

**The Eastern Creek Frontier:
History and Archaeology of the Flint River Towns, ca. 1750-1826**

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Abstract

This paper presents a current overview of documentary and archaeological evidence for aboriginal occupation associated with the Creek confederacy in the Flint River drainage of western Georgia, correlating specific archaeological sites with named towns where possible, and predicting locations for as-yet unrecorded sites. Largely depopulated soon after the 1540 DeSoto expedition, the Flint was resettled after 1750 by satellite communities of the core Lower Creek towns of Kasihta, Yuchi, Chiaha, and Hichiti. Comparatively well-populated during Benjamin Hawkin's tenure at the Flint River Creek Agency, occupation dwindled after the Creek War and the expansion of Georgia's border between 1814 and 1826.

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Introduction

Despite a substantial amount of historical and recent archaeological research relative to the various core areas of the broader Creek confederacy of the 18th and early 19th centuries, including both Upper and Lower regional subdivisions, the Flint River valley of west-central Georgia has received comparatively little attention as a regional unit, and remains almost a void in secondary literature about the subject. Following the westward retreat of the English-allied towns along the middle Ocmulgee River after 1715, the Flint River valley effectively became an uninhabited eastern buffer-zone to what became the core area of the Lower Creek subdivision along the Lower Chattahoochee River. Nevertheless, beginning not long before 1770, and accelerating after the American Revolution, the Flint appears to have been gradually resettled by an assortment of satellite communities connected to the Lower Creek towns of Kasihta, Yuchi, Hitchiti, and Chiaha. By the turn of the 19th century, the Flint River had become the easternmost residential frontier of the Creek confederacy, and as such played an important role in contact and interaction between the Creeks and the United States and Georgia governments, particularly following the establishment of the Creek Agency along the Middle Flint in 1803 by Benjamin Hawkins.

In this sense, Lower Creek occupation of the Flint River valley during the late 18th and early 19th century represented an intentional expansion into new territory, apparently coinciding with a period of documented general population growth among the Creeks. As such, the Creek settlements along the Flint River may provide unique opportunities to examine archaeological questions of community planning and intra-site patterning, ethnicity as reflected in material culture, and Euro-American influences on

late 18th- and early 19th-century Creek culture, among other topics. While this paper necessarily focuses more on what is not known than what is known from an archaeological perspective, a synthetic overview of the history of the Flint River towns along the eastern Creek frontier as a broader analytical unit should provide a context and basis for future work.

Prehistoric Occupation in the Flint River Valley

In long-term perspective, the inhabitants of these late 18th- and early 19th-century Lower Creek towns along the Flint River were in fact recent immigrants from various "mother towns" along the Lower Chattahoochee, and as such settled an area long-since abandoned by its original prehistoric inhabitants. Archaeological fieldwork that has been carried out in various locations along the Flint confirms this clear discontinuity between late prehistoric occupation in the region and later resettlement during the Creek period (e.g. Worth 1988; 1993). Several surveys along the floodplain corridor of the Middle and Upper Flint River have established the presence of indigenous ceramic sequences associated with late prehistoric Mississippian occupation just above and below the Fall Line zone (Gordy 1966; Worth 1988), and known settlement distributions combined with documentary reconstructions of the DeSoto route indicate that this Lamar society was identical with the chiefdom of Toa in 1540. Furthermore, the absence of clear ceramic evidence for any Lamar occupation in this region post-dating the mid-16th century suggests that the Middle and Upper Flint River valley was abandoned well before A.D. 1600 (Worth 1988; 1993).

The only corresponding cluster of late prehistoric occupation on the Lower Flint River drainage appears to be that of the Chickasawhatchee Creek drainage west of present-day Albany, Georgia, and limited archaeological survey in this region suggests that this late prehistoric Fort Walton-related ceramic assemblage can be identified as the 16th-century chiefdom of Capachequi (Hudson, Smith, and DePratter 1984; Worth 1989; Hudson, Worth, and DePratter 1990). Based on the examination of several independent ceramic collections from these sites, there is currently no archaeological evidence for occupation post-dating the 16th century in this region, conforming to similar evidence from the upper portions of the Flint River valley.

