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Cultural Affiliation Study in Support of Native American Consultation Efforts for Fort Gordon, GA

Richmond, Jefferson, McDuffie, and Columbia Counties

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Abstract: The Department of Defense (DoD) is the steward of millions of hectares of land and the cultural resources contained within that land. Federal regulations require that DoD installations accomplish their military missions in compliance with cultural resource laws. Compliance with Executive Order 11593, as codified in amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended, requires complete inventories, evaluations, and implementation of a comprehensive management program for all historic properties on Federally controlled lands. Additional legislation expands the protection, compliance, and stewardship roles of the Army in regard to historic preservation. The key to a successful Cultural Resource Management (CRM) program is a constructive ongoing consultation process with all Federally recognized Indian Tribes that claim cultural affiliation with lands that now comprise the installation. The first step in developing a consultation process is to determine which Federally recognized Indian Tribes should be included in the consultation process. This is accomplished via a cultural affiliation study. This study identified and characterized those Federally recognized Indian Tribes that should be consulted regarding present-day installation activities on Fort Gordon.

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Preface

The work was managed and executed by the Land and Heritage Conservation Branch (CN-C) of the Installations Division (CN), Construction Engineering Research Laboratory (CERL). The CERL principal investigator was Tad Britt. As of this publication, Christopher White was Branch Chief, CEERD-CN-C, and Dr. John T. Bandy Chief, CEERD-CN. The associated Technical Director was Dr. William D. Severinghaus, CEERD-CV-T. The Director of ERDC-CERL was Dr. Ilker R. Adiguzel.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

The Department of Defense (DoD) is the steward of millions of hectares of land and the cultural resources contained within that land. Federal regulations require that DoD installations accomplish their military missions in compliance with cultural resource laws. Compliance with Executive Order 11593, as codified in amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended, requires complete inventories, evaluations, and implementation of a comprehensive management program for all historic properties on Federally controlled lands. Additional legislation expands the protection, compliance, and stewardship roles of the Army in regard to historic preservation. These acts include the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969 (PL 91-190), the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) of 1978, the Archeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) of 1979, and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990.

The key to a successful Cultural Resource Management (CRM) program is a constructive ongoing consultation process with all Federally recognized Indian Tribes that claim cultural affiliation with lands that now comprise the installation. The first step in developing a consultation process is to determine which Federally recognized Indian Tribes should be included in the consultation process. This is accomplished via a cultural affiliation study.

The Fort Gordon Military Reservation occupies portions of Columbia, Jefferson, McDuffie, and Richmond counties in Georgia (Figure 1). Consisting of approximately 55,600 acres of land, the installation corresponds to the central Savannah River Valley region. There was a need to identify and characterize those Federally recognized Indian Tribes that should be consulted regarding present-day installation activities.

1.2 Objective

This objective of this study was to identify and characterize those Federally recognized Indian Tribes that should be consulted regarding present-day installation activities (i.e., those that claim aboriginal and/or ancestral ties to the Fort Gordon area, as well as those Native American groups that ceded lands to the U.S. Government).



Figure 1. Map of the southeastern United States including the project area.

1.3 Approach

This work used literary records and published information to prepare an overview of Native American use of the Fort Gordon area in pre-contact and historic times.

1.4 Mode of Technology Transfer

This report will be made accessible through the World Wide Web (WWW) at URL: <u>http://www.cecer.army.mil</u>

2 Physical Setting

A quick overview of Georgia's natural environment is necessary to put the archaeological and historical record in context. Variations in soil type and underlying bedrock, the availability of water and other landform features (such as elevation and drainage) determine the kinds of flora and fauna that are present in any given place. These factors naturally affect the kinds of human activity that can be conducted within the project area.

Georgia is the largest state east of the Mississippi River; the state includes very diverse topography, from coastal plains to mountains and plateaus. The state is typically divided into five distinct environmental regions (from the northwest to southeast): (1) the Cumberland Plateau, (2) the Ridge and Valley region, (3) the Blue Ridge region, (4) the Piedmont, and (5) the Upper and Lower Coastal Plains. The project area of Fort Gordon lies on the boundary of the Piedmont and Upper Coastal Plain.

The Cumberland Plateau contains land in several states in the American Southeast. A small portion of it lies in the Northwestern corner of Georgia. It is characterized by flat topped hills and mountains that overlook steep sided valleys. The soils are rather thin and poor in nutrients. This area is predominated historically and prehistorically by dense deciduous forests of oak, poplar, and chestnut.

The Ridge and Valley region in Georgia is part of the Great Valley system that lies between the Cumberland Plateau and the Appalachian Mountains (Figure 2). They topography consists of parallel ridges and valleys with the ridge lines frequently marked by steep cliffs on the eastern side of the face. This area is predominated by sedimentary limestone and is an excellent source of high quality chert necessary for chipped stone tool production. This area is also heavily forested with oak forests, although in some areas there are also high concentrations of pine, hickory, and cedar.

The Blue Ridge Region is the southern tip of the Appalachian Mountain chain. This is one of the oldest mountain chains in the world and as a result is heavily eroded. The area is dominated by igneous and metamorphic rocks including Quartzite and steatite, both of which were frequently used by pre-contact peoples for tool production.



Figure 2. Physiographic provinces of Georgia (from White 2002, p 3).

The area is heavily wooded with oak, poplar, and hickory species dominating, although more northern species, such as chestnut, can be found in the higher elevations of the mountains. The valleys are well soiled, but are typically too rocky for intensive agriculture. The Piedmont is one of the largest environmental regions and divides the mountains to the northwest from the coastal plain. On the mountain side of the Piedmont the hills are steeper and more distinct while the coastal side of the Piedmont is typified by lower rolling hills and broader valleys. The soils are sandy with igneous and metamorphic rocky outcrops. The region was forested in oak, hickory, and pine at the time of contact, but was significantly deforested in historic times for the timber industry and agriculture.

The boundary between the Piedmont and the Coastal Plain resides along a line that extends from the cities of Augusta to Macon and Columbus. This

distinct boundary, the "Fall Line," is marked by the end of the igneous metamorphic bedrock found to the north. The Coastal Plains are instead dominated by softer sedimentary rocks created by coastal inundations in the distant past. In the upper Coastal Plains, the landforms can contain gently rolling hills interspersed with stream and swamp systems. Closer to the coast, the area is dominated by saltwater marshes and tidal flats that are still in danger of flooding by significant hurricane activity. Pre-contact, this area was wooded by beech, oak, and cypress trees, but historic farmers denuded much of the land that was dry enough to farm. The soil is very sandy and is excessively well drained with few rocks although some chert is found.

The project area of Fort Gordon lies along the Fall Line between the Piedmont and Coastal Plains. A relatively large amount of relief in terms of topography can be found within the installation. The region is hot and humid in the summer with short, mild winters. In the summer, the average temperature is 79 °F with the average high of 90 °F. In the winter, the average daily temperature is 47 °F with the average low of only 35 °F (Paulk 1981). Snowfall is rare. Annual rainfall ranges from 35 to 50 in. and occurs throughout the year. The area occasionally experiences severe weather such as tornadoes, tropical depressions, and hurricanes.

The climate was much different when the first indications of aboriginal peoples are seen in the region (circa 12,000 B.P.). At this time sea levels were at least 70 meters lower than present levels, and the climate was cooler and moister (Sassaman et al. 1989). As the glaciers melted, the climate changed. There was a warming trend accompanied by increasing moisture from about 10,000 B.P. to 7000 B.P. Oaks and hickories reached their maximum dispersal. Temperatures continued to warm after 7000 B.P. and there was a drying trend that led to near desert conditions in the region. At this time, pine forest began to dominate the Piedmont and Upper Coastal Plain (Delcourt and Delcourt 1987). The pine forest continued to spread until about 4000 B.P. when the climate again became moister, approximating modern conditions.

The dominant animals that lived in the project area prior to extensive farming consisted of white-tailed deer, turkey, squirrel, gray fox, raccoon, opossum, skunk, black bear, bobcat, and wolf. Elk and buffalo were reported occasionally by the first Europeans (Van Doren 1928). Pre-contact groups made heavy use of river fauna such as fish, freshwater mollusks, and turtles.

3 Prehistory

3.1 The Paleoindian Period (12,000 – 10,000B.P.)

The earliest Americans left very few traces of themselves. What is known of them is derived from a handful of sites along the east coast (White 2002). These first inhabitants entered the southeastern coastal area during the last glacial period. At this time, the sea level was significantly lower so the coast would have been many miles further east than its current location (White 2002). The first known inhabitants of the project area inhabited a region the climate of which was generally different from today's climate (cooler and moister, and with winters significantly cooler and longer) (Holman 1985; White 2002). An evergreen forest, interspersed with grassy glades provided attractive grazing and browsing habitats for large herd animals, including megafauna, all the way to the Fall Line. It is known from Paleoindian sites in other parts of the country that these large animals were exploited by the human hunters of this period (Delcourt and Delcourt 1983; O'Brien and Wood 1998). Smaller game, such as deer, rabbit, squirrel, opossums, and riverine sources were also available for exploitation (Price 1993; Grover et al. 1997).

Sites that date back this far are rare and the material remains found within these sites are not nearly as common as are seen at sites dating to later time periods. The most diagnostic artifacts of this period are lanceolate (or fluted) projectile points and formal unifacial scraping and butchering tools. Clovis, Clovis variants, Suwannee, and Simpson projectile points were produced during the early part of the period and are generally associated with the hunting of megafauna, but points of these age are rare (Anderson et al. 1990). The later transitional Dalton point types are more frequently represented and defined (Goodyear 1982; Goodyear et al. 1989). Dalton points are found in all parts of Georgia, but appear to be most common in the northern part of the state. Other tool types found in the Paleoindian tool kit are choppers, gravers, scrapers, and microblades (White 2002).

Archaeological investigations to date indicate that the project area was predominantly occupied by small, low density camp sites and specialized quarry-related sites (Anderson et al. 1987, 1990; Sassaman et al. 1989; O'Steen et al, 1987). The Taylor Hill site (9Ri89), however, stands out as a possible exception. Limited testing of this large site has produced several reported Paleoindian points (Elliott and Doyon 1981). Taylor Hill may be the only know example of an intensively occupied Paleoindian residential base site in the area although the reason for a more intensive use of this site is still unclear.

Paleoindian sites tend to cluster near the Fall Line where lithic resources would be more abundant (Goodyear and Charles 1984; Anderson 1996; Anderson et al. 1990; see Figure 3). Paleoindian sites are very rare in the coastal region, but this can be assumed to be the result of the environmental inhospitability of this area prior to the rise in sea levels to modern levels. It is also possible that numerous sites at one time existed along the Paleo-shore line, but are now submerged and forever out of the realm of study.



