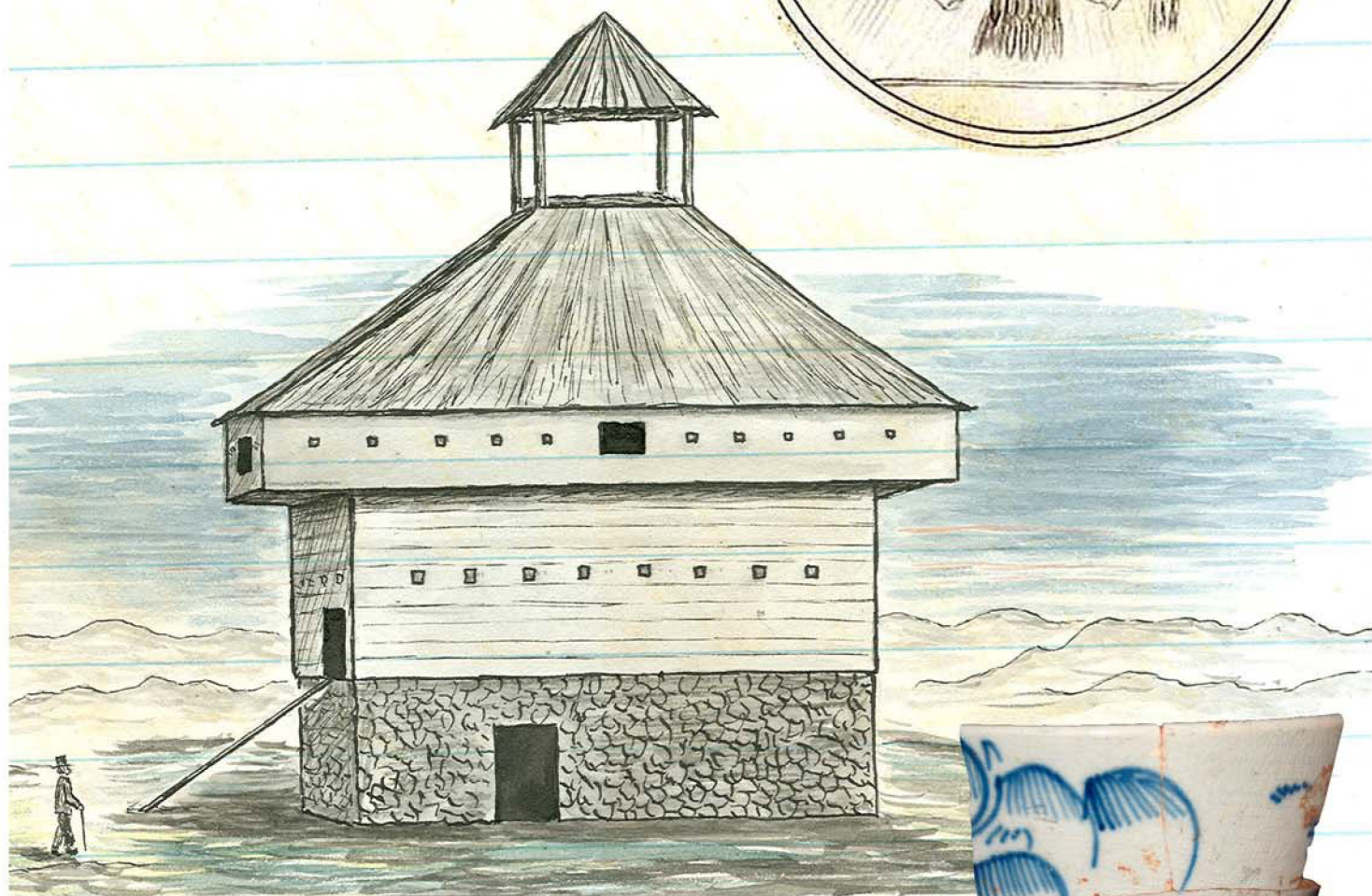
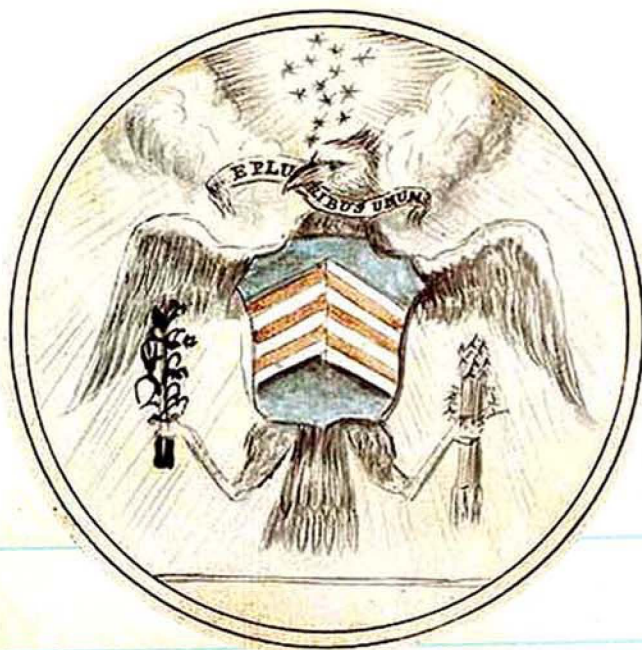


Fort Hawkins

2005-2007
FIELD SEASONS



**THE LAMAR INSTITUTE
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REPORT NUMBER 124



Fort Hawkins

2005-2007 Field Seasons

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Report Number 124

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Macon, Georgia

Submitted by The LAMAR Institute, Inc.
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Abstract

This report documents the archaeological investigations conducted from 2005 to 2007 at Fort Hawkins (9Bi21) in Bibb County, Georgia. The LAMAR Institute's study of Fort Hawkins began in partnership with The Society for Georgia Archaeology, the Fort Hawkins Commission, and many interested volunteers. During the 2005 and 2006 excavation seasons archaeologists discovered two distinctive building episodes for Fort Hawkins and explored several substantial buildings, midden deposits, seven palisade lines, and other features associated with the U.S. Army fort. The excavation team recovered nearly 37,300 artifacts and well over 4,000 food bones from the site. The study also included extensive research of primary documents and a thorough review of secondary histories pertaining to the site. The historical and archaeological data gathered in 2007 are integrated into an earlier edition of the Fort Hawkins site report that described the findings from the 2005-2006 investigations (Elliott 2007) to produce this current, revised and updated report. Together, the history and archaeology are combined to tell the "real" story of Fort Hawkins. This report addresses the importance of Fort Hawkins as a U.S. Army Command, Indian Trade factory, U.S. Army garrison (1806-1819), and troop staging area. This revised report corrects many errors and clears up many misconceptions about Fort Hawkins and it provides recommendations for future management of this unique cultural resource. The main goal for the October 2007 excavation project was to excavate the East Palisade Number 1 and portions of South Palisade Number 1, or two walls of the outer compound at Fort Hawkins so that reconstruction of the palisade in these areas could begin. The research team achieved these two goals and discovered much more, including three additional palisade walls on the southeast side of the fort that were previously unknown. New historical research revealed that the outer compound and these newly discovered palisade walls were probably constructed in 1809-1810 by the U.S. Army's Regiment of Rifles. These new data force a reinterpretation of the fort's configuration and of the research potential surrounding its blockhouses. The report concludes with recommendations for its future management.

Acknowledgements

In the words of Macon's former 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." ---Former Mayor C. Jack Ellis, 2003 State of the City Address, March 18, 2003.

The LAMAR Institute shares Mayor Ellis' vision for the revitalization of the Fort Hill section of Macon. It was our pleasure to be a part of this rebuilding effort. The

archaeological investigations at Fort Hawkins would not have been accomplished without the substantial contributions of labor from many people. The professional project staff included: Daniel Battle, Daphne Battle, Michael Benton, Tracy Dean, Daniel Elliott, Rita Folse Elliott, Michael Griffin, Joel Jones, Virginia Pierce, Ronald Schoettmer, Jenn Wehby and Gail Tomczak. Heavy equipment services were provided by Charles McNeal and Jack Walker (and sons). Project volunteers from 2005-2007 included:

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In addition, University of Georgia archaeologist Dr. Mark Williams kindly brought his anthropology students to Fort Hawkins for a three-day work detail during their 2006 archaeology field school. Thanks are also extended to others with indirect participation in the present study, but who have recently assisted in helping the authors to better understand the people, places and events in early Georgia and Alabama history. These include: Bill Carr, Malta, New York; Richard Carillo, Colorado; Eve Cassat, Special Collections, College of Charleston Library, South Carolina; Jim Krakker, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; Howard Lanham; Emily Lovick, Fort Smith National Historic Site, Fort Smith, Arkansas; David Marsh, Douglasville, Georgia; Connie Nisinger, Belle Fontaine Cemetery, St. Louis, Missouri; James Parker, Fort Toulouse/Fort Jackson State Historic Site, Alabama; Steven Rainwater and Susan Chance-Rainwater; Stanley South and Jonathan Leader, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology; William T. Stoltz, the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri; Tim Thompson, Muscogee Creek Nation, Oklahoma; and Ove Jensen, Interpretive Ranger, Horseshoe Bend National Military Park, Alabama; and Gary Doster.

The LAMAR Institute, Inc. is a Georgia non-profit corporation that was chartered in the State of Georgia in 1982. Since 1984 it has maintained tax deductible 501(c)(3) status with the Internal Revenue Service. The LAMAR Institute is governed by three officers and a four-person board of directors and it has seven research associates. The institute has successfully completed more than 120 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 Society for Georgia Archaeology is a Georgia (SGA) organization 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 archaeologists, avocationalists, and interested individuals. 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. Past-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.

We know that a few other volunteers escaped our secretarial notice in the hectic activities at the excavation site, but their contributions to the project are no-less

important and we apologize for anyone's absence from the above list. Thanks also to the members of the Fort Hawkins Commission, the Macon City Council, and the Bibb County Commission, all of whom supported the project in various ways. As importantly, we extend a hearty thank you to Marty Willett, Chair of the Fort Hawkins Commission. Marty's understanding of the significant role archaeology must play in restoring and interpreting the fort, his contagious enthusiasm, and his hard work on multiple fronts are deeply appreciated and will serve the site well as it moves forward under his guidance. Likewise, we thank Dr. Robert Cramer, who toiled for years to get Fort Hawkins the recognition it deserves, the financial backing it requires, and the archaeological study necessary for an authentic reconstruction.

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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.

During the period from 1806 to 1821, Fort Hawkins was a place of relatively great economic, military and political importance. It was important to the Creek

Nation, the United States of America, and the State of Georgia as all three entities had a vested interest in the place. For the Creek Nation Fort Hawkins was a place of economic significance in the deerskin trade but it was more importantly a place of social significance as part of their hallowed “Ocmulgee Old Fields”.

As history records, the effective life of Fort Hawkins was less than 20 years, and as the U.S. frontier moved rapidly west, Fort Hawkins was forgotten. By 1825, the hundreds of federal troops, who had once garrisoned the fort, were long removed from the fort and the American frontier was in Arkansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, and even beyond, and the military threat to interior Georgia was mostly neutralized. Relations between the Creek Nation, the State of Georgia, and the U.S. soured in 1825 with the signing of the Treaty of Indian Springs by Georgia’s representatives, U.S. Commissioners, and a group of friendly Creek chiefs. That treaty ceded the Creeks lands in Georgia to the U.S. In retaliation, the Creek chief who signed the document, Brigadier General William McIntosh, was assassinated by Creeks who were opposed to the concessions. The 1825 treaty was declared null and void by the U.S. Congress 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. The removal of the Creeks from Georgia was effected the following year.

Fort Hawkins served the federal government in multiple roles. It was a military command headquarters, a major troop garrison and bivouac point for regular troops and state militia in several important campaigns, and a major trade factory for regulating the Creek economy. As such, it was intended to foster good relations between the Creek Nation and the U.S. Fort Hawkins was a service point for the implementation of the “civilization” policy, which was an attempt to assist the Creeks in adapting modern agricultural and livestock practices. One cruel aspect of the Fort Hawkin’s creation was that it, along with the companion Federal Road, facilitated the degradation of traditional Creek life ways in the Creek heartland. The road created a ready conduit for Euro-American settlers and tourists to flood into the Creek Nation.

For the State of Georgia, Fort Hawkins served as a militia headquarters and muster ground. It was as a primary 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 continually pushed until, by 1827, the Creek Nation was located west of the Chattahoochee River.

Appendix G contains selected Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) images of Fort Hawkins and surrounding areas.

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 saga that considers the various points of view held by those who frequented the place in the early decades of the 19th century. Fort Hawkins was listed in the National Register of Historic Places by the National Park Service in 1977 in recognition of its role in American history. The State of Georgia commemorated the place with historical markers. The Ocmulgee Old Fields was designated a Traditional Cultural Property by the National Park Service in recognition of its role in Native American society. Archaeology and interpretive history is the next chapter of the Fort Hawkins experience.

The report is organized in 10 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 discusses the excavations. A summary of the material culture at Fort Hawkins represented by the archaeological discoveries and artifact collection, is detailed in Chapter 8. In Chapter 9 we attempt to place Fort Hawkins in context and interpret the historical significance of the research findings. Chapter 10 includes the results and 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 LAMAR Institute excavations from 2005-2007. 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.

Chapter 2. Background

SETTING

The Fort Hawkins Archaeological Park is located in central Bibb County, on a high ridge top overlooking the vibrant 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 the heart of 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. The majority of the property containing the archaeological site is owned by the City of Macon and is managed by Macon's Fort Hawkins Commission.

Fort Hawkins was recorded as an archaeological site in the University of Georgia files in 1964. Fort Hawkins is currently listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) as a historic site by the National Park Service (listed on the NRHP in 1977). The site has long been recognized as a place of major historical importance by the State of Georgia, City of Macon, and The Society for Georgia Archaeology, Nathaniel Macon Chapter of the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution (NSDAR), Macon Kiwanis Club, and numerous other private cultural and historical organizations.

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. The underlying geology of the site is composed of sandy clay and clay. About 50 million years ago the Fort Hawkins knoll would have been a beach on the Atlantic Ocean (Clark and Zisa 1976).

The fort is located on one of the highest hilltops in Bibb County. From this vantage point one has vistas extending dozens of miles to the west, south, and east. The view to the north is now obscured by trees in a residential neighborhood, although during the fort-era, this direction was likely cleared as well. The fort is located less than one mile uphill from the Ocmulgee River and sentries in the fort would have had a clear view of anyone arriving by 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 in an area of

East Macon, known as Fort Hill. 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.

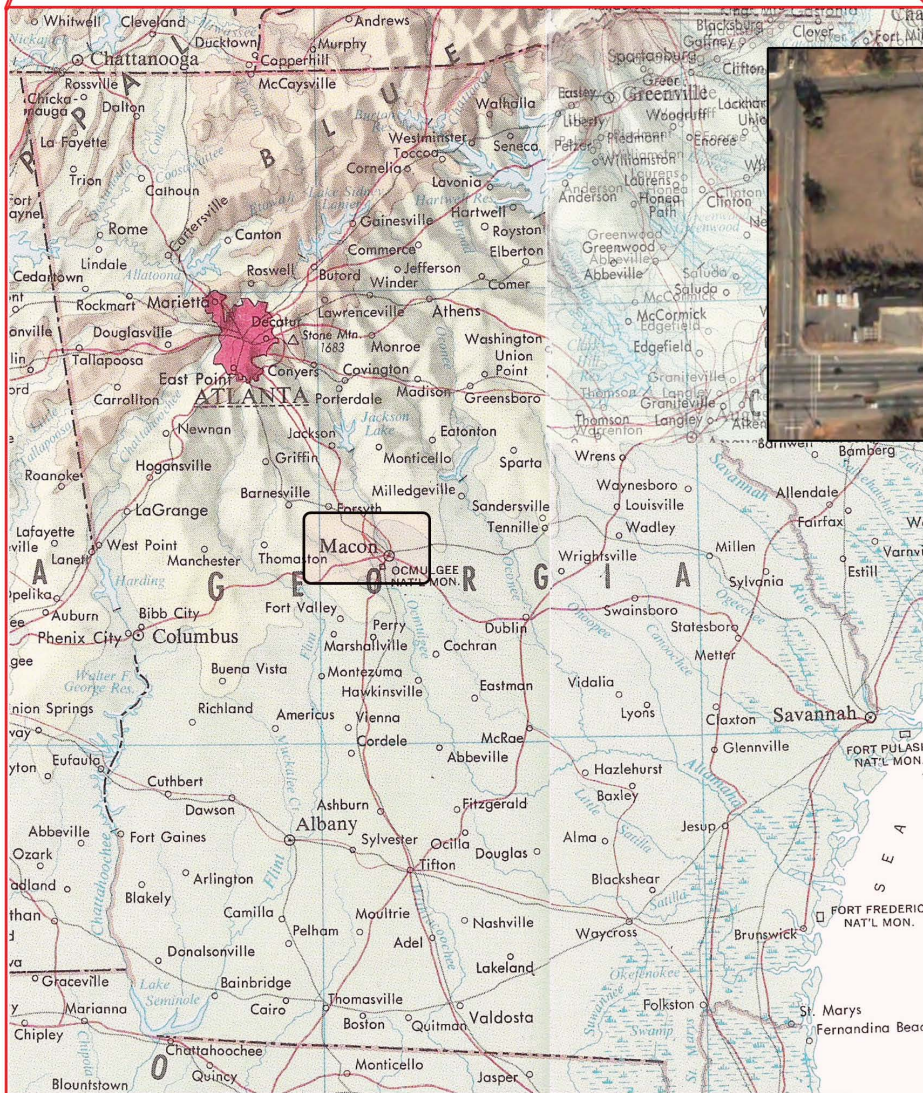
Dr. Robert Cramer, former Chairman of the Fort Hawkins Commission, first approached the LAMAR Institute concerning the prospects of an archaeological excavation at Fort Hawkins in 1990. That one day of consultation at the site planted a seed of interest that has grown to the present level. The initial 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. This project was developed at the request of Dr. Cramer (The LAMAR Institute 2002, 2004). Additional fieldwork was undertaken in November 2006 and October 2007 at the request of the present FHC Chairman, Mr. Marty Willett (The LAMAR Institute 2006).

The bulk of the property containing the Fort Hawkins site was purchased in 2002 for the City of Macon with the assistance of the Fort Hawkins Commission, the Peyton Anderson Foundation, and (former) Georgia Governor Roy Barnes' Greenspace Program. 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 of this worthy endeavor is 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 within the fort
- Military history of the fort
- Biographical histories of key individuals as associated with the fort
- Material culture, or the artifacts of military and related civilian life ways
- 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 is to educate the public about the history

Southeastern United States



Closeup of Site Location Near I-16

Macon is located in central Georgia (see black box).

Figure 1. Project Area (Google Maps 2008).

Fort Hawkins 2005-2007 Excavations, Daniel T. Elliott, The LAMAR Insitute, 2009

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 was 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 web page highlighting the project and its discoveries. Fort Hawkins was featured as the centerpiece of the 2007 Georgia Archaeology Month program. This state-wide event, which was recognized by Georgia Governor Sonny Perdue, disseminated information on archaeology to Georgians through various media. This public outreach effort included: Governor Perdue's proclamation, posters distributed to every public library and middle school in Georgia, a companion teacher's lesson plan for the poster (Long 2007), brochures, and dozens of events throughout the state. These activities were capped by a weekend celebration at Fort Hawkins and middle Georgia. 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.

HISTORICAL SETTING

The cultural geography surrounding Fort Hawkins during its period of operation was an interesting arrangement of civilian and military settlements. The nearest large town was Milledgeville, which was about 29 miles to the east on the west side of the Oconee River. By 1804, Milledgeville was Georgia's state capitol and it developed many thriving commercial establishments. Other important settlements in this same general vicinity as Milledgeville included the earlier military sites of forts Fidius, Massachusetts, and Wilkinson; Rock Landing; and Federal Town. Once Fort Hawkins was established, however, these forts fell into disuse.

To the northeast about 11 miles was the town of Clinton, established in 1809. To the west about 30 miles, along the Post Road (later the Federal Road) was the Creek Agency (ca. 1800) and Fort Lawrence (est. 1813), located on the east and west bank of the Flint River, respectively. To the south and down the Ocmulgee River about 53 miles was the town of Hartford (est. 1805) in Pulaski County. Several army and militia camps were located between the Flint and Oconee Rivers, including camps Hope, Huger, Manning, and Pike. Camp Hope was near the Jones-Bibb County line on the road to Milledgeville and Camp Manning was near Fort Lawrence on the Flint River. The precise locations of these army camps are unknown.

Further to the west were other forts, including Perry, and on the west side of the Chattahoochee River were forts Mitchell, Bainbridge, Hull, and Decatur. All of these forts

were constructed after Fort Hawkins was built. Other important towns in the central Georgia region at this time included Athens, Augusta, Eatonton, and Washington. Savannah (forts Jackson and Wayne) and Charleston, South Carolina were main hubs of information and supply in the U.S. Army and Georgia militia network. The Georgia militia established a string of frontier forts down the Ocmulgee River below Fort Hawkins.

Important Creek Indian settlements in the region included Coweta and Cusseta on the Chattahoochee River, Chawah, Buzzard's Roots, and Barnard's settlement on the Flint River, and Atasi and Tuckabatchee on the Tallapoosa River. The Creek Nation owned the property surrounding the Fort Hawkins reserve and Creeks came to the area of the Ocmulgee Old Fields, which they considered sacred. The U.S. used Fort Hawkins and the Ocmulgee Old Fields as a convenient spot to distribute the annuities to the Creeks, under the provisions of various treaties. For the most part, however, the Creeks considered the area west of the Ocmulgee River as their hunting ground. A number of Georgians took liberties with the official boundaries of the Creek Nation and also used the natural resources in this part of the Creek country.

The main adversaries of the U.S. in Fort Hawkins' era were Spain and Great Britain, in addition to certain Native American groups. The Spanish occupied East Florida and the Spanish and British held West Florida. The hostile Creeks, or Red Sticks, were concentrated in the Upper Creek settlements on the Tallapoosa and Alabama Rivers, although some of the Lower Creek towns in the Chattahoochee watershed also joined their alliance. Large numbers of free blacks and other displaced Native Americans (collectively termed Seminoles) were concentrated in West Florida, particularly in the areas near the confluence of the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers. Their military stronghold was just below the junction of these two rivers at Nichols Fort, also known as the "Negro Fort". Upstream from this fort, the U.S. Army established forts Scott and Gaines and the Georgia militia built Fort Early. In 1816 the Negro Fort was destroyed by the U.S. Army and U.S. Army soldiers constructed Fort Gadsden in close proximity.

The U.S. East Florida boundary was defended by forts Point Peter and, Coleraine, and several forts in St. Marys. A small fleet of U.S. gunboats that were berthed at Point Peter also helped establish this international boundary. Many of the troops at Fort Hawkins also saw service at these garrisons on the St. Marys River. After the Spanish relinquished their claim to East Florida, the U.S. Army established posts at Amelia Island.

The Cherokee Nation was a U.S. ally during the Fort Hawkins era. Representatives of the nation made some trips to Fort Hawkins, although most of their diplomatic



Figure 2. Portion of Mathew Carey’s Map, Showing Fort Hawkins (Carey 1814).

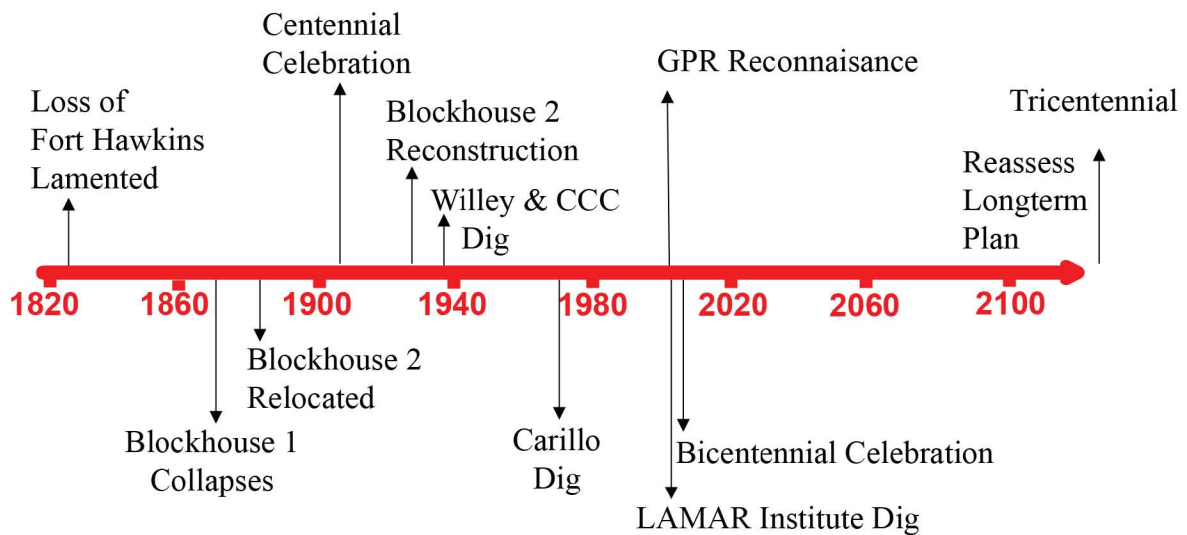


Figure 3. Timeline of Fort Hawkins Research..

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needs were addressed at the U.S. posts on the Tennessee River system, including at the Cherokee Agency near the Tellico Blockhouse (Polhemus 1977).

The French had relinquished its claims to the Southeast with the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, which conveyed great areas of the interior to the United States. Faced with a new frontier, the U.S. responded by creating many more U.S. Army forts on the Mississippi River and its major tributaries. The U.S. Army also established a significant presence at Biloxi and New Orleans after 1803, and after 1818 in Pensacola, St. Marks, and Fort Gadsden. Several military establishments in the interior that frequently interacted with Fort Hawkins were forts Adams, Smith, and Stoddert in the Mississippi Territory. Military communication from Nashville and Knoxville, Tennessee was relatively common.

Despite its importance to the U.S. Army and others, no detailed plan drawings of Fort Hawkins have been located. Regional maps show the relative location of the fort but they provide no details about its layout or construction. One example is shown in Figure 2. Other regional maps, including several that were drafted well after Fort Hawkins was constructed and in use, do not show the fort. One hand-drawn map drafted by General John Coffee (from Tennessee) in 1816 shows Fort Hawkins, but incorrectly places the fort on the Flint River instead of the Ocmulgee River (Coffee 1816).

PREVIOUS STUDY OF FORT HAWKINS

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 and fell into state ownership (Figure 3). In 1828 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 and one other building, were soon absorbed into the Woolfolk Plantation complex.

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 strong economic boost in the form of federal aid for archaeology and historical

research. Archaeologists from the Smithsonian Institution 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 lesser known sites in the Macon area. Their study of the Fort Hawkins site falls into this lesser-known category.

In 1933, Head archaeologist, Arthur Randolph Kelly, hired a young archaeologist named Gordon Randolph Willey to assist in the archaeological investigations in the Macon area. Kelly was busy directing several excavations at the Ocmulgee National Monument, including the work at a circa 1680-1715 fort, which became known as the Macon Trading Post (Kelly 1936a-b, 1939; Mason 2005). On September 8, 1936, Willey was sent to supervise excavations at Fort Hawkins, which were performed by Civilian Conservation Corps workers for the National Park Service. Willey’s excavation project concluded on September 22, 1936. Willey’s typed field notes, a series of field photographs, and two field sketch maps have survived but no final report of this effort was ever produced (Willey 1936). Gordon Willey went on to become one of the most influential American archaeologists of the 20th century (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. By the time Willey’s crew arrived at the site, the stone foundation for the first story of the replica blockhouse was already standing. Steel reinforcing rebar can be seen in one of these photographs rising above the foundation. 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, therefore was already disturbed. Willey noted this in the introduction of his field notes,

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).

Three of Willey’s excavation trenches near the southeastern blockhouse were relocated by the present excavation team on the modern-day landscape by finding the missing sections of the decorative brick pavement that was laid immediately outside of the blockhouse sometime prior to

1929. Willey refers to this “brick walk” in his field notes (Willey 1936). These bricks, which display two adjacent concentric circles in a molded motif, were produced in Macon around 1919 (Chad Childs personal communication October 2007). Willey’s field sketch shows the approximate location of his excavations (Figure 4). 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.

The October 2007 LAMAR Institute excavators uncovered conclusive evidence of Willey’s excavation trenches on the north and west sides of Blockhouse 1. These discoveries were made in Excavation Units 24 and 25. In both instances, Willey’s crew had left the basal portion of the palisade wooden post remnants in place. This fact made their relocation a relatively easy task. In both cases, this palisade evidence was immediately adjacent to the missing sections of decorative brick pavement. XU25 also revealed Willey’s excavation trench that followed the perimeter of the southeastern blockhouse. That trench was visible in the XU25 north profile.

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 re-

ported 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).

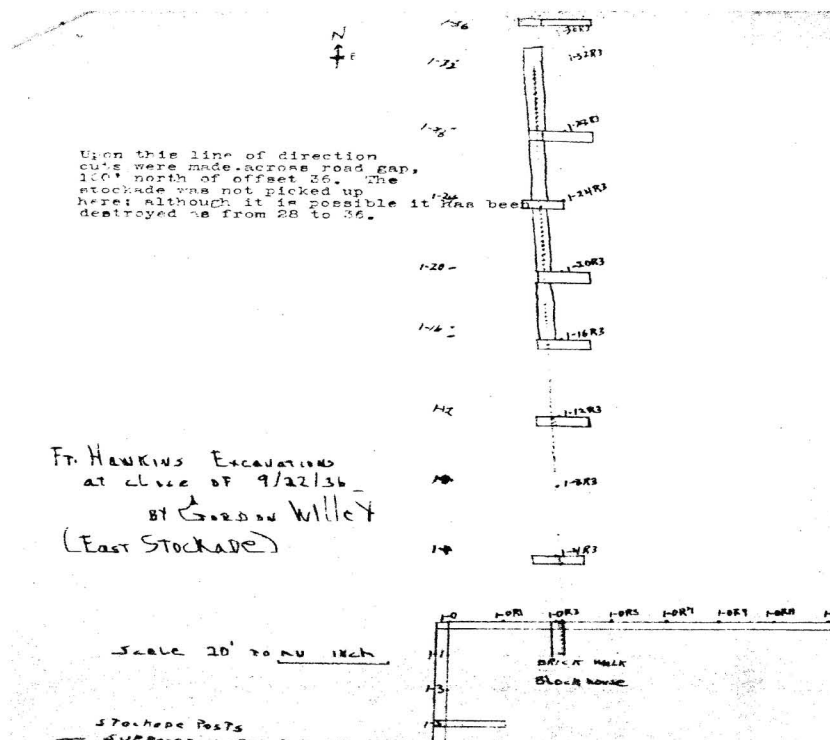


Figure 4. Portion of Willey’s Excavation Plan, Showing East Palisade (Willey 1936)

Willey’s excavations revealed the eastern palisade wall extended 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. Willey’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).

Willey’s exploration on the west side of Fort Hawkins is barely mentioned in his field notes, except to say, “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” (Willey 1936). Willey’s field sketch does not show any excavations along the west wall of Fort Hawkins, so the location of the building ruin he mentions is nonspecific. Carillo concluded that the building that Willey described was the same one that Carillo encountered in his Unit 6. The 2005 LAMAR Institute excavations at that location determined the building ruin to be only a small part of a very large, fort-era building, this was designated Feature 101 in the present research.

The Works Progress Administration (WPA) approved supplemental funds of \$3,904.00 for the restoration of Fort Hawkins in 1938. The construction of the replica southeastern blockhouse was completed and the historic site was formally dedicated by local civic groups early that same year (Farrell 1938:1; U.S.D.A. 1938). An early aerial photograph, taken from a flight in 1938, shows the blockhouse reconstructed and the Fort Hawkins School in operation (Figure 5).

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 was entitled, “Fort Hawkins Its His-

tory and Partial Reconstruction”. Bryan gave a critical summary of the historical accuracy of the reconstructed blockhouse. His report also summarized the lines of historical evidence used for its reconstruction and 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.

Additional historical information was published that same year by the Workers of the Writers’ Program of the Work Progress Administration in the State of Georgia (1939). Their publication was sponsored by the Macon Junior Chamber of Commerce. The Georgia Daughters of the American Revolution (NSDAR) reported in 1939 that the Nathaniel Macon Chapter of their organization had donated \$9,000 toward the rebuilding of the northeast [sic, southeast] Fort Hawkins and that the entire completed project had cost about \$12,000 (U.S. Senate 1939:102, 117; NSDAR and WPA n.d.).

World War II interrupted any thoughts about the historical status of Fort Hawkins. All archaeological fieldwork was terminated at the Ocmulgee National Monument and the nation turned its attention to more pressing matters. The history of Fort Hawkins from post-World War II to the early 1970s is not well documented. The Georgia news-



Figure 5. Portion of 1938 U.S.D.A. Aerial Photograph, Showing Fort Hawkins Vicinity.

papers were nearly mute on the subject of Fort Hawkins during the war and over the next several decades.

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, National Society Daughters of the American Revolution (NSDAR) (Washington Memorial Library, Fort Hawkins Vertical Files). This reference indicates that prior to 1947 the area of the reconstructed blockhouse was the property of Bibb County.

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).

Renewed historical and archaeological interest in Fort Hawkins took place in the early 1970s. Archaeologist Stanley South conducted a preliminary examination of the Fort Hawkins site. 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 that a professional historical archeologist be hired for a two week exploratory examination of the fort due to the lack of documentation with precise descriptions.

The Bibb County Commission, The Fort Hawkins Commission of the City of Macon hired Richard F. Carillo of the Institute of Archaeology 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 6. Carillo concluded that the true dimensions of Fort Hawkins were smaller than originally described by Butler's history (1879).

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 American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) of the National Park Service sponsored a reconnaissance survey of Fort Hawkins, which was completed by Matt McDaniel (2002). McDaniel's overview assessment of the site, which did not include any archaeological excavation, was included in his report to the ABPP. The ABPP staff synthesized the information and recommendations from McDaniel's study of 10 Georgia's battlefields and associated sites in their report to the U.S. Congress. That report, which was recently released by NPS, includes Fort Hawkins as one of 434 associated historic properties in the United States in their analysis of America's Revolutionary War and War of 1812 Sites. Fort Hawkins was classified by the NPS as a Class B associated site with Priority II threat level (Gossett and Mitchell 2007:10, 63).

The Fort Hawkins Commission finally acquired the Fort Hawkins property for the City of Macon in 2002 with the aid of a generous grant from the Peyton Anderson Foundation. That purchase set the stage for the present archaeological drama.

In November 2002, the Fort Hawkins Commission contracted with RED-R Services, Inc. for a Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) reconnaissance survey, which was conducted at Fort Hawkins (Persons 2002).

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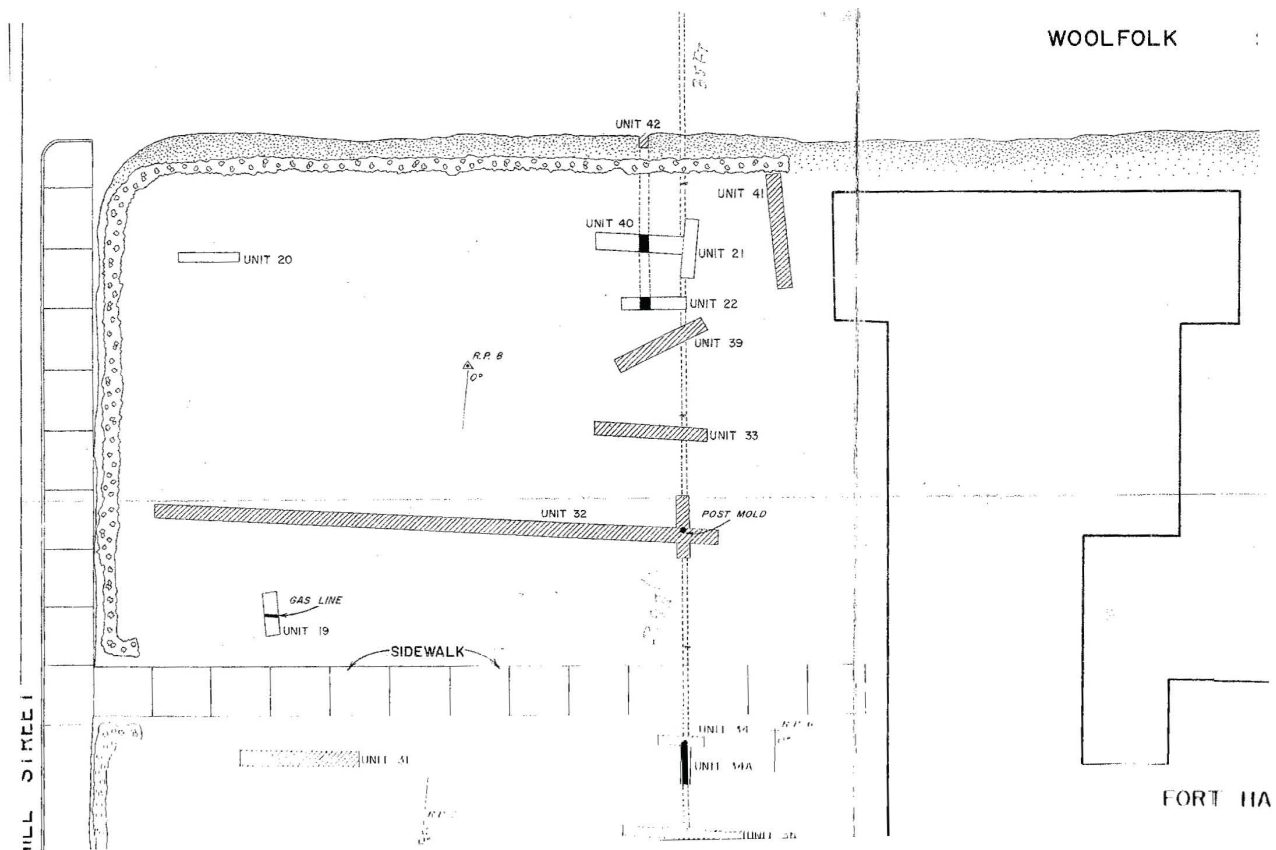


Figure 6. Portion of Carillo's Excavation Plan.

The purpose of their study was to “locate subsurface features that may be the remains of the fortification walls” (Persons 2002:1). Their research effort, which was conducted on November 13, 2002, employed a SIR System-3 GSSI unit with a 500 MHz frequency antenna. The GPR recon team collected 25 GPR profiles across the site covering approximately 1,750 linear feet of survey lines. Their machine 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 but it did have some merit. The wide spacing of the transect intervals (10 feet or more apart) provided rudimentary information on subsurface features. The initial GPR survey located 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. GPR imaging technology has improved significantly since 2002. Two additional GPR teams, The LAMAR Institute and Xenogenesis, examined portions of Fort Hawkins in 2006 and the results of that work are included in this report.

Chapter 3. Research Methods

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Historical research for this project was conducted at numerous archival repositories and libraries. Facilities that were visited included main and satellite facilities of 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), Washington, D.C.; the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; the University of Georgia Libraries, Athens; the Live Oak Libraries, Rincon, Savannah, and Springfield, Georgia; the Georgia Archaeological Site File (GASF), Athens, Georgia; 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, Georgia; LAMAR Institute Library, Rincon, Georgia; the Ocmulgee National Monument, Macon, Georgia; the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina, Columbia; and the Washington Memorial Library, Macon, Georgia.

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*, the Carl Vinson Institute, the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, the Georgia Department of Archives and History, the GaGenWeb/Rootsweb sites, the Georgia Historical Society, the South Carolina Historical Society, and the Society for Historical Archaeology. The historical research in 2007 explored many new sources of information, particularly newspaper articles and military records provided by Ancestry.com and Genealogybank.com, and historical books, provided by Books.Google.com. 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.

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.

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 military records that are housed at the NARA were approached by first searching through the repositories 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 (NARA, 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 courts martial that were held at Fort Hawkins, or that were held elsewhere but pertained to Fort Hawkins. NARA, 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".

Many maps and plats were examined by the project team. Maps by Bradley (1804, 1812), Carey (2004 [1814]), Carey and Lea (2004 [1822]), Finley (2007[1822]), Gridley (2007 [1814]), and Melish (1815) were of particular interest. Useful sources that were consulted for cartographic information included: the Alabama Geographical Historical Atlas, the David Rumsey Map Collection, and the Hargrett Library Rare Map Collection, University of Georgia Libraries. 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.

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 many to list but the major figures include Timothy Barnard, Edmund Pendleton Gaines, Benjamin Hawkins, Andrew Jackson, William McIntosh, Winfield Scott, and James Wilkinson (Bassett 1926-1935; Coleman and Gurr 1983; Eaton and Reid 1817; Foster 2003; Grant 1980; Hawkins 1982; Hays 1939a-c; Henri 1986; Scott 1864; *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 1861). For many of the officers who served at Fort Hawkins 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 (ASP) 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: Brown (1989), Carter (1937, 1938, 1952, 1953), Cusick (2003), 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: Beltman (1991:185-218); 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), Gordon (1837), Gray (1868), Guthman (1975), Hall (2005a-b), Harmon (2008), Haskett (1966), Haskin (1879), Hays (1940), Heitman (1903), Jacobs (1972), Kohn (1975), Kuhn (1941), McManus (in press), Mahon and Danysh (1972), Matloff (2002), Powell (1900), Prucha (1977), Roberts (2001), Smith (2000), Stagg (1983), Task Force (2005), Taylor (2006), The 3rd United States Infantry Regiment (2005), The 7th Infantry Regiment Association (2005), and Turner (1996).

Numerous other historical sources and finding aids were consulted in this research project. These included: Davis (1981), Fennelly (1999), Ford (1993, 1994), Goff (2002), Hall (2005a-b), Hasbrouck (1938), Jones (1813), Kenan (1872-1873), Knight (1967), *Los Angeles Times* (1897), Lupold (1983), McCall (1811-1816), McDaniel (2002), Modern History Sourcebook (2002), Swanton (1979, 1998 [1922]).

Early newspapers and magazines provided a wealth of information about Fort Hawkins. Most of these were accessed through Genealogybank.com or Ancestry.com. Fifty-two newspapers that were searched via the internet, or on microfilm, are listed below in alphabetical order.

Specific citations for articles in these publications are included in the report bibliography.

Albany Register, Alexandria Daily Gazette, Commerical & Political, American Beacon and Commerical Diary, American Beacon and Norfolk and Portsmouth Daily Advertiser, Argus, Atlanta Constitution, Augusta Chronicle and Georgia Advertiser, Augusta Herald, Baltimore Patriot, Bee, Boston Recorder, Carolina Gazette, Christian Observer, City Gazette and Daily Advertiser, Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser, Daily National Intelligencer, Essex Register, Farmer's Repository, Franklin Gazette, Georgia Journal, Georgia Messenger, Georgia Telegraph, Georgia Weekly Telegraph and Messenger, Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Los Angeles Times, Macon Daily Telegraph, Macon Telegraph, Macon Telegraph and Messenger, Massachusetts Spy, Methodist Magazine, Messenger, New Hampshire Patriot, Newburyport Herald, New York Evening Post, Niles' Weekly Register, Northern Sentinel, Oakland Tribune, Palladium of Liberty, Palmyra Register, Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, Public Advertiser, Reflector, Repertory, Reporter, Rhode Island American and General Advertiser, Rhode Island Republican, Savannah Republican, Shamrock, Star, Union, Universal Gazette, and Weekly Aurora.

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 re-examined 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 earth mounds 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 six sessions from August 2005 through October 2007. Fieldwork began with the establishment of a site grid and topographic mapping. The primary datum (Datum A) was established at grid point 1000N 1000E. An arbitrary elevation of 500.00 meters was assigned to Datum A. 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.

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 and conducted within several specific block areas. Stripping was carefully monitored by experienced archaeologists to insure that damage to important contexts of the site was minimized. These stripped areas were each given numeral designations, XU1 through XU25. In addition, 79 hand-excavated units were placed within many of these excavation units and these were designated Test Units, or TU101 through TU179.

Features were mapped in plan and profile. The project team relied heavily on the laser transit 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) is a useful remote sensing tool for mapping archaeological sites (Conyers and Goodman 1997). GPR has been used on numerous sites in Georgia by the LAMAR Institute with excellent results (Elliott 2003b, 2005a, 2005c). Three different GPR survey teams have applied this technique at Fort Hawkins. These include RED-R Services, Inc. (Persons 2002), The LAMAR Institute (Elliott 2007), and Xenogenesis (Lisman 2007). All three research teams achieved some

success in GPR mapping of the subsurface remains at Fort Hawkins.

GPR was employed by the LAMAR Institute to survey portions of the Fort Hawkins 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 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-b; Goodman 2006). GPR Block B was placed on top of the original site of the Fort Hawkins School and immediately north of TU112. GPR Block J was placed on top of 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, creator 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 at Fort Hawkins by Terri Lisman of the firm Xenogenesis. Dr. Lisman employed different radar equipment and post-processing software in her resurvey of the LAMAR Institute's GPR Block G. Lisman used a GSSI 400 MHz Antenna, processed in GSSI RADAN V.6.5. Lisman graciously volunteered one day mapping the site and post-processing her GPR data. Lisman's output from this exercise, which includes a progressive series of 10 time slices, which extended to a depth of approximately 1.51 meters, is included in Appendix G.

The extensive ground disturbance at Fort Hawkins from the archaeological excavations created a situation where artifacts continually erode on the ground surface. The bulk of these surface artifacts have little to no research value because of their disturbed context. After consultation between the LAMAR Institute and the Fort Hawkins Commission, Marty Willett began collecting these artifacts for the City of Macon's Fort Hawkins collection. Willett recorded locations for some of the more interesting finds, which he provided to the LAMAR Institute. In several cases, Willett discovered items washing out after heavy rains that were previously not present in the Fort Hawkins artifact assemblage. Those important or unusual finds,

which were collected by Willett prior to July 2008, are integrated into this report.

curation storage and research area, some or all of the Fort Hawkins collection may be curated at that site.

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), Gibson (2006), Godden (1963,1999), 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), Lynch (2006), McGuinn (1988), McKearin and McKearin (1989), Miller (1980), Miller and Stone (1970), Moir (1987), Nelson (1963), Newman (1970), Noël Hume (1985), Olsen (1963), Roenke (1978), South (2002), Stone (1974), Tice (1997), Troiani (2001), and Wilbur (1980, 1995).

REPORTING AND CURATION

The project findings were summarized in a technical report. 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 was submitted to the Fort Hawkins Commission for its use and distribution.

The collection of artifacts, notes, maps, photographs, and other pertinent records from the Fort Hawkins Archaeological Project are curated at 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

Chapter 4. Fort Hawkins' Role in American History

HISTORY OF FORT HAWKINS

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 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 of the operation of Fort Hawkins is presented in Figure 7. This is followed by a narrative discussion of these events and others.

In 1803 President Thomas Jefferson negotiated the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, better known as the Louisiana Purchase. That deal vastly expanding 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. 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 soldiers with the U.S. Army began construction of Fort Hawkins. It was built by troops from the 2nd Infantry Regiment, commanded by Captain William R. Boote. Captain Boote commanded the troops at Fort Hawkins from February 1806 through at least November 1806. By early 1807 Captain Boote was on an assignment hundreds of miles west of Fort Hawkins but soldiers from the 2nd Infantry continued construction work on the fort.

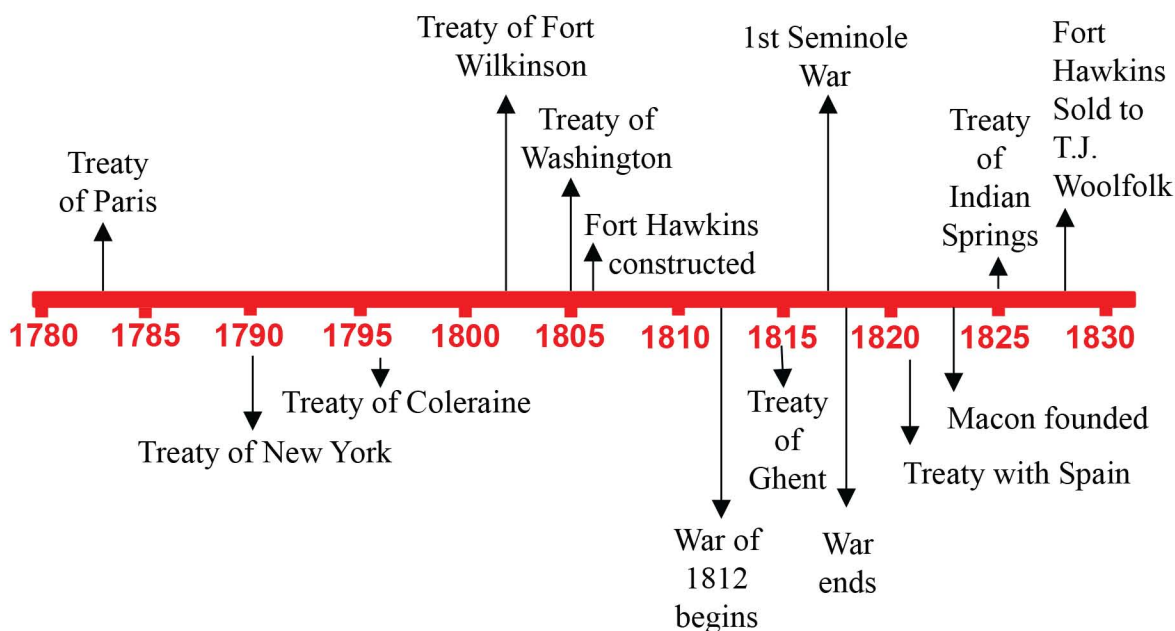


Figure 7. Timeline of Important Events.

The political situation on the southwestern frontier in 1806 was in 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, President Jefferson ignored these charges (Davie 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. Burr's 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 (*The Atlanta Constitution* 1889:19).

The early correspondents from Ocmulgee Fields and Fort Hawkins sometimes used these place names interchangeably. On September 7, 1807, Lieutenant John Miller, 2nd Infantry, wrote to the Secretary of War from Augusta, Georgia with a brief progress update on the garrison at Ocmulgee Fields, which more likely refers to Fort Hawkins:

The Garrison is progressing very slowly, know not from what cause. I do not think that it is owing to any inattention of the commanding officer. I am well acquainted with him. I know him to be industrious, and very attentive to his duty. I sincerely wish the Army consisted of men of that description.

I make no doubt if a few industrious carpenters (of the citizens) were employed would forward it.

The Garrison is in good health. The detachment from Baltimore arrived on the 13th or 14th June (NARA, RG107, M221).

The Moravian church sent three missionaries to preach to the Creek Indians. 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 they and Benjamin Hawkins left the fort at sundown and camped on the west side of the Ocmulgee River (Burckhard and Peterson 1969; Maulshagen and Davis 1969; 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).

General Wade Hampton and Captain William Boote were tasked with implementing the construction of the Federal Road, which is why they were based at Fort Hawkins for this period of time. General Wade Hampton's presence at Fort Hawkins spanned parts of 1810 and 1811, as derived from the dates on his correspondence from the fort (NARA, RG75, M221).

In December 1808, Captain Boote and his company of the 2nd Infantry were ordered by Secretary of War Henry Dearborn to the western theater at New Orleans and surrounding areas. In a letter from Dearborn to General James Wilkinson, dated December 2, 1808, the Secretary wrote, "...Captain Boote's company should march by land, from the Ocmulgee to Fort Stoddert or Fort St. Stephens" (ASP 16, Military Affairs 1:272). Captain Boote and his 2nd Infantry Company remained in the Louisiana and Mississippi Territories until 1810. Captain Boote was again at Fort Hawkins on September 4, 1810, as indicated by a letter addressed to him from General Wade Hampton, who was also at Fort Hawkins (NARA, RG75, M221). General Hampton wrote:

Captain Moore of the 3rd Infy. Has been ordered to march with a detachment to this post & report himself to you. On his arrival you will add to his detachment, if in your power so many of your Garrison as will make his command amount to thirty able bodied men & order him to proceed with it as soon as possible and make a wagon road on the mail rout from here to Fort Stoddert, to Evans about 60 miles eastward of the Chatahochie, or until he meets a Detachment of troops cutting a similar road from Fort Stoddert.

You will direct him to make bridges only over the water crossings [illegible text] of a [illegible text] at those which were wider to have the banks on each side well sloped, and their bottoms cleaned of logs. From the time of his crossing the Ocmulgee his detachment is at all times to be prepared for action & in case of actual opposition, is to intrench & fortify itself until reinforcements can reach it, & is always to have in advance

30 days provision, & a plentiful supply of ammunition.

The Contractor not being obliged by contract to supply beyond the limits of this State, & considering his late proposal as inadmissible on account of its exorbitance. You will furnish the necessary rations by purchase, & procure its transportation in the most economical terms in your power & also the necessary Team for the transport of tools & Baggage. You will also furnish Capt. Moore agreeably to your estimate of today with \$74. & 50 Cents on account of Forrage for the Team & \$150 for the payment of [illegible text] expences, taking his duplicate receipts, making himself accountable take to the Acct. of the War Department.

To enable you to effect these objects, you will be authorized to draw on the Secretary of War for the sum estimated by you to be necessary.

You will instruct Capt. Moore to conduct himself towards the Indians in a way the least calculated to give offence, and to use all proper means to gain their confidence & to assure them of the friendly disposition of the Government towards them.

You will keep up a constant correspondence with Colo. Hawkins, directing Capt. Moore to do the same informing him of every occurrence respecting the Indians worthy of notice (NARA, RG75, M221).

In early 1809, 1st Lieutenant Robert McDougald, 3rd Infantry, was in 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 McDougal 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. A newspaper article, however, described the discovery of “a skeleton in armor”, which was disinterred by a Bibb County road gang from an earthen mound near Macon on September 15, 1892. This discovery led some to speculate that this skeleton was that of Robert McDougald (*Macon Telegraph* 1892:6; *Atlanta Constitution* 1892a:3, 1892b:4). *Macon Telegraph* reporter explained,

While the chaingang was working near the old Indian mound in East Macon the other day they dug up the skeleton of a man who had probably been buried ever since the war of 1812. As soon as the skeleton was unearthed the bones crumbled into dust, and when the sword which they found beside him was examined it was found to be badly eaten with rust, the handle and scabbard being completely gone.

It is not known who the man was or how long he had been there, but judging from the looks of the sword the man must have been an officer in some army and had been buried for a great number of years (*Macon Telegraph* 1892:6).

Captain Thomas A. Smith was the next U.S. Army officer to assume command of Fort Hawkins after 1st Lieutenant McDougald. Captain Smith commanded a company of the newly formed Regiment of Rifles. The Regiment of Rifles was organized by May 1808. Captain Smith and his rifle company were at Fort Hawkins by February 1, 1809, although he may not have been given formal command of the garrison until April 1809. On February 1, 1809, Captain Smith wrote to Secretary of War Dearborn summarizing the current state of Fort Hawkins (NARA, RG107, M221). Captain Smith wrote,

I send you herewith an estimate made by Capt. Boote of the articles necessary to complete the works at this Place. Having no Carpenters in my Company I have employed one to make the officers quarters habitable. I have been compelled to give thirty dollars a month & one ration per day. Plank cannot be procured from Mills near this place. I have hired one Sawyer at twenty five dollars a month & one ration a day until I receive your orders on the subject. I wish to be informed whether it is the intention to have the Barracks weather boarded. The Blockhouses are yet to build & about one third of the main stockading to do if you intended that shall be done in a short time. I shall have to employ workmen for that purpose.

I find it impossible to dispose of a draft in Washington at Par if funds were deposited in Savannah that difficulty would be lessened. I have been unable to procure forage for the Public horses on a draft. Mr. Halstead has lent me until funds are [illegible] to purchase.

My Company has not been paid for five months was [missing text] a very serious inconvenience to the officers employed in the Recruiting Service to that circumstance may be attributed in a first degree their not having obtained more recruits as they have been compelled to use some of the money furnished them for private purposes. I have not been able to get a Physician to attend my company at this place for the compensation attained by an ordinance of the War Department there is a fund deficiency of Medicine & no Hospital Stores fit for use except a little Chocolate.

The six hundred & eleven dollars eighty four cents drawn for in favor of Wm. & Felix Gilbert for rations was [illegible text] with Excepts from the persons who furnished the Recruiting Parties Lieutenant Spencer not being able to contract with any person at Elberton furnished his Establishment himself he kept his Accounts so irregularly that it was impossible to settle them & the account being considerably more than it ought to have been from the neglect of his Sergeant. I conceived it my duty only to allow him the contract price. As soon as he arrives at this place I will take the necessary vouchers & forward them (NARA, RG107, M221).

Captain Smith displayed initiative in making improvements to the fortifications and buildings at Fort Hawkins. He wrote to Secretary of War Dearborn on April 17 and 23, 1809 regarding a saw mill for Fort Hawkins:

I have enclosed your favour of the 20th Ultimo. I was not officially informed that there was to have been a Saw Mill built within the ridge[?] for the purpose of furnishing boards for the buildings at this fort. I have learnt from individuals that Colo. Hawkins had a Mill nearly complete at this place but that it was carried off by a first [illegible text] has been [illegible text] attempt made to Establish it.

I will forward by next mail particular estimates of the funds wanting to complete the Garrison & for its contingent expenses.

[April 23] You will have herewith an estimate of the funds necessary to complete the works of this place. The boards cannot be had from Mills without going to [sic] far, that the transportation

would cost the Government more than the original cost. I have been fortunate in enlisting several Sawyers, which will enable me to have from twelve to fifteen hundred feet of Plank, cut each week; without the expence of employing Citizens. I Propose half the amount of the sum Expended for the completion of the work will be as much as will be expended, during the present year (NARA, RG75, M221).

Captain Smith's "Estimate of funds necessary to complete Fort Hawkins for Forage, Medicine and Hospital Stores & for the Contingent expences of the post for the Year 1809" included:

For	
48,500 feet Boards	485
The Payment of	
Artificers & Laborers	750
Lime	100
Glass, Nails, Hinges, Screws, Locks, Pulley, Oil Paint & c	
Not included in the former estimate	200
Medicines & Hospital Stores &c as per the within Requisition	165
Contingent expenses of the Post for 1809	250
Forage for 5 Public Horses & 10qts each per day from the 1st Feby to 31st Dec. 1809	
[522 Bus @ 75cts]	391.50
[Total]	\$2,341.50
	(NARA, RG75, M221).

On July 11, 1809, Captain Smith wrote from Fort Hawkins to Secretary of War William Eustice in regards to the "Military Stores, &c. on hand 30th June ult. -also respecting contingent expenses & recruiting services". On August 27, Smith wrote again regarding the death of two public horses and other expenses relating to the fort construction:

I have the honor to Receive your letter of the 10th ultimo Relative to the Estimating in my hand, the public [illegible text] completing the building &c.

I have to inform you that since my advice Relative to this fifth horse at this place was from that time of the last public horses [illegible text]

I have purchased one in order to continue the work.

I am sorry to inform you that my estimate for the [illegible text] of artificers & laborers at this post will fall short having to employ a few workmen not belonging to the Army [illegible text] works as directed by the end of the Year (NARA, RG75, M221).

Captain Smith wrote to Secretary of War Eustis on October 22, 1809 regarding the fort's expenditures and the "State of the Funds in his hands; together with an Acct. of Expenditures from 20th of Jany. To 30th Sept. Ulto.—and their auxiliary Papers relative to his personal accts." Captain Smith's financial account is transcribed in Table 1 and his accompanying letter is transcribed below (NARA, RG75, M221),

...There remains unreceived of the Estimate for [illegible text] exclusive of \$455 for Plank, & \$90.00 for Forage, a balance of \$400, which from the most accurate calculations I can now make will fall short about \$350 or \$400 of completing the work. I find it impossible to furnish the building & put up the outer stockading by the end of the year, the materials will all be ready, but it will keep one Waggon constantly employed with the middle or last of April to haul them in.

I enclose a copy of an order from the Accountant for a stoppage of twelve dollars from my pay & enclosing for Rations drawn for the private Servants. You have also an extract of the Genl Orders, which I conceive entitled me to two Servants. I considered the order of Mr. Simmons an assumption of Power, & refused to admit the deduction untill it was ordered by higher authority. At this time the order was received I had advanced several hundred dollars (with considerable private means [illegible text] to promote the public [illegible text]). The vouchers for advance I [illegible text] the officers employed on the Country Service on Account of the contingencies of the Army, have been Estimated [illegible text] their Accounts were forwarded to the Accountant crediting the Government with the Amount they had Expended from me (NARA, RG75, M221).

Federal expenditures for Fort Hawkins from Appropriations for Fortifications (summarized in December 1809 resulting from congressional funding of February 10, and June 14, 1809) totaled only \$64.09. In contrast, expenditures in Savannah, Georgia for the

same period were \$26,936.74 (ASP 16, Military Affairs v.1:247).

Captain Smith exhibited tenacity in fending off a junior officer, who had been assigned to Fort Hawkins. On April 6, 1809 Captain Smith wrote the Secretary of War informing him of the performance of his duties as Assistant Military Agent at Fort Hawkins. Smith's letter was in response to the assignment of another officer for that same task. Prior to September 21, 1809, Ensign William C. Mead had been ordered from New Orleans to Fort Hawkins to serve as Assistant Military Agent. When Mead arrived at Fort Hawkins, however, Captain Smith caused problems for him, as he noted later in a letter from Milledgeville, Georgia to Secretary of War Dearborn,

I was ordered from New Orleans to Fort Hawkins for the purpose of doing the Assistant Military Agent's duty. On the 6th of July last, I reported my self to Capt. Smith of the Garrison showing him my orders and instructions from Mr. Linnards, also informed Mr. Linnards of my arrival. Since which time Capt. Smith has been ordered to retain the public property and I left here without orders or instruction of any kind. I have reported the circumstances to Genl. [Wade] Hampton and at the same time requested a furlough for six or eight months which if granted will be the only solitary instance of public countenance since my junction with the Army. I applied to Genl. Wilkinson in Charleston through the politeness of Genl. Hampton; but from the command of Capt. McCall's company which devolved on me, was compelled to embark for N. Orleans.

My private business has been sacrificed for five years to public duty—if you can grant my application to Genl. Hampton, you will confer a favour on him, which will feel grateful to the country which he is first to serve (NARA, RG107, M221).

Ensign William C. Mead was a native Georgian in Captain Brahan's Company of the 2nd Infantry when he was stationed in New Orleans. Mead's period of service at Fort Hawkins was short-lived because of the dispute with Captain Smith and it is unlikely that Mead returned to the fort after the aforementioned incident. As a consolation, Ensign Mead was assigned a similar position in Pittsburgh. His record of enlistment, however, states that he received orders on November 28, 1809 assigning him to serve as an Assistant Military Agent in Georgia, possibly indicating a return to Fort Hawkins. Mead resigned from the U.S. Army on January 1, 1810,

Paid for Sundries for the Medical & Hospital Department at Fort Hawkins as per Abstract forwarded the 30th June 1809	1	[\$]140.38 1/4	Paid Cat. T.A. Smith this Amt. in full for his services as Assistant Milty Agent at Fort Hawkins from 20th Jany to 30th Sept. 1809 as per Voucher forwarded 30th Sept. 1809	5	66.84
Paid Sundry Contingencies at the Post at Fort Hawkins as per Abstract Forwarded 30th June 1809	2	59.74 1/4			\$1712.02 1/4
Paid for Sundries on Account of Fortifications, Arsenals, Magazines & Armory at Fort Hawkins as per Abstract forwarded 30th June 1809	3	131.20	Balance due T.A. Smith		\$1413.88 1/2
Paid Hire of a Carpenter employed building Fort Hawkins as per the above Abstract	4	71.45	By a Deposit in the office of Discount & Deposit in Savannah on		
Paid Hire of a Sawyer employed Sawing Plank for ditto as per ditto	5	0.75	Account of the Medical & Hospital Department		[\$] 153
Paid Artificers & laborers employed building Fort Hawkins from 20th Jany to 30th June 1809 as per ditto	6	209.04	Ditto on Account of Contingencies		200
Paid for Forage &c for the Public Teams at Fort Hawkins as per Abstract Forwarded 30th June 1809	4	153.43 3/4	Ditto on Account of Fortifications Arsenals, Magazines & Armory		700
Paid Sundry contingencies &c as per Abstract from 20th Jany to 30th June 1809	5	249.25	Ditto on Account of Forage &c		300
Paid for Sundries & contingencies Fortifications, Arsenals, Magazines & Armory at Fort Hawkins as per * to 30th Sept 1809		43.42 1/4	13 5/32 Gallons Whisky retained from the Sick @75 cts		9.88 1/4
Paid Hire for two Carpenters employed building Fort Hawkins as per ditto		64.97 1/4	This Amount paid Doctr. Dandridge for Transportation (in a [illegible])		39
Paid Hire of a Man & Oxen * mortar for the bricks & c.		37.50			
Paid for 1 Waggon & [illegible] do		75.00			
Paid Artificers & laborers employed building Fort Hawkins from 1st July to 30th Sept 1809 as per ditto		197.56			
Paid for Forage for Public Team at Fort Hawkins as per Abstract forwarded 30th Sept. 1809	2	62.56 1/4			
Paid Sundry Contingencies at the Post at Fort Hawkins as per Abstract forwarded 30th Sept. 1809	3	114.40 1/2			
Paid for Sundries for the Medical & Hospital Department at Fort Hawkins as per Abstract forwarded 30th Sept. 1809	4	34.50			

Table 1. Account of Expenditures made by Captain Thomas A. Smith, Acting Assistant Miltity Agent at Fort Hawkins from 20th Jany to 30th Sept. 1809 (*NARA, RG75, M221*).

so if he did return that service in Georgia was brief. Mead later re-entered the Army and served as a Captain in the 1st Regiment, U.S. Volunteers in the War of 1812, but his service did not include any assignments at Fort Hawkins (Ancestry.com 2008).

