were nothing more than a flimsy façade to obscure the atrocities of colonialism. 19th century evolutionary theory was fundamentally flawed and served as a primary instrument for the widespread promotion of the scientific racism of its day. While this paradigm was eventually discarded as a free-standing body of theory, some of its aspects would be incorporated into the neoevolutionism of the 1960s. With this history in mind, we can now turn our attention to neoevolutionary theory and Service's sociopolitical typology.

Neoevolutionary theory and Service's sociopolitical typology

Neoevolutionary theory in anthropology was codified in the 1950s/60s and stemmed from "a relatively materialistic outlook and a readiness to believe both that there was a pattern to human history and that technological progress was the key to human betterment" that came from the power and prosperity of the mid-20th century United States (Trigger 1989:289). Thus, much like 19th century evolutionary thought, neoevolutionism was a direct reflection of the social attitudes of its time. The capitalism of the mid-century led to ideas of "ecological, demographic,

or technological determinism" that stemmed from the abandonment of the idealization of the individual "as a major factor bringing about economic growth" found in earlier evolutionary thought (Trigger 1989:289-290). Central to this framework was the argument "that human beings sought to preserve a familiar style of life" unless external factors necessitated cultural change (Trigger 1989:290). Some researchers, such as Steward, began to promote a view of cultural evolution that was multilinear – standing in direct contrast to the unilinear evolution of the prior century (Trigger 1989:291). But the figure most important to this study is Elman Service. In 1960, Service and Marshall Sahlins worked to differentiate general (progress-based) and specific (adaptation-based) evolution (Trigger 1989:292). While the authors worked to separate evolution from inherent implications of progress at that time, Service's later work did implicitly reinforce notions of unilinear development (Trigger 1989:292).

In 1962, Service published *Primitive Social Organization: An Evolutionary Perspective*. In it, he laid out his conception of a sociopolitical typology – four types into which all human societies could be grouped. These were band, tribe, chiefdom, and state. The first and most important recognition that must accompany Service's typology is a directional linearity. It is possible to argue that the creation of a typology of human social organization, while fundamentally heuristic and generalizing, does not inherently imply directionality. However, by Service's own admission, these types were "levels or stages" that culminate in state-level organization (1971:170). The fact that Service himself described these types as "levels" overtly declares that directionality was central to his sociopolitical typology. In my experience, arguments for its continued use tend to revolve around the notion that it serves to provide a useful shorthand for describing societies. I will not contest that notion. Service's sociopolitical typology, while simplistic and generalizing, does have some value as an expedient system of

classification. What I am arguing is that we must acknowledge that any use or discussion of this sociopolitical typology is intrinsically linked to a sense of directionality – even if researchers explicitly claim that they do not perceive it as present. The argument made by Service at the system's creation means that linearity will always be present in its use. In considering this problem along with the others discussed above, I will provide a framework below for remedying their adverse effects on perceptions of the Late Woodland.

Discussion of existing theoretical issues

The initial periodization of the Eastern Woodlands region is premised, as with other regional chronologies, on heuristic impositions created from the interpretations of archaeologists working to understand its temporal sequence. I argue that our understanding of the Late Woodland period in particular has been detrimentally impacted by these constructions of the past. In addition, when periods in the Eastern Woodlands were examined in aggregate, the flawed theoretical frameworks discussed above led to the privileging of certain periods (the Middle Woodland and Late Prehistoric) on basis of their material traits, which identified them as periods of "florescence" (Munson 1988:7). The Late Woodland was perceived as less significant because its associated material traits situated it as an interval period. This led to a binary perception in which the Late Woodland was seen as inferior to the supposedly superior periods like the Middle Woodland and, thus, was marginalized. This understanding of the Late Woodland both fails to adequately examine it on its own terms and leads to a perception that obscures periods of cultural transition in the archaeological record.

Queer theory

In consideration of the various theoretical issues that have impacted the study of the Late Woodland, I propose an incorporation of queer theory to guide the reconceptualization of this period. I argue that several key aspects of queer theory make it particularly well suited for addressing the specific problems I have identified above, and that it should be incorporated into Late Woodland research.

Queer theory was developed from "poststructural/postmodern feminisms, lesbian and gay history, sexology, AIDS activism, and Queer liberation movements" (Blackmore 2011:77; Sullivan 2003). But "[q]ueering archaeology does not involve digging for homosexuals…in the past" (Dowson 2000:165). Rather, it "actively and explicitly challenges the heteronormativity of scientific practice" (Dowson 2000:162). This challenge of normative practice and perception forms one of the key aspects of queer theory. Another key aspect is an understanding that identities are "complex, situational and contextual" (Blackmore 2011:77). Fluidity is inherently present in the formation of identity, and any given subject will possess a plurality of identities (Blackmore 2011:76-77). When these aspects are taken together, we can see that queer theory is supremely useful for the deconstruction of binaries and the challenging of normative thought. And, as Blackmore notes, queer theory is not useful exclusively for understanding sexuality and challenging normative assumptions about sexual differences (2011:76). It can be used in any situation where normative thinking and imposed binaries are present. Given that these issues are deeply entrenched in the way that the Late Woodland is predominantly understood, I believe that applying the principles of queer theory to the identities of the period and the broader concept of periodization is a novel and beneficial method. However, it should be noted that the incorporation of this theory does not provide an overarching explanatory framework. As Dowson

points out, "[q]ueer theory does not provide a positivity, rather it is a way of producing reflection, a way of taking a stand *vis-à-vis* the authoritative standard" (2000:163). Applying queer theory to the study of the Late Woodland is, instead, important for helping us critically reassess what we know about the period through its perception. Put more succinctly, I will employ queer theory in this study on the Eastern Woodlands to critique the value-based binaries and normative assumptions present in the periodization of its chronology and examine the fluidity that exists in the identities of the Late Woodland period.

Chapter Three

Methods

The only methods of research I have used for this study are the synthesis and analysis of published archaeological literature. No archaeological data were generated as part of this project, as no fieldwork or laboratory research was conducted. The lack of direct examination of archaeological materials and unpublished literature fits within the scope of the present study and has also been dictated by the circumstances surrounding the study's undertaking.

It is here that I wish to make note of the wider context surrounding this project. The circumstances mentioned above are the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic that began in late 2019. The professional and personal changes necessary to protect public health meant that much research I wanted to conduct for this project was not possible. As such, I was restricted to reanalyzing existing literature as the method of research for this project. This was ultimately beneficial, as it gave me greater insight into the theoretical issues present in current perceptions of the Late Woodland. In identifying these issues and working to perform some preliminary reframing of the period, I have been granted a greater awareness of the foci I wish to pursue in future research on the period. As part of this, it is my belief that future Late Woodland research will benefit greatly from the (re)examination of existing collections and unpublished literature. A brief discussion of the reasoning for that method of study will be included in Chapter Six.

In thinking of this future research, I have become thoroughly convinced that the kind of reevaluation called for by this project is of the utmost necessity. To revisit one of the core arguments of this study, a robust understanding of the Late Woodland has been repeatedly harmed by bodies of theory that do not work to engage the period on its own basis. Rather, these

theoretical orientations use the period predominantly to examine others. In this way, the study of the Late Woodland is oriented toward assumptive reasoning that allows for researchers to construct contrasts that obscure the evidence present in the archaeological record. By working to reframe the Late Woodland period, it becomes possible to recenter its perceptions on the body of archaeological data present.

The way in which archaeological information about the Eastern Woodlands has been collected requires a brief discussion. Many of the foundational excavations of its most important sites were lacking in both ethical principle and scientific scrutiny (Milner 2004:15-21). The earliest excavations in the region were almost entirely antiquarian in purpose and saw mounds and graves destroyed and robbed of certain artifacts while the remainder of their contents were discarded (Milner 2004:16). Practices such as directly tunneling into mounds were part of these "excavations" (Milner 2004:16). While field methods were greatly improved and standardized beginning in the late 1920s and into the 1930s (Milner 2004:17-20), the horrific treatment of Indigenous sacred sites and human remains on the part of early archaeologists was an atrocity that will forever remain intertwined with archaeological research in the region. In addition, continuing deficiencies in field techniques led to the permanent loss of vital archaeological information. The fundamental practice of floatation, for example, was not widely adopted until the 1960s/70s (Milner 2004:20). When considered as a whole, this legacy is a dark one. Any research that relies upon this past work must be undertaken with an awareness of its legacy. If such an awareness is lacking, then that research has the possibility to perpetuate these issues. Below, I provide an example of a past excavation in the project area to highlight how deficiencies in earlier field methods both led to the destruction of important archaeological information and have harmed the ability of current researchers to fully correct outdated

interpretations. While this excavation was of Adena-Hopewell sites and not Late Woodland ones, I believe that the issues of methodology and their unintended consequences discussed below provide a good encapsulation of issues with the past collection of information in the region.

Deficiencies in historic field methods and their impacts: a case study from the C&O Mounds

I will now discuss an example of past research that worked to identify domiciles in an Adena context. I specifically choose to use the label Adena, rather than Adena-Hopewell, at certain points in this section to reflect the terms used by the researchers at the time they were undertaking this work. The difficulty in locating and identifying Adena-Hopewell settlements has been recognized since these cultural expressions were first seriously studied. In *The Adena People*, Webb and Snow offered these explanations for the seeming absence of Adena settlements: "[t]he lack of evidence of the existence of Adena villages has long been known, and the fact has been the basis of much speculation. This absence of Adena villages has been attributed to many causes, among them, great age of Adena, long periods of erosion, inability or carelessness of investigators in searching for such evidence, etc." (Webb and Snow 1974:40). The authors noted that some mounds were erected over village sites and the process of creating these earthworks would have necessitated relocation (Webb and Snow 1974:40). They then posited that Adena people lived in "scattered house groups" instead of dense villages (Webb and Snow 1974:40). This form of settlement holds significant implications for archaeological identification, as "even with long continued occupancy, the midden deposit would never be deep anywhere" and "[i]n a house group where no mound was constructed, its identity as a village would be easily lost since the debris was so thin" (Webb and Snow 1974:40). Recent reanalysis by R. Berle Clay (2009) has shown there <u>were</u> definite village remains under C&O Mounds (15Jo2 and 15Jo9). This is indicated by the complexity of plans seen in post molds and the

presence of fire basins, of which many had "prepared clay walls suggesting considerable investment in site facilities" (Clay 2009:50). As such, we can see that Webb (as he was the one to conduct the excavation; Clay 2009:44) was successful in identifying some settlements and offered astute explanations for some of the factors contributing to their underrepresentation in the archaeological record.

