# Archeology of the Funeral Mound

OCMULGEE NATIONAL MONUMENT, GEORGIA

Charles H. Fairbanks

Introduction by Frank M. Setzler With a New Introduction by Mark Williams

# ARCHEOLOGY OF THE FUNERAL MOUND, Ocmulgee National Monument, Georgia

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### Introduction to the 2003 Edition

#### Mark Williams

It is a genuine delight for me to introduce this new edition of the Archeology of the Funeral Mound, Ocmulgee National Monument, by Charles H. Fairbanks (1913–1984). This publication has meant a great deal to me, particularly in my formative years as a archaeologist in the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, this was the very first archaeological site report I ever read. In order to explain further the importance of this publication to me, I must relate a short personal story.

In 1960 my entire family—mother, father, brother, sister, and me—traveled to Macon as tourists from Madison sixty miles to the north to visit the famous Macon Plateau/Ocmulgee Indian Mounds. Our family, led by my father, Woody, had been collecting artifacts from the surface of plowed fields in Morgan County, Georgia, for several years (all now curated at the University of Georgia). I was an impressionable twelve-year-old and was astounded by the experience of the Earthlodge tour, the huge Mound A with its stunning summit view, and the eerily named Funeral Mound. After taking a fascinating tour of the museum, my father perused the publications available in the bookstore and came away with two-the Gustavus Pope handbook on the Ocmulgee sites (Pope 1956) and the Funeral Mound report (1956) by Charles Fairbanks. I read Fairbanks's report all the way home, fascinated by its pictures of pottery vessels, arrow heads, skeletons, and the museum displays I had just seen. I was also impressed with all the data in the appendixes and poured over the trait lists in Appendix D. Then the report was shelved on my father's bookcase and stayed there for quite a while.

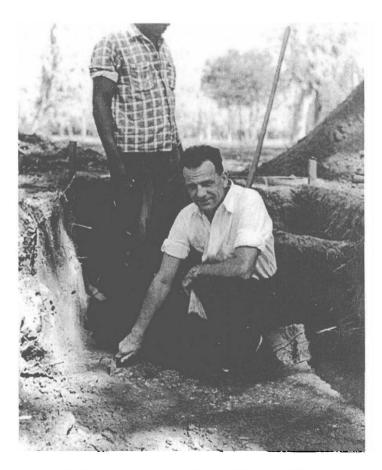
After I graduated from high school and began college at the nearby University of Georgia, I intended to major in Physics. Two years of calculus and physics courses aptly demonstrated to me that this was not my calling. In considering my future at this point, I was visiting home and happened to see the old *Funeral Mound* report on my father's bookshelf. Out it came immediately. A quick rereading elicited the same sense of wonder and curiosity I had experienced eight years earlier, and my new major and career were suddenly clear. As I sit here 34 years later writing this introduction, that same now tattered copy of Fairbanks's classic is by my side.

The publication date of the original was 1956 and represented the third publication in the beautifully conceived and executed Archaeological Research Series of the U.S. National Park Service that was published between 1952 and approximately 1970. The publication was a reworking of Fairbanks's Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Michigan, completed in 1954. Although I finally met Fairbanks in 1969, long after his interests had turned to other archaeological issues, he is now deceased for 18 years as

I write this. His famous publication is still being actively used by modern archaeologists and is referred to frequently (for example, Weisman 1989; Smith 1990; Anderson 1994; Bense 1994; and Peregrine 1996). A new generation of young archaeologists, perhaps a few old archaeological codgers, and members of the general public can now read his famous report with its renewed publishing herein. Just who, then, was Charles Fairbanks?

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Charles Herron Fairbanks was born in Bainbridge, New York, on June 3, 1913. His interest in archaeology was apparent by the time he graduated from high school, and after attending Swarthmore College for one year, he transferred to the University of Chicago in 1931. He studied Anthropology there under Fay Cooper-Cole, Thorn Duel, A. R. Radcliff-Brown, Harry Hoijer, and Robert Redfield, among others. Many of his student



Charles H. Fairbanks (courtesy of Florida Museum of Natural History)

colleagues at Chicago went on to found modern archaeology in the southeastern United States. Fairbanks did not finish his degree rapidly because of lack of funds and because of the delightful distraction of involvement in the massive federally funded archaeological excavations underway in the Southeast during the 1930s (Lyon 1996). After extensive work in Tennessee, he came to Macon in October 1938 at the invitation of Jesse Jennings, who had come there just before him as Superintendent of Ocmulgee National Monument. While at Ocmulgee, Fairbanks met and married Macon native Evelyn Timmerman. Fairbanks's primary task was to organize the cataloging of the vast archaeological collections from five years of federally sponsored excavations in the Macon area, including those from Mound C. The mound itself had been excavated by Arthur Kelly (1900-1979) from late 1933 off and on until about 1936; therefore, Fairbanks was not involved in the actual excavation of Mound C.

He somehow finished his University of Chicago A.B. degree while still on the staff of Ocmulgee in 1939 and immediately began thinking of graduate school. He continued to work for the National Park Service, conducting excavations at Kennesaw battlefield and at the Lamar site (9Bi2) before joining the Army in 1943. He had already completed the majority of what was to become the Funeral Mound report before he entered the military; however, we are uncertain about why he selected this unit of all the Ocmulgee excavations to use for his dissertation. He had also been fascinated by the Macon Earthlodge and wrote a report on it before entering the military. He published a brief version of the earthlodge report immediately after the war (Fairbanks 1946) but apparently kept the Mound C report as a potential dissertation. Certainly the earthlodge and Mound C were the two most interesting excavations conducted by Kelly at Ocmulgee.