Although Captain Smith had successfully snubbed Ensign Mead and prevented him from serving as the military agent at Fort Hawkins, Smith apparently grew weary of the responsibilities of military agent. On June 3, 1810 Captain Smith wrote from Fort Hawkins to Secretary Eustis requesting to be discharged from the duties of Assistant Military Agent, noting,

In consideration of the judgment mistakes I make in my Accounts agreeable to Mr. Simmonds' statement as Assistant Military Agent & thereby laying myself liable to be charged with money's which in my opinion were first claims against the United States, I must beg the favor that you will be pleased to order some other person to do that duty at this post & relieve me from any farther responsibility (NARA, RG75, M221).

On February 4, 1811 Captain Smith wrote to Secretary of War Eustis providing him with a summary of his expenditures as Assistant Military Agent at Fort Hawkins for 1810. This expense summary was not included in the surviving correspondence, however. Captain Smith's financial woes regarding Fort Hawkins finances did not end immediately, however, as he noted in a March 31, 1811 letter from his camp at Coleraine, Georgia to Secretary Eustis,

In a communication from the Accountant for the Department of War of the 8th ult. He informed me that my Account for superintending the Artificers and laborers at Fort Hawkins had been rejected. Capt. Boote my immediate predecessor informed me he had been paid for the same service at the same post; should my claim have been rejected on the grounds that my industry or exertions did not deserve compensation in an equal degree, I request that the inquiry may be made of Colo. Hawkins, Mr. Halsted or any one or the whole of the officers there under my command. It is not the Amount of the claim that induces me to trouble you again on this subject but to remove unfavorable impression should any have been made against me. If it is an established principal that no extra charge of that kind will be admitted,

I shall be perfectly satisfied (NARA, RG75, M221).

By March 12, 1811 Thomas A. Smith had been promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and he wrote from Coleraine, acknowledging the receipt of orders of January 26, 1811. This letter attests that Smith and most of his U.S. Regiment of Rifles had vacated Fort Hawkins sometime between January 26 and March 12, 1811 (NARA, RG75, M221). The *Essex Register* of Salem, Massachusetts reported on March 20, 1811 that,

The troops at Fort Hawkins are now ordered to Colerain, on the St. Mary's, about 40 miles above the town of St. Mary's, a place known by a former treaty with the Indians and important in regard to East Florida. Only a guard will be left at Fort Hawkins. Every attention is paid to the consequences of the new arrangement in Florida" (*Essex Register* 1811:2).

The reference to a "guard" indicates that a small number of Lieutenant Colonel Smith's Regiment of Rifles continued to serve at Fort Hawkins in late March 1811.

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 cow pens and fields of corn made by the white people on the Indian lands" (Hawkins 1810, cited in Wilcox 1999).

An important Creek Council was held at Tuckabatchee town on the Tallapoosa River in 1811. Also in attendance were Cherokee chiefs and the Shawnee chief 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 reported experiencing a severe earthquake (Wilcox 1999). These

tremors were almost certainly earthquakes centered on the New Madrid fault in the lower Mississippi River valley. These quakes were also experienced in northwestern 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 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 in the historical record.

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 2008). 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 about the War of 1812, the campaigns in the South are poorly covered and events in Georgia are virtually 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 (Telamon Cuyler Collection, MS1170, Box 80, folder 47).

When the war began in June the U.S. Army was a small force consisting of fewer than 6,000 soldiers. A flurry of recruitment that spring had raised a little more than 1,100 more men. A list of troop strengths at the various federal posts was compiled for Congress in July 1812. These data are summarized in Table 2.

On June 6, 1812 the 3rd Infantry Regiment, U.S. Army had only 73 men stationed at Fort Hawkins. These soldiers, which represent a (less than complete) company, were under the command of Captain Philip Cook (Wilcox 1999; ASP 16, Military Affairs v.1:120). Captain Cook's 73 men were a small garrison, appropriate for peacetime, but with pending global events, that scene and the

Number of troops in service on the Peace Establishment, and Additional Military force of 1808, including	6744
Point Petre, St. Mary's river, Georgia	194
Fort Hawkins, Georgia	73
Fort Stoddart, Mississippi Territory	469
Fort St. Philip	72
New Orleans and Fort St. John	143
Pass Christian and Baton Rouge	1244
Natchitoches	89
Fort Hampton and Highwassee	169
Fort Massac	36
Belle Fontaine	134
Fort Osage	63
Fort Madison	44
Vincennes, and vicinity	117
Michillimackinack	88
Fort Dearborn	53
Fort Wayne	85
Detroit	119
On the march to Detroit	430
Harbor of Charleston, South Carolina	175
Harbor of New York	901
Harbor of Newport, Rhode Island	193
Boston harbor	131
Fort Mifflin	65
Enlisted, January 1 to April 30, 1812	1125

Table 2. U.S. Army Troop Strength in July 1812 (*ASP 16, Military Affairs v.1:320*).

number of troops at Fort Hawkins changed drastically. Historical records pertaining to the number of troops at Fort Hawkins in the years prior to the War of 1812 are sketchy and the number of soldiers living in the fort on a daily basis fluctuated considerably.

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 current Museum of Arts and Sciences), less than 10 miles from Fort Hawkins (Wilcox 1999). This skirmish was uncomfortably close to Fort Hawkins and it was the first outbreak with the hostile 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 and most battles took place in Alabama and Mississippi. 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; Cusick 2003).

The War of 1812 in the south did not begin in earnest until mid-1813. The southern theatre of war from 1813-1814 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), which was a civil war between the Red Sticks and friendly Creeks (White Sticks), that took place on July 20, 1813. The friendly Creeks had gathered in the town of Tuckabatchee, which was a paramount town of the Upper Creeks, and 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).

Late in 1812 General Andrew Jackson was ordered by Congress to defend the 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. Jackson's war strategy would take two years to fully implement.

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 on July 15, 1813 from headquarters, Sixth District, Point Peter, 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 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, 1813 that no funds had been received from the quartermaster department and no Army contractor was present at Fort Hawkins (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 westward 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 on the Tallapoosa River 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; Wood 1957:139).

Colonel Benjamin Hawkins had followed the events at Tuckabatchee in July 1813 very closely. Tuckabatchee was a very important town on the Tallapoosa River and also his wife's home. Colonel Hawkins had a deep understanding of the attitudes and politics in the Creek Nation and his correspondence demonstrates his efforts to communicate this to U.S. and Georgia officials. The victory at Tuckabatchee by the friendly Indians, without any overt military assistance from the U.S. or state troops, demonstrated to Hawkins that they were reliable allies. 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 2008; ASP, Senate, 13th Congress, 3rd Session, Indian Affairs: Volume 1:854).

On October 3, 1813 Colonel Hawkins wrote from the Creek Agency to Captain Philip Cook at Fort Hawkins, in which he 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 [sic] 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 2008; 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 Armstrong. Hawkins advised the Secretary of hostilities in the Creek country:

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 Miccasooky, near St. Mark's.

The war party were [sic] 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 2008; ASP, Senate, 13th Congress, 3rd Session, Indian Affairs: Volume 1:857).

The war news from Milledgeville, Georgia, dated September 8, 1813, contained the following:

Gen. Floyd arrived here on Sunday and will proceed to the frontier immediately to take command of the expedition against the Indians. Captain Cunningham's company of regulars and general Wilkinson's escort through the nation left fort Hawkins the day before yesterday for the agency. When the remainder of the troops will take up their line of march is still uncertain. We hope, however, it will be in a short time.

We understand that colonel Hawkins has demanded of the governor of Pensacola an explanation of his conduct in supplying the Indians with munitions of war (*Weekly Aurora* 1813:169).

By late October 1813 General Floyd's Georgia militia marched westward from Fort Hawkins to join the fray. Floyd's troops 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. This was followed by the January 27, 1814 Battle of Calabee Creek between Georgia militia and Red Sticks. The Georgians were surprised at the creek crossing and a night-time firefight ensued. Although the Red Sticks were repulsed, the Georgia militia suffered considerable casualties. General Floyd was wounded in that engagement and returned to Fort Mitchell.

Meanwhile, Fort Hawkins was the scene of important U.S. Army decision making and administration. Major General Thomas Pinckney arrived at Fort Hawkins in late November 1813 where he established the headquarters for the 6th Military District. On February 18, 1814, 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 headquarters for the 6th and 7th Districts at Fort Hawkins through April 1814 (DeVorse and Waters 1973:21; Wilcox 1999). Pinckney's staff in 1813 is shown in Table 3.

The U.S. forces waged a three-pronged attack against the Red Sticks in Alabama. General Claiborne waged war from the southwest, General Floyd approached from the east, and General Jackson attacked from the north. The decisive battle of the Creek War took place on March 27, 1814 between General Jackson's U.S. Army regulars 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. Major General Pinckney wrote from headquarters at Fort Hawkins to Georgia Governor Early on April 2, 1814, with elated news of Jackson's victory at Horseshoe Bend (Brannan 1823:318-319).

The Red Sticks were dealt a stinging blow in that battle and they sued for peace at Fort Jackson near present-day Montgomery, Alabama. In August 1814 the Treaty of Fort Jackson was signed by the Creek Nation and the U.S. at Fort Jackson, Alabama. Under the terms of that treaty the Creek Nation ceded lands to the U.S. comprising nearly half of modern-day Alabama (Kappler 1904). While the Creeks had signed a peace treaty with the U.S. that August, many Creek warriors did not accept this accord. These disgruntled Creeks regrouped in West Florida and extreme southwest Georgia, where they maintained a warlike position. These renegades, who were refugees

Staff Officer	Rank	Staff Appointment	Commission	Station
Pinckney, Thomas	Major General	Major Genl.		
Huger, Francis K.	Lieutenant Colonel, 2nd Artillery	Adjutant Genl.	Apr. 6, 1813	Charleston
Erving, John	Lieutenant, 1st Artillery	Assistant Genl.	Apr. 6, 1813	
Boote, William R.	Major, 2nd Infantry	Inspector Genl.	Apr. 6, 1813	
Chaplain, Samuel	Lieutenant, 1st Artillery	Deputy Quartermaster Genl.	Mar. 18, 1813	
Bourke, Thomas	Lieutenant, 1st Artillery	Deputy Quartermaster Genl.	Apr. 19, 1813	Savannah
Lequex, Peter	Lieutenant, 8th Infantry	Asst. Deputy Quartermaster Genl.	Aug. 31, 1813	
Cox, William	Lieutenant, 8th Infantry	Asst. Deputy Quartermaster Genl.	Aug. 31, 1813	
Paine, Joseph B.	Lieutenant, 8th Infantry	Asst. Deputy Quartermaster Genl.	Aug. 31, 1813	
Ward, James	Lieutenant, 8th Infantry	Asst. Deputy Quartermaster Genl.	Aug. 31, 1813	
Willard, Prentis	Captain, 8th Infantry	Engineer		
Margart, John H.	Captain, 8th Infantry	Deputy Commissary of Ordnance	Dec. 31, 1812	Charleston
Bruckner, Daniel	Captain, 8th Infantry	Asst. Commissary of Ordnance	Aug. 6, 1813	
Keyser, Christopher	Captain, 8th Infantry	Asst. Commissary of Ordnance	Aug. 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	Mar. 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	Mar. 24, 1812	Fort Hawkins
Dusenbury, Samuel	Captain, 8th Infantry	Garrison Surgeon's Mate	Mar. 25, 1812	St. Marys
Cook, Hamlin	Lieutenant, 8th Infantry	District Paymaster		Charleston
Simmons, Henry	Lieutenant, 8th Infantry	Military Storekeeper		Charleston

Table 3. 6th Military District U.S. Army Staff, 1813 (*American Memory 2006, American State Papers, Military Affairs, Volume 1:386*).

of Creek, Yuchi, Cherokee and other tribes, soon became commonly known as “Seminoles”.

Once the main Red Stick force in Alabama had been neutralized, the U.S. quickly moved in more troops to establish an Army presence in Alabama and strengthen their garrisons in Georgia. Militia troops from North Carolina were sent southward for that purpose and they passed through Fort Hawkins on their journey. 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 2008; 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).

The non-commissioned troops (including non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates) in the 8th Infantry, U.S. Army, who were enlisted at Fort Hawkins from February through September 1814 was published by Congress (ASP 16, Military Affairs v.1:521). This document points out one of the lesser known uses of Fort Hawkins by the U.S. Army as a recruiting center. The fort continued to serve as a recruiting station up to its final days. A total of 210 men was recruited into the U.S. Army during that period, as shown below:

Month	Recruits
February	3
March	16
April	65
May	44
June	39
July	12
August	16
September	22
Whole No. Enlisted	210

After the Treaty of Fort Jackson, the U.S. Army shifted its sights to other problem areas. General Jackson devoted his attention to the Gulf coast. In Georgia, the U.S. concerns also shifted to the coast and the threat from a British Naval attack. Throughout November and December 1814 Colonel Hawkins prepared his Creek Regiment for war against the hostile Indians, or "Semenolies". Hawkins 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". Colonel Hawkins was back at the Creek Agency by November 15 but by November 29, Hawkins returned to Fort Hawkins where he wrote to Governor Early, "I am certain of having 1000 warriors enrolled at least" (Telamon Cuyler Collection, Box 76).

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

Brigadier General Blakely 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 Blakely 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 news 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 real 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 2008).

General Jackson's U.S. Army forces engaged British forces in the much celebrated Battle of New Orleans, which lasted from December 23, 1814 though January 8, 1815. U.S. Army troops in these series of battles included the 2nd, 4th, 7th, 24th, and 44th regiments, among others, all of whom had served previously at Fort Hawkins. General Jackson won decisively in New Orleans and the British forces retreated. 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, the British 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.

The continuing British threat to the eastern seaboard consisted of a fleet led by Admiral Cockburn. After sacking and burning Washington in December 1814, Admiral Cockburn's forces had sailed down the Atlantic coast from Washington and landed on the Georgia coast in early January of 1815 and Cockburn 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 (Pitch 1998; Toner 2007).

It took several months for the news of the war's end to reach central Georgia and the Creek country. Colonel Hawkins communicated from Fort Hawkins to Governor Early on December 13, 1814, but in it he did not discuss any of the affairs within the fort. By January 4, 1815, Colonel Hawkins and his Creek Regiment were on the move against the Seminoles. On that day Hawkins 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" advising the Governor of the forces under Hawkins' command. Hawkins noted that, "3 detachments have marched". Hawkins was preparing for a flatboat trip down the Chattahoochee River and he noted that of "My bateaux six only are reported unfit for service". These flatboats and barges were under command of Major Wooton (Telamon Cuyler collection, Box 76). By February 12, 1815, Colonel Hawkins' Indian Regiment had reached the 115 mile point of the Chattahoochee River, where it 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 (Telamon 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).

Hostilities on the Creek frontier continued into 1815. 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. 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" (Telamon Cuyler Collection, Box 76). By July 14, 1815, Colonel Hawkins had returned to the Creek Agency (Keith Read Collection MS921, Box 12:33).

Meanwhile, on June 28, 1815, Major General Thomas Pinckney issued his last order before retiring from command. Pinckney appointed Colonel Patrick Jack, 8th U.S. Infantry to command the 6th Military District, which included Georgia. In his last official order General

Pinckney placed Colonel McDonald in command at Fort Hawkins. McDonald's garrison was sizeable and was comprised of six infantry companies from the 7th Regiment (*Niles Weekly Register* 1815:362).

The Secretary of War, through Adjutant and Inspector General Daniel Parker, issued general orders dated December 2, 1815, designating Fort Hawkins as the headquarters for the 4th and 7th Infantry regiments (*Albany Register* 1815:3). On May 17, 1816, the Secretary of War issued a general order assigning the 4th and 7th Infantry Regiments to duty at Fort Hawkins (Gordon 1837:91-92). That order also included several promotions of officers in these two regiments.

In 1816 Daniel Hughes, U.S. Indian Agent at Fort Hawkins, was given permission to move west, establishing a sub-agency at Fort Mitchell, because the U.S. trading factory at Fort Hawkins was losing money and Fort Mitchell was seen as a more advantageous location to promote the trade with the Creeks (DeVorse and Waters 1973:15). Fort Mitchell became the main Federal Factory and by September 1816 Fort Hawkins continued to be 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.

Many U.S. Army soldiers at Fort Hawkins had not been paid for months, or years. A Charleston newspaper published a Milledgeville editorial on March 16, 1816, which addressed the distressful lack of pay for the troops at Fort Hawkins:

It is a subject on which our astonishment is equaled only by our regret, that the militia of this state [Georgia], who performed near the close of the war arduous services, are yet unpaid. The regular troops at Fort Hawkins, if we are correctly informed, have still greater cause of complaint—arrears of pay for two years back are due *them*. Knowing these facts, our regret was not diminished at hearing that the pay-master was on his way back from Charleston to Fort Hawkins with funds, but entirely inadequate to pay off the troops there. In the mean time they are deserting in squads, and no wonder; they perhaps consider that

the engagement between them and the government imposes a *reciprocal* obligation—and that in a contract, when one party fails, the other is no longer bound. After so long a delay, we trust the pittance of these men, both militia and regulars, will be paid in current money of the southern states and not in Northern bills, which are at a discount of from five to ten per cent. We make this remark, because precedent may be supposed to have sanctioned such a practice. That good policy as well as justice requires the government to fulfil her engagements with promptness, particularly towards those who fight her battles, will not be disputed. When we shall be engaged in another war, it will be discovered, perhaps when too late, that *punctuality in paying soldiers is the surest method of getting recruits* (*Georgia Journal*, cited in *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* 1816a:2).

One northern newspaper reporter, Marcus C. Buck, visited Fort Hawkins and provided some unflattering comments on the social situation around Fort Hawkins in September 1816, “The country about Fort Hawkins is becoming tolerably settled by an inferior class of people; it is considered as belonging to the state of Georgia, though it properly belongs to none, being a reserve for the common use of the United States and Indians. It is 30 miles from the Creek Agency, near which is the first settlement of Indians” (*Union* 1816:2).

Most historians date the beginning of the Seminole War to 1817, but in reality, hostilities never completely ceased in southwestern Georgia and Florida following the Treaty of Fort Jackson in August 1814. In early 1816 the U.S. Army mounted a campaign to address problems with the Creek Indians. News from Georgia in early April told of the movement of troops in response to “murders committed on the Alabama by Indians”, in which, “Six hundred troops are ordered from Fort Hawkins to the interior of the Creek nation, and will march about the middle of this month” (*Albany Advertiser*:1816:2.). One newspaper reported the situation in May 1816, “The Creek Indians seem much disposed to commence hostilities against the United States. In consequence of an express which reached Charleston from Fort Hawkins, 200 men, under the command of Captain Cummings; proceeded to the protection of the Fort; two companies were under marching orders. An Indian war seemed inevitable” (*Shamrock* 1816:284). A Rhode Island newspaper reported, “Four companies of the 4th U.S. Infantry marched from Charleston, May 20, for Fort Hawkins, and two companies of artillery were under marching orders—in consequence of hostile conduct of the Creek Indians” (*Rhode Island Republican* 1816:3).

These troopers included the U.S. Light Dragoons, commanded by Captain Alexander Cummings (Ancestry.com 2008). An Augusta, Georgia newspaper reported on their progress as the Dragoons passed through their town on Sunday, May 26 on their way to Fort Hawkins. The Dragoons were on a forced march and had made the trek from Charleston to Augusta (about 140 miles) in about six days. The *Augusta Herald* reporter observed, “they were a fine body of men and their appearance, movements and discipline were creditable to themselves and highly honorable to their officers,” and he noted that on Monday, May 27, “they continued on their march for Fort Hawkins” (*Augusta Herald*, May 30, cited in *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* 1816b:2).

Lieutenant William Bee, commanding the 7th Infantry at Fort Hawkins, wrote on May 11, 1816 to Georgia Governor David B. Mitchell, telling the governor of an impending Indian threat, “I have just received a communication from the Indian agent, directed to you, it came to me, unsealed [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” (Bee 1816).

In June 1816, the 4th U.S. Infantry established Fort Scott on the lower Flint River and 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, or Nicholls [named for Colonel Edward Nichols] Fort. Clinch attacked the fort from a small gunboat by firing “hot shot” at the fort. One of these shot penetrated the fort’s powder magazine and the entire place exploded, killing hundreds of Seminoles and renegade African-Americans. This “lucky shot” was a numbing blow to the Seminoles and the British strategic interests and it, undoubtedly, boosted the morale of U.S. troops in the region. 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).

By late 1816 the hostile Indian threat to Georgia had waned temporarily. On October 19, 1816, John C. Easter, Assistant Adjutant General, Georgia militia, Milledgeville, issued general orders of the Commander in Chief [Georgia’s Governor], which stated:

Two thousand Militia of this State having been detached by a General order of the 4th October 1815, on the requisition of Major General Gaines of the United States army, ‘to be

held in readiness to assemble at Fort Hawkins at a short notice, for the purpose of enabling him with the U. States troops, to check any hostile movements against the Commissioners engaged in running the boundary line, or against our frontiers,' and it being well understood, although no official report has as yet reached the Executive of Georgia, that the running of the said line, which was no doubt the principal object of the requisition, has long since been completed, and there remains no longer any necessity for keeping the said detachment in readiness, the same is hereby discharged (*Georgia Journal* 1816b:3).

Although hostile action took place in the Creek Nation in early 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).

The chiefs of the friendly Creeks, including both Upper and Lower Creeks, met in council at Fort Hawkins in July 1817 and presented claims for losses during the Creek War, to David Mitchell, U.S. Agent for Indian Affairs. Friendly Creeks warriors assembled outside Fort Hawkins in mid-1817 to receive their annuity payments. In July 1817, *Niles' Weekly Register* reported that approximately 1,500 Creek Indians assembled at Fort Hawkins (*Niles' Weekly Register* 1817). An 1824 report of the U.S. House of Representatives summarized the payments made for the Creek claims of July 1817: "These claims for losses were liquidated by the chiefs, in council, at Fort Hawkins, in July 1817, and amounted to the sum of \$110,417.90. Of this sum, \$81,085.60, was paid to the individuals, in proportion to their respective claims, and the balance, of \$3,914.40, was placed in the hands of the two principal chiefs, by general consent, to be applied to some cases of peculiar hardship, otherwise unprovided for" (U.S. House of Representatives 1824).

In September 1817, Sam Dale, a soldier in the 3rd Infantry Regiment described his 150 mile horse ride through the Creek Nation to Fort Hawkins while a courier for Colonel Russell. During the trip, which took only three days, Dale saw "not a single human being" and returned safely to Fort Claiborne in the Mississippi Territory (Claiborne 1860: 143-147). Sam Dale's description suggests that the area west of Fort Hawkins was largely depopulated, or that the people who lived along the Federal Road were keeping a very low profile, possibly in anticipation of

hostile action. 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 2008).

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 describing several U.S. Army garrisons. Davis was stationed at Fort Hawkins and his description of Fort Hawkins, albeit brief, is most informative:

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).

The prospect of a war with the Seminoles was welcomed news for Andrew Jackson. 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 the U.S. Army fort at Hartford, Georgia around February 12 (American Memory 2008). General Jackson began his Seminole campaign from there. As he passed through the lower Flint River region, Jackson was joined by Creek warriors from several towns.

On April 23, 1818, Georgia militia troops made a major blunder, which quickly drew the wrath of Andrew Jackson. Known as the Chehaw Affair, it involved the complete destruction of Chehaw town, which was a major Creek (Chiaha) town on Muckalee Creek, near present-day Leesburg, Georgia. Georgia militia troops commanded by Captain Obed Wright attacked the town and killed many of its inhabitants. Unfortunately, the Chiaha warriors who lived at Chehaw town were allies with the U.S. and were actively participating in the Seminole campaign under Andrew Jackson's command. Captain Wright ordered his troops to attack Chehaw town, even though his orders from Governor Rabun authorized him to attack two other Chiaha towns, which were hostile. When Andrew Jackson learned of the event from Brigadier General Thomas Glascock of the Georgia militia, Jackson was enraged. Major General Jackson ordered Assistant Inspector General, Major John M.

Davis, U.S. Army to arrest of Captain Wright on May 7, 1818. Jackson's orders specified that Major Davis was to, "proceed thence to Hartford in Georgia, and use your endeavors to arrest and deliver over in irons to the military authority at Fort Hawkins, captain Wright of the Georgia militia, who has been guilty of the outrage against the women and superannated [superannuated] men of the Chehaw village". Jackson's orders further stated, "You will direct the officer commanding Fort Hawkins, to keep capt. Wright in close confinement until the will of the President be known" (*Northern Sentinel* 1818:2).

Major Davis, who was at Fort Hawkins, received Jackson's orders and set out for Hartford, Georgia, but Wright was no longer there. Obed Wright was taken into custody by Major Davis on May 24, 1818 in Dublin, Georgia and Wright was taken to Milledgeville for a court hearing. The Georgia state court in Milledgeville was convened to consider Wright's situation, in regards to his rights under Habeas Corpus. The Georgia court found Wright was entitled to these rights and they ordered him released by the U.S. Army. After receiving these findings from the Georgia court, President James Monroe issued orders for Wright's arrest and trial. By early August 1818, Wright was again taken into federal custody for a trial in September. Wright apparently escaped from his confinement in Milledgeville on August 27, 1818. Georgia Governor William Rabun sparred with General Jackson over this affair. Wright escaped federal prosecution when he fled the U.S. for Havana, arriving in Cuba in December 1818. It is not clear whether Captain Obed Wright was ever confined in the guard house at Fort Hawkins, even though it was General Jackson's intent that he be confined there. Newspaper accounts of his escape from Milledgeville in late August 1818 made no mention of any previous confinement at Fort Hawkins (White 1854:512-513; Coulter 1965:369-395; Glascock 1818; Jackson 1818; *The Reporter* 1818:3; *The Argus* 1818:3; *Palmyra Register* 1818:3).

The 1st Seminole War was a brief war. The U.S. Congress became concerned that Major General Jackson had overstepped his authority and that a major international contest with Spain was on the horizon. Jackson secured a treaty with the Spanish, which ceded lands in Florida to the United States. On May 28, 1818, the 1st Seminole War ended with the surrender of Fort Barrancas, Florida by the Spanish to Jackson's army. Major General Jackson proclaimed Colonel William King as the military governor of West Florida. General Jackson and his Tennessee volunteers then headed back home to Tennessee. U.S. troops, including many that had been stationed at forts Scott, Gaines, and Mitchell remained at military posts in Florida (Missall and Missall 2004:42-43).

In 1820, an official U.S. summary was compiled of the military manpower exerted in the Seminole War for the

Secretary of War (Towson 1820). An adapted version of this document is shown in Table 4.

Major General Gaines established the headquarters for the Division of the South, comprised of Departments 6, 7 and 8, at Fort Hawkins prior to July 18, 1818 where it remained until late October 1818 (*Massachusetts Spy* 1818:2). General Gaines last letter from Fort Hawkins was sent on October 24, 1818. Gaines then moved his headquarters south to Marion, Georgia, then to Dublin, Georgia, and then to Fernandina on Amelia Island, Florida. Major General Gaines had placed Lieutenant Micajah Crupper, 7th Infantry in command at Fort Hawkins after departing from Hartford, Georgia (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. Despite the importance of Fort Hawkins as a U.S. Army Command, an inventory of artillery on hand at Fort Hawkins, dated December 31, 1818, listed only three pieces of heavy ordnance (ASP Military Affairs, v. 1:789, 821).

Daniel Parker, Adjutant and Inspector General, submitted a report to the U.S. Senate on January 9, 1819, which was compiled from the latest post returns in 1818. This document listed six U.S. Army officers at Fort Hawkins. Of these, only one was identified by name, Brigadier General Edmund P. Gaines, but the ranks of his subordinates were: 1 Assistant Adjutant General, 1 Assistant Inspector General, 2 Assistant Deputy Quarter Master Generals, and 1 Topographical Engineer (ASP Military Affairs, v.1:818). General Parker's report listed Fort Hawkins as the Headquarters for the Staff of the Eastern Section, Southern Division of the U.S. Army. The Southern Division was commanded by Major General Andrew Jackson.

By 1819, Fort Hawkins was no longer a 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, Major General Gaines' Aide de Camp, Bunch 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 Fernandina, Florida to Secretary of War John C. Calhoun explaining 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 an unattributed letter to the

	Georgia	Creeks	Kentucky	Alabama	Total
GENERAL STAFF	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
REGIMENTAL FIELD & STAFF	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
COMPANY OFFICERS	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 Lieutenants	1	0	11	3	15
Ensigns	2	0	0	3	5
Cornets	3	0	17	0	20
NON-COMM. OFFICERS & PRIVATES	2431	1517	1163	387	5498
TOTAL	2600	1613	1286	412	5911

Table 4. Volunteers, Militia, and Indian Warriors, Engaged in the Seminole War, 1817 and 1818. (Adapted from Townson 1820.)

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.

Meanwhile life at Fort Hawkins went on during this period of relative peace. On July 17, 1819, Cherokee Hawkins, daughter of the late Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, was married to Captain Lewis Madison Lawshe, 7th Infantry, at

Fort Hawkins. Captain Lawshe served as Quarter Master at Fort Hawkins until his resignation in November 1819. The Lawshe family soon raised a large family (*Niles' Weekly Register* 1819b:16; Ancestry.com 2008).

The court martial of 2nd Lieutenant William D. Hopkins, 7th Infantry, held on August 25, 1819 at Fort Hawkins also made the national news that summer. Hopkins was

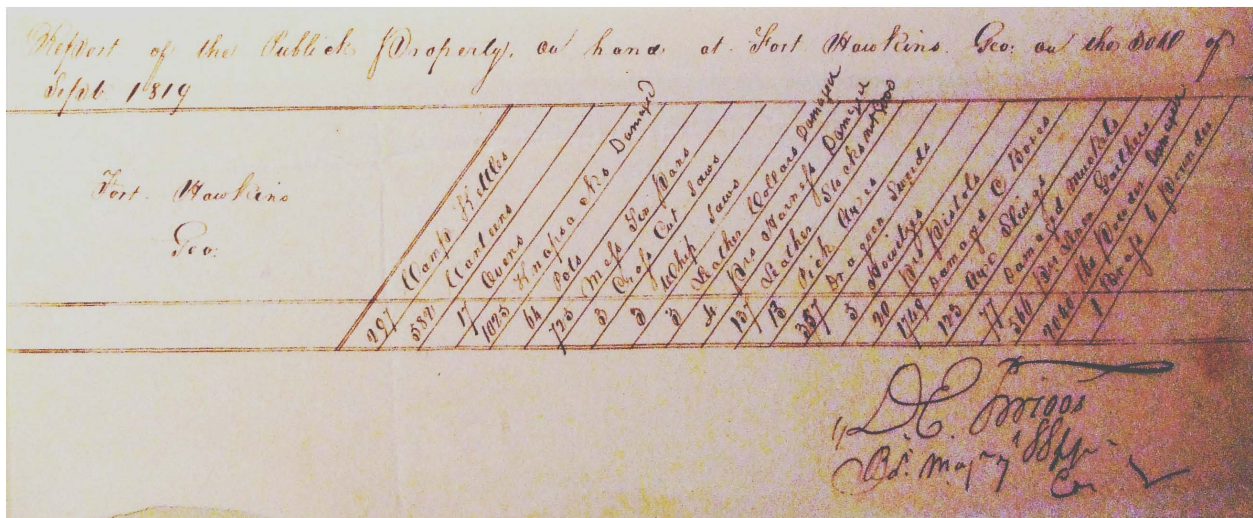


Figure 8. Public Property on Hand at Fort Hawkins, Geo. on the 30th Sept., 1819.

tried on several charges, found guilty and cashiered (dishonorably discharged from service) from the U.S. Army. He was to, “forfeit all pay due to him from the United States, and declared unfit to hold any office in the service of the United States”. The specifics of the 1st charge against Hopkins provide some unique insight into the final days of Fort Hawkins:

Lieut. Wm. D. Hopkins did not turn over to capt. Wm. Bee when ordered, the balance of U. States’ money

remaining in his hands on account of recruiting expenditure, and contingent expenses while recruiting, pleading inability to do so, not having it, and saying he had acknowledged to captain Bee, in a letter, that he had lost it at a gaming table, and did again acknowledge having gambled away the said U.S. money and did not comply with the order to turn it over, which order was dated Harbor of Savannah, 29th June 1819, and was presented that day at Fort Wayne, Savannah, Georgia (*Newburyport Herald* 1819:2).

297	Camp Kettle
582	Canteens
17	Ovens
1025	Knapsacks - damaged
64	Pots
725	Mess Tin Pans
3	Cross cut saws
3	Whip saws
3	Leather collars - damaged
4	Prs Harness - damaged
137	Leather stocks
13	Pick axes
357	Dragoon swords
5	Howitzers
20	Prs pistols
1769	Damaged C boxes
123	Ax slings
77	Damaged muskets
566	Prs linen gaiters
2040	Lb powder - damaged
1	Brass 6 pounder

In September 1819, Brigadier General David E. Twiggs, Georgia militia, conducted an inventory of the remaining military stores in the garrison at Fort Hawkins (Figure 8). Twiggs submitted this inventory to General Daniel Parker (Twiggs 1819, in Daniel Parker Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania). Twiggs’ inventory is transcribed in Table 5.

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). By 1825, Fort Hawkins had been reduced to a federal post office for mail bound for Fort St. Mark’s, which was an Army fort in Florida commanded by Lieutenant J.B. Triplett (ASP 17, Military Affairs v.2:846). A Federal report on nationwide fortification expenditures, compiled in 1826, noted that only \$2,294.01 was expended at Fort Hawkins (ASP 18, Military Affairs 3:249). This figure represents the total cost to the federal government for the construction and maintenance of Fort Hawkins from January 1, 1806 through September 30, 1824. A total of \$168,157.53 of Federal dollars was expended in the State of Georgia at

Table 5. Transcription of Twiggs’ Public Property on Hand at Fort Hawkins...30th Sept. 1819 (Daniel Parker Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

Specification of the objects to which the expenditures were applied.	Expenditures	Sub-
	Prior to 1815	sequent to 1815
Savannah	140,364.32	
St. Mary's	11,358.95	
Ockmulgee Oldfields Garrison [Fort Hawkins]	2,294.01	
Fort Jackson	360	
Point Peter, purchase	4,138.95	5,785.00
Fort Jackson		3,858.30
Total, Third Auditor	\$158,516.23	\$9,641.30
Aggregate = \$168,157.53		

The 2nd Seminole War in Georgia was brief, lasting only from 1835 to 1836. Seminoles made a surprise attack on towns and plantations in southwest Georgia, which prompted the Georgia militia to react. While no direct hostilities from this war occurred in the Fort Hawkins or Macon vicinity, troops from the region participated in the campaign and Fort Hawkins was used as a gathering point for the troops that were mustered and marched to the Columbus vicinity. The soldier's occupation and use of Fort Hawkins during these events was very brief, possibly lasting only a day or two (*Atlanta Constitution* 1887a:3).

Table 6. Summary of Federal Expenditures for Fortifications in Georgia, 1800-1824 (ASP 18, Military Affairs v.3:254).

five locations from 1800-1824 and these expenditures are summarized in Table 6.

The final official federal 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 immediately occupied the abandoned military buildings. The settlement of Newtown quickly sprang up near the fort and in 1823 the town of Macon was created on the opposite side of the Ocmulgee River. An Augusta, Georgia newspaper reported from Fort Hawkins on May 21, 1823, "There are one hundred and sixteen mechanics employed in building the town of Macon. Since the fifth of March last, at which time the first sale of the lots took place, there have been seventeen frame buildings reared; several of which will soon be ready for the reception of tenants.—This looks as much like a city in a wilderness as any thing we have ever seen" (*Augusta Chronicle and Georgia Advertiser* 1823a). Settlement in this region of Georgia rapidly expanded and by the 1830s Fort Hawkins was relegated to the history books.

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 Ellis' plat (Figure 9). 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. Other sources indicate that Woolfolk's actual purchase price for the property (Lot 53) was \$2,133.00 (DeVorse and Waters 1973:35; *Baltimore Patriot* 1828).

An October 27, 1828 advertisement in the *Macon Telegraph* described the lands containing the former Fort Hawkins:



The beautiful eminence on the east side of the river, overlooking the town of Macon, and known as the Fort Hill (the site of old Fort Hawkins) comprising a hundred acres of poor land, sold for \$2151. It was purchased by Mr. Woolfolk, of Jones, and will probably be divided into building lots and resold.

Fort Hawkins was built for protection against the Indians, about the year 1805-6, and was a place of considerable importance during the war of 1812 and the subsequent Indian wars. No garrison has been

Figure 9. Portion of the 1828 Plat of the Public Reserves (Ellis and Norman 1828).

stationed here we believe, since 1819, the time of the first settlement of New Town, (now forming part of Macon,) on the east bank of the Ocmulgee, three quarters of a mile from the fort. The block house, barracks, storehouses, &c. are still standing, and tenanted by industrious families. The site is romantic to the extreme; that, with the burial grounds and ancient mounds adjacent, have long been favorite haunts of our village beaux and belles, and objects of curiosity to strangers. We should regret to see these monuments of antiquity and of our own history leveled by the sordid plough—we could wish that they might always remain as at present, sacred to solitude, to reflection, to inspiration (*Macon Telegraph* 1828a).

The Macon newspaper noted that this property, “was purchased by Mr. Woolfolk, of Jones [County], and will probably be divided out into building lots and resold”. Another important observation was that, “The blockhouse, barracks, storehouses &c., are still standing, and tenanted by industrious families” (*Macon Telegraph* 1828a). In an account of the fiscal year ending October 31, 1828, the State of Georgia received \$3,433.04 for the “Rent of Public Property at Fort Hawkins” (Sparks et al. 1833:284-285). The identity of these renters was not determined by the present research. This rent money likely pertains to the period from January through November 1828 before the property was bought by Woolfolk.

By the 1860s Land Lot 51 had been subdivided into many smaller blocks. Fort Hawkins was contained on Block 41 in this subdivision. 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). 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 Deed Book AJ:676 (Preston 2006).

On August 18, 1863 the owner of Fort Hawkins, Thomas Jefferson Woolfolk, died at age 87. His obituary, written “by one who loved him”, appeared in the August 25th edition of *Macon Daily Telegraph*, which read:

Departed this life on the night of the 18th, Thomas Woolfolk, after the short period of sickness of one day. Though confined to his chamber for a number of years through body infirmity and old age, yet he maintained a cheerful deportment and serene mind, waiting

patiently the coming of the messenger of God to welcome him to a land of rest, where no pain comes nor sorrows known.

He was born in Wilkes county, North Carolina on the 14th day of February, in the year 1776—moved to Jones county, Ga., in 1806, and in January 1826 he settled at Fort Hawkins, while Macon was in the woods, and the Indians possessed the western bank of the Ocmulgee river.

Modest and retiring, he was little known outside his friends and associates of former days. Of his deeds of benevolence, he always acted, ‘Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth.’ Kind and indulgent, his children were won and endeared to him with more than common affection.

A member of the Baptist Church, her welfare was ever a constant desire. Members might plainly see beloved the brethren. He is gone but his memory still lives, and bids us meet him in the bright land of spirits.

Oh! Bright spirit, while on the wings of love thou passeth over earth, permit our souls to be warmed towards our Saviour by Thy near approach, and lead our wandering, wayward steps very near Thy Throne, where we may fall down and give due and everlasting praises to the King of Kings and Lord of Lords. Through our Lord Jesus Christ.

‘There is a calm for those that weep;
A rest for weary pilgrims found; They softly lie and sweetly sleep, Low in the ground.
Thy soul renewed by grace divine,
In God’s own image freed from clay;
In heaven’s eternal sphere shall shine,
A star of day.’

(*Macon Daily Telegraph* 1863).

Thomas Jefferson Woolfolk’s 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). A portion of DuBois’ plat is shown in Figure 10. The tract was officially annexed into the City of Macon on May 25, 1897 (Bill Causey personal communication November 11, 2006).

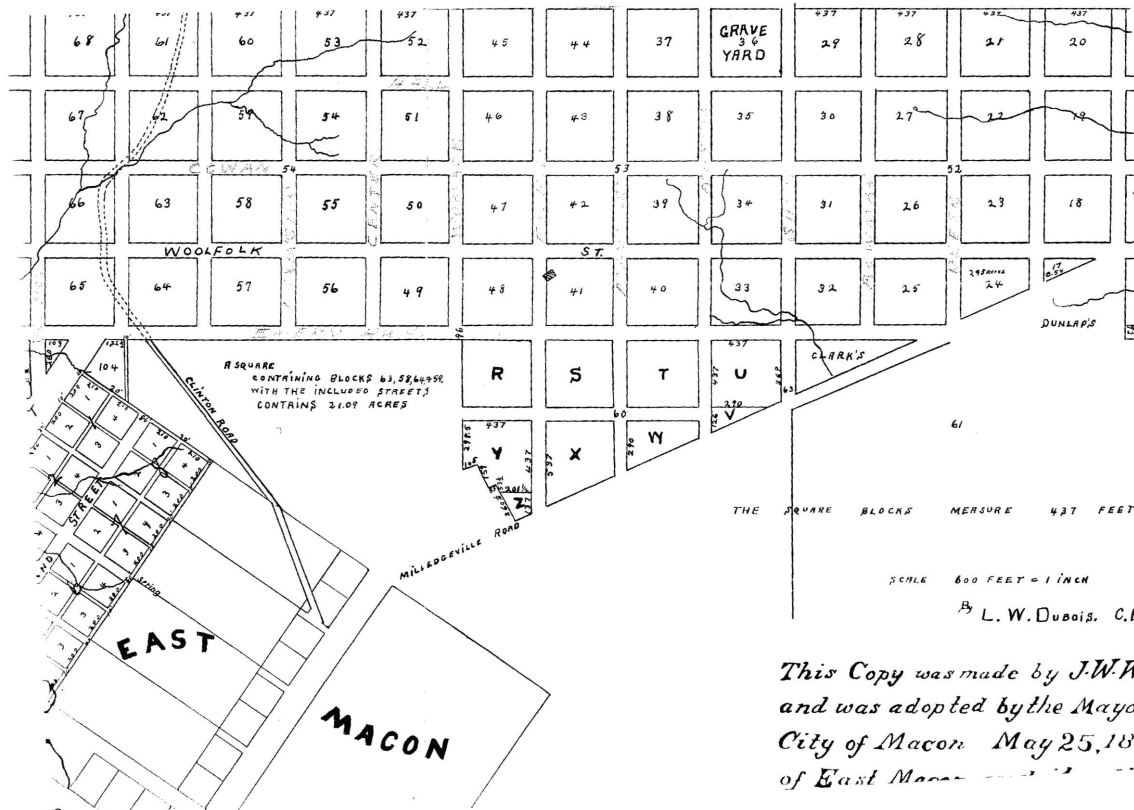


Figure 10. A Portion of Lands of the Estate of Thomas Woolfolk, Extension of East Macon (DuBois 1897).

An 1873 Macon newspaper advertised property for sale, which was part of the former Thomas Woolfolk estate and then owned by Richard A. Woolfolk, ordered to be sold by the Superior Court, to satisfy a *fi fas* in favor of I.C. Plant & Son against Richard A. Woolfolk. Lots included in this sale were: “lots 33, 38, 39, 43, 51 and 58, lying not far from the old Thomas Woolfolk mansion, and 58, 62, 95, 99, all containing four acres each, and 102 being a fraction lot lying east of the city of Macon... Said parcels of land being known and designated according to L.W. DuBose’s [Dubois]’ map of survey of the lands of the late T. Woolfolk, deceased (*Georgia Weekly Telegraph* 1873).

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

FORT HAWKINS IN THE CIVIL WAR

The Confederate Army established an artillery battery at Fort Hawkins as early as 1863. Louis Manigault, who visited the battery when he was assigned to the Confederate Medical Department in Macon, noted that the battery was commanded by an unidentified Captain from Louisiana (Manigault 1864).

Captain Evan P. Howell, who commanded Howell’s Battery, a Confederate light artillery battery, went to Fort Hawkins to recruit and reorganize after the fall of Atlanta, sometime after August 4, 1864. Howell’s Battery remained at Fort Hawkins, or the Macon area, until the war ended in April 1865 (*Atlanta Constitution* 1905:1-2; Manigault 1864). Howell’s Battery was not present for Stoneman’s raid, but they were likely present when

Brigadier General Kilpatrick attacked Macon and his troops defeated the Confederate battery at Fort Hawkins. Historical records thus indicate that the Confederates had an artillery battery at Fort Hawkins in 1863 and 1864. Howell's Battery, probably without Captain Howell, continued to serve the Confederacy in battles in the Cherokee Nation in September and October 1864. By the time of surrender in April 1865, however, Howell's Battery was greatly reduced in size from its 77 men who were listed in April 1864 (NPS 2008).

Fort Hawkins played a final military role in the American Civil War. Significant engagements took place there in late 1864. The first engagement outside of Macon took place on July 30, 1864. This event was part of Stoneman's raid through central Georgia, which lasted from July 27 to August 6. One Union correspondence provided this description of events on July 30, 1864 at Fort Hawkins:

On July 27th, 1864, Stoneman's command, composed of the 5th and 6th Indiana, 1st and 11th Kentucky, 8th Michigan, 14th Illinois, and 1st Ohio Squadron (cavalry), about two thousand strong, started on the contemplated raid to Macon. Subsequent events proved that too much publicity had been given to the movement previous to the departure of the expedition, and the enemy were on the lookout. We arrived at Fort Hawkins, opposite Macon, at daybreak Saturday morning, the 30th. We found that the enemy anticipated our coming. A large force of home guards were drawn up in line of battle. Our men charged them and drove them across the Ocmulgee river into Macon (Robertson 1882:697).

By all accounts General Stoneman's raid was a disaster, although his troops did manage to wreak havoc in their route before being captured. On August 1, 1864 Major General Howell Cobb, C. S. Army, reported from Macon, Georgia to General S. Cooper on the operations of July 30 and 31 (Stoneman's raid):

General Stoneman, with a cavalry force estimated at 2,800, with artillery, was met two miles from this city by our forces, composed of Georgia reserves, citizens, local companies, and the militia, which Governor Brown is organizing here. The enemy's assault was repulsed and his force held in check along our entire line all day. Retiring toward Clinton, he was attacked the next morning by General Iverson, who, having routed the main body, captured General Stoneman and 500 prisoners.

His men are still capturing stragglers (ehistory.com 2006).

Cobb's mention of "citizens" and anyone who could hold arms massing to defend Macon is reflected in the account of Sam W. Small. Small, who was a very young man at the time of Stoneman's raid later recalled how he and his some of his cohorts went to an old church on Fourth Street,

...that was used as a storehouse for captured accoutrements, and each of us was geared up with soldier harness and given a gun that we could scarcely hold horizontal for a second...another squad got their arms out at Findlay's foundry...we were marched across the pontoon bridge to East Macon, and strung along a rail fence running down eastward from Fort Hawkins to the river... (Small 1913:4).

General Cobb's description of Stoneman's final raid on Macon and his subsequent capture at Sunshine Church in Jones County, Georgia is surprisingly terse in light of the significance of these events. Stoneman's Cavalry Division was decimated as a result, causing Major General Sherman, who had only one remaining cavalry division after General McCook's defeat at Newnan and Stoneman's capture, to turn to Brigadier General Judson Kilpatrick for cavalry support.

Lieutenant Colonel Richard Smith, Adjutant General, Army of the Ohio, gave another summary of Stoneman's raid, which included this description of the action at Fort Hawkins and vicinity:

July 30, column moved at 4 a. m. Colonel Adams' brigade was again sent to the right with instructions to strike the river at some point above Macon, sound it fords or examine for ferries or other means of crossing, and feel the enemy as he advanced down the river and drive him in if found. A detachment of the Fourteenth Illinois, under command of Major Davidson, was sent to the left with instructions to strike the Macon and Milledgeville Railroad as near the latter point as possible and destroy it. When the column was within five miles of Macon, another detachment was sent to the left to strike the same railroad at or near Gordon. Both these parties reached the railroad with but little interruption, and each burnt some small bridges and culverts and tore up the road at these points for a distance of two or three miles. They also destroyed three trains of cars, and

three engines that happened to be upon the road at the time, between the points above named. There were twenty-two box-cars loaded with commissary and quartermaster stores, and some stock and three passenger coaches with citizens and soldiers aboard. All the cars and engines were completely destroyed. The main column advanced in the mean time on the main road toward Macon, and met the enemy's pickets about three miles out. Colonel Adams had moved down the river, and when about one mile above Macon met the enemy in force, and gave him battle, driving him back until he fell in cover of his own battery on the hill near the river, and about half a mile above Fort Hawkins. Colonel Adams was then unable to advance any farther, but continued to engage the enemy at this point, until his withdrawal was ordered at 3 p. m. In the mean time Capron's and Biddle's brigades were engaging the enemy in front, and to the left of Macon, but with little success, the enemy being protected in his works and lines by the battery in Fort Hawkins. Our battery could get no position from which it could operate effectively against that of the enemy in Fort Hawkins. We threw a few shells into the city. At 3 p. m. General Stoneman, finding it impossible to reach the railroad bridge with the force he had, ordered a withdrawal of all the forces, and directed the march to commence southward, sending Colonel Adams' brigade in advance, with a view to cross over the river and railroad south of Macon, some seven or eight miles, and continue on in that direction, as, I suppose, with a view to strike down through this State, and out at Pensacola or other favorable point. When the head of the column, with the pack train, had advanced in this direction some two miles, a scout reported a large column of rebel cavalry coming into Macon, estimated at from 1,000 to 1,500 strong. Fearing that this column would reach the ferry, where it was designed we would cross, and intercept our column, the general ordered a countermarch, and started back on the road we had gone, designing at that time, I know, to strike out in an easterly course, in the direction of Milledgeville, as soon as practicable, for he thus expressed himself to me personally, and I do not yet know why this course was not pursued. We came on in the direction

of Clinton, on the same route we had gone down, arriving at Clinton just at dark. Here the advance drove in a picket of the enemy, supposed to be fifty strong, some of them retreating west from Clinton, and the remainder north, along the route we had pursued as we advanced toward Macon. The general ordered the column to advance north along our old route, and about 9 p. m. the advance began to skirmish with the enemy, which was kept up, we advancing very slowly, until about 1 o'clock at night, when the skirmishing became so heavy in our front, as to prevent any farther advance. We had now got some six miles north of Clinton, and a halt was ordered (ehistory.com 2006).

General Stoneman was embarrassed by his defeat and capture. As a prisoner of war in Macon, Stoneman was allowed to write to General Sherman on August 6th, in which Stoneman explained his actions. Stoneman was later released from Confederate captivity and he went on to launch successful cavalry raids in 1865 in North Carolina. His fumbling attack on Macon and subsequent capture by Confederate General Iverson, however, remain his most memorable action in the Atlanta Campaign. Fort Hawkins is one place where these events, particularly the Confederate's prevention of the destruction of the City of Macon, may be commemorated.

Another Civil War battle took place at Fort Hawkins three and one half months later on November 18, 1864. It involved General Judson Kilpatrick's U.S. Cavalry Division. James Moore (1865:176-178), a U.S. Army Surgeon with the 9th Pennsylvania Cavalry, provided this summary of the second battle at Fort Hawkins:

Kilpatrick left Atlanta November 15th, and, having crossed Flint river, occupied Jonesboro'. It was reported that part of General Wheeler's cavalry, and the Georgia militia, under command of General Cobb, were at Lovejoy Station. The next morning the advance of Wheeler's cavalry was met and repulsed, and he was found in line of battle in the old rebel fortifications thrown up by the army of General Hood, on its retreat from Jonesboro' some time previous. Their works were charged and carried by the troops under Colonel Murray, who recaptured two three-inch rifled guns lost by General Stoneman, killing and wounding a large number of the enemy, and forcing them, in great confusion, to retreat to Bear Creek Station. Here Wheeler attempted

a halt, with the intention of making a stand; but Colonel Atkins having now come up, charged him vigorously with the Tenth Ohio Cavalry, broke his line, and forced him, with the Georgia militia, from the field, till he halted fourteen miles distant, at the town of Griffin. Kilpatrick having got rid of the enemy for the time being, and intent on destroying as much rebel property as possible, and particularly cotton, cotton-gins, and other property of great value to the bogus Confederacy, divided his command, and marched his troops on two roads. Having made a feint as if Forsyth was his object, and assuming that the enemy was deceived, he moved rapidly to Planters' Factory, and crossing the Ocmulgee, reached Clinton on the 17th of November, at which place he learned that part of Wheeler's force had crossed the river near Macon, and now confronted him. Advancing towards Macon, he met and repulsed Wheeler's, cavalry, and driving him across Walnut Creek, assaulted and carried a portion of their works, old Fort Hawkins, about East Macon. The fighting was done by the Tenth Ohio Cavalry and Ninety-second Illinois Mounted Infantry, these regiments having the advance, and the fighting and bravery displayed called forth praise from their leader. The energy and skill of Colonel Atkins, commanding the Second Brigade, are much commended by his chief. The command encamped for the night on the railroad and the road leading from Macon to Milledgeville; Walnut Creek was picketed, and the entire night was spent in destroying the railroad, by a force of one-third the whole command (Moore 1865:176-178).

In a later published history of the Civil War, Moore gave a slightly different rendition of the events in Macon:

Kilpatrick met and repulsed the enemy at Lovejoy Station. Their works were gallantly carried by Colonel Murray, and two guns, previously lost by General Stoneman, were recaptured. The enemy also lost a large number in killed and wounded. Wheeler made another stand at Bear creek, but Colonel Atkins, in a vigorous charge, drove him from the field to Griffin. The cavalry now moved rapidly toward Planter's Factory, and crossing the Ocmulgee on the 17th of November,

reached Clinton. On the advance toward Macon, they encountered and drove Wheeler's cavalry across Walnut creek, and carried Old Fort Hawkins, at East Macon. A large army, defended by breastworks, and with strong artillery, was concentrated in this place. It was not the intention to assault the position, and General Howard, in order to get across the Ocmulgee without a fight, sent the cavalry, by daring and vigorous movements, to alarm the garrison, while he proceeded to Griswoldville, ten miles beyond. Here, he left a part of the Fifteenth corps to protect his rear, and proceeding onward, entered Milledgeville on the 22^d (of November). Meanwhile, the rebel leaders at Macon, furious at being out generalled, made a desperate attack on the forces left at Griswoldville, with three militia infantry brigades, and Wheeler's entire cavalry force; but, in a battle at Griswold Station, they were repulsed (Moore 1875:446).

While archaeological findings suggest that Stoneman's and Kilpatrick's raids left only a sparse archaeological footprint at the Fort Hawkins site, vestiges of the Civil War fortifications exist in East Macon. An 1887 newspaper article mentioned the Confederate defenses against General Stoneman's raid in the Fort Hill Cemetery, "The line of fortifications thrown up by the soldiers, on the sick list during the latter days of the war, ran right through the old cemetery regardless of the sacred character of the soil" (*Atlanta Constitution* 1887b:6).

In early 1865 General James Wilson's U.S. cavalrymen conducted a raid from Selma, Alabama and ending at Macon, Georgia. Wilson's cavalry laid waste to Selma, Montgomery, LaGrange, and Columbus. It reached Macon on April 20, 1865, just as he received word from General Sherman that terms of surrender had been reached with Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston and that hostilities between the two armies were to cease. The first of Wilson's troopers to reach Macon were led by Lieutenant Colonel Frank White, who entered town from the west. Lieutenant Colonel White and the 17th Indiana Volunteers entered Macon without any bloodshed and claimed the Confederate troops and officers there as prisoners. For several weeks General Wilson remained at Macon where it served as the headquarters for the U.S. Cavalry, Army of the Mississippi. During this time hundreds of U.S. troops camped near Macon. Their camps may have extended to include Fort Hawkins.

TWENTIETH CENTURY HISTORY

The first public school in the project vicinity, known as the East Macon School, was established about 1884. The original 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 from 1899 to 1903. In 1903 it was described as a 4-room shack, intended for 160 students (*Macon Telegraph* n.d.). Many people in Macon referred to this as the Fort Hawkins School because it was located in the general neighborhood of the fort.

In 1919, the Bibb County Board of Education solicited bids for the construction of a new school building on the site of the old Fort Hawkins. The cost of the construction was estimated at \$85,000.00 and plans called for, “one of the most modern school buildings in Georgia. It will have nineteen class rooms, in addition to an auditorium, kindergarten, manual training and domestic science departments. It will be two stories high, fronting 204 feet on Fort Hill street and extending back 100 feet. The material to be used will be brick” (*Atlanta Constitution* 1919a:10). The contract for the construction of the school was awarded to W.D. Griffin, of Macon, with a winning bid of \$79,896, which did not include any heating equipment. The complex was downsized slightly to include 18 rooms and an auditorium (*Atlanta Constitution* 1919b:4).

The new Fort Hawkins grammar school was constructed in 1920-1921 at a cost of \$86,000.00. W.D. Griffin was the General Contractor for the school construction and brick for the school was manufactured by the A.T. Small Brick Company. The terrazzo floors for the school were laid by the Central Georgia Mozaic Tile Company. The steam heating and hot water system in the school was installed by the American Heating & Plumbing Company, Macon, Georgia (*Macon Telegraph* 1921b:1, 3, 7). This new school, named the Fort Hawkins School, was constructed directly on top of the ruins of Fort Hawkins. It opened on April 4, 1921 with 506 students. The new school boasted 18 classrooms, a library, a principal’s office and teachers’ rest room. An auditorium was planned for the Fort Hawkins school as early as 1919, but it was not until 1949 that two additional classrooms and an auditorium were added (*Macon Telegraph* n.d.; 1921a, 1922, 1951; Washington Memorial Library, Fort Hawkins school vertical files; *Atlanta Constitution* 1921b:7). The Macon newspaper added, “The lot on which it is built includes over three acres of land and the play ground is one of the largest in the city. The site on which the building is erected is where the foundation of the city of Macon was laid. Where now stands the modern school building, once stood Fort Hawkins” (*Macon Telegraph* 1921a:7). The Fort Hawkins school closed in 1978 and the school

property was purchased by a local Masonic order and that group used the gymnasium as their temple.

The same month that the Fort Hawkins school was opened to students, in April of 1921, the Macon Kiwanis Club announced plans to rebuild Fort Hawkins (*Atlanta Constitution* 1921a: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 land-use history for the quarter of the city block located southeast of the replica blockhouse has not been fully explored. According to a former principal of the school who visited the 2005 excavation project, that area was used by the students at Fort Hawkins school as an unofficial playground. When one student fell and broke a limb, the dangerous slope of this hill was graded using heavy equipment to its modern appearance. The date of that event was not ascertained, although it was likely circa 1950-1965. The ball court and large wading pool, which are now in an abandoned condition, were once part of Dewitt McCrary Park. That city park, which was built with more than \$33,000 in federal funds, was dedicated in December 1933. The features of this park were described in 1933: “An amphitheater with two stages has been constructed. Two tennis courts, a large wading pool, and several other features have been added. Several stone benches were also constructed, and a variety of modern playground equipment has been installed” (*Macon Telegraph* 1933:1).

The historical background of Fort Hawkins detailed throughout this chapter 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. Panoramic views of Macon made in 1887 and 1912, for example, did not include coverage of the Fort Hawkins area (American Memory 2008).

The Sanborn Fire Insurance Company produced a series of detailed maps of urban areas in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This map series is a helpful tool that historians and 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. Unfortunately, the project area was not shown in most of these maps, except for the 1924 edition. The 1924 Sanborn map for East Macon shows the study area (Volume 2, Sheet 317). The building outline of the Fort Hawkins school, from this 1924 map, is reproduced in

EARLY IMAGES OF FORT HAWKINS



Figure 11. Portion of East Macon showing Fort Hawkins Vicinity (Sanborn 1924).

Figure 11 (Sanborn Fire Insurance Company 1884, 1889, 1895, 1908, 1920, 1924).

Macon citizens launched a reconstruction project of Fort Hawkins' Southeast Blockhouse in 1928. That noble 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. Despite their financial troubles the people of Macon were undaunted and in May 1931 an Associated Press news story carried by several U.S. newspapers noted that Fort Hawkins, "is being rebuilt" (*Oakland Tribune* 1931; *Bee* 1931). That fort reconstruction task, while left incomplete, created the basic foundation of the reconstructed blockhouse, which was finally finished 10 years later by the National Park Service. Had it not been for the rebuilt blockhouse, Fort Hawkins may have disappeared from the collective memory of Macon altogether.

The LAMAR Institute identified four 19th century illustrations of the fort. On his first stay in Macon in 1861, Louis Manigault made a watercolor sketch of Fort Hawkins (Figure 12). Details of this watercolor include a single blockhouse. It is a two story log building above a one-story stone basement (mostly above ground). It has rectangular cannon ports that are centered on the two facing sides on the upper story. It has an entrance to the stone basement, which is slightly offset from the center. It has another small entrance, also offset, to the first story, which is accessed by a wooden ramp. Musket port holes are spaced at regular intervals and a total of 10 of these are visible on the upper story and eight are shown on the first story on one facing side. The blockhouse is crowned with a large crow's nest that is topped with a small gabled roof. The land immediately surrounding the blockhouse is shown as nearly level ground and rolling hills are visible in the distance. A man appears in the foreground, which provides a

relative scale. The blockhouse appears to be in relatively good condition based on Manigault's sketch.

An engraving of Fort Hawkins, which was based on a first-hand drawing, appeared in an 1861 book (Barber and Howe 1861:752). From the book information we are able to glean that this engraving was made from a sketch of Fort Hawkins, by either Mr. Barber or Mr. Howe, drawn sometime between 1857 and 1860. They identify their illustration as "a western view of Fort Hawkins". This illustration, shown in Figure 13, reveals some attributes similar to Manigault's sketch but a number of differences and, quite likely, these two illustrations are of two different blockhouses. Barber and Howe's version depicts a two-story log blockhouse above a laid-block basement. A section of palisade wall is shown to the left of the blockhouse. The basement is accessed by a large central door on one side. On the same side a smaller doorway is visible on the upper story, which is offset from the center and has no apparently gangway, stairwell, or ladder access from the outside. On that same side the first story contains 11 musket port holes and the upper story also has 11 port holes (one located to the left of the doorway). The number of musket portholes on the



Figure 12. Fort Hawkins (Manigault 1861:108).



Figure 13. Fort Hawkins (Barber and Howe 1861:752).

Fort Hawkins 2005-2007 Excavations, Daniel T. Elliott, The LAMAR Insitute, 2009

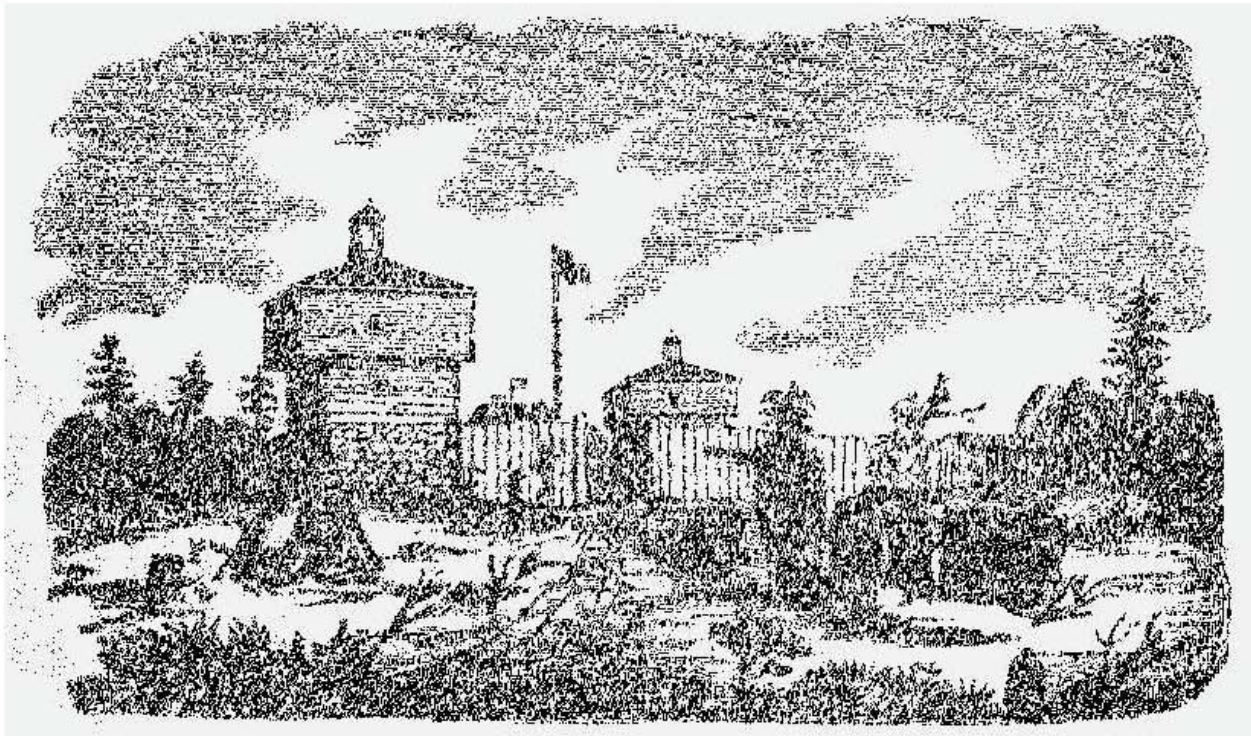


Figure 14. Fort Hawkins (Irvine 1879).

other visible side of the building, which is obscured by the artist's shading, cannot be accurately determined. No cannon port holes are visible on either side in Barber and Howe's perspective. Two people are shown in the foreground for relative scale. Three trees (2 small and one medium sized) flank either side of the blockhouse. The blockhouse is shown to be on nearly level ground and a treelike is visible in the distance to the right of the blockhouse.

