This document has been checked for information on Native American burials. No images considered to be culturally insensitive, including images and drawings of burials, Ancestors, funerary objects, and other NAGPRA material were found.

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HISTORIC PERIOD INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY OF NORTHERN GEORGIA

MARVIN T. SMITH

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GEORGIA ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH DESIGN PAPER NO. 7

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HISTORIC PERIOD INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY OF NORTHERN GEORGIA

By

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Department of Sociology and Anthropology
University of South Alabama

April, 1992

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pioneer in the study of
Georgia's historic Indian archaeology.
For over a quarter of a century, her study of
the Macon Plateau site has been a
model for contact period Indian archaeology.

I. INTRODUCTION

This report represents a contribution to Georgia's Comprehensive Archaeological Preservation Plan, a portion of the Georgia Historic Preservation Plan (DNR 1989). The archaeological plan was originally conceived as being comprised by 36 archaeological contexts (Crook 1986) defined by six areas of the state and six time periods. As a study of historic aboriginal sites north of the Fall Line, the present report combines three of the originally defined archaeological contexts: historic aboriginal occupation of the Ridge and Valley, Piedmont, and Blue Ridge.

"Historic aboriginal" seems a clear enough category, but in practice, there are many problems. The definition utilized in this work limits the study to any aboriginal site which shows evidence of European contact. In many cases, there is no historic documentation for the sites, but European artifacts are found in direct association with aboriginal remains. With few exceptions to be noted, only sites which have yielded actual European artifacts are included. The exceptions include sites which produce aboriginal ceramics which are known to be produced only after European contact. Thus, for example, all sites which yielded the ceramic type Chattahoochee Brushed, are included in the present study. This ceramic type was only produced after European contact in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, although in many of the small collections available from numerous sites, no European artifacts are known.

On the other end of the time scale, sixteenth and seventeenth-century Lamar period sites are included in the present study only if they have produced European, presumably Spanish artifacts. More complete information on sixteenth-century Lamar sites can be found in other State Comprehensive Plans for the Mississippian period in the Ridge and Valley (Hally and Langford 1988), Piedmont (Hally and Rudolph 1986), and Blue Ridge (Wynn 1990).

Because of the importance of the Fall Line ecotone during the contact period, I have elected to infringe slightly into the Coastal Plain when necessary to understand historic aboriginal settlement patterns. Major populations were concentrated at the Fall Line ecotone; some above the Fall Line (the Piedmont) and some below (the Coastal Plain) and many overlapping into both environmental zones. As a practical matter, I have used county lines as the southern boundary of this study. If a county overlapped the Fall Line, then it was included in the present study. Analysis of such border settlements is brief when

the occupied area is primarily below the Fall Line. Settlements below the Fall Line in the Coastal Plain will be the subject of a separate volume in this series.

Information for this synthesis was gathered by referring to published sources, by searching the Georgia Archaeological Site Files for all counties north of the Fall Line, and searching the "in process" site form file at the University. When the site files led to unpublished manuscript reports or contract reports, they were consulted. Work in the site files was conducted in the summer of 1989, and it is possible that additional sites are now known. The present sample is believed to give a reasonable view of historic aboriginal settlement in northern Georgia. Many colleagues provided information on work in progress to make this synthesis as complete as possible.

This report will be organized by century and when possible, by defined archaeological phases. The historic contact period in northern Georgia is poorly known, and it is not the purpose of this report to go on a phase naming spree. After a brief introduction to the environment of the area and a review of major research projects that have provided information on the contact period, sites will be discussed for each century. First historical background will be presented, followed by an overview of archaeological sites. A final chapter will provide an overview of what we know about each period, and additional sections will discuss research questions and potential adverse impacts on contact period sites.

Georgia has a large number of contact period aboriginal sites, but due to historical factors, these sites have been largely ignored. Early archaeologists were interested in studying "pristine" aboriginal cultures, and sites showing evidence of European contact were somehow considered "contaminated" and thus less worthy of study. Only in the past few years, beginning primarily in the 1960s, have archaeologists turned to studies of processes of cultural change brought about by European contact. We can now view the transition from aboriginal chiefdom societies to the less complexly organized native societies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a process worthy of study in itself. Georgia provides an excellent laboratory for such studies of culture change; a resource base which is largely untapped. It is hoped that this synthesis of our current knowledge will promote further research into this aspect of Georgia's past.

II. ENVIRONMENTAL BACKGROUND

Northern Georgia consists of four physiographic zones, three of which are considered in this report (Figure 1). The present discussion benefits directly from previous work on Mississippian sites in the Ridge and Valley (Hally and Langford 1988), the Piedmont (Hally and Rudolph 1986), and the Blue Ridge (Wynn 1990). Those wishing more detail on the environment of these areas are directed to consult these references.

The Ridge and Valley province consists of most of the northwestern portion of the state. It is a broad band of sedimentary rock which follows the edge of the Appalachian Mountains from New York to Alabama. These rocks have been folded and faulted, and subsequent erosion has left a topography consisting of parallel ridges and valleys.

Streams in the Ridge and Valley (Figure 2) tend to flow to the southwest, and eventually into the Gulf of Mexico via the Alabama River system. The major streams of the Ridge and Valley include the Coosawattee and Conasauga which unite to form the Oostanaula, and the Etowah which joins the Oostanaula to form the Coosa in present Rome, Georgia. Forest cover consists of Oak-Pine and Oak-Hickory-Pine (Braun 1950; Kuchler (1964). The dominant species include white oak, black oak, post oak, red oak and southern red oak, white hickory, pignut hickory, and shortleaf and loblolly pine.

The Ridge and Valley has a relatively uniform climate. Precipitation ranges from 50 to 65 inches per year, with the rainy season occurring between December and March. There are 215 average frost free days per year (Bramlett 1965; Tate 1978; Hally and Langford 1988:12).

The Piedmont Province of middle Georgia (Figure 1) consists of metamorphic rocks in rolling hills. Its northern boundary is the Ridge and Valley Province to the northwest, and the Blue Ridge Province to the North, while its southern boundary, marked by the Fall Line, is the Coastal Plain. Hally and Rudolph (1986:2) found it useful to divide the Piedmont into upper and lower divisions. The Upper Piedmont is hillier than the Lower Piedmont. The major stream drainage of the Upper Piedmont is the Chattahoochee River and the Savannah River system, but the Etowah and Coosawattee rivers also drain large portions of the Piedmont (Figure 2).

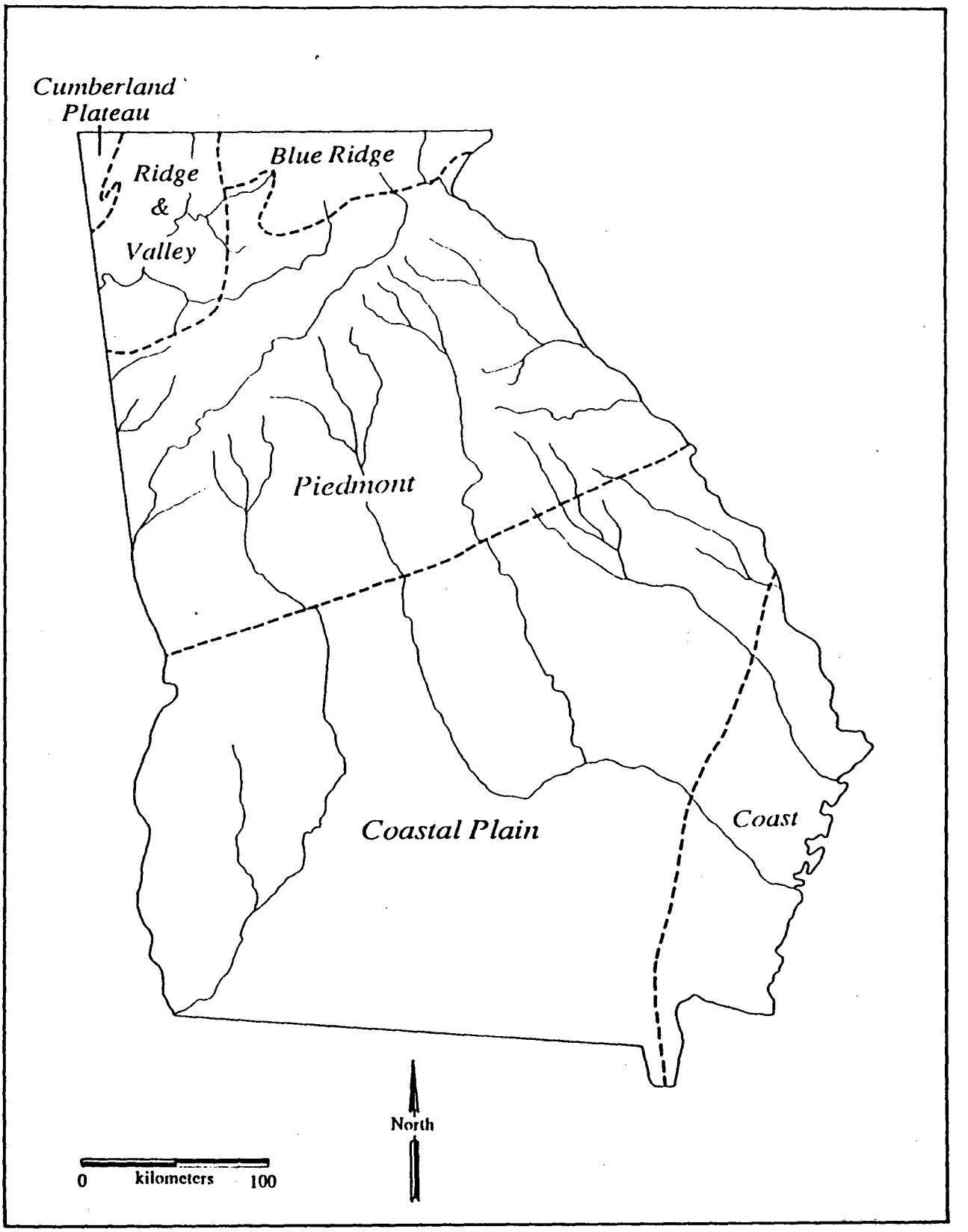

Figure 1. Physiographic zones of Georgia.

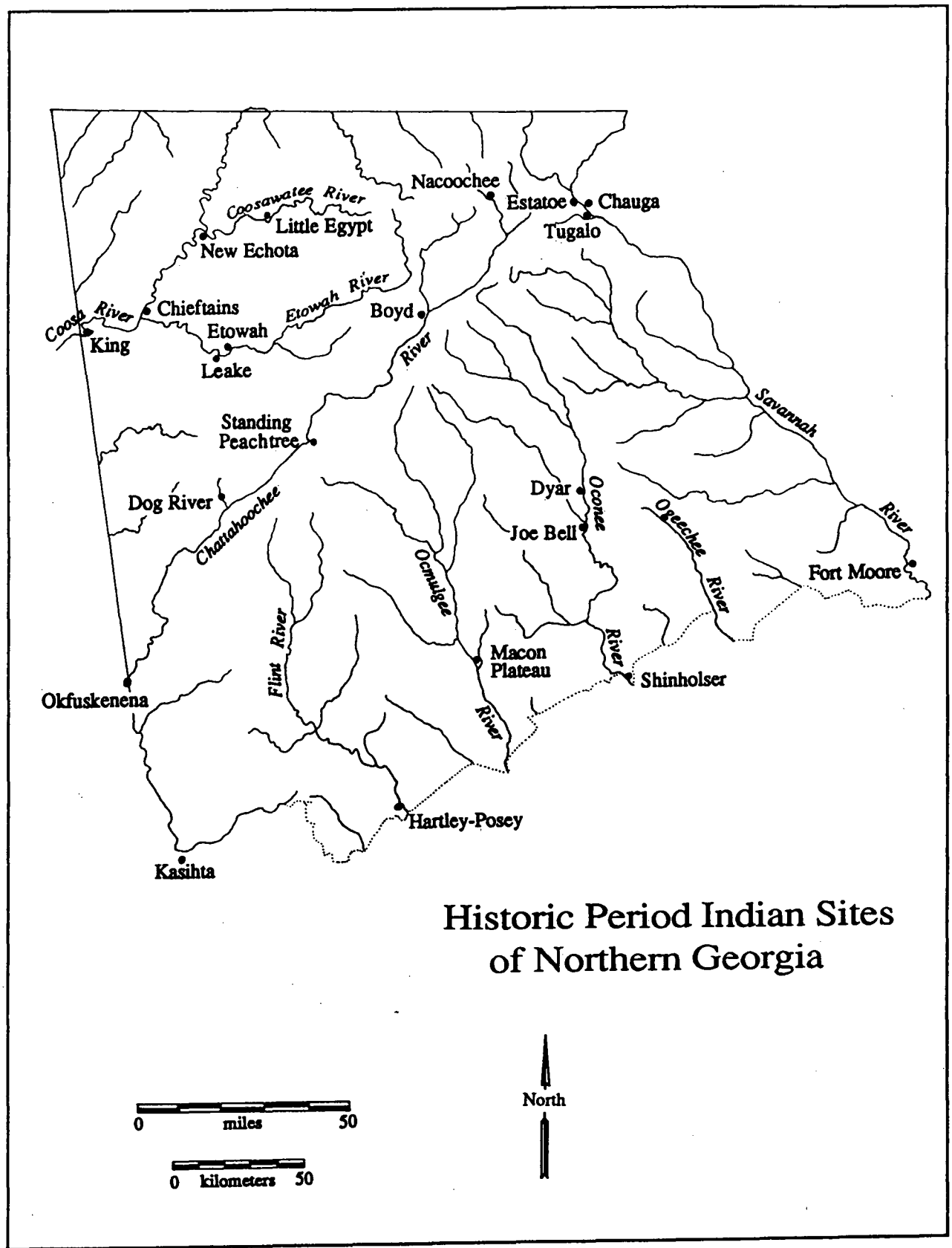

Figure 2. The study area showing drainages and major sites.

The Lower Piedmont has more gentle terrain. It is drained by the Chattahoochee, Savannah, Ogeechee, Oconee, Ocmulgee, and Flint rivers (Figure 2).

The present vegetation of the Piedmont consists of hickory, shortleaf, and loblolly pine, and white and post oak species. The Piedmont can be viewed as a transition zone between the Oak-Chestnut dominated Blue Ridge and the longleaf pine forests of the Coastal Plain (Larson 1971:23-24).

The climate "is characterized by warm to hot summers and by moderately cold, but highly variable winter weather. Rainfall averages about 47.5 inches per year, and the frostfree growing season averages 255 days from late March to early November in Morgan County"(U.S.D.A. 1965).

The Blue Ridge Province (Figure 1) is characterized by mountainous areas with small valleys. It is the southern terminus of the Appalachian Mountains, and is composed of metamorphic rocks. Mountains may reach elevations of 4700 feet (Wynn 1990). Mountain soils are shallow, but well drained (Hodler and Schretter 1986:36; Wynn 1990). Blue Ridge vegetation consisted of Oak-Chestnut forests prior to the Chestnut blight of the 1930s.

Four major river systems drain the Blue Ridge: the Savannah, Tennessee, Coosa, and Chattahoochee (Figure 2). Climate is characterized as moderate: average annual precipitation varies from east (highest) to west and ranges from 55 to 80 inches (Wynn 1990).

Larson (1971) demonstrates the importance of ecotonal areas to prehistoric Mississippian peoples, and his observations are relevant to the historic period. Ecotonal locations allow the exploitation of a vast array of resources from the different environmental zones. Larson notes that such locations often produce shoals in the river, and shoals are a rich habitat for fish and shellfish. The ecotone between the Ridge and Valley and Piedmont provinces is also the approximate boundary between areas with more or less than 210 frost-free days. The adjacent Piedmont has fewer frost free days than the Ridge and Valley, primarily because the latter is more open allowing greater circulation of air (Larson 1970:24). The Ridge and Valley also received alluvial soils derived from the mineral rich Piedmont, and therefore had excellent soils for agriculture. Ward (1965) in particular, discusses the importance of fine sandy loam or silt loam for Mississippian agriculture. Hally (1989; Hally and Langford 1988; Hally,

Smith, and Langford 1990) stresses the immediate ecotonal location of the best soils in a region. Here the stream gradient is severely altered, while streams confined by the rolling Piedmont or mountainous Blue Ridge are suddenly able to spread out unconfined in times of flood. In these situations, vast amounts of rich sediments are deposited in what amounts to an alluvial fan, creating the best soils available for aboriginal horticulturalists right at the ecotone.

Certain lithic resources also characterize the different environmental zones. The Piedmont produces graphite, galena, "greenstone," and ochre. Stone suitable for the production of ground stone tools comes from the Piedmont, while stone (chert) suitable for the manufacture of chipped stone tools comes from the Ridge and Valley (Larson 1971:25).

Virtually all of Larson's observations are equally valid for people of the historic period, although they may have become less important through time as the aboriginal lifestyle was altered. While natural resources were abundant in the areas of ecotones, other factors were also important. The majority of Georgia's historic period Indians settled along ecotonal locations. For example, the Little Egypt (Coosawattee) and Etowah sites both had populations during the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and both are located on the ecotone between the Ridge and Valley and Piedmont or Blue Ridge (Figure 1). Major settlements of the Creek Confederacy, as well as sixteenth-century chiefdoms were located along the Fall Line separating the Piedmont from the Coastal Plain. Other sites were located at the ecotone between the Blue Ridge and the Piedmont. Sites such as Nacoochee, which apparently was occupied in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, were located on this ecotone, and Wynn (1990) provides a discussion of the importance of this ecotone. The mound centers of Tugalo, Chauga, and Estatoe were also located relatively near this ecotone, and all were important prehistoric centers which were reoccupied during the eighteenth-century.

But in addition to providing rich natural resources, many of these ecotonal locations provided other advantages. Shoals were not only rich fishing resources, but they provided crossing points of streams. Thus the Fall Line location of the towns of the Creek Confederacy on the Chattahoochee, Flint, Ocmulgee, Oconee, Ogeechee, and Savannah River were prime locations for trading networks. These locations were the head of navigation from the coast, and were excellent crossing points for travel east and west. Indeed, the Lower Creek trading path, which connected Augusta and Charleston with the west,

followed this ecotone (Hemperley 1989:15). The ecotonal location of the sites along the Piedmont/Ridge and Valley ecotone followed the Great Indian War Path (Myer 1928). Clearly there were multiple reasons for the location of aboriginal populations, but ecotonal locations seemed to be favored throughout the historic aboriginal period.

III. PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

There has been surprisingly little research on contact period aboriginal societies in northern Georgia as a special research focus. Most of what we know about historic Indian archaeology has come as a fortuitous result of prehistoric research. For example, one of the earliest recognitions of an historic aboriginal presence in the study area came from work at the Nacoochee Mound (Heye et al. 1918). Similarly, Claflin (1931) found historic material while excavating the important Late Archaic site of Stallings Island, Moorehead (1932) and Hally (1979) found historic material at the primarily Mississippian Carter's Quarter or Little Egypt Site, and Kelly discovered the Macon Trading Post and the surrounding Creek settlement while excavating Macon Plateau (Kelly 1938, 1939; Mason 1963). Sears found historic material at Etowah (1958), Caldwell found historic Cherokee sites while working in the Allatoona Reservoir (1950; 1957), Garrow reported the Historic Cabin site which was exposed during construction for Carter's Lake (1979), and historic aboriginal sites were found during salvage in Lake Oconee (Wallace Reservoir)(Ledbetter 1978; Smith 1987; Williams 1983) for a few examples.

There were exceptions to this rule, however. Reservoir salvage in the Hartwell Reservoir of the upper Savannah drainage was focused on researching the documented Cherokee presence (Caldwell 1953; Kelly and DeBaillou 1960; Kelly and Neitzel 1961), Willey and Sears reported work at the lower Creek town of Kasihta (1952), investigations were made at the nineteenth-century Cherokee capitol of New Echota when the site was acquired for the State (DeBaillou 1955; Baker 1970), and Huscher conducted excavations at the Burnt Village of Okfuskenena (1972) during salvage excavations for the West Point Reservoir.

These projects have given us a relatively good understanding of the material culture of historic aboriginal groups, especially the ceramics, but as we will see, we really know relatively little about the lifestyles of Georgia's Indians and the changes they underwent as they were transformed from precontact societies to minorities within a growing United States.

Important Archaeological Projects in Northern Georgia

The projects listed in this section have yielded significant information on Georgia's historic Indian peoples. The following outline has relied greatly on previous work by Hally (Hally and Rudolph 1986; Hally and Langford 1988) with a

changed emphasis on historic sites. The work is presented in chronological order of fieldwork, and thus has no order by physiographic province or date of site being investigated.

PROJECT NAME:	Nacoochee Mound Excavations
PROJECT LOCATION:	Blue Ridge/Piedmont ecotone area, Chattahoochee River, White County
PROJECT DURATION:	1915
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	George Heye, F.W. Hodge, and G.H. Pepper
PROJECT SPONSOR:	Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Excavation of Mississippian Mound
PROJECT RESULTS:	Found historic burials and Cherokee material incidental to prehistoric mound exploration.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Well done for its day, but did not investigate village area.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Heye, Hodge, and Pepper 1918
CURATION:	Museum of the American Indian, New York.

***

PROJECT NAME:	Macon Plateau Excavations
PROJECT LOCATION:	Piedmont, Ocmulgee River, Bibb County.
PROJECT DURATION:	1933-1940
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	A.R. Kelly
PROJECT SPONSOR:	WPA, CCC, WPAC, Society for Georgia Archaeology, City of Macon.
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Large scale excavations of Middle Plateau.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Revealed early eighteenth-century English trading post and associated Lower Creek town.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Not well reported at time; poor notes. Mason's synthesis (1963) remains the best documented eighteenth-century site in Georgia.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Kelly 1938, 1939, Mason 1963, 1973.
CURATION:	National Park Service

***

PROJECT NAME:	Kasihta Excavations
PROJECT LOCATION:	Coastal Plain, Chattahoochee River, Muscogee Co
PROJECT DURATION:	June, 1938
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	Jesse Jennings and Gordon Willey
PROJECT SPONSOR:	National Park Service, CCC, and Society for Georgia Archaeology
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Extensive test pit excavations of a portion of an eighteenth-century village.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Located refuse pits, two burials, partial structure, undisturbed midden. Provided important ceramic descriptions.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Made important contribution to knowledge of ceramics. Did not define site limits, settlement, housing, etc.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Willey and Sears 1952.
CURATION:	National Park Service

***

PROJECT NAME:	North Georgia Survey
PROJECT LOCATION:	Northern Georgia
PROJECT DURATION:	1938-1940
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	Robert Wauchope, University of Georgia
PROJECT SPONSOR:	WPA, University of Georgia, Society for Georgia Archaeology.
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Site reconnaissance, surface collecting, test excavations, and a few extensive excavations.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Incidently discovered a few historic aboriginal sites, the most important of which were on the Towaliga River.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Not a systematic survey, but provided an important baseline.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Wauchope 1966
CURATION:	Portions of collection curated at Tulane University.

***

PROJECT NAME:	Allatoona Reservoir Survey
PROJECT LOCATION:	Piedmont, Etowah River, Bartow, Cherokee, and

	Cobb Counties
PROJECT DURATION:	Six months survey (1946), Six months excavations (1949)
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	Joseph R. Caldwell and Carl F. Miller
PROJECT SPONSOR:	Corps of Engineers
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Survey of 20,000 acre reservoir by walking fields; testing of 12 sites and extensive excavation of 10 sites.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Defined Galt phase of historic aboriginal culture
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Limited excavation of historic aboriginal sites.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Caldwell 1950, 1957
CURATION:	University of Georgia, Smithsonian Institution.

***

PROJECT NAME:	Vann House Excavations
PROJECT LOCATION:	Ridge and Valley, Murray County
PROJECT DURATION:	March-May, 1953
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	Clemens DeBaillou
PROJECT SPONSOR:	Georgia Historical Commission
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Excavations in yard of standing structure.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Located two outbuildings, brick pavements, refuse pits.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Virtually unreported.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	DeBaillou 1957
CURATION:	State of Georgia.

***

PROJECT NAME:	Buford Reservoir (Boyd Farm site)
PROJECT LOCATION:	Piedmont, Forsyth County, Chattahoochee River
PROJECT DURATION:	1951, 1954
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	Joseph R. Caldwell, Clemens DeBaillou
PROJECT SPONSOR:	Smithsonian; Georgia Historical Commission
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Test Excavations
PROJECT RESULTS:	Refuse filled pits excavated; early nineteenth-century Cherokee pottery defined.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Largely unreported.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Caldwell 1955; DeBaillou 1957

CURATION:	Smithsonian Institution

***

PROJECT NAME:	Tugalo Excavations
PROJECT LOCATION:	Piedmont,
PROJECT DURATION:	1954; 1956
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	J. R. Caldwell (mound), William Edwards (village).
PROJECT SPONSOR:	Smithsonian Institution; University of Georgia.
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Excavations in Mound; trenching in village.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Mound partially excavated; village tested.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Results poorly reported.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Williams and Branch 1978; Smith and Williams 1978; Harmon 1986; Hally 1986.
CURATION:	Laboratory of Archaeology; University of Georgia.

***

PROJECT NAME:	New Echota Excavations
PROJECT LOCATION:	Ridge and Valley, Oostanaula River, Gordon Co.
PROJECT DURATION:	March-July(?), 1954
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	Clemens DeBaillou, Lewis Larson, Joseph Caldwell
PROJECT SPONSOR:	Georgia Historical Commission
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Large scale excavations to determine town plan, architecture, etc.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Verified 1835 survey, located house sites, excavated rotunda.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Successfully relocated town grid, excavated numerous house sites and pit features, but poorly reported.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	DeBaillou 1955; Baker 1970
CURATION:	New Echota State Park

***

PROJECT NAME:	Estatoe Excavations
PROJECT LOCATION:	Piedmont; Tugalo River, Stephens Co.

