

# INDIANS OF THE GREATER SOUTHEAST

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BONNIE G. MCEWAN

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## The Lower Creeks

### Origins and Early History

JOHN E. WORTH

The Lower Creeks were one of the most important and influential Native American groups in the historic period Southeast, and have justifiably received considerable attention from modern scholars, including a wide range of historians and anthropologists. During the past seven decades, archaeology has made significant contributions to our present-day understanding of their origins, culture, and history. Despite this fact, however, surprisingly few overall syntheses of this work have ever been published, and most of the literature that does exist is not widely accessible, either to archaeologists and other researchers or to the general public. Even today, the most comprehensive archaeological list of eighteenth-century Lower Creek town identifications along the lower Chattahoochee River is still a pair of typescript manuscripts written by Harold Huscher some four decades ago (Huscher 1958, 1959; Knight and Mistovich 1984:227), and the identities of earlier Lower Creek towns along the Ocmulgee River are still being debated (see, for example, Pluckhahn 1997: 353–60; Smith 1992:39–45). Moreover, despite the fact that Works Progress Administration excavations of the Lower Creek town and English stockade at Macon Plateau during the 1930s were among the earliest scientific archaeological projects in the Southeast (see Hally 1994a), the final report on this project was delayed three decades, and this manuscript is still only available as a microform dissertation, despite more recent compilations and summaries of these data (Mason 1963a; Pluckhahn 1997; Powell 1994; Waselkov 1994). Even with the release of this delayed report, however, the archaeological phase (Blackmon) associated with the seventeenth-century antecedents of these Lower Creek towns was only for-

mally defined in the 1980s (Knight and Mistovich 1984; Mistovich and Knight 1986; Schnell 1990).

For these reasons, the present chapter was assembled in large part from a diversity of primary archaeological site reports (several of which are unpublished), as well as the secondary summaries and overviews that are available. I have intentionally focused my attention on the earliest phases of Lower Creek history (that is, their origins and early migrations through about 1716), since this is undoubtedly the least well-known period, and since I believe that it is here that archaeology will ultimately make many of its most important contributions. Nevertheless, my overview also includes selected sites occupied through the removal era (1836), since a considerable amount of work has been (and continues to be) carried out regarding Lower Creek culture change and population expansion during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

### Lower Creek Origins through 1692

Archaeological research holds considerable promise as a pivotal source of direct information on the ultimate origins of the Lower Creeks, particularly since many of the earliest transformations of the historic period occurred beyond the light of ethnohistoric documentation. Early archaeological work resulted in several theories concerning the archaeological identity and roots of historic Indian groups such as the Creeks and Cherokees, much of which has now been either rejected outright or substantially revised in the light of more recent data. Comprehensive reviews of this early literature are given elsewhere (for example, Knight 1994b; Russell 1975), and for my purposes here it suffices to note that following several decades of additional research, the earliest debates on the stylistic and historical connection between prehistoric Lamar material culture (principally ceramics) and that of the historic Creeks and Cherokees have been effectively resolved; the ceramic assemblages of *both* historic Indian groups have their origins in prehistoric Lamar-related assemblages, though the actual connections are somewhat more convoluted than originally envisioned by early researchers (such as Fairbanks 1952, 1958; Sears 1955; Willey and Sears 1952). In point of fact, the ultimate roots of the Lamar-derived material culture of both the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Lower Creeks of middle and eastern Georgia (where the "Ocmulgee Fields" ceramic series was first recognized) and the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Cherokees in northwestern Georgia

(where the "Galt" ceramic series was first recognized) are to be found in completely distinct locations, though nonetheless in areas with late prehistoric Lamar occupation (see, for example, Hally 1986; Knight 1994b).

The lower Chattahoochee Valley is now correctly viewed by most archaeologists as the ancestral home of the Lower Creeks, since it was here that the Apalachicola province was situated upon first European contact in the 1630s and 1640s (see, for example, Hann 1988; Schnell 1989). Despite the fact that these documented Apalachicola towns subsequently assimilated a diversity of extralocal groups, many of which arrived as refugees from early European slaving and frontier wars, it seems abundantly clear that the core constituency of the polity that later became known as the Lower Creek Indians was already residing along the lower Chattahoochee River by approximately A.D. 1650. Because the Chattahoochee River Lower Creek towns of a century later (circa A.D. 1750) largely represented an amalgam of local and extralocal groups under the overall political leadership of the same principal Apalachicola towns (though apparently operating under considerably different political systems), my own discussion of Lower Creek origins will begin with the Apalachicola province of about A.D. 1650 and its direct antecedents. While this largely overlooks the prehistoric origins of several immigrant groups who attached themselves to these original Apalachicola towns during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Westo, Yuchi, et cetera), from an archaeological perspective there is good reason to argue that late eighteenth-century Lower Creek material culture (especially ceramics) represents a more-or-less direct stylistic evolution from the Abercrombie/Blackmon phases of about 1650. All other extralocal influences that may have been introduced by immigrants after that date appear to have been largely subsumed within the local ceramic sequence as it evolved from that point (each perhaps contributing individually to that stylistic evolution).

The archaeological chronology of indigenous occupation on the lower Chattahoochee River has been considerably refined in recent years. Given that Apalachicola/Lower Creek material culture of the historic period can ultimately be seen as a derivative of the broader late prehistoric Lamar culture (Hally 1994b; Williams and Shapiro 1990), it is from this point that my discussion will depart. The local variant of the Lamar culture first emerged on the lower Chattahoochee Valley during the Singer phase between A.D. 1300 and 1400 (Schnell and Wright 1993:15, 20–21), as occurred simultaneously across much of Georgia and surrounding states about

A.D. 1350 (see, for example, Hally 1994b:47; Hally and Rudolph 1986:63; Williams and Shapiro 1990:4). During this phase Lamar ceramic types first appeared alongside Fort Walton types, showing influences from the Florida panhandle region (and consistent with previous phases). The Singer phase was succeeded by the Bull Creek phase (A.D. 1400–75), and subsequently by the Stewart phase (A.D. 1475–1550), both of which represent the localized stylistic evolution of a typical late prehistoric Lamar assemblage with continuing influences from the Fort Walton culture to the south (Knight 1994a:380–81, 1994b:188; Knight and Mistovich 1984:224–25; Mistovich and Knight 1986; Schnell 1990; Schnell and Wright 1993:15, 21–22, 30).

The Stewart phase is of particular interest here, since it straddles first European contact in 1540, thus forming a benchmark against which later, postcontact developments can be compared. By the time of the Hernando de Soto expedition during the Stewart phase (the Spanish army, however, completely bypassed the entire Chattahoochee Valley), indigenous lower Chattahoochee River populations were distributed in numerous farmsteads and mound sites stretching along the river for a distance of some 160 kilometers (Knight 1994a:380–81). Stewart phase occupations were characterized by what might be described as a typical southern Lamar ceramic assemblage, including the standard range of Middle Lamar decorative styles—complicated stamped (predominantly curvilinear motifs), incised, and check-stamped treatments as well as folded rims—along with incised and punctated decorations of the Fort Walton culture to the south. Significantly, Stewart phase ceramics were almost entirely grit-tempered, in stark contrast to later phases.

A crucial period of interest for the origins of the Apalachicola province of mid-seventeenth-century Spanish records, and thus also for the emergence of the Lower Creeks, is the succeeding Abercrombie phase (A.D. 1550–1650), which apparently witnessed dramatic transformations in both material culture and settlement patterns (Knight 1994a:383, 1994b:188; Knight and Mistovich 1984:225; Schnell 1990:383). At the few sites known to have been occupied during this phase (see below), a diverse range of new ceramic types appeared, including an entirely new series of shell-tempered types not present in the Stewart phase, but at least reminiscent of contemporaneous Dallas, McKee Island, and Alabama River ceramics from Alabama and eastern Tennessee. These new types included distinctive incised, brushed, black-burnished, and plain shell-tempered wares. Grit-tempered Lamar and Fort Walton types (incised and complicated and check-stamped decorations)

seem to have continued during the Abercrombie phase but were significantly reduced in relation to the Abercrombie wares.

