

**Conflict and Confusion on the Middle Savannah:
The 17th to 18th Century Occupation at
Riverfront Village (38AK933)
Aiken County, South Carolina**

by

Thomas G. Whitley, Ph.D.
Brockington and Associates, Inc.

Abstract

The Riverfront Village Site (38AK933) is located on the second terrace of the South Carolina side of the Savannah River, within the boundaries of the City of North Augusta. The 10 acre site includes both Early Mississippian (AD 900 to 1250) and Contact Period (AD 1610 to 1715) components. Approximately one third of the site was excavated revealing more than 4500 features (including winter and summer structures, pit houses, and palisade walls) and producing over 90,000 artifacts. European trade goods (including beads, metal items, gun flints, and musket parts) indicate that the later occupation is, in part, concurrent with the founding of Charleston (1670) and through the early operation of Ft. Moore (located about 10 km along the river to the southeast). Radiocarbon dates also indicate that the site predates the arrival of the Westo by perhaps 60 years or more. The Westo were slave raiders who invaded the Savannah Region from the north; attacking and destroying local tribes. The archaeological evidence at Riverfront suggests the site may have been raided, abandoned, and then reoccupied after the final destruction of the Westo in 1683. Untangling the confused overlap of historical references, archaeological occupations, and modern interpretations for the region is a distinct challenge. More than 11 different tribal entities are known to have lived in, used, or passed through the Middle Savannah River Valley during the 17th and 18th centuries. This site provides a few more pieces to the puzzle.

Introduction

The Contact Period in the Southeast is a time in which native communities were transformed by a series of European-influenced factors into what Bowne (2008) classifies as four types of polities: neo-traditional, militaristic slaving, euro-dependent, and confederated. The interface between Europeans and these native communities in the greater Savannah River area has been the subject of a vast scholarly literature and series of debates, particularly in regard to the Indian slave trade (e.g. Bowne 2005; Ethridge 2006; Ramsey 2008; Oatis 2004; Gally 2002; Martin 1994). Clearly, the finer points of the ongoing debates and discussions cannot be presented here. Instead I want to briefly provide an overview of the events, migrations, and cultural occupations in the Middle Savannah Region, to address the Contact Period component at the Riverfront Village site.

The Riverfront Village Site (38AK933) is located on the second terrace of the South Carolina side of the Savannah River, within the boundaries of the City of North Augusta. The 10 acre site includes both Early Mississippian (AD 900 to 1250) and Contact Period (AD 1610 to 1715) components. Approximately one third of the site was excavated revealing more than 4500 features (including winter and summer structures, pit houses, and palisade walls) and producing over 90,000 artifacts.

Early European Contacts (AD 1540 to 1670)

The earliest European contact in the Savannah River Valley was during de Soto's 1539 to 1543 expedition (Swanton 1939; Brain 1985; Hudson et al. 1984; 1990). In short, it is speculated that De Soto crossed the Savannah River sometime during May 1540, as he travelled between the polities of Ocute and Cofitachequi. The accounts suggest that the crossing place was at the Fall Line; where the wide road they had been following became narrower and was lost in a maze of small paths (Clayton et al. 1994). Alternately, the crossing point may have been lower on the river; possibly near Shell Bluff (now part of the Savannah River Site).

De Soto's chroniclers clearly indicate that the Savannah River Valley was a wilderness (naming it the "desert of Ocute"), and it was difficult finding their way through it. After arriving in the chiefdom of Cofitachequi, they travelled north through the lands of the Chalaque and into the southern tip of the Chiscas polity. The mountainous western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee region was split between the Coosa and Chisca polities in the early to mid 1500s (Hudson et al. 1984; 1990). The Cherokee had not yet moved into the region from the north.

Although the Lower Savannah was incorporated into the sphere of influence of Santa Elena and the coastal missions, only one additional Spanish military expedition seems to have penetrated the Middle Savannah wilderness; this was the Torres expedition which travelled between Ocute and Cofitachequi in 1627 to 1628 (Worth 1994:113-115). The Torres expedition, like De Soto's some 87 years earlier, has very little to say about the "desert of Ocute" (Worth 1994:114).

The record of occupation on the Middle Savannah between 1450 and 1660 is very sketchy. On the one hand, the Spanish accounts of De Soto's and Torres' expeditions do not definitively identify any native groups on the Middle Savannah in either 1540 or 1627 (Clayton et al. 1994; Worth 1994). But the records of the coastal missions, and ethnohistoric reconstructions indicate that there are several groups which could have dwelt on the Middle Savannah from the late 1500s to the middle of the 1600s (Bowne 2005; Wood et al. 1986; Swanton 1922; Worth 1993; 2007). These include the Chiscas, the Yuchi, the Tamahitans, and the Savannah. The Chiscas, Tamahitans, and the Yuchi have in the past been identified as being the same group (cf. Swanton 1922). But more recently, there is emerging evidence that the Chiscas were not related to the Yuchi, and the Tamahitans may have, as well, been distinct (Worth 2007; Riggs 2009:personal communication). The Savannahs are fairly well accepted as being an offshoot of the Algonquin-speaking Shawnee.

The time of settlement in the region by the Savannahs is still unclear. Swanton (1922:317-318) believes that they do not arrive on the river which bears their name until 1674; the date of Woodward's visit to Hickauhaugau (the Westo Village north of the Fall Line). In contrast, Gally (2002:55) believes that the exodus of the Shawnee from Pennsylvania, and the arrival of the Savannahs on the Savannah River occurred as early as the 1640s. The Beaver Wars and the pressure from internal Pennsylvania tribes such as

the Susquehannock provided the impetus for migration. That the Savannah preceded the Westo is perhaps indicated by Woodward's statement that the Savannahs he met in Hickauhaugau were unhappy with their trading relationships with the "white people" to the south (presumably the Spanish), and they brought Spanish items to trade (Cheves 1897:461; Bowne 2005:85).

