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**This document contains information on Native American burials. Images considered to be culturally insensitive, including images and drawings of burials, Ancestors, funerary objects, and other NAGPRA material have been redacted.**

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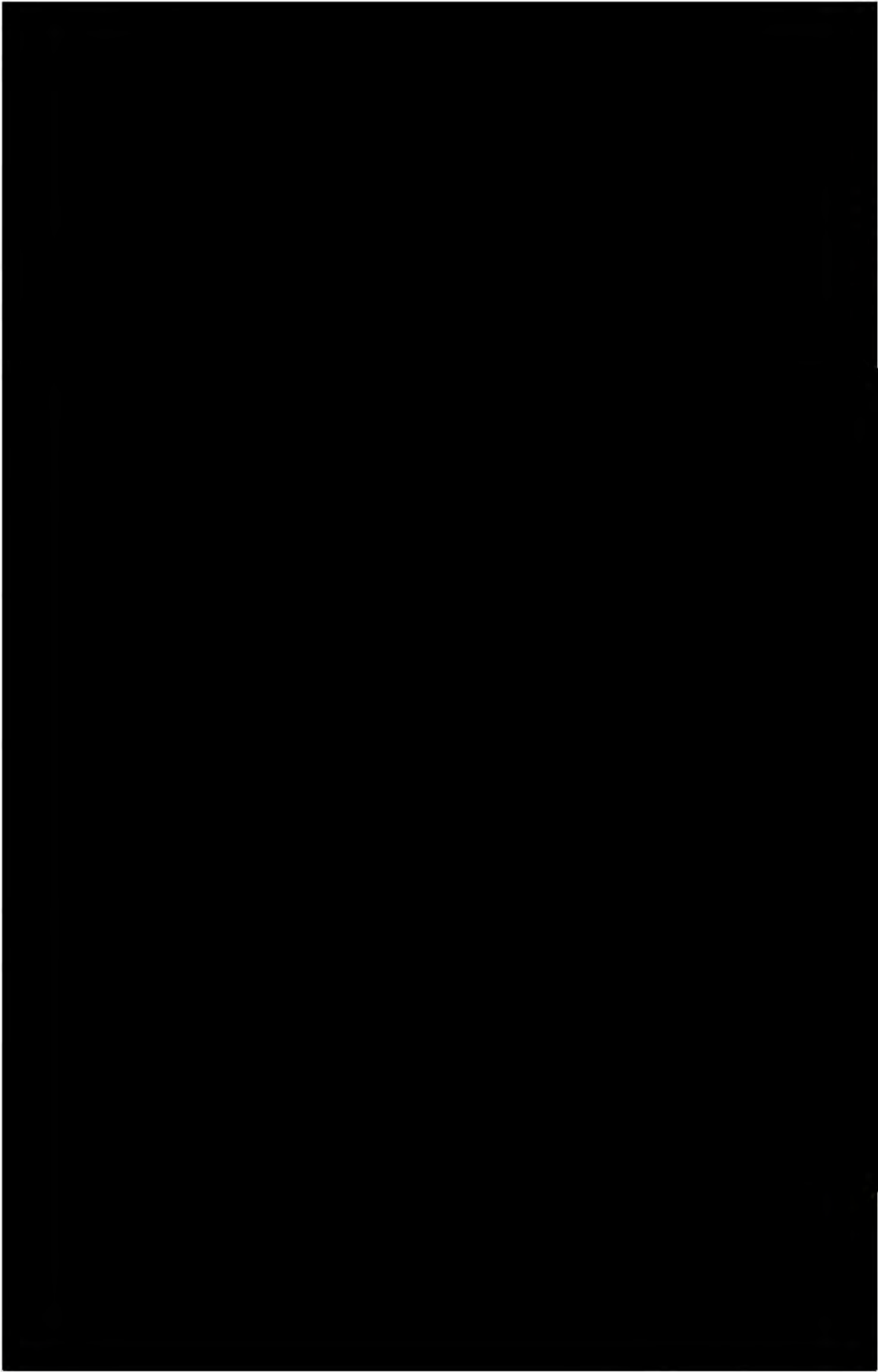
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**EXPLORATIONS AT BELL FIELD  
MOUND AND VILLAGE  
SEASONS 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968**

ARTHUR R. KELLY

EXPLORATIONS AT BELL FIELD MOUND AND VILLAGE

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Explorations at Carters Dam have assumed major site proportions with numerous components and unanticipated planning. The whole program has been carried out as related parts of individual contracts and agreements, an inter-agency program of river basin salvage archaeology between the National Park Service and the University of Georgia. We appreciate the close cooperation and sympathetic attention given to many matters of modified programs and changed budgets to adjust to the changing requirements of field work. This is particularly true since the bulk of the field work had to be accomplished during the summer months when time and personnel were available. This factor was complicated by the fact that Congressional appropriations to subsidize current fiscal operations did not materialize sometimes until the summer was over.

In addition to the fine cooperation between the National Park Service and the University our appreciations and acknowledgement to the United States Corps of Engineers is important. As the Federal agency actually in local charge of the areas being surveyed, they rendered valuable assistance at many crucial intervals and emergency situations. On one occasion over half of their automotive equipment was bogged down in the river bottom in an effort to recover our archaeological truck.

Greatly appreciated also was frequent assistance rendered by the contractors Clement Brothers at the Carters Dam project. They very generously loaned equipment and operators to bulldoze heavy vegetative cover and deep alluvial deposits covering much of the archaeological area, a great economy in terms of both time and money to archaeological field parties engaged in a crash program. We are parti-

cularly grateful to Mr. Clarence Clements and project superintendents Duke and Morgan.

We also wish to express our warm appreciation for the friendly assistance and friendship rendered to individual members of the personnel on many occasions by local residents in this southern Appalachian community. The ways of archaeologists are very different from those of the mountaineers, but they remained friendly and helpful under sometimes adverse conditions.

Acknowledgement is made also to the school administrators and local sponsors of a youth corps project composed of highschool students from Murray and Gordon counties, many of whom were enthusiastic workers and made a distinct contribution. Finally we recall the exasperating problems of handling numerous details, largely conducted away from the University, in which we were dependent upon the good will and the generous advice and assistance rendered by the office of General Research and the Procurement Department. Nothing is more important to an archaeological field party working under primitive conditions than to have critically needed supplies in an emergency or to receive that bi-weekly pay check. These items, frequently taken for granted, are very important for maintaining both morale and efficiency in the field.



## Introduction

The first three seasons of salvage archeology at Carter's Dam, performed as an Inter-Agency agreement between the National Park Service, Department of Interior, and the University of Georgia, were carried out at Sixtoe Field on the east bank of the Coosawatte River directly in front of the large main dam. In 1962 work was concentrated on the mound site, continued in 1963 with some attention to the village area, with final work on the village area restricted in 1964 due to limited funds. It became necessary during this interval to shift funds, by mutual agreement between the contracting parties, allocated to salvage behind Carter's Dam, to permit more attention to the wide cove area in front of the dam. A report was completed and submitted to the National Park Service on these three years of survey in 1966.

The approval and scheduling of a second dam in front of the main dam resulted in a crash program on the large cove area on both sides of the Coosawattee and recognition of a third segment of critical archeological concentration, i.e. the two mounds and associated village remains in the confluence of the Coosawattee River and Talking Rock Creek, known locally as "Little Egypt". This latter area had been partially excavated in the late 1920's by Warren K. Moorehead for the Andover Museum, Massachusetts. The Andover Report was not detailed but seemed to indicate a Late Mississippian to historic context, with a strong showing of trade materials, including some specimens which were thought possibly to represent 16th century Spanish contact. Other spectacular historic objects, as in the case of the famous "silver crosses" from Coosawattee Old Town, reported by William Claflin and the

Georgia antiquarian Charles C. Jones have been analyzed by a number of experts as 19th century in origin and probably relic of missionary activity with the Cherokees. The essential data form part of the 1966 final report on Sixtoe Field excavations.

At this writing in June, 1968, the Little Egypt tract has still not been purchased by the real estate division of the U. S. Corps of Engineers although condemnation proceedings in the courts have been finished. A bitter stalemate still exists between the owner and the Federal Government with the result that conditions are not favorable to initiation of salvage in an important contingent of Carter's Dam archeology. Final dam construction has been delayed, postponed to 1973 according to current schedules so that adequate time should be available for at least two full field seasons at Little Egypt.

Our concern in this final report will be with the four field seasons performed at the Bell Field sector of Carter's Dam in 1965, 1966, 1967, and still in progress now in June of 1968. During these four consecutive seasons work has been centered primarily on the Bell Field Mound and immediate village context, located on the natural levee of the west bank of the Coosawattee River just below the confluence of the Coosawattee River and Talking Rock Creek. Reference to the Carter's Dam area map will show Little Egypt mounds and village above mentioned located just across Talking Rock Creek with surface indications of extended village all down the wide fringing cove south to Highway 156 and the Pott's Tract, where another University of Georgia field party is beginning a survey of stratified village midden containing Lamar, early Etowah, and Woodstock components as identified in initial laboratory studies.



In 1965 severe limitation of funds led to some improvisation in the initial work at Bell Field Mound. The first excavations after a survey grid had been imposed on the mound were made in the East-West axis trench and the east mound periphery by volunteer workers from the University of Georgia under the supervision of A.R. Kelly assisted by Donald F. Smith and Frank T. Schnell. Here in downslope segments of truncated mounds were exposed the first two structures positioned at the featheredge of two of the terminal mounds. Of these, Structure #1 was smaller, almost brought out in diagonal position in the base of cut of the ten foot wide axis trench. It appeared to be too small for functional efficiency as a residence or occupational structure, and the presence of charred floor mats with some charred ears of corn in place on the mats led to the tentative hypothesis that this was a small storage building in which heaps of maize were kept in supply for ceremonials being carried out on the mound summit.

Structure #2 was uncovered in the adjoining ten foot extension to Structure #1 and was only partially uncovered at this time as it was observed to extend into the standing profile. The base of cut was covered with plastic and was not completely excavated in subsequent seasons due to our total preoccupation with the stratified complex of ceremonial buildings in the mound proper.

In 1965, continuing into 1966, were concentrating on a very confused truncated and telescoped maze of buildings, being exposed immediately under plowline. The partially disrupted remnants of four key buildings were uncovered on the summit of the mound, covered over in the highest central portion by two and a half feet of black clay gumbo, basket-loaded mound fill to a truncated mound, whose clay seal fit like a vulcanized capping over the fired clay daub and

and charred framing of the buildings underneath.

A tremendous amount of horizontal shaving and tedious troweling was required to expose these summit buildings. We were fortunate in 1965 to obtain a labor supply of high school students incident to the summer operation of a Youth Corps program of Murray and Gordon counties. Graduate students in archeology were the unit supervisors. The program was activated in June and continued to the opening of school in September. The student cadres varied with a high 45 in mid-summer. Only a selected group of these could be used effectively at Bell Field. This fresh accession of youthful workers was not altogether an unmitigated blessing. The project was "integrated" and there were some minor flurries of interaction, and a few intransigent individuals were summarily dismissed. Also traditional hostility between young partisans of neighboring mountain counties posed some problems of Applied Anthropology. Security officers of the Corps of Engineers became nervous over the highly individualized driving performances involved in bringing workers to the "dig" in school buses and we were required to employ a graduate assistant as driver of the bus. The slow and rough progress of the school lorry through the area of intense construction activity, with the huge, yellow monster Euclids flying about--dubbed "Euclidosaurians" by the graduate students--produced a chronic state of anxiety.

Nevertheless, the surplus man hours contributed greatly to the net results of the 1965-66 field seasons. The north-south axis trench was begun, producing further evidences of buildings at the mound peripheries in both north and south grids. On the mound summit the heavily fired, collapsed house debris of several burned buildings began to emerge. At the end of the summer,



continuing into the fall with a few special workers from the University, we had confirmed that we had an undetermined number of truncated, terminal mounds. estimated to be four or five, with the relatively undisturbed area of building activity brought out just under plowline indicated to be our first interior or "core mound". Just how many interior mounds there might be could not be determined as each of the overlying occupation levels would have to be horizontally stripped and recorded before the deeper, buried occupations could be exposed. At this writing in July, 1968, we still have the deepest "core #3" occupation to uncover.

From diagnostic materials, particularly pottery, catalogued from the initial main axis trenching, the conclusion was made that Bell Field Mound represented a continuum of mound construction, with superimposed ceremonial buildings and associated burials, indicating a sequential development in situ of a number of Dallas Period occupations, culminating in the final truncate mound occupations in a perceived mixture of Dallas and Lamar materials. There was no historical or trade material in context as had occurred in exposing successive floor levels of Dallas-Lamar domestic structures in Sixtoe Field Village in 1962, 1963, and 1964. There the gradual preemption of an earlier, relatively "pure" Dallas horizon by increasing increments of a local variant of North Georgia Lamar had given rise to the coinage of the term "Dallamar" to cover this seeming phenomenon of cultural synchresis. Bell Field Mound, in a successive, stratified context of ceremonial structures and occupations appeared to be substantiating the conclusions reached in the final report on Sixtoe Field investigations of domestic structures.

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In the interim between field seasons, carried out through 1966, A. R. Kelly and Don Smith with a few volunteer workers tested and opened up a new survey unit in the southwest quadrant of Bell Field Mound. A slight rise or contouring in this area was surmised to be a ramp to the truncated and redistributed mound. Actually, what transpired was that we exposed just under plowline plow-scarred black gumbo mound fill clay peeling off to reveal a badly eroded platform of undetermined dimensions disrupted by modern cultivation and subsequently buried under recent silt and alluvium. The situation was reminiscent of the rectangular platforms with open residential structures found around the plaza area between the two main mounds at the type Lamar site on the Ocmulgee River, Macon, Georgia, in 1935 excavations. The pottery in situ was definitely Lamaroid with an evident preponderance of Lamar grit tempered plain, incised, and stamped series of sherds. Partially exposed postmolds gave wall continuities indicating one or more structures on top of the platform. One large structure, catalogued as Structure #3, came out in partial definition on top of the platform. Broken lenses of water-laid sand and mound fill of the dark gumbo, with small truncated sections still in place over the floor area, led to the tentative conclusion that Structure #3 had been built on a platform extension along the natural levee running south toward Talking Rock Creek from the main body of the Bell Field Mound. Two badly deteriorated burials with just enough remaining to indicate adult interments on the house floor or in the ditch in front of the platform, without burial accompaniments, were uncovered. Thus we had new evidence that the chronological terminus at Bell Field was a full Lamar occupation, identified in the total



Carter's Dam continuum as proto-historic to historic provenience, tentatively dated somewhere around 1700 A. D.

Later in 1968, in pursuance of a contract to do village exploration confluent with the stratified mound, we temporarily withdrew from our steady operations to expose core mounds and concentrated again on this Lamaroid complex partially exposed in the southwest quadrant. The new excavations disclosed some significant findings. For one thing it became apparent that the house platform was also stratified, of multiple occupation, with at least three building levels of which the uppermost had been truncated by modern plowing and river erosion. Also we found additional burials, now currently numbered 12 in all, intrusive through the mound fill, reposing on the floor of the first two structures or again coming out on the downslope or ditched flanks of the platform. The clustering of these burials implied some sort of mortuary complex, and we entertained for a while the hypothesis that we might have a mortuary or charnel house, similar to that uncovered by J. R. Caldwell at the Irene Mound. The condition of preservation was so poor that sex could not be appraised with any degree of confidence. They were predominantly adult, largely flexed in a narrow, shallow burial pit, in several instances under circumstances suggesting a burial shroud constricting the partially "green" or decomposed bodies. Burial furniture was in striking contrast to the Dallas interments in the main mound, with general absence of religious or "cult" items and an emphasis on utilitarian specimens, polished celts and wedge tools, some battered; stone chunkies were recurrent. No historic objects were encountered.

By the summer of 1968 the conclusion was developing that the Lamar house platform area exposed in the southwest quadrant of the original mound grid was a separate and discrete building and burial entity, even if the occupation was located on a platform extension along the natural levee extending south and perhaps originally confluent with, or integrally part of the final mound construction at Bell Field. Inasmuch as the final five mound constructions had been completely truncated except for downslope remnants, and the final Lamar platform had also been truncated in the same process, with a gradual filling in of the intermediate connecting zone with redistributed material, we can probably never reconstruct the true contours and cross-sectional continuity of the composite mound as it existed before modern cultivation began to destroy contours over a hundred years ago. There is the statement of older local residents that within their memory Bell Field Mound was at least six feet higher than at present and that several feet have been cut away since the famous "Whitestone Freshet of 1937".

To return to the seasonal chronology of exploration at the main mound site, by 1966 field season we had uncovered two definite, connected structures in the north grid section of Bell Field Mound. These were catalogued as Structures #4 and #5.

The first of these, Structure #4, was a large, rectangular structure nearly 25 feet long, with wattle and daub wall construction, with shed-like, compartmentally arranged seats disposed around an open, court-like area in the middle where a massive bowl-shaped 6 foot wide central hearth occurred. The structure had been consumed in a fierce conflagration which baked the clay daub to the consistency and appearance of brick tile. The heavy and collapsed



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mass of debris mantled the floor area and covered the central hearth to a depth of more than two feet in the central section where the saucer-shaped floor dipped to the base of the central fire pit. The fired daub preserved with remarkable fidelity the imprints of the wattle and daub construction of the wall sections, with evidence of smoothing most evident in the exteriors. Wall thickness varied but in places approximated nearly one foot. Basal portions and two of the corners of the structure were still intact to a depth of a foot or more. The walls had collapsed inward, the heaviest deposit of collapsed debris occurring over the central fire pit. Modern plowing had truncated the burned and collapsed structure in a plane confluent with the upper slope section of the saucer-shaped floor regarded in cross-section. This tendency to have one saucer-shaped structure aligned with and connected with a second structure with more level and regular floor sections, was subsequently to be observed in other of the core mound building complexes, with data still accruing at this stage of exploration in 1968.

Truncation of Structure #4 did not entirely erase the evidence that this important ceremonial unit, with its implicit style and plan of building suggesting some sort of "council house" or central meeting place had been rebuilt with an overlap of new floor construction and a new rim constructed around the large, imposing fire pit.

After the burning of Structure #4 there was clear evidence of the intrusion of a tomb burial from one of the upper building levels, subsequently truncated in modern cultivation. This intrusive log tomb interment had been inserted directly through the large, six foot wide central hearth. It was only one of the so-called "tomb burials" soon to become a recurrent feature of the later mound

occupations at Bell Field. In this instance a copper headdress, a large Busycon drinking bowl capped by a painted dog pot, and copper necklace indicated a person of rank in the priestly hierarchy. The skeleton was that of a heavy boned, muscular male, with a large bony facial structure, about the age of 35-40. He had been buried sitting in full regalia; the body had slipped to the side and backward in postmortem disturbance, perhaps incident to the collapse of the log roofing over the tomb. More detailed summaries and comparative discussion of Structures and Burials later in the text will seek to give the implications of these special intrusive interments into the floor and wall sections of ceremonial structures on the Core 1 Mound.

A companion structure, without the saucer-like , intaglio depression and central hearth of Structure #4, was soon troweled out in the contiguous area to the east. This too was a rectangular structure with wattle and daub wall construction, without determinable doorways except by a narrow, enclosed, clay-lined passage which led into and from Structure #4. The passage connection had a puddled clay floor, with a matting side lining, portions of which were found charred on the fire-clouded floor to the passage. The clay daub had encased split, soft pine boards upright in the walls to the passage. The passage led from the west wall of Structure #5 into the east wall median of Structure #4. Structure #5 was interpreted to be a definitely linked or connected structure to the "council house," with the further extrapolation from the archeological data that this auxiliary had more of the appearance of a "dormitory" than a "council chamber". It had also been burned, apparently at the same time as Structure #4 but not as severely as there was much less mass of collapsed red-fired daubing covering the floor section.



The exposure of these two structures and their recordation occupied the field party most of the 1966 season, although some additional troweling and field accessioning carried on into 1967. Both Structures #4 and #5 lay in the north mound grid. Athwart the East-West axis there soon appeared the tightly compacted floor section and telescoped lenses of unfired wall daub attributed to a new structure, coming out under 2 feet or more of the black gumbo mound fill. This was Structure #6 and was thought initially to be confluent and possibly connected with Structure #5 as #5 had been connected with #4. Doubts were soon raised in the 1967 explorations, however, as structural details began to emerge. #6 was clearly defined by a light tan clay floor section several inches thick and an overlay of whitish, almost kaolinitic clay lenses which contained tempering material of reed stems and leafage and some fibrous impressions of a local grass not yet identified ethnobotanically. Structure #6 had not burned or been subjected to any heat at all, except perhaps incipient sun drying. The implication was this sizable building had melded down into its basic constituents, much in the way thick clay walls had melded as colloidal precipitates in the large dormitory constructions belonging to an Etowah III period on top of the Sixtoe Field Mound and uncovered in 1962 and 1963. Only here at Bell Field with Structure #6 many of the discrete lenses of unfired clay daub preserved a recognizable identity even though pressed down tight into a clay floor of almost similar consistency. Another anomaly was the absence of any trace of decayed wall posts or supporting frame work, although weakly defined postmoulds were troweled out. A pregnant question was immediately raised. Why did not Structure #6 also burn in the fierce conflagration that consumed Structures #4 and #5? Again

this inquiry must be left to the section on "Structures".

Structure #7 was uncovered seemingly on the same cultural level or occupation zone as Structure #6. It lay to the southwest from #6, touching the northwest slope escarpment which was exposed for some twenty five feet in 1967 excavations. Unfortunately a huge pot-hunter's pit, 15 feet or more in diameter, had been excavated into the crown of the mound, intercepting the precise critical area where the southwest wall of #6 would have been aligned with the southeast wall of #7. This huge pit was intrusive through the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet of black gumbo mound fill mantling both structures and had completely obliterated the southwest wall of Structure #6, penetrating on down through the next gumbo fill layer to demolish the southwest wall of Structure #8, a "core mound #2" component that was to be revealed in 1967 and 1968 seasons. If there had been any connecting passageway between Structures #6 and #7, such was ~~totally erased~~ <sup>SECURED</sup> by this act of vandalism in modern times.

The clay floor of Structure #7 was burned brick red and orange in patches, some localized clouding assimilated to a diffuse central hearth area, but the floor was hard as concrete after being exposed by persistent horizontal scraping and was starkly bare of any ash, charred timbers, or collapsed house debris. If the structure had been burned, this could only have been partial and localized. . . it may be that location near the northwest escarpment or dip to the mound downslope might have resulted in more displacement and washing away of collapsed and dismembered debris leaving only the bald, baked floor. In any event, we are left with a puzzle similar to Structure #6: What is the explanation of the differential burning of these four theoretically related buildings in the same complex, Structures



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#4, #5, #6, and #7?

A remarkable feature of all structures and occupation levels was the sparse showing of pottery and midden deposits in situ. This tended to be true of the distribution of elements washed downslope, occurring as detritus in the profile panels to the terminal or truncated mounds. Only a handful of sherds or animal bones came from each careful, meticulous trowel operation on individual house patterns.