Of no small import, the material culture assemblage characteristic of the century-long Abercrombie phase appears only at an extremely limited number of sites, including the Abercrombie site (1Ru61) and the Cooper (also known as Woolfolks) site (9Me3), both of which originally contained mounds (Hurt 1975:17; Knight 1994a:383, 1994b:189). This contrasts markedly with the comparatively dense distribution of sites bearing the earlier Stewart phase material culture and implies a radical reduction in local population size along the Chattahoochee River corridor during the first century after European contact. As has been noted by many authors, this phenomenon is probably best explained by a dramatic local population collapse in the wake of early European epidemics. The Stewart phase Lamar polity on the lower Chattahoochee collapsed, and in its wake a small number of sites near the Fall Line witnessed the emergence of a new ceramic tradition that would eventually form the roots of Lower Creek material culture (that is, the subsequent Blackmon phase).

The most important question regarding the Abercrombie phase, and thus Lower Creek origins, is whether the massive ceramic transformation noted above resulted from in situ stylistic evolution among local populations (almost certainly with outside influences), or from the direct immigration of extralocal people into the Chattahoochee Valley, or both. While the nuances of this debate are beyond the scope of this essay, a review of the evidence is instructive. In recent years, Vernon J. Knight (1994a, 1994b) greatly clarified the prehistoric origins of broader historic Creek material culture (principally ceramics). He identified three regional subtraditions that eventually formed the basis for later historic Creek ceramics: the Coosa subtradition (ancestral to the Abihka group of Muskogee-speaking towns), the Tallapoosa subtradition (ancestral to the Tallapoosa group of Muskogee-speaking towns), and the Chattahoochee subtradition (ancestral to the Apalachicola group of Hitchiti-speaking towns). In this context, while acknowledging stylistic connections between the shell-tempered Abercrombie phase ceramics along the Chattahoochee and contemporaneous phases in Alabama and Tennessee containing Dallas, McKee Island, and Alabama River stylistic influences, Knight nonetheless concluded that the “hybrid” character of the Chattahoochee sequence probably resulted from external borrowing by resident local populations: “What these external relationships might signify for cultural process is still unclear, yet they are not so pervasive

as to cancel out the essential continuity of the sequence as a local sub-tradition" (Knight 1994b:185). The Abercrombie phase mounds, therefore, can be seen as "stable political and population centers" that survived the late sixteenth-century population collapse along the Chattahoochee and that served as the basis for local population growth during the subsequent Blackmon phase (Knight 1994a:384).

Even more recently, Chad Braley (1998:9–11) reexamined the evidence for culture change during the period assigned to the Abercrombie phase, suggesting instead that large-scale population replacement may at least in part explain the observed transformations in the Chattahoochee Valley and elsewhere. In this context, the material culture that has been defined as the Abercrombie phase might be better conceived as a result of the mixing of terminal Stewart phase and initial Blackmon phase components at these archaeological sites, reflecting the reoccupation of abandoned sites by immigrant populations. As has been amply demonstrated by Marvin Smith (1987, 1989), such population movements did occur during this period, and the Chattahoochee Valley is already known to have been an important area of population "coalescence" during subsequent decades (see, for example, Knight 1994a:384). Braley noted that not only did local aboriginal ceramics change radically during the Abercrombie phase (shell tempering rapidly eclipsed grit tempering, complicated stamping ultimately disappeared, wide folded rims plummeted in popularity, brushed decoration and strap handles appeared), but there were also simultaneous changes in other areas of material culture, including the abrupt appearance of Guntersville type arrowheads at least as early as the Blackmon phase (in contrast to the almost total absence of Mississippian triangular arrowpoints in Stewart phase contexts). Depending on when mound construction at the Abercrombie site is dated (and this is not clear from existing literature), mound construction, too, may have ceased during the Abercrombie phase (Braley 1998:9; but see also Knight 1994a:383).

Perhaps most important, Braley (1998:10) correctly saw a correspondence between the dramatic changes in the Chattahoochee Valley between 1550 and 1650 and simultaneous changes that occurred in the Tallahassee Hills region of northwestern Florida (the Apalachee chiefdom of the early historic era). Just as Stewart phase occupation on the Chattahoochee waned and was ultimately replaced by Blackmon phase material culture with northern and western influences during the period denoted as the Abercrombie phase, Lake Jackson/early Velda phase populations in Apalachee were expe-

riencing a similarly radical change in material culture (see, for example, Scarry 1994:170). During the period between 1540 and 1633, the late prehistoric Fort Walton material culture, still predominant at the capital town of Anhaica during its occupation by the army of Hernando de Soto in 1539–40 (see, for example, Ewen 1990:87), was gradually dominated by the Lamar-derived Leon-Jefferson material culture, which possessed the same wide folded pinched rims, curvilinear complicated stamping, and check stamping as previous Stewart phase populations along the Chattahoochee, though with mixed grog and grit tempering (Braley 1998:10). Once again, while John Scarry (1994:170) viewed these changes as in situ transformations among local populations resulting from shifts in external influences (principally from the Georgia Piedmont), Braley also developed a strong case for possible direct migration from the Chattahoochee Valley, which would make the Stewart phase directly ancestral to the Velda phase.

In fact, the two processes described above (in situ culture change and population relocation) may have been operating simultaneously. Importantly, linguistic and folkloric evidence relating to the Lower Creeks strongly implies dual origins, implying both local population continuity and external immigration. Lower Creek towns ultimately incorporated two major linguistic subdivisions: Hitchiti and Muskogee (Swanton 1922; and see Hann 1996:66–67). This division appears to have been present as early as the period 1675–86, since most of the major towns identified with each language group appear on the earliest Spanish lists. While a precise roster of Apalachicola province towns belonging to each linguistic group is somewhat difficult to reconstruct (see the complete list in table 10.1), the Hitchiti towns appear to have included at least Hitchiti, Apalachicola, Sawokli, Ocmulgee, and Oconee, while the Muskogee towns included Coweta, Kasihta, and Kolomi. The town of Tuskegee should probably also be listed alongside the Muskogee towns in 1685, since its inhabitants were later noted to have spoken Koasati, a related dialect that evidently originated in eastern Tennessee, and that derived its name from the Coste chiefdom there (Hudson 1990:109; Swanton 1922:207–11). The close political relationship between Coste, Tasquiqui (Tuskegee), and other Koasati-speaking towns and the nearby Coosa chiefdom, as well as their similarities in late prehistoric material culture, suggests a closer connection with the Muskogee towns than those of the Hitchiti language. The town of Osuchi may have been Hitchiti speaking, if for no other reason than its early location in the southern part of Apalachicola, and in any case was certainly not identical with the Ti-

mucua town of Uzachile, as originally suggested by Swanton (1922:26, 165–66; see Hann 1996 and Worth 1998). Other documented early Apalachicola province towns are of uncertain linguistic affiliation and origin, though Chichahuti, Talipasle, Ylapi, and Tacusa might be classified as Hitchiti based solely on their southern geographic location, while Cuchiguale/Chavagale might be placed in the Muskogee division due to its northern location.