A third early sketch of Fort Hawkins was made by Reverend Edward D. Irvine (Figure 14). Irvine's sketch of the fort was made sometime prior to 1879. Irvine was a local resident born in 1856, so he likely did not create his artwork until after the Civil War (Irvine 1879:62). Irvine's view is more fanciful than the two earlier sketches and it was apparently aimed at showing how Fort Hawkins formerly appeared rather than how it looked in Irvine's time. Despite this, Irvine's sketch has many features that may be based on reality. It shows two, two-story blockhouses at diagonal angles, a vertical log stockade, a central flagpole, and a large building with a gabled roof near the center of the compound. It also shows an entrance to the fort on the stockade wall, near one of the blockhouses and a rutted wagon road leads to the fort entrance. It also shows cannon ports on the on the facing sides of the upper stories of both blockhouse and one cannon port on the first story of the nearest blockhouse. These cannon ports are shown as centrally placed along the blockhouse wall. Crow's nests are visible on both blockhouses. Creek Indians are shown camping just

outside the fort wall. Small trees and bushes flank both sides of the fort compound.

An undated pencil sketch of Fort Hawkins was made by another Macon resident sometime in the mid-19th century (Figure 15). This illustration shares many similarities with Irvine's sketch, including the two diagonally opposite blockhouses, vertical log stockade, entrance to the fort on the stockade wall to the right of the near blockhouse (and several roads leading to this entrance), flag pole (offset from the center), and gabled roof two-story building near the center of the compound. This view shows rectangular cannon ports on the center of both stories and on both facing sides of the near blockhouse. It shows cannon ports on both sides (centered) on the far blockhouse. It shows another single-story, gabled roof building just inside the far right corner of the stockade. It details the stockade ending to the left of the near blockhouse at about the same distance out as the entrance on the other side. It shows a tall stone basement with no access points on either side of the near blockhouse. Crow's nests are shown on top of both blockhouses. A Creek Indian camp is shown just outside of the fort compound. Trees are shown in the distance flanking the cleared areas outside of the fort. Fifteen musket ports are shown on the upper story and 12 musket ports are shown on the first story on the facing side of the near blockhouse. The artist's perspective is untrained and distorted in this pencil sketch.

Two early photographs of the blockhouses at Fort Hawkins are known (Figures 16 and 17). One early photograph, shown in Figure 16, depicts the southeastern blockhouse



Figure 15. Fort Hawkins (Thomas n.d.)



Figure 16. Blockhouse at Fort Hawkins (GDAH 1876).

Fort Hawkins 2005-2007 Excavations, Daniel T. Elliott, The LAMAR Institute, 2009



Figure 17. Blockhouse Number 2, Fort Hawkins (Woodall 1902).

in a dilapidated condition. This photograph is identified as dating to September 1876, based on handwriting on the reverse of the photograph (Vanishing Georgia 2006). The LAMAR Institute’s analysis of this photograph confirms that it was taken from the southwest facing northeast toward the blockhouse. This photograph is discussed in greater detail later in this report.

An early 20th century post card photograph depicts the upper story of the southeastern blockhouse at a secondary location in Macon (Woodall 1902). This postcard, which is identified as, “Blockhouse No. 2”, is shown in Figure 17. That relocated blockhouse/barn was reportedly destroyed by fire, sometime in 1903. Two large dressed granite foundation stones were also moved to Macon and may have been associated with this blockhouse. These stones were later returned to Fort Hawkins, where they are stored in the replica blockhouse.

A careful review of the Blockhouse No. 2 photograph shows that it has the following features. On one facing side is a central, rectangular cannon port, which is flanked by six musket ports on the each side. The wall is composed of eleven horizontal logs. On the other facing side a doorway is shown offset from the center. Two people are standing on an exterior stairway, immediately outside this door, which provides a relative scale. A small rectangular hole is visible near the center of the wall, which is considerably smaller than the cannon port on the other side. Above this hole is a row of nine musket ports. The wall consists of 10 notched, vertical logs (one is apparently missing). The entire structure rests on a series of large log vertical pilings. The building is topped with

a crow’s nest, which has been completely covered with clap boards.

Since this building was dismantled and later reconstructed, it is difficult to say with complete confidence where this building was located originally and which two faces of the building are shown in this photograph. Our photo analysis led to the conclusion that we are viewing the eastern and northern sides of the southeastern blockhouse at Fort Hawkins. The western side of the upper story of that blockhouse had only one large opening, a rectangular cannon port, whereas the northern side had a smaller cannon port and a small doorway. This doorway was inside the fort compound, while the small cannon port was probably located immediately outside of the stockade wall. Its smaller size, contrasted with the cannon port aperture on the east wall, may indicate that it was intended for a smaller bore cannon, or a wall gun. The cannon port on the east side probably accommodated one of the six-pounders, or possibly a larger weapon.

Another early 20th century postal card, which was published by Irvine’s Ga. Music House in Macon, Georgia, shows two artist’s views of Fort Hawkins (Figure 18; Irvine n.d.). These are probably Reverend E.D. Irvine’s artwork. The image on the left shows the artist’s conception of Fort Hawkins as it appeared in 1806. The view on the right shows the fort in 1876. The 1876 view is likely derived from the 1876 photograph of the dilapidated southeastern blockhouse. Several later 20th century postal cards of Fort Hawkins are clearly derivative of the card shown here.

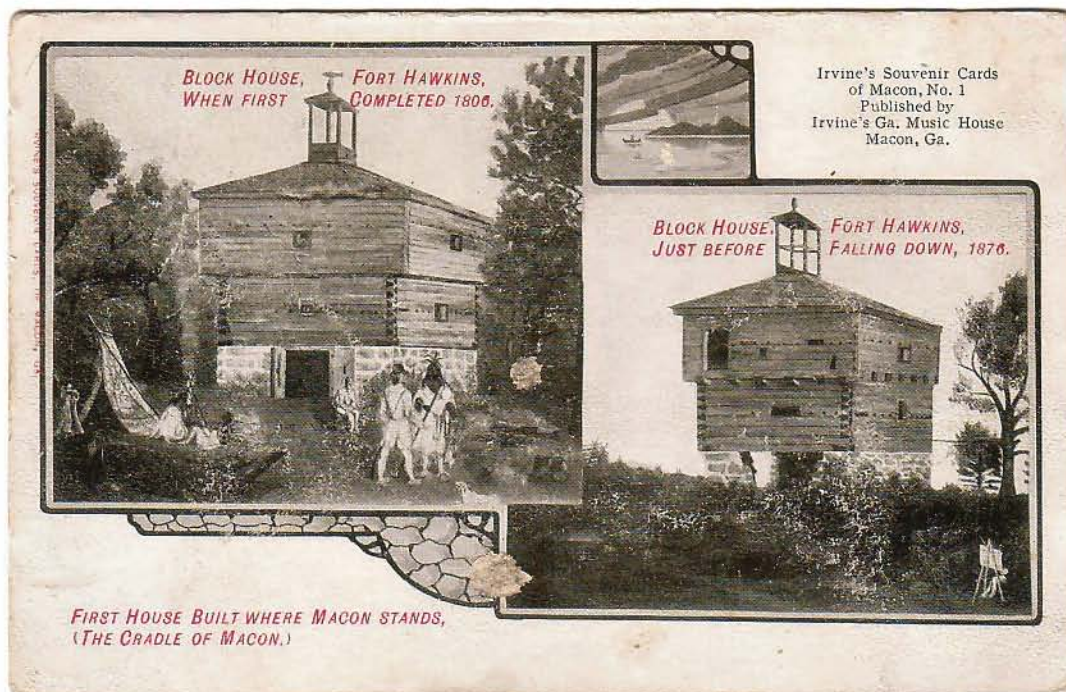


Figure 18. Post Card Showing Two Views of Fort Hawkins (Irvine n.d.)

Another potential line of primary cartographic evidence was formerly 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 1940s. 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).

EARLY DESCRIPTIONS OF FORT HAWKINS

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 describing several U.S. Army garrisons. Davis’ description of Fort Hawkins, although brief, is most informative:

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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).

Reverend Adam Hodgson, a Methodist clergyman, provides us with an early account of Fort Hawkins based on his visit there on March 21, 1820:

We left Milledgeville at eight o’clock on the 21st, and arrived at Fort Hawkins, 32 miles distant, at 4 o’clock in the afternoon. In the course of the day, we passed several settlements, and occasionally our eyes were regaled with a belonging to General [], from his plantation in Georgia, to his settlement on the Cahawba in Alabama. I mention these little occurrences to put you more familiarly in possession of the habits of the country. Fort Hawkins is a small quadrangle of wooden buildings, supposed, during the late war, to be of some importance in intimidating the

Lower Creek Indians, some of whom took part with the British. The whole tract cleared for the fort and a house of entertainment for travellers, is perhaps half a mile square; and from the fort the eye looks down on an unbroken mass of pine woods which lose themselves on every side in the horizon about twenty miles distant. We left Fort Hawkins at seven o'clock on the 22d, having taken care to secure our breakfast, as we knew that we should not see a habitation till we arrived at our evening quarters. About a mile from Fort Hawkins we crossed the Oakmulgee, and entered the Indian nation of the Creeks. The Oakmulgee, in conjunction with the Oconee, forms the Altamaha, and is the last river we crossed which empties itself into the Atlantic, in the course of the day we passed some Indians with their guns and blankets, and several waggons of emigrants from Georgia and Carolina to Alabama. We also saw many gangs of Slaves whom their masters were transporting to Alabama and Mississippi, and met one party returning from New Orleans to Georgia. We were astonished to meet this solitary party going against the stream (Hodgson 1824:113-114; *Christian Observer* 1823:694).

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 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]).

Another Methodist minister, Reverend William Capers, visited Fort Hawkins on his way to the Creek Country in 1821 and recorded these events in his journal for August 29 or 30,

At Fort Hawkins, we stopped to dine,— but a letter from brother Mysick of Clinton, gave me another opportunity to preach. -Messrs. Bullock and Wells, are very kind; and the attention of Capt. Darragh, the United States' officer

here, is quite obliging. I preached in the Block-House that the Captain had fitted up at the request of Moses Matthews, who has preached here. Col. Blount admired the flag that served as a table cloth; and I, the chandelier, made of sticks laid across each other, suspended from the ceiling. Before this, we both had been gratified with seeing the flag used by the 34th Regiment, in the battle of Chippewa (*Methodist Magazine* 1822:232).

Karl Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, visited Macon on December 27, 1825 and he provided a vivid description of early Macon and a brief mention of Fort Hawkins. While Bernhard's remarks on Fort Hawkins are brief, they are nevertheless informative, particularly his statement that the fort was, "at present deserted" in late December 1825. Bernhard wrote,

In the last war, the Indians had collected a number of their people here, and the United States built Fort Hawkins, on the left bank of the river, at present deserted.

In Macon we received a visit from a Colonel Danah, who formerly served in the army, and was now settled here... The town has only three streets, which crossed at right angles. At the point of intersection is a large square, there are houses only on three sides of it; on the fourth side it is contemplated to erect the capitol, if, as it has been proposed, the government should be removed here from Milledgeville. One street runs perpendicular to the line of the river, over which a bridge is intended to be built; the mason work for its support has been completed on both sides. The streets are about one hundred feet wide, the roots of the felled trees are visible in them, of which trees the houses are constructed throughout. The place contains about sixteen hundred inhabitants, white and black... Although the site of the new town is represented as extremely healthy, yet they have suffered during the previous summer from bilious fever. The country around is little built upon, and the woods begin not far behind the houses (Bernhard 1828:22).

On February 12, 1825, the Treaty of Indian Springs was signed by representatives from the U.S. government (Duncan G. Campbell and James Merriwether, Commissioners), the State of Georgia, the Creek Nation, and the Cherokee Nation. This treaty agreement, whose

terms included the removal of the Creeks from all lands east of the Chattahoochee River, except certain reserves, outraged many Creek chiefs and led to the assassination of William McIntosh, Head Chief of Cowetas, and other signatories of the treaty. On January 24, 1826, the Treaty of Indian Springs was nullified by the U.S. Congress, 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 description of Fort Hawkins was included in an 1838 work of prose, entitled "The Soldiers' Mound" by Caroline Gilman (1838:319-320). She 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 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 (Gilman 1838:319-320).

Historian Robert Sears (1876:392) briefly described Fort Hawkins based on observations dating prior to 1851, "...Fort Hawkins shows its remains, consisting of old blockhouses and trenches, while the forests spread far away to the east, and bound the distant horizon." The reference to old blockhouses indicates that at least two blockhouses were standing. The references to trenches is somewhat enigmatic, as it may refer to the palisade ditches, from which the posts had been removed, or it

may refer to additional trench work that is either no longer extant or has not been recognized archaeologically.

Edward A. Pollard, a Virginian author, described Fort Hawkins in a letter to a Northern friend when he visited Macon in 1858, "Near by the city, on a commanding position, stands Fort Hawkins, a rude wooden building, which was constructed as a protection against the Indians; for you must know that Macon was about the frontier of Georgia in 1818" (Pollard 1859:1).

Fort Hawkins was described by historians John Barber and Henry Howe in their American history book, which was published in 1861. In the introductory section of that ambitious work, the authors noted that nearly all of the illustrations of the many places described were made first-hand by one of the two authors. Other introductory notes to their historical work detail that the book contract had begun four years earlier, or in the late 1850s. Barber and Howe's written description provides additional information about the fort in the years immediately prior to the American Civil War:

The following is a western view of Fort Hawkins, upwards of a mile eastward of the court-house in Macon, just out of the corporation limits of the city. The lower story or magazine is built of stone. There are two stories above this, each of which is pierced with thirteen port holes for musketry on each side. It is now the property of Mr. Woolfolk, an aged gentleman of wealth and respectability, whose residence is near by, and who has a number of log houses on his premises, which were formerly used as barracks. Fort Hawkins was built for a protection against the Indians about the years 1805-6, and was a place of considerable importance during the war of 1812 and the subsequent Indian wars. No garrison has been stationed here since 1819, the time of the first settlement of Newtown (now forming part of Macon), on the east bank of the Ocmulgee, three-quarters of a mile from the fort (Barber and Howe 1861:751-752).

While Barber and Howe mention in their book that their writing was based on first-hand observations of the many historic sites, the quoted sentences in Barber and Howe's description for Fort Hawkins are taken verbatim from Reverend George White's earlier account (1854:275-276).

From 1861-1864 Louis Manigault, a surgeon and officer in the C.S.A. Medical Department was stationed twice in Macon. In addition to his watercolor sketch, Manigault

Fort Hawkins 2005-2007 Excavations, Daniel T. Elliott, The LAMAR Institute, 2009

wrote a description of Fort Hawkins in his notebook, probably written in 1864, which is transcribed below (Manigault 1864:108-112):

Fort Hawkins, a sketch of which appears on the opposite page, is situated upon the summit of a range of Hills East of the Ocmulgee River and overlooking the Town of Macon, Georgia, from which it is distant about three miles.

This fort was built about the year 1806 for protection against the hostile Indians, for which purpose its construction seems to have been most admirably adapted. The entire Winter of 1861-62 was spent by myself and family in Macon, having removed to that Interior Town, on account of the then threatening aspect of affairs along our Sea Coast, occasioned by the Confederate War. Fort Hawkins was an object of interest to me, never having beheld a similar structure; the appearance of which depicted forcibly to my imagination the primitive style of structure, also used for the same purpose in Carolina during our early Colonial days.

At a distance this fort presents somewhat the appearance of a Wind-Mill, whose arms have long since crumbled to ruin by the natural decay of Time, whilst from Macon, only the upper half can be discerned, the entire lower portion being concealed from view by lofty intervening trees.

Fort Hawkins is of quadrangular shape, built of hewn timber and plank, resting upon an elevated base of rough stone. The sides of the Fort are pierced at regular intervals for musketry, whilst in the center of each side, an embrasure for a cannon of small caliber is noticed. A singular and rudely constructed 'Look-Out' surmounts the fort, from which a fine view of the fertile Valley of the Ocmulgee is obtained.

Whilst contemplating this view, and recalling to mind the early History of Georgia, it did not astonish me in the least that the Indians, and true Masters of these lands, were by force alone compelled to yield to the White Man their devotedly cherished Ocmulgee Valley, the soil of which is even at the present day as productive as any in Georgia.

Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, after whom this fort is named, was intimately connected with the history of Georgia, and held the appointment of 'Superintendent of Indian Affairs' immediately after the Revolutionary War.

The 'Works' in connection with fort Hawkins were extended, being composed of a series of 'Block-Houses' linked together, and surrounded by a chain of Stockade fencing of heavy timber, looped in every direction for musketry. These however, are rapidly falling to decay. Two of the Log-Houses were occupied by filthy Negroes, whilst a third seemed admirably adapted for the purposes of a stable, and was filled with mules.

Macon is also an interesting locality, on account of the number of very perfect Indian Mounds in its vicinity. During the Autumn of 1864 I again visited Fort Hawkins, but at present under far different circumstances. Since 1861 the fearful War had continued to desolate the Land, until at this period it had assumed so great a magnitude, that hardly a man could be found throughout the Confederacy exempt from Military Duty, or under Government Orders either of one form or another.

I was now a 'Clerk' in the 'Medical Department of the Confederate States,' which appointment was given me on 1st Oct'r 1863, (and fully explained in my Vol. Confederate States in connection with these duties) Our present visit to fort Hawkins being to obtain information from a Captain of a Confederate Battery of Artillery stationed at this Post, and whom we found to be quite an intelligent and well read man from Louisiana.

Macon from its quietude of 1861-'62, was in 1864 a place of great activity, bustle and anxiety, caused from the nearer approach of the two Contending Armies, the great Battle field being now upon the Soil itself of Georgia.

At the Rail-Way Station, with the arrival & departure of each Train, the Scene was exciting and heart-rending. Each Train would be completely blocked up with men from every quarter of the Confederacy, either hastening to the 'Front' with their Regiments, or

brought back Wounded from the field of Battle.____ Having left my Wife and Children in Augusta, Ga. I was at present living in a Tent, which we had 'pitched' on the outskirts of Macon, in the direction of Pineville Road. Here we remained one month.

So as to form some idea of my occupation I should state the following: Surgeon Joseph Jones, a man of intellect, a most indefatigable Student, and voluminous writer, besides being for many years prior to the War, regarded among the Medical Men of this Country, as a superior Chemist &c., held a Special Appointment, under orders of the Secretary of War, and Surgeon General of the Confederate States.

Amongst the manifold and arduous duties assigned Surgeon Jones, and pertaining to his Appointment, was the Classification & elucidation of diseases incident to our Army, both in the Camp and Hospital. It will at once be perceived that to fulfil the requirements of this Order, even to a very moderate degree, would require a vast amount of labor research & investigation, besides having likewise to examine in detail the Records of every Hospital within whose reach Surgeon Jones might come.

My Appointment was that of Chief Assistant under Surgeon Jones, which was Confirmed in due form by the Surgeon General at Richmond, Virginia. For nearly one year I was the only Clerk, after which, and upon the enlargement of our duties, two other Assistants were engaged in these labors, one being a Surgeon in our Army, a German by birth well skilled in drawing from Nature. My duties were arduous, and I have never before (and most probably never will again be exercised thus) executed such an amount of writing and tabulating work....

Macon, at its period of our visit was peculiarly adapted to the object of Surgeon Jones' researches. Ten large Confederate Hospitals were located in and around Macon, filled with Hundreds of Sick & Wounded of the 'Army of Tennessee', affording thus an opportunity for investigating a variety of disease. We obtained in full the entire Records of each of these Hospitals. Our tent life, altho' quite new to me was

of service to my health, after the long confinement in the Office at Augusta, & I recall it to mind with pleasure.... (Manigault 1864:108-112).

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). An 1875 newspaper article provides some information about the Southeastern blockhouse at Fort Hawkins, and its role in the July 4, 1823 celebration,

...The spacious hall where the interesting ceremonies took place was the identical block house now standing on the premises of Mr. Thomas Woolfolk, and was the southeast corner of Fort Hawkins, which was then in good repair. Much credit is due him for preserving this ancient relic of what was then constituted the most important part of Macon. Here, as the [1823] paper says, was delivered an eloquent oration by Chas. J. McDonald, Esq.—then a resident of the barracks—before which was read the Declaration of Independence by Major John P. Booth (*Georgia Weekly Telegraph* 1875).

This newspaper account provides several clues about the ruins and former inhabitants of Fort Hawkins. First, it tells us that the southeast blockhouse was standing as of July 6, 1875, albeit in a dilapidated condition. Secondly, it tells us that the former owner, Thomas Woolfolk, had insured that this blockhouse remain intact as a standing memorial to the area's history. Thirdly, it tells us that one Charles J. McDonald was, or had been, a resident of the barracks at Fort Hawkins. Lastly, it informs us that, while Fort Hawkins played a role in the 1823 Fourth of July celebration in Macon, that role was not affording for the 1860 celebration, which indicates that the importance of Fort Hawkins had faded in the town's collective memory by that time (*Georgia Weekly Telegraph* 1875).

Macon native 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." In 1900 his occupation was listed as, "Historian and Statistician" (Ancestry.com 2008). 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 southeastern 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).

Montgomery M. Folsom (1887:16) provided another description of Fort Hawkins, which contains many of the same elements of Butler's description but also has many unique details:

The hill and all its sides was cleared of the most growth, except a few

spreading oaks that were left inside the stockade for the benefit of the soldiers. Of these but one solitary oak of great age, remains on the summit of the historic hill.

The stockade was formed of hewn timbers fourteen feet long sunk four feet in the red clay and rising ten feet above the surface with post holes in each alternate post. At the southeastern and northwestern angles were two blockhouses with foundations of stone the second story of wood projecting beyond the wall of the basement, so that in case of sudden assault the defenders might fire from the upper story directly down on the heads of the savage foe.

The southeastern fort commanded the approaches from the south and east overlooking the hillslopes, and the great plain of the Ocmulgee fields. The other commanded a sweeping view of the country toward the north and west, among the hills and valleys that marked the breaking away of the hill country.

Inside the stockade, which comprised fourteen acres, and convenient to the soldier's quarters, a well was sunk to a depth of one hundred feet tapping the pure current of these hidden mountain springs, and affording a bountiful supply of water. The well was curbed from bottom to top with rock, and although it has long been unused, it is today, the finest well of water in or about Macon. Eighty years has not affected it in the least, and the water stands today at the same mark it stood when those who dug it completed their labors.

All that is left of the old fort now is the fragmentary outlines of the old wall and the rough gray granite foundations of the two block houses. Only the faintest outlines of the blockhouse at the northwestern angle remain, but the foundations of the one in the southeastern corner are clear and well defined.

The old fort was a place of great importance, but its great strength and unapproachable situation kept the Indians at bay, and they contented themselves in skirmishing around just out of reach of the big guns of the fort.

Finally it was found necessary to construct a line of fortifications from the blockhouses in either direction toward the river. Earthworks were built from the northwestern blockhouse across to the river along the crest of the ridge, and another line was run from the southeastern angle to the high mound on the edge of the Ocmulgee fields. On this mound a small cannon was placed, and thus the Indians were kept clear out of reach of the main fort, where the factory and the trading post were erected (Folsom 1887:16).

The two early photographic images of the southeastern blockhouse (presented earlier), Irvine's (1879) illustration of Fort Hawkins, and Butler's 1879 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) is highly suspect.

Macon newspapers and local citizens lamented the condition of historic Fort Hawkins in 1879 and 1880 and they urged that steps be taken by the State of Georgia or some other entity to save the remaining vestiges of the fort from collapse (*Macon Telegraph and Messenger* 1880a:4; Plane 1879:4). Then, on December 19, 1880, the Macon newspaper announced:

Early yesterday morning people living in the vicinity of old Fort Hawkins discovered that the ancient building had at last tumbled to the ground, and lay in ruins. The heavy rains of the night had completed what the rains of the last six weeks had begun, the foundations had been undermined until at last the weight from above became too great for them, and they yielded. For several years the TELEGRAPH has urged upon the people of Macon the importance, from a historical point of view, of purchasing and protecting this ancient sentinel, beneath whose shadow the city had sprung. Our latest suggestion was that the building be purchased, taken apart carefully and re-erected in the Central City Park. This can yet be done. The timbers of the house are, we learn, sound, and, with the exception of those which were broken in the fall, could be placed in their former position. But that which is intended to be done must be done immediately. A few cold nights will do the work, or rather cause the

work of annihilation to be performed. The thanks of the community are due to Mr. E.D. Irvine, who has painted several fine pictures of the fort and thus preserved at least a semblance of its appearance (*Macon Telegraph and Messenger* 1880b:4).

By 1881, Mr. W. Henry Jones owned the property containing Fort Hawkins. 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 portion of Fort Hawkins this article refers to but it most likely concerns the collapse of the foundation of the southeastern blockhouse or some other remnant elements of the fort, since the local papers had reported the northwestern blockhouse fallen down 11 years earlier. In 1882 and 1883 Reverend Edward D. Irvine petitioned Macon City Council to save the Southeastern blockhouse and move it to Central City Park as a historic landmark. The Council refused his proposal.

M.H. Cutter was another notable 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, C.S.A. in the American Civil War. 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. The death of M.H. Cutter, who was regarded as "Macon's Oldest Citizen" was reported by the Atlanta Constitution on January 1, 1916 (NPS 2008; Ancestry.com 2008; *Atlanta Constitution* 1916:8).

Landowner Henry Jones negotiated with M.H. Cutter to complete the leveling of the structure and the southeastern blockhouse was dismantled in 1883 by Cutter. The lumber from the blockhouse was hauled to a saw mill. The sawed lumber from the blockhouse was then divided between Cutter and Jones. Jones took the top floor of the southeast blockhouse to his residence on 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' 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).

Mr. Jones took his portion of the wood and constructed a barn on his town lot in Macon. 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'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).

H.D. Cutter described the situation after 1883 while 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 turpented [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.).

Despite the efforts of local preservation-minded citizens, Butler, Cutter and Irvine, 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 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..." (Fulton 1887:6).

The Fort Hawkins site was a tempting target for urban development in the late 19th century. A March 1886 Atlanta newspaper reported that the historic site of Fort Hawkins was to be utilized for a water reservoir by the gas and water company. The "Tait Hawkins Hill" of East Macon was chosen for because it was the second highest hill in the Macon area. The newspaper explained, "The purchase of an acre lot, making three acres in all, from W.H. Jones today, completed the negotiations. The purchase was made through Mr. Hodges, of the firm of Sherill & Hodges, and there is no longer any doubt of the location of the reservoir. The plans will probably be made public in a few days" (*Atlanta Constitution* 1886a:6). Although it sounded like a done deal, these reservoir plans were never implemented.

An August 15, 1897 newspaper reported, "A few days ago Ben L. Jones converted the old Fort built in 1806 at Fort Hawkins into a barn" (*Los Angeles Times* 1897). This article indicates that it took the Jones family about 14 years to restore the relocated blockhouse to a usable structure. This barn is probably the same building that was photographed in 1902 and sold as a postal card (Woodall 1902). On February 9, 1903 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 D.A.R. released a report on the discovery of Fort Hawkins (*Atlanta Constitution* 1906:F3).

Bruffey's 1903 version contained some interesting details about the relocated and converted blockhouse, as well as details of its destruction, "An old blockhouse, once a part of Fort Hawkins...was totally destroyed by fire this morning at 2:00 o'clock [February 8, 1903]...when the fire was discovered this morning it was under such headway that it was impossible to extinguish it". Bruffey added, "Some years ago the father of Hon. Ben L. Jones acquired the land upon which the fort stood and in the course of the property descended to Mr. Jones, but before it came from father to son, some twenty-five years ago, the father took down one of the block houses and moved it from the sight [sic] on Fort Hill to his lot, just outside the East Macon line, and transferred it into a barn". Bruffey

also commented, "In reconstructing the building the elder Jones followed the old lines almost to the letter, so that when the block house...had been changed into a barn, the home of the horse and mule, the exterior appearance was unaltered" (Bruffey 1903:2).

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 proclaimed, "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, however, yielded no collections attributed to Fort Hawkins. Mr. M.H. Cutter died on December 31, 1915. A 1909 newspaper proclaimed, "This old frontier post [Fort Hawkins] ...was destroyed in 1897, but its ruins remain" (*Atlanta Constitution* 1909:5).

The Nathaniel Macon Chapter, NSDAR continued Mr. Cutter's efforts. On February 17, 1914 that organization unveiled a marble tablet on the site of Fort Hawkins. The monument dedication attracted several hundred people to the old fort site. The current location of the D.A.R. memorial marble tablet is unknown (Wilcox 1999; *Atlanta Constitution* 1914a:B12, 1914b:3; 1916:8).

Fort Hawkins was further commemorated in May 1914, when Macon celebrated its first annual Georgia Jubilee. These events included, "a historical pageant, depicting the attack and defense of Fort Hawkins on Coleman's hill" (*Atlanta Constitution* 1914c:10). For this reenactment, "a reproduction of old Fort Hawkins has been erected on Coleman's hill, showing the fort as it stood in East Macon one hundred years ago. Several hundred persons will participate, costumes having been secured from a Philadelphia concern". The news article fails to provide historical details about which particular "attack" on Fort Hawkins was being reenacted. Historical accuracy notwithstanding, the results of the reenactment were summed up in a May 21, 1914 article, "The historical pageant showing the attack and defense of Fort Hawkins was the big event of the day, 13,000 people gathering at Coleman's Hill to witness it. The Indian braves, headed by Tecumseh, the settlers and their wives and children, the Indian squaws and papooses and the soldiers were shown in the costume of 100 years ago" (*Atlanta Constitution* 1914d:9).

LIST OF REGIMENTS AT FORT HAWKINS

The history of the U.S. Army during the Fort Hawkins era (1806-1828) is a jigsaw puzzle with many missing pieces. This is typically true for the U.S. 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. Tracing the histories of the regiments at Fort Hawkins is further acerbated by the burning of War Department records in Washington, D.C. by the British in December 1814 (Pitch 1998).

The present researcher is indebted to the previous historical research by Robert Cramer, Dianne Dent Wilcox and others (Wilcox 1999; Cramer 2002, 2004). 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. They included 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. Table 7 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 (1818)

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 and not the original 1st Infantry. The original 1st Infantry Regiment was originally formed along with the 2nd Infantry, when it was constituted in March 1792 (Mahon and Danysh 1972). The original 1st Infantry never served at Fort Hawkins. 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

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	1806-1810	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

Table 7. Troops at Fort Hawkins, 1806-1825, Part I (continued on next page).

Unit	Branch	Dates	At Fort?	Commander/Officer Name	Other Information	Source
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 Dec. 21, 1813	Chartrand p.c. Wilcox 1999
44th Infantry	U.S. Army	1813 to 1815	Yes	Bissell, D., Brig. Gen.		Wilcox 1999
Agent Creek Regiment	Indian Affairs U.S. Army	1806 to 1816 1812-1815	Yes Yes	Hawkins, B., Agent 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	Lockett, 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	Glascoock, 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 7. Troops at Fort Hawkins, 1806-1825, Part I I (continued from previous page).

Fort Hawkins 2005-2007 Excavations, Daniel T. Elliott, The LAMAR Insitute, 2009

consolidated to form the [new] 1st Infantry Regiment (Task Force 2-1(SBCT) 2005).

2nd Infantry Regiment (1806-1808, 1810)

Historical sources and archaeological evidence from the present study firmly place the 2nd Infantry, U.S. Army at Fort Hawkins. One (and possibly two) companies of the 2nd Infantry, commanded by Captain William R. Boote, were charged with the initial construction of Fort Hawkins in 1806. These men represent the initial occupants of the garrison. This regimental history has one of the more important untold stories of Fort Hawkins. We are fortunate that many original records of the 2nd Infantry have survived, unlike the records for many of the other regiments posted at Fort Hawkins. These were papers that were apparently held by the descendants of William R. Boote and later deposited with the National Archives in Washington, D.C.

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).

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, but identified as Nathan Heald, William Laidlie, and John Wilson. 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. 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 2008).

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, Mississippi Territory, where they were to join with Campbell's company and proceed to Natchitoches on the Red River (American Memory 2008). 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.

Captain William Boote's company of the 2nd Infantry Regiment was ordered to New Orleans in December 1808. This was not the final associated date of the 2nd Infantry with Fort Hawkins, however, as Captain Boote commanded the fort in 1810, albeit briefly. In 1810 a detachment of Boote's company was assigned to assist Captain Moore, 3rd Infantry, in constructing the Federal Road from Fort Hawkins westward. Captain Boote would return to Fort Hawkins in the War of 1812 with a different command and position (Ancestry.com 2008).

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. 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. By May 20, 1811, the United States 2nd Infantry Regiment, which consisted of seven companies, was stationed at Fort Stoddert (American Memory 2008; *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser* 1811:3).

Table 8 contains a list of officers in the 2nd Infantry in 1802. Table 9 shows the arrangement by Major General James Wilkinson of the officers in the 2nd Infantry Regiment in December 1806. Table 10 contains a list of officers in the 2nd Infantry in 1813. Table 11 shows the U.S. Military appointments in Georgia in 1812.

The main association of the 2nd Regiment with Fort Hawkins can be bracketed between February 1806 and late December 1808. That service was followed by brief stays in 1810-1811 during the construction of Federal Road. Commanding officers in the 2nd Regiment at Fort Hawkins included William R. Boote and possibly Daniel Bissell.

3rd Infantry Regiment (1809-1815)

The 3rd Infantry of the U.S. Army, which would serve at Fort Hawkins, was formed by Congress in 1808. An earlier configuration, however, of the 3rd Infantry in the U.S. Army did exist, but that unit did not serve at the fort. 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, Adjutant John Horton, and four officers whose rank is not specified, Samuel Lane, Patrick M'Carty, John Saxon,

Officer	Rank	Previous Rank
Butler, Thomas	Colonel	Lieutenant Colonel, 4th Infantry
Cushing, Thomas H.	Lieutenant 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 8. Officers in the 2nd Infantry Regiment, 1802 (*American Memory 2006; ASP, Journal of the Executive Proceedings*).

Captains	1st Lieutenant	2nd Lieutenant	Ensigns
Bowyer	Lawrence	Lockett	
McCall	Graham	Williamson	
Johnston	Clynia	Forster	Hackett
Boote	Armistead	Magnan	Baker
Swaine	Brevost	Sebastian	Clements
Campbell		Peyton	Pemberton
Schuyler	Gaines	Chamberin	
Harris	Piatt	Smoot	Small
Arbuckel	Wilkinson	Russell	Duforest
Brahan	Miller	Sevier	Mead

Table 9. Major General James Wilkinson's Arrangement of Officers in the 2nd Infantry Regiment, New Orleans, December 22, 1806 (*James Wilkinson's Letter Book [LOC]*).

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 Quartermster 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 10. Officers in the 2nd Infantry Regiment, 1813 (*American Memory 2006, American State Papers, Military Affairs, Volume 1:396*).

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	

Table 11. U.S. Military Appointments in Georgia, 1812, Part I (continued on next page) (*American Memory 2006, Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of American, Volume 2:219*).

Names	Rank	Regiment, or Corps	Status in 1813
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 11. U.S. Military Appointments in Georgia, 1812, Part II (continued from previous page) (*American Memory 2006, Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of American, Volume 2:219*).

and Stephen S. Gibbs. 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. A detachment of the 3rd Infantry, commanded by Captain Moore were ordered to Fort Hawkins in 1810, where they were to gather additional soldiers from Captain Boote's 2nd Infantry Company to begin construction of the Federal Road, westward from Fort Hawkins. Colonel Homer Virgil Milton, a Georgian, commanded the 3rd Infantry from 1813-1815 and his headquarters was at New Orleans. In March 1814, Colonel Milton and his men built Fort Decatur in present-day Macon County, Alabama. Captain Philip Cook commanded a company of 73 soldiers from the 3rd Infantry at Fort Hawkins in May and June 1812. Cook's Company of the 3rd Infantry, commanded by General James Wilkinson, participated in the capture of Mobile, Alabama on April 13, 1813. Captain James Edward Dinkins commanded a company of the 3rd Infantry at Fort Hawkins on separate occasions in 1811 and 1812 (Mahon and Danysh 1972; 3rd United States Infantry Regiment 2005; American Memory 2008; Elliott et al. 2002; Ancestry.com 2008).

4th Infantry Regiment (1810-1812, 1815-1816)

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; Ancestry.com 2008; 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 April 1808. In 1815 it was consolidated with five other regiments to form the [new] 5th Infantry Regiment. There was no direct continuity between the [old] 4th Infantry and the [new] 4th Infantry (Company K, Fourth Regiment, United States Infantry 2008).

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. When the regiment was reformed in May and June 1808, it was composed of troops from New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts. The regiment consisted of 10 companies, each consisting of 84 officers and enlisted men. The 4th Infantry participated in General William Henry Harrison's campaign against the Shawnee in 1811. The 4th Infantry served in Canada in the War of 1812, led by General Hull. Hull surrendered his command to the British at the battle of Detroit. Soldiers from the 4th regiment also participated in several major 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 [new] 4th Regiment served under Andrew Jackson in the 1820s (American Memory 2008; Gillet 2006a; Mahon and Danysh 1972; GlobalSecurity.org 2005).

From 1808 until 1810 the 4th Regiment was stationed along the east coast, from Maine to Connecticut. By late

May 1811, eight of the 10 companies were garrisoned at Lazaretto Barracks, south of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. From Lazaretto Barracks the eight companies of the 4th Infantry marched to Pittsburgh in July 1811 and on to Fort Harrison (present-day Indiana) by September 1811. About a month later, led by General Harrison, the 4th U.S. Infantry regiment participated in the famous “Battle of Tippecanoe” (Company K, Fourth Regiment, United States Infantry 2008).

In August of 1812 General Hull surrendered his entire command, including the 4th Infantry at Detroit. The 4th Infantry was essentially ended by this surrender, although many of the soldiers that served in the regiment later reappeared in other military units and continued to fight in the war. General Hull was court martialed, found guilty, sentenced to be shot to death, but President Madison remitted his sentence. Captain Cook’s Company probably participated in Hull’s campaign, since Captain Cook was taken prisoner at Detroit (Company K, Fourth Regiment, United States Infantry 2008).

At least one company of the [old] 4th Infantry was garrisoned at Fort Hawkins from 1810 to 1812, as attested by the enlistment record of Corporal William Carlton. Carlton was in Captain Joel H. Cook’s Company. A review of Captain Cook’s enlistment record includes no mention of any service at Fort Hawkins, although this record does not cover the years, prior to the War of 1812, when Carlton was assigned there with Captain Cook’s company. The two companies that were not present at Lazaretto Barracks in 1811 probably include Captain Joel Cook’s Company, which was at Fort Hawkins, and one other unidentified company, whose post was not determined (Ancestry.com 2008).

An 1866 transcription of a “Roll of company of infantry commanded by Joel Cook” has survived. This muster roll was for the period from September 30, 1811 to November 30, 1811. Cook’s company in that muster roll included: 2nd Lieutenant Josiah Bacon, Sergeants James A. Bennett, Daniel Skelton, Caleb Betts, and Henry Munn; Corporals Nathaniel Heaton and John Anthony. His company also included two musicians, Abigah Bradley and Samuel Thompson and 42 privates (Harmon 2008). Interestingly, William Carlton, who was a private in the company at that time, was not included in this roll. The size of Captain Joel Cook’s Company, based on this muster roll, was 62 men, including the captain. Any service at Fort Hawkins by men of Captain Cook’s company, unless they were a small detachment, would have ended well before August 1812.

Captain George W. Melvin, 4th Infantry, commanded the garrison at Fort Hawkins composed of soldiers from the [new] 4th Infantry. Melvin’s command at the fort began after receiving orders on May 16, 1816. Captain Melvin’s

“Record of Enlistment” noted that Fort Hawkins was the headquarters for the 4th Infantry Regiment at that time. He served at this post, with some interruptions, through February 1817, after which he was on command at Fort Gadsden, Florida (Ancestry.com 2008).

On May 17, 1816, 1st Lieutenant Lewis Yancey was ordered to the headquarters of the 4th Infantry Regiment at Fort Hawkins to fill a vacancy. Apparently he did not arrive at the fort until October 1816 and by November 30th he had tendered his resignation from the Army, which was made official on December 24, 1816. Lewis Yancey had formerly served as a 2nd Lieutenant in the 10th Infantry Regiment from June 1813 to February 15, 1815 but his record of enlistment for that service included no mention of Fort Hawkins (Ancestry.com 2008).

General William King commanded the [new] 4th Infantry at Fort Hawkins in 1815 and 1816. Colonel King and troops from the 4th Infantry also may have been at Fort Hawkins in early 1817 but this is not documented. By late 1817 the 4th Infantry had shifted their headquarters further southwest to Fort Scott, Georgia and in Florida. Colonel King was court martialed and these proceedings were published in the Congressional Record. A few troops from the 4th Infantry were briefly posted at Fort Hawkins in 1818 but the details of their service are few (American Memory 2008).

7th Infantry Regiment (1813-1815; 1821)

The 7th Infantry of the U.S. Army was formed in 1798 and is first associated with Fort Hawkins in 1813. One of its first commanders was Colonel William Russell. 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. Troops from the 7th Infantry, under command of Colonel William R. Boote, were stationed at Fort Hawkins for brief periods between 1813 and 1815. The 7th Infantry Regiment of the U.S. Army was [re]formed in May 1815, as part of a reorganization of the Army Captain John S. Allison’s Company of 7th Infantry was at Fort Hawkins by November 15, 1815 (Powell 1900:78; Elliott et al. 2002; Wilcox 1999; Jones 1999; Ancestry.com 2008).

Troops in the [new] 7th Infantry also saw service at Fort Hawkins (NARA, RG94, 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. 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; Wetterman 1995).

A small detachment of the 7th Infantry, commanded by 1st Lieutenant John S. Hobkirk served at Fort Hawkins in early 1821. The earliest surviving troop returns from that regiment, dated June 1821, lists 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, RG94, Returns from Regular Army Infantry Regiments 1821).

8th Infantry Regiment (1813-1815)

The 8th Infantry of the U.S. Army was formed, along with the 10th and 18th Infantry, into a brigade under command of Major General Thomas 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. It was issued clothing at Fort Hawkins for 262 infantry, 56 riflemen, and 50 artillerymen (NARA, RG107/221/48 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 (NARA, RG107/221/55, 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 2008).

Montgomery Folsom (1887:16) examined an important historical document of the 8th Infantry, which he transcribed in a newspaper article:

‘Abstract of the Eighth Regiment of U.S. Light dragoons, on the 16th of February, 1815.’ It shows in different columns, ruled with a pen, where the companies were located, who in command and the terms of enlistment. The Light Dragoons, under Lieutenant Twepin, Camp Huger, enlisted for five years, 71, during the war, five; total, 76. The Infantry of the Eighth regiment were disposed as follows: Fort Wayne,

Captain Chisholm’s company, enlisted for five years, 92 men. In the army, Worley’s company, five years, 80, during the war, 15; total 95. Farrar’s company, five years, 75, during the war, 22, total, 97. Keitte’s [Keith’s] company, five years, 59, during the war, 35, total 94. Crawford’s company, five years, 50, during the war, 28; eighteen months, 11; total 89. Johnson’s company, five years, 67, during the war, 20; war, 20; total, 87. Hunter’s company, five years, 81, during the war, 10; total, 94. At Fort Hawkins, Major Cook’s company, five years, 53; during the war 8; total, 61. Grand total [illegible] five years, 631; during the war [illegible] 49; eighteen months, 11; total, 791. The indorsement reads: ‘The foregoing is an abstract of the 8th regiment infantry on the 16th day of February, 1815, with a detachment of Light Dragoons, which is forwarded to your office agreeably to instructions of the 12th instant. PHIL. COOK, Major. MAJOR EWING, Commanding (Folsom 1887:16).

From the above document we may conclude that the regular garrison of Fort Hawkins, when it was occupied by the 8th Infantry, prior to February 16, 1815, numbered between 53 and 61. Other historical documents note that Cook commanded 210 soldiers at Fort Hawkins in November 1814 (Wilcox 1999). We may tentatively conclude that Major Philip Cook’s command at Fort Hawkins was a garrison of 53 to 210 soldiers. When the greatest number of 8th Infantry men was present, they probably were formed into two or three companies. The commanders of these companies may have included Captains Matthew I. Keith or Thomas W. Farrar, or 1st Lieutenant John H. Mallory. Service records for enlisted men who served under these three officers are indirect evidence for their presence at Fort Hawkins. The record of enlistment for Ensign John G. Bostwick, 8th Infantry, who served in Captain Farrar’s Company, cites him in the monthly return at Fort Hawkins on April 30, 1815 (Ancestry.com 2008).

10th Infantry Regiment

Troops from the [old] 10th Infantry Regiment may have served at Fort Hawkins during the War of 1812. Little information was located pertaining to history and service of this regiment and nothing was located specifically related to the regiment’s service at Fort Hawkins. The regiment was commanded by Colonel James Welborn in July 1812. The 10th Infantry fought at Plattsburgh in September 1814. The regiment was discontinued when the army was reorganized, in accordance with an Act of

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Congress, approved on March 3, 1815. Several ranking officers who are linked to Fort Hawkins were in this regiment, including Joseph John Clinch, James McDonald, and George Vashon. Other prominent southerners who served in the 10th Infantry in 1812 include Lieutenant Colonel Andrew Pickens, Jr., son of the famous South Carolina militia general (Wilcox 1999; Powell 1900:80; Ancestry.com 2008).

12th Infantry Regiment (1815)

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. The 12th Infantry was combined with other regiments in 1815 to form the [new] 4th Infantry, which was commanded by Colonel William King.

14th Infantry Regiment (1814-1815)

Troops from the 14th Infantry served briefly at Fort Hawkins in 1814-1815. The 14th Infantry was combined with other regiments in 1815 to form the [new] 4th Infantry, which was commanded by Colonel William King. 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 (Wilcox 1999; Ancestry.com 2008).

20th Infantry Regiment (1815)

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 general information of the period. The 12th Infantry was combined with other regiments in 1815 to form the [new] 4th Infantry, which was commanded by Colonel William King.

24th Infantry Regiment (1813, 1815)

The 24th Infantry was assigned for a short period to Fort Hawkins in 1813 during the War of 1812 and shortly thereafter in 1815. The 24th Infantry was organized in Tennessee. Soldiers from the 24th Infantry first came to Fort Hawkins in June 1813, led by Captain Francis Armstrong. Captain Armstrong's Company of 24th Infantry was also garrisoned at Fort Hawkins in December 1815 (Jones 1999; Wilcox 1999).

36th Infantry Regiment (1815)

Troops from the 36th Infantry served for a brief period at Fort Hawkins in 1815. Little information was located pertaining to this regiment and none of it specifically related to the period that the regiment was at Fort Hawkins. Major James E. Dinkins was assigned to that regiment in December 1814 and he may have been in charge of the 36th Infantry at Fort Hawkins for several months. By May 1815 the 36th Infantry was consolidated to form part of the 4th Infantry and they remained under command of Major Dinkins (Heitman 1903:374; Ancestry.com 2008; Jones 1999).

43rd Infantry Regiment (1815)

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, RG107/221/56, 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 (1813-1814)

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. A review of Daniel Bissell's correspondence, service records, and other biographical data failed to place him conclusively at Fort Hawkins. Quite possibly Bissell commanded this post from afar through one of his junior officers. Captain James E. Dinkins is one possibility. Dinkins was promoted to Major in the 44th Infantry in November 1814 and he may have commanded at Fort Hawkins around that time. Shortly thereafter, the 44th Infantry marched to Louisiana and fought in the Battle of New Orleans in December 1814 and January 1815. By October 1815, the 44th Infantry was consolidated with other regiments to form the new 1st Infantry Regiment (Heitman 1903:374; Ancestry.com 2008; Jones 1999).

Regiment of Riflemen (1808-1811)

The Regiment of Riflemen of the U.S. Army was created by Congress in 1808 (Mahon and Danysh 1972:13; Fredriksen 2000). Three additional Rifle Regiments were added to the U.S. Army in 1814. The original Regiment of Rifles was also known as the 1st Rifle Regiment even prior to the creation of the additional regiments. Captain Thomas Adams Smith commanded the Regiment of Riflemen in Georgia, and Fort Hawkins was one of their first duty stations. Captain Smith's riflemen served at Fort Hawkins, with some interruptions, from 1808-1811. The Regiment of Rifles was posted at other locations in

Georgia, including Fort Point Peter and Coleraine, both on the St. Marys River at the U.S./East Florida border.

The Regiment of Rifles was organized into 10 companies and the original captains in August 1808 were Thomas A. Smith, Thomas Anderson, Elijah Craig, John Ragan, Jr., George Washington Sevier, James McDonald, David Findley, Alex S. Walker, Benjamin Forsyth, and Moses Whitney. Original 1st Lieutenants in 1808 included: Thomas Spencer, George Morrison, Abraham A. Massias, Charles Porterfield, Fielder Ridgeway, Michael Hays, Dill Armor, and Nathan Williams. Second Lieutenants in 1808 were: Elzey L. James Matthew Cannan, John Mays, Lodowick Morgan, Edward Rector, Joshua Hamilton, and Lewis Toomer. Ensigns in 1808 included: Elias Stallings, Smith Pepper, Arthur W. Thornton, Francis Stribling, John Stroud, Richard F. Alexander, Agus Langham, and Jonathan Logan (*Public Advertiser* 1808). A search for the enlistment records for all of these officers listed above specifically identified only one officer at Fort Hawkins-- Thomas A. Smith (*Public Advertiser* 1808; Ancestry.com 2008).

Four Georgians received their commissions in the Regiment of Rifles on May 3, 1808. They were Captain Thomas Smith, 1st Lieutenant Thomas Spencer, 2nd Lieutenant Daniel Appling, and Ensign Elias Stallings. Spencer, Appling and Stallings probably represent the junior officers in Captain Smith's company (ASP, Military Affairs, v.1;98; American Memory 2008).

At least two companies of the Regiment of Rifles were most likely garrisoned at Fort Hawkins during Thomas Smith's command. While no troop returns for this unit were located for this period, the number of riflemen under Smith's command, when he was involved in the East Florida campaigns in 1812-1813, was about 220 soldiers. Most U.S. Army companies in that era were composed of under 100 men. These two companies were commanded by Captain Abraham Massias and Lieutenant Daniel Appling and both of these officers probably served with Captain Smith at Fort Hawkins (Cusick 2003:256-257, 75).

Archaeological evidence of the presence of the Regiment of Rifles at Fort Hawkins was widespread. Eighteen 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 1811. Smaller details from this regiment may have been posted at Fort Hawkins after that. Thomas A. Smith and his regiment participated in numerous engagements in the War of 1812, after leaving Fort Hawkins.

1st Rifle Regiment (1814-1815)

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Captain Abraham A. Massias, who was an original officer in the Regiment of Rifles (discussed above), was promoted from 1st Lieutenant to Captain in 1810. Captain Massias and his Rifle Company were posted in coastal Georgia in 1813. From that post Captain Massias sent 2nd Lieutenant Hyam Cohen with a detachment to Fort Hawkins who served there periodically from December 1813 through early February 1815. Although the enlistment records for both Captain Massias and (by that time- 1st) Lieutenant Cohen reveal no specific service at Fort Hawkins, evidence for their presence is inferred from the enlistment record of one of their enlisted men, Private William Jones, whose record firmly places him at Fort Hawkins. Both Captain Massias and Lieutenant Cohen were Jews from South Carolina. For most of the time Captain Massias served in Georgia, his duty station was along the Georgia coast. Captain Massias and his company of riflemen were garrisoned at Fort Point Peter, Georgia when the fort was attacked by the British in January 1815. Massias and his men abandoned the fort, which was burned by the advancing British. Despite overwhelming odds, Captain Massias was able to hinder the British advance to the interior Georgia coastal plain (Ancestry.com 2008; Elzas 1905:144; Heitman 1903:315; Wolf 1895; Hagy 1993:24, 120, 270).

Artillery Regiments (various dates)

While no specific regimental records for U.S. Army artillery regiments were located that provide conclusive proof of their presence at Fort Hawkins, indirect historical evidence places U.S. Artillery detachments there. Several of the commanders of Fort Hawkins were officers in U.S. Artillery regiments. While only a small number of cannon ordnance defended the fort, these weapons would have required artillerymen. Archaeological evidence for the presence of artillery troops at Fort Hawkins consists of numerous buttons associated with artillery regiments, including the 2nd and 3rd Artillery.

Haskin (1879:668) wrote about the early history 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 1st 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 10 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 James Sterret, 1st Regiment of Artillerists and Engineers and Major Decius Wadsworth, 2nd Regiment of Artillerists and Engineers, were promoted in 1800 (American Memory 2008).

The 2nd Artillery, or a detachment thereof, was almost certainly stationed at Fort Hawkins. This assertion is based on the indirect historical evidence and the archaeological evidence, which included several 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 2008). Table 12 contains a list of officers in the 2nd Artillery Regiment in 1813. A preliminary review of the records of enlistment for the officers in the 2nd Artillery, circa 1812-1813, produced no mention of any service at Fort Hawkins (Powell 1900:88-91; American Memory 2008; Ancestry.com 2008).

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. (U.S. Engineers, various dates)

U.S. Engineers (various dates)

A regiment of 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 highly likely. Additional research on the early U.S. Army Artillery regiments (and Engineers) may shed light on their relationship with Fort Hawkins.

Hawkins' Creek Regiment (1814-1815)

Colonel Benjamin Hawkins commanded one regiment of Creek Indians in the U.S. service during the War of 1812. 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. Many writers, both contemporary and modern, refer to these men as "friendly Creeks" but in reality they were officially enrolled as U.S. Army soldiers. No muster lists of the Creek Regiments from the War of 1812 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-tuttle Haujo, and Chiefs Coosaw Micco, Nehau Thlucco, Hi-at-cau Ho-pi-e, Talmas Ematlau, and O-lah-tou Micco. These troops were 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 would suggest these numbers are substantially underestimated, as he indicated that he had raised more than 1,000 Creek troops in the U.S. Service.

Hawkin's Regiment were posted at several locations in the Creek country, but they were no strangers to Fort Hawkins. 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, RG98:64-65).

In January and February 1815, Colonel Hawkins led his Creek Regiment on a major expedition down the Chattahoochee River to attack the Red Sticks, who were concentrated at the Florida-Georgia boundary. Hawkins' men and equipment were loaded in flatboats to travel down the river. Before they reached their goal, however, Colonel Hawkins received the news of peace. Hawkins stopped his expedition and the Creek Regiment returned northward.

Colonel Hawkins wrote from his camp (115 miles up the Chattahoochee River) on February 20, 1815, to Georgia Governor Peter Early, describing the size and location of the British forces, Seminoles, and free blacks, and Red Sticks who were massed in Florida. Hawkins also took the opportunity to complain to the governor about how unequally his Creek U.S. Army troops were treated. Hawkins wrote:

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	
l'on, 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	
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	

Table 12. Officers in the 2nd Artillery Regiment, 1813 (*American Memory 2006, American State Papers, Military Affairs, Volume 1:395*).

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Officer	Rank	Date of Commission	Staff appointments and brevets
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	

Table 12. Officers in the 2nd Artillery Regiment, 1813 (*American Memory 2006, American State Papers, Military Affairs, Volume 1:395*).

Major. [Major] Tinsley having to go to Milledgeville on business of his own I have directed him to call on you, and communicate Virtually the occurrences under his observation since he has been with me as Quartermaster to the Creek Regiment. Colo. Nicolls with 200 troops white and black and as assemblage of 500 Warriors is just below the forks. They have an entrenched post picketed, with one Howitzer and one cohorn. The Indians are mostly from the Simenolies of East Florida, and Okeleyocanne Fowl town and Cheauhau within our limits. They are well supplied with cloths and munitions of War. McQueen and Francis are in Uniform. Every party as they arrive give the War whoop fire their guns and paint for war. The Indians chastised by Jackson are very humble The Colo. [British Colonel Nicholls] is gone down today as he says 'for his supplies to march towards Charleston, where he soon expects to hear of the arrival of Lord Hill, with a powerful force. He is to set free Negros, compell the Americans to restore back the lands to the Indians, and make every thing submit to him as he marches along. He will bring his cannon up the river with him.' He is a great boaster promises any thing and every thing to attach the Indians to his party.

I have not heard [heard] from you since the 19 ult altho' I have written to you weekly. In my letter of the 12th. I apprised you that the President had accepted my resignation of the agency for Indian affairs and Mr. Limbaugh charged with them till a successor is appointed, and there was a possibility only of my being commissioned to

command the Creek Regmt. of course, if General Clark does not come with the expected cooperating force, or a man of skill and abilities, to make the most of the enrolled Indians with a competent white force, your frontiers, towards St. Marys may see some of the boasting of the Colo. [Colonel Nicholls] realized at least find themselves in a perilous situation. I hear 300 men are sent to lounge at the posts which were well guarded by select Indians. I have recd. from Capt. [Peter] Lequex 90 barrels flower [flour] 2 bushels of salt a barrel of pork and 28 bushels of Corn which he calls twenty days rations.

Our Indian boatmen who came with our last supplies having informed our Warriors that 300 white men had taken possession of the posts on the Road. They held a Council last evening and reported to me this morning. 'We were enrolled in public service by order of General Jackson promised soldiers pay and rations, and ordered to take care of this frontier. We had selected some of our best men to garrison the posts, we were promised by Colo. Hawkins and General [John] McIntosh a force of white troops to act with us, and while we were out on duty we hear 300 men have taken possession of the posts, our women and children are there and we will know these men are rude and ungovernable, 'We find we are to have no meat. If white soldiers were with us and would live without it we could and would do it. We hear not of the white force promised us, and why is it these people did not come to help us, and not stop where they have nothing to do?' (Hawkins 1815:1-2).

When Colonel Hawkins died in June 1816 the military command of the friendly Indians passed to Lower Creek chief William McIntosh. Brigadier 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 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.

Unquestionably many Creek and Yuchi soldiers performed heroically in the U.S. Service in the War of 1812 under McIntosh's and Hawkins' 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 several hundred military service records and pension applications on file for many Creek Indians who served in Hawkins' and McIntosh's Creek Regiment. A preliminary search yielded a total of 368 military service records of soldiers in Colonel Hawkins' Regiment. These include: 9 Captains, 10 1st Lieutenants, 11 2nd Lieutenants, 7 3rd Lieutenants, 1 4th Lieutenant, 1 Lieutenant (unspecified), 7 Ensigns, and 321 Privates (Ancestry.com 2008). The ranks of 3rd and 4th Lieutenants are most unusual for U.S. Army regiments and the absence of any non-commissioned officers (Sergeants or Corporals) in Colonel Hawkins' Regiment is also noteworthy. Some of the 368 service records may represent duplicate records for a single individual so the total number of persons represented in this archive is likely somewhat fewer. For example, "Auttos Yowholough" and "Auttosse Yowholough" may represent dual entries for the same person. Others, such as the two entries for "Alle Tick Chee" could possibly represent two individuals with the same name. The Captains of Companies in Hawkins Regiment, based on the War of 1812 Service Record Index, were: George Lovett, Hopoheilthe Haujo, Hopoie Haujo (2 listed), Noble Kinnard, Ocfuskee Yowholough, and Thimpoe Jee Barnard.

McIntosh's Creek Brigade (1818)

Another poorly understood aspect of Fort Hawkins' history is that of William McIntosh's Creek Brigade. The War of 1812 Military Service Record for Major

William McIntosh noted that he was in command of a Creek Company. The present research identified 10 other soldiers in McIntosh's company. He is the same William McIntosh who commanded the Creek Brigade in the 1st Seminole War, discussed below (Ancestry.com 2008; NARA, RG94, M602, Roll 139).

Major William McIntosh commanded several hundred Creek troops in an expedition to Florida in 1816. After Colonel Hawkins' death in June, Major McIntosh assumed command of Hawkins' Creek Regiment. Lieutenant Colonel Duncan L. Clinch, 4th Infantry, wrote a letter from Fort Crawford on August 2, 1816 to Colonel R. Butler, Adjutant General, Division of the South, U.S. Army, in which Clinch gave a summary of the conflict at the Georgia-Florida borders. Before closing, Clinch added, "I must beg leave to recommend to my government the gallant Major McIntosh, Captains Noble, Kanard, George Lovett, Blue, and Lieut. Billy Miller, (all from Coweta), for their distinguished conduct during the whole expedition" (*Daily National Intelligencer* 1819:2).

The details of the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Yuchis in the U.S. Service in the War of 1812 is quite sketchy but better records pertaining to the service of the Creeks have survived from the 1st Seminole War. Towson (1820) summarized the Georgia troops and Indian Warriors that participated in General Jackson's military campaign in the 1st Seminole War, which is summarized in Table 13. Many of these soldiers were familiar with Fort Hawkins, which is where they received their pay.

William McIntosh's Brigade was divided into two regiments, commanded by Colonel George Lovett and Noble Kinnard. Both of these officers had served as Captains in Hawkins' regiment in the War of 1812. A number of the officers and enlisted men who fought with Colonel Hawkins likely also served with Brigadier General McIntosh and were combat veterans of two U.S. wars. McIntosh's brigade was dismissed from the U.S. Army on April 24, 1819.

Very telling documentary proof of the Creek troops' presence at Fort Hawkins survives in the form of a payroll for two 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 19. Captain Nehalockopoye's regiment was mustered in February 1818.

An unattributed handwritten list of Creeks who served in the U.S. Army was located at the Library of Congress, which 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

Captain of Company	Georgia Militia	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		
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		641.24
Bee, U.S. Army		
Paymaster and Clerks		2445.37
Total Georgia Militia		\$53,310.42

Table 13. Georgia Troops and Indian Warriors Engaged in the Seminole War, 1817 and 1818. Part I (continued on next page) (*Adapted from Towson 1820*).

Captains of Indian Warrior Companies			
Captain	No. on payroll	Absent	Payments in 1818
Mad Wolf	37	37	715.68
Hopohoithle 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
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	742.96
Chuckchidineha/Chuckchatdeneha	39	39	602.55
Staff (McIntosh's)			3458.48
Total Indian Warriors			\$30,127.50

Table 13. Georgia Troops and Indian Warriors Engaged in the Seminole War, 1817 and 1818. Part II (continued from previous page) (*Adapted from Towson 1820*).

General; Kendal Lewis, Assistant Commissary; John Winslett, Assistant Commissary; John Porter, Assistant Commissary; and Nimrod Doyle, Assistant Commissary. The other Creek Indian officers identified in this list included: Captains Mad Wolf, Ho-po-huttle 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 Kinnaird, and Chuck-cha-di-neha. This list gives the total troop strength at 21 officers and 121 privates (Anonymous n.d.).