Most of the pottery catalogued from good context from the floor areas after weeks of steady troweling falls within the limits of a Dallas series as first described by Lewis and Kneberg in their Dallas report or Dallas material gleaned from generalized Dallas sites reported over a period of years in the Tennessee Archeologist. There is close agreement with the more abundant collections from the domestic house floors of the Dallas houses explored in Sixtoe Field in 1962-64. The most significant ceramic and artifact associations were found in the burial furniture, especially the assemblages found with the tomb burials. These provide a fine complement of Dallas mortuary ware and will be described in detail in the sections dealing with Structures and Burials. While the samples are small there is a consistent tendency for the pottery to run from a homogenous Dallas to a mixed Dallas and Lamar in the final truncate mounds, with a North Georgia Lamaroid running to around 90% in the multiple occupations of the Lamar house mounds and village level along the natural levee to the south. There is also a persistent occurrence of more grit tempered and complicated stamps in the core mound floors which appears to be some sort of late Savannah similar to that found at the Plant Hammond Mound, Rome, Georgia.

A Brief Summary of Ethno-historical Considerations

A total of seven field seasons has been reported to date in the combined Sixtoe and Bell Field site reports at Carter's Dam, extending from 1962-68. The present "final report" obviously is unfinished in terms of actual archeological salvage yet to be done in the basal portions of the Bell Field Mound and the confluent village area, with an entire newly discovered stratified mound occupation of Lamar vintage, apparently marking the terminus of the Lamar-Dallas continuum.

At Sixtoe Field in 1962, 1963, and 1964, evidences were uncovered relating to an Etowah III occupation to an attenuated showing of Wilbanks spottily showing in horizontal distribution. The best stratigraphy came from the fill to the large quarry pits from which soil had been taken to construct the mound, with the Etowah series in the basal backfill of village garbage and Dallas midden in the top layers. The Hiwassee cultural interval, as reported by Tennessee archeologists at Hiwassee Island, occurs at Carters only as a "variant" in terms of ceramic diagnostics. Since TVA days the Tennessee archeologists and some other Southerners have emphasized the importance of pottery tempering in successive cultural levels, but at the Southeastern Conference at Macon in 1968 some doubts as to the extension of this practice were voiced, and an agreement to express these sub-regional manifestations as "variants" was made. It does seem definite that Carter's Dam is positioned geographically in a half-wayzone between Hiwassee and Etowah and has obviously been syncretized by both centers to a differential degree.

The Wilbanks interval at Etowah marked a mushrooming of culture, an efflorescence which found expression in population growth and



clustering, monumental architectural, artistic, and religious climaxes, most of which found little diffusion or reflection at Carter's Dam or the large settlement then existing on the banks of the Coosawattee River, located only forty miles to the north. Specific "cult" elements at Carter's are diffuse, tenuous and relate to a few specialized traits which investigators in the area recognize a stylistically "late cult". These find lodgment in the Dallas continuum at Bell Field Mound, and also in the later or terminal mounds associated with the tomb burials. Some few conventionalized styles continue on into the terminal Lamar phase, such as the pottery monolithic axe pipes.

Carter's Dam, despite its geographical continuity with Etowah, reflects more of the Hiwassee and Tennessee influences throughout its history. The most complete parallel to the mound succession at Bell Field is found in the sequence unveiled at Hiwassee Island. In their eventual physical aspect the two dominant mound pyramids with their apron-like extensions and lower building platforms must have been very much alike. Hiwassee cultural material is largely absent at Bell Field, but the Dallas continuum is stratigraphically deeper and permits more consecutive site documentation than was the case at the type site. At Bell Field there <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ at least 5 terminal or truncate mounds, indicative of a continuous cultural occupation on the site with sequential developments in mound and temple architecture, significant changes in burial types and associations, and pregnant suggestions of ritual modifications through several generations. The beginning of the continuum and the intermediate phases appear to be "pure Dallas" with increasing increments of a North Georgia Lamar in the final mound occupations and the stratified house platforms in the southwest quadrant of the mound grid extending along the natural levee toward Talking Rock Creek. All of

this spectrum, seemingly, is without any evidence of trade goods or historic contact; a proto-historic interval becomes presumptive in our reconstruction.

This comparative lack of historic contact materials is contrasted with the archeological situation immediately to the south where J. R. Caldwell carried out the Allatoona Basin Survey for the Smithsonian Institution only a decade ago. Caldwell ends his Allatoona chronology with Galt and Brewster complexes and describes materials from sites assignable to each focus. Galt is historic, with 18th century trade materials and documentary sources implying Cherokee occupation before the Removal. The site at Sixes near Acworth, Georgia, yielded abundant diagnostic material. Brewster tends to be proto-historic with different ceramic indices. Its relation to Galt Period is confused and not formulated theoretically.

At the site of Etowah, W. H. Sears, A. R. Kelly, and Lewis Larson carried out separately and successively nearly ten years of excavation. Kelly found Etowah III with increasing amounts of Tennessee materials (Savannah and Hiwassee) ending in an epi-Etowah interval eventually defined as Wilbanks. The largest sample of Wilbanks houses, both domestic and with one striking 35 foot wide council house, came out at the foot of Mound B. In the succeeding midden accumulation over the large borrow or trash pits Wilbanks <sup>wb?</sup>~~is~~ demonstrated to change gradually into a North Georgia Lamar. Sears found 18th and early 19th century artifacts and trade goods in a cabin site on the other side of Mound B. Larson spent a number of years exposing a widespread Lamar occupation, overlying the deeper Etowah series, in the wide plaza beyond Mounds A, B, and C, and there were attenuated historic contact materials associated with some of the Lamar burials around



house floors.

Looking to the north of the Coosawatte drainage to the Tennessee River and Hiwassee Basins, we have the extensive survey of historic and proto-historic towns carried out in TVA salvage archeology. A rich 18th century record of ethno-history with exploration of several well documented sites by the University of Tennessee was carried out. The mid-18th century site of Fort Loudon was excavated and made into a historical park. Sites in this region exhibit a plenitude of trade goods and archeological evidences of pioneer vs aboriginal contact and interaction from early in the 18th century through the Revolutionary period to the final Indian Removal. The Coosa generically refers to a wide-spread territorial group of Upper Creeks who formed a powerful confederation of "war towns". The Cherokees were the mountain people, the largest and most war-like of southeastern tribes, with the Overhill Cherokee living in closer contact with the valley people and undergoing more syncretization of their culture, as is shown by the corresponding archeological exploration of key sites. Fort Loudon excavations provide some of the pertinent data for these relations.

The Smithsonian and University of Georgia surveys in northeast Georgia, the Hartwell Basin particularly, centered on a number of historic landmark sites of the Cherokee Lower Settlements. Reports are available on Chauga in Oconee County, South Carolina, and Estatoe in Stephens County, Georgia. J. R. Caldwell has an unpublished report on the important Cherokee site at Tugaloo and the University of Georgia carried out fairly extensive excavations in Tugaloo village, recovering rich trade good materials including trade beads which John Witthoft studied and found covered a span from the 16th century to the

19th. Currently with the Duke Power Company as sponsor the University of South Carolina is conducting further explorations in the same region in and around Fort Prince George. These sites are well documented, with adequate ethno-historical accounts and are yielding plenty of historic trade goods. The University of North Carolina is carrying out a three year research program into historic and proto-historic Cherokee archeology extending west to some of the Middle Valley settlements.

Probably any rigid concept of homogeneous tribal culture in the Southeast or even consistent linguistic entities, will be found unrealistic and contrary to the actual archeological data when such become available over a wide area. The ethno-historical and ethnographic evidence does not agree with any such puristic appraisal in the historical span from 16th century Spanish exploration to the splintered and almost completely acculturated groups of the 19th century.

Despite this purely theoretical dictum regarding the matter of tribal cultures and the efforts of the archeologist to intercept and identify them in his excavations, in the concluding and interpretive sections of this report the author will attempt to defend a hypothesis long maintained by both Tennessee and Georgia investigators that the so-called Dallas continuum at Bell Field and its counterpart at Hiwassee Island represent a cultural tradition locally connected with the generic tribal confederation of the Coosa and the Upper Creeks and that the emergent archeological component of a North Georgia Lamaroid site complex is to be identified with Cherokee. This position does not necessarily confound the proponent with the logical contradiction that all Lamar components in Georgia or the immediate



Southeast must be identified with the tribal entity of the Cherokee.

Also the Mouse Creek component at Hiwassee, which Lewis and Kneberg argued on ethno-historical grounds might be Yuchi, appears to have some local representation along the Coosawattee, at least so far as some of the burial traits and figured pottery are concerned. The Yuchi were certainly present in the Tennessee drainage, and they might well have contributed to the developments uncovered at Carters, but any argument which seeks to abstract them from the total archeological complex will be more difficult to maintain than the identification of Coosa with Dallas and North Georgia Lamar with Cherokee.

This report must confine itself mainly with the archeological findings at Carter's Dam. Any adequate account of the pertinent ethno-history must await extensive independent research by a competent ethno-historian who also possesses a knowledge of archeological methods and theory and who is acquainted with the cumulative results of archeological survey in the region.

The Correlation Trenches; Mound Architectonics

It was not until the end of June, 1967, in the third season at Bell Field, that trenching into the mound had proceeded sufficiently far and at adequate depth to provide an accurate record of the history of mound construction and the functional relationship between the different mounds and superimposed summit structures in the successive occupations. These complications were dimly perceived in the field seasons of 1965 and 1966 and the early probing has been described in the Introductory statement. It became evident that the vertical profile indications afforded by the initial north-south, east-west axis trenches adjusted to the present surviving contours of the mound were inadequate to reveal the relations of the final, terminal mound constructions, truncated in modern plowing, to the underlying core mounds and building levels. It was necessary to deepen and to extend these axis profiles to expose the core stratigraphy and to bring out the down-slope fill and accretional elements of the truncate mounds if any total mound history was to be achieved.

There were at least two important factors perceived in the first two seasons which determined policy in selecting new profile trenches through the mound. It was evident by the season of 1966 that the initial grid system, following the conventional cardinal point orientation, failed to align with the disposition of the actual prehistoric structures being brought out by horizontal clearing and troweling on the successive mound summits. It appeared that the prehistoric architects were taking the corners of structures as their basis for physical orientation rather than the sides of the rectangular buildings. Axis trench cuts in the north and south grid tended to impact on the corners



of the initial structures exposed, Structures #4, #5, #6, and #7; also Structures #1 and #2 encountered in the initial digging at Bell Field in the east axis trench. As the base of cut deepened to expose the terminal mound elements of truncated mounds, we were seen to be cutting cross-grain through the depositional layers and lenses rather than striking them straight-on to provide the best cross-sectional reconstructions.

The second factor which began to be clear by 1966--and which we might reasonably have anticipated from a study of the results found by Lewis and Kneberg at Hiwassee Island where a similar continuum of building activity on successive mounds occurred--was that a central segment of Bell Field mound must originally have been several feet higher, perhaps as much as ten feet or more, than the flanking portions extended out north along the natural river terrade at this point. Structures #4 and #5 were at a lower level by several feet than Structures #6 and #7. Some one hundred years of modern cultivation had stripped off and redeposited downslope no less than five summit mounds, leaving only the steep sides of the former truncates, with midden and building debris accumulated on the downslope clay elements and mound fill. Structure #4 postmold continuity and building plan came out fairly clearly, but the dismantled section just under plowline, showed that the large, red-fired six foot central hearth to Structure #4 had at least two stages of construction with the implication that Structure #4 had been rebuilt or stabilized during its occupation. The details of the later building were thoroughly obscured by modern truncation and the large intrusive tomb burial made directly through the central fire basin. The building

level to which Structures #4, #5, #6, and #7 thus becomes the first "core mound". By the summer of 1967 there was still some uncertainty as to precisely how many "truncate" or "terminal" mounds there were, but by the end of the summer, we has ascertained that there were apparently 5 truncate mounds exposed in the downslope portions of axis trenches, and in a new "Correlation Trench" cut through the southwest quadrant of the mound.

This was the situation in June, 1967, as recorded in the field diary on that occasion: ". . . In economy of reference we will refer to the mound level on which we have been uncovering ceremonial buildings during the last two seasons as the first untruncated core mound or interior mound. All subsequent mound structures found underneath will, of course, also be core mounds. The topmost core mound on which we have found evidence of 4 buildings will be referred to as C-1 with the underlying mounds C-2, C-3, etc. We have not yet found true mound base on which original mound construction began and have no idea of how many core mounds there may be. . . . By the end of 1966 field season, we had evidence of at least 5 mound structures which had been truncated by modern plowing. The Bell Field site has been cultivated for over 100 years, the seat of a well-known plantation, Carter's Quarters, and portions of it were cultivated before by Cherokees in the 18th and 19th centuries. Beginning with the first downslope, indications of terminal or truncated mounds will be shortened to T-1, T-2, T-3, T-4, and T-5."

The new profile trench dug in at a 45 degree angle through the southwest quadrant of the mound did reveal the expected features very well as recorded in the field notes; ". . . One side of this profile trench on the southwest exhibits an excellent picture of the preserved



downslope extension or constructional elements of the successive terminal or truncated mounds. Three of these, T-2, T-3, and T-4, are exposed within 10 feet of a panel in the upper median part of the trench."

(For reference to profile features, see drawing of Correlation Trench #1).

The appearance of burned daub and charred building material on the downslope portions of the truncate mounds is best described from the notes: ". . .In the mid-portions of the profile, extending on out to the mound featheredge, 15-18 inches of water-laid sand is exhibited in both sides of the trench. The water-laid sand seems to course downward from this slope of T-3, a downslope indicated by a special white clay loam in contrast to T-2 and T-3 which contain heavy impregnation of fire daub and charcoal. The burned daub and fire material in T-2 is exhibited having a total length of nearly 10 feet in the profile panel. T-3 shows fairly strong daub, but not nearly so much and is broken and discontinuous in spots. As stated, T-4 shows practically no daub or charcoal. This may be a significant occurrence, as it might be conclusive that the structures on the summit of T-4 were never fired or burned as appears had been the case with the other mound constructions. The presence of heavy fired daub in pit fill, as in the case of the large tomb burials, may suggest something as to the source of point of departure of the intrusive graves. It is noted that in the large tomb burial, Feature 47, now being troweled out, 6 by 5 feet dimension, daub is being encountered to a much less extent than in the case of the intrusive tomb through the large hearth in Structure #4, Feature 50, which was completely filled with large chunks of heavy fired daub as was the overburden to the burial pit.

In the excavation of Correlation Trench #1, a significant find was the exposure of another tomb burial (Burial #15) in the median portion of the trench approaching the southwest wall of Structure #8. The field note description is given in excerpts: ". . .Returning to Feature #57, much tedious troweling uncovered the preserved portions of the collapsed covering timbers. These had sunk down to a level of 10-16 inches under the tremendous weight of the grave fill or mound overburden above them. The blackening seemed due to bacteriological decay rather than burning by fire. Interestingly enough some small sections of the wooden timbers are still unoxidized, and identification of the wood used to cover the burials should be possible. At least 16 transverse boards or splints of timbers 3-4 inches in diameter are indicated as running from side to side in the base of cut. It is possible that these cover timbers may have been almost a foot down in the excavated tomb . . ." (next day): ". . .The upper end of profile trench was excavated to become confluent with Feature #57. This operation exposed the rim section of the pit and several inches more of the roof struts were found in situ angling down. This condition raised the question as to whether the roof logs were laid across from rim level to rim level or whether they might have been placed lower down on ledges cut around the sides of the pit or whether they might have been supported by vertical posts. There is some suggestion that the rectangular burial pit was dug out in a bell-shaped excavation. . . .Some wood samples were catalogued for identification by the School of Forestry, University of Georgia. . . .Troweling out grave fill in Feature #57 beneath the collapsed log roof, noted immediately a change in soil, more sand and loam in contrast to the heavy gumbo above. This implies that sand filtered into the burial



cavity from upslope before the roof collapsed. This feature was observed in excavating other tomb burials."

Inasmuch as the precise details of tomb burials are important in the cultural reconstruction of Bell Field, the following notes of June 21, 1967, are transcribed: ". . . Further troweling revealed that the two burials were generously provided with shell beads, both large and small, occurring in the general area of the head and chest. Two of the shell ornaments turned out to be ear pins. One cluster of small water-worn pebbles, found near the flexed knees, may have been remnants of a rattle. A nodule of flint and two flint pieces nearby were probably accidentally included in the grave fill. The condition of preservation was very poor. The finding of a beginning third molar erupting suggests that one of the burials represented a young individual in his or her early twenties. One collar bone and some molar teeth in the other burial suggest a young adolescent although part of the major bones are so deteriorated that no certain judgments as to precise age or sex can be made. . . . The evidences of some sort of matting or textile material is also uncertain, although the dark organic mold everywhere mantling the two burials in a shroud-like covering, implies the use of a skin, probably a deer skin.

In summary: ". . . We seem to have two young adults or late adolescent burials interred close side by side with a minimum of burial furniture in the form of their personal adornments, but buried with special care and attention in carefully prepared and well-constructed rectangular tomb with a definite roofing of timbers which collapsed over the burials. These timbers were sufficiently preserved to enable the artist draughtsman to draw them in place. The

circumstances of the body positions suggest contracted or flexed burials on the right side, rather than the sitting burials described for tomb burials in the 1966 field season."

#### Exploration of Structures #8, #9, #10

One of the most important developments in the summer of 1967, continued unbroken as the weather permitted during the winter, and still continuing from the spring of 1958 into June of 1968, the present writing, has to do with the gradual uncovering of the floor section and wall continuities of a complete new complex of buildings brought out in the core mound just beneath Structures #4, #5, #6, and #7 described in the foregoing narrative of excavations. The evidence of a continuous cycle of mound and house construction, with four new buildings emerging on the "core mound #2", appears definitely substantiating the conception of a Dallas cultural continuum at Bell Field. Core Mound #1 and #2 are separated by nearly 2 feet or more of a heavy black clay gumbo of mound fill, thickest in the mid-high contour section of the present remnant of the mound. In some respects there is continuity and homogeneity in critical aspects of successive building complexes, with some architectural additions or embroideries that might be significant in the ultimate interpretations. Not only is there evidence of some sort of cyclical destruction ) ? through ritual demolition or burning involving total house conjoined units, but there is clear indication that individual structures were possibly destroyed and replaced without the capping of a black gumbo mound fill, as is particularly true of Structure #8 as viewed from the perspective of a full year of careful and tedious troweling.



Structure #8 exhibits three different clearly defined bowl-shaped, clay-rimmed fire basins troweled out at intervals several feet apart on the sandy floors interlarded with collapsed yellow clay (unfired, collapsed wall daub). The frustrating feature of unit exploration here is our nearly complete inability to disclose or uncover postmold continuities related to the three successive buildings that were constructed on this building site. Still standing from the 1965 field season are two thick balks of the original stratified mound, preserved in place, one along the line of grid stations belonging to the East-West mound axis, the other standing profile extending onto the mound summit as an extension of the main Correlation Trench #1. The stability and persistence of these balks and standing profiles is amazing when one considers the heavy erosion and mechanical stress of alternate freezing and warming in the fall and winter and the torrential rains which fall at intervals. It is probably significant in throwing some light on the structural integrity of the unfired, clay daubed buildings of considerable size which the early Dallas people constructed on the summits of the core or interior mounds. We shall stress the fact that these building units constructed on the core mounds appear not to have been burned in a mass conflagration which destroyed whole conjoined wattle-daub structures in a fierce heat that baked the thick wall daub to the hard, semi-glazed consistency of modern brick or tile. The walls of the core mound structures appear not to have been quite so thick, closer to 6 inches rather than 8-10 as beautifully preserved in the bright red and orange-fired wall sections found in the Core-1 building complex explored in 1965-66-67 at Bell Field<sup>1</sup>Mound.

Relative to the early clearing of Structure #8, we have the following notation in field diary of August 1, 1967: ". . . Today the bulk of the work has been concentrated on removal of the mound soil which extends at overburden over Structure #8 at the point where the preserved profiles of the North-South and Correlation Trench #1 meet. These two profiles will be retained and Structure #8 will be cleared in its northeast portion in the angle between them. Both profiles expose the whole succession of occupational layers of the mound with the original survey stakes (1965) still in place on top. The relationship of Structure #7 to Structure #9 underneath, of Structure #6 to Structure #8 underneath, and of all of these to Structures #4 and #5 will be determined after the present profiles are deepened and extended."

Exploration of the three conjoined or closely related Structures #8, #9, #10 was carried out concurrently during August and September. Contractor's cloth, vinyl acetate, served well to protect a building unit which needed "to cure" before troweling was resumed. The following August note on early clearing of Structure #9 is given: ". . . In the afternoon finished clearing the black gumbo mound fill from the northeast quadrant over Structure #9. A segment of the east-west profile still standing shows the superimposed features of both Structures #7 and #9 very well, particularly where both structures dip downward on the east side. Structure #7 shows the black gumbo broken away with diffused waterlaid sand on the narrow downslope subsequently mantled with mound fill of black gumbo. The profile detail might indicate outwash sand deposited during a rain storm while construction was in progress."

With reference to Structure #9 and first appearance of Structure #10 the following is noted: ". . . Within five feet immediately to the



to the north of the N. E. corner of Structure #9 and on the same building level, the initial shoulder and platform dip of the floor section to a new structure was seen coming out under the black gumbo fill to Structure #4. This will be Structure #10. Early indications show precisely the same distinct yellow brown color of the unfired daub which peels off neatly from the underlying sand. In turn, the sand within less than five feet gives way to a bowl-like dip to the portion which shows a compacted clay at base. . . .The small intervening area between Structure #9 and #10 comprises the shoulder or berm raised along the northeast and northwest sides of Structure #9 confluent with the shoulder section of Structure #10 to the northeast. Since Structure #10 in its first appearance also appears to be completely unfired or burned, this follows a consistent pattern observed thus far in which all core mounds appear to have fallen down and melded into the basal elements. In short, contrast Structures #4, #5, and #7 definitely burned, and structures on the truncated summits of T-2 and T-3 are also heavily fired as shown by the thick deposits of fired daub and charcoal and wattle on the downslope portions studied in three or four correlation trenches to date."

Structure #9 continued (August 3): ". . . .Two corners in the short dimension of the structure are exposed, and a tape measurement shows an overall width of approximately 17 feet. This would be the inner wall dimension as indicated by the collapsed wall debris. The length of the structure will be close to 25 feet. From this it appears that these buildings at Bell Field Mound, considered to be religious structures, are only slightly larger than the domestic houses (Dallas) exposed in 1963 and 1964 in Sixtoe Field."

Structure #9 exhibited an important architectural departure from other core mound and Dallas structures generally in the exposure of a wall trench. Again notes of August 3, 1967: ". . . For a while we have speculated whether or not there were indications of a wall trench on the exposed northeast wall. Now the postmolds, post inserts on an average of 6-8 inches wide, are troweled out at an average of about 12-14 inches apart. The area between the posts is discolored and disturbed. In addition, the line of postmolds is definitely six inches or more below the level of the collapsed wall daub and floor section. Finally, we have just uncovered near the northeast corner a three or four foot section of a horizontal log in the wall trench outside the vertical posts evidently inserted at this point as a sort of chock block to prevent the basal portions of the posts from being thrust outward. The architectural features are better preserved here than was possible formerly." This parallels construction details of Dallas houses described by Lewis and Kneberg in their Hiwassee Island report.