The heuristic way in which Woodland cultures have been classified further complicates our understanding of their settlements. At C&O Mounds, Webb believed he was specifically studying the Adena. However, Clay notes that the ceramic styles recovered from these earthworks "probably date the mounds and some part of premound activity post-A.D. 200, or even later" (2009:50). In addition:

> [I]t is also not clear the mounds followed the submound contexts closely in time. 15Jo9 is an almost unique structure among Kentucky burial mounds in that the first stage is a rectangular platform (Webb 1942:Figure 8) and is surely late. Coupled with the presence of cordmarked and Paintsville Simple Stamped ceramics, the occupation below the mound must in part include materials contemporaneous with Ohio Hopewell sites dating after A.D. 200, as well as pottery that Haag classified as Adena Plain, which could date several hundred years B.C. [Clay 2009:51].

As such, we must once again recognize that Adena and Hopewell traits exist on more of a gradient than a linear timeline.

Unfortunately, Webb misinterpreted the nature of Adena domiciles. Webb identified Adena "houses" as his traits 42-60 in *The Adena People*. The structures themselves (Webb noted a total of 23) were divided into two types (traits 42 and 43), with the former being "post-mold patterns circular, diameter 97 feet or more" (Webb noted 4) and the latter being "post-mold patterns circular, diameter 60 feet or less" (Webb noted 19; Webb and Snow 1974:52-53). As part of the reanalysis conducted by Clay and discussed above, an excellent explanation of

Webb's misinterpretation of these patterns as "houses" is presented, and I strongly suggest that the reader see Clay's 2009 article "Where Have All the Houses Gone? Webb's Adena House in Historical Context" for an evaluation of the issues present in Webb's understanding. For the sake of this overview, the core of Clay's argument is that the central issues with the interpretation of these circular post molds as houses are that "[o]ne should not assume that the villages below these mounds are automatically the sum of their excavated parts and the domestic houses are comprised of the visually striking post patterns instead of the seemingly random posts and features" and that the true domestic structures present at C&O Mounds are associated with the non-circular post molds and features that lack any apparent shape (Clay 2009:50-51).

The issues of interpretation pertaining to C&O Mounds are closely related to the way in which they were excavated, as:

> In the submound cremations below 15Jo9, in addition, is considerable evidence for nonmound mortuary activity. The concatenation of all suggests long or intense use (or both) of these locales for habitation /ritual activities; the notable lack of thick midden would suggest that site use may have been intermittent, despite the feature density. The ceramics also suggest occupation may have occurred over a considerable period of time. Incorporated in this use were phases of ritual activity in paired-post circles. However, sorting one from the other took a level of stratigraphic excavation which was not pursued at that time [Clay 2009:50].

The excavation practices and field methods employed during Webb's excavation of the C&O mounds, while remarkably good for their time (Milner 2004:17-20), ultimately possessed deficiencies that we can see have harmed the ability of later researchers (such as Clay) to gain a more complete understanding of these sites. In this way, there will always be gaps in our knowledge of the archaeological record created directly by the actions of past researchers.

One final point worth noting is the underuse of cultural resource management (CRM) data. Cultural resource management is "the legally mandated protection of archaeological sites…that are threatened with destruction through development of any sort" (Darvill 2008:118). As Church explains (1988:53), CRM data have been ignored in archaeological research because this information is gathered with the primary intent to satisfy governmental regulations – not to advance (academic) archaeological research. This is due to the fact that "most CRM surveys are not designed to address an archaeological research problem" and, as such, the data they generate have often been disregarded by academic archaeologists (Church 1988:53). Since information generated through CRM work has been ignored in the past, it remains underutilized in this project. While a full examination of the extent to which this disregard has occurred and any improvement that has been made in the three decades since Church published on this topic remains beyond the scope of this study, it is certainly an important consideration for future work.

In short, this study has been built upon library research primarily drawing from existing academic literature. While the use of additional CRM data and the generation of new information via original research and analysis of existing archival materials and ethnographic museum collections could both further the aims of this project, their incorporation is infeasible at the current time. In addition, I believe that the scope of the current study should be confined to published literature. This is intended to keep the study as succinct as possible and focus on those sources that are most crucial for this preliminary reevaluation of the Late Woodland period. It is my hope that this research can serve to lay a foundation for later work in a more comprehensive project.

Chapter Four

Data

To argue for an increased focus on the Late Woodland period, it becomes necessary to ground that emphasis in the material evidence of the archaeological record. As such, presenting Late Woodland data is necessary before a comprehensive analysis may be attempted. The information presented in this chapter will be considered in two categories: 1) evidence that will be used to refute traditional perceptions of the material "deficiencies" of the period and 2) evidence that will be used to broaden our comprehension of the transitions and technologies already associated with the period. Additional images of the artifact types described in this chapter are included in Appendix A (Figures A.1-A.11).

Monumental architecture and funerary programs

Stone-capped mounds are early Late Woodland burial structures that take the form of "small burial mounds featuring…rock cysts, slab-lined vaults, and pavements" (Seeman and Dancey 2000:599). Generally speaking, "several different burial programs are associated with each mound, such as extended inhumations, secondary bundle burials, secondary cremations, and/or rearticulations." (Seeman and Dancey 2000:599). It seems that the practice of burying the dead in village middens was not uncommon in the early Late Woodland period, as multiple Late Woodland villages have significant numbers of human remains in middens (Seeman and Dancey 2000:599).

However, the mortuary program most commonly considered diagnostic of the Late Woodland period is the "intrusive" burial, as:

> After 1300 B.P., mortuary programs in the mid-Ohio Valley become even less complex. The most common practice was the digging of moderately deep graves into the burial mounds of earlier groups. Both Early and Middle Woodland mounds have revealed evidence of this custom, for example, the Great Smith Mound, Cotega, Willow Island, Mound City, and Turner [Seeman and Dancey 2000:600].

It is these burials that lend their name to the Intrusive Mound Culture of the Late Woodland period in Ohio. These intrusive burials "are generally extended, sometimes show multiple individuals in a grave pit, and are often associated with "tool kit" mortuary offerings and red ocher" (Seeman and Dancey 2000:600). Seeman and Dancey (2000:600) also note that "[i]ndividual, isolated burials are not an unusual pattern" following 1300 BP.

Portable art and symbolic artifacts

Important examples of portable art in the Late Woodland period are three shell gorgets discovered at the Newton Firehouse site. Two of these gorgets were discovered in 1981 while the third was discovered in 2015 (Genheimer 1981:4-5; Rinehart 2015). The gorgets discovered in 1981 depict an opossum and a mountain lion, respectively (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). The creature depicted on the third gorget does not appear to represent any known species (Figure 4.3). Instead, it appears to show a hybrid mythological creature possessing a combination of avian and feline features (Rinehart 2015).

Figure 4.1. Opossum gorget from Newtown Firehouse site (Rinehart 2015).

Figure 4.2. Mountain lion gorget from Newtown Firehouse site (Rinehart 2015).

Figure 4.3. “Hybrid” gorget from Newtown Firehouse site (Rinehart 2015).

So-called ceremonial (groundstone) picks are one of the defining artifact types of the Late Woodland period (Figure 4.4).

> In length, they range from specimens six or seven inches long to those which measure upwards to twenty inches. All of them are slender and most of them are chisel-shaped, differing from the conventional chisel in that they taper, more or less from the center toward each end. The width seldom exceeds one and one-half inches, and the height, at its greatest, is rarely more than two inches. The cross

> section is either square or rectangular, a feature that seems to prevail especially in the harder and more mottled varieties of stone, or is D-shaped, as is usually seen in the less colorful or softer materials. The underside is generally straight and flat, but sometimes it is curved or arched, particularly in the hard mottled specimens. The ends are typically edged, with varying degrees of keenness. Sometimes one end, most frequently the broadest is sharply bitted, while the opposite one is indifferently sharpened, rounded or even pointed. . . .Ceremonial picks were fashioned from stones which were either quite soft or extremely hard. Many of them, and especially the longer ones, are made of schistose or micaceous schist. Others are of banded slate, and one is of serpentine. The harder varieties, mottled granite, syenite and diorite predominate. I have never seen any of quartz ite, porphyry or conglomerate materials. Perhaps lack of natural materials of adequate size, or extreme difficulty of manufacture from them discouraged their use [Mueser 1953:13, in Halsey 1984:43-44].

Halsey (1984:47) notes that stone picks from Ohio are the most numerous in the Eastern Woodlands but cautions that this may be merely a reflection of collection bias (more specimens having been recovered) and not indicative of higher overall quantity. He further places the chronology of production for these objects from 300-950 CE, "with a definite concentration" occurring between 500-750 CE (Halsey 1984:54). Interpretations of the function(s) of ceremonial picks are not directly relevant to the present study but can serve to enhance an understanding of certain Late Woodland burials. The rarity of these picks suggests an association with individuals of high status (Halsey 1984:55). When this perceived association with status is examined in conjunction with the understanding of these picks as the blades of war clubs or tomahawks, it would appear that the presence of these

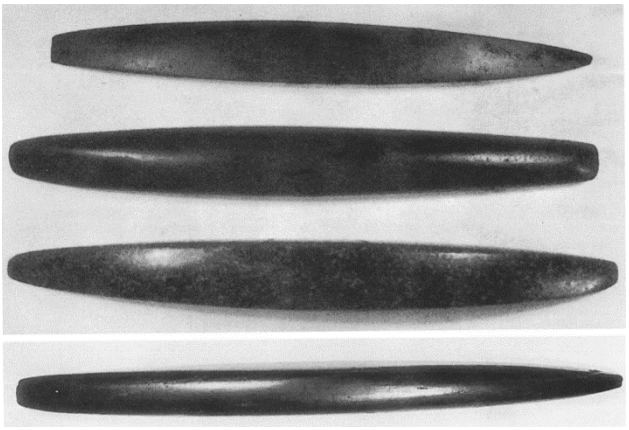


Figure 4.4. Ceremonial groundstone picks (Converse 1978:90).

weapons (whether ceremonial or practical) in graves is indicative of "warriors of superior rank" (Halsey 1984:55). For additional information on these artifacts, also see (Converse 1978:90).