PROJECT DURATION:	1958-1960
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	Carl Miller, A. R. Kelly, Clemens DeBaillou
PROJECT SPONSOR:	National Park Service
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Mound excavations
PROJECT RESULTS:	Limited eighteenth-century collections from upper mound dump and surface of village
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Did not really investigate the eighteenth-century component.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Kelly and DeBaillou 1960
CURATION:	Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Georgia

***

PROJECT NAME:	Chauga Excavations
PROJECT LOCATION:	Oconee County, South Carolina
PROJECT DURATION:	1953, 1958-1959
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	J.R. Caldwell (1953) Arthur R. Kelly and Stuart Neitzel
PROJECT SPONSOR:	Smithsonian Institution; National Park Service; Corps of Engineers; University of Georgia.
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Excavations in Mound and in village.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Mound partially excavated; village tested
PROJECT EVALUATION:	No historic Cherokee structures, burials, or features located; small collection of European artifacts reported. Some information on historic Cherokee ceramics presented.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Kelly and Neitzel 1961; Harmon 1986; Hally 1986
CURATION:	Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Georgia.

***

PROJECT NAME:	Weiss Reservoir Survey and Excavations
PROJECT LOCATION:	Ridge and Valley; Coosa River, Cherokee Co., AL.
PROJECT DURATION:	1957-1960
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	David L. DeJarnette, Charles Fairbanks
PROJECT SPONSOR:	Alabama Power Company; University of Alabama, and Florida State Museum.
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Survey, testing, and some excavation of 27,000 acre reservoir.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Located a cluster of early seventeenth-century

	sites, and some unrelated Cherokee occupation of the early nineteenth-century.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	No indication of survey methods, excavations generally small. No evidence of structures; subsistence remains unreported.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	DeJarnette et al. 1973; Smith 1987; 1989b.
CURATION:	Mound State Monument, Moundville, Alabama.

***

PROJECT NAME:	Ocmulgee Bottoms Excavations
PROJECT LOCATION:	Fall Line, Ocmulgee River, Bibb County
PROJECT DURATION:	1961-1962
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	C.A. Burroughs, J. Walker, J.W. Moore, C. Bohannon, C. Voil, and J. E. Ingmanson.
PROJECT SPONSOR:	National Park Service
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Excavation of 75 20x20 foot units and two larger blocks along a one mile stretch of the the Ocmulgee River
PROJECT RESULTS:	Historic Creek burials and materials recovered.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Burial contexts and general midden materials of the historic period were recovered; little other useful information.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Nelson, Swindell, and Williams 1974.
CURATION:	National Park Service

***

PROJECT NAME:	Sprewell Bluff, Lazer Creek, and Auchumpkee Reservoirs Survey.
PROJECT LOCATION:	Fall Line area of Flint River in Upson, Pike, Talbot, Taylor, and Meriwether Counties.
PROJECT DURATION:	12 weeks in 1965 and 1966
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	Don Gordy, University of Georgia
PROJECT SPONSOR:	Corps of Engineers
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Walkover and informant survey of reservoir basin
PROJECT RESULTS:	Identified 6 historic aboriginal sites in Taylor Co.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	No excavations; survey methodology unknown.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Gordy 1966

CURATION:	Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Georgia.

***

PROJECT NAME:	Okfuskenena Excavations/ West Point Lake
PROJECT LOCATION:	Piedmont, Chattahoochee River, Troup County.
PROJECT DURATION:	1966, 1967, 1969
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	Harold Huscher
PROJECT SPONSOR:	National Park Service
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Extensive test pitting and stripping (60,000 sq ft.) of the Creek town of Okfuskenena, known to have been burned in 1793.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Revealed public architecture, domestic structure, burials, refuse filled pits.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Virtually unreported. No ceramics from this site have been reported until this volume. Significant data were recovered and should be reported.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Huscher and others 1972
CURATION:	Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Georgia.

***

PROJECT NAME:	Little Egypt Excavations
PROJECT LOCATION:	Ridge and Valley; Coosawattee River; Murray Co.
PROJECT DURATION:	1932; 1969-1972
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	Warren K. Moorehead; David J. Hally
PROJECT SPONSOR:	Phillips Academy; National Park Service
NATURE AND OF PROJECT:	Excavation of mound and village. Extensive work on Mound A and excavation of four large units in village, extensive trenching.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Moorehead found sixteenth-century iron artifacts in Mound A; Hally excavated sixteenth and eighteenth-century structures in village, and defined Barnett phase of sixteenth-century.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Excellent data on subsistence, domestic architecture, seasonality, vessel form.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Hally 1979, 1980, 1981; Hudson et al. 1985, Smith 1987.
CURATION:	Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Georgia.

***

PROJECT NAME:	Chieftains Excavations (Home of Major Ridge)
PROJECT LOCATION:	Ridge and Valley, Floyd County, Oostanaula River
PROJECT DURATION:	Early 1970s
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	Patrick H. Garrow
PROJECT SPONSOR:	Chieftains Museum; Junior Service League of Rome.
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Cellar excavations and exploratory trenches around standing structure.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Cellar suggested to be a trading post; very little aboriginal wares found, but large collection of imported English ceramics.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Virtually unreported.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Garrow 1979
CURATION:	Chieftains Museum, Rome, Georgia.

***

PROJECT NAME:	King Site Excavations
PROJECT LOCATION:	Ridge and Valley, Coosa River, Floyd County
PROJECT DURATION:	June, 1973 - September, 1974
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	Patrick H. Garrow; David J. Hally
PROJECT SPONSOR:	National Endowment for the Humanities; National Geographic Society, Shorter College, Berry College, University of Georgia.
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Extensive stripping of over half of a large sixteenth-century village. Intensive excavation of five house floors, excavation of 213 burials.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Site plan, demographic analysis of burials
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Overall project poorly reported, although specific aspects of the site are well reported.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Garrow and Smith 1973; Hally 1982; Hally et al. 1975; Smith 1975, 1987, 1989b, Seckinger 1975; Tally 1975, Blakely 1988, Little 1985.
CURATION:	Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Georgia; Mr. Harold King, Athens, Georgia.

***

PROJECT NAME:	Joe Bell Excavations (9Mg28)
PROJECT LOCATION:	Piedmont, Oconee River, Morgan County
PROJECT DURATION:	1969, 1974, 1977
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	J. Mark Williams
PROJECT SPONSOR:	Georgia Power Company (1977 only)
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Large mitigation project involving stripping the site and excavating features.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Located a large rotunda, pit features, three burials. Excellent analysis of vessels from features, faunal and floral remains reported.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Excellent data on public architecture, but no domestic structures located. Careful analysis of feature contents.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Williams 1983
CURATION:	Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Georgia.

***

PROJECT NAME:	GP-HK-08 Data Recovery
PROJECT LOCATION:	Hancock County, Georgia Piedmont uplands
PROJECT DURATION:	1984
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	Dennis Blanton/Garrow & Associates
PROJECT SPONSOR:	Georgia Power Company
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Mitigation of sixteenth and seventeenth-century farmstead in powerline right of way.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Excavated partial structure, three burials, pit features with analyzed faunal and floral remains.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Excellent information, but limited to right of way area. Size of site unknown; Structure not completely excavated and not accurately dated.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Blanton 1985
CURATION:	Land owner.

***

PROJECT NAME:	Shinholser Site Excavation
PROJECT LOCATION:	Fall Line area of Oconee River, Baldwin County

PROJECT DURATION:	1985 (Five weeks)
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	J. Mark Williams
PROJECT SPONSOR:	LAMAR Institute and University of Georgia
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Site mapped and test excavations in village and mounds.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Site boundaries established. Discovered large seventeenth-century occupation area.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Limited excavation in seventeenth-century area.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Williams 1990.
CURATION:	Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Georgia.

***

PROJECT NAME:	Allatoona Reservoir ReSurvey
PROJECT LOCATION:	Piedmont; Etowah River; Cherokee, Bartow, and Cobb Counties.
PROJECT DURATION:	1985-1986
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	W. Dean Wood, Southeastern Archaeological Services, Inc.
PROJECT SPONSOR:	U.S. Army Engineer District, Mobile
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Survey of 32,141 acres above lake level.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Located 30 Galt phase Cherokee sites.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Excellent study of Cherokee Settlement in the area.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Ledbetter et al. 1987
CURATION:	Temporarily stored at Allatoona Dam.

***

PROJECT NAME:	Leake Site Excavation (9Br2)
PROJECT LOCATION:	Ridge and Valley, Etowah River, Bartow County.
PROJECT DURATION:	Summer 1988, Summer 1989, and ongoing.
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	David J. Hally
PROJECT SPONSOR:	Coosawattee Foundation and University of Georgia
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Trenching and block excavation of sixteenth-century village. Remote sensing project to determine site plan.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Located many houses, determined site size, excavated one house and large adjacent area.

	Spanish artifacts found in burial and midden. Recovery of botanical and faunal remains.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Project is ongoing. Site is worthy of additional work before being developed. It is one of the few relatively unlooted sixteenth-century contact period sites remaining in northwestern Georgia.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	In progress
CURATION:	Laboratory of Archaeology, University of Georgia.

PROJECT NAME:	Rae's Creek
PROJECT LOCATION:	Piedmont, Savannah River, Richmond County.
PROJECT DURATION:	April-August, 1988
PROJECT INVESTIGATOR:	Morgan R. Crook, Jr.
PROJECT SPONSOR:	Georgia Department of Transportation
NATURE OF PROJECT:	Large block excavations of multicomponent site.
PROJECT RESULTS:	Excavation of an early eighteenth-century multi-ethnic aboriginal site revealed a structure (not dated), a burial, and several pit features.
PROJECT EVALUATION:	Material well-reported, including faunal and floral remains.
PUBLISHED REFERENCES:	Crook 1990
CURATION:	Georgia State University

It should be painfully evident that no large archaeological projects have ever been conducted within the Blue Ridge, with the exception of Robert Wauchope's survey of northern Georgia. Thus, evidence of historic aboriginal occupation of the Blue Ridge is almost totally lacking. The majority of the projects which have yielded data on Georgia's historic Indians have taken place in the Piedmont, although at least four major sixteenth-century contact period villages in the Ridge and Valley have been investigated. Discussion of historic sites is presented by century in Chapters IV-VII, and Appendix I lists historic aboriginal sites by county.

IV. THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY

Historical Background

The historic aboriginal period in northern Georgia can be said to have begun with the explorations of Hernando de Soto in 1540, but it is important to realize that European artifacts could have reached the interior prior to De Soto's explorations. Indians in the interior of Georgia had a long history of coastal trading contacts, and European artifacts could have made their way inland via these routes any time subsequent to discovery of North America (1513 or even earlier). Powerful chiefs in the interior had important trade contacts, and it is likely that they could have just as easily imported European artifacts from coastal European visitors or aborted colonies, such as that of Ayllón, as they could import marine shell.

Hernando de Soto entered Georgia in the Spring of 1540 (Figure 3)(Hudson et al 1984). He reached the Fall Line area of the Flint River at the province of Toa (Hudson et al. 1990; Worth 1988) and travelled over to the Ocmulgee river area. He may well have visited the Bullard's Landing Site, Cowart's Landing site, and almost undoubtedly visited the Lamar type site, believed to be the main town of Ichisi (Hudson et al. 1984). From there he continued on east to the Oconee Valley, where he probably visited the Shinholser site near Milledgeville, the Shoulderbone site near Sparta, and perhaps the Dyar site near Greensboro (Hudson et al. 1984). From the Oconee Valley, he set out to visit the chiefdom of Cofitachequi in central South Carolina.

After marching through South Carolina, and North Carolina, De Soto entered the paramount chiefdom of Coosa in the Ridge and Valley Province of eastern Tennessee. He continued down the Great Valley and entered northwestern Georgia in the late summer of 1540. In Georgia, he visited the main town of Coosa, believed to be the Little Egypt archaeological site in Murray County, from here he moved south and passed through Talimachusy near present Fairmount, and eventually reached the site of Itaba, believed to be the Etowah site near Cartersville. From here he turned west and visited the province of Ulibahali near present Rome, Georgia. Several towns are mentioned in this area. Soto's forces followed the Coosa River downstream and left Georgia entering present Alabama (DePratter, Hudson, and Smith 1985).

Although De Soto was primarily searching for wealth and was in the habit of

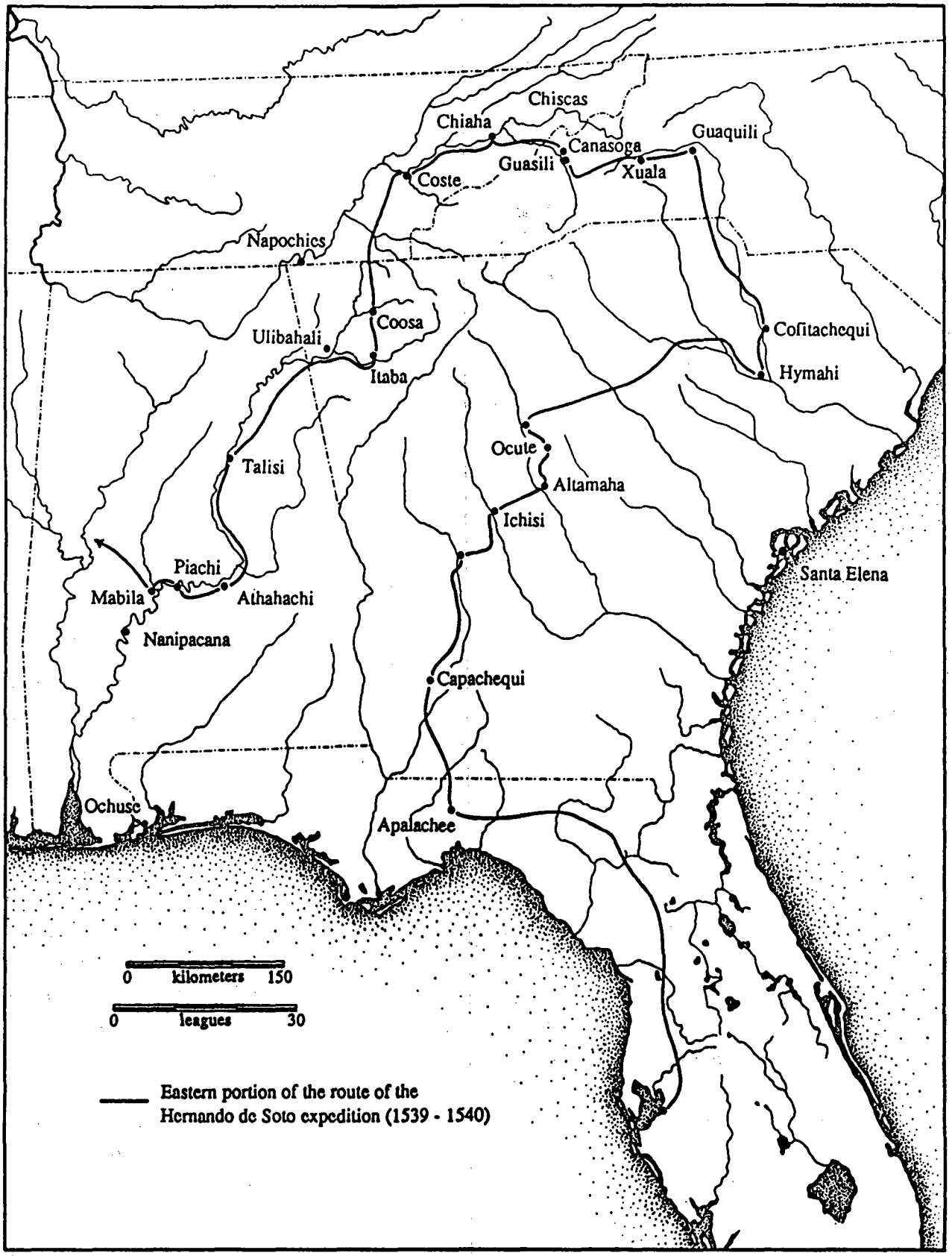

Figure 3. The route of Hernando de Soto (after Hudson).

taking what he wanted from the Indians, there is some evidence that he also gave gifts of European goods, such as "iron implements," beads, clothing, etc. It is probable that members of his expedition distributed trinkets from time to time (Swanton 1939; Smith 1987).

Later forces under the command of Tristan de Luna also visited northwestern Georgia (Hudson et al. 1989). The main portion of Luna's force stayed in Alabama, but a detachment of approximately 100 men visited Coosa and stayed for several months. The Luna narratives mention eight towns of Coosa, and Ulibahali and Apica (Priestley 1928), all probably in Georgia. Luna's men were facing starvation, and were undoubtedly trading much European material to the Indians. They had entered North America as a colonizing venture, and planned to get along peaceably with the natives. This friendship was no doubt to be cemented by presents of trade goods. It is likely that many of the sixteenth-century objects found archaeologically originated with this expedition.

In 1566 and again in 1568, forces under the command of Captain Juan Pardo set out from Santa Elena in present South Carolina to visit the interior. Pardo was charged with pacifying the Indians and finding a route to the silver mines in Zacatecas, Mexico (DePratter, Hudson, and Smith 1983; Hudson 1990). Although the majority of the Pardo expedition never reached Georgia, at least one soldier apparently visited Coosa. The impact of Pardo on Georgia's Indians was probably more indirect; he may have introduced European diseases into the area. It seems unlikely that Pardo brought many European artifacts into the present study area.

Thus during the middle sixteenth-century, three major Spanish entradas entered portions of Georgia. All three entered the Ridge and Valley, but only De Soto entered the Piedmont. None of the expeditions entered the Blue Ridge if current reconstructions of their routes are accurate.

Archaeological Sites

Sixteenth-century archaeological sites which have produced direct evidence of European artifacts are fairly common in the western portion of the Study area (Figure 4), but are virtually unknown from the eastern portion of Georgia. Through archaeological analysis of ceramic styles, we have an excellent idea of which aboriginal societies were thriving at the time of European contact, but we

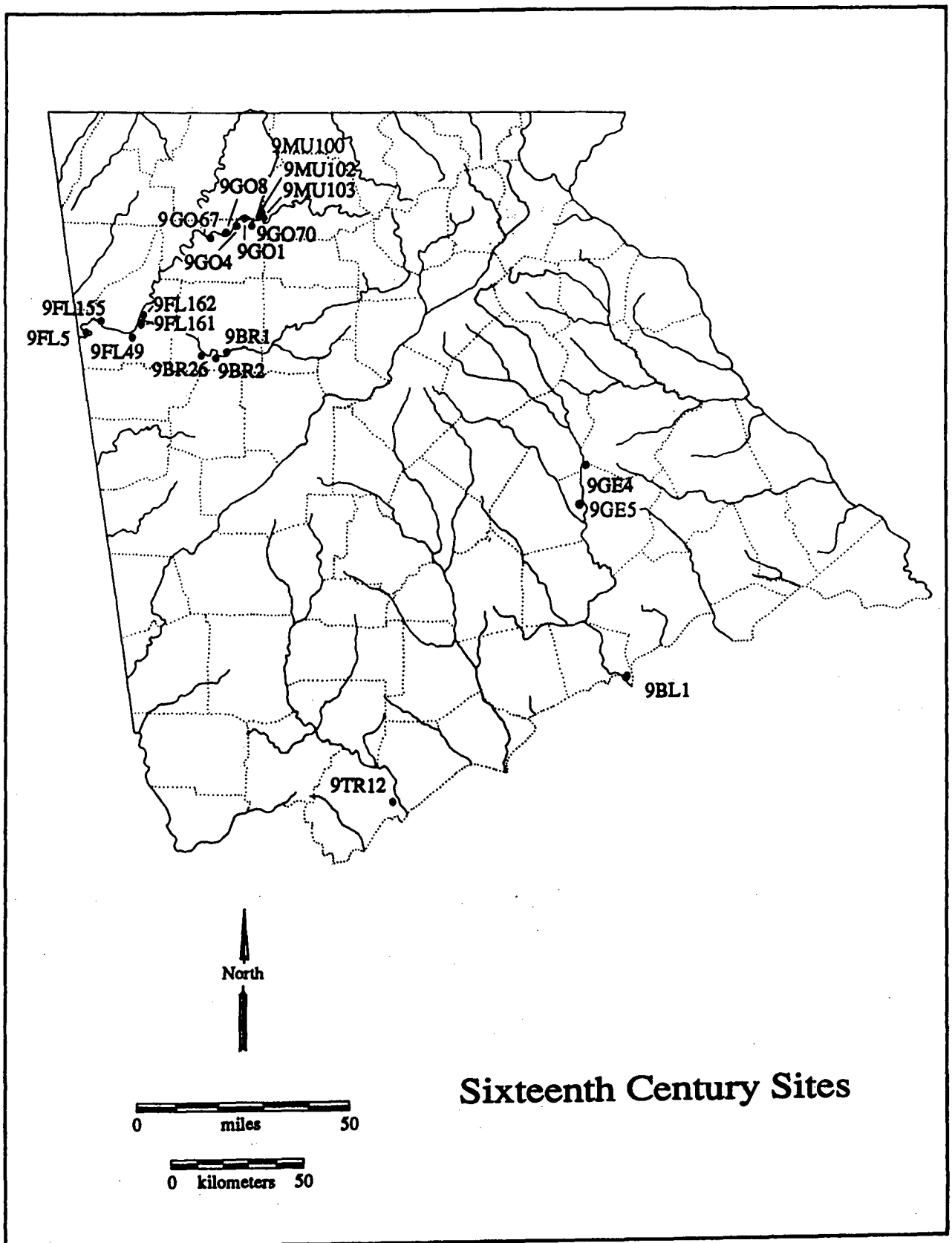

Figure 4. Sixteenth-century archaeological sites.

currently lack concrete evidence in the form of European artifacts. Clearly the number and duration of the contact episodes favors finding more evidence of early Spanish contact in the Ridge and Valley Province, and that is exactly the situation seen in the archaeological record.

Test excavations at the Hartley-Posey mound near the Fall Line on the Flint River by John Worth located a fragmentary quartz crystal bead. This bead may be the type Florida Cut Crystal (Fairbanks 1968), and could indicate a sixteenth-century date (Worth 1988). This is the only recognized possible sixteenth-century Spanish artifact from the Flint River drainage. This site is located just below the Fall Line, and is thus technically out of the present study area.

On the Oconee River, the Scull Shoals Mound has produced one European glass bead during testing (Williams 1984:39). This bead is a type that usually postdates De Soto, and is not believed to be evidence of De Soto contact. It may, however, indicate occupation in the late sixteenth-century, or perhaps during the early seventeenth-century. This is the only possible sixteenth-century artifact currently recognized from the Oconee drainage. One glass bead has also been reported by an amateur from the Dyar Mound site, but it has not been examined.

To date, no sixteenth-century European artifacts have been found in the Blue Ridge Province of Georgia, although Nueva Cadiz beads have been reported from the Peachtree Mound in North Carolina (Rogers 1989). It might be anticipated that important sixteenth-century chiefs in the mountainous areas of northern Georgia may have obtained European goods, but for now we cannot recognize any contact period sites in this region. Certainly many of the Lamar sites recorded by Wynn (1990) are post 1540.

In northwestern Georgia, Spanish artifacts are abundant and are known both from professional excavation and from amateur digging. Appendix II provides a complete list of known Spanish artifacts from this area.

The Little Egypt (9Mu102) site in Murray County, believed to be the capitol of sixteenth- century Coosa, has produced many Spanish artifacts. Warren K. Moorehead recovered sword fragments and other iron materials from his excavations on Mound A (Moorehead 1932: 154). Hally recovered possible chain mail fragments (Hally 1979) and a fragment of a Nueva Cadiz bead (Smith 1980; 1987). Excavations by amateurs recovered several Clarksdale bells (Mitchem and McEwan 1988). Downstream from Little Egypt on the Coosawattee, numerous

sixteenth-century artifacts have been recovered from the Poarch Farm site, the Brown Farm, the Baxter place, and Thompson site (Langford and Smith 1990; Langford 1990; See Appendix II). Kelly reported an iron dirk from the Six Toe Field site (Kelly et al. 1965) and Hally recovered a fragment of copper or brass from the Potts Tract site (Hally 1970).

On the Etowah River, Lewis Larson has recovered iron chisels, possible chain mail, and other European artifacts from the Etowah site (9Br1) (Smith 1987; Appendix II) and David Hally has recovered an iron chisel, other unidentified iron objects, and a possible sixteenth-century book clasp fragment from the Leake mounds and village (9Br2) (Hally, personal communication).

On the Coosa River near Rome, Spanish artifacts have been found by amateurs at the Johnstone Farm (Smith 1987), and have been recovered by professional archaeologists (Smith 1975, 1987) and amateurs (Little 1985) at the King Site (9Fl5). Charles C. Jones reports gold beads were found in a mound at the junction of the Etowah and Oostanaula Rivers when the mound was destroyed during the construction of Rome, Georgia (Jones 1861: 82-83).

The combination of visits by all three Spanish expeditions into northwestern Georgia and the lengthy stay by the Spaniards (the De Soto expedition spent a month at Coosa, while the Luna detachment spent about six months) provided ample opportunity for the exchange, gift, or theft of Spanish materials. Thus it is relatively easy to account for the numerous European artifacts found in this region. Furthermore, this area appears to have been the core of the paramount chiefdom of Coosa (Hudson et al. 1985); a politically powerful polity which no doubt controlled much long distance trade and exacted tribute from a vast region of the Ridge and Valley province.

Excavations at many of these sites has produced data important to many questions about past lifestyles and the effects of European contact on the native American population. Much of this information will be summarized in Chapter VIII of this report.

V. THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY

Historical Background

Following the explorations of the mid-sixteenth century, Europeans did not enter the interior until the end of the century as far as recorded history tells us. The next documented occurrence of direct Spanish contact with the interior took place in 1596, when a soldier named Gaspar de Salas and two Franciscan fathers, Pedro Fernandez de Chosas and Francisco de Veras, left mission settlements on the coast for the interior. They visited Tama, believed to be the Altamaha of the De Soto narratives, and Ocute (Swanton 1922:176, 181-182). They describe good brown soil which clings to ones feet like marl, and barren hills with many kinds of minerals. I have interpreted information in this account to suggest that this expedition visited the same areas that De Soto had visited (Smith 1987:15-16) in the Piedmont, but it should be noted that Sam Lawson (1987) believes that this visit to Tama and Ocute took place further south in the Coastal Plain. He places Tama near the confluence of the Oconee and Ocmulgee rivers.

In 1602, Governor Canzo sent a military force under the command of Juan de Lara to investigate reports of English colonists in the interior. They travelled to Tama, but finding no Europeans, they returned (Lawson 1987:3; Bolton 1925:18). We also know that in 1606, the chief of Tama visited Sapelo Island to meet with the Spanish governor Ibarra (Swanton 1922:182; Smith 1987:17). Lawson also notes that there were apparently additional visits by missionaries in the decade after 1612 and that Tama was visited by Yamassee raiders returning from Florida in 1685 (Lawson 1987:3-4: Bolton 1925:20-21). By 1685, Tama does not seem to have been in the location visited by De Soto.

Fear of Englishmen in the interior also led to other expeditions in the early seventeenth-century. In 1624, Governor Salinas sent troops and native allies into the interior of the Georgia-Carolina area for one hundred fifty leagues, but they found no Europeans. Not satisfied, he later sent a second expedition, and in 1628 Pedro de Torres led ten soldiers and sixty Guale Indians into the interior again. They ranged for over 200 leagues, eventually reaching Cofitachequi in central South Carolina (Bolton 1925:24-25; Smith 1987). It is certainly possible that additional travels were made between the interior natives and the coastal Spaniards in the seventeenth-century, but historical documentation has not been found.

Missionary activity on the Oconee apparently bore some fruit. It is likely that many Indians were moved down to coastal missions, perhaps accounting for the rapid depopulation of the Oconee Valley above the Fall Line. This hypothesis needs further research through both historical and archaeological sources.

There is no historical evidence of Europeans in other portions of northern Georgia prior to the settlement of Charles Town in 1670. It should be noted that there is increasing evidence of a trade in deer skins between the Apalachee Missions in Florida and the province of Apalachicola on the Chattahoochee below the Fall Line as early as the 1640s (Bushnell 1978:417), and Waselkov (1989) believes that an undocumented trade existed much earlier. There is also increasing evidence, in the form of non-local ceramics at Timucuan Missions in Florida, that native Americans from the Fall Line area of western Georgia or eastern Alabama were travelling directly to Florida and doubtless obtaining European goods (Worth 1989; personal communication).

The settlement of Charles Town in 1670 was one of the major events in the transformation of the aboriginal Southeast, perhaps even as significant as the early Spanish contact episodes. While the early Spanish contacts probably introduced European diseases resulting in the depopulation and political disintegration of many southeastern chiefdoms (Smith 1987), the coming of the English dramatically altered the aboriginal economy. Soon after the establishment of Charles Town, there was active trade in firearms, altering Indian balances of power. Trade in Indian slaves and deer skins became the primary occupations of many Indian males (Crane 1981; Wright 1981).

During the late seventeenth-century, groups, such as the Westo, relocated to the western bank of the Savannah River. The Westo were already in place when Charles Town was founded, and these Indians, armed with guns from Virginia, were already terrorizing coastal groups. At first, the Westo were allies of the fledgling Carolina colony, but later they became an obstacle to further trade with interior Indians. The Westo War broke out in 1680, and by 1683, the Carolinians, with help from the Savannah Indians, a recently arrived Shawnee tribe, destroyed the Westo. The refugee Westo went to live on the Chattahoochee River with Muskhogean groups, but soon disappeared as a separate entity. The Savannah tribe, settled on the South Carolina side of the river just south of present Augusta, Georgia, became the power in the valley (Crane 1981:16-20).

Along the Chattahoochee River beginning at the Fall Line and continuing south,

there were important towns which later formed the core of the Lower Creeks. Although technically out of the present study area, these towns became important in the history of northern Georgia and it is therefore necessary to present some background information. These towns had been known to the Spaniards for much of the seventeenth-century as the province of Apalachicola, and were contacted by the English out of Carolina prior to 1681, although problems with the Westo prevented active trading relations (Crane 1981:33-34). With the Westo out of the way, the English quickly moved to contact the Chattahoochee groups. In 1685, Dr. Henry Woodward opened trade with Coweta (on the Alabama side) and Kasihta (on the Georgia side). After attempts to expel the Englishmen, the Spaniards eventually burned several Indian towns sympathetic to the English traders. Thus in December of 1685, Matheos was sent inland to capture the Englishmen. He failed, but did burn the towns of Coweta, Kasihta, Tuskegee, and Kolimi (Crane 1981:33-36). Continued conflict lead to the establishment of a Spanish fort on the Chattahoochee in 1689 (Kurjack and Pearson 1975). After more conflict, many towns of Chattahoochee Indians decided to move east to be near the English and away from the Spaniards.

In 1690, ten to eleven Chattahoochee River towns moved east, most settling on the Ocmulgee River, known to the English as Ochese Creek. Crane (1981:133) gives a population of 731 men, or a total population of 2,406. Mason (1963:253), lists the following towns which settled to the east: Sawokli, Oconee, Ocmulgee, Kolomi, Taskigi, Atasi, Achito (Hitchiti), Coweta, and Kasita. She also suggests that there may have been Westo and/or Yuchi, Yamassee, and perhaps even Tallapoosa, Kealedji, and Tukabachee from the Tallapoosa drainage. These towns settled on the Ocmulgee River primarily from the Fall Line to the north, and up the Towaliga River, a tributary of the Ocmulgee. Apparently not all towns moved to the east; others remained on the Chattahoochee (Knight and Mistovich 1984:226).

Other areas within northern Georgia were historically known to have been occupied during the late seventeenth-century. In 1674, the Englishman Henry Woodward noted that "Chorakee" lived on the headwaters of the Savannah River (Swanton 1946:110-111). By 1690, Carolina traders were actively visiting the Lower Cherokee on the upper Savannah River (Crane 1981:40).

Archaeological Sites

Seventeenth-century archaeological sites, defined by the presence of diagnostic European artifacts, are rare in Georgia. Figure 5 shows all sites which can be

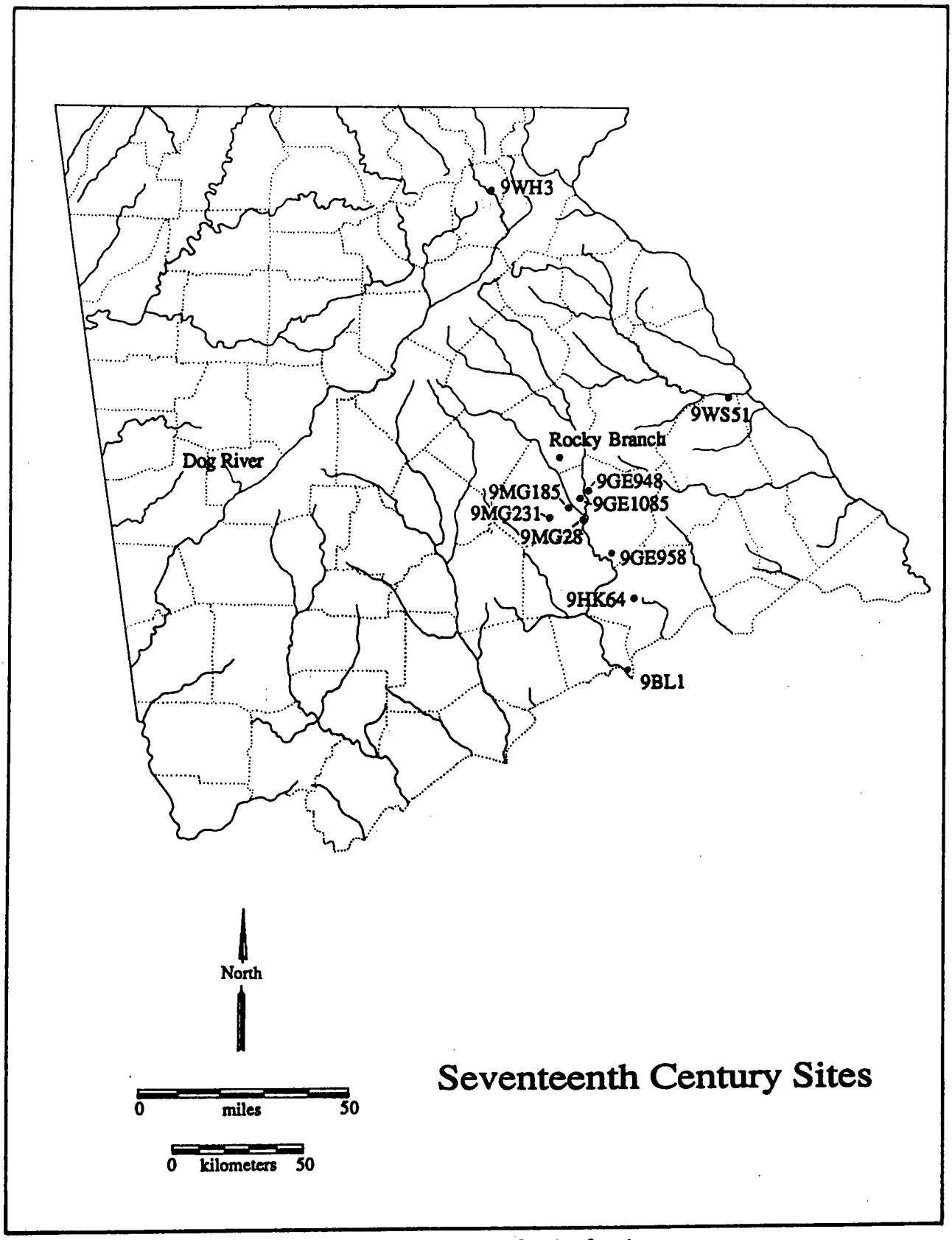

Figure 5. Seventeenth-century archaeological sites.

dated to the seventeenth-century prior to the beginning of English trade. Other sites, established around 1690, such as the sites on the Ocmulgee, will be considered with the eighteenth-century sites.

Early seventeenth-century sites are common on the Oconee Drainage above the Fall Line. Here, archaeologists have defined the Bell phase (Williams 1983), after the Joe Bell site, 9Mg28. Historically, the towns of Tama and Ocute should be on the Oconee, and at least Tama has been identified with the Shinholser site (9Bl1) near the Fall Line near present Milledgeville (Smith 1987). Archaeological research by Mark Williams indicates that there is a large Bell phase (seventeenth-century) occupation at this site. The seventeenth-century Bell phase village area is well to the side of the mound center at the site, believed to be the Altamaha visited by Hernando de Soto in 1540. Williams excavated refuse pits, and recovered glass beads, majolica, peach pits, and typical Bell phase ceramics.

Ocute of the mid-sixteenth century, believed to be the same place visited in 1597, has been identified as the Shoulderbone Site (9Hk1) by Hudson and his associates (Hudson et al. 1984; Smith 1987), although limited excavations by Mark Williams shows only limited occupation this late (Williams 1990b). As noted earlier, Lawson (1987) believes that the late sixteenth-early seventeenth-century location for Tama and Ocute are in the Coastal Plain near the headwaters of the Altamaha River, and thus out of the present study area. The demonstrated high density of seventeenth-century sites in the Piedmont, however, casts doubt on his thesis.

Although there is lack of agreement about the location of historically named places, there is no doubt that there is a dense seventeenth-century occupation of the Oconee from the Fall Line upstream to the area of present Athens, Georgia. These are the sites of the Bell phase. Hundreds of sites of the Bell phase are known (Williams 1983; Smith 1987; Kowalewski and Hatch 1990). Excavated sites which have produced European trade materials include Joe Bell (Williams 1983), 9Ge948, Ge958, Mg185 (Ledbetter 1978), Lindsay (Hatch and Humpf In Preparation), GP-HK-08 (Blanton 1985), and the Rocky Branch Site (Ledbetter and Wynn 1988). These sites produce a few glass beads and an occasional peach pit. Corrected radiocarbon dates of 1620 and 1630 from Joe Bell (Williams 1983:456), the types of glass beads present (Smith 1979), and the general scarcity of other types of European artifacts suggests that the Bell phase lasted no longer than the first third of the seventeenth-century. No subsequent occupation is known from

this area, except for the immediate Fall Line.

The only archaeologically documented evidence (by European trade goods) of probable seventeenth-century occupation in the Blue Ridge area of northern Georgia are burials from the Nacoochee site, located near the Blue Ridge-Piedmont ecotone. Heye, Hodge, and Pepper report that Burial 2 from this site included glass beads, a catlinite disc pipe, marginella shells, two small discoidal stones, a crystal, and polishing stones, and Burial 3 included sheet brass armbands on the humeri, red paint, shell and glass beads, and bone awls (Heye et al. 1918:39-40). These burials appear to be typical early to mid-seventeenth century interments (see also Waselkov 1989).

Based strictly on ceramics, seventeenth-century occupations might be expected for the Ocmulgee River (see Lamar type site especially [H. Smith 1973; Hally personal communication]), the Blue Ridge area, the Upper Savannah (but note that Hally [1986] does not identify a seventeenth-century phase in his discussion of the Cherokee in Georgia), and the Middle Chattahoochee in the West Point Reservoir area (Smith 1990).

Recent excavations along the lower Dog River in the Piedmont have revealed several apparently isolated Lamar houses of the late prehistoric or early historic period. One of these houses yielded a glass trade bead on the floor, suggesting perhaps a late sixteenth or early seventeenth century date (Eric Poplin, personal communication; 1990). Assuming all of the sites in this recognized cluster date to the same period, a small early historic population enclave is indicated.

In spite of extensive archaeological research in the Ridge and Valley province of northwestern Georgia, there is no evidence of occupation during the seventeenth-century. Elsewhere, I have suggested that this area was abandoned following the mid-sixteenth century entradas of De Soto, Luna, and Pardo and that these Coosa River people moved downstream, where a cluster of seventeenth-century sites are known in the Weiss Reservoir area across the state line in Alabama (Smith 1987; 1989b).

There are proposed locations for many of the late seventeenth-century towns on the Chattahoochee, but these fall into the Coastal Plain, and are better left to another researcher.

The location of the Westo town has not been found archaeologically, although the

Savannah Town location in South Carolina is pinpointed by the site of the eighteenth-century Fort Moore (Polhemus 1971). The Westo town is probably located south of Augusta, and was in a large bend of the river in the seventeenth-century.

There is excellent evidence for the location of several of the lower Creek towns that moved to the Ocmulgee ca. 1690, but much of the evidence for the identification of specific towns rests on eighteenth-century maps. For this reason, these sites will be discussed in the eighteenth-century chapter. The same is true for the Lower Cherokee towns contacted in 1690.

VI. THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY

Historical Background

During the eighteenth-century, the aboriginal economy shifted away from the slave trade of the late seventeenth-century. Trade in deerskins was still a significant pursuit, but by the end of the century, stock raising was gaining in importance.

By the early eighteenth-century, English and French visitors to the interior began to leave detailed information and most importantly, maps. Early maps can be valuable sources of information (DeVorsey 1971), but it is important to remember that maps often show out-of-date locations for tribal groups. Often maps derive their information from earlier maps, and it is important to seek original maps based on actual field work. Although excellent French maps exist for the Southeast, they are most accurate for the Mississippi Valley and areas of Alabama known from the settlements at Mobile and Fort Toulouse (Montgomery area). For our purposes, English maps provide the best information about northern Georgia.

At the close of the seventeenth-century, English traders were beginning to contact the Lower Cherokee near the headwaters of the Savannah River. Several Lower Creek towns had moved over to the Ocmulgee River to be closer to the English in Carolina.

Increased friction between the English and the Spanish led to the destruction of the Guale Missions on the Georgia Coast during the late 1680s and Apalachee and Timucuan Missions in northern Florida by 1704. Although some Spanish Indians from the Missions managed to remain in Florida, usually settling near St. Augustine, many were enslaved or moved as whole groups into the Georgia area. For example, in 1704 the Apalachee, former residents of the Tallahassee, Florida area, were resettled on the former Savannah Town location on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River just below the Fall Line (Crane 1981:80).

In 1708, Thomas Nairne, a British Indian agent, travelled to the Mississippi and left a valuable journal (Moore 1988) and later published a map as an inset to the Crisp Map of 1711. Nairne's map shows "Cherecie" (Cherokee) at the headwaters of the Savannah, "Apalachy 400 men" near present Augusta on the Georgia side, "Savanna 150 men" on the South Carolina side near the Fall Line,

"Okessee Nation 700 men" near present Milledgeville on the "Okony" (Oconee) river [an obvious mistake for the towns on the Ocmulgee at this time], and "Chattahoochees 80 men" above the Fall Line on the Chattahoochee. While this map is not particularly detailed, it does show locations of tribal groups at this time. It is not useful for locating individual towns on the Upper Savannah or middle Ocmulgee.

By 1709, Apalachees, Savannah, and Yuchi Indians were located on the Savannah River near present Augusta and they were still there in 1715 (Crane 1981:88, 170). One of these towns was apparently located on "Yuchi Island" at the mouth of Yuchi Creek (Swanton 1922:288). Swanton (1922:317) lists three towns of Shawnee (including the Savannah) Indians on the Savannah River in 1708 and 1715.

By 1715, trader abuses led to the Yamassee War, a revolt of Muskhogean peoples against the English. Activities brought about by this war brought increased intelligence about the location of tribal groups. For example, Col. George Chicken travelled to the Cherokee on a mission to keep them out of the conflict, and left much information about locations of Cherokee towns. Chicken visited the Cherokee towns of "Esttohee" (Estatoe), "Chaghe" (Chauga), Tugalo, "No:u:wee" (Noyowee) near Chauga, "Tawcoe" (Toccoa) four miles west (?) of Tugalo, "Suckhee" (Soquee) town on a branch of the Chattahoochee River, Chotte 12 miles from Suckhee (this is not the Overhill Town of Chote; Chicken plainly contrasts the two), and "Cusauewaithee" (Coosawattee), where their had formerly been two white men who were killed by the Abihkas (Cheves 1894). Chicken did not actually visit Cusauewaithee, but met with its chief, Cherry Heague, at another town. English traders were already making inroads to the Cherokee; by 1716, a trader was settled at Tugalo (Williams and Branch 1978:32).

Numerous maps of this era locate Creek towns. Following the Yamassee War, Many of the Creek groups which had moved east returned to the Chattahoochee Valley. Thus, sites on the Oconee and Ocmulgee Rivers were abandoned at this time, and Crane (1981:254) states that the Savannah and Altamaha rivers were abandoned at this time. Presumably he did not mean to include the Lower Cherokee settlements on the Tugalo River of the upper Savannah drainage. Several maps made in the ensuing years perpetuate the locations of the Lower Creek towns on the Ocmulgee. Thus the Barnwell Map of 1721-24 (Cumming 1962) and the Herbert Map of 1725 (University of Georgia Libraries Hargrett Rare Books Collection) show the location of several specific towns, but both maps also

show locations on the Chattahoochee for the Lower Creeks. The Barnwell map states that the "Apalatachee" town near present Augusta was deserted in 1715. This map shows no settlements on the Flint River near the study area, and shows no sites on the Chattahoochee above the Fall Line. It does show Lower Cherokee towns of Tugalo, Estatoo, Nohewee, Iiwtee, and two other unnamed towns in the northeastern corner of the State.

In 1725, Col. Chicken made a second trip into the Cherokee country, and left a valuable journal (Mereness 1916). Chicken visited Old Estatoe, Nocoochee, "Chagey" (Chauga), Estatoe, Noyouwee (in South Carolina), and mentioned six towns in the Tugalo area. Both Chauga and Old Estatoe are described as fortified. Also in 1725, Captain Tobias Fitch was sent to the Creek country to counter the efforts of French traders. He left a useful journal (Mereness 1916) describing his travels.

The Herbert map of 1725 shows the most detailed locations for the former locations of Lower Creek towns on the Ocmulgee. It shows Apalauches on the Georgia side of the Savannah below Augusta, and the Hogoleges (Yuchis) above Augusta. In addition to the usual Lower Creek Towns on the Coastal Plain of the Chattahoochee, this map also shows "Chatahcoche" (Chattahoochee) on the Middle reaches of the river and Chotee and "Naugouche" (Nacoochee) near the headwaters. Herbert also shows locations for several Lower Cherokee towns in northeastern Georgia: Estatoe, Hohewe, Tugalo, Chauge, Tasse, and Tururа on the Tugalo River, and Tecoee and Catasue near the upper Broad River.

The Altamaha and "Oketee" (Ocute) who had once inhabited the upper Oconee in the study area, appear as Lower Yamassee towns of the early eighteenth-century. At this time, they are located in the southwestern corner of South Carolina near the coast. After the Yamassee War, they withdrew to Guale and Florida (Crane 1981:171).

About 1722 or 1723, a group of Chickasaw Indians settled on the left bank of the Savannah River near Fort Moore (Crane 1981:190, 273). In 1737, this group of Chickasaw moved to the Augusta side. They are mentioned in 1741, 1755 and in 1760, and Swanton believes that they may have remained in the area until the Revolution. Apparently this settlement was near New Savannah, about 12 miles south of Augusta (Callahan 1986:100; Swanton 1922:418).

The founding of Georgia led to increased information about Georgia's Indians. Oglethorpe travelled to the Chattahoochee to meet with Creek leaders. The

founding of Augusta had immediate impacts on the Indian trade (Cashin 1986), and Augusta replaced Fort Moore as the center of the trade to the west. The fact that Fort Augusta was placed on the location of an Indian Old Field may help to locate one of the early eighteenth-century Indian towns that moved after the Yamassee War (see Robertson and Robertson 1986:61).

The Mitchell Map of 1755 is frequently cited as an important source of information about the distribution of Native Americans. This map, reproduced by several scholars, including Swanton (1922), shows Chickasaws near Augusta, and Estowee and Tugeloo on the upper Savannah (Tugalo) River. It shows pre-Yamassee War town locations for Ogechee O.T. (Old Town) on the Ogechee, Ocone O.T. on the Oconee, and Echetee (Hitchiti) O.T. and Coweta O.T. on Ochesee Creek (Upper Ocmulgee River). These towns are located on the Fall Line, except for Coweta, which is somewhat upstream. Mitchell places Cherokee towns of Nanquchee (Nacoochee), Cholee (Chote), and Cuttagochee on the upper Chattahoochee. Chatahoochee town is shown north of the Upper Creek path on the eastern side of the Chattahoochee River, and the Lower Creek towns are shown on the Chattahoochee below the Fall Line on the Coastal Plain. No towns are shown on the Flint River except near its confluence with the Chattahoochee in the Lower Coastal Plain. No other towns are shown in northern Georgia with the possible exception of Tasache, shown near the headwaters of the Hiwassee River.

The French and Indian War had important effects on some of Georgia's Indians. All of the Lower Cherokee towns were burned in 1760 by forces under Montgomery (Mooney 1972:43). In spite of this effort, the towns remained in northeastern Georgia and northwestern South Carolina.

In 1767, an Indian village on the Oconee River was burned (Cashin 1986:50) and what may be the same town is shown in a 1774 map above the Upper Indian Path (Cashin 1986: 55). This map represents one of the few instances of any information about an Indian town being in eastern Georgia after the Yamassee War, with the exception of a few groups near Augusta. In 1772, David Tait visited the Creeks (Mereness 1916). He mentions the Lower Creek towns on the Chattahoochee below the Fall Line, but when he crossed the Flint on his way back to Charlestown, he did not mention any Indians.

In 1776, the botanist William Bartram travelled through the Cherokee Country. He lists Tugalo, Estotowe, Qualatche, Chote, Great Estatoe, and "Nae oche" as

being occupied at this time (Bartram 1973:372). The Cherokee, like most southeastern Indians, sided with the British during the American Revolution. This choice proved to be the downfall of the Lower Cherokee. In 1776, Lower Cherokee towns in Georgia and South Carolina were burned, and by the end of the Revolution, Cherokee occupation in northeastern Georgia was virtually ended (Mooney 1972:49-50). The Lower Cherokee moved west to settle on the Coosa River, and towns, such as Willstown visited by Hawkins, were made up entirely of refugees from the Savannah (Mooney 1972:54-55). Information for eighteenth-century Cherokee sites from early maps has been assembled by Betty Smith (1979).

There is information on many of the Cherokee towns settled in northwestern Georgia. It is clear that some Cherokee had been in the area since the early eighteenth-century. Col. Chicken mentions "Cusauwaithes" (Coosawattee) in 1715, and during the period 1736-43, Christian Priber wanted to locate the Cherokee capital there (Hill and Clayton 1969). Coosawattee means "old Coosa place" in Cherokee, and was no doubt the Coosa encountered by Hernando de Soto in 1540 (Hudson et al. 1985). There was a short-lived settlement by the Mortar, a Creek Chief, in 1759, suggesting that the site was not occupied by Cherokee at that time (Hill and Clayton 1969: 8-9). The town of Ustanali, located near present Calhoun, Georgia, was destroyed in 1782, and an important treaty was signed at Coosawattee in 1789 (Mooney 1972:60,66). In 1792, Ustanali was listed as the Cherokee capitol (Mooney 1972:71). In 1793, friction between the combined Creek and Chickamauga Cherokee Indians led to a campaign by General Sevier against these Indians in northwestern Georgia. Sevier moved south and eventually burned Ustanali and destroyed Etowah town further south (Mooney says near Rome, Georgia) (Mooney 1972:75). Ustanali was rebuilt, and was still listed as the capitol near the end of the century (Mooney 1972:80-81). At the end of hostilities in 1789, the Cherokee surrendered prisoners at Coosawattee town (Mooney 1972:66).