Early Spanish documentary evidence from the Soto and Pardo expeditions reveals that at least two of the four Muskogee-related towns listed above (Kasihta and Tuskegee) were indeed originally located far to the north. During the mid-sixteenth century, Casiste (Casista was the subsequent Spanish name for Kasihta) was a town within the Talisi chiefdom along the middle Coosa River in Alabama, but it was relocated to the Chattahoochee River valley several decades before 1675. The town of Tasquiqui was originally situated just south of the town of Tasqui, probably in the upper Conasauga River drainage in southeastern Tennessee (Hudson 1990: 109, 1997:229; Smith 1987:138, 1989:28). This town, which was not present in 1675, may have been part of a larger group of fugitive Koasati who were noted in 1686 by Spanish visitor Marcos Delgado to have fled their northern homeland previously on account of “persecution” by the English-allied Chichimeco (or Westo; see Worth 1995:15–18) and Cherokee, first settling in the Coosa River valley before moving farther south into the Apalachicola province (Boyd 1937:26–27). While some of these Koasati refugees returned to the Coosa in 1686, the Tuskegee remained among the Apalachicola/Lower Creek for several decades.

In contrast to these documented Muskogee-Koasati relocations, however, none of the Hitchiti towns are known to have been immigrant to the Chattahoochee Valley. (A town called Ocute, which appeared very briefly among the Apalachicola in 1685, was at that time a similarly displaced Yamasse community originally from the eastern Georgia Piedmont.) This evidence, in concert with Creek legends explicitly describing the Muskogee speakers as immigrants into the Hitchiti area (see, for example, Gatschet 1969; Hawkins 1980:327; and Swanton 1922:173), would seem to provide strong support for the conclusion that the lower Chattahoochee Valley was indeed originally occupied by indigenous Hitchiti speakers (see Knight 1994a:380–81), to which were probably added an immigrant population of Muskogee speakers after A.D. 1540.

Specifically, Stewart phase populations of the Chattahoochee Valley may be hypothesized to have represented an indigenous Hitchiti chiefdom that

Table 10.1. List of documented towns in north-south order, with hypothesized archaeological site correlations, for the seventeenth-century Apalachicola province, Chattahoochee River, ca. 1630s–1691

Town	Possible site(s)
Cuchiguali	?
Tuskegee	area of 1Ru9
Coweta/Cabeta	<i>1Ru61</i> (Abercrombie)
Kolomi	<i>9Me3</i> (Cooper)
Kasihta/Casista	area of 9Ce33, alternate 9Me2 (Kyle’s Landing)
Hitchiti	area of 9Ce1
Ocmulgee	area of 1Ru45
Osuchi	<i>1Ru63</i> (Yuchi Town)
Tacusa	area of 9Sw50
Ylapi	area of 9Sw12
Apalachicola	<i>1Ru66</i> (Patterson)
Oconee	area of 1Ru34
Talipasle	area of 1Ru2, 4, 5
Sawokli/Sabacola	<i>1Br25</i> (Blackmon)
Chichahuti	?

Source: Town list based on Hann 1996, with standardized spellings for later towns.

Note: Sites in italics have known Blackmon phase components.

was severely impacted by post-de Soto epidemic population decline, in response to which at least some of the population may have migrated downriver (like other contemporaneous groups) toward the Apalachee chiefdom of the Tallahassee Hills region during the late sixteenth century, accounting at least in part for the Velda phase ceramic transformation there. The subsequent appearance of Abercrombie phase material culture assemblage in the northern end of the lower Chattahoochee Valley (certainly prior to 1650) thus may have represented the early immigration of several Muskogee-speaking towns from Alabama into the partially depopulated Chattahoochee Valley, presumably coexisting for at least a time with remaining Stewart phase (that is, Hitchiti) populations. Based on traditional and available historical evidence, the earliest of these Muskogee immigrants was presumably Kasihta (Casista), and other towns in this northern cluster represented subsequent splits or relocations, such as Coweta, Kolomi, and finally Tuskegee after 1675.

Benjamin Hawkins’s descriptions of three mounds clustered on both sides of the river about the mouth of present-day Mill Creek (his Chulucintigatoh) might provide possible locations for the first three Muskogee-speaking

towns, especially when combined with his comment that Creeks believed this to be the place where the Kasihta first “crossed the river” and “took possession of the country” from “a race of people with flat heads in possession of the mounds in the Cussetuh fields” (Hawkins 1916:54, 63, 1980:310, 327). The westernmost mound noted by Hawkins (1916:63)—Abercrombie (1Ru61)—was clearly located within the field boundaries below the residential portion of Coweta Tallahassee (1Ru11) and must be considered a strong candidate for the original Coweta town. The Cooper-Woolfolks mound (9Me3, Hawkins’s “conic mound”) and what is recorded in the Georgia Archaeological Site Files as Kyle’s Landing mound (9Me2, presumably Hawkins’s “oblong” mound) just upriver might well have been occupied by the original Kasihta town, and perhaps Kolomi, before the former’s establishment downriver at Lawson Field (9Ce1). Some Abercrombie phase occupation has been noted (Frank Schnell, personal communication), and even earlier on the terrace overlooking it, according to Hawkins (1980:310). While only one of these eroded mound sites (Cooper-Woolfolks) has been noted to have a possible Abercrombie phase component (Knight 1994b:188), the probable location of the original Coweta town at the nearby type site for the phase might make these other identifications more likely. Only extensive and focused archaeological work at these and other sites will be able to address these questions.

Given that local Stewart phase material culture was ultimately replaced by the Abercrombie-derived Blackmon phase of the mid-seventeenth century, which subsequently is known to have characterized both Muskogean and Hitchiti-speaking towns, an important question is precisely when and how indigenous Stewart phase (Hitchiti) populations in the southern part of the valley adopted elements of Abercrombie/Blackmon phase (Muskogean) material culture. Is the apparent drop in the number of sites between Stewart and Abercrombie phases totally real, or is it in part an artifact of the brief coexistence of two separate material culture assemblages in the same valley during the period 1550–1650? Were some Stewart phase sites actually occupied well into the Abercrombie phase, only adopting immigrant material culture with the Blackmon phase a century later (and thus “reappearing” in archaeological site distributions)? And as Chad Braley asked, is the Abercrombie phase itself even real, or is it only an artifact of component mixing between Stewart and Blackmon phase occupations separated by many years or decades of site abandonment? These questions are impossible to answer at present, but future work should at least consider these alternatives.

Regardless of its direct origin during the Abercrombie phase, however, the succeeding Blackmon phase (1650–1715) can unequivocally be identified as the Apalachicola province of seventeenth-century Spanish accounts, and that of the Coweta/Kasihta of English accounts at the end of the century. These were the people whom Spanish missionaries courted, and with whom Spanish soldiers in the Apalachee garrison traded. They were also the people who finally accepted Dr. Henry Woodward and other English traders into their midst in 1685, and who in large part fled the Chattahoochee River only a few years after the Spanish built a fort there in 1689. The Blackmon phase is thus equivalent to the direct and lineal ancestors of the Lower Creeks of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fame.

The ceramic assemblage of the Blackmon phase marks a direct stylistic evolution from the Abercrombie phase, in that it includes a predominance of shell tempering and several “roughened” surface treatments (brushing and cob-marking), and also several persistent grit-tempered Lamar decorations, such as incising, as well as check and possibly some complicated stamping (see Knight 1994b:189; but see also Braley 1998:9 regarding possible component mixing). Cord marking and red filming appear to reflect external connections to the northwest (McKee Island/Woods Island phases) and south (San Luis phase, or missionized Apalachee), respectively.

Archaeological sites of the Blackmon phase are considerably more common along the Chattahoochee River than the preceding Abercrombie phase (see, for example, Knight 1994a:384), and while documentary evidence dating to this period (before 1691) is comparatively scant, it is possible to make some reasoned guesses as to the specific identifications of some towns using contemporaneous and later evidence, even though these locations must be considered hypothetical (table 10.1, fig. 10.1). One town—Apalachicola—seems very likely to have been located at the Patterson site (1Ru66), based on the fact that it appears to be the closest and largest (indeed the only) documented Blackmon phase component immediately adjacent to the unquestionable location of the 1689–92 Spanish Apalachicola fort, which has also produced what is arguably the best single-component Blackmon phase aboriginal ceramic assemblage predating the eastward migration of the Apalachicola towns before 1692 (Kurjack 1975:175–85; Kurjack and Pearson 1975). Another nearby site just downriver (1Ru65) may also be a candidate, since it fits William Bartram’s (1955:313–14) description of the early eighteenth-century location of Apalachicola, abandoned by that time.