Another type of groundstone artifact from the Late Woodland is the pentagonal slate pendant, examples of which typically:

> [E]xhibit a marked degree of symmetry and a well-polished surface. They are always five sided with a pleasing angular appearance. The upper side is somewhat convex or, less frequently, straight. The long sides are concave and flare outward toward the bottom. The lower end is fashioned into a point or V-shape, the two converging edges either straight or slightly concave. The large suspension hole is located very near the center of the piece…[most] are from 4 to 6 inches in length although an extremely small one was found in the Esch mound…[r]arely any material except banded slate [Converse 1978:76].

Converse also notes that the fragmentary lower section of a pentagonal pendant "was excavated from the Late Woodland mound on the Turpin farm in southwestern Ohio" (1978:76; Oehler 1950:Pl.16). In his discussion of a "classic" pendant of this type discovered "in the mound fill of a Hopewell location along the Muskigum River," Converse mentions that additional material from that mound "seemed to be Late Hopewell" from an identification provided to him in a personal communication (1978:76).

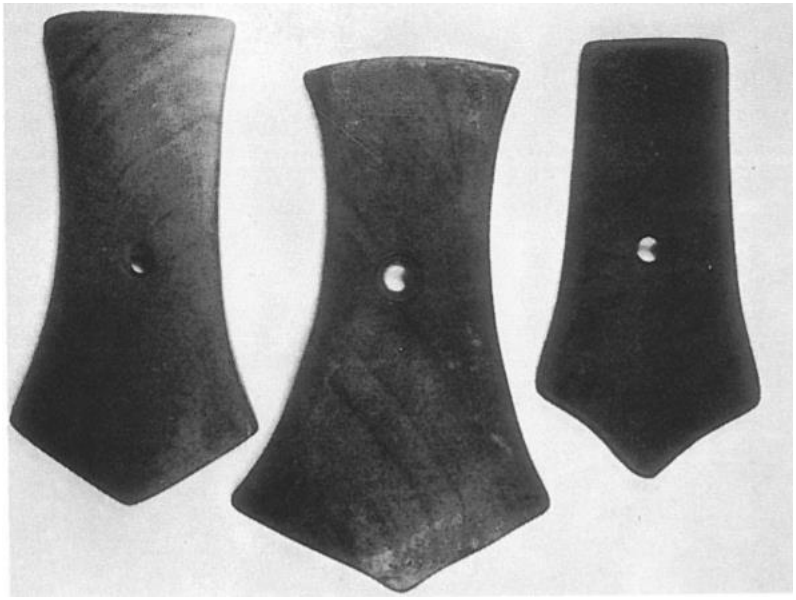


Figure 4.5. Pentagonal pendants (Converse 1978:76).

Another form of groundstone pendant from the period of study is the spade or shovel-shaped pendant, specimens of which Converse states are "extremely rare" and possess a hole:

> [W]hich is usually in the center or lower half of the piece. If indeed it is a suspension hole it is placed in a strange position. Rare examples have two holes. These pendants are fairly thin and well made with the perforation drilled from both faces. The lower end is about 1/2 inch wider than the upper part. The edges on both the bottom and top are slightly excurvate. The narrow upper portion usually comprises 50% to 60% of its length. A significant number are notched or tally marked…[f]rom 3 to 5 inches in length and about 2 inches wide…[b]anded slate or a red or brownish red shale [Converse 1978:74].

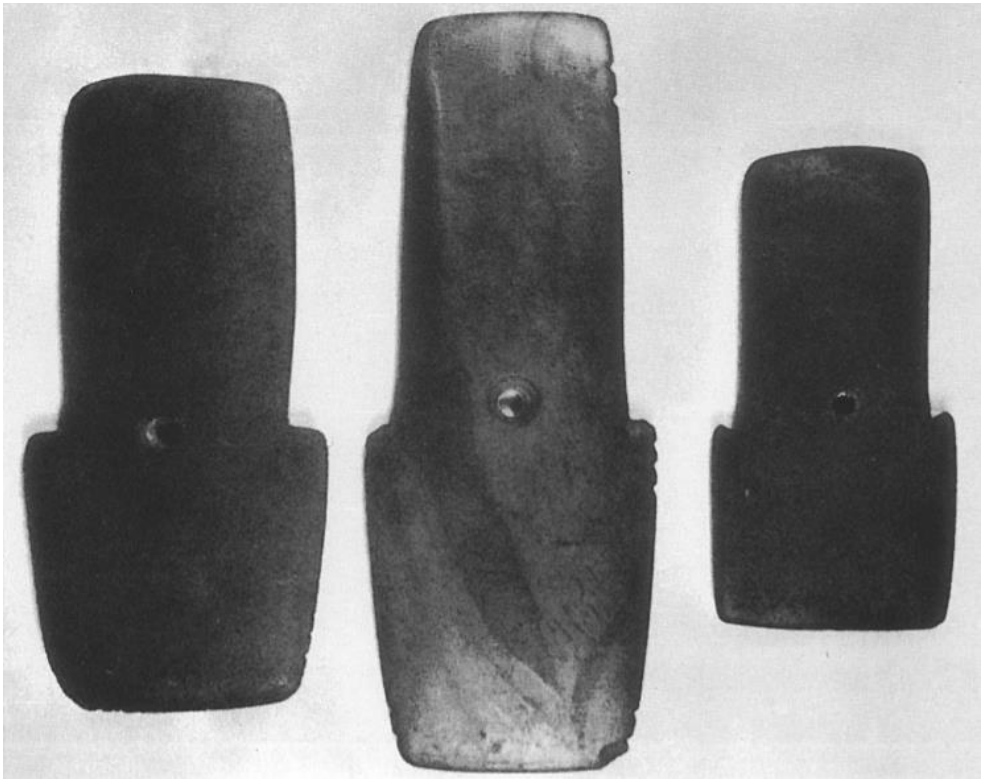


Figure 4.6. Spade or shovel-shaped pendants (Converse 1978:74).

Converse additionally lists the chronological affiliation of spade or shovel-shaped pendants as "Late Hopewell," but he notes that "none have been reported from the large Hopewell centers." (1978:74).

Cotton fiber as evidence for nonlocal material procurement and use

Research conducted at the Danbury site (33OT16) in northern Ohio has presented evidence for long-distance trade during the Late Woodland period. Fibers identified as cotton were found in the dental calculus of four individuals from two burial features associated with the site's Late Woodland component, which was dated 900-1100 CE (Blatt et al. 2011:669-673). At the time of discovery, these fibers were the first and the only known example of prehistoric cotton in the entirety of Ohio (Blatt et al. 2011:669). At the time of writing, I am unaware of the existence of any additional specimens of cotton fiber in the state. The unique status of the Danbury cotton fibers thus suggests the presence of long-distance trade during the Late Woodland in what is now Ohio. As Blatt and colleagues note, the closest specimen to the site was a fragment of textile discovered at Spiro Mounds in Oklahoma and identified (although not definitively) as cotton (2011:675; King and Gardener 1981).

Subsistence strategies

One area where the Late Woodland is exceptionally diverse is in the food procurement and production associated with its subsistence strategies. The present archaeobotanical and zooarchaeological evidence associated with the Late Woodland demonstrates both continuity and change in the Ohio Valley and surrounding areas. Below, I discuss the two principal subsistence strategies of the period: the Eastern Agricultural Complex (EAC) and maize agriculture. I will discuss both their incorporations into Late Woodland foodways and their respective presences following the end of the period.

When considering the Archaic and Woodland periods, the domesticated plant species of eastern North America were originally termed the Eastern Agricultural Complex (or EAC) and

have occasionally been more recently referred to as the indigenous crop complex in eastern North America (or ENA, when referred to as a spatial center of independent domestication; Smith and Yarnell 2009:6561). The crops mostly strongly associated with the EAC are marsh elder (*Iva annua*), several varieties of goosefoot (*Chenopodium berlandieri*), squash (*Cucurbita pepo*), and sunflower (*Helianthus annuus*; Smith 2006:12223-12228). However, several other species should be considered part of the complex as well. These include little barley (*Hordeum pusillum*), erect knotweed (*Polygonum erectum*), and maygrass (*Phalaris caroliniana*). In the study of this crop complex in ENA, it is important to remember that the utilization of plants by Indigenous peoples in the Eastern Woodlands should be considered a remarkable achievement in the history of human subsistence. In addition to being one of relatively few independent centers of plant domestication worldwide (see Smith 2006), the EAC occupies the position of being a low-level food production system. As such, it should not be viewed as merely a transitional mode of subsistence bridging the gap between hunter-gatherer and "traditional" agricultural strategies but, rather, a distinct and enduring innovation that must be studied on its own terms (Smith 2006).

The horticulture of the EAC "intensified during the Late Woodland period" and, for the most part, "the same plants cultivated during the Middle Woodland were in native gardens throughout most of the Late Woodland period" (Railey 1996:111). In terms of faunal resources, "[t]he main game sources included deer, raccoons, elk, turkey, and other forest mammals" (Breitburg 1992; McCall 2013:18; Railey 1996). These species were by no means newly exploited, as they had been the principal focus for hunting practices "since the end of the Pleistocene Epoch" (Railey 1996:111). What was newly exploited was maize, a crop that saw its first significant adoption in the Eastern Woodlands during the Late Woodland period.