Available ethnohistorical evidence appears to confirm this archaeological data. There is no clear documentary evidence for the continued existence of either the Toa or Capachequi chiefdoms after the mid-16th century, despite increasingly extensive and regular contact between Spanish soldiers, friars, and Indian converts in colonial Florida and surviving aboriginal groups of the Southeastern interior throughout the late 1500s and 1600s (e.g. Worth 1993). Furthermore, throughout the entire 17th and early 18th centuries, there appear to be no direct references to aboriginal settlements of any type along the entire length of the Flint River valley, save the area around the confluence of the Flint and Chattahoochee Rivers (which will not be discussed in this paper). While negative evidence of this sort is by no means conclusive, especially given the possibility of smaller-scale or ephemeral settlements not mentioned in the documentary record, reconstruction of the broader sociopolitical landscape during turbulent period of the latter half of the 17th century would suggest that any isolated or outlying settlements along the Flint River valley at this time would have been unlikely, especially given its strategic

position between the Apalachicola chiefdom of the Lower Chattahoochee River to the west and the slave-raiding Chichimeco (or Westo) along the Savannah River to the east. While ephemeral occupation along the Middle and Upper Flint might not be unexpected during the period between about 1690 and 1715, when both the Ocmulgee and Chattahoochee Rivers on either side of the Flint were inhabited simultaneously, the mass-exodus to the Chattahoochee after the 1715 Yamassee War presumably reduced the Flint River valley once again to the status of an unoccupied buffer-zone.

At present, then, it may be hypothesized based on admittedly patchy archaeological survey and negative evidence from the documentary record that virtually the entire Flint River drainage above its southern end was effectively abandoned by the start of the 17th century. Further archaeological survey and testing along the Flint and its tributaries is clearly called for in order to test this hypothesis, but the combination of existing ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence currently support this interpretation.

Ethnohistorical Overview of Creek Period Occupation

Documentary evidence for the earliest Creek period settlements to be established on the Flint River drainage is limited, but available maps suggest that no formal towns were present on the Flint until just prior to about 1770, when the detailed Purcell map showed a town named Satantkhee on the west bank of the Flint River above the Lower Creek trading path in the lower Piedmont. The location of this early town appears to be at least roughly consistent with the approximate position on subsequent maps of a town commonly known as "Buzzard's Roost." This town was located on the west bank of the Flint River at or near the point where a major trail ran from Rock Landing on Georgia's

western boundary at the Oconee River to the main Kasihta town on the Chattahoochee River. While maps of the period do not permit the identification of a precise location for "Buzzard's Roost," a 1796 written description of the entire Flint River drainage by Creek Indian agent Benjamin Hawkins suggests that this early settlement may have been identical with the then-abandoned Kasihta satellite town he called Salenojuh, situated immediately above a ford of the Flint River, and only 3 miles north of a major trail-crossing south of the confluence of Auchumpkee Creek with the Flint (Hawkins 1916). Given that Hawkins described this community as a "compact town" with some 70 warriors in 1787, the appearance of only one named town in this location on many maps during the 1790s makes it likely that "Buzzard's Roost" was in fact the common English name for Hawkin's Salenojuh. Whether or not this town was identical with the Satanotkhee marked on the earlier Purcell map is unclear, but the presence of the earliest Creek settlements in this vicinity of the Upper Flint River by 1770 seems nonetheless clear. Furthermore, as will be discussed in greater detail below, a number of small Creek-period archaeological sites have been documented in this general vicinity of the Flint, and while the main town has not yet been located, several Creek farmsteads probably attached to Buzzard's Roost or Salenojuh have been subjected to recent excavations.

In fact, the out-settlement of the Upper Flint by groups attached to the northernmost Lower Creek town of Kasihta only served as a prelude to similar settlements along the Middle and Lower Flint by at least three other important Lower Creek towns during subsequent decades. Increasing after the American Revolution, and certainly by the late 1790s, satellite communities belonging to the Yuchi, Chiaha, and

Hitchiti were established all along the entire length of the Flint River drainage below the Fall Line zone, including communities situated on both the river itself and also along its western tributaries in the uplands between the Flint and the Chattahoochee.