Initial Uncovering of Structure #10. "Also initial uncovering of Structure #10, coming out a foot and a half under Structure #4, is in progress. The presence of such a structure was first ascertained in clearing out the log tomb burial intrusive into the six foot central fire basin of Structure #4 which yielded an adult male priest in full ceremonial attire and burial associations including dog pot, copper headdress, conch shell, and beads (Burial #10). Initial troweling along the rim of the indicated saucer-like depression to Structure #10 shows a compacted yellow clay with the usual dark brown sand fill and the heavy black gumbo of the mound fill underneath pressed tight onto the debris of the collapsed building. The same distinctive tan



yellow clay and unfired daub comes out in narrow lenses where it is compressed by the weight of the overburden. The general appearance of Structure #10 in its first uncovering closely approximates observations previously made for Structures #8 and #9 to the south and southeast. When the daub is not fired and is only sun dried, apparently when wet and saturated, it appears very much like the original raw clay lenses brought up in basket loads for daubing on the wattle supports. We have found no individual lenses which show the imprint of the wattle in these unfired specimens in contrast to the excellent impressions left on the fired daub. We are particularly impressed with the appearance of the daub in Structure #10 since it contrasts so sharply with the heavy deposit of fired daub recovered from the council house structure (Structure #4) exposed immediately overhead two field seasons ago. In fact, it becomes increasingly evident with the exposure of each new core mound building level that the burning of ceremonial structures was an event which stratigraphy indicates began in about the fourth stage of mound history, counting from the base of construction, with the heaviest burning episodes occurring in the conflagration that consumed Structures #4, #5, and #7, and in connection with truncate mounds 2 and 3 where very heavy daub shows in the deposits downslope in the correlation trenches. We can only speculate if this event in ceremonial construction and use led to deliberate ritualistic burning of subsequent building complexes at intervals possibly a generation in duration. . . We have observed the apparent unbroken construction, the lack of erosional scarring, with only local waterlain deposits of a single freshet or rain, the close-fitting vacuum cup fitting on the subsequent black gumbo mound fill. . . There is striking selectiveness in the different materials used in



mound and building construction. It is quite evident that a heavy black clay gumbo is universally used for mound fill, in constructing the platform bases on which the public or ceremonial building is made. The floors usually in cross section appear to be depressed, sometimes strongly saucer-shaped (Structures #4, #6, and #10) with well-defined shoulders frequently raised with additional heavy black clay over sand and the lighter clay. The tan yellowish clay used in the daub over the wattle in wall construction is a very different clay and must have special properties. It is tempered with some sort of local grass which would prevent cracking under sun drying. The evidence of six-inch raw clay walls daubed or smeared over thin wattle construction woven between vertical post inserts at 12-14-inch intervals gives a picture of the basic interior structure. These walls were evidently quite functional, standing for an interval of some years with occasional patching or daubing where weather erosion was worst."

Structures #10 and #11. By the middle of August intensive clearing in the area of Structure #10 led to the discovery of a paired unit, Structure #11. As these two structures appear to be a tandem pair in the Core Mound #2 level and have a comparable relationship to that of Structures #4 and #5 above them in Core #1 stratigraphic position, details of their arrangement and features are especially noteworthy. Reference notes of August 14: ". . . .Futher work on Structure #10 has removed all of black gumbo fill in the overburden and has exposed an area to the northeast where the large expanse of tan colored clay unevenly distributed indicates another structure to be known as Structure #11. A ridgelike divide of yellow clay a foot or more in height separates the two structures." Structure #10 almost immediately



underlies Structure #4 and Structure #11 extends to the southeast of Structure #10 in very much the same relationship found for Structures #4 and #5 above them. Structures #4 and #5 had a covered passageway connecting them with plank-like boards of hewn staves encased in clay daub in the passage walls. Whether such a connection existed between Structures #10 and #11 was never determined because of the extremely ambiguous showing of postmolds in the adjacent walls and heavy disturbance in the intervening spaces. Two experienced archeological assistants spent weeks of the late fall and winter of 1967-68 trying to trowel out this critical zone between the two structures. As there was no evidence of any firing anywhere, except in the central fire basins, and the collapsed yellow unfired wall daub was lensed and interlarded in a bewildering fashion with patches of sandy floor, very uneven everywhere, postmolds were found by probing and palpation rather than by color or soil contrast usually present."

*Was later determined!*

Evidence of Partial Burning, Structure #9. The final descriptive summary for Structure #9 (notes of August 17, 1967) presents some interesting observations bearing on the problem of ceremonial or ritual burning of public buildings on mound summits at Bell Field, particularly in the later periods of Dallas occupation. These observations are important because of the hypothesis later set forth in our concluding chapter to the effect that there was archeological evidence of culture change from the lower (core mound) occupation levels to the core 1 and terminal mound occupations. The pertinent excerpt follows: ". . . Structure #9 has been troweled out and exposed in its entirety and now reveals a long, partially open-ended structure with the entry way indicated toward the river and along the

margin of the northwest embankment or flank of the mound stage at that time. Overall measurements show a building of 18 feet in the short dimension by 24 feet in the SE-NW dimension. The postmolds show post inserts of 5-7 inches in diameter, made at three sides but broken and partially eroded on the seemingly exposed and eroded flank on the river side. Some ambiguity exists in this northwest sector as some remnant portions of possible postmolds have been uncovered with the middle section of the wall showing more irregularities indicating wear or erosion at this point. It may be that a fairly substantial door or opening was placed here. The whole floor section shows a mantling of the yellow tan unfired wall daub, most of which evidently fell inside and onto the floor after abandonment or demolition of the building prior to the construction of a new mound overhead as indicated by nearly three feet of black clay gumbo fill which pressed down on the collapsed unfired daub with enormous weight and fits as closely as a glove. Not all wall daub was removed, and we have not checked on the presence of the charcoal or oxidized floor mats which appear to extend from wall to wall. . . . Some question has been raised as to whether Structure #9 was partially burned or not. The floor matting is uniformly charred or blackened. There is no yellow or orange-fired wall daub. One charred timber of wall or roof construction, two to three feet in length, was troweled out across the floor and yields a Carbon 14 sample. Actually, it would have been difficult for Structure #9 to burn completely even if a fire started on one side due to the fact that both interior and exterior walls were fully daubed, and the only flammable materials were the floor matting and the roof mesh. One begins to wonder how the Indians ever succeeded in obtaining a conflagration fierce enough to produce the mass of orange-red fired



layering of more unfired tan clay daub indicating an earlier collapsed wall section. . . .Two of the central hearths or fire basins appear to have been inserted during the later period of construction. The middle hearth with bright orange fired borders was completely filled with ash which spilled out over the margins. This yielded another Carbon 14 sample."

". . .One of the most convincing evidences that there were two or more constructions came out in troweling out the southwest wall. Here we find four or five postmolds about 20 inches apart. These wall sections are exposed in vertical profile in the northeast trending profile panel to Correlation Trench #1. Here the outside shallow wall is partially covered by yellow unfired wall daub where the wall melded down both inside and outside. The inner line of posts in a mottled disturbed area perhaps six inches deep at most also discloses about five postmolds in the present exposed floor section. It seems clear that we have indications of two external walls set about 12-20 inches apart and exposed in the southwest quadrant of the building. This would mean that the earlier structure was larger by 17-20 inches on a side, and this indicated earlier, larger structure appears to continue on toward the southeast wall where Structure #8 floor section was first exposed. Here five or six large posts, 10-12 inches in diameter, are aligned suggesting the original southeast wall to the earlier building. . . .Two building stages are indicated with possibly a short interval of time intervening between construction. Theoretically, since there are three well-defined fire basins in the mid floor section at least functionally there must have been an equal number of building stages. It is possible that older fire basins might have been retained and used in later structures. Also it is difficult to distinguish

between floor patching and the indicated practice of bringing in fresh sand and soil to maintain the floor under ordinary human traffic. The overall picture is one of consecutive building with at least two wall constructions and two buildings of different sizes. . . .We do not anticipate any interval of time between successive house constructions since all the accumulating evidence implies relatively continuous and unbroken building activity with new house units superimposed over the telescoped deposits of the prior construction. The manner in which the dark gumbo of subsequent mound fill fits tightly over the collapsed houses indicates a very small interval of time with erosional contouring almost completely absent."

At this writing in 1968 the correlation trenches, including the east and west portions of the East-West axis, expose no less than five truncate mounds, or portions thereof, with evidences of three building levels or core mounds underneath. Correlation Trench #1 in the southwest quadrant provides a longer profile panel through the mound, but even this profile has not been deepened to expose the lowest Core 3 group of structures or the mound base.

It is noteworthy that so much water-laid sand should extend in laminated bands, converging and flattening out in the terminal outwash deposits. Troweling in the collapsed structures on top of the core mounds indicates that floors were composed of several inches of tan sand. The walls were built of clay daub over reed wattles and were of substantial construction, sometimes nearly a foot in thickness. In some of the wall sections preserved by firing, the daub showed in cross-section to consist of several applications marked by a tendency to exfoliate along these planes of re-daubing. This would seem to indicate that the exterior clay daub was sun-dried and from time to



time was renovated and repaired by fresh applications of daub. By 1968 as Core #2 structures were exposed, it appeared that the walls on the earlier buildings were on the average about 6 inches thick, as compared to structures #4 and #5 for example. Some of the buildings, i.e. #5, the council house, and #6, #7, #8, and #9 appear to have been a few feet longer. These were sizeable buildings gradually deteriorating and melting down in place with scarcely any organic traces preserved of the supporting framework.

We have entertained the hypothesis that ritual burning of sacred buildings in the later mound occupations was preceded by simpler ceremonies in early Dallas times where the renewal rites were accomplished by a token burning or by a ritual of demolition in which the supporting poles were pulled out and the daubed walls pushed in and onto the floor sections. This might explain the absence or incompleteness of wall continuities as in Structures #6 and #8, as well as #10 and #11. The collapsed building might be covered over with a few inches of sand or gumbo in the early stages---another token ritual as from Core #2 level upward the custom appears to have been that the Indian architects brought in two feet or more of black clay gumbo as mound fill, i.e. between Structures #6, #7, #8, and #9 with another two feet or more of dark gumbo in place over Core #1 structures truncated by modern plowing and the recent 1937 "Whitestone Freshet". In Structure #9 there could have been either an accidental fire that consumed one corner of the building and the floor matting from wall to wall, or there might have been a token burning of a corner of the building before the ceremonial demolition and dismantling took place. Some skeptics might maintain that the situation is adequately explained by simply assuming that prehistoric settlements on the Coosawatee were periodically

attacked, burned, and sacked by enemies. It was noted that the later occupations of domestic Dallas houses in Sixtoe Field were also burned, which accords with the tendency found in Bell Field Mound. The hypothesis of a change from ceremonial demolition to ritual wholesale burning seems to be more congruent with the stratigraphic evidences. Also, as we shall demonstrate, there were other significant changes, particularly in burial customs and accompaniments and the development of a special mortuary ware.

Resumé of Archeological Components Exhibited in Four  
Seasons of Excavation at Bell Field Mound and Village Site

The Mound Stratigraphy

1. Three core or interior mounds and corresponding occupational levels.

Core I	Structures #4 and #5 #6 and #7
Core II	Structures #9 and #10 #8 and #11
Core III (Not yet excavated, but presence determined by small test pits from upper occupation)	

	Structure #12 under Structure #5
	Structure #13 under Structure #8

Also theoretically possible and anticipated are two additional Core III structures under Structures #9 and #10. The same unit complex brought out on the summit of Core I and Core II, with the tandem arrangement of inter-connected buildings (Structures #4 and #5, #9 and #10) is expected to occur when all of Core III is exposed.

Ordinarily, in conventional stratigraphic reference, mound levels and occupations would be numbered from bottom to top, but the actual sequence at Bell Field was not determinable during four seasons of



excavation, so a reverse procedure is employed here.

The narrative account of excavations at Bell Field, seasons beginning in 1965 and still current in the summer of 1968, gives the results of field work in regard to Structures #4 and #5 and #6 and #7 initially encountered in the immediate sub-humus level. The history of truncation in the upper mound and the profile indications has also been presented in the text.

In addition to the radical damage done to mound stratigraphy by the truncation of the five terminal mound constructions, large pot-hunter excavations into the summit made during the last 40 years penetrated through Core I and II levels and severed the connecting soil links between Structures #6 and #7 and underneath destroyed the west half of Structure #8.

Moreover, it was observed that there was more than one building stage represented on some of the discrete house patterns. This was notably true of Structure #4, the Council House, as shown in at least two overlapping constructions of the large central hearth or fire basin and baked clay extensions or hard pan confluent with the basins. Truncation by plowing had erased most of the upper structure, narrowly missing and preserving intact the earlier building which we successfully recorded in 1965. The details of Structures #4 and #5, with the remarkable covered connecting passageway, were faithfully preserved. The heavily fired wall daub, with basal portions of the truncated walls including some corner sections, provided excellent impressions of the supporting wattle work and lathing in the wall construction. It would be possible to make a fairly accurate scale model of these structures from the archeological recordations.

As discussed in text, Structure #8 also clearly had two or three buildings constructed successively on the same site, as shown by three impressive fire basins and broken, disconnected sets of postmolds. Failure to work out postmold indications of wall continuities corresponding to each building unit is ascribed to the fact that none of these Core II buildings were burned. The confused and diffuse mottling in the sandy floor sections suggests that these buildings were dismantled, the supporting post inserts salvaged and the walls of unfired clay daub allowed to fall in over the floor sections. Another factor which makes difficult the precise determination of each occupation level is the almost complete absence of any midden deposits or broken pottery or animal bone or charcoal ash (except in the fire basins themselves), which would have provided contrast in the accumulated and welded building debris. This general scarcity of midden remains, in contrast to the situation found in troweling out floor sections of domestic houses (as occurred in the 1962-63 exploration of Dallas houses in Sixtoe Field) tends to be true of all building complexes uncovered at the Bell Field Mound from core or basal mounds to the down-slope accumulations of the terminal mounds. It is probably a measure of the sacrosanct nature of these public buildings.

It is noteworthy that there was a marked differential in the degree of burning, not only as between different mound levels, but between buildings in the same complex. The Council House #4 was the most fiercely consumed; Structure #5 conjoined somewhat less so. Structures #6 and #7 exhibited still less evidence; most of the bright red or orange baked areas were adjacent to or related to fires in the central fire basins. There is a marked contrast in this respect between the upper mound occupations and the lowermost core mound



occupations, so much so that a special tabulation of the evidences in each case will be set forth in this text. Evidently whole building units on the upper truncated or terminal mounds must have been almost completely burned, judging from the massive deposits of fired daub and charred reed and wattle on the respective downslopes. These evidences of a presumed cyclical, ritualistic burning of building units on the successive mound summits strongly suggest cultural change in important ceremonial and symbolic aspects of the culture in which ritual and cyclical burning gradually replaces simple demolition or partial, token burning (Structure #9?).

Of the core structures uncovered thus far at Bell Field, Structure #9 was preserved with more faithful details. It was well insulated by nearly three feet of stiff black gumbo separating it from the mound summit and building seat of Structure #7, and fortunately it escaped the mutilation of the hugh pot-hunter's hole to which Structure #8 was subject. We were thus enabled to work out postmold lines for the outer walls, indicated inner partitions, the clear connection of Structure #9 to Structure #10 by a connecting passageway utilizing post inserts instead of the split boards found in the passage between Structures #4 and #5. Also, there was the interesting detail of a well-preserved charred matting which extended from wall to wall. Evidently wall to wall carpeting, for which this geographical section of North Georgia is now famous in its textile industry, has an ancient tradition in the area!

Structures #10 and #11 in the north grid of mound survey in Core II provenance were painfully and meticulously troweled for months by a small trained crew during the winter and spring of 1967-68. The utmost difficulty was experienced here in trying to



find the postmold wall patterns. The central fire was fortunately exhibited fair enough, but the collapsed unfired wall daub was mixed indiscriminately with disrupted lensing of the yellow daub over the undulating floor section. The berms or narrow shoulders of the small platforms on which the two side by side structures had been built were practically on a level and confluent, but no clear pattern of a passage connection could be made out. We cannot affirm that Structures #10 and #11 were conjoined as we know #9 and #10 were. The core building units were all very nearly the same size. They have the same rectangular plan and layout. None, except possibly Structure #9 partially, were subjected to any burning. Again the confusion of postmolds and the mingling of sandy floor and collapsed unfired wall daub is theorized to be relic of intentional dismantling of the buildings with probable economical retention of the supporting posts.

Structures #10 and #11 are definitely positioned on a lower level or platform to the north of Structures #8 and #9. There is clear evidence from the downslope projections of the final building periods (the truncated mounds) that at least 8 augmented and raised building levels, each with its own cluster of a building complex, must have given a height greater than 10 feet above the apron-like extension along the natural levee to the north. The original ground plan viewed from the side must have looked very much like the differential building levels projected for the large mound complex at Hiwassee Island and described in the reconstruction of Lewis and Kneberg.

A still lower level of building occupation (Core III) is indicated from tentative probing and correlation trench exposures at the base of the Bell Field Mound. During the winter of 1968 vandals

later  
confirmed  
A.R.K.



dug a small test through the troweled floor section of Structure #11, and examination of the profile disclosed indications of another floor level about 18 inches below the present floor.

Under Structure #8 the presence of another buried occupation and building level has been shown in a number of the vertical profiles set into the center of the main mound from featheredge in the correlation trenches. Correlation Trench #1, cutting in from the southwest or SSW, impinges on a yellow clay platform shoulder in the median portion of the mound. A similar exhibit was uncovered in the axis trench dug into the mound from the east in the initial cut made in 1965 by volunteer student workers. In the summer of 1968 we are still trying to work out a better definition of the multiple floors of Structure #8 sealing the Core 3 structure mentioned on mound base. This basal structure has been catalogued as Structure #13. The buried structure under Structure #11 will be Structure #13. Obviously detailed comparisons of these two basal pairs are not available at this time.

Since Core 1 exhibits a clustering of 4 structures, two of which #4 and #5 were conjoined, and the same situation is demonstrated for Core 2 with Structures #8, #9, #10, and #11, we anticipate a tandem series in the basal Core 3 group, which means probably that additional structures will ultimately be uncovered under Structures #9 and #10. Note that Structures #4 and #5 are on a lower level than #6 and #7 and that #10 and #11 are slightly lower than their partners #8 and #9, although #9 and #10 are conjoined and confluent with a shoulder or berm between.

Until the Core 3 structures can be uncovered and studied in detail, some of the argument advanced regarding radical changes in customs and architectonics cannot be completely demonstrated, i.e.

STR-2  
 ↓ 1967  
 STR  
 ↓ 1968

ritual burning vs demolition and dismantling change in burials (tomb burials in Late Dallas).

## 2. The Truncated Mounds

Clear evidence of the prior existence of these terminal structures at Bell Field exists only in the situ deposition of burned house debris accumulating on the downslope, untruncated remnants. The best profile indications are preserved in the draughts of Correlation Trench #1 approaching from the southwest in the south grid; the west terminal section of the East-West main axis trench; the northwest correlation trench toward the river; the initial trench dug in 1965 in the east approach of the East-west axis trench, exposing Structures #1 and #2, tentatively regarded as small auxiliary structures at the foot of the then functional mound.

These critical profiles are described in some detail in the text. In this summary it will suffice to note that in each instance there occurs the same general indication that the T-2 and T-3 identified downslope units exhibit heavy deposits of burned daub and building debris. In all, the final downslope deposits of T-4 and T-5 are hardly appreciable except for a white ribboned clay with little burned material. These also appear to have been whiplashed and eroded to a greater extent than was the case of the earlier truncates. T-1 is faint with little evidence of extensive burning on top. The earliest fierce conflagration is indicated to have been on Core 1, particularly with Structures #4 and #5. The evidence is not complete or absolutely consistent but tends to favor the hypothesis that the later building complexes were systematically destroyed by burning, with subsequent construction begun almost immediately of



new mounds and a new set of buildings.

The architectural data from archeology combine with significant observations of radically changing burial customs to suggest the development of important innovations in the religious life of the Dallas people. Ceramic and artifact data for comparisons with Core 3 structures are sparse and await future excavation.

### 3. The Dallas-Lamar Platforms on the South Mound Terrace

In the summer of 1967 a large downslope area along the southwest quadrant of the mound grid was shaved horizontally at a depth just below plowline, an operation which exposed a number of disintegrated burials disrupted by plowing and the recent mound clearing. At featheredge some bright red-fired floor areas and the initial exposure of a defined platform began to show. Notes made then and laboratory study of surface collections indicated a possible new component at Bell Field thought to be a nearly pure Lamaroid unit or Dallas-Lamar mixed related to the established stratified sequence we had been exploring for three years in the Bell Field Mound. At the time our main concern was with the crash program to complete the main mound excavations, so the new unit was postponed until the summer of 1968 when a fresh agreement was negotiated with the National Park Service, and funds were made available. Clement Brothers, contractors at Carter's Dam, obligingly bulldozed off the heavy fringing wooded area and thick underbrush along the natural levee of the river, effecting an enormous saving of time and labor in removing a heavy alluvial and vegetative covering. In the following weeks of summer the 1968 field party has exposed a 2500 square foot area.

The result has been to uncover a stratified building area of narrowly superimposed buildings with ditch-like sump areas on the fringes. At least three successive building levels and occupations are discernible, with the third and last (?) severely truncated by modern plowing and recent freshets. At this writing we have some record of 14 burials exposed in burial pits or graves intrusive into the house platforms or interred on the slopes or in the low sump area at the foot of the platform. Pottery and diagnostic artifacts from the floor midden and associated with the burials identify the archeological context as predominantly Lamaroid. There is definite persistence of a Dallas component intermixed, especially in some of the pit burials uncovered in late June and early July. We are assuming that this new stratified mound at the feathered edge was a distinct component from the truncated mounds on top of Bell Field Mound, although there is cultural similarity between the mixed Dallas and Lamar occupations on the final mound summits and what may have been an apron-like extension with special structures toward the south terrain along the natural levee of the river.

We cannot be sure that this late occupation was completely removed and subsequent to the final mound occupation, inasmuch as there were at least five terminal mound levels that had been completely truncated. From statements of old residents in the area whose recollection goes back 50 years or more, it seems that Bell Field had at one time at least six feet more height, and when projection is made to the first half of the 19th century when Carter's Quarters was in its prime, the original height may have been greater. A striking metaphor which the author heard during his boyhood in Texas assumes a new significance. . . ."more money than Carter had oats."



Some of the erosional truncation took place around 30 years ago. The most severe freshet in the memory of living informants was the famous "Whitestone Freshet" of 1937. This meteorological event has begun to assume the proportions of a local flood myth. Whitestone was a mountain community whose inhabitants were drowned. Old timers vividly recall mule and cattle cadavers festooning trees at a height of 20 feet above the ground.