Reverend George White noted an event that occurred at Fort Hawkins involving Creek conduct:

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

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

No.	Names	Rank	Company	Regiment	Pay	Remarks
1	Neallockopoye	Capt.			17.00	
2	Neallockopoye	1st Lieut.			16.00	
3	Neallockopoye	2nd Lieut.			15.00	
4	Neallockopoye	3rd Lieut.			14.00	
5	Neallockopoye	4th Lieut.			13.00	
6	Neallockopoye	5th Lieut.			12.00	
7	Neallockopoye	6th Lieut.			11.00	
8	Neallockopoye	7th Lieut.			10.00	
9	Neallockopoye	8th Lieut.			9.00	
10	Neallockopoye	9th Lieut.			8.00	
11	Neallockopoye	10th Lieut.			7.00	
12	Neallockopoye	11th Lieut.			6.00	
13	Neallockopoye	12th Lieut.			5.00	
14	Neallockopoye	13th Lieut.			4.00	
15	Neallockopoye	14th Lieut.			3.00	
16	Neallockopoye	15th Lieut.			2.00	
17	Neallockopoye	16th Lieut.			1.00	
18	Neallockopoye	17th Lieut.			0.00	
19	Neallockopoye	18th Lieut.			0.00	
20	Neallockopoye	19th Lieut.			0.00	
21	Neallockopoye	20th Lieut.			0.00	
22	Neallockopoye	21st Lieut.			0.00	
23	Neallockopoye	22nd Lieut.			0.00	
24	Neallockopoye	23rd Lieut.			0.00	
25	Neallockopoye	24th Lieut.			0.00	
26	Neallockopoye	25th Lieut.			0.00	
27	Neallockopoye	26th Lieut.			0.00	
28	Neallockopoye	27th Lieut.			0.00	
29	Neallockopoye	28th Lieut.			0.00	
30	Neallockopoye	29th Lieut.			0.00	
31	Neallockopoye	30th Lieut.			0.00	
32	Neallockopoye	31st Lieut.			0.00	
33	Neallockopoye	32nd Lieut.			0.00	
34	Neallockopoye	33rd Lieut.			0.00	
35	Neallockopoye	34th Lieut.			0.00	
36	Neallockopoye	35th Lieut.			0.00	
37	Neallockopoye	36th Lieut.			0.00	
38	Neallockopoye	37th Lieut.			0.00	
39	Neallockopoye	38th Lieut.			0.00	
40	Neallockopoye	39th Lieut.			0.00	
41	Neallockopoye	40th Lieut.			0.00	
42	Neallockopoye	41st Lieut.			0.00	
43	Neallockopoye	42nd Lieut.			0.00	
44	Neallockopoye	43rd Lieut.			0.00	
45	Neallockopoye	44th Lieut.			0.00	
46	Neallockopoye	45th Lieut.			0.00	
47	Neallockopoye	46th Lieut.			0.00	
48	Neallockopoye	47th Lieut.			0.00	
49	Neallockopoye	48th Lieut.			0.00	
50	Neallockopoye	49th Lieut.			0.00	
51	Neallockopoye	50th Lieut.			0.00	
52	Neallockopoye	51st Lieut.			0.00	
53	Neallockopoye	52nd Lieut.			0.00	
54	Neallockopoye	53rd Lieut.			0.00	
55	Neallockopoye	54th Lieut.			0.00	
56	Neallockopoye	55th Lieut.			0.00	
57	Neallockopoye	56th Lieut.			0.00	
58	Neallockopoye	57th Lieut.			0.00	
59	Neallockopoye	58th Lieut.			0.00	
60	Neallockopoye	59th Lieut.			0.00	
61	Neallockopoye	60th Lieut.			0.00	
62	Neallockopoye	61st Lieut.			0.00	
63	Neallockopoye	62nd Lieut.			0.00	
64	Neallockopoye	63rd Lieut.			0.00	
65	Neallockopoye	64th Lieut.			0.00	
66	Neallockopoye	65th Lieut.			0.00	
67	Neallockopoye	66th Lieut.			0.00	
68	Neallockopoye	67th Lieut.			0.00	
69	Neallockopoye	68th Lieut.			0.00	
70	Neallockopoye	69th Lieut.			0.00	
71	Neallockopoye	70th Lieut.			0.00	
72	Neallockopoye	71st Lieut.			0.00	
73	Neallockopoye	72nd Lieut.			0.00	
74	Neallockopoye	73rd Lieut.			0.00	
75	Neallockopoye	74th Lieut.			0.00	
76	Neallockopoye	75th Lieut.			0.00	
77	Neallockopoye	76th Lieut.			0.00	
78	Neallockopoye	77th Lieut.			0.00	
79	Neallockopoye	78th Lieut.			0.00	
80	Neallockopoye	79th Lieut.			0.00	
81	Neallockopoye	80th Lieut.			0.00	
82	Neallockopoye	81st Lieut.			0.00	
83	Neallockopoye	82nd Lieut.			0.00	
84	Neallockopoye	83rd Lieut.			0.00	
85	Neallockopoye	84th Lieut.			0.00	
86	Neallockopoye	85th Lieut.			0.00	
87	Neallockopoye	86th Lieut.			0.00	
88	Neallockopoye	87th Lieut.			0.00	
89	Neallockopoye	88th Lieut.			0.00	
90	Neallockopoye	89th Lieut.			0.00	
91	Neallockopoye	90th Lieut.			0.00	
92	Neallockopoye	91st Lieut.			0.00	
93	Neallockopoye	92nd Lieut.			0.00	
94	Neallockopoye	93rd Lieut.			0.00	
95	Neallockopoye	94th Lieut.			0.00	
96	Neallockopoye	95th Lieut.			0.00	
97	Neallockopoye	96th Lieut.			0.00	
98	Neallockopoye	97th Lieut.			0.00	
99	Neallockopoye	98th Lieut.			0.00	
100	Neallockopoye	99th Lieut.			0.00	
101	Neallockopoye	100th Lieut.			0.00	

I certify that I did pay to the Warriors whose names are inserted in the within by both the names opposite their names respectively the Money Amounting to the Whole to the sum of Seven hundred and thirty two Dollars & twenty two Cents.

1792-22

Neallockopoye Capt.

1800-22

We can certify that we were present and did see Gen. Dand & Co. make a part for Indian Affairs pay to the warriors whose names are inserted in the within for the same amount to their names respectively in money amounting to seven hundred & twenty two Dollars and twenty two Cents.

18th Nov 1811

Robert Hughes Major

Uzra Ruykman

Figure 19. Captain Nehallockopoye’s Company, Creek Regiment, U.S. Infantry Pay Roll at Fort Hawkins (Hughes 1818).

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 (White 1854:417).

the friendly Creeks in the late war with the Seminole Indians, and has on former occasions rendered important services to this country” (*American Beacon and Norfolk & Portsmouth Daily Advertiser* 1819b:3).

Nash Frye, Jr., who was a Chief Clerk in the War Department, provided an account of the troop strength and organization of McIntosh’s Brigade in a February 5, 1819 letter to the Honorable Abner Lacock. It was published in a Massachusetts newspaper on March 8, 1819: “The officers who commanded the detachment of Indians consisted of 1 Brig. General, 2 colonels, 2 lieutenant colonels, 2 majors, 1 assistant adjutant general, 4 assistant commissaries, 28 captains, 28 first lieutenants, 28 2nd do. [lieutenants] and 1517 rank and file” (*The Repertory* 1819:2). By Frye’s account, McIntosh’s Brigade was composed of 1,613 Creek officers and men, as of February 1819.

Morrow (1993) provides an example of information concerning McIntosh’s Creek Brigade, which is contained in Indian Bounty Land Applications in Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (NARA, RG75). An 1859 land bounty application filed by the guardian, Echo Tustunnuggee, for a 12-year old Creek girl named Mary, who was listed as the minor child of Pahose Yahola. Pahose Yahola served in Captain Powis Harjo’s Company of McIntosh’s Creek brigade in the 1818 Seminole war. In this particular case, Pahose Yahola was stationed at Fort Mitchell and may not have seen Fort Hawkins. Other records in this record group may contain important details on the Creeks at Fort Hawkins.

After the hostilities of the 1st Seminole War had ended, Brigadier General William McIntosh and several of his officers including Colonels George Lovett and Samuel Hawkins, Major Emmutie, and Captains Ismudite and Charles Cournels [Cornels] visited Washington. A newspaper article briefly described their trip and it noted, “It will be recollected that Gen. McIntosh commanded

These actual military records, pension applications, and Indian land bounty applications for the soldiers in Hawkins’ and McIntosh’s regiments (and their descendants) were not examined for the present study. These documents remain potential subjects for future research.

Georgia State Militia (1813)

The Georgia militia was closely linked to Fort Hawkins. The Georgia militia was no stranger to lukewarm receptions by U.S. Army regulars. James R. Jenkins, Lieutenant Colonel U.S. Quartermaster General (U.S.Q.M.G.) arrived outside Fort Hawkins on August 23, 1813 with 1,293 men in camp and no one authorized to receive them. Lieutenant Colonel Jenkins 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 experienced problems in the relationship between the Georgia militia under his command and the U.S. Army command at Fort Hawkins. The Georgia militia was not alone in the lack of respect it engendered among full-time soldiers and officers. The Tennessee militia suffered the same lack of respect and authority. John Floyd wrote concerning a disagreement with the Georgia militia leader at Fort Hawkins in a letter to His Excellency David B. Mitchell, "Capt. Philip Cook refuses to inspect the Drafted or Volunteer Militia under my Command . . ." (Hays 1940, v. 3: 252).

The Georgia militia established Fort Hawkins as their command during the Creek War, although most of these troops were garrisoned at Camp Hope, a few miles away. On October 21, 1814, Adjutant General Daniel Newman issued orders to Brigadier General David Blackshear, which included the following:

At Fort Hawkins they will be furnished with provisions by the United States Army Contractor. They will likewise be furnished at the same place with arms and accoutrements; but it would be very desirable that all persons who can furnish themselves with rifles, shot-pouches, &c. to do so, as they might be formed into companies of riflemen after their arrival at the rendezvous (Miler 1858:422).

Hundreds of Georgia militia soldiers and other U.S. and state troops received their discharge from military service at Fort Hawkins in 1815. That mass discharge accounts for the multitude of militia veterans whose service records include reference to Fort Hawkins.

Georgia Dragoons (1813)

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, RG98:43). These

dragoons were a mounted unit and their story bears further investigation.

SUMMARY

As demonstrated by the information presented in this chapter, Fort Hawkins was home to many different regiments, companies and detachments of the U.S. Army, Georgia militia, and others. The regimental history of many of these organizations is sketchy at best. Some of these early regiments are almost entirely unknown, since many of their documents were destroyed by fire in December 1814. The present research was an attempt to pull this information together from various scattered sources and to present a reconstruction, particularly as pertained to their history while at Fort Hawkins. This avenue of research was by no means exhausted. The military units at Fort Hawkins form the very basis of American military history, and this unit history is vital in a proper interpretation of the fort's role in U.S. history.

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.

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS

The commissioned officers of the U.S. Army and the various state militias who served at Fort Hawkins is an impressive “Who’s Who” of American military history. They range from those whose biographies are very well known to some very obscure officers whose lives and service to the U.S. has been reduced to one or two scraps of historical record. Short biographical data on a sample of the officers who served at Fort Hawkins are presented in alphabetical order in the following (Table 14). Particular emphasis is given to their service while at the fort.

John S. Allison, Captain

John S. Allison entered the U.S. Army on January 3, 1812 as a 2nd Lieutenant and was assigned to the 5th Infantry. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on July 6, 1812. He fought courageously in numerous battles in the northern theater. Allison was promoted to Captain in the 5th Infantry on June 25, 1814. He resigned on November 2, 1814 and was furloughed but was recommended in 1815 to be Captain of the [new] 7th Infantry in the Peace Establishment. Captain Allison commanded a Company of the 7th Infantry at Fort Hawkins by November 15, 1815. Captain Allison’s Company remained at Fort Hawkins through April 1816. His direct association with Fort Hawkins probably ended at that time, although at least one officer in his company, Lewis Lawshe, served as Quarter Master at Fort Hawkins in 1819. Captain Allison later served at Fort Marks, Florida and Fort Scott, Georgia. He was in the 7th Infantry as late as June 12, 1820. Allison was brother-in-law to

President Zachary Taylor. In 1847, Captain Allison was living in Louisville, Kentucky (Ancestry.com 2008; American Memory 2008; Rayback 1949:51).

Matthew Arbuckle, Major General

Matthew Arbuckle was a life-long U.S. Army officer with an extensive service record in the 3rd and 7th Infantry Regiments from 1799 to 1851. Both the 3rd and 7th Regiments were posted at Fort Hawkins and he was present at the fort with both of these regiments. He was the son of Captain Matthew Arbuckle and Frances Hunter Arbuckle and was born in 1776 or 1778 in present-day West Virginia. Arbuckle was appointed Ensign in the 3rd Infantry in 1799. He rose in the ranks and was promoted to Captain in 1806. Arbuckle’s 3rd Infantry service included duty at Baton Rouge and “Cutting a road to Georgia since April 1, 1811”, probably referring to the construction of the Federal Road that began at Fort Hawkins and ended at Fort Stoddert. He was promoted to Major in the 3rd Infantry on August 15, 1812. He commanded the 3rd Infantry at Fort Hawkins in 1812. He achieved the rank of Lieutenant Colonel on March 9, 1814. Arbuckle was furloughed in May 1815 and was recommended for the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the 3rd Infantry Peace Establishment. He remained in the Army throughout this period of peace time. Arbuckle was commissioned as Colonel of the 7th Infantry on March 16, 1820 and received his commission as General in 1830 and he continued to serve in the U.S. Army until June 11, 1851. The only specific reference in his enlistment record as being present at Fort Hawkins was in September 1819, when he appeared in the fort’s monthly return. The following month Arbuckle was at Mobile, Alabama. While in the 7th Infantry, Arbuckle commanded a series of garrisons including forts Scott, Smith, Gibson, and possibly Fort Hawkins. Major General Matthew Arbuckle died at Fort Smith, Arkansas in 1851 (Throburn and Holcomb 1908; American Memory 2008; Heitman 1903, v. 1: 94; Ancestry.com 2008; *Georgia Weekly Telegraph* 1876:8).

Francis W. Armstrong, Major

Francis W. Armstrong, a Virginian with a long career of U.S. service, was stationed twice at Fort Hawkins. On March 12, 1812 Armstrong was appointed Captain in Colonel W.P. Anderson’s 24th Infantry, which was formed in Tennessee. He was promoted to Brevet Major on June 26 or 28, 1813, when he was ordered to take command of the 24th and 39th Infantry on a march to Fort Hawkins. By

Name	Rank
<i>Commissioned Officers</i>	
Allison, John S.	Captain
Arbuckle, Matthew	Major General
Armstrong, Francis W.	Major
Barnard, Timpoochee	Captain
Bee, Jr., William	Captain
Bissell, Daniel	Brigadier General
Blackshear, David	Brigadier General, Ga. Militia
Boote, William R.	Colonel and Inspector General
Brearley, David	Colonel
Broadnax, John H.	Major, Ga. Militia
Callis, Otho W.	Captain
Campbell, Duncan G.	U.S. Commissioner
Carr, Henry Alexander	Captain
Carter, Farish	Civilian Contractor
Chisholm, William	Captain
Clinch, Joseph John	Captain
Colson, James	Ensign
Cook, Joel H.	Captain
Cook, Philip	Major
Corbaley, John R.	Captain
Crowell, John	Colonel
Crupper, Micajah	Captain
Cunningham, Robert S.	Captain
Darragh, Archibald	Captain and A.D.Q.M.G.
Darrell, Thomas	Lieutenant
Davis, John M.	Major and Assistant Inspector General
Dinkins, James Edward	Major
Donoho, Saunders	Major
Dyer, Robert	Colonel, Tenn. Militia
Evans, George Washington	Colonel and Quartermaster General, Ga. Militia
Fannin, Abraham B.	Major and Quartermaster General, Georgia
Farrar, Thomas W.	Captain
Floyd, John	Brigadier General, Ga. Militia
Gaines, Edmund Pendleton	Major General
Glascoock, Thomas	Brigadier General, Ga. militia
Graham, Henry R.	Lieutenant
Halsted, Jonathan	U.S. Factor
Hawkins, Benjamin F.	Colonel and Indian Agent
Hawkins, Philemon, IV	Major and Indian Agent
Hobkirk, John B.	1st Lieutenant
Hook, James Harvey	Captain
Hopkins, William D.	1st Lieutenant
Huger, Francis Kinloch	Colonel and Adjutant General
Hughes, Daniel	Major and U.S. Factor
Jack, Patrick	Colonel
Jackson, Andrew	Major General and U.S. President
Jerrison, John	U.S. Postmaster and Innkeeper
Keiser, Christopher	Lieutenant Colonel
Keith, Matthew I.	Captain
King, William	Colonel
Lane, Edmund	Captain and A.D.Q.M.G.

Table 14. Selected Officers, Men and Others at Fort Hawkins, Part I (continued on next page).

Name	Rank
Laval, William	Captain
Lawshe, Lewis Madison	Captain and Quartermaster
Lequex, Peter	Lieutenant and A.D.Q.M.G.
Luckett, John R. Nelson	Lieutenant Colonel
McCall, Hugh	Brevet Major
McDonald, James	Colonel
McDougald, Robert	1st Lieutenant
McIntosh, John	Major General
McIntosh, William	Brigadier General and Creek Chief
Melvin, George W.	Captain
Miller, John	Lieutenant
Mitchell, David Byrdie	Governor and Creek Agent
Moore, Robert B.	Captain
Nehallockopoye	Captain
Nicks, John	General
Pinckney, Thomas	Major General
Pryor, Nathaniel Hale	Captain
Roberts, Moses A.	1st Lieutenant
Russell, Raymond	Lieutenant
Scott, Winfield	Brevet Lieutenant General
Smith, Thomas Adams	Brigadier General
Spotts, Samuel	Major
Twiggs, David Emanuel	Brevet Major General
Vashon, George	Captain
Walton, Hughes	Captain
Wilkinson, James	Brigadier General
Williamson, Thomas	Colonel, Tenn. militia
Wimberly, Ezekiel	Major General, Ga. Militia
Wright, C.	Major and Assistant Adjutant General
Champlain, Samuel	2nd Lieutenant and Deputy Quartermaster General
Ballard, William	Surgeons Mate
Dandridge, William	Surgeons Mate
Dusenbury, Samuel	Surgeons Mate
Ingersol, Stephen M.	Surgeon
Harlow, Southworth	Surgeon
Rawlings, Isaac	Surgeons Mate and U.S. Factor
<i>Non-Commissioned Officers and Enlisted Men</i>	
Adams, Amos	Private
Attaway, Harley	Private
Aaron, Thomas	Private
Baker, Starkes	Artillerist
Beasley, William	Private
Benner, Henry	Private
Braswell, James	Sergeant
Brewer, Isaac	Waggoneer
Brown, Armistead	Sergeant
Carlton, William	Private
Click, Henry Jackson, Sr.	Private
Coon, James	Private
Cooper, Willis	Private
Culverhouse, Charles	Private

Table 14. Selected Officers, Men and Others at Fort Hawkins, Part II, (continued from previous page).

Name	Rank
Elliott, James	Sergeant
Gordon, George	Unknown rank
Harville, Helling	Private
Hightower, Pleasant	Sergeant
Hill, Abraham	Artillerist
Hobbs, John	Private
Holland, Elisha	Private
Jackson, Jonathan M.	Private
Jenkins, Nicholas	Private
Jones, William	Private
Lashlee, Hardy	Private
McDonald, William	Sergeant
Miller, Samuel	Private
Rainwater, John	Private
Selah, William W.	Sergeant
Silvey, John, Sr.	Private and Blacksmith
Silvey, John, Jr.	Private
Shawn, Daniel	Private
Smith, Erwin	Private
Talbert, Washington	Private
Tanner, Thomas	Private
Watts, Charlie	Sergeant
Webb, Darius	Private
Wooten, Randall	Private
Davis, Thomas H.	Unknown rank, Ga. Militia

Table 14. Selected Officers, Men and Others at Fort Hawkins, Part III, (continued from previous page).

August 1813 Armstrong was at Fort Meigs in the Alabama Territory. He later served at Knoxville, Fort Erie, New York, Batavia, Camp Russell, and Fort Montgomery in the Mississippi Territory. When peace was declared Armstrong was offered the rank of Captain in the 7th Infantry. He was honorably discharged on June 15, 1815 but by July 31, 1815 he commanded the 7th Infantry. He resigned from the Army on April 30, 1817. On December 2, 1815 Brevet Major Armstrong was selected to fill a vacancy in the 7th Infantry and to go to the regimental headquarters at Fort Hawkins. On December 31, 1815 he was ordered to Washington to settle his accounts. He remained in Washington for several months but by April 30, 1816 he was on command at New Orleans. His subsequent posts included Fort Montgomery and Nashville, Tennessee. He resigned from the Army on April 30, 1817 but he later served as United States Marshal for the District of Alabama. In March 1831, Armstrong was appointed agent for the Choctaw in Arkansas Territory. He was later Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western Territory until his death at the Choctaw Agency on August 6, 1835 (Heitman 1903:169; Jones 1999; Ancestry.com 2008; Foreman 1927).

Timpooshee Barnard, Captain

Timpooshee (John) Barnard was a Yuchi chief and son of a Yuchi woman and Timothy Barnard, who was of mixed English-Yuchi heritage. The link between the surname Barnard and the Yuchi tribe dates back to the 1740s, when Captain John Barnard, a deerskin trader and colonial Georgia Ranger who commanded at Fort Mount Pleasant on the Savannah River, interacted with a Yuchi town at that place. Captain John Barnard was the son of Sir John Barnard. By the early 19th century Timpooshee Barnard lived in a Yuchi settlement on the lower Flint River in present-day southwestern Georgia. Timpooshee Barnard was commissioned as a Major in Benjamin Hawkins' Creek Regiment. Major Barnard distinguished himself in battle at Atasi and Callabee Creek in present day Alabama. Timpooshee attended the treaty talks at Fort Jackson on August 9, 1814, where he signed the treaty as "Captain of Uchees" (Elliott 1991; 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. Timpooshee Barnard again took up arms as an ally to Major General Andrew

Jackson in the 1st Seminole War. The Barnards had a long alliance with the Euro-Americans, however, and Timpooshee served as a staunch ally. After the 1825 Treaty of Indian Springs, Timpooshee Barnard, who opposed the treaty, was part of a delegation that went to Washington to protest it. While in Washington, Timpooshee 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. In their biographical sketch, McKenney and Hall remarked. ‘He took part in nearly all the battles in the south, during that war, and was twice wounded’ and they also quoted Andrew Jackson who told William Barnard (Timpooshee’s son) upon meeting him, ‘A braver man than your father never lived.’ Timpooshee Barnard retired to his home near Fort Mitchell in Russell County, Alabama, where he died at about aged 58 (McKenney and Hall 1858).

William Bee, Jr., Captain

William Bee, Jr. was from South Carolina and of his life in Carolina before joining the military we know little. He was commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant in the 8th Infantry on May 15, 1812. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on August 14, 1813 where he served as an officer in the 8th Infantry at Fort Hawkins. He was transferred to the 7th Infantry on May 17, 1815 and promoted to Captain in that regiment on April 30, 1817 (American Memory 2008). Several glimpses of Bee’s life surfaced during this research and are recounted below.

At one particular dinner at Fort Hawkins in 1812, Lieutenant Bee had secretly substituted a hound dog named Larry, instead of a black bear cub that guests were told was the entrée served in the officer’s mess. This trickery greatly enraged Major Arbuckle, who commanded the garrison at Fort Hawkins that time (*Georgia Weekly Telegraph* 1876:8).

Lieutenant Bee was involved in a duel with Thomas Pace near Fort Hawkins, according to a Pace family descendant. Pace’s shot wounded Bee in the knee. Lieutenant Bee’s shot reportedly grazed Thomas Pace’s head (Ancestry.com 2008). The date of this event was not recorded.

Lieutenant Bee’s was involved in the court martial of Ensign James Colson at Fort Hawkins in October 1813, which is discussed under Ensign Colson’s biography. Lieutenant Bee was “confined by disease” at the time (NARA, RG98:20). Lieutenant Bee was serving in the 8th Infantry at Fort Hawkins at the time of Colson’s trial.

Lieutenant Bee was in command of the 7th Infantry troops who were garrisoned at Fort Hawkins when Bee wrote a letter from Fort Hawkins to Georgia Governor David Mitchell on May 11, 1816. In the letter he informed the

governor of Indian activity on the Georgia frontier (Bee 1816).

Captain William Bee also served in Georgia during the first Seminole War. He was at Fort Hawkins during this war, although he served under Brevet Colonel David Brearley, who commanded Fort Hawkins at that time. Captain Bee was also stationed at Fort Gadsden, Florida in 1817 and 1818. Bee married Sarah W. Moore on March 11, 1817 in Savannah, Georgia. He resigned from the Army on June 13, 1820. In 1827, Captain Bee and family were living in Savannah, Georgia (Heitman 1903:205; Ancestry.com 2008; Towson 1820; Walton 1890; *Atlanta Constitution* 1887d:4; *Savannah Republican* 1817).

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. Bissell (1768-1833), a native of Hartford, Connecticut, was a veteran of the American Revolution (Bissell 1800-1820). He joined the U.S. Army in 1791. He was appointed Ensign in the 1st Infantry on April 11, 1792. Bissell was assigned to the 1st Sub-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). Daniel Bissell is enumerated in the 1800 Federal Census for Hartford, Connecticut (Ancestry.com 2008). 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 April 1808 and he commanded at Belle Fontaine from 1809 through 1811 (NARA, RG77, M221, Roll 4). From 1809 to 1813 he served as military commander of the upper Louisiana Territory. Daniel Bissell was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel, 1st Infantry on August 18, 1808. 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. 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 2008).

Brigadier General Daniel Bissell led 1,500 American troops in the battle of Cooke’s Mill in Upper Canada on October 20, 1814, where he was celebrated following the American victory. He 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).

Although several historians list Brigadier General Bissell as a commandant at Fort Hawkins, no historical documents were identified by the present research team to corroborate this assertion. If Daniel Bissell was indeed in command of Fort Hawkins, his command may have assumed a remote stance as his physical presence was hundreds of miles to the northwest. Bissell may have commanded a detachment at Fort Hawkins, sometime between 1807-1809, when he was in the 1st Infantry but this remains to be verified. At that time, however, he would have been a lower ranking officer.

David Blackshear, Brigadier General

David Blackshear was a Georgian whose military career began at age 16, when he fought in the American Revolution. He was born in North Carolina in 1764. He later commanded a brigade of the Georgia militia in the Creek War and 1st Seminole War. By 1790 David Blackshear was living in Laurens County, Georgia, as enumerated in the 1830 census for Laurens County. He died there at Springfield plantation on July 4, 1837, aged 74 years. Blackshear commanded a string of militia forts located on the Oconee River, south of Fort Hawkins. He was stationed for a period at the Georgia militia command at Fort Hawkins. On October 21, 1814, Adjutant General Daniel Newman issued orders to Blackshear, which included ordering Blackshear's detachment of Georgia militia to obtain their weapons and accoutrements from Fort Hawkins for the pending campaign. Brigadier General Blackshear wrote from Fort Hawkins on November 23, 1814, by order of Major General John McIntosh (who was ill), to General John Floyd with directions for the troops under his command. Blackshear marched his troops all across Georgia in the final months of the War of 1812. They began by marching towards New Orleans to join up with Andrew Jackson's army, but when British warships threatened the Georgia coast, they were recalled and quickly marched to that region. His men forged a military road from Hartford to the Flint River, and from there to Fort Barrington and to Darien, Georgia, which was known as the Blackshear Military Road. While this road was completed just as the war ended, it was later used by Andrew Jackson's troops on their march from Fort Hawkins to fight the Seminoles in 1818. Vestiges of

the Blackshear Road remain in use today (Ancestry.com 2008; White 1854:510; Miller 1858:422; Smith 2000, v.1:266).

William R. Boote, Colonel

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. The exact date of Boote's entry into military service was not ascertained. William Rowland 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. Boote was transferred to the 2nd Infantry on April 1, 1802. He was an officer of the 2nd Regiment of Infantry in command of the troops at Fort Hawkins from February 1806 until December 1808 (ASP 16, Military Affairs 1:272). In this capacity, Captain Boote directed the fort's initial construction and operation. In December 1808, Boote and his 2nd Infantry Company marched westward to New Orleans and served in that locale for a period of years.

On November 24, 1809, Captain Boote reappears in the historical record as a member of a party of Army officers who stopped in Nashville, Tennessee en route to the Mississippi Territory. By January 29, 1810, Captain Boote was serving as Aide de Camp to Brigadier General Wade Hampton, who was newly appointed to replace General James Wilkinson as District commander of the U.S. Army. Captain Boote's participation as staff officer for Brigadier General Hampton probably meant that most of his time was spent at posts other than Fort Hawkins, although Boote returned to Fort Hawkins on at least one occasion in 1810, as did General Hampton (*Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* 1810:2).

Captain Boote was promoted to Major in the 2nd Infantry on July 6, 1812 and Lieutenant Colonel on December 13, 1813. On July 28, 1813 Boote served as Inspector General for the Sixth Military District, which was mostly headquartered at Camp Point Peter, Georgia. He also held the rank of Colonel Inspector General from April 1813 to June 15, 1815, when he was honorably discharged. In June 1815, Lieutenant Colonel Boote served in the 7th Infantry Regiment and part of that service in the 7th Infantry was back at Fort Hawkins (Heitman 1903, v. 1:230; Ancestry.com 2008; *New Hampshire Patriot* 1815; ASP 16, Military Affairs 1:386; NARA, 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,

Georgia (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 William Boote that we are left with colorful details on the people and events at Fort Hawkins in its early years. Colonel Boote had a long service record in the U.S. Army, including time spent in the 2nd, 3rd, 7th, and 8th Infantry regiments and as the Inspector General for the 6th Military District. Papers of Captain Boote's 2nd Regiment Company were deposited with the NARA in Washington, D.C., 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.

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, replacing Colonel McDonald, who had resigned (*American Beacon and Commercial Diary* 1817; Powell 1900:60).

Colonel David Brearley, 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 accouterments [sic] here suitable for the Infantry" (Telamon Cuyler collection, Box 47, Folder 10).

Brearley's 7th Infantry was based at Fort Gadsden, Florida in 1817 and 1818, although he spent part of this time, as did a number of his subordinates, at Fort Hawkins (Walton 1890). 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. 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 Brearly neglected this task. Brearly had been ordered to construct boats on the Flint River for transporting these provisions to American troops downstream. Brearly was acquitted of the charges and returned to duty under General Gaines on August 18, 1818. Brearly continued to serve in the Army and he resigned on March 16, 1820. Colonel David Brearly died in 1837 (American Memory 2008; ASP, Military Affairs, Volume 2; Heitman 1903: 94, 85, 107; Ancestry.com 2008).

John H. Broadnax, Major

John H. Broadnax served as a Major in the Georgia militia in the U.S. service during the War of 1812. Captain John H. Broadnax, "1st Regt U.S. 2d G.M." placed a newspaper advertisement on January 12, 1813 for the return of Private Jacob Moreland, who deserted from Broadnax's Company at Fort Lawrence on the Flint River on November 19, 1813. Captain Broadnax offered \$10 reward, "to any person that will confine him in Eatonton Jail or deliver him at Fort Hawkins, or to any officer of the army" (*Georgia Journal* 1813). He submitted a report to Georgia Governor Peter Early listing the absentees from his command while serving in the Creek Nation. The report dates to February 17, 1815, after the War of 1812 had concluded. This document may have covered all absentees under Broadnax's charge while serving in the Creek country from 1812 to 1815. Captain Broadnax's Company, 3rd Division (Clark's) Georgia militia was drafted into the U.S. Army by an act of Congress on April 10, 1813. Major Broadnax's report was submitted at Fort Hawkins (Figure 20). In 1820 John H. Broadnax was enumerated in the Federal census for Putnam County, Georgia. He was married to Catherine Boykin Whitaker on July 30, 1812. The Broadnaxes later settled in Troup County, Georgia (Telamon Cuyler collection Box 64, Folder 11; Broadnax 1815; *Georgia Journal* 1813; Ancestry.com 2008).

Charles Bullock, Captain, Post Master, Army Contractor, and Merchant

Charles Bullock (or Bulloch) served as a Captain at Fort Hawkins. Bullock was an Army Contractor at Fort Hawkins in 1818. Bullock also ran a store with Mr. Nicholas Wells at Fort Hawkins in 1820 (Young et al. 1950:44). Bullock also served as Postmaster of Fort Hawkins in 1819. Bullock and Wells were doing business in Macon in 1820, as indicated by surviving examples of paper currency that they issued (Marsh 2005; Gary Doster personal communication, February 9, 2008; American

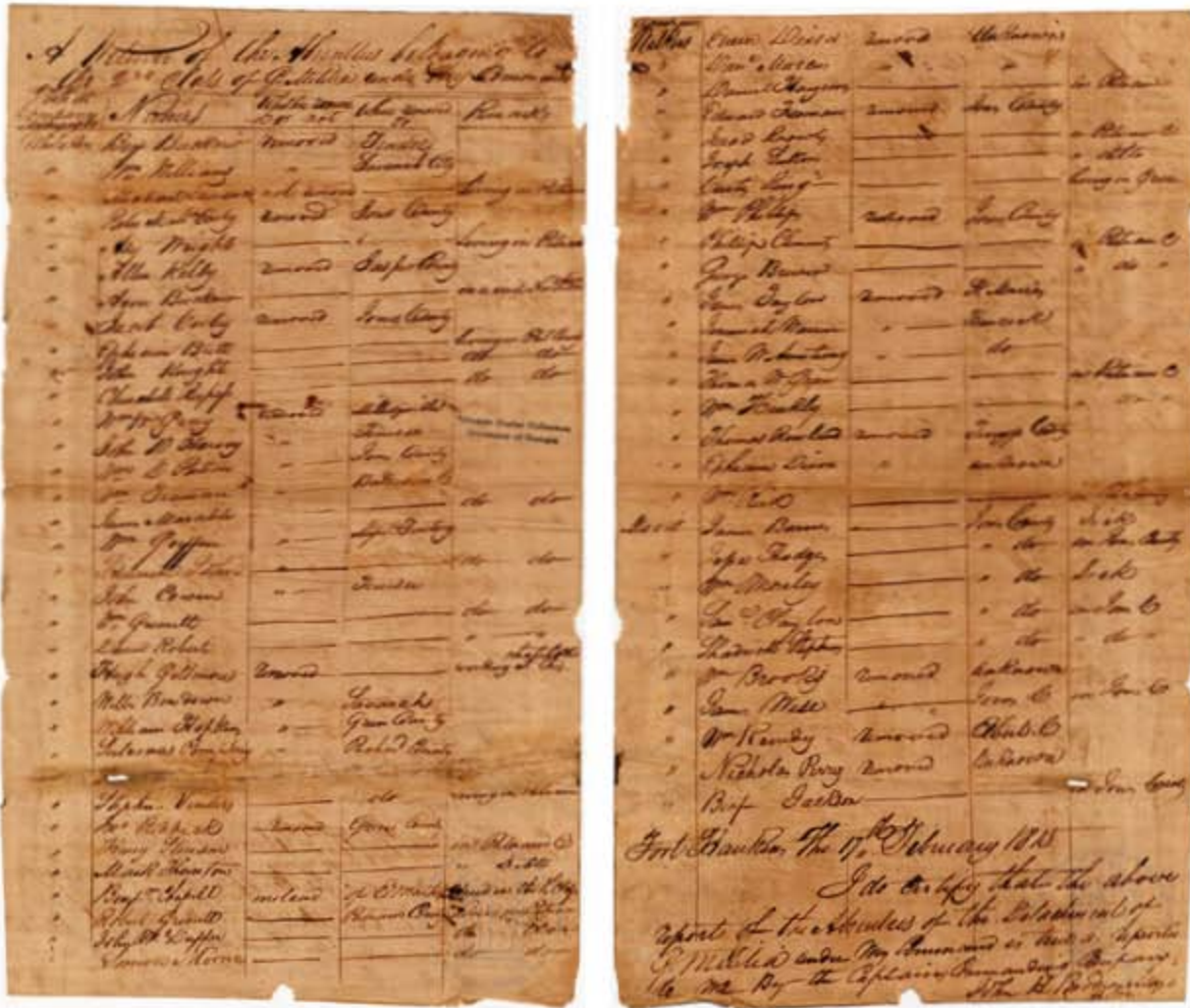


Figure 20. Georgia Militia Absentees Reported by Captain Broadnax (1815).

Numismatic Society 2008a&b). Bullock was at Fort Hawkins when he placed an advertisement for a runaway slave in an Augusta newspaper on May 3, 1823 (*Augusta Chronicle and Georgia Advertiser* 1823b:4). Bullock was living in Macon, Georgia in 1825, where ran a hotel with his business partner Nicholas Wells.

Otho W. Callis, Captain

Otho W. Callis was from Virginia where he was appointed 2nd Lieutenant in the 12th Infantry on May 14, 1812. Callis served as a Lieutenant in the 12th Regiment in Virginia in December 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, replacing Captain Taylor. Captain Callis resigned from the Army on May 31, 1817 and he died on May 13, 1831 (Heitman 1903:275; Ancestry.com 2008; *Farmer's Repository* 1812).

Captain Otho W. Callis acted as contractor's agent at Fort Hawkins in late 1817 and early 1818 during the 1st Seminole War. 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 officers in the 4th Infantry Regiment (Peddy 1980:5). This Mr. Butler was probably William Butler.

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 2008, American State Papers (ASP), 15th Congress, 2nd Session, Military Affairs, Volume 1:694-695). On January 12, 1818, General Gaines wrote from his headquarters at Hartford, Georgia to Captain 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 2008, American State Papers, 15th Congress, 2nd Session, Military Affairs, Volume 1:694).

Captain Callis wrote his reply to General Gaines 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 of 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 Memory 2008, American State Papers, 15th Congress, 2nd Session, Military Affairs, Volume 1:694-695).

Duncan G. Campbell, U.S. Commissioner

Campbell graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1804 (Dialectic Society 1852). Duncan G. Campbell, a U.S. 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 (Telamon 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. Commissioner Campbell was one of two U.S. commissioners who attended the infamous treaty talks at Indian Springs in 1825, which treaty was later rejected by the U.S. Congress. The Creeks' reaction to the 1825 treaty was to murder Chief William McIntosh and several other Creek leaders that had signed it.

Henry Alexander Carr, Lt. 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 Carr 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 rank 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. Carr 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 2008).

The family name Carr has a rich history in colonial and early federal Georgia. Captain Mark Carr commanded a company of Marine Rangers on the lower Georgia coast in the 1740s. Captain Patrick Carr was a key officer in the Georgia battalion at the close of the American Revolution. Carr’s Fort in Wilkes County, Georgia also figured prominently in the battle for the Georgia frontier in the 1770s. In the Creek Wars in Alabama (1813-1814), Paddy Carr was a well-known leader in the Creek Nation. The genealogical relationship between Henry Alexander Carr and the other prominent Carr of early Georgia was not fully explored in the present study. Additional research on Henry Alexander Carr should prove fruitful for interpreting life at Fort Hawkins. Not only was Henry Alexander Carr a military officer, he provided the troops at Fort Hawkins with fresh vegetables, and had a close relationship with Colonel Benjamin 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 on November 24 1780 and he died in Scottsboro, Georgia on June 17, 1861. An 1818 mortuary notice for Carter’s only son, who died at Bonavista plantation, addresses the father as Col. Farish Carter (*Reflector* 1818:3). There is no evidence, however, that Farish Carter was ever commissioned with that rank. Farish Carter was a merchant and planter in Sandersville, Georgia. Farish Carter’s business arrangement with the U.S. Army proved to be quite lucrative and his involvement in provisioning the troops at Fort Hawkins was instrumental in the survival of that military post. Farish Carter served as the Army Contractor at Fort Hawkins in 1814, as the Georgia militia was mustered in readiness for a campaign (*Georgia Journal* 1814c:4; Miller 1858:423).

As late as 1832 the U.S. Congress passed legislation authorizing the relief of Farish Carter by instructing the U.S. Treasury to pay Farish Carter \$1860.00 for 500 bushels of salt. That sum represented, “the difference between the amount paid him, and the current market price” for the salt that Carter furnished, “for the use of the United States’ troops at Fort Hawkins, in December, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen” (U.S. Congress 1832:115).

With the resulting profits from his Army Contracts, Carter bought a plantation in 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,

Georgia alone. Carter’s Quarter, in present-day Murray County, is his better-known plantation. Farish Carter married Eliza McDonald on April 26, 1811. The Carters had six children: Farish (d. 1818), Mary Ann (d. 1844), Catherine (d.1851), James Farish (b. 1821, d. 1866), Samuel McDonald (b. 1826), 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. Carter 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).

William Chisholm, Captain

William Chisholm received his commission as a Captain in the U.S. Army on July 6, 1812. He was first assigned to duty at Camp New Hope. He appears in historical records as being at Savannah, Georgia on December 31, 1813. He commanded a post at Point Peter, Georgia from March 1814 through April 1815. He was assigned to the 7th Infantry (after the 8th Infantry was reduced in May 1815) at Fort Hawkins where he was serving by June 30, 1815. Captain Chisholm served at Fort Hawkins as late as August 23, 1815. In September 1815, Captain Chisholm’s Company was stationed at Camp Huger, Georgia (Ancestry.com 2008).

Joseph John Clinch, Captain

Joseph John Clinch was from North Carolina, where he was appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 10th Infantry on April 22, 1812. Clinch was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on August 15, 1813 and was transferred to the 7th Infantry on May 17, 1815. By December he was at Fort Hawkins. He was promoted to Captain on May 31, 1817 and served at Fort Gadsden, Florida. Clinch resigned from the Army at Fort Scott on October 31, 1820. He died on October 4, 1827 and was buried at Camp Clinch, near Pensacola, Florida (Heitman 1903:310; Ancestry.com 2008; Jones 1999; Walton 1890).

James Colson, Ensign

James Colson was from Georgia where he was appointed an Ensign in the 8th Infantry on July 6, 1812, serving under Colonel Patrick Jack. He was ordered from Charleston to Fort Hawkins on November 11, 1812. In June and July 1813, his name was shown in the troop returns for Point Peter, Georgia, but he was listed as, “absent on detached service at Fort Hawkins”. He was promoted to 3rd Lieutenant on May 5, 1813 and to 2nd Lieutenant on December 2, 1813. Captain Philip Cook presided over 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, RG98: 20). Colson resigned from the Army while at Fort Hawkins on May 1, 1814. James Colson died on January 5, 1815 (Heitman 1903:313; Ancestry.com 2008).

Joel H. Cook, Captain

Joel H. Cook was commissioned as an Ensign in the 3rd Infantry. By March 31, 1809 he was serving as a Captain of Company “K” in the 4th Infantry at Fort Trumbull and in November 1809 at Fort Columbus. His Company was assigned to duty at Fort Hawkins from 1810 to 1812, as indicated by the enlistment record of several of his subordinates, such as Corporal William Carlton. Captain Cook was captured by the British at Detroit, when General Hull surrendered his command, and Cook was made a prisoner of war on August 16, 1812. Cook was exchanged on July 1, 1813. Cook’s enlistment record, while extensive and indicating valiant service in several battles in the northern theatre, does not contain any mention of service at Fort Hawkins. Cook’s enlistment records for 1810, 1811, and January through July 1812 are lacking, which is when he was likely to have been at Fort Hawkins (Ancestry.com 2008). Whether or not Captain Joel Cook was present at Fort Hawkins may remain a mystery.

Philip Cook, Major

Philip Cook was born in South Carolina in 1775, the son of Revolutionary soldier, John Cook, and Martha Pearson. Cook died in Twiggs County, Georgia in 1841 and is buried in Rose Hill Cemetery in Macon, Georgia (National Society United States Daughters of 1812, Major Philip Cook Chapter 2008). Philip Cook received his commission as Captain in the 8th Infantry on March 12, 1812 (Heitman 1903:324; Powell 1900:58). Cook was commandant of Fort Hawkins by May 1812. He was still the commandant there a year later when Benjamin Hawkins wrote to him there on May 31, 1813. On August 15, 1813, Cook was promoted to Major after Major William Cummings was wounded (Telamon Cuyler collection, Box 76, Folder 25; Ancestry.com 2008; National Society United States Daughters of 1812, Major Philip Cook Chapter 2008; Folsom 1887:16).

Philip Cook had a dual role at Fort Hawkins, serving garrison commander of the U.S. troops and as Brigade Commander of the Georgia militia in the War of 1812. 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. Major 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 the Georgia governor hoping for a resolution of this problem. Cook remained in command of Fort Hawkins on February 18, 1814. In November 1814, Major Cook’s garrison at Fort Hawkins was composed of 210 officers and men. These were U.S. Army regulars and not state militia (Hays 1940, v.4:19).

Philip Cook remained in Georgia after his military service in the War of 1812. He served in the U.S. Army until May 17, 1815 (Heitman 1903:96; Ancestry.com 2008). By 1820 he was affiliated with the State Penitentiary in Milledgeville and he remained quite active in the affairs of central Georgia (Hartz et al. 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).

Philip Cook married Martha Wooten. She remarried after her husband’s death and was later known as Martha Cook Winship. Philip Cook’s son, also named Philip, rose to prominence as a Confederate general and a leading 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. Philip and Martha Cook’s daughter, Martha Anne Pearson Cook was born on October 8, 1813 and was reportedly the first white child born at the fort. Martha Anne is buried in the Fort Hill Cemetery. 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 (Wilcox 1999; United States Congress 2006).

John R. Corbaley, Captain

John R. Corbaley was a U.S. Army officer from Maryland. He was appointed a 2nd Lieutenant in the 5th U.S. Infantry Regiment, commanded by Daniel Bissell, on January 3, 1812. Corbaley saw extensive service in the Northern theatre of the War of 1812. He served at Fort George, Upper Canada, Plattsburg, Chippewa, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and the New Jail Barracks (Philadelphia). He was promoted to Captain sometime prior to January 31, 1815, when he filed a monthly return of his company at Philadelphia. The last record of service was on February 15, 1815 when he was reported as present at the New Jail Barracks. Captain Corbaley’s record of service after the War of 1812 is poorly documented, although the service record of one of his subordinates,

Micajah Crupper, places Corbaley as the Captain of Company "K" at Fort Hawkins in December 1816. This may indicate that Captain Corbaley was a commanding officer at Fort Hawkins in 1816, which was previously unknown to researchers. Captain J.R. Corbaly served in the 7th Infantry at Fort Gadsden, Florida in 1817-1818 (Walton 1890). Jonathan R. Corbaley was married to Emerentienne Vincendiere on January 23, 1819 in Frederick County, Maryland (Ancestry.com 2008).

John Crowell, Colonel and Indian Agent

John Crowell was an U.S. Army colonel and Indian Agent who was posted 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 indicated that he had assumed his new position (Peddy 1980:59). Crowell established his Creek Agency in Alabama but Crowell undoubtedly visited Fort Hawkins, or had some dealings with the place, during his career as an army officer and federal agent.

Micajah Crupper, Captain

Micajah Crupper was a U.S. Army officer from Virginia. He was appointed Ensign in the 12th Infantry on March 29, 1813 and promoted to 3rd Lieutenant on September 30, 1813. He served in the Regiment of Rifles at Staunton, Virginia in April and May 1814 and in Wheeling, [West] Virginia from June through August 1814. Micajah was promoted to 2nd Lieutenant in the U.S. Artillery on June 24, 1814. He spent the latter half of 1814 in the Northern theatre at Lake Champlain and other posts, where he likely participated in several battles, and in early 1815 he was reported sick. He was honorably discharged on June 15, 1815 but reinstated on December 2, 1815 (Heitman 1903:342; Ancestry.com 2008).

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 join the regiment at Fort Hawkins. His name appears in the monthly returns of the 7th Infantry at Fort Hawkins for February and March 1816 in Captain R.H. Bell's Company. He was on command in the Creek Nation on February 29, 1816 but possibly was back at Fort Hawkins soon thereafter. He was listed as present in Company "K" on June 30, 1816. He received a furlough on July 21, 1816 but was listed as present on December 31, 1816. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant, 7th Infantry on October 15, 1816. On February 28, 1817, He was transferred from Captain Allison's Company to Captain John R. Corbaley's Company "C" (Heitman 1903:342; Ancestry.com 2008).

Lieutenant Crupper was on command (at Fort Hawkins or Fort Gadsden) in April 1817 through May 1818. From

June 30, 1818 through March 31, 1819 he served as a recruiting officer and most of this service was probably at Fort Hawkins. On March 13, 1819, Lieutenant Micajah Crupper, 7th Infantry, was identified by Daniel Bunch, Aide de Camp, as the commander of Fort Hawkins. In that letter, which was written from Major General Gaines' headquarters at Fernandina, Florida, Bunch discusses the forage situation at Fort Hawkins for Gaines' horse that was stabled at the fort. Crupper was promoted to Captain, 7th Infantry on May 31, 1819 and on that date he was listed as "on command at Fernandina" (Ancestry.com 2008; Walton 1890).

Captain Crupper was soon back at Fort Hawkins, however, when on June 30, 1819 he was listed at Fort Hawkins "in arrest". He was listed on "recruitment service in arrest" in July and August 1819. On September 30, 1819 Captain Crupper was listed in the monthly return and listed at Fort Hawkins. From October 30, 1819 through June 30, 1820 he was assigned duty in the recruitment service, which may also have been at Fort Hawkins. Crupper was ordered to Washington City from September through November 1820. On December 31, 1820, he was with Company "H" at Fort Scott, Georgia, where he probably remained in early 1821. Captain Micajah Crupper was honorably discharged from the U.S. Army on June 1, 1821 (Heitman 1903:342; Ancestry.com 2008; NARA, RG98:201, 301).

Robert S. Cunningham, Captain

Robert S. Cunningham was a U.S. Army officer from South Carolina. He was appointed Captain in the 8th Infantry on March 12, 1812. Captain Cunningham marched his regiment from Bath, Georgia to Fort Hawkins in 1813. Cunningham was listed as "absent in South Carolina" on September 30, 1813. He resigned from the Army on December 2, 1813 (Heitman 1903:345; Powell 1900:58; Ancestry.com 2008; Hay 1940, v.3:188).

Archibald Darragh, Captain and Assistant Deputy Quarter Master General, U.S.A.

Archibald Darragh was appointed a 2nd Lieutenant in the U.S. Artillery on February 27, 1807. Darragh was promoted on January 29, 1811 in the Corps of Engineers, Regiment of Artillerists. 1st Lieutenant Archibald Darragh, U.S. Artillerists, was taken prisoner at Michilimackinaw on July 17, 1812. He was paroled at Detroit on January 21, 1814. After that he served in Pennsylvania and Washington, D.C. He was assigned to the Corps of Artillery as a Captain in Washington. Darragh was listed as present in Washington on February 16, 1815 (American Memory 2008; Ancestry.com 2008).

Captain Darragh continued in the U.S. service after the War of 1812, although no longer as an artillery officer. He was appointed Assistant Deputy Quarter Master General (A.D.Q.M.G.), U.S. Army on April 18, 1818. He reported

Fort Hawkins 2005-2007 Excavations, Daniel T. Elliott, The LAMAR Insitute, 2009

for this duty at Detroit on February 24, 1819, where he was assigned to the command of General Gaines. From there he reported to Amelia Island, Florida for duty. Darragh was given orders on November 1, 1820 to furnish stores at Fort Scott. He was listed as present on November 10, 1820. Although Darragh's record of enlistment makes no mention of service at Fort Hawkins, it was during the period from 1818-1820 that he probably interacted with the garrison at Fort Hawkins in performing his duties as A.D.Q.M.G. (Ancestry.com 2008).

Reverend William Capers, a Methodist minister who visited Fort Hawkins in 1822, made reference to a Captain Darragh. Duke Karl Bernhard, who visited the fort a few years later, mentioned a U.S. Army Colonel Danah (*Methodist Magazine* 1822:232; Bernhard 1828:22). These men are undoubtedly the same as Captain Archibald Darragh. Archibald Darragh was living in Macon, Georgia as late as July 10, 1833 (*Georgia Telegraph* 1833:4).

Thomas Darrell, Lieutenant

Thomas Darrell is identified in an 1887 Macon newspaper article as a Lieutenant who served at Fort Hawkins. No official record of Lieutenant Thomas Darrell was located from preliminary research. In January 1815, two days after the troops in Fort Hawkins received news of General Jackson's victory at New Orleans, Lieutenant Russell engaged in a duel with Lieutenant Thomas Darrell. Their quarrel apparently centered on their vying for the affections of a young woman named Rachel Allen. Darrell was mortally wounded in the duel and he was allegedly buried, "on a hill eastward of the old fort, near the old Federal road". He was last listed in the Fort Hawkins troop report as "not present" (Fulton 1887:6).

John M. Davis, Major and Assistant Inspector General

John M. Davis was a Major and Assistant Inspector General for the Division of the South, U.S. Army. He was appointed as a Major in the U.S. Army on October 1, 1814. He was appointed Assistant Inspector General on General Staff on May 3, 1815. He was assigned to General Macomb at Detroit in August 1815. Major Davis later inspected various companies while based in Nashville, Tennessee. He was posted at Fort Hawkins in May 1818, when he became involved in the "Chehaw Affair". Major Davis received orders at Fort Hawkins on May 17, 1818 from Major General Andrew Jackson to arrest Captain Obed Wright of the Georgia Militia for his role in the massacre at Chehaw Town. Major Davis himself was embroiled in controversy, when he was found guilty in a court martial at Fernandina, Florida on May 15, 1819 of "conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman at Fort Hawkins, Dec. 28/18". His sentence was, "to be suspended from rank, pay and unoburrents [?] for 6 months". Major Davis continued to serve as an

inspector in the Army until December 1820 (Ancestry.com 2008).

James Edward Dinkins, Major

James Edward Dinkins was a U.S. Army officer who served in command at Fort Hawkins on multiple occasions. Dinkins was 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 and placed in command of the 3rd Infantry at Fort Hawkins. He was relieved of command at Fort Hawkins on June 7, 1811. He took command of Captain Houston's Company in October 1811. Captain Dinkins commanded a company of 3rd Infantry at Fort Hawkins on December 22, 1812. Dinkins served at Mount Vernon, Mississippi Territory through 1813 and was at Ft. Claiborne and Alabama Heights in 1814. He was promoted to Major in the 44th Infantry on May 15, 1814. He served at Fort Jackson in August 1814, and at Mobile from August to October 1814. He followed this with service at Fort Montgomery (October 1814), Pensacola (November 1814), and New Orleans (February 12-March 6, 1815). War of 1812 Discharge Certificates for Captain Dinkins's Company, 3rd Infantry are preserved at the NARA, Washington, D.C. but these documents were not researched for this study. Major Dinkins was transferred to the 36th Infantry on November 18, 1814 (Ancestry.com 2008).

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. In February and April 1816 he was a Brigade Major to General Gaines. Dinkins was on recruiting duty from May 31, 1817 to July 31, 1818. On July 30, 1818 Dinkins was transferred from the 2nd Battalion, 4th Infantry to the 1st Light Battalion. On August 27, 1818 he was promoted to Major of the 8th Infantry retroactively from May 8, 1818. He was transferred to the 4th Infantry in Pensacola, Florida on January 27, 1819, and from April through August 1819 he was at Montpelier. He transferred to the 5th Infantry on June 1, 1821, then back to the 4th Infantry on October 24, 1821. In summary, Major Dinkins service record from 1814 to 1821 is most confusing and included many transfers and short-term assignments involving the 4th, 5th and 8th Infantry regiments. He does not appear to have served at Fort Hawkins during that period. Major James Edward Dinkins died on October 6, 1822 (Heitman 1903:374; Ancestry.com 2008; Jones 1999).

Saunders Donoho, Major

Saunders Donoho was a U.S. Army officer who served at Fort Hawkins. He 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. On April 30, 1815 Saunders was proposed for the U.S. Artillery Peace Establishment. He was reinstated on December 2, 1815, when he filled a vacancy at Fort Johnson. On April 30, 1817, Captain Donoho marched with his company to Fort Scott, where he served on command. From January 31, 1818 to April 30, 1818, Captain Donoho was on command in the Creek Nation. He was back at Fort Scott with his company in June and July 1818. On March 31, 1819 he was assigned recruiting duty. He was appointed Captain in the U.S. Corps of Artillery, 1st Battalion on July 6, 1819. He spent most of 1819 in Charleston Harbor and later served at Amelia Island, Florida. Captain Donoho was transferred to the 4th Infantry on January 7, 1820 and was stationed at Montpelier most of that year. He was promoted to the rank of Major by brevet on July 6, 1822 (Heitman 1903:378; Ancestry.com 2008; American Memory 2008; Geneasearch.com 2008).

While no documents place Donoho specifically within Fort Hawkins, he was almost certainly present there and likely garrisoned there for some period of time, possibly when he was assigned as a recruiter. This assertion is indirectly supported by Donoho's presence at other forts in the region, including Point Peter, Fort Scott 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 2008; American Memory 2008).

Robert Dyer, Colonel

Colonel Robert Dyer was a Tennessee militia officer, who 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 2008).

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 Washington Evans, Colonel and Quartermaster General

Colonel George Washington Evans, Quarter Master General, was a Georgia militia officer who served in Floyd's Brigade of Georgia militia near Fort Hawkins during the War of 1812. Evans, who was the son of Isaac Evans of Worcester, Massachusetts, was born in Baltimore, Maryland about 1777 and he lived in Richmond County, Georgia. He married Elizabeth Church in 1803 and they had three children. Elizabeth Church Evans died in 1816 and George Evans died on March 18, 1824 (Hays 1940, v.3:287; Richmond County Administration Book 1777-1830; Ancestry.com 2008).

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

Abraham B. Fannin was a militia officer from Georgia, who also served in the U.S. Army. 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 served as a quartermaster at Fort Hawkins in 1818 during the 1st Seminole War, 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 2008).

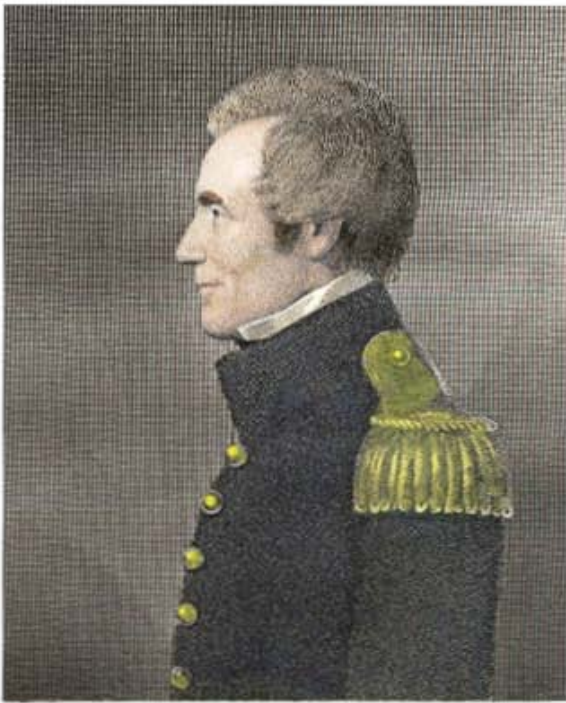


Figure 21. Major General Edmund Pendleton Gaines.

Thomas W. Farrar, Captain

Thomas W. Farrar was commissioned a Captain in the 8th Infantry Regiment on July 6, 1812. His company served under Colonel Patrick Jack. Farrar's Company was at Fort Hawkins on February, April and June 1815 (Ancestry.com 2008).

John Floyd, Brigadier General

John Floyd was a Georgia militia officer who frequented Fort Hawkins. Floyd 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 Georgia militia 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. circa 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 (Figure 21). A native of Virginia, he was commissioned 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. 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. On July 6, 1812 Gaines was commissioned a Lieutenant Colonel in the 24th Infantry. He was promoted to Colonel in the 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. While his correspondence and orders confirm his presence at Fort Hawkins at numerous times after his assignment to command the Eastern Division of the U.S. Army in 1815, his record of enlistment makes no mention of Fort Hawkins (Heitman 1903: 21, 442; American Memory 2008; Silver 1949; Ancestry.com 2008).

Major General 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. On December 14, 1817 General Gaines wrote a letter at Fort Hawkins to the Secretary of War 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 2008, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Volume 2:162; Hays 1939b:902).

On October 13, 1815, Gaines wrote from his headquarters in Augusta, Georgia to Georgia 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 (Telamon Cuyler collection, Box 47, Folder 5).

General Gaines' plan for 2,000 militiamen who were 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 (Telamon Cuyler collection, Box 3, Folder 31).

Thomas Glascock, Brigadier General

Brigadier General Thomas Glascock (or Glasscock) commanded a brigade of Georgia militia in the 2nd Seminole War. Glascock's brigade was headquartered at Fort Hawkins by December 3, 1817. He was born in Augusta, Georgia on October 21, 1790, the son of General Thomas Glascock and Mary Bacon Glascock. Glascock had served as a Captain in Few's 3rd Regiment of Georgia militia in the War of 1812. Glascock presented his troops to Major General Edmund P. Gaines for review at Fort Hawkins on December 14, 1817. Glascock served

in the Georgia militia until at least 1822. He then pursued a career as a politician. Thomas Glascock died in Decatur, Georgia, after being dragged by a horse, on May 19, 1841 (Smith 2000 v.1:294; American Memory 2008, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, Volume 2:162; Hays 1940, v.4:372; Ancestry.com 2008).

Henry R. Graham, Lieutenant

Henry R. Graham was a U.S. Army officer, who likely served at Fort Hawkins. He received an appointment as a 2nd Lieutenant in the 3rd Infantry on February 16, 1801 and he was Captain Boote's second in command. Months before Fort Hawkins began construction, Graham was transferred to Captain Hugh McCall's Company. Graham was ordered on March 26, 1805 to open a recruiting rendezvous at Limestone, Kentucky. By October 1806, however, Graham was present once again in Captain Boote's company. He was furloughed to Kentucky on December 31, 1806. Graham resigned from the 2nd Infantry on January 31, 1808. He was appointed Captain in the U.S. Rifles on March 8, 1809. On October 24, 1809, Graham was ordered to Newport, Kentucky. Lieutenant Henry R. Graham was present at Fort Hawkins at least some of the time it was occupied by the 2nd Infantry and possibly when it was garrisoned by Captain Smith's Regiment of Rifles (Ancestry.com 208).

Jonathan Halsted, Factor

Jonathan Halstead was the first Indian Factor at Fort Hawkins. He 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".

Halsted's Old Fields was located on Lot 75 in the Macon Reserve. Local historian C.C. Harrold noted that archaeological remains that were possibly associated with Halsted were located in the 1930s by the FERA archaeologists under the direction of Dr. A.R. Kelly. Harrold wrote: "Incidentally the large ceremonial mound close to the old Anderson brick yard shows on the original land grant as Halsted Mount. Now in lot 75 close to the council house the present work is uncovering the foundations of a white man's house or fireplace, with many fragments of broken china, and under this

Fort Hawkins 2005-2007 Excavations, Daniel T. Elliott, The LAMAR Insitute, 2009

is an Indian or underground passageway filled with the accumulation of many years” (Harrold 1934: 9K).

Today, Jonathan 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 closely associated with Fort Hawkins from its inception in 1806 until his death on June 6, 1816 (Figure 22). Hawkins was from Bute County [later Warren County], North Carolina. He was born August 15, 1752 (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 lived. 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). 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.



Figure 22. Colonel Benjamin Hawkins.

Philemon Hawkins, IV, Major and Indian Agent

Philemon Hawkins, IV, served at Fort Hawkins in several different roles, as a U.S. Army officer and Indian agent. P. Hawkins, Jr., who was probably the same person, received his Captain’s commission on July 6, 1812 in the 2nd Artillery. He was promoted to Major in the 2nd U.S. Artillery in July 1812. Philemon was from Bute County (later Warren County), North Carolina and a nephew to Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent. Philemon was born June 5, 1789. Philemon Hawkins was listed as the Indian Agent at Fort Hawkins in 1816, for which he was paid a salary of \$500.00 by the U.S. Government. He died on March 22, 1817 at Fort Hawkins (Rootsweb.com 2006b; Peddy 1980; American Memory 2008; Ancestry.com 2008; ASP 38, Miscellaneous v.2:338; Powell 1900:75).

John B. Hobkirk, 1st Lieutenant

John B. 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. He was born in SC in 1794. Hobkirk entered the Army as an Ensign in the 8th Infantry on April 8, 1814, and was promoted to a 3rd Lieutenant on May 1, 1814. He was stationed at Point Peter, Georgia by June 1814 and Camp Jackson [Savannah] in August 1814. Four months later he found himself stationed at Camp Flournoy, Georgia. Hobkirk was in Captain Felix P. Warley’s Company, 8th Infantry in early 1815 but left the service in June 1815 when the regiment disbanded. Hobkirk married Charlotte Bourquin in Savannah, Georgia on May 14, 1816. He re-entered the

Army in the 1st Seminole War and was a 3rd Lieutenant in the Ordnance Department in 1817 and 1818. The latest date linking Hobkirk to Fort Hawkins was March 3, 1821, when he wrote a letter from Fort Hawkins to John C. Calhoun. Lieutenant John B. Hobkirk, 7th Infantry, was dismissed from the service on January 22, 1824. An 1893 newspaper article stated that, "Mr. Harry Burns has some letters written by his wife's grandfather [John B. Hobkirk] when he was in command at Fort Hawkins, East Macon in 1820" (Ancestry.com 2008; Walton 1890; Gordon 1837:276; *Atlanta Constitution* 1893:16; Hemphill 1971, v.5:659).

Hobkirk was a 1st Lieutenant in the 7th Infantry in 1821. On February 17 of that year, 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 Hobkirk's detachment was withdrawn (or had been dissolved) 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, RG94, Returns from Regular Army Infantry Regiments 1821).

