

Fort Hawkins

History and Archaeology



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Fort Hawkins

History and Archaeology

Submitted to
The Fort Hawkins Commission and the City of Macon
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2007

Acknowledgements

In the words of Macon’s Mayor C. Jack Ellis,

“With the purchase of Ft. Hawkins in the Ft. Hill Community, we will develop a tourist destination helping to provide a catalyst for development in one of the most neglected parts of our city.” ---Mayor C. Jack Ellis, 2003 State of the City Address, March 18, 2003.

Pierce, Ronald Schoettmer, Jenn Wehby and Gail Tomczak.

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Project volunteers included:

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Casha, Gisele	Griffin, Michael “Chief”	Pierce, Virginia	Vegotsky, Allen
Casha, Tyler	Hammack, Stephen A.	Preston, James M.	Walker, A. J.
Colosimo, Nicole	Hollister, Jane	Ramsey, Lane	Walker, Jack (and sons)
Cramer, Robert	Jolly, Kelly	Robinson, Will	Whatley, John
Cranford, Christopher	Jones, Andrew	Rock, Carolyn	Wilcox, Dianne Dent
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Day, Raymond	Jones, Terry	Schoettmer, Ron	Wright, Starr
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DeWitt, Bob	Marone, Matt	Snow, Frankie	Zweig, Loretta
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Katherine	McNeal, Charles	Stokes, Lynn H.	
Dobbins, Gena	Meeks, Tony M.	Thomas, Jack	And Others

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The LAMAR Institute, Inc. is a Georgia non-profit corporation that was chartered in the State of Georgia in 1982. Since 1984 it has enjoyed tax deductible 501(c)3 status with the Internal Revenue Service. The Institute has successfully completed more than 80 research projects in the southeastern U. S., with this work documented in the organization's report series. This report series is available for free download at the institute's website, which can be found at <http://lamarinstitute.org/reports.htm>. The Institute is governed by three officers and a five person board of directors.

The Society for Georgia Archaeology is a Georgia (SGA) non-profit corporation that has been in existence (in various forms) since the early 1930s. Since 2000 the organization has had tax deductible 501 (c) 3 status with the Internal Revenue Service. The SGA is governed by three officers and a eight-person board of directors and it has a membership of over 400 amateurs and professionals. Additional information about the SGA is available on that organization's website at <http://thesga.org>. The SGA has successfully completed hundreds of public archaeology events and is the primary sponsor of Archaeology Month in Georgia. Ex-SGA Presidents Elizabeth Shirk and Lucy Banks, and current President Carolyn Rock were very supportive of the Fort Hawkins Archaeological Project, as were many other members of the organization.

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Abstract

This report documents the historic archaeological investigations conducted at Fort Hawkins (9Bi21) in Bibb County, Georgia. This study was conducted from 2005 through 2006 by the LAMAR Institute, in partnership with The Society for Georgia Archaeology, the Fort Hawkins Commission, and many interested volunteers. The project discovered two distinctive building episodes for Fort Hawkins and explored several buildings, seven palisade lines, midden deposits, and features associated with the U.S. Army fort. The excavation team recovered nearly 37,300 artifacts and well over 6,000 animal bones from the fort. The study also included research of primary documents and a thorough review of secondary histories pertaining to the site. Together, the history and archaeology are combined to tell the “real” story of Fort Hawkins. The report addresses the importance of Fort Hawkins as a U.S. Army Command, Indian Trade factory, U.S. Army garrison, and troop staging area. The report clears up many misconceptions about Fort Hawkins and it provides recommendations for future management of this unique cultural resource.

Chapter 1. Introduction

Article 1 of the 1805 Treaty of Washington provided for major land cessions to the United States of America by the Creek Nation, with one significant exception:

excepting and reserving to the Creek nation, the title and possession of a tract of land, five miles in length and three in breadth, and bounded as follows, viz: Beginning on the eastern shore of the Ocmulgee river, at a point three miles on a straight line above the mouth of a creek called Oakchoncoolgau, which empties into the Ocmulgee, near the lower part of what is called the old Ocmulgee fields-thence running three miles eastwardly, on a course at right angles with the general course of the river for five miles below the point of beginning;-thence, from the end of the three miles, to run five miles parallel with the said course of the river; thence west wardly, at right angles with the last-mentioned line to the river; thence by the river to the first-mentioned bounds.

And it is hereby agreed, that the President of the United States, for the time being, shall have a right to establish and continue a military post, and a factory or trading house on said reserved tract; and to make such other use of the said tract as may be found convenient for the United States, as long as the government thereof shall think proper to continue the said military post or trading house (Kappler 1904:85-86).

This document, which was signed on November 14, 1805, and its stipulated right by the U.S. to “establish and continue a military post, and a factory or trading house”, was the basis for the creation of Fort Hawkins as a U.S. Army garrison the following year. From its beginning Fort Hawkins was intended to serve not only the

Euro-American population but also the Creek Nation. In return, the U.S. was obligated to pay annuities to the Creek Nation for a period of 18 years and these annuity payments were to be distributed at the Ocmulgee Old Fields.

As history records, the effective life of Fort Hawkins was less than 18 years, as the U.S. frontier moved rapidly west. By 1825, the federal troops were long removed from the fort and the American frontier was in Arkansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska and beyond, and the military threat to interior Georgia was mostly neutralized. Relations with the Creek Nation soured in 1825 with the signing of the Treaty of Indian Springs by Georgia representatives and a select group of friendly Creek chiefs. The Creek chiefs who signed the document, particularly Brigadier General William McIntosh, were systematically assassinated by Creeks who were opposed to the concessions. The 1825 treaty was declared null and void but, notwithstanding, another treaty was executed between the U.S. and the Creek Nation in Washington, D.C. in 1826, which authorized the removal of the Creeks from Georgia.

During the period from 1806 to 1821, Fort Hawkins was a place of great economic, military and political importance. It was important to the Creek Nation, the U.S., and the State of Georgia as all three entities had a vested interest in the place.

For the Creek Nation it was a place of economic significance in the deerskin trade and it was a place of social significance as part of their hallowed “Ocmulgee Old Fields”. The Ocmulgee Old Fields is currently designated a

Traditional Cultural Property by the National Park Service in recognition of this tradition.

For the federal government, Fort Hawkins was a military command headquarters, a major troop garrison, and a major trade factory for regulating the Creek economy and was intended to foster good relations between the Creek Nation and the U.S. Fort Hawkins was listed in the National Register of Historic Places by the National Park Service in recognition of its role in American history.

For the State of Georgia, Fort Hawkins was a Georgia militia headquarters and a militia muster ground. It served as a point of contact between the U.S. Army, the Creek Nation, the Georgia militia, and the Georgia government. It also served to bolster the western boundary of Georgia and to protect its citizens from attack. As history records, Georgians were not content with the existing boundary line and they pushed and pushed until, by 1827, the Creek Nation was located west of the Chattahoochee River.

This then is the story of Fort Hawkins, as told by historical and archaeological research. It is by no means the final story of Fort Hawkins, but, hopefully, it is a tale that considers the various points of view held by those who frequented the place in the early decades of the 19th century.

The report is organized in nine chapters, followed by a complete bibliography of references cited directly in this report and also those consulted during the project. Chapter 2 contains background information about Fort Hawkins. Chapter 3 details the research methods that were employed by this study. Chapter 4 contains a discussion of the role of Fort Hawkins in American history. Chapter 5 presents concise biographical information on many of the people associated with Fort Hawkins. Chapter 6 contains a discussion of the built environment at Fort Hawkins. This chapter combines information gleaned from historical research with the archaeological findings. Chapter 7 presents a summary of

the material culture at Fort Hawkins, which is represented by the archaeological discoveries and artifact collection. In Chapter 8 we attempt to place Fort Hawkins in context and interpret the historical significance of the research findings. Chapter 9 contains recommendations for the future stewardship of Fort Hawkins. This chapter addresses specific needs for additional historical research, archaeological research, public interpretation, rebuilding efforts, and other sundry topics.

The report is followed by six appendices, which are presented in an electronic format. Appendix A and B contains data from Zooarchaeological analysis from the Fort Hawkins project. Appendix C contains an inventory of the artifacts collected from Fort Hawkins by the LAMAR Institute excavations. Appendix D contains artifact images from the collection, as well as artifacts in other privately owned collections. Appendix E contains other supplementary images that relate to the study. These images should prove helpful for future interpretive or display purposes. Appendix F contains field photographs taken during the project's fieldwork phases. Appendix G contains selected Gound Penetrating Radar (GPR) images from the project.

Chapter 2. Background

Setting

Fort Hawkins is located in central Bibb County, Georgia on a high ridgetop overlooking the thriving city of Macon. Today this location may seem at first glance to be inconsequential but in the early Federal period of American history Fort Hawkins formed a vital center of activity. The Fort Hawkins archaeological site (9Bi21) is located in East Macon, within the Fort Hill National Register District. The site is bounded on the south by Emery Highway, on the east by Maynard Street, on the north by Woolfolk Street, and on the west by Fort Hill Street (Figure 1). It occupies most of a city block. Most of the property containing the archaeological site is owned by the City of Macon. It is managed by Macon's Fort Hawkins Commission and helped by other city agencies.

Fort Hawkins is currently listed in the National Register of Historic Places by the National Park Service. The site is also recognized as a place of major historical importance by the State of Georgia, the City of Macon, the Society for Georgia Archaeology, and numerous private cultural organizations.

The fort is located on one of the highest hilltops in Bibb County. From this vantage point one has vistas extending for dozens of miles to the west, south, and east. The view to the north is obscured by trees in a residential neighborhood. The fort is located less than one mile uphill from the Ocmulgee River. The original road leading to the river ferry, which was designated the Post Road and later the Federal Road, passes immediately north of the fort site. Today the area surrounding Fort Hawkins is urban land. It is a patchwork of residences, small businesses,

city streets, and urban forest. Most of the archaeological site is covered in grass or lies in open ground. The current vehicle access to the site is overlain with gravel.

Fort Hawkins is situated in the lower Piedmont and Fall Line physiographic province. This region of Georgia is characterized by deeply weathered igneous and metamorphic bedrock that is incised by a dendritic drainage pattern. Occasional sedimentary deposits of the Coastal Plain intrude into this ecotone (Clark and Zisa 1976). About 50 million years ago the Fort Hawkins knoll would have been a beach on the Atlantic Ocean. The underlying geology of the site is composed of sandy clay and clay.

The initial phase of the Fort Hawkins Archaeological Project began on August 5, 2005. The LAMAR Institute, Inc. and The Society for Georgia Archaeology teamed up to conduct this archaeological and historical exploration of the Fort Hawkins site in Bibb County, Georgia. This project was developed at the request of Robert Cramer, former chairman of the Fort Hawkins Commission (The LAMAR Institute 2002, 2004). Additional fieldwork efforts were undertaken in November 2006 at the request of the present FHC Chairman Marty Willett (The LAMAR Institute 2006).

The property containing the Fort Hawkins site was purchased in 2002 for the City of Macon with the assistance of the Fort Hawkins Commission and the site was designated a public greenspace. One goal of this ongoing public development project was to aid in the ultimate reconstruction of the historic fort and grounds, which will serve as an interpretive history park for future generations. A vital component



Figure 1. Locational Map of Fort Hawkins.

of this worthy endeavor was to gather solid archaeological and historical evidence of the archaeological resources of Fort Hawkins. The types of information included:

- Architectural details of the fortification
- Architecture of associated structures
- Military history of the fort
- Biographical histories of key individuals associated with the fort
- Material culture, or the artifacts of military and related civilian lifeways
- Subsistence, or information about foods eaten by the people living in the fort
- Environmental data, such as pollen, phytoliths, or botanical evidence
- History of the Creek Indian trading factory.

Another primary intent of the Fort Hawkins Archaeology Project was to educate the public about the history and archaeology at Fort Hawkins. We accomplished this through multiple channels and it is in this aspect of the project that the Society for Georgia Archaeology members were most involved. Information discovered by the project was freely distributed to the public through several venues, including press releases and press conferences, television and newspaper coverage, and by the development of an internet webpage highlighting the project and its discoveries. These efforts were done in tandem with the ongoing outreach efforts by the Fort Hawkins Commission and the City of Macon to promote the Fort Hawkins site.

Previous Study of Fort Hawkins

The final official government use of Fort Hawkins took place in 1824 and for the next few years the abandoned property was in a state of limbo. Squatters occupied the

abandoned military buildings. The settlement of Newtown was adjacent to the fort and in 1823 the town of Macon was created on the opposite side of the Ocmulgee River. Settlement in this region of Georgia rapidly expanded and by the 1830s Fort Hawkins was largely forgotten.

Initial interest in the preservation of Fort Hawkins as a historical site dates to the decade when it was abandoned by the U.S. Army (Figure 2). In 1828 Fort Hawkins was decommissioned and Thomas Jefferson Woolfolk purchased the Fort Hawkins property from the State of Georgia. That same year Mrs. Anne Royal wrote a journal entry stating that, “The fort is going to decay, being abandoned some time ago. I was much astonished to find the settlement around it inhabited by a few straggling women and children.” (Wilcox 1999:125). Mrs. Royal’s concerns over the dilapidation of Fort Hawkins failed to catch the attention of Macon’s citizens, however, and the ruins of the fort site, with the possible exception of its two surviving blockhouses, was absorbed into the Woolfolk plantation complex.

A description of Fort Hawkins was included in an 1838 work of prose, entitled “The Soldiers’ Mound” by Caroline Gilman (1838:319-320). The author described the view from the Soldiers’ Mound [or McDougal Mound, which is located on the Ocmulgee National Monument]:

On the north, old Fort Hill rises majestically upwards in gradual ascension from the bed of the river, and maintains an elevated station among the hillocks which surround it, overlooking the village of East Macon, which lies at its foot, and bearing on its sloping sides the scattered and newly formed village of Troy. On its summit, Fort Hawkins rears her ancient watch towers, some distance above her more impregnable walls of defence. It, however, at present exhibits quite a dilapidated condition, much of its wooden structure having

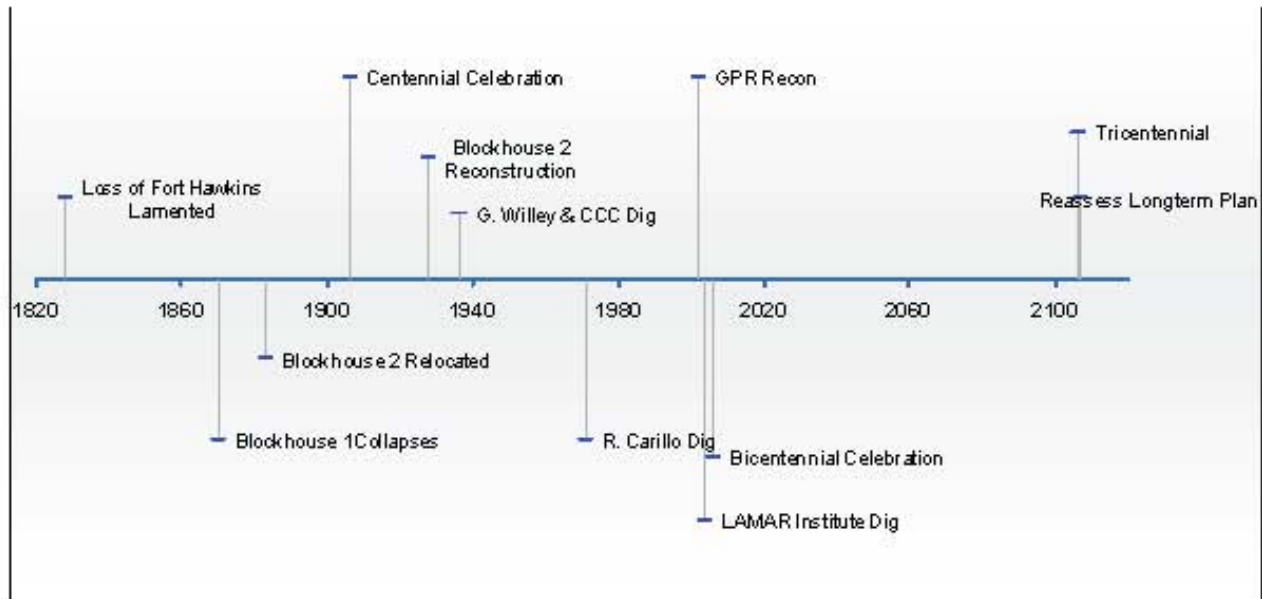


Figure 2. Timeline of Fort Hawkins Research.

gone to decay, and many of the bricks being thrown down.

The beautiful grove of native forest growth, so elegantly pruned by the soldiers more than twenty years ago, which covers its brow, is too exquisitely romantic to escape the glance of the most careless traveller who passes it in the stage. Farther to the left, the infant city of Macon rears its spires and elegantly built houses high in air; while the lofty hills which surround it on the west, with their fine and numerous edifices, add much to the sublimity of the scene.

In 1864 Louis Manigault, an officer in the C.S.A. Medical Department, was stationed at Macon. While in Macon, Manigault made a watercolor sketch of Fort Hawkins and included a brief description of the place in his notebook (Manigault 1864:108).

Sometime around 1868 the owner of the property, Thomas Jefferson Woolfolk, died. His property was divided among his heirs in 1868. An undated plat of the Thomas Woolfolk Estate was probably drawn about that time. This plat was redrafted in 1897 by Surveyor Dubois (1897) and Dubois' plat is recorded in the Bibb County Superior Court (Deed Book AJ:676). The tract was officially annexed into the City of Macon on May 25, 1897 (Bill Causey personal communication November 11, 2006).

Eventually all visible vestiges of Fort Hawkins would disappear from public view. The northwestern blockhouse was the first to go. In 1870 the *Macon Telegraph* reported that high winds toppled the northwestern blockhouse of Fort Hawkins (Washington Memorial Library, Fort Hawkins vertical files). One photograph shows the southeastern blockhouse in a

dilapidated condition, which is considered to date around 1880 (Vanishing Georgia 2006). By the early 20th century the southeastern blockhouse, which was in a state of collapse, was moved to a private residence in Macon. There it was converted for use as a barn. An early post card photograph depicts the blockhouse at that location (Woodall 1902). Within years of the move, however, that blockhouse/barn was destroyed by fire.

John Campbell Butler was one of the first historians to commemorate Fort Hawkins. Butler was born in 1833 and died in 1911. He was born more than five years after Fort Hawkins was decommissioned and his Macon history was published in 1879, more than 50 years after the fort's abandonment. In 1880, Butler was living in Macon's 3rd Ward, Bibb County, Georgia, where his occupation was listed as "Author" and in 1900 his occupation as listed as, "Historian and Statistician" (Ancestry.com 2005). Despite its now obvious inaccuracies, Butler's 1879 account is one of the most cited descriptions of Fort Hawkins,

The fortifications consisted of two large blockhouses, surrounded by a strong stockade. The stockade was built of posts of hewn timber fourteen feet long, fourteen inches thick; they were sunk in the ground four feet, with port holds [sic] for a musket in every alternate post. The area within the stockade was fourteen acres.

The blockhouse which now remains, occupied the southeaster corner of the stockade, and the other one, the last relics of which was blown down several years ago, was located diagonally from the other, at the northwestern corner. The blockhouses were similarly constructed – about twenty-eight feet square, two stories and a basement; thirty-four feet high, surmounted with watch-towers. The basement was built of blocks of stone eighteen inches thick, with port holds for cannon and musketry, and twelve feet high. Over the first story the second projected, on all sides three

feet, with holes in the floors of the part projecting, so that if the Indians reached the house and attempted to scale the stone basement, in order to set fire to the wooden work, they could be shot down from the projecting floors. The second story was also twelve feet high, and the towers eight feet. There were four long houses, one in the center of each side of the stockade, their fronts forming part of the stockade to the width of each house, about twenty feet. These houses were used for soldier's quarters, provisions, and for the factory goods to be sold to the Indians, and peltries received in return. In the centre, surrounded by oaks, were officers' quarters. The ninety-six acres surrounding the stockade were pretty much cleared of undergrowth and large trees, except a few trees near the Fort, which were left for a shade to the soldiers when not on duty. The object of clearing the ground was, in case of an attack, the Indians would not find a protection within gunshot, behind trees (Butler 1879:60-62).

The two early photographic images of the southeastern blockhouse, Irvine's illustration of Fort Hawkins, and Butler's written description of the fort served as the primary historical basis for the historic preservationists who were charged with the reconstruction of the southeastern blockhouse in the 1920s and 1930s. While the two photographs are indisputable facts, the present archaeological data shows that the veracity of the physical descriptions by other two sources (Irvine and Butler) are highly suspect.

Two other representations of the fort, an undated sketch that was made sometime in the 19th century and Manigault's watercolor painting made during the American Civil War, are known to exist. These two sources were not likely available to the historians who were involved in reconstructing the blockhouse in the 1930s. Another line of primary cartographic evidence apparently existed, and was in the possession of the Washington Memorial Library, until it was lost sometime in the mid-20th century (Wilcox

1999). She noted, “Plans for Fort Hawkins did exist and were once in the possession of the Middle Georgia Historical Society. Years ago, those plans were borrowed and not returned”. Marty Willett launched a search for these missing plans and he concluded that,

Those plans were actually the blueprints of the Replica Southeast Blockhouse done by noted Macon architect, Curran Ellis, in 1928 plus the plans of the reconstructed Blockhouse done by the City Engineer in the 1940's. The historical Society's plans were indeed lost by the MBCCVB's Tourism Task Force, but copies are found today in both the City Engineer's Office and the Fort Hawkins Commission Archive at the Washington Memorial Library (Marty Willett personal communication February 4, 2007).

By 1881 the property containing Fort Hawkins was owned by Mr. W. H. Jones. The *Macon Telegraph* reported that year that Fort Hawkins, “run-down with neglect and undermined by heavy rains tumbled into ruins one morning”. It is unclear which part of Fort Hawkins this article refers but it most likely concerns the collapse of the foundation of the southeastern blockhouse or some other remnant elements of the fort, since the northwestern blockhouse had fallen down 11 years earlier. Mr. Jones negotiated with M.H. Cutter to complete the leveling of the structure. An old cabinet, constructed of wood salvaged from the Fort Hawkins blockhouse, was given to the school as a memento (*Macon Telegraph* 1951; Washington Memorial Library Fort Hawkins vertical files).

M.H. Cutter was another citizen of Macon who was closely associated with the early historical study of Fort Hawkins. Cutter was a white male born about 1833. He served as a private in the 2nd Georgia Infantry in the American Civil War (NPS 2005). In 1900 he lived in East Macon, Bibb County, Georgia and in 1910 his home was listed in the 1st Ward of Macon, Bibb County, Georgia (Ancestry.com 2005). The death of

M.H. Cutter, who was regarded as “Macon’s Oldest Citizen” was reported by the Atlanta Constitution on January 1, 1916 (*The Atlanta Constitution* 1916:8).

Mr. Cutter’s son, H.D. Cutter, served as a Civil Engineer for Bibb County and from him we learn additional details of Fort Hawkins. H.D. Cutter noted that the first house erected outside of Fort Hawkins was a wooden structure owned by Mr. Lyman from Milledgeville. That building was used as a store to trade with the Indians. He noted that,

From this time, forward, other settlers began to come in and lease the lands around the Fort, and those which were contiguous to the river, until the treaty of 1821, when the Indians, except about fifty to one hundred, removed to the west...In 1820, a double-log house was built a few hundred yards beyond the Fort, and was the first hotel in the limits of the section which was subsequently part of Bibb County. The hotel was kept by Messrs. Charles Bullock and Nicholas Wells, who were also engaged in merchandising, and in 1822, they issued the first change bill in this section of the country. Several of these bills are now kept in the hands of our oldest citizens as relics of primitive banking (Cutter n.d.:4).

In 1882 and 1883 Mr. Ed D. Ervine (also spelled Irvine) petitioned City Council of Macon to save the Southeastern blockhouse and move it to Central City Park as a historic landmark. The Council refused. Ervine painted a picture of the blockhouse, which survives (Wilcox 1999).

After 1883 Henry Jones, owner of the fort property, took the top floor of the southeast blockhouse to Main Street to use as a barn. The blockhouse floor was removed from Fort Hill using block and tackle and then “rolled” down the hill to Jones’ Main Street home on logs using the labor of white and black men, horses and mules. Jones’ barn burned in 1903 (Wilcox 1999; Woodall 1902; Bruffey 1903:2).

H.D. Cutter described the situation around 1883, when he was a child at Fort Hawkins:

I remember that we had a violent wind storm. I judge that it must have been about 1883 one corner of Fort Hawkins was blown down, some of the foundation had probably from erosion and washing of the dirt given away. The property at that time belonged to Mr. W.H. Jones...Mr. Jones did not care to rebuild the fort and he entered into an agreement with my father [M.H. Cutter] to complete the tearing down of the building, the timbers you will understand were fine long leaf pine without being purpented [sic, turpented], my father had considerable of the timber hauled out to Massey's Mill where the father Mr. Orren and Walter Massey had a saw mill. Mr. Jones and my father divided the lumber thus produced. Mr. Jones had a barn built with part of the logs in the rear of his residence in East Macon, I was very much hoping that some of the timber was still there and that you might procure a few of the original logs to go in your new building but a recent inspection by me of the premises reveals that it must have been removed some years ago (Cutter n.d.).

In 1885 the Georgia General Assembly approved the extension of the corporate limits of Macon to include, "as to embrace the church known as the East Macon Methodist Church, situate near the boundary line of East Macon on the east side of the Ocmulgee river, together with the lot or parcel of land upon which said church is situated, now under fence, the said lot being on the corner of Boundary street and the Fort Hawkins road" (Georgia Legislative Documents 1885). At that point in time land adjoining Fort Hawkins fell under the jurisdiction of the City of Macon. The Fort Hawkins property was annexed by the City of Macon in 1897. Woolfolk Street was paved in 1977 and 1978 (Bill Causey personal communication November 27, 2006). This area of East Macon was known as the "Woolfolk Addition". County Surveyor L. W. Dubois copied a plat of the, "Lands of the Estate of Thomas Woolfolk, Extension of East Macon" on May 25, 1897 (Dubois 1897). Dubois' plat was probably derived from an earlier (circa 1868) plat of the property, which has not survived (Figure 3). Fort Hawkins is located on Block 41 of DuBois' plat. The layout of the city streets within the Woolfolk Addition are shown on an early 20th century map of Bibb County



Figure 3. A Portion of Lands of the Estate of Thomas Woolfolk, Extension of East Macon (DuBois 1897).

(David L. Mincey personal communication, June 25, 2006).

Despite the efforts of local preservation-minded citizens Butler, Cutter and Ervine, Fort Hawkins continued to slip away from public view. Newspaper reporter M.M. Folsom (1886:3) wrote in the April 14, 1886 edition of *The Atlanta Constitution*, “On a sunny April morning I walked eastward toward Cross Keys, the lovely suburb that marks the second milestone from East Macon. Across the steep hill that was once the site of Fort Hawkins, I wended my way, pausing a moment to gaze on the rugged foundations of stone upon which was built that famous fortress...” The following year, in the same newspaper, Montgomery M. Fulton (1887:6) lamented, “There are many episodes in the history of Fort Hawkins that historians have failed to record--and few are living whose time-tattered minds can now recall them...”

Fort Hawkins’ southeastern blockhouse (in its relocated and reduced state) was intact when it was photographed in 1902. That view of the blockhouse was produced in quantity and sold as a postal card (Woodall 1902). On February 9, 1903 the *The Atlanta Constitution* reported that, “An old blockhouse, once a part of Fort Hawkins...was totally razed to the ground” (Bruffey 1903:2). Ironically, on December 2, 1906 at their state conference, the Daughters of the American Revolution released a report on the discovery of Fort Hawkins (*The Atlanta Constitution* 1906:F3).

M.H. Cutter continued his efforts to commemorate Fort Hawkins. In 1906, Cutter constructed a small replica of Fort Hawkins, which was later in the possession of the Mercer University archives. Another replica of the fort was made by Cutter, described as 3 foot square, which was presented to the public library. A hand written notation in the vertical files at the Washington Memorial Library exclaimed, “we have this”. Apparently, relics from Fort Hawkins were deposited with the

Smithsonian Institution at that time (or prior to 1906). A recent preliminary query to the Smithsonian Institution for this project yielded no collections attributed to Fort Hawkins. The Nathaniel Macon Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution continued Cutter’s efforts. On February 18, 1914 the organization unveiled a marble tablet on the site of Fort Hawkins. The current location of this memorial tablet is unknown (Wilcox 1999).

The first public school in the project vicinity, known as the East Macon School, was established about 1884. The school building was not located in the study area but was located on another block nearby. The original school was a 2-room building, with additions made to the building from 1899 to 1903. In 1903 it was described as a 4-room shack, intended for 160 students. In August of 1922, the Fort Hawkins tract was advertised for sale, followed by the construction of a new school from 1920-1921. This school, aptly named the Fort Hawkins School, was constructed directly on top of the ruins of Fort Hawkins. The new school opened in April 1921 with 506 students. The new school boasted 18 classrooms, a library, a principal’s office and teachers’ rest room. Two additional classrooms and an auditorium were added in 1949. The Fort Hawkins School closed in 1978 and the school property was purchased by a Masonic order. The masons used the gymnasium as their temple (*Macon Telegraph* n.d.; 1921, 1922, 1951; Washington Memorial Library, Fort Hawkins School vertical files).

In the same month that the Fort Hawkins School was opened to students, on April 7, 1921 the Macon Kiwanis Club announced plans to rebuild Fort Hawkins (*The Atlanta Constitution* 1921:14). While the Kiwanis Club did not follow through on this effort, they likely planted the seed that led to the later reconstruction efforts.

The historical background detailed above was pieced together from multiple primary and secondary text documents. Maps, however,

also play an important role in understanding past events and landscapes. Whenever possible, historical archaeologists use maps and early aerial photographs to better understand their subjects. Many maps of early Georgia and the Macon vicinity were examined for this study. Most of these maps provided little useful information about the site. A panoramic view of Macon, made in 1912, for example, did not include coverage of the Fort Hawkins area (Snapshots of the Past 2005).

Maps of urban areas produced by the Sanborn Fire Insurance Company are a helpful tool that archaeologists use to study the evolution of land use at urban sites. The Sanborn maps for Macon Georgia for 1884, 1889, 1895, 1908, 1920, and 1924 were examined. The project area was not included in these maps, except for the 1924 edition (Sanborn Fire Insurance Company 1884, 1889, 1895, 1908, 1920, 1924). The 1924 Sanborn map shows the study area (Volume 2, Sheet 317). The building outline of the Fort Hawkins School is shown on the 1924 map (Sanborn Fire Insurance Company 1924). A portion of the 1924 Sanborn map of East Macon, which contains the study area, is reproduced in Figure 4.

In 1928 Macon citizens launched a reconstruction project of Fort Hawkins' Southeast Blockhouse. That effort, which was funded in part by local banks,

was stymied by the October, 1929 stock market crash and the subsequent economic depression that enveloped the nation. This fort reconstruction task, while left incomplete, created the basic foundation of the reconstructed blockhouse, which was finally finished 10 years later. Had it not been for the rebuilt blockhouse, Fort Hawkins may have disappeared from the collective memory of Macon altogether.

The Great Depression had a devastating effect on the American people but President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal policy helped to give the country a second wind. The Macon area received a particular economic boost in the form of federal aid for archaeology and historical research in the Macon area. Archaeologists were lured to the Macon area at the urging of several prominent citizens of the city. The U.S. Congress created the Ocmulgee National Monument, which remains an important (and actively visited) landmark today. The National Park Service archaeologists in the New Deal era also conducted research at other sites in the Macon area, which are lesser known. Their

study of the Fort Hawkins site falls into this lesser-known category. In 1933 a young archaeologist named Gordon Randolph Willey was hired by Arthur Randolph Kelly to assist in the archaeological investigations in the Macon area. On September 8, 1936 Willey was sent to supervise excavations at Fort Hawkins for the National Park Service. His



Figure 4. Portion of East Macon showing Fort Hawkins Vicinity (Sanborn

excavation project concluded on September 22. No final report of this effort was ever produced, although a series of field photographs, two field maps, and Willey's typed field notes have survived (Willey 1936). Gordon Willey went on to become one of the most influential American archaeologists of the 20th century. Professor Willey died on April 28, 2002 (*Harvard University Gazette* 2002; Sabloff and Fasch in press [2007]; Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 2007).

Field photographs taken in 1936 of Willey's excavation crew at Fort Hawkins provide essential clues about the site. The stone foundation for the first story of the blockhouse was already standing by the time Willey's crew arrived. Steel rebar can be seen rising above the foundation in these photographs. These rebar were the anchors for the simulated logs, which were made from poured concrete. This photograph demonstrates that the rebuilding effort was well along prior to Willey's arrival and the archaeological context in and around the southeastern blockhouse was already disturbed. Willey noted this in the introduction of his field report, "Some few years ago, a local group in the city, reconstructed the old basement portion of the southeast blockhouse, using the original stones, in part, and building upon what they believed to be the exact location of the original" (Willey 1936).

The location of two of Willey's excavation trenches can be relocated on the modern-day landscape by finding the missing sections of the decorative brick pavement that was laid immediately outside of the blockhouse sometime between 1928 and 1936. Willey refers to this "brick walk" in his field notes (Willey 1936). Willey's field sketch shows the approximate location of his excavations. The photographic record provides a few other clues to the location of the excavation trenches. Willey indicated that the National Park Service intended to dispatch an engineer to accurately map the location of his excavation trenches, but no documents were located to show that this

was ever done. Consequently, we are left with a fragmented record of the first excavations at Fort Hawkins.

Willey began his investigations by excavating areas north and west of the blockhouse. He soon discovered decayed posts and postholes in his excavations to the north and west of the reconstructed blockhouse basement. He reported finding "Old china, square nails, [and] a metal button" in the midden along the northern wall. His crew excavated more trenches along the eastern and western stockade walls and additional evidence of the palisade lines was discovered. Willey's crew also explored inside of the blockhouse, "to pick up any traces of stockade that might be there", but he concluded, "No original foundation. This would indicate that the original foundation had been torn up and incorporated in the reconstructed walls" (Willey 1936).

Willey's crew explored the area north of Woolfolk Street in search of the eastern stockade wall but he concluded, "At neither cut was the stockade found" (Willey 1936). Willey reached four conclusions as a result of his short field examination and these are paraphrased below,

- The southeastern blockhouse is correctly placed in reconstruction
- The stockade walls were made of pine wood posts, approximately 8 inches in diameter.
- The location of the northwestern blockhouse could not be determined.
- One corner of the fort was defined at almost a right angle but nothing more of the fort's shape could be learned (Willey 1936).

Willey excavations revealed the eastern palisade wall extending a distance of approximately 175 feet (approximately 53 meters) from the reconstructed blockhouse basement. He identified at least two gaps along this line, which he interpreted as, "gates or places of destruction or erosion" (Willey 1936). Most of his effort was spent following this eastern palisade line.

Wiley's exploration along the south palisade wall was less exhaustive but it sampled areas to approximately 100 feet (approximately 30 meters) west of the reconstructed blockhouse basement. He discovered evidence of the south palisade wall, similar to that observed on the east wall (Carillo 1971:11, Figure 5).

Wiley's exploration on the west side of Fort Hawkins is barely mentioned but he noted, "On the west, the condition is puzzling. Evidences of a brick foundation, post-civil war as attested by the brick, may have destroyed it for some distance on this south side. Erosion could hardly have played a part here as the posts are 2 1/2 feet, at all places below surface" (Wiley 1936). Wiley's field sketch of the excavations does not show any excavations along the west wall of Fort Hawkins, so the location of this building ruin is questionable. Carillo concluded that the building that Wiley described was the same one he encountered in his Unit 6, which is a part of a very large, fort-era building (Feature 101) defined by the present research.

By 1938 the construction of the replica southeastern blockhouse was completed and the historic site was formally dedicated by local civic groups. An aerial view of Fort Hawkins, which was photographed in 1938 shows the reconstructed blockhouse and the Fort Hawkins School (Figure 6; U.S.D.A. 1938, 1972).

The public zeal concerning Fort Hawkins and its historical significance was stymied in 1939

when the National Park Service released a report by Benjamin L. Bryan, a Junior Research Technician at Ocmulgee National Monument. Bryan's report entitled "Fort Hawkins Its History and Partial Reconstruction" included a critical summary of the historical accuracy of the reconstructed blockhouse. His report also summarized the lines of historical evidence used for its reconstruction. He recommended that, because of its disturbed condition, Fort Hawkins should not be considered for inclusion as part of the Ocmulgee National Monument (Bryan 1939). Bryan's report effectively neutralized any further support by the National Park Service at Fort Hawkins.

In 1947 the Bibb County Board of Education deeded property described as a, "portion of Block 41 of the DuBois survey of the Woolfolk property Maynard St. to Emery Highway, ... parcel land upon which the reconstructed Ft. Hawkins is located" to Miss Mary Lou Barton,

Regent of the Nathaniel Macon Chapter, Daughters of American Revolution (Washington Memorial Library, Fort Hawkins vertical files). This reference suggests that prior to 1947 the area of the reconstructed blockhouse was the property of Bibb County.

Renewed historical and archaeological interest in Fort Hawkins took place in the 1970s. Archaeologist Stanley South

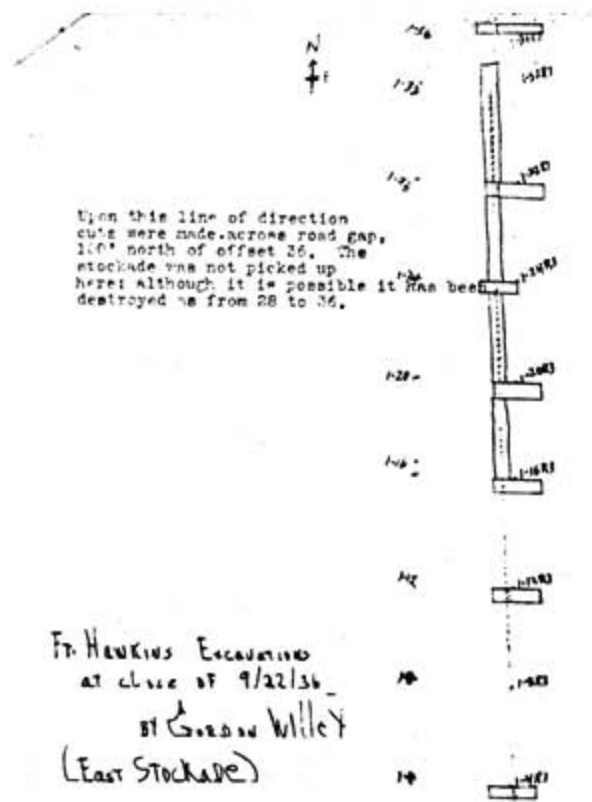


Figure 5. Portion of Wiley's Excavation Plan.

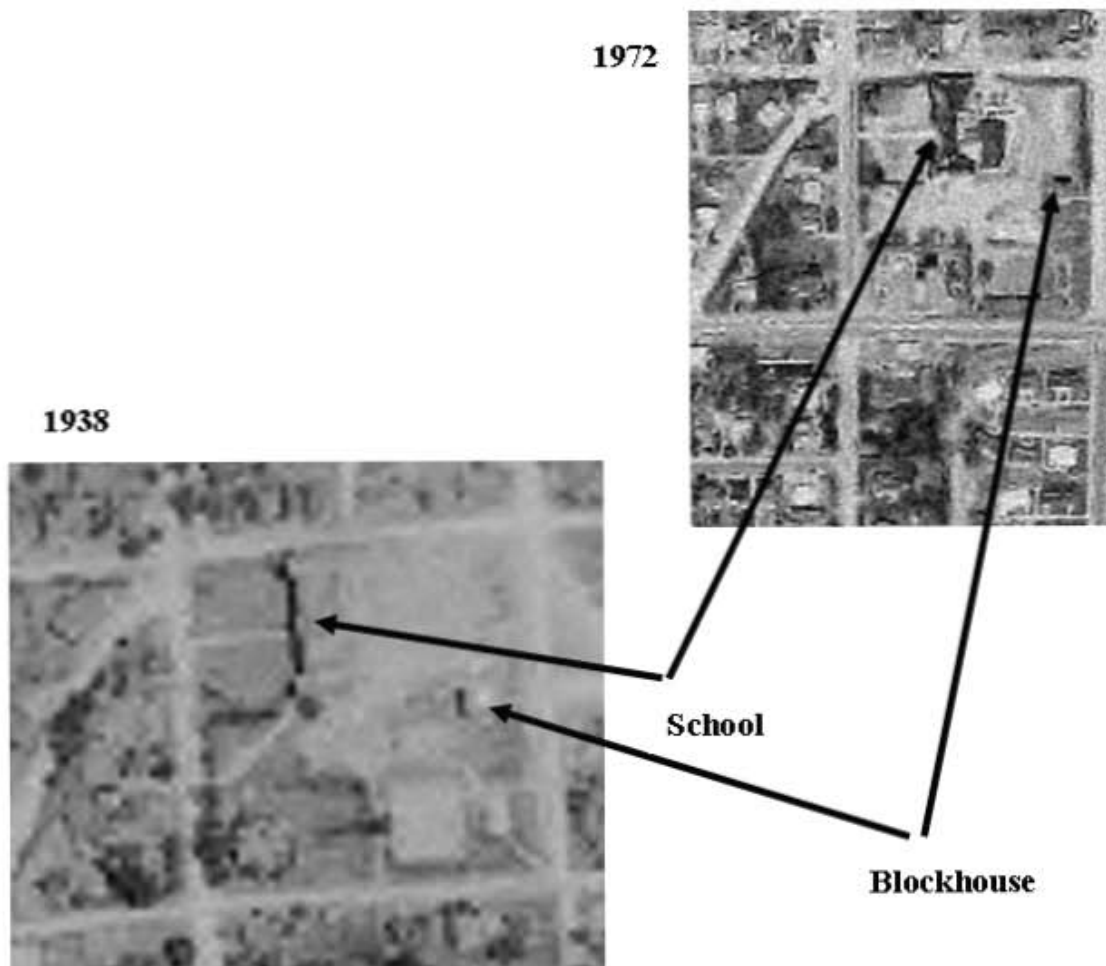


Figure 6. Fort Hawkins, U.S.D.A. Aerial Views in 1938 and 1972.

conducted a preliminary examination of the Fort Hawkins site (major feature, the blockhouse). South and his colleagues provided an evaluation of the potential for historical archaeology at Fort Hawkins and some ideas for public interpretation of the historic site (South 1970; Devorsey et al. 1970). Geographer Louis DeVorsey and his colleague John C. Waters gave a description of the trading factory at Fort Wilkinson and they believed the one at Fort Hawkins to be similar, if not identical (Devorsey and Waters 1973: 8-9). They recommended a professional Historical Archeologist be hired for a two week exploratory examination of the fort due to the lack of documentation with precise descriptions.

Funded by the Bibb County Commission, the Fort Hawkins Commission of the City of

Macon hired Richard F. Carillo of the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina. Excavations were conducted between August 16 and August 27, 1971. Carillo located and partially traced palisade ditches on three sides. The fourth palisade wall on the north was determined to have been destroyed along with the northwest blockhouse when Woolfolk Street was cut through from Fort Hill Street to Maynard Street. A portion of Carillo's excavation plan, showing the northwestern part of Fort Hawkins, is shown in Figure 7. Carillo concluded that the true dimensions of Fort Hawkins were smaller than originally described by Butler's history.

The Forts Committee of the Georgia Department of Archives and History published a series of articles on Georgia's forts in the mid-1960s.

This series included one article on Fort Hawkins that contained a brief historical summary of the fort (Forts Committee 1967).

The National Park Service published a short history of Fort Hawkins in 1970 (Holland 1970). Fort Hawkins was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in June, 1977. The Fort Hill Historic District, which includes Fort Hawkins and surrounding areas, was listed in the NRHP in 1993.

In 2000, the National Park Service compiled an inventory of significant Revolutionary War and War of 1812 era sites as part of the Congressionally mandated, Revolutionary War and War of 1812 Initiative. Fort Hawkins was included in that inventory as a Category B Associated Historic Property. The Category B resources included:

- Properties associated with a Major (Class B) military action, acting either as a strategic objective, a support facility, or a facilitator of that military action.
- Properties associated with state, colony, or regionally significant policy decisions or government actions, having a direct effect on the conduct of the war.
- Properties associated with the dissemination of significant thoughts, values and ideas that had a measurable state, colony or regional influence on the social, political, economic and military actions and policies during these two wars.
- Properties which played an important role in national trade, commerce, governmental interaction or economic relations (NPS 2000).

The Fort Hawkins Commission finally acquired the Fort Hawkins property for the City of Macon in 2002 with the aid of a generous

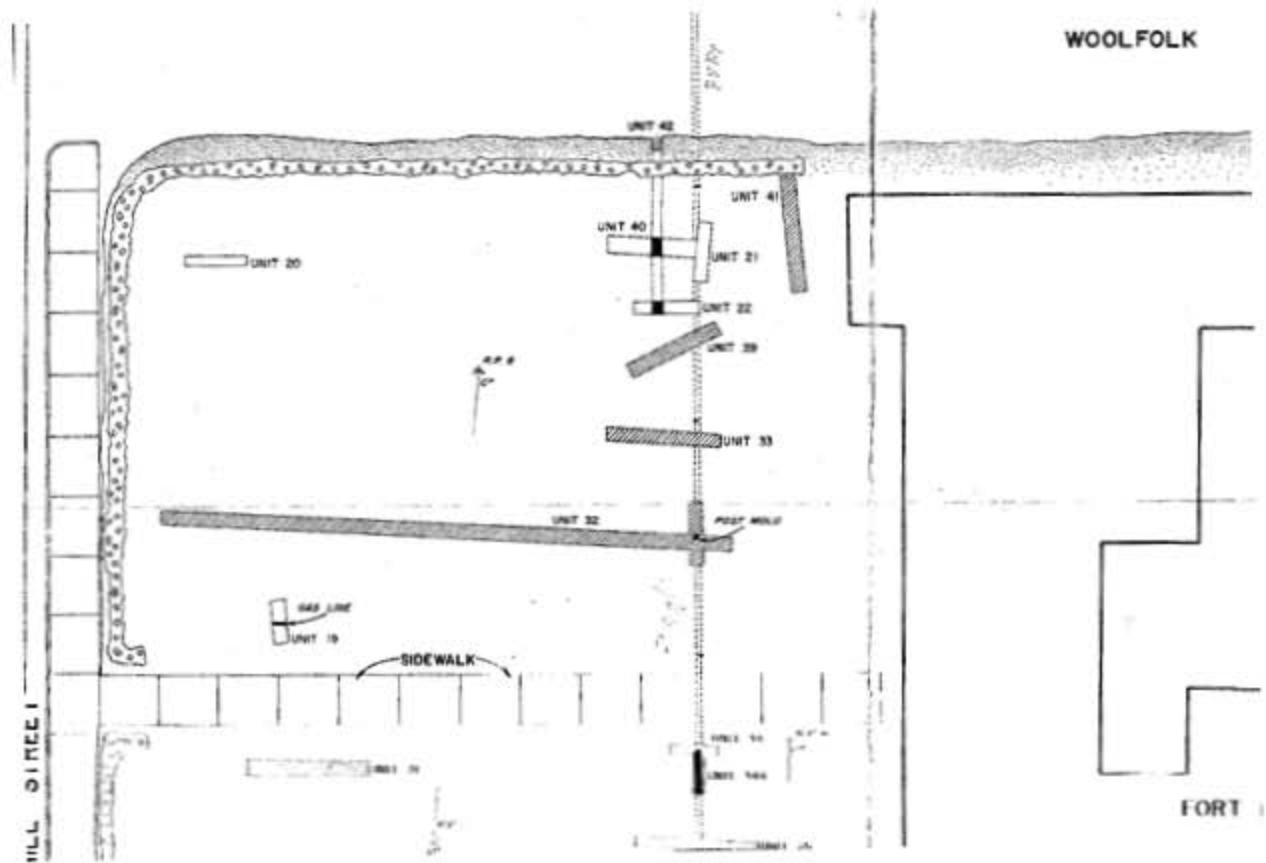


Figure 7. Portion of Carillo's Excavation Plan.

grant from the Peyton Anderson Foundation. That purchase set the stage for the present archaeological drama.

In November, 2002 Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) reconnaissance survey was conducted at Fort Hawkins (Persons 2002). The purpose of that study was to “locate subsurface features that may be the remains of the fortification walls” (Persons 2002:1). That study employed a SIR System-3 GSSI unit with a 500 MHz frequency antenna. The team collected 25 GPR profiles across the site covering approximately 1,750 linear feet of survey lines. Their settings of 54 ns (nanoseconds) delved approximately 5 feet beneath the ground surface. The results of this preliminary study were of marginal value for locating the fort ruins. The wide spacing of the transect intervals (10 feet or more apart) provided rudimentary information on subsurface features. It did identify numerous subsurface anomalies, but no firm link was established between these data and the architecture of Fort Hawkins. The study did show that GPR technology could be applied to the site.

Chapter 3. Research Methods

Historical Research

Historical research for this project was conducted at numerous archival repositories and libraries. Facilities that were visited included the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington, D.C., College Park, Maryland, and East Point and Morrow, Georgia; the Library of Congress (LOC); the Smithsonian Institution; the University of Georgia Libraries; the Live Oak Libraries (Rincon, Savannah, and Springfield, Georgia); the Georgia Archaeological Site File (GASF) (Athens); the Georgia Department of Archives and History (GDAH) (Atlanta and Morrow, Georgia); the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division (Atlanta); the Georgia Historical Society (Savannah); the LAMAR Institute Library (Rincon, Georgia); the Ocmulgee National Monument (Macon); the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina (Columbia); and the Washington Memorial Library (Macon).

An astounding percentage of the research was conducted via online research on the internet. Extensive research was conducted at internet sites managed by the NARA, the LOC, the Smithsonian Institution, the University of Georgia Libraries, the Atlanta Journal-Constitution (ajc.com), the Carl Vinson Institute (Athens, Georgia), the Florida Historical Quarterly, the Georgia Department of Archives and History, the Georgia Historical Society, the South Carolina Historical Society (Charleston), and the Society for Historical Archaeology.

Other information was gleaned from personal websites, particularly those with genealogical content. These sources often contained

wonderful gems of historical information about Fort Hawkins and the people who lived there. This category of information varied in its accuracy, completeness, and reliability. Overall, however, the data gathered from these sources significantly enriched our understanding of the human element at Fort Hawkins.

Sadly, the present researchers were unable to locate any detailed contemporary maps or plan drawings of Fort Hawkins. Such plans had existed, however, and several of them were likely destroyed in 1814 when the U.S. War Department offices were burned by the British Army (Pitch 1998:131).

The voluminous records that are housed at the NARA were approached by first searching through their various published finding aids. After reviewing these aids and consulting with the NARA military records consultants, the search was narrowed to a few key record groups. Some of the most revealing facts were contained in Record Group 98 (RG98), Records of the U.S. Army Commands, 1784-1821. This record group contained original manuscript copies of letters written to and from Fort Hawkins by officers in the regional commands. This source also contained many records of court-martials that were held at Fort Hawkins, or that were held elsewhere but pertained to Fort Hawkins. RG98 also contained enlistment papers, troop returns, and muster lists of William R. Boote, 2nd Infantry. Other pertinent documents included “Records of Departments, Districts, Divisions, and Posts, 1813-1815, Sixth Military District 1813-1815” and “Orderly Books of the Adjutant General, March 1813, August 1814, February-June 1817, Volume 1”.

The University of Georgia Library's Digital Library of Georgia contained many useful records pertaining to Fort Hawkins and U.S., Georgia and Creek relations in the early 19th century. Digitized versions of many important primary documents were available there, particularly in the collections of Native American and Georgia Legislative documents.

Many maps and plats were examined by the project team. Unfortunately no detailed plans of Fort Hawkins were located as a result of an extensive search. Maps by Bradley (1802, 1814), Carey (2004 [1814]), Carey and Lea (2004 [1822]), Gridley (2004 [1814]), and Melish (1815) were of particular interest.

Another important source for digital cartography of early Georgia was the Carl Vinson Institute of Government, Athens, Georgia. Its internet website contains an extensive historical atlas that is organized by county and date. Other useful sources that were consulted for cartographic information included: the Alabama Geographical Historical Atlas (http://www.as.ua.edu/geography/cart_lab/publications/index.html), the David Rumsey Map Collection (<http://davidrumsey.com>), and the Hargrett Library Rare Map Collection (<http://www.libs.uga.edu/darchive/hargrett/maps/maps.html>), .

An important part of the background research for this project was an examination of many secondary sources pertaining to Fort Hawkins, the U.S. Army and its organization, the Georgia militia and its organization, the Creek War, the War of 1812, and the 1st Seminole War. In addition the research team consulted many biographies of important people who were associated with Fort Hawkins. These are too myriad to list but the major figures include Timothy Barnard, Edmund Pendleton Gaines, Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Jackson, William McIntosh, and James Wilkinson (Bassett 1926; Coleman and Gurr 1983; Eaton and Reid 1817; Foster 2003; Grant 1980; Hawkins 1982; Hays 1939a-c; Henri 1986). For many of the officers who served at Fort Hawkins some biographical

data was gleaned from an assortment of genealogical websites and Congressional records of U.S. Army commissions and promotions, which were published in the American State Papers and are now searchable on the internet at the Library of Congress' American Memory website.

The research team examined a number of published histories on the War of 1812, the Creek War and the 1st Seminole War. Among these were: Halbert and Ball (1969), Hall (1934), Heidler and Heidler (1998), Hickey (1989), Mahon (1972), Quimby (1997), and Skeen (1999).

Generalized U.S. Army histories and specific regimental histories were explored at a number of published and online sources. Important sources included: Bird (1997), Brannon (1921, 1922), Brown (2006), Chartrand (1992), Coffman (1985), Crackel (1897), Cox (2006), Cummins (1820), De Grummond and Hamlin (2000), Elting (1995), Gillet (2006a-b), GlobalSecurity.org (2005), Gray (1868), Guthman (1975), Haskett (1966), Haskin (1879), Hays (1940), Heitman (1903), Jacobs (1972), Kohn (1975), McManus (in press), Mahon and Danysh (1972), Matloff (2002), Stagg (1983), Task Force 2-(SBCT) (2005), Taylor (2006), The 3rd United States Infantry Regiment (2005), The 7th Infantry Regiment Association (2005), and Turner (1996).

James M. Preston, former Bibb County Surveyor, provided important land records pertaining to Fort Hawkins. Mr. Preston had decades of experience in land surveying in Bibb County and was well versed with the available plat and deed records. He most graciously provided a wealth of cartographic and other information about Fort Hawkins' location and about other potential cultural features in the vicinity of Fort Hawkins. Mr. Preston made a significant contribution to geographical research when he reexamined Surveyor John Thomas' 1806 survey notes for the "Reserve at Ocmulgee Old Fields", which were published in the letters of

Benjamin Hawkins (Hawkins 1916:427-429). Armed with his unique knowledge of property boundaries in the area, Mr. Preston was able to reconstruct the approximate location of the transit stations used by Surveyor Thomas. Of particular interest for the present study was the reference to three “mounts” located along the survey line that crossed the Fort Hawkins study area. Preston observed that, in other cases, the word “mount” referred to the large artificial earthmounds in the Ocmulgee National Monument and he surmised that this term was used similarly in the Fort Hawkins area. His calculations placed two of the three mounts along this line within the study block. Mr. Preston also had a copy of a talk presented by H.D. Cutter to the Nathaniel Macon Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, which was undated. Copies of materials provided by Mr. Preston are permanently curated with the other paper records of the Fort Hawkins project. The Cutter document is cited as Cutter (n.d.), while the other documents in the Preston collection are cited in this report as Preston (2006).

Field Methods

Fieldwork at Fort Hawkins was undertaken in five sessions from August 2004 through November 2006. Fieldwork began with the establishment of a site grid and topographic mapping. The primary datum (Datum A) was established at gridpoint 1000N 1000E. Other datum reference points were established at key points across the site. Two data points were established on the concrete floor of the third story of the reconstructed blockhouse. An arbitrary elevation of 500.00 meters was assigned to Datum A.

The excavations at the site include mechanical stripping and hand excavation of selected features and midden contexts. Mechanical stripping was used to remove modern fill including rubble and debris left from the

demolition of the 20th century Fort Hawkins School. Mechanical stripping of this overburden was accomplished with an excavator and backhoe. Stripping was carefully monitored by experienced archaeologists to insure that damage to important contexts of the site was minimized.

Features were mapped in plan and profile. The project team relied heavily on the total station for much of this mapping. The soil fill from features and midden contexts was screened through ¼ inch hardware cloth. Brick, building stone, and modern (20th century) artifacts were not saved, with the exception of select samples, but all other artifacts were collected for laboratory analysis. A sample of complete specimens of fort-era bricks were stockpiled at the eastern end of Excavation Unit 1 (XU1), where they were reburied for future use in the public interpretation process. Selected soil samples were taken from some features and midden deposits for more specialized analyses. Soils were described using Munsell books and texture categories of silt, clay, and sand (Munsell Soil Color Company, Inc. 1988).

Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) was employed to survey portions of the site. The hardware used for this was a MALÅ GeoScience USA RAMAC X3M radar unit attached to a 500 MHz antenna on a wheeled cart. The data was collected on Dell and Toshiba laptop computers that was connected to the cart. Nine sample blocks were collected on the site and these were designated Blocks A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H and J. Transects in each of these sample blocks measured 50 cm apart. These data were then post-processed using several software programs including GroundVision, version 1.4.5, Easy 3D, version 1.3.3, and GPR-Slice, version 5.0 (MALÅ GeoScience USA 2006a, 2006b; Goodman 2006). GPR Block B was placed above the original site of the Fort Hawkins School and immediately north of Test Unit 112. GPR Block J was placed above the former Fort Hawkins School addition. GPR Block H was placed in the parking lot, near the entrance to

the Fort Hawkins property. GPR Block G was placed in the grassy area, immediately south of the Fort Hawkins school and west of the replica blockhouse.

Examples of the GPR output from Blocks B, G, H, and J are included in Appendix G. GPR Block H was post-processed by Dean Goodman, author of GPR-Slice software. His output from this exercise is included as a series of 18 time slice plan maps, which are included in Appendix G.

Additional GPR Survey was conducted by Terri Lisman, of the firm XenoGenesis. Dr. Lisman employed a different brand of radar equipment and post-processing software in her resurvey of GPR Block G. Lisman used a GSSI 400 MHz Antenna, processed in GSSI RADAN V.6.5. Her output from this exercise, which includes a series of 10 time slices to a depth of approximately 1.51 meters, is included in Appendix G.

Laboratory Methods

Artifacts were processed in a field laboratory at Fort Hawkins and at archaeology laboratories in Athens and Rincon, Georgia. Artifacts were cleaned, stabilized and catalogued. For analysis purposes, artifacts from the project were grouped into functional categories, following South (2002). These data were entered into a Microsoft Access relational database for query manipulation. Selected artifacts were scanned and/or digitally photographed. Selected artifacts were subjected to special treatment with electrolysis and other cleaning methods. The abundance of metal artifacts precluded the electrolysis of every object but a representative sample was processed.

A wide assortment of identification guides were used in the artifact analysis. Among those that were particularly useful included Albert (1997), Baldwin (1973), Baumann (1999),

Bezdek (1997), Benn (2002), Brown (1971), Chartrand (1992), Elliott (1992a), Fike (1987), Goddens (1963), Hamilton and Emery (1988), Hughes and Lester (1991), Jones (1986), Jones and Sullivan (1985), Katcher (1989), Ketchum (1975), Kochan (2001), Lane and others (1970), Lord (1980), Lorrain (1968), McGuinn (1988), McKearin and McKearin (1989), Miller (1980), Nelson (1963), Newman (1970), Noël Hume (1985), Olsen (1963), Roenke (1978), South (2002), Stone (1974), Tice (1997), and Troiani (2001).

Reporting and Curation

The project findings were summarized in a technical report. A version of this report, aimed at a more general audience also was prepared. Copies of the report were submitted to the Fort Hawkins Commission (City of Macon), the Georgia Archaeological Site File (Athens), and the State Archaeologist. An electronic version of the report, which was formatted for Adobe Acrobat as a .pdf file, also was prepared. The .pdf version will be posted at the LAMAR Institute's internet website and was also submitted to the Fort Hawkins Commission for their use and distribution.

The collection of artifacts, notes, maps, photographs, and other pertinent records from the Fort Hawkins Archaeological Project were submitted to the Georgia Museum of Natural History, Athens, for curation. One of the ambitious goals of the Fort Hawkins Commission is to construct an interpretive center adjacent to Fort Hawkins. At some future date if this facility includes a suitable curation storage and research area, some or all of the Fort Hawkins collection may be curated at that site.

Chapter 4. Fort Hawkins' Role in American History

Fort Hawkins was named in honor of Indian Agent, Benjamin Hawkins (1754-1816) who recommended to the War Department that a fort and trading post be established on the Old Ocmulgee Fields. Hawkins personally selected the site on the hill and the fort was constructed in 1806 and garrisoned with men from Fort Wilkinson.

Historian R.S. Cotterill, "Federal Indian Management in the South 1789-1825", identified three methods of federal Indian management in the south, of which Fort Hawkins was engaged in all: diplomatic management through agents and superintendents; economic management through licensed traders and government trading posts; and military management through garrisoned forts (DeVorse and Waters 1973:5).

A timeline of important events that had an effect on the operation of Fort Hawkins is presented in Figure 8. This is followed by a narrative discussion of these events and others. An early photograph and various early artistic renditions of Fort Hawkins are shown in Figure 9. Figures 10 and 11 show a series of contemporary cartographic images of the area surrounding Fort Hawkins.

In 1803 President Thomas Jefferson negotiated the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, better known as the Louisiana Purchase. That deal vastly expanded the U.S. territory and Jefferson wasted no time in identifying what exactly the U.S. had acquired. In 1804 Fort Stoddert was established by the U.S. Army on the Mobile River in the newly acquired lands. Fort Stoddert was a key point along the Federal Road and also served as an Army Command headquarters.

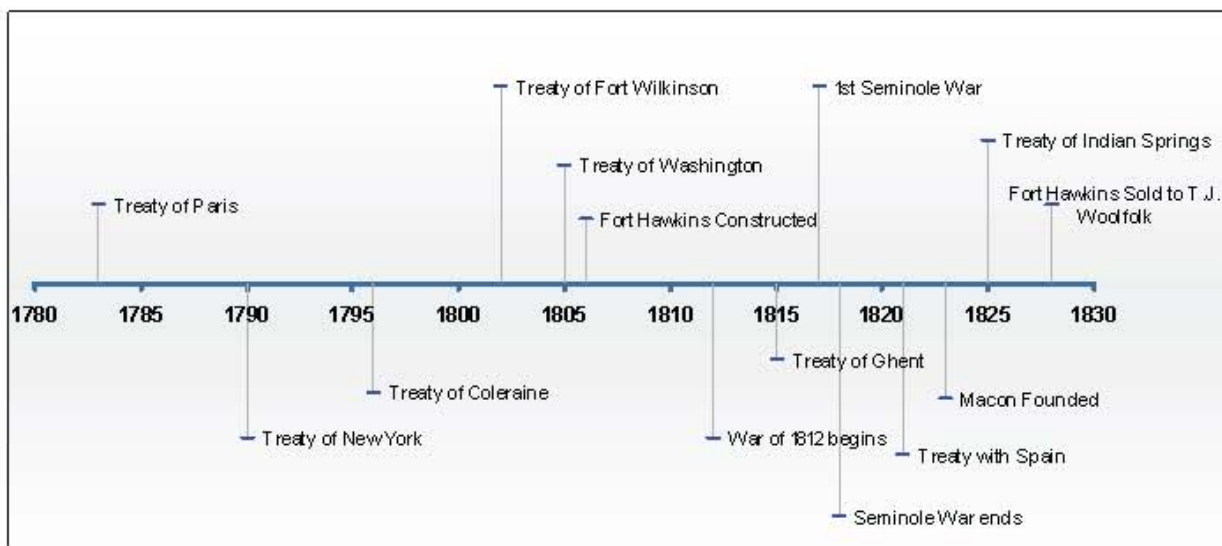


Figure 8. Timeline of Important Events.



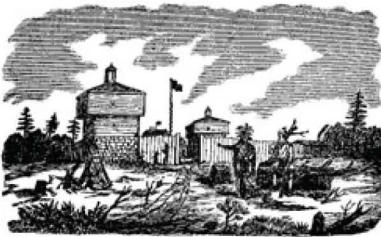
Ca. 1880



Ca. 1891



n.d.

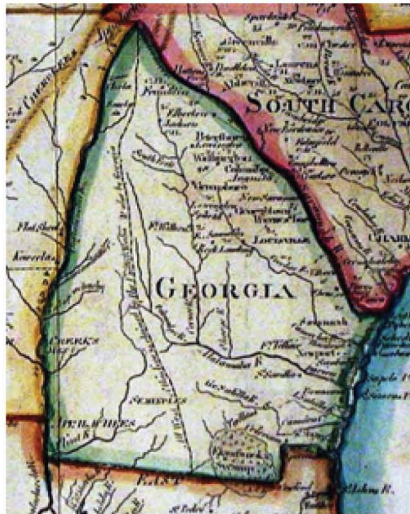


Ca. 1883



Ca. 1922

Figure 9. Early View and Artist Renditions of Fort Hawkins.



A.



B.



C.



D.

A. Bradley 1804; B. Bradley, 1812; C. Carey 1814; D. Gridley 1814

Figure 10. Early Maps of Fort Hawkins Vicinity, 1804-1814.

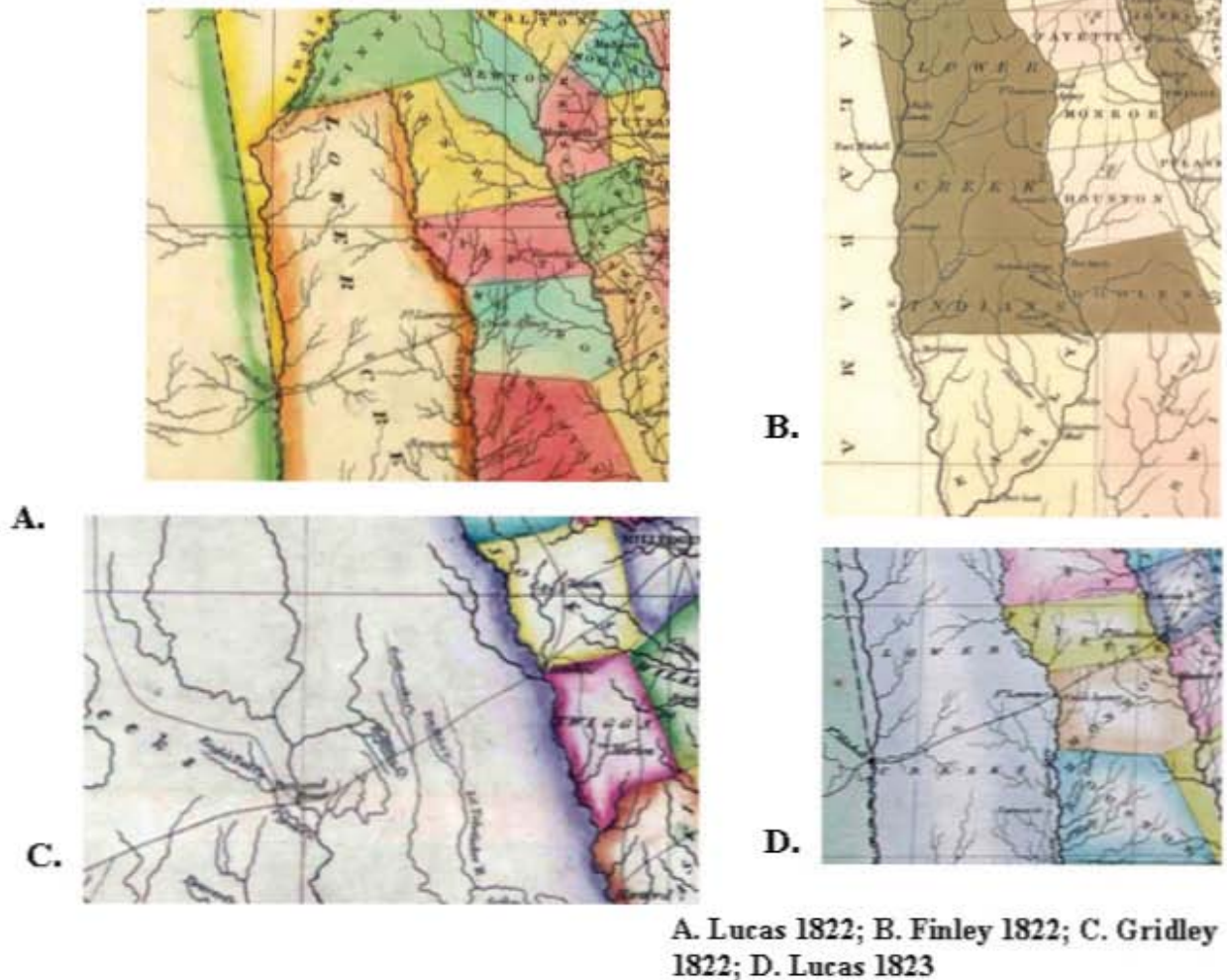


Figure 11. Early Maps of Fort Hawkins Vicinity, 1822-1823.

Treaty talks were held between the U.S. and the Creek Nation in Washington, D.C. in 1805. In the resulting Treaty of Washington, the Creeks agreed to cede a route for a military road through the Creek Nation. That treaty also allowed for the establishment of a U.S. Army fort in Creek territory. Both of these concessions would prove detrimental to the Creeks.

In February, 1806 the U.S. Army began construction of Fort Hawkins. It was built by troops from the 2nd Infantry Regiment, who were commanded by Captain William R. Boote. Captain Boote commanded the troops at Fort Hawkins from February 1806 through at least November 1806.

Between 1806-1811, the Federal Road was constructed, which connected Fort Hawkins,

Georgia to Fort Stoddert, Alabama. It was part of a large transportation network that linked Washington, D.C. with New Orleans, Louisiana.

The political situation on the southwestern frontier in 1806 was a state of flux. Allegations against Vice President Aaron Burr as the mastermind of a conspiracy to separate the western states and territories from the Union and to then invade Mexico were submitted to President Jefferson by J.H. Daveiss, a federal district attorney for Kentucky. At first, Jefferson ignored these charges (Daveiss 1807). In March, 1807 the fugitive Burr was captured in the Mississippi Territory.

Burr was returned under guard to Baldwin County by Captain William Boote. There is some indication that Aaron Burr was kept temporarily at Fort Hawkins before his imprisonment at Fort Wilkinson. Burr had been housed overnight at a small jail in Warthen, Georgia, which remains standing today as a historical building. Burr was charged with treason against the U.S. His trial was held in Richmond, Virginia in August, 1807, where he was acquitted of all charges (Linder 2001). Fort Hawkins represents a small footnote in the Aaron Burr story, but one which may be worth pursuing.

On November 7, 1807 at 4 p.m., three Moravian missionaries, Brothers Burckhard, Gambold and Petersen arrived at Fort Hawkins and were received by Benjamin Hawkins. The following day Burckhard, Peterson, Gambold, and Benjamin Hawkins left the fort at sundown and camped on the west side of the Ocmulgee River (Wilcox 1999). Over the next several years the Moravian missionaries established themselves at the Creek Agency on the Flint River. They made periodic visits to Fort Hawkins to pick up supplies and for other purposes. One such trip was recorded on January 28, 1811. Burckhard and Mr. Conklin, a hired hand, traveled to Fort Hawkins to pick up a shipment of three crates of tin that had been shipped to them from Philadelphia. On May 23, 1811 Petersen, Burckhard and a gentleman named Wohlfarth arrived at Fort Hawkins where they picked up another shipment from Philadelphia and spent the night with Jonathan Halsted, the U.S. Trading Factor (Wilcox 1999).

In 1809 1st Lieutenant Robert McDougald, 3rd Infantry, was given command of Fort Hawkins. McDougald, a native Georgian, was not in command long for on August 7, 1809, he was court-martialed and dismissed from the Army. McDougald died later that year from apparent natural causes and was buried in a small mound in the general vicinity of the fort which today is called the McDougald Mound (DeVorse and Waters 1973:19). Wilcox (1999) reports that, according to the Ocmulgee National

Monument, no traces of human remains have been found in their archaeological excavations of the McDougald Mound.

Wilcox (1999) noted that Lieutenant Lockett, “possibly commanded Fort Hawkins after Captain Thomas A. Smith was promoted to Major” in 1809. By May 10, 1810, Captain Thomas Adams Smith was in command of Fort Hawkins. Smith was from Virginia. He joined the U.S. Army as a second lieutenant in the Regiment of Artillery on December 15, 1803 and in May 1808 transferred to the newly created Regiment of the Riflemen. (DeVorse and Waters 1973:19). DeVorse and Waters noted that Smith’s men were presented as elite sharpshooters, but Smith really spent most of his time at Fort Hawkins teaching his men how to shoot. Smith was still in command of Fort Hawkins on January 19, 1811 (Wilcox 1999).

Meanwhile, the Creeks were growing increasingly unhappy over trespasses on their land by illegal settlers from Georgia. These intrusions were facilitated by the newly completed Federal Road, which cut through the most conservative parts of the Upper Creeks. The U.S. Army troops from Fort Hawkins were dispatched to handle this situation. On July 18, 1810 Benjamin Hawkins wrote to the Creek chief, Hopithle Micco, “The troops at Fort Hawkins have been on the frontiers of Georgia and destroyed several houses and cowpens and fields of corn made by the white people on the Indian lands” (Hawkins 1810, cited in Wilcox 1999).

A Creek Council was held at Tuckabatchee town on the Tallapoosa River in 1811. Also in attendance were Cherokee chiefs and the Shawnee chiefs Tecumseh. Tecumseh had come to the Creeks to incite them to war against the white people. A heated debate ensued and after it was over, a major rift was formed between the various Creek towns. Tecumseh had prophesized a great earthquake that would occur if his words were not heeded, which happened to coincide with a series of tectonic

events along the New Madrid fault. Tecumseh's resistance movement gained favor with many of the Creeks, particularly among the Upper Creeks (who were more conservative and less prone to acculturate than their Lower Creek neighbors).

On January 23, 1812 and again on February 7, 1812, the Moravian missionaries at the Creek Agency experienced a severe earthquake (Wilcox 1999). These were almost certainly earthquakes centered on the New Madrid fault in the Mississippi River valley. These quakes were also experienced in northwest Georgia, where they caused concern for Cherokee Chief Major Ridge, who discussed their implications with the Moravian missionaries at Spring Place. These tectonic shocks were strong enough in the Cherokee country to flatten Cherokee houses. Major Ridge was puzzled by the event, which had been predicted by the Tecumseh at the Tuckabatchee Council House in 1811. These earthquakes were likely felt at Fort Hawkins as well, although no direct mention of them was found.

On June 6, 1812 the 3rd Infantry Regiment, U.S. Army had 73 men stationed at Fort Hawkins under the command of Captain Philip Cook (Wilcox 1999). This probably represents a single company of the regiment. The historical records pertaining to the number of troops at Fort Hawkins in the years prior to the War of 1812 are sketchy. Captain Cook's 73 men represent a relatively small garrison, but with pending global events, that scene was about to change.

On June 18, 1812 the U.S. Congress approved President James Madison's declaration of war against, "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dependencies thereof" (American Memory 2006). The Creek Nation and troops at Fort Hawkins were soon involved in this international conflict. On July 25, 1812 war in America erupted in earnest with the British-allied Indians in the Northwestern territory in a skirmish near Detroit. The Indian

wars were part of the more global War of 1812. While numerous histories have been written on the War of 1812, the campaigns in the South are poorly covered and events in Georgia are almost totally neglected (c.f., Lossing 1869; Mahon 1972; Hickey 1989).

On June 24, 1812, Major General Thomas Pinckney wrote from Savannah to the Georgia governor advising him that the U.S. had declared war against Great Britain. Pinckney was concerned about the coastal defense of Charleston and Savannah and he hoped that the Georgia militia and levies could be mustered to support Forts Wayne and Jackson at Savannah and that a regiment was to be posted, "in a situation proper for the defence of the harbour of St. Marys and its dependencies". By July 18, 1812 Pinckney's headquarters were at Charleston, South Carolina (Telemon Cuyler Collection, MS1170, Box 80, folder 47).

Georgians were ready for a fight. Dozens of atrocities had been committed against the settlers on the frontier. Similarly, many Creek Indians were tired of encroachment by the Georgians on their land. In the summer of 1812, General John Floyd and his Georgia militia engaged a party of hostile Creeks at Singer's Hill (near Macon's Museum of Arts and Sciences), less than 10 miles from Fort Hawkins (Wilcox 1999). This skirmish was the closest hostile action recorded in the vicinity of Fort Hawkins during its period of operation. This skirmish was the first warning of trouble with the Creeks in Georgia. The war with the hostile Creeks, termed variously the Creek War and the Red Stick War, would not fully develop for another year. Most of the battles in the Creek War took place in Alabama and Mississippi but Georgians and U.S. troops from Fort Hawkins were involved in a number of these battles (Halbert and Ball 1969; Woodward 1965; Pickett 1851; Hall 1934; Owsley 2000; Elliott et al. 2002).

Hostilities erupted between the U.S. and Spanish East Florida in late 1812. Secretary of

State James Monroe wrote to Georgia Governor David Mitchell on October 13, 1812, informing the governor of recent military action between the Spanish forces and Captain Thomas Smith's Rifle Regiment. This letter indicates that by October 1812, the Rifle Regiment had likely moved their base of operations to coastal Georgia (Monroe 1812).

Late in 1812 General Andrew Jackson was ordered by Congress to defend lower states. Earlier in the year Congress authorized a volunteer corps of 50,000 to serve under Jackson's command. Jackson's army was assembled at Fayetteville, Tennessee where it trained and prepared for a coming military campaign (Remini 2001). Jackson formed an attack strategy that was three-pronged. The Tennessee troops and Cherokee allies would attack from the north, Major General Ferdinand Claiborne along with Mississippi and Choctaw troops would attack from the west, and Georgia troops and Creek allies would attack from the east.

The War of 1812 in the south did not begin in earnest until mid-1813. Often referred to as the Creek War or Red Stick War, the southern theatre of war pitted the U.S. troops, state militias, and friendly Indians, or White Sticks, against the hostile Creeks, or Red Sticks. The Red Sticks received some support from British and Spanish sources in West Florida. The first major engagement in the Creek War was the battle of Tuckabatchee on the Tallapoosa River (in present-day Alabama) between the Red Sticks and Friendly Creeks, which took place on July 20, 1813. This battle was essentially a civil war within the Creek Nation whereby friendly Creeks who had gathered in the town of Tuckabatchee, which was a paramount town of the Upper Creeks, were besieged by Red Stick warriors. The siege was finally broken when friendly Lower Creek and Yuchi troops arrived from Georgia to disperse the attackers (Halbert and Ball 1969; Hall 1934).

Benjamin Hawkins had followed the events at Tuckabatchee very closely. Tuckabatchee was a very important town and also his wife's home. Hawkins had a deep understanding of the attitudes and politics in the Creek Nation and his correspondence demonstrates his efforts to communicate this to the U.S. and Georgia officials. The victory at Tuckabatchee by the friendly Indians, without any military assistance from the U.S. or state troops, demonstrated to Hawkins that they were reliable allies. Hawkins alerted the U.S. Army command of the worsening situation in the Creek country.

On August 30, 1813, a surprise attack on Fort Mims, north of Mobile, resulted in the death of more than 400 Mississippi militia and civilians. This event touched off a firestorm of rage among the southerners and a rallying cry of, "Remember Fort Mims!" was on the tongues of many white settlers in Georgia and Tennessee. The Fort Mims massacre legitimized, in the minds of many whites, launching an assault against the hostile Creeks (Claiborne n.d.; Halbert and Ball 1969; Hall 1934; Elliott et al. 2002).

It took more than a month for the Georgia troops to mobilize for the campaign against the Creeks. Meanwhile, many were concerned with defending their homeland. On October 7, 1813, Brigadier General John Floyd, Georgia militia, wrote from Camp Hope to Georgia Governor Mitchell warning him of the lack of protection at Fort Hawkins. Floyd advised, "Captain Cunningham detained the detachment sent out by Captain Cook and I have recalled Captain Barons from Fort Hawkins that place is consequently without defence" (Hays 1940, v.3:264).

The U.S. Army responded slowly to the growing threat of war in the Creek Country. Major General Thomas Pinckney wrote from headquarters, Sixth District, Point Peter, July 15, 1813 to the commanding officer [Captain Philip Cook] at Fort Hawkins instructing him to give aid and protection to the [Creek]

Agency (Hays 1940, v. 3: 187). Colonel [Patrick] Jack, 8th Infantry, also received orders on July 15, 1813, “to concentrate, arms and equip the recruits under your command and organize them, and to hold them in readiness to march to Fort Hawkins on the application of the officer commanding there” (NARA RG98:90). The following day Major Bourke, was issued orders, “to forward with the least possible delay to Captain Cook 8th Infantry or officer commanding at Fort Hawkins two hundred hand of arms and one hundred round of prepared cartridges for each musket...500 pounds of lead and 400 barrels of powder. The harness traveling carriage for 4 3-pounders if you have this if you have these not, but for 4 pounders” (NARA RG98:91).