Using the Patterson site and its nearby fort as a benchmark, we can

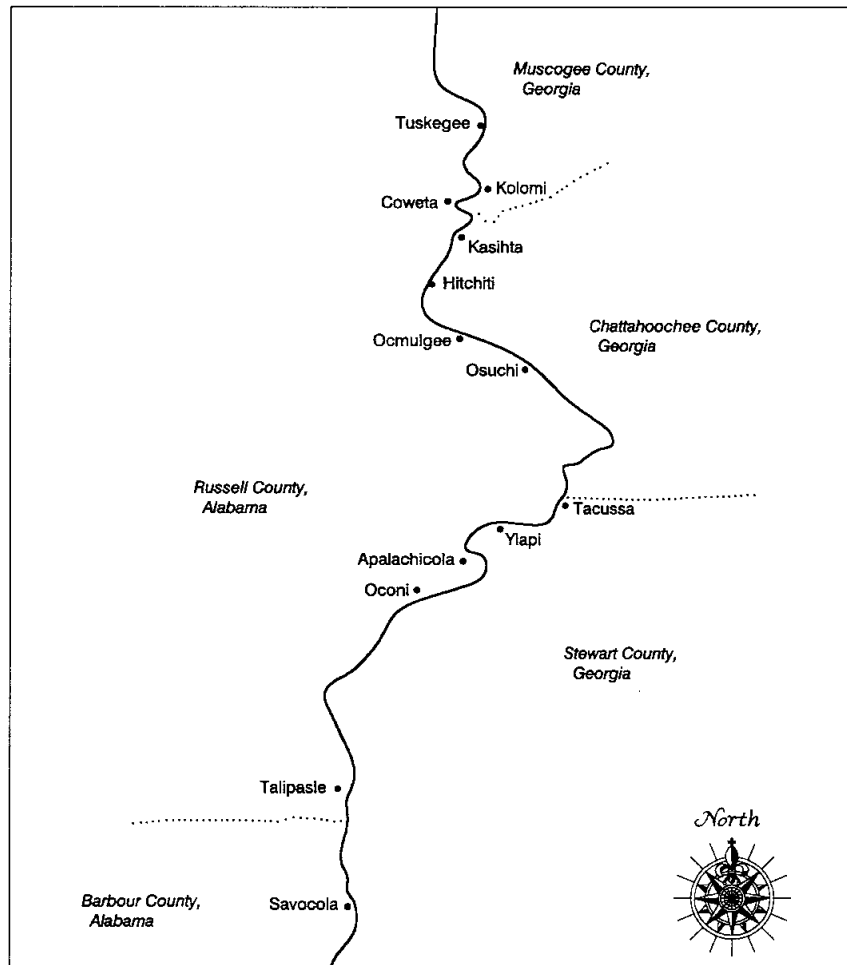


Fig. 10.1. Hypothetical locations for Apalachicola province towns ca. 1685.

extrapolate other Apalachicola town locations. The earliest surviving Spanish list of towns, not based on direct visitation, is the 1675 account of Bishop Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, which apparently lists the Apalachicola towns in south-north order along the river (see Wenholt 1936). Later Spanish accounts, which date to the time of the various military expeditions led by the provincial lieutenant of the Spanish garrison in the Apalachee mission province during 1685 and 1686, provide several important additional clues regarding town locations (Hann 1996; Steve Hahn, personal communica-

tion 1998). The southernmost town in the province was that of Savacola (Sawokli), abandoned as of that date. (Its inhabitants had twice relocated south to form short-lived Spanish missions near the confluence of the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers during the 1670s and 1680s [see Hann 1988:47–49, 1996:71–72].) Just north of that town site, at a distance of some 1.5 leagues (just under 4 miles), was the first occupied town in the province, called Talipasle. From there, a trail evidently ran through several towns on the west side of the river (Oconi, Apalachicola, Osuche, and Ocmulque) some 9 leagues up to the important town of Casista (Kasihta) on the eastern side, which was the southernmost of four northern towns (Casista, Colome, Caveta, and Tasquique, in that order). The northernmost, Tasquique (Tuskegee), was located 1.5 leagues south of the falls of the river. The town of Ocmulgee (Ocmulgee) was furthermore noted to be located 2 leagues (just over 5 miles) south of Casista.

As a second “benchmark,” the type site for the Blackmon phase (1Br25) is known to have been located in the immediate vicinity of the hypothesized eighteenth-century town of Sawokli (1Br30) and is furthermore roughly 9 leagues south of the approximate location of the original eighteenth-century town of Kasihta (Casista) in the vicinity of site 9Ce33. (See below for a full list of eighteenth-century town identifications.) For this reason, I would identify the Blackmon site (1Br25) as the original site of Savacola/Sawokli. Other identifications shown in table 10.1 link relative locations and known archaeological site distributions, although not all sites postulated are yet known to contain Blackmon phase components. As suggested by Chad Braley (1998:110–13), the Apalachicola town of Osuche was possibly identical to the Blackmon phase component of the later Yuchi town (1Ru63). Of the four northern towns, at least two (Coweta and Kasihta) and perhaps three (Kolomi) may correspond to the cluster of mound sites near the Abercrombie site, two of which apparently possess Abercrombie phase occupations, as discussed previously. Tasquique (Tuskegee) may have been located on either side of the river in the vicinity of site 1Ru9 (the late eighteenth-century site of Coweta), since its location was said to be roughly the same distance downriver from the falls (1.5 leagues or 4 miles) as was the later town of Coweta (3 miles). Other towns were also located in the southern portion of the province, but since they may have been located on the eastern side of the river (and would not have been visited during Matheos’s 1685 expedition), only the bishop’s 1675 list provides clues as to their relative positions with respect to the other towns (see table 10.1). The identifi-



cation of additional Blackmon phase sites and components must await further research.

Toward this end, based on both documentary and archaeological data, terminal Abercrombie and early Blackmon phase sites (circa 1630s–1685) of the Apalachicola province would be expected to be characterized not just by their characteristic aboriginal ceramic assemblage but also by a distinctive European trade assemblage that is apparently common to contemporaneous sites throughout eastern Alabama and Tennessee (Smith 1987; Waselkov 1989). Specifically, sites predating the Carolina trade along the Chattahoochee would presumably contain only a limited range of European goods, including predominantly glass beads, sheet brass ornaments, brass bells, and iron tools (see, for example, Knight 1985:103–7). Given that beads, bells, and iron tools also occur in later contexts (though different types and styles), the most prominent marker for sites occupied during the heyday of the Apalachicola province (the mid-seventeenth century) would be sheet brass ornaments, including large disk gorgets, collars, arm bands, and animal-effigy pendants. While the precise origin of these items is not certain, their dating and geographic distribution led Gregory Waselkov (1989) to conclude that their source was within the seventeenth-century Spanish mission system, and that they may have been manufactured by mission Indians from Spanish raw material for purposes of trade with the deep interior. Typical sheet brass ornaments of this period have indeed been recovered at the Abercrombie site (1Ru61), with both Abercrombie and Blackmon components (Kurjack 1975:174), but other sites generally show only later items postdating 1685 (with the dawn of the English trade). This is likely a factor of the limited sample size at earlier sites.