Figure 3. Paleolithic sites in Georgia (from White 2002, p 13).

It can be determined from their toolkits discovered in the archaeological record that the Paleoindians were hunter-gatherers, subsisting on hunting, fishing, and the collection of wild faunal. Ethnographic comparison to modern and historic hunter-gatherer peoples can indicate possible cultural patterns of the Paleoindian peoples (White 2002). It is likely that the Paleoindians lived in small nomadic groups of approximately 25 to 50 people. Their movement patterns would have been dictated by the availability of the local resources, including (but not limited to) the availability of water, game to hunt, abundant flora, and lithic resources. It is possible that, over time, these groups established regular territories with trade and/or gift giving developing between neighboring groups. This hypothesis is supported by the concentration of Paleoindian artifacts at 250 to 400 km intervals across the entire southeast (Anderson 1996; Anderson et al. 1994).

Many of the sites from this period are located on high ground that affords a vantage point for spotting and tracking game across the landscape. Another prime location appears to be near natural river fords where the presence of game would be more predictable (White 2002). Knives and scrapers are the most common artifact type at these sites, indicating that butchering and processing of hides probably occurred at these locations (Anderson and Sassaman 1996; Goodyear 1999). No evidence of any types of structures have been found at Paleoindian sites in the Southeast. It is possible the people at this time did not build structures or that the evidence of such structures has been erased by erosion and soil formation processes.

Toward the end of the Paleoindian period, there is change in settlement location and food selection (White 2002; Walthall 1998). There is an increase in the use of rock shelters and overhangs for habitation sites and there is more evidence for a seasonal pattern of local resource exploitation. Hunters in the early Paleoindian period seemed to follow large migratory game herds, but later in the period, the people appear to focus more on smaller non-migratory game like deer and rabbit. They also made more regular use of seasonal plants (such as fruit and nut groves) and would revisit the same sites year after year as the particular resource became available for a short period of time.

3.2 The Early Archaic Period (9500 – 7500 B.P.)

During this period, the region became warmer and moister, due to the melting of the continental glaciers. Sea levels and precipitation increased and oaks dominated the forest vegetation in the project area (Delcourt and Delcourt 1987). The animal extinctions of the Paleolithic period were over and modern species dominated the environment. This environmental change led to changes in human adaptations that are visible in the archaeological record.

Projectile points associated with the period include Taylor or big Sandy side-notched, Palmer, Kirk Corner Notched, LeCroy bifurcate stemmed points, and Kirk Stemmed (Cambron and Hulse 1975; Chapman 1976). In the project area, early point types such as Taylor and Palmer are more common with only a few of the later bifurcate and Kirk Stemmed point types having been recorded (Driskell 1994; Anderson 1991; Sassaman et al. 1989). Formal unifacial tools, essentially unchanged from the Paleoindian tool kit, are also found in Early Archaic assemblages.

Early Archaic settlement in the Southeast is characterized by a few large, intensively occupied base camps and more frequent small sites of single or limited occupation (Anderson et al. 1994; Cable 1996). Excavations at base camps sites indicate long term, seasonal or multi-seasonal occupation with diverse activity and resource exploitation (Bense 1994; Chapman 1977; Coe 1964). The smaller sites are interpreted as logistical sites or short term seasonal or foraging sites as indicated by the higher percentage of expedient tools to formal tools found at these site types (Anderson et al. 1994; Cable 1996; Anderson and Joseph 1988; O'Steen 1983). The larger sites are more frequently seen on or near floodplains while the small sites are more common in upland regions. Some of the larger site types investigated to date include the Lewis East site (38AK228), the Pen Point Site (38BR383), and the Taylor Hill Site (9Ri89) (Elliott and Doyon 1981).

Site patterns and the Early Archaic tool kit indicate a population that lived in small hunter-gatherer bands. These bands relocated frequently as the local resources became depleted. Many sites in the southeast that date to this period provide evidence that the people were returning repeatedly to the same site to take advantage of seasonally available resources (like fruit and nuts) (see Figure 4; White 2002). This indicates the establishment of some form of band territories. It has been suggested that Early Archaic bands had annual patterns of migration and landscape usage that were restricted to a single drainage basin (Anderson 1996; Anderson et al. 1994). At periodic times of the year there would be larger intra-group gatherings where groups from neighboring areas would collect for social interactions.



Figure 4. Significant archaic sites in Georgia (from White 2002, p 25).

3.3 The Middle Archaic Period (7500 - 5000 B.P.)

The Middle Archaic dates to the same period of time as a climatic episode known as the Hypsithermal Interval. This period is a time that was warmer and drier than the present climate in which the pine forest expanded along the coast and the Oak forest were restricted to the Piedmont (Carbone 1983; Delcourt and Delcourt 1981).

This period is identified by stemmed points belonging to the Stanley, Morrow Mountain, Halifax, and Guilford types (Driskell 1994; Coe 1964). For the first time, the archaeologist see more of a regional distribution pattern for point types with the Morrow Mountain point types occurring in the greatest frequency in the project area followed by Halifax and Guilford

points, which are the most common types in the northern Piedmont (Braley and Price 1991). Numerous sub-types of points (such as Brier Creek Lanceolate and MALA appear to be regional variations on the Guilford and Halifax point types (Michie 1968; Sassaman 1985; Sassaman 1995). During the Middle Archaic, there is an increasing reliance on quartz for chipped stone toolmaking throughout the Piedmont. For instance, Morrow Mountain points are nearly always made of this kind of stone (Caldwell 1958).

Antler atlatl hooks are associated with this time period; they first appear in the archaeological record in association with Morrow Mountain points in Tennessee and Alabama (White 2002). Accompanying the atlatl hooks in the Middle archaic tool kit are soapstone bannerstones. Bannerstones come in a variety of shapes and sizes, but most are well made and polished. These stones are typically described as atlatl weights although some are elaborately made and too heavy to be used tied to an atlatl. These items may represent prestige items instead of utilitarian weights.

Additional changes are seen in the Middle Archaic tool kit (White 2002). Grooved and polished ground stone axes replace the un-grooved celts seen previously. Chipped stone axes and perforated soapstone slabs are also found in this period. It has been hypothesized that these sopestone slabs may have been used in cooking pots to boil liquids (Bense 1994; Driskell 1994).

Relatively few Middle Archaic sites have been excavated in the Southeast. In the interior river valleys of the upper Southeast and Midwest, Middle Archaic sites are characterized by dense shell middens with burials (Lewis and Lewis 1961). Similar sites have not been found in the southern portion of Georgia. In the Piedmont, the sites are small sites with very similar tool kits indicating that the people were generalized foragers who lived in a relatively homogeneous environment (Sassaman 1985). It has been argued that vegetation shifts occurred in which pine forests become dominate over oak trees (Sassaman and Anderson 1995). The pine forests would be less productive for exploitation and this would explain the lack of sites for this region.

Some exotic stone and bifaces have been recovered from Middle Archaic sites; this provides evidence for a regional exchange network during this time (Jefferies 1995, 1996). This trade could have been an offset of the social and economic risks that increased along with increased sedentism. The traditional periodic group gatherings would no longer be as feasible with a more sedentary population than with the mobile hunter-gatherer groups.

Within the project area, the most investigated data from this period are found at the Pen Point Site (9Cb81) and the Savannah River Site (9Ri179) (Sassaman et al. 1988). At the Pen Point site, a significant stratified site containing a dense Middle Archaic occupation zone, points were found in contexts that indicated the manufacture of large numbers of points during a single episode, which can be evidence for surplus production for regional exchange (Sassaman et al. 1988). This site produced MALA points made from several different raw materials providing the data for comparison studies in morphological variation in point types.

3.4 The Late Archaic Period (5000 – 3000 B.P.)

The climate changed a great deal during this period as rainfall increased and a more lush vegetation pattern developed. Pine pollen reached an equal ration with oak, indicating that pines continued to replace the earlier oak-hickory forest in the area (Delcourt and Delcourt 1987). The climate was essentially the same as that of modern day times.

This period encompasses the greatest cultural change that had yet occurred in the project area. The Late Archaic period is characterized by the earliest evidence for horticulture, possible sedentism and the exploitation of shellfish and aquatic resources. In the project area the period is further characterized by the introduction of pottery and the increased use of soapstone bowls and perforated slabs. The widespread distribution of artifacts associated with this period suggest that the population of the project area significantly increased during this time (White 2002).

Stallings fiber tempered pottery occurs as early as 4550 B.P. (Stoltman 1966) and grit tempered Thoms Creek pottery appears at around 4000 B.P. (Trinkley 1980). These two pottery types are very similar except for temper and probably have a lengthy chronological overlap (Sassaman et al. 1989; Sassaman 1993). Researchers typically have divided up the Late Archaic period into two phases based on ceramic types. A pre-ceramic period with Savannah River points is identified as the Savannah River phase while the Sterling Island phase is characterized by the predominance of plain pottery, which is eventually replaced by primarily decorated ceramics (Coe 1964).

Late Archaic peoples were also involved in quarrying and working soapstone to a greater extent than did their predecessors (Sassaman 1993; White 2002). In addition to bannerstones, archaeologist also find cooking vessels from the material. Soapstone outcrops occur in the Piedmont and mountains of Georgia and finished bowl fragments have been found in the Coastal Plain.

Lithic preference shifted from the use of igneous and metamorphic rock during Savannah River Phase to the addition of quartz and chert during the Stallings Island Phase (Bullen and Green 1970). Point styles evolved from broad, square-stemmed Savannah River forms to smaller contracting stem forms (Elliott and Sassaman 1995; Bullen and Green 1970). These late styles are similar to the Gary, Otarre, and Flint Creek types. Similar changes in point styles and tool kits between the Savannah and Stallings Island phases have been noted throughout the Piedmont (Wood et al. 1986).

Several Late Archaic sites on the Savannah River have large middens of fresh water shell fish, which many archaeologist have argued are evidence of increased sedentism. However, shell middens can also be views as evidence of seasonal exploitation (Dye 1976) or inter-group social gatherings (Sassaman 1991).

The Late Archaic period was a time of social and political complexity and regional adaptation (Sassaman et al. 1989). This period has been viewed as a period of decreasing territories and increased trade. Evidence for the decreasing territory size can be seen in the increasing use of locally available lithic raw materials while the widespread distribution of soapstone in the project area may be evidence of trade (Sassaman 1991). Distinct tribal entities developed on the coast and the Fall Line during this time and have been identified by archaeologists in part by differential use of mundane items such as pottery and soapstone cooking disks (Sassaman 1991).