Moreover, we have indicated in reporting on catalogued material from Bell Field featheredge contexts in previous seasons that there was a noticeable increase in Lamar pottery in the terminal occupations. This accords with the analysis of materials gleaned from two seasons of field work in 1962-63 on domestic house floors in Sixtoe Field. It is quite possible that a late or proto-historic Lamar component village, strung along the terrain stretching from the mound to the confluence with the Talking Rock Creek and the Coosawattee River, might also have included some occupation or use of the terminal mound summit. There might have been a town house on the final summit, the end point of a continuum whose spectrum begins with an Early Dallas and ends with a North Georgia variant of Lamar. Unfortunately, the truncation of the mound destroyed the architectural evidences of successive building and most of the pertinent deposits, including connecting units between the mound and apron-like extensions. We still have some profile cuts to make to check further on this point.

The crux of the situation came toward the end of June, 1968, and the week of July 4 at the Dallamar platform in the southwest quadrant with the opening of the large pit in the central part of the platform. We are still in the midst of troweling this large feature which turns

out to be a large log tomb interment  $6\frac{1}{2}$  by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet according to the disturbed signs at the level of the platform floor. The large pit, Feature #10, was partially cut through one edge of the large fire basin set in the approximate middle of the platform area. It was uncovered immediately below a tough seal of black gumbo fill which separates this second stage of the stratified platform from the upper truncated portion where we were surface collecting and where burials were found disturbed by plowing and freshets of recent years. This means we at last have one typical log tomb burial in precise Dallamar context; the others uncovered in the Bell Field Mound were all intrusive from some unidentified occupation level higher in the mound within the truncate series.

The following excerpts from the field diary will give the best description of this very important Feature #10: ". . . .It was observed that the pit cut through a large bright orange fired central hearth, about 2 feet south of the east-west line of grid stakes. . . .Soon exposed two pottery food vessels in place side by side at a depth of 2 feet below the floor surface where the pit cut through one side of the large red fired hearth. The two pots, one with strap handles and nodal protuberances, the other with simple teat-like nodes on the shoulder, were plain, shell-tempered specimens assignable to the general Dallas mortuary complex."

"A shouldered ledge bearing fragments of decayed wood splints or split saplings dipped down with imprints of the wood at a depth of around 1 foot from the floor of the platform. Some of the decayed wood fiber looked like cedar. . . .Catalogued sherds from initial troweling at floor level and in the upper pit fill showed mixed Dallas-



Lamar pottery. . . .Burial #13 soon appeared in the top fill or shoulder portion of Feature #10. A finely cut or milled stone chunky or disc about the size of a half dollar was disclosed near the badly crushed skull of the burial. A shell necklace showed in the general neck and shoulder region of the flexed burial. Eventually we had a tightly flexed interment, buried on the right side with the head oriented toward the east and the face toward the south. The bones were in a very poor state of preservation and were flattened by the weight of the overburden."

"In addition to the large tomb burial, Feature #10, 2 smaller pits appear indicated cut through the floor, side by side several feet to the west of Feature #10. These are gray-black fill contrasting with the variegated mottling and diffuse orange-red clouded floor section of the platform on which all the burials brought out in March-June, 1968, occur. . . .Immediately to the east of Feature #10 the superimposed burial cluster on the platform floor, Burials #4, #5, #6, #7, and #8 (infant, teeth only), still lay exposed in place where they were described in May-June notes. These burials appear intrusive from the upper truncate level resting on the floor of the present exposed platform, whereas Feature #10, the large tomb burial pit, and Features #17 and #18 appeared only after chipping the dark clay gumbo of almost concrete density adhering to the platform floor."

"Burial #13 was further defined as a slender, slight adult, flexed burial; bones, i.e. humerus and leg bones small and gracile; note unusually heavy wear on molar teeth. Add one important detail on burial association: numerous small pebbles concentrated in pocket few inches above the crushed and flattened skull. . . .these in

similar situation in at least 2 other log tomb burials have been interpreted as evidence of dance rattles, either terrapin or gourd. We have also noted the evidence of a dark organic soil around the constricted bones suggesting some sort of shroud or covering, possibly a skin. This feature was extrapolated in descriptions of the cluster of burials (#4, #5, #6, #7) on the platform a few feet to the east."

Initial troweling of Burial #14 near the 2 Dallas food vessels revealed a massive skull with large mastoids and skull bones squashed and skewed probably by the collapse of the roof timbers. These latter were found pushed down over the burial under the weight of the burial fill. Further details will have to await the rewrite on the section on burials. Here we simply note the significant occurrence of this large log tomb burial in fixed archeological context on the burial platform of the Dallamar component running south along the levee from Bell Field Mound.

#### 4. Presumptive Dance Floors at South Periphery

In the extreme south terminal end of Correlation Trench #1 in 1967, a baked hard pan of compacted sand, in three laminated bands two or three inches apart, had been recorded as a special feature, possibly as structures. At that time they were regarded as probable house floors superimposed at the featheredge of the main mound, possibly auxiliary structures of some sort related to the ceremonial activities on top of the mound similar to Structures #1 and #2 found at the beginning of the 1965 season at the east periphery of the mound in the East-West axis. In the case of Structures #1 and #2 there were profile indications of water-laid sand coursing down the mound, filled with fired house debris and charcoal, spreading out over the burned



floor patterns of the small structures at the foot of the mound. The situation at the south periphery of the mound was conjectured to be very similar. Actually, in returning to this problem in the summer of 1968 and in extending the base of cut in Correlation Trench #1 toward the south and broadening this over a 1000 foot exposed area, we did find that the water laid sand coursed down the terminal slopes of mound truncates to converge and flatten out over a wide area at the base. The downwash was assignable to T-4 and T-5 and the assumed final occupations on top of Bell Field Mound.

However, in extending the excavation area at the south end of Correlation Trench #1, the conditions uncovered there did not fit our expectations at all. There were absolutely no postmolds or house pattern indications anywhere in the superimposed impacted sand. The fired areas were diffuse and randomly scattered; they did not look like fire basins or hearths which are unambiguously defined in house patterns as we had experienced them in past seasons. There was no midden on the "floors", only the overall hardening and compacting of the sandy sediments in layers. The layers were outwash sediments from more than one truncated mound slope of the final occupations.

What kind of plausible hypothesis can be offered to explain this particular combination of archeological data? Sand, almost pure sandy outwash sediments, will not compact to a hard pan of such durability under any natural conditions except where limonitic or calcareous cementive processes are present. Here we have the hardened layers being impacted continuously over intervals of time as they spread out from downwash deposits from successive mound slopes to succeeding occupations of the mound. Also, as time passes more and more of the impacted area is being enveloped and intercalated



in the expanding mound featheredge. Finally, consider the location of the phenomenon at the featheredge of the mound slope and off to one side not more than 30 feet from the Late Dallas or Dallamar platform which stretches out along the levee as an apron-like extension of the mound to the south.

We are interpreting these sandy hard pan areas as public dance platforms. Study of the recorded profile of Correlation Trench #1 will show the panel features that are being used here as evidence. We can conceive that the hypothetical dance area is a busk ground, but not necessarily. Both the Cherokees and the Yuchi had communal or occasional dances in which men, women, adolescent boys and girls participated and which did not require the conventional and formalized arrangements of the busk. It may be recalled that at least three of the log tomb burials contained young, adolescent individuals, possibly women, who seemed to have dance rattles as burial accompanying furniture. Our theoretical reconstruction of the time span involved in the Dallas and Dallamar continuum would extend from somewhere around DeSoto times to the 18th century. The big cove expanse on both sides of the Coosa is the presumptive site of Coosawattee Old Town. In the formula favored for ethnological reconstruction, Coosa is related to Upper Creek tribal confederation; the particular North Georgia Lamar component is identified with Cherokee in the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1929 the author lived with the more conservative Cherokee at Big Cove, near Cherokee, North Carolina, and witnessed the Booger Dance and last recall of the Eagle Dance (war dance) led by tribal councilor Will West Long. These were vigorous, rhythmic stamping routines enacted in an open field with wide participation (not the Eagle dance, which was only for warriors in preparation for war party going out on



the path). Similarly, with the Yuchi dances the women participants wore as many as a dozen terrapin rattles on occasion. Conceivably, this sort of persistently reenacted "stomp dancing" might produce the specialized archeological exhibit described herein at the mound periphery.

#### 5. The Village Area

We have detailed what appears to be a special burial ground or mortuary complex and a presumptive dance area at the south end of Bell Field Mound which seem tied architectonically to the history of mound construction and use, but which could also be fringing occupation of the extended village, concentrated along the levees on both sides of the Coosawatee River and Talking Rock Creek. Aerial photographs show dark soil areas and heavy vegetation in these areas and test pitting over some of the critical territory has demonstrated more intensive domestic occupation over a considerable period of time. The Andover field parties in the late 1920's encountered historic trade or contact material with graves in the village area at "Little Egypt", just across Talking Rock Creek junction from the Bell Field Mound site. Moorehead sent some of these specimens, a rusted sword and others, to the Metropolitan Museum in New York for historical identification, spurred by the consideration that these might relate to 16th century Spanish sources, particularly DeSoto. The Metropolitan Museum made a non-committal report, according to Moorehead, largely because of the rusted and badly deteriorated condition of the artifacts. Two large silver crosses with engravings on both sides were obtained from Coosawatee by a Macon, Georgia, resident in the early 19th century, and were later acquired by William Claflin of Belmon, Massachusetts from the Georgia collection. These also were thought by the Georgia

antiquarian C. C. Jones to be relic of DeSoto contact. Analysis and commentary by several authorities reported in the Sixtoe Field Report by A. R. Kelly all concur in identifying the Coosawatee crosses as belonging to the early 19th century. A Dallas burial uncovered in the top level of one of the midden filled quarry pits in Sixtoe Field had a fine, slender dagger or poignard with some silvering indicated thought to be a dress weapon rather than a trade piece. Intrusive into the top truncated occupation of Sixtoe Mound was a burial in which an adolescent was interred in a pine box with an early 19th century string of blue beads. . . .this was considered probably a burial of the early 19th century Cherokee occupation just before Removal. The above recital of occasional discoveries provides some documentation for historic contact, but not nearly as much as might have been anticipated in 7 years of exploration in Sixtoe and Bell Fields.

The fact is that during the 7 years we have been primarily pre-occupied with the complex stratigraphic successions in Sixtoe and Bell Field Mound<sup>3</sup> and have only had so much time and money and personnel as could be detached for village site testing. Sixtoe was widely scraped by heavy machinery to peel off the plowed, disturbed ground, and several long survey strips over 100 yards long and 20 feet wide were planed off to disclose pits, house patterns, and the numerous quarry pits filled with village midden. Similar clearing, but on a smaller scale because of the heavy vegetative cover, has permitted more restricted village site exploration in the few acres immediately around Bell Field Mound. All indications point to Little Egypt across Talking Rock Creek as potentially the most prolific site for historic, Contact materials in situ. Unfortunately, the Corps of Engineers has not been able to close negotiations to



purchase this property. There have been condemnation proceedings and the owner is not very cooperative. It will probably be 1969 before survey can be started there. In the meantime, further upfield on the same side of the river, a 1968 summer field party of the University of Georgia with a college student cadre, is beginning survey of the William Potts tract, uncovering a stratified midden of Woodstock (terminal Woodland?), early Etowah, and a top level of Lamar similar to that combined with Dallas in Sixtoe and Bell Fields. A large collapsed clay daubed structure, not fired, seems indicated in the area, but work here will begin in mid-July, not reported here. In summary, thus far we have not been able to expose any impressive historic connections of the Coosawattee site, even though the layout on both sides of the river exhibits the proportions of relatively large settlement patterns and a fair concentration of population in Dallas and Lamar times, with consistent indications of continuous occupation, unbroken until pre-Revolutionary 18th century times when the site appears abandoned or only lightly occupied. Before final survey is completed at Carter's Quarters more attention should be given to the village components to fill in this indicated chronological gap. Also, as stated in our brief synopsis of the ethno-history, an intensive and extensive study of ethno-history by a specialist is needed to correlate with the archeological findings.

#### 6. The Sub-Mound Occupation

There is very little to be said about this basal component of Bell Field for the simple reason that in four seasons of field work, we have barely exposed it. Until the Core 3 structures and interior mounds can be exposed and removed, we cannot get at any considerable

portion of the occupation at mound base, except in the swathes cut by the axis trenches and correlation trenches. In the few instances where such restricted examination is possible, as in the west leg of the East-West axis trench, we have already encountered evidences of a heavy occupation with numerous postmolds, pits, and a fair initial showing of pottery and midden accumulation.

No total house patterns are possible as yet, but the potentiality is good for ultimate recordations. Moreover, the material gleaned in preliminary collecting at mound base exhibits a marked increase in grit or hard sand tempered wares in contrast to the steady showing of shell tempered Dallas in the mound occupations. Finally, the projected contours of this early, sub-mound terrain imply that Bell Field Mound was built on a knoll or high eminence of the levee system and that the present level around the mound has filled in and enveloped the basal constructions to a depth of about 10 feet, with tailings on both sides of the mound paralleling the river. Some of this is recent sedimentation, but erosion and aggradation have been reciprocal processes, and we are concerned with the cultural deposition over a period of four or five hundred years. Our excavations are still probing the superficial layers, and the deeper diagnostics are yet to come. The sub-mound at Sixtoe across the river disclosed a stratified situation sealed in beneath the mound with Early Mississippian and Woodland components and a good Archaic all present. It would have been most desirable to explore this promising situation more extensively, but time and money were not available under our contractual agreements. It is hoped that conditions will be more favorable at Bell Field.



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BURIALS

If one employed the conventional dichotomy in vogue twenty years ago in American archeology, burial mounds vs temple mounds, Bell Field would have to be put into the latter category even though some striking and significant burial complexes provide some of the more important cultural diagnostics. In fact, since building levels and general occupation yield a minimum of midden and catalogued material, the pottery and other artifacts found associated with key burials are the best indicators of cultural change and continuity. The contrast between so-called "priest burials" on the mound and those of the ordinary surrogates of the Dallas culture, as found at Sixtoe Field, is quite distinctive. True, as the argument was first advanced in that report summary, it dealt with a situation conceived to characterize the Etowah III "shamans" in their large dormitory constructions on the mound and their relations with the supporting citizenry in the village without, but as will be seen in the "pots and people" section and concluding chapter, this general conceptualization is applied to the Dallas continuum also.

Many of the burials first found and recorded on feature forms belonged to completely disrupted and scattered remains, indeterminate as to age and sex, as well as without good context to any fixed occupational level or in situ representation. We have reported how old residents relate that historical floods or "freshets" alone cut away at least six feet of Bell Field Mound, and this has been a continuing process up until the site was taken out of cultivation in 1962. We have seen, too, that clear evidence exists in the long, vertical profiles through the mound, given by several correlation trenches,



demonstrating that there were at least five major truncations, which means that about half of the mound history is preserved and can be studied only in materials derived from the downslope segments.

Undoubtedly, many of the burial pit remnants, basal portions only, and dismembered flotsam of human bones, encountered in clearing operations in 1965 and 1966 on the present mound summit at Bell Field, can be attributed to these prior excavations and erosion. Ten years before the University of Georgia began its survey on the Coosawattee, John Wear of Fairmount, Georgia, an acute student and local collector, had kept a watchful eye on the rich deposits on both sides of the Coosawattee and had salvaged a fine collection of Dallas materials exposed by flood waters before these could be lost in the hands of ignorant and irresponsible vandals. It hardly seems worthwhile to detail in our burial summary here such elliptical commentaries as the following relating to Burial #1, Feature #11: ". . . Another burial on mound summit, in black gumbo, depth 8 inches, probable remnant of one of Dallas burials exposed in the 1950's when John Wear salvaged some 20 or more. Probable adult male consists of part of skull, tibia, 2 fibula, vertebral section and pelvis missing. No burial furniture."

Burial #2 appeared to have escaped the deluge and the pot hunting. This was a circular or ovalish pit intrusive into black gumbo from one of the overlying truncate mounds, depth from present surface 2.2 feet. It was an adult, probably female (?), strongly flexed in oval pit 3.4 feet in diameter, buried on the right side with the head to the northeast. The bones were in a very poor state of preservation. Burial furniture consisted of 2 bracelets of large conch core shell beads (six) and two other ornaments of 4 beads each. Beads here are large

columellae cylindrical cuts. Also noted two circular small sheets of mica over the right humerus. One small pottery vessel with handle. Noted presence of 2 shell spoons at the side of the flexed burial.

Burial #3 was also found in very poor preservation, troweled out at depth of one foot from the present surface, intrusive into the gumbo fill from some indeterminable point above, pit dimensions 3.2 x 2.0 feet. It had been buried on the left side with the head to east facing south, medium flexed. Ribs and vertebrae were entirely missing below the shoulder where it seemed a relic hunter's spade had disrupted things. If so, this operation did not uncover the burial furniture consisting of 2 shell ear pins and a shell bead ornament near the knees.

The next few burial entries are ignored as they are fragmentary and too scrambled to be of any lyrical consequence. We proceed to Burial #8, recorded in June, 1966. This was judged to be a female adult buried in an oval pit 5.6 by 4.8 feet, with tenuous indications of an associated child burial indicated only by a small bony trail of the jaw and maxillary and some deciduous teeth. The burial area here had been compressed by a bulldozer clearing 8 inches of plowed ground from the north grid of the mound. The adult was semi-flexed, buried on the right side, with the head toward the northeast. The bones were in very poor condition, but a small, frail adult of hardly more than 5 feet stature, with slender, delicate bones was indicated. The interesting feature of Burial #8 was the accompaniment of 7 Dallas pottery vessels, theoretically reconstructed to be food vessels buried with a mother and child interment. Vessels I and II were pressed against the child's skull; pot III was set in pot IV



just below the adult skull; pot V was near the mid-section of the adult; pots VI and VII were below the flexed long bones of the leg.

This collection of Dallas mortuary ware, associated with Burial #8, comprises several individual vessels of particular interest. Several had to be restored from fragments in the laboratory. One of these was the plain, shell-tempered bowl with two striking rim adornos; a finely modeled male Indian head with lips pursed as if in the act of whistling; and a broken adorno from the opposite rim which appears to have a multiple raised terrace symbol, i.e. in Southwestern Puebloan symbolism these would be interpreted as rain terraces. To dub the human head adorno with its excellent facial portraiture and fine detail of the hair-do a "whistling Indian" is probably too simplistic. . . .there were likely more deeply religious connotations. In Yuchi mythology, for instance, there is the concept of the world being or powerful spirit, which when translated to the nearest English equivalent would be "Breath Maker".

Another restored vessel from Burial #8 associations was a badly crushed water bottle of simple form; this was poorly fired, with a warm, creamy texture; it was brittle perhaps only because sun-dried and unoxydized. Similar water bottles occur widely in Tennessee and Arkansas collections and have been figured in Dallas mortuary assemblages, often with the addition of negative painting, not identified in the case of Burial #8.

Some ambiguity exists as to whether Burial #8 is to be considered a truncated log tomb cut away to the basal burial deposit or whether there was a simple pit possibly rather shallow made into the mound fill. We cannot affirm such a conclusion as the truncation was

too radical and the burial pit when discovered was only a few inches below the present surface. We judge that this woman and child, with rather generous burial accompaniment, must have been a person of considerable consequence and that extra care was taken to insure for her in the after world. The only objects associated with her burial consists of food vessels, and these might well have been ordinary domestic or utilitarian types except for the water bottle and the remarkable vessel and its theoretical life giving or breathing principle. Another restored vessel has highly conventionalized modeling possibly representative of a fish or frog, a recurrent theme in Dallas forms, but this too could have been a convenient container or food dish.

Burials #9 and #11 were uncovered incident to the peeling of the plowed ground from the lower mound slopes in the southwest quadrant in 1966. At that time, this area was still considered part of the regular mound grid survey area, and only recently have we made a new site component related to a separate stratified site apart from the main mound, theoretically perceived as some sort of mortuary complex in Dallas-Lamar or Dallamar times. The burial data are given here as originally transcribed as we have uncovered about 12 new burials in this area in the summer of 1968, which along with the current disclosure of our latest log tomb burial (Feature #10, Burials #13 and #14), assumes particular significance. Burial #11 was a semi-flexed interment of a heavy boned adult male (?) troweled in a shallow pit directly below the platform floor and intrusive through a few inches of black gumbo fill still adhering to the floor section. The burial fill was house debris, not burned. It was partially disrupted and in a very poor state of preservation. The only burial furniture



consisted of part of a conch shell, two small discs of mica, a cluster of water-worn pebbles (a dance rattle, terrapin, or gourd?), and a few shell beads. The burial was flexed on the right side with the head turned toward the southwest. Burial #9 was also troweled out in connection with the clearing of the platform in the southwest quadrant. This was an almost completely decayed adult skull, placed face down in the ditch or sump area at the foot of the platform. It may have reposed in a shallow pit or grave, but the erosion and sandy silt deposits at this point have removed all defining features.

Burial #14. Feature #56. This was another burial uncovered in peeling the soil just under plowline in the north grid survey. It was a poorly preserved burial in very fragmentary condition, bones compacted by pressure, with lower jaw and teeth, femora, slight traces of tibia and pelvis, but no vertebrae or rib cage; semi-flexed on right side, head to the southeast.

Burial Furniture With Burial #14. 5 crushed pottery vessels, one of which is hardly restorable but seems to be a conventionalized zoomorphic (fish or frog?) with 2 small food jars, a water bottle, and a small bowl. This was a typical Dallas burial association and recalls Burial #8 whose pottery accompaniments have been described in some detail.

#### Log Tomb Burials

The specialized interments at Bell Field are presented separately in a body of description because, phenomenologically and theoretically, they are conceived in their major implications for culture change and development of a new mortuary complex with distinctive artistic and stylistic treatment in late Dallas times, at which time cultural synchresis and refocalization produced what could be considered a secondary

efflorescence or "Southern Cult". Burial complexes and central religious ideas inextricably interwoven with them constitute a hard core of customs that are much slower to change or to be substituted. If one is to think of Dallas as a bona fide culture with essential ethos, values, religious formulations of life and death, family and clan, then we must be concerned with what the archeologist can extrapolate from burials and sacred places, from intercepted rituals uncovered in specific contexts which are something more than "features" to be exposed, measured, photographed, and described in their purely physical aspects. Culture may have no concrete, sense-perceived, or perceptible reality and may be only a "construct in the mind of the anthropologist," as most of our current text books are at some pains to assert, with the axiom that follows that the artifacts and "features" of the archeologist are the only stylized products of the thing called culture. However, since culture "on the hoof" is a very different thing from a dead culture in the ground as disclosed by archeological exploration, to the archeologist his durable little relics have a reality and an immediate cultural identity which are constructs in his mind, too, but he seldom takes time to engage in sufficient introspection to bring him back to this present world. Like the comic Alley Oop he gets lost in his time machine or like Alice he never returns from behind the looking glass to become aware of the mirror image. Like the ethnographer and the ethno-historian, he must suffer the process of "translation" and may evoke his own "mystique" in an effort to communicate to his readers and professional colleagues.