The Westo and Conflict on the Savannah (AD 1659 to 1683)

In 1659, the Spanish at Apalachee (in Florida) record that the region of Tama (the Oconee Valley of Georgia) was raided by "up to a thousand men and whites" from the Virginia colony (Bowne 2005:75). This is the first mention of a native group identified by the Spanish as the Chichimecos; who appear to be known to the Virginia colonists as the Rickahockans. These were the remnants of the Erie tribe pushed out of upstate New York by the Five Nations Iroquois during the mid-1650s (Bowne 2005; Green 1998). The Rickahockans had become slave raiders and were now on the Middle Savannah and in other portions of the Georgia and South Carolina interiors. Throughout the 1660s, interior natives streamed into the Spanish Missions as refugees from continued attacks; these included Savannahs, Chiscas, and possibly other groups (Bowne 2005; Worth 1995; Swanton 1922).

To capitalize on their new resource area, the Rickahockans established a village on the Middle Savannah; at least by the early 1660s (Bowne 2005:23-24). At the time of Henry Woodward's 1674 trip up the Savannah River, this village (called Hickauhaugau) was well known. Though the current location of the site has been lost, it was reportedly on the Georgia side of the river, near the Fall Line (Bowne 2005:21-23). It was described as a pallisaded village of longhouses with a population probably at or just under a few thousand. Woodward introduces the term "Westo" for this group; which may derive from the Catawba word "Westobau" or "the enemies' river" (Swanton 1922:23; Bowne 2005:25). In the Gascoyne map of 1682 (Gascoyne 1682), the Westo (Westoh) are indicated on the upper reaches of the Savannah (May) River (Figure 1 – note that north is to the right in this depiction).

The Westo War began in 1680 with some of the Westos being attacked and killed while bartering with the Goose Creek men (a coalition of South Carolinian traders). The Westos initially responded by trying to negotiate a peace settlement through the Savannahs; knowing that to lose their lucrative partnership with the Carolina colony would be a devastating blow. The Savannahs betrayed them by enslaving their emissaries; resulting in full blown war (Bowne 2005:99-100).

Armed by the Goose Creek men, the Savannahs were able to press their advantage in numbers against the Westo in a series of decisive victories. The Westo found that their access to powder and ammunition was cut off since the Goose Creek men supported the Savannahs, and they systematically succumbed. The last remnants of the Westo were eliminated from the region by 1683. By 1684, native access to firearms was virtually unrestricted and the Goose Creek men controlled the trade (Bowne 2005:100-105).

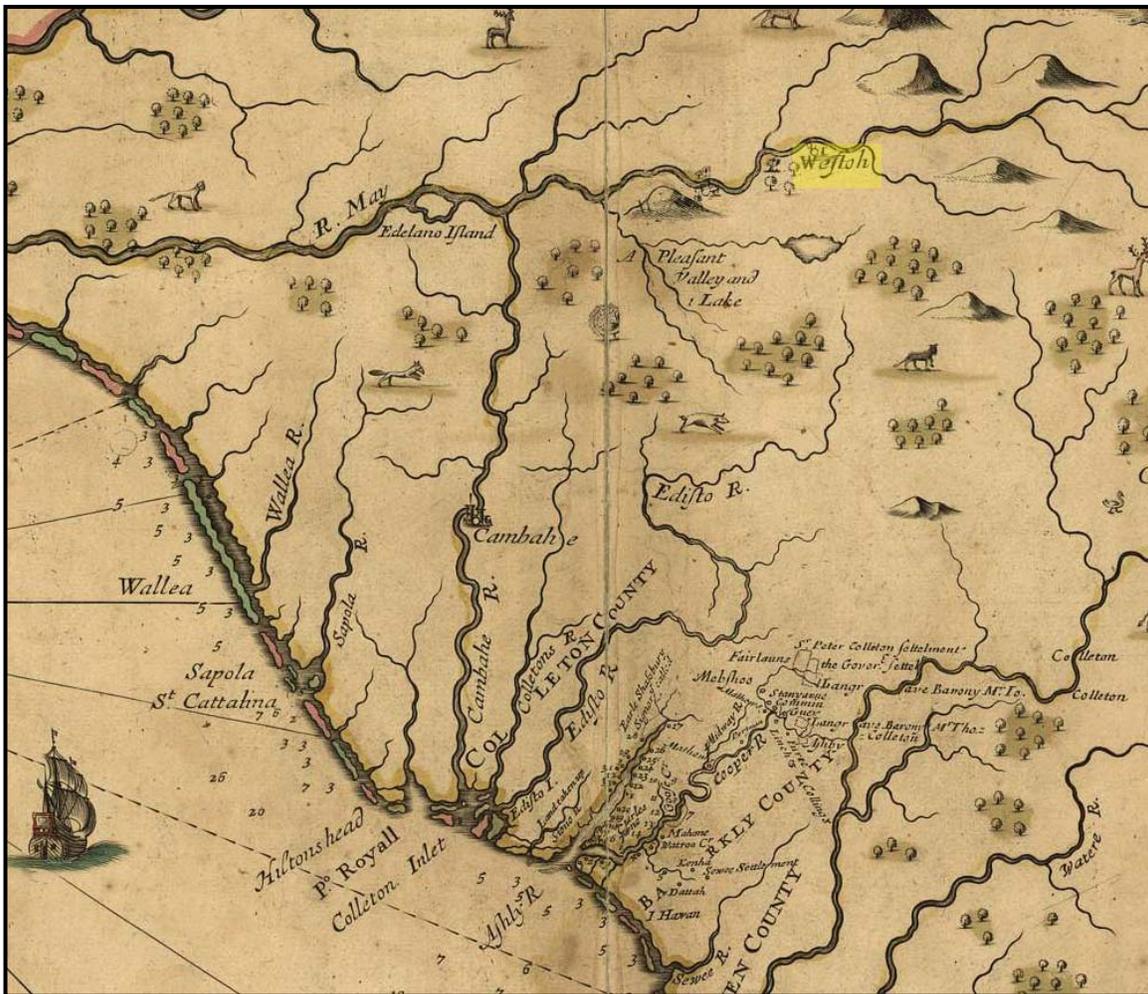


Figure 1. Extract from the Gascoyne map of 1682.