Maize agriculture has often been presented as the hallmark subsistence strategy of the Late Prehistoric period. While the reality of this perception is much more nuanced, maize was the characteristic crop of the period. When compared to the Late Woodland, maize production was greater in both distribution and quantity (Sharp 1996). While the plants of the EAC remained in use for many communities, their overall significance was greatly diminished from what it had been in centuries prior (Martin 2009). Corroborating this increased significance of maize is the academic study of EAC plants in the archaeobotanical record. It was only relatively recently that attention was devoted to the continuity of the EAC in the Late Prehistoric. Martin (2009) demonstrated that the small Middle Fort Ancient community at the Wildcat village site (33MY499) continued to make use of the EAC during a period when larger settlements used a predominantly maize-based agricultural system. The evidence from the Wildcat site "runs counter to the conventional belief that [the EAC] largely disappears from the archaeological record in favor of maize agriculture after about 1000 CE" (Martin 2009:ii). The implications for this continuity of the EAC into and throughout the Late Prehistoric period will be examined in the next chapter.

Transitions in projectile weaponry and their relation to projectile point morphology

The popular consensus surrounding the chronology of the transition from the spear thrower to the bow and arrow as the dominant projectile weapon in the Eastern Woodlands is that this shift occurred during the Late Woodland period. While a few opponents of this "late introduction" timeline have argued for the presence of the bow as early as the Paleoindian period, it seems that many in the "early introduction group" have rallied around the Late Archaic as the time of its initial adoption in the region (Bradbury 1997:208). The direct evidence for this debate rests entirely within the realm of lithic analysis, with projectile point morphologies

serving as the primary foundation for the construction of arguments. At the center of this disagreement is the premise that archaeological signatures of the spear thrower and bow have been conflated or otherwise misidentified (see Shott 1993). The researcher's identification of a projectile point as either a spear point, dart point, or arrowhead ultimately dictates their perception of the chronology for projectile weaponry in the Eastern Woodlands. As such, work to resolve this dispute has largely taken the form of bolstering analytical processes for the identification of points through empirical means. In addition, use-wear analysis has been proposed as a method by which to discern points made from flakes instead of formal bifaces (see Odell 1988). In Appendix B, I provide descriptions and images (Figures B.1-B.3) of the projectile point forms that have traditionally been noted as the first arrowheads.

Having described and elaborated on the forms of evidence presented above, it is now possible to consider their nature and implications in conjunction with the bodies of theory presented in Chapter Two. In the following chapter (Chapter Five), I will analyze theory and material information together to examine the specifics of the preceding data in view of my argument that the Late Woodland period has been undervalued and misunderstood. I will additionally argue for a broadening of our understanding about the transitions present during that time.

Chapter Five

Analysis

The primary purpose of this analysis is to discuss the evidence presented in Chapter Four and incorporate the theoretical grounding provided by queer theory in Chapter Two to thoroughly interrogate the traditional narrative of the Late Woodland and demonstrate how its comparison to other periods has led to its marginalization in research. Having considered both the wider social contexts of various bodies of theory and the material record of the Late Woodland period, an analysis that bridges and – more importantly – joins both is now possible. I begin with discussions on 1) evidence that refutes/undermines traditional perceptions of the material "deficiencies" of the period and 2) evidence that broadens our comprehension of the transitions and technologies associated with the period. For the first category, each aspect of the material record discussed prior will be examined to determine its implications for the Late Woodland period. These implications will then be considered against traditional understandings of the period to demonstrate that these perceptions fail to adequately reflect what is known in the archaeological record. For the second category, transitions and technologies attributed to the Late Woodland will be analyzed to determine some of the key interpretive and theoretical preconceptions associated with these attributions. In identifying preconceptions, I do not intend to oppose the association of these transitions with the Late Woodland or argue for a diminishing of their status. Changes such as the first widespread adoption of maize in the Eastern Woodlands are understandings of the past that have strong empirical support and deserve significant recognition because of that fact. Rather, I intend to identify preconceptions to determine what impacts they may have on our understandings of these transitions and, by extension, our perception of the Late Woodland period. Transitions like the widespread adoption of maize do

not seem to have been interpretively disregarded in the same manner as material evidence like pendant types, but that does not mean that they do not hold assumptions that can be detrimental. They absolutely can, and a broaden comprehension of the Late Woodland is only possible if their preconceptions are identified and interrogated. While a robust body of specific explanation for why the perception of the period stands in contrast with the archaeological record and how archaeologists have largely failed to reconsider its perception would ultimately be beneficial for the study of the Late Woodland, such a body of historiographic research ultimately lies beyond the constraints of the current project.

Monumental architecture and funerary programs

As discussed throughout this study, burial mounds and monuments are perhaps the most well-known and captivating aspect of Eastern Woodlands archaeology in both the professional and popular consciousness. The fact that cultures such as the Adena-Hopewell and Fort Ancient are referred to as "mound builders" both colloquially and academically (such as in Milner's 2004 *The Moundbuilders*, which is cited frequently in this study) speaks volumes about the captivating nature of mounds and other forms of earthen architecture. They are both magnificent and mysterious, and it is understandable that they have so thoroughly enthralled generations of archaeologists. As discussed in the introduction, these structures are largely what brought me to archaeology in the first place. Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound remain my two favorite archaeological sites today, and the significance of the way they awakened within me a deep desire to understand and relate to the lives of past peoples cannot be understated. These structures are impressive, and I know that very personally. In undertaking this project, I acknowledge that my argument could be perceived as antagonistic towards cultures such as the Adena-Hopewell and Fort Ancient. Despite this, it is my belief that a deeper comprehension of

the Late Woodland necessarily requires that this period receives a greater degree of focus from archaeologists. It is understandable that one might conclude I am arguing for a downplaying of those cultures that typically receive the focus; that I am attempting to knock them off the metaphorical pedestal. However, this is where I will bring up the concept of being "evenhanded" in Eastern Woodlands archaeology and acknowledge the barrier between myself and that which I study.

While I know the sites of the region personally because I grew up in their vicinity, I have no cultural or ancestral affiliation with them. I ultimately choose to study the archaeology of this region because it fascinates me and because I believe that there is much work to be done in ensuring that this region's past is understood and preserved. I have no claim to the kind of intimacy these sites hold for descendant communities. My ability to study these sites is fundamentally rooted in the sin of colonialism. That which gives me the ability to study the archaeology of cultures to which I have no relation is a legacy of physical and cultural genocide. The same could be said of most who have studied the archaeology of this region. While the reconstructions of this region's past created by archaeologists such as me are narratives of our own, it must be recognized that this past is not ours. As such, we must always be vigilant of the manner in which our perspectives can harm the way in which the past is reconstructed.

In discussion of mounds, this brings us to their perception. They are impressive, certainly, but why? The answer is that they demonstrate several cultural traits that the discipline of archaeology has long privileged as indicative of "developed" and "complex" societies. As discussed in Chapter Two, archaeology has never fully eliminated the unilineal thought and value judgements that accompany these labels. The Adena-Hopewell constructed mounds and are thus seen as impressive because monumental architecture has long been considered a sign of

a complex and highly developed society. As this practice declined significantly in the Late Woodland, the cultures of the period have been perceived as less complex. The reader may rightfully note that I am discussing general theoretical stances about the nature of culture and cultural change that have been outdated for decades. After all, critical cultural relativism is one of the foundational concepts in anthropological archaeology. However, despite how painfully obvious it may seem that perceptions of the Late Woodland are rooted in flawed theory, the legacy of flawed theoretical bodies continues to impact the way the period is viewed today. Therefore, this project must engage with and refute these theories if any progress is to be made.

In considering the funerary programs of the Late Woodland, the traditional trend in their understanding is that the peoples of the period were fundamentally incapable of engaging in the same practices of ceremony and construction as either their forebearers or successors. This understanding promotes the notion that the cultures of this period were a "devolution" compared to those that came before and after (Dunnell and Greenlee 1999:377). The combination of this conception and its related value judgment holds countless insidious ramifications and, notably, fits neatly into a unilineal evolutionary framework. This understanding is but another example of the outdated and tired collapse narrative, in which Late Woodland peoples and their cultures are nothing more than the shattered remnants of a grand Hopewell climax. Given the way this understanding can be linked to the social context of theory at the time of its development, we are well justified in dismissing it without any additional consideration.

The question that must be asked when examining the funerary programs of the peoples of the Late Woodland is not "why could they not?" engage in practices like those of the bracketing periods but, rather, "why did they not?" Of course, the generalized statement that the Late Woodland was entirely lacking in monumental funerary architecture is false. As discussed in the

preceding chapter, structures of this nature were constructed during this period and are a key form of funerary program. However, when examining the period linearly, it is fair to state that the overall importance of new mound construction diminished over time and was supplanted by other burial practices. Midden burials became more common along with intrusive burials, the latter of which form perhaps the best known Late Woodland funerary program. The interment of the dead in preexisting mound structures can thus be seen as a deliberate interaction with the culture of earlier peoples (Seeman and Dancey 2000:600). While a full examination of and explanation for changes in funerary programs during the Late Woodland remains beyond the scope of this study, the brief discussion above should make it clear that these changes were not a matter of incapability. Rather, they reflect a complex web of interaction between human and nonhuman actors and factors.