In late August and September 1813 the Georgia militia assembled at Fort Hawkins under command of General John Floyd. Approximately 3,600 Georgia troops were at the fort. General Floyd was snubbed when he attempted to present the Georgia militia to the Commandant of Fort Hawkins, Captain Philip Cook. The problem was of one of organization. U.S. Army regulations required that the troops be organized into companies of 100 privates and five officers. The Georgia militia, however, was organized into companies of 75 enlisted men and three officers. Captain Cook refused to inspect the troops until they were reorganized. The matter was referred to Georgia Governor David Mitchell, who urged Cook to accept the Georgia militia as organized. Governor Mitchell wrote to General Floyd advising him to disregard Captain Cook and to order his own Adjutant General to prepare the troops for the Brigade Major’s inspection. The results of that inspection would be forwarded by Governor Mitchell to Secretary of War Armstrong (Skeen 1999:162-163).

A major problem that faced the Georgia militia in launching their campaign in the Creek War was the lack of provisions and financing. Governor Mitchell informed Secretary of War Armstrong on September 14 that no funds had been received

from the quartermaster department nor was any Army contractor present (Skeen 1999:163). Mitchell temporarily solved this problem by funding Floyd’s army with state funds. Once General Floyd’s troops had reorganized and were properly provisioned they began their campaign into the Creek Nation. One estimate of the troop strength of the Georgia militia at the start of the campaign was nearly 2,400 men, although by the time of Floyd’s attack on Atasi his forces had dwindled to 950 Georgia militia and 400 friendly Creeks. The Creek allies included Lower Creeks (Cowetas led by William McIntosh), the Upper Creeks (Tuckabatchees led by the Mad Dragon’s Son), and Yuchis (led by Timothy Barnard) (Skeen 1999:163; Pickett 1851; Elliott et al. 2002).

All during this tense period Colonel Hawkins did his best to advise the U.S. Army of the situation in the Creek country. On September 21 Colonel Hawkins was at Fort Hawkins but he had returned to the Creek Agency by September 26. By the end of September, in a letter to General John Floyd, Hawkins had identified the hostile towns and he gave a conservative estimate of their troop strength at 2,500 (American Memory 2006; ASP, Senate, 13th Congress, 3rd Session, Indian Affairs: Volume 1:854).

On October 3, 1813 Colonel Hawkins wrote from the Creek Agency to Captain Cook at Fort Hawkins. Hawkins described the increasing threat of attack by the Red Sticks:

The hostile Indians appear very active. From concurrent testimony from various quarters, they mediated an attack, yesterday or to-day on Coweta. I am apprehensive Tombigby is again to feel, or the upper frontier of Georgia will soon feel, the force of their fanaticism and murderous warfare. The friendly Indians have done all they can, hitherto, by their concentration of force on Chattahoochee, extending strong patrols up that river, and foraging as far as Tallapoosa, to keep them off from our frontiers, until our

armed force collects and moves on. But now, believing that they have to contend for their existence, they have called in all their patrols but those in front of their enemy. Uchee have fled from their old town, and has joined the prophet, through terror. The friendly chiefs have sent a party who destroyed their towns, and removed every living eatable thing belonging to them.

I wish you would send out a box of muskets, fifty pounds good powder, one hundred pounds lead or bullets, fifty flints, and some cartridge paper. I wish to be prepared for events, as well as we can. If the friendly Indians are routed from Coweta, or, from necessity, constrained to come on terms with their enemy, the latter will certainly be on us, and attempt to verify their threats against the frontiers of Georgia. I have hoped, till lately, we should have no fighting on this side Chattahoochee, as I expected we should move on to support the warriors there.

By this want of orders, changes my opinion.

(American Memory 2006; ASP, Senate, 13th Congress, 3rd Session, Indian Affairs: Volume 1:854).

On October 18, 1813 Colonel Hawkins wrote from Fort Hawkins to U.S. Secretary of War General Armstrong:

The friendly Indians attacked the Uchees, killed three of them, destroyed all their houses and provisions, with the loss of two horses killed and two wounded. The Seminoles retreated back towards Micasooky, near St. Mark's. The war party were concentrating their force at Tuckaubatchee, to move on eastwardly, and against the friendly Indians at Coweta. We are nearly one thousand strong there. Terms of peace have been offered Coweta: "Give up four chiefs who are named, and join us against the white people, and we are friends." Peace with them, on any terms, is refused, unless under authority from the President.

I have ordered the Indians to take sides; all who are not for the chiefs are hostile, and will be treated accordingly. There is to be no neutrals; the evidence required of their having joined the chiefs is to give battle to the adherents of the Prophets.

A detachment of about four hundred well looking, well provided, and orderly men, of the militia army, have crossed Flint river, at the agency, and are fortifying there, and detachments will move on as they are ready. I arrived here yesterday, and shall return to-morrow to the agency. I have an assistant and interpreter constantly with the friendly Indians, and I keep General Floyd informed of every occurrence.

I am, respectfully, sir, your obedient servant (American Memory 2006; ASP, Senate, 13th Congress, 3rd Session, Indian Affairs: Volume 1:857).

In late October 1813 Georgia militia under Brigadier General John Floyd set march westward from Fort Hawkins and established a series of supply forts along the Federal Road at Forts Lawrence (Flint River), Perry (present-day Marion County, Georgia), Mitchell (Chattahoochee River), Bainbridge (present-day Macon County, Alabama), and Hull (present day Macon County, Alabama). On November 29, 1813 Brigadier General John Floyd and the Georgia militia, along with Friendly Creeks, attacked the Red Sticks at Atasi and Tallassee on the Tallapoosa River. January 27, 1814 Battle of Calabee Creek between Georgia militia and Red Sticks, General Floyd wounded and returned to Fort Mitchell.

Major General Thomas Pinckney arrived at Fort Hawkins in late November, 1813 to command the 6th Military District. On February 18, 1814, Major General Thomas Pinckney wrote from Fort Hawkins to Georgia Governor Early regarding the payroll for the Georgia militia who were in the U.S. service (Hays 1940, v.4:19). Pinckney maintained his headquarters at Fort Hawkins through April 1814 (DeVorse)

**6th Military District
Staff, 1813**

Staff Officer	Rank	Staff Appointment	Date of Commission	Station
Pinckney, Thomas	Major General	Major General		
Huger, Francis K.	Lieutenant Colonel, 2nd Artillery	Adjutant General	April 6, 1813	Charleston
Erving, John	Lieutenant, 1st Artillery	Assistant General	April 6, 1813	
Boote, William R.	Major, 2nd Infantry	Inspector General	April 6, 1813	
Chaplain, Samuel	Lieutenant, 1st Artillery	Deputy Quartermaster General	March 18, 1813	
Bourke, Thomas	Lieutenant, 1st Artillery	Deputy Quartermaster General	April 19, 1813	Savannah
Lequex, Peter	Lieutenant, 8th Infantry	Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General	August 31, 1813	
Cox, William	Lieutenant, 8th Infantry	Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General	August 31, 1813	
Paine, Joseph B.	Lieutenant, 8th Infantry	Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General	August 31, 1813	
Ward, James	Lieutenant, 8th Infantry	Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General	August 31, 1813	
Willard, Prentis	Captain, 8th Infantry	Engineer		
Margart, John H.	Captain, 8th Infantry	Deputy Commissary of Ordnance	December 31, 1812	Charleston
Bruckner, Daniel	Captain, 8th Infantry	Assistant Commissary of Ordnance	August 6, 1813	
Keyser, Christopher	Captain, 8th Infantry	Assistant Commissary of Ordnance	August 6, 1813	Charleston
Dent, Thomas T.	Captain, 8th Infantry	Judge Advocate	July 19, 1813	
M' Caw, William	Captain, 8th Infantry	Hospital Surgeon	May 20, 1813	
Proctor, George V.	Captain, 8th Infantry	Hospital Surgeon	June 11, 1813	
Akin, Thomas	Captain, 8th Infantry	Hospital Surgeon	June 29, 1813	
Sackett, John H.	Captain, 8th Infantry	Hospital Surgeon's Mate	March 22, 1813	
Stevens, Joseph L.	Captain, 8th Infantry	Hospital Surgeon's Mate	June 29, 1813	
Meriwether, William	Captain, 8th Infantry	Hospital Surgeon's Mate	July 19, 1813	
Ballard, William	Captain, 8th Infantry	Garrison Surgeon's Mate	March 24, 1812	Fort Hawkins
Dusenbury, Samuel	Captain, 8th Infantry	Garrison Surgeon's Mate	March 25, 1812	St. Marys
Cook, Hamlin	Lieutenant, 8th Infantry	District Paymaster		Charleston
Simmons, Henry	Lieutenant, 8th Infantry	Military Storekeeper		Charleston

Table 1. 6th Military District Staff, 1813. (Source: American Memory 2006, American State Papers, Military Affairs, Volume 1:386).

and Waters 1973:21; Wilcox 1999). Fort Hawkins was headquarters for the 6th Military District, commanded by Major General Thomas Pinckney. Pinckney's staff in 1813 is shown in Table 1.

A decisive battle took place on March 27, 1814 between the U.S. Army and Tennessee militia, Friendly Creeks, Cherokees and other allies versus the Red Sticks at the Creek town of Tohopeka, which was located at the Horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa River.

On July 13, 1814 Benjamin Hawkins wrote from Fort Hawkins to the Secretary of War General Armstrong, "I arrived here, last evening, with General Graham, with the troops under his command, except what was sufficient to garrison the posts at the agency". Hawkins

went on to note, "The whole number of Indians fed at our posts, and depots of provision, on the 1st July, were five thousand two hundred and fifty-seven" (American Memory 2006; ASP, Senate, 13th Congress, 3rd Session, Indian Affairs: Volume 1:860). Hawkins was referring to Brigadier General Joseph Graham, North Carolina militia, who marched with his troops to the Tallapoosa River area to garrison Forts Decatur, Jackson, Burrows, and other forts in Alabama (Graham 1814; Elliott et al. 2002; Mahon 1951; Champlain 1814).

In August 1814 the Treaty of Fort Jackson was signed by the Creek Nation and the U.S. at Fort Toulouse, Alabama. The Creek Nation was forced to cede lands to U.S. comprising nearly half of modern-day Alabama (Kappler 1904b). Although the Creeks had signed a peace treaty

with the U.S. that August, many warriors did not accept this accord. They regrouped in West Florida and extreme southwest Georgia, where they maintained a warlike position.

Throughout November and December, 1814 Colonel Hawkins prepared his Creek Regiment for war against the hostile Indians, or "Semenolies". He wrote on November 5, 1814 to Georgia Governor Early, in which he discussed provisions for the Indian troops, including clothing and weapons. Hawkins was concerned that his Indian troops were not being treated with as much respect as the other troops and he noted, "I intend to apply to Majr. Cook to take command of the posts in the urgency of the case" Hawkins was at the Creek Agency by November 15 but by November 29, he returned to Fort Hawkins where he wrote to Governor Early, "I am certain of having 1000 warriors enrolled at least" (Telemon Cuyler Collection Box 76).

Meanwhile, the Georgia militia in the Fort Hawkins area prepared for the upcoming military campaigns. Brigadier General Blackshear, Georgia militia, received his orders from Fort Hawkins on November 23, 1814 from Major General John McIntosh:

Brigadier General Blackshear will proceed to organize the detachment now assembled at this place into two regiments and a battalion, agreeable to the enclosed table, which will be his guide.

Colonel Wimberly's regiment, being far short of its complement, must be completed by companies of the second class of militia from the counties of Jasper and Morgan. These will be entitled to choose a major.

The battalion will be formed of Captain Saffold's artillery-company, three rifle companies, commanded by Captains Henry Lane, Samuel Lane, and Thomas Anderson, and one line-company of the second class from the county of Morgan. Col. Booth's regiment being full without Captain

Anderson's rifle-company, which is directed to form a part of the battalion. The battalion will be entitled to elect a lieutenant-colonel and one major.

Major Philip Cook will inspect and muster the troops when thus organized.

The contractor will issue the rations in future at the camp, where regimental deposits must be provided for the reception of rations, and the regimental quartermasters will attend to receive their rations.

General Blackshear will appoint two discreet persons to inspect the beef or pork before it is issued; and, should said inspectors reject as unwholesome any part of the rations offered to the troops, the contractor is immediately to be apprized of the same, being his property, that he may make the best disposition he can of any part of the rations legally rejected as unwholesome, - the troops having no control over what is not issued to them. The rations will be issued at sunrise every morning (Miller 1858:423-424).

On Christmas Eve, 1814 the Treaty of Ghent was signed at Ghent, Belgium between the U.S. and Great Britain officially ending the War of 1812. This message took weeks to reach the southern U.S., however, and several battles took place after the war had ended, including battles at Fort Bowyer, Alabama, Point Peter and St. Marys, Georgia, and New Orleans, Louisiana. In Georgia the British threat remained into early 1815, as did the threat from hostile Red Sticks who either had not received the message or who ignored it altogether. The Treaty of Ghent was ratified by the U.S. Senate on February 17, 1815 (American Memory 2006).

From December 23, 1814 though January 8, 1815, the U.S. Army, commanded by Andrew Jackson, engaged with the combined British forces in the Battle of New Orleans. Among the U.S. Army troops that fought in these series of battles were the units from the 2nd, 4th, 7th,

24th, and 44th Regiments, all of whom had served previously at Fort Hawkins. General Jackson won this battle and the British forces retreated. In early January, 1815 other British forces under command by Admiral Cockburn, who had sailed down the Atlantic coast from Washington, D.C. landed on the Georgia coast and established a large camp on Cumberland Island. From that position the British attacked Fort Point Peter on January 10, 1815, and St. Marys, Georgia, and other coastal settlements on the lower Georgia coast (Toner 2007). On February 9, 1815 British naval forces, that were part of the troops retreating from their defeat at New Orleans, approached Mobile, Alabama and after a brief battle, captured Fort Bowyer. The St. Marys and Mobile campaigns, as well as the more famous Battle of New Orleans, were fought after the war with Great Britain had officially ended. When word of Jackson's victory at New Orleans reached Fort Hawkins, a salute was fired in his honor.

Colonel Hawkins wrote a letter from Fort Hawkins to Governor Early on December 13, 1814, but in it he did not discuss any of the affairs in the fort (Telemon Cuyler Collection, Box 76). By January 4, 1815 Hawkins and his Creek Regiment were on the move against the Seminoles. On that day he wrote from his camp near Fort Mitchell to General McIntosh advising him of the shortage of provisions of the troops, noting that the Choctaws, "subsisted on old stinking cow hides", and their provisions consisted of "biscuits only". On January 22, 1815 Hawkins wrote to Governor Early from his headquarters near "Cowetau" [Coweta] advising the Governor of the forces under Hawkins' command. Hawkins noted that, "3 detachments have marched. Hawkins was preparing for a boat trip down the Chattahoochee River and he noted "My batteaux six only are reported unfit for service". These boats and barges were under command of Major Wooton (Telemon Cuyler collection, Box 76).

By February 12, 1815, Colonel Hawkins' Indian Regiment had reached the 115 mile point of

the Chattahoochee River, where they camped. Hawkins reported that, "100 whites, 80 blacks and the remainder indians" were entrenched in breastworks with howitzers and cohorn. Hawkins was probably describing the fortifications of the Negro fort, just below the confluence of the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers. On February 26, 1815, Colonel Hawkins wrote from this same camp that his regiment had received word of peace. This revelation undoubtedly put a damper on Hawkins' campaign against the Seminoles (Telemon Cuyler Collection, Box 76). A U.S. government accounting of military expenses, compiled in 1824, noted that from January 1, 1806 to the "end of the late war", \$2,294.01 was spent by the U.S. in support of Fort Hawkins (ASP, Military Affairs, v.3:248).

By April 21, 1815 Colonel Hawkins had returned to the "District of Fort Hawkins", where he advised Governor Early of five recent attacks on Georgians and friendly Indians since the news of peace with England, and he noted that hostiles in small parties "continue their plundering and murdering on the road". U.S. Army troops were dispatched to help control these attacks. On May 30, 1815, Hawkins wrote to Governor Early from Fort Hawkins noting that, "Three companies of the 8th U.S. infantry have crossed Ocmulgee on their way to reinforce the posts" (Telemon Cuyler Collection, Box 76). By July 14, 1815, Colonel Hawkins had returned to the Creek Agency (Keith Read Collection MS921, Box 12:33).

In 1816 Daniel Hughes was given permission to move west, establishing a sub agency at Fort Mitchell because the factory was losing money at Fort Hawkins (DeVorsey and Waters 1973:15). Fort Mitchell became the main Federal Factory and by September 1816 Fort Hawkins was used for fur storage. In December, 1816 Superintendent of Indian Trade Thomas L. McKenney advised Isaac Thomas, Chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs (House of Representatives, Tennessee) that the factory at Fort Hawkins, "has been ordered to Fort Mitchell on the Cha-ta-how-

chee River; and in the midst of the Coweta and Cusseloch [Cusseta] Towns, immediately at the intersection of two leading roads to the southern territory” (McKenney 2006 [1816]). Fort Hawkins continued to participate in the Indian trade in a minor role but its heyday as a trading center had passed by 1816.

While most historians date the beginning of the Seminole War to 1817, hostilities never completely ceased in southwestern Georgia and Florida following the Treaty of Fort Jackson in 1814. In June 1816, The 4th Infantry, U.S. Army established Fort Scott established on the lower Flint River. Military supplies were sent from Fort Hawkins to Fort Scott during that month. On June 17, 1816, Colonel Duncan Clinch and a small body of 4th Infantry U.S. troops destroyed a fortification at the head of the Apalachicola River in Florida, which was known variously as the Negro Fort, Bonavista, Apalachicolas, Nicholls Fort. The U.S. Army would later build Fort Gadsden near this fort. Ironically, Benjamin Hawkins, who had been planning to attack the same fort in early 1815, died from natural causes in June, 1816 (Hays 1939b:895-896).

Although hostile action took place in the Creek Nation in mid-1816, the U.S. Army’s attack on Fowltown in southwest Georgia on November 17, 1817 is considered by many historians to mark the start of the 1st Seminole War. On December 9, 1817, the *Boston Recorder*, a weekly newspaper, reported activities against the Seminoles around Fort Hawkins and the Flint River and on March 3, 1818 the same newspaper described the Fort Hawkins Indian War (*Boston Recorder* 1817, 1818).

On April 30, 1817, John M. Davis, Assistant Inspector General, U.S. Army submitted a report to Colonel A.P. Hayne Inspector General, U.S. Army in which he described several of the U.S. Army garrisons in the South, including Fort Hawkins. His description of Fort Hawkins read:

Fort Hawkins in the state of Georgia is on the great road leading from Milledgeville to St Stephens in the Mississippi Territory, situated nearly one mile East of the Oakmulgee river - It is a regular built stockade work, with two Blockhouses at diagonal angles - Sufficient quarters for the reception of two companies complete. There is at present only a Small Detachment of the 4th Infantry, which serves as a protection to the Public Factory and ordnance stores at that Place (Davis 1817 in Carter 1952:95).

In July, 1817 *Niles’ Weekly Register* reported that approximately 1,500 Creek Indians assembled at Fort Hawkins (*Niles’ Weekly Register* 1817). These Creeks were likely assembled at Fort Hawkins to receive their annuity payments.

On November 25, 1817 Major General Gaines wrote to the Georgia Governor requesting militia forces to assemble at Fort Hawkins. These troops were to serve as an auxiliary force in Gaines’ campaign against the Seminoles (American Memory 2006).

On January 22, 1818 Major General Andrew Jackson and Tennessee volunteers under his command embarked from Nashville for Fort Scott, via Fort Hawkins, to face the Seminoles. The Tennessee troops arrived at Fort Hawkins on February 9 and left Fort Hawkins for Hartford around February 12 (American Memory 2006). From Hartford General Jackson began his Seminole campaign.

In April, 1818, Georgia militia troops made a major blunder, which quickly drew the wrath of Andrew Jackson. Known as the Chehaw Affair, it involved the destruction by Georgia militia troops commanded by Captain Obed Wright of Chehaw town on Muckalee Creek, near present-day Leesburg, Georgia. Unfortunately, the Chiaha warriors who lived at Chehaw town were allies with the U.S. and had actively participated in the Seminole campaign under Andrew Jackson. Captain Wright ordered his troops to attack Chehaw town, even though

his orders from Governor Rabun authorized him to attack two other hostile Chiaha towns. Andrew Jackson learned of the event from Brigadier General Thomas Glasscock of the Georgia militia, who informed him by letter. The destruction of their town enraged Jackson who immediately demanded the arrest of Captain Wright. Wright was hauled in chains to Fort Hawkins. Georgia Governor Rabun locked horns with Jackson over this affair (Coulter 1965:369-395; Glascock 1818).

On May 28, 1818 the 1st Seminole War ended with the surrender of Fort Barrancas by the Spanish to Jackson's army. Major General Jackson proclaimed Colonel William King as the military governor of West Florida, then General Jackson and his Tennessee volunteers headed back home. U.S. troops, including many of the troops that had been stationed at Forts Scott, Gaines, and Mitchell remained at military posts in Florida (Missall and Missall 2004:42-43).

An official U.S. summary was compiled in 1820 of the military manpower exerted in the Seminole War and presented to the Secretary of War (Towson 1820). An adapted version of this document is shown in Table 2.

Major General Gaines established his Army Command at Fort Hawkins in September and October, 1818. His last letter sent from Fort Hawkins was on October 24, 1818, after which the Army Command moved south to Marion, Georgia, then to Dublin, Georgia, and then to Fernandina on Amelia Island, Florida. Major General Gaines had left Lieutenant Micajah Crupper, 7th Infantry in command of Fort Hawkins upon his departure from Hartford (NARA RG98:109, 208). The U.S. Congress published a table showing the distribution of the Army in October, 1818. It showed troop strength of the posts and garrisons in the South. Although no troops, cannons, or commander were listed for Fort Hawkins, it identified Fort Hawkins as the Headquarters for Departments 6, 7, and 8, Division of the South, commanded

by Brevet General Gaines. An inventory of ordnance on hand at Fort Hawkins, dated December 31, 1818 (published in 1832), listed two Field mounted cannons, 12 and 6 pounders, and 1 dismounted Field cannon, 12 and 6 pounders [sic](ASP Military Affairs, v. 1:789, 821).

By 1819 Fort Hawkins was losing its military necessity, although it remained important as a supply base. Its role as a support facility is illustrated in a January 14, 1819 letter from Daniel E. Bunch, Aid de Camp, who noted that Paymaster Thomas R. Broom, 7th Infantry had \$17,000.00 "in his hands when he left Fort Hawkins for the Apalachicola" (NARA RG98:243).

On February 5, 1819, Major General Gaines wrote from Army Command at Fernandina, Florida to Secretary of War Calhoun, in which he explained to Calhoun why he considered Fort Hawkins to be unnecessary (NARA RG98:276-278). The U.S. Army garrison was removed from Fort Hawkins in 1819. By 1820, the Federal property at Fort Hawkins was being leased out as indicated by a unattributed letter to the Quartermaster General, in which was enclosed a list of the lessees of lots of ground on the public reservation at Fort Hawkins and the rent received thereof (NARA, Military Book No. 11:103-106).

On July 17, 1819, Cherokee Hawkins, a daughter of the late Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, was married to Captain Lawshe, U.S. Army at Fort Hawkins (*Niles' Weekly Register* 1819:16). By December 1820 Fort Hawkins was nearly abandoned, as illustrated by this description of the area by Joseph W. Houck, who was a traveler on the road from Charleston, South Carolina to Alabama,

Finally we entered the Creek Nation at what is now the beautiful city of Macon, Ga. Here we found Old Fort Hawkins, one residence and one blacksmith shop, while the whole country around was a dense forest, whose stately grandeur

	Georgia Creeks	Kentucky	Alabama	Total	
	8	6	5	0	19
Major Generals	0	0	0	0	0
Brigadier Generals	1	1	0	0	2
Aids-de-camp	2	0	0	0	2
Brigade Inspectors	1	0	0	0	1
Assistant Adjutant Generals	1	1	1	0	3
Assistant Inspector Generals	1	0	1	0	2
Brigade Quartermasters	1	0	0	0	1
Ass't Dep. Quartermaster Gen.	0	0	1	0	1
Assistant Commissaries	0	4	0	0	4
Judge Advocate	0	0	1	0	1
Chaplains	0	0	1	0	1
Hospital Surgeons	1	0	0	0	1

	Georgia Creeks	Kentucky	Alabama	Total	
	38	6	32	3	79
Colonels	3	2	2	0	7
Lieutenant Colonels	2	2	4	0	8
Majors	5	2	4	0	11
Adjutants	4	0	4	0	8
Paymasters	3	0	0	0	3
Forage-masters	0	0	1	0	1
Assistant Forage-masters	0	0	1	0	1
Surgeons	4	0	2	2	8
Surgeons' mates	3	0	4	1	8
Quartermasters	4	0	2	0	6
Non-commissioned officers	10	0	8	0	18

	Georgia Creeks	Kentucky	Alabama	Total	
	123	84	86	22	315
Captains	39	28	20	7	94
First Lieutenants	39	28	20	6	93
Second Lieutenants	39	28	18	3	88
Third Lieutanants	1	0	11	3	15
Ensigns	2	0	0	3	5
Cornets	3	0	17	0	20

2431 1517 1163 387 5498

Georgia Creeks Kentucky Alabama Total
2600 1613 1286 412 5911

Table 2. Volunteers, Militia, and Indian Warriors, Engaged in the Seminole War, 1817 and 1818. (Adapted from Townson 1820).

and deep solitudes were broken only by the howling of the wild beasts, the chase and sports of the natives, and an occasional party of emigrants from the older States (Houck 2006 [1820]).

The 1821 Treaty between the U.S. and Spain resulted in cession of Florida to the U.S., which substantially lessened the need for fortifications on the Southern border (Redick 1976:28). This increase in security was evidenced in the creation of the town of Macon in 1823 (Young et al. 1950; Butler 1879).

On February 12, 1825, Treaty of Indian Springs was signed, which outraged many Creek chiefs and led to their assignation of William McIntosh and other signatories of the treaty. On January 24, 1826, the Treaty of Indian Springs was nullified, and the Treaty of Washington was signed, in which Creeks ceded their remaining Georgia lands. By 1827 most of the Creeks were removed from Georgia. Many continued to reside on reserves across the Chattahoochee River in Alabama, although within a few years most of the Creeks left these areas as well.

A survey of “The Public Reserves on Both Sides of the Ocmulgee River at Macon” was directed by a December 27, 1823 Act of the Georgia Legislature. The survey began on January 21, 1828 by Richard W. Ellis, Surveyor, and a plat was completed by William S. Norman on May 1, 1828 (Ellis and Norman 1828). William N. Harmon, Charles B. Strong and O.H. Prince assisted in the survey (Preston 2006). Fort Hawkins is shown on Lot 53 of that plat (Figure 12). On October 27, 1828 the sale of the Fort Hawkins Reserve lands was advertised in the *Macon Telegraph*. The 100 acres encompassing Fort Hawkins, which was described as “poor land”, was sold to Thomas Woolfolk for \$2,151.00. Woolfolk’s actual purchase price for the property (Lot 53) was \$2,133.00 (DeVorse and Waters 1973:35).

The newspaper noted, “It was purchased by Mr. Woolfolk, of Jones, and will probably be divided out into building lots and resold”.

Another noteworthy observation recorded by this newspaper was that, “The blockhouse, barracks, storehouses &c., are still standing, and tenanted by industrious families” (*Macon Telegraph* 1828).

A plat of part of Block 41 in a subdivision of lands of the estate of Thomas Woolfolk, an extension of East Macon, was recorded in Bibb County (Bibb County Deed Book AJ:676; See figure 3). That original survey was completed by L. W. Dubois, City Engineer, but the date of that document is unknown. A plat of the Woolfolk Lands was later copied by J.C. Wheeler, City Engineer and Bibb County Surveyor, and was recorded in Bibb County Book AJ:676 (Preston 2006).

The present researcher is indebted to the previous historical research by Robert Cramer, Dianne Dent Wilcox and others. The present research effort attempted to build on the foundations established by their research, by exploring research avenues that had not been studied, and to reinforce and corroborate the results that were already compiled. The present study relies on the work of these previous researchers particularly regarding the identities of the various army and militia regiments that served at Fort Hawkins. The list of soldiers and regiments who were garrisoned at Fort Hawkins is long. The soldiers who passed through Fort Hawkins briefly in route to various military campaigns, as well as those Georgia militia troops that were camped in the surrounding countryside at Camp Hope, were not allowed to enter the inner sanctum of Fort Hawkins. These alone make for a very long garrison list. For some regiments the link to Fort Hawkins as their garrison is well established and for others the linkage is sketchy. And for some regiments the linkage is strictly archaeological and known only through the present archaeological study.

The history of the U.S. Army during the Fort Hawkins era (1806-1828) is a jigsaw puzzle with many missing pieces. This is particularly true for the Army regiments that were posted in

the South. While many of the Army regiments maintain their own regimental historians, the various reorganizations of the Army in the early 19th century makes these histories less clear.

Table 3 contains a list of the U.S. and state military regiments and U.S. and State departments and divisions who are linked to Fort Hawkins. The following discussion focuses on those regiments most associated with events at Fort Hawkins. These are presented in numerical order.

1st Infantry Regiment.

Wilcox (1999) identified the 1st Infantry, U.S. Army as serving briefly at Fort Hawkins in 1818. This would have been the new 1st Infantry.

The 1st Infantry Regiment was originally formed along with the 2nd Infantry, when it was constituted in March 1792 (Mahon and Danysh 1972). In 1802 the Army was reduced to two infantry regiments and one artillery regiment (Gillet 2006a). In 1815 the U.S. Army was consolidated and the 2nd, 7th and 44th Regiments were consolidated to form the [new] 1st Infantry Regiment (Task Force 2-1(SBCT) 2005).

2nd Infantry Regiment

Several historical sources, as well as archaeological evidence from the present study, place the 2nd Infantry, U.S. Army at Fort Hawkins (Wilcox 1999). This regiment has one of the more important untold stories of Fort Hawkins.

The 2nd Infantry Regiment of the U.S. Army was originally constituted in March 1791. In 1792 it was re-designated as the Infantry of the 2nd Sub-Legion. When the Legion system was disbanded, it was once again known as the 2nd Infantry. The 2nd Infantry was consolidated, along with the 7th and 44th Regiments, in 1815 to form the 1st Infantry Regiment (Task Force 2-1(SBCT) 2005).

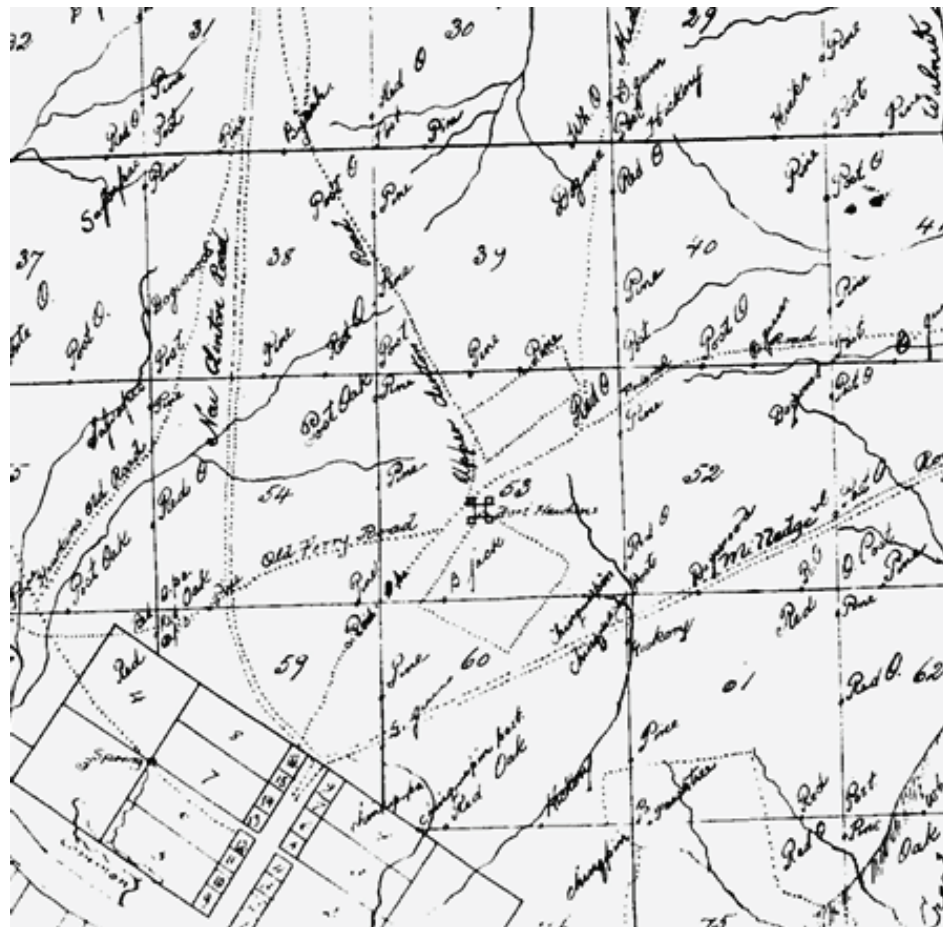


Figure 12. Portion of Ellis' and Norman's Plat of The Public Reserves...at Macon, Showing Fort Hawkins (1828).

Table 3. Troops at Fort Hawkins, 1806-1825.

Unit	Branch	Dates	At Fort?	Commander/Officer Name	Other Information	Source
1st Infantry [new]	U.S. Army	1815	Unk.	Bissell, D., Brig. Gen.		Wilcox 1999
1st Infantry [new]	U.S. Army	1818	Yes	Gaines, E., Maj. Gen.	Commander of Military Departments 6, 7 and 8	Wilcox 1999
2nd Infantry	U.S. Army	1806 to 1809	Yes	Bissell, D., Brig. Gen.		Wilcox 1999
2nd Infantry	U.S. Army	1806	Yes	Boote, W. R., Capt.		Wilcox 1999
3rd Infantry	U.S. Army	1812 to 1815	Yes	Cook, P., Maj.	73 men in 1812	Wilcox 1999
3rd Infantry	U.S. Army	1809	Yes	McDougall, R., Capt.	Dies in 1809, buried in mound	Wilcox 1999
3rd Infantry	U.S. Army	1809 To 1812	Yes	Bissell, D., Brig. Gen.		Wilcox 1999
4th Infantry	U.S. Army	1815-1819	Yes	Hook, J.H., Capt.		Hammersly 1879-1880
4th Infantry	U.S. Army	1814-1817	Yes	Melvin, G.W., Captain	Small detachment	NARA; Ford 1994
4th Infantry [new]	U.S. Army	1818	Yes	Gaines, E., Maj. Gen.	Commander of Military Departments 6, 7 and 8	Wilcox 1999
4th Infantry [old]	U.S. Army	1815; 1816; 1817	Yes	King, W., Col.		Wilcox 1999
6th Military District	U.S. Army	1813	Yes	Pinckney, T., General	HQ	Wilcox 1999
7th Infantry [new]	U.S. Army	1819-1820	Yes	Crupper, M., 1st Lieut., later Captain	Recruiting party	NARA; Ford 1994
7th Infantry [new]	U.S. Army	1818	Yes	Nealockopoye, Capt.	Commanded Company, Indian Infantry, Payroll Ft. Hawkins	Galileo
7th Infantry [new]	U.S. Army	1818	Yes	McIntosh, W., Col.	Approx. 1855 Creek Indians	Hall 2005a-b
7th Infantry [new]	U.S. Army	1818	Yes	Gaines, E., Maj. Gen.	Commander of Military Departments 6, 7 and 8	Wilcox 1999
7th Infantry [new]	U.S. Army	1820-1821	Yes	Hobkirk, J. S., 2nd Lieut, later 1st Lieut.	Small recruiting party [1820]	NARA; Ford 1994
7th Infantry [old]	U.S. Army	1813 to 1815	Yes	Boote, W. R., Col.		Wilcox 1999
7th Infantry [old]	U.S. Army	1815; 1816	Yes	McDonald, W., Col.		Wilcox 1999
8th Infantry	U.S. Army	1812 to 1815	Yes	McDonald, W., Col.		Wilcox 1999
8th Infantry	U.S. Army	1813	Yes	Jack, P., Col.		Chartrand p.c.
8th Infantry	U.S. Army	1814	Yes	Cook, P., Maj.	210 men stationed at Fort Hawkins in 11/1814	Wilcox 1999
8th Infantry [new]	U.S. Army	1818	Yes	Gaines, E., Maj. Gen.	Commander of Military Departments 6, 7 and 8	Wilcox 1999
10th Infantry [old]	U.S. Army	War of 1812	Unk.	McDonald, W., Col.		Wilcox 1999
12th Infantry	U.S. Army	War of 1812	Unk.	King, W., Col.		Wilcox 1999
14th Infantry [old]	U.S. Army	1815; 1816; 1817	Yes	King, W., Col.		Wilcox 1999
20th Infantry [old]	U.S. Army	1815; 1816; 1817	Yes	King, W., Col.		Wilcox 1999
24th Infantry	U.S. Army	War of 1812	Yes	Undetermined		Wilcox 1999; Jones 1999
36th Infantry [old]	U.S. Army	1815; 1816	Yes	McDonald, W., Col.		Wilcox 1999
38th Infantry [old]	U.S. Army	1815	Yes	Hook, J.H., Capt.		
43rd Infantry	U.S. Army	1813	Yes	Undetermined	1 Company on December 21, 1813	Chartrand p.c.
44th Infantry	U.S. Army	1813 to 1815	Yes	Bissell, D., Brig. Gen.		Wilcox 1999
Agent	Indian Affairs	1806 to 1816	Yes	Hawkins, B., Agent		
Creek Regiment	U.S. Army	1812-1815	Yes	Hawkins, B., Col.	1,000 man Creek army	Wilcox 1999
Div of South	U.S. Army	1815	Yes	Butler, R., Bvt. Col., Adj. Gen.		Wilcox 1999
Div of South	U.S. Army	1813	Yes	Dent, J.T., Judge Adv.		Wilcox 1999
Div of South	U.S. Army	1815	Yes	Whitlock, A., Dep. Paymaster Gen.		Wilcox 1999
Div of South	U.S. Army	1815	Yes	Champlain, S., Bvt. Maj.		Wilcox 1999
Div. of South	U.S. Army	1814	Yes	Bell, Jonathan, Asst. Deputy Paymaster Gen.		Wilcox 1999
Factor	Indian Affairs	1809 to 1814	Yes	Halstead, J., Factor		Wilcox 1999
Factor	Indian Affairs	1809-18	Yes	Magnan, C., Asst. Factor	Asst. Factor	Wilcox 1999
Factor	Indian Affairs	1816	Yes	Hughes, D., Maj., Factor	March to August 1816	Wilcox 1999
Rifle Regiment	U.S. Army	until 1810	Yes	Smith, T. A., Capt.		Wilcox 1999
Georgia militia	Georgia militia	1813; 1814	Yes	Cook, P., Maj.	mustered 2,500 militia in 1814	Wilcox 1999
Undetermined	U.S. Army	1809	Yes	Luckett, Lt.	after Smith promoted to Major	Wilcox 1999
Staff	U.S. Army	1814 to 1815	Yes	Scott, W., Maj. Gen.	Passed through	Wilcox 1999
Georgia militia	Georgia militia	1814	Yes	Blackshear, D., Brig. Gen.		Wilcox 1999
Georgia militia	Georgia militia	1814	Yes	McIntosh, J., Maj. Gen.		Wilcox 1999
Tennessee militia	Tennessee Vol.	1818	Yes	Jackson, A., Maj. Gen.		Wilcox 1999
Georgia militia	Georgia militia	1813	Yes	Glascook, T., Brig. Gen.		Wilcox 1999
Caretaker	State of Georgia	1821 to 1825	Yes	Frierson, J.	Appointed by Gov. Troup to manage Ft. Hawkins property	Wilcox 1999
Georgia militia	Georgia militia	War of 1812		Anderson, Thomas F., Capt.	In 4th Regiment (Col. Jones), Ga. Militia	Wilcox 1999
Georgia militia	Georgia militia	1813	Yes	Floyd, J., Maj. Gen.	assembled 3,600 Ga. Troops	Wilcox 1999
U.S. Postal Service	U.S. Postal Service		Yes	Jerrison, J., Storekeep and Postmaster		Wilcox 1999

Table 3. Troops at Fort Hawkins (Sources: Chartrand p.c. 2004, Ford 1994, Galileo 2006, Hall 2005a-b, Hammersly 1879-1880, Jones 1999, NARA, Wilcox 1999).

Congress published a list of officers in the 2nd Infantry who received promotions in 1800 and these included: Captain Nanning J. Vischer, 1st Lieutenant John Whipple, Quartermaster John V. Glen, Adjutant Zebulon M. Pike [Sr.], Paymaster James Dill, and three officers whose rank was not specified, Nathan Heald, William Laidlie, and John Wilson (American Memory 2006).

In 1805 Joseph Bowmer was promoted to Captain in the 2nd Infantry. Other officers in the 2nd Regiment receiving promotions in 1804 included 1st Lieutenants Henry Hopkins and William Piatt, and Second Lieutenants Samuel Williamson, Gilbert C. Russell, James S. Logan, and Alfred Sebastian. Appointments included Ensigns John Hackett, Jr., William Mead, Charles Magnan, and John Joseph Duforrest (American Memory 2006).

Captain Bowman, who resigned June 20, 1806, was replaced by Captain Matthew Arbuckle. Other officers in the 2nd Infantry receiving promotions in 1806 included Major Richard Sparks, Captain John Brahan, 1st Lieutenants John Miller and William P. Clyma, and 2nd Lieutenants Robert Peyton, Benjamin S. Smoot, and Charles Magnan (American Memory 2006).

On May 6, 1806, Brigadier General James Wilkinson issued orders from St. Louis to Colonel Thomas H. Cushing, 2nd Infantry, to take Lockwood's and Strong's companies to Fort Adams [present-day Mississippi], where they were to join with Campbell's company and proceed to Natchitoches on the Red River (American Memory 2006). These orders indicate that three of the companies in the 2nd Infantry, or those commanded by Captains Lockwood, Strong and Campbell were not at Fort Hawkins, at least not after May, 1806.

Records of promotions provide additional information about regiment officers. Officers in the 2nd Infantry Regiment who received promotions in 1807 included 1st Lieutenant

Reuben Chamberlin, and 2nd Lieutenants John J. Duforest, John Hackett, and William C. Mead (American Memory 2006). Officers in the 2nd Infantry who received promotions in 1811 included Captain Henry B. Brevoort (replacing Bartholomew D. Armistead), 1st Lieutenants Robert G. Seeley and John Mathers, 2nd Lieutenant Hippolite H. Villard, John Bliss, Henry A. Burchstead, and George W. Pike (American Memory 2006).

By May 20, 1811, the United States 2nd Infantry Regiment, which consisted of seven companies, was stationed at Fort Stoddert (*Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser* 1811:3). The association of the 2nd Regiment with Fort Hawkins, therefore, is bracketed between February 1806 and early 1811. Officers in the 2nd Regiment who commanded at Fort Hawkins included William R. Boote and Daniel Bissell. Tables 4 and 5 list officers in the 2nd Infantry Regiment in 1802 and 1813.

We are fortunate that many records of the 2nd Infantry have survived. These were papers that were apparently held by the descendants of William R. Boote. They include enlistment records and muster lists for the period that the regiment was garrisoned at Fort Hawkins.

3rd Infantry Regiment

The 3rd Infantry of the U.S. Army was formed by Congress in 1808 (Mahon and Danysh 1972; 3rd United States Infantry Regiment 2005). An earlier configuration, however, of the 3rd Infantry in the U.S. Army did exist. Congress published a list of officers in the 3rd Infantry who received promotions in 1800 and these included: Captain Peter Marks, 1st Lieutenant Hugh M'Call [McCall], Ensign Matthew Arbuckle, Quarter Master James Ryan, and Adjutant John Horton, and four officers whose rank is not specified, Samuel Lane, Patrick M'Carty, John Saxon, and Stephen S. Gibbs (American Memory 2006). The 3rd Infantry,

Officers in the 2nd Infantry Regiment, 1802.

Officer	Rank	Previous Rank
Butler, Thomas	Colonel Lieutenant	Lieutenant Colonel, 4th Infantry
Cushing, Thomas H.	Colonel	Major, 1st Infantry
Butler, Edward	Captain	Captain, 4th Infantry
Sparks, Richard	Captain	Captain, 3rd Infantry
Gregg, Aaron	Captain	Captain, 3rd Infantry
Lockwood, Benjamin	Captain	Captain, 4th Infantry
Vance, Samuel C.	Captain	Captain, 3rd Infantry
Bowyer, John	Captain	Captain, 3rd Infantry
Purdy, Robert	Captain	Captain, 4th Infantry
McCall, Hugh	Captain	Captain, 3rd Infantry
Johnston, Francis	Captain	Captain, 4th Infantry
Boote, William R.	Captain	Captain, 3rd Infantry
Swain, Thomas	1st Lieutenant	1st Lieutenant, 4th Infantry
Salmon, George	1st Lieutenant	1st Lieutenant, 4th Infantry
Campbell, John	1st Lieutenant	1st Lieutenant, 4th Infantry
Schuyler, Peter P.	1st Lieutenant	1st Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry
Boomer, Joseph	1st Lieutenant	1st Lieutenant, 4th Infantry
Lane, Samuel	1st Lieutenant	1st Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry
Arbuckle, Matthew	1st Lieutenant	1st Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry
Erwine, Samuel	1st Lieutenant	1st Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry
Haines, John	1st Lieutenant	1st Lieutenant, 4th Infantry
Gaines, Edmund P.	2nd Lieutenant	2nd Lieutenant, 4th Infantry
Barde, Robert G.	2nd Lieutenant	2nd Lieutenant, 1st Infantry
Armistead, Bartholomew D.	2nd Lieutenant	2nd Lieutenant, 1st Infantry
Wilkinson, Benjamin	2nd Lieutenant	2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry
Wilkinson, James, Jr.	2nd Lieutenant	2nd Lieutenant, 4th Infantry
Buck, Richard	2nd Lieutenant	2nd Lieutenant, 4th Infantry
Graham, Henry R.	2nd Lieutenant	2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry

Table 4. Officers in the 2nd Infantry Regiment, 1802 Sources: Chartrand p.c. 2004, Ford 1994, Galileo 2006, Hall 2005a-b, Hammersly 1879-1880, Jones 1999, NARA, Wilcox 1999

Officers in the 2nd Infantry Regiment, 1813.

Officer	Rank	Date of Commission	Staff appointments and brevets
Sparks, Richard	Colonel	July 6, 1812	
Bowyer, John	Lieutenant Colonel	July 6, 1812	
Boote, William R.	Major	July 6, 1812	Inspector General
Swann, William	Major	January 20, 1813	Quartermaster General
McCall, Hugh	Captain	August 19, 1800	Major brevet, July 10, 1812
Piatt, William	Captain	February 17, 1809	Quartermaster General
Lawrence, W.	Captain	January 1, 1810	
Brevoort, H.B.	Captain	May 1, 1811	
Miller, John	Captain	March 12, 1812	
Chamberlain, R.	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Pemberton, J.T.	Captain	January 20, 1813	District Paymaster
Ware, William F.	Captain	May 5, 1813	
Davis, John M.	Captain	May 30, 1813	
Brownlow, A.	First Lieutenant	January 1, 1810	Adjutant
Mathers, John	First Lieutenant	May 1, 1811	
Wirt, John T.	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	Assistant Deputy Quartermster General
Bogardus, E.	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Bradley, H.	First Lieutenant	August 15, 1812	Quartermaster
Willis, P.	First Lieutenant	November 1, 1812	
Villard, H.H.	First Lieutenant	January 10, 1813	
Bliss, John	First Lieutenant	January 20, 1813	Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General
Burchsted, H.A.	First Lieutenant	May 5, 1813	
Bell, J.	First Lieutenant	May 30, 1813	Aid to Major General Wilkinson
Doggett, T.	Second Lieutenant	September 28, 1812	
Sturges, R.	Second Lieutenant	November 1, 1812	
Stuart, James	Second Lieutenant	December 27, 1812	
Conway, H., Jr.	Second Lieutenant	January 10, 1813	
Clark, N.	Second Lieutenant	January 20, 1813	
Smith, W.M.	Second Lieutenant	January 20, 1813	
[None]	Third Lieutenants		
[None]	Ensigns		
[None]	Surgeon		
[None]	Surgeon's Mates		

Table 5. Officers in the 2nd Infantry Regiment, 1813 (Source: American Memory 2006, American State Papers, Military Affairs, Volume 1:396.)

commanded by General James Wilkinson, participated in the capture of Mobile, Alabama on April 13, 1813 (Elliott et al. 2002).

Troops from the 3rd Infantry were garrisoned at Fort Hawkins from 1809 to 1815. Captain Robert McDougald commanded 3rd Infantry troops at the fort for a brief period in 1809 before he was court-martialed. Captain Philip Cook commanded a company of 73 soldiers from the 3rd Infantry at Fort Hawkins in May and June 1812.

4th Infantry Regiment

Several historical sources place the 4th Infantry at Fort Hawkins. This is also supported by the archaeological evidence of a 4th Infantry uniform button (Wilcox 1999; Meeks Collection, Appendix D, this volume).

The 4th Infantry Regiment of the U.S. Army was formed by Congress in 1792, deactivated in 1802, and reactivated in 1808. Congress published a list of officers in the 4th Infantry who received promotions in 1800 and these included: Captain Campbell Smith, 1st Lieutenant Gabriel Jones, Paymaster Samuel M'Guire, and Adjutant Thomas Blackburn (American Memory 2006). The 4th Infantry participated in General William Henry Harrison's campaign against the Shawnee in 1811 (Gillet 2006a). The 4th Infantry served in Canada in the War of 1812. The regiment also participated in several War of 1812 engagements in the Northwest, including battles at Detroit, LeCole Hill, and Plattsburg. In 1815 the 4th Regiment was consolidated to become part of the 5th Regiment, which was reconsolidated shortly thereafter and named the 4th Regiment. The 4th Regiment served under Andrew Jackson in the 1820s (Mahon and Danysh 1972; GlobalSecurity.org 2005).

General William King commanded the [new] 4th Infantry at Fort Hawkins in 1815 and 1816. Colonel King and troops from the 4th Infantry

may have been at Fort Hawkins in early 1817 but this is not documented. By late 1817 the 4th Infantry had shifted their Colonel King's headquarters further west to Fort Scott. Colonel King was court-martialed and these proceedings were published in the Congressional Record (American Memory 2006). Troops from the 4th Infantry were briefly posted at Fort Hawkins in 1818.

6th Infantry Regiment

The 6th Infantry is evidenced at Fort Hawkins by one regimental uniform button. No historical documents were located that demonstrate their presence at this site. The 6th Infantry Regiment was formed in 1812. Its most famous commander was Zachary Taylor.

7th Infantry Regiment

The [old] 7th Infantry was formed in 1798. The regiment served in 1811 under William Henry Harrison in campaigns in Ohio and Indiana. The 7th Infantry, commanded by General Wilkinson, participated in the capture of Mobile, Alabama on April 13, 1813 (Elliott et al. 2002). Troops from the 7th Infantry, under command of Colonel William R. Boote, were stationed at Fort Hawkins for brief periods between 1813 and 1815 (Wilcox 1999). The 7th Infantry Regiment of the U.S. Army was [re]formed in 1815, as part of a reorganization of the Army. During its early period of formation in December, 1815, the regiment was posted at Fort Hawkins (Jones 1999).

Troops in the [new] 7th Infantry also saw service at Fort Hawkins (NARA, RG 94, Returns from Regular Army Infantry Regiments 1813). The 7th Infantry was ordered to Fort Scott, Georgia on the Flint River in present-day southwestern Georgia in 1816 (McManus 2006; Wetterman 1995). The soldiers in the 7th Regiment, who were nicknamed "The Cottonbalers", were

mostly from the middle states, such as New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. By April, 1817, most of the 7th Regiment was stationed at Camp Montgomery in the Mississippi Territory (present-day Alabama) under the command of Colonel Mathew Arbuckle (Davis 1817). McManus noted that most of the recruits in this regiment were, “skilled artisans, farmers and laborers”, who were of “respectable origins” (McManus 2006).

A small detachment of the 7th Infantry, commanded by 1st Lieutenant J.S. Hobkirk served at Fort Hawkins in early 1821. The earliest surviving troop returns from that regiment, dated June 1821, list Lieutenant Hobkirk, one sergeant, one corporal and two musicians from Company F (Captain Bradford’s Company) on command at Fort Hawkins. By July and August of 1821, the small force had dwindled further to one private at Fort Hawkins. The last officer from the 7th Infantry known to be at Fort Hawkins was 2nd Lieutenant Pierce Butler, who was awaiting acceptance of his resignation from the U.S. Army (NARA, RG 94, Returns from Regular Army Infantry Regiments 1821).

8th Infantry Regiment

The 8th Infantry of the U.S. Army was formed, along with the 10th and 18th Infantry, into a brigade under command of General Flournoy on August 21, 1812. By December 12, 1812, the 8th Infantry, led by Colonel Patrick Jack, was at Bath, Georgia. The regiment was supplied with uniforms on February 22, 1813. The regiment was issued clothing for 262 infantry, 56 riflemen, and 50 artillerymen (NARA, RG 107/221/48 and 52, cited by Rene Chartrand, personal communication, September 29, 2005).

On February 11, 1813, Major General Thomas Pinckney wrote to the Secretary of War advising him that the 8th Infantry was assigned to duty in Florida, except for small detachments left at

Beaufort, South Carolina and Fort Hawkins, Georgia (USNA, RG 107/221/55, cited by Rene Chartrand, personal communication, September 29, 2005). The 8th Infantry was reorganized on May 17, 1815, under the act of March 3, 1815, in which the 5th 18th and 35th regiments were consolidated. The 8th Regiment was discharged on June 1, 1821 (Heitman 1903: 96; Ancestry.com 2006).

10th Infantry

Troops from the [old] 10th Infantry may have served at Fort Hawkins during the War of 1812 (Wilcox 1999). Little information was located pertaining to this regiment and none of it specifically related to the period when the regiment was at Fort Hawkins.

12th Infantry

Troops from the [old] 12th Infantry may have served at Fort Hawkins during the War of 1812 (Wilcox 1999). Little information was located pertaining to this regiment and none specifically related to the period when the regiment was at Fort Hawkins.

14th Infantry

Troops from the [old] 14th Infantry served briefly at Fort Hawkins in 1814 and 1815 (Wilcox 1999). Little information was located pertaining to this regiment and none of it specifically related to the period during which the regiment was at Fort Hawkins.

20th Infantry

Troops from the [old] 20th Infantry served at Fort Hawkins during the War of 1812 (Wilcox

1999). No information was located pertaining to this regiment at Fort Hawkins and little generally information of the period.

24th Infantry Regiment

Troops from the 24th Infantry served briefly at Fort Hawkins during the War of 1812 (Wilcox 1999). The 24th Infantry was assigned for a short period to Fort Hawkins during the War of 1812. The 24th Infantry was organized in Tennessee (Jones 1999; Wilcox 1999).

36th Infantry Regiment

Troops from the 36th Infantry served for a brief period at Fort Hawkins in 1815 and 1816. Little information was located pertaining to this regiment and none of it specifically related to the period that the regiment was at Fort Hawkins.

43rd Infantry Regiment

Major General Thomas Pinckney wrote to the Secretary of War advising him that one company of the 43rd Infantry was assigned to duty at Fort Hawkins (NARA, RG 107/221/56, cited by Rene Chartrand, personal communication, September 29, 2005). No other details of this regiment's presence at Fort Hawkins were identified by the present research.

44th Infantry Regiment

The 44th Infantry organized in October, 1813 and was assigned to duty at Fort Hawkins. The regiment was under command of Brigadier General Daniel Bissell. Troops from the 44th Infantry served at Fort Hawkins in 1813 and 1814. The 44th Infantry fought in the Battle of

New Orleans in 1814 and 1815. By October 1815, the 44th Infantry was consolidated with other regiments to form the new 1st Infantry Regiment.

Regiment of Riflemen

The Regiment of Riflemen of the U.S. Army was created by Congress in 1808 (Mahon and Danysh 1972:13; Fredriksen 2000). Additional Rifle Regiments were added to the U.S. Army and the original Regiment of Rifles was later known as the 1st Rifle Regiment. Thomas Smith commanded the Regiment of Riflemen and Fort Hawkins was one of their duty stations. The Regiment of Rifles also was posted at Fort Point Peter, Georgia on the St. Marys River.

Among the officers of the Regiment of Riflemen who probably served at Fort Hawkins were: Captain Michael C. Hays, promoted from 1st Lieutenant in 1811; Captain Lodowick Morgan, promoted from 1st Lieutenant in 1811; Captain John Ragan, resigned on June 1, 1811; Captain Moses Whitney, resigned on July 1, 1811; 1st Lieutenant Elias Stalling, promoted from 2nd Lieutenant in 1811; and 1st Lieutenant Dill Armor, March 16, 1811 (American Memory 2006).

Archaeological evidence of the presence of the Regiment of Rifles at Fort Hawkins was widespread. Quite a few uniform buttons were found, which were worn by the soldiers in this regiment. Historical records place the Regiment of Rifles at Fort Hawkins between 1806 and 1810. Some smaller details from this regiment may have been posted at Fort Hawkins after that, but no historical proof was found. Thomas A. Smith and his regiment participated in numerous engagements in the War of 1812, after leaving Fort Hawkins.

Artillery Regiments

Haskin (1879:668) wrote about the early of the U.S. Artillery Regiments. He described their organization:

In 1794 a “Corps of Artillerists and Engineers” was organized, which included the four companies of artillery then in service and had sixteen companies in four battalions, with a lieutenant-colonel commandant and four majors. In 1798 an additional regiment of “Artillerists and Engineers” was authorized with 12 companies, increased in 1799 to 16 companies.

In 1802 there was a reduction of the army. The Engineers were separated from the Artillery and the latter formed into one regiment of 20 companies with a colonel (Henry Burbeck), lieutenant-colonel, and four majors.

This was the first First Artillery.

In 1808 a regiment of ten companies called the “Light Artillery” was formed;—but it was light artillery only in name, almost all of its service being performed as infantry.

In 1812 two regiments of artillery were added to the army, each having to companies, but barely two years later the three artillery regiments were merged into a “Corps of Artillery,” with six lieutenant-colonels, six majors, and 48 companies in twelve battalions. The Light Artillery regiment was not affected by this change (Haskin 1879:668).

Captain Lames Sterret, 1st Regiment of Artillerists and Engineers and Major Decius Wadsworth, 2nd Regiment of Artillerists and Engineers, were promoted in 1800 (American Memory 2006).

The 2nd Artillery was almost certainly stationed at Fort Hawkins, based on the indirect historical evidence and the archaeological evidence of 2nd Artillery uniform buttons. Colonel Winfield

Scott was given command of the 2nd Artillery on March 12, 1813. Lieutenant Colonels F.K. [Francis Kinloch] Huger, commissioned March 3, 1813, and William Lindsay, commissioned March 12, 1813, were Scott’s immediate subordinates (American Memory 2006). Other officers in the original 2nd Artillery are listed in Table 6.

The 3rd Artillery also may have served at Fort Hawkins, although no historical reference to their presence was located. One 3rd Artillery uniform button was unearthed by this project. Soldiers from the 3rd Artillery were probably accompanied the 3rd Infantry when that regiment served at Fort Hawkins.

Topographical Engineers was established by the U.S. Army in 1813 (Beers 1942). None were specifically identified in association with Fort Hawkins but their presence at the post is likely. Additional research on the early U.S. Army Artillery regiments (and Engineers) may shed light on their relationship with Fort Hawkins.

Creek Brigade

One of the lesser known stories of Fort Hawkins and the frontier is that of the Creek Brigade. Creek and Yuchi Indians, who were allies of the U.S., volunteered for military service in the War of 1812 and the 1st Seminole War. The details of the Indians in the U.S. Service in the War of 1812 is quite sketchy but better records have survived from the 1st Seminole War. Towson (1820) summarized the Georgia troops and Indian Warriors that participated in General Jackson’s military campaign, which is summarized in Table 7. Many of these soldiers were familiar with Fort Hawkins, which is where they received their pay.

General William McIntosh’s brigade of the friendly Indians in the service of the U.S. Army was composed of Creek and Yuchi Indians. The friendly Creeks were mostly from Lower Creek

Officers in the 2nd Artillery Regiment, 1813.

Officer	Rank	Date of Commission	Staff appointments and brevets
Scott, Winfield	Colonel	March 12, 1813	
Huger, Francis K.	Lieutenant Colonel	March 3, 1813	Adjutant General
Lindsay, William	Lieutenant Colonel	March 12, 1813	
Forney, D.M.	Major	July 6, 1812	
Hindman, J.	Major	June 26, 1813	
Towson, Nathan	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Archer, S.B.	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Nicholas, William	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Barker, J.N.	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Ton, J.B.	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Donoho, Sanders	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Biddle, Thomas, Jr.	Captain	July 6, 1812	Brigade Major
Philips, Joseph	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Ritchie, John	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Goodall, John	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Robinson, Jesse	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Gill, Robert M.	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Hawkins, P., Jr.	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Cushing, Daniel	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Sholes, Stanton	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Russell, G.W.	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Spots, Henry	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Evans, Frederick	Captain	July 6, 1812	
Williams, A.J.	Captain	March 12, 1813	
Randolph, T.M., Jr.	Captain	June 26, 1813	
Peyton, John S.	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Craig, Hy. K.	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Neil, Adrian	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
M'Donough, P.	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Read, William M.	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Kearsley, Jonan	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	Adjutant
Cowan, William J.	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Fontaine, John	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Larwill, J.H.	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Brown, Lowndes	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Scott, Luther	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Ruffin, Robert R.	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	Paymaster
Slaughter, Hy.	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Dearing, J.H.	First Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	

Table 6. Officers in the 2nd Artillery Regiment, 1813 (Source American Memory 2006, American State Papers, Military Affairs, Volume 1:395.)

Officers in the 2nd Artillery Regiment, 1813.

Davis, Isaac	First Lieutenant	March 13, 1813	
Zantzinger, R.A.	First Lieutenant	March 13, 1813	
Stewart, Robert	First Lieutenant	March 13, 1813	
Edwards, J.L.	First Lieutenant	March 28, 1813	
Sharpe, Edwin	First Lieutenant	June 26, 1813	
Tyler, William	First Lieutenant	August 14, 1813	
Warley, Jacob	Second Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Smith, William	Second Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Morgan, Lewis	Second Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Ruffin, John	Second Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Gamble, J.H.	Second Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Kincaid, Jonathan W.	Second Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Goode, Robert	Second Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Byrd, Francis O.	Second Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Winn, Thomas	Second Lieutenant	July 6, 1812	
Clark, Thomas	Second Lieutenant	April 16, 1813	Assistant Topographical Engineer
Cooper, Cld. D.	Second Lieutenant	April 16, 1813	Aid to Brig. Gen. Izard
Prince, Joseph P.	Second Lieutenant	April 16, 1813	
Doneghey, G.	Second Lieutenant	April 16, 1813	
Nevill, P.J.	Second Lieutenant	April 20, 1813	
Massey, M.S.	Second Lieutenant	May 13, 1813	
Bunting, J.P.	Second Lieutenant	June 26, 1813	
Henderson, J.	Second Lieutenant	June 26, 1813	
Shubrick, T.	Second Lieutenant	June 26, 1813	
Broadwater, W.E.	Third Lieutenant	July 2, 1813	
Lawson, Benjamin	Third Lieutenant	July 9, 1813	
Campbell, H.M.	Third Lieutenant	July 19, 1813	
Mitchell, John	Third Lieutenant	July 19, 1813	
Duffell, Hy. L.	Third Lieutenant	August 1, 1813	
Berryman, W.	Third Lieutenant	August 1, 1813	
Pickett, James C.	Third Lieutenant	August 4, 1813	
Evans, Britton	Third Lieutenant	August 15, 1813	
Watmough, J.	Third Lieutenant	September 22, 1813	
Kenney, William	Third Lieutenant	September 22, 1813	
Henderson, N.	Third Lieutenant	October 12, 1813	
De La Motta, J.	Surgeon	May 1, 1812	
Trimble, James	Surgeon's Mate	July 6, 1812	
Near, Louis L.	Surgeon's Mate	July 6, 1812	

Source:
 Table 6. Officers in the 2nd Artillery Regiment, 1813 (continued) (Source American Memory 2006, American State Papers, Military Affairs, Volume 1:395.)

Georgia Troops and Indian Warriors Engaged in the Seminole War, 1817 and 1818.

Captain of Company	Georgia Militia	No. on muster roll	No. on payroll	Absent Payments in 1818
Avery				
Bird	1st Battalion			2523.04
McNeil	1st Battalion			1265.73
Cone	1st Battalion			2586.33
Frazier	1st Battalion			2442.82
Session				
Robinson				
Mapp				
Huddleston				
Cheely				
Donelly				
Hodges				
Hodnett				
Curry				
Morris				
Glenn				
Watters	2nd Regiment			1856.30
Strong	2nd Regiment			2227.30
Hendon	2nd Regiment			1848.49
Stapleton	1st Regiment			2350.88
Dennis/Dinnes	1st Regiment			1597.25
Mappin	1st Regiment			2003.31
Martin	1st Regiment			1960.88
Watkins/Walker	1st Regiment			1924.13
Scruggs	1st Regiment			1593.42
Bothwell	1st Regiment			1786.71
Pearce	1st Regiment			1633.68
Young	1st Regiment			2237.23
Reily	2nd Regiment			1463.85
Veazy	2nd Regiment			1505.98
Runnel/Runnell	2nd Regiment			2671.29
Holliday	2nd Regiment			1644.96
Jeter	2nd Regiment			2101.22
Mann	2nd Regiment			2114.85
Ashley	2nd Regiment			2129.07
Berrian				
Child				
Cray				
Dean				

Table 7. Georgia Troops and Indian Warriors Engaged in the Seminole War, 1817 and 1818 (Towson 1820).

Georgia Troops and Indian Warriors Engaged in the Seminole War, 1817 and 1818.

General Staff (Glasscock)	Glasscock	1386.13
Infantry Field and Staff		1527.03
Cavalry Field and Staff		see above
Second General Staff		see above
Second Infantry Field and Staff		1841.83
Major John Minton & Captain William Bee, U.S. Army		641.24
Paymaster and Clerks		2445.37
Total Georgia Militia		53310.42

Captains of Indian Warrior Companies

Captain	No. on muster roll	No. on payroll	Absent	
Mad Wolf		37	37	715.68
Hopohoithe Haujo		40	40	710.99
Hopaie		53	53	865.30
E. Tustunnuggi/ Etomme Tustanugge		60	60	929.70
A. Tustunnuggi/ Aubeccan Tustanugge		66	66	999.68
John Stedham		63	63	830.00
Pawis Haujo		68	68	880.00
Okpirkie Yoholo		63	63	968.50
Roderick McIntosh		62	62	1055.11
Wahneje/Wohnoje		50	50	841.48
William Miller		67	67	999.48
Nehau Micco		56	56	913.72
O. Tustunnuggi/Uche Tustanugge		23	23	494.63
Tustunnuggi/ Tustanugge		51	51	859.60
Carr		63	63	997.70
Hagey/Haggey		67	67	1057.04
Tuskehinehochie/ Tuskehencheechee		37	37	572.70
Yellow Hair		16	16	210.00

Table 7. Georgia Troops and Indian Warriors Engaged in the Seminole War, 1817 and 1818 (continued) (Towson 1820).

Georgia Troops and Indian Warriors Engaged in the Seminole War, 1817 and 1818.

Tuskenehau/ Tuskeenchaw	5	5		130.00
Nehalockopoye/ Nehalock Opoie	45	45		792.22
T. Hulke/Turkia Hatkey	78	78		1165.00
T. Haujo/Taurky Hawjo	57	57		949.59
Michey Barnard	63	63		1005.49
Lesley/Larley	68	68		1126.78
Onir Haujo	75	75		2835.88
U. Micco/Enpaulo Micco	81	81		1050.00
Hopei Haujo	50	50		863.28
W. Kennard/William Kinnard	68	49	19	742.96
Chuckchidineha/ Chuckchatdeneha	39	39		602.55
Staff (McIntosh's)				3458.48
Total Indian Warriors				30127.50

Table 7. Georgia Troops and Indian Warriors Engaged in the Seminole War, 1817 and 1818 (continued) (Towson 1820).

towns, although some were Upper Creeks. While this regiment was mostly based in the Chattahoochee River valley, which was deep within the Lower Creek Nation, the regiment did visit Fort Hawkins on many occasions.

Colonel Benjamin Hawkins commanded one regiment of Creek Indians in the U.S. service during the War of 1812. No muster lists of the Creek Regiments from this war are known to survive but an unattributed list of Creek Chiefs and Captains who were mustered into the service of the U.S. in October, November and December 1814 and discharged March 15 and 20, 1815 included: Captains O loh ta, Timpogee Barnard, Noble Kinnard, George Lovett, and Ho po tuttile Haujo, and Chiefs Coosaw Micco, Nehau Thlucco, Hi at cau Ho pi e, Tal mas Ematlau, and O lah tou Micco. These troops may have been organized into ten companies, based on the groupings shown on this list. Their total troop strength, according

to this document, was 32 officers and 597 privates (Anonymous n.d.). Colonel Hawkins' correspondence from this period indicates these numbers are substantially underestimated. Hawkins indicated that he had raised more than 1,000 Creek troops in the U.S. Service. On January 20, 1814, the U.S. Army Command at Milledgeville, Georgia issued a general order to the Quartermaster General of the Georgia State troops in the service of the U.S. to procure quantities of corn and 100 blankets, "for use of the friendly Indians" (NARA, RG 98:64-65).

Unquestionably many Creek and Yuchi soldiers performed heroically in the U.S. Service in the War of 1812 under McIntosh's and Hawkin's command. While many of these soldiers likely spent time in and around Fort Hawkins, most were garrisoned further west. The Creek chief Big Warrior requested an American flag, so that it could be flown atop the council house at Coweta, which was the principal War town

of the Lower Creeks located on the west side of the Chattahoochee River (Doyall 1813). Their allegiance to the U.S. would later prove for naught when they were dislocated from their homeland and forced to relocate in the Indian Territory. The NARA has many pension applications on file of Creek Indians who served in Colonel Hawkins' Creek Regiment, These documents are subjects for future research.

Very telling documentary proof of the Creek troops' presence at Fort Hawkins survives in the form of a payroll for two of the companies in the McIntosh's brigade. The pay roll of Captain Nehalockopoye was submitted at Fort Hawkins on November 28, 1818 (Hughes 1818). It is shown in Figure 13. Captain Nehalockopoye's regiment was mustered in February 1818.

An unattributed list of Creeks who served in the U.S. Army includes these 12 staff officers: William McIntosh, Brigadier General; George Lovett, Colonel; Noble Kinnard, Colonel; Sam Hawkins, Lieutenant Colonel; Blue, [Uriah?] Lieutenant Colonel; Matthey, Major; John Barnard, Major; William S. Mitchell, Assistant Adjutant General; Kendal Lewis, Assistant Commissary ; John Winslett, Assistant Commissary; John Porter, Assistant Commissary; and Nimrod Doyle, Assistant Commissary (Anonymous n.d.).

The other Creek Indian officers identified in this list included: Captains Mad Wolf, Ho po huttile Harjo, Hopoie, E to ma Tustunnuggee, Aubecau Tustunnuggee, John Stidham, Powis Harjo, Oak fus ke Yahola, Roderick, William Miller, Nehau Micco, Uchee Tustunnuggee, Tustunnuggee, Carr, Hagey, Tus ke e ne hau, Neha lock a pa ye, Tusekia Hutke, Tuskee Harjo, Mickey Barnard, Lasley, O nis Harjo, Ufaula Micco, Hopoie, O thle matte Tustunnuggee, William Kinnard, and Chuck cha di ne ha. This list gives the total troop strength at 21 officers and 121 privates (Anonymous n.d.).

Historian George White (1854:417) noted:

“At Fort Hawkins, formerly the Creek Agency, in July, 1817, there was an assemblage of the Creeks, amounting to between fourteen and fifteen hundred. The principal chiefs dined every day with General Mitchell, the United States Agent, and in the afternoon executed the points which had been previously discussed and decided upon in council. On this occasion the Indians had received a considerable sum of money from the United States. Some of the younger warriors determined to have a frolic before they returned to their homes. A principal warrior, next in command to McIntosh, in the service of General Jackson, got drunk and killed his own nephew. The chiefs immediately convened, and after ascertaining the fact of the murder, they ordered the perpetrator to be instantly taken and executed; which was done in less than an hour after the murder was committed.”

State Militia

The Georgia militia was no stranger to lukewarm receptions by army regulars. James R. Jenkins, Lieut. Col. U.S.Q.G.M arrived outside Fort Hawkins on August 23, 1813 with 1,293 men in camp and no one authorized to receive them and he complained of this treatment in a letter to His Excellency Davis B. Mitchell, Milledgeville, Georgia (Hays 1940, v.3:233). Brigadier General John Floyd also experience problems in the relationship between the Georgia militia under his command and the U.S. Army command at Fort Hawkins. Georgia militia were not alone it the lack of respect it engendered among full time soldiers and officers. The Tennessee militia suffered from the same lack of respect and authority. John Floyd wrote letter to His Excellency David B. Mitchell “Capt. Philip Cook refuses to inspect the Drafted or Volunteer Militia under my Command [at Fort Hawkins] . . .” (Hays 1940, v. 3: 252).

Nevertheless, the Georgia militia also established Fort Hawkins as their command during the Creek War, although most of the

Pay Roll of a Company of South Indian Warriors, Commanded by
Capt. Nehalokopoye lately in the Service of the United States

No.	Name	Rank	Pay	Remarks
1
2
3
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80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100

I certify that I did pay to the Warriors whose Names are inserted in
 the within Copy the above specified their pay as they were entitled to
 Money due them in the Month of the Month of June 1818.
 Money was within & every Year
 1818

Nehalokopoye Capt
 Commanding Company
 1818

Dec 18th / Jan 1818

We can say that we were present and did see for Land
 as mentioned a part for Indian Affairs pay to the warriors
 when names are inserted in the within Roll the same amount
 to their names respectively in money - amounting to about
 hundred & ninety two Dollars and twenty two cents.
 Post to bank
 11th Nov 1818
 Wm. H. H.

Figure 13. Nehalokopoye's Company, Creek Regiment, U.S. Infantry Pay Roll at Fort Hawkins (Hughes 1818).

militia troops were garrisoned at Camp Hope, a few miles away. Hundreds (possibly thousands) of Georgia militia soldiers and other U.S. and state troops received their discharge from military service at Fort Hawkins in 1815.

The U.S. Army Command, headquartered at Milledgeville, Georgia, issued orders on December 15, 1813 for, "A small party of Dragoons of the Georgia State Troops to be stationed at Fort Hawkins and the Agency for the purpose of carrying express Dispatches to and from the Headquarters to the Army" (NARA, RG 98:43). These dragoons were a mounted unit and their story bears further investigation.

Chapter 5. The People at Fort Hawkins

Thousands of soldiers, traders, and civilians passed through the gate of Fort Hawkins during its period of existence. The life stories of these men and women are largely untold. For most of them their complete stories will probably never be known because of the absence of historical records. The generalities of their life experiences and that of their peers can be uncovered in part, through archaeology. For others, their stories are better known in historical documents, particularly for such American icons as Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Jackson, and William McIntosh. The ranks included many lesser known officers and enlisted men, whose stories can be pieced together from the historical documents. The research team expended considerable effort in an attempt to gather biographical information on people associated with Fort Hawkins, so that their biographies could be partly reconstructed. Visual images for these men are exceedingly rare. Examples of some of the important officers are shown in Figure 14.

Matthew Arbuckle, Major General

Matthew Arbuckle was the son of Captain Matthew Arbuckle and Frances Hunter Arbuckle and was born in 1776 or 1778 in West Virginia. In 1800 Arbuckle served as an officer in the 3rd Infantry and was promoted to Major in the 3rd Infantry on August 15, 1812. Arbuckle was mostly associated with the 7th Infantry. Both the 3rd and 7th Regiments were posted at Fort Hawkins so Arbuckle's presence there is almost certainly assured. Arbuckle entered the Army in 1799 as an Ensign and was promoted to the rank of Captain in 1806, Major

in 1812 and was commissioned as Colonel 7th Infantry on March 16, 1820. He received his commission as General in 1830 and served until June 11, 1851. While in the 7th Infantry, Arbuckle later commanded a series of garrisons including Forts Scott, Smith, and Gibson. Arbuckle died at Fort Smith Arkansas in 1851 (Throburn and Holcomb 1908). Colonel (and later General) Matthew Arbuckle, 7th Infantry, later commanded U.S. Army garrisons at Forts Scott, Smith, and Gibson (American Memory 2006; Heitman 1903, v. 1: 94; Ancestry.com 2006).

Francis W. Armstrong, Major

Francis W. Armstrong was from Virginia. On March 12, 1812 Francis W. Armstrong was appointed Captain in Colonel W.P. Anderson's 24th Infantry, which was formed in Tennessee. He was appointed Brevet Major on June 26, 1813 and ordered to take command of the 24th and 39th Infantry on a march to Fort Hawkins. By August 1813 Armstrong was at Fort Meigs. He later served at Knoxville, Fort Erie, New York, Batavia, New York, Camp Russell, and Fort Montgomery, Mississippi Territory. When peace was declared he was offered the rank of Captain in the 7th Infantry. He was honorably discharged on June 15, 1815 but reinstated on December 2, 1815 as a Captain, 7th Infantry. He was promoted to Major by brevet on June 26, 1813 and resigned from the Army on April 30, 1817 (Heitman 1903:169; Jones 1999).



A.



B.



C.



D.



E.



F.

- A. Hawkins
- B. Huger
- C. Pinckney
- D. Gaines
- E. Barnard
- F. McIntosh

Figure 14. Selected Officers Associated with Fort Hawkins.

Timpoochee Barnard, Captain

Timpoochee Barnard was a Yuchi chief and son of a Yuchi woman and a Scotsman and half Creek named Timothy Barnard. Timpoochee was commissioned as a Major in Benjamin Hawkins' Creek Regiment. He distinguished himself in battle at Atasi and Callabee Creek in Alabama. Timpoochee attended the treaty talks at Fort Jackson on August 9, 1814, where he signed the treaty as "Captain of Uchees" (Kappler 1904).

Some of the Uchee were allied with the Lower Creeks, although another faction split off and allied with the Red Sticks. Some of these hostile Yuchis joined with other renegades and merged as Seminoles. The Barnards had a long alliance with the Euro-Americans, however, and Timpoochee served as a staunch ally. Timpoochee sat for a portrait, which was painted by Charles Bird King in Washington, D.C. in 1825, a few years after his service at Fort Hawkins McKenney and Hall 1858).

William Bee, Jr., Captain

William Bee, Jr. was from South Carolina. He was commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant in the 8th Infantry on May 15, 1812. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on August 14, 1813. He was transferred to the 7th Infantry on May 17, 1815 and promoted to Captain on April 30, 1817. He resigned from the Army on June 13, 1820 (Heitman 1903:205; Ancestry.com 2006).

Lieutenant William Bee, Jr. served as an officer in the 8th Infantry at Fort Hawkins in 1813 (American Memory 2006). Lieutenant (later Captain) William Bee also served in Georgia during the first Seminole War (Towson 1820). Captain Bee was at Fort Hawkins during this war, although he served under Brevet Colonel David Brearley, who commanded Fort Hawkins at that time.

Lieutenant Bee wrote a letter from Fort Hawkins to Georgia Governor David Mitchell on May 11, 1816, in which he informed the governor of Indian activity on the Georgia frontier. He wrote, "I have just received a communication from the Indian agent, directed to you, it came to me unsealed, the Indians, are Dancing & Drinking their War Physic; they menace the Frontiers of Georgia Hartford in particular, the Troops march'd from this Post under McDonald this morning" (Telemon Cuyler collection, Box 77, Folder 31).