Post-Westco Occupation (AD 1683 to 1715)

The elimination of the Westo opened up the interior trade to the South Carolina colonists; particularly for the Goose Creek men. Similarly, it widened the opportunities presented to the Savannah and other tribal confederacies; such as the Creeks and the Catawbas. Some groups were inexorably drawn to a closer relationship with Charleston; moving toward the coast from the interior (Bowne 2005:106-114). Other groups appeared to reoccupy settlements in the interior abandoned during the reign of the Westo; this may have included the Savannahs, and possibly the Chiscas (though they disappear from the record around this time; possibly having moved further west and becoming absorbed by the Ochese Creeks).

The vacuum left on the Middle Savannah by the demise of the Westo was filled by a set of diverse groups drawn to the area for different reasons. The Savannah themselves were now well established at Savannah Town (near modern day Beech Island, South Carolina, opposite and just south of Augusta; Maness 1986). The Savannah River

Yuchi were mapped for the first time near the Fall Line at least by 1711; at Hogologe (Swanton 1922:190, 308). A refugee group of Apalachee also settled near Savannah Town between 1703 and 1705 (Hann 1988:294-297).

Ramsey (2008:110) describes Savannah Town just prior to the Yamasee War as “a collection of refugees and conquered peoples” that included at least nine villages scattered south of the Fall Line. The British records relating to South Carolina (Ramsey 2008:110; see footnotes) indicate three separate communities of Savannahs that numbered between 67 and 150 warriors, and included 116 women, and 50 children. They also list four villages of Apalachees (with more than 600 people), and situated somewhat north of the others, two villages of Yuchi composed of 130 warriors.

A 1715 census indicates two Yuchi villages 180 miles west-northwest of Charleston (Swanton 1922:308; Elliott and Elliott 1990:7; Rivers 1874:94). These villages consisted of approximately 400 people. The Crisp map of 1711 (Crisp 1711) shows the Savannahs (Savanna) on the South Carolina side of the river, south of what appears to be Horse Creek (Figure 2). It also shows the Appalachees (Apalachy) on the Georgia side of the river. The Crisp map does not indicate the Yuchis, but it does show houses north of Horse Creek on the South Carolina side which may equate with one of the two recorded Yuchi villages. The Barnwell map of 1715 (Barnwell 1715) indicates the Savannahs (Savanahs) near the Charleston Road, the Yuchi (Tahogaleas) just to the north in a bend of the river (also on the South Carolina side) or on an island, but shows the Apalachees (Apalaches) on both sides of the river (Figure 3).

The most prominent residents near the Savannah River Valley in the early 1700s however, were the Yamasee. Fighting alongside the South Carolinians in the Tuscarora War of 1711-1712, the Yamasee were a loose confederation of tribes that evolved out of the populations of Guale and interior Georgia groups that had been decimated by both disease and the slave raiding of the Westo during the 1660s and 1670s (Oatis 2004:25; Worth 1993:40-45). They lived along the Lower Savannah River and other areas of the coast south of the Carolina colony where they were becoming encroached upon by the growing rice planting economy.

The Yamasee War began with the Pocotaligo Massacre, in the early morning hours of Good Friday; April 15, 1715. Within weeks of the initial uprising, other tribal confederations entered the fray. At least 90 of the English traders among the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Catawba, Lower Creeks, and Apalachee were killed (Crane 1929:169-170). The next phase of the war principally involved the Lower (or Ochese) Creeks. Refugees from the Savannah River Valley flooded into Creek territory, while the Yamasee were becoming neutralized near Charleston. Meanwhile the Cherokees were undecided as to whether to join with the colonists against the Lower Creeks, or join with the Creeks against the colonists. In the end, the January 1716 Tugaloo Massacre sealed the deal, and the Cherokees became allied with the colonists against the Creeks (Crane 1929:182-183; Oatis 2004:188-189; Ramsey 2008:151-152).

