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# **HISTORIC INDIAN PERIOD ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE GEORGIA COASTAL PLAIN**

CHAD O. BRALEY



ATHENS  
DECEMBER, 1995

GEORGIA ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH DESIGN PAPER NO. 10

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**HISTORIC INDIAN PERIOD ARCHAEOLOGY  
OF THE GEORGIA COASTAL PLAIN**

By

Chad O. Braley  
Southeastern Archaeological Services, Inc.

December, 1995

# PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the course of doing archaeology in Georgia since 1978, I have been on hundreds of sites in the Coastal Plain and examined a wide variety of maps, documents and reports. My interest in the Indians of the historic period dates to 1975, my first "dig," which was excavating a portion of a Second Seminole War fort in central Florida. Later, while attending field school in St. Augustine, I was introduced to the archaeology of the sixteenth - eighteenth century Spanish Florida, and for the first time saw historic period Timucuan and Guale pottery intermingled with sixteenth and seventeenth century European wares. This was followed by large-scale projects on the Georgia coast, and on military reservations in the upper Coastal Plain. In recent years I've investigated looter's pits on the site of Yuchi Town, co-directed excavations at a Creek village north of Macon, and unsuccessfully attempted to find the Westo village on the Savannah. I am currently summarizing the excavations undertaken at the Yuchi Town site by the Smithsonian Institution during the 1950s and 1960s.

A brief word concerning terminology. Although it is politically correct to refer to the aboriginal inhabitants of Georgia as Native Americans, the resident Native Americans refer to themselves as American Indians or Indians. Therefore, I use this terminology throughout this report.

During the past 20 years I've been fortunate to have associated with some of the key players in the archaeology of the Indians of the historic period. Friends and colleagues include Gary Shapiro, Mark Williams, Jerald Ledbetter, Kathleen Deagan, Steve Kowalewski, Robbie Ethridge, Dean Wood, Chester DePratter, Jim Hatch, David Hally, Marvin Smith, Charles Ewen, Rebecca Saunders, Frank Schnell, Frankie Snow, and John Worth. One of the pluses of living in a community such as Athens is that there is an ongoing banter between archaeologists of various backgrounds, whether it is on a site, in the office or classroom, or over a beer on Friday evenings. If through nothing else than osmosis, I have learned much from these and many other people. Thanks to all who have contributed to my understanding of this time period; hopefully this document accurately reflects some of their views.

Comments on an earlier draft of this report were provided by Ray Crook, Steve Kowalewski, Frankie Snow, Marvin Smith, Chris Trowell, Mark Williams, and John Worth. Thanks. Chris Trowell also pointed me toward several excellent references to Creeks and Seminoles in the Okefenokee Swamp area. In addition to general editorial comments, John Worth wrote a six page critique of my hypothesized location of mission Santa Isabel, and by extension, the Indian province of Tama. I have included this as an appendix to the main body of the report, and, I have to agree with his interpretations. Tama was situated just below the Fall Line, and mission Santa Isabel and the province of Utinahica was downstream, probably at the confluence of the Ocmulgee and Oconee Rivers and the lower reaches of the Altamaha. It should be noted, however, that with the exception of Frankie Snow's surveys in that region, very little is known about site distributions along much of Coastal Plain portion of these rivers.

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# INTRODUCTION

This report is an armchair survey of south Georgia, concentrating on the Indians of the historic period. The document is also a component of Georgia's Comprehensive Archaeological Preservation Plan, a portion of the Georgia Historic Preservation Plan (DNR 1989). Originally, the archaeological plan included 36 archaeological contexts (Crook 1986) defined by six geographic areas of Georgia and six time periods.

As Ray Crook (1986:5) summarized the need for archaeological context statements, "a great amount of archaeological, historical, and architectural information has accumulated in Georgia in the absence of a comprehensive cultural resource management plan or explicit archaeological research design. Decisions concerning the identification, evaluation, and protection of cultural resources have been made based upon implicit assumptions about the distribution, nature, and importance of each resource. These decisions have been made without a formal appreciation of the broad cultural context within which each resource is an integral part."

The goals of this overview, then, is to provide a synthetic framework that archaeologists can use to predict where historic Indian archaeological sites are likely to occur in the Coastal Plain, and ultimately to manage those resources. As will become abundantly clear, so few historic Indian sites have been found in the Coastal Plain that concrete management plans are elusive at this time.

The historic period, as defined here, spans the years between Hernando de Soto and Indian removal (A.D. 1540 - 1836). Primarily because Europeans initially colonized the Atlantic and Gulf coasts we have better information concerning the history, movement, and eventual decline of indigenous people there compared to interior regions.

## The Natural Setting

*Environment.* The Coastal Plain extends west of the Coastal Zone to Georgia's borders on the south and west, and north to the Fall Line (Figure 1). The Coastal Zone is the eastern extension of the Coastal Plain, and includes Georgia's barrier islands, salt marshes and river deltas. The physiographic boundary between the Coastal Plain and the Coastal Zone is defined by the Wicomico formation of relic beach ridges. Another major boundary is found at the juncture of the Piedmont and Coastal Plain, and Marvin Smith (1992) notes that this area was a preferred settlement location through time.

Georgia's Coastal Plain covers approximately 100,000 square km (38,300 square mi), and includes all or portions of 94 counties. There is a great deal of variability in the natural environment. Elevations range from sea level to 230 m (750 ft) in the Fall Line Hills. Eight different physiographic districts comprise the Coastal Plain including the Fall Line Hills, Fort Valley Plateau, Vidalia Uplands, Dougherty Plain, Tifton Uplands, Bacon Terraces, Okefenokee Basin, and the Barrier Island Sequence (Hodler and Schretter 1986:17). All were occupied at various times by historic Indian groups, although the Fall Line Hills, Dougherty Plain, and Barrier Island Sequence were more intensively occupied.



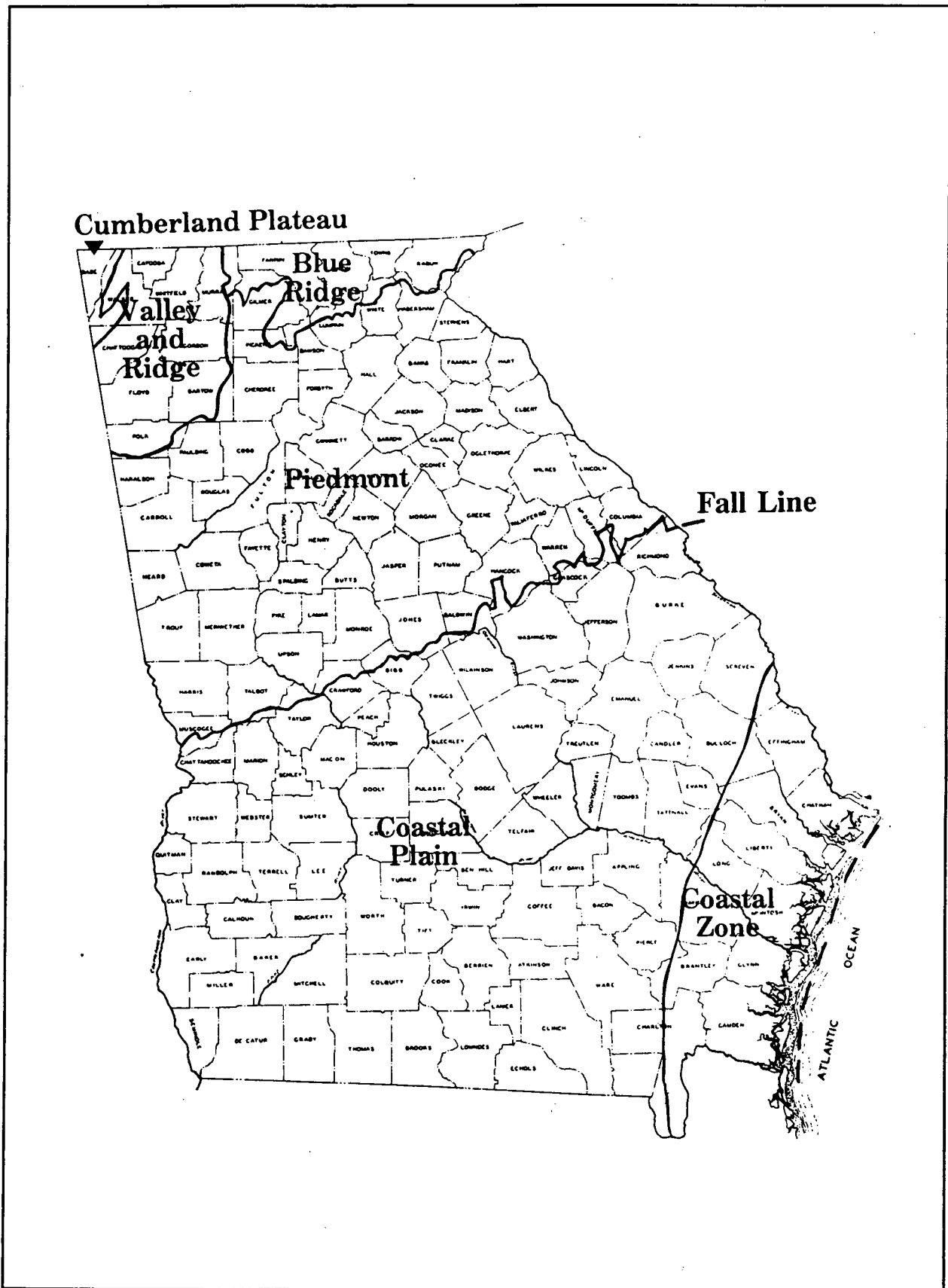


Figure 1. Physiographic Regions of Georgia.

Three major soil groups are found in the Coastal Plain, which in turn creates different vegetation patterns. Soil fertility is generally poor along the 60 - 120 km wide strip of Atlantic Coast Flatwoods, but is moderate to rich in the remainder of the Coastal Plain, particularly in the southwestern portion of the state (Hodler and Schretter 1986:134-135). Before the introduction of modern farming techniques and erosion, the virgin soil of the middle Coastal Plain consisted of humus and light sandy loam that was 9 - 12 inches deep. Soils of the upper Coastal Plain were richer (Bartram 1955:52-53), and recent archaeological surveys yield evidence that the Upper Coastal Plain may have supported emerging agricultural populations during the Late Woodland - Early Mississippi period (Braley 1993).

Paleoenvironmental and historic data indicate that the Coastal Plain uplands supported a vast forest dominated by short-leaf and long-leaf pines interspersed with oaks, hickories and other hardwoods. Many early writers commented on monotonous expanses of nearly pure pine forests. The low floral diversity correlates with low faunal diversity which would place restrictions on human populations. River floodplains and stream bottomlands supported a more diverse array of trees, including oaks, hickories, magnolia, sweet gum, black gum, cypress, and pines among others. The rivers and riverine forests provided food and cover for the animal species that were so important to American Indians. White-tailed deer, black bears, wild turkeys and other species tend to concentrate along and adjacent to these natural corridors. It is no coincidence that the majority of aboriginal sites in the Coastal Plain are found on slightly elevated landforms adjacent to stream bottomlands.

The eastern portion of the Coastal Plain is drained by rivers that flow southeast to the Atlantic Ocean. These include the Savannah, Ogeechee, Altamaha/Oconee/Ocmulgee, Satilla, and the Saint Marys Rivers. The western portion drains to the Gulf of Mexico. The dominant rivers are the Chattahoochee and Flint, which originate in the Piedmont and Blue Ridge Mountains. Lesser rivers in south Georgia include the Ochlockonee, Withlacoochee, Alapaha and Suwannee. A large portion of southeastern Georgia is comprised of the Okefenokee Swamp, a unique ecosystem in itself. Water-filled sinkholes and Carolina bays are also scattered across portions of the Coastal Plain.

The climate is characterized as temperate, although mid-summer heat and humidity extremes can sometimes be almost unbearable. In winter the average minimum temperature is about 40° F and summertime average maximum temperature is about 90° F. Rainfall averages about 52 inches per year, which is more or less evenly distributed throughout the year, although July is the wettest month and October - November are the driest. Generally, the Coastal Plain experiences 230 - 270 days with temperatures above the freezing point.

## The Cultural Setting

It is beyond the scope of this study to present a detailed ethnohistory of the Indians of south Georgia; that has been the task of Swanton (1922; 1979), Hawkins (1971), Bartram (1955), Crane (1981), Wright (1986) and many others. To briefly summarize, in 1540 south Georgia was the home of diverse groups such as the Timucua, Apalachee, Apalachicola, Capachequi, Toa, Ichisi, Tama, and Guale (Figure 2). After contact and disruption caused by

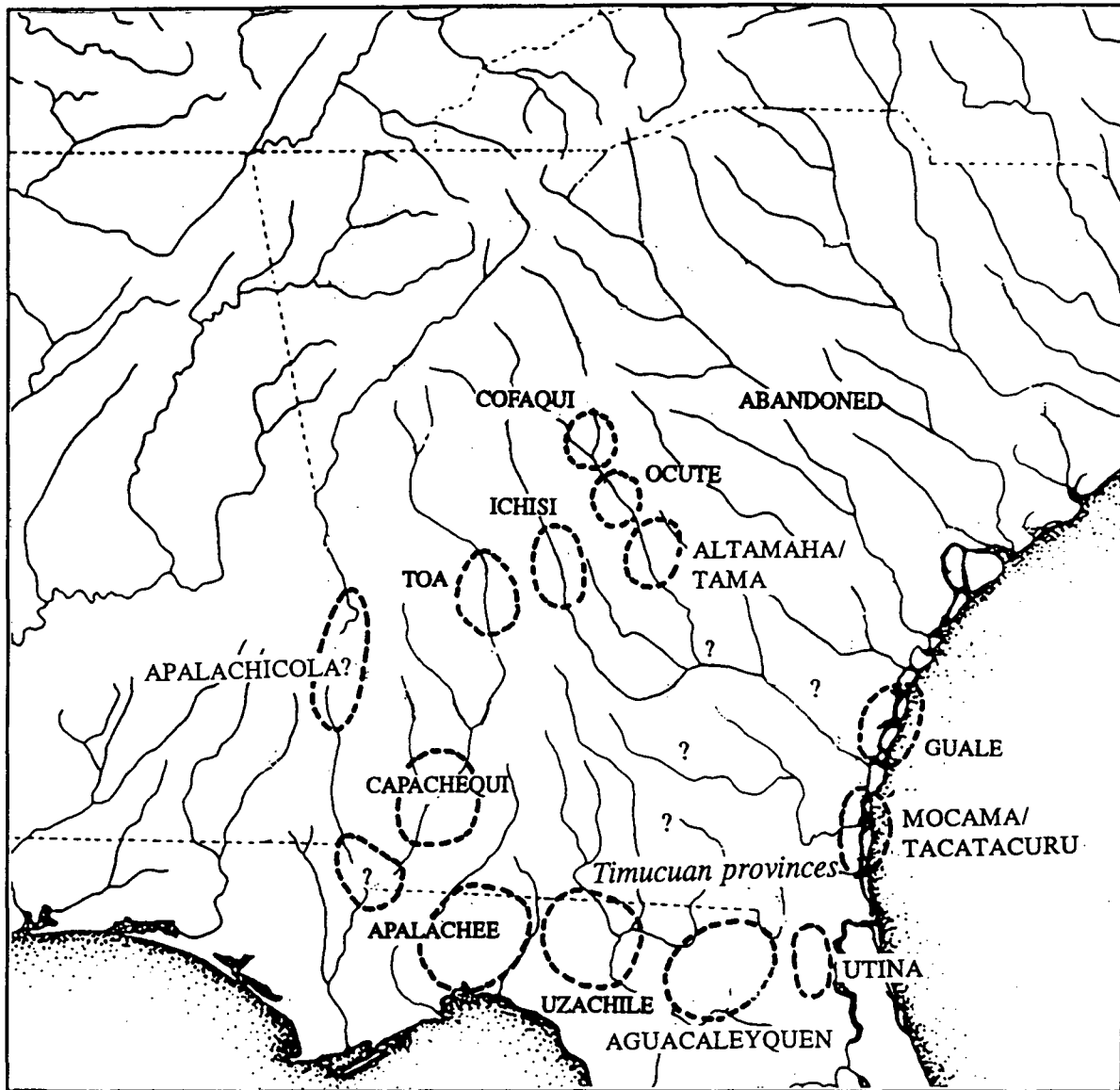


Figure 2. Location of Provinces or Chiefdoms in 1540.

new forms of warfare, introduction of Old World diseases, and social disintegration, many of these groups died out, migrated to new territory, or joined other provinces.

By the eighteenth century the Coastal Plain was home to groups known today as Creeks and Seminoles. The term "Creek" was bestowed on the Indians by English traders during the seventeenth century. Verner Crane (1981) proposed that the name came from the seventeenth century name for the Ocmulgee River, Ochese Creek. By the turn of the eighteenth century, English traders no longer referred to the local inhabitants as Ochese Creek Indians, but as Creeks. While the general public thinks of these tribes as distinct entities, they were the polyglot remnants of the many different tribes first encountered in 1540. Hitchiti and Muskogee were the primary languages, while Yuchi, Shawnee, and Apalachee were spoken in some settlements. To complicate matters, by the late eighteenth century significant numbers of whites and blacks had intermarried with the Indians. By today's standards the Creeks were truly a multi-cultural and multi-racial society.

However, due to this diversity and competing outside influences, the Creeks were not unified. As outlined by Leitch Wright (1986), a fundamental moiety or division existed within the Creeks. There were linguistic and ethnic differences between settlements, and different alliances to each other and the various European powers. This factionalism was exploited by England, Spain, France, and the United States, who played one group off against the other. This helps to explain why the Seminoles split from the main body of the confederacy and moved south to occupy northern Florida, which had been left nearly vacant after the destruction of the Spanish mission villages in early 1700s. It is interesting to note that the Seminoles were comprised mainly of Oconee, Sawokli, Eufaula, Apalachicola and Hitchiti people, who spoke the Hitchiti dialect. In the eighteenth century these people lived in the southern Lower Creek towns on the Chattahoochee River. The northern towns were comprised of Muskogee speakers who remained with the Creek Confederation. These ethnic differences have archaeological implications, although to date we have been unable to correlate material cultural variation with ethnic identity.

At least four main events had far reaching consequences on the Indians of the Coastal Plain. First was the de Soto entrada of 1539 - 1540. Second was the establishment of missions along the coast and across northern Florida. Third was the English colonization of Virginia and the Carolinas that resulted in the dramatic rise in slave raiding, the wholesale slaughter of deer for the deerskin trade, and culminating with the Yamasee War in 1715. Finally, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the United States' demand for land led to the First Creek War and eventual removal of the Southeastern Indians to Oklahoma, Texas and Kansas.

*The de Soto entrada and subsequent visits by Spaniards.* Hernando de Soto and his army of 600 were the first Europeans to penetrate the interior of the Southeast. Crossing into southwest Georgia in the spring of 1540 he travelled through Grady and Mitchell Counties, crossed the Flint River, and continued up its west side into Dougherty County (Figure 3). In southwestern Dougherty County he encountered the small chiefdom of Capachequi. Evidently, this was the first Lamar-related culture to be encountered (Hudson et al. 1984).

Resuming the march, the army continued up the west side of the Flint River until they nearly reached the Fall Line, where the province of Toa was located in Taylor and Crawford Counties. The terminal occupation at Neisler and Hartley-Posey mound sites dates to the mid-sixteenth century (Worth 1988). From Toa the army marched east to the Ocmulgee River, where they encountered the province of Ichisi, immediately south of today's Macon. The Lamar site is believed to be the main town of Ichisi (Hudson et al. 1984:70; Smith 1992:21). Then the army marched northeastward to the Oconee River valley where they visited the towns of Altamaha, Ocute, and Cofaqui. From Cofaqui they marched east, crossing an abandoned Savannah River valley and into the Piedmont of South Carolina.

The archaeological evidence suggests that shortly after de Soto's passage the chiefdoms of Capachequi, Toa, and Ichisi disintegrated and that the Fall Line portions of the Flint and Ocmulgee valleys were abandoned for nearly 150 years. The remnant populations may have moved south, west, or east and reorganized into new settlements or joined the Apalachee, Apalachicola, or other groups.