Portable art and symbolic artifacts

As the Newton Firehouse shell gorgets are only three in total, their discussion here will be brief. First, it is important to note that they are made of marine shell and "[i]t is questionable if these gorgets were even made in the Ohio area" (Seeman and Dancey 2000:598). Despite this, they are objects of great aesthetic value. The gorgets demonstrate the ability of their artisans to produce animal effigies that are recognizable, distinct, and beautiful. In addition, the newest gorget shows immense creativity in its hybridization of animal forms. Despite this, it is more important in this conversation to recognize that these three artifacts are the only of their kind in the Ohio area at this time. This holds an important ramification for art in the Late Woodland period. As Seeman and Dancey state, "[w]hatever the metaphysical purposes of art, they were not being served in the Late Woodland societies of the mid-Ohio Valley" (2000:598). This is an

exceptionally important consideration, as it moves our framing of the period away from one of "devolution" to one of adaptation (Dunnell and Greenlee 1999).

The discussions of ceremonial picks, pentagonal slate pendants, and spade/shovel-shaped pendants in the preceding chapter show that the quality of these objects has caused them to be typically described with such terms as "well made" and "pleasing" (in appearance). Their described morphologies are demonstrative of skilled craft production, which can be seen in the attention paid to qualities like degree of symmetry and level of polish of these objects. The manufacture of groundstone objects is a laborious and timely process that requires considerable investment (for an example, see Kinsella 2013). In addition, groundstone objects considered to be of "fine" production indicate an even higher level of investment because the effort expended on ensuring such aspects as complete symmetry and a high level of polish requires an increasing expenditure of time and attention as the quality of the object increases. In summary, the higher the quality of a groundstone artifact appears to be, the greater the investment that went into the production of that artifact.

Of course, it should be noted that a considerable space for debate exists surrounding the inherently subjective nature of artifact "quality" and the detriments that can accompany this system of assignment and the manner in which it imposes value. However, this debate largely falls outside the bounds of the current study because one of the primary aims of this study is to argue for a more even application of traditional metrics for the evaluation of archaeological cultures. The complete deconstruction and replacement of traditional metrics is irrelevant to this study and, in the end, would only serve to hamper its argument.

To return to the discussion at hand, it should be noted that these artifacts (especially spade or shovel-shaped pendants) are of limited quantity and considered to be "extremely rare" (Converse 1978:74). This concept of rarity introduces another factor related to these objects: acquisition by individuals for personal, private collections. While volumes can and have been written about dynamics of the relationships that exist between professional and so-called avocational archaeologists, only the implications that avocational activity holds for understanding the artifact types discussed in this study are useful to mention here. The astute reader may note that some of the descriptions of artifacts in the prior chapter are drawn from avocational work. Avocational publications often provide quite satisfactory morphological descriptions of artifact types and, in some specific cases, may be the only (relatively) recent and easily accessible literature available. Despite the relatively high quality of morphological descriptions in these publications, the same cannot always be said of chronological descriptions. The volumes by Converse cited in this study are indicative of a chronological problem that I believe undermines why objects such as ceremonial picks, pentagonal slate pendants, and spade/shovel-shaped pendants are not discussed more frequently as evidence refuting the negative perception of the Late Woodland period.

This chronological problem takes the form of either a vague temporal affiliation assigned to some artifact types or, notably, the complete mischaracterization of their age. In the 1798 Converse volume, for instance, artifact types are often assigned to periods without any form of more detailed description or evidence for this assignment. To be fair, the need to be concise in a type guide limits the ability of the author to provide extended discussion on the evidence for such characteristics as quantity, temporal range, and spatial distribution. But providing information that is either exceptionally vague or lacking in empirical support is, at best, unhelpful and, at

worst, deeply irresponsible. I posit that these kinds of poorly supported chronological descriptions inadvertently (or deliberately) contribute to a continuation of outdated linear evolutionary theory.

Converse refers to pentagonal and spade/shovel-shaped pendants as being "Late Hopewell" in age (1978:74, 76). At best, this classification is a mischaracterization arising from semantics. At worst, it is completely incorrect. Seeman and Dancey are deliberate in their classification of these objects as "early Late Woodland" (Seeman and Dancey 2000:599-600). In failing to acknowledge that these specific artifact types are Late Woodland in affiliation, Converse contributes to the erasure of Late Woodland material evidence and supports the traditional narrative of the period. Without an understanding that Late Woodland peoples could (but often did not) produce artifacts of "high quality" and aesthetic value to the same scale as their forebearers and predecessors, it becomes easy to fall into the trap of assuming that they were somehow less complex than those other groups. However, as artifacts such as those discussed above demonstrate, Late Woodland peoples could and did produce items of impressive quality requiring skilled labor and considerable investment. The smaller quantity of these artifacts and, to some extent, their typological variation when compared to artifacts of the bracketing periods can thus not be attributed to cultural "collapse" (Dunnell and Greenlee 1999:377). Other factors must ultimately be the explanation for this reduction in craft production.

Cotton fiber as evidence for nonlocal material procurement and use

An important area tied to both the portable art and social systems of the Eastern Woodlands is nonlocal material procurement and use. The Hopewell, in particular, made

extensive use of nonlocal materials procured with a complex series of exchange networks (i.e., the Hopewell Interaction Sphere). The cultural and material exchanges of the Middle Woodland are impressive and have rightly been held up as markers of extreme cultural sophistication. However, this attribution has been detrimental to the study of the Late Woodland, which saw a noticeable decline in regional interaction and many types of nonlocal material use (Seeman and Dancey 2000:601). Like many aspects of the Late Woodland discussed in this analysis, it seems the decline and reduction of many practices have often been presented as complete absence altogether. It is important to note that exchange networks did exist in the Ohio Valley during this time and a number of materials (including copper, marine shell, and mica) were sourced from distant locales (Seeman and Dancey 2000:601). But when quantity of materials and the range from which they were procured are examined, it is correct that Late Woodland exchange networks were a reduction of those present in the Early-Middle Woodland period (Seeman and Dancey 2000:601).

The critical consideration when examining nonlocal material procurement during the period in question is ensuring that its reduction is not overgeneralized as total elimination. Should this factor simply be viewed as a matter of presence/absence, the concept of Late Woodland "collapse" is once again reinforced. But when it is viewed as a matter of reduction with variation across time and space, it becomes clear that an overgeneralized understanding of "decline" resulting from some form of perceived cultural devolution does little to provide a satisfactory explanatory framework for the diminishing nature of exchange networks during the Late Woodland. Other mechanisms must account for this change.

As an example of the continuation of practices of nonlocal material procurement and exchange in the Late Woodland, I will point to the evidence of cotton fiber from the Danbury site

discussed in Chapter Four. The unique spatiotemporal association of these fibers introduces many questions about long-distance trade during the latter portion of the Late Woodland and forces a necessarily broader comprehension of exchange during this time. As stated in the preceding chapter, these fibers provide the only known example of prehistoric cotton in Ohio. Excluding the eternal discrediting shouts of inferior methodology and empirical invalidity, the extremely anomalous nature of these findings provides direct evidence that even the most robust and nuanced present understanding of Late Woodland exchange networks still provides only the smallest glimpse of the region's reconstructed past. These cotton fibers show that some group, at some point, possessed the ability to import an entirely new material into northern Ohio during the period in question. This fact makes it abundantly clear that a robust reconstruction of Late Woodland exchange networks requires that we once again recalibrate our framing of the period from "why could they not" to "why did they not?"

Subsistence strategies

I now argue for a broader comprehension of an aspect of the Late Woodland that has received attention: subsistence strategies. As discussed in Chapter Four, significant transitions in subsistence strategies began during this time. Intensive maize agriculture in the region has its roots in this period. The impacts of this form of subsistence were significant and varied, but I find it necessary to caution against oversimplification and highlight its potential detriments. A traditional understanding of maize agriculture in the Late Woodland period provides a narrative of linearity that both obscures historical reality and ignores contemporary archaeological understandings of how human subsistence functions.

As discussed in the preceding chapter, the adoption of maize in the Ohio Valley and surrounding areas was neither immediate nor uniform. Various communities incorporated maize agriculture in different amounts at different places across different times. Even when the Fort Ancient peoples of the Late Prehistoric period are considered, it has become increasingly clear that the earlier Eastern Agricultural Complex remained a viable mode of subsistence long after it has traditionally been considered to have fallen out of use in favor of maize. In considering evolutionary theory against subsistence strategies, it is my view that all forms of human subsistence must be viewed as adaptive and multidirectional. Modes of subsistence can be seen to interact with countless internal and external human and nonhuman actors and vary in accordance with those circumstances. Thus, I argue that changes in subsistence strategies cannot be explained by conceptions of unilinear evolution. Different subsistence strategies each possess specific reasons for adoption given particular contexts. However, in discussion of subsistence strategy change, we must be careful not to assume that transitions between strategies are the sole product of one catalytic factor. The answer, as always, is complex. Changes in subsistence strategies are the result of active and passive human actions, deliberate and inadvertent choices. I believe this view of complexity needs to be incorporated much more fully into understanding transitions between the EAC and maize agriculture in the Eastern Woodlands. Viewing maize agriculture as a "superior" subsistence strategy that was inevitably going to completely replace the EAC once introduced ignores both the known use of the EAC in later periods and the adaptive nature of subsistence strategies. A more complete picture of the subsistence strategies of the Late Woodland must continue to be researched and disseminated for its affiliation with the period to be considered beneficial for that time's perception.

Transitions in projectile weaponry

An additional area to discuss is the adoption of the bow and arrow in the region during the Late Woodland period. As discussed in Chapter Four, the timeline for this introduction is not universal and space does exist for debate over how the first true use of the bow and arrow can be detected in the archaeological record. For the purpose of this analysis, I can mostly ignore that debate as the theoretical issues I have identified in the adoption of the bow and arrow are largely atemporal. As will be discussed below, the time at which the bow and arrow was introduced has little impact on the assumptive thought this adoption has fostered. Regardless of whether the bow was adopted in the Late Woodland or Late Archaic (or any other period, for that matter), its outdated theoretical ramifications will remain largely unchanged. I am discussing the adoption of the bow and arrow as a factor in the Late Woodland because that is the period to which its introduction has generally been ascribed.