James Harvey Hook, Captain

James Harvey Hook commanded a Company of the 4th Infantry at Fort Hawkins. Hook entered the U.S. Army in June 1812 at Washington, D.C. He was appointed Ensign in 5th U.S. Dragoons on April 30, 1812 and was promoted to 2nd Lieutenant on September 1, 1812. He was appointed Captain in the 38th Infantry on May 20, 1813 and he served at Baltimore, Maryland. His later posts included recruiting duty at Alexandria, Virginia, and Piscataway, Maryland. He was transferred to the regimental service on January 1, 1815 and he commanded a company at Fort Covington through August of that year. He was recommended as a Captain of the 4th Infantry upon the Peace Establishment. War of 1812 Discharge Certifications for Captain Hook's Company, 38th Regiment, are preserved at the NARA, Washington, D.C. but these documents were not researched for this study. Captain Hook commanded a company of the [new] 4th Infantry who were stationed at Fort Hawkins in June 1816. He commanded a detachment of 4th Infantry at Point Peter, Georgia in November 1817. Hook continued to in the U.S. Army as late as 1819, when he was posted at Washington, D.C. (Ancestry.com 2008; Van Cleeve 1888 12).

William D. Hopkins, 1st Lieutenant

William D. Hopkins had an unfortunate tour of duty at Fort Hawkins. Hopkins was appointed 2nd Lieutenant in the U.S. Army by Major General Andrew Jackson on March 31, 1818. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on June 19, 1819 and assigned to recruiting service at Fort Gadsden. Hopkins was convicted by a court martial at Fort Hawkins on several charges involving his gambling losses at a gaming table in Savannah. Apparently he had used the U.S. Army's recruiting money for his table stakes. He was dropped from the payroll of the 7th Infantry on September 25, 1819 and cashiered from the U.S. Army on November 30, 1819 (Ancestry.com 2008; *Newburyport Herald* 1819:1).

Francis Kinloch Huger, Colonel and Adjutant General

Francis Kinloch Huger was a prominent U.S. Army staff officer at Fort Hawkins. He 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 2008).

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 served as a Lieutenant Colonel in Major General Pinckney's staff from March 3, 1813 to May 17, 1815. Lieutenant Colonel Huger's headquarters in 1813 were at St. Marys and Camp Point Peter on the Georgia coast. In 1814, Huger moved to Fort Hawkins when it was the Army Command for the 6th and 7th Military Districts (NARA, RG98; Heitman 1903:49; Ancestry.com 2008). Francis Huger participated in many general court martial proceedings that were held at Fort Hawkins. Many of these records are preserved in the U.S. Army Adjutant General papers in Washington, D.C.

A portrait painted by American artist Charles Fraser in 1825, depicts a somewhat older Francis K. Huger than when he was stationed at Fort Hawkins (Figure 23). 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

Daniel Hughes was a U.S. Army officer and Indian Factor at Fort Hawkins. Hughes was from Maryland or Canada and his service in the U.S. Army dates prior to December 1808. He was promoted from 1st Lieutenant to Captain in

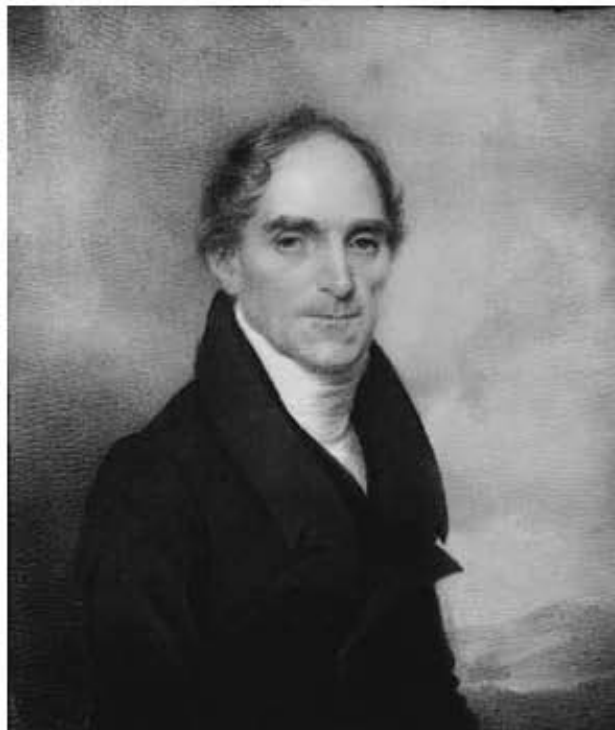


Figure 23. Lieutenant Colonel Francis Kinloch Huger.

the 1st Infantry on December 15, 1808 and later served as Aide de Camp to Major General Wilkinson. Hughes was appointed Major on February 21, 1814 and served in the Army until May 17, 1815. Upon the death of Jonathan Halstead, Major Daniel Hughes was appointed Factor of the Trading Factory at Fort Hawkins in March 1816 and he continued at that job at Fort Mitchell, after the trading factory was moved there in August and September 1816 (Cremer 2004:4; Wilcox 1999; American Memory 2008; Cox 1914: 794-812; Ancestry.com 2008; ASP 38, Miscellaneous v.2:338).

Patrick Jack, Colonel

Patrick Jack was a U.S. Army officer who commanded the 8th Infantry Regiment at Fort Hawkins in 1814 and 1815. Patrick Jack was born in Charlotte, North Carolina on September 27, 1769. Jack entered the U.S. Army prior to 1793 as a Lieutenant in the U.S. Cavalry. Jack married Harriet Spencer in Richmond County, Georgia on January 7, 1797 (Ancestry.com 2008). He was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the Infantry on April 6, 1812 and was assigned to service in Georgia, where he was present by April 22, 1812. He was promoted to Colonel in the 8th Infantry on July 6, 1812. Camp Jack, located near Springfield, Georgia in Effingham County, is an early bivouac camp that was named in his honor.

A large part of this time he spent in the recruiting service, although he was listed as a prisoner of war and ordered to Savannah on February 27, 1814. The details of his capture were not revealed. Colonel Jack was in Savannah in February 1815 but he prepared the monthly report at Fort Hawkins on April 30, 1815. He continued to serve in the Army until May 17, 1815 (Hays 1940, v.4: 165; American Memory 2008; Wilcox 1999; Heitman 1903:96; Ancestry.com 2008). Patrick Jack was enumerated in the 1820 Federal Census for Captain Oliver's District, Elbert County, Georgia, which indicates that he had left the military by that time. Colonel Patrick Jack died at his plantation in Elbert County on January 25, 1821 (Ancestry.com 2008).

Andrew Jackson, Major General and President

Andrew Jackson is probably the best known U.S. Army officer to visit Fort Hawkins. Jackson is a icon 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. 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).

Andrew Jackson 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 and he was appointed Brigadier General in the U.S. Army on April 19, 1814. He held that rank until May 1, 1814, when he was promoted to Major General after a string of victories over the Creeks in Alabama (Heitman 1903: 15, 20-21; Ancestry.com 2008).

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. He spent most of his time in the War of 1812 in Tennessee and Alabama. No historical evidence was located that places Jackson at Fort Hawkins during the War of 1812, although it is possible that he visited the place. 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 was 46 at the time of that battle.

Major General Andrew Jackson visited Fort Hawkins from February 9-13, 1818, while enroute to engage the Seminoles who threatened the U.S. troops at Fort Scott (Benton 1858:289). Jackson and his Tennessee mounted militia spent less than four days at Fort Hawkins before leaving for Hartford, Georgia. General Jackson was outraged 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 Breaury, who was the commander of Fort Hawkins at that time. Jackson wrote a letter from Fort Hawkins, dated January 10, 1818, to Secretary of War John C. Calhoun:

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 2008).

Numerous portraits and illustrations of Andrew Jackson exist, but precious few 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. James B. Longacre's portrait engraving of Jackson with his horse (Figure 24), made from a painting by Thomas Sully, 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.

John Jerrison, Postmaster and Innkeeper

John Jerrison was the U.S. Postmaster at Fort Hawkins. Jerrison served in John Floyd's brigade of Georgia militia as the Principal Forage Master in the War of 1812. 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 (Chalker 1970:81). John Jerrison was the Postmaster at Fort Hawkins in 1816, for which he was paid a salary of \$131.52. By 1824, Jerrison had acquired land in Escambia County, Florida and probably had moved to Pensacola where he was living in the 1840s and 1850s (ASP 38, Miscellaneous, v. 2:364; Blue Book Register 1816; Ancestry.com 2008).

Christopher Keiser, Captain

Christopher Keiser was a U.S. Army officer at Fort Hawkins who apparently died while serving at the fort. Keiser (various spellings) entered the U.S. Army as a 1st Lieutenant on August 6, 1813 in the Ordnance Corps or



Figure 24. Major General Andrew Jackson.

as a General Staff officer. In June and December 1814, he was stationed at Charleston, S.C. Keiser served as the Deputy Commissary of Ordinance for the 6th Brigade District in December 1814 and September 1815 (Hays 1940, v. 4:292; Ancestry.com 2008). Christopher Keiser was listed as a 1st Lieutenant in the Ordnance Department in 1817 and 1818 (Walton 1890). Wilcox noted that Lieutenant Colonel Keiser was acting Deputy Quarter Master General at Fort Hawkins from January 11, 1818 through August 1819 (Wilcox 1999). Keiser was placed in command of Fort Hawkins by Major General Gaines in 1818. Thomas S. Woodward provides some historical information on Keiser, "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]). To corroborate Woodward's folksy tale, an obituary for Captain appeared in a November 5, 1819 Rhode Island newspaper, which simply stated, "[Died] At Fort Hawkins, Captain C. Keiser, of the United States' army" (*Rhode-Island American, and General Advertiser* 1819:1).

Matthew I. Keith, Captain

Matthew I. Keith was commissioned as a Captain in the 8th Infantry Regiment on July 6, 1812. He served under command of Colonel Patrick Jack. Captain Keith's Company saw duty at Fort Hawkins in April and June 1813 (Ancestry.com 2008).

Chapter 5. The People At Fort Hawkins

William King, Colonel

William King was a U.S. Army officer from Maryland who commanded briefly at Fort Hawkins. On July 2, 1812 he was listed as a captain of a company of the 15th Infantry under the command of Colonel Zebulon Montgomery Pike. William King was promoted to Major in the 15th Infantry on March 3, 1813, where he also served as Adjutant General. Major King 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. King led the 4th Infantry and he served as Commandant of Fort Hawkins with the 4th Infantry on May 27, 1815, and in 1816. Colonel King's military career ended in disgrace when he was convicted by a court martial in 1819 (American Memory 2008; Heitman 1903, v.1:107, 142, 87; Ancestry.com 2008; Powell 1900:60).

On September 7, 1819, Andrew Jackson wrote from Nashville, Tennessee to John C. Calhoun regarding the arrest of Colonel King, 4th Infantry, in which Jackson noted:

Your order directing the arrest [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 receipt [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 positive [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 consequences [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 2008). Colonel King's court martial was convened on October 25, 1819 at Fort Charlotte, Mobile, Alabama. Because of a yellow fever epidemic in Mobile, however, the trial was moved to Cantonment Montpelier, which was located in interior Alabama. Five charges were filed against Colonel King:

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 pleaded "Not Guilty" to the five charges but the military court found him guilty. 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 2008; ASP, Military Affairs Lindsay and Hays 1819:158). Colonel King's legal violations dated from his period of military service after September 1817 when he was no longer in command at Fort Hawkins. The testimony from

his trial suggests that Colonel King's command of Fort Hawkins ended by May 1817 when he left the 4th Regiment on furlough. He rejoined the regiment in March 1818 at Fort Gadsden, Florida and was in command of the garrison at Pensacola, Florida by August 1818 and in September 1817, he assumed commands at cantonment Montpelier and Fort Scott, as well as Pensacola. Throughout this period Colonel King's immediate commander was Major General Edmund P. Gaines (American Memory 2008).

Following his trial, the former Colonel King appealed to President James Monroe, with a 36 page printed rebuttal to the charges for which King had been found guilty (King 1820). In it, King attempted to provide explanations for these charges, in hopes of exoneration or, perhaps a presidential pardon. King was particularly incensed by Congress' publication of the court martial proceedings. King's letters to President Monroe provide additional insight into his situation at Fort Barrancas in Pensacola, Florida, but they provide no details of his service at Fort Hawkins.

Cyrus, Tom, and Nan were African-American servants controlled by Colonel William King in 1818. These enslaved people were identified in Colonel King's court martial in 1819 (American Memory 2008). 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 also kept 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, were probably immense.

Edmund Lane, Captain and Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General

Captain Edmund Lane was Georgia militia officer who served at Fort Hawkins in the Quarter Masters Department on November 22, 1814 (Hays 1940, v.4:19, 215). Lane was Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General in McIntosh's Division, Georgia militia and he held that same rank in Floyd's Brigade of the Georgia militia in the War of 1812 (Ancestry.com 2008).

William Laval, Captain

William Laval entered the U.S. Army service as an Ensign in the 3rd Infantry possibly in 1808. He was promoted to 2nd Lieutenant on January 1, 1809. Laval was promoted to 1st Lieutenant, replacing Hays G. White who was promoted, on 11th May 1811. Laval served as a 1st Lieutenant in Captain James E. Dinkins' Company of 3rd Infantry. Laval was present in Dinkins' company at Fort Hawkins on December 22, 1812. Laval may have been at Fort Hawkins as early as mid-October 1812 but by February

Fort Hawkins 2005-2007 Excavations, Daniel T. Elliott, The LAMAR Insitute, 2009

27, 1813 he was transferred to Captain White's Company at an undetermined duty station. He was promoted to Captain in mid-April 1814. He served at Pensacola, where he was wounded, and at New Orleans and Mobile. In May 1815 he was recommended for Captain in the 1st Infantry in the Peace Establishment (Ancestry.com 2008; American Memory 2008).

Lewis Madison Lawshe, Captain and Quartermaster

Lewis Madison Lawshe was born in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania on August 17, 1789. Lewis entered the Army in 1814 and was assigned to Captain J.J. Robinson's Company in the 42nd Infantry. Lawshe was promoted to 3rd Lieutenant on May 1, 1814. He was recommended for the position of 2nd Lieutenant in the 7th Infantry upon the Peace Establishment in 1815. Lawshe was finally promoted 1st Lieutenant in Captain J.S. Alison's Company, 7th Infantry, on April 30, 1817. It was during this service that Lawshe served at Fort Hawkins. Lawshe married Cherokee Hawkins, daughter of Benjamin Hawkins, and after a "honeymoon" furlough in October 1819, Captain Lawshe resigned from the U.S. Army in November 1819. The newlyweds remained in the Fort Hawkins/Macon area for several years and bore six children before moving west to Mississippi where they raised more children. Captain Lewis Madison Lawshe died on August 31, 1879 in San Marcos, Texas (Ancestry.com 2008).

Peter Lequex, Lieutenant and Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General

Peter Lequex served in the U.S. Army at Fort Hawkins as the Assistant Deputy Quarter Master for the 6th Military District. He was associated with the Fort between 1813 and 1815. Lequex had served as a non-commissioned officer or private soldier in Colonel Francis Marion's Brigade of the 2nd South Carolina Continentals during the American Revolution. Like many of Marion's men, Lequex was of French ancestry and a Huguenot descendant from the South Carolina low country (SCGenWeb 2008; Dubose and Porcher 1887).

Lequex was a Lieutenant in the 8th Infantry when he was appointed Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General, 6th Military District on August 31, 1813. He received a land grant from the Georgia in 1814 and apparently remained in Georgia after leaving the military. By January 1, 1824, Lequex was identified in one Congressional document as the, "late ass. Dep. Quar. Mas." (Powell 1900:67; Wilcox 1999; ASP 16, v.1:38). The advertisement transcribed below appeared in the Milledgeville newspaper on August 9, 1815. It was placed by Lequex and it solidly links him to Fort Hawkins:

NOTICE.

All persons having claims against the
Quarter-Master-Generals Department

Chapter 5. The People At Fort Hawkins

at Fort-Hawkins, except those whose wagons were entered into the service of the U. States, are requested to make known to me at captain Carr's near Fort-Hawkins by the 15th August next, the amount due them and for what purpose, that arrangements may be made for paying them. The reason for the above exception is, that the information required can be obtained from the Principal Waggon Master.

PETER LEQUEX,
Late Ass. Deputy Qr.
Master Gen'l U.S. Army,
6th Mil. District.
July 26

(*Georgia Journal* 1815:4).

Peter Lequex was living in the Macon vicinity as late as April 9, 1827, when he (spelled Peter Laquex) placed an advertisement for a runaway slave in the Macon newspaper (*Macon Telegraph* 1827:116).

John R. Nelson Lockett, Lieutenant Colonel

1st Lieutenant John R. Nelson Lockett commanded the 2nd Infantry garrison at Fort Hawkins from about December 1809 to November 1810. Lockett was born in 1779, the son of William Lockett and Sarah Nelson Lockett. He entered the U.S. Army with an appointment as Captain of the Cavalry (U.S. Dragoons) and he was ordered to New Orleans on March 14, 1809. He was present at New Orleans from April 20 through November 28, 1809. Lockett was sent to command Fort Hawkins in December 1809, after Captain Thomas A. Smith was promoted to the rank of Major (Wilcox 1999; NARA, RG75, M221; Heitman 1903).

In November 1810, Lieutenant Lockett and a detachment of U.S. Army soldiers were dispatched from Fort Hawkins to the Creek Country. Lockett's detachment was captured and detained near Tuckabatchee by Creek Indians while the U.S. soldiers were patrolling the Federal Road then under construction. The Creek chiefs, who were concerned for the soldier's safety, had some of their warriors escort Lockett's detachment to Fort Stoddert, Mississippi Territory. Their detainment caused a National stir, as many newspapers reported their plight. In response to this event, two additional companies of U.S. Army troops were ordered to Fort Hawkins by General Hampton (*Alexandria Daily Gazette, Commercial & Political* 1810). This apparent crisis appears to have been resolved without major incident, as no subsequent newspaper articles were located pertaining to it.

Lieutenant Lockett was on command at Fort Adams in the Mississippi Territory on November 30, 1810, and present

there on December 26, 1810. Lockett was ordered back to New Orleans where he served from 1811 to sometime after July 1812 when he was ordered to Washington. Lockett was promoted to Major on February 16, 1813 and he held that rank until August 1, 1813 when he was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel of the 1st Light Dragoons. Lieutenant Colonel Lockett was present at Sackett Harbor from June 9 to September 30, 1813 and he died later that year (Heitman 1903: 77; Ancestry.com 2008; ASP 16, Military Affairs 1:409).

Hugh McCall, Brevet Major

Hugh McCall is one of the most colorful characters to grace Fort Hawkins. He has the distinction of being Georgia's "First Historian", and wrote the first published version of the history of Georgia. While he wrote an extensive two volume history of the state, his own biography remains mysterious and obscure. Historian Charles 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 was correct and Jones was uncharacteristically mistaken. 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).

The *Appeltons Encyclopedia* entry for Hugh McCall reads as follows,

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 Savannah, 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.' (*Appeltons Encyclopedia* 2007).

A manuscript written by Matthew Morgan McCall, M.D., *Alikchi Chukma of the Choctaws*, contained this biographical information about Hugh McCall:

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 2008).

Hugh McCall was honored by the Georgia Historical Commission with a historical marker. The marker was erected in 1954 in Savannah's Colonial Cemetery and entitled, "Hugh McCall (1767-1823), Early Georgia Historian". The marker reads,

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 Carolinas. 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, Jr. 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. 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).

In February 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 beginning on 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 retained the rank of Captain in the 2nd Infantry Regiment.

Captain Hugh McCall served as the Commandant of Fort Wilkinson in 1804, when he faced court martial proceedings. The details of McCall's court-martial at Fort Wilkinson are most informative. The charges of "disobedience of orders" and "conduct unbecoming an officer" involved his indiscretions with a camp prostitute who went by several aliases, including Betsy Ellis, Betsy Parker, and Betsy "High Note". At the time of the charges, Betsy was married to a Private Parker, who was a soldier in the garrison. McCall was found guilty of the charges, but the charges were suspended for two years and he was allowed to continue in the U.S. Service, provided he left Fort Wilkinson and, "holds himself in readiness to join the army as soon as his health permits". Betsy was formally "drummed out" of the garrison at Fort Wilkinson. McCall was at New Orleans on December 22, 1806 and was listed on furlough from Okmulgee Old Fields on December 31, 1806. By May 1809 McCall had taken a post at Savannah, Georgia (NARA, RG75, M221; Ancestry.com 2008).

Major Hugh McCall later served at Fort Hawkins in the War of 1812, although he never served officially as its commandant. McCall was promoted by brevet to Major on July 10, 1812 (American Memory 2008). He was mustered out of U.S. Army service on July 15, 1815 but he re-entered the U.S. Army during the 1st Seminole War.

McCall was also stationed at Point Peter, Georgia for 18 months in his career. On March 31, 1818, he was appointed Military Store-keeper in the Commissary Department at Savannah, where he served from 1819-1820. McCall also served as Ordnance Keeper in Savannah in 1821 and served in the same capacity in Charleston, South Carolina in May 1821 (GeneaSearch.com 2008). He also served as the city jailer of Savannah from 1806 to 1823. While he was living in Savannah, McCall wrote the two volume history of Georgia that incorporated his personal experiences in the military in the American Revolution and afterwards (McCall 1811-1816). As noted previously, he died an invalid in Savannah in 1824 and was buried in Colonial Cemetery.

James McDonald, Colonel

James McDonald commanded the 7th Infantry and 8th Infantry at Fort Hawkins. McDonald was appointed Major on August 1, 1812, and promoted to Lieutenant Colonel on June 24, 1814. 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 served until April 30, 1817. Colonel McDonald commanded the 7th Infantry at Fort Hawkins from May 27, 1815 to early 1817 (Heitman 1903, v.1:94, 140, 142; Ancestry.com 2008). 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, RG98:201).

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

Robert McDougald, Captain

Robert McDougald, 1st Lieutenant of the 3rd Infantry, took command at Fort Hawkins in 1809 after the departure of Captain Boote (Powell 1900:50). He was possibly promoted to the rank of Captain at that time. McDougald's command was brief, however, for on August 7, 1809, he was court martialed and dismissed from the Army. A newspaper article that appeared in the November 11, 1828 edition of the *Macon Telegraph* contained these comments about McDougald:

One [mound], 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, about 30 feet high, overgrown with shrubberies and trees. A neat paling incloses the grave on its summit, on which, as is customary, many visitors have left their names and their wit. About 12 years ago [about 1816] a brother of Captain McDougald was buried on the same spot (*Macon Telegraph* 1828b).

Robert McDougald's death occurred some time between August and December 1809 after his dismissal from the U.S. Army. Apparently McDougald and his brother and were buried together on this mound, known as McDougald Mound, although no human remains have been found and the mound is part of the Ocmulgee National Monument (DeVorse and Waters 1973:19; *Macon Telegraph* 1828b; Gilman 1838; White 1854). No other military records for Robert McDougald were located by the present research. The details of McDougald's court martial and conviction and the cause of his death remain a mystery.

John McIntosh, Major General

Major General John McIntosh commanded a division of the Georgia militia in the federal service from November 1814 through May 1815. McIntosh was born in 1748 in St. Andrews Parish, Georgia. He served as Colonel in the Georgia Continentals in the American Revolution. He is most remembered in that war for his bold statement to the British in November 1778 of, "Come and Take It". McIntosh issued this proclamation while commanding Fort Morris at Sunbury in Liberty County, Georgia while being besieged by an overwhelming Loyalist force. Although his defiant challenge had the desired effect of bluffing the British into retreating, they returned in greater numbers two months later on January 9, 1779 and, "Came and Took It". McIntosh escaped capture from the January 9th Siege of Fort Morris by boarding a schooner just before the fort was taken. He was captured at sea and later freed in a prisoner exchange (Elliott 2003a). Later, John McIntosh again narrowly escaped death in a sword duel with Augustus George Christian Elholm. But in the War of 1812, John McIntosh was an aging military officer. McIntosh established his Georgia militia headquarters during the first part of this service at Fort Hawkins and was reportedly ill at that time. McIntosh retired from the military on November 1, 1815 and he died in McIntosh

County, Georgia on November 12, 1826 (Smith 2000 v. 1:148, 321-322; Miller 1858:244).

William McIntosh, Brigadier General

William McIntosh was a paramount Lower Creek Chief, known to the Creeks as Tustunugee Hutkee. McIntosh commanded Creek U.S. Army troops in the War of 1812 and in the 1st Seminole War. McIntosh was of mixed heritage, born in 1775 to a Scotsman and to a Creek woman who was a prominent member of the Wind Clan. William McIntosh was a Major in the U.S. Army in the War of 1812, at which time he commanded a company of Creek warriors who were part of Colonel Benjamin Hawkins' Creek Regiment. War of 1812 service records for 10 soldiers who served in McIntosh's Company were identified by the present research. McIntosh also was involved in military action in 1816, when he and his men assisted in a campaign in Florida. By the 1st Seminole War McIntosh had risen to the rank of Brigadier General. William McIntosh posed for a portrait in Washington, D.C. around 1825 (Figure 25), which was painted by Charles Bird King (McKenney and Hall 1858).

Throughout most of the Fort Hawkins period, McIntosh was a powerful chief and a U.S. Army officer who had significant influence on military events and Native American public policy. His direct association with Fort Hawkins is difficult to firmly establish, although payroll records for one of the companies who served under his command in 1818 link him to the fort during that period.

William McIntosh supported the "Civilization" policies that Benjamin Hawkins and others promoted to the Creeks. 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. On February 12, 1825 McIntosh signed the infamous Treaty of Indian Springs, as the "Head Chief of the Cowetas". Creek warriors assassinated him in his home on the Flint River two months later for his actions (Kappler 1904:214-217).

George W. Melvin, Captain

George W. Melvin had a short and interrupted command at Fort Hawkins from May 1816 to March 1817. Captain Melvin was a Georgian who was commissioned as a 2nd Lieutenant in the U.S. Army on December 12, 1808. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on April 17, 1810. He was ordered to Washington where he was tried by a general court martial for "conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman", and was sentenced, "to receive a public reprimand". He was made a Captain in the Regiment of Light Artillery on August 24, 1812. He participated in several battles in the northern theater, including Sackett Harbor, Oswego, Plattsburg, and possibly others. He was



Figure 25. Brigadier General William McIntosh.

“left sick at Greenbush” on February 12, 1815, and was later reported on Furlough (Ancestry.com 2008).

Captain Melvin was selected to fill a vacancy in the 4th Infantry on May 17, 1816, whereupon he was sent to serve at the headquarters of the 4th Infantry at Fort Hawkins. The monthly return for July 31, 1816 lists him as “reinstated”. On May 17 and August 31, 1816 Melvin was listed as absent without leave, and on September 30, 1816 he was on furlough. On October 31, November 30, and December 31, 1816 Captain Melvin was listed as commanding at Fort Hawkins. He was also listed as present on January 31 and February 28, 1817. By March 31, 1817, Captain Melvin was shown on command at Fort Gadsden, Florida. His enlistment record suggests that he left Fort Hawkins in early March 1817, and likely did not return. His later posts included Fort Barancas, Florida and Fort Crawford, Alabama. Captain Melvin was placed under arrest (for some unspecified charge) at Fort Crawford in October 1819. He was on recruiting service from December 31, 1819 to July 31, 1820. Captain George W. Melvin resigned from the U.S. Army on August 20, 1820 (Ancestry.com 2008).

John Miller, Lieutenant

John Miller was a 2nd Lieutenant in Captain Boote’s Company, 2nd Infantry. He was also listed in Captain Faust’s Company, 3rd Infantry. He served under Captain William Lawrence and was present in that Company on March 3, July 2, and October 13, 1813, when he was discharged (Ancestry.com 2008). Miller was involved in

the construction of Fort Hawkins, as noted in a letter that he wrote to the Secretary of War on September 7, 1807 (NARA, RG107, M221).

David Brydie Mitchell, Major General, Governor and Creek Agent

David Brydie Mitchell was born in Scotland on October 22, 1766. He moved to Savannah, Georgia to settle the business affairs of his uncle and later settled at Mount Nebo plantation near Milledgeville, Georgia. He was active in the Georgia militia and held the rank of Major General in 1806. He served three times as governor of Georgia from 1809-1813 (two terms) and from 1815-1817. Mitchell was a frequent visitor to Fort Hawkins during his governorship (Cook 2005:83-85). He was appointed Indian Agent after the death of Colonel Benjamin Hawkins and Fort Mitchell served as his base of operations for that job. Mitchell resigned from his third term as governor to accept the job as U.S. Indian Agent. In 1820 Mitchell was implicated in the illegal importation of enslaved Africans, which was a violation of the 1808 Non-importation Act (Shingleton 1973:327-340). As a result of this scandal, Mitchell was dismissed from his appointment as Indian Agent in 1821 (Peddy 1980:114). David Brydie Mitchell died at his Mount Nebo plantation on April 22, 1837.

Nehalockopoye, Captain

Captain Nehalockopoye was a Creek Indian who commanded a company in William McIntosh’s Indian Regiment in the 1st Seminole War. Nehalockopoye submitted a pay roll for the troops under his command from Fort Hawkins on November 28, 1818. Captain Nehalock-a-pa-ye 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”. Captain Nehalockopoye is likely the same person as 1st Lieutenant Nehawlocke Oakfusky, who served in Major William McIntosh’s Company of Creek Indians in the War of 1812 (Hughes 1818; Anonymous n.d.; Ancestry.com 2008).

John Nicks, General

John Nicks was appointed Captain in the 3rd or 8th Infantry on July 1, 1808. He was promoted from Captain to Brevet Major in the 3rd Infantry on October 9, 1813. He was appointed Brigade Major of the 7th Military District on October 17, 1813. He was promoted to Major of the 7th Infantry Regiment on July 8, 1814. His extensive military record in the War of 1812 included serving with Andrew Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans. Major Nicks resigned from the U.S. Army on August 19, 1815 (American Memory 2008; Ancestry.com 2008).

Nicks re-entered the service and was assigned to the 7th Infantry, where he served under Colonel Brealey at Fort Gadsden, Florida. Major Nicks was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel on June 1, 1819 and held that rank until June 1, 1821 when his 7th Infantry was disbanded. Lieutenant Colonel John Nicks, 7th Infantry, served as commander of Fort Hawkins in 1819 during the period of Colonel David Brearley's court-marital proceedings. Nicks eventually achieved the rank of General in the U.S. Army. (Foreman 1930:398; American Memory 2008; Heitman 1903:94; Ancestry.com 2008; Walton 1890).

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, New Jersey. His duty in New Jersey was brief for in the first part of September 1819, Colonel Nicks was in command of his regiment at Fort Gadsden and later in the month he was at Fort Hawkins. He remained at Fort Hawkins until the detail for a general court martial at Fort Scott was known. 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).

Thomas Pinckney, Major General

Thomas Pinckney was a celebrated Revolutionary War officer and seasoned veteran from South Carolina (Figure 26). He was born in Charleston, South Carolina in 1750. At the beginning of the American Revolution (1775), Pinckney was commissioned as a Captain of Engineers in the 1st South Carolina Regiment of the Continental Army. He was Aide-de-Camp to Major General Horatio Gates, when he was wounded and captured at Camden, South Carolina in 1780. He was released in a prisoner exchange and went on to serve under Brigadier General Lafayette in 1781 (Pinckney 1895).

Pinckney had a diverse career as a politician, serving as Governor of South Carolina, in the South Carolina House of Representatives, as a diplomat for President Washington, and as a Representative from South Carolina in the U.S. Congress. He was slated as John Adams running mate (as Vice President) in the presidential election, but, as a result of complications, that job went to Thomas Jefferson. Pinckney was working as a lawyer and a planter when he returned to military service at the beginning of the War of 1812 (Pinckney 1895).

Thomas Pinckney was appointed Major General of the U.S. Army on March 27, 1812 to June 15, 1815 (Heitman 1903:17; Ancestry.com 2008). Major 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 Pinckney from December 1813 through April 1814 (DeVorse and Waters 1973:21). This is documented by a February 20, 1814 letter by Pinckney to Georgia Governor Peter Early, Pinckney's letter began with "Head Quarters Sixth & Seventh Districts-Fort Hawkins", which testifies to the importance of Fort Hawkins as an administrative headquarters for the U.S. Army at that time (Pinckney 1814). Thomas Pinckney died in 1828 in Charleston, South Carolina at age 78 (Pinckney 1895).



Figure 26. Major General Thomas Pinckney.

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 was an important member of that expedition. He received an appointment as Ensign in the 1st Infantry on February 24, 1807. He was promoted to the rank of 2nd Lieutenant on May 3, 1808. Pryor retired from the U.S. Army in 1810 as a 2nd Lieutenant, 1st Infantry to become an Indian trader.

Pryor re-enlisted in the War of 1812. He was commissioned 1st Lieutenant, 44th Infantry in August 1813 and served as a recruiting officer at St. Helena (possibly St. Helena Island, S.C.). He was promoted to Captain one month later. The 44th Infantry was posted at Fort Hawkins prior to the New Orleans campaign (possibly November-December 1814) and Captain Pryor was possibly present at Fort Hawkins at that time. His register of enlistment identifies him in the monthly returns as present at St. Helena on October 21, 1814 and in April and May 1815. He served valiantly with Andrew Jackson 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 tribe. Nathaniel Hale Pryor died in June 1831 (Ancestry.com 2008; Mussulman 2006).

Moses A. Roberts, 1st Lieutenant

Moses A. Roberts was living in Savannah prior to his enlistment in the U.S. Army. In September 1806, his wife, Sarah Roberts, died (*Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser* 1806:124). Moses A. Roberts remarried to Eliza S. Pomeroy in Chatham County, Georgia on March 5, 1808.

Roberts was commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant in the 8th Infantry Regiment on July 23, 1812. He served in that position from July 1812 until about June 1813. On June 3, 1812, Captain Moses A. Roberts, placed a newspaper notice in Milledgeville on June 3, 1812. The notice read,

Attention Company.

Those liable to do duty in the district of Milledgeville, are hereby commanded to appear in front of the State-house, on Saturday next, by nine o'clock, A M, completely armed and equipt as the law directs.

Moses A. Roberts, Capt.

(*Georgia Journal* 1812:3).

Roberts was a 1st Lieutenant in Captain William Jones' Company, 8th Infantry and was sent to Savannah where he served in January 1814. He was listed in the monthly return at Savannah on February 28, 1814 as absent on command at Fort Hawkins. He was present at Fort Hawkins from March 1814 through October 31, 1814. Lieutenant Roberts spent December 1814 through February 1815 in recruiting service at Fort Hawkins and Savannah, Georgia (Ancestry.com 2008).

Moses A. Roberts "died of disease contracted in the public service" (Ancestry.com 2008). This is documented by a pension claim filed with the Committee on Invalid Pensions, U.S. House of Representatives, by Roberts' widow. The Committee heard the testimony of Eliza S. Roberts and reported in House Resolution 316: "that he [Moses A. Roberts] entered the service, and continued in the discharge of his duty until about the month of June 1813, when he was stricken with a disease (contracted in the service at 'Camp Jackson,' near Savannah, Georgia, of which he died on September 1815, leaving the petitioner his widow, and three children" (American Memory 2008 [U.S. House 1848, H.R. 316; 30th Congress, Session 1, Journal Page 111 and 31st Congress, Session 1, Journal Page 433]).

Raymond Russell, Lieutenant

Raymond Russell is identified in an 1887 Macon newspaper article as a Lieutenant who served at Fort Hawkins. No official record of Lieutenant Raymond Russell was located from preliminary research. In January 1815, two days after the troops at Fort Hawkins received news of General Jackson's victory at New Orleans, Lieutenant Russell engaged in a duel with Lieutenant Thomas Darrell. Their quarrel apparently pertained to the affections of a young woman named Rachel Allen. Russell emerged the victor in the duel, but he soon resigned from the U.S. Army (Fulton 1887:6).

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. 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 doubtful Scott ever visited Fort Hawkins, at least not during the period of its operation. His record of enlistment includes several posts in the Southeast,

including Fort Adams, Camp Dearborn, Natchez, and Pass Christian (*Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 1861:451-466; American Memory 2008; Wright 1894; Heitman 1903:21; Ancestry.com 2008). Winfield Scott and others compiled a manual of military tactics in 1826 that was published four years later (Scott et al. 1830). This manual generally describes 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 or 21, 1803. He was promoted to Captain of Rifles on May 8, 1808. A list of the officers of the Regiment of Riflemen was published in the August 8, 1808 edition of *Public Advertiser*, a New York newspaper. The article identified Colonel Alexander Smyth and Lieutenant Colonel William Duane as the regimental commanders. Captain Thomas A. Smith was given official command at Fort Hawkins on April 17, 1809 and his regiment was stationed there for about two years. Smith's name appeared as "present" on troop returns for May, September, November and December 1809.

On July 21, 1810 Smith was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel, replacing William Duane who had resigned. The U.S. Army's Regiment of Rifles was the first of many rifle regiments and Fort Hawkins was one of the regiment's first duty stations (*Public Advertiser* 1808; *Universal Gazette* 1811; Powell 1900:598). Smith's correspondence to the Secretary of War places him at Fort Hawkins in February, April, June, July and October 1809; June 1810; and February 1811. The last documented date of Smith's presence at Fort Hawkins was in February 1811.

On January 15, 1811, the U.S. Congress secretly approved an act that enabled President Madison to take possession of parts of Florida, in what amounted to an undeclared war with Spain (Cooper and Sherman 1860; Hasbrouck 1938:115-125; Cusick 2003). Lieutenant Colonel Smith received orders to march to Fort Coleraine, Georgia in late January 1811. The Regiment of Rifles took several weeks to prepare for this assignment but by March 12, Smith and his Regiment of Rifles had marched south and were garrisoned at Coleraine, Georgia. Coleraine was on the St. Mary's River on the border between the U.S. and Spanish East Florida. By April 28, 1811, however, Smith had left Georgia and assumed command at Baton Rouge, Louisiana (Ancestry.com 2008).

Following his service at Fort Hawkins, Thomas Smith was promoted to Colonel, Regiment of Riflemen in 1812. By October 1812, Colonel Smith and two companies of the Regiment of Rifles were hundreds of miles away in

East Florida or South Georgia. They were stationed at Point Peter and other garrisons while in coastal Georgia. Although Smith's riflemen were attacked by Spanish troops, his Regiment of Rifles made a path of devastation through many Seminole villages in East Florida (Monroe 1812; Cusick 2003:256; Cooper and Sherman 1860). After leaving East Florida, Colonel Smith and his regiment headed west to other duty stations. Smith and the Regiment of Rifles took part in many notable northern battles of the War of 1812, including Plattsburg, Sackett's Harbor and Burlington, where the men fine-tuned their rifle skills and established their place in American military history as the U.S. Army's first rifle regiment.

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. In 1817, Colonel Smith's regiment established Fort Smith on the Arkansas River. He resigned from the Army as "commander-in-chief of the territories of Missouri and Illinois" in September 1818. Brigadier General Thomas Adams Smith died in 1844 (Heitman 1903, v.1:21; Ancestry.com 2008; State Historical Society of Missouri 2005:1).

Samuel Spotts, Major

Samuel Spotts was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on November 30, 1788 and he died on July 11, 1833. He was married to Harriet A. Clitherall. Samuel Spotts received his commission as a 2nd Lieutenant in the U.S. Artillery on February 10, 1812. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on May 22, 1814. 1st Lieutenant Spotts was in charge of an artillery battery at the Battle of New Orleans. His artillery fired the first shot in the battle, as noted on a Chalmette, Louisiana battlefield monument erected in the 1890s by the Louisiana Society United States Daughters of 1776 and 1812, which reads, "In Memory of Major Samuel Spotts U.S.A. who shot the first gun at the battle of New Orleans Jan. 8, 1815. Third Regiment, Seventh Battery Artillery Corp. Born Nov. 30, 1788 in Philadelphia PA Died July 11, 1833 in New Orleans Louisiana" (HMdb.org 2008).

Spotts served with Captain Humphries' Company in Washington, D.C. for most of 1815 and early 1816. Captain Spott commanded a detachment of infantry at Fort Hawkins on February 29, 1816. On August 21, 1816 Spotts was assigned to the 4th Battalion. From February 28, 1818 to May 31, 1821 he served in the 3rd Artillery in New Orleans and St. Louis. On June 22, 1819, Spotts served as Assistant Commissary General of Subsistence at New Orleans. Spotts was promoted to brevet Captain

for his distinguished and meritorious service in the Battle of New Orleans. He was retained in the Artillery when the army was reduced in May 1815 and was promoted to Captain in May 1822. He apparently rose in rank to Major but the date of his promotion was not determined. He resigned from the U.S. Army in May 1829. Samuel Spotts enlistment record contains no mention of service at Fort Hawkins but his presence at the fort is inferred by the records of enlistment of one of the soldiers under his command at the time (Jones 1999; Ancestry.com 2008; Hemphill 1969 v.4:113; Gardner 1853:422).

David Emanuel Twiggs, Brevet Major General

David Emanuel Twiggs was a native Georgian born about 1790 or 1791 (Figure 27). Twiggs entered the U.S. Army with an appointment as a Captain in the 8th Infantry on March 12, 1812. His next appointment was with the 7th Infantry on July 6, 1812 (Powell 1900:58). Captain Twiggs was given command of Company "B", 7th Infantry. While he was in the 8th Infantry, Captain Twiggs presided at a court martial at Fort Hawkins on December 29, 1813 (NARA, RG 98:50-52). Twiggs was promoted to Major in the 28th Infantry on October 1, 1814. On December 2, 1815, Twiggs was selected to fill a vacancy in the 7th Infantry at the Headquarters of the Regiment at Fort Hawkins. He was reported present at Fort Hawkins from April to October 1816. On December 31, 1816 and February 23, 1819 he was listed on furlough. Major Twiggs was an officer in the 7th Infantry in the 1st Seminole War. In 1817 and 1818 Twiggs was a Brevet Major in the 7th Infantry, U.S. Army, garrisoned at Fort Scott. He was assigned to recruiting service from April 30, 1819 to March 31, 1820. It was during his period as a recruiting officer for the 7th Infantry that Twiggs compiled the final inventory of the public stores at Fort Hawkins, which he submitted to General Daniel Parker (Twiggs 1819). Twiggs remained in the 7th Infantry as late as June 30, 1821. On May 14, 1825 Twiggs was promoted to Major in the 1st Infantry. In 1828 Twiggs directed the construction of Fort Winnebago on the Wisconsin River in the Black Hawk War. He was given command of the 2nd Regiment of Dragoons and he fought the Seminoles in 1836. Brigadier General David Twiggs fought in the Mexican War (1846-1848). He attained the rank of Brevet Major General, the second highest ranking officer in the U.S. Army after Winfield Scott, by 1861. At aged 70, Twiggs surrendered the troops under his command in Texas and served as a Major General in the Confederate Army in the American Civil War, and died on July 15, 1862, before the war ended (Ancestry.com 2008; American Memory 2008; McManus 2006; Thomson 1887; Cartmell 2004:59-60).

George Vashon, Captain

George Vashon was born in Virginia in 1785. He was of French ancestry and born out of wedlock to Simon Vashon



Figure 27. Brevet Major General David Emanuel Twiggs, Later in Life.

and Mary Coughton. He was raised by his mother in Baltimore, Maryland. He served as a 1st Lieutenant in the 10th Infantry in 1812 and after the Army was reorganized pursuant to an act of Congress of March 3, 1815, Vashon served as a Captain in the 7th Infantry. He served in Georgia during the War of 1812 and the 1st Seminole War. Vashon married on March 29, 1819 and resigned from the U.S. Army in November 1819. He later served as a Cherokee Agent in the Indian Territory in 1833. He died at the Seneca agency on December 31, 1835, and was buried at Fort Gibson. A review of Vashon's record of enlistment revealed no mention of any service at Fort Hawkins (Genealogy.com 2008; Thornell 1998). Captain George Vashon's company book for the period from 1813 to 1815 is curated at the NARA, but this document was not examined (NARA, RG98, N64-198). Future study of his company book may reveal information about his association with Fort Hawkins.

Hughes Walton, Captain

Hughes Walton was from Georgia. He entered the 3rd Infantry as a 2nd Lieutenant on January 3, 1812. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant in the 8th Infantry on March 12, 1812 and was ordered to Fort Hawkins where he was present on December 6 and 22, 1812. He was detailed to court martial duty with the Inspector General's Office in 1812 and 1813. In August 16, 1813 he appears as a 1st Lieutenant in the 8th Infantry. He was ordered to the Adjutant Generals Office in Washington on August 16, 1813. 1st Lieutenant Walton was promoted to Captain in the 8th Infantry on August 15, 1813, replacing Philip Cook,

who was promoted to Major. Captain Walton was back at Fort Hawkins by December 31, 1813. His resignation from the U.S. Army was accepted at Fort Hawkins on February 13, 1814. Hughes Walton later re-enlisted in Captain Jones' Company (Ancestry.com 2008; American Memory 2008; Powell 1900:58).

James Wilkinson, Brigadier General

James Wilkinson, Brigadier General, U.S. Army, visited Fort Hawkins at least once, while enroute to Louisiana. Although most of his military career was spent elsewhere, Wilkinson is mentioned here because of his importance in the southern U.S. during the Fort Hawkins era. He was Commander of the 6th Military District, which included Fort Hawkins. For most of Wilkinson's tenure as commander, the 6th District headquarters was in Louisiana. James 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. Wilkinson was at Fort Hawkins briefly in early September 1813 (American Memory 2008; Wilkinson 1973; *Weekly Aurora* 1813:169).

Thomas Williamson, Colonel

Colonel Thomas Williamson commanded the 2nd Regiment of Volunteer Mounted Gunmen of West Tennessee, his regiment accompanied Major General Andrew Jackson on the Seminole campaign. In February 1818, however, 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 2008). 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).

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. These included Major, 80th Battalion 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 during 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 2008). He probably served at Fort Hawkins with the other officers in the General's staff in 1817.

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, ENGINEERS

Most of 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. Dranse. These officers had served earlier in the Artillerists and Engineers Regiment, which was reorganized in 1802 to become the Engineers Regiment (American Memory 2008).

Samuel Champlain, 2nd Lieutenant and Deputy Quartermaster General

Samuel Champlain entered the U.S. service as a 2nd Lieutenant on December 9, 1807. Champlain was promoted to First Lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers, Regiment of Artillerists, replacing Michael Walsh who was promoted on October 31, 1811. Champlain served as Deputy Quartermaster General for the Sixth Military District at Fort Hawkins in January 1814. Champlain wrote to Adjutant Francis Huger at Fort Hawkins on January 5, 1814, regarding a requisition of supplies for the militia who were marching to Fort Hawkins. Samuel Champlain served as a 1st Lieutenant in the U.S. Artillery at Fort Hawkins from May through August 1814. Champlain was at district headquarters in Charleston after August 1814 (American Memory 2008; Ancestry.com 2008; Champlain 1814).

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, MEDICAL STAFF

The military hospital at Fort Hawkins was a very important part of the fort. The medical needs of the soldiers and others at Fort Hawkins were addressed by a small staff of surgeons and surgeons' mates. Some of these people were identified by the project research and short biographical information about them is presented below.

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. Ballard was born in Framingham, Massachusetts in 1779. He was present at Fort Hawkins on July 25, 1812. Dr. Ballard was listed in a paymaster register as the hospital surgeon's mate at Fort Hawkins, Ocmulgee Old Fields. He was next reported at Wiscasset, Maine, where he was working by September 1, 1814. After the end of the War of 1812, Dr. Ballard was retained in the Army as an officer in the medical staff of Department Number 2 at Castine, Maine, where he served on October 1, 1815. Dr. Ballard continued service as post surgeon in the Army Medical Department in 1817-1818, although his post of service was not identified but most likely in Maine. William Ballard died in 1827 (Williamson 1992, Volume 1:66; Geneasearch.com 2008; Folsom 1887:16; Ancestry.com 2008; American Memory 2008, ASP, MA v1:391).

William A. Dandridge

William A. Dandridge was doctor from Virginia. He was appointed Surgeon's Mate on December 12, 1808. He served in this capacity at Fort Hawkins when, on May 20, 1809, he wrote to the Secretary of War requesting a transfer to Fort Adams, Mississippi Territory. That transfer was apparently not approved for on October 15, 1809, Dandridge again wrote to the Secretary requesting a transfer to forts Powhatan or Washington. This suggests that Dr. Dandridge was unhappy with his assignment at Fort Hawkins (Ancestry.com 2008; NARA, RG107, M221).

Samuel Dusenbury

Samuel Dusenbury was born in 1792 in Peekskill, New York to Charles and Mary Dusenbury. He served as a surgeon's mate in the U.S. Army and was assigned as a surgeon's mate to Fort Point Peter on March 25, 1812. He was later sent to Fort Hawkins, where he also served as a Surgeon's Mate. Genealogical information alleges that Samuel served as a surgeon's mate on "Old Ironsides" in the War of 1812, although this service was not confirmed. Dusenbury was discharged from the Army at Charleston, South Carolina. He settled in North Carolina where he

became a preacher (Powell 1900:72; Ancestry.com 2008; Allen 2006:2).

Stephen M. Ingersol

Stephen M. Ingersol was assigned as a surgeon's mate to the 7th Infantry on September 16, 1814. The 7th Infantry was posted at Fort Hawkins during his period of service, so he likely was at the Fort from 1814 to 1815. In June and August 1816, Ingersol served at Fort Jackson, Georgia. He resigned from the Army on September 1, 1816. He served as a surgeon (or possibly a surgeon's mate) at Fort Hawkins from 1820 through 1823, after which he established a private practice in Macon, Georgia (Ingersol 1820-1823; Ancestry.com 2008). Ingersol's letters, written from Fort Hawkins in the early 1820s, to an associate physician 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 2008). Harlow was commissioned in Georgia on December 31, 1812 as Surgeon for the 8th Infantry and served at Fort Hawkins (Powell 1900:58). Dr. Harlow's length of service at Fort Hawkins was not ascertained. A Dr. S. Harlow was mentioned as a landowner in Burke County, Georgia in an October 25, 1823 newspaper notice (*Augusta Chronicle and Georgia Advertiser* 1823c:4). Southworth Harlow is also enumerated in the 1820 Federal census for Waynesborough, Burke County, Georgia. This entry reveals that Harlow held many slaves in Burke County by 1820. An April 13, 1815, newspaper notice identified S. Harlow as the Post Master of Waynesborough, Georgia (*Augusta Herald* 1815b:4). These three historical facts suggest that Harlow remained in Georgia and practiced medicine and was a planter and served as U.S. Postmaster in Waynesborough. This indicates that Harlow had left Fort Hawkins sometime prior to April 1, 1815.

Henry Jackson

Henry Jackson was a surgeon from Georgia who served with the U.S. Artillery in Georgia in 1802 (American Memory 2008). 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.

Isaac Rawlings

Dr. Isaac Rawlings served as a Surgeon's Mate at Ocmulgee Fields [Fort Hawkins] in April 1808. On April 22, 1808 Rawlings applied to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn to resign his commission so that he could return

to his private affairs. By August 1816 Rawlings was serving as Factor to the Chickasaws (NARA, RG107, M221; ASP 8, Indian Affairs v. 2).

NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, ENLISTED MEN, AND OTHERS

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. Short biographies of several of these soldiers who were garrisoned at Fort Hawkins are given in the following.

Amos Adams, Private

Amos Adams was a 20 year-old farmer from Briar Creek, South Carolina when he enlisted for five years service in the 7th Infantry in late November 1813 in Georgia. At the time of his enlistment he was described as 5 ft 4 ½ inches tall, with black eyes, black hair and a dark complexion. Soon after entering the Army he was listed as sick in Savannah since October 25, 1814. Amos was assigned to Captain F.B. Warley's Company and was stationed at Camp Huger, Georgia on November 30, 1814. He was at Camp Flournoy, Georgia on February 28, 1815. His regiment was reorganized to become part of the 8th Infantry after May 1815. He was transferred from Lt. J.H. Mallory's Company to Captain R.H. Bell's Company at Fort Hawkins on December 31, 1815. On June 30, 1816 he was listed as present. By August 1816 he was serving in Captain J.R. Corbaley's Company at Fort Crawford, and on February 28, 1818, Amos was at Fort Scott, Georgia. He served later that year at Fort Gadsden and Fort St. Marks in Florida. On October 31, 1818, Private Adams was back at Fort Hawkins in the recruiting service. He was discharged from the Army and Captain Corbaley's Company, 8th Infantry at Fort Hawkins in late November 1818 when his term of service expired (Ancestry.com 2008).

Harley Attaway, Private

Harley Attaway was born in 1789 and he died in 1861. Harley enlisted in the 8th Infantry at Fort Hawkins on February 24, 1813 for five years of service. At the time of enlistment he was described as a 30 year-old farmer, 5 ft. 8 inches tall, with blue eyes, sandy hair and fair skin. Private Attaway was placed in Captain Matthew I. Keith's Company and he was present at Fort Hawkins in April and June 1813. He was transferred to 1st Lieutenant John H. Mallory's Company on November 30, 1813. After May 17, 1815, the 8th Infantry was made into the

7th Infantry. In December 1815, he was in Captain R.H. Bell's Company. By August 1816, he was in Captain J.R. Corbaley's Company, where he remained until at least September 1, 1817. Attaway was present at Fort Scott on February 28, 1818 where he was discharged at the completion of his term of service (Hayes 1993; Ancestry.com 2008).

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 pleaded guilty and was sentenced to one month hard labor, confinement in the guard house, and with his liquor rations and one-half of his pay stopped (NARA, RG98:26).

Starkes Baker, Artillerist

Starkes Baker was a farmer from North Carolina and in 1814 at the age of 16, he enlisted as a Private for five years in Captain B.B. Jones's Company of the 24th Infantry. 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 Francis 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, 1815 Baker was back at Fort Hawkins when he was transferred from Captain Armstrong's Company to Lieutenant Joseph J. Clinch's Company, 7th Infantry. Baker served as an Artillerist in Clinch's Company. By February 29, 1816, Baker was serving in Captain Samuel Spotts' Detachment of U.S. Infantry at Fort Hawkins, when he was sent with Captain James E. Dinkin's Company, 4th Infantry to Fort Gaines, Georgia. After that he served at Montpelier, Alabama Territory, Fort Scott, Georgia, again at Fort Gaines, and forts St. Marks and Gadsden, Florida. Baker was discharged at Pensacola, Florida in January 1819 after completing his term of service (Jones 1999).

William Beasley, Private

Captain Philip Cook presided at the court martial of Private William Beasley, of Captain Cook's Company, 8th Infantry. Beasley 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, RG98:231).

William Beasley may have managed to escape his death sentence at Fort Hawkins, however, reappearing as a Private in the 10th Infantry Regiment. Private William Beasley, enlisted in the 10th Infantry. He was listed as 5

feet 8 inches tall with dark eyes, light hair, and a fair complexion. He was identified as a 21 year-old farmer from Wake County, North Carolina. His enlistment record noted that he enlisted for a period of five years on July 14, 1813 in Buncomb, North Carolina. He was discharged from the 10th Infantry at Pittsburgh after August 20, 1815. Beasley was back in the 8th Infantry Regiment in Captain Davis' Company, however, by October 1, 1815 (Ancestry.com 2008). Whether these two soldiers were the same person remains a mystery. Perhaps Private Beasley disliked his commander in the 8th Infantry and joined the 10th Infantry Regiment while he was a fugitive from the 8th Regiment.

Henry Benner, Private

Henry Benner enlisted for a period of five years on February 3, 1816 as a Private in Captain J.H. Hooks' Company of the 4th Infantry. His first duty station was Fort Moultrie, South Carolina. By June 30, 1816 he was present at Fort Hawkins. By August 31, 1816 he was on command in the Creek Agency. He deserted the Army on June 11, 1817, was confined, and on June 29, 1818 was tried at Pensacola, Florida. His punishment was 50 lashes and he resumed his duty. He was court martialed on September 26, 1820 at Montpelier, Alabama for disobedience of orders. For this he was sentenced to hard labor for the remainder of his service and drummed out of camp. His final entry in the Army enlistment record lists him as present on June 30, 1821 in confinement under his sentence (Ancestry.com 2008).

James Braswell, Sergeant

James Braswell (or Braswill) was a 20 year-old farmer from South Carolina who enlisted for five years in the 3rd Infantry in South Carolina on April 18, 1809. At the time of his enlistment he was described as 6 ft 2 inches tall, with blue or gray eyes, light hair and fair skin. Braswell likely served at Fort Hawkins on more than one occasion. He was a Sergeant in Captain Joseph J. Faust's Company on February 7, 1811 when he was ordered to Fort Hawkins at a general court martial for "violation of article of war &c". He was found guilty and reduced in rank but he transferred into Captain Boote's Company, 2nd Infantry. He later transferred to Captain William Lawrence's Company. He served at forts Dearborn or Charlotte until he was discharged when his term expired on April 17, 1814. Braswell re-enlisted on May 30, 1814 in Captain James E. Dinkins' Company of the 3rd Infantry and he served until he was discharged from the Army for "inability" on January 14, 1815 (Ancestry.com 2008).

Isaac Brewer, Waggoner

Isaac Brewer was born in 1763 in North Carolina and was a Revolutionary War veteran. He also served in the military after the American Revolution. When the War

of 1812 began, Brewer wanted to serve his country, so he enlisted in Jackson County, Georgia. His Company (which was composed of aged soldiers) was not called up. Undaunted, he hired himself to men named Pentecost and Lowry as a Waggoner and went on to serve in various capacities. This Pentecost may be the same as 2nd Lieutenant Wood Pentecost, who was at Fort Hawkins on August 25, 1813 in the company of Captain Wilson McKinney, 1st Regiment, Georgia militia (Pentecost 2008). Brewer's 1851 statement, which accompanied his pension application provides details,

While in said county [Jackson County, Georgia] there was a great call for soldiers and he being off the Muster List years back, encouraged up and joined a company of silver grays. Which were old gray headed men who still felt Patriotic, and determined to show that if the country needed them they were ready, also to excite younger persons. This company was not called for however and he restless to be in the service, hired himself to two men by the name of Pentecost & Lowry to drive a team in said service and went on to Fort Hawkins on the Oak mulgy river on the Frontier of Georgia, then was received into the service in March & to the best of his recollection in 1814 for three months and actually performed said service under the command of Capt. Simons who was the Capt. of the wagon yard. Col. Graham of N. Carolina was the Militia Col., Major Cook was also in command, the whole under Genl. Pickney. The place they sent him to alternately was Fort Decatur, Fort Mitchel, Fort Hull, Fort Laurence, Fort Bainbridge and Fort Jackson all in the Indian country or Creek Nation but now in Georgia and Alabama (Brewer 1851:11-12).

Armistead Brown, Sergeant

Armistead Brown was born in 1793 in Pittsylvania County, Virginia where he became a stonecutter. Private Brown served in Colonel John Coffee's Regiment of West Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry in the War of 1812. At aged 21 he enlisted for five years of service on April 9, 1814 in the 24th Infantry in Tennessee. At the time of his enlistment he was described as having black eyes, dark hair and a dark complexion. His service at Fort Hawkins is first recorded on March 13, 1816, where while serving in Captain F.W. Armstrong's Company, 7th Infantry, Brown deserted. He apparently returned, however, since

he was listed in the monthly returns for April 30 and June 30, 1816 at Fort Hawkins (Ancestry.com 2008).

William Carlton, Private

William Carlton enlisted as a Private in Captain Joel Cook's Company of the 4th U.S. Infantry in 1810. The company was ordered to Fort Hawkins, where Carlton served between 1810 and 1812. On December 1, 1812, Carlton was promoted to Corporal (Ancestry.com 2008). William Carlton (possibly the same as the previously described soldier) was recruited into the 8th Infantry at Fort Hawkins where he served under Major Philip Cook in 1813 and 1814. Clark was apparently demoted because Captain [Philip] Cook presided at the court-martial of Private William Carlton, Captain Cook's Company, 8th Infantry in 1813. Carlton 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 sentenced 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, RG98:229; Ancestry.com 2008).

Henry Jackson Click, Sr. Private

Henry Jackson Click, Sr. was a farmer from Virginia when he enlisted as a Private in the Tennessee militia on December 1, 1812. He served in Captain Samuel Bunch's Rifle Company of East Tennessee Mounted Volunteers during the War of 1812. His name appears on the company muster rolls from December 1, 1812 to March 25, 1813. He later served in Captain Jacob Hartsell's Company of Tennessee militia from October 12, 1813 to February 8, 1814, whereupon he was honorably discharged at the end of his term of service. He enlisted in the 24th Infantry, U.S. Army at Knoxville, Tennessee on August 10, 1814 for five years of service. At the time of his enlistment he was described as about 33 years of age, 5 ft. 7.5 inches tall, with dark eyes, dark hair and a dark complexion. Click was in Captain F.W. Armstrong's Company at Fort Hawkins on December 31, 1815. He was transferred to Lieutenant J. J. Clinch's Detail of the 7th Infantry who were doing duty as artillerymen on December 31, 1815. Clinch served in Brevet Major James E. Dinkin's Company, 4th Infantry at Fort Gaines, Georgia on April 30, 1816. Private Click was listed as "Absent on command at Flint River" on April 30, 1816, and he was "Present, sick in qrs [quarters]-unfit for service by reason of Rheumatics" at Camp Crawford, Alabama Territory on August 31, 1816 (Ancestry.com 2008; Whitaker 2008).

Apparently, Henry Click was badly injured in an accident which resulted in his discharge from the U.S. Army with a medical disability. The details of his injury are somewhat garbled. Lieutenant Colonel Duncan Clinch signed a statement given at Camp Crawford [later to become Fort Scott] on the Flint River stating that Private Click

was honorably discharged, "on the Surgeons certificate as being disqualified to perform the duties of a soldier by reason of a rheumatic affection of the loins". Other pension records note that Click was injured when a "stack of flour barrels fell on him 9 May 1816 Flank River, Fort Hawkins, Mississippi" (Whitaker 2008). The connection to Fort Hawkins is tenuous, and the Flank River probably refers to the Flint River. The association with Mississippi is mystifying and probably is a clerical error. Private Click may have had his legs crushed by a falling flour barrels in the quartermaster stores at Fort Hawkins or that accident may have happened elsewhere. William Wilson, a friend of Click's stated in an 1831 affidavit, "I hearby certify that I saw Henry Click the day he was listed he then was a stout able bodyd man. I also saw him when he returned from the army. Then he was lame and complained of being crippled in his hipps and looked much reduced" (Whitaker 2008). Despite his injuries, Henry Click was still alive and functioning on April 28, 1855, when he appeared at a Monroe County, Tennessee court to give testimony regarding his land bounty application (Ancestry.com 2008; Whitaker 2008).

James Coon, Private

James Coon enlisted for five years service in Captain Boote's Company at Fort Adams, Mississippi Territory on June 7, 1803. When he enlisted he was a 30 year-old butcher from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and was described as 5 ft. 7 ¼ inches tall, with gray eyes, light hair and light complexion. He was appointed Corporal on December 1, 1804. He was on command at Georgia lines from June 28 to July 17, 1805. He was tried by a court martial for neglect of duty on September 4, 1806 and was acquitted. He was shown as present on January 24, 1807 and on command at Ocmulgee from April 8 to May 8, 1807. He was promoted to Sergeant on June 19, 1807. He was shown as present on June 22 and November 1, 1807 and May 1, 1808. He was tried by court-martial on unidentified charges on May 2, apparently found guilty, and was reduced in rank to Private. He was discharged on June 6, 1808 when his term expired (Ancestry.com 2008).

Willis Cooper, Private

Captain Philip 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, RG98:227-228). "The Rogues March" was an 18th century Irish folk tune that was traditionally played as a drum and fife instrumental when soldiers were dishonorably discharged from the military.

Charles Culverhouse, Private

Captain Cook presided at the court martial of Private Charles Culverhouse, Captain Crawford's Company, 8th Infantry. He 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 (NARA, RG 98:231).

James Elliott, Sergeant

James Elliott was born in Georgia about 1790. He enlisted as a Private in the 8th Infantry for five years of service on July 12, 1812. He rose to the rank of Sergeant in Captain William Chisholm's Company. Chisholm's Company was stationed at Fort Hawkins by June 30, 1815 and they remained there as late as August 23, 1815. On September 20, 1815, while Captain Chisholm's Company was stationed at Camp Huger, Georgia, Sergeant James Elliott died and his death was recorded at Fort Hawkins (Ancestry.com 2008).

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 2008). Gordon's medical case is interesting as it suggests that he was returned to Fort Hawkins after sustaining injuries from battle and we surmise that he died while being treated in the Army hospital at Fort Hawkins.

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 pleaded guilty and received a mild sentence of one month at hard labor, "in consideration of his extreme youth" (NARA, RG98:228).