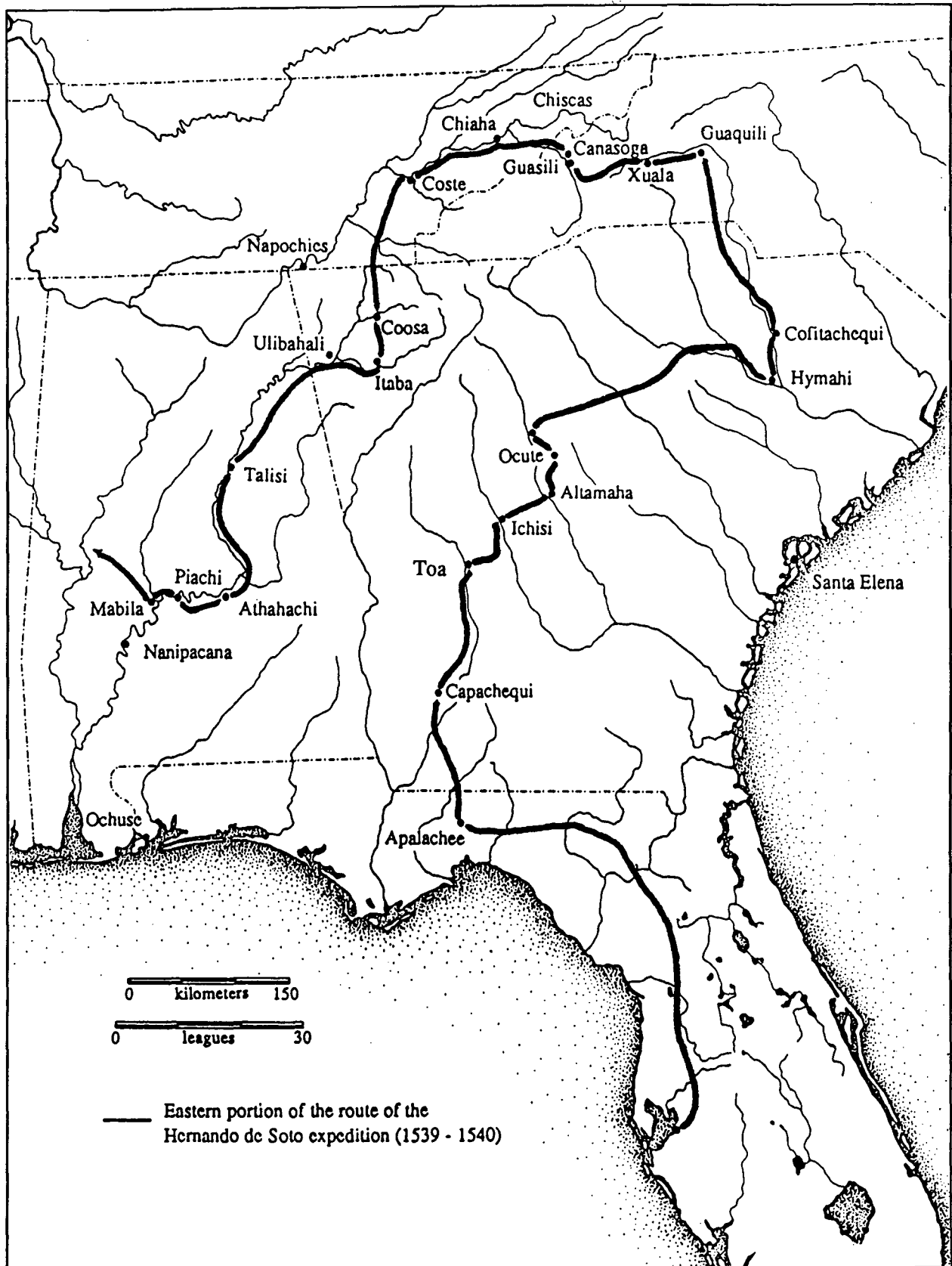


Figure 3. The Route of Hernando de Soto's Army in 1540. After Hudson et al. (1984) and Smith (1992).

The next recorded visit by Europeans occurred over a half century after the de Soto entrada. In 1596, Gaspar de Salas, a Spanish soldier, and two Franciscan fathers, Pedro Fernando de Chosas and Francisco de Veras, departed from coastal missions for the interior. They visited the provinces of Tama and Ocute, which had been encountered by de Soto in 1540.

In 1602, Juan de Lara and a small force of Spaniards travelled to Tama to check on rumors that English explorers were in the interior, but finding none, returned to the Georgia coast. Missionaries and at least five military expeditions visited the interior during the 1610s and 1620s (Lawson 1987; Bolton 1925; Smith 1987; Worth 1993). Figure 4 depicts the location of provinces in the Coastal Plain and Coastal Strand during the first half of the seventeenth century.

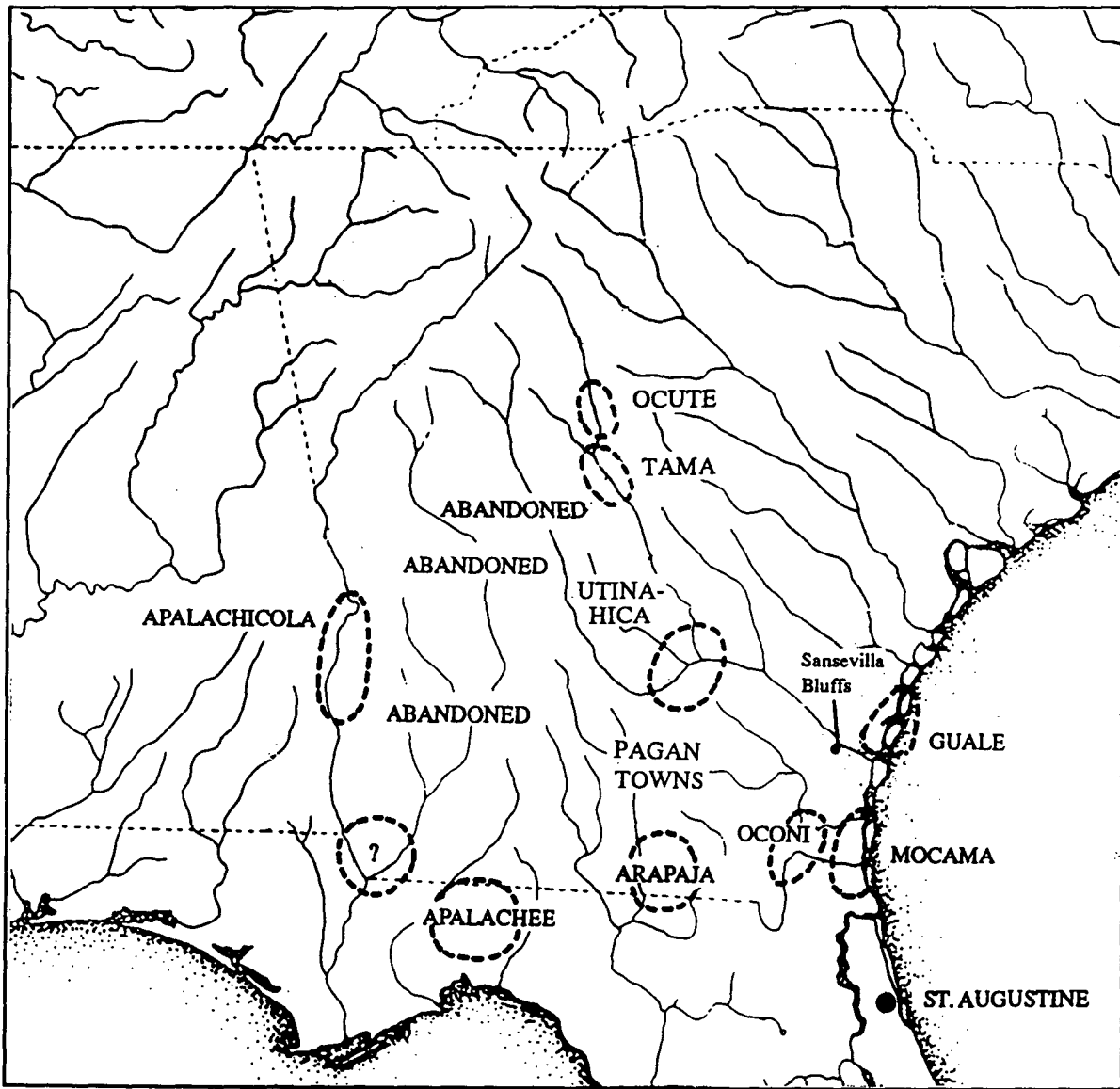


Figure 4. South Georgia Provinces from ca. 1597 - 1650. Modified from Worth (1993).

*The establishment of Spanish missions along the coast and interior.* The establishment of a chain of missions along the coast in the late sixteenth century had a profound effect on the Indians of south Georgia (see Thomas [1993] for a summary of the historic Indian archaeology of the coastal zone). In 1568, within three years of the founding of Santa Elena and St. Augustine, Jesuit missionaries were sent to the Guale coast, but their tenure lasted only two years. Franciscan missionaries arrived in 1573 but left in the following year. Epidemics and warfare characterized the early years of Spanish colonization, and it was not until 1587 that a mission was established on St. Catherines Island. Another uprising occurred along the Guale coast in 1597, at which time the Timucua south of the Altamaha River moved south, into north Florida.

Hostility died down during the early 1600s and the Franciscan missionaries enjoyed a degree of success, converting many Guale and Timucua to Christianity. The chain of missions spread across north Florida, reaching Apalachee by 1633. But the Spaniards were not only interested in saving souls; they viewed the Georgia coast and interior as a storehouse for food. The Christianized Indians were expected to send food surpluses to St. Augustine and the outlying missions, and to provide labor on construction projects. Unlike the English, who would arrive in the late 1600s, the Spanish did not foster the Indians' dependence on material goods. Glass beads, Spanish pottery, and a few iron artifacts were about the extent of the trade goods.

Missions were established in the interior of Georgia Coastal Plain as early as 1615, and by 1630 there were at least two: Santa Isabel de Utinahica, and Santa María de los Angeles de Arapaja (Worth 1993). With these and the missions in the Mocama province of the south Georgia coast, virtually all of the Indians in southern Georgia came under European influence.

Throughout the seventeenth century the Indian population declined primarily as the result of epidemics. Despite this, the missions continued to be focal points of settlement and there was at least a degree of stability. All of this would change by the latter part of the century, as competing European colonies were established along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts.

*English colonization of the Atlantic seaboard and its consequences.* The establishment of Jamestown in 1607 and Charleston in 1670 had a tremendous impact on the Southeastern Indians, and by the 1650s the Indians of Georgia were feeling the consequences. In Virginia in 1656 a group thought to be the Westo settled on the James River, near the Fall Line (Swanton 1922; Worth 1993). They were soon dislodged from this location and moved south, and by 1659 they were raiding the interior of the Southeast in search of Indian slaves. Most importantly, they were outfitted with firearms by the English, thus were the first indigenous people to carry such weapons in the Southeast. The effect was terrifying. In 1661 "a fleet of war canoes descended the Altamaha River to mount a direct assault on the missions of Guale" (Worth 1993:45). Soon afterwards, the province of Tama disintegrated, and the survivors fled toward the coast to be under the protection of the missions. Others joined the Apalachee missions or fringe groups in eastern Georgia and South Carolina who eventually were known as the Yamasee.

In 1674, shortly after the founding of Charleston, Dr. Henry Woodward visited the Westo stronghold on the Savannah River. His account of the village is riveting:

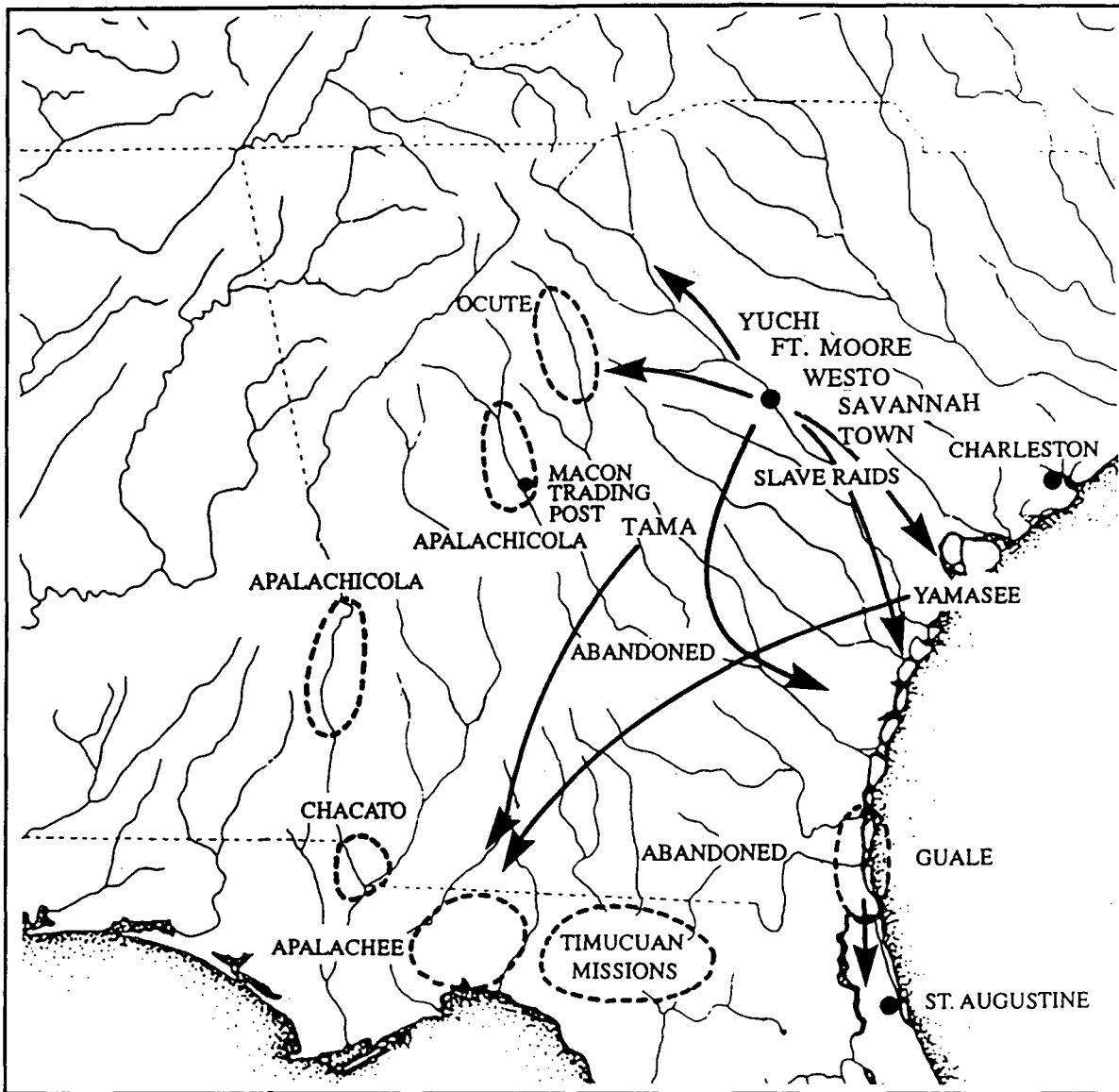
Having paddled about a league upp [the Savannah] wee came in sight of ye Westoe towne, alias ye Hickauhaugau which stands upon a poynt of ye river...uppon ye Westerne side soe yt ye river...encompasseth two-thirds thereof. When we came within sight of the towne I fired my fowling piece & pistol which was answered with a hollow & immediately thereuppon they gave me a volley of fifty or sixty small arms. Here was a concourse of some hundred of Indians drest up in their anticke fighting garbe. Through ye midst of whom being conducted to their chieftains house ye which not being capable to contain ye crowd yt came to see me, ye smaller fry got up & uncovoured the top of ye house to satisfy their curiosity. Ye cheife of ye Indians made long speeches intimateing their own strength (& as I judged their desire for Friendship with us). This night having first oyled my eyes and joynts with beares oil, they presented mee divers deare skins setting before me sufficient of their food to satisfy at least half a dozen of their owne appetites. Here takeing my first nights repose, ye next day I viewed ye Towne which is built in a confused manner, consisting of many long houses whose side and tops are both artifitially done with bark upon ye tops of most whereof fastened to ye ends of long poles hang ye locks of haire of Indians that they have slain. Ye inland side of ye towne being dubble Pallisadoed, & yt part which fronts ye river haveing only a single one, under whose steep banks seldom ly less then one hundred faire canoes ready uppon all occasions. They are well provided with arms, amunition, tradeing cloath & skins furrs & young Indian Slaves...(Swanton 1922:306).

The Westo continued their depredations on the Georgia Indians, and continued to be supported by the English until 1680 when they attacked Yamasee settlements close to Charleston. Then the English enlisted the aid of the Shawnee (Savannah) Indians, who defeated the Westo in the Westo War of 1681. The surviving Westo evidently moved to the Ocmulgee Valley north of the Fall Line, where they were joined by the Lower Creeks from Apalachicola Province on the Chattahoochee. With the Westo defeat, the Savannah then gained control of the trade in slaves and deerskins. As a result, by 1684 the missions along the Georgia coast were abandoned and many of the people of Guale and the Timucuan province of Mocama moved south toward St. Augustine.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century the struggle in the Southeast between the Spanish and English was primarily the result of the two powers trying to control land, and trade with the Indians for deerskins, furs and slaves. The Southeastern tribes became part of a global conflict between England and France, with Spain allied to the latter, during King Williams War (1689-1697).

The English wasted little time in persuading the Apalachicola in west Georgia to attack Spanish mission towns in north Florida, to obtain Indian slaves for plantations along the South Carolina coast and in the Caribbean. Soon, the Apalachicolas were attacking Chatot mission towns in north Florida. In 1695, in retaliation, the Spaniards and a force of Apalachee launched the punitive expedition against the Apalachicola towns on the Ocmulgee River, just north of the Fall Line. Figure 5 shows the location of the various groups from about 1650 - 1700.





**Figure 5. South Georgia from ca. 1650 - 1700.**

In a contest to control the Mississippi drainage, the Spanish constructed a small fort at Pensacola in 1698. Their competitors and occasional allies, the French, constructed a fort and town at Biloxi in 1702, under the leadership of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville. Iberville's concern with the English led him to secure a peace between the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and ally them to the French. In March of 1702, Iberville witnessed the conclusion of the peace between the Choctaws and Chickasaws, who promised to expel the English from their territory (Higginbotham 1977:80).

The main threat to the French and Spanish came from the governor of South Carolina, Colonel James Moore. A Barbadian of Irish descent, he came to the Carolinas in 1675 and became governor in 1700. Almost immediately he began planning offensive actions that he hoped would break the Franco-Spanish hold on the Gulf Coast (Higginbotham 1977:114).

The colonial frontier warfare in the Southeast was based on disputes over territory and trade, but this conflict was also a sidelight to larger conflicts between European monarchs. During King William's War (1689-1697), England and France fought primarily in Europe and at sea in the Caribbean, with minor conflicts in New England and in the Southeast, using Indians in raids. In November of 1700, Philip V, grandson of France's Louis XIV, assumed the Spanish crown. The English disputed the accession because they feared the Franco-Spanish coalition would lock them out of the profitable New World trade. This new war, referred to in Europe as the War of Spanish Succession, and in America as Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), saw England and France again fighting, with Spain allied to France. Governor Moore and the English in Carolina used this larger war as a means to pursue territorial disputes by means of arms, and to gain control over the slave and fur trade with the Southeastern Indians.

Still smarting from earlier conflicts with Spaniards and Apalachees, the Apalachicola towns on the Ocmulgee River were eager to get revenge. During Queen Anne's War the English in Charleston persuaded the Apalachicolas to attack Spanish mission villages across north Florida. The first raid took place in 1702, when Governor Moore's forces destroyed the Timucuan mission and village of San Tomás de Santa Fe in north-central Florida. Clamoring for revenge, Governor Zuniga y Cerda in the summer of 1702 sent out a punitive force of Spanish and Apalachee Indians more than 800 strong, to strike at the Indians living on the Ocmulgee. Anthony Dodsworth and other Carolina traders learned of their approach, assembled an army of 500 Apalachicola and decimated their enemies in a battle on the lower Flint River. In effect this was the first blow struck by the English for the control of the Mississippi Valley (Crane 1981:74).

Continuing the pressure on Spaniards and Indians allied with them, in September of 1702 the Carolina Assembly had approved legislation to equip an expedition to attack St. Augustine; by October 29, Moore and Colonel Robert Daniel, with a force of 500 English volunteers and 450 Yamasee, Tallapoosa, and Alabama warriors, were laying siege to a much smaller force of Spaniards huddled in the Castillo de San Marcos (Higginbotham 1977:114). The attackers burned outlying Guale and Mocama towns during the assault.

The arrival of four Spanish galleons from Cuba thwarted Moore's plans and trapped his ships inside the harbor. Moore burned the his and slowly retreated to Carolina.