### **Exile and Return, circa 1691–1715**

Beginning not long after the 1689 construction of the Spanish Apalachicola fort (site 1Ru101) as a response to early Carolina trade, the constituent towns of the emergent Lower Creeks subsequently entered a period of considerable population mobility, guided in large part by the geopolitics of the broader English/Spanish borderlands struggle in which they found themselves (see, for example, Crane 1981). The primary population movement during this pivotal period in Lower Creek history was the voluntary exile of virtually all major towns in the Apalachicola province of the lower Chattahoochee River by the spring of 1692, when the valley was said by the Spanish

garrison commander to have been totally abandoned (Steve Hahn, personal communication 1998), and their reestablishment along the Fall Line zone of the Ocmulgee and Oconee Rivers (neither of which were previously known by those names), and along the lower Savannah River. In their new locations, these immigrant towns (and others that joined them) placed themselves in direct contact with resident Carolina traders operating out of Charles Town.

It should be noted that there is debate as to whether the Chattahoochee was completely or only partially abandoned throughout this period, or whether the eastern immigrants simply represented “daughter” towns attached to inhabited towns on the Chattahoochee River (Frank Schnell, personal communication 1998). Documentary references to 1695 and 1702 raids by Spaniards and Apalachee Indians against the Lower Creeks are somewhat ambiguous with regard to the precise location of the towns targeted, and archaeological evidence is still unclear with respect to occupational continuity during this period (see, for example, Hann 1988:231, note 4).

Nevertheless, my own interpretation of available evidence is that the lower Chattahoochee Valley was indeed abandoned between 1692 and 1715, although I would imagine that the traditional territories of each town would have remained intact during this period, and that hunting and foraging probably continued here from their new residential bases in central and eastern Georgia. I base this interpretation in part on two specific sources: the explicit Spanish reference to the total depopulation of the Apalachicola province by the spring of 1692 (Steve Hahn, personal communication 1998), and the far-reaching 1708 English overview of their trading partners in the interior (Johnson et al. 1708), which makes no reference to any “mother” towns or other isolated occupation along the lower Chattahoochee at that time, instead noting explicitly that the more westernly Muskogee groups in present-day Alabama had decided to establish a completely new town where the trading path crossed the Chattahoochee River. This fact suggests to me that there were no remaining indigenous population centers in that portion of the valley during this period.

In any case, the majority of the eastward immigrants settled in a group of towns along the Ocmulgee River, then known by the English as Ochese Creek (Uchise in Spanish; see below). Ethnohistoric documentation of the precise names of these relocated towns, and particularly their relative order and specific locations with respect to one another, is extremely limited. Carolina records predating the Yamasee War record the existence of either

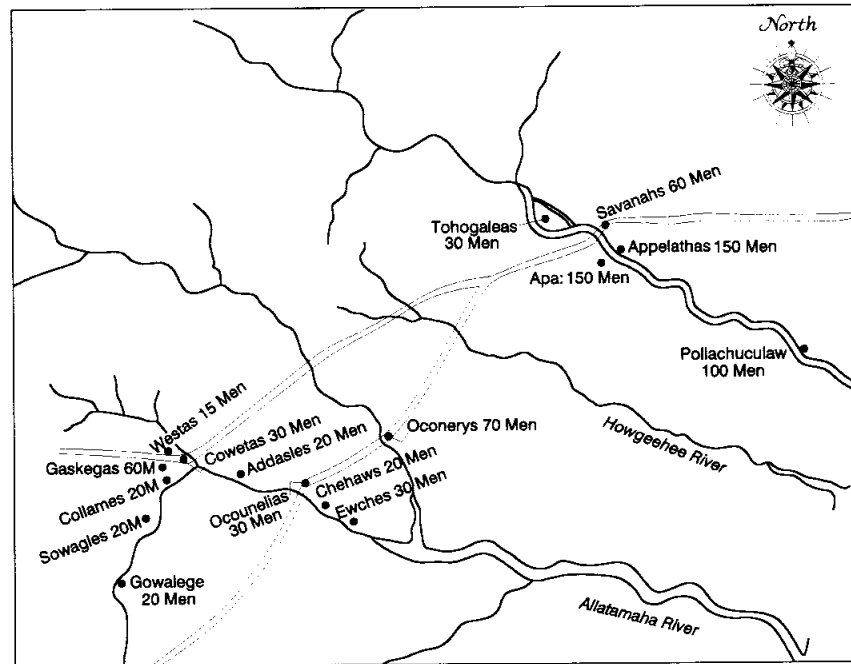


Fig. 10.2. Tracing of anonymous map ca. 1715 showing towns and trails on the Ocmulgee, Oconee, and Savannah rivers.

ten (Nairne et al. 1715) or eleven (Johnson et al. 1708) towns among the Ocheese Creek Indians, including total populations said to range between 600 and 731 male warriors ("gun men"). The 1715 census recorded a total population of 2,406 for the ten unnamed towns. Two contemporaneous maps (drawn subsequently, but apparently based at least in part on pre-Yamassee War information) provide the only comprehensive evidence for the identity of the Ocmulgee River towns (Anonymous circa 1715; Herbert and Hunter 1744). One of these, the 1744 Herbert-Hunter map (redrafted by George Hunter from a 1725 map by John Herbert), has been reproduced in several publications (Pluckhahn 1997:354; Smith 1992:41), but the other, anonymous 1715 map (traced in fig. 10.2) has never been published with all original data (see Swanton 1922:plate 3). Subsequent maps either used these earlier maps as a base model or drew their information from later sources. (The 1733 Popple map, for example, includes precisely the same towns as that of the 1725/1744 Herbert-Hunter map.) As can be seen in table 10.2, the combined list forms a total of twelve towns (not including Oconee or Apalachicola), conforming well to contemporaneous estimates.

Table 10.2. List of documented towns, with hypothesized archaeological site correlations, for Uchise Creek towns along the Ocmulgee River, ca. 1691–1715

Town	1715 map <sup>a</sup>	1725 Map	Possible site(s)
Kealedji(?)	Gowalege (20)	—	unidentified (upper Towaliga River)
Sawokli	Sowagles (20)	—	unidentified (upper Towaliga River)
Kolomi	Collames (20)	Colomies	9Mo15, 16, 17, alternate unidentified
Tuskegee	Gaskegas (60)	Taskegees	unidentified, alternate 9Mo1, 2, 4
Westo	Westas (15)	—	9Bs1, 2, 9Ja47, alternate unidentified
Coweta	Cowetas (30)	Cowetas	9Mo1, 2, 4, alternate 9Bs1, 2, 9Ja47
Kasihta	—	Cusitees	unidentified, alternate 9Jo6, 198 (Tarver)
Atasi	Addasles (20)	Attasees	9Jo6, 198 (Tarver), alternate unidentified
Ocmulgee	Oconelias (30)	—	9Bi1 (Macon Plateau)
Chiaha	Cehaws (20)	—	9Bi16
Hitchiti	—	Echeetes	9Bi7, 8, 9
Yuchi	Ewches (30)	—	9Bi22

Sources: Possible site correlations based on 1715 map, with alternate locations based on 1725 map. a. Number of men listed in parentheses for 1715 map.