Pleasant Hightower, Sergeant

Pleasant Hightower was a 23 year-old printer born about 1780 in Amelia County, Virginia. He joined the Army on October 17, 1803. Pleasant apparently left his lucrative job as a journeyman printer in Savannah, as evidenced by an October 4, 1803 newspaper notice posted by the printing firm of Lyon and Morse, which read, "LYON and MORSE, printers of *Savannah*, have advertised 20 dollars rewarded for information (so he may be prosecuted) of PLEASANT HIGHTOWER, a journeyman printer, who suddenly left the service soon after entering into a written obligation to remain with them a year" (*New England Palladium* 1803:2). Hightower's contract was published in a Virginia newspaper on September 26, 1803. His

contract, dated July 22, 1803, detailed these tasks, ""to do half the press work which the business of said office may require, or whatever unavoidable occurrences may render necessary; and further to superintend said office, and execute the duties of foreman therein", and in exchange Hightower's employers were, "to furnish him with board, washing and lodging, and to pay him, in quarterly payments three hundred dollars" (*Alexandria Expositor, and the Columbian Advertiser* 1803:3).

Pleasant Hightower enlisted in the 2nd Infantry when it was formed in Salisbury, North Carolina on October 17, 1803. He was described as 5 ft. 10 inches tall, with blue eyes, light hair and fair complexion. He was in Captain Boote's Company and on June 8, 1804, Hightower was promoted to Corporal. He was promoted to Sergeant in October 1805. He was tried by court martial for "neglect of duty" in December 1805 and was acquitted. He was present on May 1, 1806, January 24, May 1 and November 1, 1807 and May 1, 1808. He was discharged on October 16, 1808 when his term expired. Although Sergeant Hightower likely served at Fort Hawkins with Boote's company, this service is not mentioned in his enlistment record (Ancestry.com 2008).

Abraham Hill, Artillerist

Abraham Hill was a 16 year-old farmer from Jackson, Georgia when he enlisted in the 39th Infantry for five years service on October 14, 1814. At the time of his enlistment Hill was described as 5 ft. 3 inches tall, with blue eyes, fair hair and fair complexion. He was transferred to Captain George Vashon's Company of 7th Infantry on November 30, 1815. He was transferred to Captain J.J. Clinch's detachment on December 30, 1815 and was doing duty as an Artillerist. He served with Captain Spotts' detachment on February 29, 1816 and, although his record of enlistment does not mention any service at Fort Hawkins, other military records place Spotts' detachment at Fort Hawkins on that date. Private Hill was attached to Captain Amelung's Company of the 1st Infantry on April 15, 1816 and served with that regiment in the Baton Rouge vicinity until he was discharged at Camp Riley when his term expired on October 3, 1819 (Ancestry.com 2008).

John Hobbs, Private

John Hobbs enlisted as a Private in Captain David E. Twigg's Company of the 8th Infantry on May 15, 1813. At a court martial at Camp Manning, near the Creek Agency, Private Hobbs, 8th Regiment, was charged with desertion from Fort Hawkins on July 28, 1813. Hobbs pleaded guilty and was sentenced to one month hard labor, confinement in the guard house, reduction to half-pay, and the termination of his liquor rations. His enlistment was declared illegal on March 4, 1814 by a court formed at Fort Hawkins and he was to be discharged. Private

Hobbs later served at Camp Jackson, Georgia on June 30, 1814 where he was discharged from the Army (NARA, RG98:25; Ancestry.com 2008).

Elisha Holland, Private

Elisha Holland enlisted in March 1814 for the duration of the war at Pendleton, South Carolina as a Private in the 8th Infantry. At the time of his enlistment he was described as an 18 year old farmer, 5 ft. 5 inches tall, with blue eyes, brown hair and fair complexion. Private Holland was assigned to Captain Felix B. Warley's Company and was stationed at Camp Flournoy, Georgia. Private Holland was discharged from the army at Fort Hawkins on August 15, 1815, following the end of the war. Private Elisha Holland shares many similarities with Elijah Holland, who was the coachman to Colonel William King, 4th Regiment. Both men were 18 years old when they enlisted at Pendleton, S.C., both were described as having blue eyes and brown hair, although their height differed by five inches. Their services records overlap slightly, so quite possibly these are two sets of records for the same person (Ancestry.com 2008).

Jonathan M. Jackson, Private

Jonathan Jackson enlisted for five years of service in the U.S. Army on January 1, 1811. Captain Philip Cook presided at the court martial of Private Jackson, 3rd Infantry, who was charged with desertion from his station in Milledgeville, Georgia. Jackson was found guilty of the charge. His fate was not ascertained (NARA, RG98:228-229; Ancestry.com 2008).

Nicholas Jenkins, Private

Nicholas Jenkins was born around 1792 and enlisted in Georgia on May 15, 1813 as a Private in Captain T.W. Farrar's Company of the 8th Infantry. At the time of enlistment he was a 21 year-old farmer from Virginia. He was described as 5 ft. 10 inches tall, with blue eyes, sandy hair, and a light complexion (Ancestry.com 2008).

Captain Cook presided at the court martial at Fort Hawkins of Private Nicholas Jenkins, Captain Cunningham's Detachment, 8th Infantry, and was charged with, "absenting himself" from Fort Hawkins during the period from July 2-8, 1813. Private Jenkins pleaded 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, RG98:226-233). Apparently Jenkins did not learn his lesson 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, RG98:27). Apparently his death sentence was never carried out, since Private Nicholas Jenkins was

reported present on February 16 and 28, 1815. On April 30, 1815, he was present at Camp Flournoy, Georgia, and was officially discharged from the Army on March 4, 1815 (Ancestry.com 2008).

After his checkered service in the U.S. Army Nicholas Jenkins may have settled in the north Georgia mountains. A person by that name is enumerated in the 1820 Federal Census for Habersham County, Georgia (Ancestry.com 2008).

William Jones, Private

William Jones enlisted at the age of 30 in 1st Regiment of U.S. Rifles, the period of enlistment was for 5 years when he signed up at Abbeville, South Carolina on July 12, 1813. He was assigned to Captain Abraham A. Massias' Company. Jones was a farmer who was described at the time of his enlistment as 5 ft. 7 ½ inches tall, with blue eyes, black hair, and fair complexion. Private Jones' enlistment record shows him as, "absent on command since December 5, 1813, at Fort Hawkins, or Milledgeville, Ga.", and he was assigned to Lieutenant Cohen's Detachment on December 31, 1813. He was present at Fort Hawkins on February 11, 1814 and was discharged from the service on February 28, 1814, probably at Fort Hull [Alabama], after his term expired. Private Jones re-enlisted in Captain Massias' Company, 1st Rifle Regiment after the War of 1812 and was present for duty by February 16, 1815. From February 29, 1815 through February 28, 1818, Jones was present in Thomas Ramsey's Company. He was in Captain James H. Ballard's Company on July 12, 1818, when his term expired and he was discharged at Fort Edwards, Illinois Territory (Ancestry.com 2008).

Hardy Lashlee, Private

Hardy Lashlee was a Private in the 8th Infantry, Lieutenant Roberts' Company, Colonel Patrick Jack's Regiment. He was born about 1790 in South Carolina and, enlisted in the Army at Fort Hawkins on March 14, 1814. His enlistment records state that he was 6 ft. 1 inch tall (Ancestry.com 2008). Private Lashlee was stationed at Fort Hawkins on April 16, 1814 when he deserted from the garrison but was apprehended by September 1814. The April 27, 1814 Augusta newspaper advertisement for his return (with his misspelled surname as Lushlee) provides us with a few additional details about him:

Stop the Deserter!

Destered from this post on the 16th inst. HARDY LUSHLEE, a private soldier in the United States army, 24 years of age, six feet one inch high, of light complexion, blue eyes, dark hair & by profession a farmer; any person who will apprehend said Deserter, and

deliver him to me, or secure him in Jail and notify me by letter or otherwise, shall receive a reward of ten dollars, and all reasonable charges paid.
MOSES A. ROBERTS,
Lieut. 8th U.S. Inf. Com'dg
At Fort Hawkins,
March 23 (*Georgia Journal* 1814a).

Private Hardy Lashlee's fate as a deserter from the 8th Infantry was not determined by the present research. The punishment for this charge was general quite harsh, although some leniency was displayed towards the youngest of the recruits. An adult at age 24, however, Hardy Lashlee probably received the maximum penalty meted out for this charge, which was death. At the very least he would have received many lashes, imprisonment, and other harsh justice. The rest of this story may lie in the Adjutant General's court martial records for the 8th Infantry, if these records have survived.

William McDonald, Sergeant

William McDonald was born about 1781. McDonald became a farmer in Yadkin Falls, North Carolina when, at the age of 23, he enlisted for five years service in Captain Boote's Company at Fort Wilkinson. When McDonald enlisted on November 20, 1804, he was described as 6 ft 2 inches tall, with dark eyes, dark hair, and a fair complexion. McDonald was appointed Sergeant on February 15, 1805, but was reduced in rank in September 1806, and then was again promoted to Sergeant on April 24, 1808. Sergeant McDonald drew clothing in the regiment on numerous dates in 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, and 1809. His last entry in his enlistment record was on November 1, 1809. His record contains no mention of service at Fort Hawkins, although he was most certainly there with the rest of Captain Boote's company (Ancestry.com 2008).

Samuel Miller, Private

Samuel Miller was a 27 year-old tailor from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He enlisted for five years in the 2nd Infantry at Fort Wilkinson on October 18, 1804. At the time of his enlistment Samuel was described as 5 ft. 10 ½ inches tall, with dark eyes, dark hair, and a fair complexion. He was originally in Captain McCall's Company but was joined to Captain Boote's Company on March 24, 1805. He was listed as "on command on Georgia line" from June 28 to July 17 and August 17 to August 31, 1805. Private Miller was convicted by a general court martial on December 1, 1805 for "absence &c" and was sentenced to receive 50 lashes, but was pardoned. His record of enlistment makes no mention of service at Fort Hawkins, although he drew clothing on several occasions. Private Miller was discharged from the U.S. Army sometime after October 1809 (Ancestry.com 2008).

John Rainwater, Private

John Rainwater enlisted as a Private for six months in the 2nd Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers, under command of Colonel Reuben Nash in Pendleton District, South Carolina in late 1813 or early 1814. 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 2008).

William W. Selah, Sergeant

William W. Selah was a 26 year-old printer from Williamsburg, Virginia born around 1777. He enlisted for five years of service in Captain Boote's Company at Fort Wilkinson, Georgia on December 19, 1803. He was described as 5 ft. 10 inches tall, with blue eyes, dark hair, and a fair complexion. Selah was promoted to Sergeant on December 8, 1804. He was present in Boote's Company in April and December 1805, May 1806, January, May and November, 1807, and May 1, 1808. He was appointed Corporal on October 24, 1808. Selah was tried by court martial on September 8, 1805 for watering the company's liquor. He was reduced in rank and discharged on December 18, 1808. Selah re-enlisted for another five years as a Private in Captain A.B. Armistead's Company of U.S. Artillery in April 1811. He served in the Artillery until his term expired and he was discharged on April 17, 1816. Private Selah may have returned to serve at Fort Hawkins in June 1816, when he served under Captain Samuel Spotts. Spotts commanded a detachment at Fort Hawkins at that time. While Selah's enlistment record does not mention Fort Hawkins, he likely served there with the rest of Boote's Company (Ancestry.com 2008).

John Silvey, Sr., Private and Blacksmith

John Silvey, Sr. was a blacksmith from Virginia, who enlisted as a Private in Thomas A. Smith's Regiment of Rifles. Silvey had enlisted for five years of service in the Army on November 14, 1808 but on July 8, 1810, he deserted from the regiment at Fort Hawkins while serving on a detachment under Lieutenant Daniel Appling (Ancestry.com 2008; *Georgia Journal* 1810). The fate of John Silvey, Sr. was not determined by the present research. Captain Smith advertised a reward for his return:

Ten Dollars Reward.
DESERTED on the 8th inst. from
a detachment of my company near
the confluence of the Ocmulgee and
Weofanhatche rivers,

JOHN SILVEY:

he is a native of Virginia, 5 feet 6 1-2 inches high, fair complexion, blue eyes, light hair, and by occupation a Black-smith. The above reward will be paid to any person, who will apprehend and deliver said deserter to me, or any commissioned officer of the United States' Army; or confine him in jail and give information, so that I get him again, and all reasonable expences from the place of apprehension to that of delivery, or confinement.

T.A. Smith, Capt.

Commandant.

Fort Hawkins. July 25 (*Georgia Journal* 1810).

John Silvey, Jr., Private

John Silvey, Jr. was the son of John Silvey, Sr., described earlier. John Jr. joined as a Private in Captain Smith's Regiment of Rifles in Washington, Georgia on September 26, 1808 for a period of five years service. John, Jr. was a farmer from Virginia, born about 1784. At the time of his enlistment he was described as aged 24, 5 ft. 6 ¼ inches tall, with blue eyes, fair hair, and a fair complexion. Like his father, John, Jr. was posted with the Regiment of Rifles at Fort Hawkins. Both father and son were issued new uniforms in October and December 1809. John, Jr. was listed on Command at Fort Hawkins in Major Ridgeway's Company on August 31 and December 31, 1811. He was also listed in the monthly returns for August 31, 1812. He transferred to Captain William Boote's Company, 2nd Infantry from Captain Ridgeway's Company by February 2, 1812 and was present in the former company on September 30 and November 29, 1812 and February 3, 1813. Later, he was in Captain William Lawrence's Company of the 2nd Infantry Regiment. John Silvey, Jr. was discharged at New Orleans on March 21, 1813, where he was listed as "unfit for service". His later life is obscure. One John Silvey (between the ages of 26-45) is enumerated in the 1820 Federal Census for Baltimore, Maryland and another is listed for Wilkinson County, Mississippi, although that person is listed as less than 27 years of age (Ancestry.com 2008).

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 were stopped, and he was to "be confined to the black hole when not laboring for that period" (NARA, RG98:232). This reference to a "black

hole" as a place of confinement at Fort Hawkins is an intriguing and important piece of information.

Erwin Smith, Private

At a court martial convened at Camp Manning near the Creek Agency, Private Erwin Smith, 8th Regiment, was charged with desertion from Fort Hawkins on July 17, 1813. Smith pleaded 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 and was "enticed off by his father and others" (NARA, RG98:24). No other details of the life of Private Erwin Smith were discovered.

Washington Talbert, Private

Washington Talbert (or Tolbert) was born about 1792 and enlisted on May 15, 1813 in Georgia in Captain Thomas W. Farrar's Company of the 8th Infantry. At the time of his enlistment, Talbert was a 21 year-old farmer from Virginia described as 5 ft. 10 inches tall, with blue eyes, auburn hair, and a light complexion. At the previously cited court martial hearing at Camp Manning, Private Washington Talbert, 8th Regiment, was charged with desertion from Fort Hawkins on July 28, 1813. Talbert pleaded 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. Private Talbert was reported as present on February 16 and 28, 1815. He was discharged at Fort Hawkins on March 4, 1815 after his service had expired (NARA, RG98:25; Ancestry.com 2008).

His name was not located in the 1820 Federal Census but there is some evidence that Washington Talbert may have moved west after he left the Army. His name appears on an 1830 tax list for the Lawrence County, Arkansas Territory. He may also have returned to Georgia later in his life as a Washington Talbert, aged 82, is listed in the 1870 Federal Census for the Currahee District of Habersham County, Georgia. That listing shows Talbert as a white male, born in Georgia. His listed age would make him born about 1788, a few years earlier than Talbert's army records attest. The identity and whereabouts of Private Washington Talbert remain a puzzle (Ancestry.com 2008).

Thomas Tanner, Private

Thomas Tanner was born about 1770 and enlisted for five years of service as a Private in Captain Matthew I. Keith's Company of the 8th Infantry in Sparta, Georgia on October 31, 1813. Private Tanner was a 43 year-old farmer from Virginia, who was described as 5 ft. 11 inches tall, with hazel eyes, black hair, and dark complexion. Captain Cook presided over the court marital of Private Thomas Tanner, who was at that time in Captain Cook's Company, 8th Infantry. Tanner was charged with desertion from Fort

Fort Hawkins 2005-2007 Excavations, Daniel T. Elliott, The LAMAR Insitute, 2009

Hawkins on November 15, 1812, to which he pleaded guilty and received punishment. Tanner was listed in monthly returns as present at Fort Hawkins for February 16 and 28, 1815. He was listed at Fort Hawkins in April and June 20, 1815, where he was confined by G.C.M. [General Court Martial] (NARA, RG98:227; Ancestry.com 2008).

Charlie Watts, Sergeant

Charlie (Charles) Watts enlisted as a Private in the 39th U.S. Infantry at age 19 on September 24, 1814 for five years of service. He was honorably discharged after completing his term of service. He was born in Winchester County, Tennessee and enlisted at Carter in Washington County, Tennessee. Prior to his enlistment he was a farmer and a joiner. At the time of his enlistment he was 5 feet, 8 inches tall, with a dark complexion, (dark) blue eyes, and dark skin. On June 30, 1815, while serving in Lieutenant D. McMillan's detachment, Watts was confined for sleeping on duty. By November 1815 Watts was transferred to the 7th Infantry, where he was placed in Captain George Vashon's Company. In August 1817 Private Watts was promoted to Corporal and ordered to Fort Scott, Georgia. He was promoted to Sergeant in Captain Joseph J. Clinch's Company, 7th Infantry on June 30, 1818. He remained at Fort Scott until the time of his discharge on September 20, 1819. During the period when Watts was likely at Fort Hawkins, he was a Private (Dallas County, Alabama Deed Book A:339, cited in Ancestry.com 2008).

Darius Webb, Private

Private Darius Webb was born about 1788 in North Carolina. He was a carpenter by trade and he enlisted in the U.S. Army on May 10, 1814 under Captain Crawford at Monticello, Georgia for five years, or the duration of the war with Great Britain. Private Webb was assigned to Major Philip Cook's detachment of the 8th Regiment, U.S. Infantry. He was described at the time of his enlistment as a 26 year old standing 6 feet tall, with dark eyes, dark hair, a fair complexion. Major Cook's detachment was posted at Fort Hawkins, where Webb, is reported to have deserted on October 6, 1814. On a roll dated February 16, 1815, Webb was listed as absent (Deiss 2007; Ancestry.com 2008).

Ralph, Randall, or Randolph Wooten, Private

Randall Wooten enlisted for five years of service (or the duration of the war) in the 8th Infantry on February 21, 1813 at Monticello, Georgia. He was an 18 year-old farmer from Virginia and, at the time of enlistment, was described as 5 ft. 10 inches tall, with blue eyes, light hair, and a dark complexion. Captain Twiggs presided at the court martial at Fort Hawkins of Private Randall Wooten, on December 29, 1813. Wooten was charged with repeated desertion from Fort Hawkins on November

18, 1813 to which he pleaded 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. Private Wooten continued to serve in the 8th Infantry, in Captain Norris' Company (December 31, 1813 and February 28, 1814), and in Captain Thomas W. Farrar's Company (February 16, February 28, April 30, and June 30, 1815) near Fort Hawkins (NARA, RG98:50-52; Ancestry.com 2008).

Thomas H. Davis, Unknown Rank

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 16th, 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).

Personal 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 2008).

In 1802 the Army created the job positions 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.

The Woolfolk Plantation

After the U.S. military left Fort Hawkins, its history of occupation becomes quite vague. On May 12, 1821 Georgia Governor Troup appointed James Frierson to examine and manage Fort Hawkins and the trading post site (Wilcox 1999). James S. Frierson was a resident of Clinton in Jones County, Georgia in 1820, as evidenced by the Federal Census (Ancestry.com 2008). 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 but the documentary evidence is unclear.

The State of Georgia divested its lands at Fort Hawkins in 1828. The *Baltimore Patriot* for December 16, 1828 provides this information concerning the sale:

A public sale has been made of State Lands belonging to Georgia, in and near the town of Macon. The 100 acre lots of pine lands sold for various prices, some as high as \$100; and the oak and hickory lands as high as \$1500. The highest price was given for the half-acre lots on the west side of the river was \$305; the one acre lots on the east side brought generally from 700 to 1000.—The gross amount of sales was \$65,930. The beautiful site of Fort Hawkins was purchased by Thomas Woolfolk for \$2,133 (*Baltimore Patriot* 1828).

The next documented resident in the area was Thomas Jefferson Woolfolk and those people 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 for \$2,133.00 and was living there by 1830 (Ancestry.com 2008; *Baltimore Patriot* 1828).

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 2008). 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 in 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 2008).

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 2008).

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 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 2008). Thomas Jefferson Woolfolk died around 1863 and his former estate was divided in 1868, at which time the land was annexed to the city of Macon (DuBois 1897).

Chapter 6. The Built Environment

Fort Hawkins was 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 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.

FEDERAL ROAD

Under the terms of the 1805 treaty with the Creeks the U.S. government secured rights to construct a road through the Creek Nation from Fort Hawkins to Fort Stoddert, Mississippi Territory (present-day Alabama), which was known as the Federal Road. Surveyor James Preston has spent many hours researching the precise route of the Federal Road in central Georgia and he generously provided his notes, maps, and other evidence to reveal the exact position of this important transportation route as it pertains to Fort Hawkins. The general history of this road is addressed in a recent book by Southerland and Brown (1989). Other important studies of portions of the Federal Road in Georgia and Alabama were conducted by John Goff and, most recently, by Elliott and his colleagues (2002). Benton (1998) compiled several contemporary 19th century accounts made by travelers on the Federal Road in Alabama, which includes many references to people and places along the road in Georgia.

As noted earlier, the Federal Road was first and foremost a military road and the U.S. Army wasted no time in utilizing the road once it was completed in 1810. Writing in his memoirs, Lieutenant General Winfield Scott described one of the first (if not the first) major troop transports on the Federal Road from Fort Hawkins in 1811:

In the autumn of 1811 I [Winfield Scott] rejoined the army, headquarters, Baton Rouge, by the land route, in a party of five, made up in South Carolina. In the preceding spring two detachments of troops were started—one from Fort Hawkins, on the Ocmulgee, then the Indian frontier, far within Georgia, and the other from Baton Rouge, on

the Mississippi, to cut through the intermediate forests a practical wagon road, to bridge the smaller streams, to construct scows, and to establish femes (to be kept by Indians) on the rivers. The whole space, up to the eastern line of Louisiana, belonged to, and was occupied by, Creeks, Choctaws, and other Indians, excepting two small settlements of less, together, than a dozen white families, about Fort Stevens and Fort Stoddart, both on the Mobile. The party was a little delayed, near the middle of the route, waiting for the meeting of the two detachments of troops. The wagons of the troops, with a gig and light wagon* belonging to the travellers, were the first wheeled vehicles that ever rolled over that immense tract of country of some six hundred miles in width. Crossing the Ocmulgee, the party encamped a day or two near the residence of Colonel Hawkins, an officer of merit in the army of the Revolution, much confided in by General Washington, an ex-member of Congress from North Carolina, under the Constitution, and then Agent of the United States for the Creek Indians.

[Scott's note] *This conveyed the tents, baggage, cooking utensils, and dry provisions of the travellers. Venison and turkeys were obtained by their rifles and purchase from the Indians. Corn (maize) for the horses, was also bought of the latter (Scott 1864: 43-45).

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 & incontestably. 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* 1812; Chalker 1970:80-81; Wilcox 1999).

Over the next few decades the Federal Road remained an important transportation artery, although many modifications in its route transpired as the importance of various settlements in its course waxed and waned. Once Macon was established in 1823, for example, the road shifted to accommodate better access to that town.

Similar shifts in the road were undertaken at Columbus, Georgia after 1828, whereas the road had formerly gone through the major Creek town of Cusseta, which was located several miles downstream. In addition to these relatively major shifts in the road, minor alternate routes developed at many sections of the road to provide better access during the wet season, or to make use of new or improved ferry crossings. Consequently, in some areas the traces of the Federal Road took on a braided appearance, and such was the case in the vicinity of the Ocmulgee River crossing.

Lewis Calfrey had a government contract to deliver the mail on the Federal Road, west of Fort Hawkins. Calfrey was operating a stage service in lower Georgia by 1810. On January 31, 1821, a New York newspaper reported from Montgomery, Alabama an accident that occurred in late December 1820 or early January 1821, "We regret to learn that the horses and carriage belonging to Mr. Calfrey, (one of the mail contractors,) on their way hither were lost last week, at Icheeconnah Creek, between Fort Hawkins and the Creek Agency—the mail was taken over in safety on a log" (*New York Evening Post* 1821:2). By April 1821, regular stage line service between Fort Hawkins and Montgomery, Alabama was provided by a company formed by Lewis Calfrey, of Fort Hawkins, and Major James W. Johnston. Regular passenger fare for the stagecoach, which ran weekly, was 12.5 cents per mile. Major Johnston improved the stage service with bi-weekly trips in 1823. Competing stage lines on the Federal Road were in operation by 1823 (between Montgomery and Fort Mitchell) and by 1826, Hugh Knox & Company ran stages three times weekly between Milledgeville, Georgia and Montgomery, Alabama (Beale 1878:11).

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 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; James Preston personal communication October 5, 2007). 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 was located on the Ocmulgee River a short distance downstream from the present-day Macon Coliseum (James M. Preston personal communication July 4, 2006).

No state legislation authorizing establishment of a 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 men "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 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.

BARRACKS

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 historical records note that soldiers' wives and children also lived with the soldiers in the barracks.

The only evidence for a free-standing barracks for the officers at Fort Hawkins is historical in nature and is found in Butler's 1879 description and shown in Reverend Edward D. Irvine's accompanying sketch

of the fort. Butler 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 have intact cultural deposits. 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 proceedings for 1812 and 1813 include references to a "Guard House" and a "black hole" (NARA, RG98:226-233). One example is Private Daniel Shawn, 8th Infantry, who received a sentence that included six months in the black hole, when he was not performing hard labor.

Captain Philip Cook wrote the following from Camp Hope to Brigadier General John Floyd at Fort Hawkins on October 12, 1813, "A few days past, John Wright, an Indian countryman, was committed to the guardhouse at this post, on suspicion of being a spy. For his safe keeping, until a fair investigation of facts can be had, I have to request of you that favor of his being kept in the guardhouse at Fort Hawkins"(Folsom 1887:16).

Dr. Greene, who was in charge of the mental asylum at Milledgeville in 1878, recollected a subterranean confinement area from his time at Fort Hawkins in 1819, when he visited the fort as a child with his father who was a government surveyor. Dr. Greene related to the newspaper reporter,

Two soldiers had gone on a bender and were taken, drunk, and thrust as a punishment into a dark room or vault under the main floor of the fort. Both went to sleep, as a matter of course, but after a time, one of them was roused by the noise of flint and steel striking together, and by the light of the sparks saw that his comrade was vigorously

throwing fire into a headless barrel full of gunpowder.

He shouted an alarm and at the same time seized and grappled with his crazy comrade, only to find himself felled to the earth and the madman still showering fire into the barrel.

At last relief came, and the experiment was arrested. It was found that this barrel of gunpowder had been overlooked and forgotten there for years, but dust and the formation of a little crust from the dampness, were all that saved Fort Hawkins and its garrison from a lofty flight towards the stars (*Georgia Weekly Telegraph and Messenger* 1878:3).

Nothing found by the archaeological work completed thus far can be conclusively identified as the guard house or black hole, so its location within the fort remains a mystery.

SOUTHEAST BLOCKHOUSE

One, and possibly two, photographic views of the Southeast Blockhouse at Fort Hawkins are known to exist. One photograph shows the southeastern blockhouse of Fort Hawkins in its original position has survived. This photograph, taken in September 1876, shows a two-story blockhouse with a fieldstone basement/first story (see Figure 16).

Many features of the blockhouse are revealed by careful study of the 1876 photograph for the following observations. The blockhouse consists of a two-story log building mounted on a raised stone basement. The upper story is slightly larger than the first story, creating an overhang on all four sides. That feature is consistent with the various early drawings. The building is constructed of notched horizontal logs. Approximately 12 logs comprise the first story and about 10 logs form the upper story. The southwest corners on both stories of the blockhouse were tightly dovetailed.

The first story on the western side has a small opening, about the thickness of a log, which is slightly offset to the south from the building's center. The upper story on the western side contains a door, which is offset from the center on the northwestern side. It also exhibits three other openings. One of these is located in the center and is a small rectangular aperture, which may represent a cannon port. The other two openings are offset to the south. Both of these are similar in size, but their function is unknown. They may represent openings that were created after the building was constructed to afford additional ports for viewing or for large ordnance.

The south-facing cannon port on the first story was probably intended for one six-pounder cannon. The smaller cannon ports on the west and south sides of the upper story were likely intended for smaller cannons or wall guns.

The southern exposure contains only two openings and both are rectangular openings and probable cannon ports that are situated in the building's center. The upper port is located on the upper story at the same elevation as the suspected cannon port on the west side and it is similar in size to the western example. The lower port is on the first story and is considerably larger than the cannon ports on the upper story. The musket ports are barely visible in this photograph and their number can be only approximated. Nine musket ports were identified on the upper story, west side. These are located about two log widths above the cannon port on that same side. Four exposed floor joists are visible on the southern side, where one of the logs at the bottom of the upper story is missing. These joists are oriented north-south. The building has a four-sided roof, capped by a crow's nest, which has a similar styled small roof on top of it. That roof is capped with a decorative finial. The roofing material appears to be wood shingles.

The stone basement on the south side is entirely intact and exhibits no evidence of any openings to the outside. The stone basement on the western and northern sides has large gaps where the stones have collapsed and have been removed. The rocks in the basement are undressed stones, of mixed sizes, which are laid randomly but closely spaced. The building sits on a slope that increases to the south and east. A medium-sized oak tree is located a short distance east of the blockhouse and a scatter of larger pines is visible further to the east. The vegetation immediately surrounding the blockhouse appears to be grass, weeds, and small shrubs.

An image of a blockhouse, labeled, "Fort Hawkins 1812, Block House No. 2, Macon, Ga., Photo by Woodall, Macon, Ga. 1902", was printed on a postal card (see Figure 17). After careful study of the photographic evidence, the LAMAR Institute researchers concluded that the building shown on 1902 post card was originally the Southeast Blockhouse (east and north facade).

A careful review of the Blockhouse No. 2 photograph shows that it has the following features. The reassembled blockhouse 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. Two people are standing on an exterior stairway, immediately outside this door, which provides a relative scale. The building is constructed of solid horizontal logs that have been carefully squared and connected with square joints at the corners. Only the uppermost section of the blockhouse is present (the lower

story missing), 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.

On one facing side is a central, rectangular cannon port, which is flanked by six musket ports on the each side. The gun port holes are spaced a regular intervals at about eye-level along both walls. The wall is composed of eleven horizontal logs. A small rectangular hole is visible near the center of the wall, which is considerably smaller than the cannon port on the other side. Above this hole is a row of nine musket ports. The wall consists of 10 notched, horizontal logs (one is apparently missing). The entire structure rests on a series of large log vertical pilings. The building is topped with a "crow's nest" watchtower, which has been completely covered with clap boards. The watch tower is shown reduced in height from its earlier size. A small rod is visible on the pinnacle, the remnants of a weathervane. The roof and watchtower are covered with wood shingles.

Since this building was dismantled and later reconstructed, it is difficult to say with complete confidence where this building was located originally and which two faces of the building are shown in this photograph. Our photo analysis led to the conclusion that we are viewing the eastern and northern sides of the southeastern blockhouse at Fort Hawkins. The western side of the upper story of that blockhouse had only one large opening, a rectangular cannon port, whereas the northern side had a smaller cannon port and a small doorway. This doorway would have been inside the fort compound, while the small cannon port was probably located immediately outside of the stockade wall. Its smaller size, contrasted with the cannon port aperture on the east wall, may indicate that it was intended for small bore cannon, or a wall gun. The cannon port on the east side probably accommodated one of the six-pounders, or possibly a larger weapon.

The archaeological remains of the southeast blockhouse were significantly impacted by the 1928-1929 reconstruction efforts, but the extent of this damage is difficult to determine. Neither Carillo nor the present LAMAR Institute excavation team explored this part of the site. 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. Willey's excavation effort within the blockhouse was limited however, so his interpretation of the degree of impact should be reassessed.

NORTHWEST BLOCKHOUSE

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 consist of the verbal descriptions of Butler (1879), which includes the illustration of the fort by Edward D. Irvine. Wilcox (1999) noted that the northwestern blockhouse was toppled by high winds in 1870. That account is confirmed by a 1880s account in the *Macon Telegraph*. No detailed descriptions of the northwestern blockhouse were found. Irvine’s 1779 illustration of Fort Hawkins depicts two blockhouses on diagonal corners.

The northwest blockhouse was probably situated within the present-day Woolfolk Street, or its right of way. It was not located by the archaeological study in 2005 or 2006. The findings from the 2007 excavations on the opposite side of the fort call into question our earlier conclusion that nothing remains of this blockhouse. A small vestige of the northwest blockhouse may be preserved beneath the Fort Hawkins school concrete footing. Additional excavation in that vicinity is necessary to settle this debate.

QUARTERMASTER WAREHOUSE AND MUNITIONS MAGAZINES

The Quartermaster was kept busy as the bulk of provisions and other stores that were held 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. These military stores required varying storage conditions. Some were hazardous, particularly the ammunition and gunpowder, and needed to be secured. Others, such as barrels of flour, required a dry storage with less security.

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, RG98:45-46). 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 of 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 Ammunition, 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).

Many tons of explosive ordnance passed through the gates and were temporarily stored at Fort Hawkins. These hazardous materials would have been stored in a safe, secure environment within the fort, or possibly within a remote magazine outside the main fort compound. The munitions depot at Fort Hawkins may have been in the stone basements of the two blockhouses, rather than a separate bombproof structure. No separate magazine was identified by the archaeological examination thus far. One newspaper story provided anecdotal information that at least some of the gunpowder was stored in a subterranean chamber, which doubled as a jail or confinement cell.

HOSPITAL

The existence of a military hospital at Fort Hawkins was verified by the historical research in 2007 but location and size of this hospital at Fort Hawkins remains unknown. Many soldiers were garrisoned at Fort Hawkins and the sickness and injury rate among the troops during the Fort Hawkins era was high, so a hospital was a necessity.

On February 25, 1809, Captain Thomas A. Smith and William A. Dandridge, Surgeon’s Mate submitted to the Secretary of War a “Return of Medicines, Hospital Stores & c. immediately required at Fort Hawkins”. This document is most informative concerning the medicines and types of care that the Fort Hawkins hospital provided (NARA, RG75, M221). The return of medicines by Captain Smith and Surgeon’s Mate Dandridge is transcribed in Table 15. The return was accompanied by this note,

The scarcity of articles for the use of the Hospital, and in fact the very bad condition of those articles actually on hand, combined with the present number of the sick and the approaching sickly season, renders it necessary that I should make the above return of Medicines & c. which are (as I wish to do justice to my department) immediately required at this place (NARA, RG75, M221).

Medicine	Lbs.	Oz.		
Sugar of Lead	1	"		
Jalap	"	8		
Cream of Tartar	4	1		
Flowers of Chamomile	2	"		
Basilicon Ointment	4	"		
Glaubers Salts	4	"		
Balsam Capaivi	"	8		
Castor Oil	"	"		
Sweet Spirit of Nitre	2	"		
Adhesive plaster	2	"		
Gum Arabic	4	"		
Tincture of Myrh	2	"		
Vitreolated Tartar	1	"		
Salt of Tartar	"	8		
Corrosive Publimate	"	8		
Spirit of Turpentine	"	2		
Salt Petre	2	"		
Water of Ammonia	1	"		
Peruvian Balsam	1	"		
Mercurial Ointment	6	"		
Olive Oil	1	"		
Colomba Root	1	"		
Gum Camphor	1	"		
Oil of Anise	"	4		
Oil of Cinnamon	"	1		
Hospital Stores	Galls	Hs		
Cognac Brandy	5	"		
Port Wine	5	"		
Vinegar	5	"		
Rice	"	10		
Sugar of Lead	"	10		
Cinnamon	"	1		
Hogs lard	"	10		
Furniture	No.	Yds.	Ozs.	
Flannel	"	5	"	
Muslin	"	5	"	
Sheep Skins	3	"	"	
Sponge		"	4	
Lint		"	8	
Spatulas	2	"	"	
Small Syringes	18	"	"	
Tooth Extractors	1	"	"	
Ground Lancets	6	"	"	
Spring Lancets	1	"	"	
Pill boxes	1	"	"	
Phials and Corks	1	"	"	
Stationary	No.			
Writing paper	2	Quires[?]		
Wafers	1	box		

Table 15. Return of Medicines, Hospital Stores &c. Immediately Required at Fort Hawkins, February 25, 1809 (*NARA, RG75, M221*).

The medical supply list described in the 1809 document was analyzed by Dr. Allen Vegotsky, who provided these observations:

Sugar of Lead--This is another name for lead acetate and its preparation is described in the Pharmacopoeia of the United States of 1820:187). Note: Sugar of Lead repeated below. Sugar of lead was used as an astringent (external pain relief) and a sedative (Wood and Bache 1865:657).

Jalap-- Jalap root came from a Mexican plant and was used as a purgative. Purgatives and laxatives were used very extensively in the 19th century and several other types of purgatives and laxatives are listed below (Wilbur 1980:23).

Cream of Tartar --(i.e. potassium bitartrate) Tartar emetic was extensively used as an emetic (to induce vomiting) in treatment of dysentery, jaundice and digestive problems as well as in treatment for poisoning due to bad water or spoiled foods. In lesser dosages, the drug was used as a purgative or cathartic (Wilbur 1980:12). In still smaller doses, cream of tartar acts as a diuretic, to induce urination (Stille 1860:527).

Flowers of Chamomile-The flowers of the chamomile plant were used as a mild tonic and in larger doses, as an emetic. In the earlier 19th century, it was used as a febrifuge to lower body temperature in fevers (Wood and Bache 1865:121).

Basilicon Ointment-- This ointment was a mixture of resin, yellow wax, and lard, and was strained through muslin (See muslin, below). It was used particularly for treatment of burns or scalds (Wood and Bache 1865:1043).

Glauber's Salts--(sodium sulfate) Glauber's Salts were used as purgatives/cathartics much like tartar emetic. (Wilbur 1980:12)

Balsam Copaivi -- (Copaiba) Balsam of copaiba was much used in the treatment of gonorrhoea and for treatment of

respiratory congestion, dysentery, etc. (Stille 1860:684-689).

Castor Oil --Another purgative/cathartic used at the time & long after (Wilbur 1980:12).

Sweet Spirit of Nitre-- This product was made by reacting a small quantity of nitric acid with a large quantity of alcohol and then distilling the reaction product (Pharmacopoeia of the United States of 1820:71). The active product was nitrous ether in alcohol. It was much used, either alone, or in combination with tartar emetic (see above) as a diaphoretic, diuretic, and antispasmodic (Wood and Bache 1860:1345).

Adhesive plaster --Adhesive plasters would have had many uses at the time. Wilbur describes the use of such plasters during the Revolutionary War for treatment of inflammation from leg sores or ulcers after the use of poultices (Wilbur 1980: 17).

Gum Arabic-- Gum Arabic was obtained from the juices of acacia plants and was considered an excellent demulcent (a soothing oily medicine) that was combined with less palatable bad tasting drugs (Wood and Bache 1865:12).

Tincture of Myrh-- Used externally in ointments and liniments for skin irritations (Wilbur 1980:25).

Vitreolated Tartar-- This is the former name of potassium sulfate and its preparation is described in the Pharmacopoeia of the United States of 1820, p. 193. This salt was occasionally used as a laxative, but was probably not as effective as Glauber's Salt (Stille 1860:525).

Salt of Tartar--This is probably the same as tartar emetic (see above).

Corrosive Sublimate-- (mercury bichloride) Corrosive sublimate is a product obtained by reacting purified mercury with sulfuric acid and sodium chloride and subliming the product as

described in the Pharmacopoeia of the United States of 1820, p. 141. Mercury salts were much used in the 19th century as purges and for many other purposes (Stille 1860: 771-843).

Spirit of Turpentine-- an ingredient of liniments for treating pain and skin problems externally (Wilbur 1980:25). Turpentine was also an ingredient used in concoctions for venereal diseases (Wilbur 1980:16).

Salt Petre-- (Potassium Nitrate) used in treatment of venereal diseases around 1800 (Wilbur 1980:16) and also in treatment of rheumatism (Stille 1860:651-654).

Water of Ammonia-- Ammonia water was used for many purposes including a stimulant (for example, in fainting, sudorific (to cause sweating), and antacid (Wood and Bache 1865:999).

Peruvian Balsam-- Peruvian bark or chinchona were sources for quinine, a drug that had several uses, especially for treatment of ague, generally equivalent to malaria (Wilbur 1980:11-12). Purified quinine was standard in Confederate Army Medicine Wagons (Wilbur 1995: 102).

Mercurial Ointment--Made by mixing purified mercury with lard and a smaller amount of suet; (described in the Pharmacopoeia of the United States of 1820: 249).

Olive Oil-- Another cathartic and was also employed as an antidote to poisons (Stille 1860: 530-531).

Colomba Root -- (also colombo) This product was used as a mild tonic for a variety of conditions, including indigestion, dysentery, diarrhea, and cholera (Wood and Bache 1865: 192).

Gum Camphor-- Camphor was used as a diaphoretic (to produce sweating) in the same way the Indians used sweat baths Use at the camp would have been for treating intestinal problems after the original symptoms were controlled (Wilbur 1980:12). Camphor was also

used externally in the form of ointments or liniments for skin irritations, such as itches (Wilbur1980:25).

Oil of Anise-- Used as a stimulant for the nervous system. See also Oil of Cinnamon (Wilbur 1980:13).

Oil of Cinnamon-- Cinnamon and other common spices were used as stimulants for the nervous system (Wilbur, 1980:13).

Hospital Stores Galls-- Galls are outgrowths on plants induced by insects. Such hardened plant tissue from *Quercus infectoria* was most often used externally as an astringent for reducing pain (Wood and Bache 1865:405).

Cognac Brandy-- Alcoholic beverages may have been used to alleviate pain, much as opium and morphine. Brandy and whiskey were carried by the Medical Corps of the Army of the Potomac in 1864. Brandy was considered a medicinal whiskey (Wood and Bache 1865:805).

Port Wine-- Wines were used as a vehicle for accompanying less palatable drugs such as antimony and tobacco.

Vinegar-- Wilbur (1980:15) points out that vinegar played an important role in prevention of yellow fever. In a hospital ward with yellow fever victims, a hot iron was sometimes placed in a bowl of vinegar. The doctor may have rubbed his hands in the vinegar solution as further protection.

Rice-- Rice water was used as a nutritive, easily digestible food, suitable for feeding convalescents (Wood and Bache 1865: 1571).

Sugar of Lead (See above)

Cinnamon (See Oil of Cinnamon)

Hogs lard -- Lard would have been used for making ointments.

Ground Lancets-- Lancets were used for blood letting in the early 19th

century. The process of removing “excess” blood was accepted practice at the time and continued for a time, gradually diminishing in popularity during the last half of the century. Dr. Benjamin Rush, who was appointed by George Washington to be the first Surgeon General and who was one of the founders of our first medical college was an enthusiastic endorser of blood letting and who would remove blood by as much as a quart at a time. Wilbur (1980:10) shows drawings of the procedure and the types of lancets used).

Pill boxes-- small wooden pill boxes were used (drawing by Wilbur1980:12).

Army records include reference to a hospital at Fort Lawrence or Creek Agency in December 1813. On December 3, 1813, orders were issued stating that, “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, RG98:29-30).

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, RG98:45).

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 [toilets] 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 (Gillet 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 (Gillet 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 (Gillet 2006a:178).

The U.S. Army Medical Department was reorganized in 1818 (Gillet 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 (Gillet 2006; Heustis 1817; Le Conte 1811).

During the period of Fort Hawkins' use, many sick or wounded soldiers were treated there. Some 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 comencing 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).

Dr. 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).

Dr. Ingersol was in private practice by the time of his letters from Fort Hawkins in 1821-1823. 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. By 1825 Dr. Ingersol had moved his medical practice to Macon, Georgia (Ingersol 1825).

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, closetools (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 1997:290-291). 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). The only archaeological evidence of medicines at Fort Hawkins was medicine bottle glass.

CEMETERY

The Fort Hawkins Cemetery was established on a four 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, is approximately 800 meters northeast of Fort Hawkins. The location of the Fort Hawkins component of this cemetery remains undefined. Only one marked grave in the cemetery dates to the period of Fort Hawkins’ existence. This grave is that of the young daughter of one of Fort Hawkins’ commanding officers, Major Philip Cook. 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, most of Fort Hawkins’ dead were buried there. 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.

The cemetery was in a neglected state by the late 19th century, as described in an 1886 newspaper,

The cemetery at Fort Hawkins lies there in the woods, unprotected in any way; the graves appearing as the fancy

of the friends of the person buried may select, with no symmetry nor regularity at all. And it is spreading year by year. It looks like the authorities might take steps toward enclosing this burial ground and marking out its proper limits so that it may not become a veritable Golgotha when somebody wants the ground for a field in time to come (*Atlanta Constitution* 1886b:2).

An 1887 newspaper article reiterated the neglected state of the cemetery and it provided additional details. “The graves are scattered promiscuously over about six acres of ground, the cemetery proper having been overrun and the patrons of the cemetery having encroached on the Woolfolk’s property adjoining” (*Atlanta Constitution* 1887b:6). Another 1887 news article described the formation of a trust to improve the cemetery and it noted,

George Lumpkin proposed to take the \$92.50 cash on hand, build a small house, fence in the cemetery and keep it in repair for a year, and to have the privilege of charging fees for interments. He agreed to keep a man there to take care of it. The trustees were instructed to negotiate for the purchase of the Woodpark [Woolfolk] tract adjoining, on which graves have been made outside the original cemetery... (*Atlanta Constitution* 1887c:2).

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). Archaeologist 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. This home would have been the residence of Captain William R. Boote, 2nd Infantry. It may also have served as the home of Captain Thomas A. Smith, Regiment of Rifles, and other commandants of Fort Hawkins. The archaeological ruins of this residence, if any remain, have not been identified.

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. It was there that he died in 1816. 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

A significant 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. One large field or pasture 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 great 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. A letter dated March 13, 1819 and written by General Gaines' Aide de Camp Daniel Bunch in Fernandina, Florida to Lieutenant Micajah Crupper, 7th Infantry, commanding at Fort Hawkins, expressed concern for adequate forage for Major General Gaines' horse. General Gaines' horse was stabled at Fort Hawkins. This letter indicates that,

Fort Hawkins 2005-2007 Excavations, Daniel T. Elliott, The LAMAR Institute, 2009

although General Gaines was nowhere near Fort Hawkins at that time, his personal steed was boarded at Fort Hawkins (NARA, RG98:301).

PALISADE, INNER

The Inner Palisade at Fort Hawkins enclosed a rectangular area. This enclosure was constructed in 1806-1807 by the 2nd Regiment, U.S. Army. It was modified and repaired in subsequent years by other soldiers in the fort. The northern palisade wall is absent and either lies on the opposite side of Woolfolk Street, or where the street now runs. 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. The present topography on the east side of Fort Hawkins is quite steep and would not have been suitable for wagon traffic. Admittedly, the topography on this side of the fort was heavily modified after the construction of Maynard Street, but it is difficult to envision this approach as a gradual grade. This topographic variable supports the argument that no main gate entrance was located on the fort's east side.

PALISADE, OUTER

The Outer Palisade at Fort Hawkins was constructed by the Regiment of Rifles, U.S. Army in 1809-1810. The Outer Palisade encloses a diamond-shaped space with additional palisades surrounding the northwest and southwest blockhouses. 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. Evidence for only one building (Feature 313) was located immediately inside this palisade wall on its western side (Figure 28). The previously noted gap on the east wall may represent the former presence of a large log building, or less likely, a wide gateway. If the gap was for a building, whose remains are no longer evident, then this building may have covered the space between the two eastern palisade walls. The archaeological evidence would suggest that both walls were never built in this area, which may indicate that the building was expanded eastward when the outer palisade wall was constructed.

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

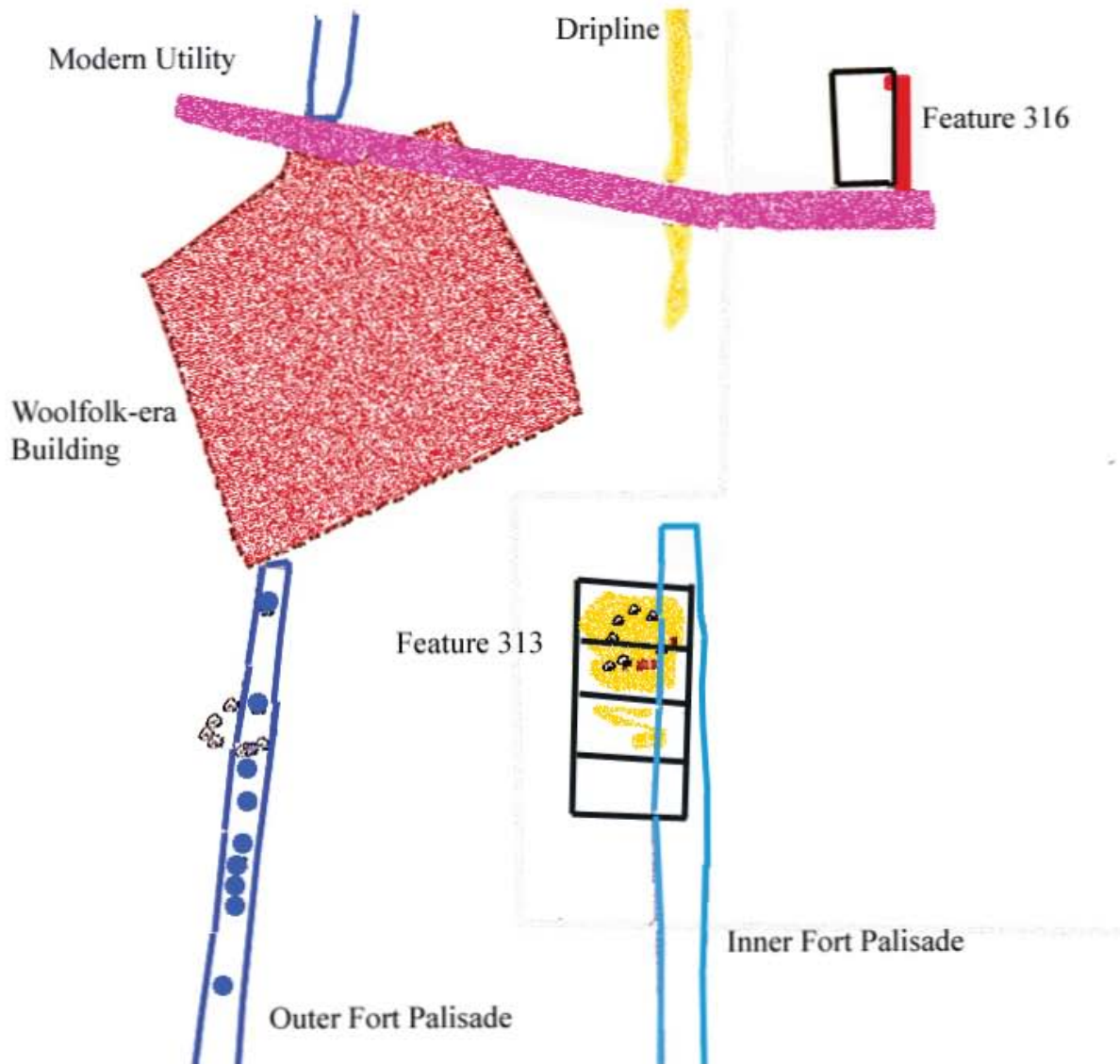


Figure 28. Plan Along West Side of Fort Hawkins, Showing Features 313 and 316.

Palisade 3. The age and relationship of this palisade wall to the two fort enclosures remains an enigma. This palisade wall was carefully mapped, as shown in Figure 29. A sample section of the wall was excavated. The 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 demonstrate 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.

BLOCKHOUSE YARD, SOUTHEAST

The southeastern blockhouse was surrounded by a palisade enclosure, which was probably constructed in 1809-1810. U.S. Army correspondence, written by Thomas A. Smith to the Secretary of War, describes the construction during that period. In October 2007 the LAMAR Institute archaeologists uncovered three of the four walls that comprised this palisades. The eastern palisade wall, which would be located east of the present chain link fence, has not been identified. The point of articulation between the eastern palisade walls of Fort Hawkins and the Blockhouse Yard northern palisade line was completely excavated in October 2007.

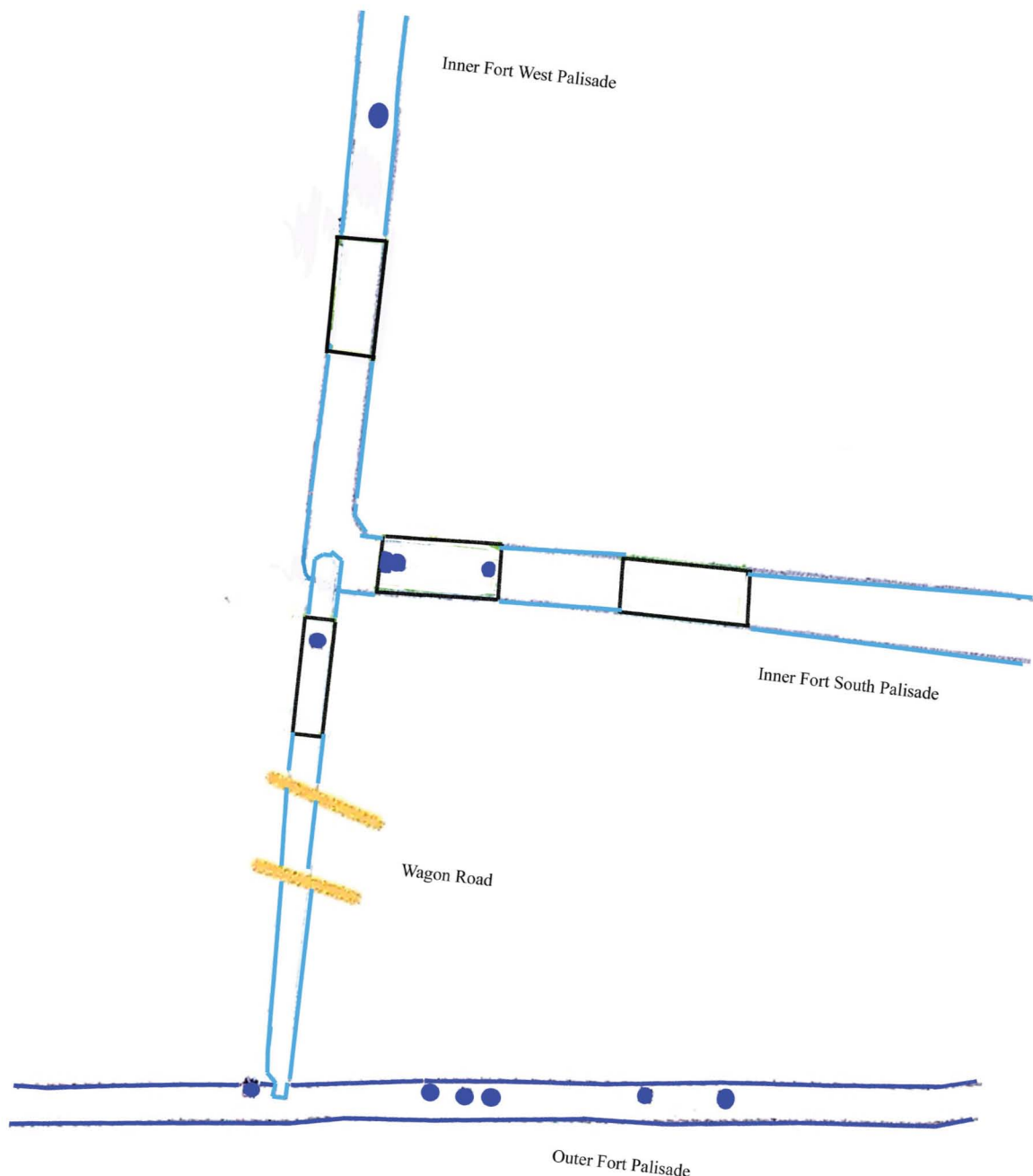


Figure 29. Plan View Showing Junction of Palisades, Southwestern Part of Fort Hawkins.

BLOCKHOUSE YARD, NORTHWEST PARADE GROUND

The northwestern blockhouse was surrounded by a palisade enclosure, which was probably constructed in 1809-1810. This palisade was discovered by the LAMAR Institute archaeologists in 2005 and recorded as Feature 270, although its full significance and function was not appreciated until the October 2007 discoveries at the Southeast Blockhouse. Archaeologists were only able to delineate the portion of the northwestern blockhouse yard palisade along the western and southern sides.

Traditionally, U.S. Army forts of the 19th century contained a parade ground within the walls of the fort and, although no direct references were located describing such a feature, Fort Hawkins likely had one as well. A parade ground within the fort, given the size of the fort as indicated by the archaeology, would have easily accommodated one or two Infantry companies (about 200 soldiers). If a larger number of troops was on parade, they would have likely been drilling 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 portions of the Parade Ground would be expected. The areas sampled by XU4, XU5, XU8, XU10, XU11, XU19, and the northeastern part of XU1 sampled this area of the fort. These results were disappointing however, as intact fort-period features, midden or concentrations artifacts were not found there. 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 identity 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 Bullock, 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, such as 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 (Gary Doster, personal communication, February 9, 2008).

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 [sic] 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 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 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 (or 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, Aide 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, RG98:250-521). 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. The architectural potential, and their likelihood of having associated features and middens, make taverns at Fort Hawkins 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 officer 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.

The local news was published at Fort Hawkins as early as 1819. Wilcox (1999) provided this background information about 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, *Bulldog*, at the fort, and he planned Macon's Rose Hill Cemetery". The earliest surviving newspaper from Fort Hawkins was a crude, 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 *Bulldog* is held in the Wesleyan College Archives at Macon. Several other copies of *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 *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 (1808-1816)

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, traders and colonists developed through a painful evolutionary process. This process had economic aspects but also social and geopolitical 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 from 1795 to 1822 to regulate trade with the Native Americans (Peake 1954). In 1795 Congress authorized the position of Factor, whose job duties were as follows:

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 U.S. trading factories were essentially a chain of government-owned stores that provided a variety of products to the Native Americans at cost, in exchange for native goods. The factory system was intended to promote peace, protect the Native Americans from exploitation by private traders, and to offset Spanish and British negative influences on the tribes (Mason 1812).

The first Trading Factory at Coleraine was one of three or four in Georgia 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 from Coleraine 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 DeVorsey and Waters 1973:8-9).

Edward Price was succeeded by Jonathan Halstead as the U.S. Factor in the Creek Nation. U.S. 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 planned 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 continued at Fort Hawkins from October 1808 until August 1816 (Wilcox 1999; DeVorsey and Waters 1970:11; NARA, RG107, M221).

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. Philemon Hawkins was the Indian Agent at Fort Hawkins in 1816. In September 1816, the U.S. Trading Factory was relocated from Fort Hawkins to Fort Mitchell on the Chattahoochee River (Wilcox 1999).

A summary of the 14 trading houses operated by the U.S. government was compiled in 1810 by John Mason, who served as Superintendent of the Indian Trade from 1807-1816 (Mason 1810, 1812). 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 Ocmulgee, in 1806: and that

originally established at Tellico, to the Hiwassee 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).

Superintendent Mason prepared another report on 10 U.S. trading factories, which was submitted to Secretary of War William Eustis. In it Mason summarized the activities between January 1, 1808, and September 30, 1811. Mason's report contained tables on properties, income, and losses at each of the 10 factories, which were: Fort Hawkins, Chickasaw Bluffs, Fort St. Stephens, Fort Osage, Fort Madison, Natchitoches, Fort Wayne, Chicago, Sandusky, Michilimackinac (Mackinac). Coleraine, Tellico blockhouse (Hiwassee), Detroit, Arkansas, and Belle Fontaine are absent from the 1812 report. The U.S. Congress allocated a total of \$300,000 for the trading factories for the period 1808-1811 (Mason 1812).

Annual financial summaries for the Fort Hawkins trading factory, as well as the other U.S. factories, were published by the U.S. Congress (ASP 8, Indian Affairs v.2:34-68). Excerpts are listed below.

On September 30, 1809, the Fort Hawkins factory had property assets of \$8,641.81. This figure covers the time span when the Ocmulgee Fields Trading Factory was moved to Fort Hawkins. This property included:

Merchandise on hand, per inventory of this date,	\$2,375.99 ^{2/3}
Furs and Peltries	5,397.00
Cash	199.29 ^{5/12}
Debts	206.48 ^{3/4}
Factory Buildings	<u>463.03</u> ^{1/2}
[Total]	\$8,641.81

(ASP 7, Indian Affairs v.2:770)

On April 1, 1811, the Fort Hawkins factory had property assets of \$14,186.51 ^{1/2}. This property included:

Merchandise and implements	\$4,845.10
Cash	1,343.39
Peltry	6,935.87 ^{1/2}
Buildings, cost of	470.28 ^{1/2}
Debts due	<u>571.86</u> ^{1/2}
[Total]	\$14,166.51 ^{1/2}

(ASP 8, Indian Affairs v.2:55)

An "Abstract of property on hand and debts due" at Fort Hawkins on March 31, 1815, "as per the inventories and accounts rendered the Superintendent of Indian Trade by the factors", totaled \$12,007.66 ^{1/2} and included the following:

Amount of merchandise and contingent articles	8,995.14
Amount of cash	117.46
Amount of peltry	6,782.30
Amount of debts due	3,471.06 ^{1/2}
Amount of buildings	<u>727.31</u> ^{1/2}
	12,083.28 ^{1/2}
Deduct debts due by the factory	<u>86.62</u>
[Total]	\$12,007.66 ^{1/2}

(ASP 8, Indian Affairs v. 2:34, 58)

The Superintendent of Indian Trade forwarded \$2,533.87 of merchandise to Fort Hawkins from April 1, 1811 to April of 1812. A total of \$30,587.81 in merchandise was shipped to the 10 trading factories during that period. No merchandise was shipped from the Superintendent to Fort Hawkins from April 1, 1812 to March 31, 1815, nor was any shipped during that period to the trading factories at Chicago, Michilimackinac, or Sandusky. The trading factories at Chickasaw, Choctaw, Des Moines, Osage, and Natchitoches, however, received nearly continuous shipments of merchandise throughout this time span. Fort Wayne received merchandise only from April 1, 1812 to March 31, 1813 and that factory received only slightly more (\$2,904.92) than did Fort Hawkins. Of these 10 trading factories, Natchitoches received the most merchandise for this period (\$24,480.97) and Michilimackinac received the least (\$1,965.30) (ASP 8, Indian Affairs v.2:56).

From 1811 to 1815, the Trading Factory at Fort Hawkins operated at a loss of \$380.88 (ASP 8, Indian Affairs v.2:61). On May 26, 1817, Superintendent McKenney again wrote to Daniel Hughes, who had already moved the trading operation from Fort Hawkins to Fort Mitchell:

I have received your letter of the 1st instant; also, Mr. Bowen's statement of certain evils of which he complains, and which he assigns as the cause of the unfortunate exhibit of another quarter's loss, larger than the former.

I apprehend, unless something can be done, there will be no remedy but a total breaking up of that factory. I cannot, consistently with my office, look on a repetition of losses without stopping them; and if intermediate means are

not interposed, the last remedy must be applied (ASP 8, Indian Affairs v. 2:521).

By 1824, many in the U.S. Congress were in agreement that the trading factory system was unsatisfactory and resolutions were introduced for its abolition (ASP 8, Indian Affairs v. 2). The congressional proceedings in that debate included an extract of a letter from Thomas L. McKenney, Superintendent of Indian Trade, to Major Daniel Hughes, Factor at Fort Hawkins, dated April 29, 1816, in which Superintendent McKenney stated,

It will be proper for you to examine and settle all the books belonging to the trading-house, as they may stand when you take charge of it; also, to begin a new set of accounts with the stock with which you commence. This factory has, for several years, been doing a losing business; in your hands, I trust, it will be revived (ASP 8, Indian Affairs v.2:521).

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).

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 large quantity of deer 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).

A table of places where Indian Agents and Factors were located, with the amount of their salaries, was compiled by D.B. Warden was published in 1819 in Scotland (Warden 1819:567-568). That table listed a Factor at Fort Hawkins, whose annual salary was \$1000.00 and an Agent, whose was paid \$500.00 annually. According to Warden's list,

Factors were posted at the following places: Fort Osage, Prairie du Chien, Chickasaw Bluffs, Green Bay, Chicago, Natchitoches, Choctaw nation, and Fort Hawkins. He lists Agents at these places: Natchitoches, Prairie du Chien, Chickasaw agency, Buffalo, Fort Wayne, Piqua, Cherokee agency, Choctaw agency, Chicago, Green Bay, Missouri territory, Mackanaw, Pioria, Michigan territory, Fort Madison, Six Nations, Illinois territory, and Fort Hawkins. He also lists one assistant for transporting goods at St. Louis. Warden did not record the date covered by his list, although it dates pre-1817.

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

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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. Daniel Hughes moved the Factory to Fort Mitchell, immediately west of the Chattahoochee River in the newly ceded lands (DeVorse and Waters 1970:17).

The archaeological 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 had already established his residence there and, according to his obituary, was living in the area by 1826. His entire family 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 2008). 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 2008).