In March 1946 Fairbanks went back to work for the National Park Service, becoming the superintendent at Fort Frederica on the Georgia Coast. It was evidently here that he became fascinated with historic archaeology, a mainstay of his later career. Although he had intended to enter the University of Michigan to pursue graduate work in fall 1947, he was unable to do so until the following fall. All the classwork for his doctorate in Ann Arbor was conducted from September 1948 until June 1950. He then immediately went to back to work for the National Park Service and moved to Washington, D.C., to supervise the construction of the first exhibits for the new Ocmulgee National Monument Museum. After a year in Washington, he traveled with the exhibits to Macon in June 1951 to oversee their installation as an assistant regional archaeologist. He stayed there until 1954, conducting various excavations for the National Park Service in Georgia and Florida. He also spent time rewriting and updating his old Mound C report for his dissertation during this period.

Charles Fairbanks received his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in June of 1954, having turned in and defended the Mound C report. He immediately took a teaching position with Hale G. Smith at the newly formed Department of Anthropol-

ogy at Florida State University in Tallahassee, where he remained until May 1963. He then moved to the Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, in Gainesville, to replace the ailing John Goggin, who died soon after Fairbanks's arrival. Fairbanks continued there as an excellent researcher and inspiring teacher to an entire new generation of archaeologists until his death on July 7, 1984. With his quiet smile and a demeanor that inspired loyalty and built confidence, he was always willing to help any dedicated young archaeologist. He was buried (with his wife Evelyn) in Riverside Cemetery, Macon, Georgia, only 1.55 miles west-northwest from the Funeral Mound that he had made famous. Incidentally, I don't believe any other archaeologist has been interred so close to their dissertation site!

The publication of his doctoral dissertation in 1956 by the National Park Service took place while he was establishing his academic career at Florida State. The published report included photographs of the Ocmulgee Museum's new displays and dioramas. The inclusion of these photographs in the National Park Service publication was criticized as unnecessary by Jesse Jennings in his 1957 review of the publication (Jennings 1957). It must be remembered, however, that Fairbanks had a major role in the creation of these exhibits in 1951, and the photographs certainly helped make the publication more accessible to the general public, including me when I was a young visitor to the site.

#### COMPARISON TO DISSERTATION

I was interested in comparing the 1956 published version of the Funeral Mound report with his original 1954 dissertation and obtained what was likely Fairbanks's own copy from the Florida State Museum of Natural History, courtesy of Jerald Milanich. The changes had not been substantial, but a few are perhaps noteworthy. The first difference is that the original title was The Excavation of Mound C, Ocmulgee National Monument, Macon, Georgia, without the use of the term Funeral in the title. His dissertation committee at the University of Michigan consisted of Albert C. Spaulding as chairman, with David F. Aberle, Emerson F. Greenman, Volney H. Jones, and Frederick P. Thieme serving as additional committee members.

An interesting and useful three-page preface to his dissertation was dropped from the 1956 publication. I have taken the liberty of including it in this edition, following this introduction. Presumably it was omitted in 1956 due to the inclusion at that time of the introduction by Frank Setzler, which contains some of the same information as Fairbanks's own preface. I prefer Fairbanks's own preface and believe it should be here reintegrated with his work.

Fairbanks does not use the phrases Master Farmers or Early Farmers in his dissertation, for this terminology was developed as part of the public exhibit in 1950. Nevertheless, despite the title of his dissertation, he does occasionally refer to Mound C as the Funeral Mound. I will comment further on this momentarily.

A common problem in the mid-1950s was inadequate termi-

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nology, and Fairbanks was bedeviled by the appropriate terminology to use to refer to the many archaeological cultures included in his study. Many instances of the term Complex in the 1954 dissertation, for example, were changed to Period by 1956, although some instances were changed to Pottery Complex. He also changed some instances of Focus to Period (Stallings Island for instance) but retained the terms Focus and Aspect in other cases. Fairbanks's two versions of the Funeral Mound report sadly demonstrate the schizophrenic terminological shortcomings of the classification system of archaeological cultures established in the late 1930s by William McKern. Later, a simpler, more utilitarian system was presented by Gordon Willey and Philip Phillips (McKern 1939, Willey and Phillips 1955, 1958). I merely point out this historically anecdotal information so modern readers will not be overwhelmed by the confused wealth of such terms in this report.

Table 1, the chronological chart in the 1956 report, was a heavily edited version of the one from his 1954 dissertation and included earlier dates for the Woodland, Archaic, and Paleo-Indian periods ("Horizons"). Clearly this table was being created as the then-new technology of Radiocarbon dating was causing a complete reassessment of the dates of known archaeological cultures throughout the world. The reader familiar with modern chronologies will note that the dates in his 1956 publication are still too recent in many cases. I have chosen not to attempt an updating here, however. Readers are referred to a plentiful supply of more modern chronologies.

Fairbanks added a few references in the 1956 version not included in his dissertation, and the section on the Bynum Mounds was completely new in the published version. Also, the section breaks of the report were heavily edited from his original dissertation, which had just four overly long chapters. Further, the average paragraph lengths in his dissertation were radically reduced for the 1956 publication by simply breaking them into shorter ones. No text was omitted in this manner, however. The index, of course, was created by the National Park Service for the 1956 report, and the appendixes were all completely rearranged and renumbered.

All of these differences I have mentioned are minor, however, and the published version is in fact very similar to his completed dissertation. I was surprised that his dissertation, as accepted by his doctoral committee, had not included a normally expected long-winded theoretical perspective as an introductory chapter. Further, it surprisingly did include the excellent final chapter as a lyrical description of the lifeways of the Macon Plateau occupants. Both of these make the report far more accessible to the general public.