I argue that the assumptive thought present in the introduction of the bow and arrow to the region is similar to that present in the perception of subsistence strategies in the region. Under the model constructed from outdated unilineal evolutionary theory, the bow and arrow is a "superior" technology to the spear thrower and thus comes to be a complete and universal replacement. Furthermore, because it is so much more "advanced" than the spear thrower, its introduction essentially functions as the sole motivator for cultural change at that time (Blitz and Porth 2013). Groups who possess the bow and arrow have a distinct advantage over those who do not and, as such, this technology is so impactful that it singlehandedly serves as a catalyst for the massive transitions seen during the Late Woodland period (Blitz and Porth 2013).

In my view, this argument is immensely simplistic. Much like subsistence strategies, technologies are adaptive. Of course, technological innovation is real. Some tools are simply better suited to achieve certain mechanical functions than others. However, a narrative of innovation like that associated with the bow and arrow in the Late Woodland overexaggerates the role of innovation and reduces the choice to use a certain technology to a simple matter of perceived mechanical superiority. I see two major problems here. First, the attributes that make a tool mechanically "superior" or more "efficient" are ultimately imposed by the researcher. For example, a researcher may study projectile point morphologies and determine that some points are more aerodynamic than others and are, thus, more efficient. This is a sensible hypothesis, but it can obscure the fact that empirical support cannot always be directly equated with causation in the archaeological record. There may be additional considerations (either deliberately or unknowingly) that went into the production of those points that have not or cannot be observed by the researcher.

Second, as this consideration relates to the bow and arrow, we must be careful not to assume it is inherently and universally "better" than the spear thrower in all respects. As is known from archaeological and ethnographic examples, the spear thrower is a technology perfectly suited to a multitude of uses and environments (see Kellar 1955; Kinsella 2013). This directly refutes the notion that the bow and arrow is simply that much better of a universal technology. It is certainly better suited to certain uses and environments, but not all uses and environments (Shott 1993). When considering the two factors above, we must conclude that the bow and arrow was adopted and became widely used as a technology in the region because it was circumstantially better, not universally better. In other words, its adoption occurred because of the intersection of a variety of factors in a broad context that made its use better suited to the

particular needs of particular groups of people at particular times in particular places than the spear thrower. The bow and arrow is not an inherently and universally "superior" technology and, more importantly, promoting an argument of that nature imposes a false sense of directionality on cultural changes in the past.

Ultimately, having considered the empirical and theoretical components of the Late Woodland period, it becomes clear that the normative narrative of the chronology of the region is immensely flawed. It is deficient because it falsely presents the Late Woodland as a "dark age" in a unilineal evolutionary timeline and argues for overly simplistic mechanisms as the explanatory framework for complex events. While this narrative does little to accurately represent the region's past, it is the traditional one and reflects normative thought about the generalized nature of cultural change. As such, queer theory is an indispensable theoretical body for dissecting and deconstructing understandings of the Late Woodland, given its use in identifying normativity and helping to guide its refutation. However, queer theory is a method of framing research, not an explanatory framework (Dowson 2000:163). That fact is why this body of theory may not seem to have factored into the body of my analysis until this point, as I used it to guide my deconstruction of the normative understanding of the period when compared to its bracketing periods. As a framework that is specialized in "questioning the categories and methodologies naturalized within scholarly discourse" (Blackmore 2011:78), queer theory can be applied exceedingly well to the periodization of regional chronologies. As demonstrated in this study, the Late Woodland period has been habitually undervalued and tremendously marginalized when compared to the Middle Woodland and Late Prehistoric periods. As such, the reflexive principles at the core of queer theory provide a pathway for the interrogation and dismantling of the Late Woodland's outdated perceptions. But, perhaps more importantly, queer

theory promotes a consideration of the entire schema of crests and troughs in archaeological chronologies. It encourages us to reflect upon the largely heuristic way in which periodization has occurred and focus research efforts on periods that have had their understandings harmed by this interpretive process. In undertaking this form of critical reassessment, such as I have done in this study with the Late Woodland period, archaeologists are better equipped to bridge and conjoin various theoretical perspectives in arguing for more robust understandings of understudied periods.

Chapter Six

Conclusions

As demonstrated by the current project, the traditional perception of the Late Woodland period is woefully inadequate and highly detrimental to its study. As such, much work must be done to develop a robust and comprehensive understanding of this pivotal time in the chronology of the Eastern Woodlands region and, more specifically, the Ohio Valley. In this concluding chapter, I will first provide a summary of the present study and its argument. I will then include a brief discussion of future areas of research.

Summary of study

The Late Woodland period has traditionally been viewed as a "dark age" between the Middle Woodland and Late Prehistoric periods in the Eastern Woodlands of North America and, as such, has remained largely understudied (see Munson 1988:7). In this study, I worked to explain how this narrative arose from the social contexts surrounding the development of various bodies of archaeological theory and identify the flaws present therein. I isolated various aspects of this narrative and examined whether their empirical evidence and theoretical ramifications were reflected in the archaeological record of the Ohio Valley and surrounding areas. For many aspects of the Late Woodland "dark age" narrative, the simple presence of material evidence provided more than sufficient grounds for the refutation of this perception. Elaborate funerary programs, portable art, and nonlocal materials procured through exchange networks all directly demonstrate that Late Woodland peoples were not somehow incapable of producing the same kinds of cultural materials and possessing similarly "impressive" social systems as their predecessors and successors. For transitions that have typically been associated with the Late

Woodland (i.e., the widespread adoption of maize agriculture and the introduction of the bow and arrow), I worked to show how these perceptions can still contribute to a narrative of cultural incapability and unilineal evolution when left underexamined. In all of these discussions, I argued for the refutation of simplistic normative explanations for the period in question and an acknowledgement of the extreme complexity present in its fragmentary reconstruction. While the argument for this acknowledgement was guided by queer theory, there is a much greater space available for the incorporation of diverse bodies of theory and varied methodologies into the study of the Late Woodland. Because the traditional narrative of the period is so immensely outdated and obviously flawed, there is an enormous amount of flexibility present in how its understanding can be corrected and then more fully developed. While a space for debate over which theories and frameworks can be best applied to this understanding must exist, no future debate should concern whether the traditional understanding of the period is sufficient. It is not. Given both the inattention the period has habitually been given when examined on its own and the crucial implications it holds for understanding the chronology of the region as a whole, it should be abundantly clear that the Late Woodland period deserves a far greater focus in contemporary North American archaeological research. Provided this attention is given, we will finally be able to start to view the vivid nature of this once "colorless interval."

Future areas of research

While this study has demonstrated that the traditional narrative of the Late Woodland is both insufficient and detrimental, it has ultimately done comparatively little to correct this narrative. For this to occur, additional research is necessary. As such, I believe it is prudent to identify future areas of research below.

The first area of useful research is historiographic. While this project has shown that numerous Late Woodland artifact types have been misattributed to other periods, no direct and definitive explanation for this phenomenon was offered. It is my belief that this stems from a combination of both archaeological theory and methods. Particularly, I posit that the misidentification of Late Woodland objects as Hopewellian predates radiocarbon dating. As the Late Woodland was largely unknown before the development of this technique (Yerkes 1988:1), it seems reasonable that any Late Woodland artifacts recovered before its use would have been considered to have been belonging to later Hopewell groups.

The second area of research concerns data generated from cultural resource management work. As CRM data have often been ignored in academic research, it is highly likely that this has led to systematic bias in Late Woodland site analyses. While statistical analysis would be required to support this hypothesis, I would argue that CRM datasets represent a more complete sample of Late Woodland sites than academic ones. This is because academic archaeology tends to have a greater degree of flexibility in site selection than either commercial or governmental archaeology. As such, it stands to reason that academic archaeology may possess preferential biases not found in these other spheres.

The third and final area of research is education, outreach, and public archaeology. While a reader of this study may accurately argue that few "professional" archaeologists support the traditional understanding of the Late Woodland today, the poor dissemination of information about this period means this outdated narrative continues to dominate in the public sphere. It is the responsibility of archaeologists to correct this perception as, ultimately, it was the archaeological community who created this perception in the first place. Updating museum spaces and exhibitions, publishing new popular archaeological literature, and engaging with

avocational archaeologists and other communities will help to ensure that a more complete understanding of the Late Woodland can be broadly spread. Finally, and most importantly, archaeologists must do better in collaboration with Indigenous communities, as it is their cultural heritage with which archaeologists work. When combined, these endeavors should lead to archaeology becoming more useful and just in the region.

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Appendix A

Additional Images of Late Woodland Artifact Types

Figure A.1. Opossum gorget with scale (Seeman and Dancey 2000:598, Figure 22.10).

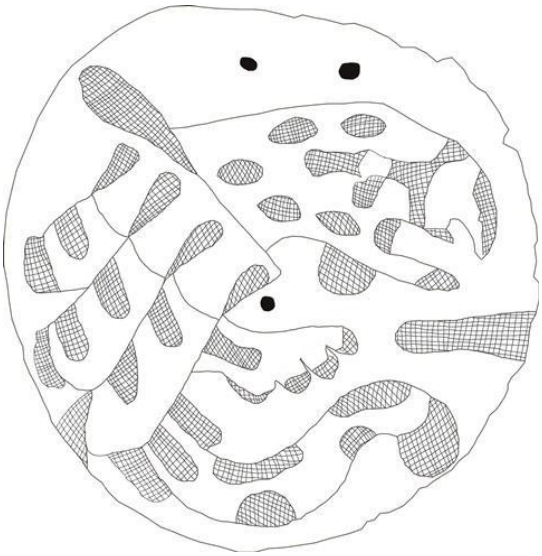

Figure A.2. Drawing of "hybrid" gorget (Rinehart 2015).