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 described finding rubble fill that possibly represents a structure (Carillo 1971:36). 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 observed "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 2008). 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 2008). One modest dwelling that post-dates the Woolfolk era and predates the Fort Hawkins school era, was located in the vicinity of the northwestern blockhouse by the present archaeological research. This house ruin is not likely that of Jones, but it may represent a tenant dwelling, or the residence of a subsequent landowner who lived there prior to 1920. Jones may have lived in the former Woolfolk home, but this was not determined by the present research.

CAMP HOPE

Camp Hope was the primary Georgia militia cantonment in the Macon vicinity during the War of 1812. Camp Hope was located along the Milledgeville Road near the Bibb-Jones County line, several miles east-northeast of Fort Hawkins. Although the exact archaeological location of Camp Hope has not been identified, its approximate location is shown on 19th century maps. Camp Hope continued to be identified as a geographical place (just inside the Bibb County boundary) on official maps as late as 1869 (Miller 1858:426; CVI0G 2008; Frobel 1869) Figure 30 shows a close up of Frobel's Bibb County map,

which indicates the relative locations of Fort Hawkins and Camp Hope (Frobel 1869). The various cartographic records all depict Camp Hope as being several miles removed from 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).

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 correspondence. 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.

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 except for the top ranking officers, the two military bodies, U.S.

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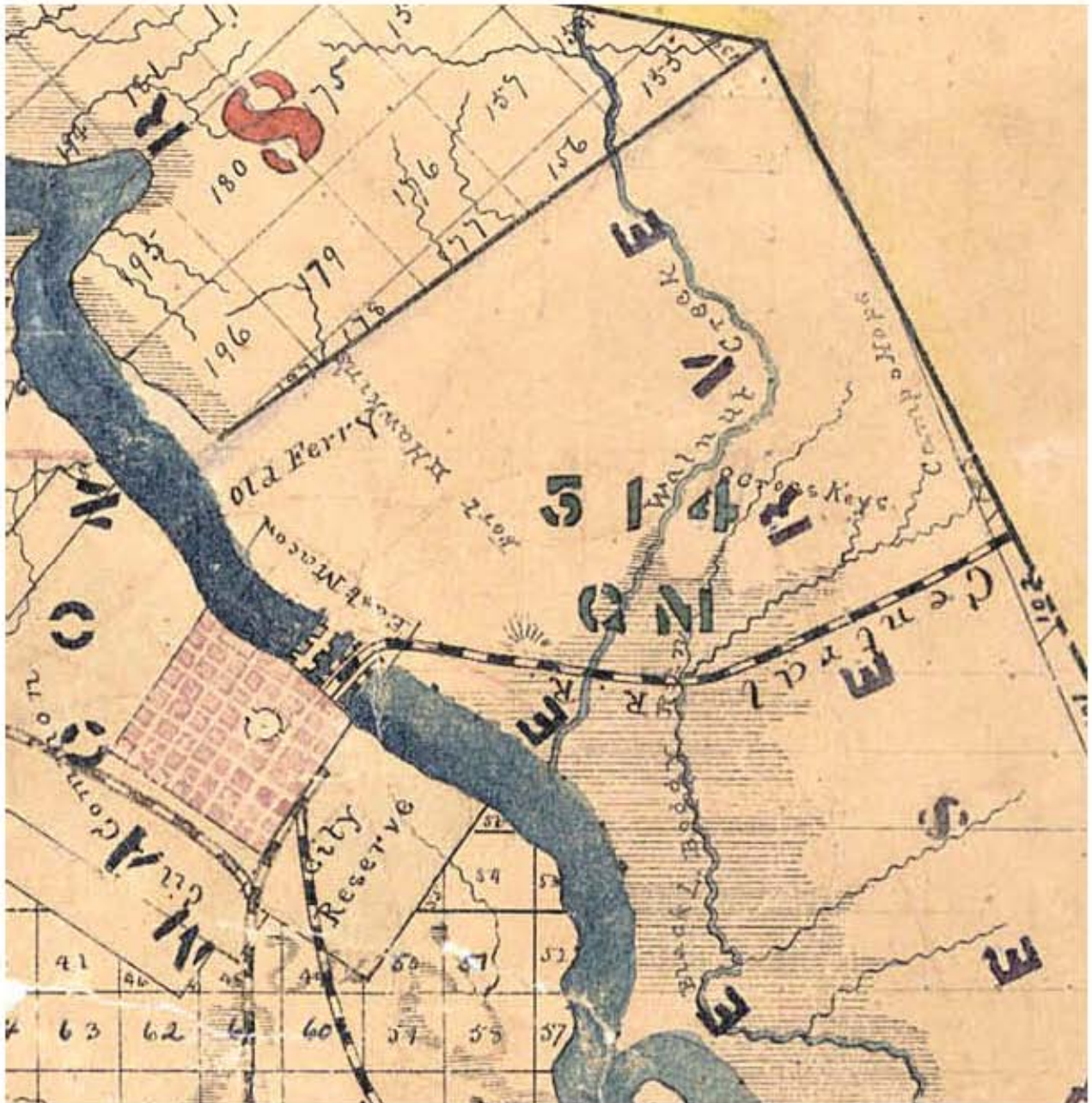


Figure 30. Enlargement of a Portion of Froebel's Bibb County Map, Showing Fort Hawkins and Camp Hope (Froebel 1869).

Army and Georgia militia, were physically separated 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.

Other military camps were located near Fort Hawkins during the fort era including Camp Pike and Camp Huger. Camp Pike was used by troops from the Georgia and North Carolina militias. Camp Huger was used by the U.S. Army troops. Their locations were not determined by the present research effort.

Chapter 7. The Excavations

Archaeological fieldwork at Fort Hawkins was accomplished in a series of short field sessions from August 2005 to October 2007. These excavations were comprised of a series of large block units, which were designated as numbered excavation units, such as XU1, XU2, etc. These excavations were initially opened with the aid of heavy machinery, followed by hand excavation. The excavations were backfilled at the end of each field session. Each of these XUs is briefly described below. Figure 31 shows the limits of the mechanically stripped excavation units and the location of hand-excavated test units (shown in green).

EXCAVATION BLOCK UNITS (XU)

XU1 was placed a large exposed area on the south side of Fort Hawkins. It was an irregularly shaped excavation that extended from the southwestern outer corner of the fort to the chain link fence that formerly surrounded the replica blockhouse on the southeastern side of the Fort. Archaeologists expanded the size of XU1 to the west by the discovery and excavation of Feature 101. Archaeological crews opened a number of hand-excavated subunits within XU1, which were designated Test Units, or TU. It was almost completely backfilled, except for a small area surrounding a well-preserved chimney hearth in Feature 101, which was left open for public viewing. Archaeologists began XU1 in 2005 and returned to XU1 in 2006 and continued exploring this area. A large section of Feature 101 was left unexcavated and banked for future research purposes.

XU1, Extension was a large area that was located immediately south of the western end of XU1. This excavation explored portions of the south and west walls of the Inner Fort. Two spur trenches excavated by the track hoe to the south intersected segments of the south wall of the Outer Fort. The southwest corner of the Inner Fort was discovered within XU1, Extension. This excavation was initially opened up in 2005 and the identified features and palisade line were mapped. In 2006 archaeologists returned to this area and continued work. Several sections of palisade ditch were sampled. A building ruin (Feature 109) was partially exposed and a sample of it explored with a hand-excavated test unit.

XU2 was located along the west side of Fort Hawkins. This excavation traversed the cement foundation wall and front stair steps of the Fort Hawkins school. To the west of the school foundation XU2 followed the eastern edge of the cement school sidewalk. Two hand-excavated

test units were located at the base of XU2. The findings in XU2, in the portion that was beneath the school foundation were quite exciting and greatly enhanced our knowledge of Fort Hawkins and its occupants. The area west of the stair steps contained some cultural features, although that area was highly eroded and demonstrated less research potential. Excavation of XU2 began in 2005 and was completed in 2006.

XU3 was located on the western interior section of Fort Hawkins on the portion of the former Fort Hawkins school embankment having the highest elevation. Two hand-excavated test units were located at the base of XU3. This part of the site appears to be thoroughly churned as a result of the Fort Hawkins school construction in the 1920s. No features or intact midden deposits from the fort era were identified in XU3. This excavation was conducted in 2005.

XU4 was located in the interior portion of Fort Hawkins, east of XU5 and south of XU19. It contained no significant archaeological deposits or features. The soils in XU4 were quite shallow and disturbed. XU4 was completed in 2005.

XU5 was located in the interior of Fort Hawkins, west of XU4. It contained no significant archaeological deposits or features. The soil in this vicinity was determined to be severely disturbed, to a depth of 3 meters or more, by the construction of the Fort Hawkins school in the 1920s. A modern brick was discovered in the deepest probe bucket of the track hoe during excavation. XU5 was completed in 2005.

XU6 was located on the eastern side of Fort Hawkins. This excavation began in 2006, backfilled, then reopened and completed in 2007. Two fort palisade ditches were located in this XU. The westernmost one was previously known and had been sampled by prior excavations by Willey and Carillo. The second palisade ditch, uncovered in 2006, was east of the first one and represented a new discovery. Excavations in 2007 re-exposed the eastern outer palisade wall and these palisade posts were completely excavated. The 2007 excavation project also made new discoveries on the southern end of the XU6 excavation. That area was designated XU23.

Archaeologists investigated a subsurface anomaly that was identified by the GPR Survey in an area on the northeastern corner of the lot in XU6. This anomaly proved to be a concentration of late 19th to early 20th

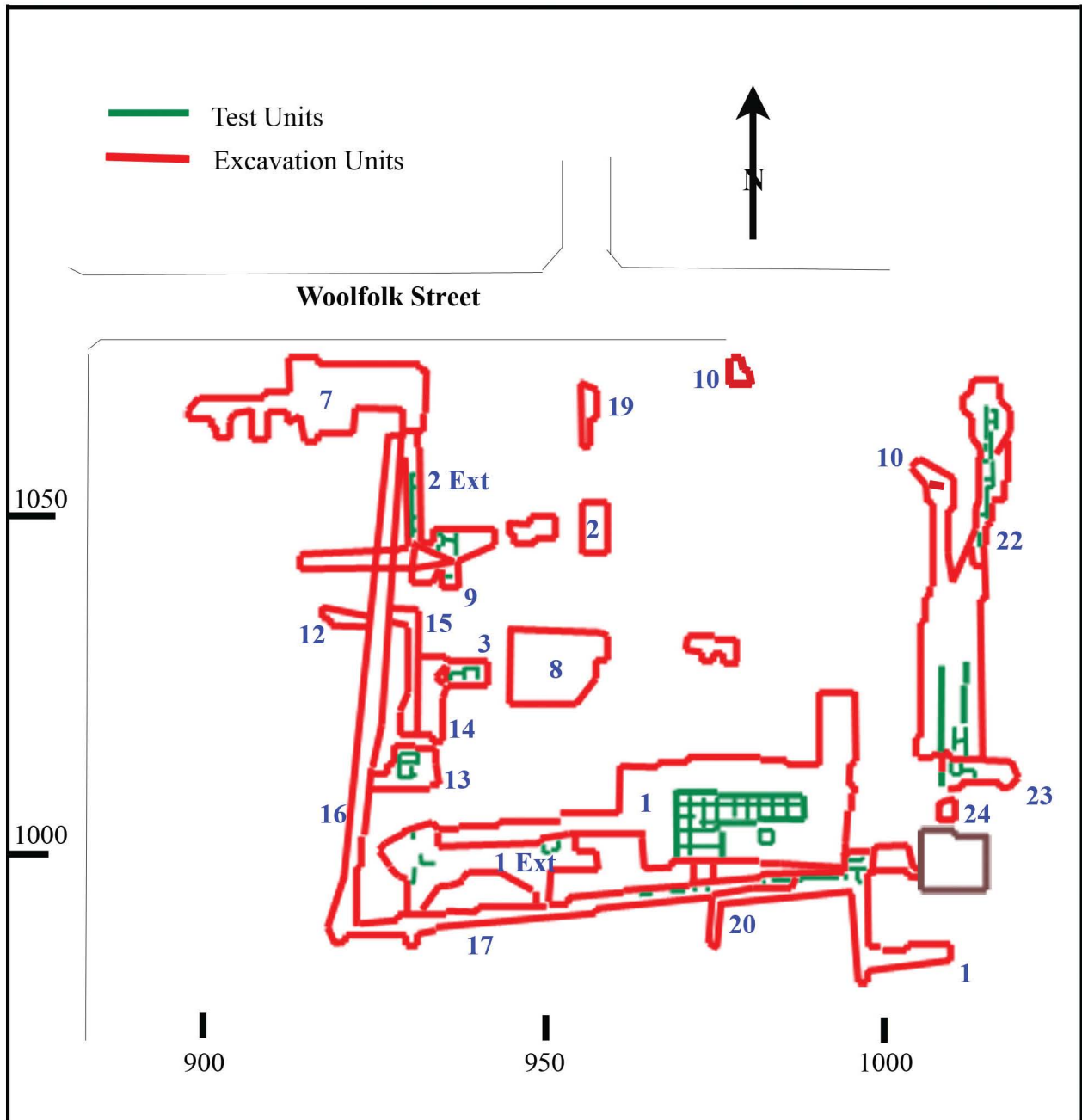


Figure 31. Plan of Excavations, Fort Hawkins, 2005-2007.

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century trash and was not related to the fort era. The area was examined in 2005.

XU7 was located in the northwestern part of Fort Hawkins. Its eastern end was atop the Fort Hawkins school cement foundation wall. This excavation explored several trench features of unknown function, which would later prove to be associated with a palisade wall that surrounded the northwestern blockhouse. The area further to the west of these trenches was quite shallow and disturbed and did not contain any cultural features. XU7 was excavated in 2006.

XU8 was a moderately large excavation block located in the interior of Fort Hawkins. This area contained shallow, disturbed soils. Several natural tree root disturbances were identified in the excavation but no fort-related artifacts, features or intact midden deposits were located. Any shallow fort-related features or deposits were likely scoured off as part of the school construction. Any very deep features would likely have remained, judging from the tree stump hole evidence. No deep features were found. XU8 was completed in 2006.

XU9 was located just inside the west wall of the Inner Fort and immediately south of XU2. The northern portion of XU9 contained the base of a cellar from a fort-related building. This cellar was explored by a hand-excavated test unit. The southern part of the cellar was determined to be thoroughly churned by relic hunters and lacked all integrity. The northern portion of the cellar contained a shallow, intact midden deposit, which was excavated. This cellar fill continued into the southern part of XU2, which was cellar fill excavated in 2005. XU9 was completed in 2006. XU2 and XU9 were separated by a narrow balk that was less than 50 cm wide.

XU10 was located on the north side of Fort Hawkins, near the edge of the level ground and Woolfolk Street embankment. It contained only modern artifacts and no fort related artifacts or features. The soils in this excavation were shallow and disturbed. XU10 was completed in 2006.

XU11 was a small exposure located near the center of Fort Hawkins. It contained no fort related artifacts, features or midden. Soils in this area were shallow and disturbed, probably as a result of the school auditorium construction. XU11 was completed in 2006.

XU12 was a small exposure located just outside the western wall of Fort Hawkins. The intended purpose of this excavation was to intercept the outer western palisade ditch of Fort Hawkins. It was positioned south of XU2 and west of XU16. This excavation contained no fort-related artifacts, features or midden deposits. Soils in

this excavation were shallow and disturbed. The unit was completed in 2006.

XU13 was a moderate-sized excavation on the west side of Fort Hawkins and beneath the location where the Fort Hawkins school once stood. XU13 joined XU16 on the western edge of XU13 and was separated from XUs 14 and 15 on the north side by a concrete wall associated with the school. Four hand-excavated test units were located within XU13 and these investigated Feature 313. Archaeologists defined a segment of the west palisade wall of the Inner Fort within XU13, although the disturbance caused by the school construction and the large concrete pieces in this vicinity made the delineation of the fort features very difficult. This excavation was completed in 2006.

XU14 was located on the west side of Fort Hawkins, immediately west of the inner palisade wall. This excavation connected with XU16 on its northwestern end. It was separated from XU15 by a massive concrete foundation wall from the Fort Hawkins school. This excavation contained segments of the palisade wall. XU14 was excavated in 2006.

XU15 was located on the west side of Fort Hawkins, immediately east of XU14, north of XU13, and overlapping with XU3. Archaeologists hand excavated one test unit in XU15 to investigate a remnant of a brick fireplace. This excavation was flanked on the south and west sides by massive concrete foundations of the Fort Hawkins school. The excavation was completed in 2006.

XU16 was a long narrow trench that explored the west palisade wall of the Outer Fort. It was exploratory in nature and the palisade posts within it were mapped and reburied. Its northern end terminated with XU2 and its southern end joined XU17. Excavation of XU16 was completed in 2006.

XU17 was a long narrow trench that explored the south palisade wall of the Outer Fort. It was exploratory in nature and the palisade posts within it were mapped and reburied. It was joined on its western end by XU16 and its eastern end by XU1. Two trenches from XU1 Extension were excavated prior to XU17 and the coverage on these trenches overlapped with XU17. Excavation of XU17 was completed in 2006.

XU18 was a small exposure that was excavated on the northern end of the inner east palisade wall that was delineated in XU6. The palisade ditch, as corroborated in Willey's 1936 field notes, became shallower and less easily discerned as it progressed northward. In the vicinity of XU18 all trace of this trench was gone and the soils were very shallow above the clay subsoil. The excavation was completed in 2006.

XU19 was a narrow excavation located in the northwestern interior of Fort Hawkins, immediately east of the Fort Hawkins school foundation. This excavation revealed shallow soil with no fort-era artifacts, features or midden deposits. XU19 was completed in 2006.

XU20 was an eastern continuation of XU17 and was located in the southeastern part of Fort Hawkins. This unit explored the eastern ends of two south palisade walls of Fort Hawkins. Archaeologists dug two hand-excavated samples in XU20. XU20 was excavated in 2007.

XU21 was located in the southeastern part of Fort Hawkins. This unit connected with the eastern end of XU20 and it explored two newly discovered palisade walls that formed a stockade around the southeastern blockhouse. The palisade ditches in XU21 were carefully mapped but were not excavated. XU21 was excavated in 2007.

XU22 was located on the east side of Fort Hawkins. XU22 was excavated in 2007 and it re-exposed a portion of XU6, which was excavated in 2006. A segment of the outer palisade wall was completely excavated in this XU. Although the palisade ditch remnants in this vicinity were very shallow, excavations still yielded important data on the techniques and materials used in the fort's construction.

XU23 was located on the east side of Fort Hawkins and was excavated in 2007. It re-exposed a minor portion of XU6 that was excavated the previous year and also exposed a new area. Excavations revealed a palisade ditch, which was oriented east-west and formed part of a stockade surrounding the southeastern blockhouse. This new discovery was designated North Palisade 1, since it was the first palisade that has been located on the north side of any enclosure. This newly discovered palisade was mapped in plan and a small section on its western end was excavated. Most of this palisade ditch was backfilled for future excavation. The eastern end of XU23 was dictated by the chain link fence and the eastern end of North Palisade 1 was not encountered. A small sample of the inner east palisade wall was exposed and sampled by a hand-excavated test unit in the southwest corner of XU23.

XU24 was a small excavation located south of XU23 on the southeast side of Fort Hawkins. This excavation exposed a segment of the inner eastern palisade ditch, which was previously excavated by Willey's 1936 effort. The ditch was mapped, partially hand excavated, and the palisade post remains were left in place. The southern end of XU24 terminated at the decorative brick walkway and the northern end was defined by a rock wall and an electrical utility ditch, which separated it from XU23. XU24 was excavated in 2007.

XU25 was a small excavation located east of XU20 on the southeast side of Fort Hawkins. Prior to 2007, this area was within the chain link fence that had surrounded the southeastern blockhouse. This excavation exposed a segment of the inner southern palisade ditch, which was previously excavated by Willey's 1936 effort. The ditch was mapped, partially hand excavated, and the palisade post remains were left in place. This excavation was separated from XU20 by a 75 cm balk that contained an electrical utility ditch and conduit. The eastern end of XU25 terminated at the decorative brick walkway, approximately 1 m from the western wall of the replica blockhouse. XU25 was excavated in 2007.

These 25 excavation blocks (XUs1-25) at 9Bi21 form the basis of our current understanding of the architectural plan of Fort Hawkins. Figure 32 is a simplified map that shows the major Fort Hawkins-era building ruins and palisades that were discovered by the 2005, 2006 and 2007 field effort.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FEATURES

Archaeologists identified many features and posts at Fort Hawkins. Most of the larger features were explored and excavated. 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 in XU1. 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 abandonment.

The south side of Feature 101 is the least 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 recognized in the 1970s by Carillo's excavation team in their Units 6 and 13B, although he 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,

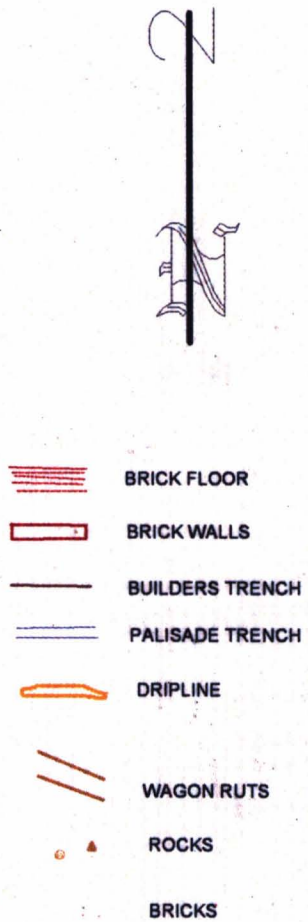
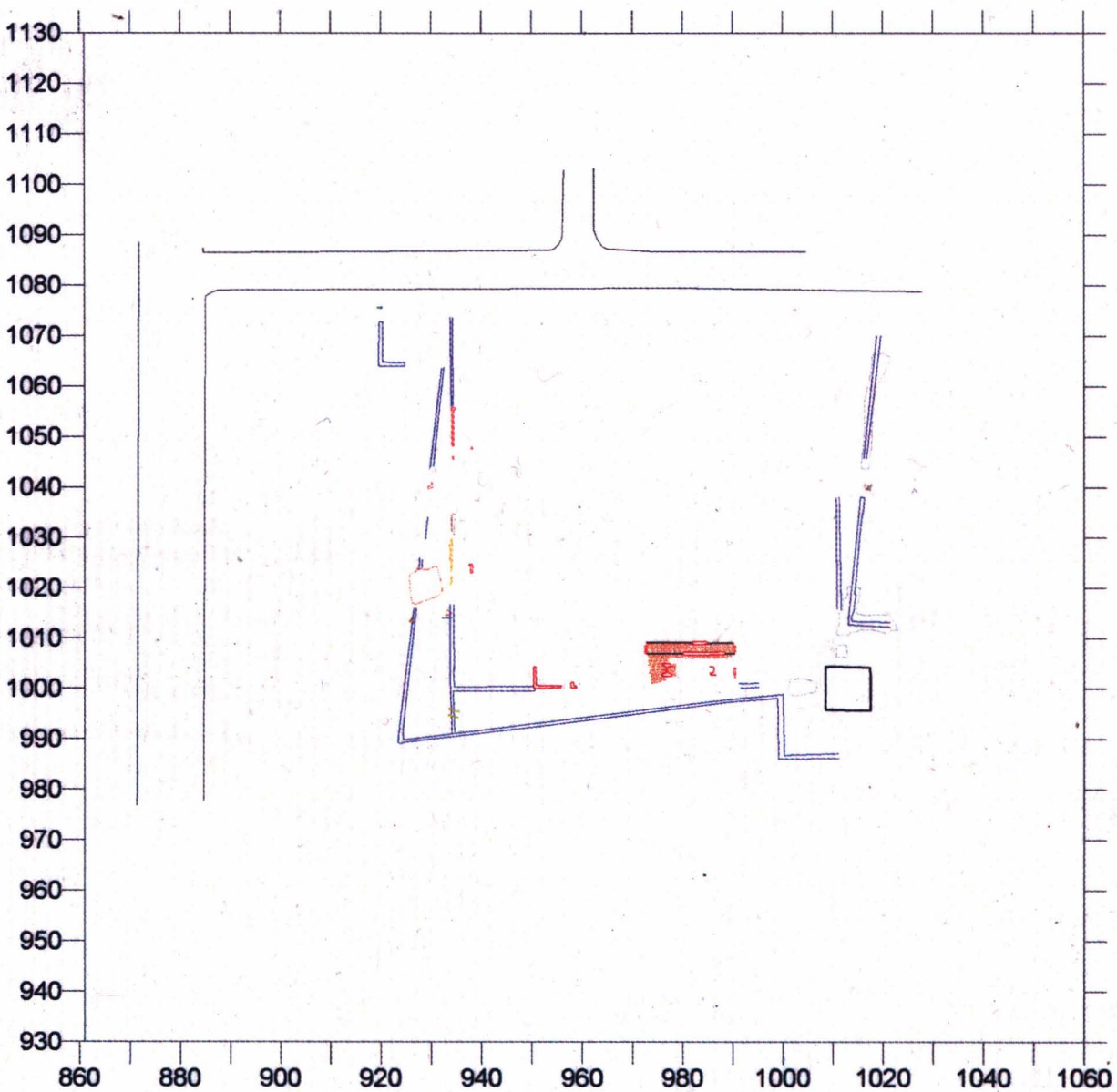


Figure 32. Fort Hawkins Plan Revealed by 2005-2007 Research.

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 33). The chimneys were placed in the center of the building. Figure 34 shows the plan of the western chimney brickwork after excavation. Immediately north of these four rooms was a long, 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 35). Evidence for a stairway, if it existed, was obliterated by brick salvers in the 19th century. Archaeologists noticed considerable differences in the battered condition of the brick flooring in this hallway compared to the bricks that paved the interior rooms. The hallway and the westernmost room of Feature 101 were completely excavated. Slightly less than one-half of the room adjacent was excavated. The northern hallway/porch was almost completely excavated (Figure 36). 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. Approximately 22,268 artifacts were retrieved by the partial excavation of Feature 101, or 59 percent of the entire artifact collection from Fort Hawkins. A variety of artifact data was used to determine the approximate age of the archaeological deposits in this feature. These data indicate that the building was constructed as part of the Army garrison and used by the soldiers and continued in use for several decades 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 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 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 non-blue transfer-printed sherds were recovered from Feature 101 and one-half of these were derived from Level 1 of the feature fill. This low frequency of occurrence suggests that this building was abandoned sometime shortly after 1840. The various

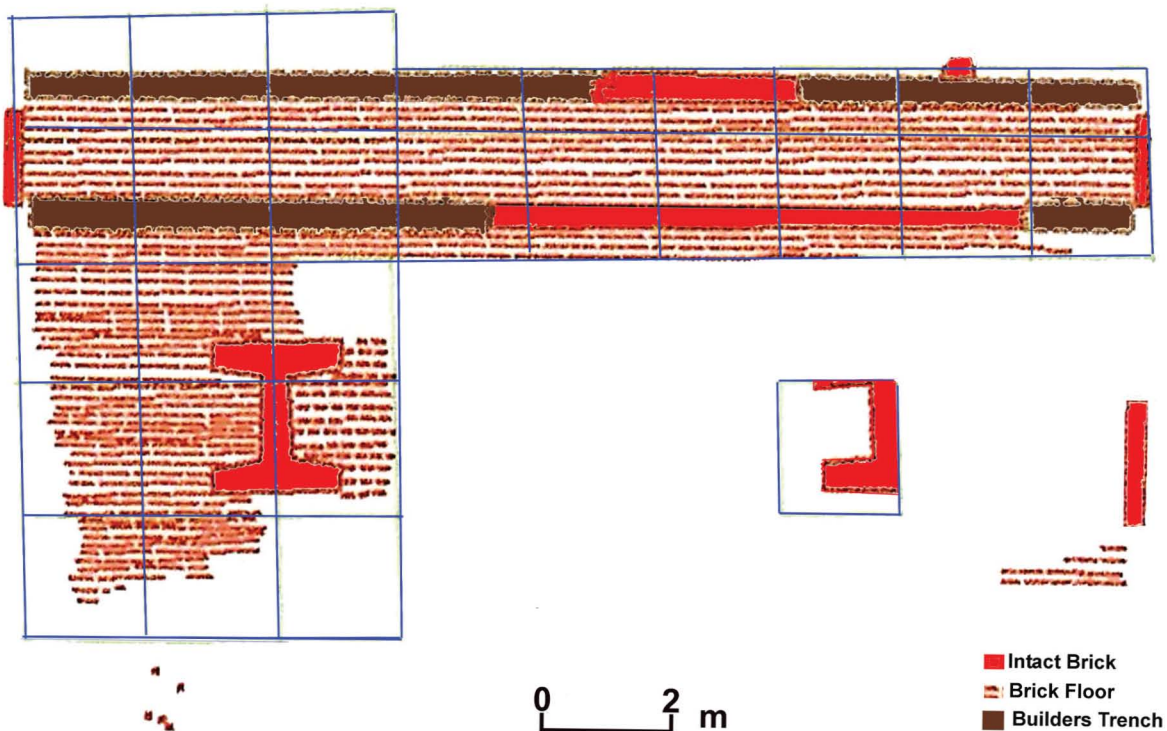


Figure 33. Feature 101, Plan.

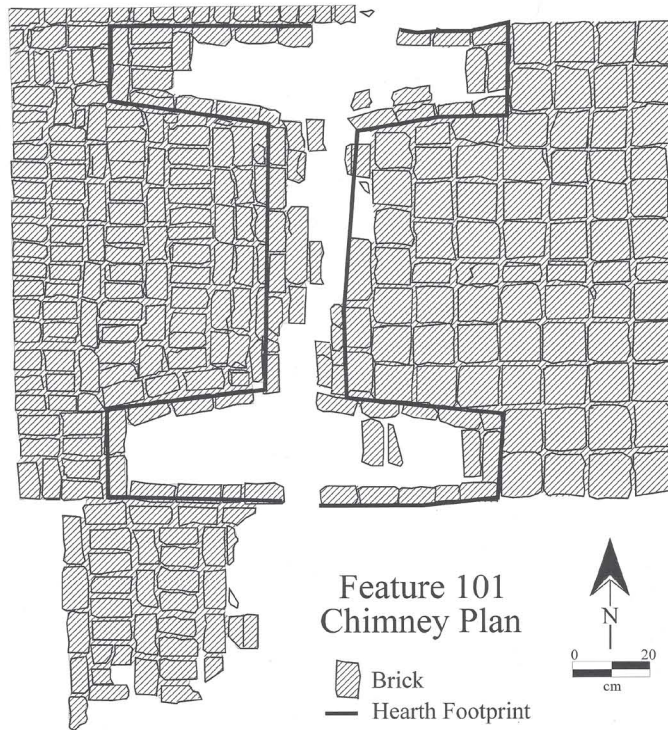


Figure 34. Feature 101, Western Chimney Plan.

Test Unit 101
Base of Level 3

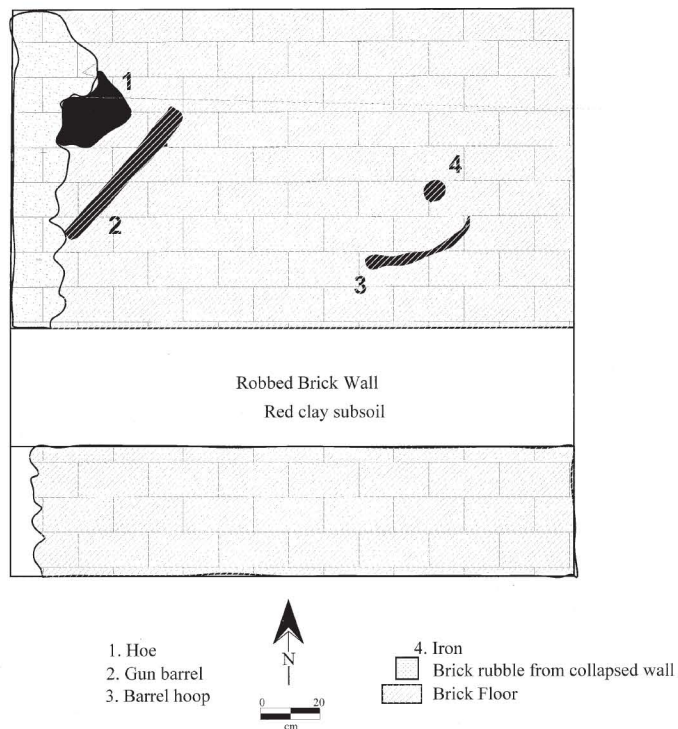


Figure 35. TU101, Feature 101, Base of Level 3.

Feature 101 North Profile

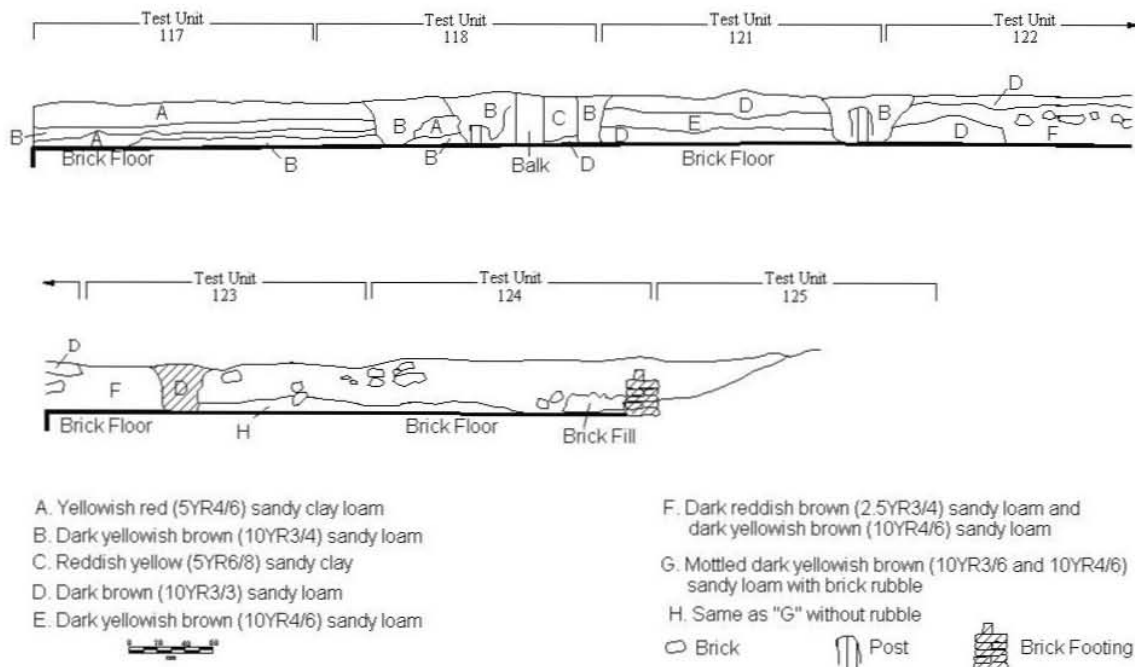


Figure 36. Feature 101, Hallway, North Profile.

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 formula 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 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, however, is associated with the fort era. Approximately 46 percent or (22.5 m²) of Feature 101 was excavated by the project team. A substantial portion of Feature 101 (54% or 26 m²) 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 less conservative however, since the southern and southeastern parts of Feature 101 appear more eroded and disturbed 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 was 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 suspected occupation for Feature 101.

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 faced neglect and a gradual collapse. Futile attempts

to reinforce the sagging upper story were 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 with perhaps the above basement portions used as an animal shelter, stables or animal pens, or simply as a garbage dump. Human activity in this building ceased by the early 1840s and this date may indicate the approximate time of the building's final collapse. Louis Manigault's 1864 description of Fort Hawkins may reveal, however, that this building was in use as a stable for Thomas Woolfolk's mules. Manigault noted, "...a third [blockhouse] seemed admirably adapted for the purposes of a stable, and was filled with mules..." (Manigault 1864:108-112). By the 1880s this massive building represented by Feature 101 was gone and apparently 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 XU1. It consisted of the remains of a brick building that abutted the south wall of the Inner Fort, west of Feature 101. This feature was first discovered in November of 2005, but an overhead power transmission line precluded any further examination. Once this power pole 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. A sizeable remnant was exposed by this project in XU1 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 TU146 is shown in Figure 37. 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. An exploratory track hoe trench was excavated to the south of Feature 109 to assess the feature's southern limit and to search for other cultural features. The East profile of this trench is shown in Figure 38.

Artifacts recovered from the fill of Feature 109 attest that this small building continued in use (or was used as a refuse dump) after Fort Hawkins was abandoned, and well into the mid-19th century. Feature 109 was sampled by TU141, which was a 2 m by 2 m unit. A small sample of artifacts was located on the surface with the aid of a

metal detector, and these items were recorded as piece plots.

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 possible coffin hardware sparked an alarm concerning the potential for human remains in this part of Fort Hawkins. Upon careful examination of its excavated context however, archaeologists discovered the artifact to be 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. This date is consistent with the Fort Hawkins era and suggests that the building was original to the fort. Thickness measurements from 38 window pane sherds from Feature 109 were used to calculate a WGD 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.

Feature 109 was an original Fort Hawkins building that abutted the inner palisade wall. This building continued in use by the Woolfolks or their enslaved population. The fort-era MCD of 1810.1 may indicate that this building was used as a residence by the soldiers, and the dearth of later ceramics may suggest that the building was later used for non-residential purposes, such as a tool shed or storage building. The WGD of 1855 indicates that windows were a late addition to this older building and that the window installation was associated with the Woolfolks period of ownership. Either this building had no glass windows during the fort era or such evidence was removed during a remodel.

Feature 259 through 262

Features 259 through 262 were identified immediately southwest of Feature 101 in XU1. Feature 259 was one of several overlapping shallow refuse pits (Figures 39-41). The relationship of these pit features to the building at Feature 101 is unclear. It would seem that these refuse pits (Feature 259-262) were created after the military building was deteriorating but the artifact data provides mixed signals in this interpretation. Feature 259 yielded 130 artifacts and a very small sample of 18 ceramic sherds from this feature was used to calculate a MCD of 1810.2. A TPQ of 1813 was obtained for Feature 259, based on a distinctive military button. These tenuous statistics hints that this feature may date to the fort era. Thickness measurements from 13 window pane sherds from Feature 259 were used to calculate a Window Glass Date (WGD) estimate of 1833.847, however, which suggests that the

Test Unit 146 North Profile

Mechanically stripped elevation

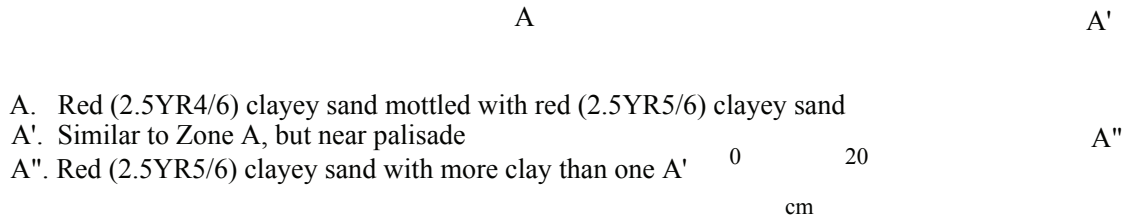


Figure 37. TU146, Feature 109, North Profile.

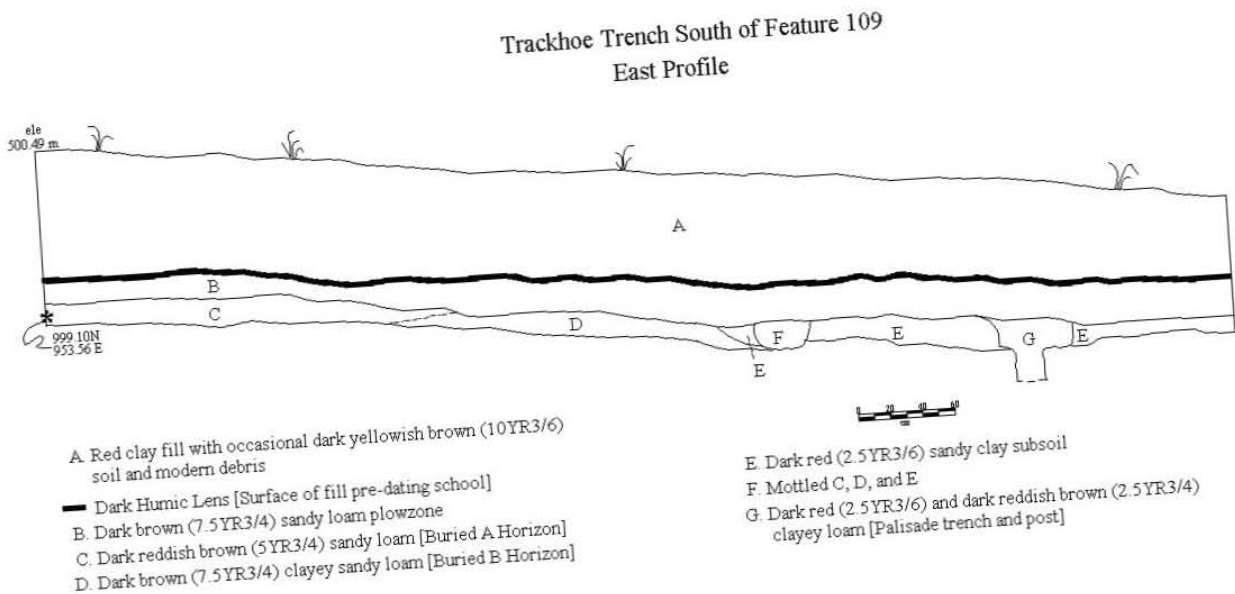


Figure 38. Trackhoe Trench, South of Feature 109, East Profile.

refuse pit was most likely created about a decade after the garrison was removed from the fort. The MCD, TPQ or WGD from Feature 259 are not based on statistically valid samples.

Features 260, 261 and 262 were shallow refuse pits. 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) threaded nut, and one modern, impacted bullet. None of these pit features yielded sufficient quantities of artifacts for statistical manipulation.

Feature 264

Feature 264 was a post and post mold 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 the structure was beginning to deteriorate. This post was likely installed to help support the sagging upper story. Feature 264 contained 139 artifacts. These included window glass, wrought and cut nails, buttons, various early ceramics, bottle glass, buck shot, tobacco pipe fragments, and other items. A small sample of 33 ceramic sherds from Feature 264 was used to calculate a MCD of 1809. Thickness measurements from 19 window pane sherds from Feature 264 were used to calculate a WGD estimate of 1827.5. A military button from Feature 264 had a TPQ of 1813. Of these date estimates, window glass is probably the most reliable indicator of the age of this feature. That date of 1827.5 is after the U.S. Army garrison was removed, but possibly before Woolfolk's title to the property was officially transferred.

Feature 265

Feature 265 was a post and post mold 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 artifacts, including window glass, square nails, various early ceramics, bottle glass, a tumbler glass rim, food 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 WGD estimate of 1834.5 for this feature. Late variety polychrome hand-painted wares from Feature 265

suggests that the feature was filled with refuse after 1830 during the Woolfolk's period of ownership.

Feature 266

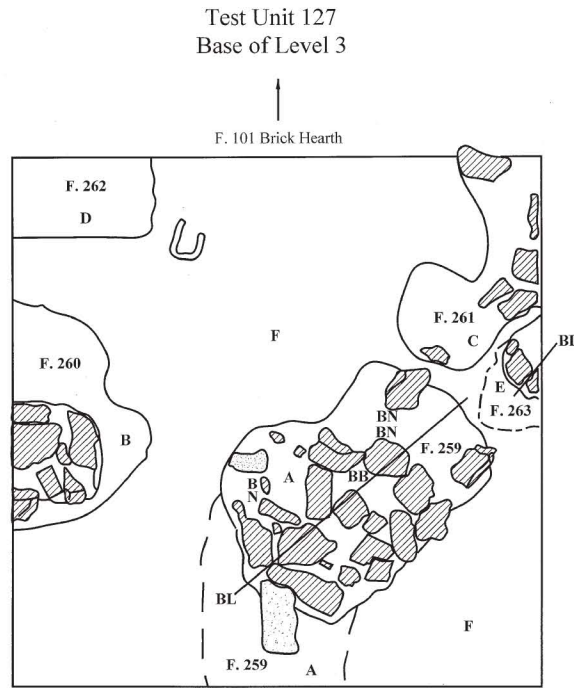
Feature 266 was a post and post mold in the interior of Feature 101 in XU1. It is similar to Features 264 and 265 and it probably dates to the later occupation of the building, when the dwelling was beginning to deteriorate. This post was likely installed to help support the upper story of Feature 101. Feature 266 yielded 62 artifacts, including window glass, nails, buttons, a 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 WGD estimate of 1825.8 for this feature. A military button from Feature 266 had a TPQ of 1813. The interpreted age of this feature is during the "squatter" era, as discussed for Feature 264.

Feature 267

Feature 267 was a post and post mold located in TU130 in XU1. 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 267 is probably associated with the earliest military occupation at Fort Hawkins.

Feature 270

Feature 270 was an L-shaped trench in the northwestern part of Fort Hawkins in XU7. The feature was initially thought to lie outside of the west palisade walls of Fort Hawkins. It 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 track hoe 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.



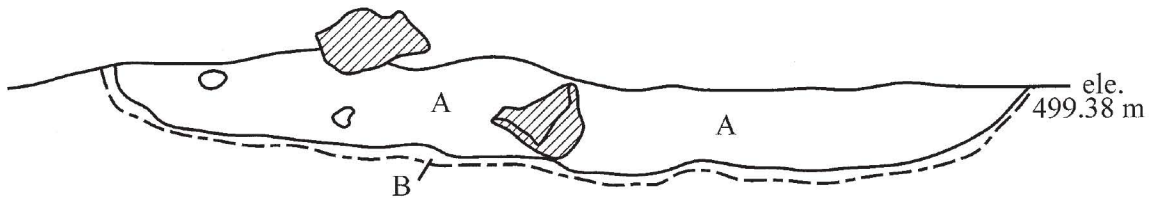
- A. Dark Brown (7.5YR3/4) sandy clay with brick bat rubble, rocks and large bones
- B. Dark Brown (7.5YR3/4) compact sandy clay with charcoal flecks
- C. Dark brown (7.5YR3/4) sandy clay with brick bat rubble
- D. Dark reddish brown (5YR3/4) dry, compacted clayey loam with charcoal and brick bats
- 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
- BB Bottle Base
- BL Bisection Line
- Iron Object
- Rock
- Brick



Figure 39. Plan of TU127 and Features 101, 259-256, Base of Level 3.

Feature 259 Southeast Profile



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

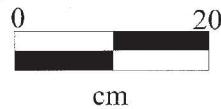


Figure 40. TU127, Feature 259, Southeast Profile.

Feature 260 West Profile

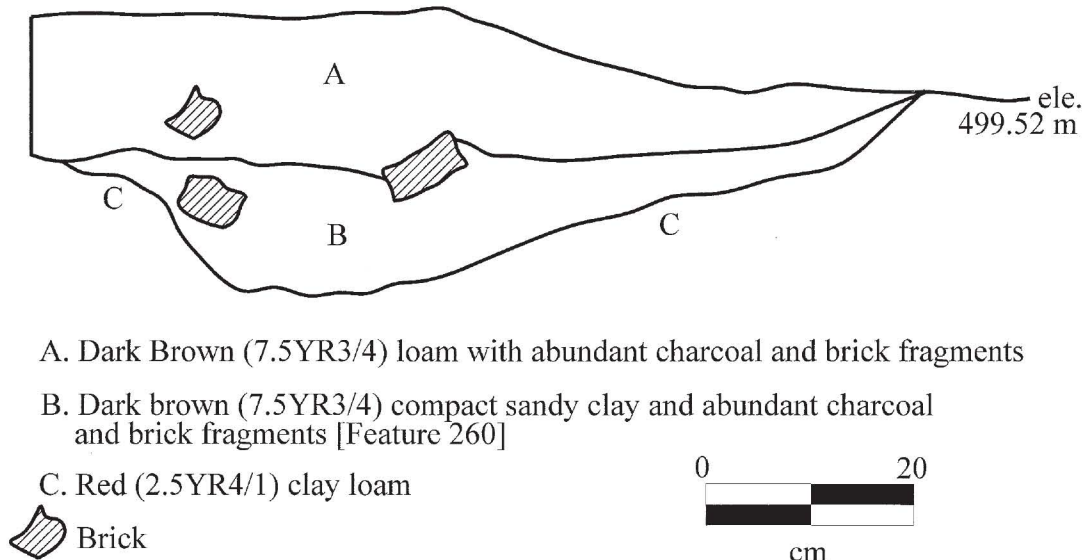


Figure 41. Feature 260, West Profile.

The exploration of Feature 270 unearthed an interesting assemblage of artifacts from the Fort Hawkins occupation, including 1,253 artifacts. Although its original purpose was an enigma when it was excavated in 2005, additional study suggests that this trench functioned later 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 Figure 42. Figure 43 depicts the north profile of this feature. 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 embankment. This feature extension was demonstrated by Carillo's excavations and confirmed by

the present study. A large fieldstone was encountered on the southern end of Feature 270 (Figure 44). The purpose of this stone was probably to serve as a platform for a large upright post. A similar stone was located in TU 160 at the intersection of two palisade lines on the southeast side of the fort. The floor of Feature 270 descended to the north in a series of steps. We suspect that these steps were intended to compensate for the natural slope and to keep the palisade posts within each level section at a similar depth and height.

After the October 2007 discoveries in the southeastern corner of Fort Hawkins, a re-thinking of Feature 270 and its function was in order. The updated interpretation of this L-shaped trench is that it formed part of a palisade wall that surrounded the Northwestern Blockhouse, thereby creating a blockhouse yard. We estimate that the palisades around the Northwest Blockhouse measured about 28 meters by 28 meters. This palisade wall was probably dismantled during the fort era, or very shortly thereafter. Its final use was for refuse disposal.

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 1920s 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 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.



Figure 42. Feature 270, Excavated, Facing North.

When archaeologists discovered this deposit in November, they sampled it with a hand-excavated TU112. 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 TU111. Figures 45 through 47 show profiles of Feature 271.

The crew returned to Feature 271 in June 2006 and exposed a north-south section of the feature. The southeastern corner of the feature was located beneath a massive concrete entryway from the Fort Hawkins school. The area beneath the entryway was not explored.

Although most of the upper zones of Feature 271 were truncated and 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 TU112, 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 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 TU112, was used to calculate a MCD of 1805.6 for this feature. When the TU112 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 TU112 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

Feature 270 North Profile

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 43. Feature 270, North Profile.



Figure 44. Fieldstone in Feature 270, Facing South.

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, 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 and 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, and oldest, of the archaeological deposits intact. 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 (Figures 48 and 49). This feature was first discovered in November 2005 in XU2. It was sampled then by a hand-excavated TU111. The crew returned to this area in 2006 and uncovered the southern part of this feature. A narrow balk, separating XU2 and XU9 was left in place. The exposed portions of Feature 272 were hand excavated as TU140. The southern end of Feature 272 had been thoroughly churned by looters, permanently destroying the chronology of the strata. 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 TU111, 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,



Figure 45. North Profile, Feature 271.

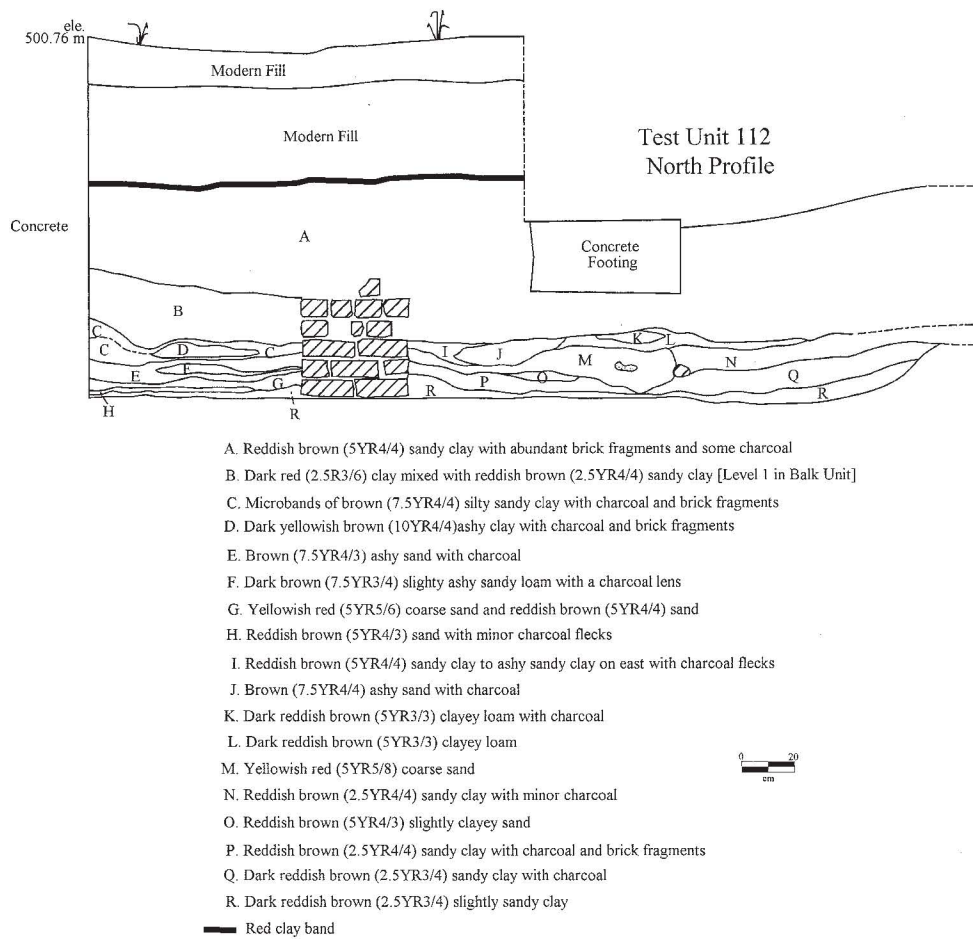


Figure 46. TU112, Feature 271, North Profile.

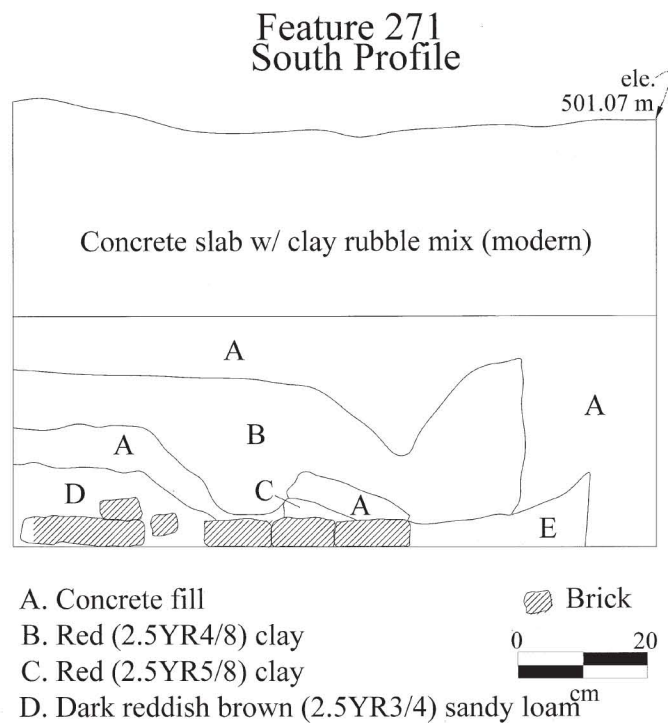


Figure 47. Feature 271, South Profile.

28 tobacco pipe fragments, 263 activities artifacts, and a variety of other miscellaneous items.

A sample of 263 ceramic sherds from Feature 272 (from TU140 and adjacent areas) was used to calculate a MCD of 1807.7 for this feature. A sample of 517 sherds from TU111, 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 Thickness measurements from 19 window pane sherds from Feature 272 were used to calculate a WGD estimate of 1813.3. These ceramic and window glass data attest 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 in the ca. 1970-2000 period. 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. Intact areas were identified and were sampled as TU140. 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 dirt, 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 272. When dateable sherds from all contexts of Feature 272 were combined (n=781 sherds), a MCD of 1807.9 was obtained.

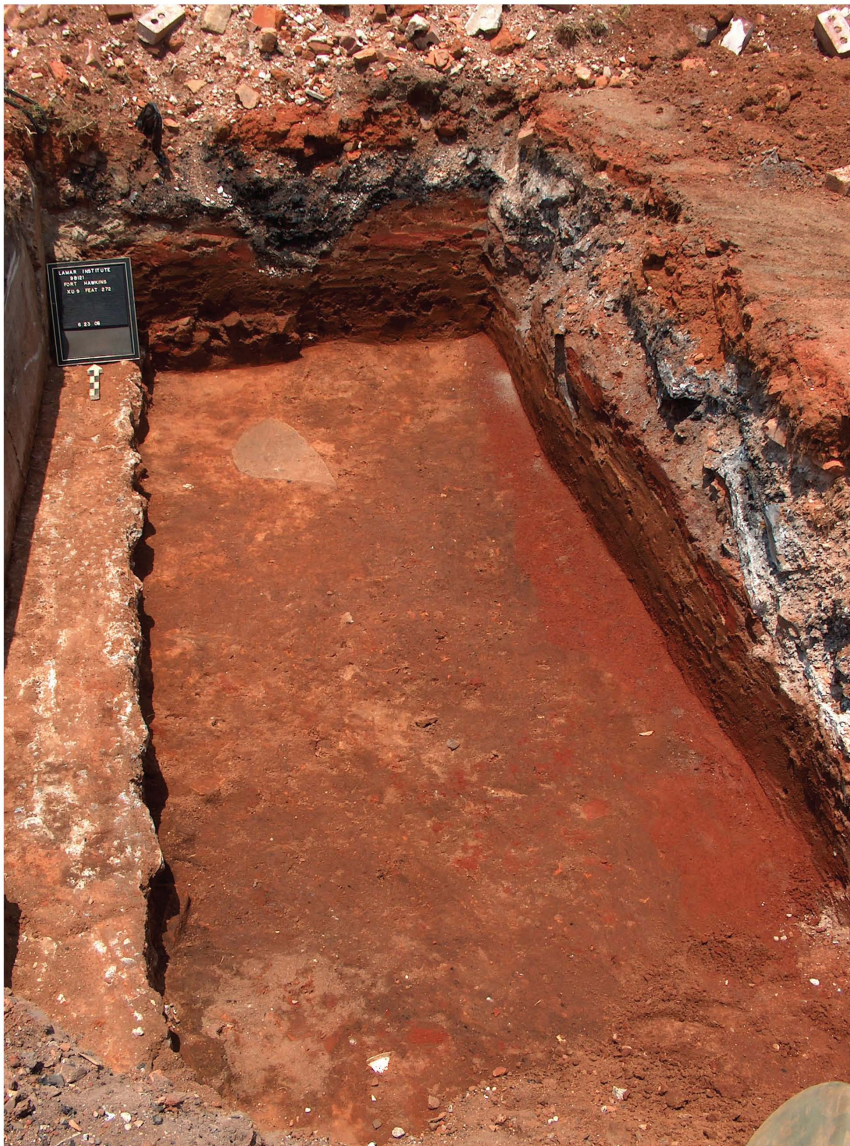


Figure 48. View of TU140, Feature 272.

The full dimensions of Feature 272 were not determined by the present study. 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 connects 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 salvagers 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,

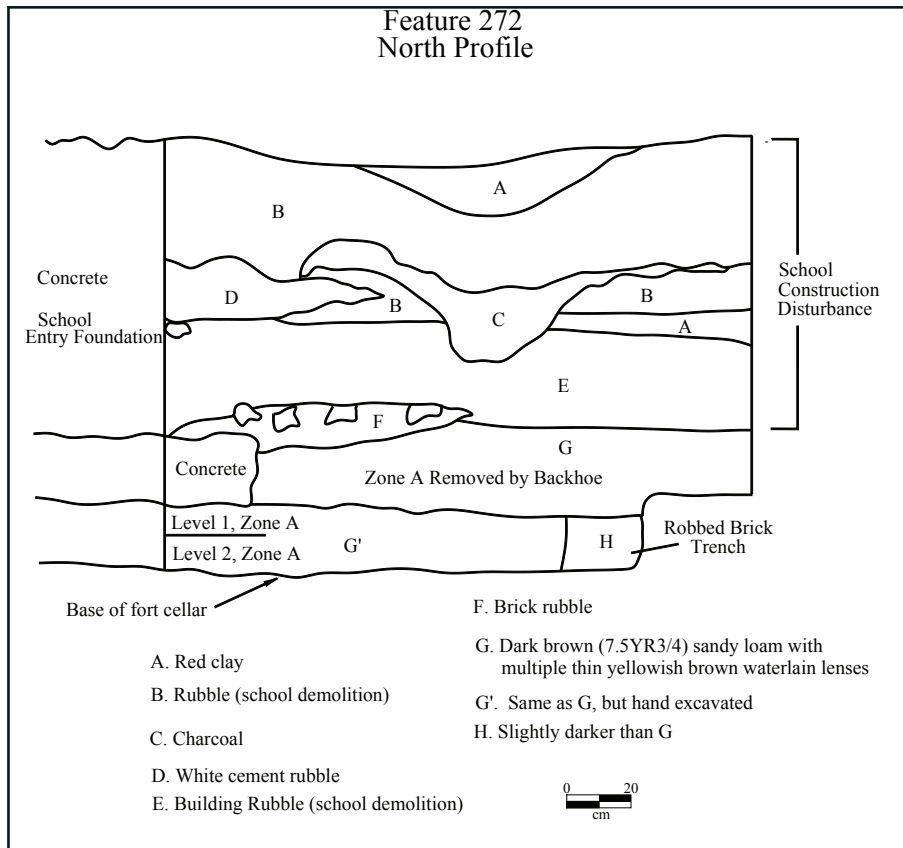


Figure 49. Feature 272, North Profile.

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 post mold and square post hole that intruded into Features 109 and 307. It contained brick rubble, burned window glass, cut nails, ceramic sherds, and iron objects. A 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 a small refuse pit contained within Feature 109 and was sampled by TU141 in the western extension of XU1 (Figure 50). 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 food 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 51 and 52). 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 an area 4 m north-south by 2 m east-west. The layout of the building is not completely understood because the western concrete footer for the 1920s Fort Hawkins school intrudes into the ruins. It also was intruded on its eastern margin by the West Palisade 2, which indicates that Feature 313 intrudes the construction of the Inner Fort. Feature 313 was associated with the Outer Fort.

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 WGD estimate of 1830.6 for this feature. A sample of 11 dateable military buttons from Feature 313 yielded a Mean Button Date (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.

Feature 314

Feature 314 was a building's drip line along the western Inner Fort wall of Fort Hawkins in XU14. This drip line 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 massive cement footer used for the 1920s Fort Hawkins school.

Feature 314 contained 128 artifacts, which included a brick paver with an "O" 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 lumps, and four iron objects. A very small sample of 11 ceramic sherds from Feature 314 produced a MCD of 1808.7.

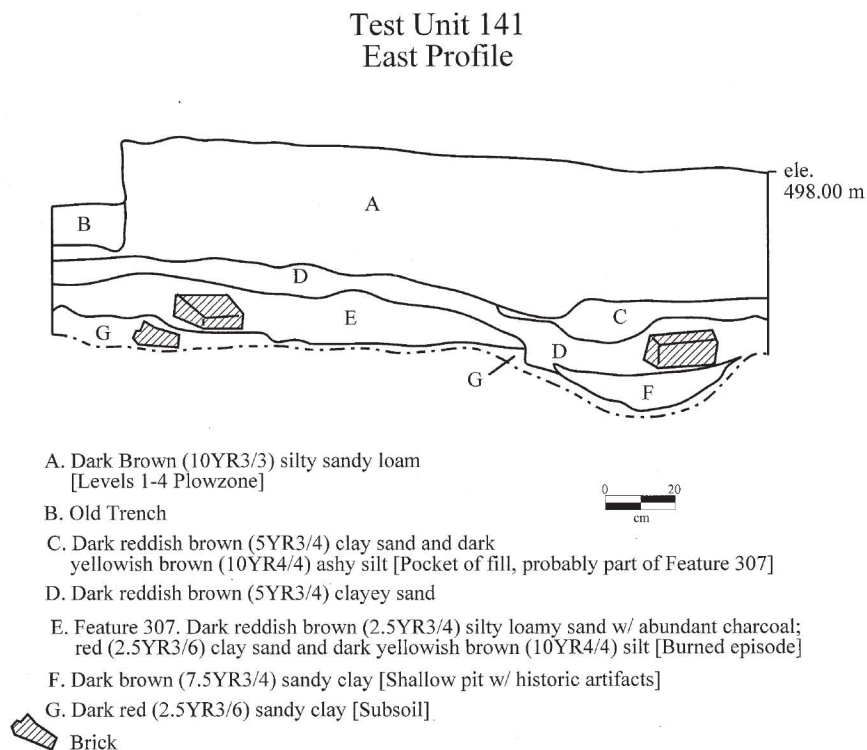


Figure 50. TU141, Feature 307, East Profile.