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL ISSUES WITH THE FUNERAL MOUND REPORT

The Funeral Mound report was planned as the first of a series of reports on all the units excavated at Ocmulgee in the 1930s. Many of these were written by National Park Service archaeolo-

gists in the 1960s and by Florida State University archaeology graduate students in the 1970s, but none were as widely disseminated and written with as broad a perspective as was the famous Funeral Mound report. Nevertheless, much new data have been gathered and many new perspectives have evolved on Georgia and Southeastern archaeology since the mid-1950s. Time and additional research have yielded changed perspectives on a few specific interpretive issues presented by Fairbanks in the Funeral Mound report. I will outline a few of these here so that new readers will not be unwittingly misled in their study of the past.

The first of these changes relates to the dating of the famous Kolomoki site in southwestern Georgia, excavated by William Sears from 1948 through 1952 (Sears 1956). In his 1954 dissertation, Fairbanks follows the lead of Sears, dating Kolomoki to the Mississippian period. Despite a partial withdrawal from this position in 1955 (Fairbanks 1955:290), he chose to leave unchanged this section of his dissertation in the 1956 published version of the Funeral Mound report (Fairbanks 1956:542, Sears 1956). As we now know, the Kolomoki site (specifically the Kolomoki component) dates well before the Funeral Mound, perhaps by more than 500 years. Stephen Williams had pointed this inaccuracy out in his 1958 review of Sears's Excavations at Kolomoki: Final Report (Williams 1958). Sears was simply wrong in his Kolomoki chronology, as he graciously admitted in 1992 near the end of his long and distinguished career (Sears 1992). It is worth noting, however, that Fairbanks died in 1984, some eight years before Sears publicly reversed his course about the dating of Kolomoki.

Fairbanks and Sears were fellow students at the University of Michigan, thus it may have been natural for Fairbanks to accept the erroneous views of Sears on the dating of Kolomoki. Nevertheless, Fairbanks was certainly familiar with the site, having conducted limited excavations there himself in 1942 (Fairbanks 1942). There might be a further explanation: Apparently, Fairbanks did not have a great deal of respect for Arthur Kelly, excavator of the Funeral Mound at Ocmulgee, supervising archaeologist for all the Georgia WPA excavations, and a mainstay in Georgia archaeology from 1933 until his death in 1979. This is made clear in an interview with Fairbanks conducted in September of 1982 by Bob Wilson (Wilson 1982). Indeed, I have noticed that Fairbanks deleted from the 1956 published version Kelly's name in more than a dozen places compared to his dissertation. While Fairbanks was certainly not the first (nor the last) to have strong opinions about Kelly, he perhaps naturally let these feelings influence his perspective of Kelly's sonin-law, archaeologist Joseph Caldwell. Caldwell (1918-1973), another bastion in the twentieth-century history of Georgia archaeology, using data from the Fairchild's Landing site (9Se4) in Lake Seminole in the early 1950s, had already demonstrated (albeit in grey literature) that Kolomoki was clearly a Woodland period site. Sears (and Fairbanks) sadly rejected this data and precipitated more than 30 years of confusion about the Kolomoki site. First-time readers of this republication of the Funeral Mound report simply need to be aware of this curious historical issue in Georgia archaeology. James Knight has written more on this interesting episode (Knight 2002).

The second issue of archaeological substance I want to discuss relates to the dating of the so-called Mossy Oak period (Fairbanks 1956:41). In his 1954 dissertation, Fairbanks merely calls this "Mossy Oak," with no specific appellation as to period, focus, pottery complex, aspect, etc. He states that Mossy Oak, recognized by the pottery type Mossy Oak Simple Stamped, "probably followed Deptford and precedes Swift Creek in Central Georgia" (Fairbanks 1956:41). Mossy Oak simple stamped pottery is very common in central Georgia, with hundreds, and likely thousands of such sites located there. One of the first noted by Arthur Kelly in the 1930s was the Vining site in Putnam County near Eatonton some 40 miles north of Macon. Indeed, this site supplied the initial name to this pottery type. It was renamed Mossy Oak by Jennings and Fairbanks in 1939, based upon similar material from the Mossy Oak site down river from the Macon Plateau site, where it had been found buried under Lamar ceramics (Jennings and Fairbanks 1939:3). Archaeologists in Georgia assumed until the late 1980s that this was, following Fairbanks, an Early to Middle Woodland ceramic, but it is not. We now know that it is a Late Woodland manifestation, and it dates after the Swift Creek period, not before it (Elliott and Wynn 1991; Meyers et al. 1997; Worth 1995). Because of the naming confusion, Georgia archaeologists have now dropped the use of the Mossy Oak moniker in favor of the original Vining term. Readers again beware.

An important third issue is that of the projectile points. When Fairbanks wrote the Funeral Mound report, the classic study of Joffre Coe that revolutionized our understanding of the chronological sequence of projectile points in the southeastern United States had not yet been written (Coe 1964). It is obvious to any present researcher that the projectile points Fairbanks discusses on pages 44–45 and illustrates in Plate 27 as associated with the Macon Plateau Mississippian occupation actually date thousands of years earlier. Plate 26 shows several uniface scrappers that likely even date to the Paleo-Indian occupation of Macon Plateau.

This is not the correct place to present an updated chronological analysis of these lithic tools; however, it appears that virtually the entire 7,000-year Archaic sequence is represented by projectile points found in the fill of Mound C. This can only imply that the builders of the mound gathered earth from a nearby Archaic midden for its construction. In 1961, excavations in the Ocmulgee Bottoms prior to the construction of Interstate Highway 16 replicated the chronological sequence of projectile points recognized by Coe almost exactly (Nelson et al. 1974). Although the Funeral Mound report is not, therefore, the proper place to learn about prehistoric lithic usage in Georgia, at least one very important question remains. What actually was the nature of the Macon Plateau lithic assemblage? Given the rarity of Macon Plateau period sites in central Georgia and the extreme com-

ponent mixing at the Macon Plateau site itself, we probably cannot answer this question satisfactorily without new excavations.