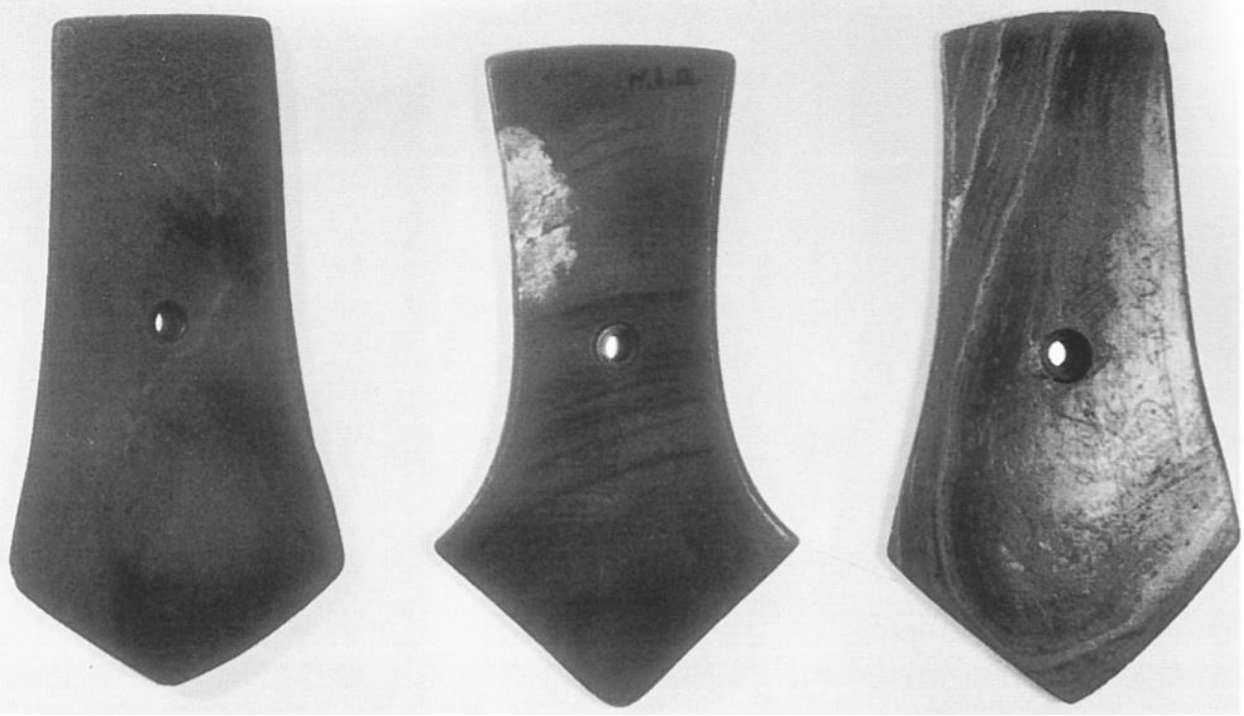

Figure A.3. Pentagonal pendants (Converse 1978:77).

Figure A.4. Pentagonal pendant with concave point (Converse 1978:77).

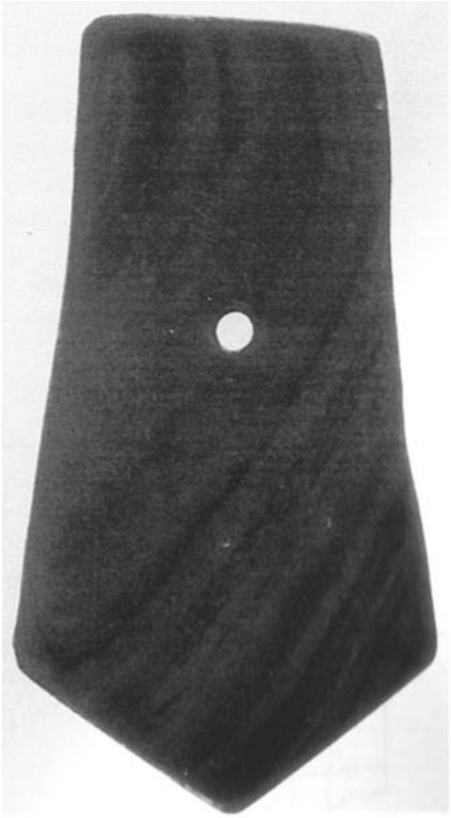

Figure A.5. Pentagonal pendant with straight-edged point (Converse 1978:77).

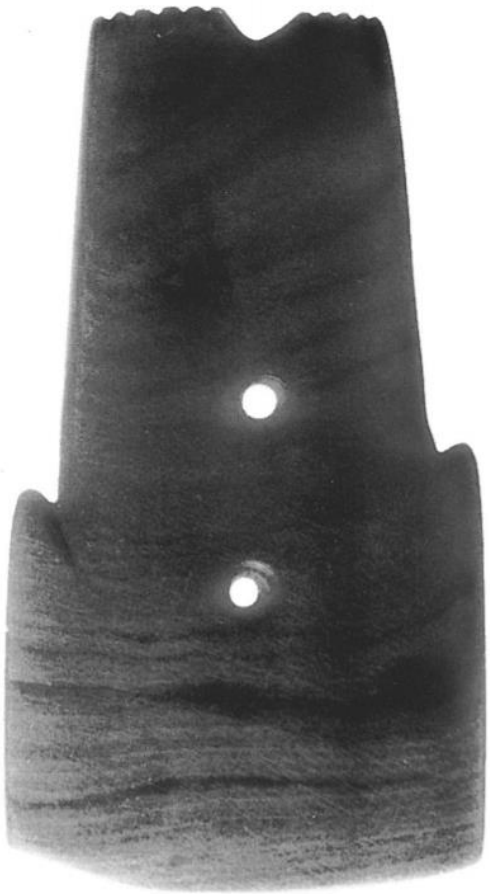

Figure A.6. Spade or shovel-shaped pendant with notches (Converse 1978:75).

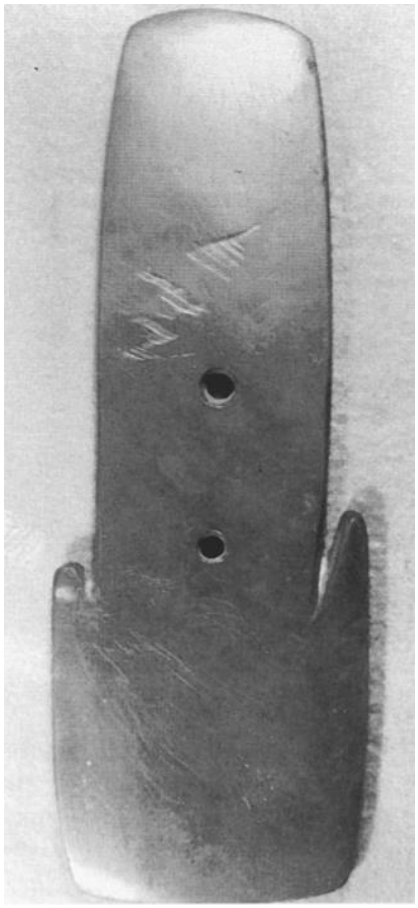

Figure A.6. Spade or shovel-shaped pendant with two holes (Converse 1978:75).

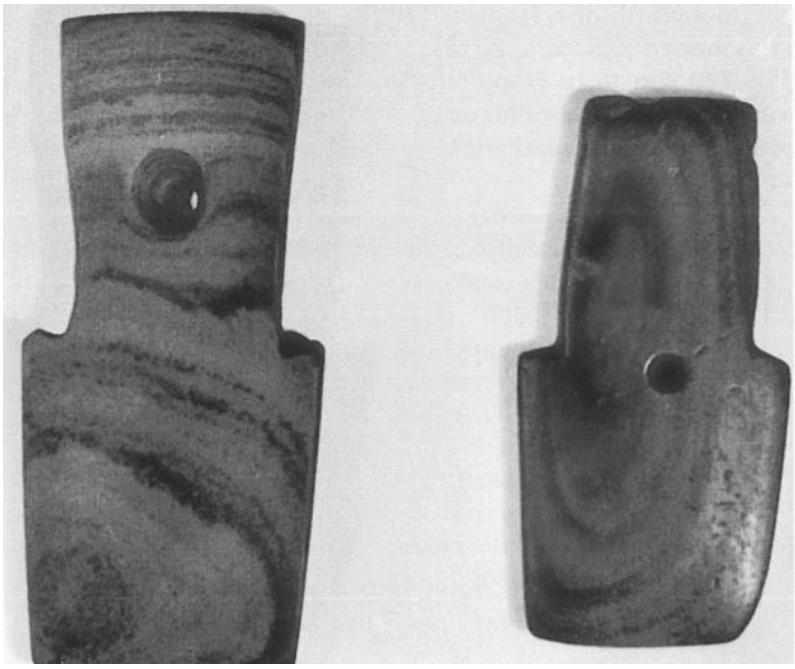

Figure A.8. Two spade or shovel-shaped pendants (Converse 1978:75).

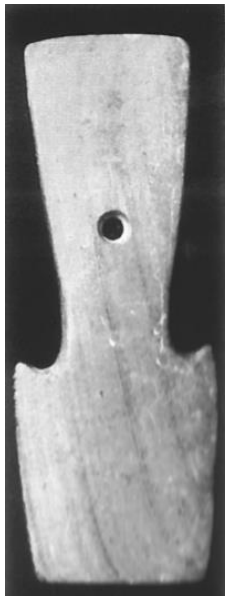

Figure A.9. Spade or shovel-shaped pendant with one hole (Converse 1978:75).

Figure A.7. Gorgets, pendants, and pipes from early Late Woodland period (Seeman and Dancey 2000:599, Figure 22.11).

Figure A.8. Pendant and gorget styles associated with early Late Woodland period (Seeman and Dancey 2000:600, Figure 22.12).