Daniel Bissell, Brigadier General

Brigadier General Bissell is identified as a commandant of Fort Hawkins (Wilcox 1999). This commandant was most likely Daniel Bissell, although his physical association with Fort Hawkins remains tenuous. Daniel Bissell commanded the 2nd Infantry from 1806 to 1809. Daniel Bissell (1768-1833), a native of Hartford, Connecticut, was a veteran of the American Revolution. He joined the U.S. Army in 1791. He was appointed Ensign in the 1st Infantry on April 11, 1792. He was assigned to the 1st Subsistence Legion on September 4, 1792 and was promoted to Lieutenant on January 3, 1794. On November 1, 1796 he was transferred to the 1st Infantry and was appointed Captain on January 1, 1799 (Heitman 1903:221). His is enumerated in the 1800 Federal Census for Hartford, Connecticut (Ancestry.com 2006). While serving as a Captain in the 1st Infantry in 1803, he helped assemble the expedition team for Lewis and Clark (Moulton 2006). Captain Bissell served as commandant of Fort Massac in 1803 through at least November 1807. Bissell commanded at Belle Fontaine from 1809 through 1811 (NARA RG77, M221, Roll 4).

Daniel was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel, 1st Infantry on August 18, 1808. He served as Commandant of Fort Belle Fontaine near St. Louis, Missouri in 1809. Among Bissell's

surviving papers is a June 26, 1810 document entitled, "Morning Report of a Detachment of United States Troops commd. By Lieut. Colonel Daniel Bissell Stationed at Cantonment Belle Fontaine". He was promoted to Colonel, 55th Infantry on August 15, 1812. From 1809 to 1813 he served as military commander of the upper Louisiana Territory. He was promoted to Brigadier General by brevet of the 1st Infantry on March 9, 1814 and held this station until May 17, 1815. He was honorably discharged on June 1, 1821 and died on December 14, 1833 (Heitman 1903:21, 221; Ancestry.com 2006).

Brigadier General Daniel Bissell led 1,500 American troops in the battle of Cooke's Mill in Upper Canada on October 20, 1814. Bissell commanded a brigade composed of detachments from the 5th, 14th, 15th and 16th U.S. Infantry Regiments (Pudwell 2006; Taylor 2006). After the War of 1812, he commanded the 1st Infantry. Bissell was still actively in the U.S. Army service after September 1819, when he was a participant in court-martial proceedings against Colonel King, 4th Regiment, who was another of Fort Hawkins' former commandants (Jackson 1819:3). Daniel Bissell retired from the military in 1821 and is likely buried at Belle Fontaine cemetery in Missouri (Daniel Bissell papers; StLouisCo.com 2006; Heitman 1903:221).

Russell Bissell, Major

Russell Bissell, a native of Hartford, Connecticut and brother of Daniel Bissell, was a veteran of the American Revolution and various Indian Wars. Following the American Revolution he was promoted to 2nd Lieutenant in the 2nd U.S. Infantry and was later promoted to Captain in 1802. He transferred to the 1st U.S. Infantry and was promoted to Major upon his transfer back to the 2nd U.S. Infantry. He was the Commandant of Fort Bellefontaine when he died on December 18, 1807. Major Bissell's remains are interred at the Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery in

St. Louis, Missouri. Russell Bissell may never have been at Fort Hawkins but this biographical information is provided here to provide context for his brother Daniel, described previously (American Memory 2006; Nisinger 2006).

David Blackshear, Brigadier General

David Blackshear was a Georgian who commanded a brigade of the Georgia militia in the Creek War and 1st Seminole War. He was stationed for a period at the Georgia militia command at Fort Hawkins. Brigadier General Blackshear, wrote letter from Fort Hawkins on November 23, 1814 by order of Major General John McIntosh, directing the troops under his command.

William R. Boote, Colonel and Inspector General

William Rowland Boote was born in London, England February 12, 1774 to Daniel Boote and Ann Brown Boote. William married Sarah Stewart Russell on May 19, 1804 in Baltimore, Maryland. She bore a son, William Russell Boote, in Georgia.

William R. Boote was living in New Hampshire when he received his promotion from an Ensign to 2nd Lieutenant in the 3rd Infantry, U.S. Army on July 10, 1797. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on July 16, 1798 and Captain on November 15, 1800. William was transferred to the 2nd Infantry on April 1, 1802. William R. Boote was an officer of the 2nd Regiment of Infantry in command of the troops at Fort Hawkins from February 1806 until at least November 1806.

He was promoted to Major in the 2nd Infantry on July 6, 1812 and Lieutenant Colonel on December 13, 1813. He also held the rank of Colonel Inspector General from April 65, 1813 to June 15, 1815. He held these ranks until June

15, 1815 when he was honorably discharged (Heitman 1903, v. 1:230; Ancestry.com 2006). On July 28, 1813 William R. Boote served as Inspector General for the Sixth Military District, headquartered at Camp Point Peter (RG98).

A public sale of a Baldwin County plantation, owned by William R. Boote, 8th Regiment, U.S. Army was held on November 8, 1815. His property was located at the mouth of Big Cedar Creek in present-day Jones County (Hartz and Hartz 1990:473). This sale suggests that by November 1815 Captain Boote had severed his ties with central Georgia. The details of his later life were not discovered by the present research.

It is through the records of Captain Boote that we are left with colorful details on the people and events at Fort Hawkins in its early years. Papers of Captain Boote's 2nd Regiment were deposited with the NARA, possibly by family members. Since most of the other regimental records for troops posted at Fort Hawkins were destroyed in the War of 1812, the records of the 2nd Regiment are uniquely valuable.

John H. Broadnax, Major

Major John H. Broadnax served as an officer in the Georgia militia and was at Fort Hawkins in early 1815. On February 17, 1815, after the War of 1812 had concluded, Major Broadnax submitted a report of absentees in the Georgia militia companies under his command to Georgia Governor Peter Early. Broadnax's report was submitted at Fort Hawkins (Figure 15; Broadnax 1815).

David Brearley, Colonel

David Brearley (or Brearly) was a native of New Jersey where he was appointed Captain of the Light Dragoons on May 3, 1808. He resigned that commission on May 31, 1811.

He re-entered the army on March 12, 1812 as a Lieutenant Colonel in the 15th Infantry and was promoted to Colonel by brevet on March 12, 1813. He was honorably discharged on June 15, 1815 and re-instated on January 1, 1816 as a Lieutenant Colonel, 7th Infantry. He was transferred to the 3rd Infantry on April 10, 1817 and was promoted to Colonel of the 7th Infantry on April 30, 1817.

Colonel Brearley replaced Colonel James McDonald, who had resigned from the Army, as commander of Fort Hawkins (American Memory 2006). Colonel David Brealey, U.S. Army, 7th Infantry, wrote from his headquarters at Fort Hawkins to acting Georgia Governor William Rabun on September 24, 1817, in which he advised Rabun of the arrangements in preparation for Major General Gaines campaign in the 1st Seminole War. Brearley noted, "I trust the arrangement you have made will be perfectly satisfactory to General Gaines:- We have arms and accourterments [sic] here suitable for the Infantry" (Telemon Cuyler collection, Box 47, Folder 10).

Colonel Brearley was present at the treaty talks with the Creeks at the Creek Agency, resulting in a signed treaty on January 22, 1818 (Kappler 1904:155-156). It is interesting to note that these particular treaty negotiations were held at the Creek Agency on the Flint River, rather than at Fort Hawkins.

Court-marital proceedings were convened at Fort Scott on June 1, 1818 for the trial of Colonel David Brearly, 7th Infantry. Colonel Brearly was accused of disobedience of orders, neglect of duty, and unmilitary conduct. The first of these two charges stemmed from Major General Gaines irritation over the lack of provisions for his campaign against the Seminoles in January, 1818. Colonel Brearly was, "to order from Fort Hawkins to the agency [Creek Agency on the Flint River], thirty thousand rations of provisions", and Colonel Brearly neglected this task. Colonel Brearly had been ordered to construct boats on the

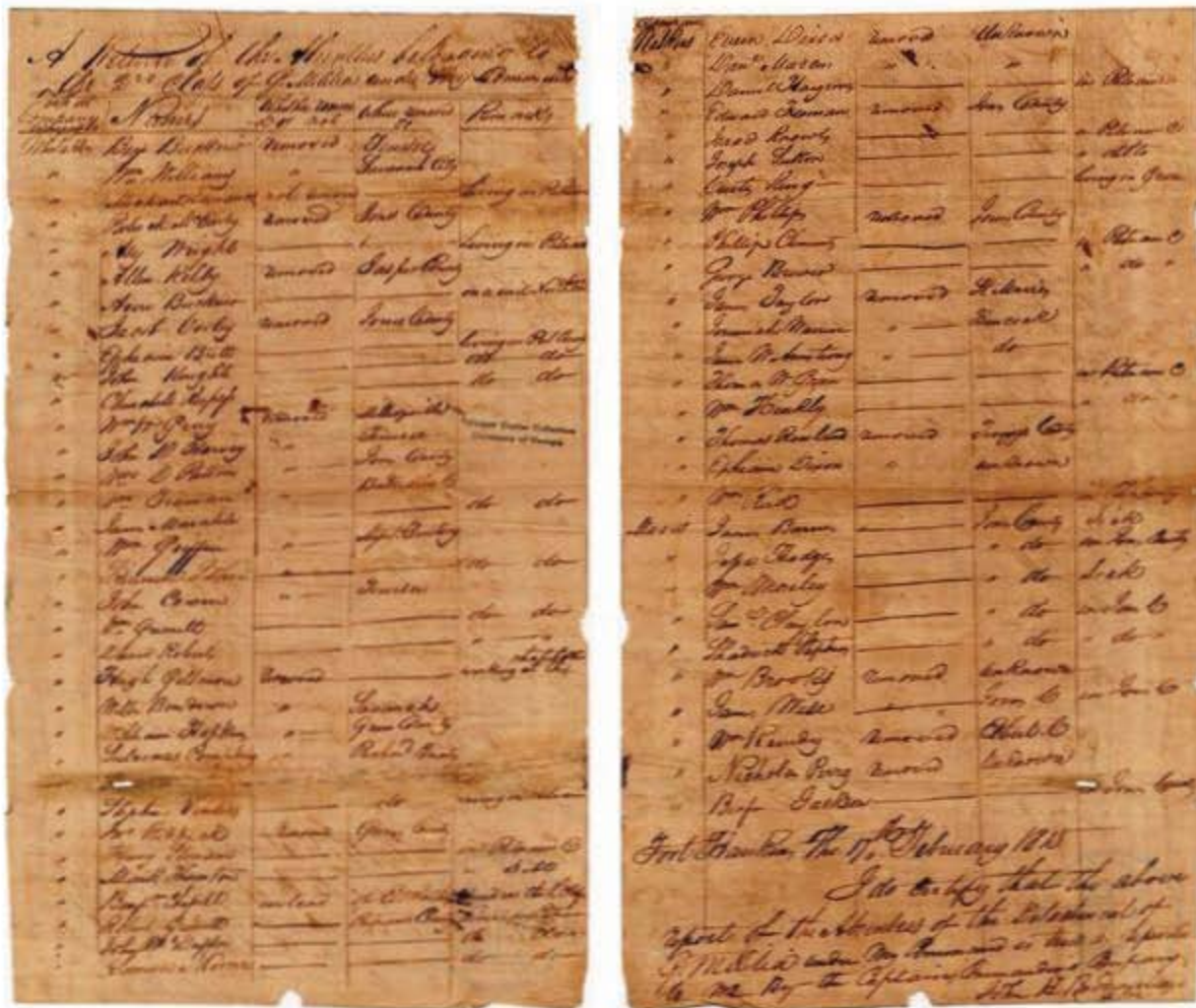


Figure 15. Georgia Militia Absentees Reported by Broadnax (1815).

Flint River for transporting these provisions to American troops downstream. Colonel Brearly was found not guilty of the charges and returned to duty under General Gaines on August 18, 1818. Brearly continued to serve in the Army his resignation on March 16, 1820. Colonel David Brearley died in 1837. (American Memory 2006; ASP, Military Affairs, Volume 2; Heitman 1903: 94, 85, 107).

John H. Broadnax, Major

John H. Broadnax served as a Major in the Georgia militia. He submitted a report to Georgia Governor Peter Early listing the absentees from his command, while serving

in the Creek Nation, from Fort Hawkins on February 17, 1815. This document may have covered all absentees under Broadnax's charge, while serving in the Creek country from 1812 to 1815 (Telemon Cuyler collection Box 64, Folder 11).

Otho W. Callis, Captain and Contractor's Agent

Otho W. Callis was from Virginia where he was appointed 2nd Lieutenant in the 12th Infantry on May 14, 1812. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on June 26, 1813. He served as regimental Adjutant General from May 1813 to June 1815. He was transferred to the 4th Infantry

on May 17, 1815 and was promoted to Captain on May 12, 1817. He resigned from the Army on May 31, 1817. He died on May 13, 1831 (Heitman 1903:275; Ancestry.com 2006).

William Bowen wrote from Fort Hawkins to Major Daniel Hughes, U.S. Factor at Fort Mitchell on February 4, 1817, in which he described the mercantile business partnership of Lieutenant Callis and Mr. Butler, both of the 4th Infantry (Peddy 1980:5).

Captain Otho W. Callis acted as contractor's agent at Fort Hawkins in late 1817 and early 1818. Several letters between Callis and Major General Gaines are published and these provide unique insight about the provisioning of the U.S. Army and Georgia militia in the 1st Seminole War (American Memory 2006, American State Papers, 15th Congress, 2nd Session, Military Affairs, Volume 1:694-695).

On January 12, 1818, Gaines wrote from his headquarters at Hartford, Georgia to Callis at Fort Hawkins:

I have received your report, in which you state that you have some rations "on the way," but you do not state where, or in what quantities, they are to be found. Let me be informed upon this subject without delay. Having been informed by Brigadier general Glasscock that he has not been regularly supplied with rations by you; that he had advanced you two thousand dollars to purchase pork for the detachment of Georgia militia under his command, (which I directed you to forward to this place for that detachment,) I learn that you have not complied with my requisition or order. Should this apparent neglect remain longer unexplained, your continuance as contractor's agent, or as sutler, within the limits of my command, will be no longer tolerated (American Memory 2006, American State Papers, 15th Congress, 2nd Session, Military Affairs, Volume 1:694).

Captain Callis wrote his reply from Hartford on January 24, 1818:

Your communication of the 12th is received. To the several subjects therein referred, and to others, I have the honor to reply as follows:

The rations reported to have been on hand were at Fort Hawkins, Creek Agency, Fort Mitchell, and Fort Gaines; estimated, at Fort Hawkins, say ten or fifteen thousand rations of pork and beef, and of flour four or five thousand rations; at the Agency, nine thousand rations of flour, with a considerable quantity of the smaller parts; at Fort Mitchell, ten thousand rations of flour, with a very small quantity of vinegar; and at Fort Gaines, say six or seven thousand rations of flour.

The two thousand dollars received of General Glasscock I did not understand were to be applied exclusively to the purchase of pork. My disbursements in the purchase of provision have considerably exceeded that sum since the receipt of it, which was on the 10th of December last. Of this fact I shall be able to convince the general, by a reference to my books, and other vouchers on that subject. It is true that the balance of pork left at Fort Hawkins was not forwarded to this place in compliance with your orders; this non-compliance proceeded from no disposition to evade or treat with indifference the orders of the general, but for want of immediate means for transporting it. In short, allow me to assure you, sir, that if I have, or if I may disobey your orders, it is alone ascribable to the want of the means for compliance. With regard to the flour refused at Fort Hawkins, afterwards transported to and sold at this place to the troops, by Mr. Lavake, I report that it was never the property of the contractor; that it was inspected and refused as his; that it was transported and sold by him, without the knowledge or consent of the contractor or his agent.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully,
your obedient servant (American

Duncan G. Campbell, Commissioner

Campbell graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1804 (Dialectic Society 1852). Duncan G. Campbell, a commissioner appointed to treat with the Creek Indians, wrote to Governor Troup to inform him of his arrival at Fort Hawkins on November 27, 1824 (Telemon Cuyler collection, Box 48, Folder 11). One of the last official uses of Fort Hawkins came at that time, when Georgia Governor George M. Troup intended to meet with the Creek Indians to negotiate a treaty on December 1, 1824.

Henry Alexander Carr, Captain [Lieutenant Colonel?]

Henry Alexander Carr was born between 1781 and 1783 in either North Carolina or Georgia. He died sometime prior to February 12, 1848 in Mississippi. Henry was an early resident of Jones County, Georgia. He married Mary Downs, a daughter of Benjamin Hawkins, in 1798. Henry served at Fort Hawkins. He enlisted as a private and rose to the ranks of Lieutenant Colonel in a Georgia regiment. He served as Quartermaster General under General Andrew Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans. He is mentioned as Capt. Henry Carr in the 1816 estate sale of Benjamin Hawkins (Hawkins and Hawkins 1816). A Carr family history denotes that Henry was a Captain in a Georgia company and served in the Creek War. He was promoted by General Andrew Jackson for his, "gallant conduct on the battlefield between the Regular Army and the Indians near Macon, GA." (Freeman 2006; Ancestry.com 2006).

The name Carr has a rich history in colonial and early federal Georgia. Captain Patrick Carr was

an important officer in the Georgia battalion at the close of the American Revolution. Paddy Carr was a well-known leader in the Creek Nation. Not only was Henry Alexander Carr a military officer, he provided the troops at Fort Hawkins with fresh vegetables, and had a close-knit relationship with Colonel Benjamin Hawkins. Additional research on Henry Alexander Carr should prove fruitful for interpreting life at Fort Hawkins.

Farish Carter, Civilian Contractor

Farish Carter, was the primary civilian contractor for the U.S. Army at Fort Hawkins in 1814 (Miller 1858:423). Carter was born in Abbeville District, South Carolina in 1780 and he died in Scottsborough, Georgia in 1861. Farish Carter was a merchant and planter in Sandersville, Georgia. With the resulting profits from his Army Contracts, Carter bought a plantation at Scottsboro, four miles south of Milledgeville, and another estate, Bonavista, on the Oconee River. As a plantation owner in 1845, he owned 33,293 acres and 426 slaves in Baldwin County alone. Farish Carter married Eliza McDonald on 26 April 1811. They had five children: Mary Ann (d. 1844), Catherine (d.1851), James Farish (b. 1821), Samuel McDonald, and Benjamin Franklin (d. 1856). Carter conducted extensive land speculations, shifting westward with the frontier. He also invested the income from agricultural and land ventures in a variety of enterprises. He owned interests in grist mills, marble quarries, and a woolen mill in north Georgia; toll bridges and ferries throughout Georgia; and steamboats on the Ocmulgee, Oconee and other rivers (Lupold in Coleman and Gurr 1983).

Joseph John Clinch, Lieutenant

Joseph John Clinch was from North Carolina, where he was appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 10th

Infantry on April 22, 1812. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on August 15, 1813 and was transferred to the 7th Infantry on May 17, 1815. Joseph J. Clinch, 1st Lieutenant 7th Infantry, served at Fort Hawkins in December, 1815. He was promoted to Captain on May 31, 1817. He resigned from the Army on October 31, 1820. He died on October 4, 1827 (Heitman 1903:310; Ancestry.com 2006; Jones 1999).

James Colson, Ensign

James Colson was from Georgia where he was appointed an Ensign in the 8th Infantry on July 6, 1812 (Table 8). He was promoted to 3rd Lieutenant on May 5, 1813 and to 2nd Lieutenant on December 2, 1813. Colson resigned from the Army on May 1, 1814 (Heitman 1903:313; Ancestry.com 2006).

Captain Philip Cook presided at the court-martial at Fort Hawkins of Ensign James Colson. Colson was in Captain Cook's Company, 8th Infantry, and was charged with improper officer-like conduct for, "refusing to observe the order of Lieutenant Bee then his commanding officer on 5 Oct. 1813 when ordered not to admit any more of the militia into the camp and saying he would admit them or who he pleases in the presence of several soldiers...setting an improper example". Lieutenant Bee was apparently disabled at the time being, "confined by disease". Ensign Colson was also charged with Disobedience of Orders, Mutiny (for drawing his sword half out of its scabbard), and Breach of Arrest (for quitting his tent) (NARA, RG 98: 20).

Philip Cook, Major

Philip Cook was promoted to Captain of an Infantry stationed in Georgia on January 11, 1812 (American Memory 2006). He received his commission as Captain in the 8th Infantry on March 12, 1812 (Heitman 1903:324). He was

commandant of Fort Hawkins after May 1812. Benjamin Hawkins wrote to Captain Cook, as commandant at Fort Hawkins, on May 31, 1813 (Telamon Cuyler collection, Box 76, Folder 25). On August 15, 1813, Cook was promoted to the rank of Major. Philip Cook also served as Brigade Commander of the Georgia militia.

On September 6, 1813, Cook wrote that 2,500 militia were assembled at Fort Hawkins (Jones 1813; Turner 1996). Cook described many of the militiamen as ill. Cook refused to review the Georgia militia troops that were led by Brigadier General John Floyd, which set off a controversy. The problem stemmed from differences in organization and protocol between the Federal and State military organizations. Floyd wrote to Georgia Governor hoping for a resolution of this problem.

Cook was still serving as Commandant of Fort Hawkins on February 18, 1814. In November 1814, Major Cook commanded a regular garrison at Fort Hawkins of 210 officers and men. These were U.S. Army regulars and not state militia. Philip Cook was at Fort Hawkins November 1814 during "the hostile event" (Hays 1940, v.4:19).

Philip Cook served in the U.S. Army until May 17, 1815 (Heitman 1903:96; Ancestry.com 2006). He remained in Georgia after his military service in the War of 1812. By 1820 he was affiliated with the State Penitentiary in Milledgeville and he remained quite active in the affairs of central Georgia (Evans 2001:171). Philip Cook advertised in the January 28, 1828 Macon newspaper for boarders for his Macon boarding house, stating, "Private Boarding House, Ten or twelve genteel Boarders can be accommodated on low terms by the subscriber, PHILIP COOK, Macon, Jan. 14" (Preston 2006).

Martha P. Cook was the wife of Philip Cook, Commander of Fort Hawkins. She remarried and was Martha Cook Winship (Wilcox 1999). Philip Cook's son, also named Philip, rose

U.S. Military Appointments in Georgia, 1812.

Names	Rank	Regiment, or Corps	Status in 1813
Jack, Patrick	Lieutenant Colonel	Infantry	
Houston, Mossman	Major	Infantry	Discontinued
Cook, Philip	Captain	Infantry	Major, 8th Infantry
Jones, William	Captain	Infantry	
Twiggs, David E.	Captain	Infantry	
Chisolm, William	Captain	Infantry	
Clark, Gibson	Captain	Infantry	
Robertson, Jesse	Captain	Artillery	
Dyer, Otis	First Lieutenant	Infantry	
Cook, Hamlin	First Lieutenant	Infantry	Captain, 8th Infantry
Turpin, Beverley	Second Lieutenant	Cavalry	
Slaughter, Henry	Second Lieutenant	Artillery	
Crawford, Obadiah	Second Lieutenant	Infantry	
Kinan, Thomas H.	Second Lieutenant	Infantry	
Walton, Hughes	Second Lieutenant	Infantry	Promoted
Newman, Montgomery	Second Lieutenant	Artillery	
Martin, Beverley	Second Lieutenant	Infantry	1st Lt., 8th Infantry
Barnes, Thomas	Second Lieutenant	Infantry	
Kinnan, Warner	Second Lieutenant	Cavalry	
Wilde, James	Second Lieutenant	Infantry	
Porter, Thomas C.	Second Lieutenant	Infantry	
Mallory, John	Second Lieutenant	Infantry	
McIntosh, James McKay	Ensign	Infantry	
Colson, James	Ensign	Infantry	2nd Lt., 8th Infantry
Coleman, Samuel	Ensign	Infantry	2nd Lt., 8th Infantry
Kinan, Owen H.	Ensign	Infantry	
Legeux, Peter	Ensign	Infantry	
Tuppe, James	Cornet	Cavalry	
Merriweather, William	Surgeon's Mate	Infantry	

Table 8. U.S. Military Appointments in Georgia, 1812 (Source: American Memory 2006, Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of American, Volume 2:219.

to prominence as a Confederate general and Georgian statesman. Philip, Jr. was born on July 30, 1817 at their home in Twiggs County, Georgia, possibly after the Cooks had left Fort Hawkins. Although no images of Philip, Sr. were located by the present research, a photograph of Philip, Jr. has survived and is included in Appendix E (United States Congress 2006).

John Crowell, Colonel and Indian Agent

John Crowell was an Army colonel and Indian Agent on the Georgia frontier. He is most closely associated with Fort Mitchell on the Chattahoochee River but he also served in the years prior at Fort Hawkins. Colonel John Crowell, Agent to the Creek Nation, received a letter, dated March, 1821, from Secretary of War, J.C. Calhoun stating his new position (Peddy 1980:59). Crowell undoubtedly visited Fort Hawkins, or had some dealings with the place, during his career as an army officer and federal agent.

Micajah Crupper, 2nd Lieutenant

Micajah Crupper was from Virginia where he was appointed Ensign in the 12th Infantry on March 29, 1813. He was promoted to 3rd Lieutenant on September 30, 1813 and to 2nd Lieutenant on June 24, 1814. He was honorably discharged on June 15, 1815 but reinstated on December 2, 1815. Micajah Crupper was a 2nd Lieutenant in the Corps of Artillery until December 12, 1815, when he was transferred to the 7th Infantry and sent to Fort Hawkins. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant, 7th Infantry on October 15, 1816 (Heitman 1903:342; Ancestry.com 2006).

On March 13, 1819, Lieutenant Micajah Crupper, 7th Infantry, was identified by Daniel Bunch, Aid de Camp, as the commander of

Fort Hawkins. In that letter, which was written from the Army Command headquarters at Fernandina, Florida, Bunch discusses the forage situation at Fort Hawkins for Major General Gaines' horse. Micajah was promoted to Captain, 7th Infantry on May 31, 1819 and he was honorably discharged on June 1, 1821 (Heitman 1903:342; Ancestry.com 2006; NARA RG98:201, 301).

Robert S. Cunningham, Captain

Robert S. Cunningham was from South Carolina where he was appointed Captain in the 8th Infantry on March 12, 1812. Captain Cunningham marched his regiment from Bath to Fort Hawkins in 1813. He resigned from the Army on December 2, 1813 (Heitman 1903:345; Ancestry.com 2006; Hay 1940, v.3:188).

James Edward Dinkins, Major

James Edward Dinkins, a native of South Carolina where he was appointed 1st Lieutenant on July 1, 1808. He served in the 3rd Infantry in the Mississippi Territory on April 24, 1809. He was promoted to Captain on February 6, 1811. He was relieved of command at Fort Hawkins on June 7, 1811. He took command of Captain Houston's Company in October, 1811 and served at Mount Vernon, Mississippi Territory through 1813, Ft. Claiborne and Alabama Heights in 1814. He was promoted to Major, 44th Infantry on May 15, 1814. He served at Fort Jackson in August 1814, and at Mobile from August to October, 1814, followed by service at Fort Montgomery (October 1814), Pensacola (November 1814), and New Orleans (February 12-March 6, 1815). Major Dinkins was transferred to the 36th Infantry on November 18, 1814. After peace was declared, Dinkins was retained as a Captain in the 4th Infantry on May 17, 1815. He served with the 4th Regiment as Major by brevet from May 15, 1814 and

with the 8th Infantry on May 8, 1818. He was transferred to the 4th Infantry on January 27, 1819, transferred to the 5th Infantry on June 1, 1821, then back to the 4th Infantry on October 24, 1821. He died on October 6, 1822 (Heitman 1903:374; Ancestry.com 2006; Jones 1999).

Saunders Donoho, Major

Saunders Donoho [or Donaho, Donahoe] was born near Mileont, Caswell County, North Carolina sometime after 1774 to Thomas and Keziah Saunders Donoho (Rootsweb.com 2006a). Saunders attended the University of North Carolina in 1804 but did not graduate (Yancey 1811; Dialectic Society 1852). By 1807 Saunders Donoho was a practicing attorney in Ashe County, North Carolina (New River Notes 2006).

Donoho was commissioned as a Captain in the 2nd Artillery in North Carolina on July 6, 1812. He was transferred to the Corps of Artillery on May 12, 1814 and was honorably discharged on June 15, 1815. He was reinstated on December 2, 1815 and transferred to the 4th Infantry on January 7, 1820. Captain Donoho, Captain 4th Infantry was promoted to the rank of Major by brevet on July 6, 1822. (Heitman 1903:378; Ancestry.com 2006; American Memory 2006).

While no documents place Donoho within Fort Hawkins, he was almost certainly present there and likely garrisoned there for some period of time. This assertion is indirectly supported by Donoho's presence at other forts in the region, including Point Peter and Fort Mitchell, and by the numerous 2nd Artillery buttons from the War of 1812 era that were discovered in the Fort Hawkins excavations. Donoho later served as a Major in the 4th Infantry, U.S. Army. In 1825 Major Donoho and his troops erected the second fort at Fort Mitchell, Alabama (Stickler 2004:20). He was killed by a soldier on July 7, 1826 (Heitman 1903:378; Ancestry.com 2006; American Memory 2006).

Robert Dyer, Colonel

Colonel Robert Dyer commanded the 1st Regiment of Volunteer Mounted Gunmen of West Tennessee. Dyer's regiment was one of two that accompanied Major General Andrew Jackson on the Seminole campaign in February 1818. Colonel Dyer and his troops spent less than four days at Fort Hawkins before continuing southward to battle. General Jackson's Seminole campaign ended in four months and by June 1818 the troops had returned to Tennessee (Tennessee State Library and Archives 2006; American Memory 2006).

Captains of Companies in the 1st Regiment, who were under Colonel Dyer's command in the Seminole campaign, included: Joab H. Banton, James L. Bell, James Byrn, William Chism, Alexander Dunlap, Richard G. Dunlap, Josiah Hanna, Hugh Kirk, James G. Murdock, Henry Norwood, and William Russell (Tennessee State Library and Archives 2006).

George W. Evans, Colonel and Quartermaster General

Colonel George W. Evans, Quarter Master General, served in the Georgia militia near Fort Hawkins during the War of 1812 (Hays 1940, v.3:287).

Abraham B. Fannin, Major and Quartermaster General, State of Georgia

Abraham B. Fannin was from Georgia. He served as Quarter Master General for the State of Georgia at Fort Hawkins in October 1813. Major Fannin was also identified in this capacity in a January 18, 1815 letter (Hays 1940, v.3:269; v.4: 130). Fannin was appointed Major Deputy Quarter Master General in the U.S. Army on

April 23, 1814. He was honorably discharged on June 15, 1815 (Heitman 1903:412).

Major Fannin may also have served as a quartermaster at Fort Hawkins in 1818, when Major General Andrew Jackson wrote to Secretary of War Calhoun,

Major Fanning [Fannin] has been despatched to Fort Hawkins to purchase and forward on these supplies to the most convenient point of interception. I have advanced to him two thousand dollars, with authority to draw on the quartermaster general for additional sums wanted, and imposed upon him the temporary duties of deputy quartermaster general. I am compelled to this arrangement from an impression that there can be no officer of the quartermaster's department in the vicinity of Fort Hawkins, and Colonel Gibson could not possibly reach that neighborhood to effect the objects wished (American Memory 2006).

John Floyd, Brigadier General

John Floyd was born in Beaufort, South Carolina on October 3, 1769. The Floyds moved to Camden County, Georgia. Floyd served in the Creek War as a brigadier general in the First Brigade of Georgia Militia from August 30, 1813 to March 8, 1814 and from October 17, 1814 to March 10, 1815. Floyd later served as a member of the Georgia House of Representatives and the U.S. House of Representatives. He died near Jefferson, Georgia in 1839. Brigadier General John Floyd commanded the Georgia militia in the War of 1812. General Floyd was at Fort Hawkins on numerous occasions. He arrived there to command his militia brigade on September 19, 1813 (Floyd 1813:1-2).

General Floyd and his troops distinguished themselves in battles against the Red Sticks at Atasi and Tallassee on the Tallapoosa River in

present-day Alabama. Floyd was wounded in that engagement of November 29, 1813. After the battle, Floyd returned to Fort Mitchell to recuperate from his wounds. The Georgia militia's victory at the battle of Atasi was commemorated in an engraving by an artist identified only as, "J.W.B." (J.W.B. ca. 1820).

Edmund Pendleton Gaines, Major General

Edmund Pendleton Gaines had a lengthy career in the U.S. Army, which culminated in his rank of Major General. A native of Virginia, he enlisted in the Army in Tennessee as an Ensign in the 6th Infantry on January 10, 1799. He was promoted to 2nd Lieutenant on March 3, 1799 and was honorably discharged on June 15, 1800. He re-enlisted as 2nd Lieutenant in the 4th Infantry on February 16, 1801 and transferred to the [new] 2nd Infantry on April 1, 1802. In 1802, 2nd Lieutenant Edmund P. Gaines, 4th Infantry, was transferred to the new 2nd Infantry. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on April 27, 1802 and to Captain on February 28, 1807. He was commissioned as a Major, 8th Infantry on March 24, 1812. One July 6, 1812 Gaines was commissioned a Lieutenant Colonel, 24th Infantry. He was promoted to Colonel, 25th Infantry on March 12, 1813 and commanded that regiment until March 9, 1814. Gaines also held the rank of Colonel Adjutant General from September 1, 1813 to March 9, 1814, when he was promoted to Brigadier General. He was promoted to Major General by brevet on August 15, 1814 for his valor at Fort Erie Upper Canada. Gaines served in the Army until June 25, 1841 (Heitman 1903: 21, 442; American Memory 2006; Silver 1949; Ancestry.com 2006).

Major General Edmund P. Gaines was the Commander of Military Departments 6, 7, and 8. Gaines was also Commander of the Headquarters Eastern Section, Division of the South. Both of Gaines' Army Commands

were established at Fort Hawkins during part of his service (Wilcox 1999). General Gaines established his Army Command at Fort Hawkins in mid-December, 1817. December 14, 1817 and Gaines wrote a letter from Fort Hawkins to the Secretary of War the following day, in which he noted:

I received the detachment of Georgia militia, under the command of Brigadier General Glasscock. They look well, and are ready to march; but the inattention on the part of the contractor's agent to the requisitions for a supply of rations will, I apprehend, according to custom, delay the movement of the militia until some part of the frontier settlements suffer by the Indians, who I have no doubt, will detach considerable parties for this purpose as soon as they find themselves unable to succeed in any attempt against the regular troops at Fort Scott; and I think it cannot be long before they are convinced of this" (American Memory 2006, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Volume 2:162; Hays 1939b:902).

On October 13, 1815, Gaines wrote from his headquarters in Augusta, Georgia to Governor Peter Early regarding the tensions on the frontier between the United States and the Indians at the conclusion of the treaty talks at Fort Jackson. Gaines was concerned for the protection of the friendly Creeks and he advised Governor Early to counteract a possible war by ordering 2,000 Georgia militia troops to Fort Hawkins to join the U.S. Army, 4th Infantry. Gaines stated:

A strong force in the nation will enable us to avert a war, or if it must take place, we shall be prepared for it -- A strong force will enable us in any event to establish a permanent boundary according to the treaty.

I have therefore to request, that your Excellency will be pleased to order to fort Hawkins the two thousand Militia held in readiness for that purpose.

I have ordered the 4th US Infantry to repair to Fort Hawkins and have reason to believe it will be at that place by the 25th or 30th inst [instant], where I should be happy to meet the Militia -- The necessary arms ammunition & Camp equipage have been ordered to Fort Hawkins (Telemon Cuyler collection, Box 47, Folder 5).

General Gaines' plan for two thousand militia to be assembled at Fort Hawkins was approved by the Department of War on October 24, 1815. The War Department also advised that the Governors of South Carolina and Tennessee be notified to hold additional militia troops in reserve should the need arise (Telemon Cuyler collection, Box 3, Folder 31).

Thomas Glascock, Brigadier General

Brigadier General Thomas Glascock (or Glasscock), Georgia militia was at Fort Hawkins by December 3, 1817 Glascock presented his troops to Major General Edmund P. Gaines for review on December 14, 1817 (American Memory 2006, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Volume 2:162; Hays 1940, v.4:372).

Jonathan Halsted, Factor

Jonathan Halstead was born in New Jersey and lived with his wife Isabella Neil Halsted in Elizabethtown, New Jersey. They had five children prior to his assignment as U.S. Factor at Fort Wilkinson in 1802. A son, Benjamin Hawkins Halsted, was born at Fort Wilkinson in 1804. After the transfer of his duties to Factor at Fort Hawkins, two more sons were born. Two of his daughters were married while he served at Fort Hawkins, including Elizabeth Mallam Halsted who married Charles Magnan in 1808. Magnan served as the Assistant Factor at Fort Hawkins. Halsted served as Factor until his death on December 21, 1814. Some early maps refer to the Ocmulgee National Monument's

Great Temple Mound as “Halsted’s Mount” and there is also mention of the “Halsted Old Field”. Today, Halsted’s great, great, great, great granddaughters, Echo Halstead Burrell and Lynn Halstead Stokes, serve on the Fort Hawkins Commission. Both women also volunteered their labor throughout the field excavation project.

Benjamin F. Hawkins, Colonel and Indian Agent

Colonel Benjamin F. Hawkins was a major figure in American history who was associated with Fort Hawkins from its inception in 1806 until his death on June 6, 1816. Hawkins was from Bute County [later Warren County], North Carolina. He was born August 15, 1752 and died June 6, 1816 (Rootsweb.com 2006b). He attended Princeton University prior to the outbreak of the American Revolution (Young et al. 1950:37).

Throughout most of this period Colonel Hawkins’ base of operations was the Creek Agency, which was located on the Flint River, west of present-day Roberta, in Crawford County, Georgia. George Washington appointed Hawkins as Agent for all Indian tribes south of the Ohio River and Hawkins remained in this capacity until his death. In his role as Indian Agent Hawkins traveled extensively among the Creeks and other southeastern tribes, as well as making numerous trips to Milledgeville and several northern cities on Government business. Hawkins’ primary residence during this period was at the Creek Agency, where his wife and children stayed. Hawkins also was a military man and held the rank of Colonel in the U.S. Army. He commanded a regiment of Creek Indians, who were classified as regulars in the U.S. Army. The headquarters for the Creek Indian regiment was at the Lower Creek town of Coweta on the Chattahoochee River. Fort Hawkins was the principal depository for the provisions for Hawkins’ regiment, which

consisted of over 1,000 soldiers (Wilcox 1999).

Hawkins’ correspondence was extensive and many of his letters have survived. Many have been published (Grant 1980; Foster 2003). Several books have been written about Benjamin Hawkins and his relations with the Native Americans (Pound 1951; Henri 1986).

Colonel Benjamin Hawkins wrote many letters from Fort Hawkins, although most of his correspondence was written elsewhere. When one examines Hawkins’ trail based on the letterheads of his correspondence it becomes clear that Hawkins spent extended periods at Fort Hawkins on official business in his capacity as Indian Agent and Colonel of the U.S. Army’s Creek Regiment, and while passing through to other destinations along the Federal Road.

Hawkins, Philemon, IV, Captain and Assistant Indian Agent

Philemon Hawkins, IV, served as Assistant agent to Creek Nation at Fort Hawkins (Peddy 1980). Philemon was from Bute County (later Warren County), North Carolina and nephew to Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent. Philemon was born June 5, 1789 and he died on March 22, 1817 in Fort Hawkins (Rootsweb.com 2006b). P. Hawkins, Jr., probably the same person, received his Captain’s commission on July 6, 1812 in the 2nd Artillery (American Memory 2006).

J. S. Hobkirk, 1st Lieutenant

J.S. Hobkirk was a 1st Lieutenant in the 7th Infantry in 1821. Hobkirk was in command of Fort Hawkins for about the first half of 1821 and he was one of the last U.S. Army officers linked to Fort Hawkins. On February 17, Hobkirk was dispatched from Fort Hawkins by Secretary of War John C. Calhoun to Fort Mitchell to

attend to the affairs following the dismissal of David B. Mitchell as U.S. Indian Agent (Peddy 1980). In June, 1821 Hobkirk commanded a small detachment from Company F (Captain Bradford's Company) of the 7th Infantry at Fort Hawkins. Troop returns for the 7th Infantry for July and August, 1821 listed only one private soldier on command at Fort Hawkins, which suggests that the detachment was withdrawn in late June of that year. One officer from the 7th Infantry, 2nd Lieutenant Pierce Butler, was listed at Fort Hawkins in August, 1821, where he was awaiting acceptance of his resignation from the Army (NARA RG 94, Returns from Regular Army Infantry Regiments 1821).

Francis Kinloch Huger, Colonel and Adjutant General

Francis Kinloch Huger was born to Benjamin and Mary Esther Kinloch Huger in South Carolina in 1773. Francis was listed in the 1810 and 1820 Federal Census as a resident of Georgetown County, South Carolina. In 1802 he married Harriot Lucas M. Pinckney, who was the daughter of Major General Thomas Pinckney, in South Carolina (Ancestry.com 2006).

Benjamin's son, Francis Kinloch, patriot, born in Charleston, South Carolina, in September, 1773; died there, 14 February, 1855, was sent to England for his education, and studied under the celebrated Dr. John Hunter. He became a surgeon, and in 1794 was for a short time attached to the medical staff of the English army, then in Flanders. Thence he went to Vienna, where his family associations with the Marquis de Lafayette induced him to join in an attempt to liberate General Lafayette from the Austrian fortress of Olmutz. The rescue was successful, though Lafayette was recaptured near the frontier. Mr. Huger, having given up the horse to his companion, Dr. Eric Bollmann, was arrested near the spot and taken to Olmutz, where

he was harshly treated. After an imprisonment of nearly eight months, he was released in 1798, and sent across the frontier. He then returned to America, and was soon afterward commissioned a captain in the United States army. In 1811 he married a daughter of General Thomas Pinckney. At the beginning of the war of 1812 he was made a lieutenant-colonel in the 2d artillery, and placed on the staff of General Pinckney. On 6 April, 1813, he became adjutant-general with the rank of colonel. Subsequently he served in the state legislature. He died in 1855 (Ricehope.com 2006).

Huger's headquarters in 1813 were in St. Marys and Camp Point Peter on the Georgia coast. Huger was stationed at Fort Hawkins in 1814, when it was the Army Command for the 6th and 7th Military Districts. Huger served as a Lieutenant Colonel from March 3, 1813 to May 17, 1815 (NARA RG 98; Heitman 1903:49; Ancestry.com 2006).

A portrait of Huger, painted by American artist Charles Fraser in 1825, depicts a somewhat older Francis K. Huger than when he was stationed at Fort Hawkins. This portrait was commissioned by the City of Charleston, South Carolina for presentation to General Lafayette during his celebrated return to the United States (Fraser 2006).

Daniel Hughes, Major and Factor

Hughes was promoted from 1st Lieutenant to Captain in the 1st Infantry on December 15, 1808. Hughes later served as Aid de Camp to Major General Wilkinson. Hughes was appointed Major on February 21, 1814 and served until May 17, 1815. Major Daniel Hughes was appointed Factor of the Trading Factory at Fort Hawkins and at Fort Mitchell, after it was moved there in August and September 1816 (Cremer 2004:4; Wilcox 1999; American Memory 2006; Cox 1914: 794-812).

Patrick Jack, Colonel

Patrick Jack was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the Infantry on April 6, 1812 and was assigned to service in Georgia. Colonel Patrick Jack, 8th Infantry, was in command of the 8th Infantry in 1814 and 1815. Colonel Jack served as Commandant at Fort Hawkins in 1814. He continued to serve in the Army until May 17, 1815 (Hays 1940, v.4: 165; American Memory 2006; Wilcox 1999; Heitman 1903:96; Ancestry.com 2006).

Andrew Jackson, Major General and President

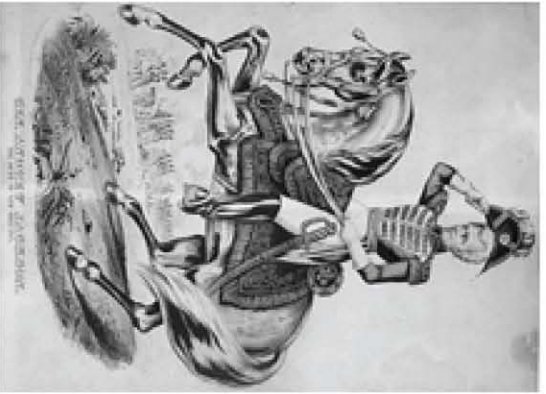
Andrew Jackson is a well known figure in American history and the subject of countless biographies, most well-known for his service as President of the United States from 1829 to 1837. He was born in Waxhaw, South Carolina on March 15, 1767 and died near Nashville, Tennessee on June 8, 1845. Jackson was a young man at the time of the American Revolution, although his resistance against the British is part of our folklore. By the time of the War of 1812 Jackson served as a Major General in the Tennessee militia. Jackson was appointed Brigadier General in the U.S. Army on April 19, 1814 and he held that rank until May 1, 1814, when he was promoted to Major General (Heitman 1903: 15, 20-21; Ancestry.com 2006).

Andrew Jackson's military exploits were documented by his contemporary biographers and various news media in the early and mid 19th century (c.f., Denson 1815; Eaton and Reid 1817; Parton 1861). Many modern biographies, collected papers and correspondence, and historical studies of Jackson abound (c.f., Bassett 1926-35; James 1933; Remini 1977, 1999, 2001; Smith and Owsley 1980-2002; Barber 1990; Remini and Rupp 1991; O'Brien 2003; Heidler and Heidler 2003; Patterson 2005).

Jackson commanded the combined U.S. Army, friendly Creeks and Cherokees and various state militias in the South during the War of 1812 and the 1st Seminole War. Jackson was appointed as a Major General in May 1814, after his victories over the Creeks in Alabama. Jackson spent most of his time in the War of 1812 in Tennessee and Alabama. He led one contingent of a three-pronged attack against the hostile Creeks, or Red Sticks, in 1813 and 1814. Jackson's victory at Tohopeka, or Horseshoe Bend, on the Tallapoosa River in March, 1814 set the stage for the Red Stick's surrender and the Treaty of Fort Jackson in mid-1814. After that Jackson focused his attention on the Gulf Coast where the British forces were menacing. His most celebrated victory was at New Orleans in January 1815. Many of the U.S. Army soldiers who were previously stationed at Fort Hawkins served with Jackson in the New Orleans campaign. Jackson, who was born in 1767, was 46 years old at the time.

Numerous portraits and illustrations of Andrew Jackson exist, but few of these date to the period from 1800-1820. One popular image from that era depicted "Gen. Andrew Jackson, Hero of New Orleans" on horseback and brandishing a sword (Figure 16a and b). James B. Longacre's portrait engraving of Jackson with his horse, made from a painting by Thomas Sully and reproduced in Figure 16, shows several details of Jackson's uniform, approximately two years after his visit to Fort Hawkins (Longacre 2006). Jackson was also frequently lampooned by the press, particularly from the period of his political life, and numerous cartoons and caricatures of Jackson from that era have survived.

Jackson visited Fort Hawkins on February 9, 1818, while in route to engage the Seminoles who threatened the U.S. troops at Fort Scott. Jackson and the Tennessee mounted militia spent less than four days at Fort Hawkins before leaving for Hartford. Jackson, who was 50 years old at the time, described this brief visit in a letter, dated January 10, 1818, to Secretary of War Calhoun:



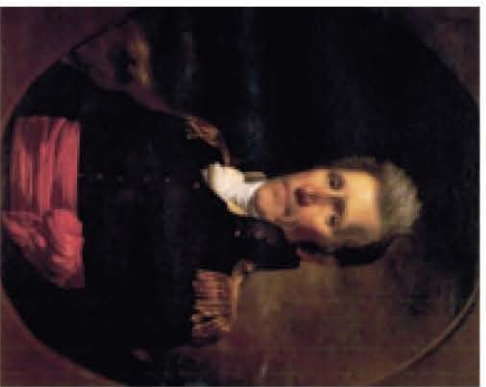
A.



B.



C.



D.



E.



F.



G.



H.

Figure 16. General Andrew Jackson in the Fort Hawkins Era.

I reached this place last evening, when I learned, by sundry communications received from Brevet Major General Gaines, that the Georgia militia, under General Glasscock, had all returned home, leaving the frontier in a very exposed situation. The regular troops at Fort Scott have been out of provisions, but the means adopted by Major General Gaines to remedy that evil, induces a strong presumption that they are by this time supplied; which, with the stores ordered by me from New Orleans, will, I trust, afford us an ample supply for the campaign.

The contractor having failed, General Gaines has, by my order, directed the quartermaster to purchase provisions, in which he has succeeded so far as to procure one thousand one hundred hogs, and a sufficiency of bread stuff; this will march the troops to and from the seat of war.

I am without any official advice as to the preparation and march of the late requisition from the State of Georgia (American Memory 2006).

From this letter we discern that Jackson was not altogether happy with the situation at Fort Hawkins upon his arrival. The problems with obtaining provisions for the Georgia militia and U.S. troops were frustrating to Jackson and to Major General Gaines. Their frustration would later result in court-martial charges against Colonel David Brearly, who was the commander of Fort Hawkins at that time.

John Jerrison, Postmaster and Innkeeper

In 1812 the Milledgeville newspaper published an advertisement for, “a house of accommodation at Fort Hawkins for the benefit of travelers passing through the Creek Nation”, which was operated by John Jerreson (Halker 1970:81). There is a John Jerrison listed as the Fort Hawkins Postmaster in 1816 (ASP, Blue Book Register 1816).

Christopher Kieser, Lieutenant Colonel

Lieutenant Christopher Kieser (or Keiser) served as the Deputy Commissary of Ordinance for the 6th Brigade District in December 1814 and September 1815 (Hays 1940, v. 4:292). Wilcox (1999) noted that Lieutenant Colonel Keiser was acting Deputy Quarter Master General at Fort Hawkins from January 11, 1818 through August 1819 (Wilcox 1999). Kieser was placed in command of Fort Hawkins by Major General Gaines in 1818. Thomas S. Woodward provides some historical information on Kieser:

Hawkins raised a girl who was called by the name of Muscogee Hawkins. She was the daughter of John Hill, who was a sub-Indian Agent. He hung himself at Fort Wilkinson many years ago. Muscogee married Capt. Kit Kizer, of the U.S. Army; he died, and she married Bagwell Tillor (Woodward 1965 [1858]).

William King, Colonel, 4th Infantry Regiment

William King was appointed Major in the U.S. Army on March 3, 1813 and he held that rank until February 14, 1814, when he was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel. He served as Lieutenant Colonel from February 21, 1814 until May 17, 1815, when he was promoted to the rank of Colonel. Colonel William King led the 4th Infantry and he served as Commandant of Fort Hawkins with the 4th Infantry in May 27, 1815, 1816, and possibly later years. Previously William King was a Major in the 15th Infantry before receiving his promotion to Colonel on February 15, 1814 (American Memory 2006; Heitman 1903, v.1:107, 142, 87; Ancestry.com 2006).

Colonel King’s military career ended in disgrace. On September 7, 1819, Andrew Jackson wrote from Nashville, Tennessee to

John C. Calhoun regarding the arrest of Colonel King, 4th Infantry (Jackson 1819:2-3), in which Jackson noted:

Your order directing the arest [arrest] of Col [Colonel] King 4th Infantry come duly to hand, & has been promptly attended to, of which you have been advised by my adjt. [adjutant] General. Genl. [General] Gaines has communicated to me the recpt [receipt] of the orders to him, on this subject, & of his prompt attention thereto. Will you permit me to remark that the manner of the arrest of Col. [Colonel] King is I think without precedent. Permitting subordinate officers, charged with high military offenses, -- under arrest, & a court ordered for their trial, to prefer charges against their superior, and to send them to you contrary to possitive [positive] rule; & at the same time, the trial of the subordinate to be suspended until after the trial of the superior is had, is to destroy all subordination in the army. This precedent may be insisted on in cases hereafter, and will produce the worst consiquences [consequences], exciting subordinate officers in all like cases to prefer charges against their superiors by way of revenge, & to procrastinate their own fate (Jackson 1819:2-3).

The court-martial proceedings of Colonel William King, 4th Infantry, are recorded in the Military Affairs and in the Congressional Record of the 16th Congress, 1st Session as entry No. 195, Trial of Colonel William King, Communicated to the House of Representatives, May 3, 1820 (American Memory 2006). The court martial began on October 25, 1819 at Fort Charlotte, Mobile, Alabama. Because of a yellow fever epidemic in Mobile, the trial was moved to cantonment Montpelier. Five charges were filed against Colonel King, which were:

1. Violation of the fourteenth article of the rules and articles of war, by making and signing a false certificate with respect to his pay [Colonel King was exonerated on this charge].

2. Conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman [Colonel King was found guilty of the charge of “unofficerlike conduct” but was acquitted of the charge of “ungentlemanly conduct”].

3. Violation of the thirty-ninth article of the rules and articles of war, by misapplication of public funds [Colonel King was found guilty of this charge].

4. Neglect of duty and unofficer-like conduct. Colonel King was found guilty of this charge. [Specification 4 of this charge declared that Colonel King, “...did encourage and enforce... the infliction of corporeal punishment, by stripes and lashes, by issuing and promulgating an order, on or about the 10th August, 1818, at Pensacola, and otherwise, to this effect: that every man found out of his quarters between tattoo and reveille, should receive fifty lashes, and be confined on bread and water in the black hole for the space of one month”].

5. Violation of the thirty-first articles of the rules and articles of war [Colonel King was found not guilty of this charge].

Colonel King plead “Not Guilty” to these five charges. The court sentenced Colonel King, “to be suspended from all rank, pay, and emoluments, for the space of five years, from the date of the ratification of this sentence” (American Memory 2006; ASP, Military Affairs Lindsay and Hays 1819:158). Colonel King’s legal violations dated from the period after September 1817 and after he was no longer in command at Fort Hawkins. The testimony from his trial attest that Colonel King’s command of Fort Hawkins was ended by May 1817 when he left the 4th Regiment on furlough, he rejoined the regiment in March, 1818 at Fort Gadsen and was in command of the garrison at Pensacola by August, 1818 [previous testimony by Captain Henry Wilson] and September 1817, when he assumed commands at cantonment Montpelier and Fort Scott. Throughout this period Colonel King’s immediate commander was Major

General Edmund P. Gaines (American Memory 2006).

From the details of Colonel King's court-martial record the names of several officers and soldiers in the 4th Infantry were identified. An unknown percentage of these men probably served under Colonel King while at Fort Hawkins. These possibly include Edward B. Randolph, Sutler, 4th Infantry (in Georgia 1817) firm of Nelson and Randolph; [first name undetermined] Nelson, Sutler, 4th Infantry (October 1818) firm of Nelson and Randolph; James E. Dinkins, Major, 4th Infantry (1818); and J. B. Hogan, Major and Paymaster, 4th Infantry (1819). Others in the 4th Infantry included Joseph Shomo, Captain, 4th Infantry (1819); Henry Wilson, Captain, 4th Infantry (1819); and Francis W. Brady, Lieutenant, 4th Infantry (1819). Other men in the 4th Infantry that may have served at Ft. Hawkins include William Lear, Lieutenant, 4th Infantry (1818)' Sands, Lieutenant and Adjutant, 4th Infantry (1818); Wilson, Lieutenant and Adjutant, 4th Infantry (1819); William Gary, Sergeant, 4th Infantry (1818) furloughed; Latta, Sergeant, 4th Infantry (1818); Clark, Corporal, 4th Infantry (1819); Childress, Sergeant, 4th Infantry or the 7th battalion company (1819); and Lewis Starks, Sergeant, 4th Infantry (1818). The latter two were involved in punishments by execution. Sergeant Childress personally executed Cameron for desertion. Sergeant Starks executed Charles Mason by "ducking". Charles Mason, Private, 4th Infantry "he was drowned while undergoing a ducking", Mason had been "in the stocks all night" for drunkenness while at Fort Scott (1817) or Pensacola (1817). Thomas Mitchell, Private, 4th Infantry participated in the ducking death of Charles Mason.

James H. Gale, Captain, 4th Infantry (1818) was from Maryland where he enlisted in the 14th Infantry in 1812, transferred to the 4th Infantry in 1815, and transferred to the 1st Infantry in 1821. Captain Gale resigned from the Army in 1831 (Heitman 1903:443; Ancestry.com 2006).

Other Soldiers

Henry R. Dulany, Lieutenant (and acting regimental treasurer), 4th Infantry (1818) was probably Henry Rozer Dulany from Virginia, who graduated from the Cadet Military Academy in 1813, served in the light artillery and corps artillery in 1815, was promoted to battalion adjutant in 1817, served in the 4th Infantry in 1817 and 1818. Captain Dulany resigned from the Army in 1825 and he died in 1838 (Heitman 1903:387; Ancestry.com 2006).

Joel Whetten, Sergeant, 4th Infantry (1818) was furloughed and discharged by Colonel King, Major Dinkins testified, "the officers say he was a man of very good character; from his being appointed mess sergeant, I was under the impression that it was for his good qualities". Whetten's later history was not determined.

Corporal [first name undetermined] Robers, 4th Infantry (1818), "received twenty-five lashes on his bare back", by orders of Colonel King, which was "in violation of the rules and articles of war passed by congress on May 16, 1812, section 7, which repeals the law authorizing, 'the infliction of corporeal punishment by stripes or lashes'". The fate of Corporal Robers was not determined.

Neil Cameron, Private, 4th Infantry was shot in August 1818 as a U.S. Army deserter in Spanish territory, 15 miles from Pensacola, "Sergeant Childress stepped round to Cameron, as he was sitting down, and says, I wish I had a heart as big as a mill-stone, and blowed him through; then we returned to Pensacola as quick as we could; we reported to the commanding officer what we had done, and he said we had done exactly right." Private Cornelius Jackson, 4th Infantry (1819) was one of the soldiers who were, "sent in pursuit of Neil Cameron".

Benjamin Tackwell, Private, 4th Infantry, was flogged and discharged (without sentence of a court-martial) "after he got his furlough he tore

up his uniform coat in a most contemptuous manner". After receiving a furlough and formal discharge in Pensacola in August 1818, Tackwell was pursued and returned to Pensacola where he was illegally punished. Tackwell's later history was not determined.

Elijah Holland, Private, 4th Infantry, was kept by Colonel King, "as his coachman and waggoner" (August 1818). Private Holland's exploitation as a personal servant of Colonel King was against Army regulations, but it may have been a relatively common practice of many officers in that era.

W. Newby, Private, 4th Infantry (1818) was found guilty of desertion and sentenced, "to have his head shaved, his left ear cut from his head, and to receive on the grand parade in Pensacola fifty lashes on his bare back, and then drummed out of service". Private Newby's later history was not determined. His embarrassing treatment by Colonel King's orders is reminiscent of the introductory scene in the popular 1960s television show, *Branded*. Colonel King was not the only officer in the Fort Hawkins era to use shame as a mode of punishment, as the other examples in the Adjutant General's records attest.

Henry Benner, Private, 4th Infantry, 8th Battalion Company (1818) was charged with desertion by Colonel King. His later history is unknown.

Cyrus, Tom, and Nan were negro servants of Colonel William King in 1818. The people were identified in Colonel King's court-martial in 1819 (American Memory 2006). It was not determined if any of them were present at Fort Hawkins in previous years when Colonel King was posted there. Many other officers at Fort Hawkins may have had enslaved servants but written records about their presence at the fort is rare. Like women and children, enslaved African-Americans (and enslaved Native-Americans) represent a fairly anonymous group at Fort Hawkins. Their contributions to the fort, in

terms of labor and other social services, was probably immense.

Edmund Lane, Captain and Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General

Captain Edmund Lane served at Fort Hawkins in the Quarter Masters Department (Georgia militia) on November 22, 1814 (Hays 1940, v.4:19, 215). Edmund Lane who served as Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General in McIntosh's Division, Georgia militia and he held that same rank in Floyd's Brigade, Georgia militia in the War of 1812 (Ancestry.com 2007).

Nelson Lockett, Lieutenant Colonel

Nelson Lockett received his commission as a Major in the U.S. Army on January 20, 1813 and he held that rank until August 1, 1813 when he was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel (Heitman 1903: 77; Ancestry.com 2006). Wilox (1999) notes that a Lieutenant Lockett commanded at Fort Hawkins in 1809 after Captain Thomas A. Smith was promoted to the rank of Major. She also reports that a John R. Lockett was in the 2nd Regiment in 1810. Heitman (1903) has no record of anyone named Lockett as an officer in the U.S. Army, other than Nelson Lockett. The identity of the officer named Lockett at Fort Hawkins remains unresolved.

Hugh McCall, Brevet Major

Appeltons Encyclopedia entry,

McCALL, Hugh, soldier, born in South Carolina in 1767 ; died in Savannah, Georgia, 9 July, 1824. He became ensign of the 3d sub-legion, 12 May, 1794, 1st lieutenant in May, 1798, deputy paymaster-general, 31 January, 1800, and captain in August

of that year. On the reorganization of the army in 1802 he was retained in the 2d infantry, brevetted major, 10 July, 1812, and mustered out, 15 July, 1815. He was made military storekeeper at Saran-nah, Georgia, 31 March, 1818, and at Charleston, South Carolina, in May, 1821. Major McCall published a "History of Georgia" (2 vols., Savannah, 1811-'16), a work that, as Jared Sparks said, had "its merits, but the author labored under disadvantages, and his materials were scanty." (Appletons Encyclopedia 2007).

From Ancestry.com:

Notes from manuscript by
MATTHEW MORGAN McCALL, M.D,
Alikchi Chukma of the Choctaws:

Hugh McCall, son of James McCall, Jr. and Elizabeth McCall McCall, was born February 17, 1767 in Mecklenburg County. He was brought to Calhoun Settlement, South Carolina in 1771. He was a soldier in the War of 1812.

He wrote "History of Georgia" and was appointed Georgia State Historian. Hugh McCall appeared as the head of a household in the 1820 census of Chatham County. He died unmarried in 1824. "Hugh McCall, Georgia's first state historian," was buried in Colonial Park Cemetery, Savannah, according to "American Guide Series." (Ancestry.com 2006).

Hugh McCall's epitaph in the Colonial Cemetery in Savannah bore this inscription, "Sacred to the memory of Hugh McCall, Brevet Major in the U. States army. Born in N. Carolina Feb. 17, 1767 died June 10, 1824. He served the U.S. in various capacities 30 years; the last 20 years under severe bodily suffering, but with usefulness to himself, his country and his friends." (Ashmore 1907:239).

Historian C.C. Jones noted that Hugh McCall served as an, "officer in the army of the Revolution". Historian Otis Ashmore disputes this, observing that Hugh McCall was only eight years old in 1775. (Ashmore 1907:239).

A Georgia Historical Commission marker, entitled: Hugh McCall (1767-1823), Early Georgia Historian, was erected in 1954 in Savannah's Colonial Cemetery to commemorate Hugh McCall and it provides this information,

Hugh McCall who is buried here was the author of the first history of Georgia.

Forced by ill health into retirement, McCall, who was a Brevet Major, U.S. Infantry, became interested in the history of his adopted State. In spite of severe handicaps, he wrote a much needed history of Georgia. The first volume, which was published at Savannah, in 1811. The second volume, which appeared five years later, carried his "History of Georgia" through the Revolutionary period. Time has not impaired the value and the usefulness of McCall's work.

His father, Colonel James McCall, played a heroic role in the Revolutionary War in the Carolina. Hugh McCall passed his boyhood during those trying times. The closing words of the first history of this State are an ever timely reminder to posterity that "The blood which flowed from the suffering patriots of that day, should never be forgotten; and the precious jewel which was purchased by it, should be preserved with courage and remembered with gratitude, by succeeding generations (Georgia Historical Commission 1954).

Hugh McCall was born on February 1767 at Mint Hill, Mecklenburg District, North Carolina. He was the son of James McCall, Junior and Elizabeth McCall. The family moved to South Carolina shortly before the American Revolution. Hugh McCall died in Savannah on

June 9 or 10, 1824, after suffering many years from a debilitating disease.

In 1794 McCall served as a volunteer (from South Carolina) in the Legion of the United States under command of Major General Anthony Wayne. On May 12, 1794 he attained the rank of Ensign in the 3rd Sub-Legion and he was promoted to 1st Lieutenant in May, 1796. In 1800 McCall served as a 1st Lieutenant in the 3rd Infantry Regiment. He also served as Deputy Paymaster General from January 31, 1800. He received a commission as Captain in the 2nd Infantry on August 19, 1800. In 1802 the U.S. Infantry regiments were reorganized and Hugh McCall was given the rank of Captain in the 2nd Infantry Regiment. McCall was promoted by brevet to Major on July 10, 1812 (American Memory 2006). He was mustered out of service on July 15, 1815. On March 31, 1818, he served as military store-keeper at Savannah and served in the same capacity in Charleston, South Carolina in May, 1821. He was stationed at Point Peter, Georgia for 18 months. He served as the jailer of Savannah from 1806 to 1823.

Historian Otis Ashmore wrote about McCall's twilight years when he suffered from a painful disease, "Many years before his death, his health failed and he became an invalid. He suffered much bodily pain, and when not actually confined to his bed, he had to use a roller chair to move about his room" (Ashmore 1907: 239).

While he was living in Savannah, Hugh McCall wrote a two volume history of Georgia that incorporated his personal experiences in the military in the American Revolution and afterwards (McCall 1811-1816). McCall's book was the first published history of Georgia.

Captain Hugh McCall served as the Commandant of Fort Wilkinson in 1804, when he faced court-martial proceedings. Major Hugh McCall later served at Fort Hawkins as a major, although he never served as its commandant.

James McDonald, Colonel

James McDonald was appointed Major on August 1, 1812, promoted to Lieutenant Colonel on June 24, 1814 and he held that rank through September 17, 1814. He received his commission as a Colonel in the U.S. Army on May 17, 1815 and he served in the Army until April 30, 1817 (Heitman 1903, v.1:94, 140, 142; Ancestry.com 2006).

Colonel James McDonald commanded the 7th Infantry at Fort Hawkins on May 27, 1815, 1816, and early 1817. General orders from Major General Gaines to McDonald, dated December 19, 1815 stated, "Colonel James McDonald of the 7th Infantry is charged with the defence of Fort Hawkins and its Dependencies; comprehending the southern and western frontiers of the 7th Military Department; and that part of the 8th lying south of the Creek Nation, and east of the Alabama; including Forts Jackson and Montgomery" (NARA RG 98:201).

Wilcox (1999) also noted that McDonald commanded the 8th Infantry (old) at Fort Hawkins. While at Fort Hawkins, Colonel McDonald and his wife Rutah Jane Wilson gave birth to their son, James Madison McDonald in July 1814. McDonald was at Fort Hawkins in early May 1816, when he marched with the troops to protect the Georgia frontier against hostile Indian activity (Telemon Cuyler Collection, Box 77, Folder 31). Tax records suggest that the McDonalds left the Fort Hawkins vicinity for Early County, Georgia around 1818.

Robert McDougald, 1st Lieutenant

Robert McDougald, 1st Lieutenant of the 3rd Infantry, took command at Fort Hawkins in 1809. On August 7, 1809, McDougald was court-martialed and dismissed from the Army. Some time in 1809 after his dismissal McDougald

died and was buried in a small mound not far from the fort which today is called the McDougald Mound. Apparently McDougald and his brother both died of sickness and were buried together on this mound, although no human remains have been found and the mound is part of the Ocmulgee National Monuement (DeVorse and Waters 1973:19; Gilman 1838). No military records for Robert McDougald were located by the present research.

Historian George White (1854:275) noted, "One [Indian mound near Macon], situated in a secluded, romantic spot, goes by the name of McDougald's Mound, from the circumstance of Captain Robert McDougald being buried here, (by his own request,) while commanding the garrison of Fort Hawkins, about the year 1809. It is a small hillock, thirty feet high. A neat paling, on which many visitors have left, their names, incloses the grave on its summit. About thirty-five years ago a brother of Captain McDougald was buried on the same spot."

Thomas McIntosh, Major General

Major General Thomas McIntosh was the commander of the Georgia militia in 1814. McIntosh established his headquarters, along with Brigadier General David Blackshear, at Fort Hawkins in 1814.

William McIntosh, Major General

William McIntosh was a paramount Lower Creek Chief, also known as Tustunugee Hutkee, and commander of the Creek U.S. Army troops in the War of 1812 and the 1st Seminole War. McIntosh was of mixed heritage, born in 1775 to a Scotsman and to a Creek woman and prominent member of the Wind Clan. McIntosh posed for a portrait in Washington, D.C. around 1825, which was painted by Charles Bird King (McKenney and Hall 1858).

McIntosh chose a path for his people in assisting the U.S., in hopes of a smooth transition between the two drastically different cultures. That view was not widely held by all Creeks. In 1825, following the signing of the infamous Treaty of Indian Springs on February 12, 1825, McIntosh, who signed as the "Head Chief of the Cowetas", and the other Creek chiefs who signed the document were assassinated by Creek warriors (Kappler 1904:214-217). Throughout most of the Fort Hawkins period, however, McIntosh was a powerful chief and U.S. Army officer who had significant influence on the military events and Native American public policy.

David B. Mitchell, General, Governor and Creek Agent

David Byrdie Mitchell was born in Scotland on October 22, 1760. He served as governor of Georgia from 1809-1813 and from 1815-1817. Mitchell was a frequent visitor to Fort Hawkins during his governorship. He was appointed Indian Agent after the death of Colonel Benjamin Hawkins and Fort Mitchell served as his base of operations in that job. Mitchell was dismissed from his appointment as Indian Agent in 1821 (Peddy 1980:114). He died in Milledgeville, Georgia on April 22, 1837.

Nehalockpoye, Captain

Captain Nehalockpoye was a Creek who commanded a company William McIntosh's Indian Regiment, U.S. Army in the 1st Seminole War. Nehalockpoye submitted a pay roll for the troops under his command from Fort Hawkins on November 28, 1818 (Nehalockpoye 1818). Captain Nehalockpoye is also identified in an unattributed list of Creek officers and soldiers who served in the Seminole War of 1818. The list noted that these men were, "mustered into

service in February and discharged in May 1818” (Anonymous n.d.).

John Nicks, General

John Nicks was promoted from Captain to Major in the 3rd Infantry on October 9, 1813 (American Memory 2006). He was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel on June 1, 1819 and held that rank until June 1, 1821 (Heitman 1903:94). John Nicks, Lieutenant Colonel, 7th Infantry, served as commander of Fort Hawkins in 1819 during the period of Colonel David Brearley’s court-marital proceedings (Foreman 1930:398). Nicks was commissioned Captain in the 3rd Infantry on July 1, 1808 (American Memory 2006). Nicks later achieved the rank of General in the U.S. Army.

Foreman provided these details of Colonel Nicks service in Georgia:

Col. Nicks arrived at Fort Hawkins, Georgia on June 22, 1819, from St. Marys. He was to remain there until further orders when he would in all probability relieve Col. Brearley in the recruiting service. He suggests that the regiment is very small at that time and that it is his wish to remain some little time in a civilized society and that any order that will accomplish that object will be thankfully received. He was ordered to attend the General Court Martial in session at Fort Scott but hopes this will not frustrate any arrangements that General Gaines may see fit to grant him service in a civilized community after the long period he has spent on the frontier (Foreman 1930:397-398).

On August 15, 1819, General Gaines ordered Nicks to relieve Colonel David Brearley in the superintendency of recruiting service for the 7th Infantry at Trenton, N. J. In the first part of September Col. Nicks was in command of his regiment at Fort Gadsden but later in the month he was at Fort Hawkins where he remained

until the detail for a general court martial was known.

Thomas Pinckney, Major General

Thomas Pinckney was from South Carolina. He was a Revolutionary War officer and seasoned veteran. Pinckney was appointed Major General of the U.S. Army on March 27, 1812 to June 15, 1815 (Heitman 1903:17; Ancestry.com 2006). General Thomas Pinckney served as Commander of the 6th Military District of the United States. The 6th District included South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. Fort Hawkins was headquarters for Major General Thomas Pinckney from December 1813 through April 1814 (DeVorse and Waters 1973:21).

Nathaniel Hale Pryor, Captain

Nathaniel Hale Pryor was born around 1782 in Amherst County, Virginia. In 1803 he was recruited for the Lewis and Clark expedition while in Indiana. Pryor served as a important member of that expedition. He retired from the U.S. Army in 1810 as a 2nd Lieutenant, 1st Infantry to become an Indian trader. He re-enlisted in the War of 1812. He was commissioned 1st Lieutenant, 44th Infantry in August, 1813 and was promoted to Captain one month later. The 44th Infantry was posted at Fort Hawkins prior to the New Orleans campaign and Captain Pryor was almost certain present at Fort Hawkins at that time. He served valiantly at New Orleans and was honorably discharged from the U.S. Army in June, 1815. He moved to the Arkansas River where he opened an Indian trading post. He later opened another trading post on the Canadian River among the Osage. Pryor died in June, 1831 (Mussulman 2006).

Winfield Scott, Brevet Lieutenant General

Winfield Scott was a decorated war hero and veteran of three wars. He is probably most notoriously remembered as one of the architects of Cherokee Removal in the 1830s. He was born near Petersburg, Virginia in 1786. Colonel Winfield Scott was given command of the 2nd Artillery on March 12, 1813. Scott had received his Captain's commission in the Light Artillery in 1808. He served under Major General Wilkinson at Natchez in 1809. Winfield Scott was promoted to Brigadier General on March 9, 1814 and he served in the Army until June 25, 1841. He participated in many battles in the northern theater in the War of 1812, where his achievements were celebrated. Although Scott's 2nd Artillery Regiment is linked to Fort Hawkins it is unclear, though doubtful, whether Scott doubtful that he ever visited Fort Hawkins, at least not during the period of its operation (*Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 1861:451-466; *American Memory* 2006; Wright 1894; Heitman 1903:21; Ancestry.com 2006). Winfield Scott and others compiled a manual of military tactics in 1826, which was published four years later (Scott et al. 1830). This manual generally pertains to the military organization that would have existed at Fort Hawkins during its period of operation.

Thomas Adams Smith, Brigadier General

Thomas Adams Smith was born in Virginia on August 12, 1781. He entered the Army as an Ensign and received his commission as 2nd Lieutenant of Artillery on December 15, 1803. He was promoted to Captain of Rifles on May 8, 1808. Captain Thomas A. Smith took command at Fort Hawkins sometime before May 1, 1810 and was stationed there for at least two years. Prior to his service at Fort Hawkins, Thomas Smith was promoted to Colonel, Regiment

of Riflemen in 1812. The precise date when Thomas Smith's Regiment of Riflemen was withdrawn from Fort Hawkins is undocumented but it was probably around September, 1812. By October, 1812, Colonel Thomas Smith and his Rifle Regiment were hundreds of miles away in East Florida or South Georgia, where they were attacked by Spanish troops (Monroe 1812). Smith and his regiment were stationed at Point Peter and other garrisons in coastal Georgia. Following that, his regiment took part in northern battles at Plattsburg, Sackett's Harbor and Burlington. After leaving East Florida, Colonel Smith and the Regiment of Riflemen headed west to other duty stations. In 1817, the regiment established Fort Smith on the Arkansas River. Thomas Smith was promoted to brevet brigadier general in 1814 and was sent to Camp Champlain. In 1815 he was stationed at the 9th Military District Army Command in St. Louis, Missouri, where he had jurisdiction over Forts Armstrong, Clark, Crawford, Edwards, Osage and Bellefontaine. He received his commission as Brigadier General on January 24, 1814 and he held that rank until May 17, 1815. He resigned from the Army as "commander-in-chief of the territories of Missouri and Illinois" in September, 1818. Thomas Adams Smith died in 1844 (Heitman 1903, v.1:21; Ancestry.com 2006; State Historical Society of Missouri 2005:1).

Samuel Spotts, Captain

Samuel Spotts enlisted as a 2nd Lieutenant in the U.S. Artillery on February 10, 1812. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on May 22, 1814. Spotts was in charge of Battery Number 6 at the Battle of New Orleans. He served with Captain Humphries Company in Washington, D.C. for much of 1815. Captain Samuel Spott, U.S. Infantry commanded a detachment of troops at Fort Hawkins on February 29, 1816. On August 21, 1816 Spotts was assigned to the 4th Battalion (Jones 1999).

David Twiggs, Brevet Major

David Twiggs was an officer with the 8th Infantry, U.S. Army, during the War of 1812 and the 7th Infantry in the 1st Seminole War. Captain David Twiggs, 8th Infantry, presided at court-martial at Fort Hawkins on December 29, 1813 (RG 98:50-52). In 1817 and 1818 Twiggs was a Brevet Major in the 7th Infantry, U.S. Army, garrisoned at Fort Scott (American Memory 2006; McManus 2006).

James Wilkinson, Brigadier General

James Wilkinson, Brigadier General, U.S. Army, may never have visited Fort Hawkins but he is mentioned here because of his importance in the southern U.S. during the Fort Hawkins era as Commander of the 6th Military District, which included Fort Hawkins. Wilkinson was born in 1757 and died in 1825. He published his extensive memoirs, which covered the period from his appointment in the Continental Army in 1776 through the War of 1812. Wilkinson was a close friend and associate of Aaron Burr (Wilkinson 1816). Court-martial charges were brought against Wilkinson, but he was acquitted of the charges (American Memory 2006; Wilkinson 1973).

Thomas Williamson, Colonel

Colonel Thomas Williamson commanded the 2nd Regiment of Volunteer Mounted Gunmen of West Tennessee, who accompanied Major General Andrew Jackson on the Seminole campaign. In February 1818, Lieutenant Colonel Elliott commanded this regiment. While on the Seminole campaign in 1818, the 2nd Regiment spent less than four days at Fort Hawkins. The Tennessee troops returned to Tennessee in June, 1818 (Tennessee State Library and Archives 2006; American Memory 2006).

Captains of Companies in the 2nd Regiment who were under Colonel Williamson's command in the Seminole campaign, included: captains T.B. Andrews, Samuel Caplinger, John A. Chapman, Samuel Crawford, James Cook, Robert Evans, William Evans, William Hunter, Robert Newton, Isaac Watkins, and Beverly Williams (Tennessee State Library and Archives 2006).

J. Wilson, Lieutenant

J. Wilson served as a Lieutenant, Georgia militia and was at Fort Hawkins on September 9, 1818 (Georgia Military Affairs Vol. 4 1/4/1814-10/9/1819:398).

Ezekiel Wimberly, Major General

Ezekiel Wimberly was a pioneer settler of Twiggs County, Georgia, whose home was located two miles north of Jeffersonville, Georgia (Rootsweb.com 2006c). Wimberly was born in Bertie County, North Carolina, September 1, 1783, and resided in Twiggs County from 1809 until his death in 1843. General Wimberly held many important posts in the Georgia Militia as Major, 80th Battalion, Georgia Militia in 1810; Lieutenant Colonel, Light Dragoons, Twiggs County, in 1813; Colonel of the First Class Militia of Major General Adams Division, the Georgia Militia in 1814; Colonel of Fort Hawkins in 1814; Colonel of the Third Regiment, Georgia Militia in 1815; and Major General of the Sixth Division, Georgia Militia from 1820 to 1840 (Georgia Legislative Acts 1956). As noted by the Georgia General Assembly, Colonel Wimberly served as Commandant of Fort Hawkins in 1814. Wimberly also commanded three Twiggs County militia forts that extended down the west side of the Oconee River in the War of 1812. Major General Wimberly resigned from the military in 1840 (CVIOG 2006).

C. Wright, Major and Assistant Adjutant General

Major C. Wright served as Assistant Adjutant General to Major General Gaines in 1818. Major Wright was drowned when Gaines' boat wrecked on the Flint River (American Memory 2006). Major Wright probably served at Fort Hawkins with the other officers in the General's staff in 1817.

Engineers

The Army Engineers who designed and supervised the construction of Fort Hawkins were not conclusively identified. History records that the fort was constructed in 1806 by the 2nd Infantry Regiment. The 2nd Engineers Regiment may have been posted at Fort Hawkins in 1806 for this purpose. Officers in this regiment in 1802 included: Major Jonathan Williams, Captain William A. Barron, and 1st Lieutenants James Wilson and Peter A. Dransey. These officers had served earlier in the Artillerists and Engineers Regiment, which was reorganized in 1802 to become the Engineers Regiment (American Memory 2006).

Medical Staff

William Ballard

William Ballard served at Fort Hawkins as a Surgeon's Mate in the U.S. Army Hospital Department, receiving his commission on March 24, 1812 (American Memory 2006, ASP, MA v1:391). No details of Ballard's later service were discovered.

Stephen Ingersol

Stephen Ingersol was a surgeon at Fort Hawkins in 1820 through 1823, after which

he practiced medicine in Macon, Georgia (Ingersol 1820-1823). Ingersol's letters to an associate physician from Fort Hawkins in the early 1820s provide some unique insights into life in the area. These are presented elsewhere in the Hospital discussion in Chapter 6 of this report.

Southworth Harlow

Southworth Harlow was a surgeon from Massachusetts who served with the 2nd Infantry at Fort Wilkinson in 1802 (American Memory 2006). It was not determined if Dr. Harlow continued in service at Fort Hawkins, but this is a possibility. No details of Harlow's later service were discovered.

Henry Jackson

Henry Jackson was a surgeon from Georgia who served with the U.S. Artillery in Georgia in 1802 (American Memory 2006). It was not determined if Dr. Jackson continued in service at Fort Hawkins, but this is a possibility. No details of Jackson's later service were discovered.