Giving up on the plan to seize St. Augustine, governor Moore next turned his attention to Apalachee and the chain of missions across north Florida. Leaving from the town of Achito (Hitchiti) on the Ocmulgee in December of 1703, Moore led a force of 1000 Apalachicolas and 50 English soldiers into north Florida (Figure 6). In early 1704 they laid waste to the settlements in the provinces of Timucua and Apalachee, killing hundreds, inflicting horrific torture on both Indians and Spaniards, and enslaving thousands of Apalachee Indians (Boyd et al. 1951). Recent analysis suggest that these numbers are exaggerated; probably several hundred were killed and "it is unlikely that those enslaved by Moore numbered many more than 1000" (Hann 1988:279). Nonetheless, this was a devastating blow to the Spanish colony, and created a vacuum in north Florida that was filled by the Seminoles during the last half of the eighteenth and first part of the nineteenth century.

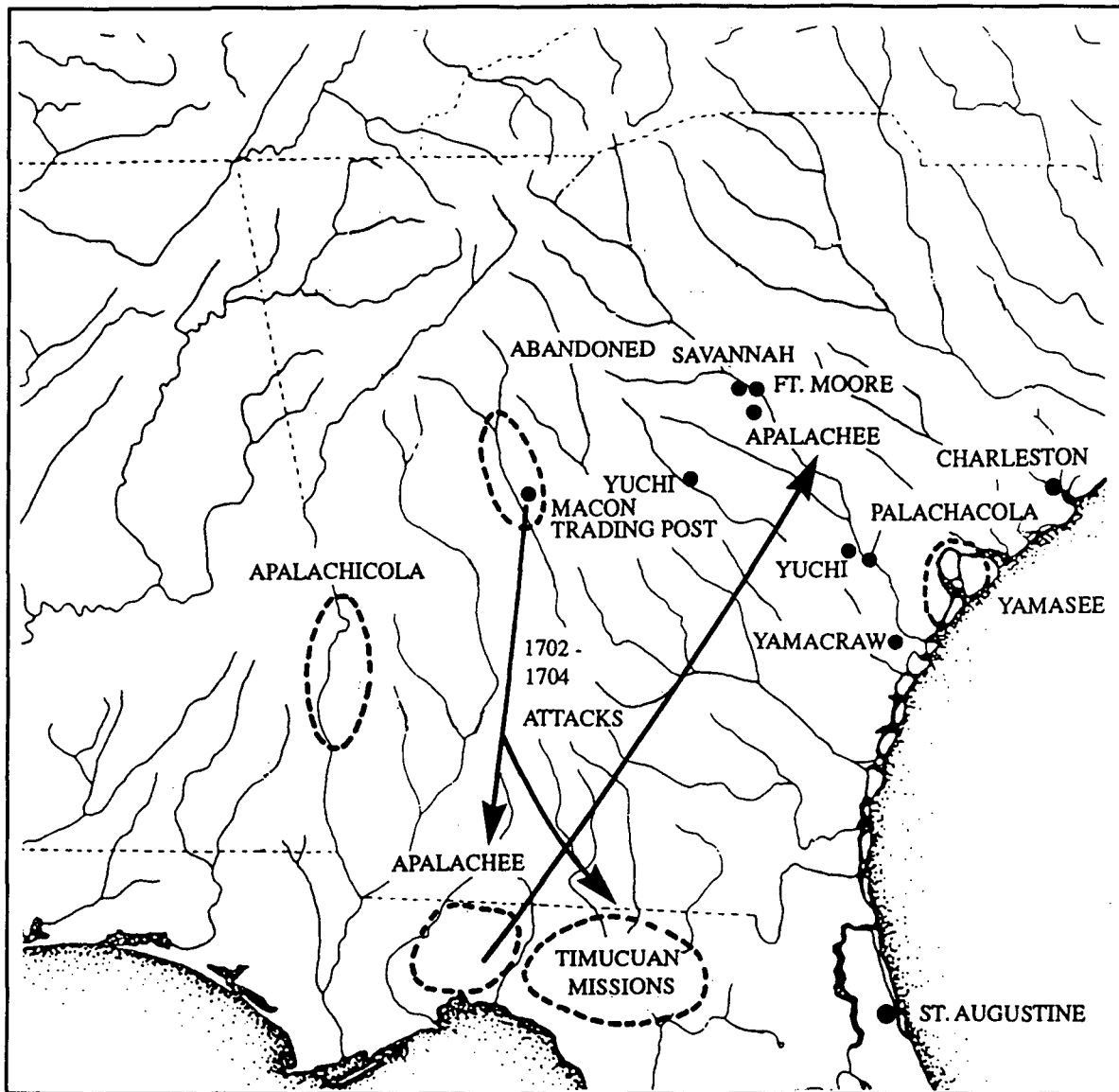


Figure 6. South Georgia in the Early 1700s.

*The Yamasee War.* The end of Queen Anne's War meant a change in attitude between the English and the Southeastern Indian allies. Expansion of the English Carolina frontier dispossessed Indians from their traditional homeland and threatened the towns on the Ocmulgee. Unfair treatment and even enslavement at the hands of English traders caused the one-time allies to revolt against the English in the Yamasee War of 1715. Although named for the Indians living closest to the conflict, Indians from across Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama took part in the attacks that focussed on coastal settlements near Charleston. In addition to the Yamasee, warriors from the Cowetas, Hitchiti, Choctaw, Catawba, Savannah (Shawnee), Palachacola, Abihkas, Alabamas, Yuchi, Apalachee, Saraws, Waccamaws, Santee, Cape Fear and Cherokees had roles in the fighting. Retribution at the hands of the English resulted in a reshuffling of the cultural landscape. The settlements in the eastern and central part of the state, Palachacola, Savannah Town, Ogeechee Old Town, Oconee Old Town, and the towns on the Ocmulgee, all moved westward to lessen contact with the English (Figure 7). Refugees streamed into the Middle and Lower Chattahoochee valley.

Despite the abandonment of their former territory, within a few years of the war some groups of Indians returned to the eastern part of Georgia. Yuchis were again living on the Savannah River at Mount Pleasant and north of Augusta, Chickasaws resided near Fort Moore, and the Yamacraw were on the lower reaches of the Savannah.

*The deerskin and slave trade.* The desire for European (mainly English) goods caused the Southeastern Indians to become commercial hunters and slavers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For nearly a century and a half, from about 1670 until Indian removal in the 1830s, the Southeastern Indians participated in the deerskin trade with English traders (Braund 1993). Trade began slowly; at first, the colonists near Charleston needed Indian hunters to supply food for their tables. Money was of no use to the Indians, who preferred to exchange venison and skins for items like blankets, cloth, beads, brass kettles, rum, and of course

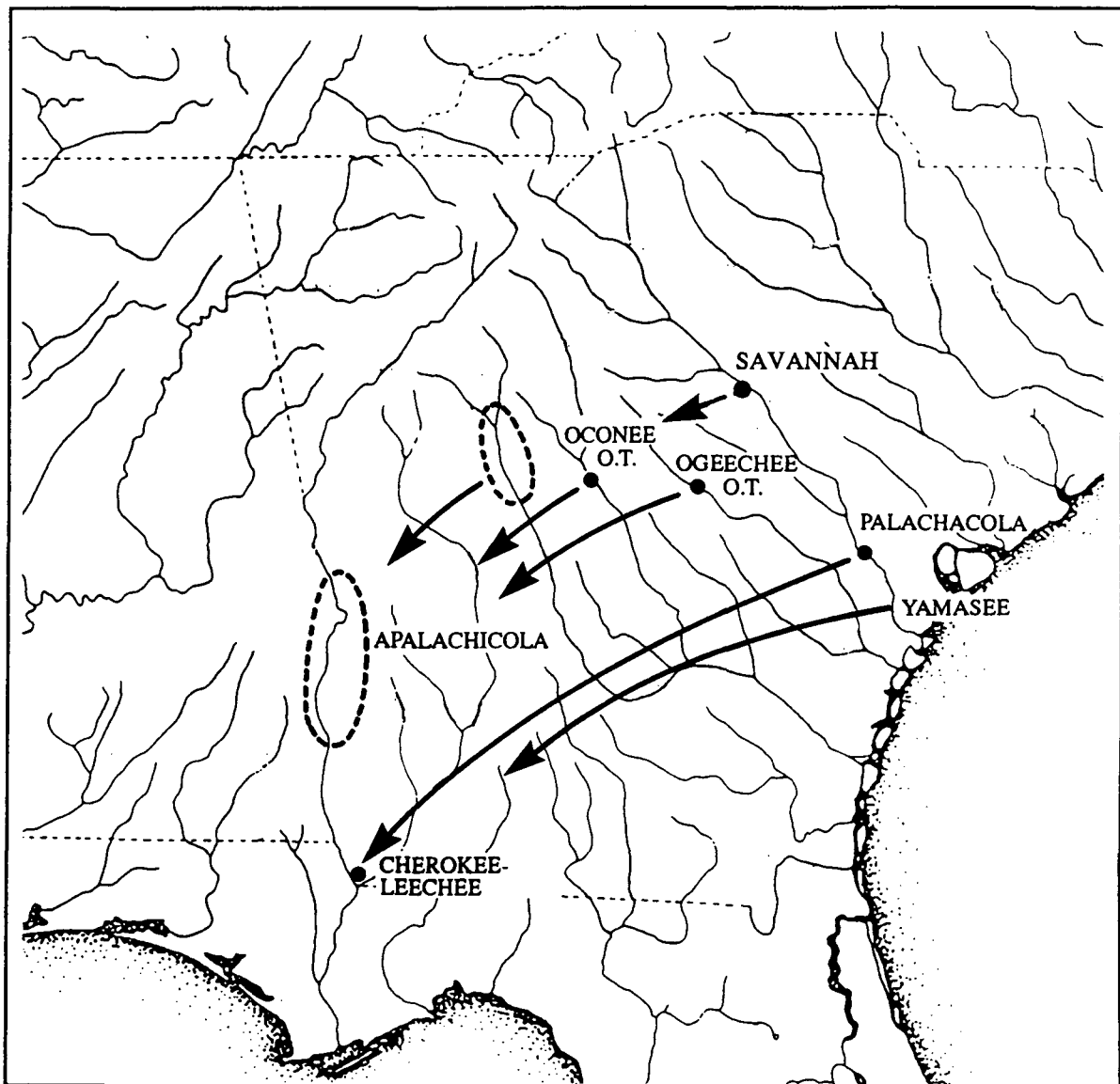


Figure 7. Aftermath of the Yamasee War.

firearms. Soon, Indians from across the Southeast were participating in the trade. In addition to deerskins, Indian slaves were also exchanged for European goods. Charleston was the primary destination, but trading posts were also built at Fort Moore on the Savannah River below Augusta, at Augusta itself, Macon plateau, and eventually at Savannah and other strategic points. Trading posts were also established to the south at Pensacola, St. Marks, and on the St. Johns River. The deerskin trade was closely tied to competing European foreign policy, and the various powers went to great lengths to win the allegiance of Georgia's Indians.

Accurate counts are difficult to determine, but at least 4.5 million deer were slaughtered during the 1700s in Georgia alone. Thirty skins could buy a gun, 14 a blanket, four an axe. A bottle of watered down rum could be purchased for a single skin. Virtually every male old enough to carry a gun hunted deer. Hunters would leave their villages in the fall and roam the woods for up to six months at a time in pursuit of deer. Small, seasonally occupied camps must have been very common in the upper and middle Coastal Plain. One of these, a Yuchi hunting camp, was sketched by the Salzburg artist, F. G. Von Reck in the 1730s (Hvidt 1980). By the end of the eighteenth century the deer population had been drastically reduced, as noted by the Indian Agent, Benjamin Hawkins:

The traveller, in passing through a country as extensive and wild as this, and so much in a state of nature, expects to see game in abundance. The whole of the Creek claims...cover three hundred square miles; and it is difficult for a good hunter...to obtain enough for his support (Hawkins 1971:24).

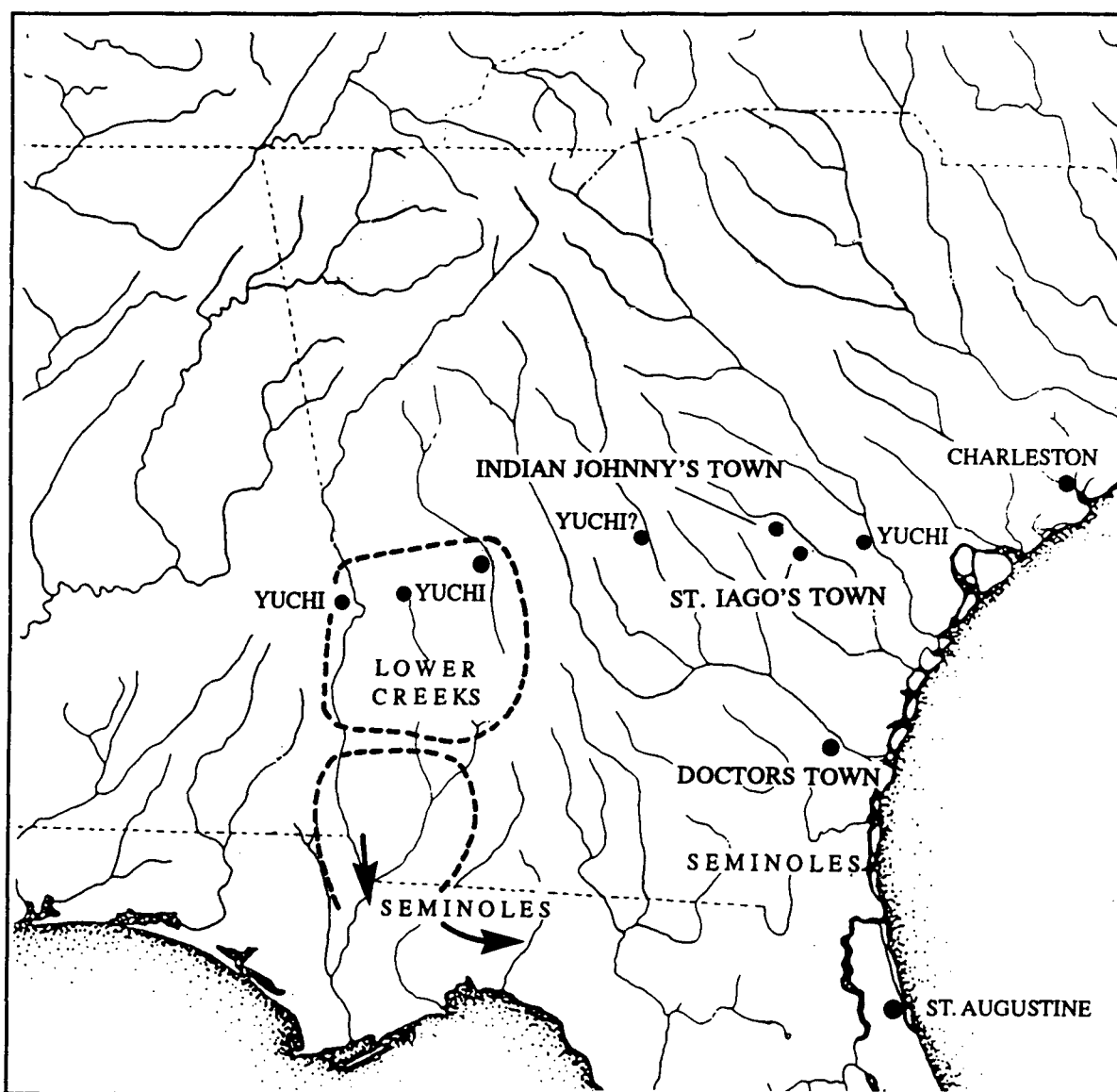
It is important to note that the Southeastern landscape in the late 1700s was very different from that in 1540. As recently described by Denevan (1992:371), "agricultural clearing and burning [by Indians] had converted much of the forest into successional (fallow) growth and into semi-permanent grassy openings...much of the mature forest was characterized by an open, herbaceous understory, reflecting frequent ground fires." After European contact the indigenous population, which may have numbered up to four million in North America, fell by almost 75 percent (Denevan 1992:371). Consequently, the wild and natural landscape described by Benjamin Hawkins represents nearly two centuries of forest recovery without human impacts. During the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the face of declining human populations and the regrowth of forests, the deer population must have increased significantly.

*The colonization of Georgia, statehood and westward expansion.* Georgia was colonized in 1733 at the site of Savannah, and the Yamacraw leader, Tomochichi, ceded his territory to James Oglethorpe, the first of many such land cessions. In 1739, Oglethorpe went to the Creek towns of Coweta and Kasita on the Chattahoochee River to dissuade them from trading with the French. Although the Creeks would not promise to help the new English colony in the event of warfare between England and Spain, the Creeks agreed not to join the Spanish (Coleman 1977:28). Figure 8 shows the location of historic Indian groups in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

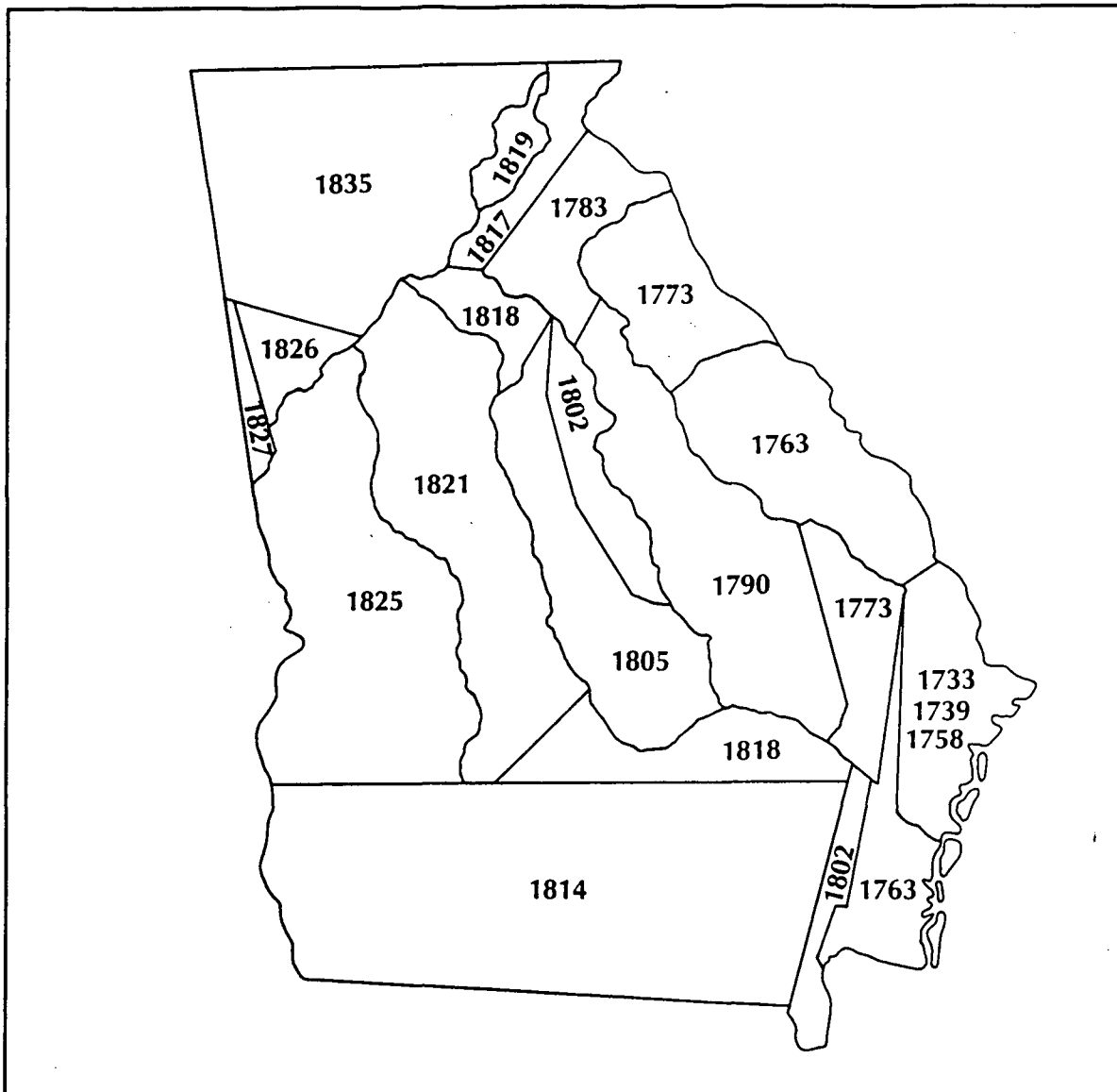
Originally, slavery was prohibited in the new colony. It was hoped that Georgia would be settled by yeoman farmers such as the Salzburger at Ebenezer. By 1750 the Trustees had approved the request that slaves be introduced. Consequently, there was a "dramatic upturn in trade, population, and affluence for the colony" (Coleman 1977:37). Soon the coastal parishes, where rice was the main crop, had more blacks than whites.