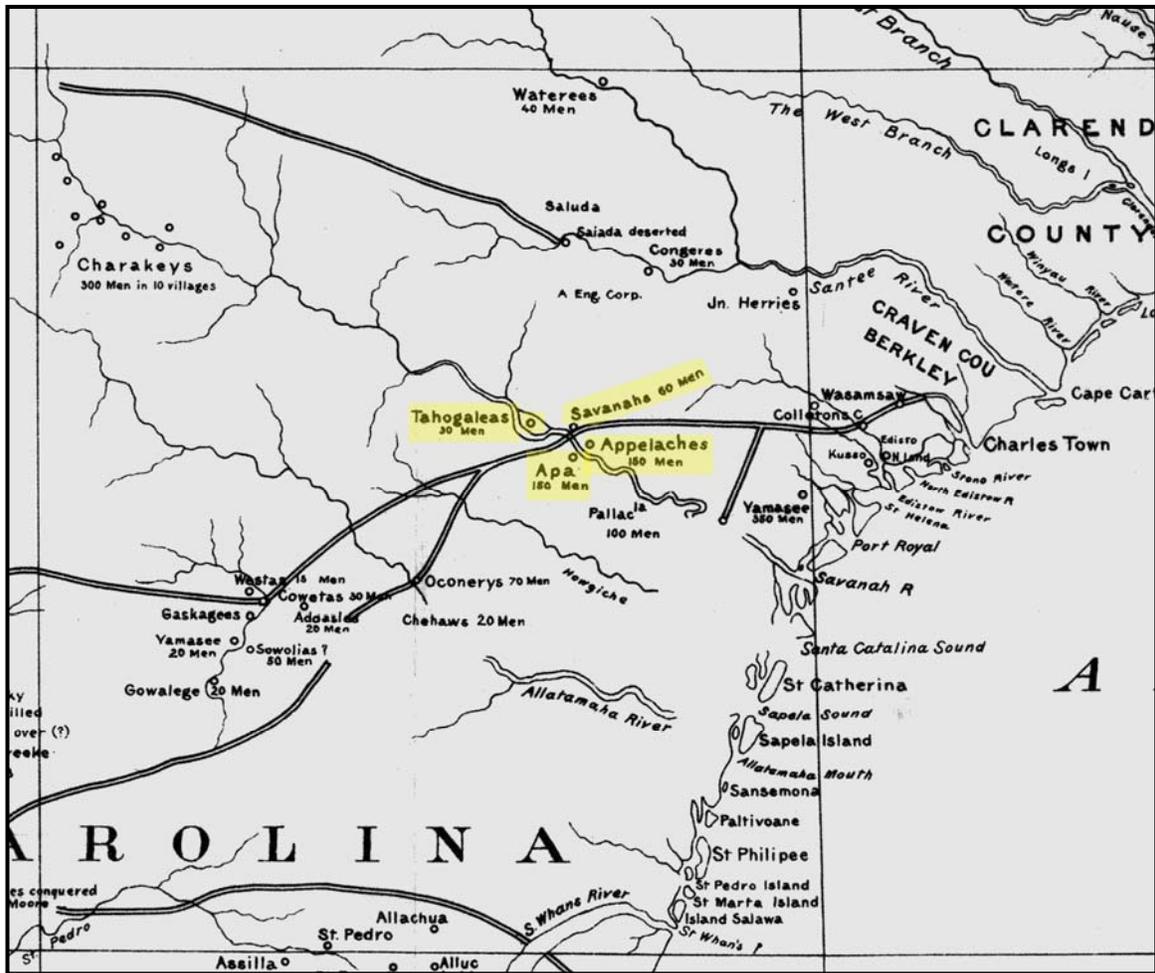


Figure 3. Extract from the Barnwell map of 1715.

As war continued between the Creeks and the Cherokees for decades, the South Carolina colonists wanted to quickly re-establish normal relations with both sides. In late 1717, a truce was declared between the South Carolina colony and the Creeks. Normal trade resumed by 1718; though the Creeks and other Yamasee War antagonists were now primarily situated in the Oconee, Ocmulgee, or Chattahoochee Valleys (Ramsey 2008:196). Because of the ongoing insecurity with the Cherokees, the Lower Creeks chose to move all their settlements from the Ocmulgee to the Chattahoochee River Valley by 1725. Many of the Yuchi and Apalachee went with them, while the Savannahs eventually settled among the Tuscaroras and Iroquois, of North Carolina and New York (Ramsey 2008:220-221).

Diagnostic Artifacts and Cultural Units

The key diagnostic artifacts which allow us to determine a chronological time frame and perhaps identify an associated cultural unit at Riverfront Village come in essentially three main categories; aboriginal lithics or ceramics and European diagnostics.

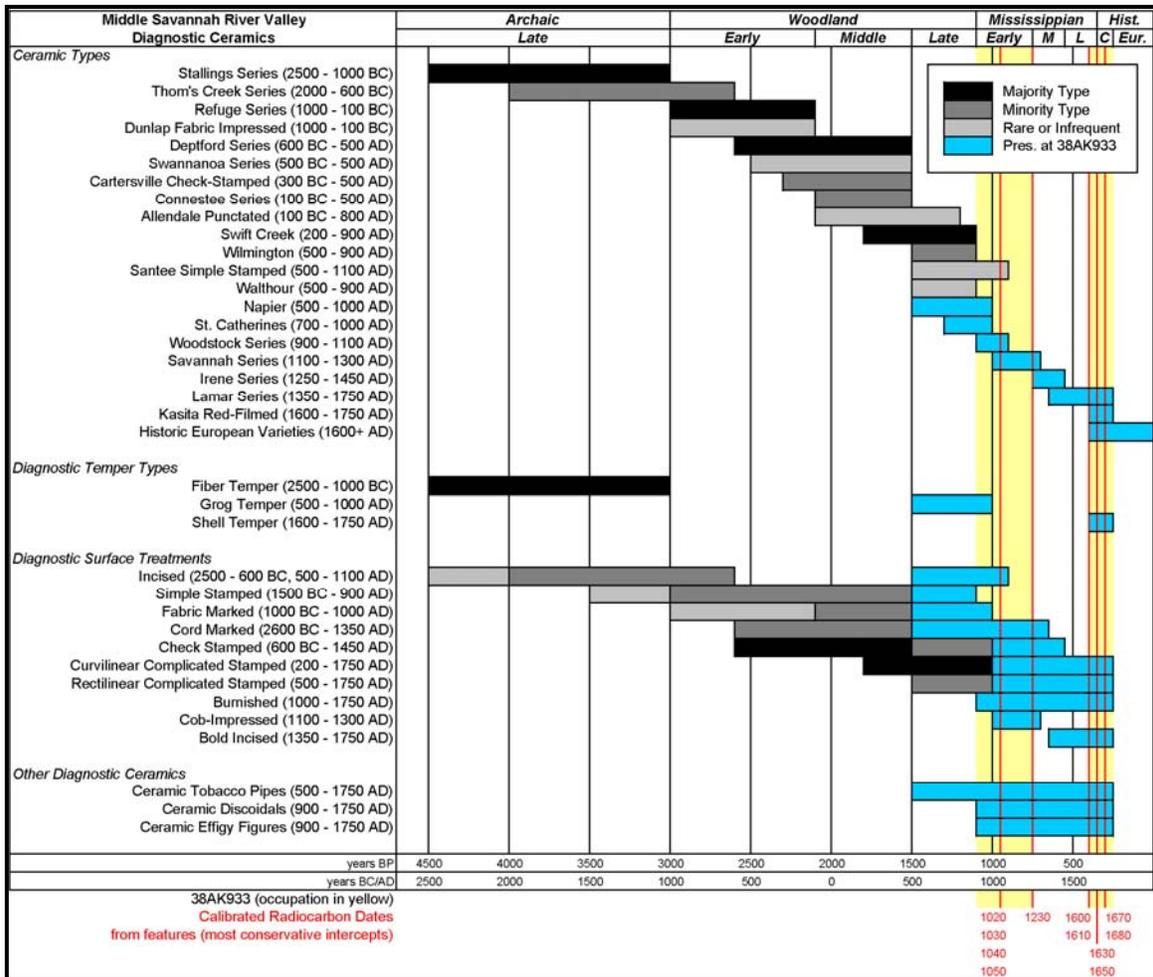


Figure 4. Diagnostic Ceramics and C14 Dates from 38AK933.

Clearly, there is a great deal of subjectivity in defining projectile point or ceramic styles for the prehistoric time frame. After contact however, we have a much more objective understanding of manufacture dates for historic ceramics, and even items such as trade beads. These diagrams indicate the diagnostic artifacts for the Middle Savannah Region; highlighting those identified at the Riverfront Village site (and focused here only on those from the Contact Period).