Based on the clearly distinguishable material culture of the Blackmon phase in central Georgia (also commonly known as the Ocmulgee Fields phase), the archaeological sites corresponding to many of these short-lived Apalachicola/Lower Creek towns have been located, although precise identification remains uncertain or extremely tenuous in most cases (the 1715 and 1725/44 maps differ in important ways; see table 10.2). Two clusters of contemporaneous Blackmon sites are currently known along the Ocmulgee River near and upriver from Macon. The northernmost cluster generally centers on the confluence of the Towaliga River with the Ocmulgee, and the southern cluster centers on the confluence of Walnut Creek with the Ocmulgee, in and around present-day Macon, Georgia (see Pluckhahn 1997: 353–60; Smith 1992:39–45). Based on admittedly limited evidence, I would tentatively suggest that four of the northernmost Apalachicola towns listed by Spanish chroniclers for the Chattahoochee River (Hann 1996), including Coweta, Kasihta, Tuskegee, Kolomi (all of which were burned in the winter of 1685–86 by Matheos, and all of which could be broadly grouped as immigrant Muskogee), maintained their relative position on the Ocmulgee River and probably settled to the north of the other towns, forming the northernmost cluster of archaeological sites noted below. Most of the southern towns of the original Apalachicola province (the Hitchiti towns) appar-

ently settled either in the southern cluster of sites along the Ocmulgee River or much farther to the east. The northernmost of these towns, including at least Ocmulgee and Hitchiti, probably settled in the southern Ocmulgee cluster (around Macon). The town of Osuchi, which appeared on Spanish lists for the Chattahoochee River both before and after the eastward migration, does not appear as such in contemporary maps, though the name of a town burned in a 1695 Spanish raid—Uchichi—might be Osuchi instead of Uchise/Ochese (Hann 1988:363). In any case, Osuchi should probably also be included among the Ocmulgee immigrants, especially since this town later was one of three (Ocmulgee, Chiaha, and Osuchi) that became linked as the eighteenth-century “Point Towns” on the Chattahoochee. Two of the central Apalachicola province towns eventually settled in isolated locations to the east, including Oconee on the eastern side of the Oconee River, and Apalachicola along the lower Savannah River. Finally, the southernmost of the Hitchiti towns—Sawokli/Sabacola—also relocated from its more distant mission site and apparently settled in the northern cluster of Ocmulgee sites, probably along the Towaliga River.

During their stay, other immigrants arrived and attached themselves to the Lower Creeks. Two Muskogee towns from the Tallapoosa River—Atasi and Kealedji (Gowalege; see Swanton 1922:271)—appear on early maps, apparently settling in both the northern and southern Ocmulgee site clusters. The immigrant town of Chiaha, originally located high in the Appalachians of western North Carolina, also settled among the Hitchiti towns in the southern cluster (see Smith 1987:137, 1989:29). Furthermore, at least some of the formerly powerful Westo/Chichimeco slavers seem to have eventually formed a town along the Ocmulgee, although they soon vanished as a distinct group following their 1681 destruction by Carolinians. Finally, if the single 1715 map reference of “Ewches” is accurate (the reference might have been a mistranscription of either Hitchiti or perhaps Uchisi, both of which are missing from the map), at least some immigrant Yuchi may have also established a town among the southern Hitchiti towns shortly prior to their return west in 1715.

There is even a possibility that there were already people living on the Ocmulgee River when the Apalachicola towns arrived in the early 1690s. At least one early Spanish account makes note of an Indian group known as the Uchise, who participated with other groups in the 1680 assault on the Guale mission of Santa Catalina (Worth 1995:31; see also Hann 1996:67). Since this reference predates the arrival of the Apalachicola towns along “Ochese

Creek” by a decade (thus predating the “attachment” of the same Ochese/Uchise name to the immigrant towns previously known exclusively as the province of Apalachicola, or Coweta/Kasihta), it may instead refer to remnants of the original chiefdom of Ichisi, perhaps still located along the Ocmulgee River some 150 years after Hernando de Soto’s visit (the name, after all, was still in use at that time). The original capital of this chiefdom, located at the Lamar mounds site (9Bi2), does possess some Blackmon/Ocmulgee Fields phase occupation, and recent reanalysis of Lamar ceramics by David Hally at least hints at possible continuity between mid-sixteenth- and late seventeenth-century occupations (see Smith 1992:32). Only further analysis or testing at this site will permit this possibility to be explored. Uchisi might have been identical with the “Uchichi” town said to have been burned during the 1695 Spanish raid along with Cavetta, Cassista, Ocmulgee, Taisquique, and Oconi (Hann 1988:363), but in any case the absence of this name on subsequent Lower Creek town lists suggests that this group, if indeed present, was largely absorbed into adjacent towns, as apparently was the fate of the remnant Westo.

Only a few of the known Blackmon/Ocmulgee Fields phase sites along the Ocmulgee have been subjected to extensive archaeological work, including the Macon Plateau site (9Bi1) and the Tarver (9Jo6) and Little Tarver (9Jo198) sites (Mason 1963a; Pluckhahn 1997; Pluckhahn and Braley 1999); the rest have only witnessed limited testing (that is, Nelson et al. 1974; Wauchope 1966). Of these two sites, only Macon Plateau can be identified with any degree of certainty. In contrast with several other interpretations (for example, Smith 1992; Swanton 1946), I agree with Mason (1963a; see also Pluckhahn 1997:358) in her identification of the Macon Plateau site (9Bi1) as the town of Ocmulgee, confirming subsequent Creek and Anglo-American oral traditions regarding its identity (see, for example, Adair 1986:39; Hawkins 1980:51). This site is consistent with the town’s placement along the primary lower trading path in the 1715 map (see fig. 10.2), and furthermore the discovery of the English stockade at Macon Plateau (Kelly 1939; Mason 1963a; Waselkov 1994) matches its importance as the staging ground for Carolina governor James Moore’s military operation against the Apalachee missions in 1704 (Crane 1981:79; Hann 1988:385–97). The Tarver sites probably represent either Atasi or Kasihta, although the former seems more likely given the north-south groupings mentioned above, and the 1715 map placement of this town.

Both sites produced substantial evidence for the burgeoning English trade

between 1691 and 1715, including a wide range of firearms-related material, as well as iron tools, brass kettles, tobacco pipes, rum bottles, and diverse items relating to clothing and ornamentation (beads, buttons, buckles, et cetera). At least some of these objects, including Spanish majolica, a Spanish-style Colono-ware vessel, and glass and lapidary beads of Spanish origin, may indeed have been plunder from Creek slave-raids against Apalachee and Timucua missions (Pluckhahn 1997:370; Pluckhahn and Braley 1999).

Beyond the simple assimilation of selected European objects into a predominantly aboriginal material culture, however, the broader context of the Carolina slave and deerskin trade obviously resulted in more fundamental changes in the domestic economy of these Ocheese Creek towns. As discussed by Mason (1963a, 1963b) and others, the Carolina trade had the greatest impact on male activities, since men rapidly became the principal procurers of Indian slaves and deerskins for purposes of trade. As slave raiders and deer hunters, Creek males increasingly dedicated the lion's share of their time and labor to such activities, eventually becoming almost wholly dependent on English munitions as the bow and arrow was replaced by the flintlock musket. In this context, it was Creek women who ultimately provided considerable cultural stability through their agricultural and household activities, and through their importance in the traditional matrilineal control of land. As summarized by Mason (1963b:73), "women . . . , and particularly the matrilineage, served as the thread of cultural continuity from generation to generation." This is particularly demonstrated by the archaeological evidence for domestic pottery, which seems to have largely retained its aboriginal character even through the removal period and later.

Another area of cultural transformation documented at Macon Plateau and Tarver is consistent with broader patterns of architectural change witnessed throughout Creek territory. Specifically, by the end of the seventeenth century, the typical late prehistoric Lamar "winter houses," characterized by substantial wattle-and-daub construction and semisubterranean floors, were apparently abandoned in favor of the somewhat less substantial rectangular "summer house" structures. After this period, these rectangular structures formed the basis for small household compounds (see, for example, Waselkov 1994; Waselkov and Smith, this volume). The apparent lack of such "winter houses," and the presence of a number of rectangular domestic structures (roughly 3–4 by 6–7 meters) identified at the short-lived Ocmulgee River sites, some organized into household compounds, seem

consistent with this pattern (Mason 1963a:76–91; Pluckhahn 1997:360–67). Considerably larger square and rectangular structures at Macon Plateau may have represented public structures of some sort (Mason 1963a:84–87; Smith 1992:71–72).