Increasing demand for agricultural land put more pressure on the Indians to give up their old territory. Land cessions took place in 1739, 1758, 1763, 1773, 1783, 1790, 1802, 1805, 1814, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1821, 1825, 1826, and 1827 (Figure 9). As each partition was made, the boundaries were surveyed, Indians vacated the territory, and white and black Georgians moved in. With the end of the American Revolution in 1783, American settlers began to move into Creek lands in Georgia. Spain, which had reacquired Florida as a result of siding with the Americans during the war, hoped to establish a buffer against expansion from Georgia by encouraging Creek hostility to American settlement. They also encouraged runaway slaves to go to Florida where they would be given their freedom.

Following the old Indian trading path that connected the Lower Creek towns with Augusta and Charleston, the Federal Road was completed in 1811. The Federal Road began in



**Figure 8. Location of Creeks, Seminoles and Yuchi Settlements during the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries.**



**Figure 9. Indian Land Cessions in Georgia.**

Augusta, passed by Fort Hawkins (present-day Macon), on to Fort Mitchell, Alabama, and finally terminated at Mobile (Chase 1974:28).

The westward movement of white settlers into former Creek territory, blatant trespassing on Indian land, combined with slaves running away to join the Indians in southwest Georgia and north Florida, resulted in increasing friction between Indians and white Georgians. Creek leaders such as William Weatherford (a.k.a. Red Eagle) secured military stores from the British and their Spanish allies in Pensacola. The conflict eventually resulted in the First Creek Indian War of 1813-1815 (Owsley 1981). In 1813 hundreds of Upper Creeks attacked Fort Mims, a palisaded fort about 40 miles north of Mobile on the Tensaw River. Over 250 of the defenders were massacred by militant or "Red Stick" Creeks, primarily from central Alabama. Red Stick sympathizers also occupied the lower Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers in southwest Georgia. In 1814, the Red Sticks were defeated at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend by American troops under the command of Andrew Jackson, and a sizeable contingent of Lower Creeks from Georgia and eastern Alabama. It was during this conflict that the Indians ceded most of the southern portion

of the state to Georgia. The region was so remote however, that hostile Indians (Seminoles) continued to reside there until being forcibly pushed out by American troops in 1818.

Florida, under nominal Spanish control, suddenly had a large influx of hostile Indians and runaway slaves at about this time, prompting Jackson to invade, capture Pensacola, raid Indian settlements east of Tallahassee, and hang English instigators at St. Marks.

Prior to the First Creek War, Presidents Washington, Adams, and Jefferson all made serious attempts to regulate Indian relations by establishing trade treaties, with the intention of persuading the Creeks to take up agriculture and stock raising. However, federal efforts to provide the training and material necessary for such a transition usually failed, and in the face of ever-increasing American encroachment on Indian lands the government found itself fighting a series of small-scale Indian wars.

The government's inability to regulate settlers, and state and territorial governments, with regard to respecting the Indians' property rights, and to change the Indians' way of life, persuaded President Jefferson to seek an alternative solution. The subject was introduced to Congress in 1803, and in 1804 an act organizing the recently acquired Louisiana purchase included a provision for the exchange of Indian lands east of the Mississippi for lands in the west. With the election of President Andrew Jackson, all efforts to treat the Lower Creeks as a sovereign nation ended. Instead, Jackson favored total Indian removal east of the Mississippi and worked with the Congress to pass the Indian Removal Bill of 1830.

The Treaty of Cusseta (1832) granted Creeks land in the west for all of their holdings in Georgia and Alabama. The Creek Indian Agency was closed by Jackson, and Creeks gathered at Fort Mitchell for processing before undertaking the journey west.



# RESULTS

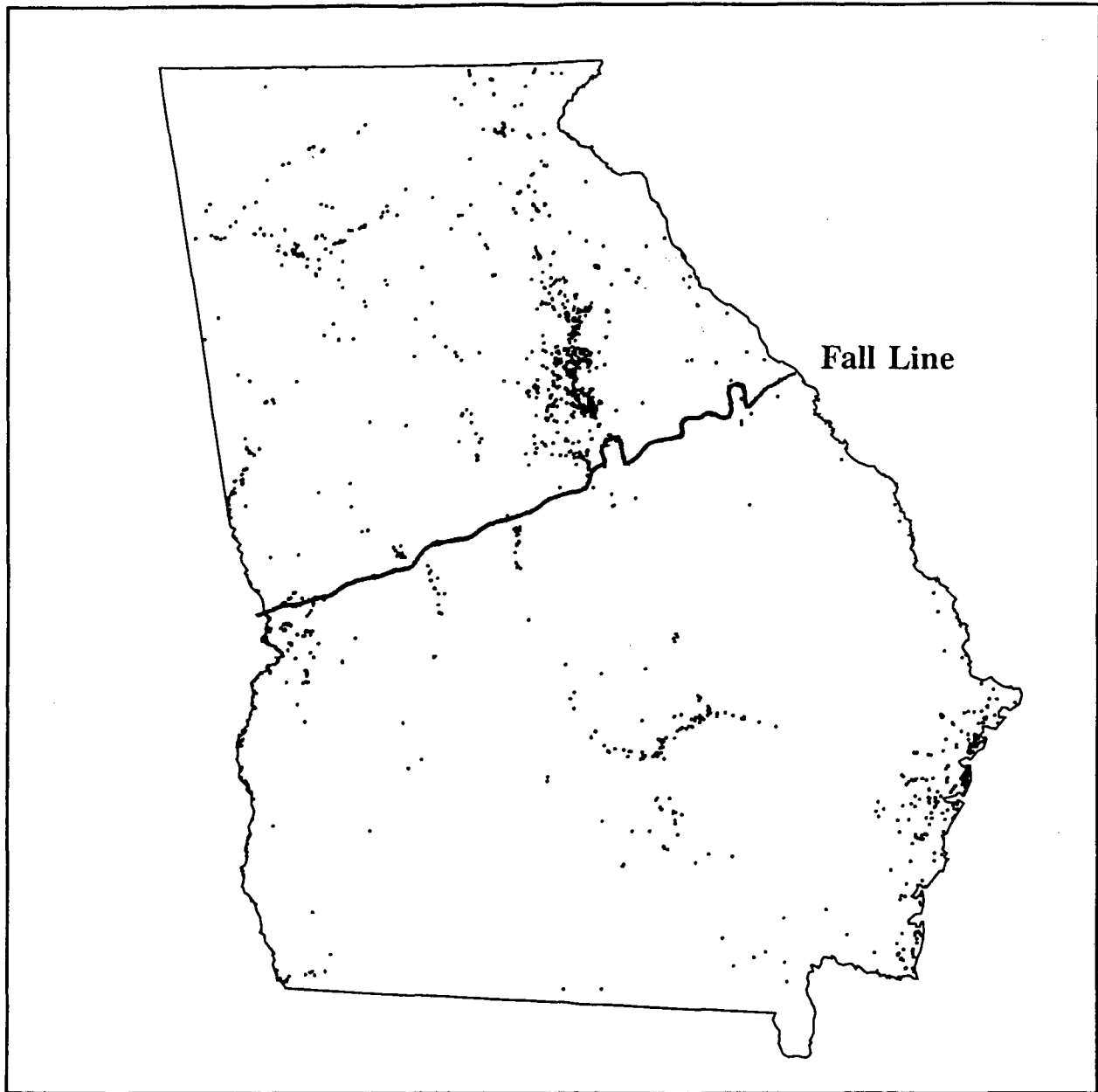
## Site File Search

Using the computerized site files at the Georgia Archaeological Site Files on the University of Georgia, I asked the program (Paradox) to list all protohistoric and historic aboriginal sites in the Coastal Plain counties. The results reflect the low level of work that has been done in the area, and also the difficulty in separating protohistoric and historic Indian sites from their late Mississippi period counterparts. Excluding the tier of Coastal Zone counties, only 203 protohistoric or historic Indian sites have been recorded. Therefore the recorded site density is on the order of one site per 188 square miles of Coastal Plain. The bulk of these are located along the Chattahoochee River, and were recorded as a result of river basin surveys before the construction of Walter F. George Reservoir and Lake Seminole. Most sites today are recorded during compliance-related surveys; the military reservations located just below the Fall Line (Fort Benning, Robbins Air Force Base and Fort Gordon) have recently been intensively surveyed. Other large federal landholdings such as Fort Stewart and the Okefenokee Swamp have had comparatively little coverage.

After the computer listed the protohistoric and historic site numbers in the Coastal Plain counties, I then examined the hard copies of the forms and double checked the information. This established that there are problems with the data base. First, little or no information concerning artifacts, components, site location, etc., are found on the earliest site forms. Also, many of the forms were prepared by people who couldn't distinguish a prehistoric sherd from a historic Indian sherd, or identify temporally sensitive European artifacts that might be present. "Historic china" conveys no useful information. Some of the forms filled out by professional archaeologists aren't much better. Some accurately list prehistoric and historic Indian artifacts in the space provided, but they failed to list more than one phase. Consequently, when the information was entered into the computer, the only designation was "Late Mississippian". Also, and this is a problem shared by academic and contract archaeologists alike, in many instances there is no attempt to identify the artifacts by time period or established typologies. Consequently, sites that have pottery of some sort are identified as "undiagnostic prehistoric". Finally, some of the component information was incorrectly coded; at least 22 supposed historic Indian sites in McIntosh County are actually late eighteenth - nineteenth century European-American or African-American sites.

To counteract some of these biases, I asked Mark Williams to use the University of Georgia's new Geographical Information System and plot all of the sites identified as protohistoric, historic Indian, and late Mississippian. This more accurately reflects the distribution of sites (Figure 10), but underscores the fact that few systematic surveys have been conducted in the Coastal Plain and that historic Indian sites are woefully under-represented in the region.

I then examined the Georgia Archaeological Site Files archaeological report and manuscript files for pertinent information, which met with limited success. Except for river basin survey reports concerning the reservoirs on the Chattahoochee and lower Flint Rivers, and recent reports of surveys at Fort Benning, few of the reports contain information about this time period.



**Figure 10. Scatterplot Showing Recorded Late Mississippian, Protohistoric and Historic Indian Sites in Georgia. Courtesy of Mark Williams, Georgia Archaeological Site Files (1994).**

Negative evidence is as useful as positive evidence when it comes to mapping out boundaries of various historic Indian territories, but an adequate sampling of the region is the first prerequisite, and that we don't have at this time.

### Documentary Sources

Throughout this project I relied heavily on the ethnographic works of John Swanton (1922; 1979), Benjamin Hawkins (1971), and other sources. Eighteenth and nineteenth century

maps of Georgia and the Southeast were also particularly informative concerning the location of settlements and depicting trail systems (Figures 11 and 12). Although not researched during this project, the Georgia Department of Archives, Surveyors General Office contains the land lottery maps of Georgia. As land was ceded to the state by the Indians, surveyors established land lots, and often recorded the location of Indian settlements, individual houses, trails, and other "improvements" (Figures 13 and 14). Other sources include the Colonial records of South Carolina and Georgia (Candler 1904; Salley 1929); during the early days of the colonies there are many references to Indians and Indian settlements in south Georgia. For late eighteenth and early nineteenth century accounts of Indians in south Georgia see Coken and Watson (1986); Schoolcraft (1851-1857); Starret 1957; Wright 1945). Anyone conducting research on late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Indian sites in Georgia should be aware of these documents. Secondary sources, such as published county histories, are of occasional help in locating historic Indian settlements and trails in the region.

## Trails

The system of Indian trails is depicted in Figure 15. As shown, by the late eighteenth century the system was extensive, connecting settlements with one another and facilitating the all important deerskin trade. The trails followed ecotones and natural features such as the Fall Line and rivers, but also cut across wide expanses of the Coastal Plain. In 1540, de Soto's army followed trails northward from Apalachee into the Piedmont. It was not until they headed east, toward Cofitachequi in central South Carolina that they got off established trails and crossed through uninhabited regions. No doubt some of the Indian trails were established well back into the prehistoric period, and followed game trails. Others probably were established by traders and packhorse trains in the seventeenth - nineteenth centuries. Very often, the trails followed interfluvial divides, which would facilitate travel by minimizing the number of stream crossings and traversing relatively level, well-drained terrain. The entire spectrum of site types should be located on or close to these trails, including Indian towns, Spanish missions, English trading posts, and short-term camp sites. After the deerskin trade got underway, the most common type of site should be small hunting camps that were occupied from November - March.

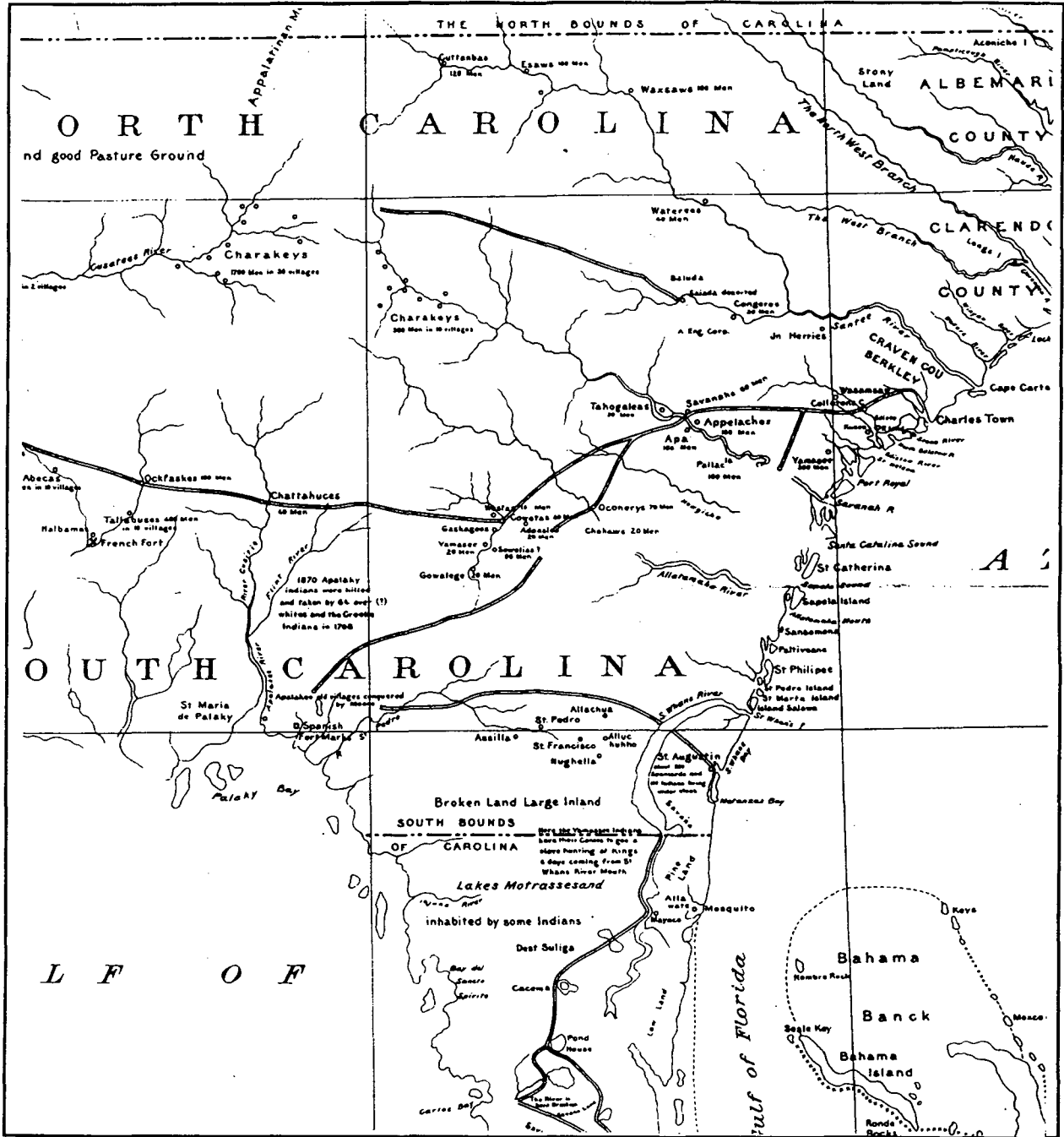


Figure 11. Circa 1715 Map of the Southeast Depicting Major Trails. Source: Swanton (1922:Plate 3).



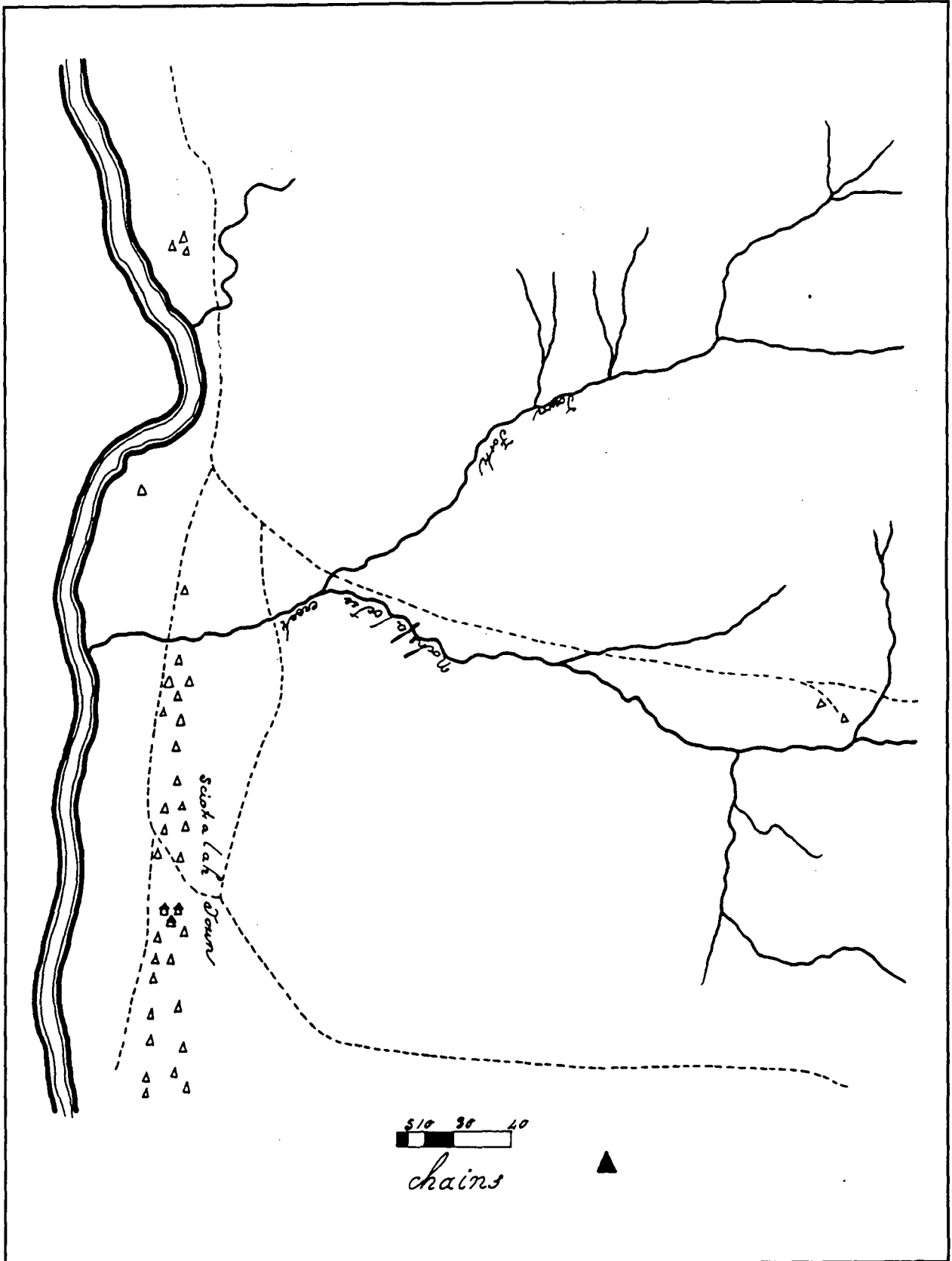


Figure 13. Portion of the 1827 Survey Plat of District 22 of Lee (now Stewart) County Showing the Creek Town of Sciokalah (Sowokli).