Sassaman et al. (1989) and Brooks and Hanson (1987) have suggested a social organization with two levels of riverine social gathering and seasonal dispersion in the uplands. At larger sites, larger groups engaged in diverse subsistence pursuits, tool kit production and perhaps ceremonialism. At these sites, fireplaces and fire pits have been found at the location of structures, but to date, more extensive evidence for structures has only been found at the Mill Branch site in Warren County GA (White 2002). This structure was semi-subterranean and measured approximately 12 x 15 ft in area. Due to the accumulation of ash and artifacts within the house basin, the excavators concluded that the structure was either used for a long duration of time or was repeatedly reused, perhaps on an annual basis (White 2002; Elliott and Sassaman 1995). The smaller upland sites are more likely along tributaries and the Savannah River. These sites would be used for small group (25-50 persons) staging and tool kit production. During the harder months, the people would disperse from the large plains sites to the smaller upland sites, and then eventually disperse into uplands autonomous subsistence. Data from the Savannah River Site suggest that, after 3500 B.P., this strategy was eventually abandoned.

3.5 The Woodland Period (3050 B.P. – 800 B.P.)

The Woodland period in the Southeast has been characterized by extensive use of ceramics, increased reliance on agriculture, increased ceremonialism as shown in burial mound construction, and the development of permanently occupied villages. The time period is generally separated as Early, Middle, and Late Woodland. Important sites in the project area include G.S. Lewis (Sassaman et al. 1989), Rucker's Bottom (Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985), and Simpson's Field (Wood et al. 1986).

In the Piedmont, the earliest Woodland manifestations consist of intensively occupied midden sites identified by fabric marked ceramics, medium to large triangular projectile points, round-house structures, large stone-lined cooking pits and cylindrical or bell-shaped storage pits. This cultural complex has been identified as the Kellogg Phase (Caldwell 1958; White 2002). Fabric marked ceramics do occur on the upper Savannah River, but the intensity of occupation does not match that of northwestern Georgia.

The earliest Woodland occupation in the interior Coastal Plain along the Savannah River is identified by sand-tempered Refuge Pottery (DePratter 1991; Sassaman 1993; Sassaman et al. 1990). There is some debate as to whether Thoms Creek pottery dates to the Early Woodland or the Late Archaic periods. Thoms Creek pottery resembles the Late Archaic forms in all manners except temper. Refuge pottery is distinguished by the lesser use of punctuation and rim decoration. The lithic tool kit remains relatively unchanged in type, but the quality of workmanship appears to diminish (Brooks and Hanson 1987; Sassaman et al. 1989).



Figure 5. Significant woodland sites in Georgia (from White 2002, p 42).

Numerous Early Woodland sites have been recorded in the upland tributaries of the Savannah River system (Sassaman et al 1989). It is possible that occupation of these upland sites became more permanent and that territories became restricted to single tributary drainages (Brooks and Hanson 1987). Fort Gordon may be in a portion of the Savannah River that marked the boundary between two groups which could be the reason for the low number of sites of this age found within the project area (Braley 1991). The Middle Woodland period is identified in the region by Deptford ceramics and medium sized triangular, Yadkin-like projectile points (Sassaman et al. 1989). Deptford ceramics are predominantly decorated with check-stamping and simple stamping although some pieces are decorated with cord marking, zoned-incised punctate (Anderson 1987; Sassaman et al 1989). Some early Swift Creek stamped ceramics are seen towards the end of this period. Very similar ceramics, known as Cartersville types, identify the period in the Piedmont (Anderson and Joseph 1988). These types of pottery are identified by the ornate and well-executed decoration applied by pressing a carved wooden paddle into the clay before firing. Many of the designs are curvilinear, and come are believed to represent birds, snakes, flowers, and human faces (Snow 1975).

Archaeologists believe that the more permanent village life seen in the Late Archaic and Early Woodland and the abundant resource exploitation allowed for the growth of population and social complexity that is seen during the Middle Woodland period. Data from the Savannah River Site indicate intensive village-based settlements were present during this time with seasonal or permanent base camps located in prime resource locations such as major stream confluences (Sassaman et al. 1989). Less intensively occupied sites were scattered throughout the upland tributaries. Once again there is evidence of non-subsistence production and regional exchange. However, there is no evidence of intensive agriculture. Flotation samples from Middle Woodland sites lack any abundance of squash, maize, or other familiar cultivated plants, indicating the unimportance of domesticated flora as a source of food (White 2002).

The Late Woodland period in the Piedmont is identified by complicated stamped ceramics such as Swift Creek and Napier and small triangular and stemmed projectile points (Anderson 1998; Elliott 1998). These artifacts are present on a small number of sites along the upper Savannah River but the nature of the cultural sequence is not fully resolved (Anderson and Joseph 1988). There is some evidence that plain and simple stamped pottery continued to be used during this period (Anderson and Joseph 1988). In the upper Coastal Plain, the Late Woodland period is identified by sand tempered, cord-marked ceramics with minor amounts of Napier-like and Woodstock-like complicated stamped pottery (Anderson 1990). At Fort Gordon, where cord-marked pottery is rarely found, it has been suggested that the Late Woodland is defined by rectilinear stamped pottery believed to be a late variant of Swift Creek (Braley 1991). Other changes in technology appear in projectile point types which are smaller than those seen earlier. These small points indicate the introduction of the bow-and-arrow sometime between 1200 and 1100 B.P (White 2002). The limited amount of information available at present indicates that Late Woodland peoples continued as hunter-gatherers but were supplementing the diet with small amounts of cultivated plants (Caldwell 1964; Anderson 1994; White 2002). Maize appears for the first time in Georgia at around 1300 B.P. but again the amounts of cultivated food found at Late Woodland sites remain very small.

The settlement pattern for the Late Woodland in the middle Coastal Plain appears to be a pattern of dispersed upland settlement (Stoltman 1974). On the Savannah River Plant, small Late Woodland habitation sites are widely distributed across all available terrace locations of tributary streams and the Savannah River (Sassaman et al. 1989). Archaeologists believe that population growth led to an increase scarcity of food which in turn caused to an increase in competition and promoted group solidarity (White 2002). These stresses tend to lead to an increase in social complexity and the development in social ranking and hierarchy, indicated by the construction of mounds over the some graves. Some archaeologists believe that the increase in population and social complexity underlie the appearance of the complex societies seen in the next period.

3.6 Mississippi Period (800 – 400 B.P.)

This period is characterized by increased political and ceremonial sophistication reflecting a ranked or hierarchical society with the emergence of an elite class. The period is also characterized by dramatic subsistence changes resulting from intensified agricultural production. For the first time the production of corn was depended on as a primary food source. The rapid culture change was characterized by intensive floodplain agriculture, earth mound construction, large fortified sites, and elaborate ceremonial art. Most of these developments took place in the Central Mississippi River valley around 1100 B.P. from where they diffused southward, reaching the project area at around 700 B.P.

Research in the Piedmont section of the Savannah River Valley (Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985; Hally and Rudolph 1986; Anderson 1994, 1996; DePratter 1991) suggests there were substantial populations during the early part of the Mississippi period. More and larger villages sites appear, many with temple mounds and burials in and around the mounds are often accompanied by distinctive artifacts. Sites of this time period contain Savannah Complicated Stamped, Cord-marked, and Corn Cob Impressed ceramics. Later, sites containing Lamar pottery were also present (Figure 6). The Savannah River Valley seems to have been abandoned after A.D. 1450, possibly due to warfare between competing chiefdom level societies (Anderson 1994, 1996). Abandonment has also been linked to environmental stress relating to long term droughts in the valley (Anderson 1990).

Large towns with ceremonial centers and richly furnished burials in or near the mounds suggest a level of social complexity that reflects the rise of political-social organizations called chiefdoms (White 2002; Sassaman et al. 1990; Anderson 1994; Blintz and Lorenz 2006; see Figure 7). Chiefdoms are characterized by a social ranking system and a single individual (or chief) who wields significant power over the community. These controls could include centralized control of resources and labor and the organization of large scale construction events.

Current research provides firm evidence for the concept of cycling in chiefdom level societies along the Savannah River. Cycling refers to the recurring process of emergence, expansion, and fragmentation of complex chiefdoms as related to simple chiefdoms (Anderson 1990; Sassaman 1990; Blintz and Lorenz 2006). Implicit in this concept is the possibility of the collapse of political control and subsequent abandonment of an entire region that appears to have occurred during the period of 500 - 350 B.P. During the time, the Savannah River valley witnessed the emergence and decline of a number of political centers that are visible today by the presence of single or multiple earthen mounds such as the Etowah and the Shinholster sites. Such centers are characterized by permanent settlements fortified by log palisades and ditches. The mounds themselves served as temple platforms, burial places of elite individuals, and sometimes as platforms for structures (White 2002; Blintz and Lorenz 2006). Some structures and/or mounds at many sites appear to have specific cardinal orientations (most often to the east) and/or have light foci at certain points in the solar A typical pattern for the landscape use is a large riverside ceremonial center with attached towns, settlements, and farmsteads spread out for miles along the river and its tributaries. Although corn, beans, squash, and other domesticates provided most of the sustenance, fishing and hunting continued to be important for their source of protein.



Figure 6. Selected Mississippi Sites in Georgia (from White 2002, pg 65).



Figure 7. Artist reconstruction of a Mississippian Village (from Hudson 1997, p 208).

Two site categories are recognized for the Mississippi period in the Middle Savannah River drainage. These categories consist of densely settled villages, often pallisaded, located on river floodplains, and small, low density sites that may represent specialized procurement or hunting sites. Near the project area, the prominent Mississippi sites are the Hollywood and Mason's Plantation mound groups (near Augusta, e.g., Figure 8). Numerous smaller sites have been recognized, including a significant number on Fort Gordon (Braley and Price 1991). Differential use of interriverine Coastal Plain and Piedmont environments has been recognized, which may be related to the more intensive use of the Piedmont for hunting (Anderson 1990).

The Early Mississippi period is recognized by the provisional Lawton phase, which dates from 850-700 B.P. Ceramics include Savannah complicated stamped, consisting primarily of concentric circles and less commonly Etowah one and two-bar diamonds, fine cord marked, check stamped and plain wares. The Middle Mississippi (700 - 500 B.P.) is separated into the Hollywood and provisional Silver Bluff phases. Hollywood ceramics include check stamped, Mississippi plain, burnished plain, corncob impressed and Savannah and Irene complicated stamped.