In addition to the Ocmulgee towns, other towns were established to the east along the Oconee and Savannah Rivers at about the same time. Oconee Town has been identified at the Fall Line zone of the Oconee River (9BL16), along with the site of the relocated town of Apalachicola (Palachicola Town) along the lower Savannah River at Stokes Landing in Hampton County, South Carolina. Based on limited excavations at both sites, aboriginal ceramic assemblages and European trade goods at both sites generally conform to those from Macon Plateau and Tarver (Caldwell 1948; Fairbanks 1940; Smith 1992:45; Mark Williams, personal communication 1998).

Additional contemporaneous towns were established in general proximity to the Lower Creeks but will only be mentioned here in passing. These include the town of Chattahoochee (rendered variously as "Chochtaruchy" and "Chattahuces"), which was "settled for conveyiency of carrying on trade" directly on the path between the relocated Coweta on the Ocmulgee River and Okfuskee on the Tallapoosa River (Johnson et al. 1708). This new town, located somewhat upriver along the Chattahoochee from the then-abandoned towns of the former Apalachicola province, probably represented a short-lived eastward migration from the Tallapoosa region and thus will not be grouped within the Lower Creek designation.

It was also during this time that the enigmatic group bearing the name Yuchi immigrated from their probable Appalachian homeland into the Savannah River valley, and ultimately among the Lower Creeks. (For the debate on Yuchi and/or Chisca origins, see Hann 1988:75–79, 1996:238–39; Worth 1998:18–21, 34–35, 208 notes 47–48.) Early documentary evidence, including the 1715 map (table 10.1, fig. 10.2), indicates that the Yuchi began their association with the Lower Creeks prior to the Yamasee War. Importantly, while some of the Yuchi and most of the Lower Creek towns relocated west to the Chattahoochee River following the war, a substantial number of Yuchi remained along the Savannah River through the establishment of Georgia in 1733, and only abandoned that valley as late as the 1740s. Archaeological sites identified as early eighteenth-century Yuchi have been investigated along the Savannah, including Mount Pleasant (Elliott 1991) and Stallings Island (Claflin 1931; Smith 1992:47–48), and the site of

Ogeechee Town to the west has also recently been identified and tested (Moore 1998). Material culture at these sites is not inconsistent with that of contemporaneous Lower Creek occupations farther to the west, suggesting fairly rapid assimilation by Yuchi immigrants (confirmed by work at later Yuchi sites).

### **Stability, Expansion, Retreat, and Removal, circa 1716–1836**

In the aftermath of the Yamasee War, the brief eastward movement of the Apalachicola/Lower Creeks was reversed, with most of the surviving towns regrouping once again along the lower Chattahoochee. Some changes in the overall roster of towns had occurred, however (see Boyd 1949, 1952). A splinter group under the Apalachicola town leader known as Cherokee-leechee (meaning “Cherokee killer”) established a new town far to the south just above the forks of the Apalachicola River (probably sites 9Se20, 21, and 29), leaving the original Apalachicola town under its old name at or near its original location among the rest of the Lower Creek towns (see below).

In addition, at least one of the original late seventeenth-century Apalachicola province towns—Kolomi—did not resettle among the Lower Creeks along the Chattahoochee, but instead along the Tallapoosa River farther to the west. At the same time, while the immigrant Chiaha and Yuchi towns (which had attached themselves to the Lower Creeks during their stay on the Ocmulgee) remained among the rest of the Lower Creek towns throughout the rest of the historic period, other immigrant towns, including Atasi and (probably) Kealedji, similarly resettled farther west along the Tallapoosa (see Swanton 1922). At least one settlement connected to Atasi—Eufala—may have nevertheless remained or returned subsequently to Lower Creek territory (it did not appear on lists dating to 1716–25), since the “governor” of Eufala along the lower Chattahoochee was listed in 1738 as “Atasi mico” (Márquez del Toro 1738).

The return west also marked the beginning of the Lawson Field archaeological phase. By this time Blackmon phase material culture had evolved into a predominantly grit-tempered assemblage characterized predominantly by Chattahoochee Brushed, Ocmulgee Fields Incised, and Kasihta Red Filmed decorative types (Knight 1994b:189; Willey and Sears 1952), all of which have been incorporated into a newer type-variety scheme developed for east Alabama phases (Knight 1985:185–91). This assemblage would ultimately characterize the rest of Lower Creek occupation prior to the removal period.

During their subsequent stay of more than a century along the Chattahoochee River, the Lower Creek towns witnessed a multiplicity of changes, both internal and external. One of the most important changes seems to have been an overall demographic rebound, leading in part to an increasing number of out-settlements, including both new towns and (presumably) dispersed satellite farmsteads. Simultaneously, many of these towns experienced one or more short-distance relocations along the Chattahoochee River, combined with some very long-distance moves in response to a variety of factors.

As a result, the overall portrait of Lower Creek town locations during the middle and late eighteenth century is considerably more complex than that for previous periods. For the primary Chattahoochee Valley corridor, John Swanton (1922:plate 2) did an admirable job of reducing the masses of data into a simple list of successive town locations, and Harold Huscher (1958, 1959) subsequently used this map to compile a list of provisional site identifications, included here (table 10.3). Even twenty-five years later, Huscher’s (1959) final list was characterized as “the most extensive, and still the best general effort,” despite the simultaneous recommendation that “all of them demand reconsideration in light of primary source materials and improved knowledge of Lawson Field phase site distributions” (Knight and Mistovich 1984:227).

As noted at that time by Huscher, however, the lengthy Swanton list was actually underlain by a basic roster of just a few primary Lower Creek towns: “Allowing for overlapping or synonymous terms, 13 main towns are usually listed in the Spanish and English census lists or on early maps, and usually in a fairly definite sequence” (Huscher 1959:31). These towns were, in order: Kawita, Kasihta, Yuchi, Osotchi, Chiaha/Chiahutci, Ocmulgee, Hit-chiti, Apalachicola, Oconee, Sawokli/Little Sawokli, Kawaigi, Tamatli, and Eufala. Most of them (including some “old” and “new” towns) were included in Benjamin Hawkins’s (1980:285–327) “A Sketch of the Creek Country in the Years 1798 and 1799,” which is without question the single most important source of information on Creek town locations at the turn of the nineteenth century. Various reconstructions of this detailed descriptive account (for example, Brannon 1930; Hurt 1975) point to very specific locations for individual towns at the turn of the nineteenth century. While a comprehensive review of Huscher’s provisional site list is far beyond the scope of this chapter, a few revisions and comments are prudent (see asterisks in table 10.3).

Based on what is clearly an error in Swanton’s (1922) map placement of

Table 10.3. Huscher's archaeological site correlations for Lower Creek towns along the Chattahoochee River

Sites(s) (Huscher 1958)	Provisional identification (Swanton 1922)
<i>1Ru9</i>	Kawita (3)
not identified	Tlikatcka (2)
<i>1Ru60</i>	Claycatskee
<i>1Ru61</i> (1Ru10, 11, 12)	Kawita (2)
9Ce5, 33*	Kasihta (7)
9Ce1*	Kasihta (6) and Chickasaw (3b)
<i>1Ru63</i> , 57	Yuchi (3b)
<i>1Ru52</i>	Osochi (4)
not identified	Tlikarcka (1)
1Ru54	Chiaha (5a)
1Ru55, 56	Okmulgee (2)
<i>1Ru70</i>	Chiahutci or Hitchiti (4)*; latter "may be in Georgia"
<i>1Ru68</i>	Westo (Yuchi 4b) or Chiahutci or Apalachicola "new town"
<i>1Ru18</i> , 66*	Apalachicola "new town"
<i>1Ru27</i>	Apalachicola (4), "old town" abandoned 1757
1Ru65	alternate Apalachicola (4) "old town"
9Sw12, 29, 30	possibly "Apalachicola field villages"; Palachocota of Purcell map
1Ru34, 35, 36, 37	Kolomi, Atasi, Tuskegee
9Sw5, 6, 7	Oconee (2a) or Apalachicola field villages
9Sw3, 4, 57	Oconee (2a)
<i>1Ru20</i> , 21, 28	Kasihta (5)
1Ru3	Ocmulgee (1)
9Sw25, 27	Sawoklutci or Oconee
9Sw21, 22	Tamahita
<i>1Br30</i> *	Sawokli
1Br22, 23	Chiaha (4a) or Sawokli (3) or Okawaigi
1Br21, 44	Okawaigi
1Br17	Hogologee (Yuchi 3b)
<i>1Br35</i>	Tamatli
1Br56, 60	alternate Tamatli "field houses"
9Qu22, 23, 24, 25	Eufala Hopai
9Qu10, 11, 12, 13, 14	alternate Eufala Hopai, or Okitiyakni
1Br2	Okitiyakni
9Cl35, 36, 37	Okitiyakni (alternate)
9Cl38, 39, 40	Eto-Husse-Wakkes/Itahasiwaki
not identified	Hitchiti (3)
mouth of Omusee Cr.?	Yamassee (4b, 6b)

Sources: Huscher 1959:32-35; Swanton 1922.