The Yuchi, forming one of the major Lower Creek towns established along the Chattahoochee River after the Yamasee War, eventually settled three distinct satellite communities within the Flint River watershed. As noted by Hawkins in 1799, the Yuchi "have lately begun to settle out in villages," and at that time comprised no more than 250 individuals living in four distinct settlements, including the main town on the Chattahoochee and three towns along the Flint (Hawkins 1981). All three of these towns were situated along a major trail running between the main Yuchi town and the northernmost satellite town along the Flint River itself. This northernmost Yuchi town was named Padjeeligau, or Patsiliga, and was located at the mouth of the creek by the same name on the western bluff of the main Flint River floodplain. Originally a large town, its population evidently dwindled after a number of their warriors were murdered at Carr's Bluff on the Oconee River in 1795. The location of this Yuchi town has been positively identified within modern Taylor County (9Tr18 and 9Tr23), as will be discussed below. A second Yuchi town, called Intuchulgau, was located to the southwest of Padjeeligau along a tributary of the Flint River called Opithluccho, or modern Buck Creek. The archaeological site for this town, inhabited by some 14 families in 1799, has not yet been located, although based on the coincidence of distance with modern geographic names, it was almost certainly situated at the confluence of Buck Creek with a small tributary today called Oochee Creek at the boundary between Marion and Schley Counties. The third and final Yuchi town, named Toccogulegau, was

established no earlier than 1797 under the leadership of headman Uchee Will, and was located to the southwest near the headwaters of Kinchafoonee Creek in the interriverine uplands between the Flint and Chattahoochee valleys. The probable archaeological location of this town has been recorded at the confluence of Kinchafoonee and Lanahassee Creeks in southern Marion County (9Mr1 and 9Mr2).

Farther to the south along the Flint River, just above the confluence of the western-draining Kinchafoonee Creek with the Flint, was a small cluster of satellite villages attached to the Lower Creek town of Chiaha. The precise number of individual Chiaha settlements at any given time is not entirely clear from the documentary record, but between 3 to 5 individual sites were inhabited in this vicinity around the turn of the 19th century. Along the Flint River just above the mouth of Kinchafoonee were at least two and possibly three Chiaha towns situated along a 9-mile stretch of the river, including the northernmost, simply called "Cheauhau Village" in 1796 by Benjamin Hawkins, a second called Tullewhoquanau (or Tucane Town) just 2 miles below it, and Otellewhoquanau (or Hurricane Town) 7 miles downriver on the west bank and several miles above the mouth of Kinchafoonee Creek (Hawkins 1916; 1981). In addition, several decades later the remains of a village called Chocafigea were marked in early land lot surveys for Lee County just a short distance up a tributary creek called Chokey Creek from the presumed site of the aforementioned "Hurricane Town." Since both of Hawkins' (1916; 1981) written descriptions of "Hurricane Town" indicate that they lived on the western riverbank and farmed along the mouth of a small tributary there, the later presence of Chocafigea immediately upstream might even imply that these were contemporaneous or successive locations for the same community. A final and

comparatively large Chiaha village with 60 warriors, called Aumucullee in 1799, was located along Muckalee Creek 9 miles above its confluence with the Flint. This last site apparently corresponds to present-day Chehaw Park in Lee County, where an archaeological site has been recorded which might possibly include Creek period occupation (9Le2), and a nearby site near Leesburg on adjoining Kinchafoonee Creek might also be associated with the town of Aumucullee (9Le5).

In his 1796 description of the Flint River, Benjamin Hawkins (1916) also made brief reference to a small village or hamlet called Ocmulgee located along the banks of the river 7 miles above the mouth of Kinchafoonee Creek and the same distance south of the Chiaha town called "Hurricane Town." While this precise location does not correspond well to his 1799 description of the same area, Hawkins' (1981) assertion that the remnants of the original Ocmulgee town of Macon Plateau were at least temporarily situated along the Lower Flint River at this time nonetheless bears further consideration.

The last group of Lower Creek satellite towns along the Flint River belonged to the Hitchiti subdivision, and comprised two named towns on the southern side of Kinchafoonee Creek. The first, named Hitchetooche (or Little Hitchiti), was located along the Flint River channel just south of the mouth of Kinchafoonee Creek, presumably underneath present-day city of Albany or at Radium Springs. The second, named Tuttallossee (or Fowl Town), was located some 20 miles to the northwest near the headwaters of present-day Fowltown Creek, on the northern bank based on the 1818 Early map. Neither of these Hitchiti towns has been identified archaeologically.