Another issue I wish to discuss is Fairbanks's belief that the builders of the Macon Plateau site, and by implication the Funeral Mound were immigrants to Georgia from outside the state, perhaps from the northwest. Over the years, after the 1950s, some researchers began questioning this observation, implying that eventually an evolutionary sequence would be recognized that would show in situ development of the Macon Plateau archaeological culture in central Georgia (Schroedl 1994; Smith 1984). The issue of documenting through archaeological means the human process of migration is and will continue to be a difficult and frustrating task.

In 1986, after examining the growing body of central Georgia archaeological data in the Georgia Archaeological Site File, I expressed the opinion that Fairbanks's assessment was still valid (Williams 1994). Today, with over 38,000 sites recorded in Georgia, twice as many as were recorded in 1986, I still judge Fairbanks's view to be correct. In fact, not a single new Macon Plateau period site has been located in central Georgia in the last 16 years! The issue of the origins of Macon Plateau is, in my opinion, a settled one.

One final issue I wish to discuss is the function of Mound C and its relationship to the rest of the Macon Plateau site. David Hally and I have discussed the Ocmulgee site layout in some detail in our 1986 paper, and I refer readers to this paper (Hally and Williams 1994). In short, we believe that the mounds at Macon were not randomly placed over the landscape but were located as part of a fully conceived site plan. In this hypothetical plan, Mound C occupies the southwestern corner of a generally pentagonally shaped mound arrangement.

In terms of Mound C's function, Kelly and others have made much of the many burials found in its undestroyed remnant. It was declared to be "The Funeral Mound!" It is true that no other excavated mound at Macon produced nearly as many burials as Mound C; however, Mound A was hardly excavated at all, the small remnant of Mound B was not extensively excavated, and most of the Mound D had been plowed away before the 1930s. Many of the burials in Mound C were placed there and in the surrounding village area by historic Creek people hundreds of years after the major use of Mound C had been completed. The Creeks had moved into the area of Macon Plateau after the establishment of the Trading Post there some time after 1687. In any event, it is clear from the drawings and data presented by Fairbanks that Mound C had houses on its several summits, even if we do not have their floor plans available. These houses were probably rectangularly shaped structures. It is well known throughout the Mississippian world that burials are commonly placed through the floors of houses, both in villages as well as in mounds. I combine these simple ideas together to suggest here (perhaps heretically) that we should not think of Mound C as exclusively, or even primarily a place for burial of the honored dead. It may simply have been a "normal" Mississippian plat-

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form mound with "normal" burials through the floors of the structures located on its summit. If we must continue to call it "The Funeral Mound" because of the importance of tradition, however, I would suggest we do so in an uncapitalized manner.

In closing, I wish to commend The University of Alabama Press for keeping this important site report alive. My fondest hope would be that somewhere out there another twelve-year-old kid, by reading this report, will be filled with the same sense of wonder and mystery about lost Indian chiefs that I was and will discover that there is no better career than the one I have shared with Charles Fairbanks—the archaeology of the southeastern United States.

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## Preface to the 1954 Dissertation

The following is Charles Fairbanks's 1954 dissertation preface, which was omitted from the 1956 published version of his dissertation. Therefore very few people have seen this preface before now. I include it here because I believe it provides additional useful information on the project, because it provides overdue public acknowledgments, and because I simply believe it should be reintegrated with the rest of his famous report.

The archeological excavations at Ocmulgee National Monument were undertaken during the widespread archeological investigations that were part of the public relief program during the thirties. The existence of a large series of mounds at Macon had been known since the earliest white settlement. Local citizens applied to the relief agency for an excavation project at the same time that the Smithsonian Institution had decided to sponsor a project at Macon. Dr. Arthur R. Kelly was in charge of the excavation for the Smithsonian Institution. Later the Macon Historical Association assumed partial sponsorship along with the Smithsonian Institution.

These archeological excavations were designed primarily as relief work projects. They never had sufficient trained supervisory personnel and rarely continued after the excavation to enable the archeologist to complete his reports. At Macon Dr. Kelly often had as many as twelve hundred workers, largely white collar individuals not accustomed to heavy manual labor. Supervisory assistance was generally limited to one individual, James A. Ford first, then Gordon R. Willey. In spite of the many disadvantages in such a system the work did produce material of real value.

The excavation of the earthlodge and the rich material uncovered in other locations on the plateau interested local citizens in the problem of preservation and display of the remains. Under the leadership of the Macon Junior Chamber of Commerce the land was purchased and donated to the United States, and in 1936 became a National Monument. A museum was planned and Dr. Kelly conceived the idea of making Ocmulgee National Monument a regional museum for the Southeast where collections could be maintained for the whole area and students could investigate a wide range of archeological problems. In 1938 J. D. Jennings established a laboratory for the cataloguing, analysis, and interpretation of the excavated material. The preparation of the reports, building of the museum, and stabilization of field exhibits was halted by the outbreak of World War II. In the post-war years the museum has been completed, exhibits installed, and a program of report writing initiated. This achievement was due in the main to the wisdom and untiring efforts of Senator Richard B. Russell, Superintendent Millard D. Guy, and many interested citizens.

The original draft of this report was begun in 1940 at the suggestion of Dr. A. R. Kelly who approved the assignment of the writer to this undertaking. During the war years publication was impossible. After the war it was apparent that complete revision of the report was necessary and it was completely re-written. The present plan of research envisions a series of reports on all the areas excavated at Ocmulgee.