Burial #6, Feature #36. This burial was found in an oval pit 4.2 x 3.7, with a depth that was ultimately determined to be around 3 feet. Fairly well preserved hewn boards were found over the collapsed



pit, markedly depressed in their median by the weight of the overburden and collapsed and broken to deposit their mass onto the the burial underneath. An adult male skeleton was exposed in a partially sitting or recumbent position slumped against the rear section of the pit. The pit itself was at first considered to be a large storage pit excavated at the northeast corner of Structure #4 with the burned daub and corner wall protruding in the troweled out pit and with Structure #5 only a few feet away on the other side. We were not aware of the existence of a class of special burial pits or of individuals who apparently were receiving special formalized attention in their burial. . . it was only later that our minds came up with the construct of "log tomb burials". Our initial recreation of the situation disclosed was that some senior member of the family had a sudden demise, and his family, unable for some reason to take time to dig him a proper grave had stowed him away in the nearest convenient resting place, which happened to be in this instance a commodious storage pit! No burial furniture was found except one small Dallas plain rectangular food vessel troweled out from underneath one of the collapsed boards. The term "board" (we have also referred to them as "planks") describes what appears to be split timbers used in the covering over the burial pit. A heavy rain interrupted the troweling and note taking on this burial, which subsequently required two weeks to recover from the mud. In his resurrection, due to circumstances beyond our control, as in the first notion of his demise and burial, this poor fellow seemed to have received rather casual and derogatory treatment. The question does arise in regard to the disparate ritual care and provision of burial furniture indicative

of status as between Burial #6 and Burial #10, Feature #40, which follows.

Burial #10, Feature #40. This was one of the best preserved and most striking of the "log tomb burials" which came to be recognized as one of the most significant developments in the later mound history of Bell Field. It was uncovered after Burial #6 described above and because of some special difficulties connected with its troweling took some weeks to be completely exhibited. At first the pit was considered to be a particularly atrocious and destructive "relic hunter's pothole" intrusive into the center of Structure #4 and the huge fire-hardened central pit to the saucer-shaped council chamber. Modern plowing had truncated the mound at a level just a few inches above the pile of collapsed house debris filling the saucered depression. It looked as if the pot hunter had been probing the area with its redistributed burned daub and had intercepted the tough walls of the huge fire pit and had immediately hacked his way down through the rubble and fill to the fire pit, consisting entirely of large fired daub chunks, some the size of a man's fist or larger, and had probably finally given up in disgust with the thought that some other relic hunter had preceded him! A. R. Kelly did the first troweling on Feature #40 and for some days was working under pretty much the same assumptions of the alleged pot hunter until it was noticed that the pit fill was extensive and very homogeneous without mixed materials as would have occurred with a recent excavation. There was never any doubt but that the huge mass of collapsed fire daub had come from the demolished and heavily fired council chamber.

The eventual uncovering took several weeks, and several people participated in the work on Feature #40. No logs were actually found



in situ over the collapsed fill to the box-like pit; most of the top fill to the tomb had evidently tumbled in after the collapse of the log cover. It could be that they were present but were not detected in our failure to understand the nature of the excavation in the beginning clearing; and possibly the burial pit was dug from a higher level, and the original point of insertion had been truncated by modern plowing. The dimensions were very similar to those disclosed for Burial #6. The central burial inside the tomb was exposed definitely in a sitting position, if one allows for some post-mortem slumping and distortion. There were indications that the sitting body had undergone considerable decay in place, had turned "green" with the connective tissue and ligaments rotted until the shoulder girdle had broken away, and the arm bones had slipped down by the right pelvis; the skull had fallen forward on the chest, and the torso exhibited a strong backward torsion with the large vertebrae twisted and displaced in the sacro-iliac region. A copper headdress had slipped down over the right cheek bone, and a pearl necklace was also displaced, at first thought to be copper. Dr. Joseph W. Johnson, physician from Chattanooga with a long interest in Appalachian archeology, visited the site to observe and take notes with A. R. Kelly at this stage of operations. It seemed that the log tomb had begun to fill with a sandy loam soil before the ultimate collapse of the log roof and that the remaining space in the tomb had filled when the heavy fired clay daub from the burned and collapsed Structure #4 accumulated on top. As the collapsed debris was immediately underneath the plowed ground, there can be no certainty as to just when the intrusion took place or from which superimposed truncate mound

was the point of insertion. In discussion of Structure #4, we stated that there was clear evidence that the council chamber was of multiple construction with a second fire basin built over and sealing in the first. The baked clay rim and immediate floor area was exfoliated and peeling off under the trowel in a manner to suggest that the floor adjacent to the central fire basin had also been rebuilt. We did not find two separate wall constructions, only the basal portions including some slight upstanding basal wall still in place around the saucer. We should also note that Structures #4 and #5 appear to have been constructed on a lower level connected with the higher mound to the south, with Structures #6 and #7 and the 5 truncated mounds exhibiting evidences of their presence in downslope terminal sections. This means the final 5 mounds may not have extended or had apron-like additions to the north over Structures #4 and #5 and that these structures, with the addition of rebuilt buildings on the same floors, may have been "terminal" for their portion of the eventual mound construction. This raises the question as to how modern cultivation and erosion have cut away 6 feet or more from the top of the mound, truncating 5 terminal structures without destroying more of Structures #4 and #5. Certainly, in a few more years neither of these Core 1 structures would have been preserved, and the excellent detail of their architecture still recovered in 1965-66 would have been lost also.

Besides the copper headdress and the pearl necklace, three other important items of burial furniture were found carefully arranged with the burial. There was a copper earspool and near the feet of the sitting figure a fine specimen of a painted dog pot with a large Busycon conch shell draped over the spout, pierced by the spout of the dog



pot due to the pressure of the heavy mass of collapsed daub. The dog pot is illustrated by photo in this text as is a scaled drawing of Burial #10, prepared by Helen Gregg, artis-draughtsman on the project and illustrator for this report. Similar dog pots, almost facsimiles, have been found at other well-known archeological sites in Georgia; two from the Bull Creek Site on the Chattahoochee River, Columbus, Georgia. Another was from the Neisler Mound on the Flint River near Roberta, Georgia. Note that both of these sites belong to the general category of major Lamar sites, similar in most respects to the type site on the Ocmulgee in Macon, Georgia. They have been figured in collections from the general Southeast, especially Tennessee (Thruston) where we found examples of other Dallas mortuary vessels, i.e. the life-death rim adornos, negative painted water bottles, and closely approximated human head adornos to our "whistling Indian". In a wider range, they occur in prehistoric horizons in Colima, Mexico, in the Nyarit cultures, and in more attenuated but recognizable form in Huastecan region of Mexico. We have illustrated this report with photos of the Bull Creek dog pot burial and the pottery vessel itself. Of the Georgia sites, Bull Creek has been excavated, and a report is forthcoming in the near future from the Laboratory of Archeology, University of Georgia. The Neisler Mound, south or southwest on the Ocmulgee out of Macon in central Georgia has been excavated by the Andover Museum, Andover, Massachusetts, but no published report is available. In the comparative section and recapitulation at the end of this report, we will discuss the relation of these Lamar Mound Centers to the Dallas and Dallas-Lamar continuum uncovered on the Coosawattee. Since dog pot effigies occur in a complex ceremonial burial

context over a wide area from the Southeast to Mexico, it is evident that a special problem exists in studying this widespread diffusion of a complex trait. The fact that the huge drinking cup, made from a large Gulf Coast conch shell, was placed just above the orifice, so the dog pot would suggest that this large, powerful, big boned make, about 35-40 years of age, was specially provided with the equipment for ceremonial drinking, a sacred drink perhaps like the "Black Drink" described by 18th century ethnographer for various Muskogean tribes in the Southeast.

Burial #13, Feature #55. In the discussion of mound architectonics, reference was made to profile relations shown in the original East-West axis trench still standing. In the section of the text dealing with structures, the superimposition of Structure #6 over Structure #8 and a wide saucer-like construction which follows the contours of Structure #8 was described. Structure #6 and Structure #8 were both partially cut through by a large intrusive burial pit which shows in the profile in the mid-panel. This burial pit, as reference to the profile drawing will show, was exposed in place under the lensed clay or mound fill over Structure #6 and is seen to cut down into and through the mound fill over Structure #8. In short, we have another log tomb pit intrusion through both Core 1 (Structure #6) and Core 2 (Structure #8). Some confusion exists as the East-West profile standing covers the extension of Structures #8 and #6 alike over into the north grid, and the downsweep of the saucers to both #6 and #8 was broken and badly warped at this critical point by the large mass log tomb burial.

In 1966 the log tomb burial #13 was troweled out to expose the interment of 5 individuals, 4 adults and one separate, floating skull.



Prior exposures of log tomb burials had all been of single individuals, but this mass inhumation exhibited a number of exotic features. Among these are the remarkable burial accompaniments. One restored vessel exhibits four rim adornos, arranged opposite and in seeming anti-thesis to one another, a pair of death's head modelings, and a pair of life masks. The stylizing and symbolism of these plastic sculptures is quite clearly rendered by the primitive artist. The death masks exhibit a rounded smooth skull contour, hollow eye orbits, nasal sills, no ears. The life masks delineate four hair knots on top of the head, have fleshy noses, ears, soft parts of the face, and rather protrusive eye balls. Such Janus-faced pottery on simple bowls have appeared at several places in the Southeastern United States as represented in illustrated texts, but the recognition of the symbolism involved does seem to have been noted or critically compared with similar life-death representations found in Huastecan Mexico. In the illustrations to this text some of the Tennessee examples have been reproduced.

Another distinctive pottery find associated with the multiple burials in this log tomb was a Fortune Noded vessel, with the loop handles broken and the rim re-drilled for suspension. Fortune Noded has a wide coverage in Mississippian period sites covering pretty much most of the Southeastern United States from the Mississippi drainage west. A. R. Kelly recovered one from the fill deposits to the prehistoric dugouts around the Macon Plateau in 1935.

A remarkable carved sandstone pipe, a highly stylized human effigy with bizarre treatment of the mouth and teeth, is reminiscent of certain Mexican sculptures. When our field representative in

Mexico in 1967, incident to our site survey in Tamulipas and northern Vera Cruz provinces, showed a glossy print of this specimen to Mexican archeologists in charge of national monuments and permits to excavate in Mexico, and he was asked suspiciously if this specimen had been "registered". Their assumption was that it had come from a Huastecan site currently being excavated under permit arrangements. Several archeologists have ventured a cautious opinion that the pipe effigy from Burial #13, in good Dallas mortuary context, shows a generalized resemblance to Mexican representations of the Flayed God, Xipetotec. It is certainly an aberrant and exotic specimen so far as the American Southeast is concerned. We have already some other exotic elements in this Dallas mortuary complex that have Mexican parallels.

One cluster of objects found together in a pile was speculated possibly to have been the contents of a medicine bag. The concentration is itemized: one 12-inch flint ceremonial knife, red ochre, 3 galena cubes, 3 typical Dallas "burial points". In this connection we recall a late Dallas or Dallamar burial, made into the top fill of one of the large "trash pits" in Sixtoe Village and uncovered in the season of 1964, which exhibited a flexed burial with a large number of beautiful Dallas burial points clustered as if they might have been kept in a skin pouch originally and with the burial one of the rare specimens of historic contact, a small, delicately steel knife, dirk, or poignard, which was tentatively regarded as a dress weapon of an individual which in some manner had gotten into the hands of this 17th century Indian at Coosawatee. Also, we have noted other burials with dark organic mold and stains to one side and peculiar concentrations of random collections, strongly suggestive of a skin



pouch or container with these talismanic specimens ranged together, and hypothesized that these might have been "medicine bundles". Such burials were very frequent in the historic and proto-historic Cherokee sites, i.e. Tugaloo in Stephens County, Georgia.

Yet another anomaly is mentioned at this juncture, with some caution, as this needs further study and confirmation by experts. A decayed bone and tooth section, identified as belonging to a large saw fish, is a find that must have been exported from the gulf region. Regarding this find, our Huastecan field archeologist was advised by personal communication in Mexico that one such saw fish with teeth had been found in an Aztecan grave. A similar saw fish specimen was recovered from the floor of Structure #4 in the compartmentalized seat section underneath a collapsed and burned wall that had fallen in over the seating as if it might have been hanging on the wall in the back of the compartment at the time Structure #4 was burned. Two such specimens from the general area of Structure #4, a council room layout indicative of the nexus of ceremonial activity in the Core 1 building complex, one definitely part of the burial furniture connected with an important multiple burial in a large log tomb, emphasizes the ceremonial importance of this item in local ritual. An attempt will be made in the final summary chapter to appraise the total impact of these cultural straws in the wind, which seem to point toward a Gulf or Carribbean diffusion spread at some interval in the Post-Classic developments there.

Burial #4, Feature #35. Initial troweling on this burial first uncovered in the superficial debris of the burned Structure #4 was done by A. R. Kelly and subsequently recorded by two graduate students.



The burial was disclosed in a jack-knifed, slumped position suggesting an original sitting position. The skull was still resting on a fallen burned timber of Structure #4. In final interpretation, we are considering now that this interment was originally made in a log tomb very similar to that described for the first log tomb disclosed just outside and partially abutting the northeast corner of Structure #4, i.e. Burial #6. Modern cultivation has clipped off the mantle of collapsed debris of the burned building, narrowly missing the burial itself and preserving only the basal portion of the box-like pit. Initially Kelly entertained the view that Burial #4 was that of an adult male whose body had been inserted into a shallow grave made into the collapsed, burned house debris of Structure #4 on an occasion soon after this ceremonial burning took place. There were no items of burial furniture to be recorded in this instance. The rather ambiguous findings are reported here as final consideration convinces that this is part of the data relating to the log tombs at Bell Field. Note that we now have evidence of three male adult skeletons uncovered intrusive into the floor section or immediately outside the wall of Structure #4. This concentration of burials in such a restricted area, central to the ceremonial life of the community, might in itself be a clue to some strong compulsion or necessity to inter certain individuals posthumously in or on a prescriptive locus.

Burial #15, Feature #47. This log tomb burial was exposed in June, 1967, brought out incident to the extension of Correlation Trench #1 from the southwest or SS4 to converge onto the central portion of the mound and the exposed floor of Structure #8. Thus far in the on-going account, we have seen repeated instances of box-like pit graves



dug intrusively into the floor section of Core 1 mound and structures. These were covered with saplings or split logs, on several occasions tentatively identified as cedar, from supporting shelves dug into the upper pit, with varying indications of ritual care and circumspection in burial details and in the provision of special, exotic grave furnishings. Burial #15 follows the prescription unfolded elsewhere at Bell Field, with some interesting variations. In this instance, we exposed the burial of two young or adolescent burials, the bones so poorly preserved that burial outlines were indicated by bone dust and bone trails to imply flexed burials laid flat, definitely not seated as in some of the prior examples, mantled with a dark organic mold implying a skin covering or shroud. The detail on the overlying log cover is shown in an accompanying drawing made soon after the mold impressions of the exposed roof timbers were troweled out. The shoulder insert, with some of the decayed wood of the roof timbers in place, was brought out with more faithful detail here than was possible in most cases. There was no burial furniture except for shell ornaments, conch shell beads. Precise sex and age are indeterminate, i.e. teeth are the only real anatomical diagnostic. The skull contours of the decayed and compacted bone still conveyed smooth, gracile curves of youth. A shoulder blade without epiphyses fits the appraised age. These youths appear to have been accorded a fine, carefully prepared log tomb and were interred with their personal ornaments in what was probably skin coverings of whole bodies.

Burial #18. In July, 1967, incident to troweling out floor features of Structure #11 (and relative to the northeast corner of Structure #5 just above it) a mottled area of soft, mushy soil was

observed in the freshly planed off section left by recent bulldozer clearing. Initial troweling soon revealed decayed wood fragments on the shoulders, frequently the clue to the uncovering of another log tomb burial. The field diary gives the best description available for this new log tomb discovery.

". . . Burial #18 was opened on a Sunday afternoon by two members of the field party who visited the site after heavy rains Saturday. Troweling on the previous Friday disclosed the flat boards of what appeared to be definite cedar splints extending over the interior of the pit slump from prepared shoulders. Preserved wood samples were collected for examination by a wood expert at the University Forestry School. The evidence that the boards were definitely split is clear enough as the dark, decayed wood still shows a compact, closely knit appearance of a soft wood, cedar, split into boards about three to four inches wide and  $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch thick. The first occasion when we thought we had such split boards was in the 1966 field season when charred boards were found encased in the clay daub to the connecting passageway between Structures #4 and #5. The board or plank-like appearance of these covering timbers has been previously conjectured in uncovering other log-tombs but now seems definitely confirmed.

"In many respects this new log tomb burial is strikingly similar to the log tomb burial of two juveniles described in regard to Feature #57, Burial #15. We seem to have one individual, age not determined precisely because of the badly deteriorated cloak or shroud which has left a thick dark organic mold around the skeleton... The body appears to have been buried on the right side in a flexed position. The head is toward the east. Conch shell beads in the neck region and some thin



sheets of mica are featured. Of special interest are small clusters of small river gravel found in dark packets or organic residues. There are at least four or five of these in the region of the knees or ankles. One conjectures that the young adult buried here was interred in full dancing regalia. Evidences of rattles, gourd or terrapin not determined, have occurred in several instances now, both with log tomb interments and others in simple grave pits. In final troweling a total of 18 conch shell beads were counted on the chest or thorax, with two scattered beads 16 inches or so above the skull."

Again we seem to be confronted with indications that some individuals were buried in the log tombs with a minimum of ceremony, with only those worldly goods they customarily wore, their ornaments of shell, and with suggestions of dance rattles. These simple interments are in marked contrast to some of the large tomb burials of rugged males into the floors of Core 1 ceremonial buildings with heavy furnishings of paraphernalia indicative of rank and exalted functions in the ritualistic performances which we presume were centered in this sacred area on top of the mound. There is the strong implication here that all these people, of different ages and sexes (recall the woman and child in Burial #8), with differing status and differential roles—the final prescriptive behaviour in the future life was to continue dancing their accustomed routines; and they were properly attired for burial to perform this role—yet belonged to some sort of elite group with powerful social bonds that extended in an ancestral chain beyond the grave. Just how far can the archeologist extrapolate from his data to reconstruct social organization and functional interrelations of individuals in a family or clan group?



Burials uncovered in June-March, 1968, including Burials #13 and #14 in Feature #10, in the Dallamar mortuary area opened up in the southwest quadrant of Bell Field Mound and now catalogued as a separate component at Bell Field, i.e. it was "Structure #3" in previous seasons when the relation of this stratified platform or mound was problematical in connection with the excavations in and around the main mound which had formed the nexus of four seasons of field work. We are still concerned with the theme of log tomb burials here because in the course of uncovering a number of burials in, on, and around this late Dallas stratified house mound unit, we have just opened the last tomb burial and are still actually working on this with troweling postponed on account of heavy rains. Enough details are out, however, to make a partial description and to fit this new example into the comparative picture. The important observation is made right away that here we have a large log tomb, whose point of insertion is definitely indicated to be on the second stage of occupation in a stratified house platform with the third uppermost layer truncated by freshets within the last 30 years. All previous log tombs have been brought out intrusive from some of the 5 upper truncated mound levels into Core I and Core II levels but without precise knowledge as to the point of origin.

We have indicated that late Dallas gradually shows increasing influences, especially in pottery, of a North Georgia Lamaroid variant marked by stamped pottery and Lamaroid tricks of decorating rims and other morphological peculiarities. Tempering is an important diagnostic between Dallas and Lamar, but Georgia archeologists hesitate to decide on this basis alone, looking to other paste and textural



characteristics. Just when this Dallamar phase first appears in the final truncate mound occupations is not clear, or when "pure Dallas" becomes not so pure, or when the final Lamar preemption of the site can be announced.

Burials #13 and #14, Feature #10 in Dallamar Mortuary Area, Southwest Quadrant. We have already summarized the exploration in this stratified component of Bell Field Mound, but more attention is required for the log tomb burial in connection with our discussion of this category. Burial #13 is clearly intrusive into the large log tomb burial area, impinging on one shoulder and giving evidences of disrupting the split roofing timbers of the log tomb on that side. Burial #13 was troweled out in the top 12 inches of the fill and shoulder section and was evidently buried in a shallow pit. The burial is probably an adult female of small stature, circa 5 feet, although the flexed burial outlines and anatomical criteria of age and sex are barely permissive in the sad condition of preservation, with hardly more than bone trails to study. Burial furniture is minimal, ordinary ornamentation with shell necklace. One very fine chunky stone above the head is probably associated. Also one small concentration of small pebbles to the side is considered to be a dance rattle. Finally, here is another incidence of the dark surrounding organic mold thought to mark the constriction of a shroud or skin cover. In all these features, Burial #13 is much like others described at Bell Field Mound.

Burial #14 is thus far identified as a large adult male with a large skull and massive bone structure, including some huge mastoids. Two Dallas Plain vessels, small pots probably placed with Burial #14

and on same level as food containers, show strap handles and small nodes on rim of the other. A small bell-shaped tabular piece of limestone is on the same level with the two pottery vessels. Again the log splints or boarded cover has been pushed down over the skeleton by the weight of the overburden, but fragments of the wood are well preserved, samples taken, and appear to be cedar. This important log tomb will probably give us more burial furniture, but the above is all that can be reported at this time. The important factor is that we have a log tomb that is fixed or precisely placed in the late Dallas or Dallamar sequence. Our initial judgment was to overemphasize Lamar in this southwest extension from the mound, but present data are more Dallas.