It should be noted that during this same period several prominent early American traders, interpreters, and agents established residences along the Flint River valley. These

included Timothy Barnard and his family by a Yuchi wife, who lived in several locations along the Flint River near the present-day towns of Montezuma and Oglethorpe; trader Jack Kinnard, whose residence was located along the middle reaches of Kinchafoonee Creek; and ultimately Creek Agent Benjamin Hawkins, whose Flint River Agency was established in 1803 at the Fall Line on the eastern bank of the Flint. Three forts were also constructed in the valley beginning during the Creek War of 1813-1814, including Forts Lawrence and Perry along the Fall Line road, and Fort Early along the Lower Flint. Archaeological sites associated with the Hawkins Agency have been recorded in Crawford County (9Cd1, 9Cd22, and 9Cd23), and the isolated presence of Creek period aboriginal ceramics just north of the mouth of Toteover Creek in Macon County (9Ma44) may correspond to the residence of Timpoochee Barnard shown on the 1818 Early map, discussed below. The locations of other residences, including that of Timothy Barnard, as well as Kinnard's trading post, have not been formally identified archaeologically. Of the forts, only Fort Lawrence remains to be identified. However, since all of these sites represent primarily Anglo-American outposts dating to the Creek period on the Flint River, and cannot be classified as formal Creek settlements, they fall beyond the scope of this paper, despite their historical importance from the perspective of early Anglo-Creek interaction in the valley.

A final documentary source regarding terminal Creek settlement along the Flint River is the Early map of Georgia dating to 1818. The extraordinary detail of this map makes it of considerable importance for archaeological work relating to the final years of Creek occupation along the Flint, but an examination of the locations indicated to possess settlements at that time reveals several significant variations with earlier written

descriptions dating to the turn of the century. Clearly, in the aftermath of the Creek War, Creek settlement distribution in the Flint River valley had changed, with some older towns abandoned and some new settlements established. Although most of the marked settlements are not named on the map, several clearly correspond to the earlier named towns discussed above. The Upper Flint represents the most pronounced departure from its late 18th-century state, in that fully a dozen distinct locations extending from the Fall Line north toward the headwaters were marked as inhabited settlements on the 1818 map. Several of these were marked with three triangular symbols instead of one, and comparison with other known towns marked as such below the Fall Line suggests that these represented larger villages or towns, with the single triangles representing small hamlets or perhaps farmsteads. Fixing the precise location of each of these settlements may be difficult due to variations in scale and stream names, but the overall conclusion is inescapable that the Upper Flint was home to a number of comparatively dispersed settlements by 1818. Whether or not these communities were fragmented remnants of the original Kasihta town of Salenojuh, or "Buzzard's Roost," is presently unclear, but frequent references by Benjamin Hawkins during the early 19th century to both "Cusseta" and "Uchee" Indians living near the Fall Line Creek Agency suggests that this may have been the case.

Below the Creek Agency, population distribution in 1818 was largely similar to its late 18th-century state, if somewhat reduced in number. Of the three Yuchi towns described above, only one—Padgeeligau—remained in 1818. This town apparently grew in population and importance after the turn of the century, and was occasionally referred to as "Uchee, Flint River" or simply "Flint River" town by Benjamin Hawkins during the

Creek War period. To the south, below the Barnards, five triangular symbols stretched out along a road parallelling the Flint River on its western side were marked as "Chehaw Villages" across from Fort Early, presumably corresponding to the various Chiaha towns noted above. Contemporaneous documentation from the Creek War era indicates that at least one of these named towns—Aumucullee—maintained preeminence among these Chiaha settlements, despite its apparent absence on the map from its original location along Muckalee Creek near Kinnard's trading post. Finally, along the lower reaches of the Flint, both Hitchiti villages discussed above were clearly marked in their original locations in the 1818 map, suggesting considerable stability in these settlements.

Archaeological Evidence for Creek Period Occupation

As noted above, only a few archaeological sites corresponding to specific, named Creek towns in the Flint River valley have been recorded, and fewer still have been subjected to even limited archaeological survey and testing. Of the documented towns discussed above, positive identification has been established for the written location of only one town—the Yuchi town of Padgeeligau on the western bank of the Flint River (9Tr18 and 9Tr23)—and probable identifications can be proposed for only two other sites—the Yuchi town of Toccogulegau on Kinchafoonee Creek (9Mr1 and 9Mr2) and the Chiaha town of Aumucullee on Muckalee Creek (9Le2 and perhaps 9Le5). As is the case with several other towns noted above, the precise location of the Kasihta town of Salenojuh, or "Buzzard's Roost," is known with some certainty based on Benjamin Hawkins' (1916) detailed written description, but as yet no direct archaeological survey has been carried out in this specific location in Taylor County. In the case of Salenojuh,