Aboriginal Ceramics

Ceramic artifact transitions at the time of European contact exhibit certain diagnostic tendencies (Figure 4). Sand tempering is most common among the identified styles for all post-Late Archaic periods up until contact. Although shell temper reportedly appears across much of the South in small quantities as early as the Late Woodland (Feathers 2006:89), its use as a diagnostic indicator is associated with the Contact Period in the Middle Savannah.

Surface treatments also exhibit some characteristic tendencies. Bold incising is firmly associated with the Late Prehistoric to Contact Period Lamar. Other minority type diagnostic ceramics include red-filming (a slipped surface treatment) which is associated with historic Yamasees, Creeks, and their trading partners. Other ceramic diagnostics include tobacco pipes, discoidals, and effigy figures; all of which are represented mostly during the Mississippian through Contact Period.

European Artifacts

European artifacts appear on some sites in the Southeast with the arrival of the Spanish around 1540. In the Middle Savannah though, it is likely that the earliest European items did not arrive until after the Spanish Missions were established on the Guale Coast, and trade began with them (after 1590 or so). By the mid 1600s, groups moving into the region had existing trade relationships with the Virginia colonists, and therefore access to English items; especially guns. Figure 5 illustrates the diagnostic historic artifact types as well as cultural units known from the Middle Savannah.

Glass trade beads may be the most common diagnostic historic artifact class, and Marcoux (2006) provides an excellent classification system for defining temporal groupings for the period after 1600. The most common European ceramics after 1540 but before 1670 would have been coarse earthenware; typically referred to as “olive jar” and often manufactured in Mexico. Olive jar could have been traded as late as the early nineteenth century, however. Less common would have been Spanish stoneware or Majolica; which would be expected on the Lower Savannah, especially close to the mission sites (such as Santa Elena).

Northern European goods (especially guns and gunparts, iron knives and axes) would have arrived with the Westo in 1659; who had a trading relationship with the Virginia colony. They may have brought diagnostic items such as brass bells and tinkler cones, glass beads (Marcoux clusters 1, 2, or 3), and British ceramic varieties such as buffwares, stonewares, and redwares. Some items such as kaolin pipes are common throughout the Historic time frame. Of course, trade items such as cloth and other perishable goods would have been much more common, but are no longer found in the archaeological record.

Cultural Units

As should be apparent from the historical discussion, our understanding of the distribution of cultural units, or groups, at the time of European contact is very confusing. Between 1450 and 1660, there is nothing to indicate any permanent residents on the Middle Savannah. However, the Chisca appear to have been in eastern Tennessee during the middle 1500s; recorded by de Soto. The Spanish mission records in between those dates hint that some of the Chiscas may have been trading with the Spanish at Santa Elena around 1618. It is very likely that they may have begun the process of moving to the Middle Savannah as early as 1600. Similarly, the Savannahs were probably entering the region around 1640.

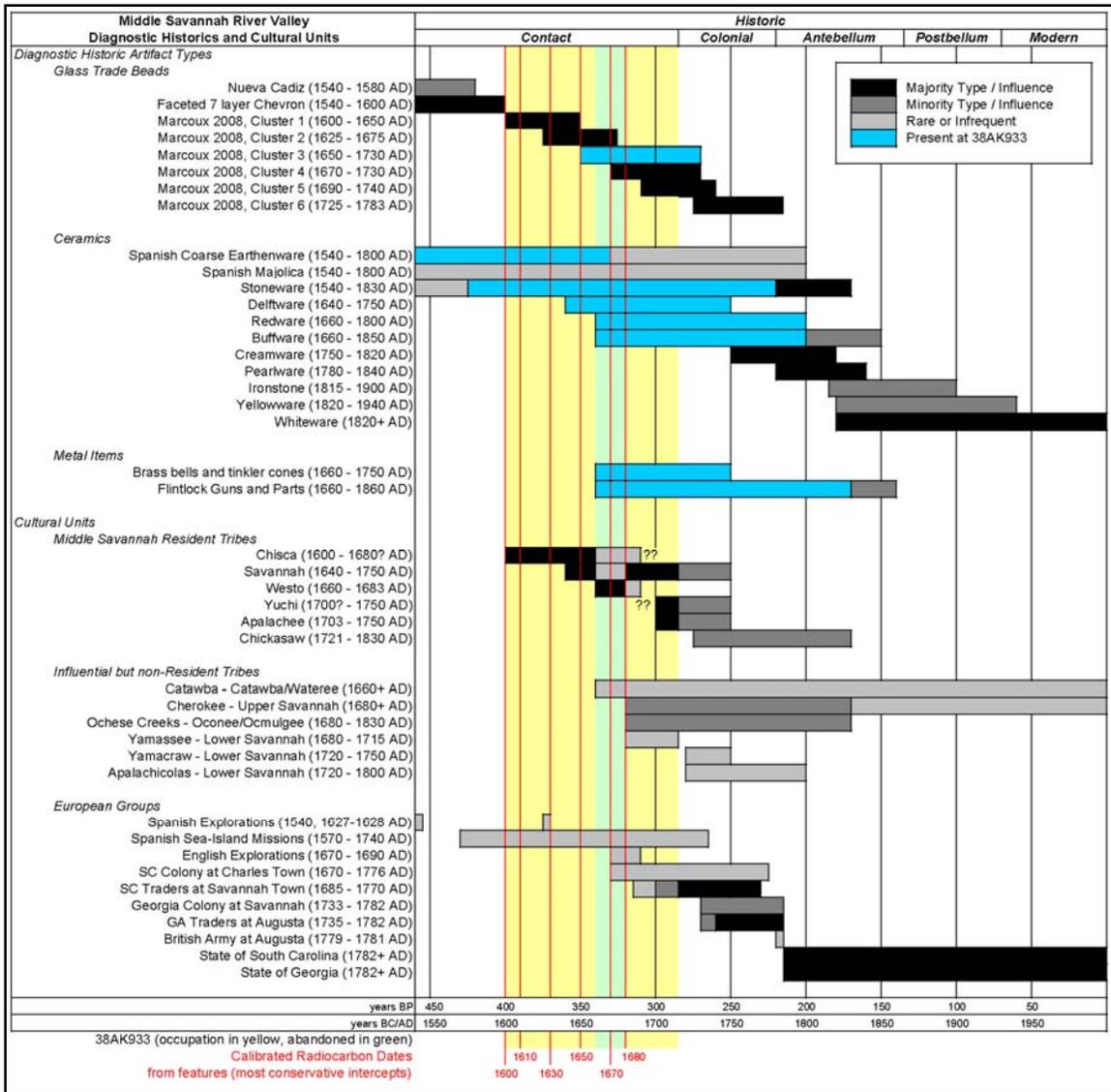


Figure 5. Diagnostic Histories, Cultural Units, and C14 Dates at 38AK933.