The preparation of an archeological report such as this requires the cooperation of a large number of individuals including the field workers and all the friends of the author. I cannot thank all of them by name but must single out some of those whose contribution was more apparent or continuous. Dr. Jesse D. Jennings, formerly superintendent of Ocmulgee National Monument, is primarily responsible for the establishment of the laboratory where the analysis took place, and for the plan of preparing reports for the various units. Dr. Arthur R. Kelly was in charge of the field excavations with James A. Ford and Gordon R. Willey as assistants at various times. Ronald F. Lee and Herbert E. Kahler, while chiefs of the History Division of the National Park Service, and J. C. Harrington, Regional Archeologist, have realized the need for research facilities and the urgent nature of the reports. It is due to the sympathy of these men that it was possible for me to be assigned to the work of completing the report. The establishment of Ocmulgee National Monument was largely due to three men: General Walter A. Harris, Linton M. Solomon, and the late Dr. Charles C. Harrold. These three have followed the work for years with constant interest and encouragement. Without them the work would probably not have begun and would have progressed much more slowly. Dr. James B. Griffin has given constant guidance and Dr. William H. Sears has offered many stimulating and disturbing criticisms during the long period when the ideas were being crystalized in final form. To all the workers in the various WPA and CCC projects appreciation is expressed for work well done.

# Introduction to the Second Printing

#### Charles H. Fairbanks Distinguished Service Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida September 1980

By 1980 the original 1956 National Park Service publication of the Funeral Mound report was long out of print, and the stock had been exhausted for many years. At that time the Ocmulgee National Monument Association arranged for a new limited reprinting of the report, this time with a green leatherette cover, rather than the yellow art deco cover of the original. Charles Fairbanks was contacted in Florida and agreed to write a new introduction for that edition. I believe it is an important enough document to include in this edition and thus present it here.

Twenty-four years between the first and second printings make it necessary to evaluate this study in light of additional archeological research at Ocmulgee National Monument and other relevant areas in the southeastern United States. We need to know what speculations or ideas presented in 1956 must be changed in view of the state of the art in 1980. It may also be possible to assess the impact of the work since first publication.

The original Funeral Mound report was not specific about the date of occupation and the use of the site. Only the general chronological table gives indication of the time frame, A.D. 900–1100, of the Macon Plateau Phase. While radiocarbon dating had been developed in 1950, little charcoal or other organic samples were available from the Macon Plateau. Many samples of charcoal collected during the excavations of the 1930's had been carefully preserved by impregnating them with a mixture of gasoline and parafin wax, then felt to be the best treatment. This mixture was inert carbon. It made the samples of little use for radiocarbon dating.

Not until 1959 did excavations at Brown's Mount produce charcoal from the hearth of a circular earthlodge that gave a radiocarbon date of 970? 150 years, B.P. This translated to A.D. 980, just about what we had concluded earlier. The standard deviation of 150 years means there is a 2 out of 3 probability that the true date falls between A.D. 830 and 1130. For practical purposes, the A.D. 980 is used as falling within the Macon Plateau Phase. This means that the Funeral Mound represents an early phase of the Mississippian pattern, equivalent in time to the Fairmont Phase at the great Cahokia Site at East St. Louis. It remains an interesting aspect of the Macon Plateau Phase at Ocmulgee that a full-blown Mississippian settlement was es-

tablished there at such an early time and at such a major distance from the Cahokia center.

In 1956, we at Ocmulgee felt sure that the Macon Plateau Phase represented some sort of an invasion or movement of people carrying the Mississippian cultural pattern to Ocmulgee. This explanation still makes sense as the fortified Macon Plateau settlement shows little derivation from settlement patterns of the earlier Swift Creek Phase in central Georgia. The Macon Plateau site and the neighboring Brown's Mount site seem to be fortified outposts of people seeking room for fully agricultural settlement in the hostile territory of another people in central Georgia.

The combination of river, flood plain swamps, and adjacent lower Piedmont uplands offered the newcomers a variety of wild plant and animal resources to supplement their domesticates of corn, beans, and squash crops. They needed these wild resources to provide them with protein since they appear to have had no domestic animals except the dog.

Excavations in the Ocmulgee flood plain during the building of highway Interstate 16 have shown that the river flats were used for gardens and farm homesteads. Knowing this now we can visualize a stretch of farmsteads and gardens along the river flood plain with the fortified mound group above them on the first terrace, the Macon Plateau. The whole settlement pattern is now seen as much more complex than was suspected during the early years of excavation and analysis. The more complex settlement pattern clearly indicates a more sophisticated way of life for the inhabitants.

Recently, some archeologists have strongly suggested that the Early Mississippian Phase developed gradually out of earlier complexes. They point to similarities between tools and other artifacts as evidence of this parentage. To me, the Macon Plateau Phase represents a pure Mississippian movement into central Georgia. There is a minimum of cultural ties to the earlier Swift Creek Phase in central Georgia. The same can be said for relationships with any other far southeastern cultural complex. The Macon Plateau people seem to have existed in virtually complete isolation from the surrounding populations as there seems to have been no exchange, trade, or mixing of cultures during the Macon Plateau occupation of Central Georgia.

How long did the Macon Plateau Phase maintain isolation? I now suspect a very brief occupation, perhaps only 3 or 4 generations long.

As we compare the Macon Plateau settlement system with that of early European settlements in the New World, we see a very different situation, one in which Spaniards, Britains, or Frenchmen rapidly adopted many varied traits from the indigenous populations. Why these different patterns should have developed is an entirely proper question, given the present interests of archeologists. Likely, one reason was because the Macon Plateau already possessed an adaptation to the New World physical and cultural environment. In addition, the Macon Plateau people may have arrived with sufficient population so that they did not at once need to exploit the resident peoples. One problem that still needs to be investigated is how the eventual mixing of Macon Plateau cultural features with the indigenous cultural complex did finally come about.

If the Funeral Mound report was written today with the current interests of archeologists, it would be somewhat different. In the 1950's we urgently needed solid descriptions of southeastern Indian cultures. That may well be the major contribution of this work. Today we would look more closely at the cultural processes that controlled the life of the people at this and other sites. Ecological relationships would also receive greater attention.

Unfortunately, the Funeral Mound area and the Macon Plateau did not yield much in food bones to give us a foundation to reconstruct their daily diets. We can only speculate that they must have exploited the river, the swamp, and the upland resources of the region. That they established their fortified town at the fall-line of the Ocmulgee River indicates they recognized the abundant products available.