Figure 8. View of mounds at the Ocmulgee Site (from White 2002, p 66).

Irene ceramics are dominated by filfot cross motifs and rims decorated with cane punctations and riveted nodes. Silver Bluff phase ceramics are dominated by Lamar line blocks, filfot cross, and scroll motifs with modified rims displaying punctations, rosettes, and nodes. No assemblage is recognized for the period of 500 - 350 B.P., which supports the hypothesis that the Central Savannah River Valley was unoccupied at this time (Sassaman et al. 1990, Anderson 1990; Braley 1994).

4 History

The Savannah River region was occupied by the Cherokee and various tribes of the Creek Confederacy during the protohistoric period. Although both groups were at least semi-dependent on maize agriculture, they were relatively mobile, continually moving in and out of the region (Swanton 1922). It is clear from the accounts of early European explorers that this cultural mobility was undoubtedly exacerbated and accelerated by the influx of European settlement (Swanton 1946; Bartram 1955; White 1854).

4.1 Contact

First contact between the Indian tribes of Georgia and Europeans was in 1526 when Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon briefly visited the coast followed by the expedition of Hernando DeSoto in 1539-1540 (White 2002). Although the expedition has been described as an unmitigated disaster for the indigenous populations, the chronicles written by members of the expedition have supplied an invaluable, though incomplete, description of the groups that were encountered along the way. DeSoto crossed the unpopulated Savannah River Valley approximately 40-50 km north of Augusta during the spring of 1540 (Hudson et al. 1990). This intrusion essentially marks the end of the Mississippi period (cf. Figure 9).

The Chroniclers indicate that by 1540, the expedition was in the vicinity of the native village of Cofitachequi. Though the exact location of Cofitachequi has never been determined, Swanton (1922) placed the province on the Savannah River between Mount Pleasant and Sweetwater Creek in Barnwell or Hampton Counties, SC and that this was the seat of the Kashita, the tribe, which headed the peace section of the Lower Creeks. In the past 40 years this assertion has come into question. One counter argument is that Cofitachequi was the center of the Coweta (the tribe responsible for the Creek's war division) and the town was located approximately 16 km downstream from Augusta (Neil 1968). Another possibility is that the town was a redistribution center of a chiefdom situated on the Wateree River near Camden, SC (Baker 1974). The description of the residents of Cofitachequi gives substance to the belief that the town was part of the Creek Confederacy, probably one of the groups of the Lower Creek Nation. However, it should be pointed out that the possibility exists that the town was one of the Lower Settlements of the Cherokee (Swanton 1952).



Figure 9. Map of Georgia during Spanish occupation—date unknown (from Bolton 1925 pg xviii).



Figure 10. Artist rendering of an Indian house in the Southeast (from Randolph 1973, p 148).

The accounts available on the lifestyles of both groups are numerous. Although many date to the period following the mid seventeenth centuries by which time both groups had been severely impacted by smallpox epidemics (Swanton 1952) and encroaching European settlement. Therefore, the accounts of their subsistence and settlement patterns must be extrapolated from the DeSoto accounts, Prado's 1566 discussion of the inhabitants of Tanasqui, and when substantiated by the first two descriptions, Bartram's discussions resulting from his 1773-1774 journey through South Carolina, Georgia, and the northern portions of Florida.

Settlements appear to have been of two primary varieties: an open camp, usually located in a clearing, composed of up to eight structures of wattle and daub construction; and the larger, stockade village, which had at least one elevated gazebo-like structure as a focal point to the numerous domiciliary structures and storage hunts surrounding it (Bartram 1955). Not much information is available on the actual size of the dwelling structures, but it appears that the gazebo-like structure would have shaded six to 12 people comfortably (Figure 10).

Garden plots were more commonly found in the larger villages with the corn fields located in clearings up to 3 miles from the habitation site (Bartram 1955). Corn, gourd/squash, sunflower, and chicksaw plum were the primary domesticates, augmenting a diet that relied heavily on the exploitation of game and wild flora.

Both the Cherokee and, to a lesser extent, the Creek seasonally exploited several wild plant species, most notably the hickory nut. The Creek were known to store as many as one hundred bushels per family. The nuts were shelled and ground on a metate. The resulting flour was boiled and strained. Oil was extracted from the remaining liquid. Referred to by the Creek as "Hickory milk" the oil was added to corn dishes as a sweetener/favorer (Bartram 1955). Many of the wild food exploited by native peoples have been incorporated into the folk foods of the Southeast (Wigginton 1975). Of equal importance is the legacy that native peoples, especially the Cherokee, left in herbal medicine. Renowned during the early era of European settlement along the eastern seaboard for the medicines, the Cherokee used over 100 species of plants for medicinal purposes (Banks 1953). It is important to realize that the extent of dependence on wild plants indicates the limited role that agriculture played in the economic base of the cultures. Although corn and other domesticates played a role, the economics of both the Creek and Cherokee were diversified enough to allow for failure of crops, displacement due to intruding Europeans, or war among the tribes.

Research from the inner Piedmont (Ledbetter and O'Steen 1986) and excavation from the Clarks Hill area (Wood and Smith 1988) provide evidence for the movement of aboriginal populations back to the central Savannah River Valley after initial European contact. These sites may represent refugee sites resulting from the political and social breakdown of chiefdoms following Spanish contact. On the other hand, these sites may be related to population centers on the Savannah River well upstream from the Fall Line. No historic documentation exists for aboriginal occupation of the area until the late 17th century, the time of the early colonial slave and deerskin trade.

4.2 Early Settlement

In 1565, Pedro Menendez de Aviles, a Spanish conquistador and founder of St. Augustine Florida (the first permanent European settlement in what would become the United States of America), set out to explore the coast north of his new colony (Colman 1976; White 2002). He stopped at an island where the chieftain was named Guale. The Spanish applied this name to the island (later called Santa Catalina, currently called St. Catherines) and eventually the entire coastal region. Menendez left 30 men on the island as a garrison and returned to Florida.

The next year, Jesuit friars arrived and established a mission on Santa Catalina, but this mission failed. In 1573, the effort was taken up again, this time by Franciscans (Colman 1976; Bolton and Ross 1925) and by 1596, they were operating on a regular basis in Guale. Only 2 years later, however (in September 1597), the Guale revolted. This revolt was led by an Indian named Juan or Juanillo who had been opposed by the friars for the chiefdom of Guale because he refused to renounce the traditional Guale belief system (Scott 1995; Colman 1976). The revolt was quashed, but not before several Franciscans had been killed (Figure 11). By 1600, most of the Guale had traveled to St. Augustine to offer their submission to the Governor there.

The Spanish mission system consisted of small numbers of friars spread out over a large country (Figure 12). Most missions were located on islands, in or alongside principle Indian villages. The missions were supported by Indian labor and, for that purpose, the friars strongly encouraged agriculture. By 1625, there were missions in the interior among the Apalache Indians.

In 1663, King Charles II of England granted the Carolina territory to the Lords Proprietors and Charles Town was established 7 years later (Caldwell 1976; McCall 1909). The English and Spanish signed the Treaty of Madrid, in 1670, which stated that Britain might retain the lands in America that she then possessed. Hostilities and conflicts between the English and Spanish over the settlements in Georgia lasted until the middle of the next centuries and the native peoples were more often than naught caught in the middle. In 1673, the Spanish placed a garrison on Santa Catalina and also began fortifying St. Augustine.



Figure 11. The conquistador subjugation of Indian revolts (from Hudson 1979, p 153).



Figure 12. Preaching to the Indians circa 1730 (Collman 1976, p 115).

Various southeastern Indian groups, including Yuchis, Yamassees, and Choctaw lived near Augusta during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Swanton 1946). By 1674, traders had made contact with Indians in the Augusta area and arranged trading agreements with the Creek tribes. After 1680 the Indian trade was centered at Savannah Town, located on the west bank of the Savannah River, about 4 miles southeast of Augusta. The provisional Yamassee phase has been defined for the areas from the period between A.D. 1670 and 1715 (Anderson 1990). Diagnostic ceramics include Kasita Red Filmed, Walnut Roughened, and Ocmulgee Fields Incised. Temper consists of both sand and shell.

Movement resulting from European incursions into the area led to the Creek abandonment of the middle Savannah River valley by the 1670s. The British on entering the area instead encountered the Westoes (also called the Rickahockans, Rechaheckrians, and Chichimecos), an Iroquoian group from the northeast (Browne 2000). The Westoe were used by the British as slave traders and were initially provided with firearms to use in their raids. The Creek had moved both west into Cherokee territory and southward where they encountered the Apalachicola who were still reeling under the devastation of the Spanish colonial policy and French attempts to colonize the Gulf Coast. Relations between the Westoe and the British deteriorated until war was declared from 1680 to 1683 when the British were able to drive the Westoes from the region (Figure 13).



Figure 13. Approximate population and location of southern Indians, circa 1700 (from Randolph 1973, p 9).

The retreat southward by the Spanish began in earnest in the late 1600s. Yuchi, Creek, and Cherokee Indians became allied with the English and attacked the Guale missions. The Spaniards did not feel the area was defensible with the available resources and began a gradual withdrawal. By 1686, all of the Spanish missions in Georgia had been abandoned. The Guale were encouraged to move down to St. Augustine. By the end of the century, the Spanish presence had been reduced to the area south of the St. Johns River in Florida (Colman 1976; White 2002).

Removal of the Westoe solidified British attempts to establish permanent outposts along the frontier abutting the Creek and Cherokee lands. As early as 1689, English traders established a trading post south of the Phinizy Swamp at the junction of two Indian trading routes leading into the Creek and Cherokee nations. The 1698 trading post, called Savannah or New Savannah, initially did well during the early 18th century, but was abandoned during the outbreak of the Yamasee War in 1715. By 1700, the English were conducting business with the Cherokees along the Savannah River. These trading routes continued in use until 1730 when the Creek and Cherokee were finally displaced from the southeast (White 2002).

British policy in the region was shaped by the presence of the Spanish to the south in Florida and the French to the southwest in Louisiana. The British often entered into hasty Indian alliances in an effort to gain allies against the French and Spanish and to create a buffer zone between the respective spheres of influence. When not employing Indian allies as buffers, the British were concerned with maximum commercial gain in their dealings with the indigenous populations. The English traders were eager to acquire deerskins and the Indians greatly desired the European goods such as iron skillets, pots and pans, axes and knives, as well as cloth and beads (Figure 14). As the tribes adopted European technology, they became dependent on these goods. Knowledge of traditional technology was lost and the tribes became almost wholly dependent on trade goods for survival. This situation was exploited by the colonial authorities, who gained concessions or promises of support from the natives by merely threatening to cut off trade. The native populations were encouraged to amass large debts to English traders that were to be repaid initially by furs and later by land (Simkins and Roland 1972).