Other People at Fort Hawkins

The non-commissioned officers, enlisted men, and others serving in support of the military at Fort Hawkins are, for the most part, an anonymous demographic population. Exceptions to this rule do exist, particularly in cases where studious family descendants have researched their ancestors. The biographies and identities of the lion's share of these men (and women), however, remain unknown.

Thomas Aaron, Private

At a court-martial at Camp Manning, near the Creek Agency, Private Thomas Aaron 8th Regiment was charged with desertion from Fort Hawkins on July 28, 1813. Aaron plead

guilty and was sentenced to one month hard labor, confined to the guard house, with his liquor rations and one-half of his pay stopped (NARA, RG 98:26).

Starkes Baker, Artillerist

In 1814 at the age of 16, Starkes Baker enlisted as a Private for five years in Captain B.B. Jones's Company of the 24th Infantry. Baker was a farmer from North Carolina. His enlistment papers record that he was about five feet tall, with blue eyes, light colored hair and a fair complexion. On March 20, 1815, Baker was transferred to Captain F.W. Armstrong's Company of the 7th Infantry at Fort Hawkins where he remained until December 15, 1815 when he was transferred to a detachment of the 7th Infantry. On December 31, Baker was back at Fort Hawkins when he was transferred from Captain Armstrong's Company to Lieutenant J.J. Clinch's Company, 7th Infantry. Baker served as an Artillerist in Captain Clinch's Company. By February 29, 1816, Baker was serving in Captain Samuel Spott's Detachment of U.S. Infantry at Fort Hawkins, when he was sent with Captain James E. Dinkin's Company, 4th Infantry at Fort Gaines. After that he served at Montpelier, Fort Scott, again at Fort Gaines, and Fort St. Marks, Fort Gadsden. He was discharged at Pensacola, Florida in January, 1819 after completing his term of service (Jones 1999).

William Beasley, Private

Captain Cook presided at the court-martial of Private William Beasley, Captain Cook's Company, 8th Infantry, who was charged with, "Repeated Desertion" and "absenting himself from Fort Hawkins" from June 9-30, 1813. Beasley escaped from the Guard House at Fort Hawkins on July 26, 1813 but was later captured. He was found guilty and sentenced, "to be shot" (NARA, RG 98:231).

William Carlton, Private

Captain Cook presided at the court-martial of Private William Carlton, Captain Cook's Company, 8th Infantry, who was charged with neglect of duty while "keeping outpost at Fort Hawkins" while on guard the night of June 8, 1813. Carlton was found guilty and sentence to two months of hard labor and, "confinement to the Guard House by night...stoppage of his liquor rations during that period and six months of his pay stopped" (NARA, RG 98:229).

Willis Cooper, Private

Captain Cook presided at the court-martial of Private Willis Cooper, 3rd Infantry who was charged with, "leaving Fort Hawkins 26 December 1812" Private Cooper was found guilty but in consideration of his disability and, "his known and general bad character", received a sentence, "to have one half of his head shaved", stop his pay, and was, "drummed out of the service to the Rogues March" (NARA, RG 98:227-228).

Charles Culverhouse, Private

Captain Cook presided at the court-martial of Private Charles Culverhouse, Captain Crawford's Company, 8th Infantry, who was charged with desertion and "absenting himself from Fort Hawkins" on February 12, 1813. Culverhouse was found guilty but was allowed to return to active duty (RG 98:231).

George Gordon, unknown rank

According to a family descendant, George Gordon died at Fort Hawkins about 1813. George was born in Washington, Georgia about 1791. He was married to Polly Hughes. George was reportedly killed by Indians (Sinclair 2006 [1999]; Ancestry.com 2006).

Helling Harville, Private

Captain Cook presided at the court-martial of Private Helling Harville, Captain Cook's Company, 8th Infantry, who was charged with "neglect of duty", and "sleeping on post while on guard [at Fort Hawkins] on the night of the 14th May 1813". Harville plead guilty and received a mild sentence of one month at hard labor, "in consideration of his extreme youth" (NARA, RG 98:228).

John Hobbs, Private

At a court-martial at Camp Manning, near the Creek Agency, Private John Hobbs, 8th Regiment, was charged with desertion from Fort Hawkins on July 28, 1813. Hobbs plead guilty and was sentenced to one month hard labor, confined to the guard house, with his liquor rations and one-half of his pay stopped (NARA, RG 98:25).

Jonathan M. Jackson

Captain Cook presided at the court-martial of Private Jonathan M. Jackson, 3rd Infantry, who was charged with desertion from his station in Milledgeville, Georgia. Jackson was found guilty of the charge (NARA, RG 98:228-229).

Nicholas Jenkins, Private

Captain Cook presided at the court-martial at Fort Hawkins of Private Nicholas Jenkins, Captain Cunningham's Detachment, 8th Infantry, who was charged with, "absenting himself" from Fort Hawkins during the period from July 2-8, 1813. Private Jenkins plead guilty and was sentenced to hard labor for one month, stripped of \$10.00 of his pay, and was to, "have his rations of Liquor stopped and be confined by guard house" (NARA, RG 98:226-233). Apparently Jenkins did not learn his lessons for he later was charged with deserting the garrison at Fort Hawkins, "while under the sentence of a former court martial". Jenkins

was found guilty and sentenced, "to be shot to death" for that second infraction (NARA, RG 98:27).

John Rainwater, Private

John Rainwater enlisted as a Private in the 2nd Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers, under command of Colonel Reuben Nash in Pendleton District, South Carolina in late 1813 or early 1814 for six months service. He was honorably discharged as a Private at Fort Hawkins about August 1, 1814. Rainwater was probably the same person as John Rainwaters, who was enumerated in the 1800 census for Spartanburg County, South Carolina. John Rainwater was listed in Spartanburg County in the 1810 and 1820 census and he moved his family to Greene County, Georgia by 1830 (Rainwater 2006 [1850]; Rainwater and Chance-Rainwater 2007; Ancestry.com 2006).

Daniel Shawn, Private

Captain Cook presided at the court-martial of Private Daniel Shawn, Captain Cook's Company, 8th Infantry, for neglect of duty and "sleeping on post while on guard [at Fort Hawkins]" on April 24, 1813. Shawn was found guilty and sentenced to two months of hard labor and, "to have a ball and chain attached to him", his liquor rations and six months of pay stopped, and "be confined to the black hole when not laboring for that period" (NARA, RG 98:232).

Erwin Smith, Private

At a court-martial at Camp Manning, near the Creek Agency, Private Erwin Smith, 8th Regiment, was charged with desertion from Fort Hawkins on July 17, 1813. Smith pled guilty and was sentenced to serve one month and 27 days at hard labor and forfeit \$10.00 of his pay. Smith was given a light sentence because of his age as a minor who was "enticed off by his father and others" (NARA, RG 98:24).

Washington Talbert, Private

At a court-martial at Camp Manning, near the Creek Agency, Private Washington Talbert, 8th Regiment, was charged with desertion from Fort Hawkins on July 28, 1813. Talbert plead guilty and was sentenced to one month hard labor, confined to the guard house, with his liquor rations and one-half of his pay stopped (NARA, RG 98:25).

Thomas Tanner, Private

Captain Cook presided over the court martial of Private Thomas Tanner, Captain Cook's Company, 8th Infantry. Tanner was charged with desertion from Fort Hawkins on November 15, 1812, to which he plead guilty and received punishment (NARA, RG 98:227).

Ralph Wooten, Private

Captain Twiggs presided at the court-martial at Fort Hawkins of Private Randal Wooten, Captain Twiggs' Company, 8th Infantry, on December 29, 1813. Wooten was charged with repeated desertion from Fort Hawkins on November 18, 1813 to which he plead guilty and was sentenced, "to be picketed 6 days for 5 minutes each day...confined solitary 6 days and...be fed upon bread and water during that time", in addition to a fine (NARA, RG 98:50-52).

Thomas H. Davis

Thomas H. Davis served in the Georgia militia in the War of 1812. He participated in the Battle of Atasi, which he described in his diary,

In the autumn of 1811 not long before the great earthquake--December 16th--I removed with my brother, Grant Davis, to Morgan County. The next year, 1812, on the 18th June, the United States declared war against Great Britain, and about the same time the Creek and Cherokee Indians commenced hostilities on the frontier

settlements of Georgia and Alabama, in consequence of which a requisition was made upon Georgia, Tennessee and adjoining states for volunteers--or those drafted in Militia to repel this encroachment--I was drawn to go, the term of service was six months.

The Georgia brigade consisting of two regiments of Infantry, one horse troop, or mounted men, one rifle battalion, and one Artillery company was mustered into service at Fort Hawkins on the Ocmulgee, about the 20th September, 1813, under the command of Brigadier General John Floyd, of Georgia, to which was afterwards added five or six Indian warriors of the Friendly party.

I belonged to the second regiment, Colonel Newman's [Newnan] or Colonel Groves, Major Hogg's Battalion, Capt Henry's company.

Our first encampment was Camp Pike, but we moved in a short time to Camp Hope for a more healthy location. We remained there until about the last of October, then again at Fort Lawrence on the Flint River only thirty miles farther. We remained here until about the 18th of November. At Fort Mitchell on the Chattahoochee, we were again stopped for supplies (not available). The main army did not leave that place until January 17.

From Fort Mitchell we proceeded to Fort Hill, not far from the Calibee battle ground. We remained here until Jan 25th then we resumed our march on the road towards the old Tuckabachi town on the Tallapoosa, and encamped 5 miles from Fort Hull and 12 miles from Ottasee, continued next day (He explains the line of formation) --larger log fires--camped in double files and were ordered to lie on our arms.- -Describes the attack -- Indian put in front--17 killed and 132 wounded on our side. We remained here at camp Ft. Defiance until Feb 1st then returned to Fort Hull till the 16h, then returned to Fort Hawkins where we delivered our arms and were honorably discharged on the 26th Feb 1814, having served 6

mos. 4 da and being relieved by troops from North and South Carolina.

On my way home from Fort Hawkins I stopped for the night at the house of a friend in Jones County--J. Billings, where my brother met me with a horse and here for the first time in 6 months I indulged in the luxury of a feather bed (Wood 1957:136).

John McCurry served as a private in the War of 1812. According to his pension affidavit, signed on September 28, 1850, McCurry served at Fort Hawkins in 1815.

The following non-commissioned officers enlisted soldiers, and others are among those who possibly served with Colonel William King's 4th Infantry at Fort Hawkins in early 1817 or before. Although Colonel King's troop records from his time at Fort Hawkins were not located, this information was gleaned from his court-marital proceedings in 1819 (American Memory 2006).

Laundresses

In 1802 the Army created the job position of "laundress" or "washerwoman" to serve the officers and soldiers. Army Regulations in 1841 allowed four laundresses for each company. Fort Hawkins likely had its share of washerwomen, although no historical records were found to confirm this. Washerwomen and other camp followers represent a fairly anonymous class of people that lived in, or near, military forts.

Servants and the Enslaved

Personal servants and enslaved African-Americans were undoubtedly present at Fort Hawkins. These men and women (enslaved and possibly free persons) served the officers at the fort. Written information about these people and their presence at the fort is extremely rare. Since many of the officers in the fort followed the westward expansion and often lived in the frontier, they eluded the U.S.

Census enumerators. Furthermore, servants and the enslaved were not included in muster rolls or payrolls, since they were not official government employees or publicly subsidized service persons.

The 1819 court-martial records of Colonel William King contained references to three negro servants (Cyrus, Tom, and Nan) that worked for him in 1818. These same people may also have worked for Colonel King while he served as Commandant of Fort Hawkins in earlier years (American Memory 2006).

The Woolfolk Plantation

After the U.S. military had left Fort Hawkins, its history of occupation becomes quite vague. The State of Georgia employed James Frierson as a caretaker of the property. On May 12, 1821 Georgia Governor Troup appointed James Frierson to examine and manage the Fort Hawkins and trading post site (Wilcox 1999). The Georgia Senate approved a resolution on December 23, 1825, which resolved, "That the sum of four hundred and thirty dollars be allowed James S. Frierson for the several sums expended by him on the reserve at Fort Hawkins out of the rents for the year agreeable to his memorial" (Georgia Legislative Documents 1825). Frierson may have remained at the site after 1825, again the documentary evidence is unclear.

The next well-documented resident in the area was Thomas Jefferson Woolfolk and those affiliated with his plantation. These included the members of the Woolfolk family and his enslaved African Americans. Woolfolk purchased the Fort Hawkins property in 1828 and he was living in the area by 1830 (Ancestry.com 2005).

Thomas Jefferson Woolfolk was the son of Joseph Woolfolk. Thomas was born between 1772 and 1776 in Wilkes County,

North Carolina and died on August 19, 1863 (Ancestry.com 2005). Thomas was married to Frances Wadsworth (1798-1850) in 1818 and the couple had at least five children, who included: John Wadsworth Woolfolk, a male born in 1820; Thomas Jefferson Woolfolk, a male born in Macon in 1828; Sowell Calhoun Woolfolk, a male born about 1830; James Hamilton Woolfolk, a male born 1831, and Richard F Woolfolk, a male born about 1833. One minor member of the Woolfolk household, whose relationship is unclear, also was identified in Thomas Woolfolk's household. She was Frances Woolfolk, a female probably born between 1811 and 1815 (Ancestry.com 2005).

By 1830, his household in Macon, Bibb County, Georgia included himself, two males under 5 years, one male from 5 to 9 years, one male and one female from 15 to 19 years, and one female (probably his wife Frances) from 20 to 29 years. The Woolfolks also enslaved 30 African-Americans, including 12 males and 18 females (Appendix E; Ancestry.com 2005).

Thomas Woolfolk was not listed in the 1840 Georgia census but he was enumerated in the 1850 census for Militia District 514, Bibb County, Georgia. His household at that time included Thomas and his sons, Thomas, Sowell Calhoun, J.H. (James Hamilton), and Richard Woolfolk. Thomas' wife Frances was possibly dead by 1850. Thomas J. Woolfolk is enumerated in the 1860 census for East Macon District, Bibb County, Georgia. His age was listed as 85 and James H. Woolfolk, age 28, was the only other person listed in the household (Appendix E; Ancestry.com 2005). Thomas Jefferson Woolfolk was dead by 1868, when his former estate was divided and annexed to the city of Macon (DuBois 1897).

Chapter 6. The Built Environment

Fort Hawkins would have been an impressive site in its day. This was in part due to its location at the top of the highest elevation in the area, but also due in large measure to its built environment. This built environment consisted of numerous barracks, guard houses, block houses, warehouses, munitions magazines, a hospital, and other structures necessary for an efficient and secure fortification. While these are no longer visible as above ground structures, remnants of many survive archaeologically along with important related information. Structures in Fort Hawkins' built environment are detailed below.

The spatial extent of the present archaeological excavations are illustrated in two figures. Figure 17 shows the limits of the mechanically stripped excavation units and the location of hand excavated test units (shown in green). Figure 18 is a simplified map that shows the major Fort Hawkins-era building ruins and palisade ditchwork that were discovered in 2005 and 2006.

Barracks, Enlisted

Among its numerous architectural features, Fort Hawkins boasted barracks that housed a regular garrison of two companies, or approximately 200 persons in 1817 (Davis 1817). The actual number of occupants of these barracks may have been substantially larger, however, since history records that soldier's wives and children also lived with the soldiers in the barracks.

Barracks, Officers

The only evidence for a distinct officers' barracks is historical in nature and is found in Butler's 1879 description. He described an officers' quarters in the center of Fort Hawkins that was surrounded by trees (Butler 1879:62). Several artifacts that were recovered from Features 101 and 271 probably belonged to officers. These higher ranking items, however, are scattered within the refuse deposits that are more indicative of the enlisted men and non-commissioned officers. The archaeological exploration within the central area of Fort Hawkins, where Butler suggests the officers' quarters were located, did not yield any trace of fort buildings. The areas that were explored exhibited a low potential for containing any historic features and the topsoil and upper soil horizons from these areas appeared to have been completely removed. The excavation of the central area of the fort was not exhaustive, so the evidence for buildings in this area may exist. The GPR survey revealed at least two areas in the central part of the fort that may be cultural. Neither of these potential areas was explored by excavation.

Guard House and Black Hole

The U.S. Army Adjutant General's records include reference to an area in Fort Hawkins where soldiers were confined for their offenses. Court-martial proceeding for 1812 and 1813 include references to a "Guard House" and a "black hole" (NARA, RG 98:226-233). Nothing found by the archaeological work can be conclusively identified as the guard house

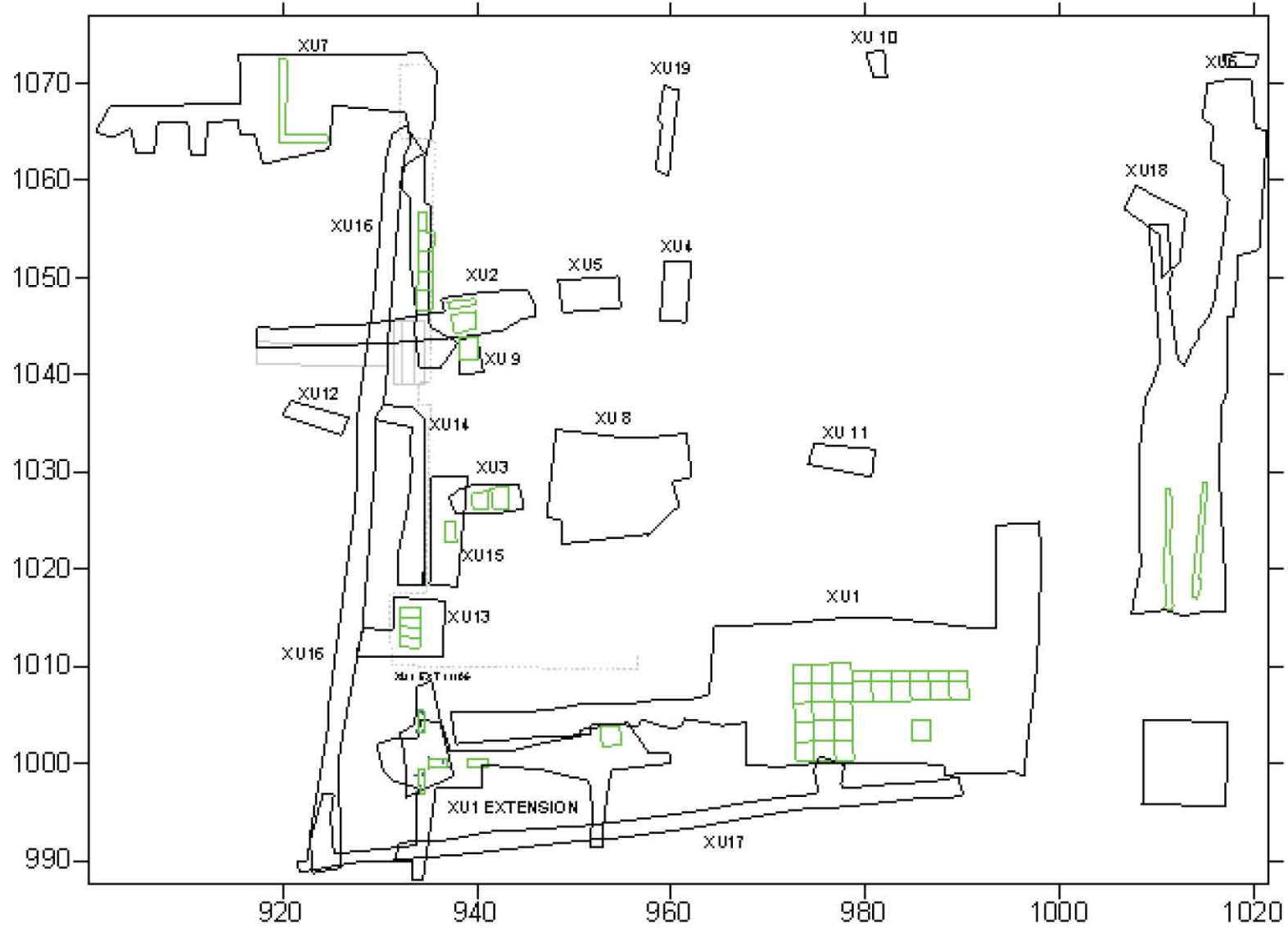


Figure 17. Plan of Excavations, Fort Hawkins, 2005-2006.

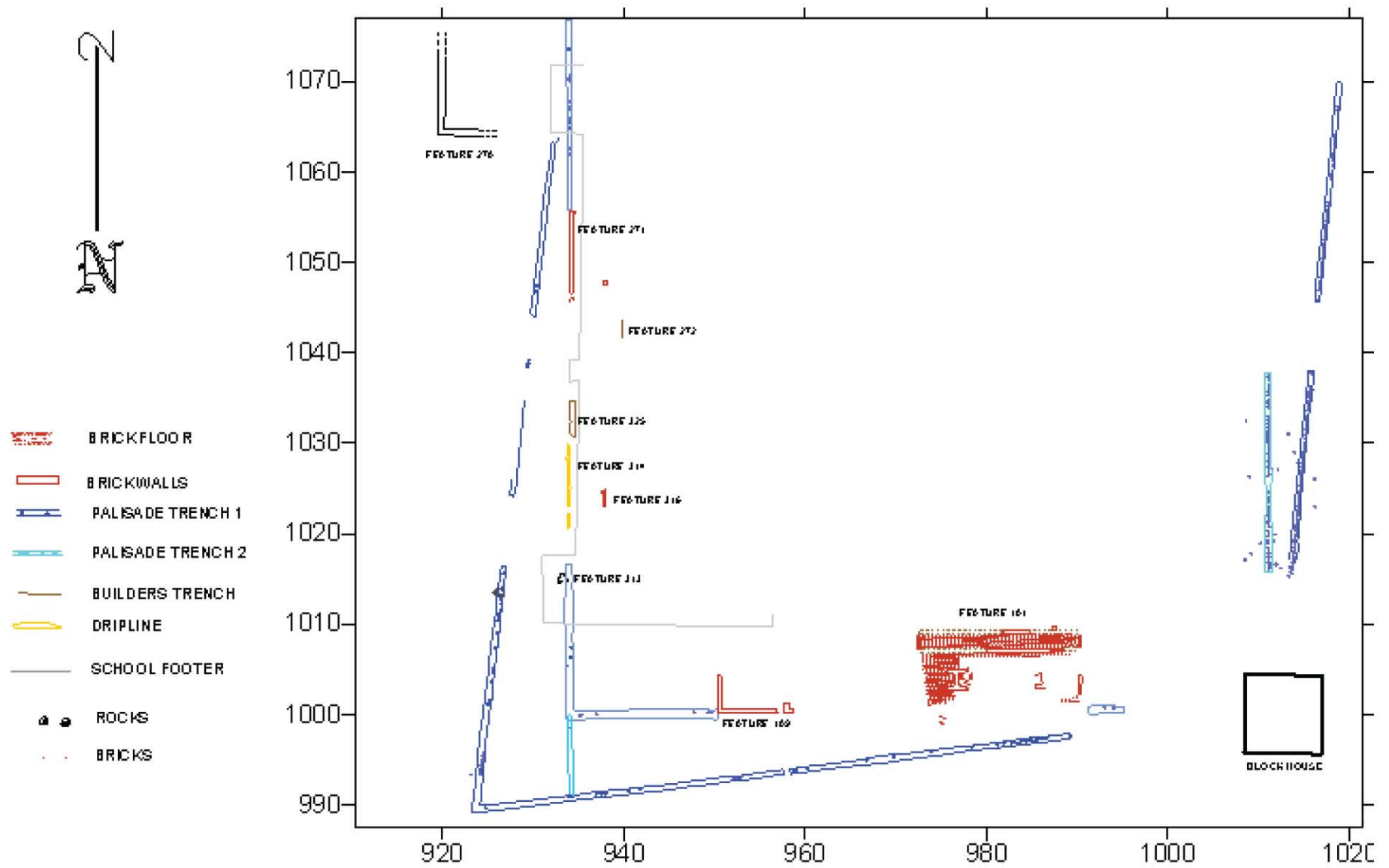


Figure 18. Fort Hawkins Plan Revealed by 2005-2006 Research.

or black hole, so its location within the fort remains a mystery.

Blockhouse, Northwest

Several lines of evidence attest to the existence of a blockhouse on the northwest corner of Fort Hawkins. The best contemporary evidence is contained in the 1817 description by Davis (1817), which states that Fort Hawkins had, “two Blockhouses at diagonal angles”(Davis 1817 in Carter 1952:95). Later 19th century accounts include the verbal descriptions of Butler (1879) and the sketch by Irvine (1880). Wilcox (1999) noted that the northwestern blockhouse was toppled by high winds in 1870. That account is confirmed by an 1880s account in the *Macon Telegraph*. No detailed descriptions of the northwestern blockhouse were found. Irvine’s sketch depicts two blockhouses on diagonal corners and both similar to the southeastern blockhouse.

The northwest blockhouse for the Inner Fort was probably situated within the present-day Woolfolk Street, or its right of way. It was not located by the archaeological study, but we can state with assurance that the northwestern blockhouse was not located on the study tract.

Blockhouse, Southeast

We are fortunate to have two photographic views of the southeastern blockhouse of Fort Hawkins. The two were taken from different vantage points and thus provide views of at least three sides of the building.

The 1902 post card image of the southeastern blockhouse, labeled, “Fort Hawkins’ 1812, Block House No. 2, Macon, Ga., Photo by Woodall, Macon, Ga. 1902”, was printed on a postal card. The blockhouse in this photograph had a small door offset from the center, this door is flanked by a very small window, and on the

adjoining side of the building, near the center, is a small shuttered window. A series of small gun port holes are spaced a regular intervals at about eye-level along both walls. The watch tower is shown reduced in height from its earlier size and covered with clapboards. A small rod is visible on the pinnacle, the remnants of a weathervane. The roof and watchtower are covered with wood shingles. The building is constructed of solid horizontal logs that have been carefully squared and joined with square joints at the corners. Only the uppermost section of the blockhouse is present (the lower story apparently destroyed), and it rests on what appear to be a series of massive vertical wooden pilings. A doorway is shown on one end of the building, accessed by a crude exterior stairway without any banister.

The archaeological remains of the southeast blockhouse were impacted by the 1928-1929 reconstruction efforts. The extent of this damage is difficult to determine. This area was studied in 1936 by Gordon Willey, who concluded that the reconstruction effort had obliterated the archaeological potential inside of the reconstructed blockhouse. Neither Carillo nor the present excavation team explored this part of the site. Willey’s excavation effort within the blockhouse was limited however, so his interpretation of the degree of impact should be reassessed.

Quartermaster Warehouse and Munitions Magazines

The Quartermaster was kept busy as the bulk of provisions and other stores that were stored at, and distributed from, Fort Hawkins was sizeable. One or more warehouses would have been necessary for these goods. Several examples were found in Army documents that attest to the quantity of material goods that were channeled through the Quartermaster at Fort Hawkins.

On December 26, 1813, the Army Command at Fort Hawkins issued these orders, "The contractor will deliver at Fort Hawkins with the least possible delay 100 barrels of Flour and 50,000 weight of Pork on the foot for the use of the Georgia State troops in the service of the U.S.", and on the following day, "The Quartermaster at Fort Hawkins will deliver from the store of the U.S. 40,000 Musket cartridges to the Quartermaster General of the Georgia State troops in service of U.S., also 4,000 musket flints, 100 lbs rifle powder, 1000 rifle flints" (NARA, RG 98:45-46). The reference to "Pork on the foot" is interpreted as livestock, which would have required outdoor pens for their temporary care and confinement. The other items in these two instances would have likely required indoor storage conditions. An inventory of the military stores at Fort Hawkins was done on September 13, 1814. This is a very informative list items that were kept at the fort during the War of 1812 era (Hays 1940, v.4:136-138).

By January 20, 1815, the military stores at Fort Hawkins had apparently been substantially reduced, as indicated by a letter from Major A.B. Fannin, Deputy Quartermaster General, U.S. Army to Georgia Governor Early, who wrote, "We Estimate the Muskets good and bad at Eight hundred, of that number not more than One hundred & fifty with Cartouch boxes fit for use, no flints nor Amunition, their are workmen employed in repairing the Arms but go on Slowly, their being no members of that department to supperintend them" (Hays 1940, v.4:243).

Hospital

The existence of a military hospital at Fort Hawkins seems likely although no direct references to such a facility were identified. The location and size of this hospital at Fort Hawkins, if one existed, is unknown. Many soldiers were garrisoned at, or had temporary

duty stations at, Fort Hawkins. The sickness and injury rate among the troops during the Fort Hawkins era was high, so a hospital would have been a necessity.

Army records include reference to a hospital at Fort Lawrence or Creek Agency in December, 1813. On December 3, 1813, orders were issued stating, "the Assistant Deputy Quartermaster will receive from Mr. Halsted 913 blankets". Of these 400 were to be issued to Major Fannin Deputy Quartermaster General for the Georgia militia and 100 were assigned, "to the Hospital Department at the Agency and Fort Lawrence for the use of the sick in Hospital" (NARA, RG 98:29-30).

On December 22, 1813, Major Bourke, Deputy Quartermaster General was given orders from the Army Command headquarters at Milledgeville to, "receive from Mr. Roberts the medicines and stores in his charge and forward them without delay to Fort Hawkins" (NARA, RG 98:45).

Gillet (2006a) provides an excellent history of the U.S. Army medical department, which covers the Fort Hawkins period. She noted that in March 1802, the Army had only two surgeons and 25 surgeon's mates. By December, 1807 that number was little changed with two surgeons (only 1 on active duty) and 31 surgeon's mates (only 27 on active duty). By April, 1808, the Army enlisted five additional surgeons and 15 surgeon's mates for hospitals, plus one steward and wardmaster per hospital. In January, 1812 a ratio of one surgeon and two surgeon's mates per regiment was established, plus hospital surgeons and mates as needed and one steward per hospital. After war was declared in June 1812, each infantry regiment was to have one surgeon and two surgeon's mates and dragoon regiments were to each have one surgeon's mate. In January, 1813, each new regiment was authorized to have one surgeon and two surgeon's mate.

Gillet (2006a:151) provides these informative details about the wages, work tasks, and other particulars of the regimental medical departments during the War of 1812 period,

By the end of 1814, the departmental structure included hospital surgeons, who were assigned responsibilities according to their seniority, and their mates, as well as post or garrison surgeons and regimental surgeons and mates. The senior hospital surgeon in an army or district served as its medical director and was responsible for the medical staff of that army or district. Although regimental surgeons and mates seem to have been identified with their regiments more closely than with the Medical Department and the reports of the Physician and Surgeon General did not even mention them, they were nevertheless required to submit monthly and quarterly reports to the medical director of the army or district in which they were serving. These reports were consolidated with those from hospital surgeons and post surgeons by the senior surgeon in charge and forwarded on to the Physician and Surgeon General.

The precautions necessary to ensure high standards of cleanliness and sanitation were officially spelled out in the December 1814 directives. The wardmaster, for example, was responsible for seeing that closetools were cleaned at least three times a day and that either water or charcoal was kept in them. Beds and bedclothes were to be aired each day and exposed to sunlight when possible. The straw in each bed sack was to be changed at least every month. When a patient was discharged or died, the straw from his sack was to be burned. Each patient was to be washed every day and his hair combed. At least one female attendant was to be assigned to each hospital or infirmary to perform such menial tasks as the cleaning or washing of bunks, floors, bedding, and cooking utensils, for which she was to be paid no more than \$6 a month plus one ration a day.

The regulations of December 1814 also went into detail concerning the housing of regimental and post surgeons and mates. Although the latter were regarded as having a lower status than their colleagues assigned to regiments, they were, like the regimental and hospital surgeons, assigned to single rooms. To heat each room, regardless of occupancy, a half a cord of wood was allotted in the May-October period and three times that amount during the colder months of the year.

Regimental surgeons were made responsible for the continued training of their mates and private practice once again was forbidden in this last set of instructions. Should medical care be required at any time for units unaccompanied by an Army surgeon, however, provision was made for the officer in command to hire a civilian physician and pay him according to the patient load. Should there be more than thirty patients involved, the civilian doctor would be paid a salary identical with that of the surgeon's mate (Gillet 2006a:151).

In May, 1813 the monthly salaries, forage allowances and rations for the medical department were established (Gillet 2006a:150). A hospital surgeon was the highest paid, receiving a monthly salary of \$75.00, two forage allowances, and six rations. At the other end of the pay scale, a surgeon's mate made \$30.00 per month, had two forage allowances, and two rations.

The Army found it difficult to secure enough medical personnel in the early period. This was particularly true in the Southern military districts. Gillet (2006a) remarked on the widespread lack of military physicians in the time period immediately after the American Revolution until the ramping up of the U.S. Army at the beginning of the War of 1812,

Throughout the entire period from 1783 to the outbreak of the War of 1812, the medical support of the units composing the Regular U.S. Army

lay, for all practical purposes, entirely in the hands of individual surgeons. Separated from one another by vast distances, frustrated by shortages of medicines and supplies, they struggled with the health problems of soldiers who were poorly trained, poorly clothed, poorly fed, and only too often poorly led as well (Gillett 2006a).

By late 1813 the 5th, 6th and 7th Military Districts (combined) had only four hospital surgeons, six hospital surgeon's mates, one garrison surgeon, and six garrison surgeon's mates. That number was boosted slightly when an additional hospital surgeon and five hospital surgeon's mates were added to the southern districts. In December, 1813 the U.S. Army reported three hospital surgeons, three hospital mates, and two garrison mates in Georgia and South Carolina (Gillett 2006a:178, 185). In addition to their far smaller numbers, the southern medical staff left little surviving records and, consequently, most of the history of the U.S. Army's medical department is based on people, places and events in the Northern theater (Gillett 2006a:178).

The U.S. Army Medical Department was reorganized in 1818 (Gillett 2006b). These changes, which included the elimination of the hospital surgeon and hospital surgeon's mate job positions, probably had little effect on Fort Hawkins since the fort was minimally staffed by that time.

Drs. William Upshaw, Surgeon, 5th Infantry, Jabez Heustis, Surgeon, U.S. Army, and Alfred Thruston, Surgeon, 7th Infantry treated the hospitalized soldiers under General Wilkinson's command in the Louisiana Territory in 1809. Possibly as many as 1,000 soldiers died from illness and many more were sickened in Wilkinson's army that year, while stationed in New Orleans, Natchez, Terre aux Boeufs and Fort Adams. Wilkinson's military was devastated by these health problems. Malaria, scurvy, diarrhea, dysentery, heat, and miasma were cited as some of the causes of these deaths. Many people in Georgia were also

afflicted by an epidemic in 1809, which may have been related to the Wilkinson's scourge (Gillett 2006; Heustis 1817; Le Conte 1811).

Over the period of Fort Hawkins' life, many sick or wounded soldiers were treated there. Most of this medical care was likely performed by private physicians. Surviving letters from a surgeon at Fort Hawkins span the period from August 12, 1820 to February 24, 1823. A letter, dated December 9, 1821 was written by Dr. Stephen M. Ingersol to Dr. Asahel Hall, a surgeon in Northford Connecticut, in which Ingersol colorfully describes a knife fight and his subsequent surgical repairs to the victim,

A few days since I had a very important case of surgery which is doing extremely well—to my great disappointment a fellow in a fray was cut with a knife eight inches across commencing within about three inches of the navle [navel] and extending backward toward the spine the abdominal vicera were completely exposed—the omintum, which was about three quarters of an inch thick was divided as smoothly as if it had been laid on a block. It appeared as if it would be useless to do anything—but as there was something expected from me I commenced with stitches and sticking plasters and joined him together again leaving a small opening for the blood that had flowed internally to pass out of. I sewed this wound in a safe way.

Another stroke of the knife laid open his arm from the top of the shoulder to below the point of his elbow penetrating in the upper part to the bone and dividing two small arteries one of which spurted blood pretty fast and required to be tied. This wound is doing finely...(Ingersol 1821).

Ingersol wrote from Fort Hawkins to Dr. Hall on June 6, 1822, in which he mentioned cases of cancer, venereal cases, and a virus, which he called, "Ives Venom". Ingersol described several other successful surgery cases to Dr.

Hall in a February 24, 1823 letter from Fort Hawkins,

A man received thirty buck shot with his shoulder neck and face at ten steps the shot passed through his neck & one entered the forehead & was discharged through the nose having lodged in the frontal sinuse rather a singular circumstances.

Amputations above the knee the first of my cutting- a gun burst and drove a piece of the barrel into the center of the forehead full two inches three quarters of an inch wide that required two men to withdraw. I sounded and know there was no deception it penetrated the brain. Sufferation took place and the particles of bone of which were driven were discharged and he is well (Ingersol 1823).

By 1825 Dr. Ingersol had moved his medical practice to Macon, Georgia (Ingersol 1825). Dr. Ingersol was in private practice by the time of his letters from Fort Hawkins. It was not determined whether he had served previously at the fort in a military capacity. His letters hint that he was relatively new to surgical practice and he may have arrived after the garrison was withdrawn from the fort.

The design of military hospitals improved following the War of 1812, due largely to the knowledge gained from battlefield experiences of the many military surgeons. One popular design was outlined by Dr. Mann, who stated,

a military hospital should have windows on the east and west and, "On the west, a closed passage should extend the length of the hospital 12 feet wide, into which the doors of the several wards open." This passage would shield the western windows from the summer heat. Within the building, each separate ward should be thirty feet by twenty-four feet in size and thus large enough to hold twenty patients, with ceilings at least eleven feet high. Since ventilation without drafts was of great importance, hospital windows should be double-

sashed. Each ward would require the attention of two nurses, unless more were required to handle the cooking. Wards for patients with contagious diseases should contain fewer patients than other wards, surgical patients should be kept separate from those with fevers, and men with either venereal disease or scabies should be kept away from all others. There should also be a separate room where patients about to be admitted could be washed with tepid water and dressed in clean linen (Gillet 2006a:197).

Facilities and related artifacts associated with the medical staff and hospital care at Fort Hawkins can be outlined. The furniture in the hospital would have included numerous beds, blankets, closestools (toilets), and large medicine chests. Army regulations in 1813 provided individual quarters for the surgeons and surgeon's mates. The uniforms of the medical department in 1813, "was to resemble that of the general staff, but was specifically characterized by an embroidered gold star on the high collar of the black coat, "pocket flaps, and buttons placed across the cuffs, four to each, and covered buttons in all instances, of the color of the coat" (Gillet 2006a). The buttons worn by the general staff for most, if not all of the Fort Hawkins period, were spherical two-piece gold gilt, but otherwise undecorated, buttons. Albert identified five diagnostic button backmarks associated with this button type (GS 1), which he adds was also worn by West Point Cadets and many independent military companies (Albert 1976:290-291). Tools associated with early 19th century medical practice would have included a variety of drug bottles and other types of containers, glass syringes, steel saws, pliers and other extracting devices, tourniquets, and bandages. Commonly used medicines in the Fort Hawkins era included opium, various mercury compounds, arsenic compounds, "sugars of lead", a broad spectrum of silver nitrate, bitters, aromatics, wine, natural plant remedies, and the use of leaches or cups for bleeding (Gillet 2006a:194-195).

Cemetery

The Fort Hawkins Cemetery was established on a 4 acre tract within the 100 acres that were reserved for the U.S. government. On December 22, 1823, the State of Georgia enacted legislation, “To grant and secure to the commissioners of the incorporation and citizens of the town of Macon, Bibb County, four acres of ground at or near Fort Hawkins, for the purpose of public burying grounds” (Georgia Legislative Documents 1823). The location of this cemetery is depicted on an early plat of the Fort Hawkins Reserve (Ellis and Norman 1828). This law provided:

That from and immediately after the passing of this act that the commissioners of the incorporation of the town of Macon shall be at liberty to lay out four acres of ground in such forms as to include the two present burying grounds at or near Fort Hawkins, which lots when so laid out shall be and the same is hereby set apart and granted to the commissioners and their successors in office, of the incorporation and citizens of the town of Macon, for the purpose of public burying grounds (Georgia Legislative Documents 1823).

This cemetery, which had its origins in the Fort Hawkins era, continues in use as one of Macon’s municipal cemeteries. The location of the Fort Hawkins component of this cemetery remains undefined. Only one marked grave in the cemetery that of the young daughter of one of Fort Hawkins’ commanding officers, dates to the period of Fort Hawkins’ existence. Since the cemetery at Fort Hawkins was created at the time of the original survey of the Fort Hawkins Reserve and was available for public use, it is unlikely that any U.S. Army soldiers or Georgia militiamen, or their families, are buried within the confines of the present study area.

Commandant’s Residence

Surveyor John Thomas’ field notes in 1806 place the location of the Commandant’s residence at Fort Hawkins, well east of the present study area. His mapping data, which has since been analyzed by James R. Preston, places this residence east of Fort Hawkins in a residential neighborhood (Hawkins 1916:428; Preston 2006). Archeologist John Walker, formerly of the Southeast Archeological Center also plotted the 1806 survey and determined that the commandant’s original quarters were outside the fort

Benjamin Hawkins Plantation

During the period from 1806-1816, Colonel Benjamin Hawkins made his primary home at the Creek Agency, where the Federal Road crossed the Flint River in the Creek Nation. Hawkins also maintained a lesser known plantation in the vicinity of Fort Hawkins. The existence of his Fort Hawkins residence is found in the records of the sale of his life estate (Hawkins and Hawkins 1816). Its exact whereabouts were not determined.

Vegetable Gardens, Pastures, Corrals and Agricultural Fields

An important part of the support system for Fort Hawkins was the vegetable gardens, pastures and agricultural fields. Vegetables were an important component of the diet at Fort Hawkins, although few written references to gardens, farming or vegetables were found in the historical research. On January 29, 1818, Clinton Wright, Assistant Adjutant General wrote from the Army Command at Hartford, Georgia noting, “Mr. Carr has permission to remain at his present residence within the military Reserve at Fort Hawkins to cultivate a field cleared by him, and furnish vegetables to

the troops on reasonable terms, subject to the contract of the immediate commanding officer, until otherwise ordered” (NARA, RG98:20). The 1828 plat of “The Public Reserve...” shows two large fields in close proximity to Fort Hawkins (see Figure 12). One large field or pasture that is located immediately south of the fort and another is located a short distance to the north.

Horses, mules, cattle, pigs, and fowl were among the livestock kept at Fort Hawkins. The horses, mules, and possibly oxen were used for personal transportation and cartage. U.S. Army records attest to the existence of a horse corral at Fort Hawkins. Other animal pens were a logical necessity. Among the historical records pertaining to Fort Hawkins are receipts for hundreds of swine that were used to feed the troops on the various military campaigns. The evidence for the other animals kept at Fort Hawkins is archaeological. Bones and egg shells attest to a diverse animal population in the vicinity of the fort.

The horses and other livestock at Fort Hawkins required large quantities of forage and feed for their survival. It is reasonable to expect that a large part of this need was satisfied locally by planting fields of hay or other forage. These landscape features (with the possible exception of small garden plots within the fort, were probably located outside of the area examined by the present study. One letter, dated March 13, 1819, from General Gaines’ Aid de Camp Daniel Bunch in Fernandina, Florida to Lieutenant Micajah Crupper, 7th Infantry, commanding at Fort Hawkins, expressed concern for the provision of adequate forage for Major General Gaines’ horse. This letter indicates that, although General Gaines was nowhere near Fort Hawkins at that time, although his personal stallion was boarded at Fort Hawkins (NARA RG98:301).

Palisade, Inner

The Inner Palisade at Fort Hawkins encloses a rectangular area. The northern palisade wall is absent and either lies on the opposite side of Woolfolk Street, or more likely, was completely eroded away. At least five large buildings (Features 101, 109, 271, 272, and 316) were located immediately inside this palisade wall on the south and west sides. On the east side is a large gap in the palisade, which corresponds to a similar gap with the Outer Palisade. Two interpretations for this gap have been posed by previous researchers, a wide gate entrance or an area where a large, solid log building once stood and served as that segment of the fort’s perimeter defenses.

Palisade, Outer

The Outer Palisade at Fort Hawkins encloses a diamond-shaped space. It completely surrounds the inner palisade wall and it also is missing the entire northern section. The same explanation for the absence of the north wall that was proposed for the Inner Palisade applies to the Outer Palisade. Clear evidence for only one building was located immediately inside this palisade wall on its western side (Feature 313). The previously noted gap on the east wall may represent the former presence of a large log building, or less likely, a wide gateway.

Palisade, Connecting

A single section of palisade wall connects the southwest corner of the Inner Palisade to a point along the southern wall of the Outer Palisade. This wall was designated West Palisade 3. The age and relationship of this palisade wall to the two fort enclosures remains an enigma. This palisade wall was carefully mapped. A sample section of the wall was excavated. This examination revealed that this palisade

cut through one rebuilding episode. It was originally constructed at about the same time as the Inner Palisade but the palisade posts were reset after the Inner Palisade wall was completed. This suggests that this connecting wall was used after the Inner Fort was in use. The interface of the connecting palisade to the Outer Palisade indicated that the connecting wall post-dated the construction of the Outer Fort. The connections between West Palisade 3 and the Inner and Outer Forts demonstrates that both forts were standing during part of their history. Charcoal evidence in the upper zones of West Palisade 3 suggests that portions of this palisade wall were destroyed by fire.

Parade Ground

Traditionally, U.S. Army forts of the 19th century contained a parade ground within the walls of the fort and, although no direct references was located describing such a feature, Fort Hawkins likely had one as well. A parade ground within the fort, given the sizes indicated by the archaeology, would have easily accommodated one or two Infantry companies (about 200 soldiers), but if a larger army was on parade, that would have likely been conducted outside of the fort's walls.

Several of the excavation units completed by the present research team offered the potential to discover artifacts and features from the Fort Hawkins era in the central compound of the fort, where the Parade Ground would be expected. The areas sampled by XU 4, XU 5, XU 8, XU10, XU11, XU19, and the northeastern part of XU1 covered this area of the fort. These results were dissappointing however, as intact fort-period features, midden or concentrations artifacts were not found in these areas. These areas appeared to have been severely disturbed and eroded. Many other areas in the central part of the fort remain unexplored and may still harbor important archaeological remains. These areas were examined by GPR survey

with some intriguing anomalies detected. Clearly, more work is needed in the central part of Fort Hawkins to ascertain if any intact deposits remain from the Fort Hawkins era.

Privately Owned Businesses

History records that several privately owned stores, taverns, and at least one hotel, sprang up at Fort Hawkins, but doubtless others existed. This community was first known as Fort Hawkins but later achieved its own identify as "New Town". Furlow's store at Fort Hawkins is mentioned in an 1810 Milledgeville newspaper article (Chalker 1970:81). One of the earliest private merchants at Fort Hawkins was the partnership of Callis and Butler. Mr. Butler and Lieutenant Otho Callis, both officers of the 4th Infantry, became business partners at Fort Hawkins by February 14, 1817. Their partnership was not geared towards selling to the troops, rather it was aimed to sell goods to travelers, "for the numerous emigration to the Alabama, by this post" (Peddy 1980:6).

Other merchants at Fort Hawkins included Captain Charles Bulloch, Postmaster at Fort Hawkins, and Mr. Nicholas Wells (Young et al. 1950:44). These entrepreneurs printed private script that was issued from their store at Fort Hawkins. Surviving examples of this exonomia (unofficial currency) are known and a 50 cent bill, hand signed "Bullock and Wells" on June 10, 1820 (Marsh 2005; See discussion of coins and currency in Chapter 7). This script was printed by Murray, Draper and Fairman. A similar example, but payable in Macon, Georgia was issued October 1, 1828.

Wilcox (1999) provided this background information on the development of New Town and Macon:

Macon "was established in the vicinity of Fort Hawkins, which had been erected by order of President Jefferson in 1806, at the site of Ocmulgee Old

Fields. The settlement around the fort was first called Fort Hawkins, and in 1821 it became known as Newtown. Another small community located here by the Ocmulgee River called itself Troy. On the opposite shore of the river was established, referred to as Tiger Town. Then in 1822, the early settlers who were mostly from North Carolina chose to name this place "Macon" after Senator Nathaniel Macon (1757-1837), the patriot and statesman from their home state." It is interesting that Nathaniel Macon and Benjamin Hawkins were both from Warrenton, North Carolina and the Macon and Hawkins families shared a private schoolmaster for their sons. Krakow also says, "Thomas Tatum built a cabin opposite the fort in 1822 and lots were sold the following year. The streets were laid out in 1823 by surveyor, James Webb, with the assistance of Simri Rose and others (Wilcox 1999).

The town of Macon was incorporated by the State of Georgia on December 8, 1823. The enacting legislation provided for a five man commission, composed of Oliver H. Prince, David S. Booth, Samuel Wood, Charles J. McDonald and Seth Ward, who were given jurisdiction to, "have jurisdiction within the present limits of the common and town of Macon, and the twenty acre lots under lease from the general government on the east side of the river Ocmulgee" (Georgia Legislative Documents 1823). The earliest Macon city plan was drafted in 1823 and a copy is included in Appendix E. Additional state laws passed on December 20, 1827 provided for the sale of lots and other development in Macon (Georgia Legislative Documents 1827).

Lodging for civilian travelers on the Federal Road was a necessity and Fort Hawkins was a popular tourist stop. Taverns are another given at early U.S. Army posts and Fort Hawkins likely had more than one tavern during its existence. Taverns not only provided drink for weary soldiers and travelers, but they usually provided meals and lodging as well. Court-

martial records from the Fort's early years make frequent reference to liquor rations for the soldiers. Mostly these references deal with restrictions of these rations as one form of punishment for minor criminal offenses. The records do not specify if these rations of spirits were dispensed within the confines of the fort or if they were consumed at a nearby tavern. For those soldiers (and officers) with a particular taste for alcohol, privately owned taverns located outside of the fort were more than happy to provide drinks for a fee.

John Jerrison/Jerreson operated a "house of accommodation" at Fort Hawkins as early as 1812 (Chalker 1970:81). Jerrison also served as the Postmaster at Fort Hawkins in 1816. A letter, dated January 19, 1819 from Daniel E. Bunch, Aid De Camp, at Division Headquarters in Fernandina, Florida, to Captain Charles Bulloch, Postmaster at Fort Hawkins made passing mention of a tavern at Fort Hawkins (NARA RG 98:250-521). The geographic location of the hotel at Fort Hawkins is described as nearer to the Ocmulgee River and its archaeological remains are not likely contained within the present study area.

Several taverns from the early 19th century have survived in Georgia and these serve as examples of what the taverns at Fort Hawkins were like. The Eagle Tavern in Watkinsville, Georgia is a surviving example of a Georgia tavern made by Euro-Americans in the Fort Hawkins period. The Eagle Tavern was documented by HABS in 1936 and archaeological testing was conducted in the 1960s by the Georgia Historical Commission (NPS 1936; Dickens 1963; Appendix E). If the Eagle Tavern is a reliable analog, then the taverns, hotels and inns at Fort Hawkins and New Town may have been substantial architectural structures, worthy of future archaeological study, if such sites can be identified.

The McIntosh Inn at Indian Springs, Georgia is another contemporary example in Georgia. Built about 1823 for William McIntosh, U.S.

Army general and Creek Chief, this site served many travelers along the McIntosh Trail. The McIntosh Inn building has been modified from its original configuration but it was a large accommodating wood frame building.

Another example of a Georgia tavern is the Vann Tavern, formerly located on the Chattahoochee River in an area now flooded by Lake Lanier. This Cherokee-built log tavern building has since been carefully dismantled, relocated, and reassembled at the New Echota State Historic Site near Calhoun, Georgia. The original construction date of Vann's Tavern is not known but it was in use during at least part of the Fort Hawkins era.

Newspaper

The news was published at Fort Hawkins as early as 1819. Wilcox (1999) provided this background information on the early publication of a newspaper at Fort Hawkins, "Simri Rose was a botanist and journalist who came to Fort Hawkins in 1818. He began Macon's first newspaper, *The Bulldog*, at the fort, and he planned Macon's Rose Hill Cemetery". The earliest surviving newspaper from Fort Hawkins was a handwritten one, which is undated, but probably dates to about 1819. This edition is on file at the Georgia Department of Archives and History (Rose n.d.). This newspaper was examined for any pertinent information pertaining to the Fort Hawkins site, but none was contained in the newspaper. One copy of *The Bulldog* is held in the Wesleyan College Archives at Macon. Several other copies of *The Bulldog* may exist in private collections, but these were not located. (Myrick n.d.). Simri Rose later teamed up with his friend, James Robertson. They published a newspaper known as *The Georgia Messenger* at Fort Hawkins from 1823 to 1847 and surviving copies of these issues are available on microfilm. The project historians conducted a brief review of these publications,

searching particularly for any details pertinent to Fort Hawkins (Rootsweb.com 2006d).

U.S. Trading Factory

Trading relations between the Native Americans of southeastern North America and the European powers existed since the 16th Century. Trade with the Spanish, French and British explorers and colonists developed through a painful evolutionary process. This process had economic aspects but also social and geo-political aspects that shaped the modern world (Coker and Watson 1986; Braund 1993; University of West Florida 2006).

The U.S. instituted a trading factory system to regulate trade with the Native Americans (Peake 1954). In 1795 Congress authorized the position of Factor, whose job duties were to:

1. You are to furnish the Indians with trade goods at such prices that the sales are merely to reimburse the United States for the original costs and charges.
2. You are to sell the Indians on such easy terms and by manifesting such liberality and friendship they will become attached to the United States and thus lay the foundation for a lasting peace.
3. You are to sell the goods to the Indians for money and peltry. The latter is to be disposed of by the War Department in Philadelphia.
4. It is desired to confine the business entirely to Indians and to eliminate credit. However, you are left to your own discretion in the matter.
5. You are to receive the annuities of \$1,500 in goods to the Creek Nation.
6. The commanding officer of the troops on the St. Marys River is to supply the necessary guards and erect the buildings needed for the factory as

well as the living quarters for you and your assistants.

7. You are not to sell rum or liquors to the Indians if you can operate the business without it (Mattison 1946:170).

The first Trading Factory at Coleraine was one of two authorized by the U.S. Congress. Coleraine Factory was located on the St. Mary's River in 1796, where it was used for less than two years. That trading factory consisted of a store that measured, "60 feet by 28 feet of one story, half of which had no floor in it [when it was first constructed]" (Mattison 1946:171). Edward Price served as the Factor at Coleraine.

By July 1797 the U.S. Trading Factory operations had moved to Fort Wilkinson on the Oconee River, where Edward Price continued as its Factor (Gaither 1792-1838). Descriptions of the Fort Wilkinson Factory are more detailed than those for Fort Coleraine. Price described its planned dimensions and layout on February 5, 1798:

I now submit the enclosed plan...as only the shell is covered no boards being to be had till lately. The floors (are) are only part laid, no partitions put up more than rough ones nor any expense accrued that this plan will affect, viz., the building intended for a Store (will be) seventy-six feet long to be divided into equal parts by a passage eight feet wide thro the center for the Indians to bring in their skins for trade. One side is to be a room of twelve feet wide quite across the building with suitable shelves fitted for a retail store; on the opposite side a room of the same dimensions for a wholesale store with suitable divisions, shelves, etc. As I shall direct on one side of the entry a door going into the retail store is to be falling or sliding partitions for opening in the time of business and a counter within. Tis intended the Indians may do business from the passage without entering the retail room to prevent thieving, etc. The apartments of each end are intended to be occupied as store rooms for goods

of all descriptions, between each of which and the wholesale and retail store is to be a door agreeable to the plan. A stairway may be carried in each end rooms as per plan and a door in the middle of each end of the house unless it should be found necessary to have chimneys in this place in which case the door may be placed in the side of the building. As I am going to be about for some time please to communicate this plan and explain to Col. Gaither for his government (Records of Creek Trading House, Letter Book 1795-1816, cited in DeVorse and Waters 1973:8-9).

U.S. Factor Jonathan Halstead built a trading factory at Ocmulgee Old Fields by late September 1806. The precise location of this site is undetermined, although one suspected location is in the vicinity of the Cornfield Mound at the National Park Service's Ocmulgee National Monument. Almost immediately Halstead encountered security problems with the Ocmulgee Fields Factory. On October 24, 1806, Captain William Boote, 2nd Infantry Regiment, wrote that the, "Sutler's store [was] broken open and robbed" and that Halstead blamed this robbery on the "hangers on of garrison" and that Halstead had requested, "a guard for the factory" (Letterbook 1795-1812).

Jonathan Halstead intended to move the operations to Fort Hawkins, once the building intended for that purpose within the fort was completed. That move did not become final until May, 1809 when the trading post was completed at Fort Hawkins (Forts Committee n.d.:19-20). As a result of land ceded with the Creek Nation in 1802 and 1805, the U.S. frontier had shifted westward to the Ocmulgee River. These shifts, which made the factory less accessible to the Creek Indians, necessitated the relocation of the factory to the Ocmulgee River valley. The trading operations operated at Fort Hawkins from May, 1809 (and possibly late 1808) until August, 1816 (Wilcox 1999; DeVorse and Waters 1970:11).

Wilcox (1999) provided this summary of Halstead's service as the Indian Factor in Georgia,

Halstead, Jonathan - factor at Fort Wilkinson March 26, 1802 and first factor at Fort Hawkins - Halstead's salary was \$1,000 annually with a \$365 expense account. Datelines on Halstead's letters may show that the trading post was originally outside the fort and was later moved inside - His datelines change from "Ocmulgee" to "Ocmulgee Old Fields" (1806) and then to "Fort Hawkins" (1808). Halstead died in December 1814. On July 12, 1806, Jonathan Halstead, then the factor at Fort Wilkinson, wrote a letter to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn in which he indicated that the move from Fort Wilkinson to Ocmulgee Old Fields was underway. In this letter he indicated his concern over the apparent lack of provisions for the factory's operation in the post which was being constructed on the heights overlooking the Ocmulgee River. He wrote: "In the place [plan] of the Garrison forwarded to Captain Boote I observe that the factory is not taken into view, I should wish to be informed whether it is to be within the Garrison or not and also whether I am at liberty to put up a temporary one which, with what assistance I can get from Captain Boote, will not cost more than fifty or sixty dollars.

Jonathan Halstead served as U.S. Factor at Fort Hawkins from 1808 to 1814. Major Daniel Hughes became the next U.S. Factor in March 1816, after Halstead's death in December, 1814. In the interim year and four months, Charles Magnan, Halstead's assistant, supervised operation of the factory. In September 1816, the Factory was relocated to Fort Mitchell on the Chattahoochee River (Wilcox 1999).

A summary of the 14 trading houses operated by the U.S. was compiled in 1810 (Mason 1810). Portions of Mason's summary are reproduced below,

...since the commencement of the system, fourteen trading houses with the Indian tribes have been established, at the periods and in the positions enumerated below:

At Coleraine, on the river St. Mary's, in the State of Georgia, in the year 1795.

At Tellico block house, in the Southwestern territory, in the year 1795.

At fort St. Stephens, on the Mobile, in the Mississippi territory, in the year 1802.

At Chickasaw bluffs, on the Mississippi, in the Mississippi territory, in the year 1802.

At fort Wayne, on the Miami of the Lakes, in the Indiana Territory, in the year 1802.

At Detroit, in the Michigan territory, in the year 1802.

At Arkansas, on the river Arkansas, in the territory of Louisiana, in the year 1805.

At Natchitoches, on the Red river, in the territory of Orleans, in the year 1805.

At Belle Fontaine, mouth of the Missouri, in the territory of Louisiana, in the year 1805.

At Chicago, on Lake Michigan, in the Indiana Territory, in the year 1805.

At Sandusky, Lake Erie, in the State of Ohio, in the year 1806.

At the Island of Michilimackinac, Lake Huron, in the Michigan territory, in the year 1808.

At fort Osage, on the Missouri, territory of Louisiana, in the year 1808.

At fort Madison, on the Upper Mississippi, territory of Louisiana, in 1808.

Of these, two have been discontinued, that at Detroit, in 1805, and that at Belle Fontaine, in 1808; and two have been removed, that established originally at Coleraine, on the St. Mary's, to fort Wilkinson, on the Oconee, in 1797; and again, from that place to fort Hawkins, on the Oakmulgee, in 1806: and that originally established at Tellico, to the Hiwasee of the Tennessee, in 1807.

There are now in operation twelve trading houses, viz. at fort Hawkins, at Hiwasee, at fort St. Stephen's, at Chickasaw bluffs, at fort Wayne, at Arkansas, at Natchitoches, at Chicago, at Sandusky, at Michilimackinac, at fort Osage, and at fort Madison (Mason 1810).

In 1805, the U.S. Indian Agents were paid \$1,000 to \$1,250 per year and they received a \$365 allowance for subsistence. Their assistants were paid between \$400-500 per year and they received an annual subsistence allowance of \$150 to \$180. In 1810 the salaries and subsistence paid to the staff of the "Oakmulgee Factory" was: Jonathan Halstead, Factor, salary \$1,000, subsistence, \$365, and Charles Magnan, assistant, salary \$500, subsistence, \$150 (Mason 1810:768-769).

A September 30, 1809 financial account of the property on hand at debts due at the "Factory at Fort Hawkins, on the Oakmulgee" listed,

Merchandise on hand, per inventory of this date, \$2,2375.99 $\frac{2}{3}$
Furs and Peltries, \$5,397.00
Cash, \$199.29 $\frac{5}{12}$
Debts, \$206.48 $\frac{3}{4}$
Factory Buildings, \$463.03 $\frac{1}{2}$ (Mason 1810:770).

On May 1, 1810 Jonathan Halstead wrote to Captain Thomas A. Smith at Fort Hawkins advising him that the "time to commence beating skins had arrived" (Letterbook 1810). Halstead noted that a big quantity of skins had arrived and that he needed three persons to assist those already employed at this task.

A financial account of Fort Hawkins, dated June 30, 1812 included an entry concerning a building for the Factory. It included expenses of \$6.00 for 32 pounds of nails for the "U.S.T. House" and \$198.50 for, "Cash for this sum paid John Simmons for putting up two rooms and completing them 15 Feet square each. One of them shelved for the store the other for a skin Room including all the materials except the

Nails above charged" (NARA, RG Letterbook 1812).

An 1811 financial balance sheet, which covered the period from December 31, 1807 to September 30, 1811, showed that Fort Hawkins had lost \$1,023.00. The causes of these losses were discussed by the Superintendent of Indian Trade:

The Southern factories have lost, while the Northern factories have gained. The reason is obvious. At the first, peltries (deer skins) are in most part received from the Indians. The quantity of this article supplied in the country, greatly exceeds the home consumption. The market is on the continent of Europe. Since the obstructions to our commerce in that quarter, peltries have not only experienced a depression in price, in common with our other produce consumed in that part of Europe, but are subject to a considerable loss by being kept over, because of the difficulty and expense of preserving from damage by vermin.

At the latter, (the Northern factories) hatters' furs are generally taken; these not exceeding the home demand, are of good sale. Another consideration is that some of the Northern factories, the Indians of their respective vicinities have been encouraged to employ a portion of labor on objects that are not attainable near the Southern factories. At fort Osage, in preparing buffalo tallow and candles; at Michilimackinac, in making maple sugar; and at fort Madison, in digging the ore, and melting down lead; in all which they are succeeding tolerably well, as to quality and quantity. In the article of lead, remarkably well (NARA RG Indian Trade 1811).

Consequently, the trading factory at Fort Hawkins was acknowledged by the U.S. as a money loser, as were many other trading factories in the South. A letter written to General John Mason on April 10 or 18, 1816 noted, "This post at the present time is not suitable for Indian Trade—there are so many settlers at the

different posts in the Nation where the troops are stationed that the Indians will give double price for goods there and sell their skins hides and etc. at half their value rather than come this distance” (Letterbook 1816).

The exact end date for the Fort Hawkins trading factory is not recorded, although in 1819 President James Monroe issued an executive order ending the trading factory at Fort Mitchell. This date is a reasonable estimate of when all trading operations at Fort Hawkins ceased (DeVorse and Waters 1970:17).

The physical locations of the trading factories at Ocmulgee Old Fields and Fort Hawkins remain problematic. None of the structures that were identified in the present study is interpreted as the Trading Factory. Historical records attest that by 1812 this facility included a building at least 30 feet by 15 feet. The historical proof that this trading complex was located within the walls of Fort Hawkins is inconclusive. Although Halstead’s letterhead on official correspondence beginning in 1808 is shown as Fort Hawkins, the Trading Factory may have been located adjacent to the fort and not actually within its confines. Possibly the trading factory was located along the northern or eastern walls of the fort and the archaeological proof was obliterated.

Fort Hawkins also was used for the purpose of treating with the Creek Nation and for awarding annuities and other gifts to the Creeks. The 1805 treaty established the Ocmulgee Old Fields Reserve, which was a five mile by three mile tract reserved by the Creek Nation for its use. The U.S. government obtained permission from the Creeks to establish Fort Hawkins on a 100 acre tract within this Ocmulgee Old Fields Reserve. From its beginning in 1806 until the 1821 Treaty of Indian Springs, Fort Hawkins stood on Creek Indian land. That title was relinquished by the Creeks in the 1821 treaty, although two tracts along the Ocmulgee River were reserved by the Creek Nation. Fort

Hawkins was not located in either of these tracts (Kappler 1904).

The State of Georgia enacted legislation on May 15, 1821 that was intended, “To dispose of and distribute the lands lately acquired by the United States for the use of Georgia, of the Creek Nation of Indians, by a treaty made and concluded at the Indian Spring, on the eighth day of January, eighteen hundred and twenty-one; and to add the Reserve at Fort Hawkins to the county of Jones” (Georgia Legislative Documents 1821). Three sections of this act pertain to the Fort Hawkins Reserve and are these sections reproduced below:

Sec. 22. And be it further enacted, That the Reserve at Fort Hawkins, and a reserve of like extent on the opposite side of the [Illegible Text] river, commencing on the Upper Federal Road, crossing [Illegible Text] Fort Hawkins, and lying below the same, be set apart for the [Illegible Text] to be disposed of as a future Legislature may direct.

Sec. 23. And be it further enacted, That all the territory on the east side of the Ocmulgee river, known by the name of the Reserve be, and the same is hereby added to the county of Jones.

Sec. 24. And be it further enacted, That all Reserves which are recognized in the treaty aforesaid, except those which are now or may hereafter, (before the running of the land) be abandoned by the Indians, shall be exempt from the operations of this law, and that the Surveyors within whose districts they may fall shall make fractions adjoining thereto, if the making of square tracts is found to be impracticable; and so soon as the Reserves recognized in this section shall be abandoned by the Indians, after the land is disposed [Illegible Text] as above contemplated, then said Reserves shall be set apart and disposed of by a future Legislature for the purpose of educating [Illegible Text] children (Georgia Legislative Documents 1821).

Woolfolk Plantation

Thomas Jefferson Woolfolk purchased the property containing Fort Hawkins in 1828. He quickly established his residence there for his family. Thomas Woolfolk was living in the area by 1830, when his household was enumerated by the Federal Census. The family remained in Bibb County through at least 1860 (Ancestry.com 2005). The Woolfolk plantation in 1830 consisted of six members of the Woolfolk family and 30 enslaved African Americans. The location of the housing for these people is currently unknown since the Woolfolk lands extended beyond the Fort Hawkins tract. Quite possibly Woolfolk's enslaved population made use of abandoned U.S. Army buildings for their living quarters. They may have been the ones who were using Feature 101 after the garrison was removed (Ancestry.com 2005).

The log barn from the Woolfolk plantation was purportedly constructed from timbers salvaged from Fort Hawkins. This barn was later moved to the Hawes' farm on the Upper River Road near the Bibb-Jones County line. This area awaits future archaeological and historical research.

The Woolfolk plantation extended well beyond the limits of the present study area, but several archaeological building ruins and features in the study area are associated with this plantation. Feature 317 is a good example of a building from the Woolfolk plantation era. Carillo's search for the west palisade line encountered several features that may be associated with the Woolfolk plantation era. In his Unit 31, Carillo (1971:36) reported finding rubble fill that possibly represents a structure. This was exposed in a long backhoe trench, in which Carillo reported finding the feature, "the entire length of the trench". In the trench Carillo reported finding "considerable amounts of brick and pieces of partially rotted wood", and plaster fragments (Carillo 1971:29).

Later Residences

W. Henry Jones was the next owner of the former Fort Hawkins property. Jones was born about 1837 in Georgia and was a merchant. In 1880 Jones, a white male, lived with his wife Martha A. Jones in District 514, Bibb County, Georgia (Ancestry.com 2005). By 1900 Jones had likely moved to Sycamore in Gadsden County, Florida, where he was enumerated in the census as A.W.H. Jones (Ancestry.com 2005).

Post Road and Federal Road

As a result of the treaty negotiations of 1805, the U.S. government secured permission for a road into the Creek Nation (Dearborn 1805; Kappler 1904; Southerland and Brown 1989). A postal road was established from Washington, D.C. to New Orleans, Louisiana, which went by Fort Hawkins.

President Thomas Jefferson wrote from Washington, D.C. to Benjamin Hawkins in Georgia on July 11, 1806 regarding the intended path of the Federal Road:

By the return of Mr. Wheaton I learn with great satisfaction that we at length have a clear prospect of a good road from Athens to Fort Stoddert, at least. He tells me you are satisfied it is best & even nearest to go by Coweta. My own opinion is that distance is not to be so much regarded as levelness, firmness and to be clear of obstructions. From Coweta, I think no one has traced out the route most obviously & incontestibly. That is to say, after getting on the ridge between Coweta and Tuckabatchi, which divides the waters of Chatahouchee & Alabama, to turn Westwardly along the ridge dividing the waters of Alabama from those of the gulph of Mexico, never quitting it, however crooked it may be, unless occasionally to pass a spring for the accomodation of travellers or settlers. We are to open that route in

the first place, which will be the best at last; because we shall very soon have a stage running on it. Above all things we must not divert our road from its best course to carry it by houses of accomodation. If we do this there will never be accomodation on the proper tract. Houses must come, & will come to the road, if we keep it inflexibly in it's place. I have been speaking with Genl. Dearborne about stringing a few souldiers along at every 25 miles. He finds difficulty in that. Perhaps you could get some individuals to go & settle at convenient stations of about 25 miles, which may hereafter break into two of 12 or 13 miles. Till such stops are provided it will be impossible for the post to move with dispatch. We have reason to believe we can now have permission to send the mail from Fort Stoddert by water for the present.(Jefferson 1806).

In 1810 the road was greatly improved and designated the Federal Road. Traffic along the Federal Road quickly streamed in once the road was built. On March 16, 1812, the Georgia Journal, a Milledgeville newspaper, quoted Benjamin Hawkins, who reported, "120 wagons, 80 carts, 30 chairs, and 3 four wheel carriages, with total of 3,726 people" traveled the Federal Road (Georgia Journal March 25, 1812; Chalker 1970:80-81; Wilcox 1999).

On December 23, 1822, the State of Georgia enacted legislation that incorporated a turnpike connecting Augusta to Fort Hawkins. Section 9 of this law provided, "That the said turnpike road shall commence at the corporate limits of the city of Augusta, and run in the nearest most convenient direction to Warrenton, thence the nearest most convenient direction to Sparta, thence the nearest most convenient direction to Milledgeville, thence the nearest most convenient direction to Clinton, thence the nearest most convenient direction to Fort Hawkins" (Georgia Legislative Documents 1822).

For Native Americans the Ocmulgee River was both an obstacle to be crossed in overland

travel and a transportation artery to the Atlantic Ocean and the Piedmont region of upper Georgia. In 1805 the Ocmulgee River served as the boundary between the U.S. and the Creek Country. While the river does not fall within the present study area, the cultural features linked to the river are an integral part of the military and civilian operations at Fort Hawkins, which justifies their discussion here.

The earliest well-defined riverine feature in the area was a Native American trading trail, known as Ochee Finnau , or Tom's Path. Tom's Path led from Georgia to the Lower Creek towns on the Chattahoochee River (below present-day Columbus) (Hemperley and Utley 1975; Wilcox 1999). The approximate location of the Tom's Path ford on the Ocmulgee River appears on early maps. In the early years of Fort Hawkins, troops, wagons and supplies probably used this ford. Fords were located at shallow places, where the river could be more easily crossed, such as near shoals or broad areas of the river channel.

At some undetermined point in time a ferry was constructed and operated over the Ocmulgee River. Ferries required deeper water and convenient entry and exit points. Fords and ferries were sometimes located in the same general vicinity, but may have been separated by some distance depending on the local terrain conditions. Often multiple ferry crossings were used, depending on the variable water levels in the river. The last known configuration of the Federal Road ferry crossing had it cross the Ocmulgee River a short distance downstream from the present-day Macon Coliseum (James M. Preston personal communication July 4, 2006).

No authorizing state legislation for the ferry below Fort Hawkins was located by the present research. However, according to Butler (1879) David Flanders and Joseph Willett came to the area with Roger McCall in 1819 and the two "cut down the bluff and established the first ferry where the city bridge has since stood",

which is in the vicinity of today's Otis Redding Memorial Bridge.

Georgia Governor Clark signed legislation on December 23, 1822 establishing a permanent ferry on the Ocmulgee River at John Towns Ferry in Jasper County, Georgia. The following year (1823) Georgia Governor Troup authorized a ferry at Silver Bluff in Pulaski County, Georgia, which was operated by William Lester (Georgia Legislative Documents 1822, 1823). Neither ferry crossing was situated near Fort Hawkins or part of the Federal Road system. The Georgia government authorized Pierce A. Lewis to operate a ferry on the Ocmulgee River in Jones County on December 24, 1825 but that legislation was repealed on December 26, 1827. The Georgia government authorized James Pitts and Mickleberry Ferrell to operate a ferry at Pitt's Ferry on the Ocmulgee River in 1825, but the exact ferry location is unspecified (Georgia Legislative Documents 1825, 1827). The toll rates established for the William Lester's Silver Bluff ferry were:

For laden waggon, team, and driver, fifty cents -- for an empty waggon, team, and driver, twenty-five cents -
- for a four wheel pleasure carriage, fifty cents -- for a two wheel pleasure carriage, twenty five cents -- for a loaded cart, team, and driver, twenty five cents -- for an empty cart, team, and driver, eighteen and three-fourth cents -- for a horse and rider, six and one-fourth cents -- for every footman, six and one-fourth cents -- for every led horse, mule or ass, six and one fourth cents -- for each head of cattle, two cents -- for each head of sheep, hogs, or goats, one cent (Georgia Legislative Documents 1823).

Sometime prior to December 1827 a bridge was constructed across the Ocmulgee River in Macon. On December 20, 1827, Georgia legislation was passed authorizing the sale of the bridge, which was located on 5th Street (also known as Bridge Street) (Georgia Legislative Documents 1827).

Flatboats and canoes were another aspect of the cultural resources on the Ocmulgee River. Dugout canoes were used by Native Americans for many thousands of years and this practice continued into historic times. Enterprising traders and merchants traveled in flatboats on the Ocmulgee River in the early days. The U.S. Army also operated a fleet of flatboats from a river landing near Fort Hawkins. The exact location of this landing on the modern landscape has not been determined.

On December 19, 1816, Georgia Governor Mitchell enacted legislation creating a commission to "improve the Navigation of the Ocmulgee River", which provided for clearing of the obstructions from the mouth of the Ocmulgee River to Fort Hawkins. The following year (1817) Governor Rabun enacted legislation that appropriated \$10,000.00 for the "improvement of the Internal Navigation" on the Ocmulgee River from "its junction with the Oconee to the head of boatable water" (Georgia Legislative Documents 1816, 1817). These two pieces of legislation opened up the river to more reliable (and larger) boat traffic.

Camp Hope

Camp Hope was the Georgia militia cantonment in the Macon vicinity in the War of 1812. Camp Hope was located along the Milledgeville Road near the Bibb-Jones County line, which is several miles from Fort Hawkins. Although the archaeological location of Camp Hope has not been identified, the records attest that it was some distance removed from Fort Hawkins and its archaeological remains were not present in the study area. Nevertheless, the history of Camp Hope and Fort Hawkins are tightly interwoven and it is important for consideration. The tension that existed during that period between the U.S. Army and the Georgia militia can be discerned from the various correspondents. At one point Georgia militia troops were denied access to the interior of Fort Hawkins. The

military command of the Georgia militia was allowed inside Fort Hawkins and they often wrote letters and military orders from that place. At other times the Georgia militia troops and other state militias were allowed entry into Fort Hawkins. At the conclusion of the War of 1812 hundreds of militiamen received their discharges at Fort Hawkins. Fort Hawkins is also where they turned in their arms and accoutrements. Pension records suggest that quite a few Georgia militia rank and file were assigned to duty at Fort Hawkins.

Most of the physical descriptions of Camp Hope are contained in the correspondence of Brigadier General John Floyd. Floyd established Camp Hope in September 1813. His troops were poorly supplied but they gathered near Fort Hawkins in large numbers. On September 19, 1813, Floyd wrote to his daughter describing the scene at Camp Hope,

I arrived at Fort Hawkins on the evening of the 8th, on the day following reviewed the two regiments of infantry cantoned in the neighborhood of that place. I soon discovered that it would be all important to concentrate the whole force for a better subordination, and discipline of the camp. I consequently delivered a general order for the troops to be put in motion on the 14th, having previously taken a view of the surrounding country; determined on the ground of encampment, and directed the Quartermaster General to mark out the line of encampment. On the 14th, as above mentioned, we entered the new camp. The troops are now embedded, which amounts to nearly 3000-500 of which are cavalry. Our lines are each $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile long, which makes no small show in these woods (Floyd 1813:1-2).

Georgia militia camps on the outskirts of Fort Hawkins likely existed before, during and after the establishment of Camp Hope. Floyd's description indicates, however, that the two military bodies, U.S. Army and Georgia militia, were physically separated, by and large, in the War of 1812 period. The date of abandonment

of Camp Hope is uncertain but it remained in use as late as December 14, 1814 (Miller 1858:426).

Features

Many archaeological features and posts were identified at Fort Hawkins. Most of the larger features were explored and excavated, while many of the posts and large sections of palisade ditch were carefully mapped in plan but not excavated.

Feature 101

Feature 101 was a large brick building ruin located on the south wall of the Inner Fort. It measured approximately 18.3 m east-west by 11 m north-south, or 60 feet by 36 feet. The feature also contained a number of smaller features and anomalies within its boundary. Most of these other features relate to Feature 101 in its various stages of construction, use, or decay.

The south side of Feature 101 is the least well-preserved part of the feature as a result of the extensive brick robbing that took place after the building was abandoned. The southern limits of the feature are presumed to coincide with the south palisade wall of the Inner Fort. No palisade posts exist within the Feature 101 stretch of the fort wall, although the palisade wall was observed to join flush with Feature 101 on its southeastern corner.

Feature 101 was first recognized in the 1970s by Carillo's excavation team in their Units 6 and 13B, although they identified it as two distinct buildings. Carillo designated one of these as Feature 8. It also may have been the same brick foundation that Gordon Willey attributed to the post-Civil War period in 1936, although the relationship is unclear (Carillo 1971:34-36; Willey 1936). The LAMAR Institute excavation team quickly demonstrated

that Feature 101 was not a series of separate buildings, as Carillo suggested, but was one expansive building containing several rooms that were mostly paved with brick flooring.

The building plan consisted of four rooms fronted by a long narrow hallway. Two interior H-style brick chimneys were shared by these rooms (Figure 19). The chimneys were placed in the center of the building. Figure 20 shows a plan of the western chimney brickwork after excavation. Immediately north of these four rooms was a narrow hallway or porch. This hall also was paved with brick. The floor of this hallway is semi-subterranean and it was likely accessed by a stairway (Figure 21). Evidence for a stairway, if it existed, was obliterated by brick salvors in the 19th century. The hallway and the westernmost room of Feature 101 was completely excavated. Slightly less than one-half of the room adjacent was excavated. The northern hallway/porch was almost completely excavated (Figure 22). A narrow sample along the northern inside edge of the eastern two rooms was sampled, as was the upper soil zone above the eastern H-chimney. The interior of most of the eastern three rooms remains unexcavated.

The LAMAR Institute's sample excavations of Feature 101 yielded an abundance of material culture, including architectural features, artifacts and food remains. A total of 22,268 artifacts was retrieved by the excavations, or 59 percent of the entire collection from Fort Hawkins. A variety of artifact data was used to determine the approximate age of the archaeological deposits in Feature 101. These data show that the building was constructed as part of the Army garrison and continued in use for a decade or two after the troops were removed.

Feature 101 has a *Terminus Post Quem*, or TPQ, of 1840 based on the presence of purple-, black- or green-colored transfer printed ware sherds. The TPQ is the beginning manufacturing date for the latest ceramic type

observed in an archaeological collection. It is a useful statistic for determining a date when after which an archaeological deposit may have been sealed. In the case of Feature 101, the TPQ allows archaeologists to state that the building continued in use for ceramic trash disposal until sometime after 1840. Only 62 sherds of these wares were recovered from Feature 101 and one-half of these were derived from Level 1 of the feature fill. Their low frequency of occurrence suggests that this building was abandoned sometime shortly after 1840. The various other artifact dates obtained for Feature 101 are consistent with this interpretation.