The Creek Indians did not fare much better than the Cherokee. Even after ceding land throughout the eighteenth-century as Georgia grew, friction between land hungry Georgians and the Creeks was still a problem. In 1793, Georgians attacked the Creek town of Okfuskenena on the Middle Chattahoochee and burned it to the ground. There is some confusion as to whether more than one town was burned, but the end result was that the Creek towns in what is now the West Point Lake area all removed back to Alabama at this time (Huscher et al. 1972). It should be kept in mind that the Georgia boundary at that time was

considerably further east - the Oconee River.

Thus by the end of the eighteenth-century, most of Georgia's Indians were confined to the Cherokee lands in northwestern Georgia and Creek country on the Chattahoochee. Benjamin Hawkins provides his "Sketch of the Creek Country", listing towns of 1798-1799 in Georgia and Alabama. He listed several Creek towns below the Fall Line, but refers to no Indians living north of the Fall Line (Hawkins 1848).

Archaeological Sites

Archaeological sites of the period 1690-ca.1800 are shown on Figure 6. This map includes sites with documented eighteenth-century European trade goods, and also includes all sites in the study area which are known to produce Chattahoochee Brushed ceramics. Although Chattahoochee Brushed ceramics are known to date as early as the first half of the seventeenth-century in Alabama and probably on the Lower Chattahoochee (Knight and Smith 1980; Knight and Mistovich 1984; Smith 1989b), they appear somewhat later in other areas of Georgia. Unfortunately, without diagnostic European artifacts to closely date the archaeological sites, Figure 6 also includes Creek and Yuchi sites of the early nineteenth-century, especially on the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers. It is fairly safe to assume that most of the sites on the Ocmulgee and Oconee predate 1716 (but note the reference to a site being burned in 1767), while some of those on the Savannah river may date up to the Revolution.

The Creek towns which moved to the Ocmulgee drainage in 1690, and remained until the end of the Yamassee War (1715) are shown in several maps. William Cumming considers the Barnwell map of ca. 1722 as the most accurate, and considers it a "mother map of the first rank" (Cumming 1962:190) because so many other maps were derived from it. The Barnwell map shows only two Creek towns on the Ocmulgee: Coweta and Tuskagee, both shown near the confluence of a stream flowing into the Ocmulgee from the northwest. The John Herbert map of 1725, redrawn (?) by George Hunter in 1744, shows six towns on the Ocmulgee system near the Fall Line (Figure 7). Cumming considers the Herbert-Hunter map a derivative of Barnell ca. 1722 (1962:213), but note that it shows many more towns on the Ocmulgee than Barnwell. Since Herbert was the Commissioner of the Indian Trade and a man who often travelled in the Indian country, we can accept his map as first-hand information. Although it was clearly drafted after the Creeks left the Ocmulgee following the Yamassee War,

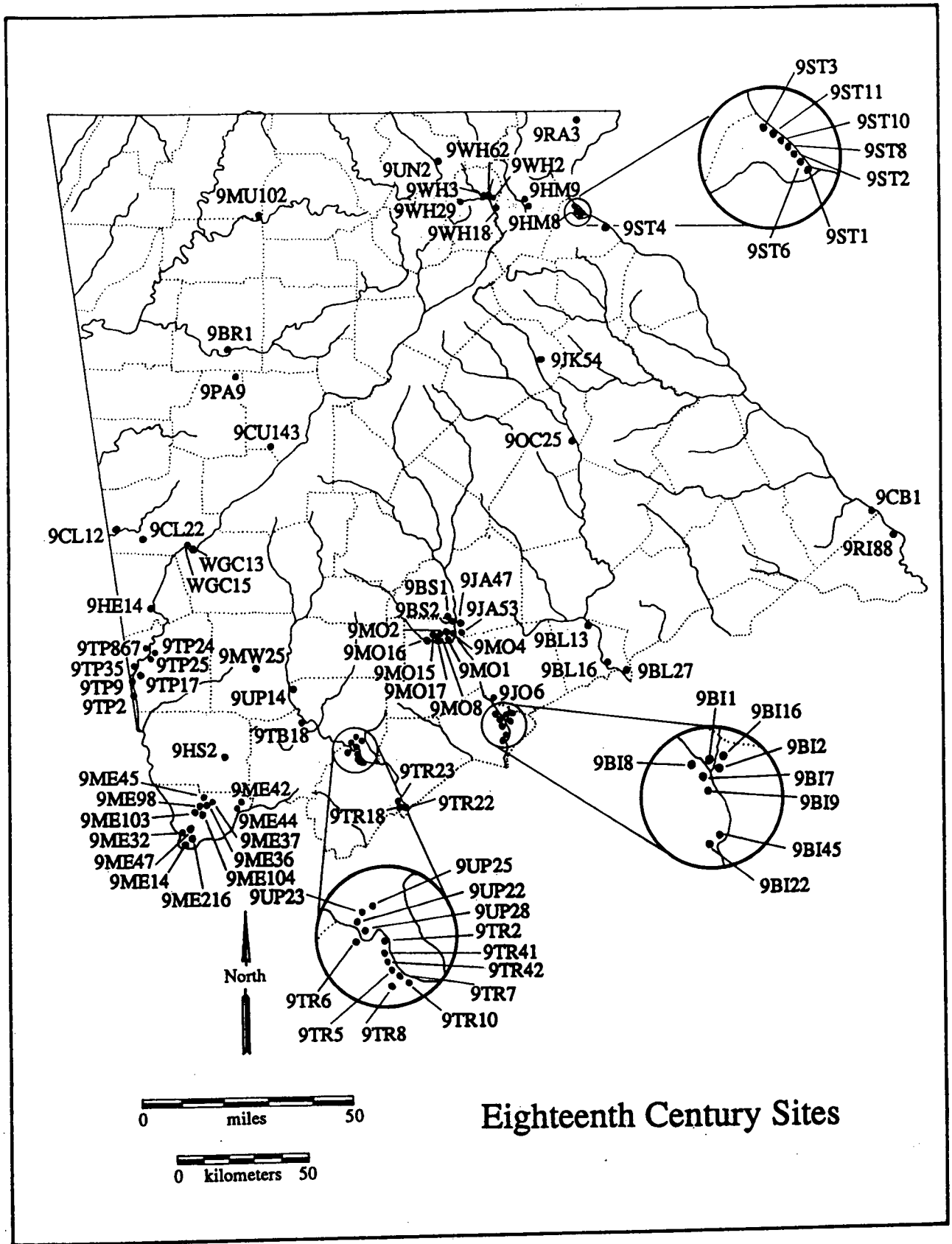

Figure 6. Eighteenth-century archaeological sites.

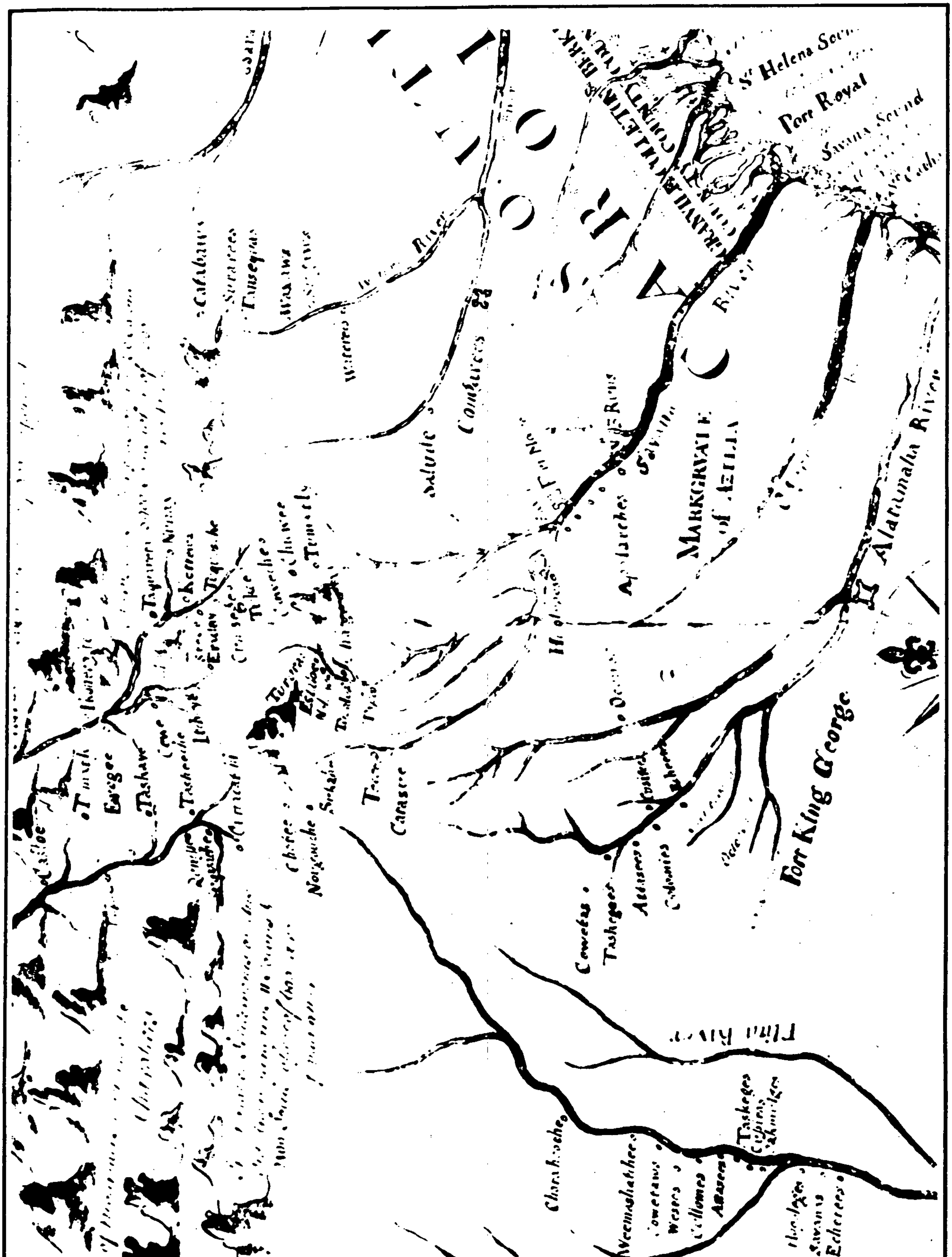

Figure 7. The Herbert-Hunter Map of 1744.
(Courtesy of the Hargrett Rare book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries).

there is no reason to assume that Herbert made up the information on former town locations; he should have been familiar with them. It seems entirely possible that his map accurately portrays the locations of Creek towns ca. 1715, although it should be noted that it also shows the locations of these towns on the Chattahoochee where they moved after the war.

Although the extant copy of the Herbert map is said to be a copy by George Hunter, the Surveyor General, dated 1744, there are reasons to question this assertion. The existing map, in the University of Georgia Library, is interesting for several respects. The legend on the map in the upper left corner certifies that it is a "true copy from an original done by Colonel John Herbert, deceased late Commissioner of the Indian Trade..." This legend no doubt lead William Cumming (1962:213) to state that Herbert drew the original map in 1725, which is apparently no longer extant, and that the present map is a copy. However, the large cartouche in the lower left corner of the map states that it is "A new map of his Majestys Flourishing Province of South Carolina showing ye settlements of ye English, French, and Indian nation Jn Herbert 1725. I would argue that the map in the University of Georgia Collections is the original Herbert map of 1725, with additions by Hunter ca. 1744. The map clearly has two different handwritings and two different legends, suggesting that Hunter added details to the original Herbert map. The Indian town locations of interest here are all in the writing style that matches the 1725 title cartouche. Added details, such as drainage names, some coastal details, some land grants in South Carolina, and other details appear to be added by someone else, probably Hunter.

Figure 8 illustrates the distribution of known historic aboriginal archaeological sites on the Ocmulgee River north of the Fall Line. Comparison with the Herbert-Hunter 1744 map (Figure 7) makes it possible to identify some of the archaeological sites as named Creek towns. Note that Herbert-Hunter and Barnwell differ on the location of towns. Both maps show the Taskegees (or Tuskagees) near the junction of a tributary of the Ocmulgee, but Barnwell shows Coweta further north on the Ocmulgee, while Herbert-Hunter show it up the tributary. Archaeological sites (Figure 8) are known for both map locations of Coweta, perhaps indicating that the town moved. Keeping in mind that Creek towns of this period were often made up of scattered households and may appear as multiple archaeological sites, we can tentatively identify Taskegee as the cluster of sites near the junction of the Towaliga River with the Ocmulgee (Mo1, Mo2, and Mo4). The Towaliga River is the most likely identification of the east-west stream shown in all the early maps since (1) it has known historic period

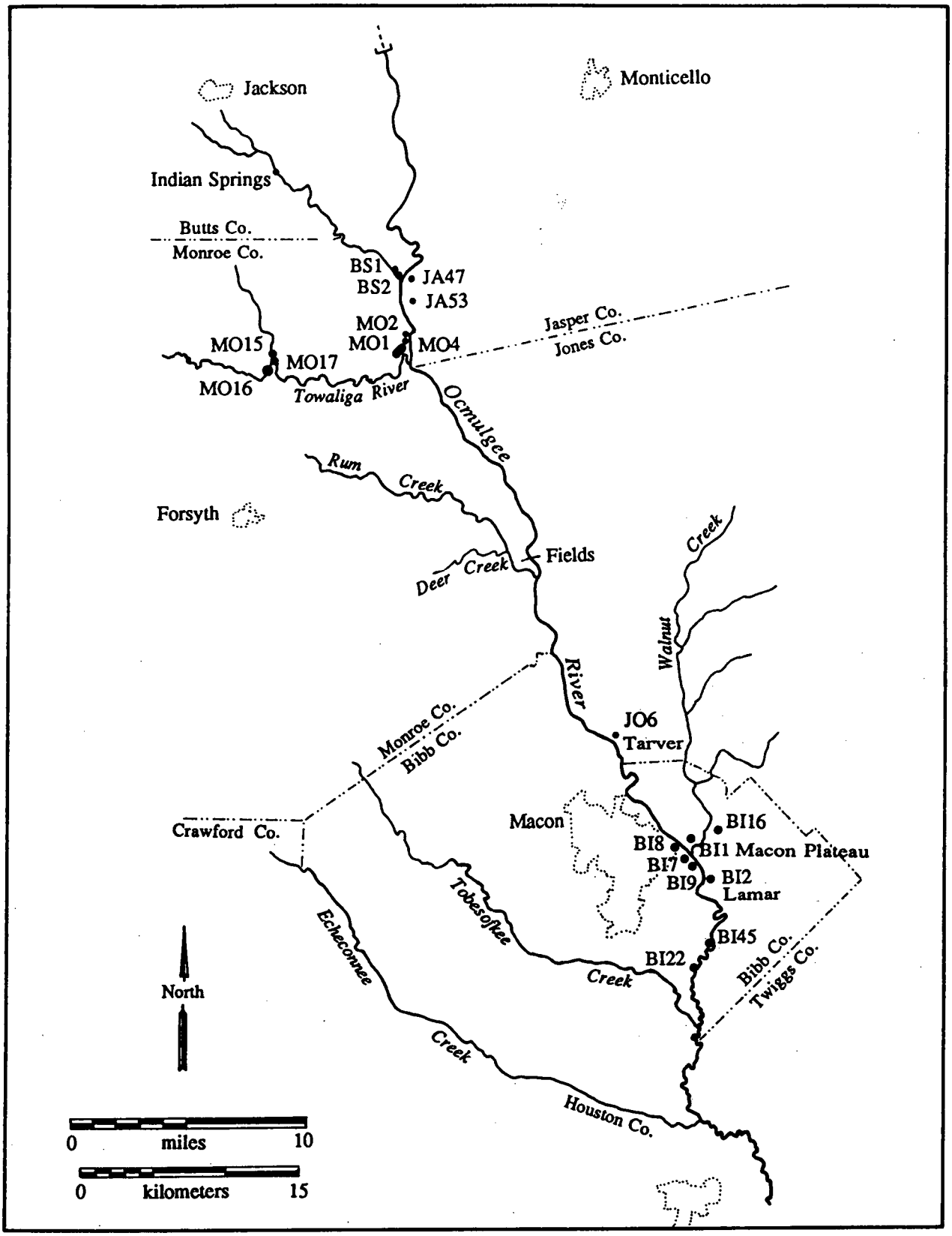

Figure 8. Archaeological sites on the Ocmulgee River.

occupation and (2) it is a large tributary. Sites further up the Towaliga conform to Herbert's location of Coweta. Thus Mo15, Mo16, and Mo17 are probably Coweta. Sites which may be the Coweta town location shown on the Barnwell Map include Bs1 and Bs2 near the junction of Big Sandy Creek with the Ocmulgee River.

Referring to the Herbert Map (Figure 7) and the distribution of archaeological sites (Figure 8) we can identify some of the other Creek towns. No archaeological sites are known for the Attasees, located in this interpretation below the mouth of the Towaliga River. According to the modern U.S.G.S. topographic map, a suitable location would be the mouth of Rum Creek, but this area has not been inspected. Further south, on the western side of the Ocmulgee, Herbert shows the Colomies opposite the Cusitees (Kasihta) near the mouth of a major stream coming in from the northeast. If we assume that this stream is Walnut Creek (virtually the only choice), then Cusitee would be the Macon Plateau site and Ocmulgee Bottoms area, while Colomies would be sites Bi7, Bi8, and Bi9 located opposite the mouth of Walnut Creek. Finally, Herbert shows the Echeetes (Hitchiti) located further downstream on the western bank of the Ocmulgee. Archaeological sites Bi45 and Bi22 probably relate to this group. This reconstruction does not identify the historic occupation of the Lamar site (Bi2), but it may be part of the nearby Cusitee occupation of Macon Plateau and Ocmulgee Bottoms. It also fails to identify the occupants of the Tarver site (9Jo6), another early eighteenth-century archaeological site on the eastern bank of the Ocmulgee north of Macon Plateau. Certainly we cannot claim 100% accuracy, but then again, the Herbert-Hunter map only shows locations for six towns, while historic records identify ten or eleven towns that moved to this area. If we can identify individual towns, we can finally follow the research design proposed by David Hally (1971), who advocated tracing specific towns through time to study the effects of European contact. If the interpretation favored here is correct, then we already have excavated samples of material from two different Kasihta town sites of the eighteenth-century. Perhaps a careful analysis of rim modes and incised motifs could demonstrate continuity between the two sites.

The interpretation presented here conflicts with that of Carol Mason (1963). Mason was interested in identifying the historic occupants of Macon Plateau whose remains were found around the Macon Trading Post (Kelly 1938,1939) and near the Funeral Mound (Fairbanks 1956). Mason reviews evidence from the Mitchell Map of 1755 which led John Swanton to conclude that Macon Plateau was Hitchiti town, but she argues against this interpretation. Certainly the

evidence of the Herbert-Hunter and Barnwell maps, would refute the Hitchiti identification, since Hitchiti is shown on the western bank of the river. Mason argues that the village is Ocmulgee Town based on a reference by Benjamin Hawkins, Indian agent of the 1790s (i.e., considerably after the town was abandoned). According to Mason, Hawkins says "that a town of Ocmulgee was the original occupant of the old fields at Macon" (Mason 1963:228). But note that the modern city of Macon is on the opposite side of the river from the Macon Plateau site, and that there is a cluster of ca. 1690-1715 period sites on the western bank, which surely had associated fields. Mason does clearly demonstrate that there was an Ocmulgee town prior to the naming of the river, but given the evidence presented in the Herbert-Hunter map, it seems likely that the Macon Plateau site was not Ocmulgee, but was Cusitee (Kasihta). We are thus left with no location for Ocmulgee.

The presumed site of Oconee Old Town, the Ennis site (9Bl16) in Baldwin County below Milledgeville, was excavated with WPA labor in 1935 and CCC labor in 1938. No houses or burials were encountered, but a large collection of ceramics, including Lamar and Ocmulgee Fields types, was obtained. No European artifacts were recovered in the test excavations (Fairbanks 1940).

In the Ridge and Valley, excavations at the Little Egypt site, 9Mu102, by David Hally (1979, 1980) yielded occasional eighteenth-century artifacts. For the purposes of this review, the most significant find was a domestic structure which included European trade goods typical of the early eighteenth-century. The Little Egypt locale is known to be part of the Cherokee town of Coosawattee (Hill 1968), and the material reported by Smith (1980) appears to fit a time frame when Col. George Chicken mentions "Cusauwaithes" in 1715. This structure excavated by Hally provides excellent information on domestic architecture, subsistence, ceramic assemblage, and other aspects of daily life. No eighteenth-century burials were located by the University of Georgia project.

Excavations in the Etowah village area by William Sears (1958) revealed evidence of historic aboriginal occupation. He defined the Pumpkinvine period, which he believed was early historic Cherokee, ca. 1650-1700. He found a domestic structure of this period, which was ovoid in outline and rebuilt several times. Within the structure, he found a musket ball, glass, brass scrap, and horse teeth. The ceramics consisted of Tugalo Complicated Stamped, Tugalo Simple Stamped, Tugalo Incised, and he also mentions other "trade wares" such as Walnut Roughened, Chattahoochee Brushed, Kasihta Red Filmed, and grit

tempered cobb marked. Excavations by Larson in 1962 and 1965 yielded gun parts, copper and iron objects, green bottle glass, glass beads, and other miscellaneous historic artifacts (Larson excavation catalog, courtesy Lewis Larson).

Along the Savannah River, archaeological investigations at the Cherokee town of Tugalo (9St1) were conducted as a part of the reservoir salvage for Lake Hartwell (Caldwell 1956; Williams and Branch 1978; Smith and Williams 1978). Joseph Caldwell focused his efforts on the mound remnant, while William B. Edwards worked in the village area. Caldwell learned much about the public architecture of the mound, but historic period Cherokee deposits were limited to eroded, outwash areas on the edge of the mound. Virtually no information has been assembled from the village excavations. Hally has used information from the site in his analysis of Cherokee pottery from Georgia (Hally 1986), and Smith and Williams (1978) and Harmon (1986) have analyzed the European trade material. The Tugalo site was important for understanding the prehistoric Mississippi period developments in northeastern Georgia, but has added relatively little to our knowledge of the European-Indian contact period.

Other sites in Lake Hartwell include Chauga and Estatoe. Excavations at Chauga focused on the substructure mound (Kelly and Neitzel 1961), although limited excavations were conducted in the village. None of the ten mound construction stages were dated to the historic period, although historic material was found in the outwash of the final stage. Limited village excavations did reveal one pit feature which may have been a hearth. Within this feature, there were three restorable vessels of typical eighteenth-century Cherokee types. One jar had an "L" rim on a rectilinear complicated stamped body, one was a curvilinear complicated stamped flaring rim bowl with a plain upper half, and the third vessel was a "moccasin-shaped" jar with curvilinear complicated stamped body and a folded rim. This feature also yielded corn, peach, plum, and beans as well as glass beads and a musket ball. Miscellaneous historic trade goods were found in the general excavations.

The Estatoe (9St3) mound did not yield any intact historic stages, but an abundance of material in the upper 20-30 inches of the northeastern mound dump suggests that historic layers were truncated by modern cultivation (Kelly and De Baillou 1960:26). A large collection of historic material was recovered from the surface of the village area, but no village excavations were conducted.

The Dillard Mound, or Greenwood Farm site, 9Ra3, was investigated by William

Colburn in 1932 (Wauchope 1966; Colburn 1936), and has recently been tested by David Hally and Marshall Williams (Hally personal communication). Some European material has been recovered from this site, and it is likely that it is the location of Old Estatoe of the early eighteenth-century (B. Smith 1979: Map 2; Marshall Williams, personal communication). Other than Colburn's reporting of a "chunky alley" and a small ceramic sample from the mound area, nothing is known of this site.

Nacoochee (9Wh3) was an important Cherokee town mentioned by Bartram in 1776. Excavations by Heye, Hodge, and Pepper (1918) recovered material typical of the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries. In particular, Burial 4, which contains a stone pipe of a common eighteenth-century form, glass beads, and copper and lead buttons, probably dates to the eighteenth-century. Occupation of this site continued until the early nineteenth-century, and the excavators recovered a coin dated 1808 near the edge of the mound. This area was ceded by the Cherokee in 1819 (Heye, Hodge, and Pepper 1918:7-8, 40, 98).

Although technically in the Coastal Plain near the Fall Line, the site of Kasihta, an important Lower Creek settlement of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, forms an important baseline in our knowledge of Georgia Indians (Willey and Sears 1952). This site was extensively tested in 1938, revealing eighteenth-century pit features, a portion of a probable rectangular house, and two burials. Willey and Sears' extensive analysis of the ceramics forms one of the best discussions of historic aboriginal wares available.

The famous archaeological site at Stallings Island (Claflin 1931) also has a historic Indian component. Claflin illustrates some probable eighteenth-century ceramics in his Plates 30 and 31, and a colono ware vessel in Plate 35. He also mentions finding portions of glass bottles, at least two of which were of pre-Revolutionary War types (Claflin 1931:40. Neil (1955) reports an historic Indian burial located during construction of a powerline across Stallings Island. The burial contained a nail and numerous glass beads. Finally, Tom Gresham (personal communication) found three brass bells on Stallings Island as a child. These bells have been identified by Craig Sheldon, and include two varieties of KW Cast spherical arch Circarch Bells with six or eight arches; typical eighteenth-century bells (Sheldon letter to Gresham 1988). Stallings Island is located about two miles downstream from the mouth of Yuchi Creek, the documented location of a Yuchi settlement ca. 1709-1715. It is thus likely that the Stallings Island component represents a Yuchi farmstead of the early

eighteenth-century (see also Neil 1955:5).

Recent work at the Rae's Creek site near Augusta has revealed evidence of occupation of early eighteenth century aboriginal groups. This interesting site has produced Lower Cherokee, Creek or Yuchi-like, and local sand tempered cord marked ceramics (Crook 1990). Valuable analysis of botanical remains, features, and native and European material culture were conducted at this site.