Figure 14. Major trading paths and trails in the Southeast, circa 1700 (Randalph 1973, p 17).

4.3 The Yamasee War

One of the principle events that lead to the establishment of the colony of Georgia was the Yamasee War that lasted from 1715 to 1717 (Oatis 2004; Galley 2002). This war was a conflict between colonial South Carolina and the tribes of the southeast, including the various Native American Indian tribes including the Yamasee, Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Catawba, Apalachee, Apalachicola, Yuchi, Savannah River Shawnee, Congaree, Waxhaws, Pee Dee, Cape Fear, Cheraw, and many others. Hundreds of colonialists and traders were killed and many settlements were destroyed. The tide turned in early 1716 when the Cherokee sided with South Carolina and began to attack the Creek. The last of South Carolina's major foes withdrew from the conflict in 1717, bringing a fragile peace to a traumatized colony.

The Yamasee, while often described as a tribe, were in fact an amalgamation of the remnants of earlier tribes and chiefdoms, such as the Guale. For years, the Yamasee profited from their relation with the British, but by 1715, they were finding it difficult to obtain the trade items most desired by the British (deerskins and Indian slaves). With the Yamasee living so close to South Carolina and with the deerskin trade booming over an ever-larger region, deer had become rare in Yamasee territory. The English traders continued to provide trade goods to the Yamasee despite the fact that the Yamasee no longer had the resources to provide any payment. As the Yamasee debt increased, the traders and colonist began demanding as payment the only resource the Yamasee to the other native peoples in the area, most notable the Lower Creek. Eventually hostilities broke out with the murder of a negotiations delegation from South Carolina on Good Friday 1715 (Oatis 2004; Galley 2002).

While the Yamasee were the main concern within the colony's settlements during the first weeks of the war, British traders operating throughout the southeast found themselves confronted and, in most cases, killed. There were about 100 traders in the field when the war broke out, of which about 90 were killed in the first few weeks. Tribes that participated in killing British traders included the Creek, the Apalachee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Catawba, Cherokee, and others.

Since so many different tribes were involved in the war, with varying and changing participation, there was no single definitive end to the conflict. In some respects the main crisis was over within a month or two. The Lords Proprietors of the colony believed the colony was no longer in mortal danger after the first few weeks. Peace treaties were established with various Creek and other Muskogean peoples in late 1717, but some tribes never agreed to peace, and all remained armed. The Yamasee and Apalachicola had moved south, but continued to raid South Carolina's settlements well into the 1720s. Frontier insecurity remained a problem.

In the first year of the war, the Yamasee lost about a quarter of their population, either killed or enslaved. The survivors moved south to the Altamaha River, a region that had been their homeland in the 17th century, but they were unable to find security there and soon became refugees. As a people, the Yamasee had always been ethnically mixed, and in the aftermath of the Yamasee War, they split apart. About a third of the survivors chose to settle among the Lower Creek, eventually becoming part of the emerging Creek confederacy. Most of the rest, joined by Apalachicola refugees, moved to the vicinity of St. Augustine in the summer of 1715. The various Creek tribes, among them the Apalachicola, Apalachee, and Yamasee, grew closer after the Yamasee War when they reoccupied the Chattahoochee River. The Catawba absorbed many of the remnants of northern or Piedmont tribes like the Cheraw, Congaree, Santee, Pee Dee, Waxhaw, Wateree, Waccamaw, and Winyah — although these tribes remained relatively independent for years. Most of these peoples spoke Siouan languages, but were nonetheless ethnically diverse.

4.4 Oglethorpe and the Georgia Colony

The displacement of the Creeks and Cherokees toward the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the 18th century was followed by the systematic settlement of the Georgia region. A lingering effect of the Yamassee war was the establishment of British forts to protect the western frontier (Coleman 1976). James Oglethorpe and his followers had explored the Savannah River region in 1728 and by 1732 it was apparent to all that the Georgia region was rich in furs and game and would provide a valuable buffer between the English and the Spanish to the south. In 1732, George II issued the Charter of the Colony of Georgia (McCall 1909). On 12 February 1733, the first settlers, under the leadership of James Oglethorpe, arrived at a location called Yamacraw Bluff, the first high ground upriver from the mouth of the Savannah River. It was determined that this was the proper location for the settlement and the town of Savannah was born (Coleman 1976). On the 21 May 1733 the First Treaty of Savannah was negotiated between James Oglethorpe and the Lower Creeks (Figure 15). Excerpts are as follows (White 1854, p 121):

The Indians will let the Trustees' people trade in their towns, their goods to be sold according to fixed rates.

The Trusties bind themselves to make restitution of any injuries which may be done to them by their people. The Indians agree that the Trusties' people shall make use of and possess all those lands which they had no occasion to use; not to molest or rob the English who might settle among them; to give no encouragement to any other white people to settle among them ...

Oglethorpe was convinced that for Georgia to take over part of the Indian trade previously dominated by South Carolina, a substantial settlement was needed upstream from Savannah, but below the falls on the river (Jones and Dutcher 1890; Coleman 1976). Fort Augusta was founded 1733 and proved highly successful. Oglethorpe used lands that had been ceded in the 1733 treaty to provide the land needed for the town. A road was constructed between Augusta and Savannah in 1740 and traders and settlers quickly headed inland for new lands.



Figure 15. Tomo-Chi-Chi and Tooanahowi of the Lower Creek, who negotiated the First Treaty of Savannah with Oglethorpe 1733 (from Colemen 1976, p 31).

Augusta soon took on the characteristics of a frontier town that were seen in the Wild West a century and a half later (Lewis 1876). The town was totally focused on the fur trade with the Cherokees and Creeks and it was not until 1758 that formal regional governments were instituted in the Colony (Simkins and Roland 1972). Despite the lack of cohesive civic policy, the town continued to prosper until the second half of the century when the fur trade had shifted to the west as the region was overhunted.

By 1739, Oglethorpe and the Creeks and Cherokees were negotiating for specific tracts of lands (White 1854:121):

The Indians declare that all the dominions, territories and lands between the Savannah and St. John's Rivers, including all the islands, and from the St. John's River to the Apalachie Bay, and thence to the mountains, do, by ancient right, belong to the Creek Nation, and that they would not suffer either the Spaniards or any other people, excepting the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia, to settle their lands.

The 1773 Treaty of August was signed between the Cherokee, Creek, and British Colonial Government (White 1854: 121-122):

By this treaty the Cherokees and Creeks jointly cede to his Majesty a portion of territory beginning at the place where "the lower Creek path intersect Ogeechee river; and from thence along the ridge between the water of Broad River and Oconee River up to the Buffalo Lick; and from thence in a straight line to the tree marked by the Cherokees ... and the Creeks cede from the present boundary line to Phinholaway Creek, on the Alatamaha River, up to said river to an island opposite to the mouth of Barber Creek; and from thence across to Ogeechee River ... In consideration of the lands thus ceded, his Majesty agrees, after certain expenses are paid, to apply the moneys arising from the sale of the lands to the payment of debts justly due by the Indians to their traders.

Figures 16-18 map the Indian territories in Georgia during this time.



Figure 16. Georgia-Creek Boundary lines (from DeVorsey 1966, p 142).



Figure 17. A new map of Georgia, 1748 by Emanuel Bowen (from Randalph 1973, p 146).



Figure 18. Map of the Southern Indian District 1764 by John Stuart (from DeVorsey 1966 p 15).

It is conservatively estimated that between 3 and 5 million acres were involved to settle a debt reported at the time to be between 40,000 and 50,000 pounds sterling (White 1854). The land was then considered, in the minds of the English, to be open for white settlement. The Creek and Cherokee did not agree with this and hostilities continued.

The French and Indian War had little impact on Georgia. The Native Americans typically favored the French due to anger over English trading policies and land encroachment (White 2004; Coleman 1976). A few years later they sided with the English against the Americans during the American Revolution and this war did have a significant impact. American patriot bands repeatedly entered into Cherokee territory, burning villages and razing crops from 1776 to 1782. Additionally a smallpox epidemic swept though the region in 1783, further decimating a people already weakened by warfare and hunger (Mooney 1900).

4.5 Native Americans and the State of Georgia

After the Revolutionary War, the Second Treaty of Augusta was negotiated in 1783 between the State of Georgia, the Creek, and the Cherokees (White 1854:123):

parties agree to forget all differences – that all debts due by the Indians be paid, and all property taken during the war be restored – that a new line be drawn without delay between the present settlements of Georgia and the hunting grounds of the Indians.

The Creek national council refused to ratify the treaty, but the Georgia government divided up and distributed the land to white settlers. Before the turn of the century, at least half a dozen treaties were signed where the Indians ceded or sold additional lands. With each treaty, the promise was made to protect remaining Indian lands within Georgia from further white settlement, but no effort was made on the part of the Georgia government to halt settlement.

In the early 1800s, the Shawnee leader, Tecumseh, recruited a portion of the Creek into his confederacy of tribes. His stated aim was to halt white encroachment into native land, by force if necessary. The Tecumseh movement culminated in Tecumseh War of 1813-14 and the Indian defeat at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend (White 2002). The Creeks, as part of the losing side, were forced to relinquish 22 million acres of land in Georgia and Alabama. In 1821, and then again in 1825 treaty sessions were called at Indian Springs. At these sessions, treaties were proposed that would have sold all Creek land in Georgia and most of Alabama in exchange for land in the west. A half Creek named William McIntosh supported the deal and signed the treaty. The Creek council ordered his execution, which was promptly carried out by a group of about 100 (White 2002). The Creek council was summoned to Washington where they were forced to accept the terms of the treaty signed by McIntosh in the Treaty of Creek Agency (signed in 1828). In this treaty, the Creeks (primarily the lower Creek Nation), ceded all "lands owned by them in the Sate of Georgia" in exchange for \$27,491.00 (White 1854). The Creeks evacuated their lands in Georgia and moved to Alabama and eventually Indian Territory in what is today Oklahoma (Debo 1941).

At the same time a great effort was made to "civilize" the Cherokee tribe. In 1791, a treaty provided the tribe with the latest farming technology and Cherokee women were taught to spin and weave (White 2002). Christian missionaries were invited into the tribe and a Moravian school was established in 1801 at Spring Place. In the War of 1812 and the Tecumseh War of 1813 the Cherokee sent warriors to fight on the side of the U.S. Government. In 1820, the Cherokee established a national government based on that of the United States (Mooney 1900) with a capital at New Echota. In 1821, Sequoyah made public his alphabet for the Cherokee language and by 1825 the New Testament was being distributed to the Cherokee in their own language. Finally in 1828 the Cherokee government adopted the new Cherokee Constitution (Mooney 1900).