A sample of 6,425 ceramic sherds from Feature 101 was used to calculate a Mean Ceramic Date, or MCD, of 1811 for this feature. The MCD is a useful statistic for archaeological analysis. It was developed by archaeologist Stanley South, for application to early historic sites, primarily late 17th and 18th century sites. South's mathematical formula uses the mean frequency of the midpoint of ceramic production in a pottery assemblage to derive a single date estimate (South 2002). The MCD statistic also proved effective for 19th century sites in the southeastern U.S. Archaeologists use the MCDs from various contexts to provide an estimate for the determining the median age of an archaeological deposit. At a coarse level, this relationship of military and civilian residency can be demonstrated by MCD analysis. The upper zone of Feature 101 contained several ceramic sherds that post-dated the military occupation. Most of the feature deposit is associated with the fort era. Approximately 46 percent of Feature 101, or 22.5 square meters, was excavated by the project team. A substantial portion of Feature 101 (54% or 26 square meters) remains unexcavated and available for future study. This includes the area surrounding the eastern H-chimney. Given the artifact yield observed by the present sample excavation of this feature, the remaining portions may contain as many as 20,000 to 26,000 more artifacts! That upper estimate is probably unachievable however, since the southern and

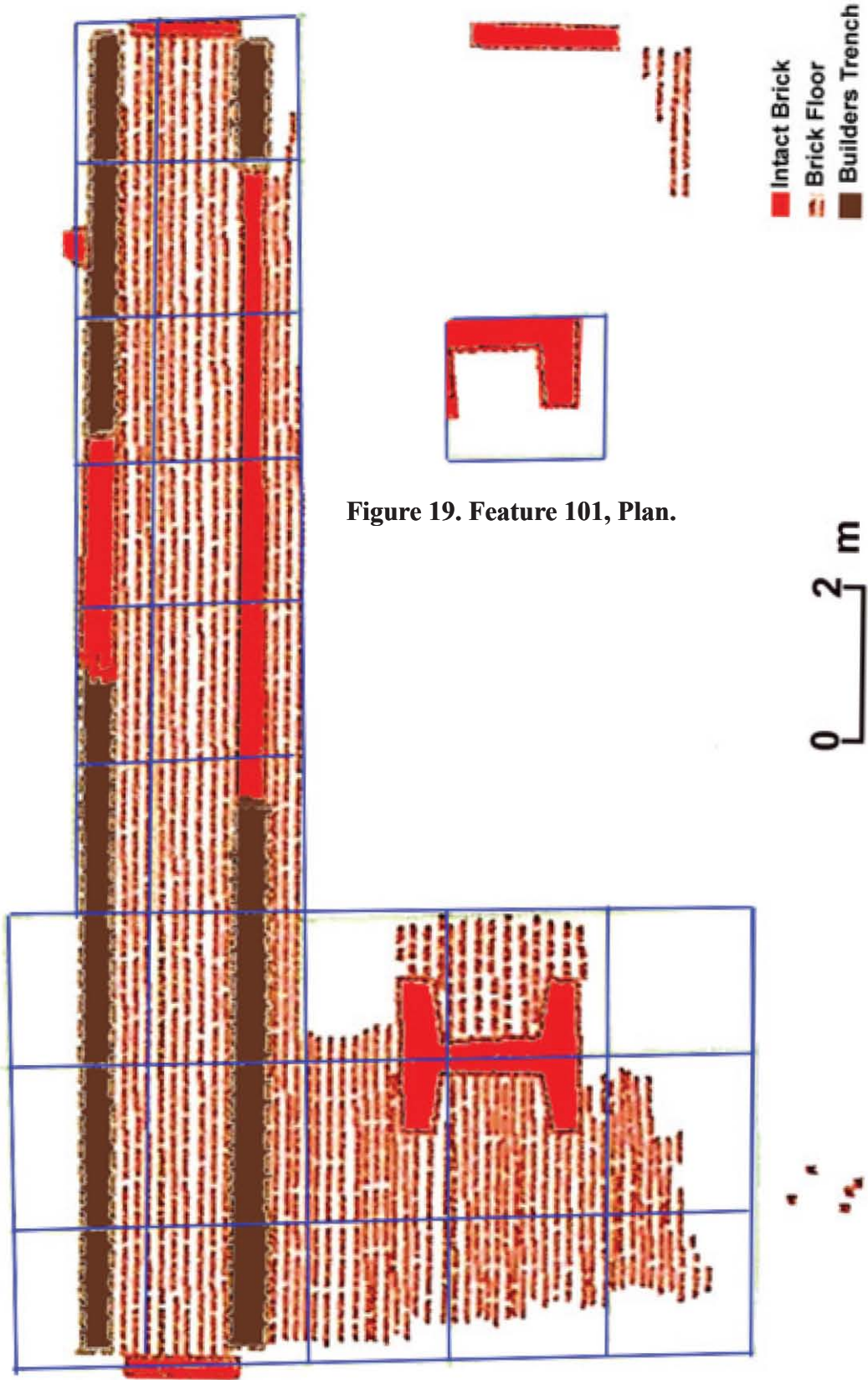


Figure 19. Feature 101, Plan.

Figure 19. Feature 101, Plan.

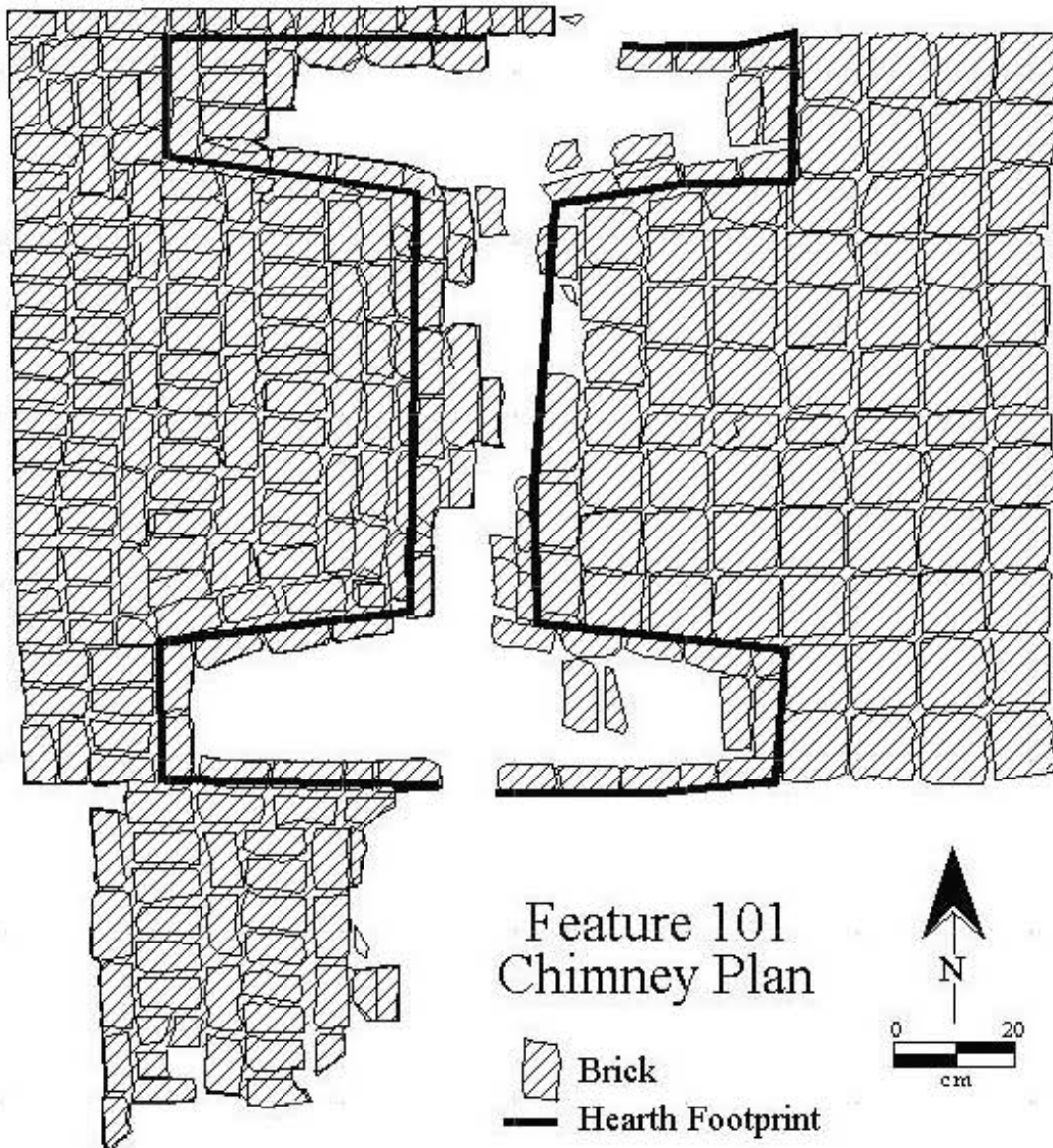
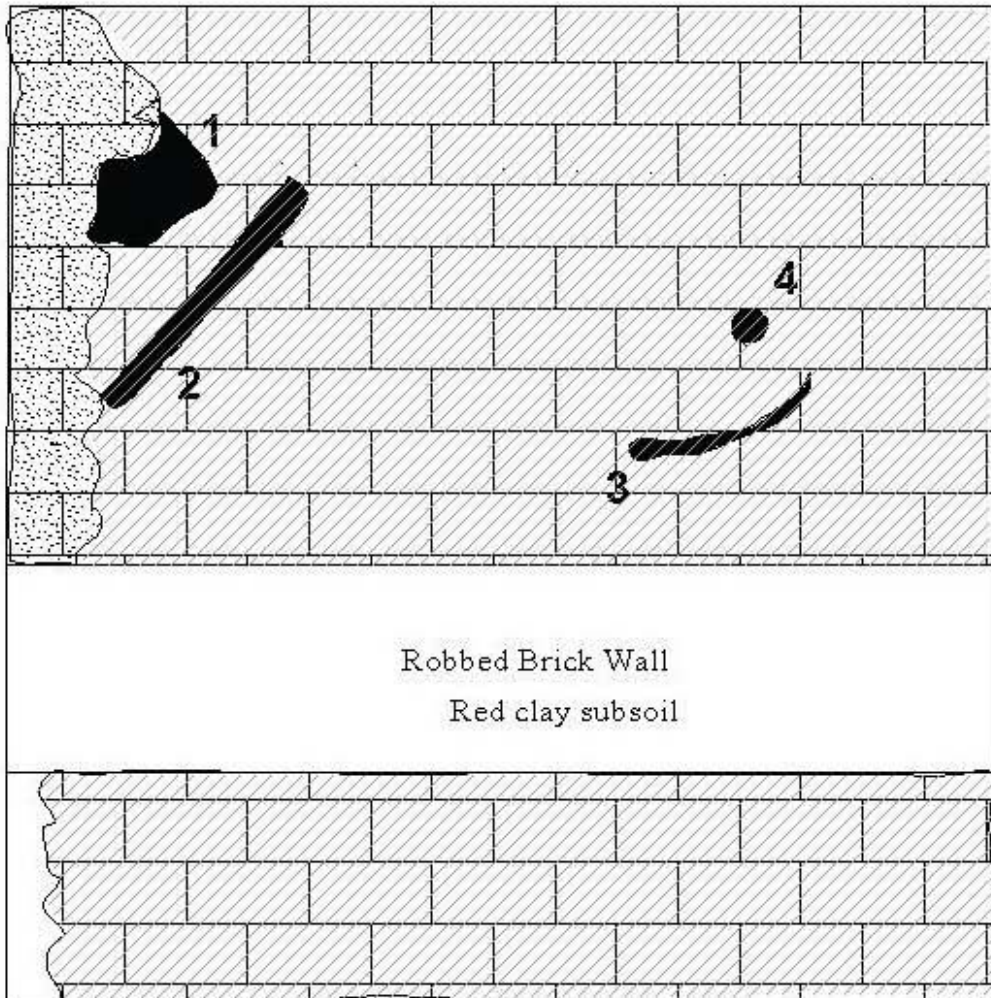
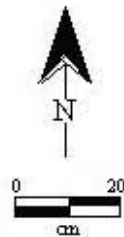


Figure 20 Feature 101, Western Chimney Plan.

Test Unit 101
Base of Level 3



- 1. Hoe
- 2. Gun barrel
- 3. Barrel hoop





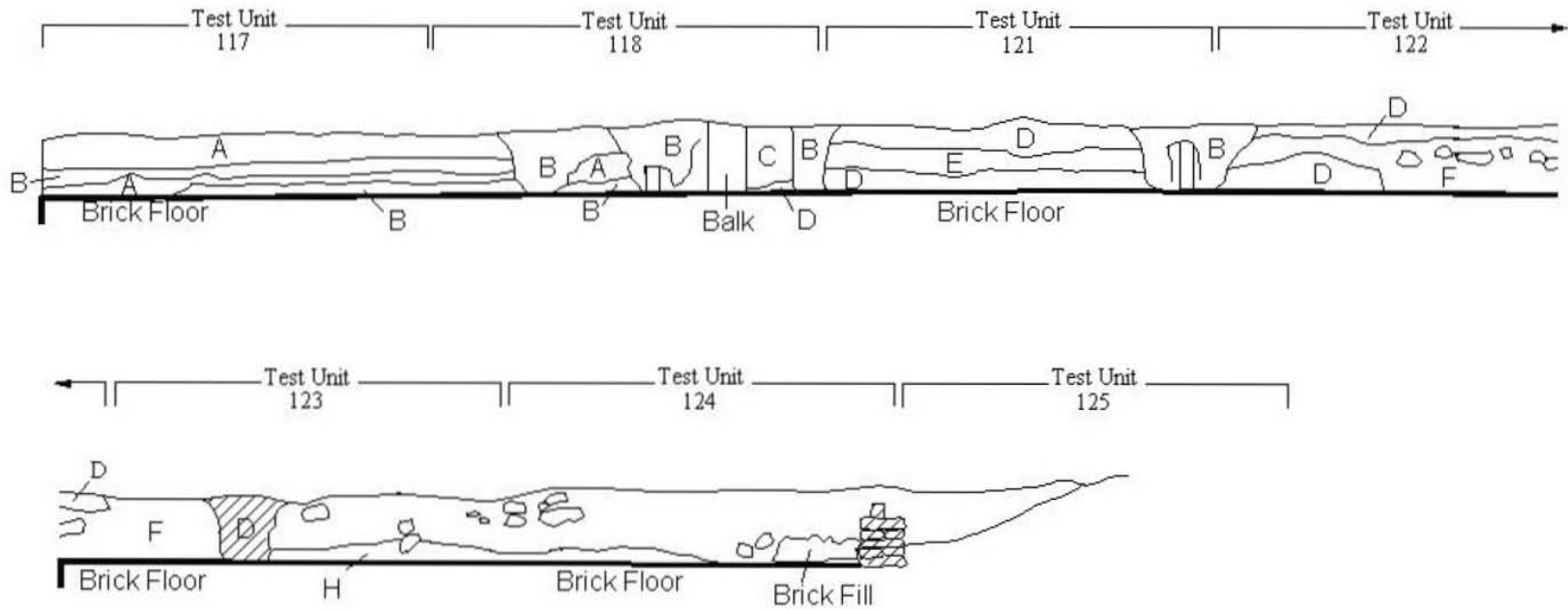
- 4. Iron
-  Brick rubble from collapsed wall
-  Brick Floor

Figure 21. Test Unit 101, Feature 101, Base of Level 3.

Feature 101 North Profile



- A. Yellowish red (5YR4/6) sandy clay loam
- B. Dark yellowish brown (10YR3/4) sandy loam
- C. Reddish yellow (5YR6/8) sandy clay
- D. Dark brown (10YR3/3) sandy loam
- E. Dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) sandy loam

- F. Dark reddish brown (2.5YR3/4) sandy loam and dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) sandy loam
- G. Mottled dark yellowish brown (10YR3/6 and 10YR4/6) sandy loam with brick rubble
- H. Same as "G" without rubble



○ Brick

⌋ Post



Brick Footing

Figure 22. Feature 101, North Profile.

southeastern parts of Feature 101 appear more eroded and disturbed by than the areas further north. Nonetheless, the remaining resources preserved in unexplored parts of Feature 101 should provide ample research material for decades to come.

Feature 101 contained numerous U.S. Army uniform buttons but only a limited variety was represented, particularly when compared with the assemblages retrieved from Features 271 and 272. A sample of 13 military buttons from Feature 101 were used to calculate a Mean Button Date (MBD) of 1815.1. This date estimate is slightly younger (4 years) than the MCD estimate.

A sample of 4,343 window glass sherds from Feature 101 yielded a Window Glass Date (WGD) of 1825.5. This date is considerably later than the ceramic and button date estimates but well within the period of Feature 101's suspected occupation.

Feature 101 was originally constructed as a military building along the south wall of the Inner Fort at Fort Hawkins. The occupation of the building continued after the Army garrison was withdrawn. This later occupation was either by squatters in the mid-1820s and/or enslaved African Americans who were part of the Woolfolk plantation. As the years went by the building went into neglect and a gradual collapse. Futile attempts to reinforce the sagging upper story was evidenced by several impromptu post supports that were placed in the building's interior. Eventually the building's basement was filled with an accumulation of debris. At some point in its history this building may have changed functions perhaps used as an animal shelter, or simply as a garbage dump. Human activity in this building ceased by the early 1840s, which may indicate the time of the building's final collapse. By the 1880s this building was gone and erased from the collective memory of Macon's budding historians.

Feature 109

Feature 109 was a building ruin that was located during the western extension of XU 1. It consisted of the remains of brick building that abutted the south wall of the Inner Fort, west of Feature 101. This feature was first discovered in November, 2005, but an overhead powerline precluded any further examination. Once this obstacle was removed in June, 2006, Feature 109 was more thoroughly examined. The northern portion of Feature 109 was destroyed by the construction of the Fort Hawkins School, but a sizeable segment of the building remains in the area that was exposed by this project in XU 1, extension. An area between Feature 101 and 109 was left unexplored, which leaves some questions about architectural and functional relationships of these two buildings. The excavations immediately west of Feature 101 demonstrated that the brickwork is not continuous between the two features. Only a small portion of Feature 109 was excavated by the present project and the potential for future excavation at Feature 109 remains.

Feature 109 measured about 8 m east-west by 4 m north-south. A soil profile of Feature 109 in Test Unit 146 is shown in Figure 23. The articulation of the edge of this brick foundation wall with South Palisade 2 indicates that Feature 109 was constructed as part of the Inner Fort. A trackhoe trench was excavated to the south of Feature 109 to assess its southern limit and to search for other cultural features. The East profile of this trench is shown in Figure 24.

Artifacts recovered from the fill of Feature 109 attest that this building continued in use (or was used as a refuse dump) after Fort Hawkins was abandoned, well into the mid-19th century. Feature 109 was sampled by Test Unit 141, which was a 2 m by 2 m unit. A small sample of artifacts were located on the surface, and with the aid of a metal detector, and these items were recorded as piece plots.

Test Unit 146 North Profile

ele
499.90 m Mechanically stripped elevation

A

A'

A. Red (2.5YR4/6) clayey sand mottled with red (2.5YR5/6) clayey sand

A'. Similar to Zone A, but near palisade

A". Red (2.5YR5/6) clayey sand with more clay than one A'

0 20

A''

cm

Figure 23. Test Unit 146, Feature 109, North Profile.

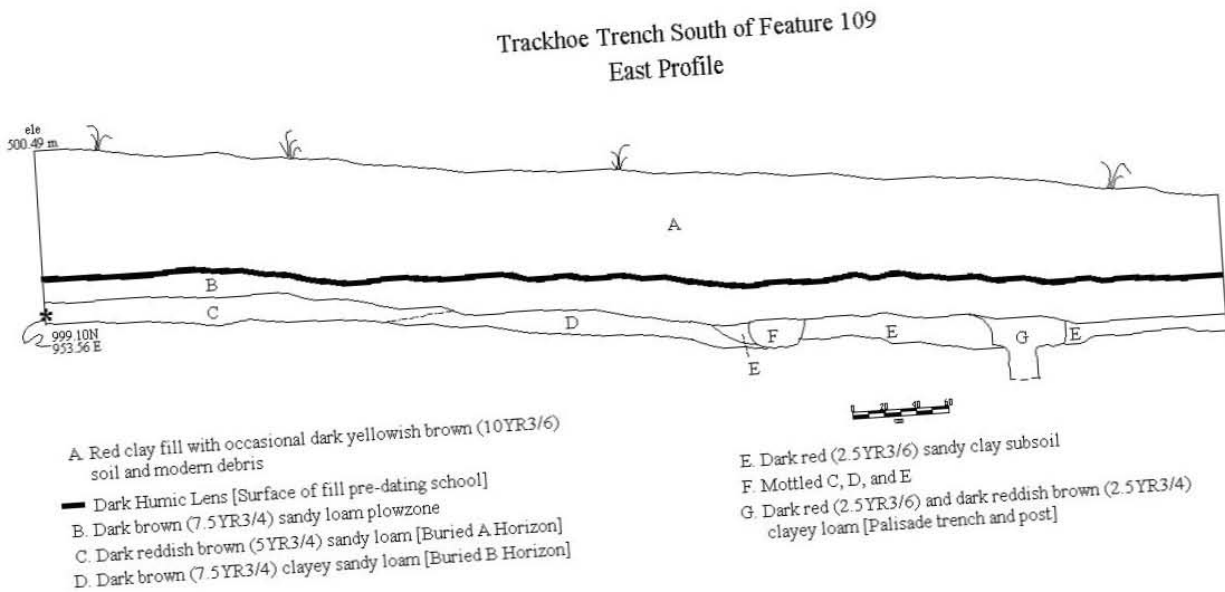


Figure 24. Trackhoe Trench, South of Feature 109, East Profile.

A total of 613 artifacts was recovered from Feature 109. More notable objects included a shovel blade (Appendix C, LN 59), which was lying inverted on the floor of the building, and a small, ornate cast iron handle, which resembles 19th century coffin hardware (Appendix C, LN 602). The discovery of the possible coffin hardware sparked an alarm for the potential for human remains in this part of Fort Hawkins. Upon careful examination of its excavated context however, the artifact was part of a jumbled mass of building rubble. No human remains, or any evidence for human burials, were indicated by the test excavations.

A sample of 118 ceramic sherds from Feature 109 provided a MCD of 1810.1. Thickness measurements from 38 window pane sherds from Feature 109 were used to calculate a Window Glass Date Estimate of 1855 for this feature. This later date may indicate that this building continued in use for several decades in the Woolfolk plantation era.

Features 259 through 262

Feature 259 was a shallow refuse pit within the southwestern side of Feature 101 in XU1 (Figures 25, 26 and 27). The relationship of this feature to the building at Feature 101 is unclear. It would seem that this refuse pit was created after the military building was deteriorating but the artifact data provides mixed signals in this interpretation. A total of 130 artifacts was recovered from Feature 259. A very small sample of 18 ceramic sherds from Feature 259 was used to calculate a MCD of 1810.1667 for this feature. A TPQ of 1813 was obtained for Feature 259, based on a military button. These tenuous statistics hints that the feature dates to the fort era. Thickness measurements from 13 window pane sherds from Feature 259 were used to calculate a Window Glass Date Estimate of 1833.847 for this feature, which may indicate that the refuse pit was created about a decade after the garrison was removed from the fort.

Features 260, 261 and 262 were shallow refuse pits within the southwestern side of Feature 101 in XU1 (Figure 28). These features were probably related to Feature 259 and may represent shallow trash disposal pits that were created after the Feature 101 building was in ruin. The eastern half of Feature 260 contained 48 artifacts, including window glass, wrought and cut nails, pearlware, alkaline glazed stoneware, clear, amber and olive green bottle glass, and an iron key. Feature 261 yielded 11 artifacts, including cut nails, window glass, pearlware, CC ware, and clear bottle glass. Feature 262 yielded one brass tack, one brass straight pin, one brass, square (hand made) nut, and one modern, impacted bullet.

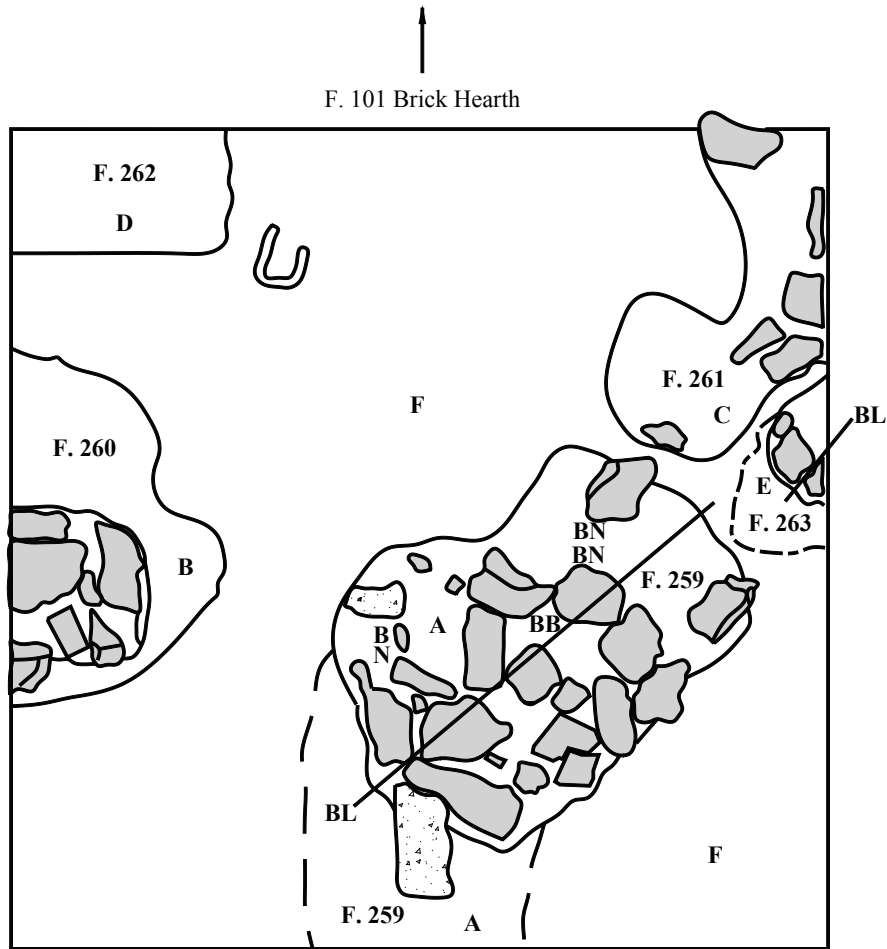
Feature 264

Feature 264 was a post and postmold that was located in the interior of Feature 101, along its northern exterior wall, in XU1. It probably dates to the later occupation of the building, when it was beginning to deteriorate. This post was likely installed to help support the upper story. A total of 139 artifacts was recovered from Feature 264. These included window glass, wrought and cut nails, buttons, various early ceramics, bottle glass, buck shot, tobacco pipe fragments, and other items. A sample of 33 ceramic sherds from Feature 264 was used to calculate a MCD of 1809 for this feature. Thickness measurements from 19 window pane sherds from Feature 264 were used to calculate a Window Glass Date Estimate of 1827.5 for this feature. A military button from Feature 264 had a TPQ of 1813.

Feature 265

Feature 265 was a post and postmold in the interior of Feature 101 in XU1. It is similar to Feature 264 and it probably dates to the later occupation of the building, when it was beginning to deteriorate. This post was likely installed to help support the upper story of Feature 101. Feature 265 yielded a total of 49

Test Unit 127
Base of Level 3



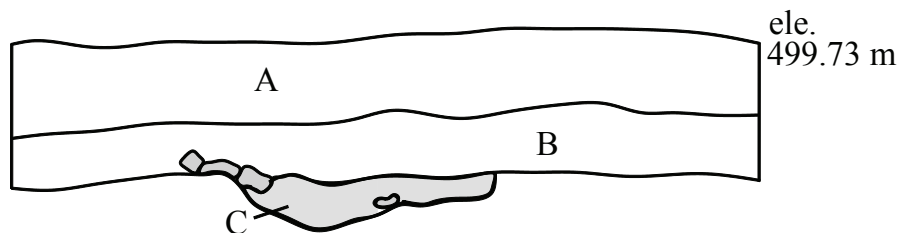
- A. Dark Brown (7.5YR3/4) sandy clay with brick bat rubble, rocks and large bones
- B. Dark Brown (7.5YR3/4) compact sandy clay with charcoal flecks
- C. Dark brown (7.5YR3/4) sandy clay with brick bat rubble
- D. Dark reddish brown (5YR3/4) dry, compacted clayey loam with charcoal and brick bats
- E. Dark brown (7.5YR3/4) sandy silty clay with brick bats
- F. Red (2.5YR4/6) clayey loam with minor charcoal flecks and historic artifacts

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| BN Bone |  Iron Object |
| BB Bottle Base |  Rock |
| BL Bisection Line |  Brick |



Figure 25 Plan of Test Unit 127 and Features 101, 259-262, Base of Level 3.

Test Unit 127 South Profile



- A. Red (2.5YR4/6) loamy clay fill with some charcoal and brick fragments
- B. Dark brown (7.5YR3/4) loamy clay with abundant charcoal and brick fragments
- C. Dark brown (7.5YR3/4) clayey loam with brick and charcoal fragments (Feature 259)

◆ Brick

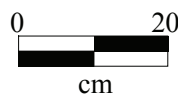
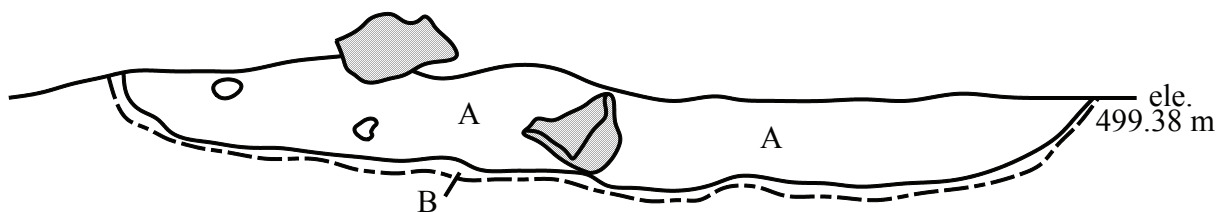


Figure 26. Test Unit 127 and Feature 259, South Profile.

Feature 259 Southeast Profile



- A. Dark Brown (7.5YR3/4) sandy loam
- B. Red (2.5YR4/1) clay loam

◆ Brick

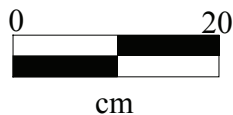


Figure 27. Test Unit 127, Features 101 and 259, South Profile.

Feature 260 West Profile

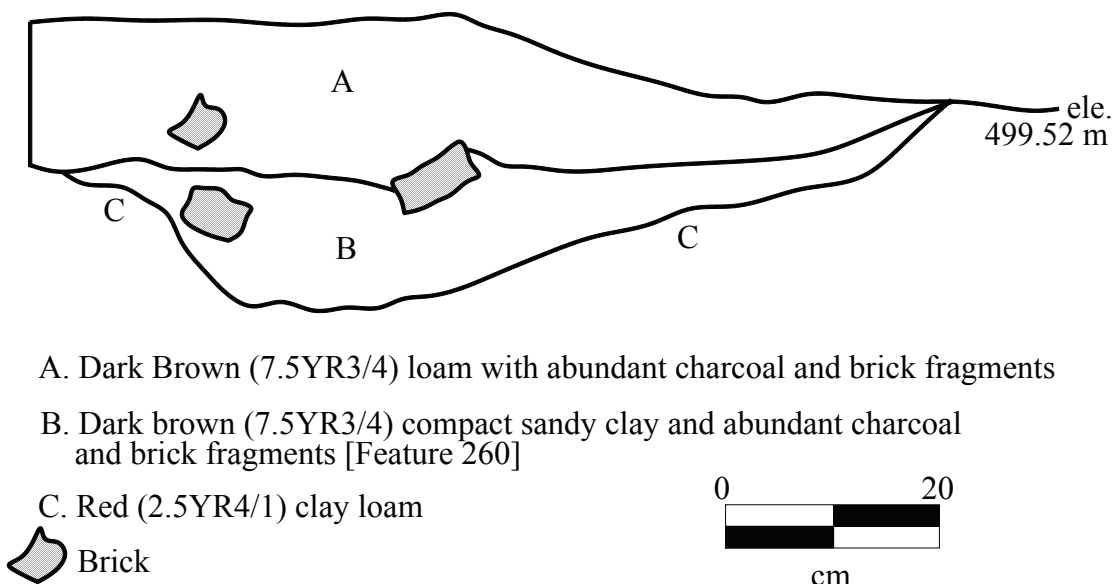


Figure 28. Feature 260, West Profile.

artifacts, including window glass, square nails, various early ceramics, bottle glass, a tumbler glass rim, bone, wood, and brick fragments. A very small sample of 15 ceramic sherds from Feature 265 was used to calculate a MCD of 1806.1 for this feature. Thickness measurements from 15 window pane sherds from Feature 265 were used to calculate a Window Glass Date Estimate of 1834.5 for this feature. Late polychrome hand painted wares from Feature 265 suggest that it was created after 1830.

Feature 266

Feature 266 was a post and postmold in the interior of Feature 101 in XU1. It is similar to Features 264 and 265 probably dates to the later occupation of the building, when it was beginning to deteriorate. This post was likely installed to help support the upper story of Feature 101. Feature 266 yielded 62 artifacts, including window glass, nails, buttons, straight pin, various early ceramics, bottle glass,

tableware glass, a slate pencil, an impacted lead ball, a lead disc (possibly a gaming piece), a brass wire (possible) finger ring, a metal file, white clay, and bone. A very small sample of 17 ceramic sherds from Feature 266 was used to calculate a MCD of 1815.1 for this feature. Thickness measurements from 14 window pane sherds from Feature 266 were used to calculate a Window Glass Date Estimate of 1825.8 for this feature. A military button from Feature 266 had a TPQ of 1813.

Feature 267

Feature 267 was a post and postmold located in Test Unit 130. The feature contained 37 artifacts, including cut nails, various early ceramic sherds, bottle glass, an iron finger ring, a flattened lead ball, a large iron buckle, bone and wood. A sample of 65 ceramic sherds from Feature 267 was used to calculate a MCD of 1804.5 for this feature. This ceramic sample yielded a TPQ of 1800.

Feature 270

Feature 270 was an L-shaped trench outside of the west palisade walls of Fort Hawkins. This feature was first discovered in 1971 by Carillo (1971:30) in his Excavation Units 22 and 40. Carillo interpreted it as possibly, “the east wall of an exterior structure” that would have been located west of the Fort Hawkins stockade. Carillo reported finding window glass, bottle glass, nails, and bone from his backhoe trenches excavated in this vicinity (Carillo 1971:29-30). The LAMAR Institute team started their investigation of the northwestern side of Fort Hawkins by relocating Carillo’s previous excavations, which was done by intersecting Carillo’s feature with an east-west trackhoe cut. Once the feature was relocated we attempted to follow it to the south. Carillo’s Unit 22 also was relocated and slightly further to the south the feature made a 90 degree turn to the east. During the investigations in this part of the site some inaccuracies in Carillo’s site map were discovered.

The exploration of Feature 270 unearthed an interesting assemblage of artifacts from the Fort Hawkins occupation, including 1,253 artifacts. Although its original purpose remains an enigma, this trench was used as a refuse pit for trash from the fort.

Artifacts from Feature 270 included brick, window glass, wrought and cut nails, a spike, buttons, brass tacks, a variety of early ceramics, bottle glass, tableware glass, flatware, coal, clinkers, pocket knife, a lead patch, a chewed lead ball, a clay marble, a tobacco pipe fragment, lead, pewter and iron pieces, aboriginal artifacts, and other items.

A sample of 271 ceramic sherds from Feature 270 was used to calculate a MCD of 1803.5 for this feature. A TPQ of 1840 was indicated by three sherds from the eastern portion of the feature, although this part of the feature was highly disturbed by late 19th or 20th century

activity. Two military buttons from Feature 270 gave a TPQ of 1808.

Most of Feature 270 was excavated as shown in Figures 29 and 30. One narrow section of Feature 270, north of the XU7 remains unexcavated. It is an area approximately two meters wide. Feature 270 continued to the north off the Woolfolk Street bank. This was demonstrated by Carillo’s excavations and confirmed by the present study.

Feature 271

Feature 271 is a large building ruin on the western side of Fort Hawkins, consisting of a cellar and foundation brickwork. The feature measures approximately 10 m north-south by 6 m east-west. The feature was first discovered in November, 2005 in XU2. A rich, organic midden deposit that was dense with Fort Hawkins era artifacts was located in the area immediately east of the Fort Hawkins School entryway. The feature in this vicinity was covered with more than a meter of building debris, rubble and soil from the demolition of the school building. Beneath that was located a series of rectangular concrete footings that supported interior parts of the school. The base of these concrete footings rested directly on the Feature 271 midden.

When this deposit was first discovered in November, it was sampled by a hand-excavated test unit, designated Test Unit 112. The boundary between Feature 271 and Feature 272 was located within XU2, although it was obscured by a wide utility ditch and pipe that ran east-west through XU2. The area south of Feature 271 that was later designated Feature 272 was sampled separately as Test Unit 111. Figures 31 through 36 show various views, plans and profiles of Features 271 and 272.

The crew returned to Feature 271 in June, 2006 and exposed the north-south section of the feature. The southeastern corner of the feature was located beneath a massive concrete



North View.



South View.

Figure 29. Feature 270, Excavated.

entryway from the Fort Hawkins School. The area beneath the entryway was not explored.

Although most of the upper zones of Feature 271 were obliterated by Fort Hawkins School construction, a wealth of archaeological data remained in the lowest portions of the feature. The artifacts and food debris in Feature 271 represent an enormous boost to our knowledge of the history of the fort. The excavated sample of Feature 271, including material from Test Unit 112, consisted of 4,176 artifacts, or nearly one-quarter of the entire Fort Hawkins assemblage. This collection includes: 243 pieces of window glass, 1,280 nails, 4 other architectural hardware items (including one iron door handle), 219 clothing artifacts, 7 furniture

Feature 270
North Profile

ele
500.89 m

A

B

C

- A. Dark reddish brown (5YR3/3) sandy clay loam
 - B. Yellowish red (5YR4/6) clay
 - C. Dark reddish brown (2.5YR3/4) clay loam
- 0 20
cm

Figure 30. Feature 270, North Profile.



Figure 31. North Profile, Feature 271.



Figure 32. South Profile, Feature 272.

artifacts, 1,656 kitchen artifacts, 15 personal artifacts, 151 arms-related artifacts, 21 tobacco pipe fragments, 562 activities artifacts, and a variety of other miscellaneous items.

A sample of 619 ceramic sherds from Feature 271, excluding artifacts from Test Unit 112, was used to calculate a MCD of 1805.6 for this feature. When the Test Unit 112 ceramics were included, which brought the total of dateable sherds to 807, the MCD was essentially unchanged—1805.6. The overwhelming majority of the ceramics from Feature 271 and Test Unit 112 had TPQ dates of 1809 or earlier. Four sherds had TPQs of 1840. These data corroborate that Feature 271 was in use early in Fort Hawkins' history. The military button assemblage from Feature 271 was used to calculate a MBD of 1813.5, based on 47 dateable buttons. The button assemblage in Feature 271 had a TPQ of 1815.

Feature 271 represents a large Army barracks building that was occupied by enlisted men and some ranking officers. Units who were housed in this building may have included the 2nd, 4th, and 9th Infantry Regiments, 1st and 2nd Regiments of Artillerists, 1st and 2nd Artillery Regiments, and the Regiment of Rifles. One member of the Chatham Artillery, a Georgia militia regiment, may have been in the building, or this button could have been an heirloom piece owned by one of the U.S. Army soldiers. These assignments are based on recovered diagnostic uniform buttons. The Feature 271 building is aligned with the Inner Fort but the abundance of early artifacts may indicate that it was one of the earliest buildings constructed at Fort Hawkins. It was certainly built and occupied several years before the War of 1812. The basement of this building was used as a refuse dump for all types of trash generated by the fort's occupants. This building may have experienced a long life in Fort Hawkins but the upper zones of the building ruin were removed by the Fort Hawkins School construction and we are left with only the lowest of the archaeological deposits intact (Figures 33 and

34). A substantial percentage of this building basement, northeast of the excavated areas, remains unexplored by archaeologists. Future study of that portion of Feature 271 is highly recommended as it should prove fruitful in furthering our understanding of the regular soldiers who inhabited Fort Hawkins.

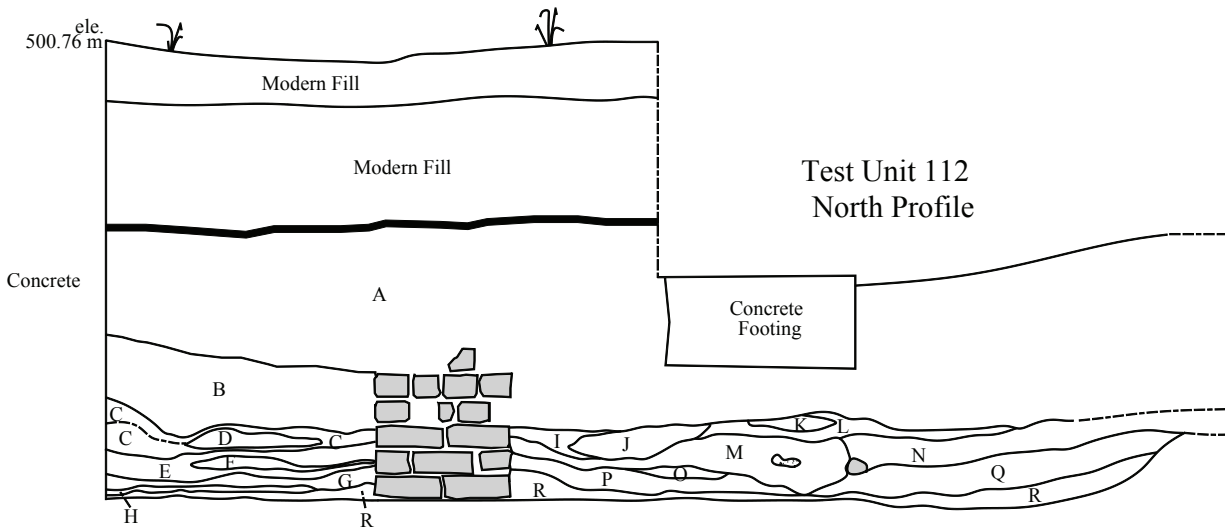
Feature 272

Feature 272 was a large earthen cellar that was located immediately south of Feature 271 along the interior wall of the Inner Fort. This feature was first discovered in November, 2005 in XU2. It was sampled in that excavation by a hand excavated area designated Test Unit 111.

The crew returned to this area and the southern part of this feature was uncovered. A narrow balk, separating XU2 and XU9 was left in place. The exposed portions of Feature 272 were hand excavated as Test Unit 140. The southern end of Feature 272 had been thoroughly churned by looters. The northern part remained intact, however, and an excellent sample of the cellar was recovered. Only the very base of the cellar fill was preserved, the upper part having been removed by the Fort Hawkins School construction. The western side of Feature 272 was inaccessible because of the presence of the massive cement footer for the school, which followed the school's western exterior wall.

Feature 272, including Test Unit 111, contained a total of 2,689 artifacts. These include: 192 window glass, 510 nails, 140 clothing artifacts, 15 furniture artifacts, 1,436 kitchen artifacts, 12 personal artifacts, 89 arms-related artifacts, 28 tobacco pipe fragments, 263 activities artifacts, a variety of other miscellaneous items.

A sample of 263 ceramic sherds from Feature 272 (from Test Unit 140 and adjacent areas) was used to calculate a MCD of 1807.7 for this feature. A sample of 517 sherds from Test Unit 111, many of which are also from Feature 272 but may include some artifacts from Feature 271, yielded a MCD of 1808.1. A sample of



- A. Reddish brown (5YR4/4) sandy clay with abundant brick fragments and some charcoal
 - B. Dark red (2.5R3/6) clay mixed with reddish brown (2.5YR4/4) sandy clay [Level 1 in Balk Unit]
 - C. Microbands of brown (7.5YR4/4) silty sandy clay with charcoal and brick fragments
 - D. Dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) ashy clay with charcoal and brick fragments
 - E. Brown (7.5YR4/3) ashy sand with charcoal
 - F. Dark brown (7.5YR3/4) slightly ashy sandy loam with a charcoal lens
 - G. Yellowish red (5YR5/6) coarse sand and reddish brown (5YR4/4) sand
 - H. Reddish brown (5YR4/3) sand with minor charcoal flecks
 - I. Reddish brown (5YR4/4) sandy clay to ashy sandy clay on east with charcoal flecks
 - J. Brown (7.5YR4/4) ashy sand with charcoal
 - K. Dark reddish brown (5YR3/3) clayey loam with charcoal
 - L. Dark reddish brown (5YR3/3) clayey loam
 - M. Yellowish red (5YR5/8) coarse sand
 - N. Reddish brown (2.5YR4/4) sandy clay with minor charcoal
 - O. Reddish brown (5YR4/3) slightly clayey sand
 - P. Reddish brown (2.5YR4/4) sandy clay with charcoal and brick fragments
 - Q. Dark reddish brown (2.5YR3/4) sandy clay with charcoal
 - R. Dark reddish brown (2.5YR3/4) slightly sandy clay
- Red clay band

Figure 33. Test Unit 112, Feature 271, North Profile.

Thickness measurements from 19 window pane sherds from Feature 272 were used to calculate a Window Glass Date Estimate of 1813.3 for this feature. These ceramic and window glass data indicate that this building was in use very early in Fort Hawkins' history, although it may have been constructed slightly later than the building directly to the north (Feature 271). Feature 272 yielded fewer dateable military buttons than Feature 271 and no MBD estimates were attempted for Feature 271. The Feature 272 buttons yielded a TPQ of 1813, which was

two years earlier than that obtained for Feature 271.

Most of the fort-era building that was sampled as Feature 272 was likely destroyed by looters. A number of artifacts in the Meeks collection probably came from this general vicinity (see examples in the Meeks Collection, Appendix D). During the 2006 excavations, the LAMAR Institute excavation team was able to distinguish the looted parts from the undisturbed cellar fill with some degree of reliability. Some intact areas were identified and were sampled as Test

Unit 140. The looters may have overlooked some other parts of the building, or were unable to access these areas, so the eastern portion of the building is certainly worthy of additional archaeological exploration. Interestingly, the excavated sample of artifacts that were clearly from looter's spoil, included 46 diagnostic ceramics that were used to calculate a MCD of 1809.9. Although the context of this material was clearly disturbed, it still yielded a date estimate that was in general agreement with other datasets in Feature 271. When dateable sherds from all contexts of Feature 271 were combined (N=781 sherds), a MCD of 1807.9 was obtained.

Feature 271 South Profile

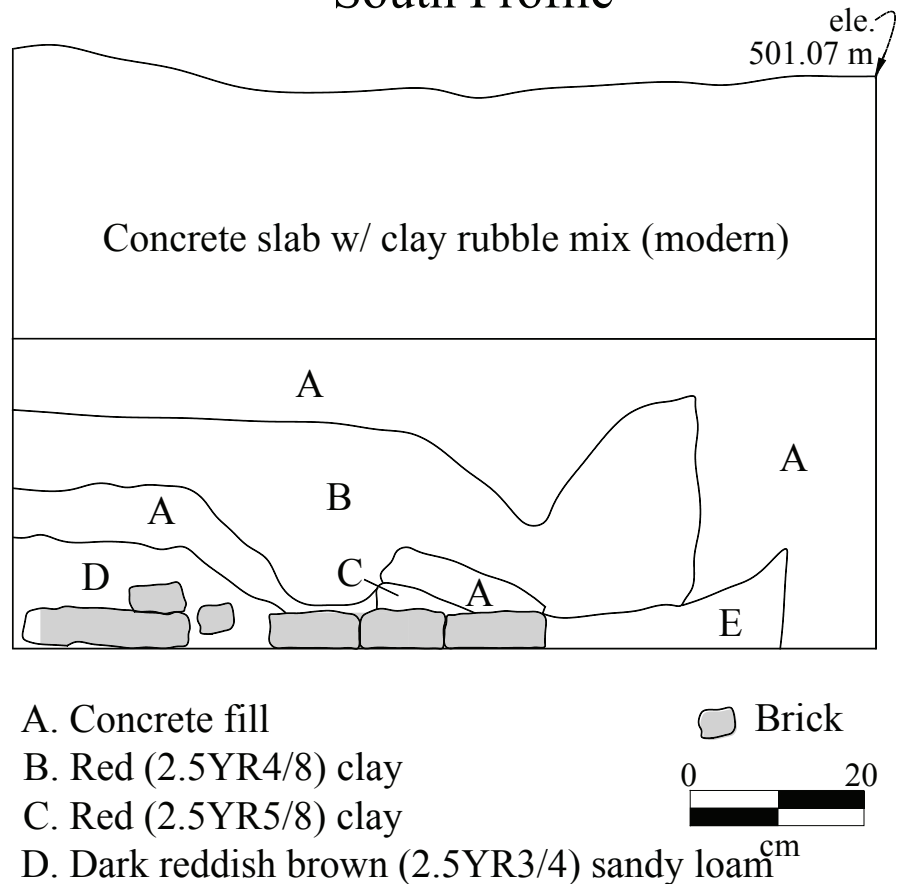


Figure 34. Feature 271, South Profile.

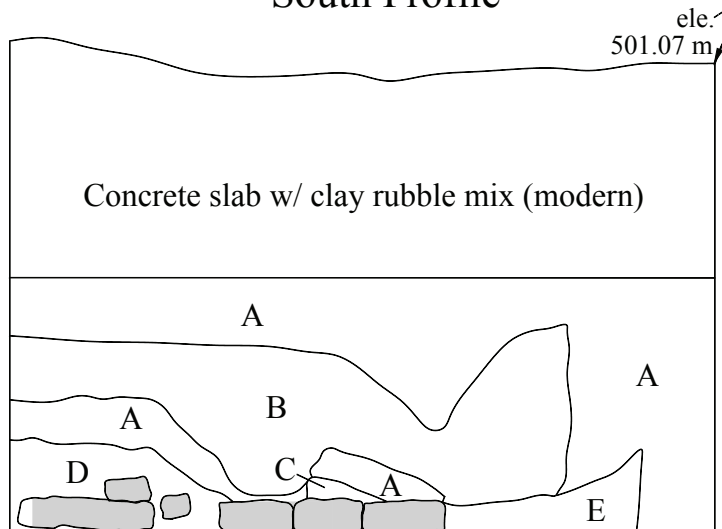
The full dimensions of Feature 272 were not determined. Its western edge is obscured by the Fort Hawkins School foundation. Its eastern extent is unclear and the building probably continues into unexplored areas. The feature connections with Feature 271 on its northern edge. The southern edge is largely obliterated by past looter activity. Despite these weaknesses in our understanding of the building's horizontal extent, some observations about the building can be made from the present data. It was a substantial building, measuring at least 4 meters north-south by 6 meters east-west, with a hard packed earthen floor and mostly wooden construction. Some bricks may have been used in its construction for foundations but these were disturbed from their original context—having been robbed by brick salvors or churned by looters. No evidence of a

chimney was discerned but such evidence may exist in unexplored parts of the building ruin. The building had a series of glass windows. Other than nails, few pieces of iron hardware were used in the building's construction.

Army units who were housed in this building (Feature 272) may have included the 1st Regiment of Artillerists, 2nd and 3rd Artillery Regiments, the Regiment of Rifles, and other unspecified infantry regiments (probably the 2nd Infantry). This assignment is based on recovered diagnostic uniform buttons from the feature.

Feature 292 was a round postmold and square post hole that intruded into Feature 307. It contained brick rubble, burned window glass, cut nails, ceramic sherds, and iron objects. A

Feature 271 South Profile





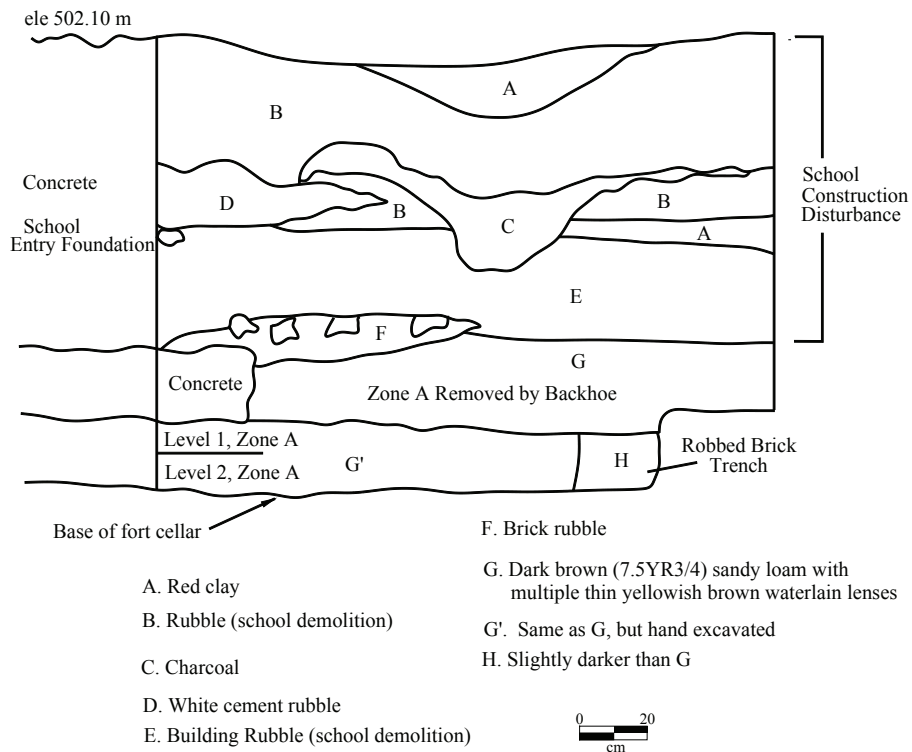
- A. Concrete fill
 - B. Red (2.5YR4/8) clay
 - C. Red (2.5YR5/8) clay
 - D. Dark reddish brown (2.5YR3/4) sandy loam
-  Brick
 0 20
 cm

Figure 35. Plan of Test Unit 140, Feature 272.

Feature 272 North Profile




- A. Red clay
 - B. Rubble (school demolition)
 - C. Charcoal
 - D. White cement rubble
 - E. Building Rubble (school demolition)
 - F. Brick rubble
 - G. Dark brown (7.5YR3/4) sandy loam with multiple thin yellowish brown waterlain lenses
 - G'. Same as G, but hand excavated
 - H. Slightly darker than G
-  0 20
 cm

Figure 36. Feature 272, North Profile.

small sample of eight pottery sherds from this feature yielded a MCD of 1802.3. The feature gave a TPQ of 1810, based on the presence of alkaline glazed stoneware.

Feature 307

Feature 307 was contained within Feature 109 and was sampled by Test Unit 141 in the western extension of XU1 (Figure 37). It was a small refuse pit. Eighty-six artifacts were recovered from Feature 307 and these included: wrought and cut nails, a variety of early ceramics and bottle glass, an iron hook, a brass spring, a peach pit, and animal bone. A very small sample of 19 ceramic sherds from Feature 307 was used to calculate a MCD of 1802.5 for this feature. The ceramics had a TPQ of 1800. It is one of the earliest dated features at Fort Hawkins, although the small sample size is not statistically valid.

Feature 313

Feature 313 was part of an early fort-era building ruin located in XU13 (Figures 38 and 39). It was discovered in November, 2006 and sampled by four 2 m by 1 m test units (TU 142, 143, 146, and 147), which covered 4 m north-south by 2 m east-west area. The building ruin's layout is not completely understood because it was intruded by the western concrete footer for the Fort Hawkins School. It also was intruded on its eastern margin by the West Palisade 2, which indicates that Feature 313 predates the construction of the Inner Fort. It is the only Fort Hawkins-era building that has been located that indisputably predates the Inner Fort. Consequently, Feature 313 is considered to be a building that was associated with the Outer Fort and the earliest U.S. Army occupation (ca. 1806-1810).

Test Unit 141 East Profile

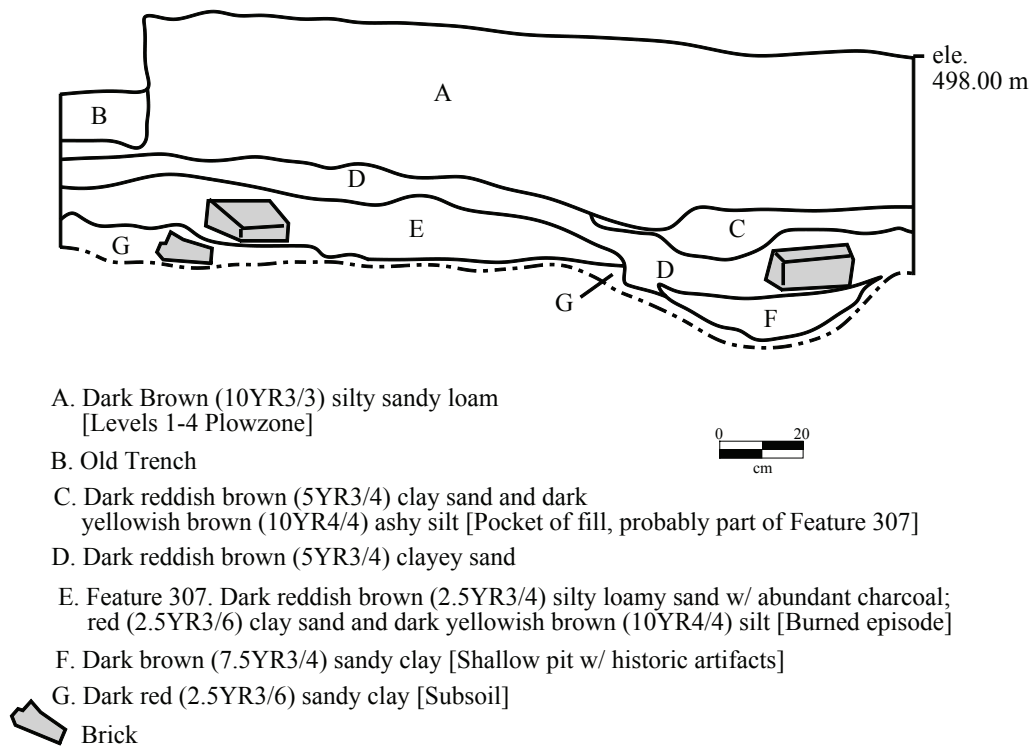


Figure 37. Test Unit 141, Feature 307, East Profile.

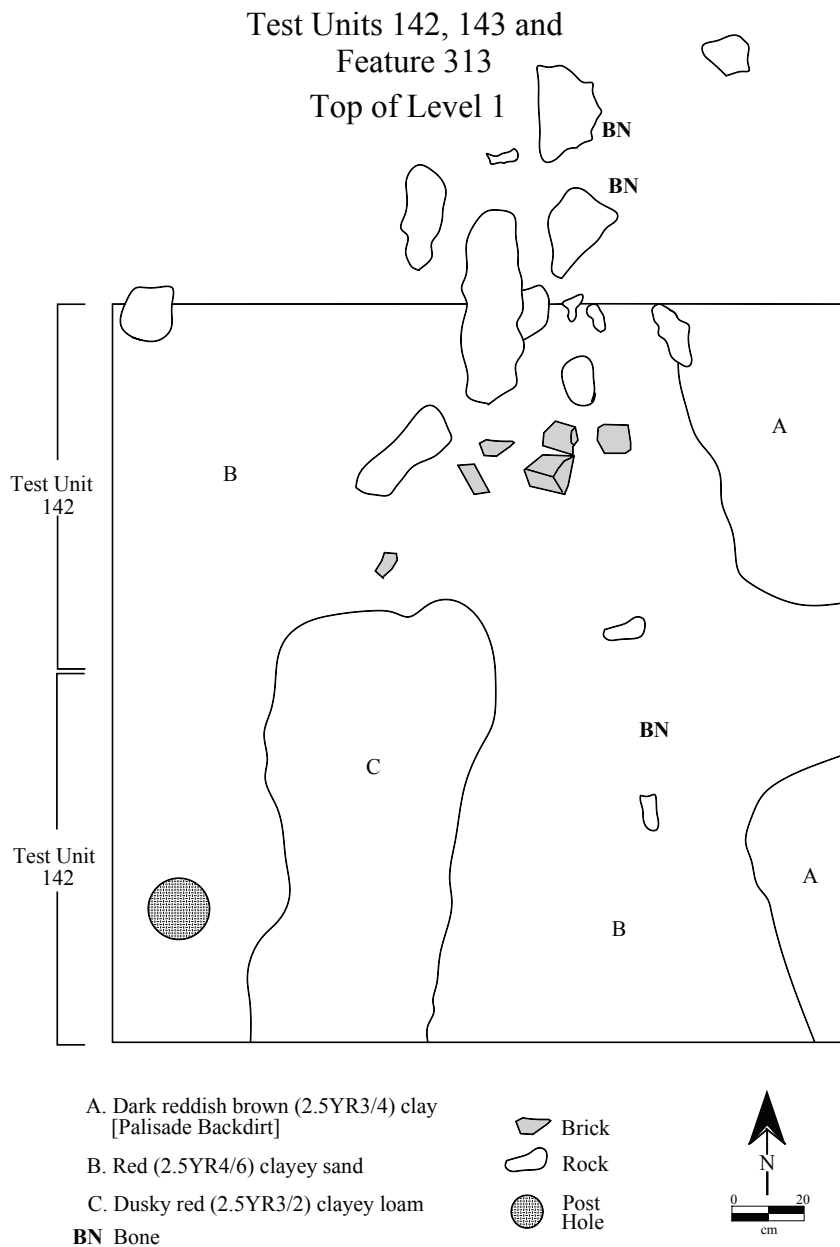


Figure 38. Plan of Test Units 142, 143 and Feature 313, Top of Level 1.

Feature 313 contained 2,716 artifacts. These included brick, window glass, wrought and cut nails, spikes, 53 clothing artifacts, 7 furniture artifacts, a wide assortment of early ceramic sherds and bottle glass, tableware glass, flatware, cast iron cookware, 6 personal items, 78 arms-related artifacts, 6 tobacco pipe fragments, animal bone, and a wide variety of activity group artifacts.

A sample of 897 ceramic sherds from Feature 313 was used to calculate a MCD of 1804 for

this feature. One sherd in this pottery assemblage had a TPQ of 1840, but it was recovered from the top level of the feature and it may represent contamination from a later period of site occupation. Thickness measurements from 84 window pane sherds from Feature 313 were used to calculate a Window Glass Date Estimate of 1830.6 for this feature. A sample of 11 dateable military buttons from Feature 313 yielded a MBD of 1814.9.

Feature 313 yielded a diversity of early military artifacts. These include items associated with the earliest occupation of the fort. Some portions of this building ruin may remain beneath the concrete footers and other unexcavated areas west of the sampled portion.

Uniform buttons from Feature 313 indicate that this building was occupied by riflemen in

the Regiment of Rifles, artillerymen in the 1st Regiment of Artillerists, and by unspecified infantrymen (probably 2nd Infantry Regiment and possibly others).

The argument that Feature 313 may represent an activity area that was directly outside of the Inner Fort can be easily countered by considering the intrusive relationship of the palisade ditch and posts in West Palisade 2. That palisade line completely cross-cuts Feature 313 indicating that West Palisade 2 is a

more recent construction. This building (Feature 313) may have originally connected on its western side to West Palisade 1, or the west wall of the Outer Fort Hawkins. The relationship between the two areas (Feature 313) and West Palisade 1 was not fully explored. The palisade wall in the general vicinity of Feature 313 contained a number of rocks and artifacts that were suggestive of a concentration of activity. These rocks may have been foundation stones supporting a predominately log building. Feature 313 was possibly a depressed area (or cellar) beneath that building where artifacts accumulated. Future investigation of the palisade sections in this vicinity may provide clues as to the activities, architecture, and function of this part of the Outer Fort.

Test Units 142 & 143 Base of Level 2

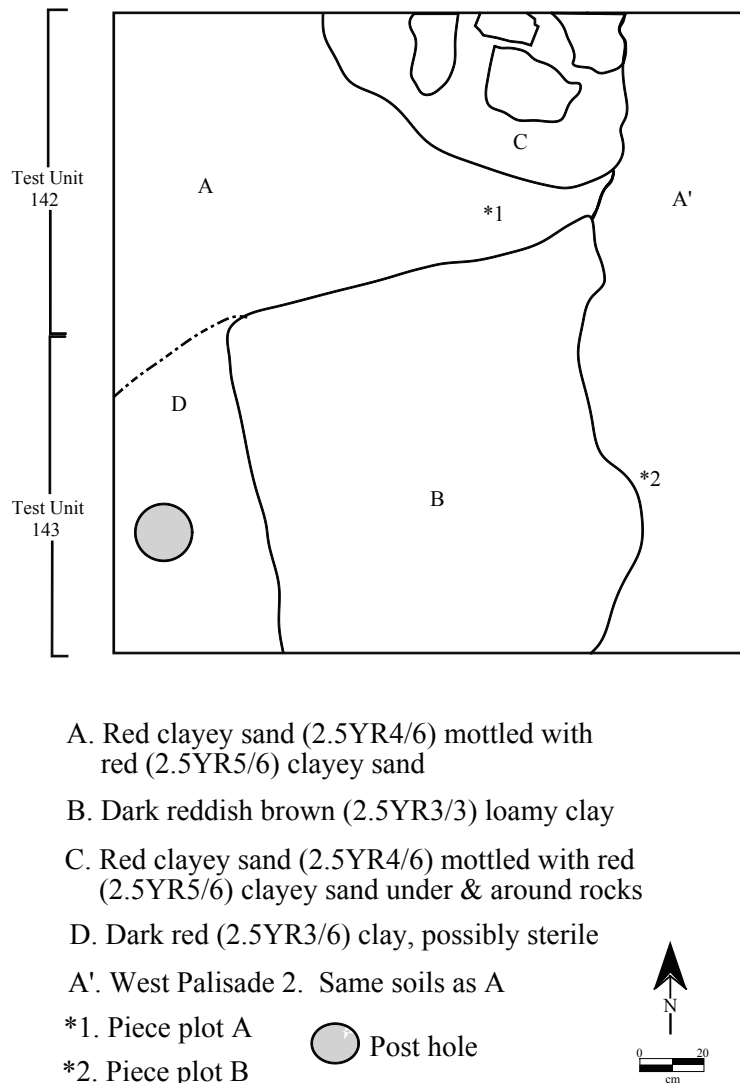


Figure 39. Plan of Test Units 142 and 143 and Feature 313, Base of Level 2.

Feature 314

Feature 314 was a building's dripline along the western Inner Fort wall of Fort Hawkins in XU 14. This dripline was created by rainwater running off of the roof of a large building. It is most likely the same building that contained Feature 316. The two areas were separated by a large cement footer for the Fort Hawkins School.

Feature 314 contained 128 artifacts, which included a brick paver with an "0" incised in

it, window glass, wrought and cut nails, an iron spike, 2 clothing artifacts (including one Script "I" generic U.S. Infantry button, early ceramics and bottle glass, tableware glass, a bone lice comb, 2 tobacco pipe stems, bone, white clay and four iron objects. A very small sample of 11 ceramic sherds from Feature 314 produced a MCD of 1808.7. These ceramics had a TPQ of 1813 based on the presence of blue tinted ironstone.

Feature 316

Feature 316 was a large building cellar that was located in XU 15. Feature 316 is associated with the Inner Fort but it was nearly completely disturbed by looters. The western side of this cellar was partly obscured by the cement footing of the Fort Hawkins school. On the southeastern side of the feature a very small section of intact brickwork was located and 2 meter by 1 meter test unit was placed its investigate the potential for intact deposits. The area east and north of this brickwork appeared to be completely disturbed by looting. This small hand excavated sample yielded numerous artifacts.

A sample of 64 ceramic sherds from Feature 316 was used to calculate a MCD of 1805.3 for this feature. Thickness measurements from 10 window pane sherds from Feature 316 were used to calculate a Window Glass Date Estimate of 1844.1 for this feature.

Feature 316 is possibly the source of many of the relics that were dug up by Tony Meeks and others in the years prior to the present study. Unfortunately their lack of proper archaeological techniques and lack of recordation severely limits the proof of their relics' context.

The brickwork was interpreted as a remnant of a chimney hearth, rather than a building wall. It measured approximately 170 cm north-south by 70 cm east-west. One numbered brick paver, with an incised "20", was recovered from this vicinity. The small section of intact brickwork in Feature 316 indicates that this building was oriented parallel to the orientation of West Palisade 2 (Figure 40). The MCD estimate from Feature 316 suggests that this building was occupied very early in the life of Fort Hawkins.

Determining the full extent of the building that Feature 316 was part of is a challenge. Disturbances by looters and the construction

of Fort Hawkins School are major obstacles in this interpretation. The chimney, represented by Feature 316 was located in the packed earthen floor of a large building. That building was of mostly wood construction.

Feature 317

Feature 317 is a large brick building foundation that intrudes (or obscures) West Palisade 1. This brick building is probably associated with the

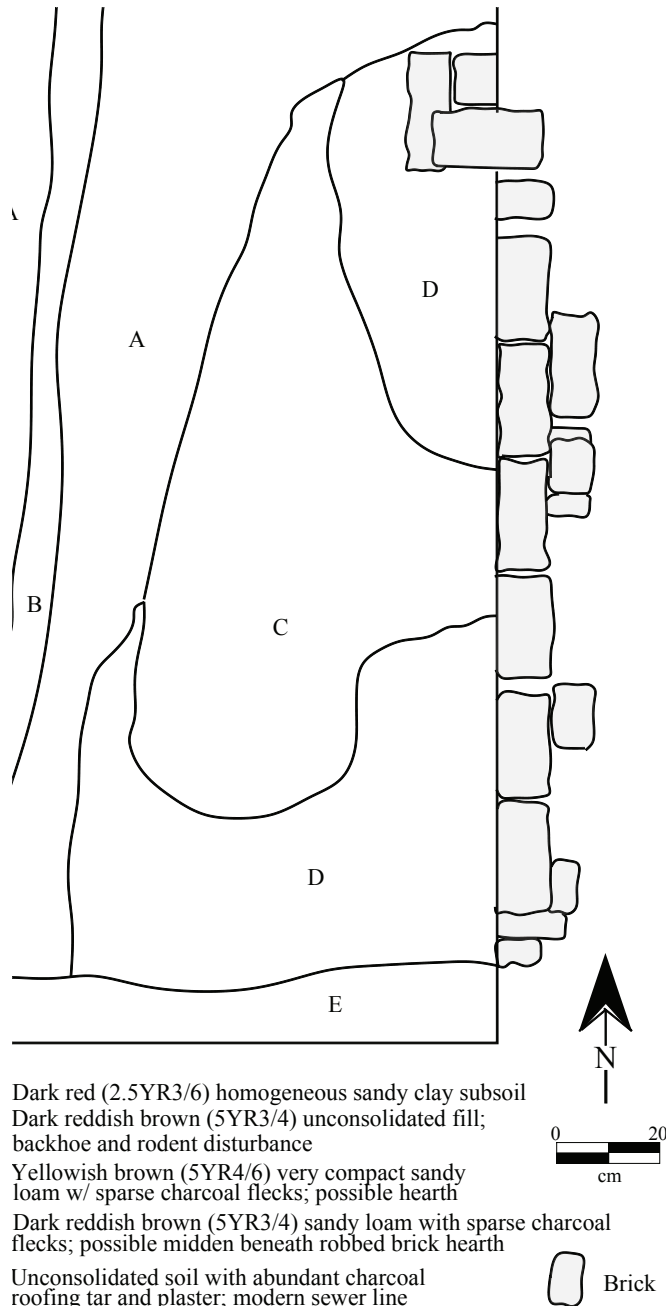


Figure 40. Test Unit 144, Feature 316, Plan.

Woolfolk plantation. A very small sample of six ceramic sherds from Feature 317 was used to calculate a MCD of 1831.667 for this feature. Thickness measurements from 37 window pane sherds from Feature 317 were used to calculate a Window Glass Date Estimate of 1883.189 for this feature. Both of these date estimates are well after the fort era and they support the Woolfolk-era age determination.

This large brick foundation was mapped in plan and a small surface collection of artifacts was gathered during stripping. It was left otherwise undisturbed. It should be noted that the handmade bricks in Feature 317 had a noticeably different color appearance from the handmade bricks in the various fort-era buildings. Both are early to mid 19th century bricks. The Woolfolk bricks were more yellowish-orange in appearance, whereas the fort-era bricks were a duller red-brown. These differences may reflect different clay sources and kiln firing techniques. Intact portions of this building likely remain beneath the exposed layer and in the areas adjacent to XU 13. Also, intact portions of West Palisade 1 may also be preserved beneath it. It is certainly a feature worthy of additional study.

Features 324, 324a and 325

Feature 324 was a building's dripline (possibly Feature 316) that was adjacent to the concrete footer of the Fort Hawkins School. The feature was oriented parallel to Feature 325, which was a builder's trench. Feature 324 measured 4.8 meters north-south by 40 cm east-west. Soil in the dripline was yellow brown coarse sand and dark gray brown sandy loam. Feature 324 yielded bottle glass, nails and a pipe stem. Feature 324a yielded 16 artifacts, including a cut nail, early pearlware ceramics and bone. A sample of 15 ceramic sherds from Feature 324a was used to calculate a MCD of 1809.7 for this feature. This roof dripline was associated with a building that flanked West Palisade 2 of the Inner Fort.

Feature 325 was a builder's trench measured 2 m north-south by 35 cm east-west. This feature was parallel to Feature 324 and the cement footer of the Fort Hawkins School. The feature fill consisted of dark gray brown sandy loam with brick rubble. A 2 meter section of this feature was sampled by excavation. Twenty-two artifacts were recovered from Feature 325 and these included window glass, 7 square nails, two pearlware and one CC ware sherd, bottle glass, an iron table knife handle, 1 iron strip, modern window glass, and bone. This builder's trench was associated with a building that flanked West Palisade 2 of the Inner Fort.

The excavation and interpretation of Features 324, 324a, and 325 was made difficult by the presence of the massive cement foundation of the Fort Hawkins School which rested above these features. The school construction had nearly obliterated the evidence of the buildings to which these three features were associated. Enough remained however, to determine that a large building had been present and that building was located immediately adjacent to the western wall of the Inner Fort at Fort Hawkins.

Palisades and Post Features

Both Gordon Willey's and Richard Carillo's excavations had explored segments of the palisade ditch and palisade posts at Fort Hawkins. The LAMAR Institute's excavation team uncovered major portions of palisade trenches and posts associated with Fort Hawkins. In many respects the present research corroborated the findings of those earlier researchers. The general dimensions of the ditch width and depth and the placement of the posts within the trench were similar to what had been observed in the 1930s and the 1970s. Time and manpower did not allow complete excavation of all of these features but they were sampled and the plan outline of the palisade trenches was carefully mapped with the total station. Heavy



Figure 41. Excavation Unit 6, Facing North from Blockhouse Window.

rain inhibited the excavation and documentation process in XU6 (Eastern palisades), as evident in Figure 41. Selected areas of the palisade lines were studied in more detail to better understand the age of construction and the construction methods that were employed by the fort's builders. Seven palisade lines were identified by the project and these are described below. No trace of any palisade ditch or posts were on the northern wall of Fort Hawkins was seen. The palisade lines that were explored in 2005 and 2006 were designated:

- East Palisade 1, XU 6, Outer Fort
- East Palisade 2, XU 6, Inner Fort
- South Palisade 1, XU 1 Extension, Outer Fort
- South Palisade 2, XU 1 and XU1 Extension, Inner Fort

- West Palisade 1, XU 1 Extension and XU 16, Outer Fort
- West Palisade 2, XU 1 Extension, XU 13, XU 7, Inner Fort
- West Palisade 3, XU 1 Extension, Connects Inner and Outer Fort

East Palisade 1

Large segments of East Palisades 1 and 2 were hand excavated by the University of Georgia archaeology field school and many individual post features within the palisade ditch were described. The preservation within the palisade posts was variable. Many of them contained rotted post wood and voids of air were often present. The post hole fill was generally loose and sandy, while the adjacent palisade trench fill was more compact and higher in clay content.

The sample of East Palisade 1 (Outer Fort) included Features 175 through 234. The excavated sections included Features 179 (1017.12N 1013.84E) through 213 (1028.87N 1014.99E). Only 96 artifacts were recovered from this excavated sample. The sampled covered an approximately 12 m length segment of palisade trench, which attests to the paucity of artifacts in the trench fill.

A sample of 13 ceramic sherds that were from excavated contexts in East Palisade 1 was used to calculate a Mean Ceramic Date of 1798.692. This is a very small sample and lacks statistical validity. This date estimate is about 3.7 years earlier the date obtained for East Palisade 2. The ceramics included creamware and pearlware types. This assemblage also has a TPQ of 1800. Although the artifact sample is quite small the relative differences from the sample recovered suggest that East Palisade 1 was constructed slightly earlier than East Palisade 2. That difference, however, may be a matter of only a couple of years.

Features 179 through 184 are described below. The fill from these seven features was screened as one unit. Forty-four artifacts were recovered from the sampled section of the palisade line. These included brick, cut nails, ceramics, aboriginal pottery, bottle glass, lead buck shot, iron, and traces of animal bone.

Feature 179 was a post mold that measured 18 cm north-south by 19 cm east-west. It appeared nearly square in plan. It was separated from Feature 180 by a distance of 12 cm. Feature 179 extended to 77 cm below the stripped surface.

Feature 180 was a post mold that measured 19 cm north-south by 24 cm east-west. It was an irregular polygon in plan. It was separated from Feature 181 by a distance of 11 cm. Feature 180 extended to 74 cm below the stripped surface.

Feature 181 was a post mold that measured 12 cm north-south by 17 cm east-west. It was rectangular in plan. It was separated from

Feature 182 by a distance of 13 cm. Feature 181 extended to 70 cm below the stripped surface.

Feature 182 was a post mold that measured 12 cm north-south by 22 cm east-west. This post appeared nearly oval in plan. It was separated from Feature 183 by a distance of 13 cm. Feature 182 extended to 54 cm below the stripped surface.

Feature 183 was a post mold that measured 10 cm north-south by 19 cm east-west. It was rectangular in plan. It was separated from Feature 184 by a distance of 13 cm. Feature 183 extended to 59 cm below the stripped surface.

Feature 184 consisted of two posts, which were designated Features 184a and 184b. Feature 184a and the post mold measured 8 cm east-west by 28 cm north-south and it extended 61 cm below the stripped zone. Feature 184b measured 7 m east-west by 14 cm north-south. It extended to a depth of 75 cm below the stripped zone. The two posts were separated north-south by a distance of 16 cm.

East Palisade 2

East Palisade 2 was the inner eastern palisade line that was explored by Willey, Carillo and the present excavation team. It is associated with the Inner Fort. Both Willey and Carillo both identified wooden posts within this palisade line. Both researchers also discovered gaps in the line and they provided insightful remarks about the meaning of this gap, as did Stanley South. Carillo unearthed some scattered early bricks along the northern part of this palisade area, which may represent the remnants of fort-era buildings that were attached to the wall. This part of the site, unfortunately, was quite shallow, eroded and disturbed, making an accurate interpretation of the deposits difficult. The present excavation team also explored the northern end of this palisade line but it had been so badly churned by the two previous excavations that no new information about this part of the fort wall was possible.

East Palisade 2 (Inner Fort) included (from south to north) Features 121 through 174 and 235 through 238. Feature 238 approximately corresponds to the south end of the gap in the palisade line, which was discussed at great length by Willey (1966), South (1970) and Carillo (1971). The excavated sample included Features 121 (1015.82N 1011.13E) through 151 (1028.20N 1011.13E). This sample covered an approximately 13 m length segment of palisade trench.

Features 121 through 125 are described below. The fill from these five features was screened as one unit. A total of 57 artifacts was recovered from the unit. These included brick, window glass, cut nails, ceramics, bottle glass, lead buck shot, iron, and traces of animal bone. A sample of 29 ceramic sherds that were from excavated contexts in East Palisade 2 was used to calculate a Mean Ceramic Date of 1802.379. This is a very small sample and lacks statistical validity. The ceramics included creamware and pearlware types. The ceramic assemblage from this section of the palisade line has a TPQ of 1800.

Feature 121 consisted of a post mold that measured 25 cm north-south by 10 cm east-west. It extended to a depth 83 cm below the level of the machine stripping, or 498.97 m elevation. The palisade trench at Feature 121 was 75 cm wide. The post mold was flat on the east and west sides and rounded on the north and south sides and it had a slightly rounded flat base. The post was probably a thick plank that was rough dressed on the edges. This feature contained loose fill with fragments of rotten post.

Feature 122 was a post mold that measured 20 cm north-south by 12 cm east-west. It was separated from Feature 121 by a distance of 10 cm. Feature 122 extended to 76 cm below the stripped surface.