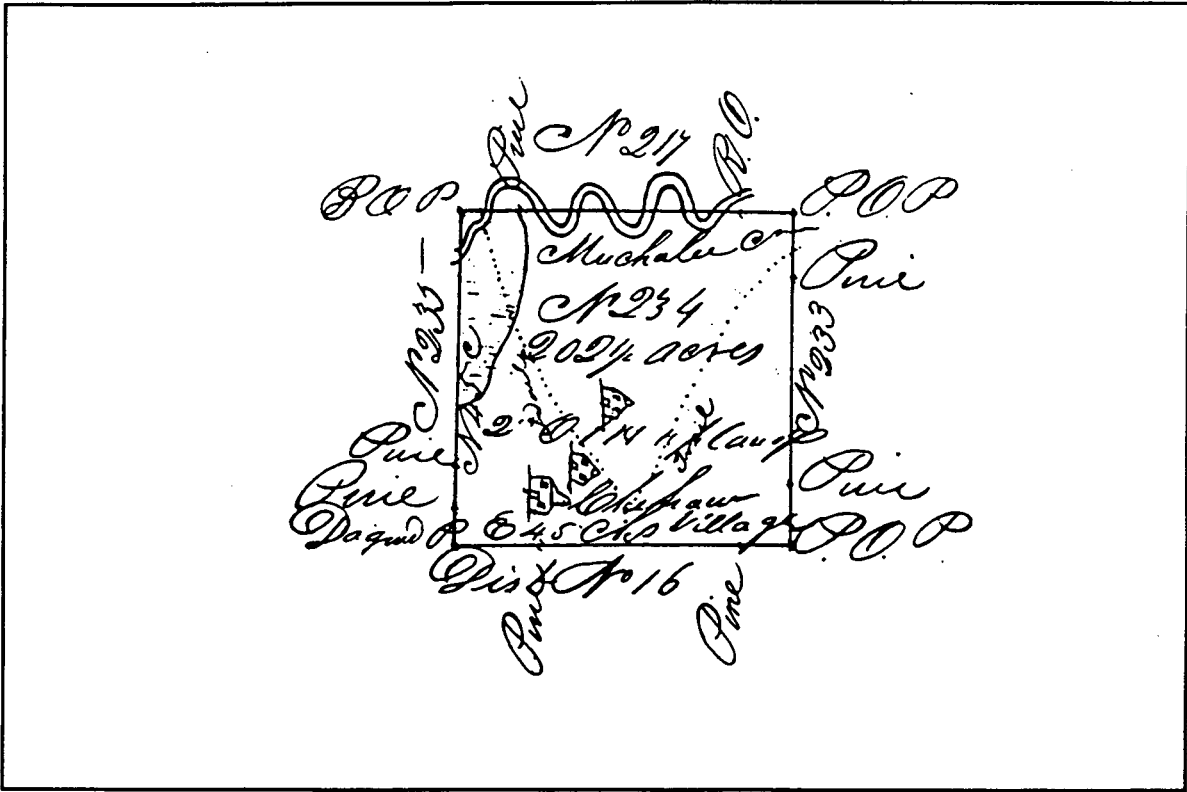


Figure 14. Survey Plat of Land Lot 234, District 27 of Lee (now Sumter) County Showing "Chehaw Village".

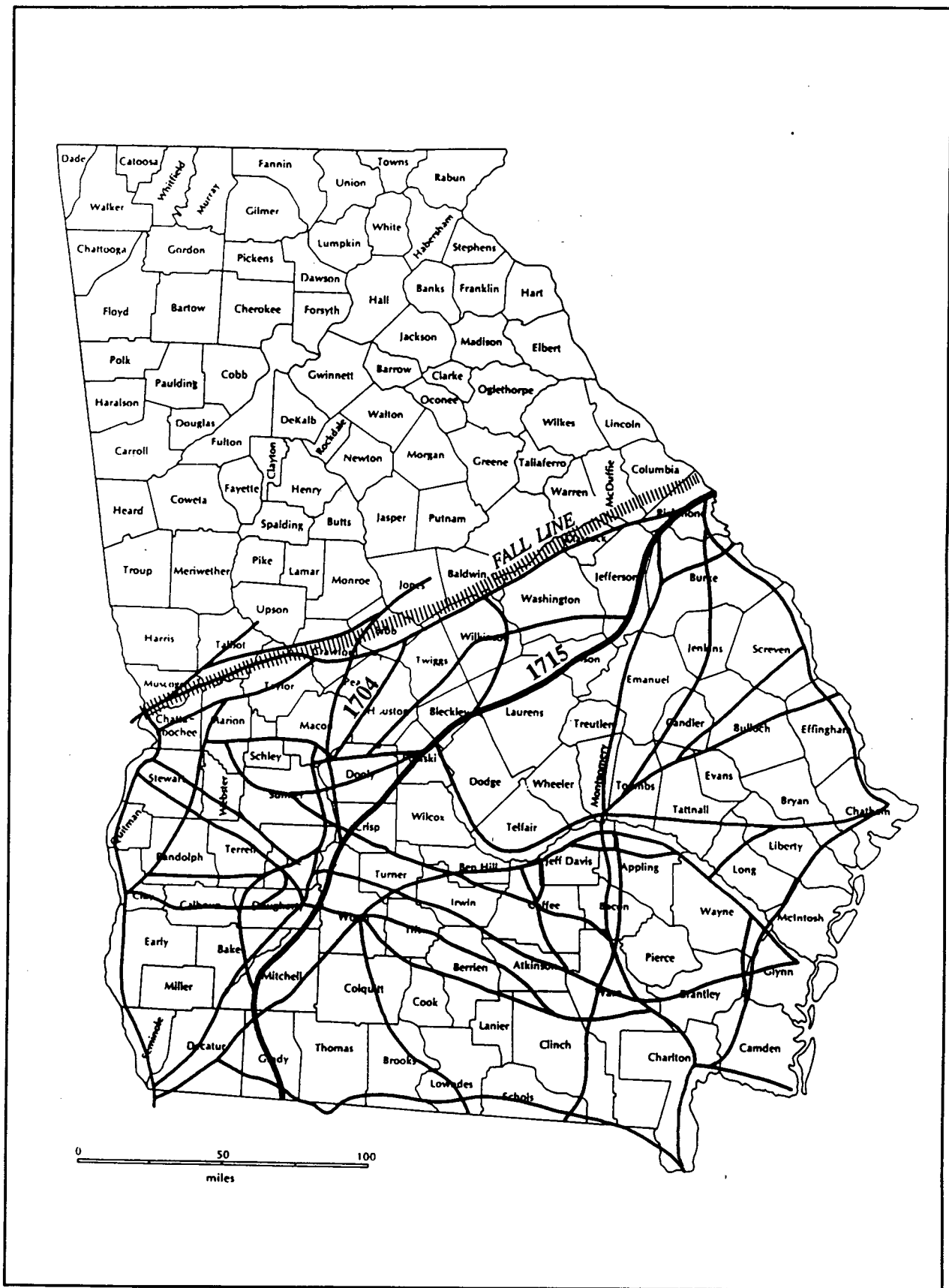


Figure 15. Indian Trails in the Georgia Coastal Plain (after Hemperly 1979).



## Previous Archaeological Research

The review of the site forms and manuscripts at the Archaeological Site Files reveals that most of the substantive work on historic Indian sites in the Coastal Plain has taken place in the Chattahoochee River valley prior to the impoundment of reservoirs, and on military reservations in order to comply with federal regulations. Few large-scale excavations have been conducted on historic Indian sites south of the Fall Line; the bulk of archaeological information comes from surveys.

Following is a list of the few larger projects that encountered historic Indian sites in the Coastal Plain. Although negative evidence is just as important as positive, I did not summarize the projects that did not have historic Indian sites or components. At some point it would be useful to depict the boundaries of large scale surveys on a map of the Coastal Plain, a task that would be relatively easy using the Geographical Information System at the State Archaeological Site Files.

### Chattahoochee River Valley

**Project Name:** Historic Lower Creek Sites

**Project Location:** Chattahoochee River valley in Clay, Quitman, and Stewart Counties, Georgia

**Project Investigator:** Harold A. Huscher

**Project Results:** Archaeological sites correlated with Lower Creek villages described in documentary sources.

**Published References:**

Huscher, H.A.

1958 Historic Lower Creek Sites. Manuscript on file at the State Archaeological Site Files, University of Georgia

**Project Name:** Columbia Lock and Dam

**Project Location:** Chattahoochee River, Early County, Georgia

**Project Investigator:** Harold A. Huscher

**Project Results:** Survey and site testing located one site, 9ER53 which was believed to be a Creek house or houses.

Published References:

Huscher, H.A.

1959 Appraisal of the Archaeological Resources of the Columbia Lock and Dam Area, Chattahoochee River, Alabama and Georgia. Manuscript on file at the State Archaeological Site Files, University of Georgia.

Project Name: Excavations in Stewart County

Project Location: Chattahoochee River, Stewart County, Georgia

Project Investigator: A.R. Kelly

Project Results: Nine sites investigated, some Lawson Field phase artifacts reported

Published References:

Kelly, A.R., C. deBaillou, F.T. Schnell, M.V. Clayton, A.L. Schlosser

n.d. Excavations in Stewart County, Georgia, Summer and Fall, 1961. Report on file at the State Archaeological Site Files, University of Georgia.

Project Name: Archaeological salvage in the Walter F. George basin, Alabama

Project Location: West side of the Chattahoochee River below Columbus, Georgia

Project Investigator: David L. DeJarnette

Project Results: Several historic Indian sites were excavated prior to the impoundment of the reservoir. Excavations at the Spanish Fort Site (1689-1691), 1RU101, are also reported.

Published References:

DeJarnette, D.L.

1975 Archaeological Salvage in the Walter F. George Basin of the Chattahoochee River in Alabama

Project Name: Lake Seminole survey

Project Location: lower Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers

Project Investigator: Nancy M. White

Project Results: Unknown, report is missing from the State Archaeological Site Files

Published References:

White, N.M.

1981 Archaeological Survey at Lake Seminole. Cleveland Museum of Natural History.  
Archaeological Research Report 21.

Project Name: Fort Benning surveys

Project Location: Chattahoochee and Muscogee Counties, Georgia;  
Russell County, Alabama

Project Investigator: Robert W. Benson

Project Results: Survey located several small Creek sites (isolated  
farmsteads?) along Upatoi Creek, and the  
Chattahoochee River

Published References:

Benson, R.W.

1993 Cultural Resources Survey for FY91/FY92 Timber Harvesting Compartment and  
Testing at Site MTA-2, Fort Benning, Alabama and Georgia. Report on file with the  
U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Savannah.

Project Name: The Kasihta Site

Project Location: Chattahoochee River, Lawson Field, Fort Benning

Project Investigator: Gordon R. Willey and William H. Sears

Project Results: Archaeological testing within the presumed site of  
Kasihta located structural remains and several  
burials containing native artifacts and European  
trade goods. Lawson Field phase named for this  
site.

Published References:

Willey, G.R. and W.H. Sears

1952 The Kasihta Site. *Southern Indian Studies* 4:3-18.

Project Name: Apalachee

Project Location: Tallahassee, Florida

Project Investigator: John Hann

**Project Results:** Hann summarizes the mission effort to the Apalachee Indians and discusses the ramifications to neighboring Apalachicola, Timucua, and other groups. Provides lists of town names on the Chattahoochee and Ocmulgee Rivers from 1675-1742.

**Published References:**

Hann, J.  
1988 *Apalachee, the Land between the Rivers*. University Presses of Florida, Gainesville.

**Flint River Valley**

**Project Name:** Flint River Reservoirs

**Project Location:** Flint River, Talbot, Pike, Taylor, Upson, and Meriwether Counties, Georgia

**Project Investigator:** Don Gordy

**Project Results:** Reconnaissance surveys located 76 sites, 11 of which have historic Indian components

**Published References:**

Gordy, D.  
n.d. Site Reconnaissance; Sprewel Bluff, Lazer Creek, and Lower Auchumpkee Creek Dams. Manuscript on file at the State Archaeological Site Files, University of Georgia.

**Project Name:** Mill Creek site, Americus

**Project Location:** Sumter County, Georgia

**Project Investigator:** T.H. Gresham, R.J. Ledbetter

**Project Results:** Archeological data recovery encountered primarily Archaic period lithic workshops, but an apparent Creek house site was also investigated. An overview of Creek archaeology in southwest Georgia is provided.

**Published References:**

Gresham, T.H., R.J. Ledbetter, R.F. Etheridge, and T.J. Price  
1989 *Archaeological Investigations of the Mill Creek Site, Americus, Georgia*. Report on file with Southeastern Archeological Services, Inc., Athens.

## **Ocmulgee/Oconee/Altamaha Rivers**

**Project Name:** Ocmulgee Big Bend Survey

**Project Location:** Confluence of Ocmulgee and Oconee Rivers and upper reaches of Altamaha

**Project Investigator:** Frankie Snow

**Project Results:** 320 sites of all time periods were recorded; Square Ground Lamar pottery was reported for the first time; early European artifacts were found on some sites; Altamaha line block and Leon-Jefferson ware reported; late eighteenth - early nineteenth century Creek or Seminole sites are rare. Best large scale survey in central-south Georgia.

### **Published References:**

Snow, F.

1977 An Archaeological Survey of the Ocmulgee Big Bend Region. *Occasional papers from south Georgia*, 3. South Georgia College, Douglas.

## **Okefenokee Swamp**

**Project Name:** Nineteenth century letters and diaries concerning the Creek War in southeast Georgia

**Project Location:** Okefenokee Swamp

**Project Investigator:** Chris T. Trowell

**Project Results:** Several first hand accounts of Indian attacks on farmsteads at the edge of the swamp

### **Published References:**

Trowell, C.T.

n.d. *Exploring the Okefenokee, Letters and Diaries from the Indian Wars, 1836-1842.* Research paper 5, manuscript series 1, South Georgia College, Douglas.

## **Ogeechee River**

**Project Name:** Fort Argyle

**Project Location:** Ogeechee River, Bryan County, Georgia

Project Investigator: Chad Braley

Project Results: Site of Colonial period defensive and trading fort (1733-ca. 1780) confirmed by archaeological testing. Some evidence of historic Indian trade.

Published References:

Braley, C.O.

1985 *The Archaeological Confirmation of Fort Argyle (8BN28), Bryan County, Georgia.*  
Report on file with the National Park Service, Interagency Archeological Services  
Division, Atlanta.

**Savannah River**

Project Name: Mount Pleasant survey and testing

Project Location: Savannah River, Effingham County, Georgia

Project Investigator: Daniel T. Elliott

Project Results: Testing encountered historic Yuchi artifacts dating to the early eighteenth century

Published References:

Elliott, D.T.

1990 *Ye Pleasant Mount: 1989 & 1990 Excavations.* LAMAR Institute. Watkinsville, Georgia.

## Summary of Archaeological Phases by River Valley

In this section, I summarize basic information concerning historic Indian occupation of the Coastal Plain by concentrating on river valleys. I begin with the Chattahoochee valley and work east, dividing the valleys by Upper, Middle, and Lower Coastal Plain where appropriate. It was not a random decision to begin with the Chattahoochee Valley; southwest Georgia was occupied by Indians long after the eastern portion of the Coastal Plain had been abandoned or ceded to white settlers. Consequently, it is possible to use the direct historic approach to the study of Indian societies in the Chattahoochee and Flint River Valleys. Table 1 also summarizes the known phases by river valley.

### *The Chattahoochee River*

**Upper Coastal Plain.** The Chattahoochee Valley, home of a moderate size chiefdom in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century (Stewart phase), miraculously escaped a visit by de Soto's army in 1540. Aboriginal provinces east and west of the Chattahoochee appear to have totally collapsed but there was continued occupation of the upper portion of the valley until Indian removal in 1838. However, survey data show an apparent drastic reduction in population following 1540. While earlier Bull Creek phase sites are relatively common in the Coastal Plain portion of the valley, the succeeding Stewart and Abercrombie phase sites are restricted to the extreme northern part of the Coastal Plain. Although they escaped the direct effects of invasion, it is possible that Old World diseases took a toll on the population (Knight and Mistovich 1984:225). The following descriptions of ceramic attributes by Frank Schnell was taken from *Lamar Archaeology* (Williams and Shapiro 1990).

#### **The Stewart Phase, A.D. 1475 - 1550**

Ceramic attributes: Plain pottery accounts for approximately 55 percent; complicated stamping accounts for about 20 percent; incising and punctating account for about 15 percent; Mercier check stamped occurs.

#### **The Abercrombie Phase, A.D. 1550 - 1625**

Ceramic attributes: Plain (smoothed, burnished, and polished) predominates; incising and punctating are more common than complicated stamping; complicated stamping forms less than 20 percent; shell tempering is common.

#### **The Blackmon Phase A.D. 1625 - 1715**

During the Blackmon phase there appears to have been an increase in the population and number of sites (Knight and Mistovich 1984), at least in the northern portion of the Coastal Plain. It was during this time that the first direct European contact occurred. Spanish documents mention the province of Apalachicola in 1639 (Swanton 1922:129), but it was not until 1675 that a list of towns were recorded were recorded 30 leagues north of the confluence of the Flint and Chattahoochee Rivers.

Table 1. Historic Archaeological Phases by River Valley.

Date	Chattahoochee		Flint		Ocmulgee	Oconee	Altamaha	Ogeechee	Savannah	Withla- coochee and Alapaha	Ochlockonee
	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	Upper	Upper				
1838	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1800	Lawson Field	Lawson Field	Lawson Field	Lawson Field	Aban- doned	Aban- doned	Lawson Field	St. Iago's Town	Aban- doned	Lawson Field?	Lawson Field?
1750	—	—	—	—	Ocmulgee Fields	Ocmulgee Fields	Aban- doned	Ocmulgee Fields/ Yuchi	Ocmulgee Fields/ Yuchi	—	—
1700	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1650	Black- mon	?	Aban- doned	Aban- doned	Aban- doned	Bell	—	—	—	Potano II?	San Luis
1600	Aber- crombie	?	—	—	—	Dyar	Tama/ Square Ground Lamar	Aban- doned	Aban- doned	—	—
1550	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Potano I?	—
1540	Stewart	Yon	Lockett	Yon?	Cowarts	—	—	—	—	—	Velda
1500	Bull Creek	—	—	—	—	—	Late Lamar	—	—	—	—



Beginning as early as 1608, the Spanish established a chain of missions across north Florida, and between 1633 and the 1670s nearly all of the Apalachee Indians in the Tallahassee, Florida area had been converted to Christianity. The arrival of the intrepid English trader and diplomat, Dr. Henry Woodward, in the towns on the Chattahoochee River posed a threat to the Spanish. Twice in 1685 the Spaniards sent a force of soldiers and Apalachee Indians to Apalachicola province to try to capture the English traders. On the second visit they burned four towns. This had no effect on the Indian's trade with the English, so in 1689 the Spaniards built a fort at the town of Apalachicola, located on the Chattahoochee River in Russell County, Alabama. Many of the local inhabitants responded by moving to the Ocmulgee River and continued their trade with the English. The threat of a pirate attack on St. Augustine in 1691 led the Spanish commander to demolish the fortifications.

The site of Fort Apalachicola, 1RU101, was partially excavated by Lewis Larson in 1960 (Kurjack and Pearson 1975). Because the fort was occupied for less than three years, the artifact assemblage is particularly important for interpreting both earlier and later phase sites.

Ceramic attributes: Shell tempering is common; shell tempered Ocmulgee Fields Incised is present; shell tempered Walnut Roughened pottery is present; Kasita Red Filmed is present in the extreme minority; grit-tempered Chattahoochee Brushed is virtually absent.

#### **The Lawson Field Phase, A.D. 1715 - 1835**

The Lawson Field phase represents the terminal occupation of the Chattahoochee Valley. Although the valley was occupied by diverse groups of Indians at this time, the ceramic assemblage appears to be relatively homogenized. Shell tempering disappears and grit-tempered plain and Chattahoochee Brushed pottery are the hallmarks of the time period.

Ceramic attributes: Ocmulgee Fields Incised is present, but dwindles through time; grit-tempered Chattahoochee Brushed is common; coarse and fine plain pottery is present; Kasita Red Filmed is present as a minority type.

## *The Flint River*

**Upper Coastal Plain.** As a result of the de Soto entrada, the Flint River valley was abandoned for nearly two centuries. The province of Toa, believed to be located just below the Fall Line, apparently disintegrated soon afterwards. John Worth believes that the Lockett phase (A.D. 1450 - 1550) represents the terminal prehistoric occupation in the upper part of the valley.

### **The Lockett Phase, A.D. 1450 - 1550 (Williams and Shapiro 1990)**

**Ceramic attributes:** Complicated stamped pottery is present; incised pottery with few lines is added to the inventory; shell-tempered incised is present; rim folds become wider; pinches on rims are small; and cane punctuation of the rim is common.

Reoccupation of this portion of the valley apparently took place during the mid-eighteenth century, and several towns split off from parent settlements located on the Chattahoochee River and moved eastward to the Flint. Among these in the Taylor-Crawford County section of the Flint were Salenojuh, Coocohapofe, Padjiliga (Patsiliga), settlements near Timothy Barnards, and Chehaw villages. All of these are located between Taylor County on the north and Sumter County on the south. At least one of these towns, Padjiliga, a Yuchi settlement, was nearly abandoned in the American Revolution after Benjamin Harrison and his troops killed 16 of the town's "gun men" (Hawkins 1971). This event occurred in 1794 or 1795 when a group of Yuchi were massacred near Carr's Bluff on the Oconee River. During the Revolution, many Creeks supported Britain, because they were used to trading with English factors. The Revolution "convulsed the usual trading network" (Wright 1986:49). In recent years John Worth visited the site of Patsiliga and made a surface collection of artifacts. These are curated in the Laboratory of Archaeology at the University of Georgia.