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## BURIALS

Significant Associations	Bur. #8	Bur. #10	Bur. #13	Bur. #14	Bur. #15	Bur. #18	Bur. #13,14 XUA	Bur. #6
Box pit; Grave	'Grave	'Yes; 'Log	'Yes; 'Large	'Prob. 'Log	'Log 'Tomb	'Log 'Tomb	'Log 'Tomb	'Prob. 'Trunc.
Stratigraphy	'Core 1 'Trunc.	'Intru. 'Str. 4	'Intru. '6 & 8	'Intru. 'Str. 4	'Intru. 'Cor. Tr.	'Intru. 'Str. 5	'Stage 2 'Dalamar 'Platform	'Intru. 'Str. 4
Single/ Multiple Bur.	'Single	'Single	'Mult.	'Single	'Mult.	'Single	'Mult.	'Single
Bur. Fill	'Not 'Det. 'Trunc.	'Burned 'Daub	'Mixed 'Md. Fill	'Fired 'Daub	'Mound 'Fill	'Dist. 'Loam	'Mound 'Fill	'Burned 'Daub
Plank Cover	'No	'?	'?	'Trunc.	'Yes	'Yes	'Yes	'Yes
Paraphernalia of Rank; Status	'7 Pots 'Roads 'Mother 'Child	'Dog Pot ' & 'Drink 'Cup	'Yes 'See 'Text	'None	'Yes	'No	'Yes	'Yes
Age-Sex	'Indet.	'35-40 'Male	'5 Bur.	'40-45	'Adoles- 'cent	'Adult	'Adult 'Male	'30-35
Bur. Posture	'Flexed	'Sitting; 'Slump	'Flexed	'Seated? 'Slump	'Flexed; 'Flat	'Flexed	'Flexed	'Sitting
Shroud or Skin Cover	'None	'None	'None	'None	'Yes	'Yes	'Yes	'None
Rattles	'None	'None	'None	'None	'Yes	'Yes	'Yes	'None
Cult Objects	'	'	'Yes	'None	'None	'None	'	'None
Domestic Items	'Pottery 'Poss. 'Domes.	'None	'None	'None	'None	'None	'Pottery	'None
Dalias Mortuary Ware	'Yes 'See 'Text	'Yes 'See 'Text	'Yes 'Pipe	'None	'None	'None	'Yes	'Yes 'Food 'Vessel
Food Vessels	'All 7 'Pots	'Ritual 'Drink	'Yes	'None	'None	'None	'Yes	'Yes
Shell Spoon	'None	'None	'None	'None	'None	'None	'Yes	'Yes
Adornments	'Beads	'Yes	'Yes	'None	'Beads	'Beads	'Beads	'None
Minerals (Mica or Limestone)	'None	'None	'None	'None	'None	'None	'Lime 'Stone	'None
Chunky Stones	'None	'None	'None	'None	'None	'None	'Yes	'None



## Pots and People

Some Hypothetical Conclusions Drawn from the  
Combined Archeological and Ethno-historical Data

In the concluding section of the Sixtoe Field and Village Report, seasons 1962, 1963, 1964, four major occupations of the area in pre-historic times were summarized: Etowah (Carter's Variant), Willbanks, Dallas, and Lamar. There were Woodland and Archaic components in addition, but these are not pertinent to the present inquiry which deals with the merger of documented historical contact with the proto-historic and more immediate prehistoric intervals. At Sixtoe a rather heavy Dallas occupation was uncovered with typical Dallas domestic residences in two stages of secular development with increasing increments of Lamar materials on the late Dallas floors implying a gradual preemption of the site by a proto-historic or historic group tentatively identified with the Middle Valley Cherokee. No mounds or large public buildings attributed to Dallas were found, and it was conjectured that the ceremonial center for the Dallas period of occupation on the Coosawattee would be found on the opposite side of the river, centered in or around the Bell Field Mound.

At the end of three seasons and the beginning of a fourth at Bell Field Mound and Village, we are able to say that the prognostications made at the finish of Sixtoe Field survey appear to have been borne out. Bell Field Mound is demonstrated to have been a multiple mound construction with successive summit levels and occupations with each bearing a building complex and exhibits no less than 8 such occupations, of which 3 appear to be core or interior and basal with 5 top or uppermost truncated with only lateral, downslope building detritus

to record their presence. Diagnostic cultural material from these respective contexts document the conclusion that the whole mound history covers successive intervals of Dallas occupation, beginning with a relatively pure Dallas allocated to the type culture as first described by Lewis and Kneberg in their Hiwassee Island Report, and culminating in the upper truncate structures and in a detached stratified house mound and presumptive burial area in a mixed Dallas and Lamar which has been called Dallamar, a coinage to convey the implication of cultural synchresis involving two assumed separate cultural entities which are considered as identified with these archeological constructs, Dallas and Lamar, are the large group of affiliated tribes in Tennessee and adjacent territory to the west known as the Upper Creeks and the Cherokee settlements flanking the Tennessee drainage towns of the Creeks and their mountain relatives, defined in ethnographic reference as the Middle Valley and the Overhill Cherokee. The ethno-history of the Middle Valley Cherokee has been exhaustively studied by Edward Dolan of DePauw University, Indiana, and the archeology of this and other Cherokee components in western North Carolina is presently being investigated by Dr. Joffre Coe of the University of North Carolina in a three year project funded by the National Science Foundation. Extensive ethno-historical research and archeological work in the Hiwassee Basin were carried out as part of the TVA program by T. M. N. Lewis and Madeline Kneberg 30 years ago, and the results have been published in the well-known "Hiwassee Island" study from the University of Tennessee Press.

The more recent investigations mentioned have not been published, but an exchange of notes and views covering the larger area that extends



the Tennessee cultural spectrum southward, and the Georgia adumbrations to the north is anticipated.

A primary hypothesis arrived at after four years of intensive exploration at Bell Field is that the total span covering the Dallas continuum to the final occupation of mixed archeological cultures denominated "Dallamar" comprises a time span considered to begin somewhere about the time of Hernando DeSoto or perhaps a generation or so before that datum and extending to a merging period of cultural blending with North Georgia Lamar assumed to represent Cherokee somewhere around 1700 A. D., perhaps extending the first quarter or half century into the 18th century but still not exhibiting evidences of historical contact or trade, or at most only a very attenuated influence when comparisons are made with the area immediately to the north, i.e. the Tennessee Valley, or to the south and middle Georgia territory where the protracted archeological excavations on the Ocmulgee River, Macon, Georgia, sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution and the National Park Service in the 1935-41 period of WPA and Depression Period Archeology yielded an enormous body of study material and permitted a documented history of a complex major site which comprises a long span from Archaic to Ocmulgee Old Fields and the Indian Removal in the 19th century.

Intermediate between the Ocmulgee center and the Carter's Quarters and Coosawattee situs is the type Etowah site and archeological park which also has a long history of exploration and provides a wealth of comparable data for all periods. A. R. Kelly, the principal investigator for 7 years at the Coosawattee Survey, happens to also have spent several years at Macon directing survey there and later put in another stint of some 5 years at Etowah. He will attempt to give a

synoptic review of results at these key stations which help to give a real spread and time depth comparisons applicable to what was happening at Coosawattee at the same intervals. Inasmuch as we are setting forth a cultural continuum from around 1500 or 1540 to around 1700 or 1725, less than 200 years, and hypothesize a long Dallas (Coosa Upper Creek) occupation eventually and gradually replaced by Lamar (Cherokee), it will also be helpful to see what appears to have been happening to the west in Northwest Georgia where Smithsonian Institution and University of Georgia surveys have centered at key landmark historic and proto-historic Cherokee sites such as Tugaloo, Chauga, and Estatoe. The type site for comparisons here will be Tugaloo, since the cultural changes in Lower Valley Cherokee here can be traced back also a 150 years into the proto-historic past. At Irene Mound on the Savannah Coast, Joseph R. Caldwell and his colleagues have another long mound continuum, and what the picture unfolds at the early 18th century in the time of Georgia founding has important implications for Coosawattee far into the interior.

A primary consideration in comparing these far-flung chronological development over 300 years, from the DeSoto datum to the Indian Removal, is the acceptance of the view that cultural changes and adjustments took place at a different rate in different parts of the wide area from the Tennessee and North Carolina mountains to the coast, middle Georgia, and west to the Chattahoochee. A broad hinterland in North and contiguous Northeast Georgia, spreading south in the Piedmont Country, was slow to receive cultural impacts from the English, French, and Spanish exploration and colonization. For this reason Lamar or a variant was still the identified culture with historic



Cherokee and surviving Muskogean up to the 19th century as Joseph R. Caldwell indicated in delineating his Galt and Brewster periods in the Allatoona Basin Survey.

A. R. Kelly in his preliminary report on the Ocmulgee excavations for the Smithsonian Institution in 1938 gave the first attempt at setting up a chronology for Georgia prehistory in which he defined Lamar as the terminal expression of the Southern Appalachian stamped pottery tradition which had lasted for 2000 years. This final phrasing of complicated stamping finally dissolved into a ceramic picture devoid of any stamping, known in middle Georgia as Old Ocmulgee Fields. At the Trading Post Site at Ocmulgee, Kelly found a late 17th historic occupation extending over into the first decade of the 18th when Colonel James Moore made his famous rendezvous with his 50 Carolinians and about 1000 Creek Indians who went with him to crush the Spanish in Northwest Florida. This was 1706. Note that already, then in the first decade of the 18th century, Ocmulgee had already made the transition from middle Georgia Lamar to the phasing known as Old Ocmulgee Fields. For this reason, it was obvious that the type Lamar site, some two miles below the Macon Plateau, with its deep middens and occupations, with vigorous Lamar stamping and bold incising, painting, and distinctive rim modeling, was seen as completely proto-historic and extending back through the 17th century and to the 16th century, which Kelly thought was the probable stage of cultural representation over most of Georgia and the immediate Southwest when DeSoto, D'Ayllon, Pardo, and other Spanish explorers first traversed the region. Also, Kelly trained as a physical anthropologist under Ernest Hooton who regarded pottery with somewhat the same comparative morphological slant he studied bones, and so, inevitably, at the outset saw the Lamar

complex as a "hybridized" product of two traditions of which the long tradition of pottery stamping was one, considered to be the aboriginal and residual, while the various plain, smooth, burnished, moulded, painted, and otherwise textured categories seemed to hang together as a body of traits which had generally moved from west to east, finally impinging on and merging with the autochthonous groups. There was amusement over this morphological approach and some sly digs over the "hybridization". When James Ford, who did the first survey at Ocmulgee, proposed to do away with about 90% of the Macon Plateau collections because it was relatively plain and undifferentiated, Kelly exploded over the idea of ignoring that much of any "population".

The above does have relevance now to our basic approach to the problem on the Coosawatee. Here again we have the two ceramic dichotomies, a persistent souther Appalachian stamped tradition which Kelly and the Tennessee archeologists want to identify with the Cherokee regarded as the aboriginal mountain people, with thrusts of other tribal groups coming in from the West and being held at bay by the largest and most war-like of the Southeastern tribes who continued to hold the mountain massif, not even being entirely dislodged by the American Army at the time of Indian Removal (the Qualla Band). This western movement extended all the way through Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky with a sort of cultural battle of the bulge in which South, Middle, and North Georgia were overrun; the Lamaroid folk retreated toward the mountains and the coast (Caldwell's Irene focus functional at the time of Oglethorpe's founding). In the Southern Piedmont the aborigines, shall we call them simply the residual legatees of the stamped pottery tradition, held their own, and in the proto-historic and historic periods materialize as the Cherokee, still holding to



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their central massive base with wide extensions both to the west and to the east, where they were contending with various Siouian groups and their kinsmen, Iroquoian tribes to the northeast. However, they were still the exponents of stamped pottery, and there was folk memory among old Cherokees before there was any kind of archeology which sought to translate its findings into some sort of ethno-historical unfolding, to the effect that this kind of pottery was made by their ancestors or grandparents within their memory.

When Gordon R. Willey, who was one of many who did a stint at Ocmulgee, made his CCC survey and made extensive tests at the Lamar Site, he had found that the bold incised and burnished and painted types tended to occur later in the stratified deposits. There was evidence for "syncritization" in which one cultural strain, perhaps indicated in Chikilli's myth recited before the Georgia Trustees at Savannah in the early 18th century, had come in with the Muskogean sweep from the West and gradually preempted the territory from the people who were already there. John R. Swanton in Georgia, who surveyed the ground to trace DeSoto's itinerary through Georgia, told Kelly he had an impression in reading the 16th century diaries that the whole area was abandoned for much of its territory, with many fugitive groups, with evidence of widespread uprooting and also of some pestilence that had ravaged the land and that all this was background evidence to suppose that the extensive mass movements of Muskogean from the West had already taken place with its disruptive results. Lamar had already been rolled back to the coast and the mountain foothills, if one would paraphrase an ethnographic happening in parallel archeological terms.

Irene, final occupation, is equated in present day archeological reconstruction, with the Pee Dee of Joffre Coe, a northeastern phrasing

of the Lamaroid culture with recognized stations or sites in between at Hollywood (Augusta), Camden site on the Wateree (South Carolina) and Town Creek. A site surveyed by J. R. Caldwell, the major impressive mound site destroyed early by river erosion at the Rembert plantation, junction of the Broad and Savannah Rivers, was probably another related site. At Hollywood and the general nexus of the broad bend in the Savannah here which is the locus of legendary Cofitachequi, we have 16th century descriptions as well as some pertinent archeology, and here a persistent Lamaroid culture still survived to the 16th century, as it did into the 18th and early 19th at Tugaloo and other northeastern Georgia sites as Kelly and Caldwell found in the Hartwell Basin Surveys.

At Tugaloo Caldwell uncovered three levels of building activity in the central mound, with town houses which in cross-sectional view and general plan of organization resemble closely the Structure #4 at our Bell Field Mound. The village area, done by a University of Georgia field party, gives a long history of occupation with abundant trade bead collections, studied by John Witthoft, which range all the way from the 16th century to the early 19th, with the greatest clustering of types somewhere around the early 18th century. There is a long continuity of occupation here ascribed to Cherokee, although in the basal mound there were evidences of Etowah and Savannah like stamped traditions. The point is that in all of these situations, historic and protohistoric, Cherokee show an unbroken stand of an archeological cultural entity which in historical times (18th century) is undeniably Cherokee. We must remember that we contemplate less than 200 years of cultural continuum at Bell Field from around 1540 to 1700 A. D.

At the Bull Creek Site, Columbus, Georgia, on the middle Chattahoochee, we have another site that has been studied since 1936 by field



parties from the Ocmulgee Monument and the University of Georgia. This is a West Georgia variant of Lamar with strong influences south from Fort Jackson and the late Mississippian occupation there. Bull Creek is protohistoric, no trade goods, although the middle Chatahoochee country was much more exposed to mixed French, Spanish, and English competitive contacts than was Middle Georgia. We should take note of this Lamaroid Bull Creek site because it produced two of the striking dog pots with burials in a "cemetery" or some sort of special mortuary complex, not too different from that we are now uncovering in the southwest quadrant of the Bell Field Mound.

Coming closer to the North Georgian base, at Etowah, Cartersville, Georgia, we have a long sequence of archeological exploration, although the results are not yet published. Kelly in 5 seasons uncovered a sequence from Etowah II through Etowah III, with increasing Tennessean influences in what was once conceived as Etowah IV (Hiwassee and Savannah), with an epigonal phase of epi-Etowah denominated Wilbanks, in which the major cult explosion or efflorescence took place. After that Kelly found impacted and alluvial covered deposits which reflected a gradual development of a Lamaroid complex from the older Wilbanks-Savannah-Etowah horizon. This North Georgia variant at Etowah has equated with protohistoric Cherokee, although an early 19th century missionary reports the the turn of the century Cherokee occupants of the site told him the earlier people were unknown to them. . .there is ethno-historical evidence of a hiatus? W. H. Sears found a late Lamar house on the backside of Mound B with late 18th and early 19th historic trade material.

Carbon dates from Etowah obtained by Lewis Larson cover a wide range. Kelly found Macon Plateau pottery types in the trash pits under



Mound B and at Macon found Etowah sherds in the fill to the prehistoric dugouts. Charcoal from the Macon earthlodge dates over 1000 years ago, and there can be no doubt about the eagle symbolism, "weeping eye" and all here. However, the great complex of cult paraphernalia and symbolism compiled by Antonio Waring, Preston Holder, and James Ford and others is not present at Macon Plateau despite the imposing size and massive building of what was evidently a large and persistent settlement on the banks of the Ocmulgee. Kelly was and is of the opinion that Macon Plateau in Middle Georgia and Etowah in North Georgia overlap in part during their cycles but that Macon Plateau was a generation or so earlier and had received the first impetus of the "Souther Cult" which a 100 years or less later generated a truly flamboyant response at Etowah. If carbon dates are to be trusted at all, this first flowering of the "Cult" must have ante-dated the DeSoto datum by a century or perhaps more. This is important in our calculations for Coosawattee, where we find late "Cult" attenuated and evidence of a second reintegration of culture, with an implied new burst of creative energy with new architectural, artistic, and so far as we can re-create them, new religious formulations—all this later re-formulation comprising a second wave of the "Southern Cult" which we calculate expressed itself in North Georgia at Coosawattee in a late Dallas or Dallamar horizon somewhere around 1600-50.

As we move north from the Etowah drainage to the Coosa and Coosawattee, there are site data indicative that Dallas people were increasingly active, and before the Dallas, in some sites persisting with relatively little change, Savannah groups, as in the implied continuum exposed at the Plant Hammond Mound of the Georgia Power Company, explored by the University of Georgia for the Georgia Power Company in 1966. Before Savannah and Etowah, the Allatoona Basin Survey and more



recent indications are to the effect that there were widespread settlements of an earlier stamped pottery group in what might be considered terminal Woodland, known as Woodstock, from a site initially excavated near Woodstock, Georgia, by Joseph R. Caldwell. Finally, some southeastern systematists favor the view that in turn Woodstock shows similarity to a still earlier rectilinear stamping tradition found by Kelly on the Ocmulgee and called Napier Complicated Stamped. We do not want to get bogged down in too much historical chronology here, but our argument seeks to document site profiles connecting and providing sequential occupation for the Woodland stamped traditions, for whom the Cherokees are the residual heirs in North Georgia, Tennessee, and North Carolina mountains and Piedmont section.

At Coosawattee the spectrum is mixed; we have in the Sixtoe Field Report spoken of the pottery here being a "variant" from the picture at Etowah and also from the classic descriptions at Hiwassee Island. There can be no doubt that after Etowah times, with a limited Wilbanks representation and practically no influence from Etowah only 40 miles south during the great "messiahnic revival" that Waring and Holder envisioned, the next notable concentration of population and settlements and the next climax in cultural development takes place in Dallas-Lamar times some time in the 17th century.

Except for the Hiwassee-Dallas continuum uncovered by Lewis and Kneberg and their excellent summary in the Hiwassee Island Report, despite the enormous collections in Tennessee and North Georgia in private hands that must have come from large and imposing Dallas occupations, we have little archeological data on stratigraphic in situ descriptions and accounts that would enable us to attempt an age-area concept of this extremely important period of prehistory in



the tri-state area. Almost certainly one of the greatest treasures to go by the board was the destruction of the great site of Citico, in the Moccasin Bend of Chattanooga and the Tennessee River. This must have been a Mecca-like center for the late "Cult" survivals and 17th century Coosa peoples and for a climax Dallas culture in the immediate region. The flotsam of exotic and gaudy material that can be even partially traced, like the Morast collection, shows the generalized Dallas character of these assemblages. Citico may well have been the capital and administrative center of a confederation of which Coosawatee and other Dallas sites within twenty miles or so were tributaries of satellites.

Let us return to our construct of the going society at Bell Field, our notion of the "people" who made the pots and buried their special dead in the log tombs. Although much of the last century or so of this archeological package has been irreparably damaged and scrambled, with the five truncated mounds, it is possible to envisage a maximum stage of completed construction and occupation which must have presented the scene as something closely resembling the major Dallas site at Hiwassee Island. This exhibited an overlooking central mound pyramid, with extended apron-like terraces on one or more sides, built out along the natural levee of the river, supporting other conjoined or auxiliary buildings. We have seen that there were at least three building complexes consisting of four buildings, two connected by special covered passageways, one of which would be a saucer-floored, compartmented assembly, with the other disposed as some sort of hypothetical dormitory.

Four of the initially uncovered buildings, which just escaped truncation, are Structures #4, #5, #6, and #7, appeared to belong to the same functioning, contemporaneous occupation and comprised key units



of a complex of ceremonial buildings in the mid-period of Dallas history.

Of these, Structure #4 represents a "town or council" house, a kind of sanctum sanctorum to which the other adjuncts have some kind of auxiliary connection. Structure #5 is shown particularly to have a special enclosed corridor connection with this ceremonial center. The large and impressive central fire inset the saucer-like floor is overlooked by the tier-like arrangement of seats ranged around three sides of the building. These compartments are covered over by roof beams and a roofing of matted reeds, open in the narrow center court over the huge hearth. The open door to the passage leading to the dormitory section, Structure #5, leads in from the east side. A second entrance into the chamber opens to the north with its plastered door posts. The walls are smoothly plastered, and mats cover the seats. A sawbill fish skin hangs upon the wall in the rear. A basket of fresh Unio shells reposes under one of the benches.

What is re-created is the setting of a council chamber with its sacred fire in the middle. In a little while, the novitiates will come through the passage from the dormitory, and thereafter the priests who preside will enter one by one by the side door.

Structure #6 is located to the southeast upon a platform some four or five feet higher, with a short log stairway. This too is a dormitory type building but with a built-in central clay hearth not present in Structure #5. Stratigraphic evidences show that Structure #6 was probably not functional at the same time as #4 or #5 on a lower level; it could have been added later. When Structures #4 and #5 were ritually burned, for we adhere to the theory of deliberate ceremonial destruction as part of a "new birth" or cyclical revival with a complete new, fresh building program thereafter, Structure #6 was spared,

whether intention or the consequence of incomplete burning from the original fire setting, can only be conjectured. The walls of the substantial building, 20 feet or more in diameter, had been collapsed in over the sandy floor. None of the roof or wall timbers were present in any relic decomposition or floor disturbance. The lenses of unfired wall daub melded into a white kaolinitic mass two to three inches thick, still showing the evidences of some sort of grass tempering. The floor was clean sand, not too hardpacked except for the compress of the overburden, without midden and scarcely a handful of pot sherds to be accessioned in troweling.

Structure #7 to the northwest revealed the same collapsed walls of unfired daub over a relatively level floor except where it sloped to the northwest slope escarpment leading to the river. When this bank was freshly troweled and exposed for a length of 25 feet in 1966, we could see some slight erosional scarring which must have occurred while this building complex was still in use. This observation may throw some light on some interesting features exposed in excavating the west portion of the East-West axis trench to about the level of the Core 1 buildings we are describing. We have said that the buildings were laid out at approximate right angles to the true north-south-east-west coordinates, so our west axis trench exposed a corner of one of the truncate mounds above the Core 1 level, shown by the angling of white clay mantling the downslope and a screening of large river boulders which formed a mantle for several feet downslope at this point. Our interpretation of this feature was that it served to bolster the clay slopes and to prevent erosion. Such stone mantles were used much more extensively at an earlier time, Etowah III, as was



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seen at Sixtoe Mound, where the whole corner section and upper escarpment were mantled to partially enclose one corner of the huge 40 x 70 dormitory construction on top.

The scene of the boulder screening above yielded some other finds which may be pertinent to the ceremonies which took place in such ceremonial centers as Structure #4. Some 25 feet further downslope from the clay corner section of one of the truncate mounds immediately above Structure #4 in June 1968 field season, we troweled out three small cubicles or pockets of charred corn and beans. The small pits, 6 inches in diameter, and perfectly square, had evidently been carefully dug into the downslope terrace on the river side, and the charred corn and beans were carefully <sup>placed</sup> in this prepared spot. This had happened at least three times, and we may uncover other examples before the season is over. There can be no doubt that we have intercepted a ritual detail in which burned food offerings are being concealed in the ground. The actual burning of this food, the beans and the small ears of corn (for such they were), must have taken place elsewhere, most likely in the "temple" or ceremonial building on top of the mound.