Feature 123 and 124 was a posthole and post mold. It was separated from Feature 122 by a

distance of 11 cm. It measured 28 cm north-south by 10 cm east-west and extended 74 cm below the stripped surface. It contained abundant rotted wood.

Feature 125 was a post hole and mold. It measured 20 cm north-south by 9 cm east-west and extended 77 cm below the stripped surface. This post was flattened on the east side and more rounded on the west side. It was separated from Feature 123 and 124 by a distance of 8 cm.

South Palisade 1

South Palisade 1 marked the south edge of the Outer Fort. It extended from its southwestern apex with West Palisade 1 to the eastern end of the excavations. This palisade line was continuous with no major gaps. This palisade line was intruded by the southern end of West Palisade 3, which is described below. No obvious evidence of any attached buildings was observed along South Palisade 1.

A small section (measuring 90 cm east-west and 65 cm north-south) of this palisade trench near the southwestern apex was excavated. A total of 105 artifacts was recovered from this sample. Archaeologists unearthed a variety of artifact types, including brick, window glass, melted window glass, nails, ceramics, bottle glass, tableware glass, a knife blade, buttons, a brass tack, a lead patch for a gunflint, an iron sling swivel for a rifle strap, a small iron buckle, other lead and iron fragments, and a small quantity of animal bone. The ceramic sample was too small for an accurate date estimate. The quantity of building debris in this sample may indicate that a building was located nearby. A small sample of 21 window glass sherds was used to calculate a window glass date of 1831. This date is probably not an accurate indication, however, of the age of South Palisade 1. The other artifacts in this sample are more consistent with the Fort Hawkins era.

Time and resources did not permit further exploration of South Palisade 1. It was carefully

mapped in plan and backfilled. Selected areas of the trench, where future excavations may prove productive, were covered with plastic sheeting and the area was backfilled.

South Palisade 2

South Palisade 2 marked the southern edge of the Inner Fort. At least two buildings were constructed along this wall (Features 101 and 109) and in those areas, the palisade is absent. This palisade line was previously investigated by Willey (136) and Carillo (1971) and both researchers identified the trench and remains of wooden posts. Their previously excavated sections of the trench were relocated and partially re-excavated and carefully mapped in XU 1. No intact artifacts were recovered from this portion of the palisade trench as it was previously excavated.

The present research focused on the western part of this south palisade line (in XU 1 Extension) in greater detail. Two sample sections of the palisade line were excavated; both were 2 meter length sections of trench (Figures 42 and 43). These excavated samples yielded relatively few artifacts.

The easternmost of the two areas (Feature 277), which was excavated in June 2006, contained only 34 artifacts. These included window glass, cut or wrought nails, pearlware sherds, bottle glass, 20 iron fragments, bone and chert debitage. This sample was not excavated to the base of the palisade ditch due to lack of time.

The westernmost sample of South Palisade 2 was slightly more productive. An extremely small ceramic sample of seven sherds from this area yielded a MCD of 1801.9. This sample size is so small, however, that this apparently early date should probably be discounted.

West Palisade 1

West Palisade 1 marked the western edge of the Outer Fort. One building (Feature 313) was

probably attached to this wall. Portions of this palisade line are severely disrupted by activity associated with the Woolfolk plantation, the Fort Hawkins School foundation, and utility trenches associated with the school. The surviving elements of the trench were carefully mapped. Time and resources did not allow for any excavation of this palisade ditch, so only a few statements can be made concerning its absolute age.

This palisade line is fairly continuous from its southwestern apex until it intersects the Fort Hawkins School cement footing. At that point is a gap in this palisade line that continues to the edge of Woolfolk Street. This gap probably represents the location of a former building that formed this part of the fort wall, but any evidence for this has been compromised by the school construction.

West Palisade 2

West Palisade 2 marks the west wall of the Inner Fort. It begins at the southwestern apex of the Inner Fort in XU 1 Extension and continues to the road bank above Woolfolk Street (northeast of XU 7). It passes beneath the southern end of the Fort Hawkins School foundation and gradually merges with the western school cement footing. Two or three large fort era buildings (Features 271, 272, and 316) formed the west wall for some distance and this is accompanied by a gap in the palisade ditch. The palisade ditch starts again immediately north of Feature 271 and continues to the edge of the study area.

A two-meter sample section of West Palisade 2 was excavated in the western extension of XU 1. This area was located a few meters north of its southwest apex. A total of 218 artifacts was recovered from this sample. These included window glass, nails, a spike, ceramics, bottle glass, tableware glass, a uniform collar tab, buttons, a brass pin, buck shot, tobacco pipe fragments, an umbrella part, and other metal items. A sample of 74 ceramic sherds from this

South Palisade Trench 2 East Profile

el 499.36 m

B
A
A

- Brick
- Intact wood post
- A. Reddish brown (5YR4/4) sandy clay
- B. Reddish brown (2.5 4/4) coarse sand with clay (postmold)

Figure 42. South Palisade Trench 2, East Profile.

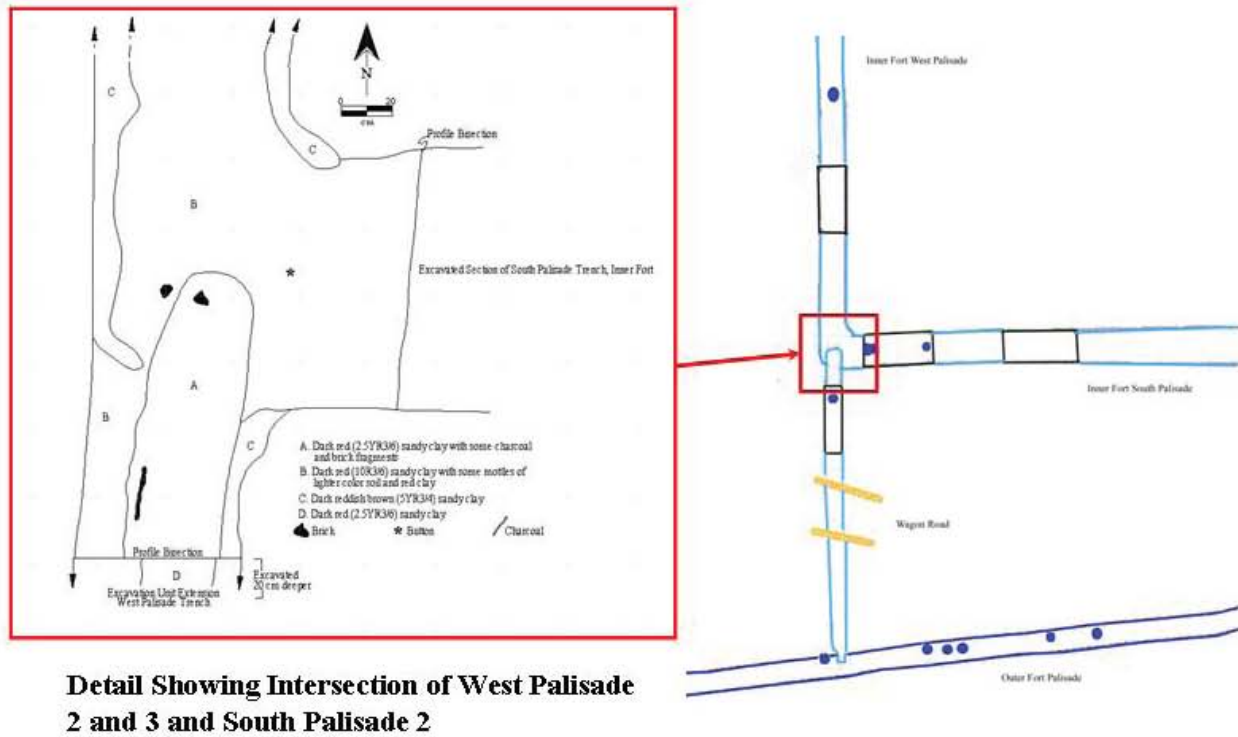


Figure 43. Plan View of Unexcavated Section of West Palisade Trench, Inner Fort.

excavated sample was used to calculate a mean ceramic date of 1810.1.

Another two-meter sample of West Palisade 2 was excavated in XU 13 in Test Units 142, 143, 146, and 147. The palisade ditch intruded into an earlier feature (Feature 313) in this area. Feature 313 contained many artifacts from the earliest years of Fort Hawkins and West Palisade 2 also contained many of these artifacts in a churned context. The palisade trench was only partly excavated in this area as the excavations were focused on an examination of Feature 313.

A sample of 199 ceramic sherds from West Palisade 2 in XU 13 yielded a MCD of 1807.3. The approximately three years difference in MCDs from the other sampled portion of West Palisade 2 is probably a resulting effect from the artifacts mixed from Feature 313.

West Palisade 3

West Palisade 3 was a short trench that connected South Palisades 1 and 2. The construction sequence for this palisade line indicated that it was built after South Palisade 1 was completed and possibly before (or at the same time) that South Palisade 2 was constructed. At some point in its history, the northern end of West Palisade 3 was rebuilt and those refitted posts intruded into South Palisade 2. The function of this palisade line is unclear. If both fort perimeters were standing at the same time, which this information suggests, then it would have compartmentalized the space between the Inner and Outer Fort walls. This was the only instance where this was recognized but others may also have existed elsewhere along the walls. These compartments may have been used as animal pens or for soldier's quarters.

Wagon ruts were identified near the middle of West Palisade 3 and this wagon road intruded into the palisade ditch, which indicates the road is more recent. This road was not explored any further and only a short section of the road was exposed. The road was not recognized in any

of the other excavation areas. The wagon ruts were shallow and appeared to contain very few artifacts.

A 2 meter sample section of West Palisade 3 was excavated. This sample was located a short distance south of its junction with the southwest apex of the Inner Fort. Heavy rains precluded the complete excavation of this sample but enough of it was explored (approximately 2/3) to better understand its construction. This sample yielded very few artifacts and the sample was insufficient for the application of any dating techniques. Artifacts included: 1 window glass, 1 plaster, two early polychrome hand painted pearlware sherds, 1 blue transfer printed pearlware sherd, and small fragments of animal bone.

Several of the posts within this palisade line appeared to have burned. This was the only obvious evidence of burning on any of the palisade lines at Fort Hawkins, although Carillo (1971) commented on the burned conditions in his search for the west fort palisade.

The northeastern corner of the study area exhibited some interesting GPR anomalies as a result of the June 2006 GPR survey of this area. The archaeological team was hopeful that these anomalies represented a previously undiscovered feature from Fort Hawkins, possibly a northeastern blockhouse. The strongest of these anomalies, which was located east of the palisade ditches, was tested with a single shovel test. That test revealed a shallow deposit of 19th century debris (Appendix C, LN 515). Twenty-five artifacts were collected from this test, including several items that were considerably more recent than the Fort Hawkins era. This area was then explored with the aid of the trackhoe and additional late 19th and early 20th century refuse was discovered. Apparently the northeastern corner of the city block had been built up with a deposit of fill dirt that contained a great quantity of garbage. These artifacts appeared to be redeposited and did not display any serious research potential.

Chapter 7. Material Culture

The people of Fort Hawkins left many tangible traces of their existence. This material culture is manifested in the artifacts (objects that people made and used), food debris, as well as the buildings and other features whose evidence remains. The artifact record gathered by the present study was very impressive. Nowhere in the previous writing of Gordon Willey or Richard Carillo was there much to suggest that the body of artifacts remaining buried at Fort Hawkins was so vast. More than 37,293 artifacts were gathered by the current archaeological team. A complete inventory of these artifacts is presented in Appendix C and numerous examples are illustrated in Appendix D. The Fort Hawkins artifacts are summarized in Table 9. Many times that number, in the form of brick building rubble, foundation stones, and very small artifacts were left at the site. Archaeologists use the recovered artifacts to help tell the story of Fort Hawkins. This vast deposit of material culture was an important discovery during the present archaeological project—a discovery of national significance. The section below examines various artifact categories and specific examples. Most artifacts in this report are shown prior to conservation.

Architecture Group

Construction materials related to Fort Hawkins were abundant at the site. A total of 14,002 artifacts from the architecture group are contained in the Fort Hawkins collection. A small sample of brick also was collected, but most of the brick was left at the site. Construction artifacts included unusual bricks, metal and glass items. Architectural hardware was common at Fort

Hawkins, consisting primarily of nails, spikes and other iron hardware.

Nails and Spikes

Nails and spikes were common at Fort Hawkins. Approximately 8,566 nails or spikes are represented in the collection. Nails were used for flooring and siding and to join medium sized timbers. Spikes were used to join massive timbers, as were wooden pegs and other types of mortise-tenon construction.

As noted, improvements in technology in 1790 led to a drastic change in nail manufacture. Whereas wrought nails were each made by hand, new nail manufacturing machines later enabled blacksmiths to be replaced by less skilled factory workers. This technology began in 1790 and was marked by improvements in the early decades of the 19th century. The use of hand wrought nails continued for several decades thereafter, although they were soon overshadowed by machine made, or square cut nails. The first machine made nails required the heads to be hand finished but by about 1810 the process was completely mechanized (Nelson 1963). Machine cut nails dominated the market for the first half of the 19th century before they were mostly phased out by more modern wire nail technology. Cut nails continued to be used in flooring and other specialized tasks. The Fort Hawkins nail collection are overwhelmingly cut nails, although this tally drastically underestimates their presence in the assemblage for the reasons noted below.

The vast majority of the nails from Fort Hawkins were only identified as wrought (N=370) or cut nails (N=427). Most (N=7,675) were square

Table 9. Artifact Summary, Fort Hawkins, 9Bi21.

Category	Count	Percentages
Window glass	5381	14.4
Nails and spikes	8566	23.0
Other metal architecture artifacts	55	0.1
Total Architecture group	14002	37.5
Kitchen ceramics	12129	32.5
Bottle glass	5812	15.6
Tableware glass	471	1.3
Kitchen metal artifacts	160	0.4
Bone Utensil handles	17	0.0
Total Kitchen group	18589	49.8
Total Clothing group	881	2.4
Total Furniture group	120	0.3
Total Personal group	140	0.4
Total Arms group	585	1.6
Total Tobacco group	324	0.9
Total Activities group	2652	7.1
Total Artifacts	37293	100.0

Table 9. Artifact Summary, Fort Hawkins, 9Bi21.

nails that were too deteriorated or encrusted with rust and sand for any more detailed identification. Carpentry in the construction of Fort Hawkins began in 1806, when cut nail technology was relatively new and cut nails were not always readily available, particularly on the frontier. A nail factory was established at Augusta, Georgia in 1820 and prior to that nails had to be imported from more distant factories. Consequently, wrought nail technology may have lingered at Fort Hawkins beyond the norm. The use of wrought nails also may be the result of many blacksmiths who were stationed at Fort Hawkins. Blacksmiths commonly produced nails during their slack times and it is likely that most of the wrought nails and

wrought spikes at Fort Hawkins were produced by blacksmiths operating nearby.

A few wire nails were incidental in the Fort Hawkins assemblage. Wire nails increased in popularity after 1865 but they were not available in prior to the 1850s and their presence at the site is unrelated to the Fort Hawkins era. Later activities have introduced wire nails into the archaeological record.

Seventy-four spikes or spike fragments were found at Fort Hawkins. These ranged in length from 3.75 to 8.25 inches. Feature 101 contained the most spikes (N=34, or 46%), followed by Feature 271/Test Unit 112 (N=19, or 26%), and Feature 313 (N=6). The relatively lower frequency of spikes in Feature 101, when one considers the total sample size excavated, compared to Features 271 (and Test Unit 112), and 313, an early military building, is intriguing. This may be the result of intensive salvaging of the

timbers and building hardware at Feature 101 or it may reflect the greater use of brick as a building material in the construction at Feature 101.

Seventeen hinges were identified in the Fort Hawkins collection. Sixteen of these were from Feature 101 and one was from Feature 271. The abundance of hinges in Feature 101 may indicate that these pieces of building hardware were still attached to the superstructure at the time of the building's collapse and ruin. One large door lock was excavated from the midden in Feature 101 (Figure 44). This artifact and its context provides additional clues about the associated building and its demise. In addition

an iron tumbler for a door lock was found in Feature 101 (LN 528).

Brick

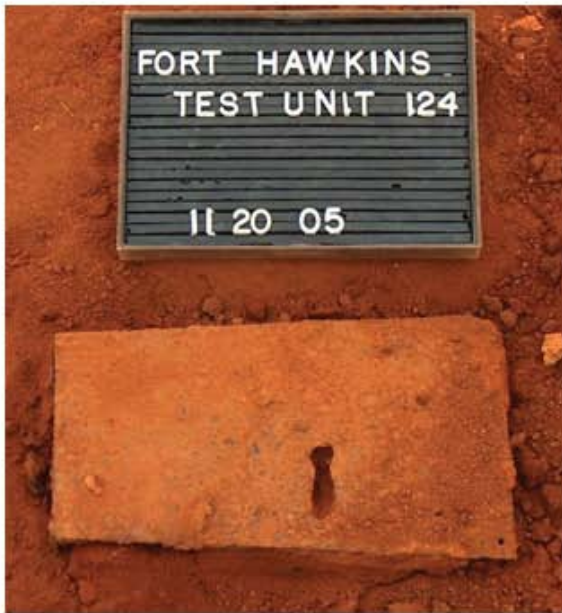
Many archaeologists consider bricks to be rather mundane artifacts but the bricks at Fort Hawkins have an important story to tell. The bricks used in the construction of Fort Hawkins were molded by hand. Two types of bricks were recognized, standard bricks and pavers. The Fort Hawkins bricks were easily distinguished from the extruded bricks that were used in construction of the Fort Hawkins School. They were less easily distinguished from bricks associated with the Woolfolk plantation, although the Woolfolk bricks, which were also hand molded, tended to appear more yellowish, possibly indicating a different clay source.

Nine remarkable bricks with incised numbers were discovered at Fort Hawkins in several areas of the site. One brick with the numeral

“10” was left in place by archaeologists in the laid brick floor of Feature 101, as was a brick marked “40” and a brick marked with an “X” was left in place in Feature 101. Other bricks from Feature 101 included examples incised with “00”, “20”, “56”, and “80”. A brick marked “70” was located in a palisade post hole on the outer East palisade (Feature 234). Feature 316 produced a fragmentary paver brick with the numeral “0” along its broken edge. Other fragmentary numbered bricks, from disturbed contexts, include a “17” and a “4”. Examples of these numbered bricks are shown in Figure 45.

These individually-decorated bricks piqued our curiosity and two competing theories were advanced to explain them. Bricks with these types of incised numbers have not been observed by archaeologists elsewhere in Georgia and they may be unique to Fort Hawkins. One idea is that the numbers represent batch numbers that were marked when the bricks were

A.



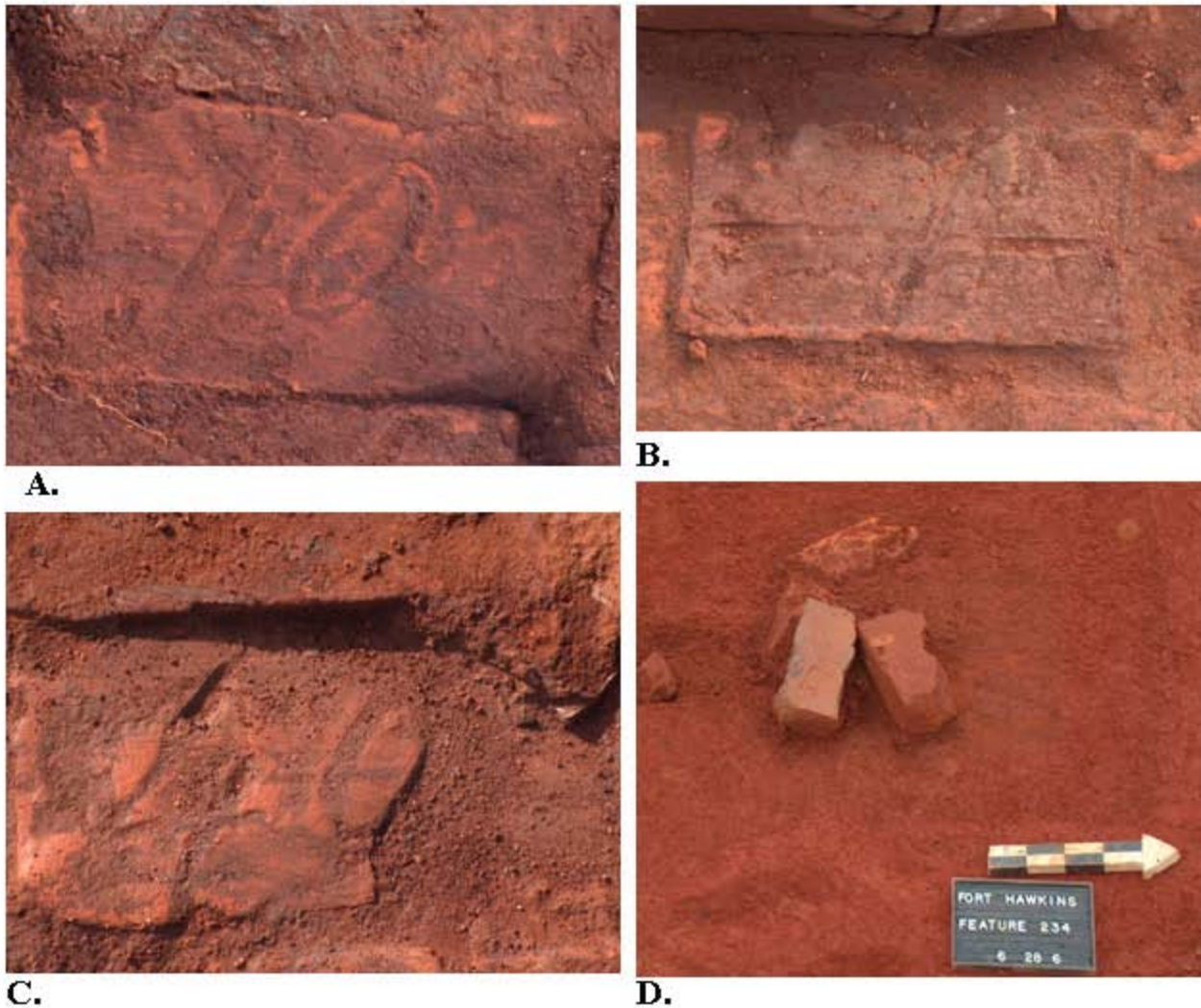
B.

C.



- A. Door Lock, Feature 101
- B. Reverse View of A
- C. Small Padlock (Obverse and Reverse)

Figure 44. Locks.



A. Numeral “10” (Feature 101); B. Letter “X” (Feature 101); C. Numeral “40” (Feature 101); D. Numeral “70” (Feature 234).

Figure 45. **Incised Bricks.**

produced. The other theory is that the numbers refer to individual brick contractors and served to identify their shipments. The answer to this question was not resolved and no documents were located to assist in the query. The contexts where these bricks were found offer some clues to the age of these marked bricks. The example from Feature 234 may indicate that they date to the construction of the Outer Fort. Their use in Feature 101 indicates that they were manufactured prior to the flooring of that building. Many of the bricks in Feature 101 appear to be salvaged from other buildings, probably from an earlier building associated with the Outer Fort. Our suspicion is that these

artifacts date to an early construction period, probably between 1806 and 1812.

Window Glass

Window glass was abundant in some areas of Fort Hawkins and infrequent in others. The window glass data indicates that most buildings associated with Fort Hawkins had at least one glass window. Approximately 5,381 pieces of window glass were identified in the collection. Whenever possible modern window glass (20th century) was distinguished from the 19th century window glass and the modern glass is excluded from the following discussion.

The greatest quantity of window glass was observed in Feature 101 (N=4,471, or 83%). Window glass sherds were abundant in all excavation levels in this feature, although a significant portion was contained in the feature's upper two levels. Level 2 contained the most specimens (N=2,476, or 55% of window glass in Feature 101). Level 1 contained 1,177 window glass sherds (or 26% of window glass sherds in Feature 101). This evidence shows that this building had many glass windows and that these windows were well-distributed across the building.

Feature 271 (and Test Unit 112) contained the next highest frequency of window glass (187 and 62 specimens, respectively). These data suggest that this building had far fewer glass windows than Feature 101. Other features at Fort Hawkins yielded modest amounts of window glass, which demonstrate that some glass windows were used in their construction. Feature 313 yielded 86 window glass sherds. Feature 272 (and Test Unit 111) contained 192 window glass sherds (19 and 173 glass sherds, respectively). Feature 109 yielded 40 pieces of window glass. This low frequency shows that this building contained at least one glass window, or that window glass was stored in the building. Other features containing fewer than 30 window glass sherds included Features 259, 260, 263-266, 270 and 314. Feature 317, which was a brick building foundation considered to date to the Woolfolk plantation era, yielded 48 window glass sherds.

In several instances the presence of window glass served to indicate the general location of former buildings even though little else remained to indicate that a building had been present. One example for this was observed in Section 1 of South Inner Palisade, where 56 window glass sherds were recovered. Sampled portions of West Palisade 2 also yielded minor amounts of window glass.

The broken windows, unlike other material in the buildings, could not be salvaged. This

assumes that most window glass entered the archaeological record near the location where it was in use. While this may not always be true and a certain percentage of window glass represents secondary or tertiary discard, its correlation with other building evidence at Fort Hawkins supports this hypothesis.

Thickness measurements were obtained from 5,322 window glass sherds from Fort Hawkins. These data were used to calculate Mean Window Glass dates for various site contexts. Window glass dating has been applied to 19th century sites in the southeastern U.S. with variable results. This statistic is based on the tendency for window glass to increase in thickness through the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries. It is not applicable to 18th century window glass however, since that hand-blown glass was produced by a different technology and its thickness varies considerably as a result of the manufacturing method.

Window glass date calculations were done for selected contexts at Fort Hawkins, following Moir's (1987) regression formula (Glass Manufacture Date=84.22 X (Glass Thickness in Millimeters)+1712.7). As Moir noted, window glass thicknesses greater than 1.9 mm generally date after 1880. The date calculations for Fort Hawkins were done by including measurements greater than 1.9 mm and then excluding those thicker than 1.9 mm. The latter yielded more believable results, whereas the former calculations were spurious and notably different from the other dating evidence and from the historical documentation.

WGDs were obtained from 12 contexts at Fort Hawkins. These results proved to be an inaccurate indicator of the age of the features, being consistently more recent than the MCD estimates. The mean difference between the MCD and WGD for the dated features was 21 and it ranged from 8.8 for Feature 272 to 49.6 for Feature 270. This discrepancy may be likely due in part to contamination by later site occupation in the mid- to late- 19th century.

Wood

Wood fragments from Fort Hawkins were identified in several areas of the site. They were most commonly observed in the palisade trenches, where partly rotted palisade posts were documented in many areas. Wood samples from one post were analyzed and were identified as southern yellow pine (unspecified genus). Many of the palisade fragments that were observed in the field appeared to be bald cypress. All of the wood was badly decomposed and only fragmentary examples were recovered.

Kitchen Group

Artifacts associated with kitchen activities were abundant at Fort Hawkins. Approximately 18,589 artifacts in the collection fall into this category. Primarily these included ceramics and bottle glass. Approximately 12,129 ceramic sherds were collected from Fort Hawkins and approximately 5,812 bottle glass sherds were recovered. Another 471 glass sherds were from tableware glass, which includes goblets, drinking tumblers, decanters, and other serving glassware. The balance of the Kitchen group artifacts consisted of metal artifacts (N=160) and bone or antler utensil handles (N=17). Collectively, this assemblage provides with a wealth of information about foodways in Fort Hawkins. These artifacts are also extremely helpful in determining the ages of the various archaeological deposits at the site.

Ceramics

During the Fort Hawkins period, the U.S. military did not supply the soldiers with plates or other table service (De Kraft 1818; Risch 1989). Consequently, a wide variety of ceramics are represented in the Fort Hawkins collection, which was likely purchased by the individual officers, soldiers, or civilians. Approximately 12,129 ceramic sherds are contained in the Fort Hawkins collection. These ceramics

were grouped by major ware class, including tin enameled wares, stonewares, refined earthenwares, coarse earthenwares, yellow ware, porcelain, and other minority types. The various types of ceramics are useful in generating dates. A summary of mean ceramic date calculations (MCD) from selected features at Fort Hawkins is shown in Table 10.

Majolica or Delft

One green-glazed, tin enameled ware sherd was found in Feature 101. The sherd is small and heavily weathered. It is either Spanish majolica or English delftware. This sherd may date to an earlier era than the Fort Hawkins period and is incidental in the fill of this feature. One delft apothecary pot sherd was obtained from Feature 307.

Redware

Redware sherds were present as a minority ware (N=52) at Fort Hawkins. These lead glazed wares were found in Features 101, 270, 271, 272, 307, 313, and other areas. Most (N=29, or 56%) came from Feature 101. Redware was commonly used in Georgia prior to the development of the domestic stoneware tradition. Once stoneware was widely available the demand for redware in Georgia waned.

Yellow Slipware

One trailed yellow slipware sherd was found in Feature 101 at Fort Hawkins. Production of this ware had ceased by the time Fort Hawkins was occupied and it is normally associated with sites dating between 1670 and 1795. This sherd may have been an heirloom piece, or it possibly is associated with a minor 18th century occupation on the site.

Stoneware

Stoneware is a highly-fired earthenware whose paste is vitrified or nearly so. It was produced in England and America. Salt glazed stonewares were the earliest variety, followed by lead glazed and alkaline glazed wares. Alkaline glazed are often domestic stonewares, since they could be produced locally throughout the south and other areas of America. The Fort Hawkins assemblage contains 423 stoneware sherds. These are detailed below.

Black Basalt

Black basalt was a minority ware at Fort Hawkins. Twenty-two sherds of black basalt ware were contained in the Fort Hawkins collection. Black basalt is a thin, black-bodied refined stoneware that was produced in England in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Sherds of it were found in Features 101, 271, and near Feature 313. The greatest number of Black basalt sherds were from Feature 101.

Salt Glazed Stoneware

Most of the salt glazed stoneware in early Georgia was produced in England, although some domestic industry probably existed. For purposes of discussion, these wares are attributed to a European origin. Brown salt glazed stoneware was a minor ware at Fort Hawkins, represented by 28 sherds. Sherds of this ware were found in Features 101, 109, 271, 272, 307 and 313. This pottery was probably produced in England and exported to America. Salt glazed pottery became increasingly uncommon in Georgia in the early 19th century as it was supplanted by the domestic stoneware industry.

Commercial stoneware containers at Fort Hawkins included salt glazed stoneware bottles that contained boot blacking. Forty fragments of these bottles were identified and nearly all of them were from Feature 101, although a limited number were recovered from Feature 109. These were used by the soldiers for polishing the leather on their uniforms. These had stamped markings, one example was stamped with the letter “R” and another was stamped with the letter “D”. The presence of boot blacking in Feature 101 and its absence elsewhere suggests that Feature 101 was the residence of higher ranking Army officers. An unmarked stoneware ginger beer bottle fragment was found in a disturbed context.

Domestic Stoneware

Alkaline glazed pottery became increasingly common on historic sites in Georgia as the 19th century progressed, and its low frequency at Fort Hawkins serves as negative evidence for a decline in site occupation by the 1830s. Alkaline glazed ware is recognized by its greenish appearance and pitted surface texture. It was modeled into a variety of utilitarian forms, including jugs, crocks, bowls, pans, pitchers, and bottles. The Edgefield tradition of alkaline glazed stoneware began in the Edgefield District of South Carolina about 1815 and its popularity quickly spread to Georgia. This distribution system was helped by the westward migration of the Edgefield potters, who followed the frontier as it expanded. One of the more notable early potters in Georgia, who hailed from Edgefield, was Cyrus Cogburn. By 1820 Cogburn and his partner Abraham Massey operated a stoneware kiln in Washington County, Georgia, east of Fort Hawkins, and by the 1830s Cogburn had moved his pottery business several counties west of Fort Hawkins. Other families of potters moved into that same area that was to become Crawford, Upson and Pike counties by the late 1820s and early 1830s (Burrison 1995, 2007). By the time these potters were operating in

Date Calculations from Selected Features, Fort Hawkins, 9Bi21.

Feature	Count	Product	MCD	WGD-MCD		
				Count	WGD*	Difference
E. Palisade 1	13	23382.996	1798.7			
S. Palisade 2	7	12613	1801.9			
E. Palisade 2	29	52269	1802.4			
307	13	23432	1802.5			
270	271	488747	1803.5	6	1853.1	49.6
313	848	1529792	1804.0	81	1827.8	23.8
267	65	117294	1804.5			
316	64	115536	1805.3	9	1829.7	24.5
271	619	1117669	1805.6	168	1821	15.4
265	15	27092	1806.1	15	1834.5	28.4
272	263	475421	1807.7	188	1816.5	8.8
314	11	19896	1808.7			
264	33	59697	1809.0	19	1827.5	18.5
324a	15	27145	1809.7			
West Palisade 2	74	133944	1810.1			
109	118	213597	1810.1	33	1835	24.9
259	18	32583	1810.2	12	1829.2	19.0
101	6425	11635511	1811.0	4343	1825.5	14.5
266	17	30856	1815.1	14	1825.8	10.7
317	6	10990	1831.7	13	1845.5	13.8
					Mean	21

*Moir's (1987) regression formula: Glass Manufacture Date= 84.22 x (Glass thickness, in mm)+1712.7.

Table 10. Date Calculations from Selected Features, Fort Hawkins, 9Bi21.

this area, however, the Fort Hawkins era had ended. Likewise, when Fort Hawkins was first constructed in 1806, this type of pottery would have been available. Thus, its presence or absence from particular excavation contexts may help to date the various fort occupations.

Alkaline glazed stoneware was the dominant stoneware at Fort Hawkins, represented by 301 sherds. Most were found in Features 101, 271, 109, with minor amounts in Features 272, 313, 270, 259, 292, 316, and 329, and in the palisade trenches in XU6. Other minority wares in the

domestic stoneware class included Albany slip decorated ware, Bristol decorated wares and other unidentified types.

Jasperware

Eight examples of English jasperware were recognized in the Fort Hawkins assemblage. Jasperware was produced by the Wedgwood pottery and was a relatively expensive export ceramic. Fragments of a jasperware cup or

mug bearing a patriotic motif were found in Feature 101. Jasperware was produced in England by Josiah Wedgwood. The Fort Hawkins specimen has a dark blue background and raised wide decorations. The motif is the American eagle with its legs spread and talons clutching a cluster of arrows.

Refined Earthenwares

Creamware was produced in England from about 1762 to 1820. At the time Fort Hawkins was constructed creamware was already waning in popularity. Creamware was common at Fort Hawkins, represented by 898 undecorated creamware sherds. Decorated refined earthenwares on creamware bodies included several varieties of annular ware, edgware, mocha ware, polychrome hand painted ware, blue floral ware and finger painted ware.

Pearlware was produced in England beginning about 1774 and continuing to the 1830s. Pearlware was highly popular during the Fort Hawkins era and this popularity is reflected in the ceramic assemblage. It was the most

common ware in the Fort Hawkins collection. Pearlware was introduced in England about 1774 and continued to be produced until about 1830. Undecorated pearlware was the most common sherd in the Fort Hawkins assemblage, represented by 2,557 sherds.

Transfer printed ware was the most common ceramic category in the Fort Hawkins assemblage. Examples are shown in Figure 46 and many more specimens are illustrated in Appendix D. Most of these were blue-decorated transfer print (N=2,188 sherds). Other transfer printed colors include brown, purple, green, pink, black and yellow. Brown transfer printed ware was made from about 1809 to 1845. Sixty-six brown transfer printed sherds were identified in the collection. The use of colors other than blue and brown was most common from about 1840 to 1870. Most of these decorations were produced on a white-bodied ware, although numerous pearlware examples of the black transfer printed wares were observed.

Feature 101 yielded examples of purple, green and black transfer printed patterns. Feature 271 yielded three black transfer printed sherds



Figure 46. Transfer Printed Ware.

and one purple example. Feature 272 yielded 12 black transfer printed ware. Feature 313 contained one black transfer printed sherd and Feature 270 had one green transfer printed sherd. The black transfer printed ware at Fort Hawkins may date earlier than is generally thought. These sherds most likely post-date the military period at Fort Hawkins, although this is a subject for debate.

A remarkable blue transfer printed plate with a patriot theme, which the field crew dubbed, "State Plates" was discovered in XU1. Within the surround of the plate were the States of the Union. State plates were made by Ralph and James Clews from 1818-1834 and their version shows 18 states with many different thematic patterns in the middle. Twelve states were represented in the Fort Hawkins specimens. These included: Connecticut, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Vermont. The most recent of these states, Kentucky, achieved statehood in 1792. Illustrated examples of these State Plate sherds, along with complete plates in private collections, are shown in Figure 47 and additional examples are included in Appendix D. Twenty-seven State Plate sherds were located in 12 different areas of XU1, including Feature 101, Feature 259 and the soil layer immediately above Feature 101. A crossmend analysis of these sherds identified several crossmends between these areas. No whole specimens of these plates were excavated, nor were any reconstructed in the laboratory. These connections are detailed in the Crossmend Analysis, which is presented following the Artifact Inventory in Appendix C.

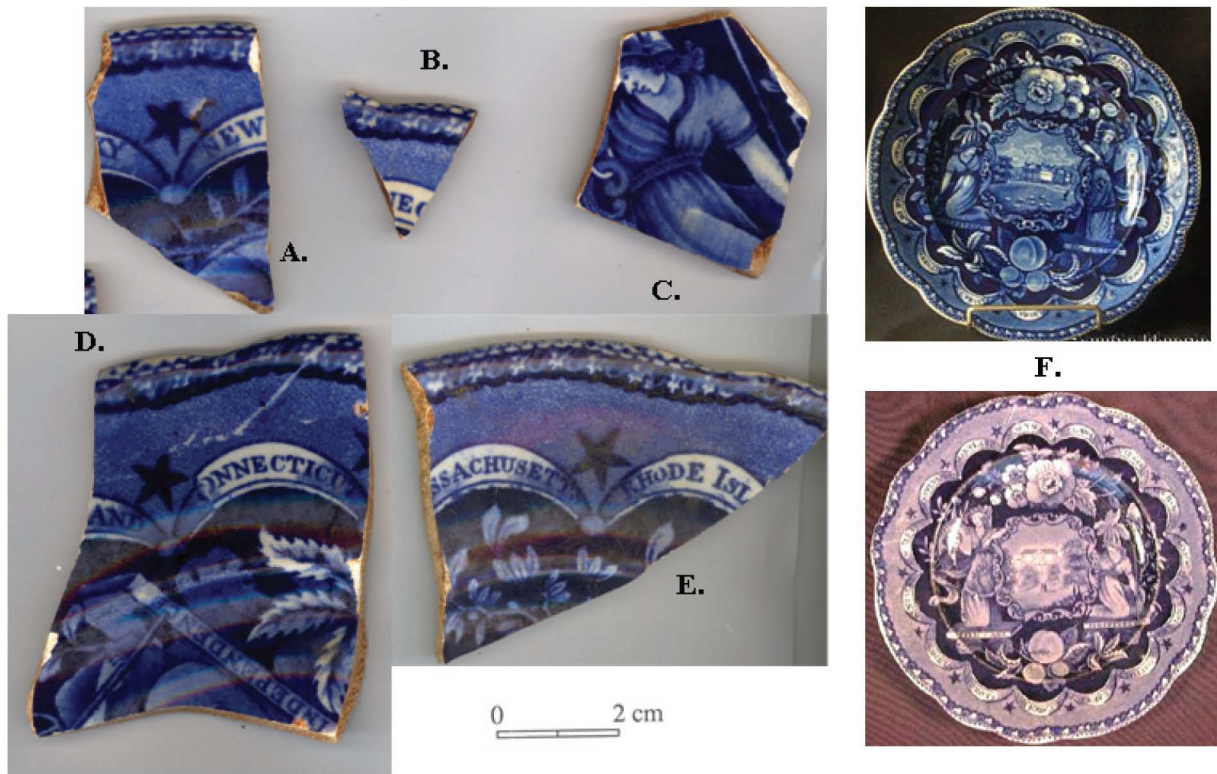
Archaeologists recognize two primary types of polychrome hand painted refined earthenwares. An early variety, whose color scheme includes yellow, brown and green, and a later variety displaying those colors with the addition of reds and blues. Early variety polychrome hand-painted pearlware were well represented in the collection (N=1,273 sherds). Examples

are shown in Figure 48 and many others are depicted in Appendix D. Considerably fewer hand painted polychrome sherds of the later variety were found (N=265). Production of the early variety began about 1774 and continued to about 1833, although the period of greatest production was between 1795 and 1815. The Fort Hawkins examples are nearly all from pearlware-bodied vessels, although a few specimens are from creamware vessels. The later variety was produced from about 1830 to 1840. The later variety gained in popularity after Fort Hawkins had been abandoned and its low incidence at the site was expected.

Edgeware sherds were abundant in the Fort Hawkins collection, represented by 975 sherds. These included a wide variety of embossed designs with blue or green edge painting. Most of these were plate sherds, although platter and shallow bowls also are represented in the assemblage. The production of edge-decorated pearlware, or shell edged ware as it is frequently known, began about 1780 and continued until about 1840. Edge decorated whitewares and ironstones continued to the 1800s. These later wares are in a debased artistic form, however, and can be distinguished from the earlier pearlware types of edgeware. Fort Hawkins' edgeware assemblage is nearly all on pearlware-bodied vessels. This collection includes many varieties of raised embossed decorations with sea-shells and other attractive patterns.

Blue decorated wares are common during the Fort Hawkins era. Production of this variety of pearlware began about 1774 and continued to around 1820. The designs on many of these sherds imitate motifs from imported Chinese porcelains. Blue floral pearlware sherds were well represented in the Fort Hawkins collection, represented by 519 sherds. Examples are shown in Figure 49 and many others are depicted in Appendix D.

Annular (dipped) ware pottery was present in moderate quantities at Fort Hawkins, represented by 336 sherds. Production of this



A-E. State Plate Sherds
 E. Examples of Complete Plates.

Figure 47 Transfer Printed Pearlware State Plates.

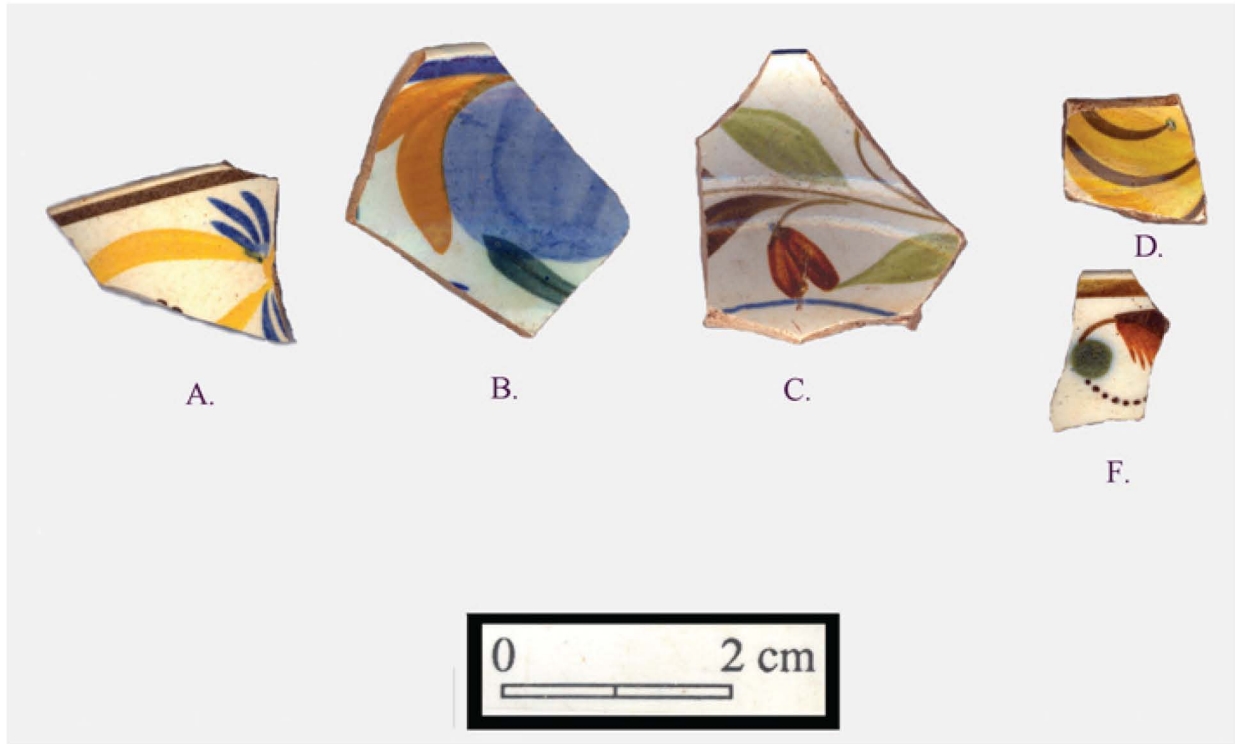
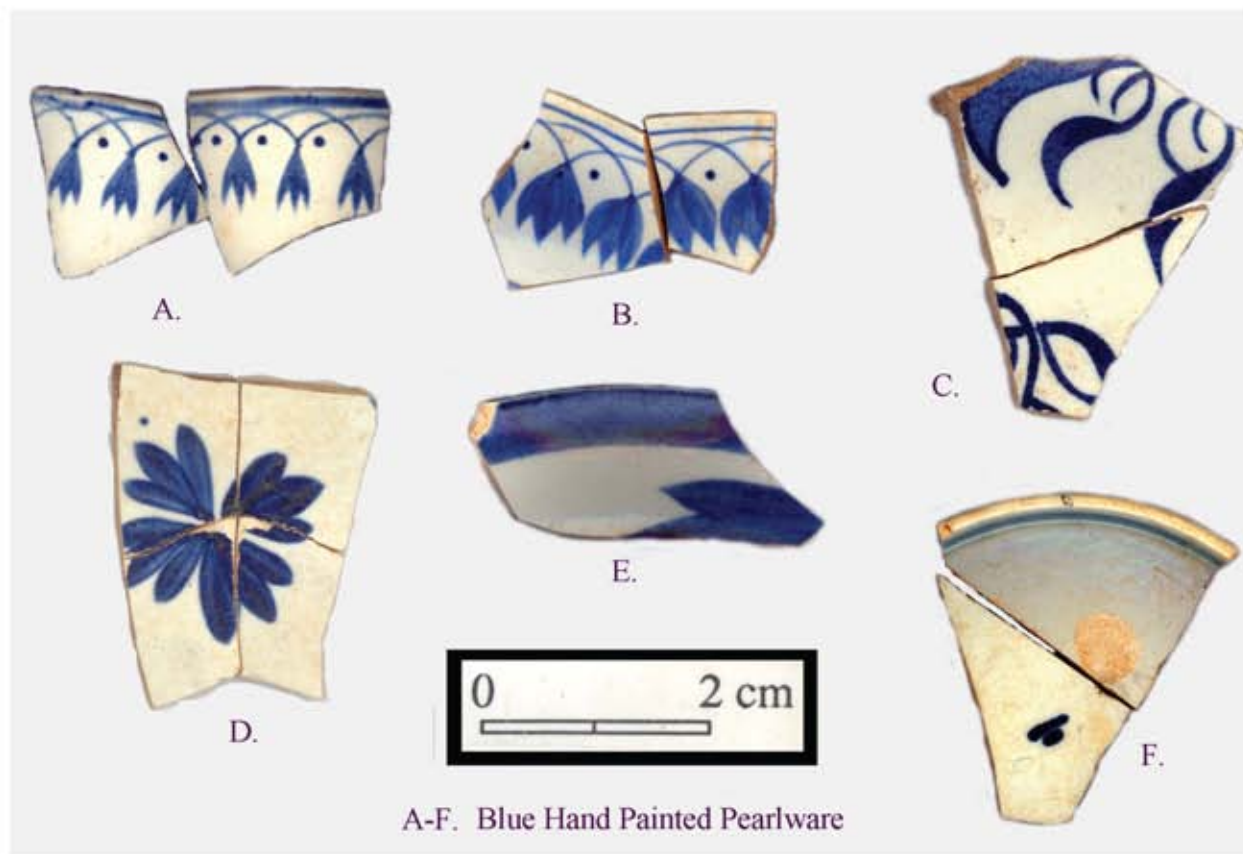


Figure 48. Polychrome Hand-painted Pearlware.



A-F. Blue Hand Painted Pearlware

Figure 49. Blue Hand-painted Pearlware.

type of decorated ware began about 1790 and continued to about 1840. These were mostly produced with a creamware or pearlware glaze.

Mocha pearlware sherds were identified as a minority ware at Fort Hawkins, represented by 54 sherds. Mocha ware has a distinctive dark brown dendritic pattern that was produced by the spreading characteristics of the pigment in the glaze. Production of this type of decorated ware began about 1795 and continued to 1935.

Polychrome “finger painted” pearlware sherds were a minority ware at Fort Hawkins, represented by 85 sherds. The designs on this ware were mechanically produced by undulating sponges or brushes mounted on sticks or wires, and not actually applied by human fingers. This ware type was produced in England from about 1790 to 1840.

Spatter-decorated pearlware sherds were a minority ware at Fort Hawkins, represented

by 52 sherds. The use of spatter decoration on refined earthenwares began about 1780 and continued to 1850. The Fort Hawkins examples are nearly all on a pearlware vessel.

Lusterware sherds were found in low frequencies at Fort Hawkins, represented by 17 sherds. These unusual sherds had a shiny, metallic appearance. Most of these were from Feature 271, two were from Feature 109 and one was from Feature 313. The absence of this distinctive ware in Feature 101 is curious, given the large ceramic assemblage recovered from that feature.

Parian ware was another minority ceramic at Fort Hawkins, represented by 14 sherds. All of these came from Feature 101. Production of this pottery type began in England about 1842 and continued through the Victorian era (Brooke 2007). Parian ware imitated marble and a variety of busts and other non-utilitarian forms were produced as Parian ware. Its presence in

Feature 101 is a strong indicator that the use of this building, either as a habitation or waste disposal site, continued into the early 1840s.

Cream-colored Ware

Cream-colored refined earthenware was a common ware throughout the mid- to late-19th century. These wares were produced in England (Miller 1980). Cream-colored ware was a minority ware at Fort Hawkins, represented by 201 specimens.

Unidentified White-bodied Ware

A portion of the ceramic assemblage (N=586) from Fort Hawkins consisted of refined earthenware sherds that were undecorated and mostly burned wares. These were not identifiable by type, although the bulk of these probably represent creamware and pearlware types.

Ironstone

Ironstone is a white-bodied ware that is harder and generally thicker than pearlware. It was produced in Europe and America from about 1810 to the end of the 19th century. Blue-tinted ironstone was a minority ware at Fort Hawkins. Production of this ware ranged from 1813 to about 1900. White granite ironstone was a minority ware at Fort Hawkins. Production of this ware is similar to that for blue tinted ironstone. Approximately 78 sherds from Fort Hawkins fall into the ironstone category. Feature 101 yielded the most examples (N=18, or 23%). Minor amounts were present in Features 109, 272, 314, 316, 317, West Palisade 2, and in other contexts.

Porcelain

Porcelain sherds were represented as a minority ware in the Fort Hawkins collection, represented by only 90 sherds, or less than 1 percent of the ceramic assemblage. Porcelains include Chinese, English and European varieties. One gold-gilded porcelain sherd was found in Feature 271. Chinese overglaze hand painted polychrome porcelain was found in Features 101, 109 and 271. Undecorated porcelain was found in Features 101, 270, 271, 272, 307, 313, 314, 317 and other site contexts. In the 18th and early 19th centuries porcelain was a higher status ware. The relative frequency of porcelain on 18th century sites is a reliable indicator of site status and access to the global market. Military sites from the 18th century often have higher than average frequencies of porcelain than on civilian sites from the same areas. This pattern, which was recognized by Stanley South from his excavations in North and South Carolina, holds true in colonial Georgia. As the 19th century progressed access to porcelain was improved and the cost of this ware relatively decreased, making it attainable by the public. Elaborate hand painted wares, with multiple colors and gold gilding, remained an expensive ware category. The frequency of porcelain in the pottery assemblage at Fort Hawkins is low, comprising less than one percent of the total ceramics.

Bottle Glass

Glass bottles were not manufactured at Fort Hawkins, nor in Georgia, but were imported to the site from other states or from overseas. Approximately 6,283 glass fragments in the Fort Hawkins collection were classified as kitchen glass. Of these 5,812 sherds were from glass bottles and 471 were tableware glass sherds.

Alcoholic beverages were an accepted part of Army life at Fort Hawkins. The soldiers were issued regular liquor rations. A frequent form of punishment for discipline problems in the ranks was withholding the liquor ration for a given time period. Drunkenness was a constant problem among the troops and the historical record contains numerous references to this problem and the measures taken by the military to control it. This was accomplished by controlling the distribution of liquor and by punishment for drunkenness. The regimental order book for the 3rd Regiment, Georgia militia contains several entries that illustrate this point. An order issued on October 13, 1814 stated,

That no Person within the lines of the Encampment or at any convenient distance beyond the lines or any person belongin to the Service sell any spiritous Liquors Wine or Cordials to any of the soldiery without written permission from the commanding officer of the company, countersigned by the commanding officer of the encampment...(Regimental Order Book 1812-1814).

And from brigade orders of November 8, 1814, "Sutlers attached to Army [U.S. & militia] ordered not to sell or give Non-commissioned Officer, Private or Waggoner any spiritous Liquors without written permission... (Regimental Order Book 1812-1814).

Punishment for drunkenness in the U.S. Army and state militias took a variety of forms. Some of these were comical and intended to embarrass the drunken soldier. Several examples of punishment for drunkenness by the U.S. Army were cited earlier in this report. The Georgia militia had its own unique forms of punishment. One colorful example is found in the records of the December 5, 1814 court-martial of Private Joel Bond, Captain Morgan's Company, 3rd Regiment. Private Bond was found guilty of drunkenness and sentenced, "to be stripped perfectly [sic] naked with the exception of his

Pantaloons and march in front of the Regiment at Troop and continue round the encampment also his rations of spirits retained for one week (Regimental Order Book 1812-1814).

Alcohol was also a problem among the American citizens and the Native Americans in the early 19th century. In their social history of drinking in America, Lender and Martin (1987:46) observed that the period between the 1790s and the early 1830s probably saw the heaviest per capital alcohol consumption in American history. Alcohol was consumed as a table beverage by polite society and in many instances this social drinking probably was safer than drinking the local water. Binge drinking was common and this often led to other social problems.

The stereotype of the drunken Indian was engrained in the American psyche by the early 1800s. European traders had used strong drink for centuries in their trade with Native American groups. The heavy use of alcohol by Native Americans was quite detrimental and was responsible for drastic declines in many tribes. Drinking problems among the Lower Creeks in the 18th and early 19th centuries were rampant, as noted in historical documents of the period. Among the Creek chiefs who were prone to binge drink were the Captain Alleck and William McIntosh.

The Fort Hawkins artifact collection contains considerable evidence that the troops consumed alcoholic beverages, namely bottle glass. Other beverages, such as beer or cider, often leaves little archaeological trace, particularly if they were held in bulk in wooden or tin containers. The spirit bottles at Fort Hawkins were not manufactured in Georgia but came from the northeastern states or from Europe. No documentation was located to indicate that alcoholic beverages were ever produced at Fort Hawkins. Certainly, the raw materials to do so (cereal grain and water) were available in the general vicinity. Surviving U.S. Army records attest to regular liquor rations that were

distributed to the troops at the fort. The source of liquor supply for the fort is a subject for future study.

Spirit Bottles

Cylindrical olive green glass bottle are common on archaeological sites in Georgia throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. These bottles contained wine, rum and other distilled spirits. Cylindrical olive green spirit bottles were the common bottle type at Fort Hawkins (N=2,592, or 45% of bottle glass), although no whole specimens were recovered. Feature 101 contained the most bottle glass sherds in this category (N=920), followed by Feature 313 (N=395), Feature 270 (N=376), Feature 271 and Test Unit 112 (N=287 combined), Feature 272 and Test Unit 111 (N=156 combined), Feature 109 (N=113), and Feature 314 (N=50). The remainder were distributed in various other features and non-feature contexts across the site.

Case Bottles

Square olive green glass bottles are referred to as case bottles because they stored conveniently into square liquor cases. Gin was one beverage that was sold in this type of bottle and case bottles are often referred to as gin bottles by archaeologists, although these bottles were also used for other beverages. The Fort Hawkins collection yielded 24 fragments of case bottles. Of these 13 were found in Feature 313 and 10 in Feature 101.

Amber Bottles

Amber bottles were used in the early 19th century to hold spirits, snuff, and medicines. In western Georgia, Elliott and others (1999:XV 22-24) observed a trend on historic sites from the late 18th to early 19th centuries whereby olive

green bottle glass was gradually supplanted by amber bottles. One possible suggestion for this transition is that American drinking habits were changing during this time from European wines and rum from the Caribbean to domestically produced whisky and beer. American whisky and beer were more commonly bottled in amber bottles, whereas European wines and rum were traditionally bottled in green bottles.

Amber glass bottles were a minority type at Fort Hawkins, comprising only 2.5 percent of the bottle glass sherds. A total of 147 amber bottle glass sherds was identified in the Fort Hawkins collection. Of these five were modern and not related to the occupation of the fort. More than half of the amber glass was found in Feature 101. A significant portion of the amber bottle glass was derived from two features (Features 259 and 260), which were small refuse pits located within Feature 101. Elsewhere on the site amber glass frequency was extremely low. One sherd each was excavated from Feature 271 and 313 and two from Feature 270. The other sherds were recovered from disturbed contexts during site stripping. These findings suggest that amber colored bottle glass dated mostly to the latest military occupation period of Fort Hawkins. Some of it may represent debris from the ensuing Squatter's period or the Woolfolk plantation era.

Embossed Whisky Flasks

Whisky manufacture, distribution, and consumption has a long and colorful history in America. Soldiers were particularly fond of whisky and, indeed, rations of strong drink were an integral part of the U.S. Army's troop provisions in the Fort Hawkins era. While great quantities of whisky were packaged in wooden barrels and kegs, some percentage was bottled in glass containers. Personal-sized flasks, measuring one-half pint and one pint were popular. Hand in hand with the development of an American whisky industry was the glass

industry. The production of early 19th century glass whisky bottles was mostly confined to the northeastern United States, particularly in New Hampshire and Connecticut. By 1815 that industry was well established. Bottle enthusiasts have long sought these bottles for their aesthetic and historical value, particularly the embossed varieties. The embossed bottles were produced in a wide range of forms and design themes, including those that were purely decorative to those with an embedded political or social message. The study of American glass and the decorated whisky flasks was crystalized in the seminal work by McKearin and McKearin (1941, reprinted in 1989). The McKearin categories of various flask types remains the standard in early American glass identification and description. More recent scholarship by bottle collectors and historical anthropologists has enhanced our knowledge of bottle manufacturing history. As a result of this new research embossed whisky bottle sherds serve as sensitive temporal indicators for historic site occupation. Embossed flasks are not all that common on early historic sites in interior Georgia, however, which is partly due to the great distance from the manufacturing centers and the difficulties in overland transportation.

Archaeologists recovered 67 embossed glass whisky flask sherds from the Fort Hawkins excavations. Most of these were small fragments that could not be identified to any high degree of specificity. A few examples, however, were quite identifiable and these help to date the archaeological deposits (Figure 50). One basal fragment from Feature 101 was identified as a Masonic Eagle half-pint flask (McKearin GIV-24 type). Another fragment from Feature 101 is a dark green sherd with a left-facing eagle beneath a scroll (McKearin GIV-24 type).

McKearin's GIV-24 type is a dark green bottle blown into a two-piece mold and decorated with a Masonic arch, pillars and pavement, on the left are crossbones, a trowel and skull, and on the right a quarter moon, the reverse is molded with a plain oval frame beneath an eagle grasping balls

in each of its talons (Figure 51). These bottles were manufactured at the Keene Glassworks on Marlboro Street in Keene, New Hampshire. A complete specimen is approximately six inches in height. The Marlboro Street glassworks was established in 1815. It changed ownership in 1819 and continued in operation. Liquor flask production at the Marlboro Street glassworks dates after 1819 and continued to 1830. Thus, the Fort Hawkins specimen was probably blown sometime between 1819-1830 (McKearin and McKearin 1989:556; Northeast Auctions 2005; Noordsy and Noordsy 2006a). Lane et al. 1970:1-2).

Two identified embossed whisky flask sherds of olive (olive-amber) glass were found at Fort Hawkins. One was recovered from Feature 101 (LN 373) and the other was from Test Unit 111 of XU2 (LN 352). These bottle fragments are most likely a McKearin GVIII-16 type, which is a half pint-sized sunburst flask produced at the Coventry, Connecticut glass house (McKearin and McKearin 1989:566-569; Ham 2006; Noordsy and Noordsy 2006b). The Fort Hawkins specimens were probably produced between 1815-1830. Lindsey (2006) noted that Sunburst flasks were produced primarily in New England from about 1812 to the 1840s. Ham (2006) provides some history of Sunburst flasks and other commemorative bottles that were produced in Coventry, Connecticut,

The first geometric flasks, those with sunburst and Masonic patterns were blown in about 1815. The first historical flasks, those commemorating a historical person or event were not blown until about 1824. Sunburst and Masonic flasks were blown at a number of glass houses during the approximate 1815-1830 period including two in Connecticut, the Pitkin Glass Works, East Hartford, and the Coventry Glass Works, Coventry. Historical flasks were also blown at these glass works (Ham 2006).

The highest frequency of molded whisky flask sherds was seen in Feature 313 (N=17, or 56%).



A.



B.

- A. Sunburst
- B. Sunburst
- C. Eagle (Head)
- D. Eagle (Talons)

0 2 cm



C.



D.

Figure 50. Whisky Flasks.

Most of these sherds were small and could not be identified to a specific McKearin flask type. Several of them appear to be fragments of masonic themed flasks. Feature 101 had the next greatest concentration of molded flask sherds. None were seen in the other areas of the site. Their absence from Feature 271 is particularly noteworthy, since that feature contained most other categories of bottle glass. One explanation for their absence is that embossed whisky flasks were expensive items to obtain on the Georgia frontier and they were used by higher status individuals within the fort.

Medicine Bottles

Medicine bottle glass, or pharmaceutical glass, was found in low frequencies at Fort Hawkins. A total of 73 medicine bottle fragments was identified. The majority of medicine bottle sherds were undecorated but were identified by their thinness and small size. All were hand-blown glass, produced prior to 1840. These included aqua, clear, light green, and olive green specimens. Most of the bottles were cylindrical and a minority were panel bottles. Nearly all of the specimens were undecorated. Feature 101 yielded the most medicine bottle sherds (N=28, or 38%). Identifiable medicine bottles were also found in Features 271 and 313

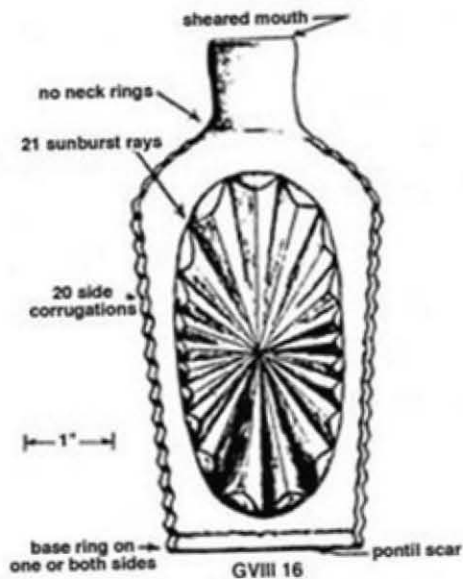


Figure 51. Examples of Sunburst and Masonic Whisky Flasks.

(N=9 and 12, respectively). Lesser amounts were observed in Features 270, 272, and 316.

Many other pieces of bottle glass, particularly the clear, aqua, light green, and one cobalt blue glass sherd, may also be from medicine bottles but they lacked any diagnostic traits. Cobalt blue bottles became commonly associated with

poisons and strong medicines by the mid-19th century. Their low frequency at Fort Hawkins probably indicates that the use of the cobalt blue glass was not in vogue at the time the fort was occupied.

Feature 101 yielded a complete “Essence of Peppermint” bottle made of light green glass.

This rectangular specimen was hand blown into a mold and is characteristic of bottles produced prior to 1840. This bottle bore the raised embossed markings, "Essence of Peppermint" and, "By the King's Patent". Bottle scholar, Allen Vegotsy provides an excellent discussion of Essence of Peppermint bottles and their archaeological contexts:

This is a very interesting bottle with a long history. I think the best review on Essence of Peppermint was provided by Jones (1981:1-57). In this paper, Jones does an excellent job of reviewing and evaluating the extensive literature on Essence of Peppermint pointing out that the product was used for several purposes, mainly as a flavoring agent for foods, candies and medicines. I suspect that the medicinal use is the most likely at a military compound. The plant source for peppermint is *Mentha piperita* L and recognized as a medicinal plant in the London Pharmacopoeia in 1721. Jones suggests that it had little medical usage until the mid 18th century. Despite the common use of the term, "patent medicine", few medicines were actually patented and Essence of Peppermint is one of those few. Essence of Peppermint was concocted by John Juniper, an English chemist/pharmacist, and patented by the king of England in 1762. The patent was valid for 14 years. It became popular in the late 18th century and remained so for the first half of the 19th century. Essence of Peppermint was still being marketed in the early 20th century. As it grew in popularity, the vials were made and/or filled by an increasing number of manufacturers in England and North America, including Thomas Dyott. Manufacturers of the vials copied the original style, which was square-based rather than cylindrical. By 1816, the hybrid peppermint plant was being cultivated in New York State.

Peppermint Oil is extracted from the dry leaves and flowering tips of the plant by a distillation process. The oil, in turn, is used to obtain peppermint

water, spirit of peppermint, and crystalline menthol. Essence of Peppermint is a dilute solution of peppermint oil in alcohol. The medical uses include relief from nausea, stomach or GI distress, flatulence (gas), and often to mask the bad taste of medicines such as castor oil (like the proverbial "spoonful of sugar." The wholesale and retail cost of Essence of Peppermint in the U.S. was cheaper for the domestic product than for the imported one. It was sold in Beverley, Mass. for 10S, 6D in the 1790s. Jones examined a number of the square-based vials that ranged from 68-80 mm in height, 18-22 mm in width, and contained 11.3 to 19.4 ml volume (about ½ ounce). Vials of Essence of Peppermint have been reported for a number of southeastern U.S. sites including the Tellico Blockhouse site in Tennessee (1794-1807) and Traveller's Rest in Georgia. It has been found in eight military sites in North America, three of them in the U.S., including the Tellico Blockhouse. An interesting side note is that Essence of Peppermint has also been found at a number of Native American sites, possibly related to the fur trade (Jones, 1981).

Fike in *The Bottle Book* and McKearin and Wilson in *American Bottles and Flasks and Their Ancestry* cover much the same territory as Jones. McKearin and Wilson on page 290 mention that one drug company suggested a dosage of "30 to 50 drops in water or on sugar." Christopher T. Davis wrote an article entitled "Peppermint Oil: A Living Legacy", in *Old Bottle Magazine*, Vol. 18, No. 7, pp. 3-10 (1985) and reported that Hiram Gilbert Hotchkiss in the late 1830s became involved in production of peppermint oil in Wayne County, New York State, and built a highly successful business out of the product.

The very first U. S. Pharmacopoeia (1820) included Oil of Peppermint on page 171, but did not include essences. The Essence and the Oil of Peppermint are discussed by Wood and Bache in the 12th Edition of *The Dispensatory*

of the United States (1865). They point out that it was then much used for the medical purposes described above. Godey's Lady's Book (The "Woman's Home Companion" of its time) described a cordial peppermint "good for flatulence, and to prevent the griping of aperient medicines" in the October 1859 issue. The beverage was made by mixing 2 ounces of wine, half an ounce of English oil of peppermint, in a sugar-water solution. The late Dr. Varro E. Tyler, who was a distinguished pharmacognosist, gives an honest and favorable assessment of the medical value of peppermint in his book "The Honest Herbal", 3rd Edition, published in 1993, on pages 245-247. He pointed out that peppermint is used in the present, often in the form of a tea, for the uses recommended two centuries ago. The active ingredient is menthol. Peppermint is not an ancient herb; it is a natural hybrid or cross that appeared in a field of spearmint in England in 1696. It cannot be grown from seed, but must be propagated vegetatively (Tyler, p. 245.) (Allen Vegotsky, personal communication, January 6, 2007).

London Mustard

A small fragment of a London Mustard bottle was identified in Feature 101 at Fort Hawkins. At first glance one would assume that this was a bottle produced in London, England as a container for mustard but there is more to this story. While you may envision a soldier in uniform eating a hot dog covered with mustard, Allen Vegotsky researched this bottle type and offers this interesting discussion:

The London Mustard bottle is aqua-colored, pontiled, and square in cross section and was part of 9Bi21, LN 581, T.U.136. The embossing was on all four sides with the letters ...ARD//...ON//...INE//...ALES. (All of the letters are the ending of a word or place.) I don't know what the

"...ALES" spells but suspect it was the name of the manufacturer. The "...INE" I believe to be for "superfine", a term used to describe a quality of mustard products.

I can confirm that the bottle is definitely a London Mustard explaining the "ON" and "ARD". There is in your collected artifacts another bottle sherd that was not in the same bag of artifacts with the letters "OND" which might fit on to the "ON" on the partial bottle. I have located information on this product from three sources, the two best are McKearin and Wilson "American Bottles & Flasks and their Ancestry" and Olive R. Jones "London Mustard Bottles" in *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 17, Number 1, 1983, pp. 69-84. Interesting reading.

The relevant points in McKearin and Wilson are" 1) Since ancient times, mustard has had a split usage, both as a medicinal and as a condiment and seasoning. 2) London Mustard is not necessarily from London. The product was popular both in England and the U.S. and U.S. merchants sold London Mustard sometimes using home-grown mustard. 3) As early as 1755, a Philadelphia merchant from London named Benjamin Jackson, who wanted to sell the product offered to buy mustard seed from the public at 40 Shillings per bushel. 4) Several American glassmakers, and no doubt, a number of English glassmakers began to make bottles for marketing mustard. Eventually the type of bottle in your artifact collection came to be known generically as a "London Mustard" bottle and was advertised as such in the catalogs of bottle manufacturers. For example, a New York firm advertised "London Mustard Squares" in 1808. 5) The barrel-shaped mustards came at a later date. 6) Mustard seeds were ground in a mill to create a kind of "flour" or meal for these bottles.

Olive Jones' paper on London Mustard bottles is a more extensive study

and more relevant to archaeology. She reports some of the same observations as the previous reference but much more. Additional points from Jones' paper are: 1) London Mustard would have been in a powder form (ground seeds) that was used as a spice in preparation of sauces or mixed with water to form a paste to accompany meat dishes. While they were sold as a condiment or spice, they may have also found use in mustard baths or plasters. 2) Dry mustard was sold by the pound with sizes ranging (at one

time in the nineteenth century) from 1/4 to 8 lbs and sold in kegs, jars, bottles, boxes and later in tins as well. 3) Archaeological evidence suggests that the London Mustard bottle of the type you have was popular in North America, at least in the early 19th century. Numerous London mustard bottles or fragments were found at several military sites in Canada, such in New Brunswick, Quebec, and Fort George. Excavation of one fort provided 46 examples of this bottle. Elsewhere, London mustard bottles have also been found in sites in Texas, Florida, Nebraska, Maryland, New Jersey, and at an Indian burial site in Eastern Oklahoma. 4) Jones states that the earliest reference to retail sale of London mustard was June 23, 1806 (it was found on your site exactly 200 years later) and the last reference she found to this product on the market was in the 1920s. In summary, bottles of the type found at Fort Hawkins typically held about 2 Oz. of powder, were used from about 1800 to 1900, and were made in England, U.S., and Denmark (Allen Vegotsy personal communication, June 15, 2006).

Mustard at Fort Hawkins may have been used as a condiment for meats. Alternatively, it may have been used as a liniment or plaster to sooth a soldier's aching muscles.

Tableware Glass

Clear tableware glass was widespread at Fort Hawkins, represented by 471 sherds. These

included drinking tumblers, wine goblets, serving bowls and possibly other container forms. Tumbler glass drinking containers were represented by 89 sherds at Fort Hawkins. The majority of these came from Features 101 and 270 (N=33 and 26, respectively). Feature 313 yielded eight tumbler glass sherds. Minor amounts were recovered from Features 265, 266, 271 and 272. Goblet fragments were found in Features 101, 271, and 313. These were made from clear glass. Goblets were often used for consuming wine, although they were also used for other spiritous liquers and brandy.

Flatware

Knives, forks and spoons were a part of the kitchen arsenal in early 19th century Georgia and all three types were represented in the Fort Hawkins collection by 53 artifacts. Many knife blade parts were found at Fort Hawkins. For most of these blade fragments, it was difficult to determine their specific use, whether in the kitchen, at the dinner table, or as a personal weapon. Many soldiers from that era carried long knives on their belt and their blades are not all that distinguishable from knives that were used in the kitchen. Examples of blades identified as table knives were found in Features 101, 270, 271, 272, and 329. Knife fragments that were classified as probable butcher knives were found in several areas of Fort Hawkins, including Features 101, 259, 271, 272, and 313.

An elegant decorative bone handle from a fork or knife was recovered from Feature 101 (LN 414). This specimen was decorated with a series of parallel spiral ridges (Figure 52). One complete bone-handled fork with two-tines was found in Feature 271 (LN 580). A small fragment of a silver teaspoon was unearthed in Feature 101 (LN 329) and a pewter teaspoon was found in Feature 271 (LN 634). Feature 317 contained part of a pewter serving spoon and another was found in Feature 271. Features 101 and 271 each contained iron serving spoon fragments.

- A. Silver Spoon, LN 329;
- B. Fork handle, LN 414
- C. Knife or fork handle, LN 404
- D. Fork, LN 458.



0 2 cm

A.



B.



C.



D.

Figure 52. Table Flatware.

Cookware

Twenty-two fragments of cast iron cookware were recovered from several contexts at Fort Hawkins. These cast iron pieces would have been used in kitchens where food was cooked. All of the pieces of cast iron from Fort Hawkins were small to medium sized fragments and included skillets and kettles. Skillet parts were found in Features 101 and 313. Iron kettle fragments were found in Features 271 and 313 and from other disturbed contexts. One dutch oven lid was recovered.

Other cooking related items include portions of a trammel hook, a multi-piece of wrought iron hardware used to regulate the cooking temperature by adjusting the height of the cooking pot above the heat source, from Feature 271.

Coffee Mill

The presence of one small brass artifact in the Fort Hawkins midden shows that the soldiers at Fort Hawkins had the luxury of fresh ground coffee. Coffee was a part of English culture

since the first coffeehouse opened in England in 1652. Coffee became an increasingly popular drink in America after the Boston Tea Party in 1773. Consumption of coffee was viewed as a patriot activity (Pendergrast 1999; Mr. Cappuccino 2006).

A fragile stamped brass or copper nameplate from a coffee grinding mill was recovered from the midden in Feature 272 (Figure 53; LN 581). The

artifact is an oval piece that was secured to the wooden part of the coffee mill with two small nails or screws. It reads: “George Slater Coffee Mill Maker Much Improved Warranted”. The central design is the coat of arms of the Order of the Garter. The Order of the Garter was a English order of chivalry founded in 1348 by King Edward III. The Order’s motto, “Honi soit qui mal y pense”, which translates to, “Shame on him who thinks evil of it”, appears in the central design. This motto also appears on several British coins. The French motto, “Dieu et mon droit”, which translates to, “God and my right” also appears in the design. This was a common motto of the British monarchy since the reign of Henry V (1413-1422) (Wikipedia.com 2006). These lines of evidence indicate that this artifact is a relic of the George Slater English coffee mill manufacture. The item was undated but its archaeological context places it in the very early 19th century.

Clothing Group

Approximately 881 artifacts from Fort Hawkins were categorized in the Clothing group. Clothing artifacts from Fort Hawkins consist of two primary types, military and civilian.



Figure 53. Coffee Grinder Manufacturer’s Plate.

Durable metal artifacts from military uniforms were found throughout the excavations. These uniform parts are very important artifacts for interpreting the age and function of the various archaeological deposits at Fort Hawkins. Because U.S. Army uniforms went through several changes during the Fort Hawkins era, Many of these changes are reflected in the archaeological record at Fort Hawkins. Figure 54 shows several artist’s renditions of the U.S. Army uniforms that would have graced Fort Hawkins.

Shakos

Army headgear was an important component of the uniform, and cap and helmet styles changed dramatically during the Fort Hawkins era. The metal hardware from these headdresses is all that has survived in the archaeological record. Three examples of shako plates were identified from Fort Hawkins. A shako is defined as a, “stiff, cylindrical military dress hat with a metal plate in front, a short visor, and a plume” (Freedictionary.com 2006). The Shako hat or helmet was popular among many armies in the early 19th century. The U.S. Army embraced this uniform style and it remained popular throughout the Fort Hawkins period.

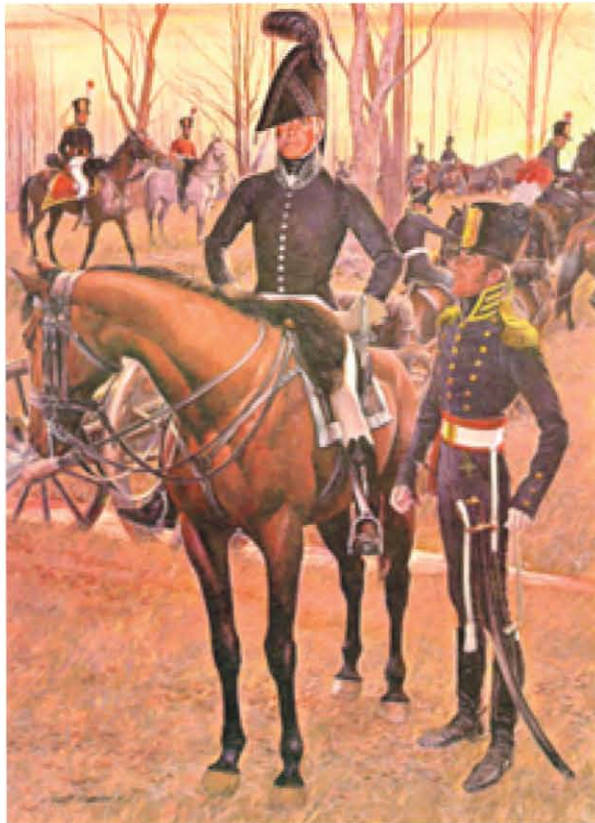
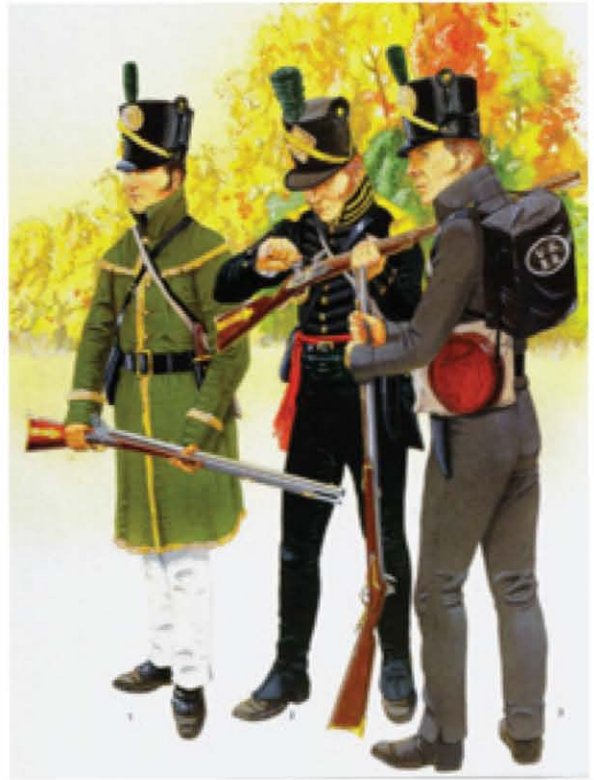


Figure 54. Artist Renditions of Various 19th Century U.S. Army Soldiers.

Shakos with stamped metal emblems were worn by officers, non-commissioned officers and enlisted men.

A fragment of a stamped brass shako emblem was recovered from Feature 313 and is illustrated in Figure 55. This example was probably worn by an Infantryman and possibly an enlisted man. A more complete specimen is curated in the Smithsonian Institution, American Museum of American History (gggodwin.com 2006). A reproduction of this piece is shown in Figure 55. Another small fragment from a similar style shako plate was found in Feature 272 (LN 654). It contains a portion of a left facing eagle and left wing. Another stamped brass shako emblem, bearing a trumpet in raised relief, was dug up several years ago from beneath the Fort Hawkins School by Tony Meeks. That specimen, whose precise context is unknown, was used by the U.S. Army, Regiment of Rifles.