While it is clear that they raised extensive crops of corn, beans, and squash, it is less clear how they supplemented their diets with wild foods. At this site, they could, within a few miles, exploit a broad spectrum of plant and animal resources.

Fish were abundant in the river and oxbow lakes in the swamp. Shell-fish seem not to have been used extensively, perhaps because they don't contribute that much to the diet. Nuts, fruit, and berries were almost certainly used extensively as were land mammals of both the riverine swamps and the upland area. While the major reason for their settling on the Macon Plateau was the annually renewed silt loam of the flood plain, the combination of many convenient resources may also have contributed to their choice of a settlement location.

It was this annual increment of nutrients from river floods that formed a subsidy for the agricultural system and contributed substantially to the wild food resources of the untilled areas of the floodplain. Their success at the Macon Plateau lay in the people's intensive farming and utilization of wild resources. These helped them achieve an adequate and reasonably balanced diet. It is worth noting that the large earthworks, mounds, and earthlodges were not erected in the floodplain but on the adja-

cent less fertile edge of the uplands. The ability of the Early Mississippian peoples to manage this dual economy goes far in explaining their success.

Their burial and other ritual actions enabled them to coordinate the great complexity of such a system. The Funeral Mound of the Macon Plateau Phase was the first such system to be described for any Early Mississippian settlement. Other related early phases had not revealed such an elaborate burial system as was found at Macon. Here the Indians built a series of flat-topped earthen mounds, at one of which elaborate funeral ceremonies were carried out. This burial ritual involved holding the body of the deceased in a temple structure on the mound until the dead was transferred from the status of living to that of ancestors. Thus a continuity of the dead, the living, and probably the yet to live, was maintained. The Funeral Mound was the portal through which one passed from the living to ancestral status.

Burials at the mound strongly suggest that the Macon Plateau Phase represented a society with varied status positions. Burials on the old land surface below Mound I level indicate that some persons received more elaborate funerals than others. We can assume these persons were individuals of higher status than the mass of individuals. As there seem to have been no other area on the Macon Plateau where burials were made during this period, we can conclude that all the burials at the Funeral Mound were of permanent residents of the village. These were likely the people who coordinated the complex social and economic systems, superintended the community-wide actions, and possibly those who maintained the highest status. A funeral at this mound was not for everyone, and the degree of elaboration of that funeral indicated the degree of status one held. Archeologists today generally regard burial rituals as the major means we have of interpreting the social hierarchy of the past. One can imagine that, then as now, the status of the person was directly proportional to the number of mourners, participants, and observers at one's funeral.

For the Macon Plateau people, it seems likely that the amount and value of objects buried with a person was also directly related to status. That the Funeral Mound contained burials of men, women, and children argues that status was partly determined at birth. These were not the remains only of high achievers who forced themselves into positions of authority. There must have been a hereditary leadership group. Leadership positions, and their related status indicators, do not seem grandly developed at Macon Plateau if funeral evidences are reliable.

At later sites such as the large Mississippian centers of Etowah or Moundville, there is evidence of much more structured status identification in the burials. Increased emphasis on status seems to be associated with the elaborate symbols of the Southern Cult. Since the Macon Plateau Phase has some simple antecedents of the Southern Cult, we can attempt to understand the development of this aspect.

At Ocmulgee, the Southern Cult evidences include a few examples of the "Forked Eye" design, the bilobate spud or ritual ax

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blade, the cougar or puma as a ritually treated being, and conch shell drinking cups. This last item is seemingly part of the widespread southern Indian Black Drink ritual.

In historic times, travelers described the taking of the sacred cassena tea, the Black Drink, from a shell cup. At the Funeral Mound, at least one conch shell cup or dipper was present in one of the super-ordinated sub-Mound burials. Perhaps the relationship of the Macon Plateau Phase to the Late Mississippian manifestations can offer some explanation of the rise and spread of the Southern Cult.

Following the isolated phenomenon of the Macon Plateau Phase, perhaps from A.D. 1200 to 1500, there was a tremendous increase in both the number and size of Mississippian sites throughout the southeastern United States. This was a period of highly successful adaptation to the soils and environment of the region. Population increase seems both rapid and steady. It was, in my view, a period in which the early Macon Plateau culture absorbed, mixed with, and integrated other, older Indian elements in the region.

This population increase must have created stresses due to competition for favorite sites. It must also have created ideological stresses due to the mixing of cultural traditions. It is precisely this period of stress, due to rapid cultural change, that produced the flamboyant Southern Cult.

It is characteristic of religious revivals that they incorporate some elements from the old belief patterns, some from the new, and add some unique ones. The Southern Cult, then, built on the older Early Mississippian religious system, elaborated some elements and added many new ones. I see the stress situation that triggered this revitalization movement as springing from the amalgamation of Mississippian cultural patterns with those of indigenous peoples drawn into the wide-spread Mississippian system. Contributing factors were the pressure of increasing population and the demands for fertile agricultural lands of

the river floodplains. The complex Mississippian societies, with some forms of class or status-structured organizations, depended on burials for emphasizing status positions. With the development of the Southern Cult, its symbolism was frequently displayed in differential burial situations.

We would now see the Funeral Mound in a larger frame and would seek to go beyond description to attempt to define the causes of culturally determined behavior at the Macon Plateau and among the descendants of those people in the following phases.