Towns located on tributaries of the Flint in the Upper Coastal Plain included Intuchulgaw, which was another Yuchi settlement located northeast of Buena Vista on Oochee Creek (in all probability); and Lanahassee and Chenuba on Kinchafoonee Creek in Webster and Sumter-Terrell Counties. Diagnostic artifacts for these settlements should conform to the Lawson Field phase, defined for the Chattahoochee valley.

**Middle Coastal Plain.** In Dougherty County, west of Albany are sites that probably were visited by de Soto in 1540. Two sites that contain flat topped mounds (9DU1 and 9DU2) are located on Pine Island in the Chickasawhatchee swamp. Contemporaneous non-mound sites are also present in this area. Ceramic collections are small, but display both Fort Walton and Lamar attributes (Worth 1989a:8-9). These sites probably were part of the Capachequi chiefdom (Hudson et al. 1984).

As with the Upper Coastal plain portion of the valley, this portion of the Flint was abandoned for almost two centuries. During the mid-eighteenth century a series of Creek settlements were established along the river and trade routes. Among these were Hitchitoochee (little Hitchiti), Chehaw, Hurricane Town, and Oakmulgee. These were located in Lee, Dougherty and Baker/Mitchell Counties. Towns located on tributaries of the Flint included Amucalee and Fowl Town, in Lee County. The site of Fowl Town was abandoned by the early

nineteenth century, possibly after the 1814 land cession. One of Andrew Jackson's soldiers described the site in 1818:

On the south side [of the creek] are the remains of an ancient and very large town, large trees growing on innumerable little mounds disposed with some degree of regularity, on which the houses were probably built (Young 1934-35:134).

Because of the description of large trees growing on the mounds it is possible that Young encountered a prehistoric or early historic village site.

**Lower Coastal Plain.** Sixteenth century occupation of the extreme lower Flint is inferred by the presence of late Fort Walton ceramics on sites that are nearly identical with the ceramic assemblage found at de Soto's winter camp in Tallahassee, Florida (compare Bullen 1958:plate 72 with Figure 51 in Milanich and Hudson 1993:223), although we have little information concerning historic Indian occupation until the mid-seventeenth century, when the chain of Spanish missions was established across the Florida panhandle. In 1675 a mission was established at the village of Santa Cruz de Sabacola el Menor at the forks of the Flint and the Chattahoochee Rivers (Boyd 1958:214). Evidently, this village was an offshoot of another town known as Sabacola located upstream on the Chattahoochee.

By the latter part of the eighteenth century the Flint River valley was repopulated by Lower Creeks, Yuchis, and Seminoles. The artifact assemblage is identical to the Lawson Field phase of the Upper Coastal Plain.

After the Yamasee War, the fork of the Flint and Chattahoochee was the home of the Palachacola, who moved from their town on the lower Savannah River that was occupied ca. 1685 - 1716. This fortified settlement was variously known as the Palachacola Fort, Chislacaslache or Cherokee Leechee, after its leader. Cherokee Leechee translates to "Cherokee Killer". Of course, before 1685 the Palachacola or Apalachicola town was located on the west side of the Chattahoochee River in Russell County, Alabama. They abandoned their site at the confluence of the rivers sometime before 1777 and moved north, close to their original town, where William Bartram gave an account of the surroundings.

Finally, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the lower Flint was home to Creeks and Seminoles, who primarily spoke Hitchiti, and were allied with the English and Spanish in Florida. Fowltown, Oklafunee, and Puckanawhitla were three of the towns along this section of the river. Lawson Field phase Chattahoochee Brushed, Ocmulgee Fields Incised, Kasita Red Filmed, and plain wares characterize the ceramic assemblages in the Flint River valley between 1716 - 1826.

## *The Ocmulgee River*

**Upper Coastal Plain.** Similar to the Flint, the upper Ocmulgee River valley was abandoned shortly after the de Soto invasion. In the 1680s the Ocmulgee valley, primarily above the Fall Line, was re-settled by Coweta, Kasita, Hitchiti, Ocmulgee, Atasi and Tasquiqui who fled from Spanish influence in the Chattahoochee River valley. A few years prior to their arrival, Westos and Yuchis moved to the region. The Yamasee War of 1715 caused these groups to again abandon the Ocmulgee and move back to the Chattahoochee. Most settlement was above the Fall Line (see Smith 1992), but the adjacent Upper Coastal Plain portion of the valley had to be used to a degree. The following ceramic phase descriptions were modified from Williams and Shapiro (1990:63-64).

### **The Cowarts Phase, A.D. 1400 - 1600**

**Ceramic attributes:** This includes "Classic" Lamar of the 1930s, as defined by Kelly (1938). Complicated stamping is common; bold incising becomes more common; incised wares commonly have black surfaces; pinched rims are more frequent; sherds are thicker than earlier counterparts.

### **The Ocmulgee Fields Phase, A.D. 1685 - 1715**

This phase is identical to the late Blackmon phase of the Chattahoochee.

**Ceramic attributes:** Complicated stamping is absent; Ocmulgee Fields Incised accounts for about 20 percent; fine and coarse plain pottery accounts for about 70 percent; shell and grit tempering is present; shell-tempered Walnut Roughened pottery accounts for less than 10 percent; Kasita Red Filmed pottery is a minority type; grit-tempered Chattahoochee Brushed is present in low amounts (less than 5 percent).

**The Middle Coastal Plain.** Although Hernando de Soto's army apparently passed north of the area, archaeological surveys have located several sites that contain late Mississippian and sixteenth century material. Frankie Snow (1977) has surveyed large portions of the lower Ocmulgee and Oconee Rivers, and the upper Altamaha. The headwaters of the Satilla and Alapaha Rivers were also surveyed, but with less intensity. He conducted the survey over several years, primarily examining timber clear cut areas adjacent to the rivers that were being prepared for reforestation. Consequently, there was excellent surface visibility and he made repeated visits to the sites recollecting artifacts after they were exposed by rain and erosion. Some of the collections consist of thousands of sherds from individual sites.

Three hundred twenty sites were reported across the region, 29 percent of which contained late prehistoric Lamar through historic period "Square Ground Lamar" artifacts. While 29 percent is the average number of late prehistoric and historic components, this figure varies widely, some of which is due to small sample sizes. For example, 60 percent of the sites in Montgomery County are Lamar or later, but the sample size is only five sites. In Coffee County, where the sample is more representative (68 sites) the average is 37 percent, while just across

(north of) the Ocmulgee River, the same time period is represented on only 22 percent (17 of 77) of the sites.

Square Ground Lamar pottery is primarily rectilinear complicated stamped, and the major design element consists of a central dot that may stand alone or may have one or more concentric circles around it (Figure 16). Four lines radiate from the central dot element. The four quadrants formed by these lines are usually filled with chevrons. Cazuela bowls and some flaring rimmed vessels are incised and punctated; ten to twelve lines form the incised motifs. Invariably, incised vessels are complicated stamped below the shoulders (Snow 1990). There is

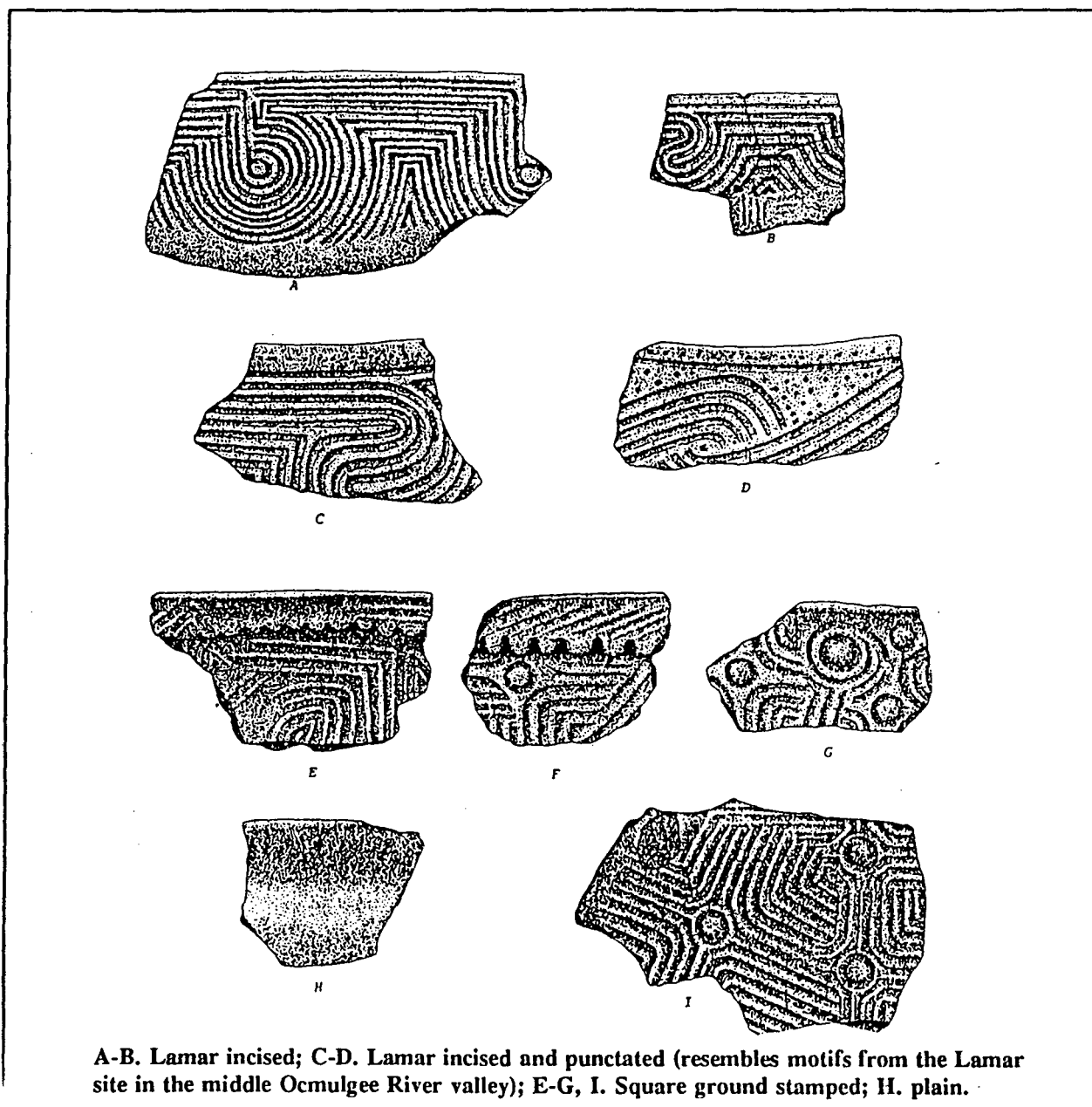


Figure 16. Lamar Square Ground Decorative Motifs. Courtesy of Frankie Snow.

also a fair amount of punctation used as filler between incised motifs, which is interesting because punctation and the same incised motifs were also used at the Lamar site, upstream on the Ocmulgee River. Punctation with incising occurs only rarely in the Fall Line portion of the Oconee, raising the possibility that some of the people who made Lamar Square Ground pottery may have lived in Ichisi in 1540.

Additional survey in the region has located over 40 sites containing this type of pottery (Snow 1990:84). Snow believes that Square Ground Lamar dates to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, which is supported by the fact that a sherd Columbia Plain majolica (1580-1630) was found with the aboriginal wares at Coffee Bluff in Telfair County (Snow 1990:89). Both Frankie Snow (1990) and Sam Lawson (1987) contend that the confluence of the Ocmulgee and the Oconee Rivers was the location of province of Tama. John Worth, on the other hand, offers equally convincing evidence that this was home to the Timucuan-speaking province of Utinahica (see Appendix A), and that Tama was located just south of the Fall Line in the Oconee River Valley.

Indian occupation persisted until about 1660, when the first slave raids started. Frankie Snow also notes that one site in Coffee County contains Leon-Jefferson pottery, which may represent a brief northern intrusion by Apalachee or Timucuans during the mission period, or trade with these groups.

## *The Altamaha*

**Lower Coastal Plain.** Concerning the easterly extent of the Lamar Square Ground pottery, during the research conducted for this project I noted that Square Ground complicated stamped and incised sherds are in the University of Georgia collections from 9WY3, Lower Sansavilla Bluff, associated with Spanish olive jar and majolica sherds. This site is approximately 75 miles downstream from the forks of the Altamaha River.

The origin of the name Sansavilla has heretofore eluded scholars (Goff 1975:298), but it doesn't take a great leap of logic to see that Sansavilla was derived from the name of a seventeenth century mission, San Ysavela (Santa Isabel), which served the province of Utinahica. Probably, the mission was founded at the political capital of this province. In a recent article, John Worth (1993) proposed that the province of Utinahica was located upstream near the forks of the Altamaha. After discussing the Sansavilla Bluff site and the similarity in names with him, he agrees with the linguistic origin of the name, but remains convinced that Square Ground Lamar (at the forks of the river) was the province of Utinahica (John Worth, personal communication 1994). See Appendix A for John Worth's discussion of the locations of Tama and Utinahica.

Fray Luis Geronimo de Ore visited the mission at Utinahica in 1616. He departed from the Timucuan mission of Santa Cruz de Tarihica, located in the upper Suwannee drainage of north Florida, evidently skirted the west edge of the Okefenokee Swamp, and encountered several "pagan" villages on his way, which must have been located in the Satilla River drainage or on the west side of the Okefenokee Swamp:

Here (at Santa Cruz de Tarihica) I determined to take a shortcut of very great labor, entering across a desert and uninhabited zone of fifty leagues in order to go to the convent of Santa Isabel de Utinahica, where the woods were closed up with a great density of trees and thickets. I passed through some towns of pagan Indians and was received by them with great contentment and demonstration of the desire that they had of becoming Christians...Proceeding along our road, we arrived at another three or four little towns of pagans, and although we lacked food on account of it being Advent, the Lord provided a good gift of mushrooms that we gathered along the road in order to sustain ourselves with them in the hut or shelter that we made for sleeping in order to defend ourselves from great colds and downpours that rained down upon us, soaking and drenching us, including my tunic and papers. Our Lord provided much consolation and spirit until coming forth to Santa Isabel, crossing the turbulent rivers, on account of being deep, could not be forded, nor did they have more of a bridge than a long and thick pine by which the Indians who accompanied me crossed running, as someone who had lost the fear of those dangerous crossings, which I, confessing myself first, crossed in the name of Our Lord, and through the sacred obedience of my Prelates who commended this visitation and commission to me. Having visited the convent and missionary of Santa Isabel, and having preached to the Indians and examined them in the doctrine, we descended in canoes by a river larger than the

Tagus to the towns of the language of Guale...(Ore' 1936 quoted in Worth 1993:34-35).

The mission at Santa Ysavel (also spelled Ysabel or Isabel) existed from ca. 1615 - 1650. The Sansavilla Bluff site was visited by A.R. Kelly and Clemens de Baillou in the 1960s and was partially excavated by Gordon Midgette and William Steed in the early 1970s. Only a preliminary report was written (Midgette 1973), but the site produced a sherd of Ichtucknee Blue on White majolica (ca. 1615 - 1650) which agrees with the documented dates of the mission.

If mission Santa Ysavela de Utinahica is actually at Sansavilla Bluff then it appears that the province shared a common boundary with that of Guale and Mocama, along the mid-Georgia coast. But, as Worth has noted (see Appendix A), the historic documents all point to the fact that Utinahica was well inland from Guale, and 30 leagues south or southwest of Tama, which was 50 leagues from the coast. In 1597 it took Gaspar de Salas eight days to walk to Tama from coastal Guale. In 1630, Tama was described as being 30 leagues from Utinahica (Fernandez de San Agustin 1630; Worth 1993). Using the *legua legal* which is the equivalent of 2.63 miles (Chardon 1980), the 30 league distance between Guale and Tama could be covered on foot in eight days at a rate of 7.1 leagues (18.8 mi) per day, which places Tama at the Shinholser site south of Milledgeville.

In an earlier version of this report, based primarily on the location of Sansavilla Bluff, I concluded that Tama was at the confluence of the Ocmulgee and Oconee Rivers. I also calculated that Gaspar de Salas could have made the eight day journey from the coast by walking only 3.75 leagues (10.5 mi) per day. This assumed that the Spaniards followed the trail paralleling the north bank of the Altamaha River, which crosses numerous streams and swamps. Reference to a different Indian trail, one that was within two miles of the Shinholser site, is found in a published history of Washington County (Jordan 1987). This followed the interfluvial divide between the Oconee and Ohoopsee Rivers. Tracing a 50 league distance between the Guale coast and Tama along this route ends almost directly at the Shinholser site.

Regardless of where the provinces of Utinahica and Tama were, there is a mission or mission-period site at Sansavilla Bluff. Are there others located between there and the Lamar Square Ground cluster upstream? Surveys are urgently needed to answer this, to determine the boundaries of historic provinces, and resolve differing opinions concerning provincial identifications. All of this offers exciting research possibilities and underscores the need for systematic research in the region.

The coastal missions and interior provinces were devastated during the late 1600s by slave raids instigated by the English in Virginia and South Carolina, and it is likely that the Altamaha settlements were abandoned at this time. Nearly a century passed before there is again reference to Indians living on the river. In the mid 1700s an Indian known as Captain Alleck lived on the lower Altamaha in Wayne County. Following the Indian land cession of 1763, Alleck moved upstream and probably settled at a trail crossing the river. This settlement was known as Doctor's Town, at the location of the current community of Doctortown in Wayne County. Supposedly Alleck is a corruption of the Muskogee word *aleckcha* which is roughly translated in English as "doctor" (Goff 1975:293-298).



## *The Oconee River*

**The Upper Coastal Plain.** Like the Ocmulgee and Flint, the upper Coastal Plain portion of the Oconee River valley may have been abandoned after the de Soto entrada, but surveys between Milledgeville and Dublin are desperately needed to confirm this. We do know that the population increased north of the Fall Line, reaching its zenith by ca. A.D. 1600 (Kowalewski and Hatch 1991). In 1540, the town of Altamaha may have been located at the Fall Line Shinholser site, and there was a sizeable population at this site afterwards, during the Bell phase (ca. 1580 - 1670). So few archaeological surveys and excavations have been conducted in this portion of the Oconee Valley that it is impossible to determine if sixteenth century and early seventeenth century sites extend very far south from the Fall Line. I did see a few late Lamar Incised sherds in the collections from Wilkinson County, at a site near Ball's Ferry, but this may not be representative of the region.

During the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Upper Coastal Plain portion of the Oconee Valley was home to the Oconee Indians, and the Ennis Site is apparently the location of Oconee Old Town that was occupied ca. 1695 - 1715. Earlier, during the early seventeenth century the Oconee (or Oconi) lived on the east side of the Okefenokee Swamp, which was known as the Laguna de Oconi. By the 1640s a mission had been established among the Oconi in extreme southeast Georgia (Worth 1993:32). In 1655, the Spaniards burned the Oconi village in an effort to force them closer to the coastal missions. For some reason, the result was the dispersal of the tribe, and by 1685 the Oconi lived on the lower Chattahoochee River (Hann 1988:362). Spanish incursions in the Chattahoochee Valley resulted in the eastward migration of a significant portion of the valley's population, to the Ocmulgee River north of Macon. In 1695, in retaliation for an attack on Chatot Indians near the confluence of the Flint and Chattahoochee Rivers, a force of Spanish soldiers and Apalachee Indians marched north and destroyed at least six towns, one of which was Oconi (Hann 1988:363). Presumably after this event the inhabitants moved east to the Oconee River Valley, although it is possible they were there from about 1685. Following the Yamasee War, Oconee Old Town became just a landmark, and the inhabitants again moved west to the Upper Coastal Plain section of the Chattahoochee Valley.

During the eighteenth century there may have been a Yuchi settlement in the Upper Coastal Plain portion of the Oconee Valley. Oochee Creek, a relatively small stream, joins the Oconee River in Wilkinson County, between Commissioner Creek and Big Sandy Creek, near the former route of the lower Uchee trail, but no site is known that may represent this hypothetical town.