This presumed presence of the Savannahs and Chiscas in the Middle Savannah is abruptly altered by the arrival of the well-armed Westos in 1659. The complete dominance of the Indian slave trade by the Westo probably resulted in the abandonment of all, or nearly all, Chisca and Savannah villages; causing a flood of refugees into the Spanish-controlled Guale and Timucuan missions. The end of the Westo War allowed the Savannahs to return at least by 1683; this time as a group of allied villages near Savannah Town, where they were joined by the Yuchi and the Apalachee. The Chiscas seem to have disappeared, and they may have been absorbed by the Creeks, or even by the Guale.

Trade with the larger confederacies such as the Catawba, Cherokees and Creeks began in the 1660s and 1680s, and had an influence on the development of relations within the Middle Savannah. Control of the Creek and Cherokee trade was a primary motivation for the building of both Ft. Moore (in 1715) and Ft. Augusta (in 1735). The Yamasee War of 1715-1717 caused another exodus from the Middle Savannah (this time

Savannahs, Yuchi, and Apalachees). The vacuum was later filled by a small band of Chickasaw in 1721 or 1722. Even though small communities of Savannahs and Yuchi may have remained until 1750 or so, it appears that the small band of Chickasaw on Horse Creek was the only native group still present in the Middle Savannah at the time of removal in 1830.

Evidence from 38AK933

The Contact Period occupation at the Riverfront Village site may be the location of a 1610 to 1660 Chisca village that was re-occupied after the Westo War by either Yuchis or Savannahs from around 1680 to 1715. This interpretation results from several factors. First, the domestic post features at Riverfront indicate circular structures of varying sizes. These fall within a semi-circular palisade wall enclosure; which was probably originally round, but has since been partially eradicated by flood scouring (Figure 6). There is little or no indication of the rectangular or square structures; such as those associated with the Creeks.

The Yuchis built round houses and perhaps even dwelt in round villages. They were known as the “Round Town People” (Swanton 1922:287). The Iroquoian Westo and the Algonquian Savannahs probably lived in rectangular houses similar to those indicative of their northeastern origins (Nabokov and Easton 1989:54-85). The Creeks and Cherokees both typically built square domestic structures at this time; though the Cherokee winter houses and Creek townhouses were circular, and similar in style to those at Riverfront (Nabokov and Easton 1989:104-112). Yamasee domestic architecture is little known, but circular houses are present at Altamahatown (Sweeney 2009: personal communication). Typical Yamasee dates though, are later than those at Riverfront.

Second, the presence of coarse Spanish earthenware seems to suggest a trading relationship established before 1640; as suggested by the Spanish records of Chisca interaction in 1618. Clearly not definitive, it is a weak indicator however. A high proportion of shell-tempered ceramics was found within the Contact Period assemblage at Riverfront that resembles Dallas or Mouse Creek Phase (cf. Williams and Thompson 1999:31-34).