The Cherokee attempts to assimilate into American society were not looked on kindly by many whites, and the state government enacted a series of laws designed to strip the Cherokee of their rights (White 2002). Gold had been found on Cherokee land and the state was anxious for the Cherokee to finally follow the Creek west. Laws were passed to invalidate any act passed by the Cherokee government, to deny Cherokee due process in the court system, the right to assemble, and many of their property rights. The Cherokee appealed to the Supreme Court, which ruled in their favor. President Jackson refused to uphold the court's decision. In 1835, Congress ratified the Treaty of New Echota even though no Cherokee with authority to speak for the tribe had signed it. The treaty assigned all lands of the Cherokee Nation within the boundaries of Georgia to the state, with an equal amount of land to be turned over to the Cherokee at some undesignated locality west of the Mississippi River. Also any Cherokee that remained in Georgia after 3 years could be forcibly removed. In the summer of 1838 President Van Buren ordered the Army into Georgia to round up the Cherokees. By fall, the tribe had been assembled and was moved out toward Indian Territory on what has become known as the "Trail of Tears" (White 2002). This was the final removal of native peoples from the State of Georgia.

5 The Tribes

There were numerous tribes and native peoples in the American Southeast at the time of European colonization. The stresses encountered by the native peoples are almost unimaginable to us today. Their population was decimated by disease, their primary means of sustenance was eradicated by overhunting, and their traditional lands were bartered, sold, and eventually stolen from them. Their languages of many tribes died out and so their stories and history disappeared as well.

The tribes that lived in the Southeast generally fell into three larger groups that were based on a shared language and shared cultural traits. These groups can be called the Cherokee, Catawba, and Creek. These tribes are not a single band of people that can be traced historically back to the time of colonization, but instead are confederations and merging of smaller tribes and refugees that banded together for safety and survival during the early years of competition with the Europeans. The membership in these tribes was fluid, with the smaller groups changing allegiances as the Indians made war and peace with the Europeans and each other.

The smaller tribes, like the Yuchi, the Apalachicola, the Wateree, the Congaree, etc. that were absorbed into the confederations have now disappeared to history and ethnographies and language analysis cannot be preformed on their cultures. Much of the material that a modern researcher must rely on is biased (and often racist) accounts of early European explorers and settlers and the aspects of the culture that survived the "civilizing" of the Indians. Because the whites in colonial times did not often understand and/or pay attention to the subtleties of Indian culture and politics, they often only describe the people in terms of the larger groups of Cherokee, Catawba, and Creek. It is for this reason that the descriptions below are also so divided.

5.1 The Creek

The Creek are not a single tribe, but a diverse group made up of numerous small bands, all speaking a related Muskogean family of languages and sharing a similar culture (White 2002; Chaudhuri and Chaudhuri 2001; Ethridge 2003). The dominate group is the Muskogee. The Muskogee are subdivided into 12 bands or clans: Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa, Abihka, Wakokai, Eufaula, Hilibi, Atasi, Kolomi, Tukabahchee, Pakana, and Okchai. The Creek traditionally were settled in the Coastal Plain and the Piedmont regions.

Creek villages were located along river and streams within their territory (White 2002; Chaudhuri and Chaudhuri 2001; Ethridge 2003). This provided the people with the best access to the waterways (which functioned as highways), better access to riverine resources, as well as access to prime soil for agriculture. Hunting in this area is also best near water sources as the more diverse ecosystem provides the widest range of prey.

Historic descriptions of Creek villages strongly resemble what is seen in the archaeological record at Mississippian centers (Bartrum 1928) and many scholars see the Creek as the descendants of the Mississippian peoples (although the Mississippian centers in the Southeast were already in decline or abandoned before European settlement) (Anderson 1994; Wesson and Rees 2002; White 2002). The major villages were oblong shaped with a denser concentration near the ceremonial center of the community. Bordering communities were smaller and could be fortified against raids. The houses were rectangular in shape, about half as wide as long with the door in the middle of one of the long sides (White 2002; Randalph 1973). The structures were one storied with a loft in the roof to provide a cooler area in the summer and a cold storage location for provisions in the winter. The loft would have been accessible with a portable ladder or stair. The buildings were timber framed with wattle and daub walls. The walls were supported by a large timber frame that was supported by cross braces. The walls were then filled in with smaller branches and saplings and plastered over with mud. The roofs would be made out of pine bark. Creek ceremonial structures would be constructed in much the same matter, but with a circular footprint instead of square.

Clothing and ornamentation varied from tribe to tribe and even village to village (Figure 19). It is difficult to determine the clothing habits since the Indians typically had trade goods prior to actual contact with Europeans (White 2002; Randolph 1973; Hudson 1976, 1985; Ethridge 2003; Milfort 1972). Men wore breechcloths and women wore knee-length skirts. Men occasionally wore European style linen shirts. In colder weather, cloaks, robes, and overcoats of wool and leather were added to help keep warm. Most people went barefoot and used moccasins for travel and special occasions. Jewelry (in the form of necklaces, rings, bracelets, arm bands, and gorgets) of shell, bone, horn, and copper were often worn; later beads were also desired for adornment.



Figure 19. Creek man from unknown period (from White 2002, p 111).

Tattooing was achieved by cutting or puncturing the skin and rubbing the wound with soot. The men frequently wore paint for special occasions such as ceremonies, war, and ball games. Creek men usually shaved the sides of their heads leaving the hair on the top and back of the head, while women wore their hair long or knotted. Body hair was removed through plucking or scraping by both men and women.

The Creek, like other southeastern tribes are matrilineal. Women are the primary property owners and inheritance and clan membership is inherited from the mother (White 2002; Chaudhuri and Chaudhuri 2001; Ethridge 2003). The Creek had approximately 50 clans that are named after animals and objects commonly encountered in daily life. Clan membership determined social status as some clans had more prestige than other. Marriage within the clan was considered incest and strictly forbidden. The clans controlled the punishment of all crimes committed by its members. The clans were also the organizational mechanism for division of labor within the clan and land holding units. Marriage was considered valid only after the woman was bound to her husband by a bride price. The groom also provided the bride with gifts and assisted her in her work. The man was expected to build a new house and provision it for the winter before the marriage was complete (Swanton 1946). Sexual experimentation was permitted prior to marriage, but adultery was considered a serious crime. Tribal government was based on the village and expanded to incorporate the surrounding smaller communities, thus the tribal group could include anywhere from 300 to 1000 people. Creek society and government fall into the Moiety system or a division into two halves (Randolph 1973; Hudson 1976, 1985; Ethridge 2003; Milfort 1972; Chaudhuri and Chaudhuri 2001). Towns were divided into Red and White towns, but each town had both a red and white chief. The red chief was the war leader while the white chief presided at all other times. Chiefs had numerous responsibilities that included distributing corn, entertaining ambassadors and strangers who came to the village, served as spokesman at all tribal councils. A mixture of hereditary and democracy determined the individual make-up of the ruling bodies. An individual of exceptional skill or talent in hunting, war, or ceremony could rise to be a leader despite his clan membership, but leaders tended to come from elite clans. After contact with the Europeans and their system of patriarchy, the influence that Creek fathers could wield for their children increased.

War parties were typically small as the Creek preferred guerrilla-style tactics to the open combat practiced by the Europeans. Warriors did not frequently wear elaborate costume for warfare, but instead preferred the use of paint. The Creek were known for their use of a large number of weapons. These included bows and arrows, spars, clubs, hatchets, knives and lances, irons knives, tomahawks, and guns. Creek also used shields and body armor for protection.

The Creek belief system contains a single unifying principle in the universe that links all aspects of the world together. This principle is the energy known as Ibofanga, which encompasses all motion, rest, and links between entities. Ibofanga is rarely mentioned by the Creek, but is instead is accessed through lesser forces, such as Hesagedamesse (the master, the giver, and the taker of breath). The concept of Ibofanga leads to an understanding of the world that focuses on harmony, and the connections that exist between apparently different elements and objects. Creek ceremonial life was marked by several seasonal events (Randolph 1973; Hudson 1976, 1985; Ethridge 2003; Milfort 1972; Chaudhuri and Chaudhuri 2001). The most important was great Busk or Boskita ceremony, also referred to as the Green Corn Ceremony. This was the New Year celebration that occurred in mid summer. The ceremony consisted of feasting, dancing, games, and a fire ceremony where all fires in town were extinguished and all cooking utensils were broken and replaced.

Many of the Creek oral traditions include mounds and repeatedly refer to the historical importance of the mounds and mound groups (Randolph 1973; Hudson 1976, 1985; Ethridge 2003; Milfort 1972; Chaudhuri and Chaudhuri 2001). There is still some ongoing debate as to whether or not the Creek are the actual descendents of the Mississippian and Hopewellian mound building cultures. Whether or not their ancestors built the mounds is, for this discussion, irrelevant. The Creek have historically and continue today to identify the mounds and mound centers as sacred spaces and to incorporate that sacred space into their ceremonial life. The Creek also incorporate the use of plazas or ceremonial open spaces. These are typically marked by a single central pole that can be used to determine cardinal directions and provide information about the passage of the sun and its relationship to other astronomical bodies.

Medicine men or shaman were important for the ceremonial life of the people. The holy persons often claimed or were ascribed with the gift of prophecy and were often consulted on major decisions for the clan and/or tribe. The Creek believe that all living things consist of a combination of body, mind, and spirit and that when these elements are not in balance one falls ill and healing was necessary. This combination of belief and medicine meant that the shaman was also the primary healer for the group practicing herbal medicine, sympathetic magic, and appeals to spirits. Sweat houses were used not only to help treat the sick, but also for ritual purification and relaxation.

The modern Muscogee Creek (the Creek Nation of Oklahoma) elect a Principal Chief and Second Chief every 4 years. The next election will be in September 2011. The current Principle Chief of the Creek Nation of Oklahoma is A.D. Ellis and the Second Chief is Alfred Berryhill. The Principal Chief selects his <u>Chief of Staff</u> and his <u>Executive Director</u>, who are confirmed by the National Council. The Executive Director oversees the Office of the Administration, which is in place to provide comprehensive management, policy development, administrative support, and program coordination to all administrative and program offices operated by the Muscogee (Creek) Nation. There are currently 60,882+ members of the Creek Nation of Oklahoma.