The Burnt Village site (9Tp9) is the location of the town of Okfuskenena burned by Georgians in 1793. This town was apparently settled in or after 1764 according to James Adair. "...since the year 1764, the Muskohge have settled several towns, seventy miles eastward from Okwhuske, on the Chatahooche river, near to the old trading path" (Adair 1930:275). This site has been excavated by Harold Huscher as a part of the West Point Reservoir project. Unfortunately, Huscher's preliminary report (Huscher and others 1972) is all that is available; no analysis of material was ever completed except for the European Trade items identified by Mark Williams and Huscher. Numerous burials, large refuse filled pits, domestic structures, and three rotundas were excavated by Huscher. It is likely that an analysis of this collection would add much to our knowledge of late eighteenth-century Creek groups. A sample of ceramics from Okfuskenena was analyzed for this project (Chapter VIII).

VII. THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY

Historical Background

By the beginning of the nineteenth-century, virtually the only Indian settlement north of the Fall Line was the Cherokee territory in Northwestern Georgia. The Cherokee held claim to lands northwest of the Chattahoochee River. Most Creek settlements on the Chattahoochee and Flint had been forced below the Fall Line, although two towns are documented near present Atlanta: the town of Standing Peachtree is shown on the Early map of 1818, and the settlement of Sandtown was an important location in the 1821 Treaty Line definition, forming the northern end of the boundary line. The Creek towns remaining on the Chattahoochee below the Fall Line will be the subject of the research plan for the coastal plain.

Benjamin Hawkins became the major Indian agent for the Southeast in the late eighteenth-century, and began a program in directed acculturation. He encouraged the Indians to adopt the practices of their Euro-American neighbors, specifically stock raising, plow agriculture, and spinning and weaving. Hawkins travelled widely in Georgia and Alabama, and left important information about the Indians of the early nineteenth-century.

The Early Map of 1818 gives excellent information on the distribution of Georgia's Indians of the early nineteenth-century. It shows settlement on the upper Flint river above the Fall Line, the location of Oakfuskeenene ("destroyed in 1793"), and the location of several other towns on the middle Chattahoochee, and Buzzard Roost and Standing Peachtree on the Chattahoochee near present Atlanta. Numerous other maps of this time show Georgia's Indians in increasing detail.

Geographer Douglas Wilms worked on the distribution of the Cherokee in northwestern Georgia prior to Removal. Working from the Cherokee census of 1835, he prepared a map showing Cherokee population (Figure 9). This map gives a good visual representation of the location of Cherokee settlements. Note that there is quite a Cherokee presence in the Blue Ridge, even though archaeological sites are relatively unknown in this region.

In March of 1832, the Creeks were finally pressured into signing the Treaty of Washington giving up title to their land to the United States. Although the treaty stated that they were free to stay on individual farmsteads or migrate west, it did

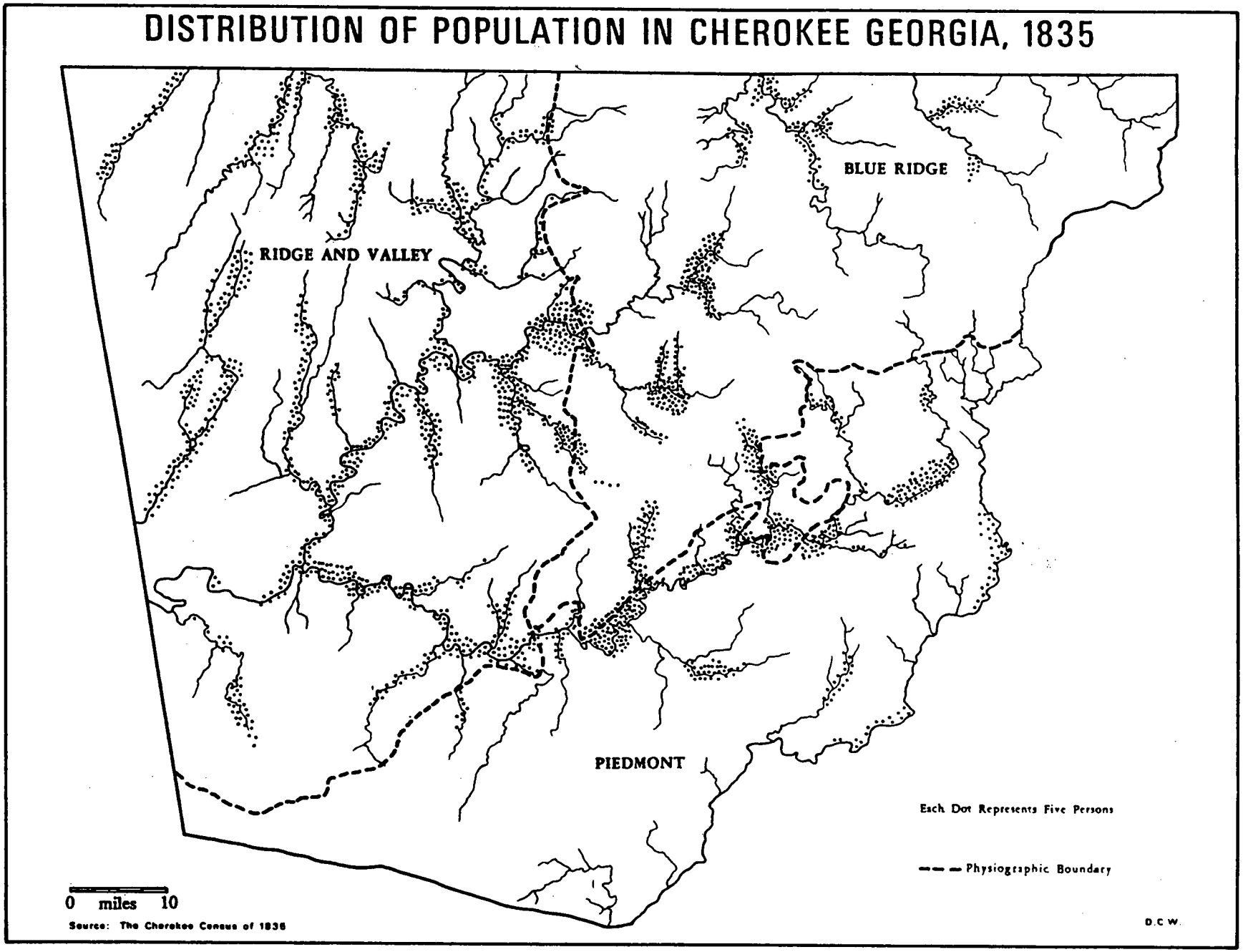

Figure 9. Cherokee population in the nineteenth-century (after Wilms 1974).

not prove practical to remain in the Georgia-Alabama area. Whites quickly invaded Creek land, and in the end the Creeks were forced to move west to Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. By 1838, Creek removal was accomplished (Hudson 1976:457-461).

Following the Treaty of New Echota in 1835, the Cherokee were quickly forced to remove. The U.S. Army was used to round up most of the Cherokee who refused to abide by the treaty, which had been signed by a small minority of Cherokee. Eventually the Cherokee were forced west over the "Trail of Tears," where many lost their lives. By mid-1838, Georgia had virtually no Indians within her limits (Hudson 1976:462-464).

Archaeological Sites

Archaeological sites of the nineteenth-century are shown on Figure 10. It must be remembered that most Creek sites of the nineteenth-century on the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers are shown on Figure 6. Thus Figure 10 shows primarily Cherokee Sites in northwestern Georgia.

Only a few sites of this period have actually been excavated, and excavations for the most part have focused on the wealthy, acculturated Cherokee. Some of the earliest excavations of nineteenth-century historic aboriginal sites in northern Georgia took place at the Cherokee capitol of New Echota (9Go42, 9G059)(1826-1838). Here, in 1954, preliminary reconnaissance revealed several probable house sites. Excavations began at the site of McCoy's tavern, where postholes and refuse pits were located. Aboriginal pottery was scarce at the site, consisting mainly of check stamped ware; most of the ceramics recovered were European in origin. A second excavation unit revealed more postholes and pits. Another area produced a cellar lined with limestone slabs and a well. This area produced hundreds of pieces of lead type with characters of the Cherokee syllabary. Efforts were also expended in finding the main road and the overall outline of the town. While virtually all of the architecture was of typical frontier cabin style, a large "council house," 120 feet in diameter, was located. This council house was constructed of postholes in the aboriginal manner, although some of the posts were square (DeBaillou 1955). Later additional excavations revealed several refuse filled pits (Baker 1970). All in all, the major excavations from New Echota have never been properly reported.

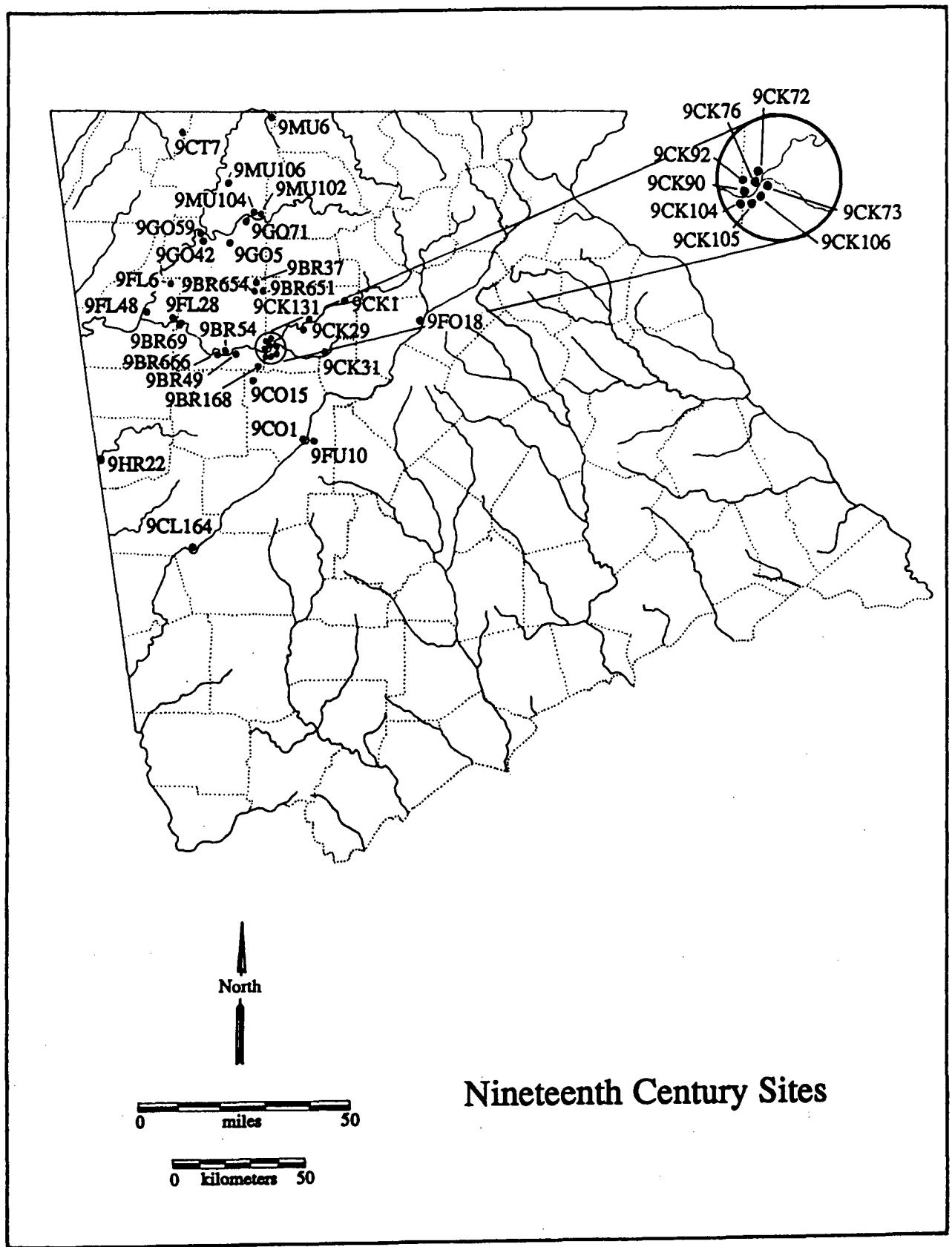

Figure 10. Nineteenth-century Cherokee archaeological sites.

During construction of the reregulation dam at the Carter's Dam complex in Murray County in the early 1970s, the remains of a Cherokee cabin site were revealed in a bulldozed area (Garrow 1979). This "Historic Cabin Site" (9Mu104), actually a single pit which Garrow suggests was a chimney base feature, provided a good collection of pottery of a traditional Cherokee family. European artifacts allow dating to the early nineteenth-century.

In Bartow County, site 9Br49 produced a pit feature which contained Cherokee ceramics, Euro-American ceramics, and an 1812 Dime according to the site form on file at the University of Georgia. This material has not been further analyzed, and no additional excavation has taken place, but it apparently represents an isolated nineteenth-century Cherokee farmstead.

The Northwest Georgia Chapter of the Society for Georgia Archaeology has recently excavated the remains of a Cherokee farmstead near the sixteenth-century Poarch farm site in Gordon County on the Coosawattee River. Features were excavated, yielding an excellent collection of nineteenth-century Cherokee artifacts. This excavation should be reported in the near future (James B. Langford, personal communication).

Excavations at the Vann House, the early nineteenth-century brick home of half-Cherokee James Vann in Murray County, were conducted for the Georgia Historical Commission during the early-1950s. Unfortunately, these excavations were never reported in detail. In a short article, De Baillou (1957) reports that he located a kitchen outbuilding, a second building believed to be an office, and various brick pavements and paths. Refuse filled pits were excavated, and they contained "fine, early 19th century china and glass, as well as various household utensiles." Vann's mill was located, but his trading post eluded the investigators.

Patrick H. Garrow excavated in the yard area and the foundation of an outbuilding, possibly the location of Lavender's Trading Post, at the site of Chieftains, the Home of Major Ridge, an important Cherokee chief. A brief report was submitted to the Department of Natural Resources (Garrow 1974), but the final report has never been completed. Garrow recovered a large quantity of European ceramics, but almost no aboriginal wares. The assemblage from Chieftains should be indicative of a wealthy, highly acculturated, Cherokee of the immediately pre-removal period.

Standing Peachtree, a Creek town documented by the Early map of 1818, has been identified as site 9Fu10 (Wauchope 1966:399). Apparently this site has been largely obliterated by the Atlanta Water Works, but Standing Peachtree should be a dispersed settlement, and it is quite possible that isolated households exist along the Chattahoochee River in this vicinity. Kurtz (1950) presents an historical overview of Standing Peachtree, noting that its earliest historical mention was in 1782.

The location of Sandtown, mentioned in 1821 treaty negotiations, is believed to be the site 9Fu1 on the Chattahoochee River near Atlanta (Wauchope 1966:399-400). Fu1 was a multicomponent site, but little was found that could be the remains of the 1821 town.

Within the Allatoona Reservoir, Caldwell defined a Galt and a Lovengood Focus of historic aboriginal occupation (Caldwell 1957). A resurvey of portions of the Reservoir (Ledbetter et al. 1987) brought the total number of historic aboriginal sites to 30. Unfortunately, there was virtually no excavation of these sites; they are known primarily from surface collections.

In the Buford Reservoir, Caldwell investigated the Boyd Farm site (9Fo17, 9Fo19)(Caldwell 1955), and later Clemens De Baillou returned to the Boyd Farm to investigate Vann's Tavern and Ferry (De Baillou 1957). Both Caldwell and De Baillou located historic Cherokee refuse filled pits. De Baillou specifically mentions only finding china and check stamped Cherokee ceramics, although Caldwell found other decorated types of historic aboriginal ware. The Vann tavern building was still standing, and was moved out of the reservoir and reconstructed at New Echota.

Just outside of Georgia in the Weiss Reservoir, nineteenth-century Cherokee remains were recovered at the Seven Springs site, 1Ce101 (DeJarnette et al. 1973). Several refuse pits were excavated, yielding complicated stamped ceramics, European cutlery and ceramics, and other objects. No structure was located. Ceramics from this component were primarily European, but Overhill Complicated Stamped ceramics were identified. The presence of the shell tempered Overhill series is unusual in this area; most historic Cherokee ceramics are grit tempered in northwestern Georgia (Hally 1986).

Along the Flint River at the Fall Line in the Spewrell Bluff, Lazer Creek, and Lower Auchumpkee Creek reservoir, Don Gordy located a number of sites which

produced Chattahoochee Brushed pottery and thus date to the historic period (1966). Unfortunately, these sites are only known from very small surface collections; they were never tested or excavated. A survey of the historical literature and perusal of map sources suggests that these are early nineteenth-century sites of groups of the Creek Confederacy, perhaps the Yuchi.

It is quite likely that many nineteenth-century historic aboriginal sites are not recognized. Many Cherokee, especially, had become quite acculturated by the early nineteenth-century, and their sites differed little from early American settlers. During the Cherokee Removal, many whites moved into Cherokee farmsteads and reoccupied them. Thus many aboriginal sites of the 1830s may be particularly hard to recognize; they differ little from contemporary white settlements or even Free Black or slave settlements.

VIII. SUMMARY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

Ceramics

Ceramics made by Georgia's historic Indians are relatively well-known for many areas of the state, but virtually unknown for other areas. Table 1 lists ceramic phases currently identified for Georgia during the historic period.

Table 1. Ceramic Phases by drainage.

Century	Chattahoochee	Dog	Coosa	Etowah	Flint	Ocmulgee	Oconee	Savannah
16th	Stewart (lower)	???	Barnett	Brewster	Lockett	Cowarts	Dyar	Tugalo
	Nacoochee (upper)							
	1550		1580	1580			1580	
	Abercrombie (lower)	unnamed-----		-----			Bell	
17th	1650			-----	???	???	1630	???
	Blackmon (lower)						-----	
18th	1715		Wear	Pumpkinvine		Ocmulgee Fields		Estatoe
	Lawson Field (lower)				-----	1715	1715	1776
19th	Boyd (upper)		Galt-like	Galt	Ocmulgee Fields	-----	-----	-----
	Late Lawson Field (lower)							

----=Abandoned

During the sixteenth-century, all ceramics in northern Georgia can be considered a variant of the Lamar tradition. A number of regional phases have been identified, and current knowledge suggests that each of these regional phases can be identified with a polity or a subdivision of a polity. Because the majority of these sixteenth-century phases have been described in some detail elsewhere in this series (Hally and Rudolph 1986; Hally and Langford 1988; Wynn 1990), they will receive only a brief notice.

The Ridge and Valley area can be divided into several sixteenth-century phases, each of which can be assigned to a cluster of archaeological sites on a particular drainage. Thus the Coosawattee drainage has the Barnett phase, the Etowah has the Brewster phase, and the Upper Coosa has an assemblage formerly included in Barnett, but which now appears to be somewhat different, although still unnamed (Hally, personal communication).

The Barnett phase ceramic assemblage consists of the types Dallas Plain, Dallas Filleted, Dallas Incised, Lamar Bold Incised, Lamar Complicated Stamped var. Coosawattee, Lamar Coarse Plain var. Cohutta, Lamar Plain var. Vann, McKee Island Brushed, unidentified check stamped, unidentified cord-marked, unidentified corncob marked, and unidentified fabric marked (Hally 1980:641). With increased information now at hand, it can be suggested that the unidentified cord-marked, corncob marked, and fabric marked are actually eighteenth-century types (see discussion below).

The Brewster phase (Caldwell 1957; Hally and Langford 1988) is another late Lamar phase from the Etowah drainage of the western Piedmont and Ridge and Valley. This phase is characterized by an almost total lack of the shell tempered types seen in the nearby Barnett phase, and by an increased frequency of complicated stamped material (Hally and Langford 1988:71-72).

The King Site ceramics have been previously included in the Barnett phase (Hally and Langford 1988), but recent analysis of materials from this site suggests that a new phase can be named (Hally, personal communication). When compared with the ceramic assemblage of the Little Egypt site, the type site of the Barnett phase, King site ceramics contain less complicated stamped wares, more plain wares, and show a dramatic increase in shell-tempered wares (Hally, personal communication; Smith 1989b:8).

On the Flint River drainage, Worth (1988) has described the Lockett phase, which he dates ca. 1450-1550. Sherd collections used to describe this phase were excavated at the Neisler and Hartley-Posey sites near the Fall Line. The Lockett phase shows the addition of the types Lamar Incised, the shell-tempered type Abercrombie Incised, and new Lamar rim modes to a basic Lamar base of grit-tempered plain and complicated stamped ceramics (Worth 1988:103).

Other sixteenth-century phases have been identified in northern Georgia, but

none have thus far produced European artifacts and for the purposes of this report may not be considered as "Historic Aboriginal." It is surely only a matter of time before European artifacts are recovered from Cowarts phase (Hamilton, Lauro, and Swindell 1975), Dyar phase (Smith 1981,1983), Tugalo phase (Hally 1986), and the tentatively identified Nacoochee phase (Wynn 1990).

Ceramics of the seventeenth-century are known primarily from the Oconee and Dog River drainages, although recent work in the West Point Reservoir has revealed what may be seventeenth century material (Smith 1990). The seventeenth-century ceramics of the Piedmont Oconee River are grouped within the Bell phase (Figure 11)(Williams 1983). Bell phase ceramics are clearly within the Lamar tradition, but almost completely lack complicated stamped surface decoration. Instead, plain surface treatment predominates, with incised vessels being the chief decorated type. Bell phase incised motifs are frequently quite complex scrolls, made up of numerous line elements, and line width may be quite narrow, although broad incising is still present. "T-shaped" bowl rims, often incised on the upper surface, are common in this phase. Typical Lamar folded rims are present, and the width of the fold is the widest of the Piedmont Oconee River sequence (Rudolph 1983).

Excavations by Hally at the Little Egypt site revealed an early eighteenth-century domestic structure (Structure 3). In Hally's original ceramic analysis of the site, he saw little difference in the ceramics from this structure and those from the sixteenth-century structures he excavated. He therefore assigned this structure to the Barnett phase. Even at the time, Hally noted that the apparent lack of ceramic change from the sixteenth to the eighteenth-century was "difficult to accept given the probable demographic and cultural impact of European culture on aboriginal society during the 16th and 17th centuries"(Hally 1980:642). Hally does note that there were earlier multiple rebuildings in the basin of Structure 3, and it seems likely with the perspective of hindsight that the ceramic collection analyzed as the final floor (Structure 3a) was mixed. Hally notes that there are Little Egypt phase (fifteenth century) and Etowah, and Woodland ceramics in the collection he analyzed. It seems likely that the ceramics of the eighteenth-century structure take on a Barnett flavor due to mixing of components.

Recent review of vessel fragments on the floor of Structure 3 by Smith and Hally indicate that they are not typical of the Barnett phase (Figure 12). The six vessel fragments give a radically different picture of the ceramics in use in the house compared to the sherd collection. There is a combination of complicated stamped vessels (2), a cordmarked vessel, plain vessels (2), and even a brushed vessel.

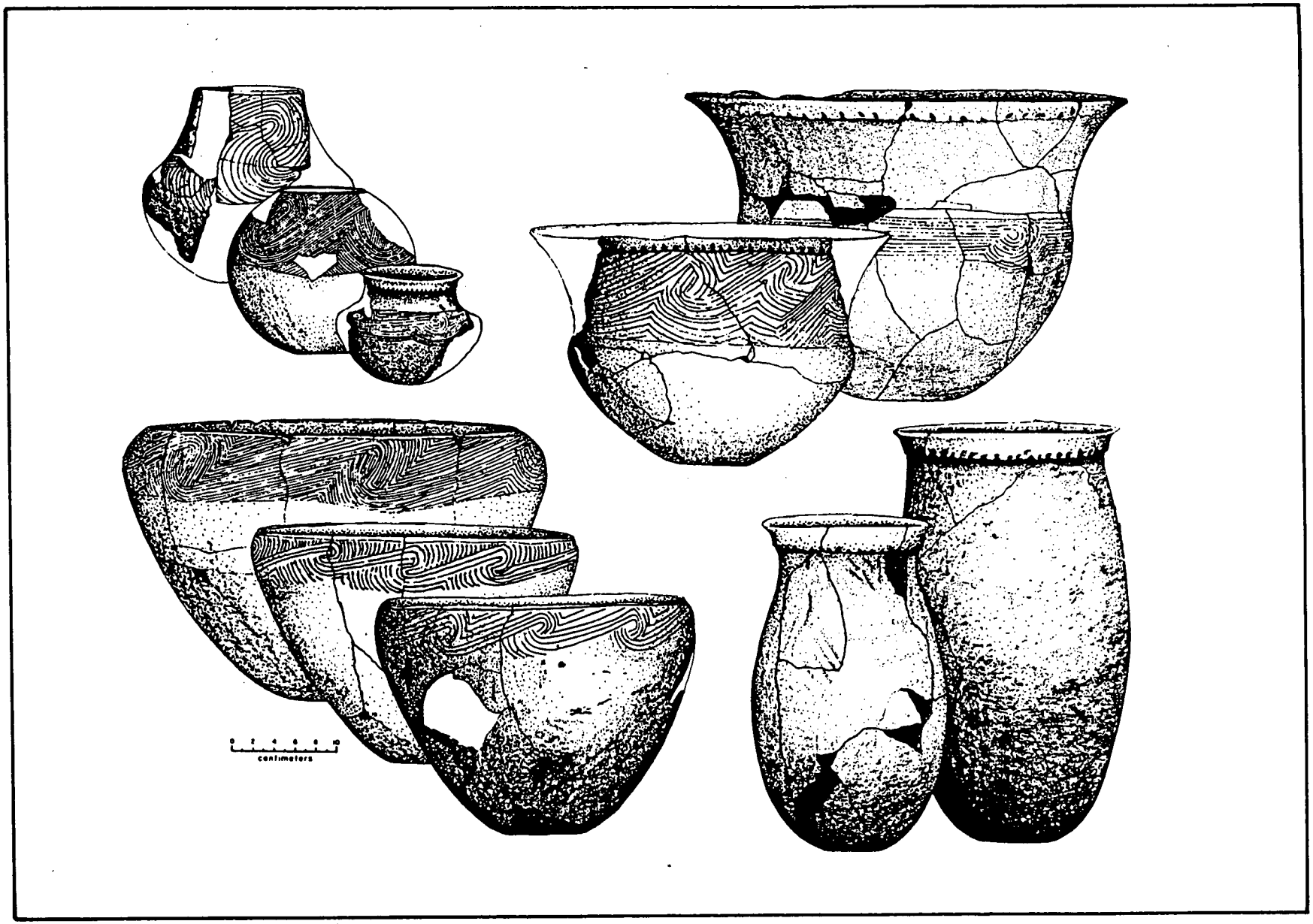

Figure 11. Seventeenth-century Bell phase vessels (After Williams 1983).