Uniform Buttons

A large assortment of military buttons was excavated at Fort Hawkins. Approximately 549 metal buttons were recovered and many of these were identified by type. Examples of these are shown in Figures 56 through 58 and many more buttons are illustrated in Appendix D. These uniform buttons are summarized in Table 11. These buttons were classified by raw material type, surface decoration, backing device, and maker's marks. Military buttons at Fort Hawkins were made of pewter or brass. Some examples of composite (3-piece) buttons, which may have contained a bone or wooden core, also were identified. Troiani (2001) provides an extensive catalog of U.S. military buttons from the Revolutionary War period. Albert (1997) provides a comprehensive inventory of U.S. military buttons and his work is often cited as the primary reference guide for 19th century U.S. military buttons. Tice (1997) presents abundant information on early federal military and various state militia buttons from

the Fort Hawkins era. Both sources were used to identify and date many of the Fort Hawkins buttons.

As a group, military buttons proved to be one of the most informative artifact classes at Fort Hawkins. Such buttons can often be identified to specific branches of the military, and regiments. Military buttons are also a sensitive chronological indicator, since the various reorganizations of the U.S. military is reflected in their buttons. The potential for deriving information from military buttons is increased when combined with other historical facts. For example, if a particular regiment was known to be at Fort Hawkins during a specific period, then buttons from that regiment can be used to bracket the date of the archaeological deposits in which they are found. Regimental buttons also offer clues to regiments that may have been posted at Fort Hawkins, but for whom there is no associated historical documents.

Early Infantry Buttons

Early varieties of 2nd Infantry Regiment buttons are represented in the Fort Hawkins assemblage. The 2nd Infantry is clearly associated with the earliest years of the fort and these were their buttons.

Early varieties of regimental buttons for the 4th, 6th, and 9th Regiments were recovered from the excavations. Examples are also represented in the Meeks Collection (Appendix D). These types, which contain a numeral in the center surrounded by the words "UNITED STATES" were produced from 1798 to about 1802 (Albert 1997):18-19). These buttons were worn by the [Old] 4th, 6th, and 9th Regiments, none of which were documented as being garrisoned at Fort Hawkins. These buttons were probably worn by soldiers in the 2nd Infantry Regiment in the earliest years of Fort Hawkins existence.

Six Eagle and Shield type Infantry buttons were identified in the Fort Hawkins collection.

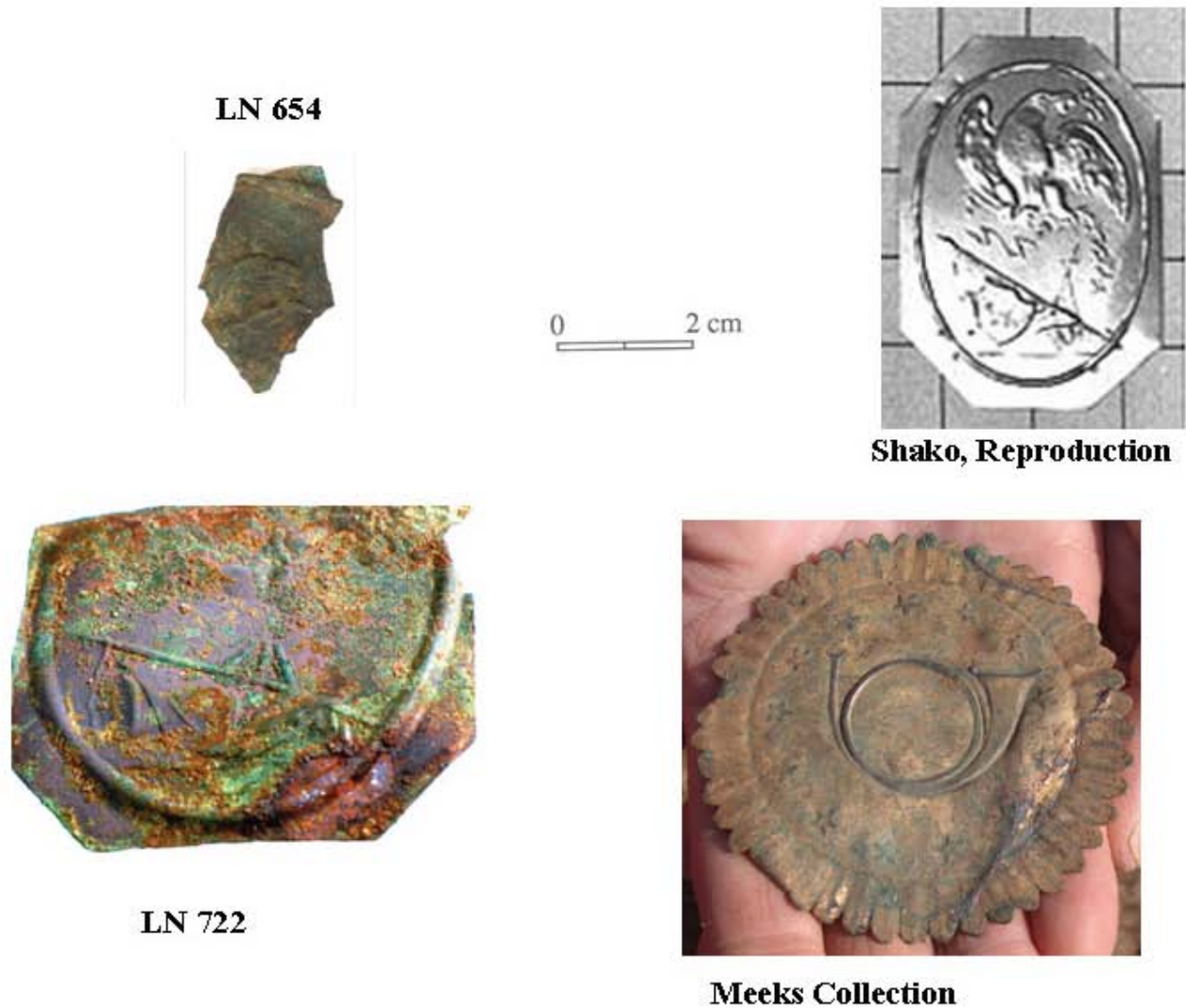


Figure 55. Shako Plates.

This type was produced between 1815 and 1821 (Albert 1997). Their spatial distribution at Fort Hawkins was limited, recovered only from Feature 271 and Test Units 111 and 112. Another 11 buttons displayed an eagle motif but were not identified further. These buttons may have been worn by various infantry regiments at Fort Hawkins during its post-War of 1812 occupation.

A new U.S. Army Infantry uniform was designed in January, 1812. A diagnostic feature of this uniform was its script “I” buttons, which bore the regiment numeral in an oval beneath the “I” (Kochan 2000:11; Hughes and Lester 1991:207; Chartrand 1992). The U.S. Infantry

uniform design specifications were modified again in 1813. The script “I” buttons on this modified design contained an asterisk in the oval, replacing the earlier regiment number (Katcher 1990:31; Hughes and Lester 1991:207; Kochan 2000:13-14). This script “I” with asterisk type was produced from 1813 to 1815. Despite only being produced for a period of only two years, this was a common button type, represented by 58 specimens in the Fort Hawkins assemblage. Script “I” buttons bearing no regimental number were recovered from Feature 101, 259, 264, 266, 271, 272, and 313 and in Test Units 111 and 112. Their presence in those contexts strongly suggest that those buildings were in use during the War of 1812.

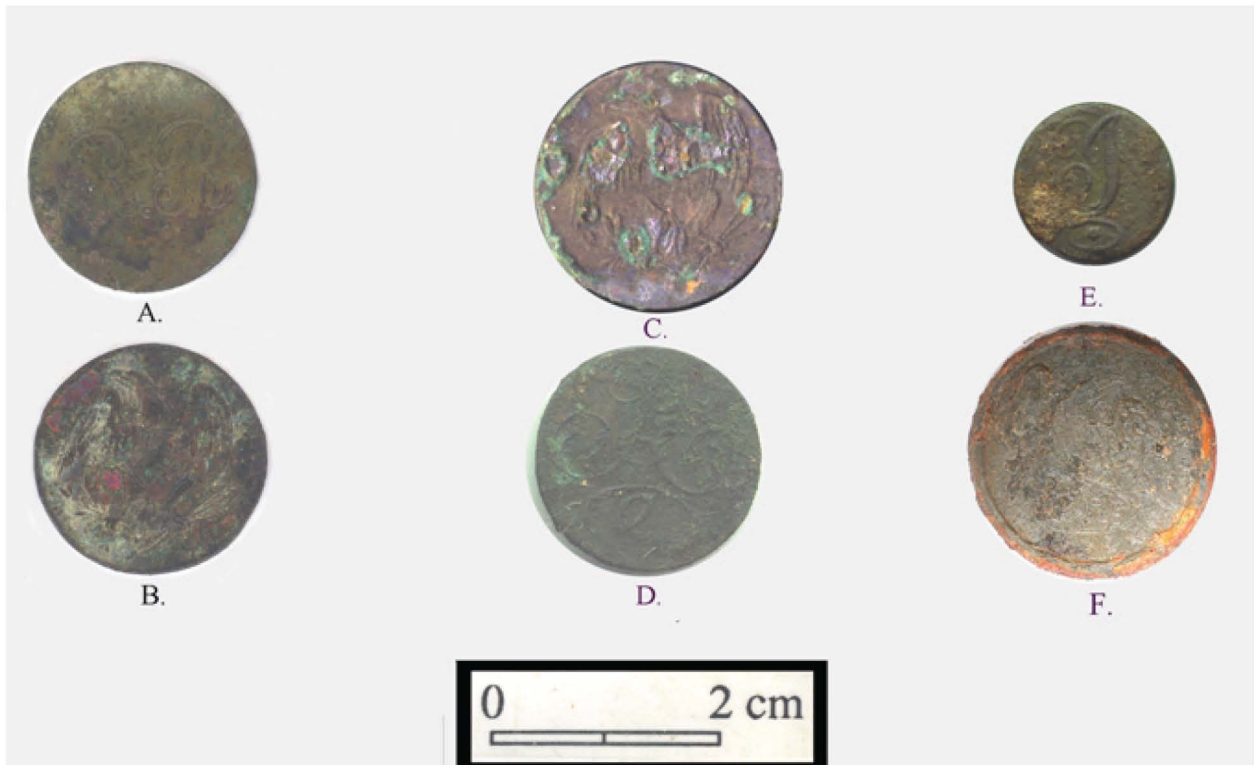


Figure 56. Selected Buttons from Fort Hawkins.

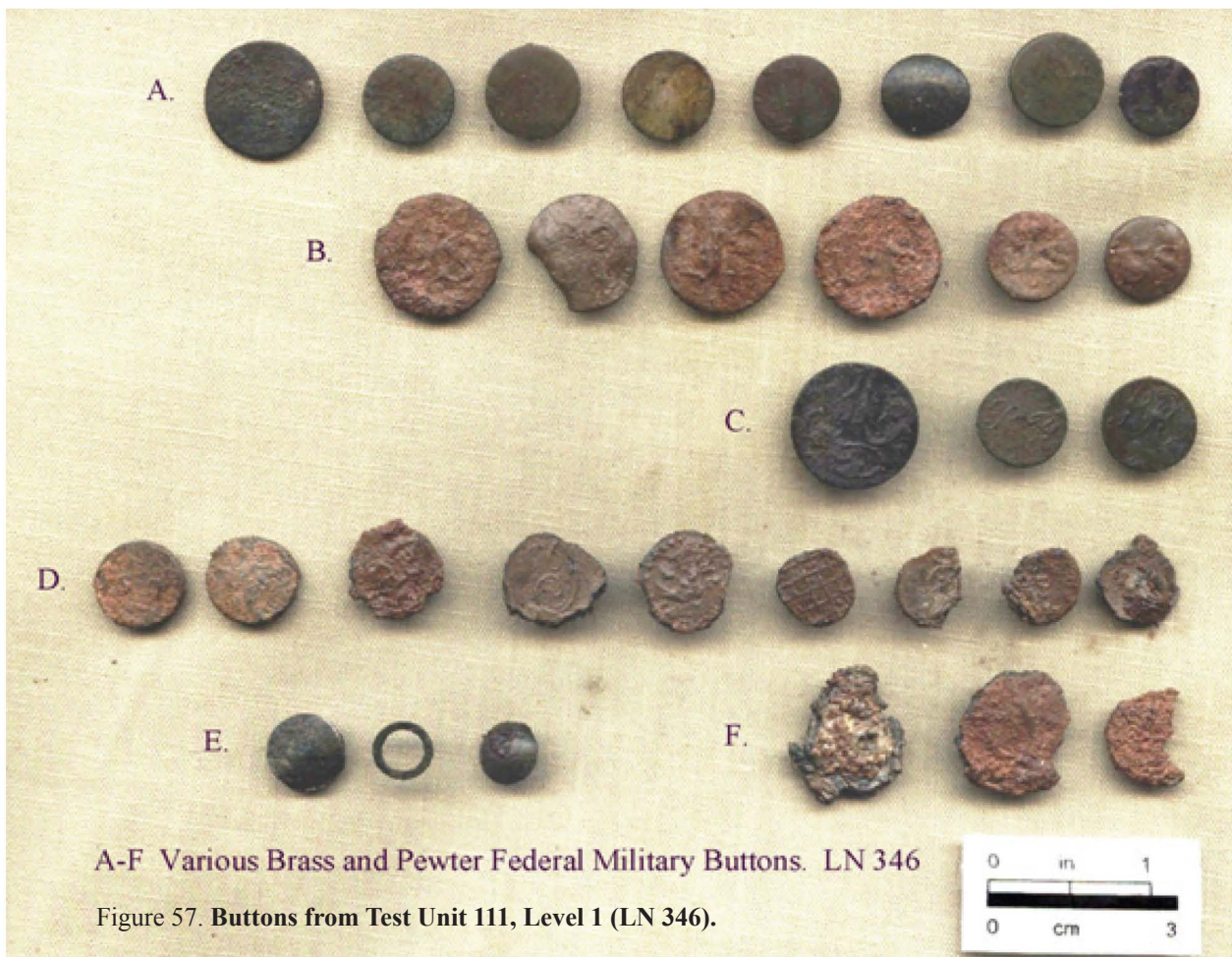


Figure 57. Buttons from Test Unit 111, Level 1 (LN 346).



Figure 58. Buttons from Test Unit 112, Level 1 (LN 347).

Artillery Buttons

At least eight different kinds of artillerymen's uniform buttons were recognized in the Fort Hawkins collection. This archaeological finding is noteworthy since no artillery regiments were specifically identified as part of the Fort Hawkins garrison, based on historical research. The buttons indicate that elements of several different regiments of artillery lived at Fort Hawkins at various times in its history. One 1st Regiment of Artillerists button type was recovered from Feature 272. Two 2nd Regiment of Artillerists buttons were included in the Fort Hawkins collection. One was recovered from Feature 101, Level 2 in Test Unit 127. The other specimen, which was a 2nd Regiment of Artillerists button, was recovered from Test

Unit 107, Level 2. A Script "RA" button with no regimental designation was recovered from Feature 313. All of these buttons were produced between 1811 and 1813 (Albert 1997:51-52). Early varieties of 1st, 2nd and 3rd Artillery Regiment buttons were present in the Fort Hawkins collection.

One button, tentatively attributed to the Chatham Artillery of Savannah, Georgia, was recovered from Test Unit 112 (Appendix D, LN 374). It is decorated with a coiled rattlesnake and the slogan, "Don't Tread On Me". Albert attributes this button to the Continental Georgia Navy, although Tice (1997:274) pointed out that the button manufacturing techniques are from a later period and he associated this button variety with the Chatham Artillery. The Chatham

TU	Fea.Count	Description	Military Unit	TPQ
108	101	1Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
121	101	1Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
131	101	1Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
141	109	1Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
137	271	1Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
111		3Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
112		1Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
General		2Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
TOTAL		11Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
135	271	5Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1812
136	271	1Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1812
137	271	1Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1808
140	272	1Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1808
142	313	3Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1808
111		4Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1808
112		1Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1808
General		1Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1808
TOTAL		17Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	
118	101	1Script "I"	Infantry	1813
122	101	3Script "I"	Infantry	1813
124	101	1Script "I"	Infantry	1813
127	259	1Script "I"	Infantry	1813
	264	1Script "I"	Infantry	1813
	266	1Script "I"	Infantry	1813
135	271	9Script "I"	Infantry	1813
136	271	5Script "I"	Infantry	1813
137	271	7Script "I"	Infantry	1813
140	272	2Script "I"	Infantry	1813
143	313	1Script "I"	Infantry	1813
146	313	1Script "I"	Infantry	1813
	314	1Script "I"	Infantry	1813
111		11Script "I"	Infantry	1813
112		6Script "I"	Infantry	1813
113		1Script "I"	Infantry	1813
117		1Script "I"	Infantry	1813
121		1Script "I"	Infantry	1813
147		1Script "I"	Infantry	1813
PP1		1Script "I"	Infantry	1813
General		1Script "I"	Infantry	1813
TOTAL		57Script "I"	Infantry	

Table 11. Uniform Buttons from Fort Hawkins (continued on next page).

111		1Eagle and "I" in Shield	Infantry	
112		4Eagle and "I" in Shield	Infantry	1815
135	271	1Eagle and "I" in Shield	Infantry	1815
TOTAL		6Eagle and "I" in Shield	Infantry	
	PP25	1Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
121	101	4Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
130	101	1Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
TU	Fea.Count	Description	Military Unit	TPQ
131	101	1Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
	270	3Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
135	271	6Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
136	271	2Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
137	271	3Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
142	313	5Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
111		21Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
112		6Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
117		1Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
121		1Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
122		1Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
146		1Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
General		6Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
TOTAL		63Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	
			2nd Regiment of Artillerists	1811
127	101	1Script "RA" and "2"	1st Regiment Artillery	1802
121		1 "CUFG EAGLE ARTILLER"	Chatham Artillery	1800
112		1"Don't Tread on Me" with Rattlesnake	1st Regiment of Artillerists	1811
140	272	11ST RA	1st Regiment Artillery	1802
General		1Cannon and Eagle with "I REGt"	1st Regiment Artillery	1802
112		1Eagle	1st Regiment Artillery	1802
111		2Script "A 3"	3rd Regiment Artillery	1813
133	101	1Script "A" above "2"	2nd Regiment Artillery	1813
135	271	1Script "A" above "2"	2nd Regiment Artillery	1813
136	271	1Script "A" above "2"	2nd Regiment Artillery	1813
137	271	1Script "A" above "2"	2nd Regiment Artillery	1813
140	272	1Script "A" above "2"	2nd Regiment Artillery	1813
General		1Script "A" above "2"	2nd Regiment Artillery	1813
	PP102	1Script "A" with 3 in Oval	3rd Regiment Artillery	1813
107		1Script "RA 2"	2nd Regiment of Artillerists	1811
142	313	1Script "RA"	1st Regiment of Artillerists	1811
General		1Script A with "3"	3rd Artillery Regiment	1813
TOTAL		18Artillery		

Table 11. Uniform Buttons from Fort Hawkins (continued).

	109	101	1Eagle motif, Albert NY-12	New York militia	
	136	271	1“UNITED STATES” surround with “9” in center	9th Regiment	1798
General			1“UNITED STATES” surround with “6” in center	6th Regiment	1798
	137	271	1Eagle facing right, 4th Regiment	4th Infantry	1798
	131	101	1 “2”	2nd Regiment Infantry	
	135	271	1Eagle, right facing, Stars surround,”2R”	2nd Regiment	1798
	136	271	1Eagle above “2RT”	2nd Regiment	1798
	130	101	1Eagle above “2RT”	2nd Regiment	1798
	111		1“2 R” with Eagle	2nd Regiment	1798
Trench			12nd Regiment	2nd Regiment	
	111		1“__FG T” OR “REG T”	undetermined	
General			1Naval, Eagle on Anchor	U.S. Navy	
General			1U.S. Infantry	Union--Civil War	
TOTAL			13Other		
TOTAL			185ALL DIAGNOSTIC MILITARY BUTTONS		

Table 11. Uniform Buttons from Fort Hawkins.

Artillery was established as an elite artillery unit in the American Revolution and was part of the 1st Georgia Militia Regiment around 1800. The Chatham Artillery participated in the War of 1812 and would likely have assembled at Fort Hawkins with the other Georgia militia troops. Tice (1997) noted that the link between the rattlesnake button and the Chatham Artillery is circumstantial and he based his assessment on examples dug from the Savannah vicinity. A similar button that recently sold at auction on Ebay was dug from an unknown context in Savannah, Georgia.

Regiment of Rifles Buttons

Rifle Regiment buttons date after 1808, which is when the Regiment of Rifles were authorized (Mahon and Danysh 1972:13). These buttons were produced until 1811 (Albert 1997:74-75). These buttons were worn by Colonel Thomas A. Smith’s Regiment of Rifles, who were assigned to duty at Fort Hawkins. Seventeen “RR” buttons were identified in the Fort Hawkins assemblage. Examples were recovered from Feature 271, 272, and 313 and from Test Units

111 and 112. Their absence in the buttons from Feature 101 strongly suggests that the Colonel Smith’s troops had left Fort Hawkins prior to the occupation of this part of the fort.

General Service Buttons

A common U.S. Army button style contained a simple “US” Roman numeral device. This style was used by the Army between 1808-1830 (Albert 1997:19-20; Katcher 1990:30; Hughes and Lester 1991:207). Because it was not manufactured until 1808, it represents a sensitive time marker for dating deposits at Fort Hawkins. Standard “US” buttons were common at Fort Hawkins. These were issued as general service uniform buttons. General service buttons were common at Fort Hawkins, represented by 63 specimens. Examples were recovered from Features 101, 270 271, and 313 and in Test Units 111, 112, 117, 121, and 122. Several sizes of buttons in this category were observed.

New York Militia Button

One New York Militia button was unearthed from Feature 101. A similar button (Albert type NY-12) is illustrated in Albert (1997:199). This button type was worn by New York troops in the period after the American Revolution. The New York militia was never garrisoned at Fort Hawkins so its presence in the fort is a minor mystery. Perhaps a soldier in the fort served in the New York militia prior to his service at Fort Hawkins, or the button was possibly used by a soldier on his uniform, for want of a more correct one.

Civilian Buttons

Decorative metal buttons were present in the Fort Hawkins collections. These were non-military issue and not part of the official Army uniform. This type included geometric and floral designs. Civilian buttons at Fort Hawkins were made from a variety of materials including glass, metal, and bone.

The most common metal button type recovered from Fort Hawkins were undecorated brass buttons. These were worn by both civilian and military personnel. These buttons varied in diameter. Most were flat, although several examples of convex and concave buttons were noted. A portion of these undecorated buttons had identifiable marks on the reverse. These backmarks were mostly of limited diagnostic value.

Bone and Horn Buttons

Bone or horn buttons were common at Fort Hawkins, represented by 77 specimens. Feature 271 yielded the most examples, followed by Feature 101 (N=22 and 19, respectively). The bone buttons were found in a variety of sizes and with one, two, four, and five holes. Archaeologists found no evidence for bone

button manufacture at Fort Hawkins. Bone button manufacturing evidence was observed from excavations at several other early military sites, including Tellico Blockhouse, Tennessee and Fort Frederick, St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, where beef ribs were used as raw material stock for production (Polhemus 1979; Elliott 1992b). This craft industry at these forts may have helped to fill the soldier's leisure time. These resembled the bone buttons and were of the one-hole variety. Many of the bone buttons were used as underwear buttons.

Glass Buttons

Black glass buttons and jewelry grew extremely popular in the mid-19th century, particular after the death of Great Britain's Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Duke of Saxony in 1861. His wife, British Queen Victoria, went into an extended period of severe mourning after his death and mourning jewelry remained in vogue throughout the last half of the 19th century (Muller 1998:14). Jet is a jewelry-grade coal that was coveted for mourning jewelry. Great quantities of jet were mined for this purpose in Whitby, England in the 19th century. Mourning jewelry and black glass clothing buttons were in use decades prior to the death of Prince Albert however, and the examples from Fort Hawkins likely date to that earlier period. Six black glass or jet buttons were present in the Fort Hawkins collection. Four of the Fort Hawkins examples came from Feature 101 and one was recovered from a post feature (Feature 264). Three of these were classified as possibly jet, rather than glass. In addition to the black glass or jet buttons, one faceted, cobalt-blue glass button was recovered from Feature 217.

Buckles

Fifty-seven buckles or buckle fragments were recovered from Fort Hawkins. These include iron and brass buckles (N=35 and 16, respectively). Several of the brass buckles

had iron tongues. Of these, 26 buckles were classified as small and 13 were large and the dimensions of the other buckles was not noted in the analysis. Only six buckles were classified as clothing buckles and most, whose function was undetermined, were placed in the Activities Group. Many of these buckles of unspecified function may also be clothing buckles. Others are probably associated with horse hardware or other military equipage. One clothing buckle was made from a thin white metal (possibly pewter). The buckles were mostly utilitarian in design.

Collar Stays

Brass collar stays (or collar tabs) from U.S. Army uniforms were recovered from several areas at Fort Hawkins, including Features 101, 109, 271, 272, 313 and other contexts. Thirty-one examples were retrieved by the excavations. Features 271 and 313 contained the greatest numbers of these items, each yielding seven specimens. Despite the extensive excavation in Feature 101, only two examples were recovered from that part of the site. Collar stays are made from thin, rectangular sheets and have male and female parts. Examples are shown in Figure 59. These collar stays helped to give the stylish, though uncomfortable and impractical, uniforms their distinctive look. Because they were made from thin sheet brass, and the male and female portions interlocked, they were prone to breakage along their junction. Once broken, the collar tabs were of little apparent value and were discarded.

Epaulettes and Other Indications of Rank

Epaulettes were worn on the shoulders by ranking officers (Lieutenants or higher) of the U.S. Army and possibly by officers of state militias (Long 2006 [1895]; Peterson 1950, 1951; Oliver 2006 [1983]). Epaulettes were an important part of the Army uniforms from the 1700s. They were the primary visual clue for distinguishing rank. Epaulettes for high

ranking officers were made from silver and gold bullion wire, while epaulettes for lower ranks, such as Sergeants were made of cheaper metals or cloth. In the 1860s, an officer's rank was partially indicated by the diameter of the wire cords that dangled from the epaulettes. The "bullion" for a Captain's epaulette was only ¼ inch in diameter and that of a Lieutenant was only ⅛ inch in diameter. The bullion for officers ranking higher than Captain was ½ inch in diameter.

Small fragments of wire bullion from Army uniform epaulettes were recovered from Feature 101 and XU2 (LN 394 and 352) (Figure 60). These relics consisted of small pieces of coiled brass wire. The artifacts were compared to surviving examples of an early 19th century U.S. Army uniform epaulette from a field grade officer and one worn by an Infantry Captain from the Civil War era (Peterson 1950, 1951; Lanham 2004, 2006; Oliver 2006[1983]). Several similarities were noted.

Other artifacts in the Fort Hawkins collection that possibly served as Army uniform regalia. These include a fragment of small gold-gilt brass (possible) cannon insignia from Feature 101 and small white metal bars from Test Unit 112, Level 2 (LN 388 and 349, respectively). The cannon insignia, if that is what this specimen represents, would have been worn by a soldier or officer in an artillery regiment.

Shoe Parts

Two brass boot heel frames were recovered from Feature 101 (LN 379). Both specimens are from men's boots. An illustrated example of a military boot from the period shows a sturdy, simple design that was secured with five tacks (Figure 61). Another brass boot heel plate was recovered from Feature 109 (LN 659) and is also illustrated. It was also simple in design and secured with five tacks but shaped slightly differently from the Feature 101 specimen. A fourth example was recovered from a disturbed context. It was from a small boot heel and it had

a decorative cross excised in its center. Other evidence for shoes at Fort Hawkins included iron and brass brads that were used to bind the shoe sole to the shoe. Archaeologists also found a remnant of a leather shoe, which still contained these brads also was found. These items were recovered from Feature 109.

Other Clothing Hardware

Brass hook and eyes were used to secure clothing. This type of fastener is common on 18th and 19th century sites in Georgia. In the early days hooks and eyes were used for both men's and women's clothing, although they are presently most associated with women's clothing. Three examples were found at Fort Hawkins in Features 101, 271, and 264. A small brass clasp, probably for a leather bag or other small personal item was unearthed from Feature 271 (LN 634). This object was molded with the words, "Webb's Patent New York" on its face. A small, plain brass keep for a belt or strap came from Feature 101 (LN 414).

Sewing items at Fort Hawkins included thimbles, scissors, and straight pins. Six sewing thimbles are contained in the Fort Hawkins collection. Five were found in Feature 101 and the other from Feature 272. Nine iron scissor fragments were found in Features 101, 271, 272, and 313. Straight pins were common in the Fort Hawkins midden, represented by 109 examples. Many others may have been present in the midden but were lost by the ¼ inch mesh recovery method. The straight pins appear essentially the same as modern day examples, although made of brass and many were silver plated. One well-preserved specimen from Feature 101 appeared to be plated with silver or tin. Straight pins were recovered from Features 101, 109, 262, 266, 271, 272, 313, 316, and from the palisade trenches. The greatest frequency of straight pins was observed in Feature 101, which yielded 70 specimens, or 64 percent.

Beads and Jewelry

Beads are very common on 19th century sites and we expected to find many at Fort Hawkins, particularly because it had served as a major U.S. trading factory for the Creek Nation. Despite the extensive excavations, however, only 42 glass beads were discovered. With one exception the beads were common types, typical of early 19th century glass trade beads manufactured in Italy. They were produced by drawn cane or wire wound methods. Drawn cane beads are most common from this time period. These were made by stretching hot, hollow glass rods, which were then broken into small segments. These beads were then tumbled or otherwise modified with smoothed or faceted edges.

One "Punta Rosa" variety teardrop-shaped turquoise blue glass bead was recovered from Feature 101. This variety is not generally found on 19th century sites. Many examples of the Punta Rosa type bead were discovered in archaeological excavations for the Town Creek Reservoir, a short distance north of Macon. There they were contained in Native American burial contexts from the early 18th (or possibly late 17th) century. The presence of this bead in Feature 101 may hint at a minor early historic occupation that pre-dates Fort Hawkins.

Features 101 and 271 contained the most beads (N=35, or 80%) and the remainder were scattered over the site in low frequencies. Feature 101 yielded 26 beads, including 25 glass beads (or 59% of the glass beads). These beads were scattered across the building and no clusters were recognized. Blue and clear glass beads were the most common varieties in Feature 101. Feature 271 yielded eight glass beads. One bead made from shell and one copper bead were identified in Feature 101. A brass tinkler cone was found in Feature 101 (LN 414).

Fort Hawkins yielded two simple brass wire bracelets. This type of bracelet was frequently



B. LN 346

A. Brass collar tab set, LN 703



Figure 59. Uniform Collar Stays.

an Indian trade item but may also have been worn by enlisted men or their families. One was recovered from Feature 101 (LN 414) and the other was from Feature 272 (LN 623). Several delicate small brass jewelry pieces were recovered from Feature 101 (LN 397). These may represent women’s jewelry. Finger rings were found in three contexts including examples from Features 266 and 267. One ring was made from gold plated brass, another was made from brass and one possible finger ring was made from iron.

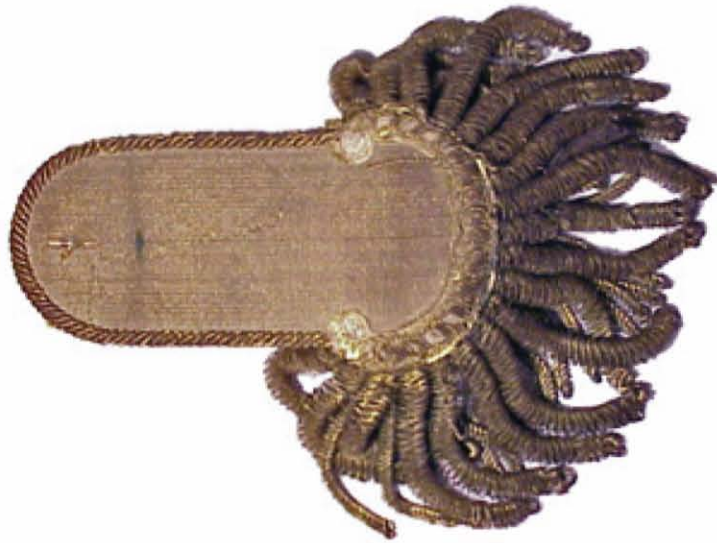
Arms Group

Heavy Ordnance

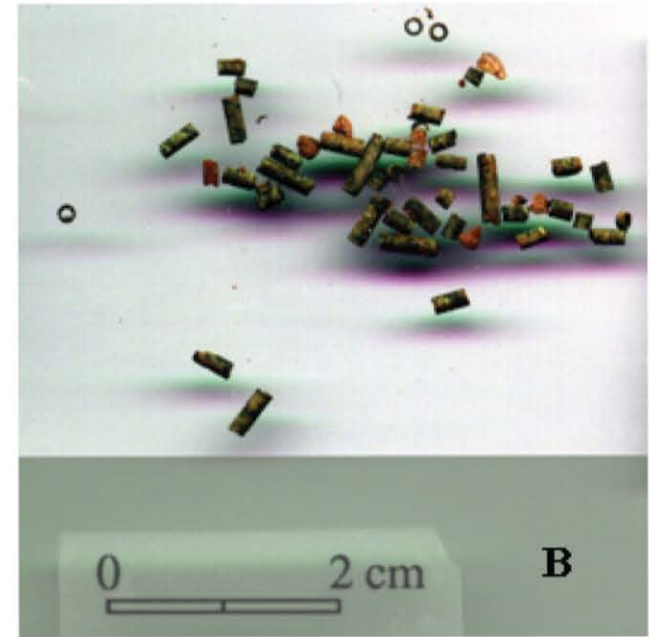
Fort Hawkins was a major munitions warehouse and weapons arsenal for most of

its period of operation. Numerous records of arms and ammunition shipments to and from Fort Hawkins are recorded in the U.S. Army and Georgia militia records. Bynum S. Hatley served as the Armorer at Fort Hawkins from March 1 to June 12, 1814 (Hays 1940, v.4:46, 91). Wilcox (1999) noted that Thomas Green, a Revolutionary War veteran, transported guns between Milledgeville and Fort Hawkins during the period from 1812 to 1816. The presence of numerous uniform buttons worn by U.S. artillery regiments also attests to the presence of artillery at Fort Hawkins.

History records that artillery pieces, including cannons, were present at Fort Hawkins at various times. The fort never had a vast amount of artillery, which is intriguing given its military importance. On September 12, 1814 A. B. Fannin, Deputy Quarter Master General, U.S. Army, reported to the Georgia Governor that



A.



A. Early 19th Century Epaulette (Lanham 2006); **B.** Epaulette Brass, LN 394; **C.** Epaulette Gold, LN 619; **D.** Insignia Brass, LN 606.



C.



D.

Figure 60. Epaulette Pieces, Feature 101, Fort Hawkins (Right) and Early 19th Century Complete Specimen (Lanham 2006).



A.



B.



A. LN 379; B. LN 659

Figure 61. **Boot Heel Hardware.**

among the artillery pieces that had been used by Captain Jett M. Thomas' Company, Georgia militia, in the Creek War, one piece was located at Fort Hawkins. A "Return of Ordnance and Military Stores on hand at Fort Hawkins 13th September 1814" listed one brass 3 Pounder and 2 Cohorns at the fort. That list also contained rounds of grape shot for 3, 4 and 6 pounds, strap shot for 3 and 4 pounders, and loose balls for 4 pounders (Hays 1940, v.4:135-136). A cohorn, or coehorn, was a small bronze mortar that was mounted on a wooden block.

An inventory of large ordnance at Fort Hawkins, dated December 31, 1818, listed two Field mounted cannons, 12 and 6 pounders, and one dismounted Field cannon, 12 and 6 pounders [sic?] (ASP Military Affairs, v. 1: 821). Apparently the 3 and 4 pounders that were present at Fort Hawkins in 1814 were no longer there by 1818. On September 23, 1818, Lieutenant J. Wilson, U.S. Ordnance Department wrote to Georgia Governor Rabun regarding the disposition of one piece of ordnance that had been at Fort Hawkins,

It having been suggested to the Commanding officer that there was a piece of ordnance at this post belonging to the state, I am directed by Maj^r Gen^l Gaines to inform you that all the ordnance & ordnance stores were delivered to me as United States property & receipted for as such—the gen^l also desires me to inform you that particularly enquiry will be made respecting the gun & should it be found, will be immediately restored or held subject to your order" (Hays 1940, v.4:398).

A confidential report by the Assistant Inspector General, dated June 30, 1820, stated that Fort Hawkins "two twelve pounders, one of them mounted" and he also noted that the Quartermaster stores at Fort Hawkins had. "a considerable quantity of powder, which from the length of time it has been in store hs become considerably dangerous" (Ford 1994).

A 6-pounder cannon was recently sold on the antiquities market, which was associated with Fort Hawkins and Gneral Lafayette's 1825 salute in Macon. That weapon was produced for

the U.S. Army at the Columbia Foundry, which was established in Georgetown, Maryland in 1801. The weapon is currently displayed at the Old Bardstown Village Civil War Museum in Kentucky where owner Steve Munson has the provenance connecting the weapon to Fort Hawkins (Marty Willett personal conversation with Steve Munson, February, 2007).

The archaeological evidence for heavy ordnance at Fort Hawkins was rare. No artillery hardware or accoutrements were identified in the artifact collections. Five solid iron grapeshot were recovered from Fort Hawkins. The two largest specimen measured 1 inch in diameter and were from Feature 272 and Test Unit 112. Two slightly smaller grapeshot (.93 and .95 caliber) came from Feature 101. An .80 caliber grapeshot was recovered from a disturbed site context. Grapeshot was used as anti-personnel munitions by the Continental Army and the U.S. Army. Grapeshot, or cannister shot, was common ammunition throughout the Fort Hawkins era, continuing through the Civil War period.

Since some military Civil War activity at Fort Hawkins is indicated from the other arms artifacts that were found, these grapeshot cannot be definitively associated with either time period based on their description alone. When one considers the context where these two objects were found, however, we see that they most likely date to the Fort Hawkins era. One grapeshot, measuring .95 caliber was recovered from Feature 101, Level 2 (LN 523), and the other, measuring 1 inch in diameter (1.00 caliber), was found in Feature 272, Level 2 (LN 580). Neither object bore any diagnostic markings.

Musket Hardware

Muskets were produced for the U.S. Army at the Harpers Ferry, West Virginia and Springfield, Massachusetts Armories, and by private contractors. These included .54 and .69 caliber muskets. The .54 caliber weapon had

a rifled barrel, whereas the .69 caliber was a smoothbore weapon. A variety of other older model weapons, and weapons produced by private contractors, were also likely present at Fort Hawkins. Examples of the weapons and ammunition that were typical at Fort Hawkins are shown in Figure 62.

The 1803 model .54 caliber Harpers Ferry rifled musket was the first U.S. issue rifle. This weapon weighed about 8.5 pounds, had a barrel length of 33 inches. It required a lead ball of .53 caliber, or less. This weapon was modified in 1814, and again in 1815. A total of 4,023 muskets were produced in the U.S. from 1803-1806 and 15,703 muskets were produced from 1814-1819 (The Rifle Shoppe 2006; Flayderman 1980).

The earliest Springfield Musket that was likely to be at Fort Hawkins was the Springfield Model 1795, which was produced from 1795-1814. This musket was replaced by the Springfield M1812 was a .69 smoothbore with a 41 inch barrel. Both the Harpers Ferry and Springfield armories manufactured the Model 1816 Flintlock Musket. Over 900,000 of the Model 1816 were produced at Harpers Ferry, Springfield, and by private contractors between 1816 and 1844 (Kelly 2006; Flayderman 1980).

Historical documents reference various weapons that were shipped to Fort Hawkins and stored with the Quartermaster there. These records do not specify the precise types of weapons, or their caliber. For example, On October 12, 1813 Abraham Hilton, a wagonner, signed a receipt for a shipment bound for Major Abraham B. Fannin, Deputy Quarter Master General of the State of Georgia at Fort Hawkins, which consisted of, "one box containing 30 Rifles, eight Barrels containing 100 pounds powder in each, sent from Savannah, 384 pounds powder belonging to the State, 3 boxes of Buck Shott of 100 pds each, & 3 Reams Cartridge paper" (Hays 1940, v 3:269).

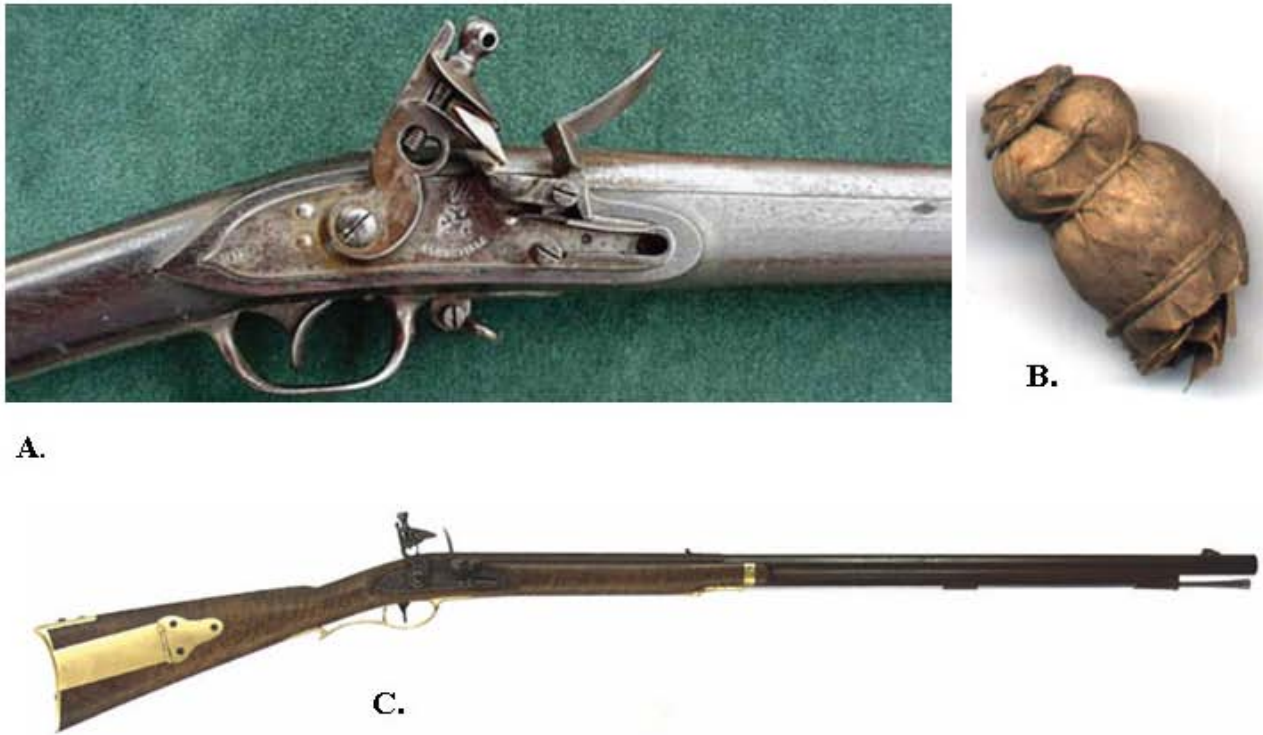


Figure 62. Examples of Weapons and Ammunition Types Likely at Fort Hawkins.

At the close of the War of 1814, the Georgia militia returned large amounts of arms and accoutrements to the U.S. Army quartermaster at Fort Hawkins. This included 2,063 muskets and bayonets, 2,084 cartouch boxes and belts, 353 swords, 212 rifles, 146 rifle moulds, 157 rifle wipers and 2,000 Musket flints (Hays 1940, v.4:21-22).

Surprisingly few pieces of gun hardware (N=21) were uncovered by the Fort Hawkins excavations (Figure 63). Gun parts recovered from the Fort Hawkins excavation included: 2 trigger guards, 6 butt plates (1 brass), 2 rifle barrel section, 3 mainsprings, 2 hammers, one flint lock plate and hammer, 1 rear brass sight, 1 gunbarrel band, and 1 iron sling swivel gun hardware. These objects were recovered from Features 101, 109, 271 and 313. The most gun parts (N=2) were from Feature 101, followed by three from Feature 271.

Gunflints

Gunflints were essential to the operation of the flintlock firearm. The sparks created by the gunflints striking the steel frizzen ignited the gunpowder in the pan, which detonated the ammunition in the musket chamber. Gunflints were a common artifact at Fort Hawkins, used by every soldier and officer in the ranks. Gunflints were shipped to Fort Hawkins by the thousands (Hays 1940, v.4:21-22, 292). Fifty-three gunflints or gunflint fragments were represented in the archaeological collection from Fort Hawkins. Examples are shown in Figure 64.

English blade style gunflints were the slightly more common type observed at Fort Hawkins, represented by 32 examples. Flint knappers in Great Britain acquired the coveted secret of blade technology toward the end of the American Revolution and knappers quickly dropped the older spall manufacturing technique. The blade gunflints were more reliable devices, making the



Figure 63. Gun Parts and Accoutrements.

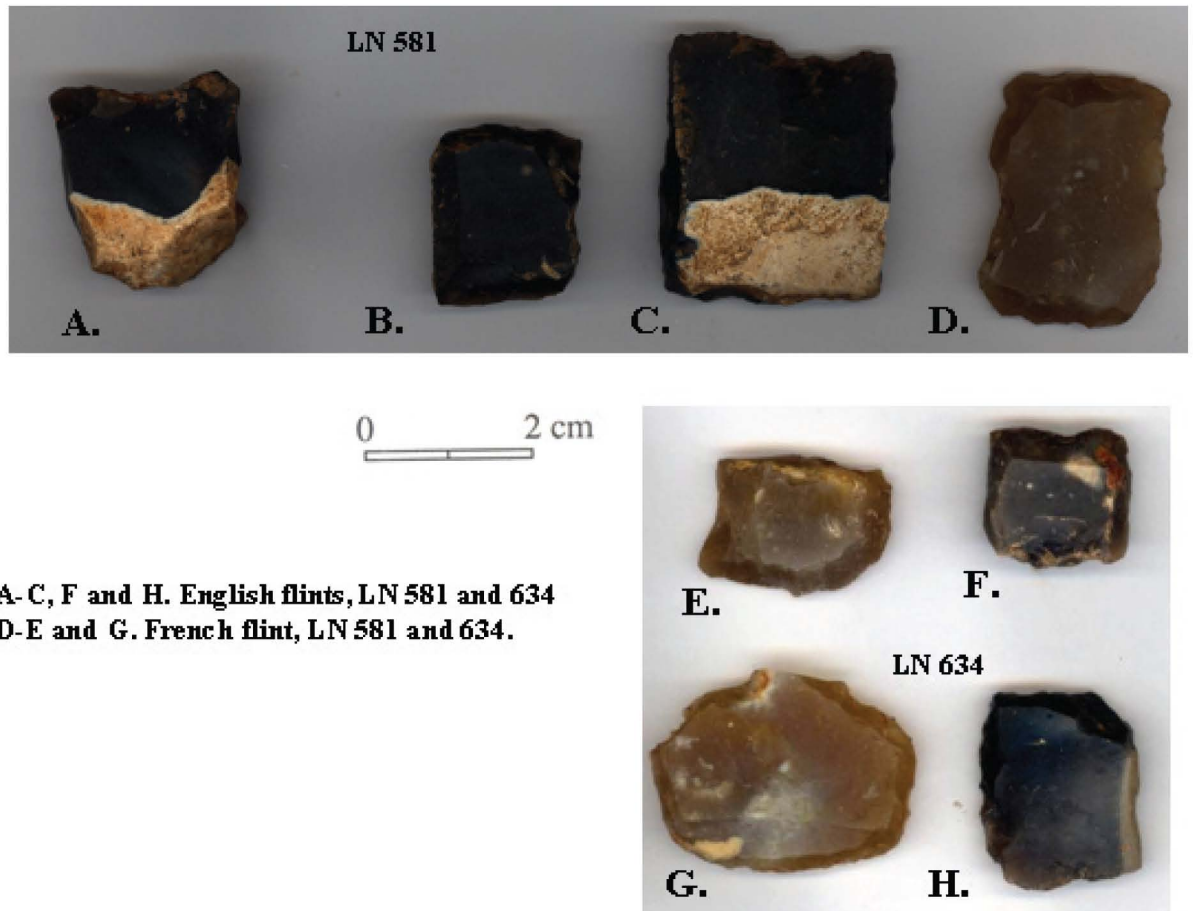


Figure 64. Gunflints from Fort Hawkins.

spall gunflints obsolete (Hamilton and Emery 1988; Elliott 1992a).

French blade style gunflints were present in lesser frequencies at Fort Hawkins, represented by 18 examples. These gunflints were prized among the armies across the globe because they were more reliable in battle than the English and Dutch spall types. Many French gunflints made their way into the American market and they were used by French, British, and Native Americans, particularly in the mid-to late-18th century (Hamilton and Emery 1988; Elliott 1992a). French gunflints are readily distinguished from English gunflints by the “honey” flint color, compared to the dark gray or black English flints.

English and French gunflints were widely distributed at Fort Hawkins, although some differences in the patterning were noted. Feature 271 contained the most gunflints of any feature, including eight English and 11 French types. Feature 101 contained 14 English gunflints (44% of English blade flints), although no French gunflints were present. Feature 101 also yielded two English spall type flints, which are uncommon on sites in Georgia dating after the American Revolution. Feature 313 contained three English and two French types. Nine gunflints or fragments were not identifiable. These include several burned or small fragments. One spall type gunflint, chert variety not identified, were located in Feature 271. They were found in Features 109, 271, 313 and other site contexts.

Lead Gunflint Patches

Ten lead gunflint patches were identified in the Fort Hawkins collection. These were distributed in low frequencies in Features 101, 270, 271, and 313. These flat rectangular strips of lead were used to partially surround the gunflint and served to hold it securely in the flintlock hardware. The lead also served to prevent gunflints from snapping when force was exerted upon it (Hamilton and Emery

1988). Leather pieces may also have been for this purpose but none of them have survived in the archaeological record.

Percussion cap technology was in the early development during the Fort Hawkins era and, although the technology was created in 1805 in England, it was several decades before flintlock weapons were replaced by percussion cap weapons in the U.S. The idea was first conceived by the Rev. A. J. Forsyth of Belhelvie, Aberdeenshire, who patented his device in 1807 and the first metallic percussion caps were made in 1814 (Winant 1956). Percussion caps may have been present at Fort Hawkins during the fort era, but they were not common in the archaeological record.

Ammunition

Round lead shot of various calibers were common at Fort Hawkins. A total of 387 lead shot were measured to determine their caliber (hundredths of an inch). As noted earlier, two major musket types were used by the U.S. Army at Fort Hawkins, a .54 caliber rifled musket and a .69 caliber smoothbore musket. The lead balls fired from these guns would have been equal to, slightly smaller in diameter than the bore diameter of the barrel.

Many small buck shot and swan shot were recovered from Fort Hawkins. The buck and ball load typically consisted of a paper cartridge containing a .69 caliber ball followed by three smaller buckshot pellets (generally .24-.36 caliber). This type of cartridge was used in the American Revolution and its use continued through the Civil War era. An example of a buck and ball cartridge from the Civil War period is shown in Figure 62. This combined payload gave the impact force of a large ball with the shotgun effect from the smaller balls. This approach was developed in the American Revolution and was proven effective in battle.

Riflemen were a minority of the troops that occupied Fort Hawkins over its lifetime. One

would expect that, over a period of time, Riflemen would have dropped more .54 caliber balls and fewer .69 caliber balls. If the Rifle Regiment used strictly .54 caliber rifled guns and fewer buck shot than the other Infantry regiments at Fort Hawkins and the other regiments at Fort Hawkins used a combination of .54 caliber rifles, .69 caliber smoothbores but used considerably more buck shot than the Rifle Regiment, then these patterns may be recognizable in the archaeological record. The spatial distribution of these various lead shot types may provide important clues as to which areas of the fort were used by the Riflemen and which were used by the other Infantry regiments. Also, one might expect a negative correlation between contexts containing .54 caliber balls and those containing buckshot pellets.

The archaeological data from Fort Hawkins confirms that .69 caliber balls were far more common than .54 caliber balls. Forty-nine balls were greater than .54 caliber. These ranged in size from .60-68 caliber. Of these, most (N=33, or 67%) were located in Feature 271 and Test Units 111 and 112, four were from Feature 101 and four from Feature 313.

Only 10 balls ranged between .50 and 54 caliber. Of these, four were from Feature 101 and four were from Feature 271. If these balls were used in rifles possessed by the Rifle Regiment, then one might conclude those troops may have been associated with both of these fort buildings. The "RR" uniform buttons support the presence of these troops in Feature 271, but their absence from Feature 101 sheds doubt on their occupation of that building. The absence of .50-54 caliber balls from Feature 313, however, may reflect a small sample size of artifacts, rather than the absence of Riflemen, since three "RR" buttons were recovered from that area of the fort.

A total of 222 lead shot measuring in the .24-.36 caliber range was recovered from Fort Hawkins. This category may include balls intended for

smaller caliber firearms but many are more likely buckshot that were used in a buck and ball cartridge load. The greatest frequency of this size range of shot was observed in Feature 271 and Test Units 111/112 (N= 48 and 65, respectively, or when combined, 113 or 51%). The next greatest frequency was observed in Feature 101 (N=64, or 29%). Feature 313 yielded 26 shot in this range.

The remaining measured lead balls (N=65) ranged from .4 to .20 caliber. Some of these balls may represent pistol or derringer shot. Most probably represent shot used to kill small game. Of these 37 were from Feature 101, 19 were from Feature 313, and the remainder were from various site contexts.

Approximately 29 impacted lead balls were found in several areas of Fort Hawkins, including Features 101 and 313. These balls ranged in diameter from .30 to .65 caliber. They had been fired from a weapon, although some may have been intentionally smashed.

Sixteen other lead balls from Fort Hawkins exhibited signs of teethmarks. Chewed lead balls are frequently encountered by archaeologists and metal detector enthusiasts on Revolutionary War and Civil War sites. These balls were chewed by humans and other animals, including pigs and mice. The chewed specimens from Fort Hawkins came from Features 101, 109, 270, 272 313, and other disturbed contexts. Feature 101 yielded six examples. Soldiers may have chewed lead for a variety of reasons. The image of a wounded soldier "biting the bullet" during surgery in the days before anesthesia come to mind, but some suggests that soldiers may have chewed bullets out of boredom or to stimulate saliva production while on maneuvers (New Jersey Department of Transportation 2002). Clearly, the hazards of lead poisoning were not fully realized in the early 19th century.

Lead was brought to Fort Hawkins in various forms, including blocks or as finished bullets.

The soldiers at Fort Hawkins also made their own bullets, as the archaeological record attests. A strip of lead casting sprue from a gang mold was recovered from Feature 271 (LN 606). Other small scraps of metal sprue were found in many areas of the site, and these suggest that metalwork, at least on a small scale, was conducted within the walls of Fort Hawkins.

The greatest single concentration of lead at Fort Hawkins was observed in Feature 313. Large masses of iron rust, lead shot, buttons, glass, ceramics and other items were recovered from that feature. One of these is illustrated in Figure 65. This large mass contains dozens of lead shot of various calibers and because of its unusual appearance (as a potential museum curiosity), the laboratory team opted not to dismantle it at the present time. The concentration of metal objects in Feature 313 is difficult to interpret.

Powder Horns

Powder horns or powder flasks were a necessity at Fort Hawkins but evidence for their existence was scant. An antler powder flask stopper was recovered from Feature 101 (LN 414). A piece of brass internal hardware from a powder flask, purportedly taken from Fort Hawkins, was

observed in the Charles Wellborn collection (Appendix D).

Bayonets

Bayonets were a standard accoutrement of the Infantryman's long-arm gun throughout the Fort Hawkins era. Bayonet styles from this period were triangular in cross section. In addition to their intended use as an extension on military firearms, bayonets were handy for other purposes around camp. The Fort Hawkins excavation yielded several bayonet pieces. A nearly complete bayonet was recovered from Feature 271. A brass scabbard tip was recovered from Feature 271. Two other bayonet fragments, one missing the extreme distal portion, was recovered from Feature 101 (LNs 414 and 409). This specimen was triangular in cross-section (Figure 66). Two bayonet hardware pieces, termed "frogs", were found at Fort Hawkins. These were made of brass and were used to secure the bayonet (or sword) sheath to the uniform belt. One of these was from Feature 101 and the other was from Test Unit 111.

Swords

The soldiers and officers at Fort Hawkins possessed a wide variety of military edged-



A. Large Mass



B. Enlargement of A

Figure 65. Iron and Lead Mass Containing Many Lead Shot, Feature 313.

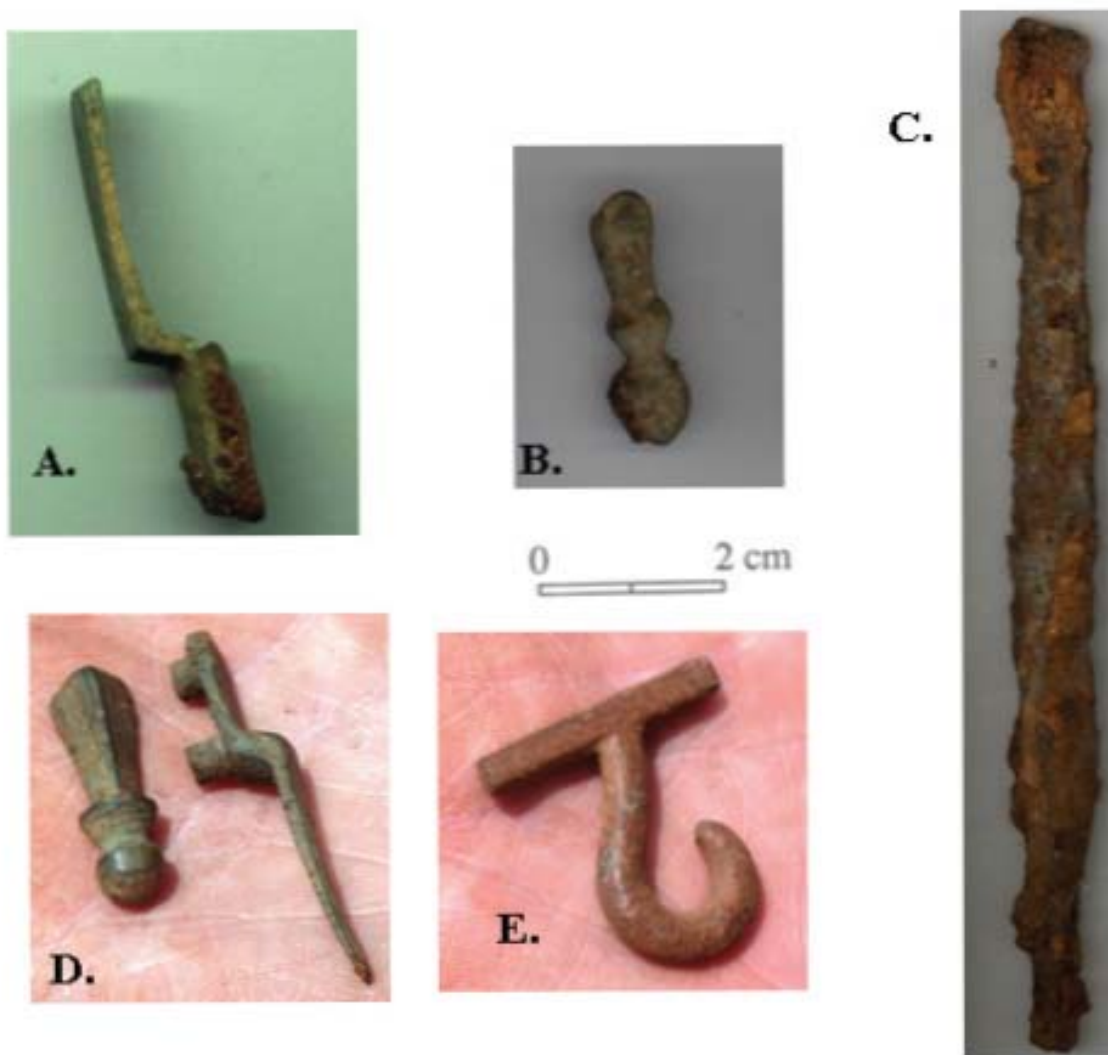


Figure 66. Bayonets and Related Artifacts (A. Bayonet Frog, LN 114; B. Scabbard Tip, LN 581; C. Bayonet, LN 409 [not to scale]; D. Scabbard Tip and Frog; E. Sword Hook, Meeks Collection [not to scale]).

weapons. Dirks and long sheath knives were common accoutrements among the U.S. Army and militia troops in the South and Fort Hawkins was no exception. One brass sword counterguard was recovered from Feature 271 (Figure 67; LN 633). This artifact was cast brass with this stamped identifier, “13 N I 4”, on an otherwise undecorated surface. This example is probably from a hanger, which was a small sword worn by non-commissioned officers. The stamped letters and numerals have not been specifically identified but they probably represent a contract number or production

number, which suggests that it was government issue. Several fragments of a possible sword blade was unearthed in Feature 271 (LN 580 and 649). As noted previously in the discussion of kitchen-related cutlery, many other iron or steel edged pieces were recovered from the Fort Hawkins excavations. Some of these may represent weapons but their fragmented condition makes their detailed identification difficult.

Civil War Munitions

A sparse veneer of Civil War era artifacts was found scattered across the Fort Hawkins site. These artifacts attest to the presence of U.S. Army troops from that war and likely date to late 1864 or 1865 when Union troops were in the area. This collection of Civil War artifacts included: one friction primer from an artillery piece; two brass shell casings from a Spencer rifle; one lead ball from a Spencer rifle; a Burnside (.55 caliber) bullet, and one U.S. Infantry button. These artifacts were recovered from disturbed contexts and no military features from the Civil War period were discovered. Local lore indicates that the Confederate Army had a small artillery battery and/or lookout at Fort Hawkins but no definitive Confederate artifacts were recovered. The deposit of military artifacts from this period was so sparse and shallow that it did not significantly intrude into the Fort Hawkins-era deposits. These artifacts

point to some military activity at Fort Hawkins during the Civil War, which is a story worthy of further investigation and interpretation. It is a minor historical footnote, however, when compared to the Fort Hawkins-era tale.

Tobacco Group

Tobacco usage was common in 19th century Georgia and among the U.S. military. In 1805 the members of the Lewis and Clark expedition used their tobacco rations as “life insurance” by trading it with the local aboriginal people. Tobacco was widely grown in America at that date and was readily available. Major markets for tobacco in Georgia included Petersburg, Augusta, and Savannah. By 1800 tobacco was consumed through a variety of means including smoking pipes and cigars, chewing tobacco, and dipping or inhaling as snuff. Cigars were



Figure 67. Sword Counterguard from Feature 271.

imported from Cuba and other Caribbean countries but did not reach their height of popularity until after the Mexican War in 1847. Nonetheless, many cigars were consumed in the United States in the early decades of the 19th century. In 1811, for example, 20,000,000 cigars were imported to America from the Antilles, up from 4,000,000 imports in 1804. Cigarettes did not become popular until after 1828. The durable evidence of early 19th century tobacco use in archaeological sites includes pipes, snuff bottles, pocket sized snuff containers, and tobacco tins (Borio 2006; Lynch 2006; The American Tobacco Company 2006[1954]:15).

The excavations at Fort Hawkins produced a variety of clay tobacco pipes, represented by 324 fragments. These included two basic styles: long stemmed pipes and elbow pipes. No snuff bottles or tobacco tins were identified in the Fort Hawkins assemblage.

Imported European long stemmed clay pipes (and shorter stemmed versions of the same) continued in use in America through the 19th century but their frequency was outstripped by the locally produced elbow pipe forms. The long stemmed pipes were produced from white ball clay, or kaolin. Previous archaeologists

devised a method for dating tobacco pipe assemblages based on the bore diameter of the stems. This method is based on the trend for decreasing diameter over time, which resulted from changes in manufacturing technology (Heighton and Deagan 1972; South 1977; Noël Hume 1985). By the last quarter of the 18th century tobacco pipe stem dating becomes a less reliable dating method. Consequently, pipe stem dates were of minimal use in dating the archaeological assemblages at Fort Hawkins. Examples of long stemmed pipes from Fort Hawkins are shown in Figure 68.

An assortment of elbow pipes is contained in the Fort Hawkins collection. Feature 101 produced the most tobacco pipe fragments. These range from simple unadorned clay to anthropomorphic effigy pipes. Many had molded, ribbed designs. Some were made from low fired earthenware (or redware) and others were lead-glazed stoneware. Examples of two effigy pipes, or face pipes, are shown in Figure 69. These clay elbow pipes were probably produced in America. Numerous kilns producing clay elbow pipes in a bewildering variety of forms sprang up in Ohio, North Carolina, and Virginia. These pipes were widely distributed



A.



B.



Figure 68. Long Stemmed Clay Pipes.

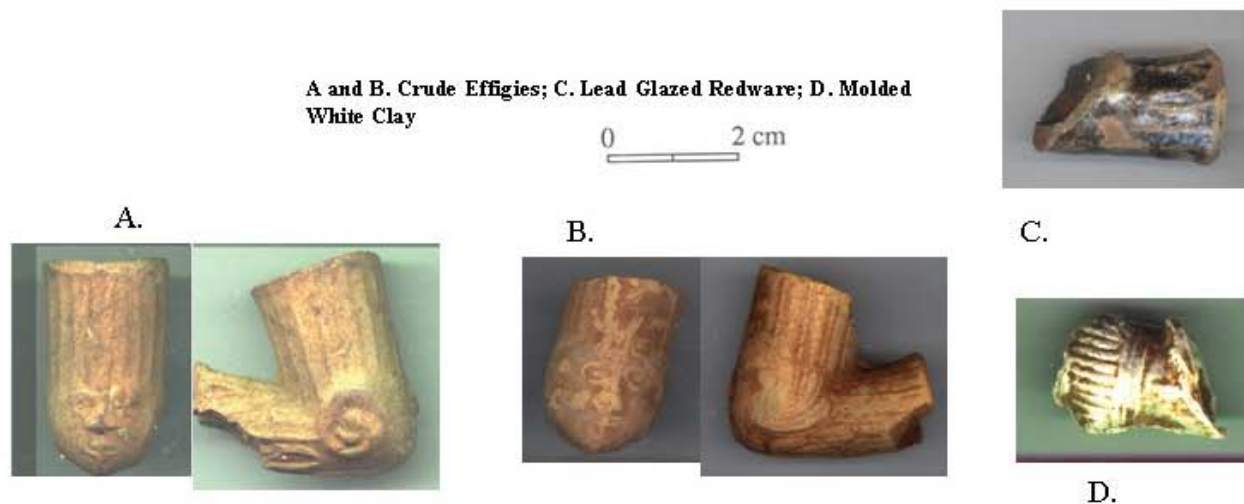


Figure 69. Clay Elbow Pipes.

in the United States and are the most common tobacco pipe form by the mid-19th century.

Personal Group

Approximately 140 artifacts from Fort Hawkins fall into the personal group category. These artifacts were widely distributed across the site in various contexts. Artifacts in the Personal group includes watches, pocket watches, pocket knives, coins, games, padlocks, combs, umbrellas, and pencils.

Pocket Watches

Fort Hawkins yielded several pieces of pocket watches. The watch parts included brass gears, brass housing parts, and a brass winding stem. Watch parts also were found at the site prior to archaeological excavation by Tony Meeks and included an internal brass watch plate made by a London watchmaker, which is inscribed “Bull London” in cursive script (Appendix D).. Some of the jewelry parts that were described in the previous section may have been used as fobs to adorn pocket watches.

Clasp Knives

Clasp knives, or pocket knives, were popular in the Fort Hawkins era. Three brass and iron clasp knife parts were excavated from the site, including: 2 from Feature 101, 1 from Feature 270, 1 from Test Unit 111, and 1 from Test Unit 112 (LNs 510, 553, 590, 352, and 341 respectively).

Coins and Currency

A great sum of money passed through the gates of Fort Hawkins. As an Army Command, the District Paymasters handled large payrolls for the troops. These payroll shipments were often quite large, as Major General Pinckney noted in a February 18, 1814 letter,

The District Paymaster Lieut: Cook has not been able to procure small bills, or species, to facilitate the payment of the Militia; if you[r] Excellency has any made whereby you could obtain for him a supply thereof, in exchange for larger bills it would be a great accomodation to the Troops. Lt. Cook has brought with him only \$150,000 but the full pay would require a larger sum...(Hays 1940, v.4:19).

One can imagine the hazards involved in hauling a payroll wagon from Washington, D.C.

to Fort Hawkins. The opportunity for highway robbery must have been offset by either an accompanying team of well-armed guards or by sleuth.

Despite this sizeable traffic in currency, coins are only slightly represented in the archaeological record. Only three were recovered by the present excavations and these are shown in Figure 70. Coins were relatively uncommon in frontier Georgia. One solution to this shortage was offered by local merchants who printed their own currency. An example of this type of currency was produced for use at Fort Hawkins by one merchant (Figure 70). Paper currency does not generally survive in the archaeological record.

One Spanish silver real coin, dated 1785, was recovered from Feature 101 (LN 397). Its edges are modified with a series of 10 closely spaced V-notched grooves. These grooves do not completely surround the coin. Their purpose is enigmatic, although this modified coin may represent a “whizzer” that was lost or abandoned before its completion. Whizzers are not uncommon toys or amusements in early Georgia. The notched coin typically had one or two holes through its body, through which string or rawhide was passed. When properly yanked from both ends the coin began a rapid spinning motion accompanied by a distinctive whizzing sound, similar to a buzz-saw.

Spanish silver coins were common in the United States in the colonial and early federal periods due to the scarcity of United States coins in the southern states. The infrequency of U.S. currency at Fort Hawkins is one example. Spanish coins were accepted as legal tender in the U.S. until 1857, or throughout the entire Fort Hawkins era. Consequently, their recovery from the site is not unexpected. Cremer (2004) noted the discovery of a 1785 Spanish silver coin in a feature at Fort Mitchell, Alabama.

Games and Toys

Evidence of games and toys at Fort Hawkins was represented archaeologically by durable items that were used and these included dice, marbles, and whizzers (whirligigs). These items were used by the soldiers and their families in various diversions that relieved the stress and monotony of Army life.

A bone gaming die, which was fragmented into four pieces, was found in Feature 101 (LN 524). A single die from a pair of ceramic dice was recovered from Feature 271 and is shown in Appendix D (LN 605). This cubic object measured 75 mm in diameter. Another small fragment of a possible die was found in the same feature (LN 630).

Marbles were common toys in 19th century Georgia and these were used by children as well as adults (Baumann 1999). Fort Hawkins yielded 15 clay marbles from good contexts. Feature 101 contained five clay marbles and two were located in Feature 271. Another ceramic marble came from Feature 270. Several of these marbles appeared to be unfired clay, or at least poorly fired, which may indicate that they were manufactured by the soldiers on site. An unfired, or poorly fired, clay marble was found in disturbed context in the XU1 Extension, which may indicate that some soldiers made their own marbles. One curious example was fashioned from a pearlware spherical finial, recycled from a piece of tableware.

As mentioned earlier, whizzers were a type of whirligig, were made by suspending a thin circular metal disc with two strings that were wound tight. Yanking the ends of the strings caused the metal disc to spin rapidly and emit a whirring, or buzzing sound. This type of toy was also known as a “buzzer” or “buzz saw” because of its similarity in sound an appearance to a rapidly spinning circular saw blade. The archaeological specimens from Fort Hawkins and a modern replica are shown in Figure 71 (Gggodwin.com 2006). Whizzers



Figure 70. Coins and Local Currency.

are commonly found on early military sites in America. They were cheap toys that offered hours of amusement. Two whizzers are represented in the Fort Hawkins collection. The better example was made from a lead disc 3.5 cm in diameter that was perforated in the center with two holes. The edges of the whizzer were smooth rather than serrated. It was found in Feature 271 (LN 632). The other is the previously described small Spanish silver

coin, which may have been intended for use as a whizzer but had not been perforated.

Padlocks

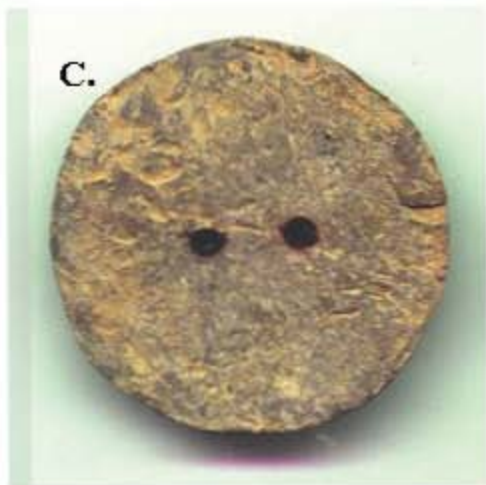
Padlock security features still in use today, were used at Fort Hawkins to discourage thievery. Several large padlocks were unearthed at Fort Hawkins. These may have been used

to secure military goods, or they may have protected personal effects, or they may have secured strongboxes that contained valuable Army payrolls. Padlock parts from eight locks were found in Feature 101 and one was from Feature 271. Feature 101 also yielded three iron keys. These included an iron shell and brass front plate, an iron padlock hasp, and a small padlock, possibly from a personal chest or trunk. The greater frequency of padlocks in Feature 101 may indicate that the occupants of that building had more items of value that were subject to theft.

Lice Combs

Lice combs were used for personal grooming to rid the scalp of head lice. The head louse was a constant problem in the 19th century in Georgia, particularly among people housed in

close quarters. An early 19th century military garrison would have been a prime target for lice infestation. The culprits (*Pediculus humanus capitis*) are transmitted by close contact with other infected people or contaminated clothing, bedding or other personal items (combs, brushes or towels) used by an infected person. Since lice cannot jump or fly, they rely on close physical contact for transmission. Lice have three forms, eggs (or nits), nymphs and adult. Nits are small and difficult to see and are attached to the base of human hair follicles near the scalp (CDC 2006; Fox 1925; Zinsser 1934). Fine toothed bone combs, or lice combs, were one common method for controlling lice in the early 19th century. Six examples of lice combs were unearthed at Fort Hawkins. One broken bone lice comb was found in Feature 271 (LN 581). Another similar lice comb specimen was found in Feature 314, which was



- A. LN 397
- B. Whirligig Reproduction.
- C. LN 632

Figure 71. Whirligigs or Buzz Saws.

a building's dripline along the west side of Fort Hawkins (LN 772). Two examples were from Test Unit 112 and one was from Test Unit 111. The specimens from Features 271 and 314 are shown in Figure 72.

Bone lice combs have been unearthed from other military sites in the American frontier, including a nearly complete example from the U.S. Army post at Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin (ca. 1816-1829) (Wisconsin Historical Society 2006). This 1840 treatment for lice at a Pennsylvania school house was likely similar to treatments at Fort Hawkins,

The only cure for lice was to 'rid' out the hair every few days with a big coarse comb, crack the nits between the thumbnails, and then saturate the hair with 'red precipity' [mercuric

oxide powder], using a fine tooth comb. The itch was cured by the use of ointment made of brimstone [sulphur] and lard. During school-terms many children wore little sacks of powdered brimstone about their necks. This was supposed to be a preventive (McKnight 1905).

Brushes

Archaeologists discovered several fragments of small bone brushes. Bone brushes were possibly used for brushing teeth or for polishing leather or firearms. These were found in three areas of Fort Hawkins, including Features 101, 109, and 271 (LN 557, 676, and 632, respectively).

Umbrellas and Parasols

At first glance umbrellas may not seem to be an essential component of everyday life in a military setting but they have been recovered from other early military contexts, including Revolutionary War-era Fort Morris on the Georgia Coast (Elliott 2003b). Among the supplies carried across North America by the Lewis and Clark expedition was William Clark's umbrella, which was lost in a calamity in June, 1805. Meriwether Lewis deemed its loss worthy of recording it twice in the expedition's journal (Moulton 2006). Umbrellas and parasols were popular in America in the 18th and 19th centuries, following fashion trends in Europe. Crawford's (1978) history of the umbrella provides additional

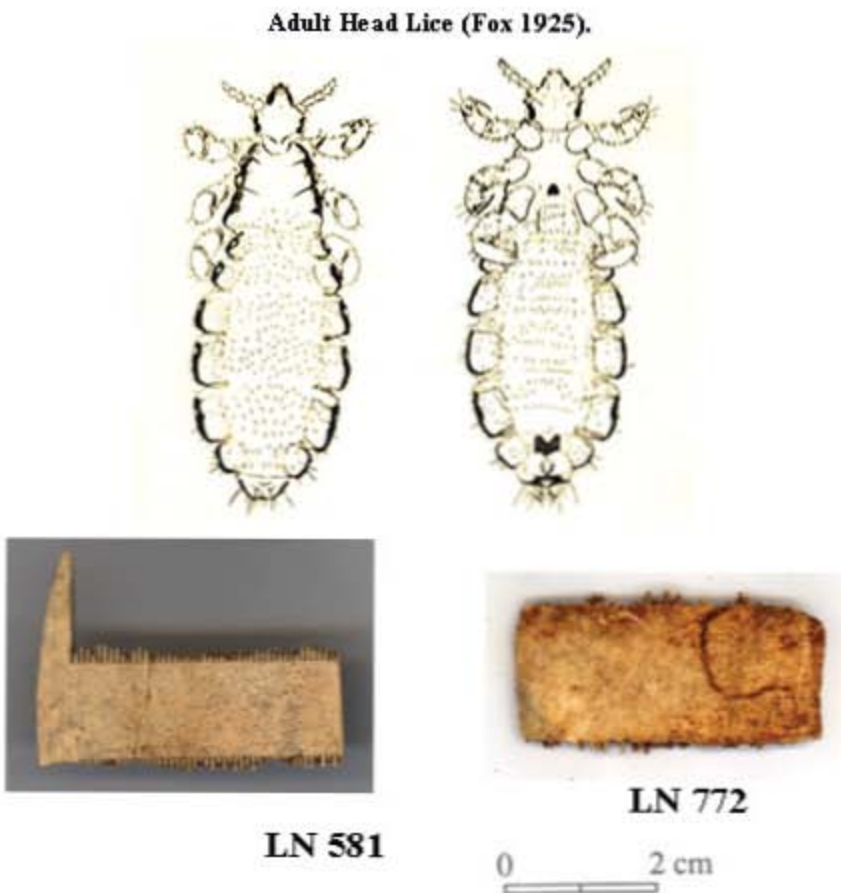


Figure 72. Lice Combs.

background information on the development of the umbrella from its Chinese origins. Twelve brass umbrella or parasol parts were recovered from several contexts at Fort Hawkins, including Features 101, 109, 272, West Palisade Trench 2, and disturbed contexts. Three types of hardware were identified including: hubs, tips, and other cylindrical pieces. Feature 101 contained the most umbrella specimens (N=5, or 42%). Examples of umbrella parts from Fort Hawkins are shown in Figure 73.

Writing Apparatus

Writing devices were an important part of daily life at Fort Hawkins. The surviving archival documents, including personal correspondence and official documentation, show that pen, ink and paper were readily available at the fort. Quill pens, paper, and wax seals are non-durable items that have not survived in the archaeological record. Ink was stored in small bottles but no ink bottles were identified in the collection. Twenty-five small fragments of writing slate were recovered from several contexts at Fort Hawkins, including Features 101, 109, 271, 272, and 313. Eight slate pencils were recovered. Four slate pencils were found in Feature 101 and two were from Feature 271. A crude lead pencil was discovered from disturbed contexts in XU16.

Furniture Group

Most furniture in 19th century Georgia was made from wood and does not normally survive in archaeological contexts. Brass or iron hardware are usually all that is left after the wood has rotted. Approximately 120 artifacts from Fort Hawkins were classified in the furniture group. Brass furniture tacks were located in several contexts at Fort Hawkins. A brass drawer pull was found in Feature 101 (LN 510). Two cast or spun brass fireplace tool handles (or fire dogs) were recovered from Feature 101. One fire dog

fragment was recovered in Feature 101 and another came from Test Unit 111.

Three brass drawer pulls and a drawer pull brass screw were recovered from Feature 101. A fourth was recovered from XU1 during stripping. A brass lock escutcheon plate was recovered from Feature 101. Another brass lock escutcheon, probably from a box, was recovered from disturbed contexts in XU2.

An iron handle, which resembled a coffin handle, was unearthed in Feature 109. The discovery of this object raised concern and the surrounding area was carefully examined to determine if it signaled the presence of human remains. None were found, however, and the artifact's context was from a jumbled rubble pile.

Forty brass tacks are included in the Fort Hawkins collection. Thirteen of these were from Feature 101. Others were found in Feature 262, 270, 271, 313, and in Test Units. These tacks were used to adorn trunks and for furniture upholstery.