The function of the buildings, such as Structures #1 and #2 at the foot of the east or southeast slope of the mound, can only be theoretically reconstructed. It may be recalled that in the beginning of the 1965 field season in making our initial axis cut into the side of the mound, we uncovered the fired clay floor of a small building about 6 x 10 with fired mats on the floor and some sort of special storage room in which green corn preserved on small mats was kept, presumably ready for use in ceremonial programs carried out on top of the mound. These archaeological features may be clues to rituals carried out ceremonially in such structures as Structure #4, a protohistoric or prehistoric setting



for the "Green Corn" and busk ceremonies described by 18th century ethnographers. We may add the archeological discovery of what we thought might be dance grounds at the south mound periphery in 1968 and the finding of several individual burials with their dance regalia, gourd or terrapin rattles, evidently strapped on at the time of their interment.

No less than three log tomb burials were intrusive into the floor or immediately adjacent to the wall of Structure #4. All represented vigorous adult males buried sitting in the tombs with their split board coverings with grave furnishings to care for them in their after life and, as in the case of Burial #10, his Busycon drinking cup and painted dog pot indicated his rank and exalted role. One wonders if the interception of three such burials, made subsequent to the ceremonial burning of Structure #4 from a subsequent and higher building level, could have been due to pure chance or was there some powerful compulsion to bury these individuals in or near the structure where they or their immediate ancestor had lived and disposed powerful medicines.

The type of religious establishment contemplated contrasts markedly with the theoretical reconstruction given in the Sixtoe Field Report to explicate the archeological findings on top of Sixtoe Mound. The argument there was that Sixtoe Mound in Etowah III times provides with a setting, temporally and in terms of the set or "fix" of the particular tribal culture just before the full impact of the so-called "Southern Cult" with its messiahnic revival and wildfire spread envisaged by Waring and Holder. Etowah folk on the Coosawattee were seen as essential cultural conservatives resisting the "new medicines" which were coming in with the cultivation of maize and any



basic change in the traditional habits of subsistence patterns, as compared with other communities not too far distant, i.e. the type site of Etowah who became innovators because they had an entirely different set of "fix" at the critical receptive moment. The huge 40 x 70 foot dormitory structures on top of Sixtoe Mound housed a group of particularly powerful shamans who dominated the community in many ways but were not able to convert them to the new and powerful medicines. Eventually, however, they may have succeeded, or the potent appeal of the great cult center may have become too compulsive because there was evidence of an abandonment or almost total withdrawal from the Coosawatee settlement with subsequent re-peopling or re-settlement in Dallas times with a new society dominated by a well-integrated priesthood and religion which may have been grounded in family corporations or ramages with elite overtones in which particular roles, i.e. the individuals with the dog pots and the huge Busycon drinking bowls passed down in particular clans. Many of the more flamboyant cult paraphernalia had become lost or attenuated by Dallas times—witness the characteristic monolithic axe pottery pipes found in Dallamar graves and in those of protohistoric Cherokee sites (Chauga, Tugaloo, Estatoe) in northeast Georgia; also the small shell gorgets with rattlesnake, turkey, spider zoomorphic symbolism replacing the Etowah concern with the eagle. However, the powerful medicines which centered around the maize ceremonials remained in full force as the ethnography of the 17th and 18th centuries attest. Some distinct "Late Cult" items continue to historic Lamar times, as Lewis Larson and others have indicated.

In connection with the discussion of log tombs, the question must be posed: Is there real evidence of a radical change in burial



customs in Bell Field stratigraphy? The 7 log tombs discovered and described to date demonstrably belong to one or more of the terminal mound occupations. We have not as yet found any log tombs that belong specifically to the Core 1 or 2 level but should caution that there are still a few pits which remain to be opened on this level. Also we have to face the pregnant thought that the data from the bottommost and earliest Dallas provenience, Core 3 structures and occupation, are not yet available. Since the whole sequence starts with the initial mound constructions and the pre-mound occupation, we should make some strong reservations concerning that component. Actually, it is a bit disturbing to consider that we have no data on burials for what must be called "Early Dallas".

Reference to the fact in the text that some key structures were burned and others were not raises a question as to whether the evidence implies ceremonial burning of a whole set of religious structures and a subsequent rebuilding of both the mound and summit buildings as a renewal or cyclical rebirth and some sort of ritual cleansing from the contamination accumulated. We have analyzed the data on the destruction of buildings from each level and advanced the hypothesis that the custom of burning seems to be intensified in the upper five levels while ritual demolition and dismantling with evidence of a special layering of soil over the destroyed building, either a dark gumbo mound fill or a thinner soil increment, is shown in the earlier structures. It seems possible that in the case of Structure #8, for instance, where we have three well defined central hearths that this building might have undergone no less than three such rejuvenations or rebuilding periods before the final structure was demolished and a two-three

foot solid construction of dark gumbo mound fill was brought in as a building seat for Structures #4, #5, #6, and #7. After these four were burned or demolished, another two-three feet of the same black gumbo mound fill was installed and eventually truncated in modern cultivation.

A brief synopsis of archeological findings in Georgia in regard to this point might offer some suggestions. There appears to be little or no evidence of the burning of ceremonial buildings in the Early Mississippian. None of the six or more building levels at Mound C, the "funereal mound" at Macon, had been burned. Kelly found no evidence of such in his testing at the huge central Mound A, and no evidence to our knowledge has come from the recent 1968 sectioning by Park Archeologist John Walker. The same was true in re-cutting the railroad profile to Mound B in 1936, nor was there any evidence of burned buildings at Etowah, either at Mound C (Larson) or Mound B (Kelly). This holds for Etowah III through the climax "cult period" in Wilbanks times.

In fact the only important civic or ceremonial structure at these two major Mississippian sites was the Council Chamber at Macon, and none of the other earth lodges uncovered yielded such evidence. Caldwell found no burned structures on any of his Savannah levels or the final Irene occupation at the Irene Mound, Savannah, Georgia. Kelly found no evidences of burning of top of Sixtoe Mound in 1962-64, but rather a solid magma of compacted melded daub 18 inches or more thick on some parts of the summit with a bewildering welter of post-molds, pits, segments of wall continuities, coming out as fresh troweling and horizontal scraping was carried out on the mound summit.



Archie Smith did find one Savanna period structure at the Plant Hammond Mound had been consumed, but the successive occupations there do not lend themselves to the notion of some sort of cyclical ritualistic burning exhibited in the upper levels of the Dallas continuum at Bell Field. Moreover, it must be recalled that it is the final occupation, assignable to the Dallamar or fused Dallas and Lamar occupation, which shows signs of burning in the domestic house units in the Sixtoe Village. All in all, it does look as if some ritual intensification of burning and ritual destruction took place in late Dallas times. It is interesting to observe that this intensification and severe burning seems to have declined in later Dallas and Lamar times—the T-4 and T-5 levels show no downslope evidences of burned daub and house debris at Bell Field, and none of the Lamar houses in Sixtoe Village were burned. Also a heavy early Lamar at Etowah, explored by Larson for the Georgia Historical Commission, uncovered no evidence of deliberate or extensive burning, as did neither the limited excavations of J. Ford at the type Lamar site or the several seasons at Bull Creek (Columbus) or the basin survey of proto-historic and historic Lamar sites in northeast Georgia (Chauga, Estatoe, Tugaloo). We know that these towns were burned in the Revolutionary War by Rutherford.

Assuming that the hypothesis of ritual burning of ceremonial buildings did reach a climax in late Dallas times and that this was a cyclical performance which had gone through stylistic changes from earlier stages, the question arises as to whether this was related to some fixed cycle determined by a calendrical event or perhaps was incident to the death of a chief or high priest or a new fire and renewal triggered by catastrophe. We have observed the high incidence of intrusive log tomb burials of seemingly high ranked and sacrosanct

individuals in and around Structure #4, with the implication that these interments might indicate some relationship between the ritual destruction of these structures and the compulsion to bury these persons in a ritually prescribed spot. It was noted, too, that successive burials were made into the Dallamar mortuary area at the south periphery of Bell Field Mound, Burials #4, #5, #6, #7, and #8 with evident intrusions, sometimes displacement of earlier burials with individual indications of tight shroud or skin covered bodies. This evidence of skin shrouds around burials was a recurrent feature of numerous burials made around the mound periphery at Tugaloo Mound, Stephens County, Georgia, and also at Chauga Mound, Oconee County, Oconee County, South Carolina. Is it a reasonable and plausible extrapolation from these circumstances to suggest that this is evidence of a mortuary complex in which individuals of different age and sex, members of an elite familial group, are given preferential attention in burials made in and around the central core of religious activity. There are well-known ethnographic models for such a system in the Southeast, i.e. the Natchez and the Yuchi (personal communication from Joseph B. Mahan of the Columbus Museum). As to New Fire ceremonials and total renewal cycles with massive purificatory rites in relation to archeological data, it is apparent that extensive ethno-historical search of the primary accounts of the 17th and 18th centuries is indispensable to any fruitful conclusions. Here we can only do a repertorial stint with the archeological data and suggest some of the lines of ethno-historical inquiry which sound promising.

The so-called Dallas continuum at Bell Field has been calculated to extend for a span of around 200 years, from around 1500 A. D. to 1700 A. D. The only "Southern Cult" items in burial



associations and religious symbolism perceived are "Late Cult" as analyzed by a number of current investigators in the Southeast. Moreover, we would remark that there is a high degree of conventionalization and a generally attenuated expression of these "late" forms. We mention, for instance, that shell gorgets tend to be smaller and to give zoomorphic emphasis to serpent, turkey, spider rather than eagle representations. The monolithic axe is now exhibited in the form of a small pottery monolithic axe pipe. Such pipes have been found in archeological context in a number Lamaroid situations in recent archeology, notably in proto-historic and historic Cherokee landmark sites in northeast Georgia and South Carolina. The Busycon drinking bowl continues into Dallas and early Lamar sequences and 18th century ethnography provides abundant evidences of the importance of the ceremonial drink.

The dog effigy pottery in ritual burial associations appears to be something new and added posthumously to the original "cult". Dog effigy burials occur at scattered intervals over Georgia and the Southeast. Some indications of far flung diffusion problems are seen in the occurrence of very similar painted dog pots in both northwestern and eastern Mexico, i.e. Sonoran and Huastean. In all the referents for which we have good archeological context, this dog burial complex is definitely Late Mississippian, either Lamar or a synchronic equivalent as in a Dallamar mortuary complex. Here is an important stylistic symbolic item that has somehow escaped the attention of investigators concerned with the study of the "Southern Cult" and its terminal representations.

Another promising line of inquiry which suggests stylistic change through the time span in which we have been most concerned,

i.e. the three centuries from around 1500 to 1800 A. D., has to do with game stones, the so-called discoidals and "chunky stones". The large, beautifully ground discoidals come out in archeological contexts belonging to Early Mississippi mounds, i.e. Macon (Ocmulgee), Etowah, Cahokia et al. At Bell Field we are finding smaller but finely ground stone specimens. Kelly found stone chunkies tending to be replaced by pottery chunkies in the Late Wilbanks—Early Lamaroid transformation which appeared to occur at Etowah. Pottery chunkies are ubiquitous at many Lamaroid sites in 18th century times in Georgia. At Etowah Kelly envisaged a withdrawal from the immediate sacred area of Mounds A, B, and C to the wider village expanse beyond the large plaza, so far as continuation of ceremonies based on mound temples and facilities were concerned and a marked increase in domestic midden accumulation with numerous chunkies in situ, arguing for a secularization of the culture during the 18th century. Ethnographic descriptions highlight the growing importance of the game contests between clan groups, with strong gambling activity developing. Recall that in the earlier Mississippian contexts these stone discs tend to be found only with burials; in later times they are frequent in ordinary midden accumulations. An especially attractive small stone chunky about the size of a half dollar was found with Burial #13, intrusive into the burial fill and partially displacing the cover timbers to a log tomb (Burial #14) in the Dallamar mortuary complex currently (1968) being uncovered in the south mound periphery at Bell Field. Is it conceivable that over a few centuries of stylistic change in discoidal-chunky elements we have some indication of a gradual transfer and complete change of character from a deeply rooted ceremonial to an eventual social and secular game activity?



In final recapitulation then the hypothesis has been set forth that at Carter's Dam and its several site components, there appears to be an unbroken continuum of cultural development, especially at the Bell Field Mound and Village, primarily attributed to the Dallas-Lamar manifestations. This sequence follows closely the Hiwassee model of Tennessee except that Hiwassee Culture is almost completely absent but that a long occupation of Dallas is exhibited in at least eight mound levels of ceremonial building activity at Bell Field. It is argued that the Dallas component here is to be equated in our formula with a tribal confederation, a strong socio-political organization with wide geographic coverage in the Tennessee River Valley, of groups largely affiliated with the so-called Upper Creeks. The Cherokees, Middle Valley and Overhill, are the ethnological equivalents of a Lamar component widely distributed in the southern Appalachians in Tennessee, Georgia, and the contiguous Carolina territory. Central to the argument is the view that the Cherokees as the largest and most powerful tribal group, firmly ensconced in their mountain fastness, were the autochthonous group holding the strategic territory at the time of successive mass tribal migrations from the West, consecutive fronts or pushes of the generalized cultural manifestation known to American archeologists as the "Early Mississippian" mound builders. The earliest of these movements on a massive scale might go back a thousand years, and the best site expression in archeology would be the large Macon Mounds on the Ocmulgee and the strong parallels between Macon Plateau and the Cahokia Mounds, a presentiment which both Kelly and Caldwell have reassessed in recent personal communications. The later push was on a wide front from the lower Mississippi and Red River Country, a movement which shortly pro-

duced marked cultural synchresis and sensational local site major components such as Spiro, Moundville, Etowah. In the theoretical reconstruction seen here, this cultural development which has so impressed southeastern and eastern archeologists, must have climaxed before the DeSoto datum and probably a century or so before DeSoto.

Subsequently, after the Spanish 16th century entradas there was widespread re-shuffling and re-grouping of dispersed tribal elements. Strong new combinations settled at strategic points and new major sites resulted. Undoubtedly the religious symbolism and fervor of the "Old Cult" survived to be an important leaven in the new socio-political alignments and religion. We have argued that this later reformulation and achievement of what might be denominated a second "Cult" or southeastern climax period of development might have been realized around 1600 A. D. We are seeing a broad panorama of similar synchronic developments taking place over a wide area from the vantage point of the site we have been exploring for the past seven years on the Coosawatee, and obviously the epi-phenomenon producing the new, impressive alignments was probably progressing at differential rates at different places. It is entirely possible and probable that others might want to push this second theoretical stage back farther into the DeSoto interval or even before that.

Implicit in the argument here is the opinion that the major culture bearers of significant technological, religious, and social organizational elements, their introduction and initial leavening to produce the major site climax developments as uncovered in southeastern archeology, were assignable to the movements of tribal elements from the West to the East, the so-called great Mississippian invasions. The role of the Cherokees, seen as the residual legatees

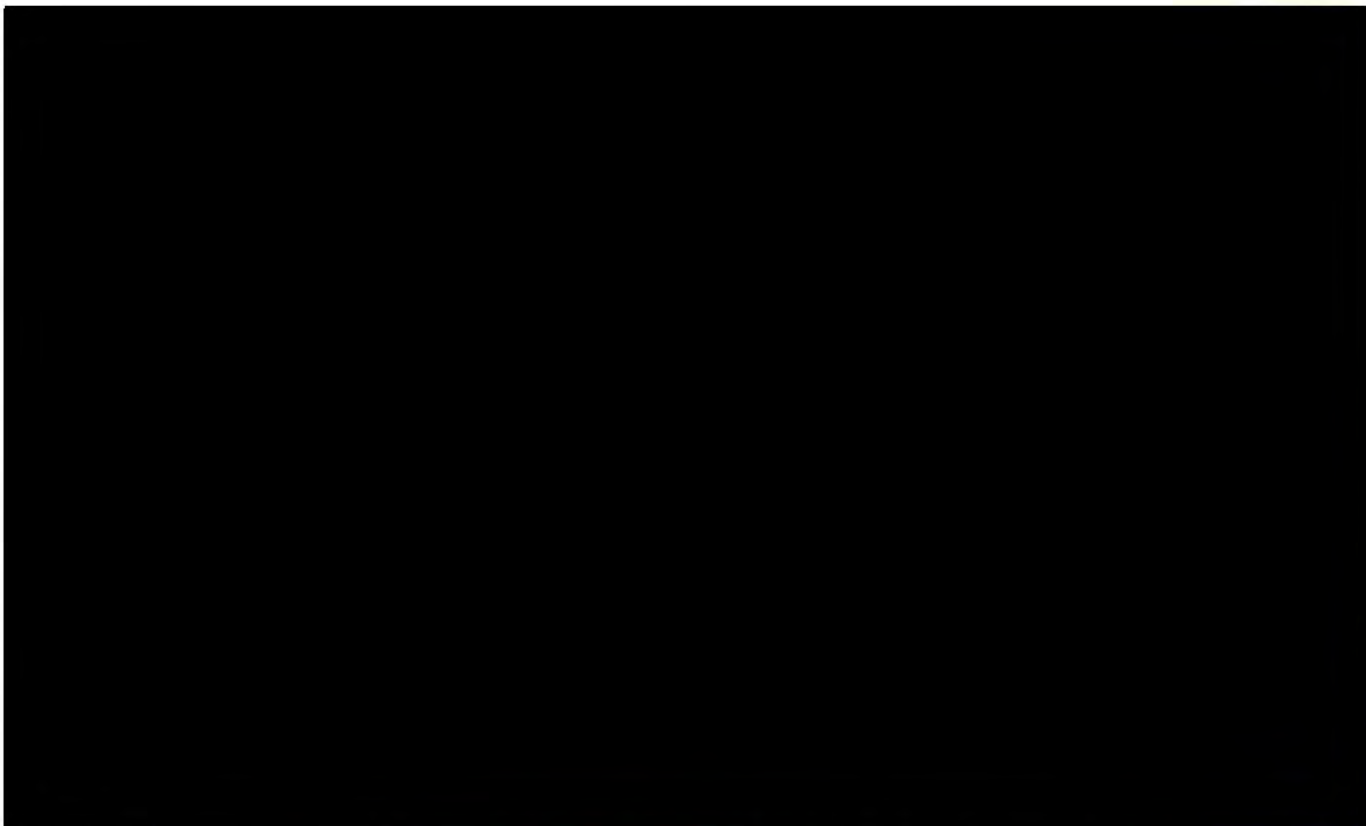


of the autochthonous culture in the southeast, was not passive. From their impregnable position in their mountain and Piedmont fortresses, they irrupted in strength and the resulting embroglio was probably an Aboriginal American parallel to the overrunning of the European civilized cities and states by the Barbarians. Like the Barbarians, the Cherokees were minimally modified in their basic culture by the syncretization that resulted in the next few centuries. They remained mountaineers, living in dispersed, cove-like villages under strong local leaders and practicing a predominately hunting magic rather than the new messianic "Souther Cult" religion with its powerful medicines and rich, institutionalized ceremonies and heirarchical priests based on agriculture. At the end of the 18th century, their cult heroes are either legendary war leaders or great shamanistic figures whose strength lay in the arts of divination and clairvoyance.

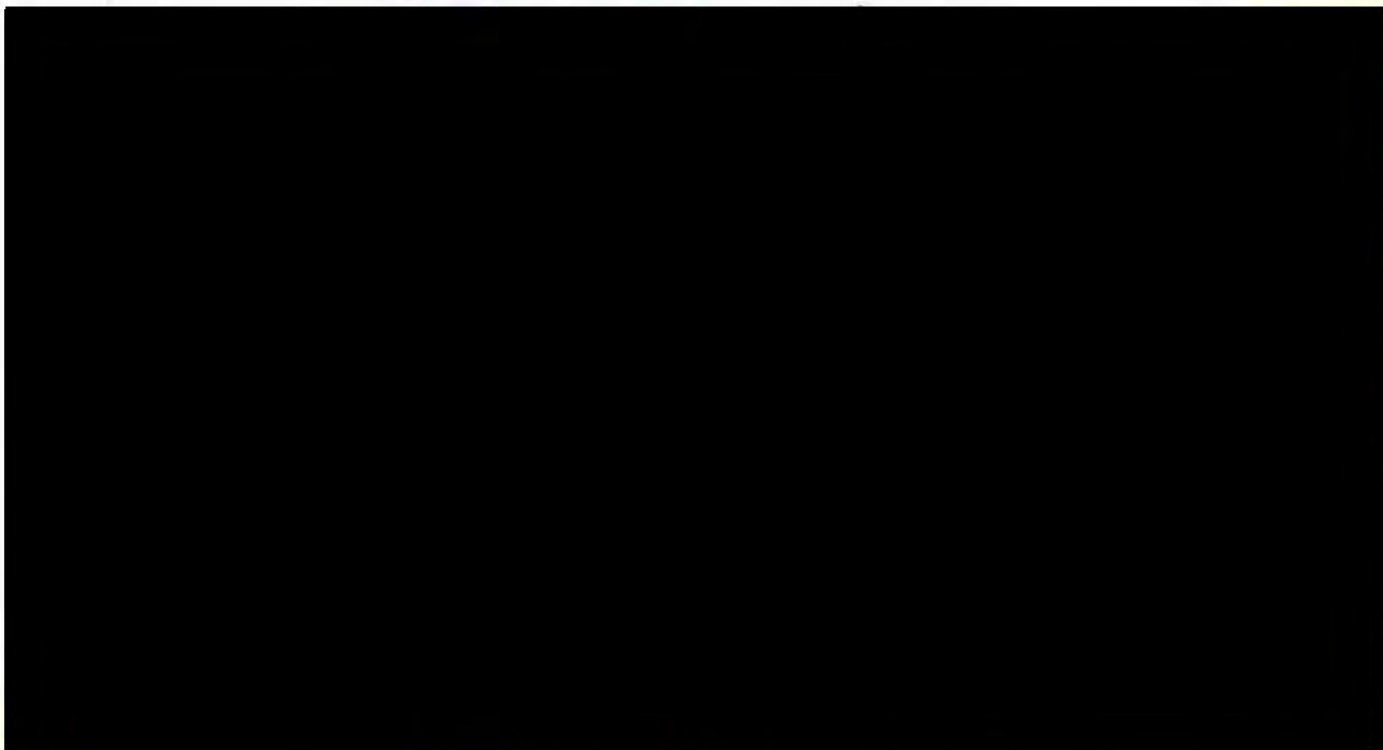
In 1929 while living with Cherokee tribal councilor Will West Long in Big Cove some 17 miles from the Tennessee Divide, the author was told many stories of Junaluska and of Nununyi and the council chamber mound there (18th century site opposite the present government school on the Oconaluftee River) where the last of the Cherokee shaman, Dr. Mock, had presided. The older Cherokees still had a folk memory of the community building that mound, bringing the clay in baskets from borrow pits. There were stories of the Little People, those mischievous little forest spirits so like the leprechaun of Irish Celtic mythology, that on hearing them from Will West Long I wondered if these legendary beings were a genuine product of native Cherokee or were compounded and mingled from the 18th century Scotch-Irish settlers and the Cherokee with whom they were mixed so early.