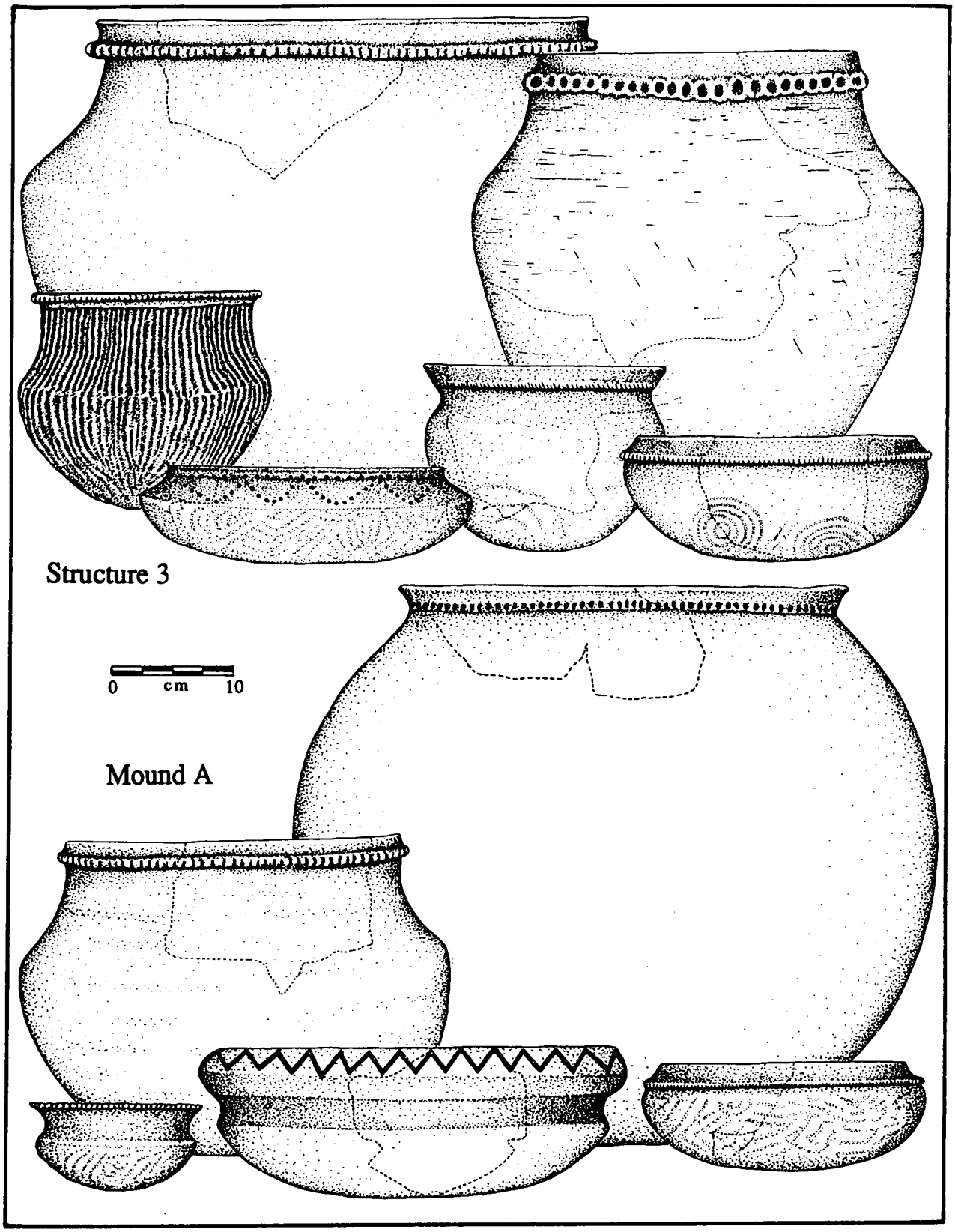

Figure 12. Eighteenth-century vessels from the Little Egypt site (9MU102).

Two of the six vessel fragments are shell tempered (one brushed and one plain),while the remainder are grit tempered. Rim forms include notched "L", folded and pinched, and folded and notched, and these forms are common in eighteenth-century assemblages elsewhere (Hally 1986). These vessels combine complicated stamping and rim modes typically seen on Cherokee sites, with plain or brushed treatments typical of "Creek" sites.

The presence of cordmarking in this assemblage is further demonstrated by the presence of a grit tempered, cordmarked vessel fragment found in an upper portion of Mound A in association with European artifacts. Shell tempered cordmarked vessels (McKee Island Cordmarked) are common on some Alabama Creek sites of the late seventeenth-early eighteenth-century (Smith 1989b:9), while they are very rare on Overhill Cherokee Sites further north in the Ridge and Valley (Bates 1986).

Table 2 presents a new analysis of sherds from the Little Egypt site and lists sherds from a structure at the Etowah Site reported by Sears (1958). The Little Egypt sample includes a collection of sherds found stratigraphically above the floor of Structure 3, an early eighteenth-century house, and a collection from a partial structure floor on Mound A which also contained European artifacts. This sample probably includes some earlier types. The collection from Etowah came from a village domestic structure which contained firearms-related artifacts and thus probably postdates 1680. I have changed Sears' reported types from the Tugalo series (Tugalo Complicated Stamped, Tugalo Incised, etc.) into Lamar types for ease of discussion.

These collections are interesting for a number of reasons. The differences closely parallel the differences between the Barnett phase and the Brewster phase in that there are virtually no shell tempered types present at Etowah, while they are common at Little Egypt. While both samples are dominated by typical Lamar series plain, complicated stamped, and incised wares, both show rare frequencies of brushed and cordmarked sherds more typical of Alabama Creek sites to the south and west. Thus the unusual brushed vessel on the floor of Structure 3 is matched by the few brushed sherds in the midden areas at Little Egypt. Complicated stamping finish is clearly more common at Etowah, but it should be noted that both assemblages lack a check stamped type, and check stamping is believed to largely postdate the middle of the eighteenth-century (Schroedl 1986:545; Smith et al. 1988).

Table 2. Early eighteenth-century ceramics from northwestern Georgia.

Type	Little Egypt Above Floor of Str. 3		Little Egypt Str. on Md A.		Etowah Pumpkinvine Str.	
Lamar Plain	N=223	25.1%	N=5	11.1%	N=185	9.9%
L. Burnished Pl.	20	2.3%				
L. Coarse Plain	141	15.9%	7	15.6%	177	9.5%
Lamar Incised	57	6.4%	2	4.4%	285	15.3%
Lamar Comp. Stamp	125	14.1%	13	28.9%	898	48.3%
Lamar Simple Stamp					291	15.6%
Lamar Cob Marked	2	0.2%			2	0.1%
Lamar Fabric Marked	1	0.1%				
Chattahoochee Brushed	2	0.2%			18	1.0%
Lamar Rims	41	4.6%	5	11.1%	--	
Strap Handle	1	0.1%				
Kasihta Red Filmed					2	0.1%
Dallas Plain	188	21.2%	7	15.6%	--	
DeArmond Incised	5	0.6%	3	6.7%	--	
Dallas Incised	25	2.8%				
McKee Island Cord Mkd	4	0.5%				
Shell Temp. Brushed	10	1.1%			2	0.1%
Shell Temp. Burnished	15	1.7%				
Dallas Modeled	1	0.1%	2	4.4%	--	
Shell Tempered Rims	22	2.5%	1	2.2%		
Strap Handle	1	0.1%				
TOTALS	888		45		1860	

It is tempting to view the collections as mixed. Types such as Dallas Modeled were assumed to be Mississippian types; however, the presence of modeled sherds in both Little Egypt collections suggests that this type may last into the historic period, probably the early eighteenth-century. Bates (1986: 295) does note that effigy appliques rarely appear in Overhill Cherokee ceramics, but he does not describe this decoration.

The cord marked vessel from Structure 3 and another vessel fragment from Mound A (not in the Table 2 sherd sample) may conform to the type Qualla Cord Marked, but it should be noted that this type was extremely rare at the site of Chota in the Ridge and Valley of eastern Tennessee (Egloff 1967:42-43; Bates 1986:311). Very little is known of this rare type, although Egloff does note that it may date to the later half of the eighteenth-century based on its presence at the

Townsend Site in North Carolina. His illustrated sherd is inconclusive for comparison. A shell tempered equivalent, Historic Cord Marked, was represented by nine sherds from the Overhill Cherokee Town of Chota (Bates 1986:307). This type differs from the Little Egypt specimens in execution; the Chota sherds have sloppily executed, irregular cord impressions which are often smeared over in contrast to the neatly parallel cord impressions of the Little Egypt vessel.

There appears to be a need to tentatively identify a new ceramic phase for the Coosawattee River valley during the early eighteenth-century. This tentative Wear phase consists of grit tempered complicated stamped wares, grit tempered incised wares, grit tempered cord marked wares, shell tempered brushed wares, and shell tempered plain wares. Other types, as noted in Table 2 may be part of this assemblage. This phase is apparently ethnically Cherokee, although it is quite likely from both archaeological evidence (brushed ceramics) and historical evidence (see Hill and Clayton 1969) that there were also Upper Creek people living on the sites.

Elsewhere in Georgia during the eighteenth-century, historically documented Creek town sites produce an assemblage of brushed, plain, and red-filmed ceramics. The origins of brushed pottery, virtually always associated with groups of the Creek Confederacy in eighteenth-century Georgia, have been debated for many years. There are two main types of historic Creek brushed wares: Chattahoochee Brushed (Bullen 1950), a grit or sand tempered type, and Walnut Roughened (Jennings and Fairbanks 1940), the shell tempered equivalent of Chattahoochee Brushed. It should be noted that this type is named for Walnut Creek near Macon, Georgia, not for a method of applying decoration.

Fairbanks (1952; 1958) believed that Creek pottery was developed from a Lamar tradition. He pointed out that Ocmulgee Fields Incised developed from Lamar Bold Incised and suggested that Walnut Roughened and Chattahoochee Brushed derived from Lamar Complicated Stamped, citing particularly the vessel form and rim decoration. He suggests that Kasita Red Filmed of the Creek complex was derived from Spanish majolicas and the earlier Weeden Island Zoned Red.

Willey and Sears (1952) stressed the differences between Creek pottery from Kasita and Lamar types, and concluded that Creek Pottery probably developed in the Coosa-Tallapoosa area and spread east. About the only Lamar characteristic they saw in the Kasita pottery was the rim treatment on jars. Similarly, Russell (1975) also discussed the differences between Lamar and Creek pottery.

Dickens (1979) suggested that on the Tallapoosa River in Alabama, Creek ceramics are derived from the earlier Dadeville series, ca. A.D. 900-1200. He sees both bowl and jar forms having similarities in both ware groups. He derived Creek brushing from the earlier Dadeville Brushed type. There is thus no reason to derive brushing from complicated stamping, since there never was a stamping tradition in the Creek homeland in Alabama. Unfortunately, Dickens could not demonstrate a clear continuity in decoration between Dadeville and historic Creek; he lacked intermediate types.

While Creek brushing had been seen as a primarily post 1690 phenomenon by many archaeologists in the 1950s and 60s, Vernon J. Knight (Knight and Smith 1980) suggested that brushing of the historic Creek type was present in the Atasi phase component (1550-1700) of the Big Tallassee site on the Tallapoosa River in Alabama. In later work at Tukabatchee on the Tallapoosa River, Knight (1985) excavated a burned structure with European trade material of the early seventeenth-century, conclusively demonstrating an early date for brushed pottery. He placed the development of brushing at about A.D. 1600 on the lower Tallapoosa and also noted that it appeared at approximately the same time on the middle Coosa during the Kymulga phase. He further pointed out that there is no real evidence of continuity from terminal Woodland to early Mississippian ceramic types such as Dadeville Brushed, Avarett Brushed, or Etowah Brushed (Knight 1985:188). Smith (1989b) was able to determine that typical brushed pottery, classified as McKee Island Brushed (Heimlich 1952), but virtually indistinguishable from Walnut Roughened, appears in the period 1630-1670 in the Coosa River sequence in the area above Woods Island (i.e., north of Knight's Kymulga sites). On the Chattahoochee River in the Walter F. George Reservoir below Columbus, Georgia, Frank Schnell (Knight and Mistovich 1984) has proposed a Blackmon phase, ca. 1650-1715, which includes most recognizable Creek pottery types, including Walnut Roughened, a shell tempered variety of Ocmulgee Fields Incised, an unusual variety of Kasita Red Filmed, and the virtual absence of the grit tempered Chattahoochee Brushed type. This complex can be identified with the late seventeenth-century Apalachicola province of the Spanish accounts (Knight and Mistovich 1984:226). It now appears that Creek pottery developed in Alabama, probably on the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, in the early seventeenth century and quickly spread east to the Chattahoochee, and as Knight (1986) notes, from there moved east to the Ocmulgee and Oconee rivers as a ceramic tradition spread by an intrusion of Blackmon phase peoples fleeing Spanish domination and seeking alliances with the English of Charleston.

The basic Creek ceramic tradition of Chattahoochee Brushed (or Walnut Roughened), Ocmulgee Fields Incised, Plain, and Kasita Red Filmed types was in use from the middle of the seventeenth-century until removal in the 1830s. There is, however, some variability in the ceramics, especially between frequency of decorated types and probably between incised motifs, although the latter have not been analyzed. Table 3 presents data on historic Creek ceramics from several sites in Georgia.

Table 3. Creek ceramics from Georgia by percentage.

Site	Chatt. Brushed	Walnut Rough	Plain	Red Film	Incised	Rims	Comp St.	Total N.
Kasita (Willey and Sears 1952)	28.7	--	62.8	1.0	4.7	2.9	--	3293
Okfuskenena (This report)	19.7	--	48.8	--	10.9	8.3	1.6	946
1Le8 (Oliver Res) (McMichael and Kellar 1960:91)	50.0	--	48.6	0.6	0.8	NA	--	1107
Tr5 (Gordy 1966)	17.0	--	79.0	--	2.0?	2.0	--	171
Ocmulgee Bottom (Nelson et al. 1974)	--	53.0	31.0	2.5	13.5	NA	--	1713
Macon Plateau (Mason 1963:218)	--	17.8	73.4	0.8	7.7	NA	0.3	34,920
Towaliga (Mo1) (Wauchope 1966)	7.7	0.04	78.0	0.1	8.6	5.5	--	2536
Jackson (Mo2) (Wauchope 1966)	20.4	--	70.1	--	7.5	1.9	0.03	6299

There appears to be no recognizable pattern in this table. For example, the collection from Ocmulgee Bottom and the Macon Plateau site probably represent parts of the same town, but the frequency of decorated types are much different. This difference may be due to the inclusion of other earlier plain types in the Macon Plateau collection. The Jackson and Towaliga sites are both probably contemporaneous with the Macon sites, and yet they appear different. Perhaps there is simply great variability between Creek towns, or the ceramic samples are biased in some way. Despite this variability, it could be suggested that the frequency of brushing declines over time; the two late sites (Okfuskenena on the Chattahoochee and 9Tr5 on the Flint) appear to have low frequencies of brushed wares. The sample from Okfuskenena was analyzed for this report (Table 3). It consists of virtually all sherds from two large pit features (Features 92 and 160), combined with several lots of sherds from six other features. Kasihta Red Filmed (Jennings and Fairbanks 1940) also disappeared prior to the occupation of Okfuskenena and the Flint River sites. It was present in the Macon area sites (1690-1715) and was found at Kasihta on the Chattahoochee in a probable mid eighteenth-century context (Willey and Sears 1952), but probably disappeared by the 1760s.

The debate over the ethnic identification of archaeological Creek vs. Cherokee has raged in Georgia for years. William Sears (1955) took the point of view that all Lamar type pottery from northern Georgia was Cherokee, and that the Cherokee were the real descendants of the Lamar people. Fairbanks (1952, 1958) stressed the similarities of Lamar pottery to that made by documented Muskoghean groups in the eighteenth century. While he was incorrect in seeing a continuity between middle Georgia Lamar and Ocmulgee Fields ceramics, there is no doubt now that what archaeologists call "Lamar" has characteristics that can be found in both documented Creek, Cherokee, and probably even Yuchi ceramics. Certainly evidence from the reconstruction of the route of De Soto through Georgia (Hudson, Smith, and DePratter 1984; DePratter, Hudson, and Smith 1985) indicates that the sixteenth century Lockett, Cowarts, Dyar, Barnett, and Brewster phases were made by Muskoghean peoples. But the important factor not considered by Fairbanks, Sears, or others, is that all of these eighteenth-century groups were amalgamations of earlier chiefdoms; they were refugee groups representing different ceramic traditions. A facile equation of Lamar with Creek or Lamar with Cherokee is a gross oversimplification of a complex historical process brought about by some very widespread population movements and realignments that were taking place in the Southeast in the wake of Spanish exploration and the introduction of European disease. The

ethnic identification of "Lamar" is no longer a viable research question; more relevant questions would involve the ethnic identification of specific phases.

Ceramics from definite Cherokee sites have also been investigated. Joseph Caldwell reported on Cherokee pottery from the Buford Reservoir (Chattahoochee River) in Forsyth County. At the Boyd site, Caldwell excavated a large refuse filled pit, and recovered an excellent sample of historic Cherokee ceramics (Caldwell 1955). There were three restored vessels and two partial vessels of Boyd Check Stamped, and a restorable vessel of Complicated Stamped. In his analysis, he compares Boyd Check Stamped to his Galt Check Stamped defined by work in the Allatoona Reservoir (Caldwell 1957), and the shell tempered type Overhill Check Stamped from Tennessee.

Patrick Garrow (1979) reports a nineteenth-century pit feature from the Carters Dam area of northwestern Georgia. At this remnant of the Cherokee Coosawattee Old Town, he found primarily complicated stamped ceramics, although there was some check stamped and plain wares.

The Cherokee pottery of northern Georgia has been reviewed recently by David Hally (1986), who studied ceramics from the lower Cherokee towns of Tugalo, Chauga, and Estatoe on the Tugalo River. Hally defines two phases: the sixteenth-century Tugalo phase and the eighteenth-century Estatoe phase. The Tugalo phase is a Lamar phase characterized by a high frequency of complicated stamping, and to date, no European material has been found in association. The historic Estatoe phase is of more interest to the present discussion. The Estatoe phase contains a predominance of complicated stamped ware, nearly 70%, but Incised (4%), check stamped (6%), plain (11%), burnished plain (4%), coarse plain (7%), and other types (each less than 1%) make up the remainder of the assemblage (Hally 1986:Table 1). Hally also studied complicated stamped motifs and rim forms. Eighteenth-century Lower Cherokee rim forms include rolled rims, filleted strip rims, "L" shaped rims (actually an inverted "L"), and folded and pinched or punctated rims (most common).

Following Hally's analysis, work at the Lower Cherokee town of Tomassee in Oconee County, South Carolina (Smith et al. 1988) demonstrated the almost total lack of incised pottery on historically documented Lower Cherokee sites. Certainly by the occupation of Tomassee, ca. 1721-1777, the Lower Cherokee no longer made incised ceramics, suggesting that the low frequency that Hally included in his description of the Estatoe phase might be due to the mixed nature

of his ceramic sample or perhaps to intertown variability.

Ceramics from historic Cherokee contexts in the Blue Ridge have not been described in the literature. They would presumably closely resemble ceramics from the Estatoe phase and ceramics from Valley towns in North Carolina (Egloff 1967). Complicated stamping should be common from the sixteenth-century to the nineteenth, while incising should decrease in frequency. Rim forms would follow the same trends seen for the Estatoe phase to the east, and the Wear phase to the West.

Domestic Architecture

Sixteenth-century architecture is well known for northwestern Georgia, primarily due to the efforts of David Hally and his students. Hally concentrated his efforts at Little Egypt to learn about domestic life, and he subsequently excavated two village structures and one residence on the edge of the large mound (Hally 1980). Later work at the King site produced more information about domestic structures at the Spanish contact time interval (Garrow and Smith 1973; Hally 1988; Kelly 1988). Ongoing excavations at the Leake site, 9Br2, have also focused on sixteenth-century village deposits, and at least one burned structure has been revealed. Other well preserved structures have been excavated at the Lamar village portion of the Etowah site (Lewis Larson, personal communication) and at site 9Br60b in the Allatoona Reservoir (Caldwell 1950:11). All of these sixteenth-century domestic structures can be characterized as square (often with rounded corners), constructed of individual set posts often with wattle and daub walls, set in shallow basins (probably implying an earthen embankment on the base of the walls), frequently with wall trench entranceways, containing central hearths, usually four major central roof supports, and often evidence of interior partition walls.

A second type of structure that is recognized is a light, probably open, shed-like building constructed on the surface of the ground (i.e., not semisubterranean). These structures were probably summer houses (Polhemus 1987; Hally 1988, Kelly 1988).

Within the Piedmont, sixteenth-century domestic structures from sites showing direct evidence of European contact are rare. Although no trade material was recovered from the Dyar site during University of Georgia excavations, it is believed to have been occupied during the mid-sixteenth-century. A local amateur archaeologist recently reported the discovery of a blue glass bead from

the Dyar site to Mark Williams (personal communication). Smith (1981) reports an early Dyar phase (probably ca. 1480) domestic structure, rectangular in outline, with a central hearth. No entry-way was defined for this structure, but it appeared to have several characteristics of sixteenth century structures excavated in northwestern Georgia.

A domestic structure has also been excavated at the seventeenth-century Lindsay site in the Oconee Valley of Piedmont Georgia (Hatch and Humpf in preparation; Kowalewski and Hatch 1990). Here, a round house, nine meters in diameter and supported by substantial posts, was revealed.

A partial structure was excavated at 9GP-HK-08 (Blanton 1985). Unfortunately, this structure was poorly defined, and it could not be assigned to one of two phases (sixteenth-century Dyar phase or seventeenth-century Bell phase) represented at the site.

Semisubterranean square domestic winter structures have been excavated on the Dog River in the Piedmont (Eric Poplin 1990 and personal communication). These structures are much like those identified at the King site.

W.P.A. and C.C.C. excavations at Macon Plateau revealed eighteenth-century houses (Mason 1963). While many of these "houses" appear to be public buildings (see below), at least one appears to be a domestic structure. House VIII was located south of the English trading stockade, and measured 27 by 23 feet. Unlike other structures which Mason assigns to the historic component, this structure has square corners rather than rounded corners. The structure had a prepared clay floor, and a clay lined fire pit was located in the south central portion of the house. There was some evidence of rebuilding of the southwestern wall. Although this structure is somewhat larger than most domestic structures, it does compare well with other excavated house patterns.

An early eighteenth-century domestic structure was excavated by Hally at the Little Egypt site (Hally 1980). Structure 3 was a rectangular, semisubterranean structure which measured 23 by 24 feet, and was rebuilt several times. Four central roof support posts surround a central clay hearth. No evidence of the doorway was detected during excavation, and no burials were found beneath the floor. The alignment of the roof supports was placed at right angles to the alignment of the walls; a very unusual organization.

William Sears excavated one domestic structure near Mound B at the Etowah site (Sears 1958). He assigned this structure to the Pumpkinvine period, which he believed represented a Cherokee group circa 1650-1700. The ceramics from this structure contain a large quantity of complicated stamped wares mixed with small amounts of brushed wares, suggesting comparability with Hally's Little Egypt Structure 3 collection. The presence of a musketball and horse teeth, but general scarcity of European objects in the structure suggest a date probably in the early eighteenth-century, at least after the beginnings of English trade. This structure was ovoid in outline, showing much rebuilding. It had a central fireplace and an entryway toward the river.

One late eighteenth-century domestic structure was exposed during excavations of Okfuskenena (Huscher and others 1972). Unit X-7 contained a square post-pattern interpreted as a house. The post-pattern measured 25 feet on a side, and the posts were spaced at 4-5 foot intervals. The eastern half of the structure contained burial pits. Intact floor deposits were lacking.

No definitely contact period structures have been excavated in the Blue Ridge area of Georgia. It is clear from historical records that many houses exist.

Highly acculturated Cherokees left beautiful homes of Euro-American brick, horizontal log, or wood siding construction, some of which are still standing. Chieftains, the home of Major Ridge, in Floyd County, is still extant and is currently used as a museum. The Vann House, home of Joseph Vann, is located in Murray County (Mahan 1954) and is maintained by the state of Georgia. Other Cherokee homes are still to be found in remote areas of northwestern Georgia.

Public Architecture

The investigation of public architecture has been of interest to archaeologists since the early twentieth-century. Much work has concentrated on mounds, and mound architecture is known from such sixteenth-century sites as Little Egypt (Hally 1980) in the Ridge and Valley and the Dyar site in the Piedmont (Smith 1981). Both of these sites produced rectangular public buildings on the mound summits, although neither of them produced any European artifacts from the excavated structures. Earlier work at Little Egypt by Warren K. Moorehead (1932) did reveal Spanish artifacts on the summit of Mound A, but Moorehead recorded no architectural details, other than mentioning a floor.