Any introduction to the Funeral Mound report must acknowledge the help of many people. First are General Walter A. Harris, Dr. Charles C. Harrold, and Linton M. Solomon whose interest in the Macon Plateau and all aspects of Georgia history served as foundation and continuing support for the archeological work there. I cannot express too deeply my debts to these men for their unfailing interest, courtesy, and support. Dr. Arthur R. Kelly was responsible for the direction of the early public works archeological supervision. I relied heavily on his insights and interpretations for my own understanding of the complex situation at the Funeral Mound. Jesse D. Jennings urged me to come to Ocmulgee National Monument and provided the administrative support for my analysis. As the first version of this paper was presented to the Anthropology Faculty of the University of Michigan as a doctoral dissertation, I owe much to those members of my committee who guided my graduate work. James B. Griffin was a constant goad and guide to my understanding of archeology. Albert C. Spaulding brought me to understand the need for rigor and accuracy its my interpretations. Finally, I owe my students during the last 25 years a debt for asking questions that have made me continually re-evaluate my ideas. Without the unfailing sympathy and support of my wife, Evelyn, none of this work would have been possible or worthwhile.

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# Introduction

Twenty years ago the initial excavations at what is now Ocmulgee National Monument were commenced under the authority of the Smithsonian Institution in cooperation with the Civil Works Administration. The accompanying paper by Charles H. Fairbanks represents the first of several projected reports by the National Park Service describing the archeological explorations at, and the materials recovered from, Ocmulgee National Monument. To appreciate fully the archeological developments which have taken place in central Georgia during the past 20 years, one must take into account the circumstances which transformed a former cotton patch into one of the outstanding monuments east of the Mississippi River.

In August 1933, I was privileged to excavate an archeological site at Marksville, La. Here, for the first time, laborers were provided by the State Emergency Relief Administration. Instead of the usual 10 to 15 workers to which most archeologists were accustomed, we were allotted over 100 men. With such a large crew, and James A. Ford as my assistant, we were able to excavate and restore, in 4 short months, an unusually large number of prehistoric earthworks at this site.

This experiment convinced us that with a sufficient number of trained assistants and supervisors, it would be feasible for archeologists to use large crews of relief labor. From the standpoint of the relief agencies, archeological explorations were made to order, for they provided immediate work for numerous unemployed people; they used more than 90 percent of the allotted funds for labor, since the necessary tools and other materials cost very little; and they produced results of a scientific and educational nature.

During the fall of 1933 every effort was being made by the Federal and State governments to counteract unemployment and the related suffering and disorganization. One of the assistant directors in the newly created Federal Civil Works Administration asked me to give some consideration to the use of relief labor, particularly in the South, for archeological explorations. M. W. Stirling, W. D. Strong, and I submitted such a program for archeological excavations, restorations, and research on mounds and sites occupied by prehistoric and early historic American Indians.

This program was approved on December 7, 1933, and enabled the Smithsonian Institution to conduct 7 archeological projects in Florida, and 1 each in Tennessee, North Carolina, California, and Georgia.

All of these projects were launched within 2 weeks and provided employment for 1,500 laborers. Except for the ones in North Carolina and Georgia, all were under the direction of archeologists in the Bureau of American Ethnology and were to continue from December 15, 1933, to February 15, 1934. Subse-

quently, however, the closing date in most cases was extended to April 1934.

The particular C. W. A. project which here is of interest is the one for Macon, Ga., which originally called for 150 unskilled and 50 skilled laborers and 5 supervisors. The Smithsonian Institution selected Arthur R. Kelly as archeologist and director of the project, and James A. Ford as assistant archeologist. The latter's previous experience in directing relief labor with me at the site in Marksville, La., was of aid in carrying forward a program of such magnitude which heretofore was unheard of except in the large Egyptian pyramid excavations in the Near East.

Few can appreciate the problems of administration and public relations which confronted the archeologist. He had to serve as engineer, bookkeeper, personnel officer, liaison, and director, as well as an archeologist. Under such conditions it is due largely to the enthusiasm and exacting standards of scholarship exemplified by Dr. Kelly and his assistants that we can now publish such detailed reports as this one 20 years afterward.

As previously mentioned, the Federal Civil Works Administration projects under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution closed in April 1934. The artifacts from California, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Florida were shipped to Washington, the material analyzed, and reports written. After April 1934 the project at Ocmulgee continued under the sponsorship of the Society for Georgia Archeology and the Macon Chamber of Commerce; explorations continued under the direction of Dr. Kelly with labor supplied by the Georgia Emergency Relief Administration. With the constant cooperation and enthusiasm of Dr. C. C. Harrold, General Walter A. Harris, and Linton M. Solomon, operations were carried on under the Works Progress Administration. Through the help of United States Representative Carl Vinson and Senator Richard B. Russell, the Ocmulgee National Monument was authorized by Congress on June 14, 1934. The next step was the Presidential proclamation in December 1936, establishing this site as a national monument.

Through the excavation of the mounds, the village sites, and the council house or ceremonial earth lodge, an occupation of 10,000 years was revealed. Later, the establishment of the historic trading post further extended this period of occupation of the Macon Plateau.

The Civilian Conservation Corps began building roads and levees in the newly created monument, and finally the Public Works Administration provided funds for the National Park Service to build a museum to house the large collections recovered during the excavations. In the fall of 1951 exhibits were installed in the museum so that the thousands of visitors might see and appreciate the prehistoric cultural developments that took place within the area.

Despite many administrative problems, specimens were labeled and preserved, detailed notes and drawings were made and filed, photographs were taken before the evidence was destroyed, and quarterly reports were prepared. Archeological techniques were improved to meet the new conditions. On the basis of these records and the artifacts recovered, Fairbanks has been able to prepare this report which depicts the various periods and cultural horizons of the Macon Plateau.