Sixty-one mirror glass fragments were obtained from Fort Hawkins. Most were from Feature 101 (N=45, or 75%), with minor amounts Features 271 and 313. The predominance of this artifact type in Feature 101 is intriguing and it may indicate status differences (or hygiene and preening behavior) between the occupants of the different buildings. Other furniture glass from Fort Hawkins consisted of two thick clear glass sherds that were probably from cabinets. Both were from Feature 101.

Activities Group

Activity Group artifacts account for approximately 2,652 pieces in the Fort Hawkins collection. Most of these (N=2,212, or 83% were metal items). They reflect a wide range of activities conducted in the fort. Artifacts in the activities group include craft by-products, tools,



A.

- A. The Parasol, by Francisco de Goya, 1777
- B. A Meeting of Umbrellas, James Gillray, 1782
- C-F. Umbrella Parts.



B.



D.



C.



E.



F.

0 2 cm

Figure 73. Umbrellas.

supplies, instruments, and Native American tools and weapons.

Blacksmithing Debris

Blacksmithing were an essential specialty on the American frontier. The U.S. Army included artificers in their ranks and many civilian blacksmiths also provided these services to the military and civilian population. Historical documents show that blacksmiths worked at Fort Hawkins but the location of their forge is undocumented. Two tell-tale artifact classes are indicative of blacksmithing activity—slag and scrap iron. Both were present at Fort Hawkins, although slag was only represented by a few scattered pieces. The low frequency of slag suggests that blacksmithing activity was largely confined to areas outside of Fort Hawkins. A variety of scrap metal was discarded at Fort Hawkins. This included scrap brass, iron, lead and pewter. Many pieces of scrap iron, including chain links, barrel hoops, iron bars, and unidentified flat iron fragments may represent stock reserves for recycling by blacksmiths. The presence of sprue and casting debris suggest that small lead and pewter items were manufactured within the fort's walls but not necessarily by a blacksmith. These may include bullets and buttons. Many small pieces of cut lead and brass indicate other metalworking activities were undertaken.

Horse Tack

Horses were a vital component of the U.S. Army throughout the 19th century and many horses were stabled at Fort Hawkins. Although no U.S. Cavalry regiments were historically documented at Fort Hawkins, some horse dragoons operated as couriers based from there. Horses were used to haul wagons loaded with supplies. Many of the officers at the fort owned horses. Major General Gaines, for example, kept his horse at Fort Hawkins while he was posted at Fernandina, Florida. Artifacts related to horse tack and wagon harnesses are

represented in the Fort Hawkins collection. These consist of iron and brass items. Six horseshoes were contained in Feature 101 and two others were recovered from disturbed contexts. An iron saddle pommel was excavated from Feature 109 (LN 669). A complete iron bridle was unearthed while stripping XU14 (LN 747). Two iron stirrup fragments were located in Feature 101 (LN 387 and 409). An iron stirrup fragment was found in Feature 313 (LN 703). Other artifacts in the Fort Hawkins collection, such as iron rings, and iron and brass buckles, may be associated horse tack but these may have also had other uses.

Hand Tools

The September 13, 1814 inventory of military stores at Fort Hawkins included felling axes, broad axes, peck axes, and carpenter's adzes (Hays 1940, v.4:136). An iron felling axhead was recovered from Feature 271 (LN 581) and is shown in Figure 74.

A few other hand tools were included in the Fort Hawkins collection. A 19th century shovel or spade was found in the floor of Feature 109 (LN 59). This shovel was lying flat and inverted on the floor of the building. An iron pickax head was recovered from the fill of Feature 270 and may have been discarded during the excavation (or demolition) of this feature. A chisel was recovered from Feature 101. Five iron hoes were recovered from the site. Two hoes were found in close proximity within Feature 271 (LN 632 and 633). One iron hammer was recovered from Feature 101. Four triangular files and two hemispherical files were unearthed at Fort Hawkins. The files came from Features 101, 266 and 271.

One of the more interesting tools from Feature 101 was a candle snuffer made of iron or tin. This object was heavily corroded and is undergoing a lengthy electrolysis process. It is an English style snuffer, or an American imitation, common from 1780 to 1820. This



Figure 74. Felling Ax.

“scissor” type snuffer would have rested in a small, shallow decorative tray.

Other metal items from Fort Hawkins that were classified in the Activity Group include 16 metal hooks, two bell fragments, and more than 400 other unidentified iron pieces.

Musical Instruments

Four musical instrument parts were present in the Fort Hawkins collection, which illustrate the presence of refined musical taste and the more vernacular. Two jaw harps were recovered from XU2, one was brass and the other was iron. A brass tuning peg from a stringed instrument was found in Feature 101 (LN 397). Based on its size and appearance

(Appendix D), this peg was probably from a large instrument, such as a harp, clavichord, or piano. A brass reed plate from a woodwind musical instrument, possibly an accordion or an organ, was recovered from XU13. Harmonicas, which are very common on Civil War era sites in Georgia, were not introduced to American until 1862. Consequently, no harmonica parts were expected from Fort Hawkins.

Native American Artifacts

The Fort Hawkins excavations yielded a small assemblage of aboriginal artifacts, including stone and ceramic items. Approximately 97 aboriginal stone artifacts were identified.

These consisted mostly of non-diagnostic chert debitage. One chert projectile point fragment was found in Feature 101. This tool had snapped at the base and appeared to be an Early Archaic style. A complete greenstone celt was recovered from XU16. This object was located in a disturbed context at the interface of a palisade ditch and a modern utility ditch. Celts were used from the Woodland period through Historic Aboriginal period. Whole specimens are uncommon in archaeological excavations and they often indicate a mortuary offering or special artifact curation behavior. Another small celt fragment was unearthed in Feature 271.

A fragment of a carved soapstone tobacco pipe, which was reworked into a bead, was recovered while stripping XU1. This pipe stem was otherwise undecorated. The age of this item was not determined and it could date anywhere from the Late Archaic through the Historic Creek era.

Aboriginal ceramics were lightly scattered at the site. Eighty aboriginal sherds are contained in the Fort Hawkins collection. These range from Woodland pottery types to Historic Creek wares. The prehistoric wares dominate the assemblage and represent several different periods of occupation by Native Americans.

Feature 101 yielded the most aboriginal sherds from any context at the site. Two large pottery Kasita Red Filmed sherds were found in Feature 271. These sherds mend and represent one Kasita Red Filmed vessel. These sherds are tempered with grog and clay. One Ocmulgee Fields Incised pottery rim was found in Feature 313. It was made with fine sand tempering. Both Kasita Red Filmed and Ocmulgee Fields Incised pottery were used by the Creek Indians in the early 19th century and would not be unexpected at Fort Hawkins. Chattahoochee Brushed pottery, which is more common on Creek sites from the Fort Hawkins era, was not represented in the collection. The remainder of the aboriginal pottery at Fort Hawkins are plain

wares that may date to the prehistoric period or Historic Creek era. Bibb Plain pottery was located in Feature 276 in XU1. Bibb Plain is a pottery type common only to the Macon area. It was used in the Mississippian period, circa A.D. 1,100. It is not commonly found at a distance of more than five miles from the Ocmulgee Plateau (Mark Williams personal communication, June 15, 2006).

The people who made and used Bibb Plain pottery also built the Earth Lodges at what is today Ocmulgee National Monument and Brown's Mount. One curvilinear complicated stamped sherd, possibly Lamar type, was found in disturbed contexts in XU6. An unidentified incised thick sand tempered sherd was found in Feature 270. Most of the other sherds were plain wares of very limited diagnostic value. These included sand, grog, and grit tempered wares.

Traveling on Their Stomachs: Foodways at Fort Hawkins

Wilson noted that military food rations in America were standardized as early as 1775 and by 1812 U.S. Army soldiers received standard portions of beef, flour, rum, vinegar and salt. In 1812 the standardized ration for one soldier consisted of: "20 oz. of beef, 18 oz. of flour, 1 Gill (approximately 4 oz.) of Rum, 0.32 Gill of vinegar, and 0.64 oz. of salt. In 1818, by Executive Order of President James Monroe, a supplemental ration of 2.4 oz. of beans or 1.6 oz. of hominy corn was added to the soldier's daily menu" (Wilson 1928, cited in Stickler 2004:2).

Recent zooarchaeological study by Cremer (2004) of excavated samples from Fort Mitchell (1Ru102), Alabama is important for comparison with the Fort Hawkins foodways information. Cremer analyzed samples from 10 features from the two forts at Fort Mitchell, which span the period from 1813-1840. Cremer's sample was

derived from excavations from 2000-2002 by John Cottier and students at Auburn University (Cottier 2004). Cottier completed excavations of the first fort (1813) and partial excavations of the second fort (1825); four of the features analyzed by Cremer dated to the First Fort, one dated to the period from 1817-1825, and four dated to the Second Fort era. Three other analyzed features were multi-component and could not be further distinguished (Cremer 2004:67). Cremer (2004:87) concluded that the diet of the inhabitants of Fort Mitchell relied heavily on domestic swine and cattle for most of their meat and locally available wild game and fish were used to supplement the diet. One research question posed by Cremer looked at the differences in subsistence remains in the two fort periods and he concluded that such differences, "...could not be detected" (Cremer 2004:118).

As expected soldiers at Fort Hawkins supplemented their rations with locally available foods. One resident of the Fort Hawkins community complained to Captain Philip Cook in 1813 about the soldiers who were stealing his livestock from "within and without garrison lands". The irate herdsman noted, "One of my goats and one of my neighbors hog skins [were] found in [the] creek swamp" (NARA, Letterbook). Zoo-archaeological analysis of faunal remains from excellent contexts at Fort Hawkins allows for great insight into the food subsistence strategies at Fort Hawkins.

Lisa O'Steen's analysis of a selected subset of the Fort Hawkins faunal collection, which is presented as Appendices A and B, explores these exciting aspects of Fort Hawkins' archaeology. O'Steen also compares the Fort Hawkins diet with that of Fort Mitchell, a contemporary for in Alabama and with excavated Lower Creek faunal assemblages (O'Steen 2007a). The meat consumed by the soldiers at Fort Hawkins was mostly cow and pig. Perhaps the most surprising revelation of O'Steen's study was the nearly complete absence of white tailed deer remains. Deer, which had been so abundant in 18th

century Georgia, was becoming quite scarce by the beginning of the 19th century and this is clearly indicated in the Fort Hawkins faunal assemblage. Readers are directed to O'Steen's report (Appendices A and B, this volume) for more on this subject but O'Steen offered this summary:

The military personnel and families that live at Fort Hawkins during the early years of the nineteenth century consumed a diet largely comprised of domestic beef (at least 50%) and pork (at least 25-30%). These conclusions are based only on the identified cow and pig bone, and do not reflect the majority of biomass contributed by unidentified mammal remains. This monotonous diet was varied regularly by the addition of fish, including suckers, herring, sunfishes, catfish, and gar, domestic chickens, eggs, wild ducks and turkeys, large aquatic turtles including chicken turtles, sheep or goats, squirrels, opossums, rabbits, raccoons, oysters and clams. Mammals contributed over 89 percent of the dietary meat in each feature, followed by birds (<1 to 10%), the aquatic turtle (1.5% in Feature 101, Level 3A), and fish (<1 to 1%) (O'Steen 2007b:13).

In addition to the faunal assemblage studied by O'Steen, the laboratory analysts categorized the faunal remains into major groupings (food bone, oyster shell, mussel shell, and egg shell), which were quantified by weight, and these results are included in Appendix C. The Fort Hawkins collection from the 2005-2006 excavations contains about 40.8 kilograms of faunal remains.

Archaeoethnobotany

A recent archaeo-ethnobotanical study by Stickler (2004) of excavated samples from Fort Mitchell (1Ru102), Alabama is important for comparison with the Fort Hawkins foodways information. Stickler analyzed samples from 15 feature contexts from the two forts at Fort

Mitchell, which span the period from 1813-1840. Stickler's sample was derived from excavations from 2000-2002 by Auburn University (Cottier 2004). Stickler's analysis indicated that domesticated crops, particularly corn and peaches, forest mast (walnut, hickory and oak) and fleshy fruits (plums/cherries, hackberry, grape, and maypop) were important components of the diet at Fort Mitchell. Stickler's attempt to distinguish differences or similarities in foodways from the 1st Fort, Trading Factory, and 2nd Fort eras was hampered by the multi-component characteristics of many of the features he examined, although he noted, "There is some indication that the first fort soldiers utilized local plant resources more extensively than second fort occupants" (Stickler 2004:60).

Numerous plant macrofossils were recognized in the Fort Hawkins collection during analysis. These are included in the artifact inventory in Appendix C. The analysts identified peach pits (Features 101, 271, and 272), hickory nut shells (Features 101 and 271), a corn kernel (Feature 101), and a few unidentified seeds (Feature 271). This scant archaeobotanical record shows that the soldiers at Fort Hawkins ate both wild and domestic plants.

Soil samples were collected for the recovery of a sample of smaller plant remains by the present research at Fort Hawkins for archeo-ethnobotanical analysis. These samples were subjected to flotation and reduction and the processed materials. A cursory examination of this reduction sample was conducted as part of the laboratory analysis. No recognizable seeds or diagnostic plant remains were observed. These samples are currently curated for future study.

Chapter 8. Context and Interpretation

A comparison of Fort Hawkins with other U.S. Army forts in the South is important for developing a proper interpretive context. Several such sites are examined below. These include forts in various states.

Fort Point Peter

Fort Point Peter was a U.S. Army garrison located near the mouth of the St. Marys River at the confluence of Point Peter Creek in Camden County, Georgia. This low lying, coastal environment was unhealthy and an unpleasant duty station. Point Peter was occupied earlier than Fort Hawkins, with the former dating to the early 1790s. Point Peter also was distinguished from Fort Hawkins by its U.S. Navy component. A relatively large fleet of U.S. gunboats was moored at Point Peter. Point Peter experienced a violent invasion, whereas Fort Hawkins was never attacked. Point Peter was burned by British troops in early 1815, after the Treaty of Ghent had been signed (Toner 2007).

Many of the same soldiers that served at Fort Point Peter also served at Fort Hawkins. Major General Thomas Pinckney, 6th Military District headquarters used both Point Peter and Fort Hawkins as his district headquarters at various times. Likewise Colonel Thomas Adams Smith, who commanded the Regiment of Rifles, was also posted at both forts. Major General Edmund P. Gaines may also have used both forts for his headquarters. A quick review of the U.S. Army Adjutant General's records show that Point Peter had numerous desertions and other discipline problems. By comparison Fort Hawkins had fewer desertions. This may indicate that the living conditions for the same

time frame were slightly better at Fort Hawkins than at Fort Point Peter. Recent archaeological investigations at Point Peter have illuminated aspects of military life at this U.S. Army garrison (Toner 2007). The archaeological studies failed to locate the outline of any of the forts at Point Peter. Unfortunately, no detailed plan drawings of Fort Point Peter are known, despite an extensive search by the author and others.

Fort Coleraine

Coleraine is most noted as a U.S. trading factory and the location of treaty negotiations between the U.S. and the Creek Nation in 1796. Coleraine also had a garrison of U.S. Army troops during its brief history. The site selected by Indian Agent James Seagrove at Coleraine was not a good one from a strategic or logistical standpoint. The site was difficult to access and was not centrally located to the U.S. Army command, Georgia government, or the Creek Nation. Its primary advantage was a selfish one, the Coleraine property was owned by Seagrove and he stood to benefit from any economic development that arose from the Indian trade or other U.S. government developments at this locality. Before long the U.S. government realized that the choice of Coleraine was not a good one and the Creek trading factory was moved from Camden County, Georgia well inland to Fort Wilkinson on the Oconee River in Baldwin County. The archaeological remains of Fort Coleraine have not been investigated (Rock 2006).

Fort Massachusetts

By 1789 the U.S. Army had established a presence at Rock Landing, at a trading post below Old Oconee Town on the east side of the Oconee River in Baldwin County, Georgia. Treaty talks with the Creek were held that year, but these talks were unsuccessful. Further negotiations in 1790 in Washington, D.C. resulted in the Treaty of Washington (Kappler 1904). The U.S. Army garrison was relocated because of sickness from Rock Landing in 1793 to Fort Fidius.

Sparse historical details are known about Fort Massachusetts. It is one of the few U.S. Army forts in Georgia for which we have some cartographic evidence. Fort Massachusetts is recorded in the Georgia Archaeological Site File (GASF) but no excavations have been conducted at the site. The general configuration and approximate size of the fort is shown on two early plats. The level of detail shown on these plats is not sufficient for identifying internal features of the fort.

The location and archaeological investigation of Fort Massachusetts would be an important research effort. This fort was an antecedent of Fort Hawkins and a comparison of life in the two forts would be quite informative. Both were major U.S. Army headquarters on the American frontier. Another distinction is that Fort Massachusetts did not have the dual role of U.S. Army headquarters and Indian Trading Factory, as did Fort Hawkins. Unlike Fort Hawkins, Fort Massachusetts was located very near the river and the soldiers and other residents of Federal Town did poorly in this unhealthy environment.

Fort Fidius

Fort Fidius was established in 1793 and served as the primary U.S. Army garrison in the region until 1797 when Fort Wilkinson was constructed.

Captain Brook Roberts, 2nd Sub Legion, U.S. Army, commanded at Fort Fidius on May 31, 1794, when he wrote to Georgia Governor George Mathews. In his letter, Roberts refers to Creek Indians who “came to this post under the Sanction of a flag” and established an “Indian Camp” outside of the fort. That Indian camp was attacked and plundered by Major Adams and Captain Roberts was seeking restitution (Roberts 1794:1).

No maps or plans of Fort Fidius have been identified, nor are any detailed contemporary descriptions of the fort known. The general location of the fort is recorded in the archaeological files, although this fort site has not been verified (Daniel Battle personal communication 1988). No archaeological excavations have been conducted at this site and the configuration and dimensions of the fort are unknown. The location and archaeological investigation of Fort Fidius would be an important research effort. This fort was an antecedent of Fort Hawkins and a comparison of life in the two forts would be quite informative. Both forts were placed in upland settings to escape the unhealthy “miasma” that plagued the low-lying river forts. Both were major U.S. Army headquarters on the American frontier. Another distinction is that Fort Fidius did not have the dual role of U.S. Army headquarters and Indian Trading Factory, as did Fort Hawkins.

Fort Wilkinson

Fort Wilkinson was constructed in 1797 on the west side of the Oconee River in Baldwin County, Georgia. Fort Wilkinson served as the primary U.S. Army fort in the region until 1806, when Fort Hawkins was constructed. Military command shifted to Fort Hawkins from Fort Wilkinson in 1807, although the date of Fort Wilkinson’s abandonment remains undetermined. The name “Wilkinson” is frequently incorrectly cited as “Wilkerson”, in

numerous records and secondary histories that were consulted. The fort is named for General James Wilkinson, U.S. Army.

On June 22, 1802 Major Jacob Kingsbury arrived at Fort Wilkinson to take command of that post. Kingsbury was a Revolutionary War veteran and later U.S. Army commander of the 1st Infantry. Kingsbury had served in Georgia since at least 1791, when he was posted at Coleraine. Kingsbury may have been at Fort Adams in the Louisiana Territory by September 15, 1808 (Kingsbury Family papers, Gordon 2003:1-5). William Gaither was another commandant at Fort Wilkinson (Gaither papers, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library).

No maps or plan drawings of Fort Wilkinson have been identified. The general location of the fort is recorded in the GASF. Numerous informants stated that extensive looting and ground disturbance has occurred at Fort Wilkinson. No professional archaeological excavations have been conducted at this site and the configuration and dimensions of the fort are unknown. The location and archaeological investigation of Fort Wilkinson would be an important research effort. This fort was immediately antecedent of Fort Hawkins and a comparison of life in the two forts would be quite informative. Both forts were placed in upland settings to escape the unhealthy “miasma” that plagued the low-lying river forts. Both were major U.S. Army headquarters on the American frontier.

Fort Mitchell

Fort Mitchell was established in October and November 1813 by the Georgia militia and friendly Indians, commanded by Brigadier General John Floyd. It was but one of a string of forts that were built along the Federal Road by Georgia militia, the U.S. Army and friendly Indians. Fort Mitchell was located in the Creek Nation in present-day Russell County, Alabama. At least two distinct forts

were built at Fort Mitchell. The first fort was constructed by General Floyd’s troops in 1813, a U.S. Army garrison and stockade was constructed in 1825, which was located at the Federal Road crossing on the west side of the Chattahoochee River. The Trading Factory was transferred from Fort Hawkins to Fort Mitchell in 1816. Archaeological study at Fort Mitchell in the 1960s by David Chase revealed the basic configuration of two forts and it is the earliest fort that is most relevant to a discussion of Fort Hawkins. The first Fort Mitchell was completely excavated from 2000-2002 by John Cottier and students from Auburn University. Cottier’s final report of those excavations was unavailable as of this writing, although some of the research is available as theses (Stickler 2004).

The site plan of the first Fort Mitchell, as determined by Chase (1974) and Cottier (personal communication, cited in Stickler 2004:19) consisted of palisades measuring 120 feet north-south by 240 feet east-west; a dry ditch immediately outside of the fort walls, and three access gates (Figure 75). Chase identified a powder magazine within the walls of the first fort, which was abandoned and later used as a trash pit (Chase 1974:13). The first fort was occupied from October 1813 to 1817, when it was officially abandoned.

The second fort at Fort Mitchell was constructed in 1825 by the 4th Infantry, U.S. Army commanded by Major Saunders Donoho (Stickler 2004:20). This fort was built on top of the earlier fort, although excavations by Chase and Cottier reveal that the architectural footprints overlap. Stickler (2004:19) noted that, “Fort Mitchell was a typical frontier stockade fort with two blockhouses on alternate, opposite sites and pine palisades”. The second fort was smaller than the first fort, measuring 70 feet by 80 feet. This fort had well-defined projecting corner bastions on the northeast and southwest corners (Chase 1974:14).

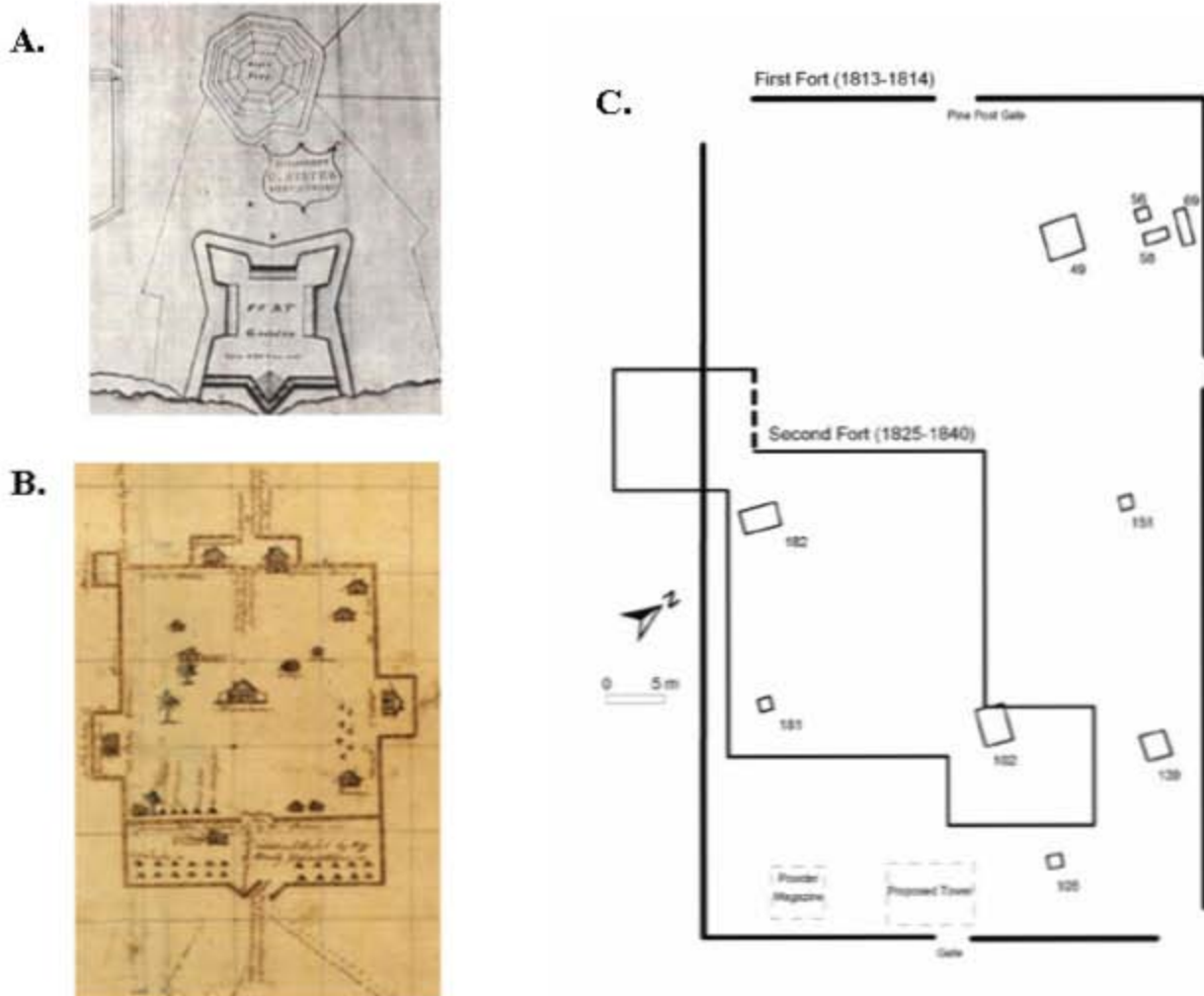


Figure 75. Plans of Fort Gadsden (1818), Fort Mims (1813), and Archaeology Plan of Fort Mitchell (1813 and 1825).

Cremer (2004:33-34) and Stickler (2004) observed that the function of the two forts at Fort Mitchell were substantially different. The first fort was built as a staging area by the Georgia militia in its 1813 campaign against the Red Stick Creeks. The fort also served during that period as a supply base for the various state militias, U.S. Army, and friendly Indians. At times during its use, the population at Fort Mitchell was well over 1,000 men. The second fort was intended as a garrison for a smaller body of U.S. Army troops, including the 4th Infantry and the 2nd Artillery regiments. Confounding the issue was the Trading Factory

component of the site, which existed in the vicinity of the two forts.

Like Fort Hawkins, Fort Mitchell was a military garrison and Indian Trade Factory that was never directly attacked by enemy forces. Both forts were located on elevated areas near major rivers, although Fort Mitchell was west of the Chattahoochee, whereas Fort Hawkins was on the east side of the Ocmulgee. Fort Mitchell was considerably lower in relative elevation to the river compared to Fort Hawkins. Both forts were immediately adjacent to the Federal Road and vestiges of this road are extant at both locations (Elliott et al. 2002). The first

Fort Mitchell never achieved the importance as a U.S. Army Command, unlike Fort Hawkins. That role was taken from Fort Mitchell by Army forts located further downstream, including Forts Scott and Gadsden.

Fort Scott

Fort Scott was established as a U.S. Army fort on the lower Flint River in June 1816 by Major General William P. Gaines and troops in the 4th U.S. Infantry. The fort was located in the Creek Nation in present day Decatur County, Georgia, and was used by the U.S. Army as a major garrison and command headquarters until it was abandoned in 1821 (Cox 2006). The topographic setting chosen for Fort Scott was unfortunate and many soldiers died as a result of diseases contracted in its unhealthy setting. As one solution to this problem another fort, Fort Recovery, was constructed on an upland site, east of Fort Scott where sickly soldiers were sent for recovery. Unlike Fort Hawkins, Fort Scott did not contain an Indian Trading Factory and no town sprang up outside its walls.

The location of Fort Scott has long been known to relic collectors and looters. The fort is adjacent and partially submerged by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' Lake Seminole. Archaeological reconnaissance survey of Fort Scott was performed in the early 1980s but no recent assessment of the fort site is available. No professional excavations have been conducted at the fort. No plans or detailed maps of the fort are known (White 1981). More in-depth archaeological investigation of Fort Scott would be an important research effort. This fort was built immediately after Fort Hawkins and a comparison of life in the two forts would be quite informative. Both served as U.S. Army command headquarters on the American frontier and many of the same soldiers occupied both forts.

Fort Mims

Fort Mims began as the fortified homestead of Samuel Mims, located in present day Baldwin County, Alabama. The settlement was later garrisoned by U.S. Army Infantry and Mississippi militia. A plan drawing of Fort Mims survives, which shows the various buildings within the fortified compound. Fort Mims was attacked and burned on August 30, 1813 by the Red Stick Creeks and nearly all of its inhabitants were killed (Claiborne n.d.; *Niles' Register* 1813:105).

Fort Smith

Fort Smith, Arkansas was built in 1817 by soldiers in Colonel Thomas Adams Smith's Rifle Regiment, who had served for a number of years at Fort Hawkins. The fort was also garrisoned by soldiers in the 7th Infantry, who had served at Fort Hawkins. Despite its substantial distance from Fort Hawkins, Fort Smith presents a crucial analog for comparison with Fort Hawkins for several reasons. Both were U.S. Army forts located on the edge of the United States frontier, although Fort Smith dates to a slightly later period. Fort Hawkins and Fort Smith have direct continuity in terms of the regiments that garrisoned them, as well as the function of the two forts on the U.S. frontier. We are fortunate to have surviving maps, plans, watercolor illustrations, other primary manuscript documents, and archaeological data from Fort Smith for comparison with Fort Hawkins (Bearss n.d.; Dollar 1966).

In a recent NPS overview of the Fort Smith National Historic Site, the initial fort creation is summarized:

The site of the new fort was Belle Point, a prominent bluff overlooking the Poteau and Arkansas Rivers. On December 25, 1817, Major William Bradford and 64 men of the Rifle Regiment, Company A, landed at Belle

Point. In eight days, temporary shelters had been hastily erected and work initiated on a permanent fortification. Construction progressed slowly. Upon completion, the fort was a simple log stockade with four sides of 132 ft each and two blockhouses at opposite angles. Barracks, storehouses, shops, a magazine, and a hospital were located within the walls. In February 1822, Colonel Matthew Arbuckle and five companies of Seventh United States Infantry garrisoned the post. Quarters for the additional troops were erected outside the original fort. (Coleman and Scott 2003:3-3).

The garrison at Fort Smith was abandoned in 1824, as the frontier moved further upstream to establish Fort Gibson was built at this new location. Another fort was constructed later, although at a different location in the same general vicinity (Coleman and Scott 2003:3-3).

Major William Bradford (with his company) was issued orders to accompany Major Long to help build Fort Smith. Major Long designed and constructed the fort that included, “a Stockade work sufficient for the comfortable accommodation of one company, with necessary Quarters, Barracks, Storehouses, Shops, Magazines and Hospitals. Construction of Fort Smith began in 1817 and later expanded. Major Bradford’s company consisted of 40 to 70 men who labored for four years to build the fort.. The original configuration consisted of two diagonal corner blockhouses (Blockhouse Nos. 1 and 2) and a rectangular fort with two central access points on opposite sides of the fort. The fort walls in the interior of Fort Smith were almost entirely used for buildings. No buildings in the central plaza were shown on the earliest plans of Fort Smith. Long’s plan of Fort Smith shows the following features, proceeding in a clockwise direction from Blockhouse No. 1: Wheelwright Shop; Carpenter’s Shop, Tailor Shop, Clothing Shop, Suttler’s Store, Kitchen, Magazine (on the fort’s corner), Subaltern’s Quarters, Dining Room, Entry way, Office and

Kitchen, Surgeon’s Quarters, Blockhouse No. 2, Kitchen, Hospital Store, Hospital, Saddler’s & Shoemaker’s Shop, Provision House, Smith’s Shop, Soldiers’ Quarters , Soldiers’ Quarters, Guard House, Main Gate, Musician’s Quarters, Soldiers’ Quarters, and Soldiers’ Quarters. A stairway is shown on Long’s plan adjacent to the office and kitchen, which indicates that this part of the fort’s interior was at least two stories. Ditches and glassis were shown outside of the stockade wall in Long’s plan. A portion of a redraft of Major Long’s plan of the first Fort Smith is shown in Figure 76. Long’s plan of Fort Smith also contained verbal explanations for the various features of the proposed garrison, which included:

- The Blockhouse- 28 ft square from out to out
- Commanding Officer’s Quarters- 19 by 19, 2 rooms
- Subaltern’s & Surgeon’s Quarters- 19 by 19, 4 rooms
- Soldiers’ Quarters- 19 by 12, 2 rooms
- Guard House & Missionary Quarters- 19 by 12, 2 rooms
- Smith’s & Wheelwright’s Shop- 15 by 15, 2 rooms
- Provision House & Carpenter’s Shop- 18 by 15, 2 rooms
- Saddlers & Tailor’s Shops- 12 by 15, 2 rooms
- Suttling, Clothing, Hospital Store & Hospital- 15 by 15, 4 rooms
- Kitchen- 12 by 15, 1 room
- Magazine- 6 by 8 in clear, 12 by 16 , 1 room

Samuel Seymour’s watercolor painting of Fort Smith, which was created from a vantage point immediately outside of the fort wall facing one of the corner blockhouses, provides additional clues to the fort’s appearance (Seymour 1820; U.S. Corps of Topographical Engineers 2007). Samuel Seymour’s watercolor is reproduced in Figure 77.

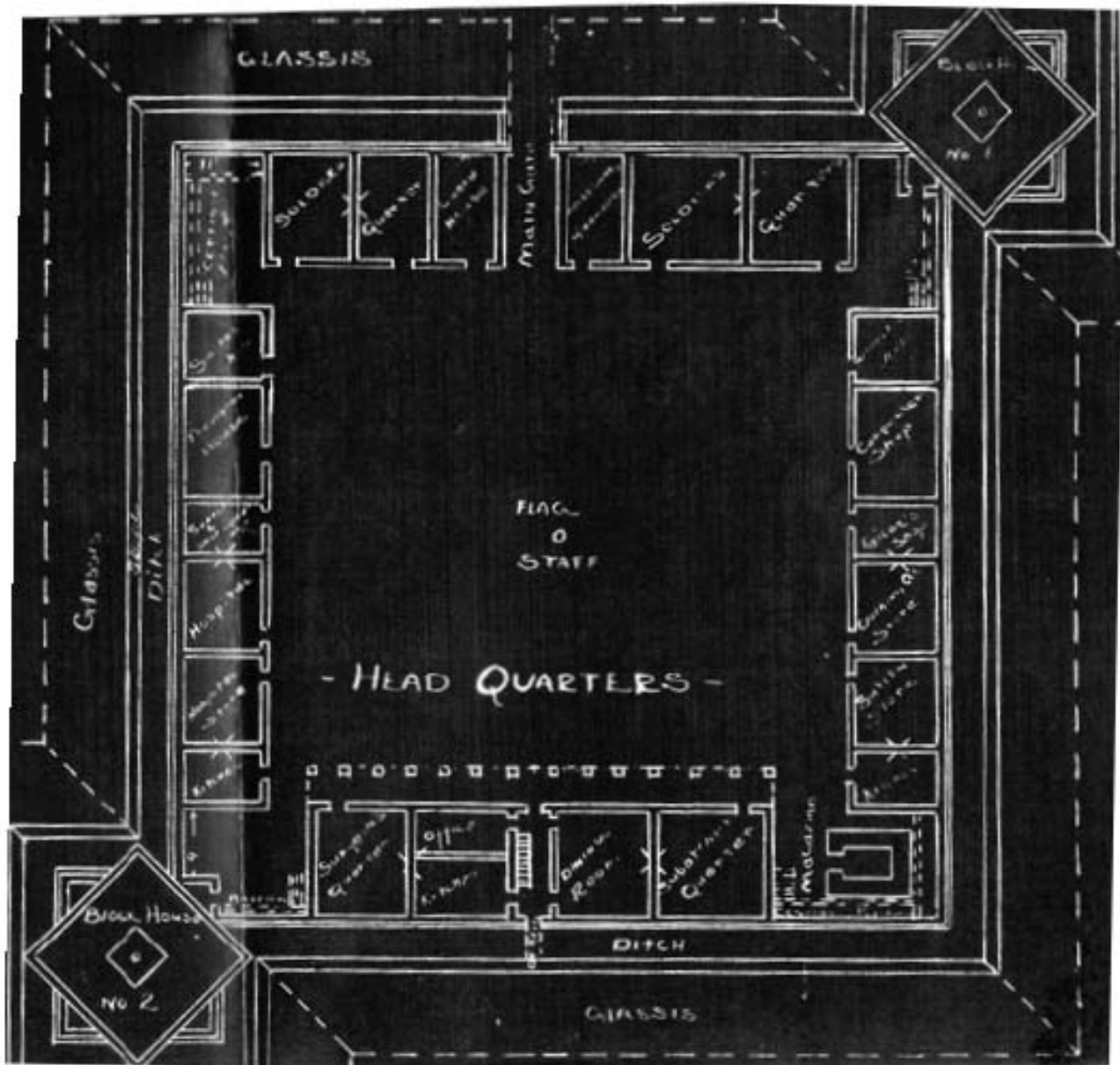


Figure 76. Plan of 1st Fort Smith (Long 1817).

In 1822, Fort Smith was garrisoned by the 7th Infantry, commanded by Colonel Matthew Arbuckle. A second plan map of Fort Smith, which showed the changes and expansion, tentatively attributed to Arbuckle, has survived and provides additional information on the physical features of Fort Smith. The notes on the Arbuckle plan state that the present fort structure was, “132 feet square to the exterior of the walls” and the proposed expansion called for a fort measuring, “278 feet 2 inches by 168 feet to the exterior of the walls” (Haskett

1966:214-218). Colonel Arbuckle’s proposed changes to Fort Smith were not approved by his superior, Major General E.P. Gaines, who preferred that the fort be completed according to its original plan.

Archaeological and historical investigations of Fort Smith began in the 1950s and have continued to the present (Moore 1963; Dollar 1966; Coleman and Scott 2003). The study of the first Fort Smith was limited and many



Figure 77. Watercolor of Fort Smith with detail on right (Seymour 1820).

questions about the internal layout of the fort remain unexplored.

Observed differences in the plan of Fort Hawkins and the first Fort Smith were noted by the present researchers. The upper story of the two blockhouses at Fort Smith was oriented 45 degrees off of the main fort grid. At Fort Hawkins the upper stories of Blockhouse Number 1 was oriented consistent with the fort grid. The Fort Smith version may represent an improvement over Fort Hawkins, since it would have made scaling the walls of the blockhouse more difficult and it would have afforded better angles for creating enfilading fire against would-be attackers. The down side of the Fort Smith model was that it was likely more difficult to construct from an architectural standpoint.

Fort Crawford

Fort Crawford was a U.S. Army fort in the Mississippi Territory (present-day Alabama), which was built by the 7th Infantry about 1817 (Davis 1817). John M. Davis described the fort in a report to Colonel A.P. Hayne, Inspector General on April 30, 1817, which read:

Fort Crawford is Situated about three miles west of Conaka, about fifty miles east of Camp Montgomery, and about the same distance nearly north of the Town of Pensacola [Near Brewton?] - The Fort is not yet finished, is a square log work with two Block houses at diagonal angles - The buildings are erected with square logs of about eight or ten inches square - The barracks for the officers and men form three squares of the Fort - the Doctors shop, Guard house, and Artificers Shops form the fourth - The logs are laid so close as to touch with port holes cut in them, which makes Fort a complete defence against small arms. This work is sufficiently large to accommodate four companies, there is at present only two of the 7th Infantry there, under the command of Brevet Major Whartenby.

In point of health Fort Crawford is equal to any place I have ever known Troops stationed at (Davis 1817).

Fort St. Anthony (Fort Snelling)

Fort St. Anthony was a U.S. Army garrison on the northwestern frontier in present-day Minnesota, thousands of miles from Fort Hawkins. An 1823 plan of Fort St. Anthony (later renamed Fort Snelling) and its surroundings offers some important analogs for Fort Hawkins (Figure 78). This map was drawn by Joseph E. Heckle, 5th Infantry. This fort was garrisoned by U.S. troops in the 7th Infantry, a regiment that also served at Fort Hawkins. On this plan map the fort is shown as a six-sided enclosure, nearly diamond shaped. It depicts a series of long buildings on the interior of the stockade that mimic the diamond-shaped appearance. A large area just south of the palisade is identified as the Officers' Gardens. Other garden plots are shown immediately west of the fort (Minnesota Historical Society 2006b). The diamond-shaped plan of Fort St. Anthony is similar in some respects to the Outer Fort at Fort Hawkins.

Fort Wayne

Fort Wayne was a U.S. Army garrison on the northwestern frontier in present day Indiana. Lossing (1858) offers a perspective rendition of this fort as it appeared in 1812 (Figure 79). Fort Wayne was a rectangular wooden palisade enclosure with two blockhouses on diagonally opposite corners. The interior walls on all four sides were flanked by long buildings. A large flag pole was the only feature located in the center of the fort. Although our research on Fort Wayne was minimal, documents about this fort may represent some of the best examples for recreating Fort Hawkins.

Military Life at Fort Hawkins

Fort Hawkins was not designed to withstand a concentrated attack. Although the fort was surrounded with a substantial log palisade, it's only military defense were two small cannons. It was obviously protected, yet it benefited the Indians so why would they want to attack? Fort Hawkins was built on a commanding hilltop for specific reasons. Similar contemporary U.S. Army forts, such as the U.S. Army cantonment at Mount Vernon in Alabama or the U.S. Army fort at Chattahoochee, Florida. Once Nachitoches, Mobile Point, Pensacola, New Orleans, and other aras to the west were opened up for U.S. Army operations, Fort Hawkins diminished in its strategic importance and it was no longer part of the action. The movement of people and the center of public attention went west.

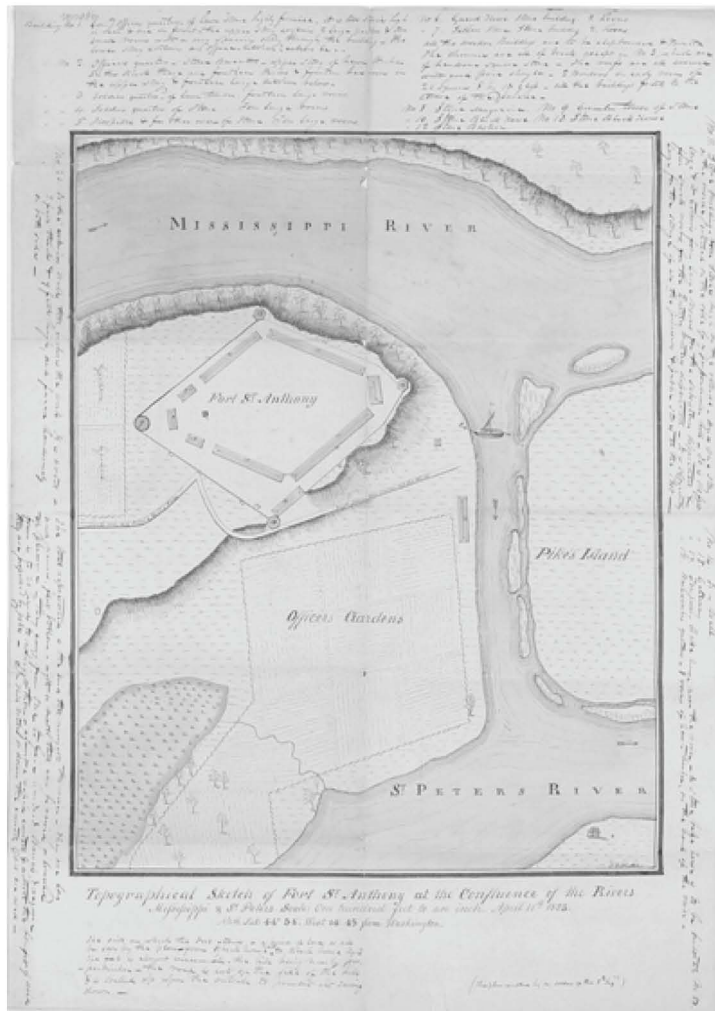


Figure 78. Fort St. Anthony (1823).

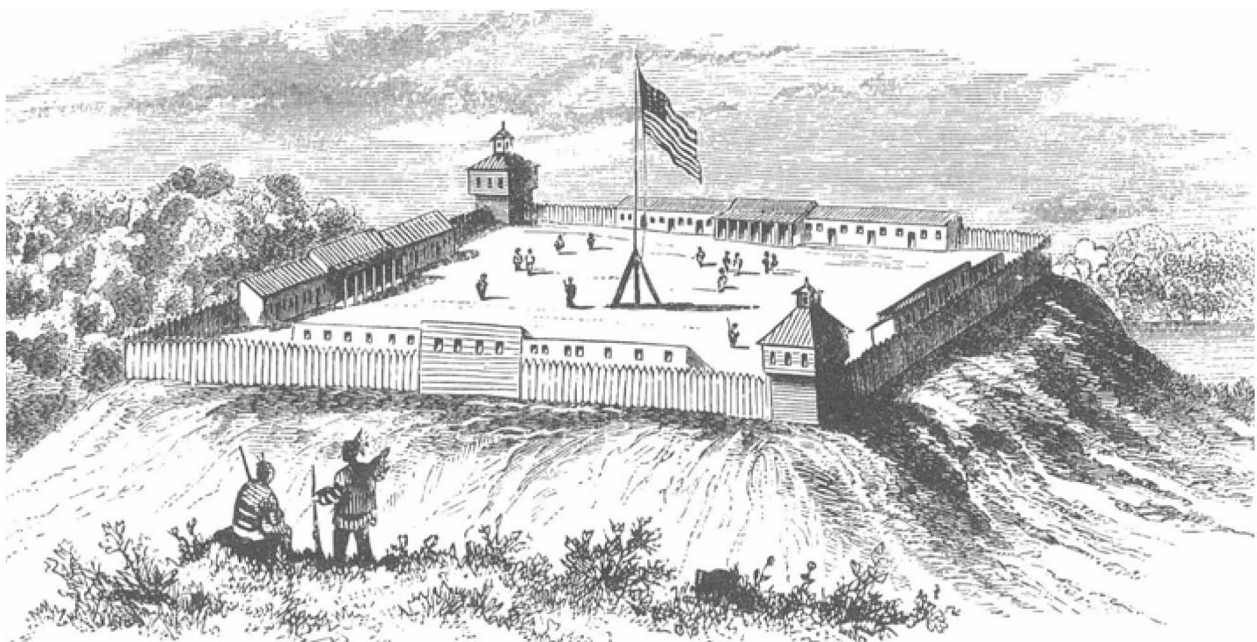


Figure 79. Fort Wayne 1812 (Lossing 1858).

Fort Hawkins was never the subject of a direct attack. The closest that it came to the front lines was when the soldiers fought amongst themselves. The Milledgeville newspaper reported an “affray at Furlow’s store at Fort Hawkins” in early 1810, in which a white man and an Indian were killed. As a result, Governor Early reportedly dispatched Eleazer Early to Fort Hawkins to communicate with Capt. [Thomas] Smith, commander of the fort (Chalker 1970:81).

Let us now focus on the people who stayed back east in Georgia at Fort Hawkins. What was their story?

The people in Fort Hawkins included soldiers and other support personnel, wives of soldiers, washer women, and children. Children even enlisted in the U.S. Army. The youngest boys in William Boote’s company of the 2nd Regiment that were identified from the present research were ages 7 (private), 9, 10 and 12 years old. Older persons also were regular soldiers in the 2nd Infantry, including one 66 year-old drummer. The young boys would continually re-enlist, perhaps because it was the only family they knew.

The soldiers in Fort Hawkins were from diverse ethnic, religious, and occupational backgrounds. They were of various ages and physical appearance. The military papers of William Boote’s 2nd Infantry provide a wide array of descriptions of the common soldiers who served at Fort Hawkins. Some were dark-skinned soldiers from single-mother homes in South Carolina. Others were redheads with dark eyes. Many soldiers were small and children seemed stunted. A very few soldiers were 6 feet tall, some had premature aging and grey hair.

Men at Fort Hawkins were regularly court-martialed for drinking, sleeping on the job, desertions or escape after confinement. Punishment was often very harsh and consisted of lashes or confinement to the “Black Hole” for

sleeping on duty and execution for escape after confinement. Regimental historian McManus (2006) recounts the experiences of Charles Martin Gray, an enlisted man in the 7th Infantry, who was the victim of extreme discipline delivered under Major David Twiggs,

A South Carolinian born in 1800, Gray dreamed of soldiering from the earliest days of his childhood. He tried to enlist during the War of 1812 but he was too young. Later he ran off and tried again only to be foiled by his father. Finally, at the age of 19 he successfully enlisted in the 7th. Twiggs signed him up. It was the beginning of an adversarial, headmaster-student type of relationship. Not long after he enlisted, Gray witnessed the kind of ruthless discipline Twiggs routinely enforced. A musician left camp for a few hours without proper authorization. When he came back, Twiggs made the man strip. “[Twiggs] then pulled off his own coat, rolled up his sleeves, and inflicted upon his bare back, with a horse whip, twenty-five lashes, which made the blood spout and trickle down his manly form, and that scarred the skin at every stroke. At another time, for some small offense, he sentenced one of his command to pitch straws against the wind, for four or five hours without intermission. The wind was blowing a gale, and the penalty was that he should receive one lash for every straw he failed to produce. At the end of this delightful exercise. . . he found himself minus many a straw, and crowned with many a stripe, for he was compelled to pitch the straws as high in the air, as his strength, and the boisterous elements would allow, and an unrelenting Orderly was present to report minutely every failure either of his strength or his skill (McManus 2006; Gray 1868).

By comparison, life at Fort Hawkins was a moderate duty station. It was not as unhealthy as Point Peter, where the mosquito-borne diseases took their toll. It was not as vulnerable as Fort Mims, or other forts in extremely remote locations.

Chapter 9. Results and Recommendations

The archaeological site of Fort Hawkins is a brilliant gem in Georgia's treasure chest of important cultural resources. The most recent archaeological and historical research has recognized the wealth of currently retrieved data and the vast potential for future historical information contained in this former fort. The citizens of Macon and many other residents of the state and county already realize the historical significance of this place, but the archaeological findings serve to solidify this position. The present study helps to clarify and distill the real Fort Hawkins. To do this, we must first identify and destroy several common misconceptions.

Corrected Misconceptions

The present study has corrected several misconceptions concerning Fort Hawkins. These involve architecture, function and fort life. Misconceptions are briefly summarized here.

- *Misconception: Fort Hawkins was a primitive frontier fort.*

Correction: Archaeological evidence demonstrates that the fort's architecture was substantial and on a level well-beyond that of a primitive fortification. Fort Hawkins was an Army Command post of the highest order, by for early 19th century America standards.

- *Misconception: Fort Hawkins was a single entity.*

Correction: Archaeological study revealed not one, but two, Fort Hawkins. The smaller,

inner fort is probably the later of the two. Fort Hawkins is also more than just an Army fort. It was a settlement, a small town, and a generalized part of the American frontier, which Colonel Benjamin Hawkins sometimes referred to as the, "District of Fort Hawkins".

- *Misconception: Long buildings were built along the center of the four walls of Fort Hawkins.*

Correction: The earlier, outer fort had one building along the west wall, no obvious buildings along the south wall and one probable large building along the east wall. The later, inner fort had two buildings along the south wall, three buildings along the west wall, and at least one probable building along the east wall. The features on the northern wall of both forts remain unknown.

- *Misconception: The reconstructed southeastern blockhouse of Fort Hawkins was established by National Park Service archaeologists in the 1930s.*

Correction: The reconstruction effort began in 1928 with private money from the citizens and merchants of Macon without the benefit of any apparent archaeological investigations. The reconstruction was completed with Federal assistance. The National Park Service opted not to include Fort Hawkins in their definition of the Ocmulgee National Monument. In retrospect, this decision was probably a poor one. The citizens of Macon and Georgia now have an opportunity to restore to Fort Hawkins the national recognition that it deserves. Federal assistance to help with this endeavor, however, should not be ruled out.

- *Misconception: The archaeological remains of Fort Hawkins are largely destroyed by erosion and of minimal value.*

Correction: While this is true for some areas of the fort, particularly on the eastern and northern sides, other areas contain deeply buried and well-preserved archaeological deposits that contain many secrets about the past. The present study destroyed a portion of these precious deposits to document them, as is the nature of archaeological study, but a sizeable part of the fort remains unexplored. These remaining cultural resources should be carefully managed to prevent their destruction without the proper archaeological study. A portion of these remaining archaeological resources should be protected and banked for future archaeologists.

- *Misconception: Fort Hawkins played a modest role in American history.*

Correction: Fort Hawkins was not a footnote to history. Many important historical military campaigns were planned and launched from Fort Hawkins. Fort Hawkins played a vital role in the alliance between the U.S., Georgia, and the Creek Nation. While it is true that the fort was never attacked nor was the scene of a major engagement, it was involved in the logistical, administrative, economic, and political activities of two wars and various Indian uprisings. Understanding these contributions to the growth and expansion of the U.S. is a vital part of American history and one which the archaeological study of Fort Hawkins can contribute significantly.

- *Misconception: Fort Hawkins contained only a small garrison of U.S. Army troops.*

Correction: Fort Hawkins was a U.S. Army headquarters, supply and munitions depot, trading factory, Army garrison, post office,

and administrative center for the southwestern frontier of the U.S. The “normal” population at the fort probably ranged between 100 and 250 soldiers and support personnel, excluding women, children, and enslaved servants. If these latter, more anonymous people are included in the estimate, it is reasonable to expect that the population of Fort Hawkins in the period prior to the War of 1812 was 300-500. At various points in its history, when military campaigns were being mounted, more than 3,000 soldiers assembled at Fort Hawkins. It was no small garrison.

Recommendations for Additional Historical Research

One of the components of the present study of Fort Hawkins was historical research. This phase of the study began prior to the beginning of fieldwork and it has continued throughout the fieldwork, analysis and reporting phases. The historical research was conducted by several project team members at a variety of research and archival facilities in the United States. The historical researchers followed dozens of leads on potential primary information about Fort Hawkins, located and examined many of them, discovered others that were not widely known, and also encountered more than a few dead ends throughout this process. Some aspects of the documentary record of Fort Hawkins are quite vivid, while other aspects, such as the cartographic record, are sadly lacking. Many archival repositories and research libraries would be worth visiting in pursuit of additional history about Fort Hawkins. At a minimum, one month of additional research of primary documents at NARA should be a future goal for Fort Hawkins.

The NARA in Washington was visited in the previous research effort and several thousand documents were examined, but its vast collection of primary military records were by no means exhausted. Many record groups may

contain important records about Fort Hawkins. One particular record group, Letters Received by the Secretary of War, contains well over one hundred microfilm reels and because these reels are not indexed by geographic place, each reel must be carefully examined for content relevant to Fort Hawkins. Similarly, the NARA hold many thousands of military service records for soldiers who were stationed at Fort Hawkins. These include more than 300 Creek warriors in the U.S. Service. These records are contained on thousands of microfilm reels and locating the records of an individual is tedious and time consuming work. The historical research at NARA that has been conducted to date for Fort Hawkins is merely a sample survey of what relevant records probably exist.

Accurate Reconstruction and Public Interpretation

Stewards of Fort Hawkins should avoid mistakes by implementing a careful, long-term study of the site in coordination with an ultimate reconstruction of the Fort Hawkins site.

One of the paramount desires expressed by the Fort Hawkins Commission over the past several decades is to reconstruct Fort Hawkins on its original site. That effort, which began in 1928 and stopped in 1938, resulted in a relatively accurate reconstruction of one minor architectural component of Fort Hawkins—its southeastern blockhouse. For many this blockhouse symbolizes the whole totality of Fort Hawkins. It is, in fact, an icon for the City of Macon. This small blockhouse was, however, only a tiny fraction of the built environment at the fort compound. Through archaeological and historical research we now have a more complete picture of the plan of Fort Hawkins. The basic east and south palisade lines were discovered in Gordon Willey's 1936 excavations and improved upon by Carillo's 1971 excavations (Willey 1936; Carillo 1971). Both of these studies indicated

the reconstructed blockhouse to be in the approximately correct position relative to the projected southeastern intersection of these two palisade walls. The present research also supports this interpretation.

Although the stone basement of the reconstructed blockhouse had already been completed several years prior to Willey's arrival, his excavations immediately outside of this wall (beneath the brick pavement) revealed that the palisade line from both walls abutted the foundation. Willey was unable to locate the northern and western walls of the fort. He concluded that the southeastern corner of the fort was oriented at nearly a right angle (90 degrees, minus a few seconds) (Willey 1936).

Carillo's work elaborated upon Willey's discoveries and exposed additional sections of the east and west palisade walls. Carillo also was unable to locate any trace of the northern wall. He discovered several sections of ditch on the western wall but his data were ambiguous as to the precise location of the west palisade wall. Nevertheless, Carillo concluded that the distance between the east and west walls of the fort was 290 feet (88.39 meters). He estimated the north-south distance between palisade walls to be 296 feet (90.22 meters). Carillo derived this estimated distance by multiplying by two the distance from the north wall of the southeast blockhouse and the midpoint of the 22 foot-wide gap that he identified on the eastern wall. Following the proposition set forth by Stanley South, Carillo concluded that this 22 foot gap represented the "footprint" of one of the "four long houses" from Butler's 1879 description (South 1970; Carillo 1971:31).

Architectural Results from 2005-2006 Archaeology

We now realize, based on the results of the present fieldwork, that Carillo's interpretation was wrong on several counts. Neither Willey

nor Carillo realized that the fort had two sets of palisade walls. Both previous excavators correctly identified segments of an east and south palisade wall but neither of their excavations intercepted the outer eastern and southern palisade walls. What Carillo interpreted as the west wall in his Units 34 and 34A was actually a segment of wall associated with the Outer Fort and none of his excavations intercepted the west wall of the Inner Fort (Frierson 1971). Consequently, Carillo's distance estimates for the East-West dimension of the fort are overestimated.

The current estimate, based on the 2005-2006 research, for the length of the south palisade for the Inner Fort is approximately 78 meters, or about 256 feet. This length is 34 feet, about 10 meters less than Carillo's estimate. The current estimates for the length of the west palisade for the Inner Fort is at least 78 meters. This palisade wall continues in profile to the edge of the Woolfolk Street bank cut, so the northwestern corner of this wall cannot be established absolutely. The similarity between the two estimates, however, makes for a strong argument that this Inner Fort was a square configuration, measuring 78 meters by 78 meters, or about 256 feet by 256 feet. If this configuration of the Inner Fort is correct, then the northern palisade line has been completely eroded and graded by Woolfolk Street. Consequently, the northwestern corner for the Inner Fort cannot be absolutely established by the archaeology.

Since neither Willey nor Carillo realized that Fort Hawkins possessed a second palisade enclosure neither archaeologist offered any estimates for its dimensions or configuration. The present data offers some information about the configuration of this Outer Fort, although some pieces of the puzzle are missing. The estimate for the length of the south palisade of the Outer Fort is approximately 89 meters, or about 291 feet. The exposed length of the west palisade of the Outer Fort is approximately 75.5 meters, or 248 feet, and the estimated

length of the east palisade of the Outer Fort is approximately 72 meters, or 236 feet. These latter two estimates are hampered by three problems, which probably render these as underestimates. On the west wall, the palisade of the Outer Fort is obscured by the cement footing of the Fort Hawkins School on its northern end. The palisade ditch was not apparent further to the north of this cement footing and the area north of that has been completely destroyed by Woolfolk Street. Consequently, the northwestern corner for the Outer Fort cannot be absolutely established by the archaeology. If one assumes the Outer Fort to be an equilateral polygon, this means its dimensions were 89 meter by 89 meters, or about 291 feet by 291 feet. If this is correct, then the northern palisade wall for the Outer Fort has been mostly destroyed by Woolfolk Street. The northeastern angle of the Outer Fort was north of Woolfolk Street. This area, west of Maynard Street, has a remote potential for containing some vestige of Fort Hawkins.

As noted, pieces of the Fort Hawkins puzzle are missing but we are now armed with information that allows for a more intelligent estimate than was available to our predecessors. The following descriptions of the Inner and Outer Forts are offered with the understanding that some parts of this interpretation remain conjecture, albeit informed conjecture.

The architectural plan of the Inner Fort at Fort Hawkins is shown in Figure 80. The palisade enclosure of the Inner Fort measured 78 meters by 78 meters and enclosed a space of approximately 6,084 square meters, or 1.5 acres (65,487 square feet). This fort was almost square, having a nearly 90 degree angle on the southwest corner. This fort was nearly aligned with Magnetic North. The location of the northern wall of the Inner Fort would be in mid-air, hovering somewhere above Woolfolk Street.

The Inner Fort had buildings along the interior wall on the eastern, southern and western

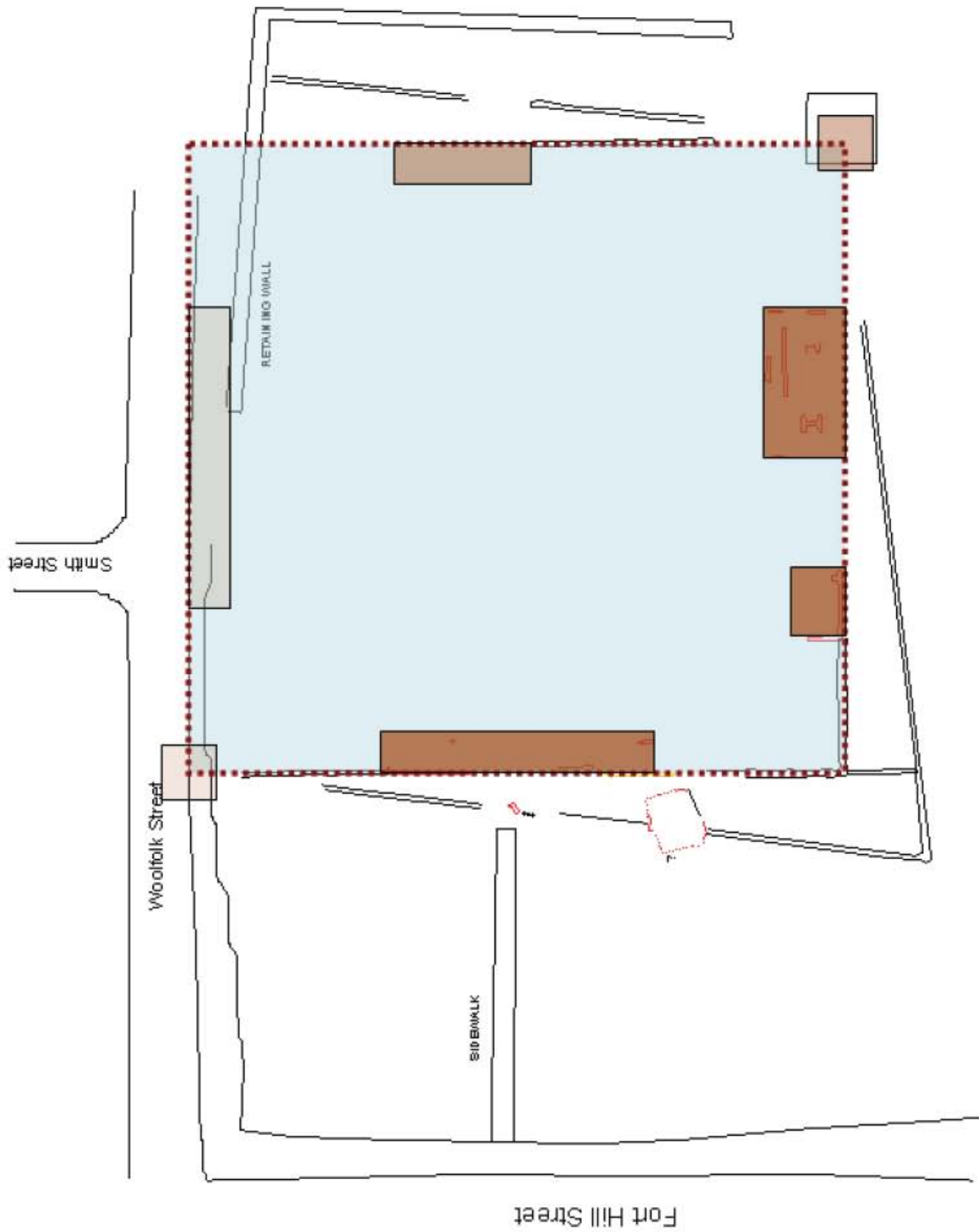


Figure 80. Plan of Inner Fort, Fort Hawkins (9Bi21).

sides. No trace of any fort-era buildings along the interior of the northern wall was identified, but their absence may be the result of erosion. If Fort Smith, Arkansas is an accurate analog, then the main gate entrance to the Inner Fort was probably located along the center of the northern wall.

The architectural plan of the Outer Fort at Fort Hawkins is shown in Figure 81. The palisade enclosure of the Outer Fort measured 89 meters by 89 meters. It confined a space of approximately 7,921 square meters, or 1.96 acres (85,261 square feet). The Outer Fort formed a diamond-shaped parallelogram. Its east and west axes were oriented east of Magnetic North and its south wall was oriented south of Magnetic West. The main gate entrance of the Outer Fort was likely located along the center of the northern wall. Like the Inner Fort, most of the northern wall of the Outer Fort would be in mid-air, hovering above Woolfolk Street. Some vestige of the Outer Fort may exist in the area immediately north of Woolfolk Street and west of Maynard Street. That area, which is currently private property, deserves an archaeological investigation.

The construction techniques, dimensions, and other parameters of the palisade ditch and associated palisade posts are essentially the same for both the Inner and Outer Forts. The archaeology evidence shows that palisade posts were not always erected in areas where buildings could be used to serve the same purpose. No palisade wall exists south of Features 101 or 109 or west of Feature 271. The wide gap in the eastern palisade lines of the Inner Fort (observed and documented by Willey and Carillo) and a corresponding gap on the Outer Fort (observed and documented by the present study) probably represents the “footprint” of a large building. The north-south dimension of the building along the Inner Fort was estimated to be 22 feet, or about 6.7 meters. The north-south dimension of the building along the Outer Fort was estimated to be about 25 feet, or 7.65 meters.

The Fort Hawkins Commission is now faced with a series of challenges in reconstructing Fort Hawkins. The first question to be addressed is which of the Fort Hawkins is to be reconstructed—the Inner Fort, the Outer Fort, both forts, or some combination of the two?

The artifacts associated with the Outer Fort suggest that it predates the Inner Fort by only a few years. Thus, it is the original Fort Hawkins, which probably was constructed in 1806. It is considerably larger than the Inner Fort but we know less about the buildings that were associated with the outer fort than we know about the Inner Fort. Consequently, the Outer Fort has limitations for an accurate reconstruction of the buildings that were attached to it, or any buildings that may have been free-standing within its confines. Only one defined building (Feature 313) was clearly associated with the Outer Fort and the most interesting buildings that were identified archaeologically (Features 101, 109, 271 and 272) are oriented with the Inner Fort.

The Inner Fort has its own set of problems for reconstruction. It is considerably smaller than the Outer Fort and it dates to a period slightly later than 1806. The Inner Fort has abundant material culture associated with it, which offer a full spectrum of interpretive potential. The buildings that flank the walls of the Inner Fort on the south and west sides offer great potential for an accurate reconstruction project. The information pertaining to the buildings flanking the north wall, and to a lesser extent along the east wall, will be conjecture. Information from other contemporary U.S. Army forts can be brought to bear on this issue, however, so that the missing pieces of this puzzle can be more accurately estimated. The potential remains for additional historical research to uncover previously unknown physical details about Fort Hawkins.

The design of the palisade and depth of palisade posts was not significantly different between the Inner Fort and Outer Fort. The width of

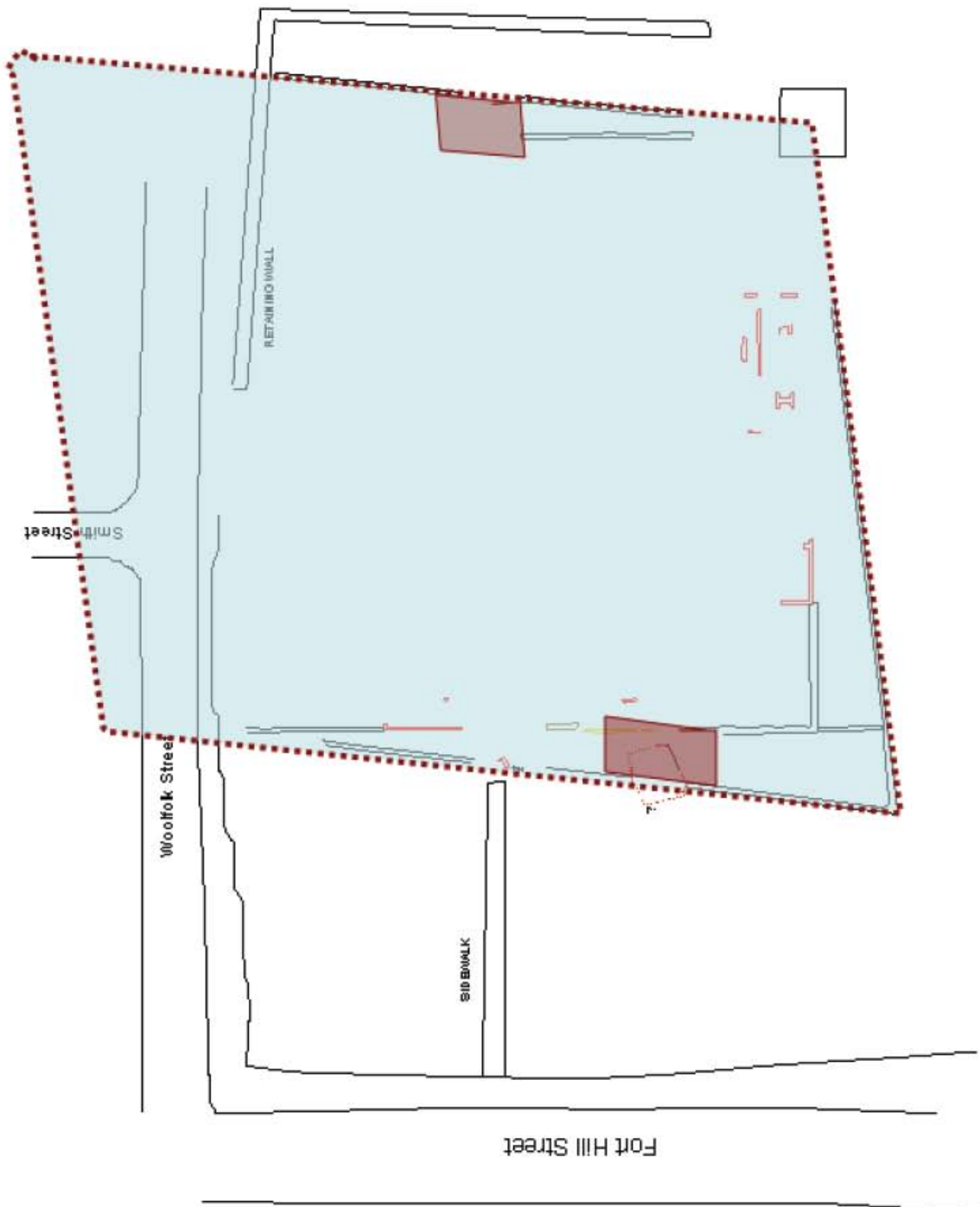


Figure 81. Plan of Outer Fort, Fort Hawkins (9Bi21).

the palisade ditch varied for both forts but this depended in large part on the depth of the mechanical stripping and the extent of erosion that had occurred historically. The palisade ditch was generally between 75 cm and 1 m in width. When the ditch was originally constructed it was completely excavated, posts were set in the center of the ditch and soil from the ditch was backfilled around the posts. This was done fairly soon after the trench was excavated. The posts were spaced closely together within the trench. The typical distance between the edges of the posts within the trench was about 11 cm. The posts were erected vertically. Wood samples from one post were identified as southern yellow pine. Other posts were tentatively identified as bald cypress. The posts extended to near the base of the palisade ditch. The base of the posts were blunt, rather than sharply pointed.

How closely should the reconstructed landform on which Fort Hawkins is rebuilt resemble the original 1806 topography? This is not a simple question and the answer is quite complex. Fort stewards should consider these points:

Extensive soil erosion has happened since 1806. A rectangular grid of roads has been superimposed over the area. Most notably Woolfolk Street has had an adverse impact on the archaeological resources at Fort Hawkins and it will be very difficult to reconstruct the northern side of Fort Hawkins without bringing the area of Woolfolk Street up to grade. Houses and other improvements exist in the area surrounding the fort and these modern-day features affect the historical vistas.

What should be built inside of the fort? The archaeological study of Fort Hawkins identified a series of buildings that were located within Fort Hawkins. These findings exceed descriptions by historian Butler in 1879. The fort probably had more buildings beyond those currently known and discovering them remains a challenge for the archaeologists.

The fort's interior plan was probably very similar to that of the first fort at Fort Smith, Arkansas. The interior of Fort Smith was entirely fringed with buildings. Major Long's plan and descriptive notes on the margins of his plan of Fort Smith should prove to be a helpful comparison for the Fort Hawkins case, particularly in areas where the archaeological proof is lacking. A complete fort reconstruction would allow for more interpretive aspects of life at Fort Hawkins.

Of course one option would be to reconstruct only those buildings that were defined archaeologically and leave the rest to the visitor's imagination. If buildings are reconstructed based solely on analogous data from other contemporary forts, then any interpretation should stress to visitors which parts of the fort were proven archaeologically and which are intelligent conjecture. Another option would be to reconstruct those buildings and features discovered archaeologically, and use various techniques to suggest likely options of buildings and locations to the visitor based on documentary evidence and data from other forts. These possibilities can be suggested to the reader through a variety of impermanent markers such as stone or brick outlines on the ground surface, stakes marking possible building corners, small berms of earth outlining likely palisade areas or buildings, or interpretive markers containing site maps or artist's renditions of the fort showing various configurations. Likewise, a site brochure could contain a plan map of the site showing definite structures and dotted lines for possible structures.

Heritage tourism at Fort Hawkins can be a money-making venture for the City of Macon and the State of Georgia. Many historically-minded tourists already visit the area to see the Ocmulgee National Monument and Macon's Cherry Blossom Festival, the Hay House, and the Macon historic district. Heritage tourism at Fort Hawkins is already happening. One example, Fort Tour Systems, Inc. (<http://www.forttours.com>) offers tours and includes visitor

information about Fort Hawkins on their website.

Ghost tours in Macon currently include Fort Hawkins as one of their stops. Irby (1998:43-49) related her personal account of allegedly seeing a ghost in the watchtower at Fort Hawkins. While ghost tours are of questionable legitimacy, they are an element of historical tourism that is currently in vogue. In Savannah, for example, at least three tour companies operate ghost tours, and these generate a significant volume of tourist revenue for that city. Some of these have come under fire recently by critics. This author does not condone, or validate, this type of "historical" tour, but the future managers of the Fort Hawkins will need to develop a policy for regulating this type of activity.

Demonstration Days

Fort Hawkins could feature Dress Parade demonstrations in Period uniforms by the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 7th and 8th Infantry Regiments, the Creek Indian Regiment, or the Rifle Regiments. Colonel Thomas A. Smith's Regiment of Rifles was the first sharpshooter outfit in the U.S. Army. This regiment served as the model for later regiments that were created. The well established link between Smith's Regiment and Fort Hawkins is an important story to be told to the public and could be vividly illustrated with a rifled musket demonstration. Rifled Musket Firing Demonstrations by Rifle Regiment re-enactors is one possible interpretive activity. Another potential interpretive activity would be Cannon Firing Demonstrations, by the 2nd Artillery Regiment. The 7th Infantry re-enactors are one example of an interpretative military group that would be historically accurate at Fort Hawkins. The 7th Infantry, Captain Zachary Taylor's Company, circa 1812, is a re-enactment group based in the Fort Snelling, Minnesota area (Minnesota Historical Society 2006a). Some re-enactment regiments may need to be formed locally to meet the need at a

futuristic Fort Hawkins interpretive site. Other regiments at Fort Hawkins can be interpreted to the public by re-enactment groups. One particular event that might be portrayed is the 19-gun salute that celebrated Jackson's victory at New Orleans in January, 1815. Trader Day could be established in which the public visits a Fort Hawkins filled with sutlers selling period replicas and reenactors depicting the American-Creek deerskin trade.

Many military events from the War of 1812 are currently portrayed by re-enactors, although most of these are located in the northern states and Canada. For examples of these reenactments, visit The Quartermasters (2006) at this web address: <http://www.thequartermasters.com/cal.htm>.

Living History

Daily Camp Life, such as cooking, washing, and baking, could be portrayed at Fort Hawkins. For example, accompanying one regiment posted at Fort Smith, Arkansas were four washerwomen. These relatively anonymous people were a vital part of daily life in the U.S. Army yet their role is largely ignored. Servants, slaves, and others were a dynamic part of everyday life in the fort and their presence as part of any reenactment would be an accurate addition.

Army Command Demonstrations, interpreters enact the roles of Major Generals Gaines, Jackson, and Pinckney, Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, Brigadier General William McIntosh, and others. Among the stories that could be portrayed are: the Georgia militia/U.S. Army organizational controversy of 1813 involving Major Cook and Brigadier General Floyd; the Strategic Planning and Deployment for the New Orleans campaign in 1814, which involved U.S. and Georgia militia; or logistical nightmares such as the lack of Army provisions controversy of 1817-1818 involving Major Generals Jackson and Gaines, and Colonel

Brearley. Re-enactment of a court-martial at Fort Hawkins would be historically accurate and would likely have popular public appeal. Another area of potential interpretation would be interpreting the U.S. Indian Trade. Actors could re-enact the daily business of U.S. Factor Jonathan Halstead and his associates as they conducted business with Creek and Yuchi men at the factory. The possibilities for public interpretation programs are far-reaching as the historical research in this volume attests.

Security Concerns

Most recently the Fort Hawkins Commission convinced the City of Macon of the need for a security fence surrounding the Fort Hawkins site. Fort Hawkins Commission Chairman Marty Willett advised the city that minor looting had taken place over the course of the archaeological project. Georgia Department of Natural Resources and City of Macon law enforcement authorities were kept advised of the archaeology fieldwork schedule and periodic security checks were made over the period from 2004-2006. Security has, and will continue to be, an issue of importance in the management of the Fort Hawkins site, particularly now that the existence of well-preserved Fort Hawkins era deposits has been broadcast to the public.

Many of the historic artifacts at Fort Hawkins have great value in the antiquities trade. Early U.S. and State of Georgia military buttons, for example, are currently being sold for hundreds of dollars on the open market. Casual examination of items for sale online at Ebay.com, for example, identified some buttons that were dug from Fort Hawkins in the past that were offered for sale. Generally speaking in many instances this traffic in antiquities is legal, if the objects were acquired and kept with the permission of the landowner and they do not include burial-related materials. In some cases, the items offered for sale may have been obtained illegally, but any attempt

at prosecution would likely be fruitless, owing to the difficulty of proof, the passage of time and statutes of limitation. These past activities should be considered, “water under the bridge” and site managers should focus on the present and future security concerns for the site.

Long Term Maintenance

An important issue that should be considered from the outset is the cost and trouble of long term maintenance of a reconstructed Fort Hawkins. Parts that are constructed of wood are subject to rot and insect infestation if not properly treated and maintained. Planning for this may require deviations from the historical accuracy to achieve a stabilized interpretive site that will last for generations. For example, the original palisade posts at Fort Hawkins were built from ancient pines, many probably more than 200 years old. Only a few areas of Georgia contain trees of this stature today. This old growth timber has very closely spaced growth rings that are rich in rosin. This rosin helped to protect this wood from rot. Timber that is available in Georgia today lacks these traits. One solution for builders is to use treated wood, which is wood saturated in chemicals that kill insects and delay rot. But even treated wood has a relatively short use-life if it is in contact with moist soil.

The designers of the Southeastern Blockhouse reconstruction at Fort Hawkins dealt with this problem by substituting cement for wood. The cement was poured in a design mold, which when viewed from a distance, simulated wood. The aesthetics of this choice in building materials can be debated but to their credit, that choice does have longevity. Today, there is a wider choice of simulated wood products on the market ranging from cement to rubber to plastics. These greater options may provide an acceptable compromise between historical accuracy and practicality. An architect or building engineer would be better suited for

offering suggestions about these options. If wood is the preferred construction medium for the palisade posts, it should be pressure treated to protect against rot and insect infestation.

Summary

This chapter summarized the architectural results of the recent archaeological excavations at Fort Hawkins and touched on a few of the future topics to consider that face the Fort Hawkins Commission and others concerned with historic preservation at Fort Hawkins. Hopefully, these will stimulate a healthy debate on the subject and the outcome will result in a better public outreach effort. The LAMAR Institute team is excited that archaeology was a major consideration at Fort Hawkins. New information about life at Fort Hawkins will continue to unfold as current and future research is conducted on the archaeological collections recovered in 2005-2006. This cannot be emphasized too much. The value of a documented archaeological collection that stays together lies not only in its exhibit potential, but in the enormous potential for providing answers to future researchers asking new questions and applying future analysis techniques. In addition it is hoped that future archaeological projects at Fort Hawkins be undertaken to make the untold story of this chapter of American history all that much clearer.

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