The King site (Hally 1988; Kelly 1988), did produce a large, ground level public building. This structure measured approximately 50 feet on a side, and was square with rounded corners in floor plan. Instead of the usual four interior roof support posts, this structure had eight support posts. Burials of ten individuals were made through the floor. There was no preserved floor, as plowing had destroyed the actual living surface. Similar public architecture has been recorded for contemporary Mouse Creek phase sites in eastern Tennessee (Sullivan 1987).

Due to destruction by plowing and erosion, there is no evidence of public architecture from the historic levels of Tugalo, Chauga, or Estatoe.

By the seventeenth-century, mound construction apparently ceased in all of northern Georgia, if we can generalize from the northwest Georgia situation and our limited knowledge of the remainder of the study area (Smith 1987). A possible exception is the Dillard Mound in northeastern Georgia, briefly tested by David Hally and Marshall Williams (Hally, personal communication). Ground level public buildings were apparently the norm, but excavated examples are rare. The Joe Bell site in the Piedmont portion of the Oconee River drainage has produced the only seventeenth-century public building known to date (Williams 1983). This Bell phase building was approximately 45-50 feet in diameter, and was round in plan. It was located on the highest portion of the site (c.f. location of the Tennessee Mouse Creek phase Ledford Island town house [Sullivan 1987]). The posthole pattern of this structure is not well-defined (Williams 1983:134), and the arrangement of interior roof supports and the location of the doorway are not clear. The floor had been destroyed by plowing, and there was no evidence of a hearth in the structure. There were no burials placed in the building. Unfortunately, little can be said of seventeenth-century public buildings in the study area, but the Joe Bell site example does alert us to their presence.

Eighteenth-century examples of public architecture are almost equally difficult to find archaeologically within the study area. There were three large "houses" excavated at Macon Plateau (Mason 1963:84-96). House I was nearly square with rounded corners, measuring 47.5 by 46.25 feet. This structure had definitely been daubed, and was constructed of posts about six inches in diameter. The interior details are confused, and the pattern of roof supports cannot be determined. There were two possible entrances: one gap of posts on the southeastern side, and a possible doorway near the end of the southwestern wall. This latter doorway had two lines of posts about five feet long extending away, forming an entranceway. There is a possible fire pit, but it was not located in the center of

the structure. One historic burial was located within the postmold pattern.

House II consisted of another rectangular postmold pattern superimposed on House I; that is, it was a rebuilding of House I (or vice versa- Mason notes that it was impossible to determine which house was constructed first). House II measured 47.5 by 42.5 feet, and also has rounded corners. There was no evidence of a doorway.

House V was another large structure, measuring "roughly" 47.5 by 39 feet on each side with rounded corners. Again, there is no evidence of interior features which can be definitely attributed to this structure. House V overlapped House II for a short distance, demonstrating that they were not contemporary.

In spite of their large size, Mason considers these structures to be domestic in nature; on retrospect, it seems likely that they were public buildings. Their size is virtually identical to the public building at the sixteenth-century King site, and their size and shape is very similar to a series of late seventeenth through early eighteenth-century public buildings excavated at the Fusihatchee site on the Tallapoosa drainage in Alabama (Sheldon 1990). There was a clear intention of placing a large structure in this immediate area, as we basically have three overlapping structures in the same location.

Late eighteenth-century Creek public buildings have been excavated from Okfuskenena, destroyed by Georgia forces in 1793 (Huscher ad others 1972). One rotunda, located in unit X-9, measured fifty feet in diameter. An interior ring of posts 25 feet in diameter was also recorded. This structure had no apparent doorway, but three central hearths indicated rebuilding of this feature. Work later revealed a second rotunda, located immediately to the northwest of the first. Although excavation was not complete, the post pattern suggested a similar size, but a section of straight wall line hinted at a possible oval shape. A possible third rotunda was located at the far southern end of the site, but it was not completely investigated. A similar rotunda, measuring 12.8 meters in diameter, was excavated at the Fusihatchee site in Alabama. The Fusihatchee rotunda dates ca. 1750-1760 (Sheldon 1990:71).

Finally an early nineteenth-century Cherokee rotunda was excavated at New Echota. Unit 17 produced the posthole pattern of a circular building, 120 feet in diameter. Square post molds measuring 12 by 8 inches suggest the use of posts cut in the European fashion, although round posts were also used in the

construction of this building (De Baillou 1955:28-29). This building appears suspiciously large, and may have been a fenced horse ring or other enclosure. For comparison, the townhouse at the eighteenth-century Overhill capital town of Chota was sixty feet in diameter (Schroedl 1986).

Subsistence

Subsistence remains have not been studied on the majority of contact period aboriginal sites excavated in northern Georgia. It has only been in the last twenty years that a research interest in such remains has been established, and many of the major sites were excavated prior to this time. Determining the environmental adaptation of Georgia's historic Indians is still an important research goal.

Sixteenth-century contact period subsistence remains are best known from the Little Egypt site (Hally 1980, 1981; Roth 1980). Animals utilized include the full range of commonly hunted species. Deer were most important, but bear, turkey, raccoon, opossum, gray squirrel, beaver, fish (especially drum), shellfish, and some turtle were also present in the diet (Roth 1980). Plant remains consisted of corn, beans, and squash, various nuts, and wild seeds and fruits (Hally 1981: Table 1).

Additional samples of sixteenth-century subsistence remains were taken, using modern flotation techniques, from the King and Leake sites. Remains from these ongoing projects have not been analyzed, but should provide useful evidence.

Seventeenth-century subsistence remains are best known from sites of the Bell phase on the Piedmont Oconee drainage. Remains from the Joe Bell site include the usual complement of wild species: deer, rabbit, beaver, opossum, squirrel, raccoon, turkey, various fish and turtles, and shellfish. There is no evidence of bison or bear from this site (Williams 1983: Table 9). Plant remains identified by Elizabeth Sheldon do show the addition of European derived domesticates, even at this early seventeenth-century dateline (Williams 1983: Table 15). Peaches make their appearance and were the second most common plant food, but aboriginal corn, nuts, knotweed, maypop and other wild plants are most important in the overall diet. Surprisingly, no beans or squash were recovered from the Joe Bell site.

Another Bell phase site, GP-HK-08 (Blanton 1985), produced peaches, maypop,

corn, and acorns as well as deer, turtle, and snails from Bell phase contexts. Again, beans and squash were not identified. Peach pits have also been found on other Bell phase sites, such as 9Ge958 and 9Mg185 in the Wallace Reservoir (Ledbetter 1978), and it is clear that they had been quickly introduced from Spanish missions on the coast.

A third Bell phase site, Lindsey, excavated under the direction of James Hatch, has produced hickory nuts, pecans, black walnuts, acorns, peaches, persimmons, haw, maypop, grape, corn, sunflower, bean, goosefoot, ragweed, possibly sassafras, and possibly squash or gourds (Bonhage-Freund in preparation). Bonhage-Freund suggests that the peaches were grown on the site.

Faunal remains from Lindsey include 39 different taxa (Boyko in preparation). The detailed analysis can only be summarized here. Although deer, turkey, raccoon, and bear are present, the assemblage consists of a high proportion of very small animals, such as squirrels, rabbits, mice, and terrestrial birds. Aquatic species (fish and aquatic turtles) were present, but rare, although shellfish were utilized. Boyko's analysis of the faunal remains from Lindsay constitute the most detailed examination of seventeenth-century faunal utilization in the study area.

Eighteenth-century subsistence remains are poorly known from northern Georgia. Structure 3 at the Little Egypt site in the Valley and Ridge produced some data on the early eighteenth-century (Hally 1980, 1981; Roth 1980). There were no identified domesticated animal species in the collection, and bison were not identified. Subsistence still relied on hunting white tailed deer, bear, and small mammals. Plant remains similarly yielded no evidence of European introduced domesticates, but reliance on corn and squash, various nuts, wild grains, and fruits remained much as it had prehistorically (Hally 1981: Table 1). Beans were not found in the early eighteenth-century structure, and it seems remarkable that no peaches were identified.

The Hobgood site, a nineteenth-century Cherokee site in Cherokee County, Georgia, is believed to have been part of the dispersed Hickory Log Village (B. Smith 1985). Subsistence remains from Hobgood included deer, bird, garfish, walnuts, corn, introduced chicken egg fragments, possible cow, and peach pits found in refuse-filled pits. The presence of eggshell and possible cow bones

shows the increased acculturation of the nineteenth-century Cherokee.

In summary, it is clear that relatively little is known of historic aboriginal subsistence practices and changes brought about by European contact. We do know that peaches were an early introduction, reaching the Georgia piedmont by the first third of the seventeenth-century. Archaeological evidence for cow, pigs, chickens, and other additions to the aboriginal diet is scarce, and information on these species is presently best known from historical sources. Eventually, archaeology should shed more light on the timing of these introductions. It might be anticipated that there would be an increase in deer remains during the late seventeenth-early eighteenth-century, as the deerskin trade expanded, but archaeological evidence of these dramatic subsistence shifts has not been demonstrated.

Mortuary Practices

Throughout the post-European contact period, Native Americans continued to inter their dead in village sites, often beneath their house floors. They continued to place grave accompaniments with their dead, and these accompaniments yield an abundance of information to archaeologists.

Study of mortuary practices at the sixteenth-century King site produce much of what we know of this period in northern Georgia (Seckinger 1977). Burials at the King site were placed in pits, usually in a flexed position, but extended or bundle arrangements of bones were also identified. Seckinger (1977) has studied the mortuary patterning of the site, and he concludes that there is little evidence of ascribed status at the site. This may be due, however, to the position of the site in the settlement hierarchy; King was a small village in the province of Ulibahali, which was subject to the chief of Coosa. Thus it was the lowest level in a three level settlement hierarchy, and it is not unusual to see little social stratification in such a location. The general health of the occupants of the King site is the subject of several studies by Robert Blakely and his students (Blakely 1988).

Seventeenth-century burials are known from Bell phase sites. Williams (1983) reports a flexed burial with two glass beads from the Joe Bell site, and Blanton (1985) reports a flexed burial with terminal sixteenth-early seventeenth-century turquoise blue glass beads from GP-Hk-08 in Hancock county. Bell phase burials containing glass beads and pottery vessels were also encountered at site 9Ge948 in the Wallace Reservoir (Ledbetter 1978; Smith 1979). Humpf (in preparation)

reports a detailed analysis of four burials from the Lindsey site in Morgan County. An adult male, two adult females, and a child were buried in the floor of a house in an isolated farmstead, and Humpf interprets this group as a single, polygamous nuclear family. All of these burials were accompanied by grave goods including pottery vessels, shell beads, and a greenstone discoidal.

Recently an interesting type of mortuary site, the "Boulder Cache," has been identified (Wauchope 1966:377; Ledbetter and Wynn 1988; Braley, Ledbetter, and Williams 1985). These sites consist of scatters of human bone (often burned), pottery vessels, and other mortuary offerings placed in large boulder outcrops in the Georgia Piedmont. They are best known from the Oconee River drainage, and they appear to date to fairly late Lamar phases, although pottery vessels show much variety and have been assigned to the full range of Lamar phases (Duvall, Iron Horse, Dyar, and Bell phases). Of particular significance to this study, is the finding of glass beads in one of these sites, demonstrating beyond a doubt that this practice was carried out as late as the early seventeenth-century. Of the six sites known, three contain Bell phase ceramics, and thus post-date approximately 1580.

The famous Nacoochee mound, 9Wh3, excavated by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation (Heye, Hodge, and Pepper 1918) yielded several historic burials which appear to be seventeenth-century in date (see Waselkov 1989). Burial 3 contained sheet copper (brass?) armbands, red paint, shell and glass beads; Burial 2 contained a catlinite disc pipe, blue glass beads, shell beads, and two discoidals and a quartz crystal; Burial 5 contained glass beads and a piece of graphite; and Burial 4 contained a stone pipe, copper (brass?) buttons, lead (pewter?) buttons, and glass beads. Burial 4 probably dates to the early eighteenth-century based on the illustrated stone pipe and the described glass beads (Heye et al. 1918:98), but the other burials may be a century earlier. This material should be reexamined. Wauchope (1966:466) reports a flexed burial accompanied by glass beads from the nearby Will White Site, 9Wh29, but this burial cannot be dated accurately from the published description.

Eighteenth-century burials were excavated at the Macon Plateau (Mason 1963: 96-130). Mason identifies 33 of 67 burials as definitely historic Creek, based primarily on the inclusion of European artifacts in the graves. Skeletal material was poorly preserved or missing at the time of Mason's analysis, and thus there is little information about the general health of the Macon Plateau inhabitants. Two multiple burials were found, and most burials were flexed, although two cremations of infants were recorded, and there was at least one extended burial.

One of the infant cremations was placed beneath an inverted pottery vessel, but pottery in general was not a grave accompaniment. Indeed, native-made grave accompaniments were rare at the site, the one exception being conch shell ornaments placed with seven of nine child burials excavated , but only with one definite adult (Mason 1963:126). Most burials contained European artifacts, including glass beads, brass bells, firearms, a sword, and knives. Mason believes that grave goods were primarily personal property of the deceased, rather than offerings; the exception being a well accompanied child burial. The physical remains of the Macon Plateau people are the subject of a recent study by Mary Lucas Powell (1986).

No eighteenth- or nineteenth-century burials were excavated from Little Egypt, Etowah, or any other sites in the Valley and Ridge. Burials are also conspicuously absent from documented historic Lower Cherokee sites in northeastern Georgia.

Waste Disposal

The practice of refuse disposal in pit features was commonly practiced during the historic period. This practice is virtually unknown from middle sixteenth-century sites, such as the King site in the Ridge and Valley or the Dyar site in the Piedmont, but becomes quickly popular during the terminal sixteenth-early seventeenth-century. The very late Dyar phase (late sixteenth-century) Carroll Village site in the Oconee drainage in the Piedmont has produced large, refuse-filled pits (Kowalewski and Williams 1989:52). Slightly later Bell phase sites on the Oconee drainage invariably have refuse filled pits (Williams 1983; Blanton 1985; Hatch and Humpf in preparation). From this time on, refuse filled pits are common, occurring at such widely separated sites as Will White in White County (Wauchope 1966:466), Macon Plateau (ca. 1690-1715) (Mason 1963:130-137), Okfuskenena (ca. 1767-1793) (Huscher 1972) in Troup County, and the early nineteenth-century Hobgood site in Cherokee County (B. Smith 1985) and Boyd site in Forsyth County (Caldwell 1955) for a few examples.

What prompted this change in refuse disposal? Earlier sites have sheet midden, while later sites have pits. The importation of European digging implements, such as hoes, does not seem to account for the shift, because it usually predates the common use of metal tools. It has been suggested that pits were used for storage, while people were away from the village, perhaps on extended hunts (Ward 1985:99), and were subsequently used for refuse disposal. This may be

indirect evidence of subsistence changes following European contact. The use of pits clearly predates any large scale fur trade, and thus the shift would not seem to correlate with extended deer hunting expeditions of the type historically documented for the eighteenth-century. The pits could be refilled daub processing pits, but why are they not found on sixteenth century sites which definitely have daubed structures? Perhaps the daub was taken from palisade ditches on the earlier sites, but with the end of fortification construction, pits had to be dug for clay. Unfortunately, this reasoning breaks down when it is noted that not all sixteenth century towns were fortified. At this time, there is no good explanation of the shift to use of pits.

Community Plan

Hally (1980:648-649) has reported his interpretation of the community plan of the Barnett phase (sixteenth-century) occupation of the Little Egypt site. He suggests an oval-shaped village, roughly 900 by 700 feet. In the approximate center of the village was a plaza area, 300 by 200 feet. Mound A was on the eastern side of the plaza, and Mound B was on the northern side. A zone of domestic structures was located to the south and west of the plaza. Excavations did not encompass the perimeter of the site, and it is not known if any form of palisade was present.

Easily the best known site plan in all of Georgia is that from the sixteenth-century King site (Hally 1988; Garrow and Smith 1973; Kelly 1988) where excavations by Patrick Garrow and David Hally revealed nearly two-thirds of the town plan. Testing in the remainder of the village has confirmed a symmetrical plan. The King site plan consists of several concentric rings of features (from outside to inside): a surrounding ditch that is square with rounded corners (a shallow, dry ditch; not a moat), a palisade wall of individually set posts, and two or three concentric rings of houses surrounding a central, open plaza area which contains one large public building and a smaller structure. Also located within the plaza were two large post pits, probably for large posts connected with ball games, town insignia, or perhaps places where captives were tied according to ethnohistoric analogy. Assuming symmetry, there is room within the plaza for paired public buildings, but no excavation has been conducted in the anticipated area for a second large building.

Preliminary excavations and remote sensing at the sixteenth-century Leake mounds and village on the Etowah River in the Ridge and Valley suggest a similar arrangement of houses around a central plaza (Hally, Personal

Communication).

Village plans from the Bell phase are not fully understood at this time. The Joe Bell site, type site for the Bell phase (Williams 1983), did not yield convincing domestic structures, although a rotunda was excavated. Work at other small Bell phase sites, most of which appear to have been hamlets or farmsteads, have revealed a pattern of one domestic structure with sub-floor burials paired with a large refuse filled pit (Hatch and Humpf, in preparation).

Early seventeenth-century sites on the Dog River also appear to be scattered households (Eric Poplin 1990 and personal communication). More excavation in this area is needed to confirm this possible pattern.

There is some hint of town organization at the Macon Plateau. Mason (1963) reports three large buildings, which appear to be public structures, probably town houses, located approximately 125 feet south of the English fortified trading house on the Upper Creek Path. These structures overlap and clearly were used sequentially. This area seems to be the political/economic center of the community. It would be easy to envision the town house opposite the trading post with a plaza area in between. The one identified historic domestic structure located at Macon Plateau (Structure VIII) is located just east of this possible plaza to the northeast of the public buildings. Evidence from burials and possible structures in the Middle Plateau and near the Funeral Mound (Fairbanks 1956) suggest scattered households over a large area; a dispersed settlement pattern.

There is little evidence of the community plan of Okfuskenena, although a large area was stripped with heavy equipment. Two rotundas were found near the northern end of the area investigated, suggesting the political center of the settlement. Unfortunately, a third rotunda was partially exposed in the southern area if the site, some 400 feet from the first two. The one domestic structure identified (in X-7) was located adjacent to this southerly rotunda. It is assumed that only one rotunda was in use at any one time, and that the town plan must have been altered at least once during the occupation. The lack of domestic structures makes identification of the town plan problematical, but the large area stripped suggests that households were widely dispersed.

The settlement pattern of the early nineteenth-century Cherokee town of Sixes, located within the modern Allatoona Reservoir, is the subject of detailed archaeological and historical analysis by W. Dean Wood and Robbie Ethridge (Ledbetter et al. 1987). The settlement pattern of this historically documented

"town" was a grouping of dispersed farmsteads. During a shoreline survey of Allatoona Reservoir, 23 Galt phase sites were located or revisited, and seven other sites are known from Caldwell's earlier work. Most sites were located on first terraces above the floodplain, and were on streams. Twenty-six of these sites were located in the area known from map sources to have been Sixes Town. These sites were scattered for some 14,000 feet along the Etowah River, showing a greatly dispersed settlement pattern. The distribution of archaeological sites was shown to correspond fairly well to Indian improvements recorded in 1830 district survey plats.

Although no site plan was formally published, it is clear from De Baillou's report (1955) that numerous houses were located in New Echota, and that several could be tied in to old surveyor's reports. Thus the town plan at New Echota has both historical documentation and some (unpublished) archaeological confirmation. But this nucleated town was probably not typical of the usual dispersed settlement which characterized the nineteenth-century Cherokee; rather, it appears to have been an attempt to copy American settlements as the political center of the Cherokee nation.

It could be argued, based on very limited archaeological evidence and some historical documentation, that community plans changed from compact, often palisaded towns, to ever more dispersed settlement throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The analysis of community settlement pattern is still a largely open research topic.

Settlement Pattern of Polities

Settlement pattern data for the distribution of sites is also poorly known for most periods. Hally, Smith, and Langford (1990) have analyzed the settlement pattern of sixteenth century sites of the Ridge and Valley area, showing that clusters of six to eight sites are somewhat evenly spaced in northern Georgia with intervening buffer zones. Some work with the distribution of sixteenth century sites (Smith and Kowalewski 1980) and seventeenth century sites (Kowalewski and Hatch 1990) in the Oconee drainage has also been done. The excellent study of Sixes Town, a nineteenth-century Cherokee town in the Allatoona Reservoir (Ledbetter et al. 1987) is virtually the only other settlement study which has been conducted. Eighteenth century Creek towns on the Ocmulgee appear to consist of clusters of sites (see discussion in Chapter VI), but much more work should be conducted to understand the settlement patterns of Georgia's historic Indians.

IX. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND MANAGEMENT CONCERNS

In summary, relatively little is known of Georgia's historic period aboriginal occupants from an archaeological perspective. While the basic outline of ceramic change is understood, there is still much room to improve our knowledge of this area of aboriginal culture. In many cases, ceramics are virtually the only aspect of material culture that is known archaeologically. While some information on the frequency of surface treatment of historic ceramics is documented, there have been no studies of incised or stamped pottery motifs outside of the sixteenth-century. Variability of ceramic decoration between towns within individual political units would be a useful research avenue. The limited data from the Creek towns on the Ocmulgee ca. 1690-1715 suggests that contemporary villages may show great differences in ceramic decoration (see Table 3). Historic ceramic phases need to be defined for many portions of the study area, particularly the Blue Ridge, the Savannah River Fall Line area, the Flint River, and others. What do Yuchi ceramics look like?

While I have chosen not to discuss aboriginal lithic assemblages of the historic period, natives continued to use the bow and arrow well into the eighteenth-century. Although metal axes quickly replaced stone celts, perhaps as early as the early seventeenth-century, arrowheads continued to be flaked into the eighteenth-century, but were replaced by metal, usually brass, points soon thereafter. The lithic technology of historic aboriginal peoples, and its demise, is a fruitful avenue of future research. Analysis of non-flaked stone tools from the sixteenth-century Little Egypt and King sites has been completed by Marilyn Pennington (1977), and her study should provide an excellent point of departure for additional comparison.

What little is known about historic aboriginal archaeological sites in Georgia comes from the Piedmont and Ridge and Valley; virtually no historic aboriginal sites are known from the Blue Ridge. Thus identification of historic aboriginal sites in this region is of paramount importance. At this time, virtually any historic period aboriginal site in the Blue Ridge should be considered a significant cultural resource. Because we know so little about this period in the Blue Ridge, any site is likely to contribute scientific data of value, and therefore meets National Register criteria as a significant site.

Historic sites on the Flint River have received virtually no work, although several are known from the survey efforts of Don Gordy. The well-dated and documented

Creek sites on the Ocmulgee and Towaliga rivers should also be investigated in the near future. Historic towns near Augusta have been virtually ignored, yet the Yuchi settlement above the Fall Line should be easily located. Cherokee sites of the upper Chattahoochee drainage should be abundant, but few are documented.

Aboriginal housing construction is relatively well-known for sixteenth-century northwestern Georgia due to the efforts of David Hally, Patrick Garrow, and their students. Sixteenth and seventeenth-century houses have been excavated on the Dog River and Oconee River in the Piedmont. Eighteenth-century structures have been excavated in the Valley and Ridge (Little Egypt Site and Etowah sites) and the Piedmont (Okfuskenena and Macon Plateau sites). Portions of nineteenth-century Cherokee sites have been excavated, ranging from elite residences (Vann House, New Echota, Chieftains) to small segments of log cabin sites (Hicks Cabin at New Echota,"Historic Cabin" site in Murray County; and unpublished work by James Langford in Gordon County). Aspects of domestic settlement change remain to be investigated archaeologically. The standard household unit, minimally consisting of paired summer and winter houses, has only been demonstrated for sixteenth-century sites. A complete log cabin has yet to be excavated, and the timing of the replacement of aboriginal construction techniques by log architecture has yet to be determined in any portion of Georgia, although such data are available for eastern Tennessee (Schroedl 1986; Polhemus 1975). Waselkov (1990) notes that Creek Indians on the lower Tallapoosa River in Alabama quit building semi-subterranean winter houses ca. 1700, and he suggests that this change was due to an emphasis on winter deer hunts at this time. This hypothesis should be tested in other areas.

Public architecture is known for several time periods, but in no case do we have an excavated public building with intact floor deposits; structures are known only by posthole patterns. There seems to be a change from rectangular public buildings of the seventeenth century to round public buildings of the later eighteenth century, and this change needs further documentation and explanation.

Given the general lack of data on houses, it should come as no surprise that we know virtually nothing about community plans. With the exception of the sixteenth-century King Site, and plans of small hamlets of the seventeenth-century Bell phase, community plan data are totally lacking. Broad excavations of seventeenth-century towns are needed to document a shift from compact, often

palisaded villages of the sixteenth-century, to the dispersed settlement typical of the eighteenth-century. No eighteenth-century settlement plan is known archaeologically, although both Macon Plateau and Okfuskenena excavations suggest that houses will be widely scattered.

Mortuary data are available for virtually all periods of Indian-European contact with the exception of the early nineteenth-century, but much more information could be derived from modern studies of burial practices. Large skeletal populations are only available from the sixteenth-century King Site in northwestern Georgia, and these have been extensively analyzed. Mortuary series from the seventeenth-century are needed to properly analyze the effects of European contact on Georgia's Indians. Eighteenth-century mortuary practices are chiefly known from the Macon Plateau, but this collection could be reanalyzed using more modern techniques. Mortuary studies should provide data on the shift from an ascribed status system of ranked clans to a more egalitarian system. Except for the King site series, virtually nothing is known about the physical anthropology of Georgia's historic period Indians.