Appendix B

Late Woodland Projectile Point Descriptions and Images

Unnotched Pentagonal Cluster (Jack's Reef Pentagonal, Figure B.1)

> This form is compatible in many respects with Ritchie's (1961, [1971]: 27) definition of the Jack's Reef Corner Notched type, but it lacks a haft element…[t]hese points exhibit a pentagonal shape, usually with straight sides. The sides of the blade are variable, producing a wide obtuse angle which may then be straight and parallel-sided or contracting toward the base. The bases of these points are typically straight. Cross sections are very thin resulting from the use of a refined percussion thinning technique in manufacture followed by minimal pressure flaking along the edges. The flaking pattern is often similar to, if not the same as, Jack's Reef Corner Notched, linking this type as a blank or preform in the manufacturing continuum. However, these forms also served as viable finished tools. These unnotched forms were referred to as 'pentagonal-shaped points' in Ritchie's earlier work (1940, 1944, 1946). The Raccoon Notched type also appears to be manufactured from this type [Justice 1987:215].

Jack's Reef Cluster (Jack's Reef Corner Notched, Figure B.2: a-d)

> Jack's Reef Corner Notched projectile points (Ritchie [1971]: 26) are very thin and wide-bladed forms…[t]he blade is trianguloid, with the edges varying from relatively straight to excurvate. Within this range of variation, the blades of some specimens exhibit an obtuse angle along each edge. This obtuse angle can be distinct and sharp with straight edges converging from the tip and shoulder, or it can be an indistinct joining of two excurvate edges between the tip and shoulder. The basal edge on Jack's Reef Corner Notched points is commonly straight and may exhibit light grinding. Corner notches are usually narrow and deep. The resulting basal ears and shoulder barbs are thin and delicate. These points were manufactured from Jack's Reef Pentagonal preforms and carry all essential flaking characteristics of the type. The percussion flaking technique utilized was highly refined and resulted in a cross section exceedingly flat and thin relative to width. Pressure retouch was used to sharpen and align the edges [Justice 1987:217].

Jack's Reef Cluster (Raccoon Notched, Figure B.2: e-g)

> The Raccoon Notched type (Mayer-Oakes 1955: 87) is very similar to the Jack's Reef Corner Notched type; the only major difference is that Raccoon Notched is side notched. The short description offered by Mayer-Oakes noted that the notches are most often square-sided, although one variety is corner notched. The corner notched variety relates to Jack's Reef defined later by Ritchie (1961). The Raccoon Notched type exhibits squared ears and a straight or concave basal edge that lacks grinding. Jack's Reef and Raccoon Notched share blade shape characteristics that include the pentagonal preform and thin cross section relative to width. Preform manufacture was accomplished using a refined percussion technique [Justice 1987:219].

Late Woodland/Mississippian Triangular Cluster (Levanna, Figure B.3)

> Levanna points (Ritchie 1928; 1961: 31) are basically equilateral, concave-based, triangular arrowheads…[t]hese forms are characteristically as long as they are wide. A broad isosceles form with a concave base occurs less frequently, although it is considered within the range of variation of the type. The blade edges are normally straight, but a slight deviation includes variation from incurvate to slightly excurvate. The basal concavity often exhibits a marked indentation from the basal edge reaching a termination directly below the distal end of the point. Certain specimens are nearly V-shaped at the base, with prominent barbs at the lateral margins of the base [Justice 1987:228].

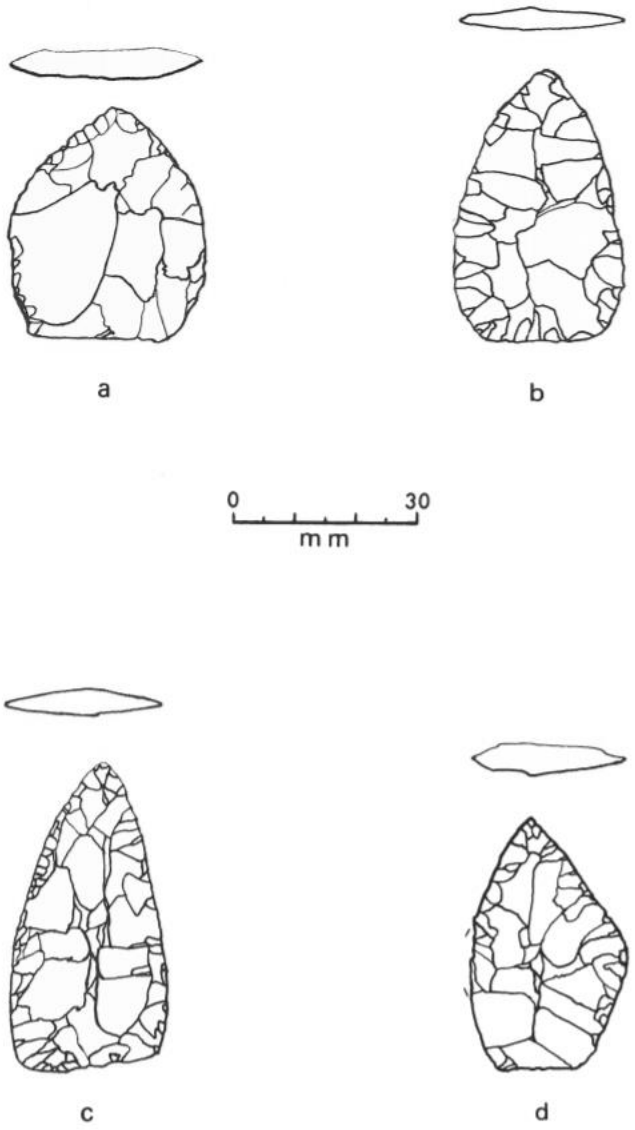

Figure B.1. Unnotched Pentagonal Cluster (Justice 1987:216, Figure 46).

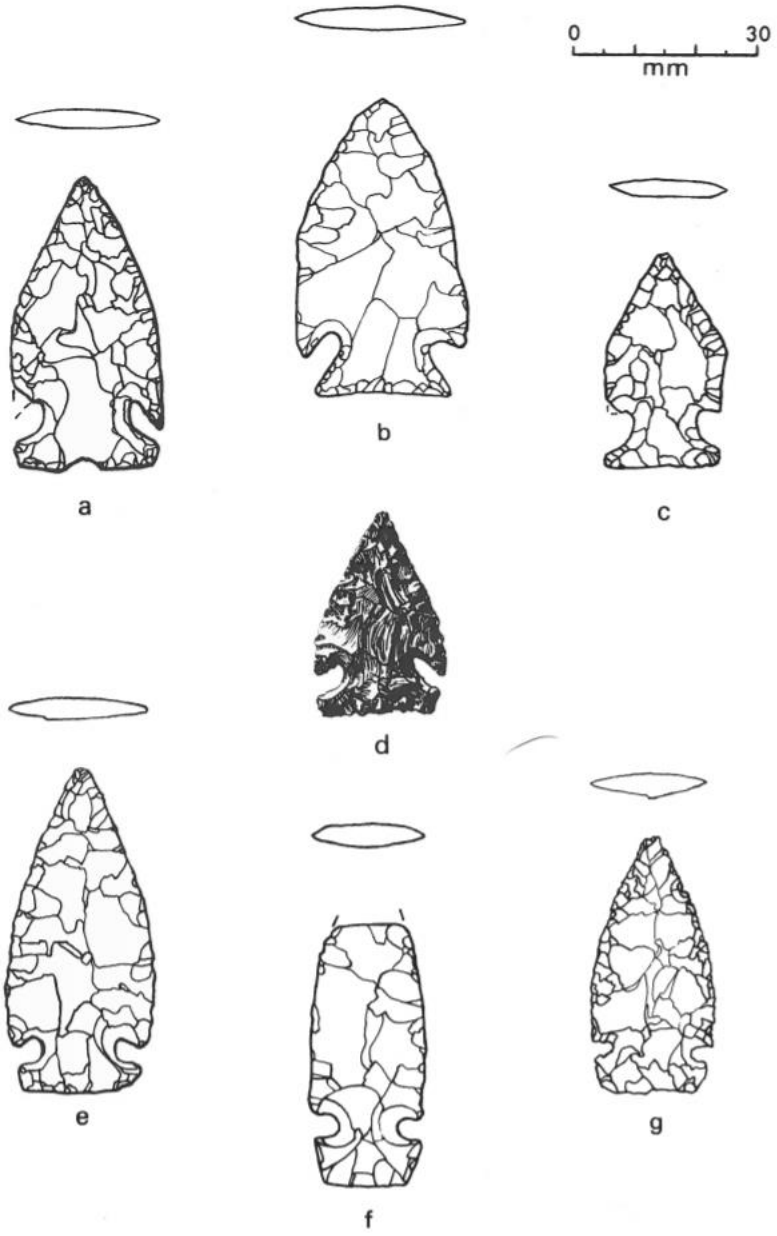

Figure B.2. Jack's Reef Cluster (Justice 1987:218, Figure 47).

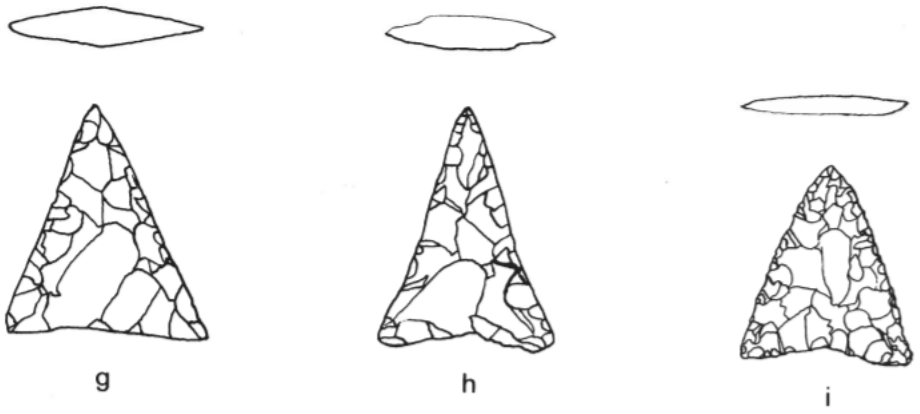

Figure B.3. Levanna points (Justice 1987:226, from Figure 49).