The Poarch Band of Creek are the descendents of a portion of the Creek people which were not removed from their traditional lands in the early nineteenth century. The tribal headquarters are on their reservation in Poarch Alabama, making them the only Federally recognized tribe in Alabama. They are led by a nine member council. Buford Rolin is the current Council Chairman. There are about 2,340 members of the Poarch Band of Creek Indians, of which over 1,000 live in the vicinity of Poarch, AL.

The Alabama-Quassarte is a Federally recognized Indian tribe headquartered in Wetumka Oklahoma. The tribal members are the descendents of two Creek tribal towns (Alabama and Quassarte) in Alabama. The two towns' geographic proximity and cultural similarity led to a merging of the towns into a single entity which was relocated to Oklahoma along with the other Creek peoples in the early nineteenth centuries. The Alabama-Quassarte gained Federal recognition in 1939 and the 350 members enjoy dual citizenship as Muscogee Creek tribal members.

The Kialegee are descendents of the Creek town of Tuckabatche which was originally located in Georgia and then moved to Alabama in the eighteenth century. After removal to Oklahoma, the Kialegee settled near Henryetta, OK. In 1899, the division of native lands into individual allotments pushed the tribe further west to Wetumka where the tribe is headquartered today. The Kialegee constitution states that the town is lead by a chief executive officer, called a king, who is assisted by warriors, a secretary, and a treasurer.

The final Creek tribal town to be recognized independently is Thlopthlocco. Thlopthlocco was one of the central Muscogee towns in Alabama. Prior to 1832 Thlopthlocco split off from a much larger towns called Thlewarthle and were then relocated to Oklahoma just three years later in 1835. They settled in an area near Okemah. The town gained independent recognition in 1936. Today the tribe has 650 members.

5.2 The Cherokee

The Cherokee are a tribe that originated to the north of the project area and migrated southward during the late pre-contact period and into the historic period (White 2002; Malone 1956; Woodward 1963). The Cherokee language is part of the Iroquoian family and is not related to the languages of the other tribes found in Georgia. The Cherokee are the largest group east of the Mississippi and their expansion into the southern states displaced the peoples already there.

The Cherokee lived by farming and hunting, fishing, and gathering (White 2002; Malone 1956; Woodward 1963; Randolph 1973; Gilbert 1978; Hudson 1976). There villages were located in bottom land just like the Creek,

but the layout of the villages was different. The community was spread out with each individual having some ground within the village for their garden. The most frequently cultivated plants were corn, beans, peas, squashes, pumpkins, and tobacco. The typical medicinal plants were sassafras, cinnamon, wild horehound, Seneca, snakeroot, St. Andrew's Cross, and wild plantain. Cane and reeds were not cultivated, but wild cane was harvested to make baskets, mats, fish traps, spears, arrows, and torches. The Cherokee, like other southeastern tribes did not, at the time of contact, have very many domesticated animals. Dogs were kept, but were generally less tame and trained than their European counterparts. Bees and turkey chicks were also kept, but were never domesticated. All variety of fauna was hunted and hunting was traditionally conducted by specialists, but this system broke down with the European fur trade introduction. Seasonal fishing also provided a significant amount of the protein consumption of the Cherokee.

Cherokee dress and adornment was very similar to Creek (or vise-versa). This consisted of breech cloths, a shirt (optional), and a skirt for women. In winter tunics, blankets and cloaks were worn for protection against the cold. Moccasins and boots were worn also to protect against the cold and for special occasions. The sides and front of the head were shaved leaving the top and back long. Men often pierced their ears and inserted hoops of copper or shell. The face was tattooed and for ceremonial occasions it would also be painted. Jewelry was similar to the Creek in type, but differed in style (Figure 20).

Early Cherokee houses, particularly those for winter quarters were round in shape (Randolph 1973; Hudson 1976, 1985; Milfort 1972; Gilbert 1978). Later, after interactions with Europeans their houses are described as square, one-storied buildings constructed in a log cabin fashion and then plastered. Each household would typically consist of multiple structures, minimally a winter house, a summer house or lean to, and one or more storage buildings. The winter houses were semi subterranean with the house basin surrounded by a wall trench for the wall support beams. The space between the wall beams would be wattle and daubed. The people would sleep on raised couches or benches. The roof was made of bark or shingles (Bartram 1955). Towns near the border of the territory were compact and fortified against raids. Occasionally large living trees were used as the center post for a large circular ceremonial structure.



Figure 20. Three Cherokees in London 1762 (from Randolph 1976, p 159).

The Cherokee also practice the Red and White division of labor within the community with the red chief again assuming leadership during time of war and a white chief who led the group in piece time. The white chief was seen as the primary chief and if he were to die, his place could be assumed by his widow (White 2002; Malone 1956; Woodward 1963). White chiefs were seen as sacred, possession special abilities of purification and prayer.

Cherokee are matrilineal with women permitted to become warriors and tribal council members. There are seven matrilineal clans and each clan is represented in every Cherokee community. As among the Creek, the clan membership determined a person's civic and ceremonial duties and limited the possible choice of a spouse. Marriage involved payment of a bride price, a transfer of goods from the groom to his future in-laws. If accepted, there was a public ceremony that involved feasting and an exchange of more gifts between the bride and groom.

The Cherokee were not as highly organized, politically, as the Creek were. In the 18th century, the Cherokee had approximately 50 to 60 towns divided up into four regions that were largely independent of each other. The Cherokee chiefs typically only came together at a time of crises. This internal division was often used by the Europeans who reduced the power of the Cherokee by pitting the four groups against each other. The Cherokee did not operate as a united political entity until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Ceremonial life focused on a lunar cycle and stages of the growing season (Randolph 1973; Hudson 1976, 1985; Milfort 1972; Gilbert 1978). Autumn was the time of the new year, but the most important ceremonies took place in the spring and midsummer. Christian missionary activity eventually led to an end of most of the traditional ceremonies. From existing ethnohistoric accounts, it is clear that the tribe believed in a divine spirit who was a unity of three separate beings called the Elder Fires Above. The divine spirit did not often, if ever, meddle in the affairs of the people, but instead was represented by many lesser spirits and/or monsters. The Cherokee believed in a cosmos that was divided into thee parts: This World (which was divided into seven levels), the Upper World, and the Under World. The Under World represented disorder and chaos while the Upper World was purity and order. This World balanced somewhere in between. The Cherokee also believed significantly in astrological observation and addressed both the Sun and the Moon and "grandparent." Like the Creek, the Cherokee believe in a world that was orderly and predictable in which lived spiritual beings that were just and consistent in their dealings with men. So long as people behaved according to the customs, nature would remain balanced and all would be well in the peoples' affairs. Holy men were considered to have the power of prophecy and control over the weather.

The modern Cherokee nation is also led by a Principal Chief. The Principal Chief is responsible for the execution of the laws of the Cherokee Nation, establishment of tribal policy and delegation of authority as necessary for the day-to-day operations of all programs and enterprises administered by the Cherokee Nation tribal government. The Deputy Principal Chief is empowered to act as directed by the Principal Chief. The Principal Chief and Deputy Principal Chief are elected to 4-year terms by popular vote of registered Cherokee voters. The current Principle Chief of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma is Chad "Corntassel" Smith and the Deputy Chief is Joe Grayson, Jr. The next tribal election is in September 2011. Michell Hicks is the Principle Chief of the Eastern Band of Cherokee and Larry Blythe is the Deputy Chief.

The Tribal Council consists of a seventeen member group elected by popular vote represent nine districts of the Cherokee Nation, plus two at-large members elected to represent those citizens who live outside the boundaries of the Cherokee Nation. The Tribal Council initiates legislation and conducts other business that will further the interests of the Cherokee Nation and its citizens. An elected Speaker presides over the Council as its president. Tribal Council terms are 4 years.

The United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians derives its name from the Kituwah Mound site near Brysor City, NC. The band can trace its origins (separate from the Cherokee peoples) to the first decade of the nineteenth century. At this time delegations were sent to Washington requesting that a distinction be made between "Upper towns" that wanted to form a European style government and "Lower towns" that wanted to continue with the traditional lifeways. In 1817, these Lower towns exchanged their lands in the east for land in Arkansas and 4000 "Old Settlers" moved west into the new territory. These peoples became known as Western Cherokee and were considered (at their own request) as separate from other Cherokee in the 1820 census. In 1828, due to dissatisfaction with white encroachments into their Arkansas lands, the Western Cherokee voluntarily moved to Oklahoma, a full decade prior to the forced removal of Cherokee from the eastern states.

The United Keetoowah Band was originally organized by descendents of the Western Cherokee as the Keetoowah Society (aka the Nighthawk Society) which attempted to preserve, revive and/or reinvent traditional tribal practices and ceremonies. The Keetoowah band was Federally recognized in 1950. In the intervening years the Society and the Band are no longer a single organization but have split into separate political and cultural entities. Today the United Keetoowah Band is headquartered in Tahlequah Oklahoma with a tribal membership of 10,000 people.

The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians is headquartered in Cherokee, NC. The Band is descended principally from Cherokee who did not participate in the forced removal on the Trail of Tears. A band of rebel Cherokee, led by Tsali, resisted removal. Eventually, after the capture and execution of Tsali by the Federal government, the Eastern band was permitted to remain in the Cherokee homeland. The Eastern Bands membership consists primarily of the descendents of individuals listed on the Baker Roll of Eastern Cherokee Indians which was drawn up in 1924. The Band has nearly 13,000 members, of which nearly 9,000 members live in the Qualla Boundary. Although the Qualla Boundary is technically not a reservation but is considered Federal land held in trust, it is commonly referred to as a reservation and the tribal leadership and Federal authorities hold jurisdiction

5.3 The Catawba

The Catawba are a Siouan speaking tribe who were centralized in the southern Virginia and North Carolina region at the time of English settlement (Merrel 1989; Pandolph 1976; White 2002; Hudson 1976). As those colonies were settled, the Catawba were pushed south into South Carolina. There is no historical documentation that the Catawba ever had settlements in the project area, but individuals may have ventured as far south as Georgia. Due to the more intense and early interaction with the more heavily settled colonies in the mid-Atlantic, the Catawba adopted European ways earlier and more quickly than did the tribes to the south. European naming conventions for children were adopted as early as the end of the 18th century. The Catawba were affected more strongly by early colonial wars and as the result, the group was less a confederation of united tribes (such as the Creek) and more similar to a collection of tribal remnants and refugees who shared a similar language and cultural practice. It is difficult to reconstruct traditional Catawba life because the conglomeration of similar tribes, led inevitably, to the simplification and merging of similar practices and beliefs.