however, considerable archaeological survey has been carried out in this immediate vicinity, and at least 5 distinct sites have been found to contain Creek period occupation based primarily on the presence of the ceramic type Chattahoochee Brushed (9Tr7, 10, 41, 42, and 54). Two of these (9Tr41 and 9Tr54) have recently been subjected to more extensive and systematic survey, testing, and broad-scale stripping as part of a mitigation project for highway expansion, and preliminary conclusions suggest that these sites represent outlying single-family farmsteads associated with the Kasihta town of Salenojuh (e.g. Ledbetter 1998). An assortment of other Creek period sites from both sides of the Upper Flint River in this area form a small cluster around these centrally-located sites around Salenojuh (9Tr6, 9Tr8, 9Up22, 9Up23, 9Up25, and 9Up28), and may represent either outlying farmsteads or hamlets surrounding the late 18th-century Salenojuh town, or perhaps more dispersed settlements dating to the post-Creek War period portrayed on the 1818 Early map (see Gordy 1966).

Virtually no other archaeological sites beyond the three Yuchi and Chiaha towns mentioned above and the cluster of Creek period sites surrounding Salenojuh on the Upper Flint show any evidence for Creek period occupation. The private discovery of two late 18th-century Creek period vessels and silver trade jewelry in a looted burial reported to have been located in a site on the eastern side of the Flint River below Padgeeligau may indicate the presence of outlying hamlets or farmsteads associated with Yuchi occupation along this portion of the river. Apart from this site, essentially all other currently-known sites bearing archaeological evidence for Creek occupation along the Flint River appear to be located at or relatively near the documented locations of specific settlements dating to between roughly 1770 and 1826. While this statement is based on

very patchy archaeological survey coverage, the relative scarcity of Creek period sites along the Flint in comparison to earlier periods appears to conform to the available historical evidence for occupation in this valley.

Given the late occupational dates documented for these Flint River towns, it is not surprising that artifact assemblages found at these sites fall within the range of material culture characteristic of the Lawson Field phase of the Lower Chattahoochee valley, dating to between 1715 and 1836. Ceramics analyzed from the farmsteads adjoining the Kasihta town of Salenojuh in Taylor County include the decorated types Chattahoochee Brushed, Ocmulgee Fields Incised, and Kasita Red Filmed, and European artifacts recovered include a gun flint, glass bead, pipe stem, musket plate, wrought and cut nails, bottle glass, and pearlware sherds, all of which point to an occupational date during the last quarter of the 18th century, perhaps extending into the early 19th century (Ledbetter 1998).

Surface reconnaissance and recent systematic posthole testing at the site of the Yuchi town of Padgeeligau farther to the south has revealed virtually identical results with regard to late 18th- and early 19th-century Yuchi material culture (see also Worth 1988). Amidst a predominantly plain ceramic assemblage are the same Chattahoochee Brushed, Ocmulgee Fields Incised, and Kasita Red Filmed decorated varieties, as well as European bottle glass (some of it retouched) and iron tool fragments. Examination of private collections from the site have also revealed the presence of several gunflints and brass musket plate fragments, all of which appear to date to the correct time frame. Of considerable interest in the case of Padgeeligau is the fact that this site was unquestionably occupied by Yuchi Indians, whose linguistic and cultural independence

within the Creek Confederacy was renowned, even at that late date. Despite this fact, however, the late 18th-century Yuchi ceramic assemblage at this site is apparently indistinguishable from contemporaneous Creek ceramics being made at the Kasihta town of Salenojuh and elsewhere. At least in this case, domestic ceramics do not appear to be good archaeological indicators of linguistic and ethnic identity within the broader Creek confederacy.

Beyond basic material culture as represented at a handful of sites, very little is currently known by archaeologists about the details of Creek occupation within the Flint River valley. Ongoing work by Southeastern Archaeological Services at sites 9Tr41 and 9Tr 54 near Salenojuh promises to make a quantum leap in this regard, since systematic subsurface testing and broad-scale stripping over the course of several years at these sites have revealed the first direct evidence for postmold patterns and other subsurface features associated with Creek period farmsteads on the Flint River (e.g. Ledbetter 1998). While analysis is still in progress, preliminary results suggest that these sites contain evidence for a cluster of several single-family farmsteads, each of which comprised one or more dwellings and structures and associated activity areas. Postmold patterns suggest the presence of both wattle-and-daub architecture and possible log cabins, and other subsurface features include basin-shaped pits, large rectangular pits, and smudge pits. Available evidence appears to be largely consistent with other contemporaneous aboriginal sites of both Creek and Cherokee origin (Ledbetter 1998).