This in brief is the historial background to the many phases of the development leading up to the present Ocmulgee National Monument. Credit is due to Arthur R. Kelly for the initial direction of archeological exploration and for carrying forward the program of excavations from December 1933 to October 1938. Our great gratitude should be expressed to the late Dr. Charles C. Harrold, Gen. Walter A. Harris, and Linton M. Solomon, and the Society for Georgia Archeology, for their continuous cooperation and interest in the creation of the Ocmulgee National Monument and Museum. Much credit is due to Charles H. Fairbanks,

James A. Ford, Jesse D. Jennings, and Gordon R. Willey for assisting Dr. Kelly in the excavations at Ocmulgee; to John C. Ewers, Charles H. Fairbanks, and Jesse D. Jennings for developing the Ocmulgee Museum plans and exhibits; and to John M. Corbett, John L. Cotter, James B. Griffin, and William H. Sears, who helped Fairbanks with professional criticism and appraisal of this report during its preparation. Finally, due credit must be given to the various officers, administrators, and workers from the relief organization, Public Works Administration, and National Park Service staff who have devoted themselves wholeheartedly to numerous aspects of this project.

Thanks to all these men, the material and data at Ocmulgee have been preserved. This report, and others to follow, will make the archeological data available both to the professional archeologist and to the interested layman.

Frank M. Setzler,

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# The Setting

#### THE COUNTRY

Ocmulgee National Monument is located at the eastern edge of the city of Macon, Bibb County, Ga., on the left bank of the Ocmulgee River (see figs. 1 and 2). It lies in land lots 60, 61, 62, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, and 79. An area administered by the National Park Service, it was established by Presidential proclamation in 1936. Macon lies at the fall line of the Ocmulgee River and the monument proper is a thrusting tongue of the "red hills" extending out into the river bottoms which in turn form a tongue of the Coastal Plain. These "red hills" are the remnants of a former upland plateau capped by a brilliant red sand or sandy loams which are the residual product of the weathering of Eocene rocks. The red soils are mainly of the upper Eocene Barnwell formation underlain by Tuscaloosa sands and clays of the Upper Cretaceous. The underlying crystalline rocks are pre-Cretaceous in age. The area once had up to 3 feet of topsoil, but this has largely been eroded away by more than a century of row cropping. The general area is well supplied with a variety of natural resources including: hard and soft kaolin, fuller's earth, limestone, bauxite, some granite, and abundant quantities of timber.

The monument area, and the area also of aboriginal occupation, is the southern tip of one of the "red hills." It is a sloping, rounded plateau tilted slightly south toward the river flood plain. Several small, intermittent streams cross it from north to south and empty into Walnut Creek which cuts close to the southeastern and southern edges of the plateau and then meanders across the flood plain to empty into the Ocmulgee River (see fig. 2). The plateau offered wide areas which were partly flat and surrounded by fairly steep slopes. These flat areas were those used by the Indians for habitations and mounds. The steep banks probably helped in the defense of the town. Along the banks, springs formerly provided adequate fresh water. The Lower Creek Trading Path entered the northeast corner of the plateau and cut diagonally southwestward to cross the river at the mouth of Walnut Creek (Meyer, 1928, p. 747, Plate 15, Trail 60). Even today the ridges or plateaus in the region offer better living sites and communication than the bottom lands choked with vegetation. The tip of the plateau gave the Indians a commodious living area, easy access to the flora and fauna of both hill and bottom lands. Trails along the ridges and the bottom lands led to their farms. The river perhaps afforded a highway for boat travel as well as a source of fish and shellfish.

#### **ECOLOGY**

Macon is supposed to enjoy a rather pleasant climate which is a blend of the continental and maritime types, although summers are always long and frequently hot. The normal annual temperature is 64.4° F. with a growing season of 247 days (from March 14 to November 13). Annual rainfall is 44.84 inches with both summer and winter rains. The wettest month is July, the driest October. While there are 61 days with above 90° temperatures, the climate is usually not oppressively hot. Only 29 days on the average have temperatures below 32° and snow is extremely rare. In brief, life in the open would not be too uncomfortable and growth of all kinds is vigorous.

Before European row cropping was introduced, the native flora probably did not differ, except in quantity, from that found at present. The hills are dominated by oaks, sweetgum, and tuliptrees. The oaks, chiefly Quercus coccinea and Q. rubra, were probably economically useful for their acorns. Pecans and hickories (Carya sp.) were certainly useful, as the chestnut (Castanea dentata) was in Indian times. Loblolly pine (Pinus teada) and shortleaf pine (Pinus echinata) are at present abundant but may have partly replaced the climax hardwood forest of aboriginal times. Persimmon (Diospyros virginiana), wild plums (Prunus sp.), pawpaw (Asimina triloba), and haws (Crataegus, sp.) all furnished food and were certainly abundant. The lanceleaf greenbrier (Smilax lanceolata) is widespread and was apparently an important food source for the Indians. Giant cane (Arundinaria gigantea), is now scarce but was formerly very abundant. The chief changes have been the reduction of woodlands and the increase of pines and haws in cut-over or burned land. The chestnut is probably the only species that has completely disappeared since European settlement. The floral pattern seems very favorable for human exploitation. Especially at the fall line, there was a very wide variety of plants available for use as foods and for manufactures.

The fauna of the fall line region was also varied and abundant. The most important game animal was the Florida whitetail deer (Odocoileus virginianus osceola) which supplied meat, hides, sinew, bone, and antlers. The Georgia specimens seem to be slightly smaller than the more northern representatives in conformity with Bergmann's rule. The black bear (Euarctos americanus americanus or E. americanus floridanus) is still occasionally found as are the otter (Lutra canadensis canadensis or L. canadensis vaga) and the Carolina beaver (Castor canadensis carolinensis). Racoon (Procyon lotor varius or P. lotor elucus) and the opposum (Didelphis virginiana virginiana) are abundant and probably contributed to the Indian diet. The eastern cottontail (Sylvilagus floridanus mallurus) is common but its bones are rarely found in Indian sites and it may not have contributed much to the food supply. Skunks, gray foxes, wildcats, and squirrels were probably common but again do not seem to have figured in the Indian's diet. The puma (Felis concolor) is now rare or