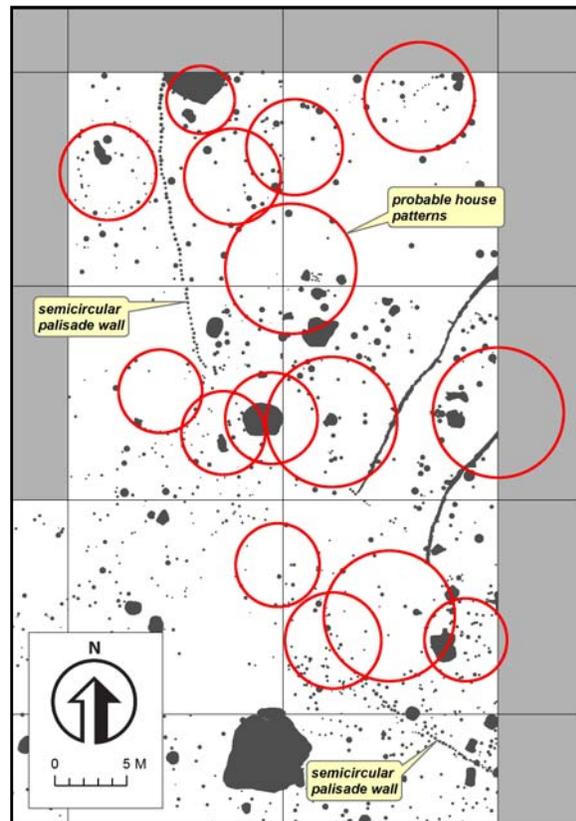


Figure 6. Contact Period area at 38AK933

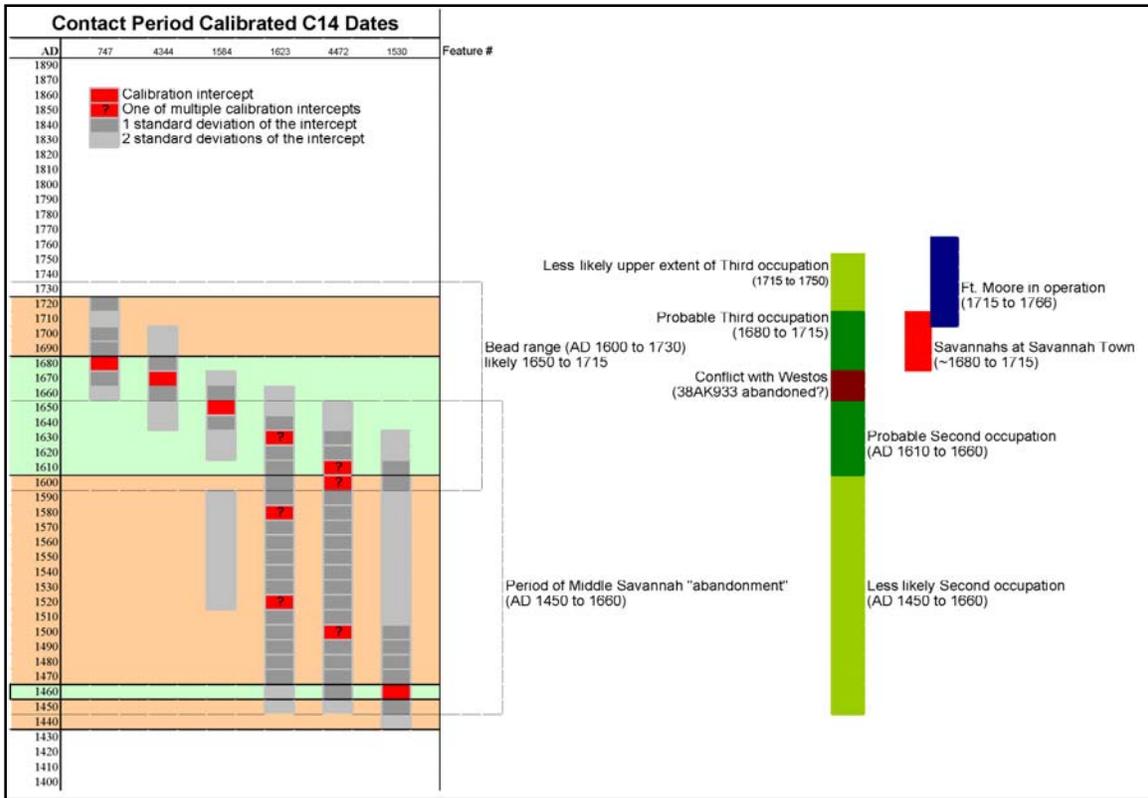


Figure 7. Contact Period Radiocarbon Dates from Riverfront.

In the past it was thought that the Historic Yuchi were derived from the Dallas/Mouse Creek Mississippian of Eastern Tennessee (Bauxar 1957; Lewis and Kneberg 1946). This notion may be spurious however (Riggs 2009: personal communication), and it is clear that many Contact Period cultures utilized shell-tempered wares.

We do not know exactly what a Chisca, Savannah, or Yuchi assemblage would look like, and extracting the Contact Period contexts from the Mississippian at Riverfront is not yet complete. However, some of the aboriginal ceramic assemblage does bear a superficial resemblance to those from known Historic Yuchi sites; such as Yuchi Town on the Chattahoochee (occupied from 1715 to 1836 – Braley 1991; 1998), and Mount Pleasant on the Lower Savannah (occupied from 1720 to perhaps 1750 – Elliott and Elliott 1991).

By far the most compelling evidence for a pre-Westos occupation are the six radiocarbon dates which fall somewhere between 1460 and 1680 (Figure 7). These include three calibrated dates with multiple intercepts (1460, 1500, 1520, 1580, 1600, and 1610). We also have dated trade beads that occupy a range of time between 1600 and 1730. If we assume the most conservative interpretation of the radiocarbon dates and trade items, we have an occupation that began at least by 1610, and probably continued through 1715; though at a minimum through 1680. This may have been interrupted by the Westos between 1660 and 1680. The only group which seems to fit this pattern before the Westos arrive is the Chiscas. An occupation beginning in 1610 is about 40 years too early



Figure 8. Burial Types at Riverfront.

for the Savannahs, and 50 years too early for the Westo. The Creeks are to the west, the Catawba to the east, and the Cherokee to the north. The Yamasee were situated much further south, east, and probably did not arrive in the region until after the Westo. The Apalachee did not arrive until 1703, the Yuchi perhaps not until 1714, and the Chickasaw not until 1721.

The post-Weston occupation (1680 to 1715) does not appear to be Savannah or Apalachee; based on the structure patterns and the material culture. Was this a return of the Chiscas before they disappear? Or was this an early Yuchi settlement? Although DeBrahm's map of 1757 indicates a "Chickasaw Camp" in the vicinity of 38AK933, none of the C14 dates or any portion of the artifact assemblage support a presence at that late of a date. Even if the information is decades old, the Chickasaw occupation is well understood historically and cannot account for any material prior to 1721. The broad scale of DeBrahm's map could place the "camp" anywhere within a mile of 38AK933.

Last, we have an interesting burial assemblage which includes several different methods of interment (Figure 8). The Mississippian occupation does not appear to have included on-site burials; rather an off-site cemetery seems to have been preferred. At least some of the on-site burials have been completely eroded away. Poor bone preservation suggests that the temporal affiliation can be somewhat discerned from the state of the remains.

Of the 17 burials identified, 14 were in poor to very poor condition. They included either fragmentary spongy bones, or in some cases only teeth. Each of these remains was buried in a flexed position on either the right or left sides; or a flexed position was assumed based on the size and shape of the burial pit. In contrast, one adult male was in fair condition, and was placed prone with his head extended backward, and his legs bent behind him. It appears to have been an individual who was unceremoniously thrown into a shallow pit. The two remaining burials were in good condition and had been placed supine, extended, and with their heads to the west.

The earliest burials are probably those which were in the poorest condition; including more than 80% of the remains. They likely date to the 50 years of pre-Weston occupation of the site (1610 to 1660). The singular individual, who was thrown into the shallow pit, may represent a victim of one of the Weston slave raids (around 1660). The village was probably abandoned for perhaps 20 years at that time. The two well preserved burials were placed at the base of deep refuse-filled pits; which included numerous European trade items. Their burial position suggests that they may have been Christianized and were buried sometime between 1680 and 1715.