Notes: Site numbers shown in italics were noted to be "major sites" by Huscher (1959:110), possible representing "large, heavily populated prosperous 'Square Ground' towns." Sites and towns marked with asterisks have revisions or additional information in the text of this chapter.

the successive locations of Kasihta town (Swanton's #6 and #7), Huscher's list almost certainly confounds the corresponding site locations. Close reading of Hawkins's (1916, 1980) descriptions of his journey from Coweta to Kasihta make it abundantly clear that the earlier Kasihta location (also subsequently a Chickasaw village) was atop the high ground just *north* of the 1797-99 location (not south as shown in his map), making site 9Ce1 (the Lawson Field site) identical with the subsequent Kasihta of Hawkins's day, and sites 9Ce33 and perhaps 9Ce5 or another, undiscovered site connected with the earlier Kasihta.

Farther south, Huscher was correct in his suggestion that Hitchiti was located in Georgia; 1961 excavations at site 9Sw50, called the Hitchitee site (Kelly et al. n.d.), confirmed the Lawson Field phase component at the site. In addition, excavations at two sites, the Patterson site (1Ru66) and the Blackmon site (1Br25), revealed the presence of earlier components dating to the recently defined Blackmon phase (Kurjack 1975; Mistovich and Knight 1986).

For this reason, the Patterson site seems a good candidate for the original late seventeenth-century town of Apalachicola. While Huscher's identification of 1Ru18 and 1Ru66 as Apalachicola "new town" is probably accurate (both sites have Lawson Field components; see Hurt 1975:21), his identification of site 1Ru27 downriver as the Apalachicola "old town," abandoned several decades prior to William Bartram's (1955:313) visit there, may be too close; site 1Ru65 may be a better candidate for this low-lying site. Despite these identifications, however, based on present information the Patterson site clearly predates all these sites and thus likely constitutes the earliest Apalachicola town adjacent to the Spanish fort.

Farther downriver, the Blackmon site (9Br25) is also the most likely candidate for the late seventeenth-century town of Sawokli/Sabacola; Huscher's identification of site 9Br30 just upriver as the eighteenth-century town of Sawokli may thus be true (perhaps linked with contemporaneous Lawson Field phase occupation at Blackmon), but the probable original location of Sawokli at 9Br25 is not indicated on Huscher's list since he was unable to survey this area (Frank Schnell, personal communication 1998), and thus deserves mention here.

Excavations were conducted at a number of notable Lawson Field phase sites along the primary Chattahoochee River corridor, including several on Huscher's (1959) list. These include the Lawson Field site (9Ce1, or Kasihta town), the Yuchi Town site (1Ru63), the Hitchitee site (9Sw50), and the

Jackson site (1Br35, or Tamatli), among several others without firm identifications (Braley 1991, 1998; Chase 1960; Kelly et al. n.d.; Kurjack 1975; Willey and Sears 1952). Survey and testing were also carried out at a multiplicity of other Chattahoochee Valley sites with Lawson Field phase components, and particularly within the area of Fort Benning below Columbus. These projects included not only riverbank towns, hamlets, and farmsteads, but also more isolated outlying settlements such as Upatoi Town, established in the uplands along an eastern tributary to the Chattahoochee at the end of the nineteenth century (see, for example, Briner et al. 1997; DeJarnette 1975; Elliott et al. 1995, 1996, 1998; Elliott and Wood 1997; Espenshade and Roberts 1992; Hargrave et al. 1998; Holland 1974; Knight and Mistovich 1984; Ledbetter and Braley 1989; Mistovich and Knight 1986).

Beyond the Chattahoochee sites, one subject that has generally received little attention is the late eighteenth-century expansion of Lower Creek settlement eastward into the Flint River drainage, where by the turn of the century there were a number of "daughter" towns attached to the Chattahoochee communities of Kasihta, Yuchi, Hitchiti, and Chiaha (Worth 1997). Only limited surface collections had previously been undertaken on a few sites dating to this period, including the evidently dispersed Kasihta town of Salenojuh (including sites 9Tr7, 10, 41, 42, and 54) and the Yuchi town of Padgeeligau (9Tr18 and 23), but several of the Salenojuh farmsteads were recently subjected to more extensive testing and mechanical stripping in recent years, resulting in far more substantial data (Gordy 1966; Ledbetter 1998; Worth 1988:136, 1997).

Although a comprehensive review of the results of recent testing and data recovery at a number of late Lawson Field sites along the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers will not be attempted here, it seems likely that once final reports are generated for recent and ongoing projects, archaeologists may actually know more about Lower Creek farmsteads and "daughter" towns than they do about the primary "core" communities so prominent in the historic record. What seems evident from the archaeological record is that during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Lower Creek culture was undergoing the same kinds of transformations experienced by many other southeastern Indian groups at the same time (for a recent overview, see Ethridge 1997). These changes pervaded many elements of Creek life, including material culture, foodways, architecture, and settlement distribution. European goods and foodstuffs found increasingly important roles in Creek

life (especially as cattle raising and plow agriculture took root among the Creeks); domestic architecture seems to have eventually shifted from aboriginal to Euro-American patterns (log cabins began to replace traditional Creek rectangular domestic residences with prehistoric "summer house" roots); and settlements appear to have become more and more dispersed in concert with ongoing transformations in the domestic economy.

While these statements seem obvious, one additional observation is worth noting here: although the forces that shaped the world in which the Lower Creeks found themselves were indeed largely external (that is, Euro-American political and economic trends on a global scale), many of the most significant changes that can be observed in Lower Creek culture were substantially internal. As other authors have noted, the Creeks and other Native American groups were not simply passive recipients of Euro-American culture in a simple acculturative transfer; their culture changed and adapted *internally* to reflect new external circumstances. In this sense, many observed changes were in fact very conscious adaptations to the expanding colonial system surrounding early Spanish, English, French, and American settlement. By the same token, just as some traditional elements of Lower Creek culture did change in response to external forces, other elements continually resisted transformation, even as the Creeks were forcibly removed west in the 1830s.

Surviving Lower Creek communities in Oklahoma of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries thus formed a curious blend of old and new, representing the outcome of nearly three centuries of adaptation in the east, in which the sixteenth-century Stewart phase chiefdom of the Lower Chattahoochee River metamorphosed into the seventeenth-century Apalachicola province, and finally into the eighteenth-century Lower Creek tribe. Internal cultural innovation during that period was fueled not only by European traders and settlers but also by Native American immigrants and refugees who aggregated to the original core Hitchiti chiefdom during the following centuries. While modern oral traditions and preserved ethnohistoric documents form crucial sources of evidence, archaeological work has been and will undoubtedly continue to be an important component in reconstructing that journey.

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