There were recitals of hunting magic, how from the twisting of suspended stones or watching a writhing flame, a shaman might divine the trail of the deer. In the back of Will West Long's cabin there were shoe boxes full of Cherokee medicinal formulae, such as Olbrechts and Mooney had recorded, a rich pharmacopoeia of herb medicine calculated to alleviate or cure most human ailments. Will West told me how a shaman might wind a rattlesnake around his neck and have a prescience of how many more years, another seven (?), he might live. There were other stories which reflected the reverence Cherokees still had for snakes and their aversion to killing or harming them. It is not strange that rattlesnake gorgets are found with burials in 18th century Cherokee sites.

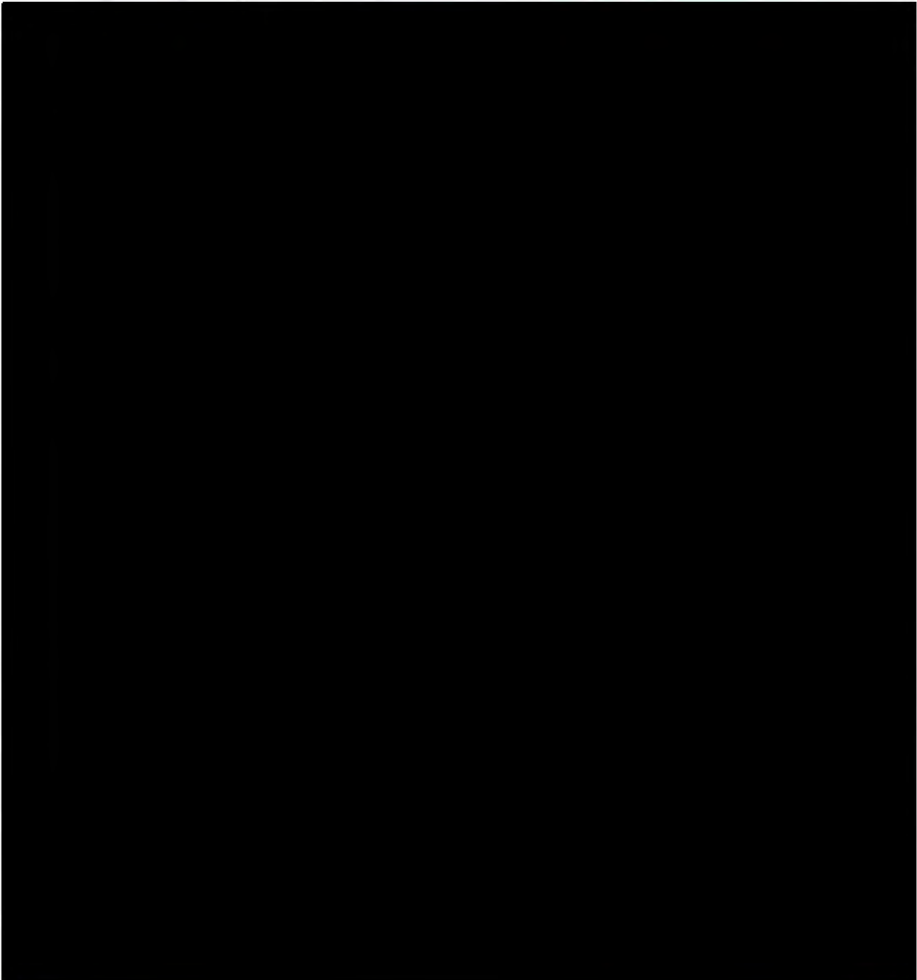
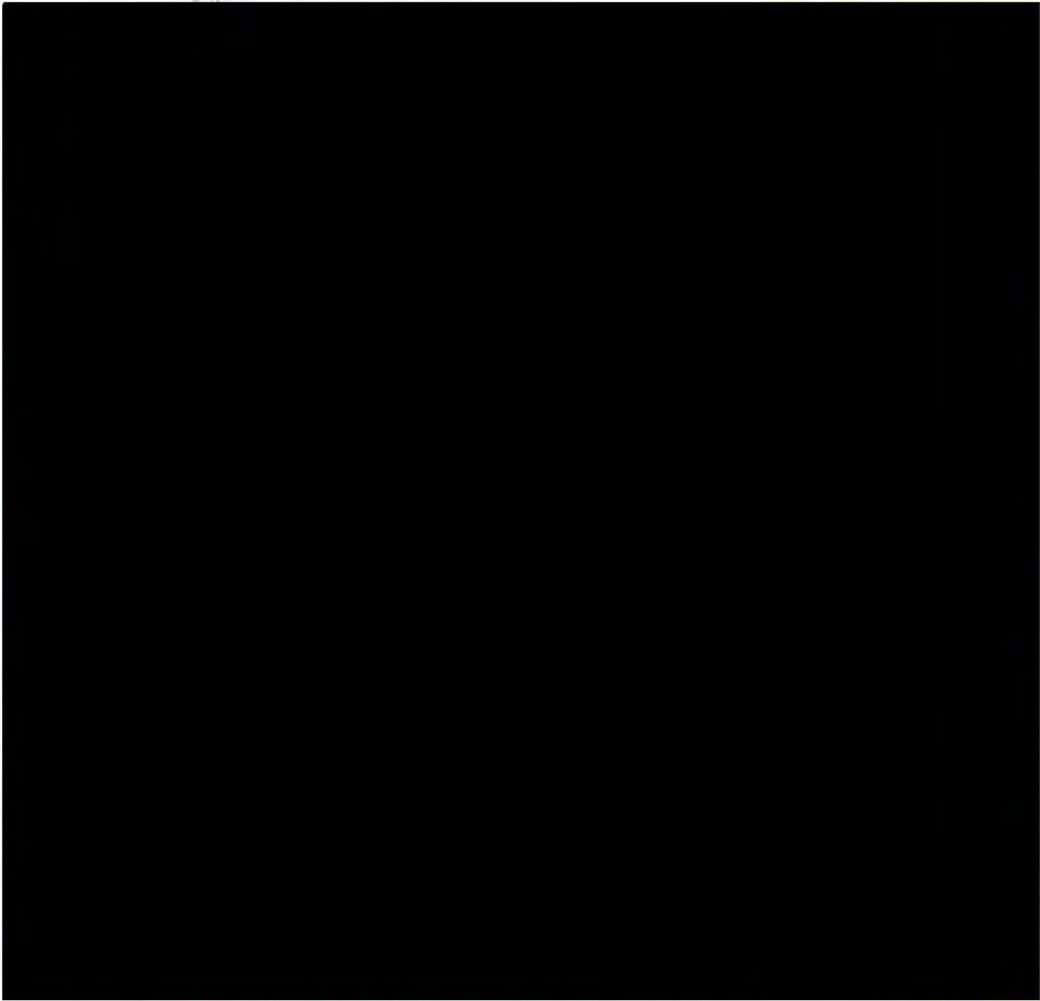




A LARGE POLISHED CEREMONIAL CELT FROM BURIAL  
# 13 (NOTE THE IMPRESSION OF HAFTING ON BUTT  
END)

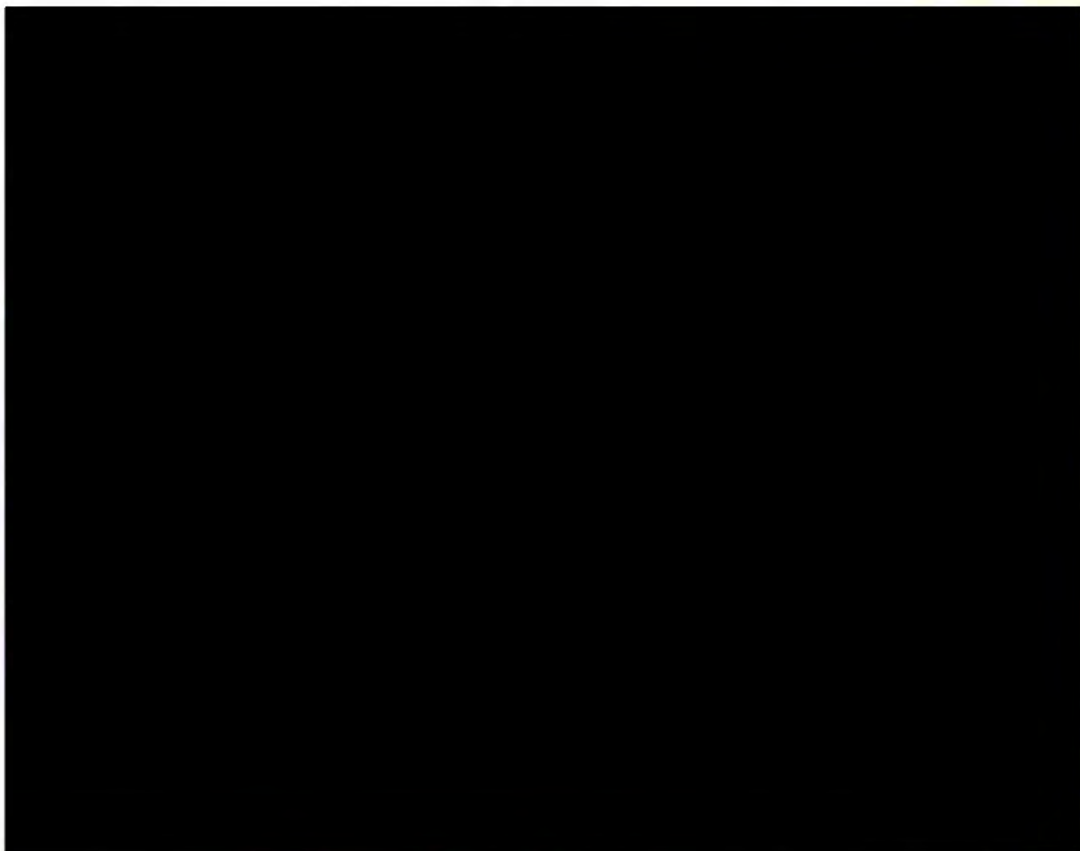


A CEREMONIAL FLINT BLADE FROM BURIAL # 13  
(PART OF THE "MEDICINE BUNDLE")

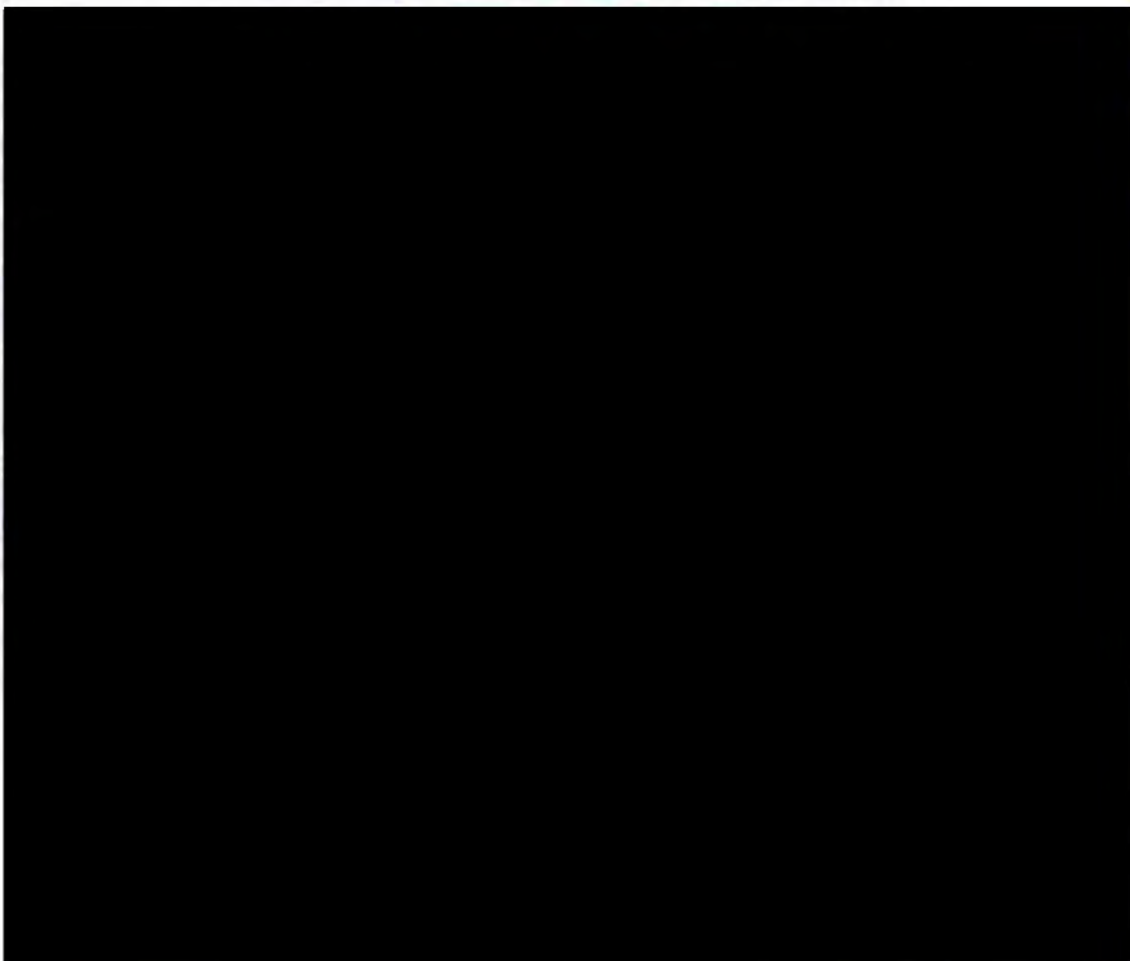


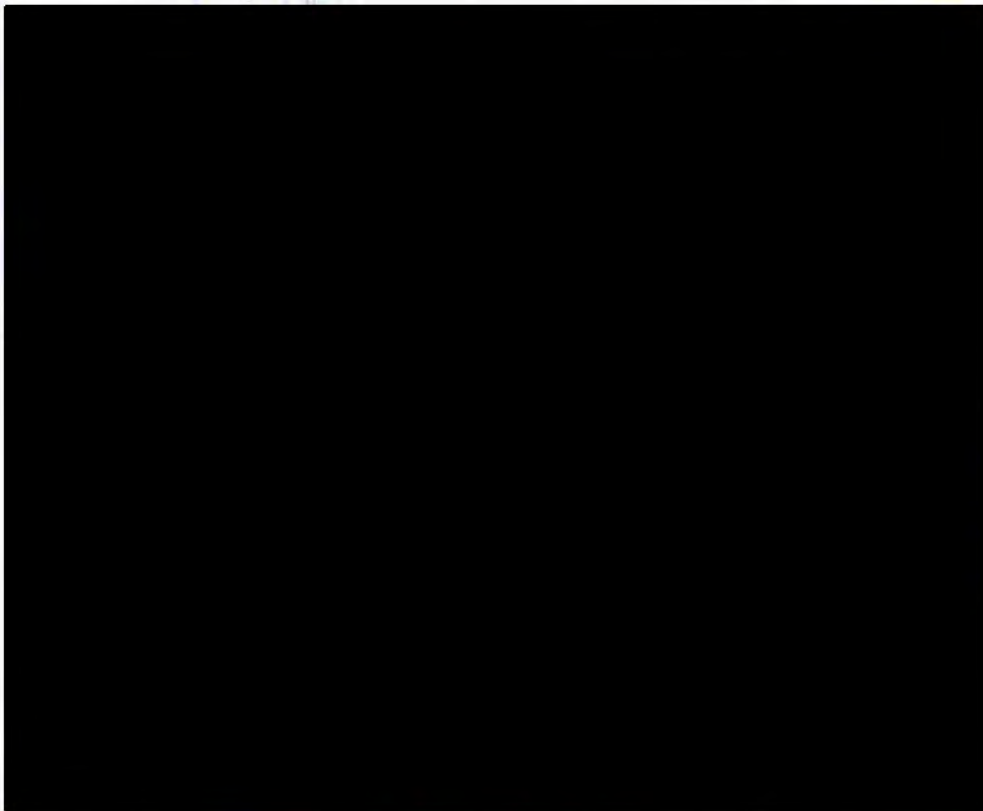
A FORTUNE NODED VESSEL  
FROM BURIAL #13  
(AREA OF BROKEN STRAP  
HANDLE REPAIRED FOR  
SUSPENSION)



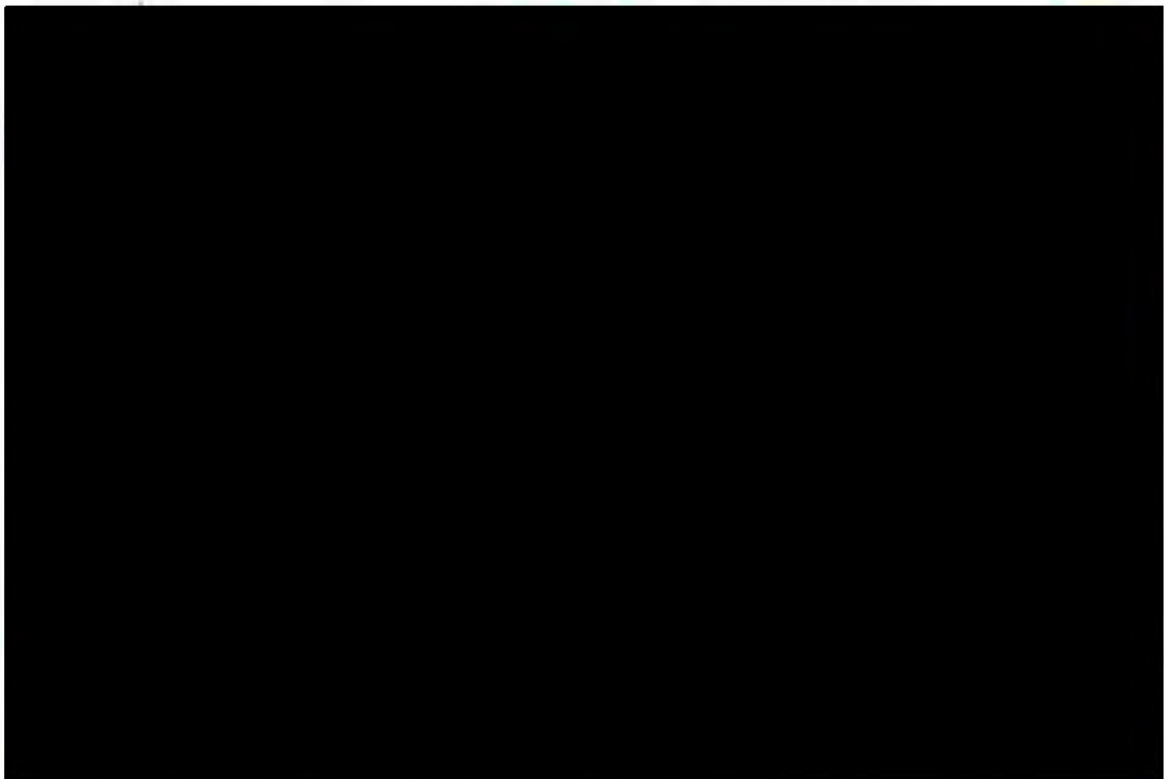


DORSAL VIEWS OF THE CARVED SANDSTONE PIPE  
FROM BURIAL # 13, FEATURE # 55, A LOG-TOMB.





A FRONT AND SIDE VIEW OF THE CARVED SANDSTONE PIPE  
FROM BURIAL # 13, FEATURE # 55, A LOG-TOMB.



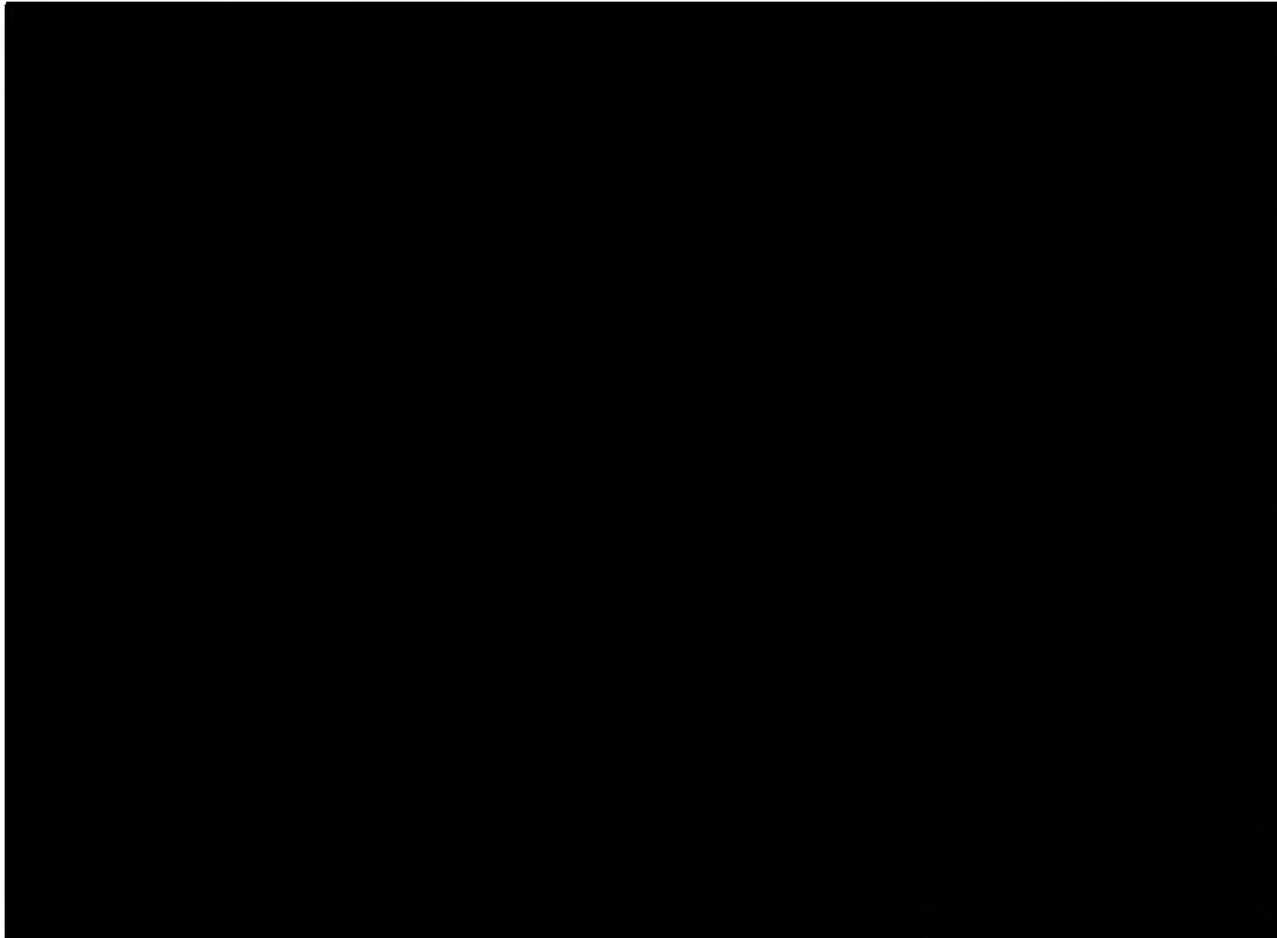


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210 R 220

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9 MU 101

BURIAL # 10

1 INCH = 1 FOOT