Subsistence data are available primarily from the sixteenth-century sites in northwestern Georgia and from seventeenth-century Bell phase sites on the Oconee River in the Piedmont. Eighteenth-century subsistence data come primarily from the Little Egypt site in the Ridge and Valley; we know virtually nothing about the introduction of European plants and animals to Georgia's Indians. Again, studies in Tennessee (Bogan, LaValley, and Schroedl 1986) are much more thorough and useful to understanding the process of culture change in the realm of subsistence. Does the shift to a deer skin trade also mark a shift to greater reliance on wild animal species at the expense of domesticated plants? What is the timing of the introduction of plants and animals such as peaches, watermelons, chickens, cattle, and pigs, and how did these subsistence changes affect the native Georgians?

Other questions can be approached in the future. Of course, the most important research question is, what effects did European contact have on the natives of the area? How were the complex chiefdoms described by the early Spanish explorers of the sixteenth-century transformed into the more egalitarian societies described during the eighteenth-century? How did this social and political collapse take place? How was a system of ascribed status largely replaced by a system of achieved status?

What is the origin of the historic tribes of Georgia that are so well-documented in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? It is clear that these tribal groups were not in existance in the sixteenth century. Many population movements and amalgamations of people need to be traced via the archaeological record. Perhaps by studying individual ceramic modes, we can trace ethnic groups through time as they move and recombine with other groups. It may also be possible to follow people by studying particular physical attributes of the populations themselves.

What was the process of economic change as the Indians shifted from mixed horticulture-hunting to an emphasis on slave raiding in the late seventeenth-century to an emphasis on the deerskin trade in the eighteenth-century. At least the male role in society severely changed, while the female role may have remained relatively the same at this point. Eventually, many of Georgia's Indians reached a final acculturated status of male farmer/female homemaker that some Cherokee and Creek adopted by the nineteenth-century. This latter economy signalled a virtual role reversal for southeastern Indian men and women. Can we identify seasonal deer hunting camps of the eighteenth-century, or slavers' camps of the seventeenth-century?

When did true acculturation take place? Elsewhere it has been argued that acculturation was not a significant process of culture change prior to the late seventeenth-century at the earliest (Smith 1987). Just when did native ways begin to be replaced by European ones?

Where are Georgia's seventeenth-century inhabitants? It has been suggested that the Ridge and Valley Province of northwestern Georgia was abandoned by the end of the sixteenth-century (Smith 1987). There are currently no documented seventeenth-century sites in the Blue Ridge, and such sites are rare in the Piedmont, except for the Oconee drainage where they are plentiful. Was post-contact depopulation due to epidemic disease so radical as to leave much of northern Georgia uninhabited, or do we simply not recognize seventeenth-century occupations? Did the majority of northern Georgia's Indians die out, or move further south to be near the Spaniards in Florida and on the Georgia coast?

Can we document depopulation as an aftermath of contact brought about by the introduction of European disease? It has been suggested that multiple burials and mass graves may be archaeological evidence of disease epidemics (Smith 1987), while Blakely (1988) and Mathews (1988) suggest that these practices may

reflect direct warfare with Europeans. Are such burials to be found in sixteenth and seventeenth-century sites in Georgia outside of the Valley and Ridge?

Little is known of isolated Cherokee farmsteads of the eighteenth and nineteenth century since most excavation has focused on major towns and elite residences. More work should be conducted on farmsteads of the average Cherokee. The results of this work should be contrasted and compared to excavated data from elite Cherokee and Euro-American farmers.

Many highly acculturated Cherokee in northwestern Georgia acquired slaves by the nineteenth century. The archaeology of plantation slavery has continued to be a topic of research interest, and the excavation of the material remains of slaves held by Indians would be an interesting topic of research for comparison with slave archaeology known from Euro-American owned plantations.

Resource Significance

Because so little is known about the historic period Indians of northern Georgia, virtually every site can be considered a significant cultural resource. While it is true that much more is known about sixteenth-century Indians in the Ridge and Valley and seventeenth-century Indians in the Oconee Valley of the Piedmont, it is important to realize that while some sites have been excavated extensively in these areas, we still do not have data on site variability. One site is hard to generalize about; cultural patterns must be established from repeated observations. In the Ridge and Valley, important excavations have taken place at the Little Egypt, King, Etowah, and Leake sites, but three of these excavations remain virtually unreported. But more importantly, recent ethnohistorical and archaeological research in this area suggests that there were several clusters of sixteenth-century Mississippian towns visited by Hernando de Soto and Tristan de Luna. Each of these clusters has a different historical name and was seen as a political entity by the Spaniards, and each has its own distinctive material culture (Hally, Smith, and Langford 1990). To date, with the exception of Etowah and Leake, only one site from each of these "polities" has been investigated. Thus the range of variation within these early historic societies is completely unknown at this time. Are sites within clusters more similar than sites compared between clusters? Probably, but these differences have never been investigated.

Many of the historic aboriginal sites in Georgia were excavated prior to the late 1960s when new recovery techniques, such as flotation and water screening, were introduced. For that reason, we know virtually nothing about subsistence during the eighteenth-century, and precious little about it from earlier sites. Again, even a small isolated Cherokee farmstead can teach us valuable lessons about aboriginal adaptations by providing answers to questions that we never thought to ask thirty years ago.

The National Register of Historic Places criteria for significance of archaeological resources states that any site which has yielded or is likely to yield significant archaeological data is potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register. Sites which are associated with major events, specific historic people, or sites that exhibit an unusual artistic quality can also be eligible. Using these broad significance criteria, it could be argued that each historic aboriginal site in northern Georgia is potentially significant. Clearly this would not be a pragmatic approach, however, and it is necessary to define the types of sites which are most likely to provide a great amount of important scientific data.

It could be argued that aboriginal sites which have historically documented occupations are more likely to produce significant scientific data than undocumented sites of the same period. Such a limitation would only apply to sites visited by sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions or sites documented from the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. Whenever both historical and archaeological data sources can be combined, there is greater potential for learning more about a site. Thus for example, documented eighteenth-century Creek towns on the Chattahoochee, Flint, Ocmulgee, etc. or documented Cherokee or Yuchi towns should be considered as extremely significant resources. The location of these towns can be largely predicted by using sources found in this report. Because of the importance to the eventual formation of the United States, it could be argued that any archaeological site which shows direct evidence of contact with the De Soto expedition should be considered eligible for the National Register at the national level of significance. Direct evidence must be more sustained than the inclusion of a few Spanish artifacts. At this time, a case of national significance could be made for the King site in Floyd County due to the presence of diagnostic sixteenth century European artifacts combined with the evidence of direct contact shown in battle wounds on skeletal remains. Documented eighteenth and nineteenth century town sites should be considered eligible at the state or regional level. Large sixteenth century mound centers should be considered potentially elibible at the regional or state level, since they

functioned as important regional centers at the time of initial contact, even if they cannot be correlated with historically documented sites. These centers should be preserved whenever possible.

This is not to say that sites which are not historically documented are any less significant, but they must be approached on a site by site basis. Since there were virtually no Europeans in the interior of northern Georgia during the seventeenth century, most of the sites from this period cannot be predicted from historical records. Most sites which can be dated to the seventeenth century can be considered significant if they are intact, because so little research has been done on this period. The exception, of course, is the Bell phase of the Oconee River drainage area of the Piedmont. Numerous Bell phase sites have been excavated, and each has yielded significant scientific data. This is surprising, since these upland sites are located in an area long farmed for cotton and subsequently severely eroded. Yet houses, refuse filled pits, and burials have been found at virtually every one of these sites that has been excavated, cautioning archaeologists that many seemingly eroded sites can produce valuable data. While more of these sites should be excavated, their large number argues that not every one can be considered a significant cultural resource. Bell phase sites which are particularly well-preserved and sites in unusual locations should be considered significant vis a vis National Register criteria at the state or regional level.

Changes in refuse disposal patterns during the historic period may work to increase the significance of aboriginal sites of this period. The increasing use of refuse-filled pits beginning in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century makes the presence of intact deposits more likely on historic aboriginal sites. For this reason, if an occupation of the historic period is suspected, more effective Phase II testing measures should be employed. Shovel testing such sites is not likely to reveal features; more extensive testing, using large numbers of test pits on sites with intact midden or mechanical removal of the plowzone on disturbed sites, should be utilized. Because historic period aboriginal sites are so rare, they should be considered significant until it can be proved by testing that they do not have intact deposits.

Hally and Rudolph (1986: 90) propose three criteria to assess significance of Mississippian sites in the Georgia Piedmont, and these criteria can be used equally well for historic aboriginal sites: Site type, frequency of sites by type and phase, and preservation state.

Types of historic aboriginal sites include sixteenth-century mound centers, large village sites, hamlets, farmsteads, extractive sites, hunting camps, and specialized mortuary sites to name a few. Most archaeology in the past has focused on the large towns; only recently have we begun to examine smaller sites in the settlement hierarchy. Work on the Dog River and Oconee River in the Piedmont is certainly a step in the right direction, but much more data from these and other areas are needed. Isolated Creek and Cherokee farmsteads of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have not be investigated. These small sites can be considered eligible for nomination to the National Register at the local or state level of significance.

Frequency of sites during the historic period is low, especially since aboriginal populations were declining during much of this time due to the effects of introduced European diseases. Although aboriginal populations eventually began to recover, many Indians chose to migrate outside of the present state boundary or our northern Georgia study area, again giving the impression of population loss and therefore a scarcity of archaeological sites. Finally, many sites were destroyed by early reservoir construction, making remaining sites even more significant. There are so few historic aboriginal sites in Georgia that each could be considered significant until testing demonstrates that they are unlikely to produce important data. Only Bell phase farmsteads are currently known to be an abundant site type, although eventually nineteenth-century Cherokee farmsteads may also prove to be so abundant as to decrease their significance. Only after several Cherokee farmsteads have been investigated can it be argued that they are not significant due to their large numbers.

State of site preservation is an important component of site significance. Even seemingly eroded upland seventeenth-century Bell phase farmsteads and hamlets which have been severely impacted due to years of cotton agriculture and recent tree farming practices have been shown to produce very significant archaeological data upon excavation. Given that model, it is hard to argue that any site is unlikely to produce important scientific information. Given this outlook, historic aboriginal sites must be extensively tested prior to rendering a determination of not eligible for nomination to the National Register. Certainly it can be argued that sites destroyed by earthmoving practices are not significant. At this time, so little is known about Georgia's historic period Indians that we must make every effort to preserve or investigate any site which can be located.

Preservation Concerns

Whether or not to preserve an archaeological site is a complex decision. There are two principal reasons to preserve an archaeological site: preservation for future research and preservation for public interpretation. At the present time, there are several archaeological sites of the historic aboriginal period which have been preserved by various agencies as public parks in northern Georgia. The Etowah Mounds state park preserves an important archaeological site with occupation in the prehistoric, sixteenth century, and eighteenth century periods. Ocmulgee National Monument preserves a similar slice of prehistory/history in the Piedmont. Major nineteenth century Cherokee sites in the Ridge and Valley area have also been preserved. The State controls New Echota and the Vann House, and Chieftains, the home of the Cherokee chief Major Ridge, is preserved as a museum in Rome.

Steps should be taken to insure the preservation of the Nacoochee Mound site. This site has one of the few seventeenth century occupations noted in northern Georgia outside of the Oconee River drainage, and provides a laboratory for the study of culture change from the prehistoric period through the early nineteenth century. Although a portion of the mound has been excavated (Heye, Hodge, and Pepper 1918), the remainder of the mound is likely to yield significant data upon excavation; our excavation techniques have been greatly improved since the early twentieth century. The village area, which includes a documented Cherokee town of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, has never been excavated. While the land owners have provided excellent protection for this important site, this site would provide an excellent location for a state park and research center. It is in an area of high tourism and would make an excellent attraction.

The Scull Shoals mounds, a site with a documented historic period occupation, is currently owned by the U.S. Forest Service. Steps have been taken to insure its preservation. None of the other major mound centers on the Oconee River are in the public domain, and any of them would make excellent interpretative centers for public use and future research. Perhaps the best site for public acquisition is the Shinholser Mounds near Milledgeville. This site has a long prehistoric occupation, and is believed to be the town of Altamaha visited by Hernando de Soto and later Spanish expeditions in the early seventeenth century. Excavations by Mark Williams (1990a) confirmed a sixteenth century occupation, and also demonstrated a large occupation during the early seventeenth century. This is an important and impressive site and its preservation is important.

The King site has produced Spanish artifacts and evidence of direct contact with the De Soto expedition in the form of traumatized human remains (Mathews 1988). As the only site which has produced direct evidence of the De Soto expedition in Georgia, this site should be considered for public acquisition.

A small seventeenth century Bell phase hamlet might make a nice, small public park or picnic area. Several sites are located near Interstate 20 in Morgan County and could easily be developed by excavation followed by reconstruction of a typical house with a few outdoor interpretative displays.

Eighteenth century Creek and Cherokee villages are generally less suitable for public interpretation because they usually lack above ground features, such as mounds. However, these sites are rapidly disappearing, and well-preserved examples should be saved for future research. Many of the sites on the middle Chattahoochee River are now under water; a fate shared by many of the sites on the upper Savannah River drainage. There are several documented Creek towns north of Macon on the Ocmulgee River drainage (including the Towaliga River), and steps should be taken to insure their protection. There should be Yuchi settlements just north of Augusta on the Savannah River, and they should be considered important for future research. The site of Oconee Old Town has never been identified to my satisfaction, although a good case can be made for the Ennis site near Milledgeville. This site should be important for future research. One of the few remaining Lower Cherokee sites in northeastern Georgia is the Dillard Mound site in Rabun County. This site also contains a small mound, and would be a prime candidate for public acquisition.

The U. S. Forest Service controls much land in the Blue Ridge Province which should contain numerous Cherokee farmsteads (compare Figure 9). The Forest Service has an active program of archaeological research which insures the investigation of any site scheduled to be impacted, but they might be persuaded to save a few of the better preserved sites for future research. They might also want to consider developing a typical Cherokee farmstead for public interpretation. Similar sites could be found in the Ridge and Valley. We have examples of elite Cherokee residences, but the story of the typical Cherokee farming family has not been presented to the public.

Sources of Impact.

Sources of impact for historic aboriginal sites are nearly the same as those described for Mississippian sites in Piedmont and Ridge and Valley Georgia (Hally and Rudolph 1986; Hally and Langford 1988). Farming practices, especially deep subsoil plowing, continue to disturb archaeological sites. Upland sites of the historic period are being disturbed by tree farming activities by large paper companies. The fact that historic aboriginal sites are late in time means that they are less likely to be buried by protective blankets of alluvium, and thus are more exposed to agricultural damage than earlier sites.

A great many archaeological sites of the historic period have been flooded by reservoir construction, leaving relatively few areas for archaeological research. Examples include the Lower Cherokee towns along the Tugalo River, Cherokee settlements along the Etowah and Coosawattee Rivers, sixteenth and seventeenth-century occupations along the Oconee River, and others. Sites are destroyed by developers adjacent to reservoirs, as housing development occurs.

Digging activities by destructive artifact collectors has continued to be a serious problem in Georgia, and despite Federal laws against such activity, it continues to be a problem even on Federally controlled lands and reservoirs. Historic period aboriginal sites are particularly vulnerable to vandals with metal detectors. Most sixteenth century sites in northern Georgia have been vandalized by pothunters. More vigorous prosecution of grave disturbing statutes and a program of public education are needed to preserve our archaeological resources.

Urban expansion and the growth of suburbs continues to destroy archaeological sites. The trappings of population growth, sewage and water systems, highway construction, powerline construction, and other such activities also contribute to the destruction of sites. Many locations which attracted Native Americans were also attractive to later Euro-Americans. Thus Fall Line aboriginal sites have been impacted by Columbus, Macon, and Augusta, for example. Luckily, Federal regulations protect many archaeological sites from such impacts.

It is hoped that this overview of the archaeology of Georgia's historic period Indians will prompt future work. Important questions on the effects of European contact and changing aboriginal adaptations need to be answered by new research. The contact period is an open book awaiting research at this time.

Appendix I. Historic Aboriginal Sites in Northern Georgia.

County	Site	Reference
Banks	None recorded	
Baldwin	9Bl1 Shinholser	Williams 1990
	9Bl13	
	9Bl16 Oconee Old Town	Fairbanks 1940
	9Bl27	
Barrow	None recorded	
Bartow	9Br1 Etowah	Smith 1987
	9Br2 Leake	
	9Br26	
	9Br37 Pine Log	Wauchope 1966:226
	9Br42	
	9Br49	
	9Br54	
	9Br69	
	9Br168 (Caldwell's Br52)	
	9Br651	Blanton, Bryne, Reed 1987
	9Br654	Blanton, Bryne, Reed 1987
	9Br666	
Bibb	9Bi1 Macon Plateau	Mason 1963, 1973; Kelly 1938, 1939
	9Bi2 Lamar	Kelly 1938; H. Smith 1973
	9Bi7 Mile Track	Kelly 1938
	9Bi8 Deer Park	Kelly 1938
	9Bi9 Napier	Kelly 1938
	9Bi16 Scott's Hill	
	9Bi22 Drawbridge Site	
	9Bi45	
Butts	9Bs1 Big Sandy	
	9Bs2	

Carroll	9Cl22	
	9Cl163	Wauchope 1966
	9Cl164 McIntosh Home	
Catoosa	9Ct6 site number given to Federal Road	
	9Ct7	Blanton, Bryne, Reed 1987
Chattooga	None recorded	
Cherokee	9Ck1 Long Swamp	Wauchope 1966
	9Ck29 Red Bank Village	
	9Ck31 Little River Town	Wauchope 1966:271
	9Ck72 (Caldwell Ck90)	Caldwell 1957
	9Ck73 (Caldwell Ck66)	Caldwell 1957
	9Ck76 (Caldwell Ck93)	Caldwell 1957
	9Ck90 (Caldwell Ck48)	Caldwell 1957
	9Ck92 (Caldwell Ck43)	Caldwell 1957
	9Ck104 (Caldwell Ck85) Woodstock	Caldwell 1957
	9Ck105 (Caldwell Ck46)	Caldwell 1957
	9Ck106 (Caldwell Ck45)	Caldwell 1957
	9Ck131 Hobgood	B. Smith 1985
	9CH2 (unofficial number)	
	9CH4 (unofficial number)	
	9CH6 (unofficial number)	
Clarke	None recorded	
Clayton	None recorded	
Cobb	9Co1 Standing Peach Tree	Wauchope 1966
	9Co15 (?)	
	9Co143 Pebblebrook H.S.	
Columbia	9Cb1 Stallings Island	Claflin 1931
Coweta	None recorded	
Crawford	9Cd12	

Dade	None recorded	
Dawson	None recorded	
DeKalb	None recorded	
Douglas	9Do39 (possible peach)	Poplin 1990
	9Do45	Poplin 1990
Elbert	No definite sites	
Fannin	9Fn34 is possible site	
Fayette	None recorded	
Floyd	9Fl5 King	Smith 1987; Blakely 1988
	9Fl6	
	9Fl48 Chieftains	Garrow 1974
	9Fl28	
	9Fl155 Mohman	Hally, Smith, Langford 1990
	9Fl161 Coosa Country Club	Hally, Smith, Langford 1990
	9Fl162	Jones 1861
Forsyth	9Fo18 Vann House/Boyd	Caldwell 1955; DeBaillou 1957
Franklin	None recorded	
Fulton	9Fu10 Standing Peachtree	Wauchope 1966; Kurtz 1950
Gilmer	None recorded	
Glascock	None recorded	
Gordon	9Go1 Poarch	Langford and Smith 1990
	9Go4 Thompson	Langford and Smith 1990
	9Go5 (Formerly Go113)	
	9Go8 Baxter (formerly Go 120)	Langford and Smith 1990
	9Go42 New Echota	Baker 1970; DeBaillou 1955
	9Go59 Lum Moss	Baker 1970
	9Go67 Brown	Langford and Smith 1990

	9Go70 Swancy	Langford and Smith 1990
	9Go71	
Greene	9Ge4 Scull Shoals	Williams 1984
	9Ge5 Dyar	Smith 1981
	9Ge948	Ledbetter 1978; Smith 1979
	9Ge1085	
Gwinnett	None recorded	
Habersham	9Hm8 Alley Farm #3	
	9Hm9 Alley Farm #4	
Hall	None recorded	
Hancock	9Hk64 (GP-HK-08)	Blanton 1985
Haralson	9Hr22 identified as "Utchanulga" but no historic artifacts.	
Harris	9Hs2 Winfree Mound	
Hart	None recorded	
Heard	9He14 Chattahoochee Old Town?	
Henry	None recorded	
Jackson	9Jk54	Ledbetter and Braley 1990
Jasper	9Ja47	Wood and Wood 1985
	9Ja53	Wood and Wood 1985
Jones	9Jo6 Tarvers Town Creek	
Lamar	None recorded	
Lincoln	None recorded	

Lumpkin	None recorded	
Madison	None recorded	
McDuffie	None recorded	
Meriwether	9Mw25 Walnut Creek	Steinen 1977
Morgan	9Mg28 Joe Bell	Williams 1983
	9Mg231 Lindsey	Hatch and Humpf in prep.
Monroe	9Mo1 Towaliga	Wauchope 1966
	9Mo2 Jackson site	Wauchope 1966
	9Mo4 Lang site	Wauchope 1966
	9Mo8 Nancy Head site	Wauchope 1966
	9Mo11 Mann Bend	Wauchope 1966
	9Mo15 Possum Branch	Wauchope 1966
	9Mo16	Wauchope 1966
	9Mo17 Eight Mile Creek	Wauchope 1966
	9Mo19 Old Merritt Place	Wauchope 1966
Murray	9Mu6	
	9Mu100	Kelly et al. 1965
	9Mu102 Little Egypt	Hally 1979, 1980
	9Mu103 Potts Tract	Hally 1970
	9Mu104 Historic Cabin	Garrow 1979
	9Mu106 Vann House	DeBaillou 1957
Muscogee	9Me14 Baird	
	9Me32	
	9Me36	
	9Me37	
	9Me42	
	9Me44	
	9Me45 Upatoi Town	
	9Me47	
	9Me50 Standing Boy	
	9Me98	

	9Me103 9Me104 9Me216	Ledbetter and Spencer 1987
Newton	None reported	
Oconee	9Oc25	
Oglethorpe	None reported	
Paulding	9Pa9	Simpkins n.d.
Pickens	None reported	
Pike	None reported	
Polk	None reported	
Putnam	No sites with trade goods, but Bell phase sites common.	
Rabun	9Ra3 Dillard Mound	
Richmond	9Ri88 9Ri327 Rae's Creek	Elliott and Doyon 1981 Crook 1990
Rockdale	None reported	
Spaulding	None reported	
Stephens	9St1 Tugalo	Williams and Branch 1978; Smith and Williams 1978; Caldwell 1956
	9St2 9St3 Estatoe 9St4 9St6 9St8 9St10 9St11	Kelly and DeBaillou 1960

Talbot	9Ta18	
Taliaferro	None reported	
Taylor	9Tr2	Gordy 1966
	9Tr5	Gordy 1966
	9Tr6	Gordy 1966
	9Tr7	Gordy 1966
	9Tr8	Gordy 1966
	9Tr10	Gordy 1966
	9Tr12 Hartley-Posey	Worth 1988
	9Tr18 Padgeeligau	Worth 1988
	9Tr22	Worth 1988
	9Tr23	Worth 1988
	9Tr41	Worth 1988
	9Tr42	Worth 1988
Towns	9To44	Simpkins 1988
	9To45	Simpkins 1988
Troup	9Tp2 Faulkner Site	Huscher et al. 1972
	9Tp9 Okfuskenena	Huscher et al. 1972
	9Tp17	
	9Tp24	
	9Tp25	
	9Tp35	Huscher et al. 1972
	9Tp867	
Union	9Un2	Wauchope 1966:213
Upson	9Up14 Dripping Rock	
	9Up22	Gordy 1966
	9Up23	Gordy 1966
	9Up25	Gordy 1966
	9Up28	Gordy 1966
Walker	None reported, but there is a Clarksdale bell at the Smithsonian.	

Walton	None reported	
Warren	None reported	
White	9Wh2 Eastwood site	Wauchope 1966:347
	9Wh3 Nacoochee	Heye, Hodge, and Pepper 1918 Wauchope 1966
	9Wh18 Mauldin Creek	Wauchope 1966:339
	9Wh29 Will White	Wauchope 1966:466
	9Wh62	
Whitfield	None reported	
Wilkes	9Ws51 (Bell phase, no trade goods)	

Appendix II. Sixteenth Century European Artifacts from Northern Georgia

Site	Artifacts	References
Little Egypt	Sword fragments	Moorehead 1932
	Nueva Cadiz bead	Smith 1980
	Possible chain mail	Smith 1980
	Clarksdale bells	Mitchem & McEwen 1988
Six Toe	Iron dirk	Kelly et al. 1965
Potts Tract	Brass (?) fragment	Hally 1970
Poarch	Aztec plate	Langford 1990
	Chevron beads	Langford & Smith 1990
	Nueva Cadiz bead	
	Clarksdale bell	
	Blown glass bead	
	Possible chain mail	
	Sword fragment	
	Iron awls	
	Crossbow bolt tip	
	Iron wedges	
Brown	Wedge	Langford & Smith 1990
	Spanish horseshoe	Smith notes
	Oval iron fragment	
	Iron pin	
	Iron chain link	
	Spike	
Baxter	Unidentified iron artifact	Langford & Smith 1990
Thompson	Iron awl	Langford & Smith 1990
Etowah	Iron celts	Smith 1987
	Rectangular iron frag.	Larson excavation catalog
	Possible chain mail	

Leake	Iron celt Unidentified iron possible book clasp fragment	Hally, personal communication
King	Sword Iron chisels and wedges	Little 1985 Smith 1975
Johnstone	Rolled copper beads Sword fragment Iron chisel Iron celt Iron pin	Smith 1987; notes
Rome Mound	Gold beads	Jones 1861: 82-83
Hartley-Posey	Quartz crystal bead	Worth 1988

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