## The Ogeechee River

To date there is no strong evidence that the Ogeechee drainage was occupied in the sixteenth or most of the seventeenth century, although a few sherds of late Lamar fine line incised pottery with wide folded rims are in the county collections at the University of Georgia from the Galphinton site (9JF3), located near Grange, Georgia. By 1685 Ogeechee Old Town, a Yuchi settlement, was located on the east bank of the river in southern Jefferson County. This site has never been recorded by professional archaeologists, but should be located near the river crossing at McCroans Bridge. It apparently was abandoned after the Yamasee War (1715), and the inhabitants probably moved west to the Chattahoochee River along with others from across South Carolina and Georgia.

During the late eighteenth century we have reference to two Indian towns within the Ogeechee River watershed in Bulloch County, north of Statesboro. The 1768 Savery map of the Georgia-Creek boundary (Figure 17) depicts "Indian Johnny's Town" on a trail south of Sculls Bluff (Scarboro) (DeVorse 1971:23), while another portion of the same map shows "Iago's Town" in northeast Bulloch County (Goff 1975:296). Iago's Town had 20 - 30 families. Iago was a headman also known as St. Iago. He and another Indian known variously as the Doctor or Alleck, assisted the survey of the Georgia-Creek territorial boundary. As discussed earlier, the Doctor resided at Doctor's Town on the Altamaha River in Wayne County.

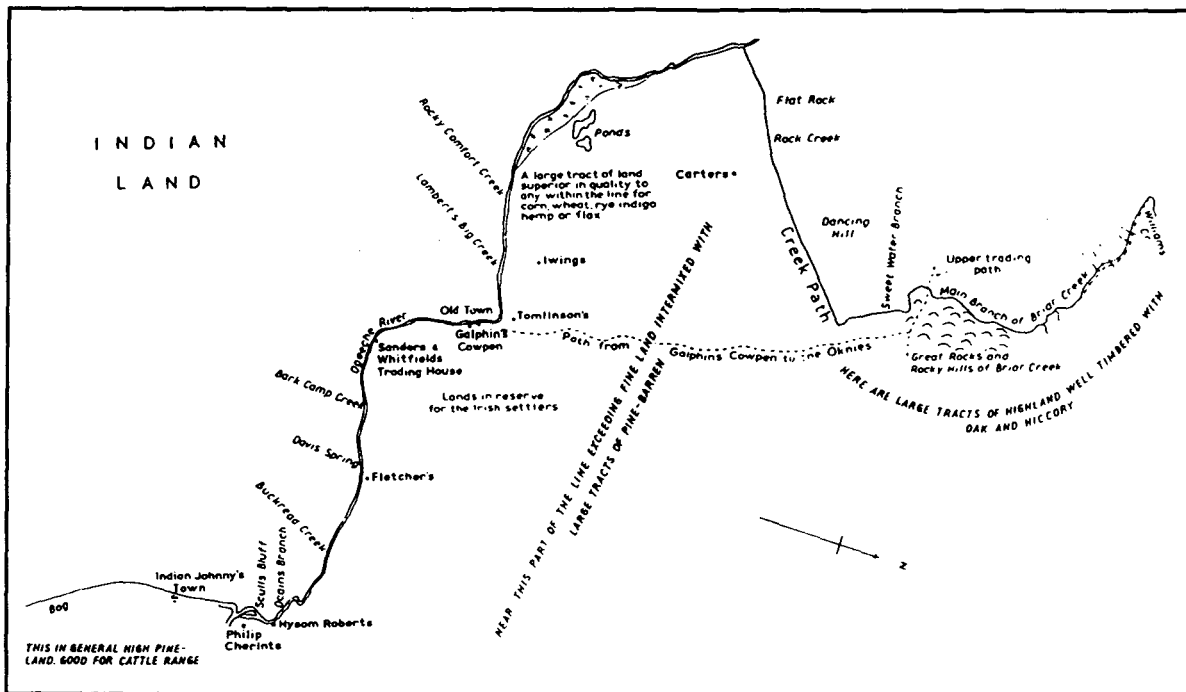


Figure 17. Portion of the 1768 Savery Map Showing the Location of "Indian Johnny's Town" in Bulloch County.

## *The Savannah River*

The Coastal Plain section of the Savannah River valley had been abandoned for nearly a century before de Soto came through. There have been extensive surveys within the Savannah watershed, and the evidence is overwhelmingly negative for any substantial occupation during the sixteenth century. About 1659 the Westos arrived from Virginia, and immediately began raiding interior and coastal provinces for slaves. Outfitted with guns by the English, they were fearless raiders who were considered to be cannibals by Yamasee Indians along the coast of South Carolina. With the founding of Charleston in 1670 the center of trade shifted south and slave raiding accelerated. Dr. Henry Woodward, the intrepid surgeon, explorer, and trader visited the Westo village on the Savannah River in 1674 and described the town's location as in a sharp bend in the river on the west bank. The site has never been located but may be very close to Fort Moore just below Augusta. According to Woodward's description, the town is in the floodplain of the Savannah River. Today, if it is at all intact, it must be buried by several meters of modern alluvium.

Ultimately, the Westo were such a thorn in the side of the colonists that the English enlisted the aid of the Shawnee (Savannah) Indians, who defeated the Westo in the Westo War of 1681. The surviving Westo evidently moved to the Ocmulgee Valley north of the Fall Line, where they were joined by the Lower Creeks from Apalachicola Province on the Chattahoochee. Then the Savannah took control of the trade in slaves and deerskins.

The material culture of the Westo and Savannah is enigmatic at this time, because their villages have not been found archaeologically. However, the ceramics should be totally different from the region's late Lamar types; also, Woodward described the village as a collection of bark-covered long houses, unlike the indigenous structures.

Increasing trade, dissatisfaction with the Spanish in west Florida, and the construction of Fort Moore on the main trading path in 1685 prompted different groups to move to the Savannah. The Shawnee settled just below Augusta, and were joined by Apalachees in 1704, after the English-led Creeks on the Ocmulgee River laid waste to the Spanish missions across north Florida. As many as 2400 Apalachee were marched across Georgia to the Savannah River at this time. No Apalachee sites have been located by archaeologists, but they should contain distinctive Leon-Jefferson pottery types identical to those from northwest Florida.

Another group to settle in the Coastal Plain section of the Savannah were the Apalachicola, who arrived in the late seventeenth century, probably after the defeat of the Westo (DePratter n.d.). At least two Apalachicola settlements were located on the Savannah, but only one site, known historically as Palachicola, has been located. This site is at Stokes Landing in Hampton County, South Carolina (Caldwell 1948). The Apalachicola participated in the Yamasee War, and as a result fled westward with the Yamasee defeat, establishing the fortified Cherokee Leechee's town at the confluence of the Flint and Chattahoochee Rivers.

By about 1737, Chickasaws also occupied the Savannah Valley, close to the trading path that crossed the river at Fort Moore. Possibly 600-650 Chickasaws lived in the vicinity of Fort Moore, at first on the South Carolina side of the river, but later moving to the Georgia side where they remained until the start of the American Revolution (DePratter n.d.).

Early in the eighteenth century the Yuchi arrived, and had two towns on the Savannah, one just north of the Fall Line, probably at the mouth of Uchee Creek in Columbia County, and the other at Mount Pleasant in Effingham County, directly opposite the Apalachicola town. It was also about this time that the Yuchi established Ogeechee Old Town to the southwest.

With the close of the Yamasee War, the Savannah River Valley was temporarily abandoned, but Yuchis were back at Mount Pleasant by the 1730s and did not leave the valley until the 1750s following attacks by Creek and Shawnee Indians. Philip George F. von Reck was a Salzburger who settled at New Ebenezer in the 1730s. An accomplished artist, Von Reck visited the Yuchi town at Mount Pleasant and recorded a busk ceremony, and a Yuchi hunting camp (Hvidt 1980). Test excavations at Mount Pleasant recovered possible Yuchi artifacts within an area measuring 360 x 200 m (Elliott 1991). The pottery includes plain, incised, and notched applique jars, and plain and incised bowls. Both shell and sand tempered sherds were found, with sand tempering predominating (Elliott 1991:23).

The Yamacraw occupied the eventual site of Savannah in the early 1700s. According to Milling (1969) the Yamacraw probably were a group of Yamasee Indians who moved to the mouth of the Savannah about 1685. However, British records (Salley 1929) report that the Yamacraw (Amercarais) "is come downe from the Cowetaws and Kussetaws", i.e., were affiliated with groups native to the lower Chattahoochee River. After ceding Yamacraw Bluff to James Oglethorpe and the fledgling Georgia colony, the Yamacraw moved upriver to the site of Irene Mound and were joined there by a number of Shawnee Indians (Floyd 1936; DePratter n.d.). A recent survey just upriver from the Irene site (Braley et al. 1994) recovered several sherds of Altamaha line block (or San Marcos cross simple stamped) pottery, which may date to the Yamacraw occupation. By about 1740, the Yamacraw departed, possibly joining the Lower Creeks on the Chattahoochee River.

### *Coastal Plain Rivers in South Georgia*

So little work has been done in the lower tier of Georgia counties outside the major river valleys that characterizing the historic Indian occupation is speculative at best. De Soto's route through north Florida encountered several Timucuan provinces before he reached Apalachee on the west side of the Aucilla River. At this time we don't know the size of the Timucuan provinces, but it is likely that their boundaries extended into south Georgia. The province of Uriutina was located in Columbia County, Florida on the southwest side of the Okefenokee Swamp in the Suwannee River drainage, and Uzachile was located on the east side of the Aucilla River, probably in Madison County, Florida (Milanich and Hudson 1993). Diagnostic artifacts include ceramics of the Suwannee Valley series, consisting of sand or grit-tempered bowls and jars whose dominant mode of surface decoration is brushing or roughening. Alachua Cob Marked, Prairie Cord Marked, Lochloosa Punctated, Prairie Fabric Impressed, Fig Springs Roughened, and Alachua Plain wares make up this sixteenth century series (John Worth in Weisman 1992:193-194).

It is also likely that the province of Apalachee extended into southwestern Georgia. The Ochlockonee River formed the northwest boundary of the province (Swanton 1922:110). Prior to European contact the Apalachee settlement pattern was dispersed, and small farmsteads dotted the landscape around Tallahassee. Some of these may be located in Thomas and Grady Counties. The diagnostic sixteenth century pottery should be late Fort Walton.

During the seventeenth century, the ceramic assemblage changed, and grog-tempered Jefferson ware is characteristic. Vessel forms include carinated and hemispherical bowls, and flaring-rim and straight-neck jars. Folded, pinched rims are common on jar forms (Weisman 1992:198). Complicated stamping, check stamping, incising, cob marking, punctating, and roughening are the usual surface treatments.

A Timucuan province consisting of a handful of small villages, Arapaja, should be located near Valdosta in the Alapaha River drainage system. By 1630 a mission known as Santa Maria de los Angeles de Arapaja was established in the province. It was short-lived, and by 1660 the population moved south, closer to St. Augustine (Worth 1993:39-40). Marvin Smith believes the mission site to be located in the vicinity of Ocean Pond in southeast Lowndes County. This is the Lilly site, 9LW2. There is a cluster of sinkholes near this location, reminiscent of some mission sites in north central Florida. During the construction of I-75, olive jar sherds and a Spanish spike was found by Dan Morse, and possible Jefferson ware sherds have been recovered from one of the ponds during low water (Marvin Smith, personal communication 1994).

Additional evidence for historic Indian occupation in the Valdosta area comes from an old newspaper account of glazed pottery found in a mound (Trowell 1980).

from *The Savannah Morning News*, March 12, 1899

#### NEWS FROM VALDOSTA

*Mr. L.A. Haines ran upon an old Indian Mound at his place this week, and decided that he would dig into it and see what could be found. To his surprise, he found the skeleton of an Indian, together with pots and vessels, one of which is made of bone, and very much resembling a crucible for melting gold. It was glazed with a substance much like mother-of-pearl in its variety of colors.*

The glazed "bone"-like pottery may have been Spanish majolica, which is commonly in the form of an *escudilla*, or small flaring rimmed bowl vaguely similar to a crucible. Alternatively, it may have been a delft ointment pot, which very much resembles the shape of a crucible. Both of these European wares have a soft, cream-colored body that resembles bone.

Creeks and Seminoles made the Okefenokee Swamp their stronghold in the early nineteenth century, and hid in the swamp to avoid capture by American soldiers during the first Creek War (Motte 1953; Wright 1945). Seminole habitation sites have yet to be found in the Okefenokee Swamp, but definitely are present.

## CONCLUSIONS

As I knew before undertaking this study, the Coastal Plain was occupied by significant numbers of American Indians during the late prehistoric and historic periods, but there has been so few professional studies within the region that the data base is anemic. All of the major river valleys were occupied at different times during the historic period. During the mid-sixteenth century the most populated zones were the transitional zone between the Piedmont and the Upper Coastal Plain, and the Coastal Strand centering on the mouth of the Altamaha River. The Savannah and Ogeechee River Valleys were vacant in 1540.

Almost immediately following the de Soto entrada there were massive convulsions within the region as the realities of new forms of disease, warfare, and political machinations took hold. One can imagine that provinces that escaped the initial round of disruption might take advantage of neighbors weakened by epidemics and social upheaval. Possible results would be the abandonment of territory, migration to previously unoccupied territory, and the formation of new alliances or supplication to more powerful groups. As the deerskin and slave trade progressed and competition between European colonies increased, we see the establishment of Indian towns at the intersections of the trading paths and major rivers.

Another reaction to the new cultural landscape was the migration of people closer to the Europeans' power base. Indians from the interior regions gravitated toward the Altamaha, possibly to trade with the Spaniards, and also possibly to control the flow of material to other groups in the interior. With the open hostility between the Guale and Spanish in the late sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth century, it was probably not a propitious time to head to the coast looking for handouts. Nevertheless, by the mid 1600s there was a chain of small provinces with Spanish missions along the Altamaha.

Due partially to the nature of European settlement of Georgia and Florida, the Chattahoochee and Flint River Valleys were relatively densely populated by Indians. Probably soon after de Soto's passage, and certainly during the late 1600s, the Chattahoochee saw the arrival of different groups from across the Coastal Plain. With the aftermath of the Yamasee War and the steady westward expansion of settlers cutting down the forests, the Indian population of southwest Georgia reached its peak.

The population diminished during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as primarily Hitchiti speakers moved to south Georgia and north Florida, filling the vacuum left by the destruction of the Spanish mission villages, and dealing with the Spanish and English. The historic Indian occupation of south Georgia essentially ended by 1826, following the final land cession in this portion of the state.

What information is required to more fully understand the nature of historic Indian use of the Coastal Plain? The answer, obviously, is to conduct systematic archaeological surveys in areas where there are voids in the coverage, and follow this up with excavations. With the exception of the Chattahoochee and Savannah River Valleys, which have been well covered, essentially this encompasses most of south Georgia. Surveys are needed along the Flint River

from Macon County south; along the Ocmulgee River in Houston, Twiggs, Bleckley and Pulaski Counties; in the lower Oconee Valley, particularly in Laurens County; along the Altamaha in Appling, Toombs, Tattnall, Long, and Wayne Counties; in the Ogeechee drainage in Jefferson, Bulloch and Screven Counties; and finally, along the small drainages across extreme south Georgia.

There are both cartographic and documentary descriptions of town locations, particularly from about 1790 - 1830 in the Flint and Chattahoochee drainages. Very few of these sites have been visited or recorded by professional archaeologists, but it is very likely that their whereabouts are known to local individuals. Village sites are of paramount importance because they contain information concerning settlement plans, chronology, subsistence, mortuary behavior, etc. Villages are also the sites that get the most public attention, whether it is under the cover of darkness by looters, through media coverage of an excavation, or by protestors who don't have a clue what anthropological archaeology is all about.

Almost as important, and considerably more frequent, are small "special use" camps such as those occupied predominantly by males during the fall-early spring deer hunting season. There should be a tremendous number of these sites scattered across the Coastal Plain. To illustrate the potential number of hunting camps I use the 1832 Creek census. There were 17 towns located on the Chattahoochee River in that year, and there were about 7500 people in these settlements. If we assume that one-quarter of the population consisted of "gun men," a conservative estimate, then there were about 1875 hunters. If these split into hunting camps of a half dozen men or so, then for 17 villages there were about 300 hunting camps. If we can also assume that as the supply of deer became depleted, the hunting camps moved several times during the five month long season, say once a month, then an estimate of 1500 camps per year does not seem unreasonable. According to Wright (1986:59) Creek hunters brought in 300,000 or more pounds of deerskins annually, or roughly 40 pounds per man. The archaeological study of these sites has the potential for yielding important information about group size, deer processing, etc., but they will be difficult to find using traditional survey methods (shovel testing in vegetated terrain). Other than processing the hide and consuming a portion of the kill themselves, did the hunters dry venison to take back to the villages, or did they allow the remainder to go to waste?

Historic period Indian subsistence patterns are poorly understood at this time. Ethnobotanical and zooarchaeological studies are desperately needed to evaluate issues such as acculturation, diet, and health. Human skeletal studies are also needed to evaluate health issues and to examine ethnicity among historic societies. From the few human remains that I've seen in the Chattahoochee Valley, there appears to have been a significant amount of malnutrition or dietary stress at times, especially during early childhood. Cribra orbitalia, enamel hypoplasias, and other bone lesions are evidence of this. Concerning ethnicity, at least some historic groups practiced cranial deformation during infancy. Blackmon phase people in the Chattahoochee Valley and Ocmulgee Fields phase groups near Macon (actually one in the same people) practiced cranial deformation (Braley 1991; Kelly 1938:52). How widespread was this practice during the early historic period?



What types of historic Indian sites in the Coastal Plain should be considered significant and why? Even if their integrity is poor, virtually all should be considered as significant or potentially significant resources. Look at the wealth of information Frankie Snow obtained from sites that had been badly disturbed by timber harvesting and planting. At this time so few sites have been located or adequately investigated that this is a legitimate evaluation. At first glance, many of the sites will not appear to be impressive. Most of the later village sites were occupied for relatively brief periods, meaning that there will not be significant accumulations of artifacts. Combined with the houses being dispersed along rivers or trails, this results in sites with poor archaeological focus and visibility. Yet, probably all village sites, and possibly isolated farmsteads as well, will have important features such as burials within or near the occupation areas. Further complicating matters, historic Indians had largely abandoned traditional housing for European-style log cabins by the late eighteenth century (Swan 1855). Consequently, we would expect to see little in the way of postholes or other structural features at these sites. Surface and plowzone artifact patterns rather than posthole patterns should define Creek household sites in the Coastal Plain of Georgia.

What are the predicted locations of unrecorded historic Indian sites, based upon locations of known resources and cartographic sources, and what degree of confidence can be placed in these predictions? Thanks to Benjamin Hawkins descriptions of Creek town locations, and early nineteenth century cartographers and surveyors, it is relatively easy to pinpoint the locations of many settlements in the western Coastal Plain. Most of the towns and settlements in the Flint River Valley have not been recorded by professional archaeologists, but this needs to be done to protect these resources from destruction or development. Historic Indian sites of the sixteenth - mid-eighteenth centuries are more difficult to locate with any certainty, due to the lack of systematic survey coverage of the Coastal Plain.

What can be done to preserve and protect historic Indian sites? Recently enacted legislation (Code Section 44-12-260 "Protection of American Indian Human Remains and Burial Objects") can and should be used to protect historic Indian sites from destruction. Virtually all historic Indian town sites will contain burials. Thus, village sites can be also be considered as burial grounds, defined by the legislation as "an area dedicated to and used for interment of human remains. The fact that the area was used for burial purposes shall be evidence that it was set aside for burial purposes." Normal farming activity including plowing, disking, harvesting, and grazing of livestock is not affected by the legislation. However, "pothunting", construction, and other forms of land development are affected by the law. There are significant penalties for knowingly disturbing burial grounds. If changing land-use cannot avoid a historic Indian town site, the developers should comply with Georgia statutes, apply for a permit to identify and relocate the burials, notify the Council on American Indian Concerns, attempt to notify descendants, and notify Indian tribes that are culturally affiliated. Planners in the Regional Development Centers (RDC) should be made aware of the location of historic Indians sites in their area and the likelihood that burials will be present.