Conclusions

Despite the promise of this ongoing work near the Kasihta town of Salenojuh, at present the Creek-period occupation of the Flint River valley remains only poorly-understood from an archaeological perspective. To the extent that the Flint River towns may only serve as mirrors to more central developments among the Lower Creek towns on the Lower Chattahoochee River, then the failure to locate and explore Creek sites on the Flint represents only a neglect of the Creek periphery in favor of the core areas. But an examination of the current state of ethnohistorical and archaeological knowledge regarding the Flint River towns suggests that these sites, both known and unknown, possess several important characteristics that might make them attractive targets for directed archaeological inquiry.

To synthesize available evidence, nearly two centuries after its apparent depopulation during the late 16th century, the resettlement of the Flint River valley during the last quarter of the 18th century by Lower Creek populations appears to represent a direct response to renewed natural population growth among the Lower Creek towns of the Chattahoochee valley (e.g. Wood 1989: 59-61). Both the increasing population growth and the out-settlement of the neighboring Flint River might be argued to represent in part a consequence of increased sociopolitical stability across the region, particularly after the end of the American Revolution and the return of Florida to Spanish control in 1783. Whatever the reason, however, the long-unoccupied Flint River valley ultimately became the natural location for Lower Creek "overflow" populations, generally taking the form of one or more "daughter" towns roughly grouped along the Flint in the same north-south order as their parent towns along the Lower Chattahoochee to the west.

Into this newly-settled eastern Creek Frontier came a new wave of early American traders and agents, including Timothy Barnard, Jack Kinnard, and ultimately the "Beloved Man" of the Creeks, Benjamin Hawkins. As the eastern frontier of the vast Creek nation, the Flint River towns ultimately took on a new importance in regional politics. For example, when more than a dozen roving Yuchi hunters from Padgeeligau were murdered on the Oconee River by a group of Georgia settlers under Captain Benjamin Harrison in 1795, followed by the murder of an innocent Georgia family by Yuchis exacting vengeance, the resultant furor among the Yuchi and other Lower Creek chiefs nearly sparked a broader conflict across the entire western frontier. Despite the loss of so many men, however, Padgeeligau ultimately survived to become the largest Yuchi town in the Creek confederacy, far exceeding the original Yuchi town along the Chattahoochee in numbers of warriors during the Creek War. A great deal history remains to be explored with respect to the eastern Creek frontier along the Flint River, and archaeology will have an important role to play in that exploration.

As noted above, from an archaeological perspective, Creek period communities along the Flint River possess several important characteristics that make them potentially worthy of more detailed investigation:

- (1) Most of the documented Flint River towns represent very short-lived historic period communities which apparently have no immediate precedent in local ceramic sequences from the late prehistoric and European contact periods, and which probably display only limited reconstruction or relocation of dwellings and other structures within individual sites.

- (2) All of these towns appear to have been established as planned satellite communities, or "daughter" towns, from older and larger "mother" towns along the Lower Chattahoochee, and thus may represent more-or-less idealized late 18th-century Creek examples of intra-site patterning of structures, activity zones, family compounds, and public areas.
- (3) The precise ethnic identity or town affiliation of most of the larger Flint River towns and nearby hamlets or farmsteads is relatively well-documented, and inter-site comparisons of material culture and other characteristics should be facilitated by the fact that most towns were widely spaced from one another (particularly in comparison to the Lower Creek towns of the Chattahoochee valley).
- (4) The Flint River towns represent among the last Lower Creek communities established before the Removal period of the early 19th century, and as such may provide a sort of terminal benchmark against which earlier periods are compared, both with respect to European innovation and Creek conservatism prior to Removal.

All these features suggest that the Flint River towns hold the potential to provide important clues regarding several important ethnic components of the Lower Creeks during the late 18th and early 19th-century. In this connection, the present lack of archaeological data in this region should only serve as an added impetus for future research in this little-known eastern Creek frontier.

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