The Catawba were known for their free expression in their dress (Merrel 1989; Pandolph 1976; White 2002; Hudson 1976). The white settlers who described them could not agree on the appropriate manner of dress. The variety extended into the household with each person displaying their own tastes. Early settlers saw the Catawba tattooed and wearing scalp locks, but these fell out of fashion early in the 18th century. Catawba men and women, however, continued to wear a silver nose ring that was often adorned with small charms.

The Catawba also differed in their house construction. They often lived in small round dwellings made of birch bark, which the English referred to as wig-wams. In the 17th century, they did transition toward log cabins, but they did not divide the interior into rooms and shunned European furniture such as tables.

The Catawba followed traditional substance divisions of labor with the females caring for the fields and gardens and the men hunting. Winter was considered the primary hunting season due the ability to process and cure the meat in the cold weather before it rotted. The Catawba added an additional source of income in the form of rents. They were known to rent or lease out their land to whites for farming, accepting payment in either trade goods or, preferably, cash.

The Catawba enjoyed a large extended matrilineal family. Relatives provided instruction, comfort, and protection from outsiders. Justice was dispensed within the tribe and it was the duty of the family's daughters to avenge the wrongs done to the family. Property was controlled and possessed by the women although later the allotment of lease lands and rents was determined by men in the tribe. The women's position of authority was transitioned to a "behind the scenes" approach. By the time of the American Revolution, the Catawba were adopting democratic elections to determine who would be chief and the opinions of the leading females in the tribe was actively sought out. The chief's basic duties consisted of mediation between the tribe and the outside world, to provide hospitality to visitors and strangers, to call and lead tribal meetings, and to preside over ceremonial events.

Just like their southern neighbors, the Catawba had a belief in an ordered cosmos in which the primary goal was to maintain balance. Rewards were available to those who behaved in a manner that would promote the balance while hardship, poverty, hunger, and even death awaited those who upset the order of the cosmos. Individual ritual taboos were evoked to maintain the desired order; these acts were buttressed by communal ceremonies connecting the people to the spiritual world and to one another. Even after the tribe was Christianized, most villages maintained communal sweat lodges, and war dances were observed as late as the mid 18th century.

6 Summary and Conclusion

6.1 Summary

The Indians provided the new European settlers with invaluable assistance in the early years of the state and nation. By adapting Indian practices in agriculture and hunting/fishing, the early settlers were able to survive the first years of the colony. The Indian tribes were repeatedly called on to lend aid to struggles and conflicts between the whites or between whites and other Native tribes.

Unfortunately, the treatment meted out to the native peoples of the nation rarely reflected the level of debt owed to them by the European colonists. Instead they were forced into debt by unscrupulous traders, robbed of their ancestral land, their heritage, their beliefs, and in many cases their lives. The process, begun by smallpox and slave traders in the 16th century, was completed in the 19th century with treaties and presidential actions.

The role of the Indian tribes of Georgia is an important part of the history of the state. Native American words provide the names for towns, counties, and rivers. Even the location of many towns and cities were determined by the native inhabitant. Many modern roads follow the exact same paths the native trails did. The state contains/possesses numerous state parks and historic sites that contain or were founded around Indian sites. Plants introduced to Europeans by Indians still grow in gardens and on farms across the state.

Today Georgia does not have an official Native American population. There are no reservations within the state boundaries and all Federally recognized Tribes that have a historical record of living in Georgia are headquartered either in neighboring states or Oklahoma. Their presence in the state, however, should never be forgotten.

In the past, native peoples have had too little say in the interpretation of their own culture and history. Their religion is poorly understood by most non-Native people yet it is non-Native people that in the past have had the authority to decide how Native sacred sites and ceremonial objects were excavated and cared for. As a result, museums and private collections around the world are filled with sacred Native objects and even the remains of Native peoples. Indian tribes in the past had no means of getting

their sacred relics returned to them nor did they have a means restricting or preventing further excavation and collection of new objects. This changed in 1990 when the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed to enabled the indigenous peoples of North America to have a say in the preservation of their cultural treasures. One of the provisions of this act requires that, if Federal officials anticipate that activities on Federal lands might have an effect on American Indian burials (or if burials are discovered during such activities), they must consult with potential lineal descendants or American Indian tribal officials as part of their compliance responsibilities. For planned excavations, consultation must occur during the planning phase of the project. For inadvertent discoveries, the regulations delineate a set of short deadlines for initiating and completing consultation. Once it is determined that human remains are American Indian, study and/or curation of the remains and/or any associated artifacts can occur only through documented consultation (on Federal lands) or consent (on tribal lands).

It is to comply with NAGPRA that DoD installations, such as Fort Gordon, have begun to hold regular tribal consultation meetings. These meetings provide a forum for all interested parties to discuss the appropriate treatment of Native American remains and sacred artifacts. It is the sincere hope of the authors that the combined efforts of all involved parties, debate and discussion informed by cultural affiliation studies such as the one above, and tribal consultation meetings between the Native Tribes affiliated with Georgia and the U.S. Army Signal Center and Fort Gordon will facilitate further cooperation between the Federal Government, the U.S. Army and Native Peoples in Georgia.

6.2 Conclusion

This study has identified and characterized the following Federally recognized Indian Tribes that should be consulted regarding present-day installation activities (i.e., those that claim aboriginal and/or ancestral ties to the Fort Gordon area, as well as those Native American groups that ceded lands to the U.S. Government):

- The Muscogee (Creek) Nation
- The Poarch Band of Creek Indians
- Alabama-Quassarte Tribal Town
- Kialegee Tribal Town
- Thlopthlocco Tribal Town
- The Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma

- The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians
- The United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians
- The Catawba Indian Tribe
- The Chickasaw Nation of Oklahoma

To comply with Federal law and military regulation, military installations are required to consult with Federally recognized Indian tribes to determine their views and beliefs on the most appropriate method of collecting, preserving and curating archaeological sites and artifacts. Both the Creek and Cherokee tribes are among those Federally recognized Indian tribes that must be included in any tribal consultation efforts at Fort Gordon.

Appendix A to this report provides contact information current at the time of this publication.

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Appendix A: Contact Information

Creek Tribes

Principal Chief	Mr. A. D. Ellis
Mailing Address	Muscogee (Creek) Nation PO Box 580 Okmulgee, OK 74447
Telephone No.	918-732-7608
Next Tribal Election	Sept 2011
NAGPRA Contact	Mrs. Joyce A. Bear
NAGPRA Contact Telephone No.	918-732-7731

Muscogee (Creek) Nation

Poarch Band of Creek Indians

Chairperson	Mr. Buford L. Rolin
Mailing Address	Poarch Band of Creek Indians 5811 Jack Springs Road Atmore, AL 36502
Telephone No.	251-368-9136
Fax No.	251-368-4502
Next tribal election	June 2008 (The Chairperson's term is 3 years.)
Tribal Historical Preservation Officer	Mr. Robert Thrower
Mailing Address	Poarch Band of Creek Indians 5811 Jack Springs Road Atmore, AL 36502

Alabama-Quassarte Tribal Town

Chief	Mr. Tarpie Yargee
Mailing Address	Alabama-Quassarte Tribal Town PO Box 187 Wetumka, OK 74883
Street Address	101 E. Broadway Wetumka OK 74883
Telephone No.	405-452-3987
Fax No.	405-452-3968
Next tribal election	2010
Cultural Heritage Office Director	Ms. Augustina Asbury

Kialegee	
Town King	Ms. Jennie Lillard
Mailing Address	Kialegee Tribal Town PO Box 332 Wetumka, OK 74883
Telephone No.	405-452-3262
e-mail	kialegeetribal@yahoo.com
Next tribal election	2009

Thlopthlocco Tribal Town

Town King	Mr. Vernon Yarholar
Mailing Address	Thlopthlocco Tribal Town PO Box 188 Okema, OK 74859
Telephone No.	918-560-6198
Fax No.	918-560-6196
Next tribal election	2011
Tribal Cultural Point of Contact	Mr. Charles Coleman

Cherokee Tribes

Principal Chief	Mr. Chadwick Smith
Mailing Address	Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma PO Box 948 Tahlequa, OK 74465
Telephone No.	918-453-5466
Next Tribal Election	2011
NAGPRA Contact	Dr. Richard L. Allen
Title	Policy Analyst
Mailing Address	Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma PO Box 948 Tahlequa, OK 74465-0948
E-Mail Address	rallen@cherokee.org (prefers e-mail communication)
Telephone No.	918-453-5466 ext 5726

Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma

Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians

Principal Chief	Mr. Michell Hicks
Mailing Address	Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians PO Box 455 Cherokee, NC 28719
Telephone No.	828-497-7000
NAGPRA Contact	Ms. Clara Wahnetah
Mailing Address	Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians PO Box 455 Cherokee, NC 28719

United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians

Chief	Mr. George Wickliffe
Mailing Address	United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians PO Box 746 Tahlequah, OK 74465
Telephone No.	918-431-1818
Fax No.	918-431-1873
Next Tribal Election	2008
Acting Tribal Historic Preservation Officer	Ms. Lisa C. Stopp

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Catawba

Catawba Tribe	
Chief	Mr. Gilbert Blue
Mailing Address	996 Avenue of the Nations Rock Hill, SC 29730
Telephone No.	803-366-4792
Fax No.	803-366-9150

Chickasaw

Chickasaw Nation of Oklahoma					
Governor	Mr. Bill Anoatubby				
Mailing Address	Chickasaw Nation of Oklahoma 520 Arlington Road Ada, OK 74820				
Telephone No.	580-436-2603				
NAGRPA Contact	Ms. Gingy (Virgina) Nail				
Mailing Address	Chickasaw Nation of Oklahoma PO Box 1548 Ada, OK 74821-1548				
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Federal regulations require that DoD installations accomplish their military missions in compliance with cultural resource laws. Com- pliance with Executive Order 11593, as codified in amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, as amended, requires complete inventories, evaluations, and implementation of a comprehensive management program for all historic properties on Federally controlled lands. Additional legislation expands the protection, compliance, and stewardship roles of the Army					
in regard to historic preservation. The key to a successful Cultural Resource Management (CRM) program is a constructive ongoing consultation process with all Federally recognized Indian Tribes that claim cultural affiliation with lands that now comprise the instal- lation. The first step in developing a consultation process is to determine, which Federally recognized Indian Tribes should be included in the consultation process. This is accomplished via a cultural affiliation study. This study identified and characterized those Federally					
recognized Indian Tribes that should be consulted regarding present-day installation activities on Fort Gordon.					
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