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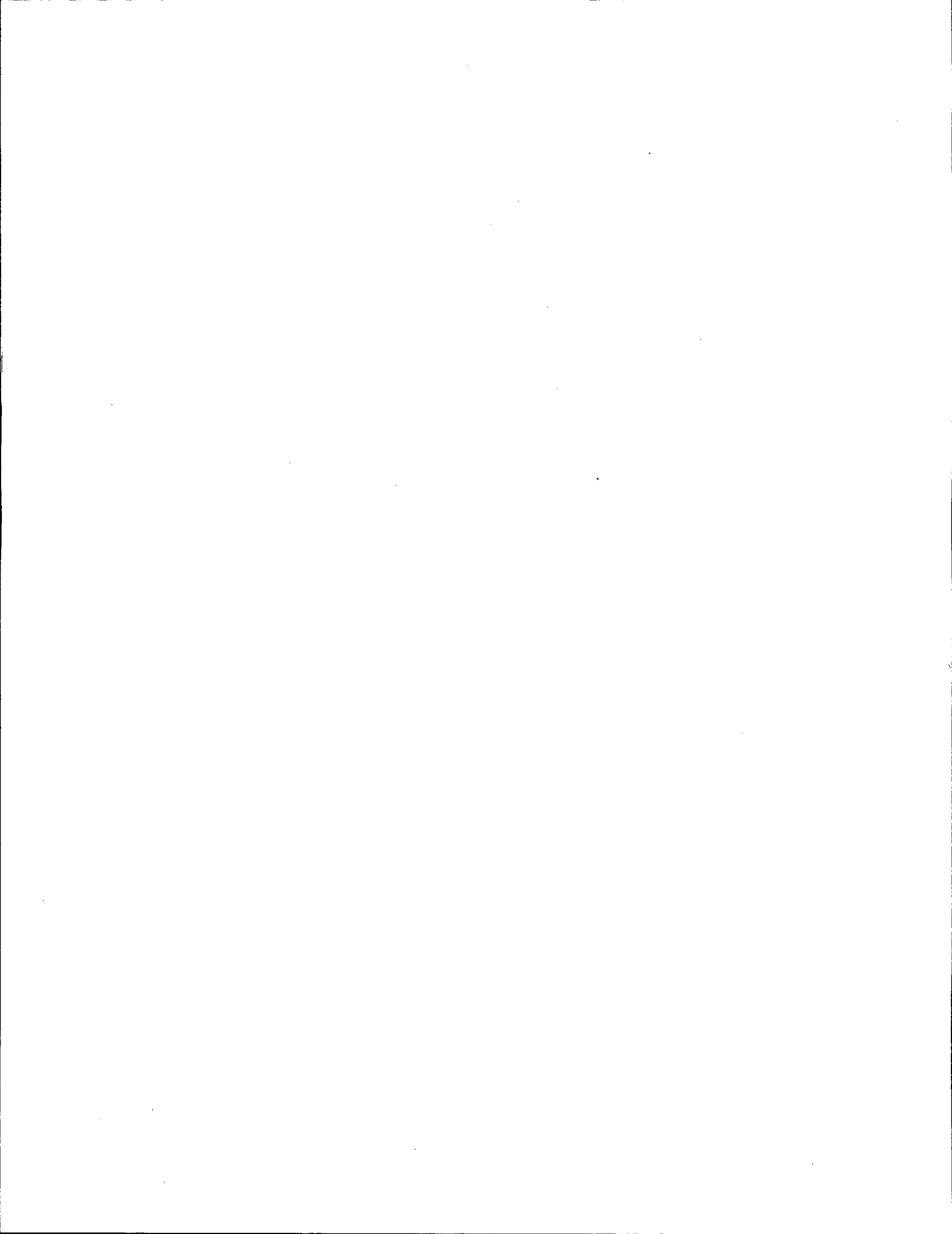
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## APPENDIX A

### The Early Seventeenth Century Locations of Tama and Utinahica

by

John E. Worth  
April 1994



## The Early Seventeenth Century Locations of Tama and Utinahica

Below is a somewhat lengthy discussion regarding the documentary and archaeological evidence supporting my contention (Worth 1992; 1993; 1994a; 1994b) that the early seventeenth century aboriginal province of Tama was located along the middle Oconee River in the region of the Bell Phase defined by Mark Williams (1983), and that the mission province of Santa Isabel de Utinahica was located at the forks of the Altamaha River in the Square Ground Lamar region documented by Frankie Snow (1977; 1990). The bulk of this discussion centers on the recent interpretation of the Sansevilla Bluffs site as the site of mission Santa Isabel de Utinahica (Braley, this volume), the related conclusion that Tama was actually located in the Square Ground Lamar region, as originally proposed by Sam Lawson (1987) and Frankie Snow (1990). I hope that the following evidence will serve to demonstrate the reasoning behind my conclusions, and why I maintain that other interpretations do not fit available documentary evidence.

### Testimony from 1630

Undoubtedly, the most important evidence for the relative locations of Georgia's early seventeenth century interior provinces was provided by testimony given by several experienced Spanish soldiers gathered by then-governor Don Luis de Rojas y Borja (1630). In response to a petition for information by Fray Francisco Alonso de Jesús, at the time preparing to write a treatise on the Indians of Spanish Florida, these soldiers testified as to the locations of all known Indian provinces in Spanish Florida. The most thorough account relative to Georgia's provinces (repeated in part by other witnesses) was by Juan Fernández de San Agustín, who testified as follows:

...and with these two provinces [of Guale and Santa Elena] borders that of Tama, to the west, and it is some fifty leagues from them, a little more or less, and this [province] of Tama, which has its location in the middle of the land, borders with that of Santa Ysavel, to the southwest, some thirty leagues distant from Tama, and this [province] of Santa Ysavel borders with that of Harapaha, a land of Christians, to the west another thirty leagues, and all flat land, and from the [province] of Arapaha one goes to the province of Apalachee, which is of pagans, fifteen leagues to the west...The province of Harapaha is some seventy leagues distant from this presidio [of St. Augustine] to the northwest...(Fernández de San Agustín 1630).

Examination of the details of this account reveal some important facts. First, the province of Tama was perceived as *bordering* the provinces of Guale and Santa Elena, including the northern Georgia coast from the mouth of the Altamaha River to the southeastern corner of South Carolina. Furthermore it was described as more of less 50 leagues (about 132 miles) inland from these provinces "in the middle of the land." The province of Tama was next described as *bordering with* the province of Santa Isabel (Utinahica) located 30 leagues (about 79 miles) to the southwest of Tama. Santa Isabel was next described as *bordering with* the province of Arapaja, located another 30 leagues (about 79 miles) west across flat land.

It is clear from these accounts that seventeenth century Spanish perceptions of absolute directions were somewhat skewed from reality, largely resulting from their presumption that provinces directly inland from the Atlantic coast were always to the *west*, and not skewed off in a northwesterly direction. Regardless, it is instructive to note that Fernández located Tama to the west of the coastal provinces, and subsequently located Santa Isabel to the *southwest*, suggesting that however erroneous his absolute directions were, he considered Santa Isabel to be somewhat south of Tama. The location of the northern Timucuan province of Arapaha (almost certainly located near Valdosta, Georgia, based on later documentation), was subsequently placed by Fernández even farther to the west, followed in the complete account by the as-yet unconverted Apalachee province.

Given that Fernández located these provinces in *sequential* order, with respect to which provinces bordered which other provinces (and having traveled throughout them all), we can calculate that the distance from Guale/Santa Elena to Tama was 50 leagues, and then on to Santa Ysabel amounted to a total distance of 80 leagues, and then on to Arapaja at 110 leagues, or approximately 270 miles. Furthermore, there is reason to believe that the distance figures provided by Fernández are reasonably accurate, since the relative locations he provided for all other currently-known provinces and missions (particularly along the Georgia and South Carolina coast) were sound, as were his descriptions of all the coastal bays and bars. Consequently, using a string or strip of paper in concert with a map, and anchoring each end to two known locations of Guale/Santa and Arapaja, we can definitely conclude that the *only* configuration that matches the Fernández account and the distribution of late prehistoric/early historic period archaeological site clusters (see below) places Tama at the Fall Line of the Oconee River near Milledgeville, and Santa Isabel at the forks of the Altamaha River.

Using these distances, there is *absolutely* no way to fit the most recent alternative hypothesis into the Fernández account, with Tama at the forks of the Altamaha and Santa Isabel de Utinahica at the Sansevilla Bluffs location. Beyond this, it seems highly illogical that Tama would be described by Fernández as *bordering* the coastal provinces of Guale and Santa Elena, and that Santa Isabel would be described as being located *between* Tama and Arapaja, if Santa Isabel was at that time situated only five leagues from the southernmost Guale mission of Santo Domingo de Talaje (under modern Fort King George), and directly *between* Guale and Tama, which would have to be located only 25 leagues upriver (at the forks of the Altamaha). Were that the case, Fernández would have been far more likely to say that the province of Santa Isabel bordered Guale/San Pedro, and that Tama bordered both Santa Isabel and Arapaja (none of which he or any other witness said). Further evidence is provided by the contemporaneous testimony of a later witness, the sixty-nine year old Alonso Díaz de Badajoz, who after describing in great detail all the coastal provinces (San Pedro de Tuluteca, Guale, and Santa Elena) note that:

...he has not traveled in the [land] of Tama, nor does he know about its district, and he has seen the river that is called [the river] of Santa Ysavel, but that he has not traveled in it nor in the land of Arapaja, nor has he traveled in Apalache, nor does he know about it, and that he has only been from this city to the land of Timuqua and Potano, and has arrived at San Juan de Buacara and has gone to Pohoy...(Díaz de Badajoz 1630).

Detailed examination of the original Spanish text implies that although Díaz had seen the *river* of Santa Isabel, he specifically stated that he had not traveled in the *land* of Santa Isabel. Since Díaz obviously knew both the San Pedro/Mocama province and the Guale province quite well, and noted having even seen the River of Santa Isabel, his statement that he had never been to the land (or province) of Santa Isabel suggests that it was farther into the interior, as were Tama, Arapaha, and Apalachee, which he also stated that he had never seen.

### Other Evidence Relative to Tama's Location

As I have discussed at length elsewhere (Worth 1993; 1994a), documentary evidence from several early expeditions to Tama and Ocute strongly implies that Tama was situated at the Fall Line of the Oconee River, far to the north of the forks of the Altamaha. *All* of the contemporaneous distance estimates based on the routes actually traveled place Tama much farther to the interior than the 30-league distance to the forks of the Altamaha. These include Juan de Lara's estimate of a 60- to 70-league distance between Guale and Tama (Lara 1602), and Adrián de Cañizares' (1635) estimate of a 100-league distance between St. Augustine and Tama (presumably including the ca. 45-league distance to Guale and the ca. 55 league distance inland to Tama). Only Gaspar de Salas (1600), who visited Tama and Ocute during the first expedition of 1597, projected a shorter distance of 50 leagues from St. Augustine, and this was apparently only an inaccurate estimate of the straight-line distance based on a much longer journey. For the roughly 30-league journey from Tolomato near the Georgia coast to the forks of the Altamaha to have lasted the eight days he himself described between Guale and Tama (seven of which were through unoccupied land), he and his 32 companions would have been traveling at a rate of well under 4 leagues, or roughly 10 miles, per day. This would have been a slow pace even for Hernando de Soto's 600-man army just over a half century earlier, and hardly seems likely. Much more probably is that Salas' eight day journey extended to Shinholser at the Fall Line, roughly 57 leagues into the interior. Nevertheless, Salas' testimony influenced Governor Méndez de Canzo in his early estimates regarding Tama's proximity to St. Augustine until the second expedition five years later under Juan de Lara.

Apart from the distances, Tama is almost universally mentioned in association with references to hills, mountainous terrain, and abundant mineral and crystal deposits, and as such seems clearly associated with the Piedmont province of northern Georgia. In 1602, for example, Juan de Lara noted having arrived "at a *sierra* [mountain range] and a town which is called Olatama" after walking nine full days (similar to Salas) from Guale (Lara 1602). Other references (discussed at greater length in Worth 1994a) make it abundantly clear that Tama was situated in a region that was geographically unlike that normally experienced by the Spaniards in *La Florida*, which was generally characterized by level, sandy Coastal Plain terrain (this was a number of years before Apalachee province in the red hills of Tallahassee was missionized after 1633). These geographical references, when combined with the compelling evidence regarding distances noted above, argues quite convincingly in favor of the Fall Line zone of the Oconee River (where, as noted below, early seventeenth century Spanish contact had already been well-documented in the Bell phase).

## The Location of Santa Isabel de Utinahica

Documentary evidence for the location of Utinahica is very scant. Indeed, only three contemporary documents make reference to the location of Utinahica in its interior location (the remnants of Utinahica seem to have joined with their nearest Timucuan-speaking neighbors in 1685 among the leaders living in mission Santa Cruz de San Buenaventura de Guadalquini). These references include Fray Luís Gerónimo de Oré's account of having ventured from the Timucua province of interior northern Florida to the coastal mission of San José de Sapala (Oré 1936), governor Rojas y Borja's investigation of 1630 (above), and a mention in a *repartimiento* labor draft order for Guale dating to 1636 (Horruytiner 1636). Now, from Oré's account, we know that Santa Isabel de Utinahica was located on a very large river which flowed to the Atlantic coast near Sapelo Island. Later documentary evidence makes it quite clear that this river was the Altamaha, since the river was referred to in several seventeenth century documents as *el río de Santa Isabel* (e.g. Díaz de Badajoz 1630; Aranguiz y Cotes 1661). Thus we know from this account that the mission's location was almost certainly on the Altamaha drainage.

The details of the 1630 Rojas y Borja investigation (discussed in detail above) make it relatively clear that the "province" of Santa Isabel was situated some distance inland from the mouth of the Altamaha, and very probably at or near the forks of the river. Finally, the 1636 labor draft order lists Santa Isabel as one of the missions providing laborers for the 1636 *repartimiento* from Guale. At the same time, no laborers were drafted from missions in the Mocama/San Pedro province, since missions San Juan and Santa Maria provided ferrying services. This evidence suggests that in 1636 mission Santa Isabel was near enough to Guale to provide relatively easy access to the soldiers gathering laborers there (see below).

Mission Santa Isabel seems to have disappeared as an independent mission town prior to 1655, when an overall listing of Florida missions failed to mention it (Díez de la Calle 1659). This conclusion is further confirmed by the letter of Governor Aranguiz y Cotes describing the Chichimeco assault on Guale during June of 1661, since the raiders descended from the interior along the River of Santa Isabel to attack the first mission in Guale, Santo Domingo de Talaje (at Darien). No mention was made of mission Santa Isabel, which should have been along the route of the Chichimeco raiders. Later, we discover that it had at some point been aggregated to mission San Buenaventura de Guadalquini on St. Simons Island (Leturiondo 1685).

## Archaeological Evidence

The recent scatterplot by Mark Williams and Chad Braley of Indian sites dating to the Late Mississippian, Protohistoric, and Historic periods suggests that the Altamaha/lower Ocmulgee/Oconee River valleys of the Coastal Plain were home to only two major clusters of aboriginal occupation. One was located along the Ocmulgee Big Bend region at and above the forks of the Altamaha (Frankie's Square Ground Lamar province), and the other was at or near the mouth of the Altamaha, extending northward into the well-known Guale province along the coastal zone (this area was the historically documented southern boundary of the Guale province, with the Timucuan-speaking Mocama province beginning on St. Simons Island and extending southward (see Worth 1994b). [*But survey coverage away from these clusters is poor at best--C. Braley*] The middle stretch of the Altamaha River appears to have been largely vacant, perhaps serving as a sort of buffer between the interior cluster and the coastal cluster.

Given that early seventeenth century artifacts have been found in each of these clusters, and in the "mega" cluster to the north along the middle Oconee River, it seems likely that the Spanish were aware of and had at least some contact with each of these aboriginal provinces. The task remains to identify which was which in the documentary record. Now based solely on the documentary evidence, as noted above, it seems highly probable that these three correspond to the provinces of Guale, Utinahica and Tama. The Sansevilla Bluff locality, based on its physical location, is clearly associated with the Guale cluster/province of the coastal zone, since it falls on the eastern side of the long "buffer" apparent on the Altamaha River. The names of these bluffs, however, suggests an origin in the name Santa Isabel, known to have been the seventeenth century name for the Altamaha River. Furthermore, the fact that early seventeenth century Spanish majolica and olive jar sherds have been found there indicates that this site was in fact occupied during the time in question. The only remaining question seems to be the following: was this site simply one of the many outlying early seventeenth century Guale satellite towns and villages (the abandoned site of which later became associated with the name of the river it is located on), or was it the actual location of mission Santa Isabel at some point in time?

In my judgement, either solution is possible. The key will be in differentiating the ceramic assemblage of the coastal Guale cluster from the interior Square Ground cluster. If it can be demonstrated that the Sansevilla Bluff ceramics are more similar to those of neighboring Guale towns than to those in the interior, then the site may be argued to have been a Guale satellite town. If, however, the Sansevilla Bluff ceramics are more similar to those of the interior Square Ground cluster, and contrast with all neighboring sites of the Guale province, then the site may well represent the *relocated* mission Santa Isabel from the deeper interior (since documentary information clearly rules out the Sansevilla Bluff location between 1617 and 1630). Based on the pattern established throughout the missions of early seventeenth century Spanish Florida, I would have no difficulty accepting that mission Santa Isabel was first established at the provincial capital of Utinahica (the Square Ground cluster at the forks of the Altamaha), but that due to depopulation in both Utinahica and Guale, the isolated mission Santa Isabel might have been relocated farther downstream in order to provide closer access to the Spaniards in Guale and Mocama. The fact that Santa Isabel was listed on the Guale labor draft of 1636 might even support this conclusion. The re-established mission Santa Isabel then lent its name to the Sansevilla Bluff locality.

Indeed the retreat of this interior mission to the coast between 1630 and 1636 might make a great deal of sense, since this period was also a time of tremendous population decline, and since the Spanish military was thus left with a declining labor pool along the coast. Additionally, the immigrant Chisca Indians were raiding along the western mission frontier at least as early as the 1620s, and were suspected of raids along Guale's borders in the early 1650s (see Worth 1992:152-5), leaving open the possibility that Santa Isabel, and indeed the entire province of Utinahica, may have been ravaged by such Chisca raiders between the 1620s and 1650s, resulting in their flight toward the coast and eventual aggregation to Guadalquini. This would be pure speculation at this point, but we do know that raiding had a heavy impact on the mission frontier at this very time, and the coincidence of a mission relocation might indeed be related.

The archaeological evidence may in fact argue that *both* solutions are valid. Specifically, the Sansevilla Bluff site may have been a satellite village in the Guale province during the late sixteenth century (perhaps abandoned after the Guale revolt of 1597?), and it may have been *re-*



occupied during the 1630s by the immigrant inhabitants of Santa Isabel de Utinahica, prior to their eventual aggregation to Guadalquini on St. Simons Island. In this instance, ceramics characteristic of both the coastal site cluster and the interior site cluster might be found at Sansevilla Bluff. Only further archaeological work will provide the data we need to answer this question.

In any instance, the documentary evidence seems quite clear on the point that Tama/Ocute should be equated with the Oconee Valley site cluster (the Bell Phase) and that Utinahica should be equated with the Ocmulgee Big Bend/Altamaha forks cluster (Square Ground Lamar). To argue that the Timucuan-speaking Utinahica province was originally located just five leagues from the Muskoghean-speaking Guale province and just 10 leagues from the Timucuan-speaking Mocama/San Pedro province, and that Tama was located just 25 leagues upriver, does *not* fit the available documentary evidence. Even if the early seventeenth century inhabitants of Sansevilla Bluff were simply part of the Mocama/San Pedro province to their immediate south (which would be likely since Guadalquini was only 10 leagues away on the southern tip of St. Simons Island), it seems extremely illogical that Fernández would list the "province" of Santa Isabel separately (were it to have been located there), and only following his previous discussions about the provinces of San Pedro, Guale, Santa Elena, and Tama, and immediately before mentioning Arapaja, Apalachee, Timucua, and Pohoy. Like the 1655 enumeration of Florida missions (Díez de la Calle 1659), Fernández's description of Florida provinces ran first north along the Georgia coast, then inland across the interior, and finally sweeping southward into peninsular Florida. It furthermore seems unlikely that Alonso Díaz de Badajoz, quite familiar with Mocama/San Pedro and Guale, would at the same time state that he had seen the *river* of Santa Isabel, while never having traveled to the *land* of Santa Isabel.

Santa Isabel was clearly an interior province, separated from coastal Guale and Mocama/San Pedro, and located on the route between the other interior provinces of Tama and Arapaja, both 30 leagues distant from Santa Isabel. The only logical solution based on all current historical and archaeological evidence is that Frankie's Square Ground Lamar cluster *was* the province of Utinahica, and almost certainly the site of the original mission Santa Isabel in 1616 and 1630 (though not necessarily so after 1636). Interestingly, had Frankie Snow not already documented the existence of this seventeenth century Coastal Plain Lamar society, the documents I have discussed above would probably make no sense whatsoever (situating Utinahica in an "abandoned" zone of the central Coastal Plain), and thus we are fortunate to have the benefit of his remarkable research. Frankie has probably already identified the mission (and certainly the province) which we are only now capable of giving a name to, given recent discoveries of previously unexamined historical documentation. Now begins the task of further exploring Utinahica as the curious combination of Lamar ceramics and the Timucuan language (a phenomenon which may not be totally unique along the Muskoghean/Timucuan language boundary in southern Georgia).

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