Conclusions

In summary, 38AK933 appears to have been one village within a neo-traditional polity between 1610 and 1660. The site may be the earliest evidence we have of Chisca occupation in the Middle Savannah River Valley. It is doubtful that the village was occupied during the Spanish entrada in the mid-1500s, but the Chiscas may have moved in perhaps as early as the late 1500s. This community experienced the on-going social and political issues of a “classic” Southeastern chiefdom, while also witnessing the first effects of introduced disease, military conflict, and the early efforts at missionization. Such neo-traditional societies were attempting to “maintain an ‘old’ social order” while adapting to new conditions (Bowne 2008:2).

In the 1660s, the village probably suffered severely from assaults by a militaristic slaving polity (the Weston). The proximity of Hickauhaugau prohibits any consideration of a continued occupation at the site, unless the Chiscas were able to establish some negotiated peace or perhaps partnership with the Westons. The nature of the site’s contents does not suggest that the Weston were resident there. The Chiscas and the Weston became involved in a new political economy; one in which acquisition of slaves (along with beaver pelts and deer skins) for trade with Europeans was dominant.

Forming a confederated polity of Savannahs, Apalachee, and Yuchi, nine villages in the proximity of the Fall Line were occupied sometime between 1680 and 1711, and became known as Savannah Town. Riverfront Village may have been one of these nine villages with perhaps a Yuchi component, or a mixed ethnic population (perhaps even the remnants of the Chiscas). Confederations such as this responded to the mass migration engendered by depopulation from disease, displacement by war, and the attracting force

of commerce centers by coalescing into ethnically diverse communities which evolved their own means of social and political adaptation. The archaeological remains at Riverfront provide a brief glimpse into the workings of three of the Contact Period polity types defined by Bowne (2008); opening the window into understanding this dynamic and historically rich period ever so slightly.

References Cited

Barnwell, John

1715 The Distribution of Indian Tribes in the Southeast about the year 1715.

Bauxar, J. Joseph

1957 Yuchi Ethnoarchaeology: Parts I-V, *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 4, No. 3, The American Society for Ethnohistory, Duke University Press, pp. 279-301

Bowne, Eric E.

2005 *The Westo Indians: Slave Traders of the Early Colonial South*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

2008 Southeastern Indian Polities of the Seventeenth Century: Suggestions toward an Analytical Vocabulary. Paper presented at the 2008 SEAC meetings, Charlotte, North Carolina, November, 2008.

Brain, Jeffrey P.

1985 Introduction: Update of De Soto Studies since the United States De Soto Expedition Commission Report. In, *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Classics of Smithsonian Anthropology, Washington D.C., pp. xi-xxii.

Braley, Chad O.

1991 *Archaeological Data Recovery at Yuchi Town, 1RU63, Fort Benning, Alabama*. Southeastern Archaeological Services, Inc., Athens GA.

1998 *Yuchi Town (1RU63) Revisited: Analysis of the 1958-1962 Excavations*. Southeastern Archaeological Services, Inc., Athens GA.

Cheves, Langdon

1897 The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676. *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society* 5.

Clayton, L.A., V.J. Knight, and E.C. Moore

1994 *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando De Soto to North America in 1539-1543*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

- Crane, Verner W.
1929 *The Southern Frontier 1670-1732*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.
- Crisp, Edward
1711 *Compleat Description of the Province of Carolina* in 3 parts.
- Elliott, Daniel T., and Rita Folsie Elliott
1991 *Mount Pleasant: An Eighteenth Century Yuchi Town, British Trader Outpost, and Military Garrison in Georgia. Lamar Institute Publication 10*, Athens.
- Ethridge, Robbie
2006 *Creating the Shatterzone: Indian Slave Traders and the Collapse of the Southeastern Chiefdoms*. In *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*, edited by T.J. Pluckhahn and R. Ethridge, pp. 207-218. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Feathers, James K.
2006 *Explaining Shell-Tempered Pottery in Prehistoric Eastern North America. Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory 13(2):89-133.*
- Gallay, Alan
2002 *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670 - 1717*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Gascoyne, Joel
1682 *A New Map of the Country of Carolina with its Rivers, Harbours, Plantations, and other accommodations.*
- Green, William
1998 *The Erie/Westo Connection: Possible Evidence of Long distance Migration in the Eastern Woodlands During the 16th and 17th Centuries*. Paper presented at the Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Greenville, South Carolina.
- Hann, John H.
1988 *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers*. Ripley P. Bullen Monographs in Anthropology and History, no. 7, Florida State Museum, Tallahassee.
- Hudson, C.M., C.B. DePratter, and M.T. Smith
1984 *The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Apalachee to Chiaha. Southeastern Archaeology 3:66-77.*
- Hudson, C.M., M.T. Smith, and C.B. DePratter
1990 *The Hernando de Soto Expedition: From Mabila to the Mississippi River. Southeastern Archaeology 3:66-77.*

- Lewis, Thomas M. N., and Madeline D. Kneberg
 1946 *Hiwassee Island: An Archaeological Account of Four Tennessee Indian Peoples*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Maness, Harold S.
 1986 *Forgotten Outpost: Fort Moore and Savannah Town 1685-1765*. Beech Island, South Carolina.
- Martin, Joel W.
 1994 Southeastern Indians and the English Trade in Skins and Slaves. In *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, edited by C. Hudson and C. C. Tesser, University of Georgia Press, Athens, pp. 304-324.
- Merrell, James H.
 1989 *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Nabokov, Peter, and Robert Easton
 1989 *Native American Architecture*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Oatis, Steven J.
 2004 *A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680-1730*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Ramsey, William L.
 2008 *The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Colonial South*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Swanton, John R.
 1922 Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors. *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 13*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC.
 1939 *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*. 76th Congree, 1st Session, House Document, no. 71, Government Printing Office. Washington D.C.
- Williams, Mark, and Victor Thompson
 1999 A Guide to Georgia Indian Pottery Types. *Early Georgia* 27(1).
- Worth, John E.
 1993 Prelude to Abandonment: The Interior Provinces of Early 17th Century Georgia. *Early Georgia* 21:25-58.

- 1994 Late Spanish Military Expeditions in the Interior Southeast, 1597-1628. In, *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, C. Hudson and C. Chaves Tesser (eds), University of Georgia Press, Athens, pp. 104-122.
- 1995 *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: An Eighteenth Century Retrospective of Guale and Mocama*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 75, New York.
- 2007 *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.