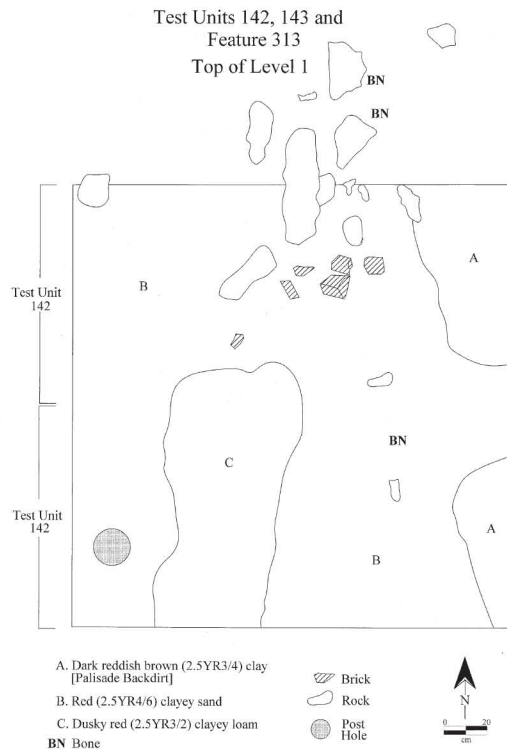


Figure 51. Plan of Test Units 142, 143 and Feature 313, Top of Level 1.

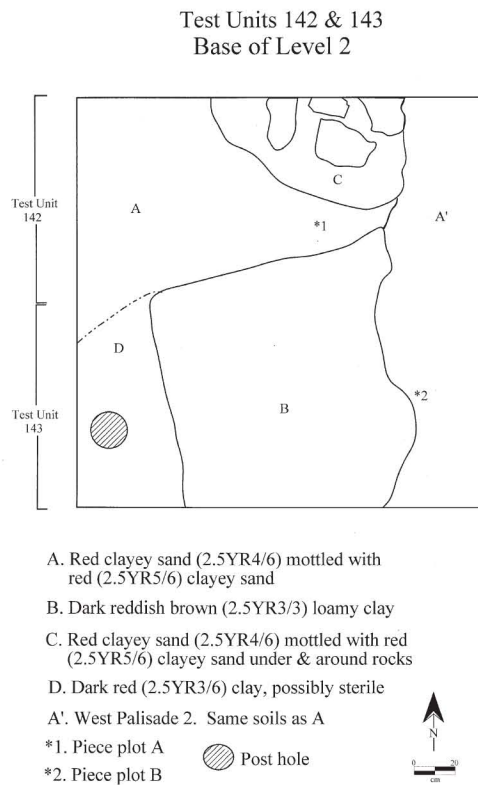


Figure 52. Plan of Test Units 142, 143 and Feature 313, Base of Level 2.

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 XU14 and 15. Feature 316 is associated with the Inner Fort but it was nearly completely destroyed 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 a 2 meter by 1 meter test unit (TU144) was placed there to investigate the potential for intact deposits. The area east and north of this brickwork appeared to be completely disturbed by looting. TU144, which was in XU14, yielded numerous artifacts and it revealed an intact portion of a chimney pad.

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 WGD 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 positive identification of their relics' context and the information the related artifacts could have revealed.

The brickwork in Feature 316 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 53). 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 into (and obscures) West Palisade 1. It was located in XU16. This brick building is probably associated with the Woolfolk Plantation. A very small sample of six

ceramic sherds from Feature 317 was used to calculate a MCD of 1831.7 for this feature. Thickness measurements from 37 window pane sherds from Feature 317 were used to calculate a WGD 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 variations 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 XU13. 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

Features 324, 324a and 325 are all related and most likely associated with Feature 316. Feature 324 was a building's drip line (possibly part of 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 drip line 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 food bone. A sample of 15 ceramic sherds from Feature 324a was used to calculate a MCD of 1809.7 for this feature. This roof drip line was associated with a building that flanked West Palisade 2 of the Inner Fort.

Feature 325 was a builder's trench measuring 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, 2 pearlware sherds, 1 CC ware sherd, bottle glass, 1 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

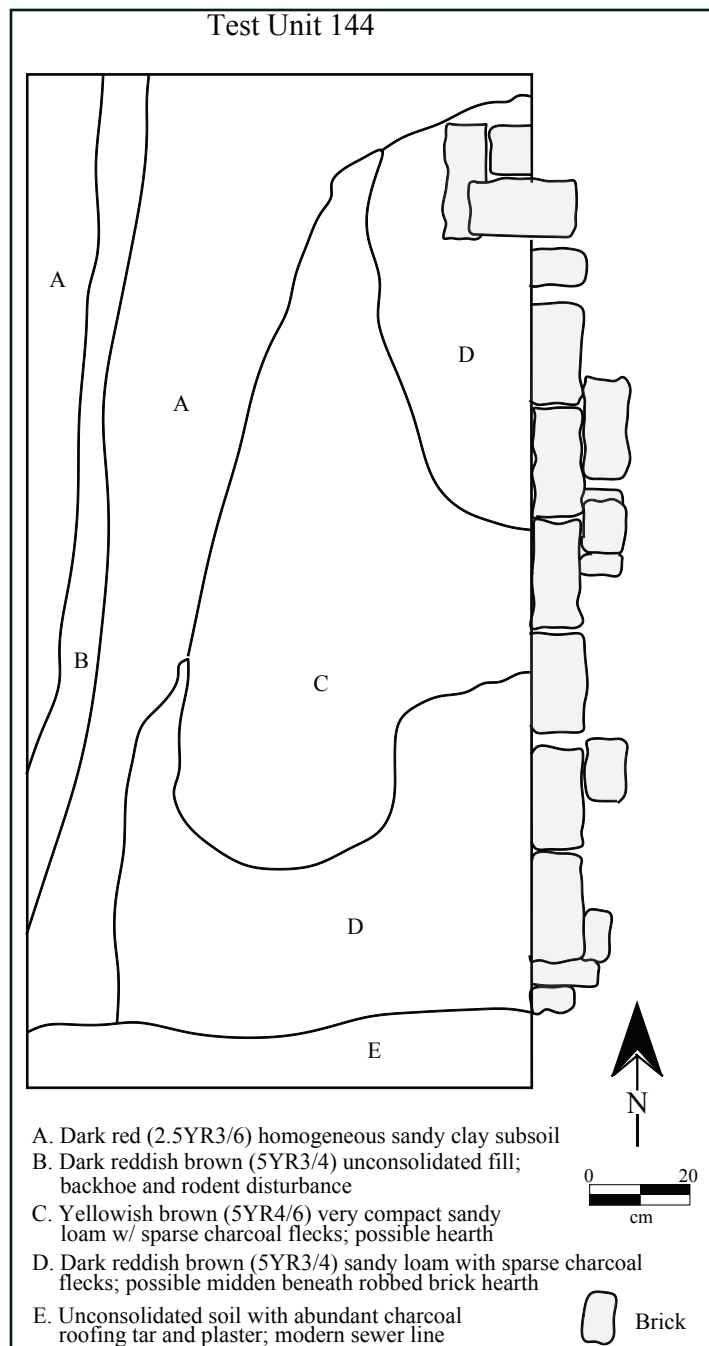


Figure 53. TU144, Feature 316, Plan.

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.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF PALISADES AND POSTS

Excavations by both Gordon Willey and Richard Carillo had explored segments of the palisade ditch and palisade

Chapter 7. The Excavations

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. The 2005-2007 excavations by the LAMAR Institute and volunteers resulted in many new discoveries about the fort and its architectural plan. These new finds included nine previously unknown palisade ditches and numerous building ruins.

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 rain in June 2006 and October 2007 inhibited the excavation and documentation process in XU6 (Figure 54). 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. Twelve 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 2005-2007 were designated:

- E. Palisade 1 XU6, Outer Fort
- E. Palisade 2 XU6, Inner Fort
- N. Palisade 1 XU23, SE Blockhouse Yard
- S. Palisade 1 XU1 Extension, Outer Fort
- S. Palisade 2 XU1 & XU1 Extension, Inner Fort
- S. Palisade 3 XU21, SE Blockhouse Yard
- S. Palisade 4 XU7, NW Blockhouse Yard
- W. Palisade 1 XU1 Extension and XU16, Outer Fort
- W. Palisade 2 XU1 Extension, XU13, XU7, Inner Fort
- W. Palisade 3 XU1 Extension, Connects Inner and Outer Fort
- W. Palisade 4 XU21, SE Blockhouse Yard
- W. Palisade 5 XU7, NW Blockhouse Yard

East Palisade 1

Two long segments of East Palisades 1 and 2, which were exposed in XU6, were hand excavated by the University of Georgia archaeology field school in 2006 as part of this project. Many individual post features within the palisade ditch were described during that phase of investigations.



Figure 54. XU6 and XU23, Facing North, 2007.

The preservation within the palisade posts was variable. Many posts contained rotted wood and voids of air were often present. The posthole fill was generally loose and sandy, while the adjacent palisade trench fill was more compact and had higher clay content.

The 2006 excavated sample from 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). Features 214 through 234 were not excavated in 2006 due to heavy rains and lack of time and resources. Only 96 artifacts were recovered from the 2006 excavated sample. The sampled covered an approximately 12 m long segment of palisade trench, which attests to the paucity of artifacts in the trench fill.

Features 179 through 184b are representative of the palisade posts that were explored and these examples

Fort Hawkins 2005-2007 Excavations, Daniel T. Elliott, The LAMAR Institute, 2009

are described below. The fill from these seven features was screened as one unit because of the difficulty in distinguishing between posts and problems with excavating them individually because of the loose, friable feature fill. Forty-four artifacts were recovered from this 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 of XU6.

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 cm 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.

In October 2007, LAMAR Institute archaeologists returned to East Palisade 1 to conduct a more complete excavation of the remaining sections of that palisade line. Sections of the palisade that were excavated in 2006 were not re-excavated. A track hoe was used to remove the disturbed topsoil that was pushed over the previously stripped area (unexcavated portions of XU6) at the end of the 2006 excavation season. East Palisade 1 was relocated and a series of 2 m by 1 m test units were gridded out for hand excavation. These test units were, from North to South: TU163-171 and TU173-174. Test Units 173 and 174 (in XU23) were separated from the other test units by a substantial gap, which represented the area previously excavated in 2006.

Figure 55 shows a plan of TUs 168 and 169 and a north profile view at the junction of these two units in East Palisade 1. This plan drawing was made at the base of the stripped surface, prior to excavation of the palisade ditch. These two units contain approximately 12 palisade posts. Figure 56 shows a plan view of TU171 in East Palisade 1. This unit contains six palisade posts. Figure 57 shows an east profile of TU168 in East Palisade 1. Profiles of the basal portions of five palisade posts are shown in this drawing. Based on this evidence, which was visually enhanced by weather conditions, these posts had flat bottoms and parallel sides and were evenly spaced.

Unexpectedly, East Palisade 1 ended abruptly in the southern part of TU174 in XU23, where the fort wall made a sharp turn eastward. Archaeologists designated this eastern continuation as North Palisade 1, which is described later. Figure 58 shows a plan view of the southern end of East Palisade 1 (TUs 173 and 174) and the western end of North Palisade 1 (TU175) at the base of the stripped zone.

Thirty-nine ceramic sherds from excavated contexts in East Palisade 1 were used to calculate a MCD of 1805.4. This is a small sample and lacks statistical validity. This date estimate is only two-tenths of a year earlier than was 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 later than East Palisade 2. This conclusion may be deceptive, however, since historical records suggest that the outer

wall was constructed after the initial construction of the inner wall. East Palisade 2 experienced modifications during its use, whereas the outer palisade (East Palisade 1) was altered little throughout its history.

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 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 obtainable.

East Palisade 2 (Inner Fort) included (from south to north) Features 121 through 174 and Features 235 through 238. Feature 238 generally corresponds to the south end of the gap in the palisade line, which was discussed at great length by Willey (1936), 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 approximate 13 m long segment of palisade trench.

Features 121 through 125 are described below. The fill from these five features was screened as one unit because of the logistical difficulty in excavating each as separate features. This section of palisade line yielded 57 artifacts. These included brick, window glass, cut nails, ceramics, bottle glass, lead buck shot, iron, and traces of animal bone.


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 wood.


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.

East Palisade 1, Plan View

Stripped Surface

1. Zone A. Palisade Trench Fill. Dark red (2.5YR3/6) sandy clay with occasional mottles of post fill soils
2. Matrix. Dark red (2.5YR3/6) sandy clay
3. Mottled Zone A and Post fill

 Post. Dark red (2.5YR3/6) to red (2.5YR4/6) soft sandy clay

 Post. Dark reddish brown (5YR3/3 to 3/4) soft sandy clay

North Profile

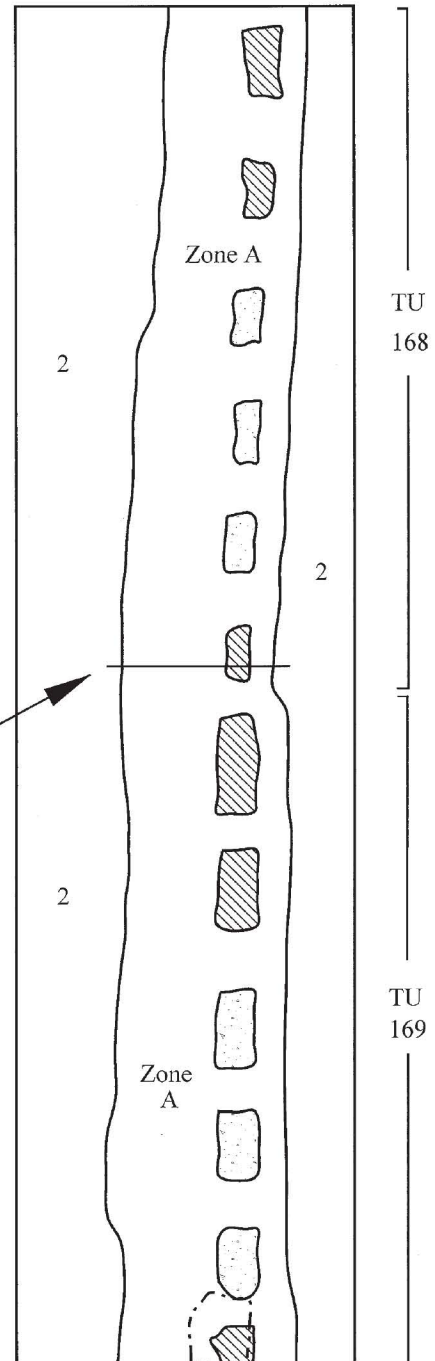
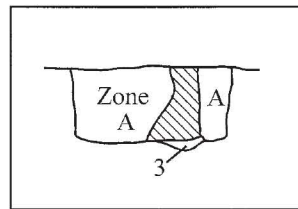


Figure 55. Plan of TU168 and TU169, XU6, East Palisade 1.

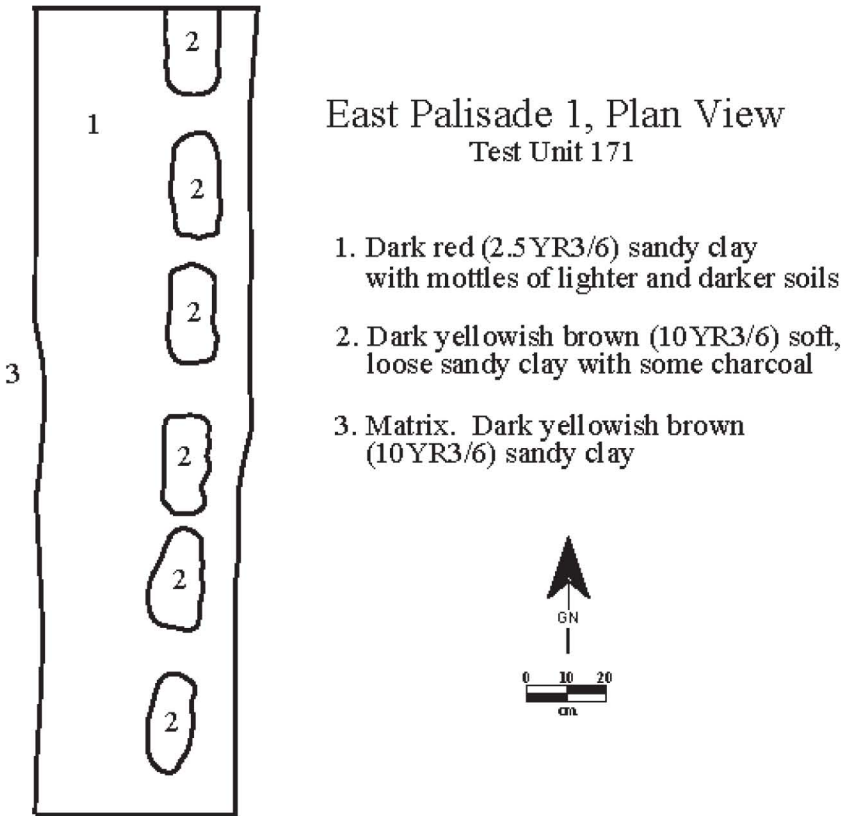


Figure 56. Plan of TU171, XU6, East Palisade 1.

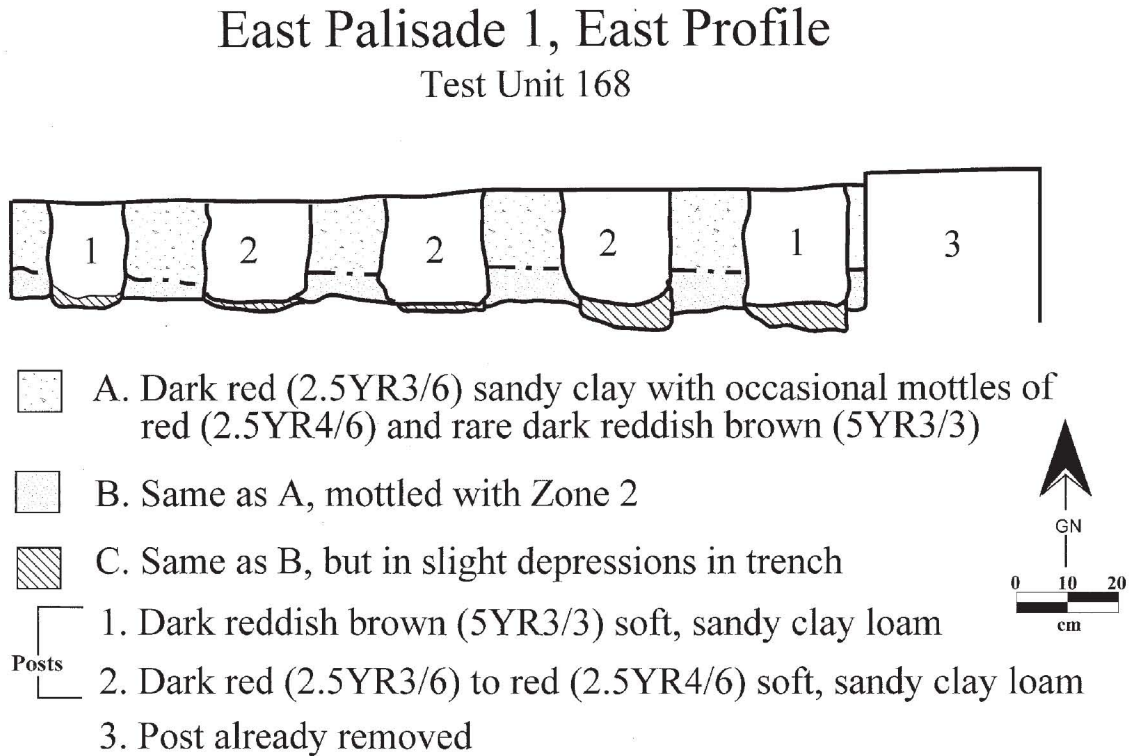


Figure 57. East Profile of TU168, East Palisade 1.

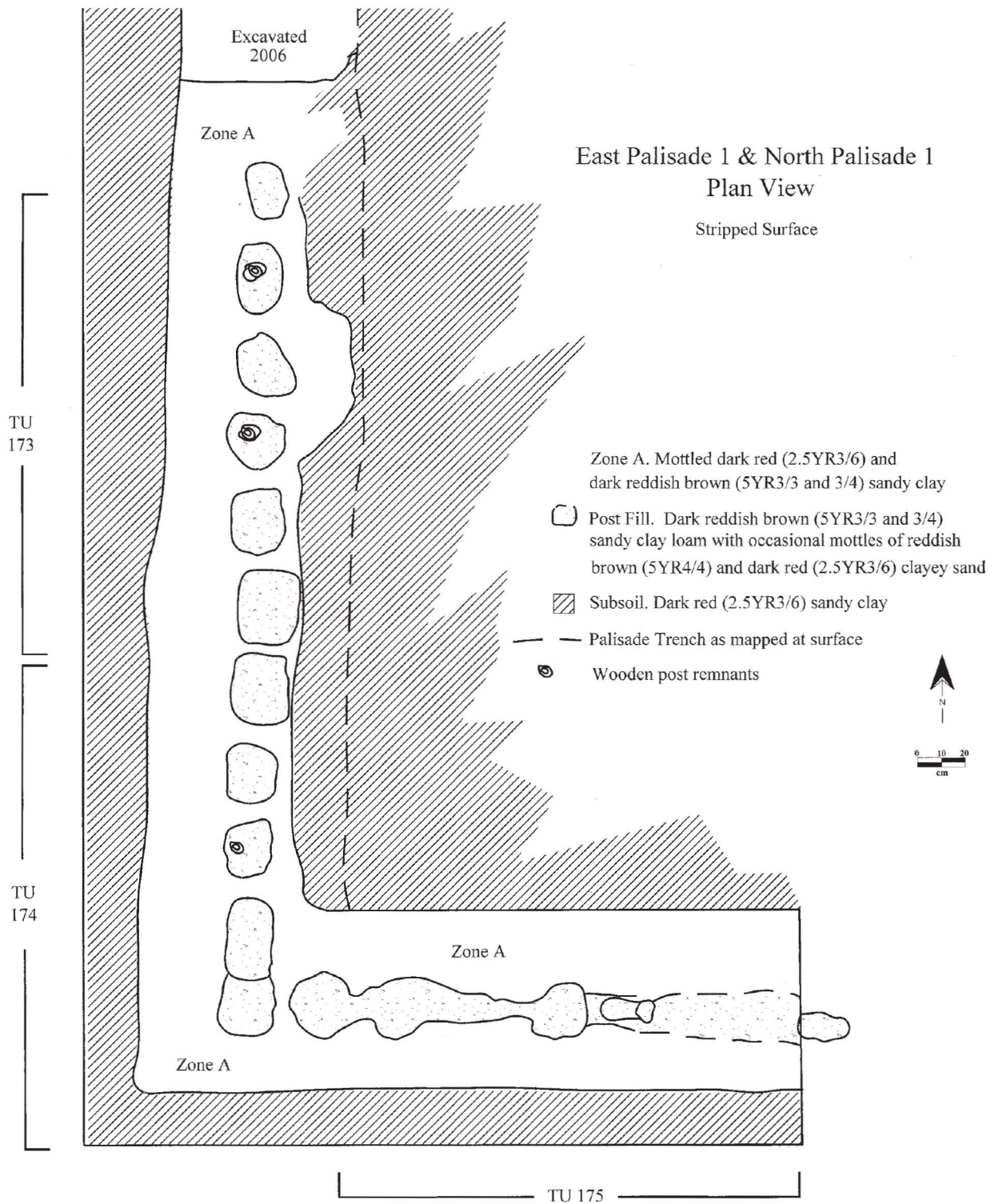


Figure 58. Plan of XU23, TU173 and TU174, East Palisade 1 and 175, North Palisade 1.

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.

Archaeologists returned to excavate two additional portions on the southern end of East Palisade 2 in October 2007. These excavations consisted of two meter sections and were designated XU24 and a portion of XU23. The posts in XU23 extended deep beneath the present ground surface and this sample offered an excellent glimpse of the palisade construction techniques. The posts in XU24, which had been previously exposed by Willey's 1936 excavation team, were re-exposed and the post remnants left in place. Figure 59 shows the south profile of East Palisade 2 in TU176, XU23. Figure 60 shows the east profile of XU24 in the vicinity of Willey's excavated portion of East Palisade 2. The wooden post remnants, which were rediscovered in the 2007 excavation unit are not shown because they were located in the middle of XU24 and were left unexcavated.

A sample of 37 ceramic sherds from East Palisade 2 was used to calculate a MCD of 1805.6. This is a 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.

North Palisade 1

North Palisade 1 was discovered by the October 2007 excavation effort. It was sampled by TU175 and a portion of TU174 in XU23. The western end of North Palisade 1 connected with the southern end of East Palisade 1. Figure 61 shows TU175 at the top of the stripped zone with six palisade posts evident. Figure 62 contains a plan view of the intersection of North Palisade 1 and East Palisade 1. It also shows an east profile of North Palisade 1 in TU174. The eastern end of North Palisade 1 was not established, but is suspected to be located east of the new chain link fence that surrounds Fort Hawkins. The unexcavated portion of the exposed palisade ditch was mapped in plan and photographed and subsequently backfilled. Its discovery was important as proof that a strong palisade surrounded the southeastern blockhouse on its northern exposure. It also gave proof that the two eastern palisade walls did not directly connect on their southern ends.

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 its eastern end, where it intersected West Palisade 4. This palisade ditch was first discovered in XU1, Extension when a spur trench was excavated to the south. The entire length of the palisade ditch was exposed in XU17 in 2006.

A small section (measuring 90 cm east-west and 65 cm north-south) of South Palisade 1 near the southwestern apex was excavated in 2005. That sample yielded 105 artifacts. 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 suggests a nearby building. Twenty-one window glass sherds were used to calculate a WGD estimate of 1831. This date is not statistically valid and is probably not an accurate indication of the age of South Palisade 1. The other artifacts in this sample are more consistent with the Fort Hawkins era.

This palisade line was continuous with no evidence of any major gaps. It was intruded on the southwest side of the fort by the southern end of West Palisade 3, which is described later. No obvious evidence of any attached buildings was observed along South Palisade 1.

Time and resources did not permit further exploration of South Palisade 1 in 2006. It was carefully mapped in plan and backfilled. Selected areas of the trench were covered with plastic sheeting and the area was backfilled.

Archaeologists returned to excavate more of the South Palisade 1 in October 2007. This excavation was designated XU20. Within this excavation block, a 33 m long segment of the South Palisade 1 was divided into two meter sections, and most of these sections were completely excavated. This sample extended from TU148 to TU160. The test units within this sampled segment were (from West to East): 148-153, 180-178, and 154-160. Of these, however, TUs 152 and 180 were not excavated because of lack of time.

Figure 63 shows a plan view and east profile of TU148, which was located at the western end of the 2007 excavation. Five palisade posts are evident in this plan view. The profile indicates that the posts were parallel sided with flat bottoms and the plan views suggest that the posts were rectangular shaped with variable dimensions.

East Palisade 2, South Profile

XU 23, Test Unit 176

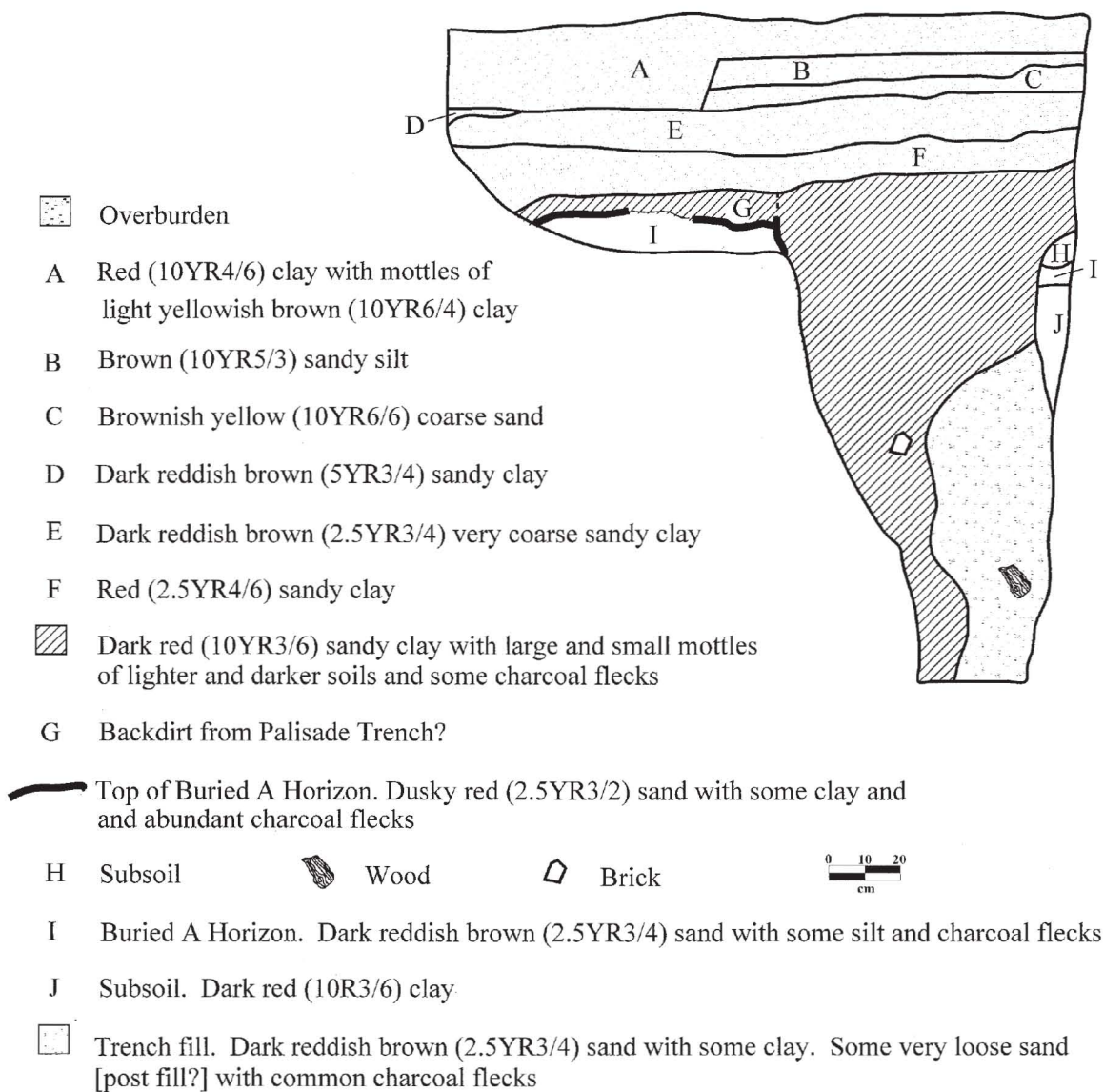


Figure 59. South Profile of TU176, XU23, East Palisade 2.

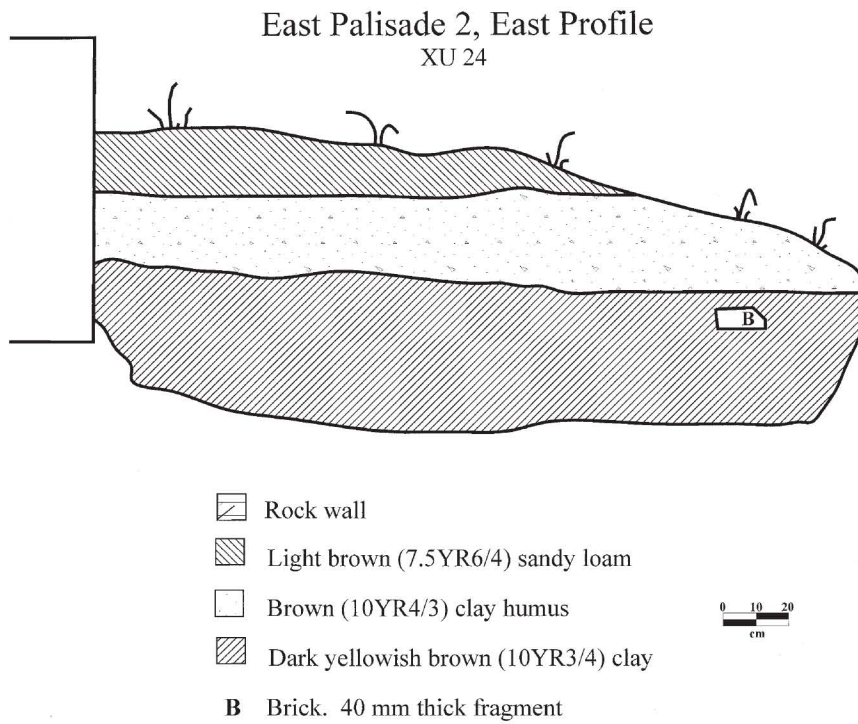


Figure 60. East Profile of XU24.

North Palisade 1, Top of Unit, In Progress
Test Unit 175

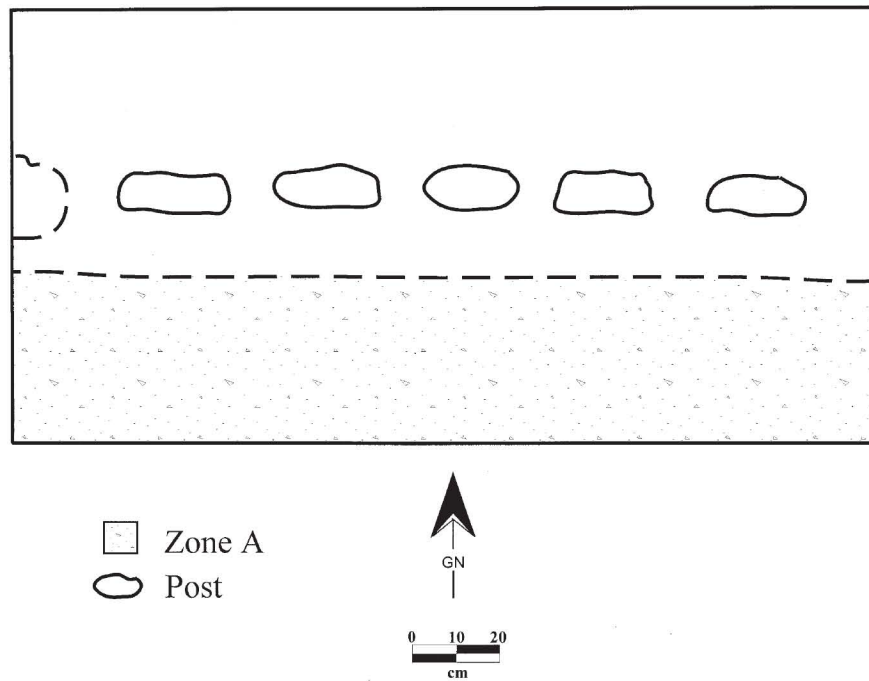


Figure 61. Plan of TU175, XU23, North Palisade 1.

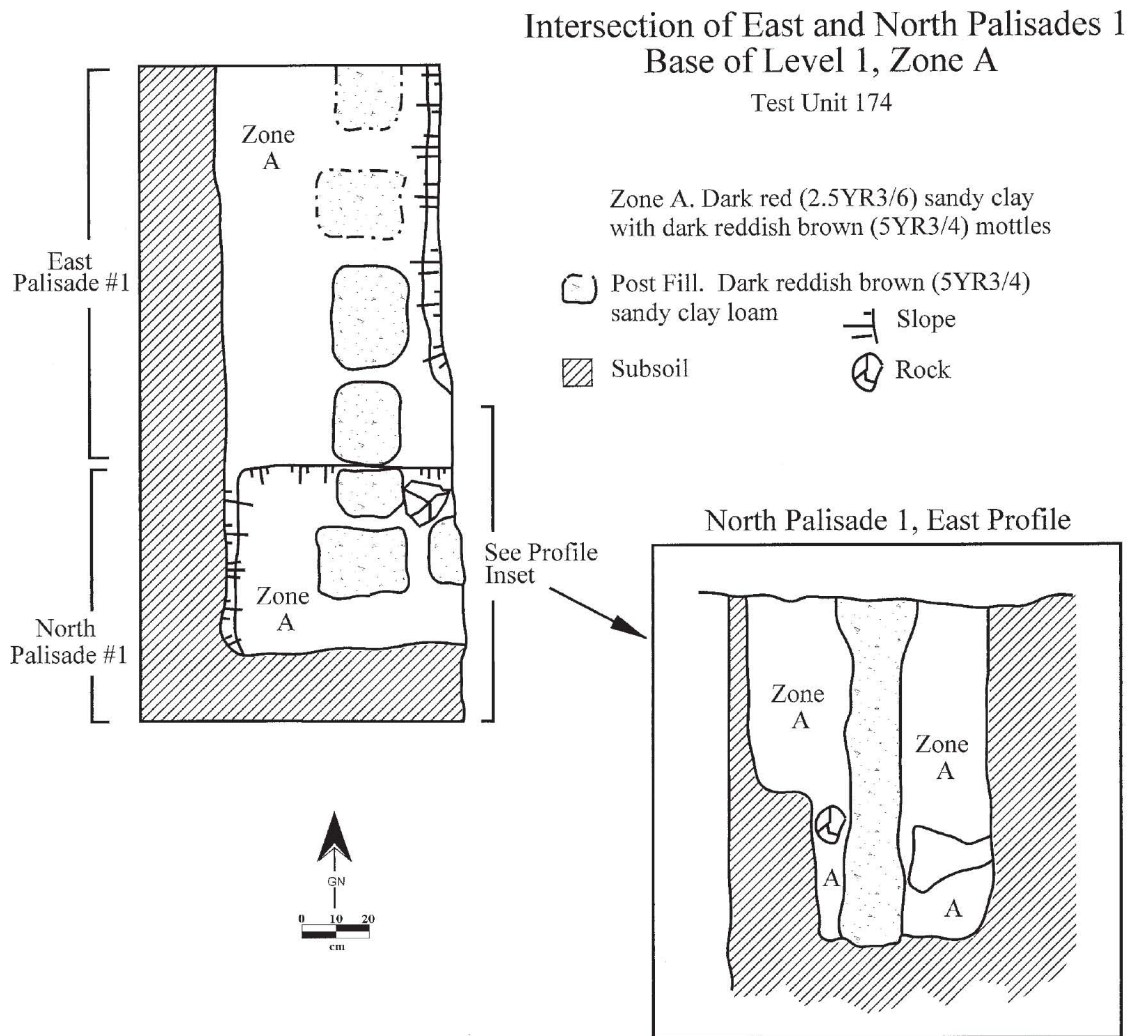


Figure 62. Plan and East Profile of TU174, XU23, East Palisade 1 and North Palisade 1.

Figure 64 is a plan view of TU153 at the base of the stripped surface. Figure 65 is a plan view of TUs 179 and 178. Figure 66 is a plan view of TUs 154 and 155. Figure 67 is a plan view of TUs 156 and 157.

Forty-four posts are indicated from these eight 2 meter sections, or an average of approximately 3.14 posts per meter. The posts in South Palisade 1 appeared to be less regularly shaped, less evenly spaced, and, generally, more varied than the posts exposed in East Palisade 1. The average number of posts per meter in East Palisade 1 is less than in South Palisade 1 (3.14 versus 2.9, respectively). This shows that the timbers used for the east wall were slightly larger than those used on the south wall.

Figure 68 is a plan view of the eastern end of South Palisade 1 and the northern end of West Palisade 4. The intersection of these two palisade ditches was marked by the presence of a large flat fieldstone. This stone was lying horizontal at the base of the stripped zone. This elevation appeared to be former ground surface, based on the degree of compaction of the surrounding soils. The exact purpose of this stone remains undetermined, although it may have served to level timbers along the fort wall, or possibly to reinforce a gate post at this corner of the fort.

A MCD was calculated for ceramics from secure contexts in all portions of South Palisade 1. A sample of 292 sherds yielded a MCD of 1810.7. This date estimate is more than five years younger than East Palisade 1 (1805.4), which is presumed to have been constructed at the same time. South Palisade 1 appears to have experienced more rebuilding and more activity than East Palisade 1, based on the relative frequency of artifacts recovered from the two palisade lines.

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 (1936) and Carillo (1971) and both researchers identified the trench and remains of wooden posts. Sections of trench they previously excavated were relocated by the LAMAR Institute and partially re-excavated and carefully mapped in XU1.

The present research focused on the western part of this south palisade line (in XU1 Extension) in greater detail. Two sample sections of the palisade line were excavated; both were two meter long sections of trench (Figures 69 and 70). These excavated samples yielded relatively few artifacts. The easternmost sample (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, food 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.

Archaeologists returned in October 2007 to excavate a small section of South Palisade 2 on its eastern end. Only a short segment of the trench was exposed. A two meter section of it was excavated as TU177 in XU20. Figure 71 is a plan view of TU177. Another small segment was excavated in XU25. TU177 confirmed that the palisade wall had a gap beginning just east of this test unit, where a section of the original palisade posts, which were likely continuous to the blockhouse wall, had been removed creating a gateway to the Blockhouse 1 Yard. This area interpreted as a gateway contained extremely hard-packed clay soil, which may have been intentionally prepared as a walking pavement but was additionally compacted by several years of heavy foot traffic. Figure 72 shows the north profile of XU25, which reveals the various strata in this part of the fort. The compacted layer, which is identified as the compacted top of truncated surface on the plan view, probably represents a walking surface dating to the Fort Hawkins era. Willey's North-South trench is clearly visible in this profile. This profile was made immediately south of the newly erected cannon at Fort Hawkins, which is also shown in the drawing.

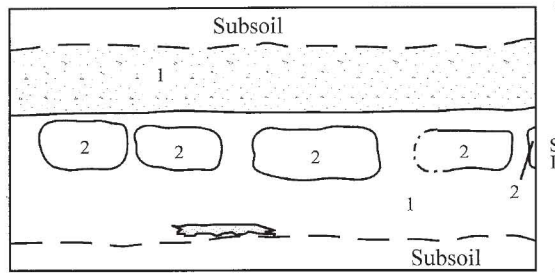
Further to the east, archaeologists revealed the WPA-excavations where the palisade posts had been identified previously. The present excavations revealed that the basal section of these posts had been left intact by the CCC crew who exposed them in 1936. A MCD of 1802.5 was calculated from a sample of 13 ceramic sherds recovered from secure contexts in South Palisade 2. This very small sample is statistically invalid, but it hints at an early age for this palisade construction, which is consistent with its interpretation as the original fort built by Captain Boote and his 2nd Infantry men (ca. 1806-1808).

South Palisade 3

South Palisade 3 was partially exposed by XU21 in October 2007. A track hoe was used to expose a large section of this palisade. This palisade wall was carefully mapped and backfilled. It was not excavated due to lack of time and resources. It should be the subject of future study. The western end of South Palisade 3 began at its intersection with the southern end of West Palisade 4, which was also located in XU21. The eastern end of South Palisade 3 was not determined but it is suspected to be located just east of the new chain link fence that surrounds the Fort Hawkins property. Although the palisade was left unexcavated, a metal probe was used

South Palisade 1, 88 cm
Below Stripped Surface

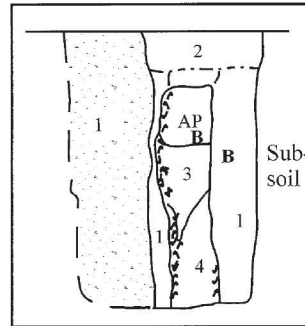
Test Unit 148



1. Palisade Trench Fill. Dark red (2.5YR3/6) sandy clay
2. Post Mold Fill. Dark red (2.5YR3/6) compact sandy clay
3. Reddish brown (5YR4/5 & 5/4) loose sand
4. Dark reddish brown (2.5YR3/4) loose sandy loam

See Profile
Inset

East Profile



90 cm below
stripped surface

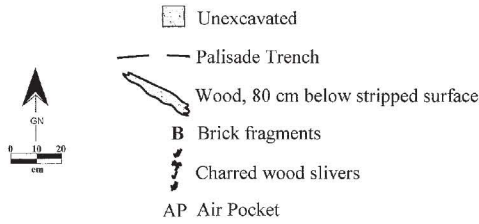
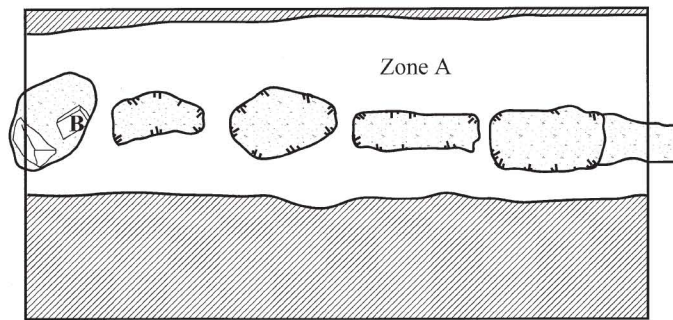


Figure 63. Plan and East Profile of TU148, South Palisade 1.

South Palisade 1, Plan
Base of Stripped Surface

Test Unit 153



Zone A. Mottled dark reddish brown (2.5YR3/4) sandy clay loam and dark red (2.5YR3/6) clay loam

Dark red (2.5YR3/6) clay with rare mottles of dark reddish brown (2.5YR3/4) sandy clay loam

Post Fill. Dark reddish brown (5YR3/4) sandy clay with occasional mottles of dark red (2.5YR3/6) clay loam

Slope Rock **B** Brick



Figure 64. Plan of TU153, XU20, South Palisade 1.

South Palisade 1, Plan View
Stripped Surface

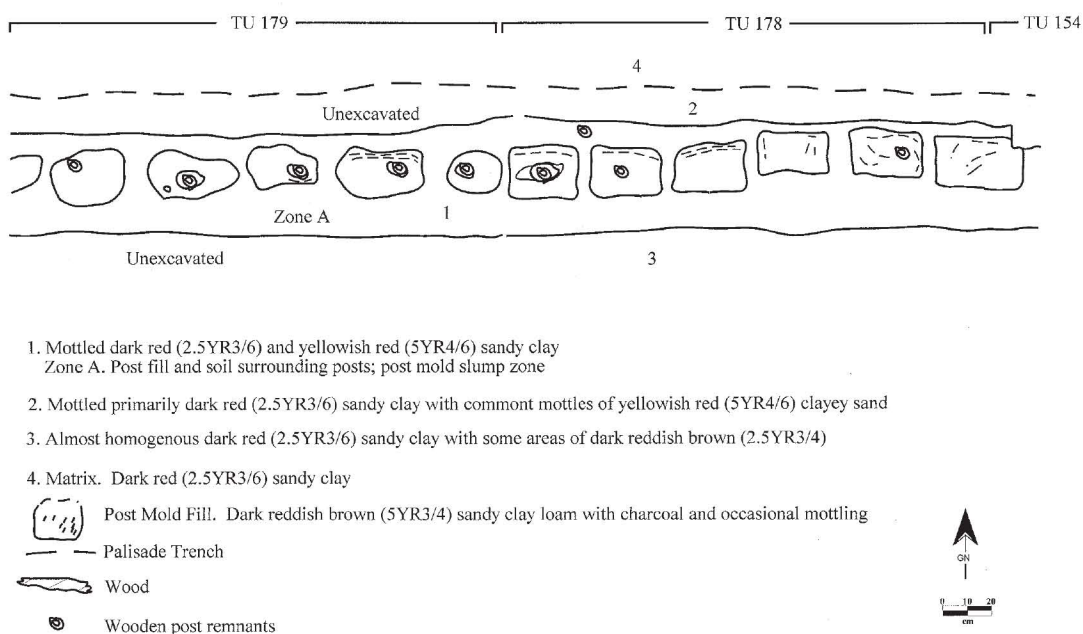


Figure 65. Plan of TU 179 and TU178, XU20, South Palisade 1.

South Palisade 1, Plan View
Stripped Surface

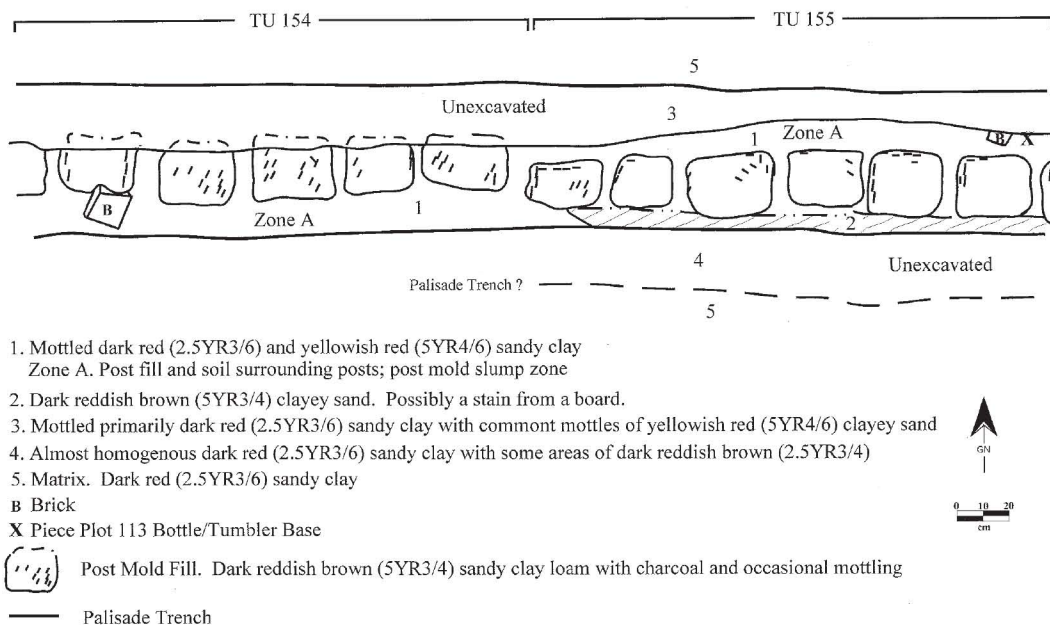
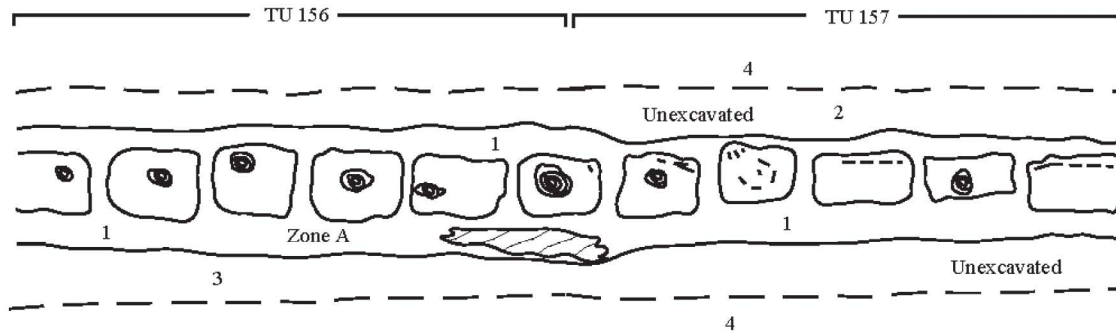


Figure 66. Plan of TU 154 and TU155, XU20, South Palisade 1.

South Palisade 1, Plan View
Stripped Surface



1. Mottled dark red (2.5YR3/6) and yellowish red (5YR4/6) sandy clay
Zone A. Post fill and soil surrounding posts; post mold slump zone
2. Mottled primarily dark red (2.5YR3/6) sandy clay with common mottles of yellowish red (5YR4/6) clayey sand
3. Almost homogenous dark red (2.5YR3/6) sandy clay with some areas of dark reddish brown (2.5YR3/4)
4. Matrix. Dark red (2.5YR3/6) sandy clay





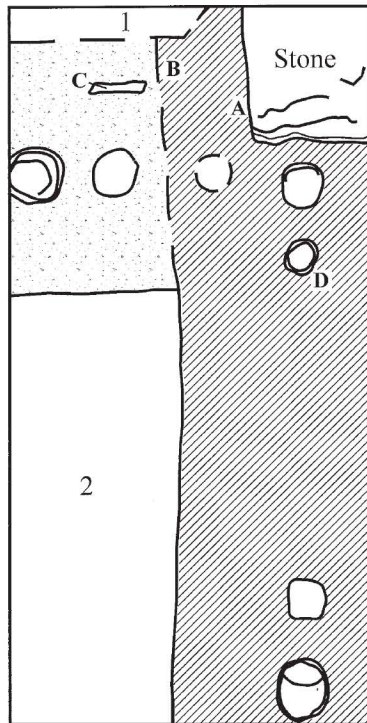
-  Post Mold Fill. Dark reddish brown (5YR3/4) sandy clay loam with charcoal and occasional mottling
-  Palisade Trench
-  Wood
-  Wooden post remnants






Figure 67. Plan of TU 156 and TU 157, XU20, South Palisade 1.

South Palisade 1
and West Palisade 4
Base of Level 1

Test Unit 160



1. Red (2.5YR4/8) sandy clay
 2. Matrix. Red (2.5YR4/8) sandy clay
-  Red (2.5YR4/8) sandy clay. South #1 Palisade Trench
 -  Dark reddish brown (2.5YR2.5/4) sandy clay. West #4 Palisade Trench
- A. U.S. button, LN 878
 - B. U.S. button, LN 889
 - C. Iron band
 - D. Iron, LN 879
 -  Post

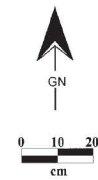


Figure 68. Plan of TU160, South Palisade 1 and West Palisade 4, XU20.

to judge its approximate depth below the stripped zone. Generally, the palisade posts on this wall are quite shallow and have probably been greatly truncated as a result of slope erosion or road grading. Its discovery was important as proof that a strong palisade surrounded the southeastern blockhouse on its southern exposure.

South Palisade 4

South Palisade 4 was exposed in XU7. It was designated as part of Feature 270 and was completely excavated in 2006. This palisade wall formed the southern edge of the yard enclosure of the northwest blockhouse. The function of this feature as a palisade ditch was not fully realized when it was excavated. Its true function became apparent in October 2007, when the corresponding palisade lines were discovered in the southeastern blockhouse yard. Feature 270 was described earlier in this report. The western end of South Palisade 4 intersects with the southern end of West Palisade 5 (the north-south segment of Feature 270). This palisade lacked any post remnants and it contained very few artifacts. This suggests that the posts on this palisade wall were removed while the fort was in use.

West Palisade 1

West Palisade 1 marked the western edge of the Outer Fort. One building (Feature 313) was possibly 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 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 XU1 Extension and continues to the road bank above Woolfolk Street (northeast of XU7). 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 XU1. 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 total of 74 ceramic sherds from this excavated sample was used to calculate a MCD of 1810.1.

Another two-meter sample of West Palisade 2 was excavated in XU13 in TU142, 143, 146, and 147. The palisade ditch intruded into an older 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 XU13 yielded a MCD of 1807.3. The approximately three year difference in MCDs from the other sampled portion of West Palisade 2 is probably a result of the artifacts mixing from Feature 313.

West Palisade 3

West Palisade 3 was a short trench that connected South Palisades 1 and 2 on the southeastern side of Fort Hawkins. 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 such compartmentalization 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. It was not recognized in any of the other excavation areas. The wagon ruts were shallow and appeared to contain very few artifacts. The ruts consisted of two parallel depressions that were oriented approximately southeast-northwest.

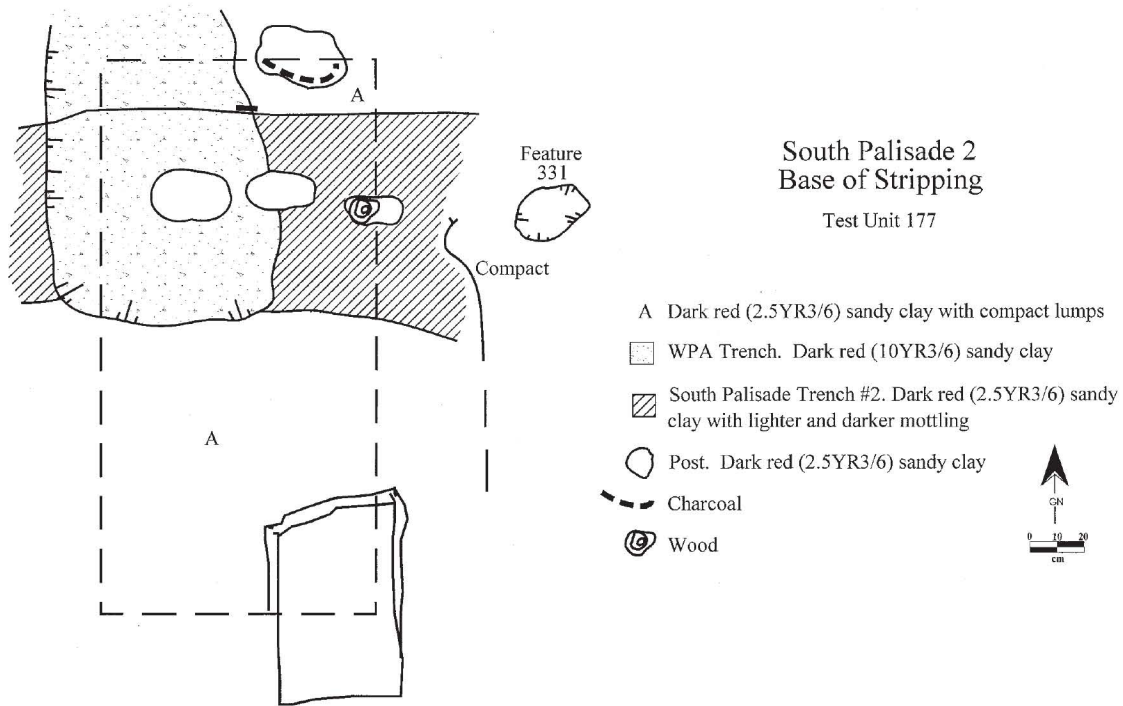


Figure 69. Plan of TU177, XU20, South Palisade 2.

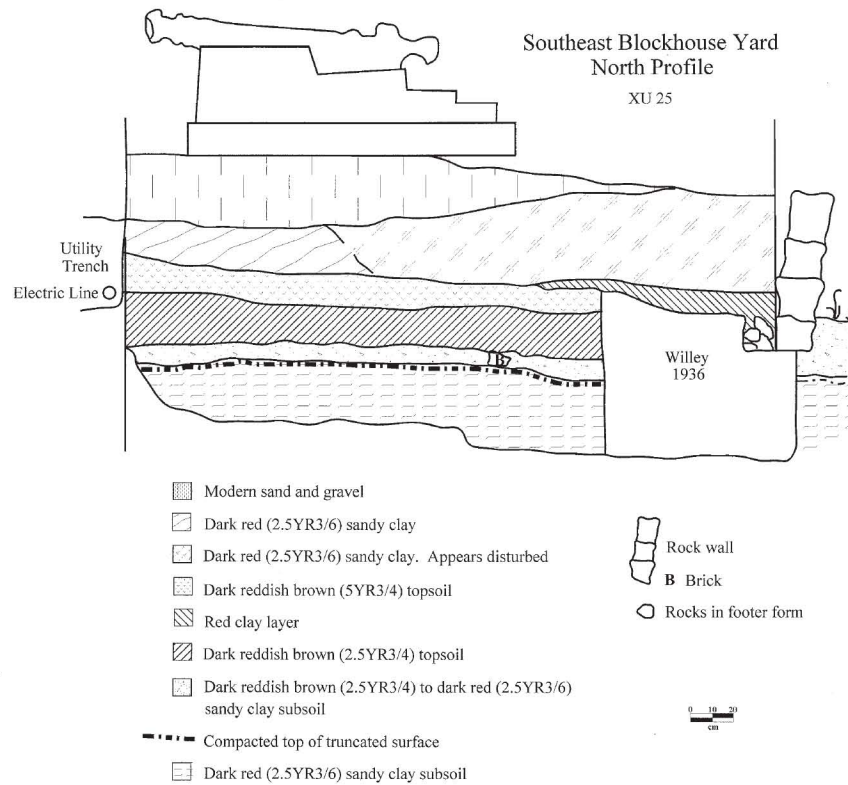


Figure 70. North Profile of XU25..

South Palisade Trench 2 East Profile

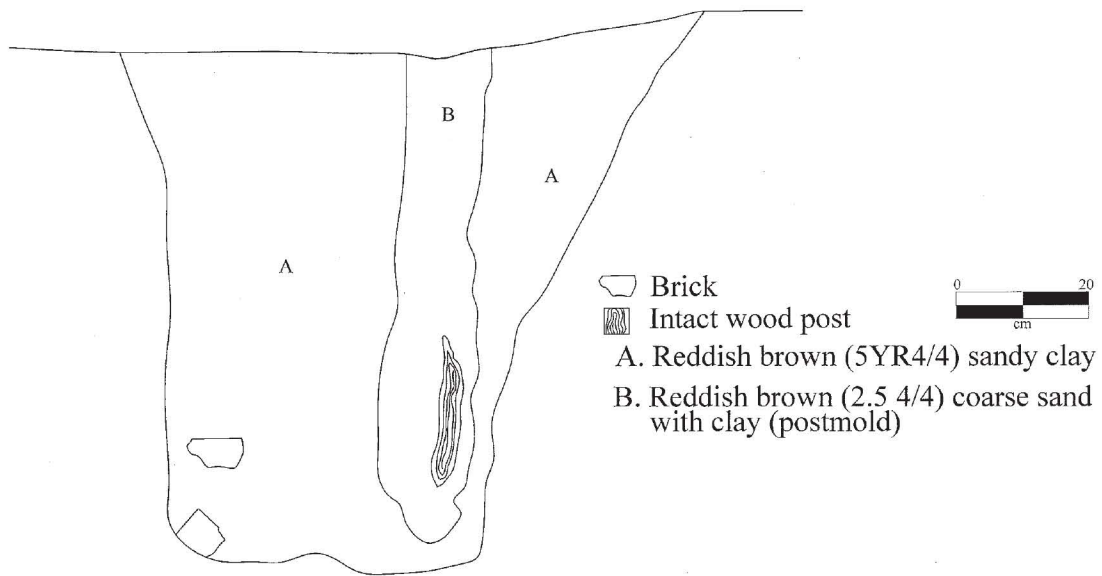


Figure 71. South Palisade Trench 2, East Profile.

Unexcavated Section of West Palisade Trench, Inner Fort

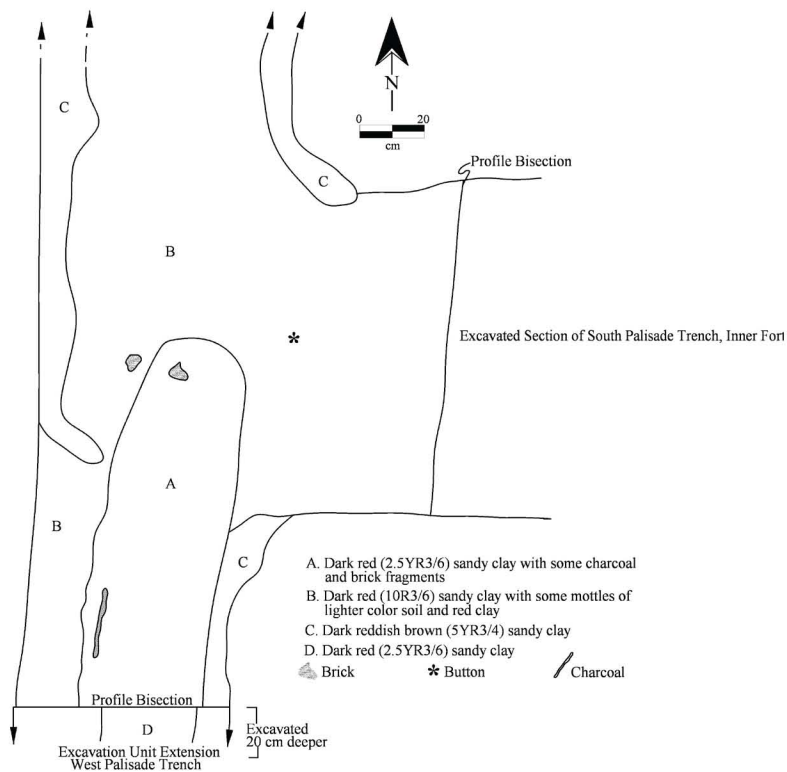


Figure 72. Plan View of Unexcavated Section of West Palisade Trench, Inner Fort.

A two meter sample section of West Palisade 3 was sampled through excavation. This sample was located a short distance south of the palisade's 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 most 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. 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 track hoe 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.

West Palisade 4

West Palisade 4 was another palisade wall that was discovered by the October 2007 excavation effort. This palisade line was found while stripping the backfill from South Palisade 1. Archaeologists had expected South Palisades 1 and 2 to merge on their eastern end but that was not the case. Instead, South Palisade 2 ended abruptly and West Palisade 4 began and continued southward. The entire length of West Palisade 4 was exposed using the heavy equipment. A 2 m by 1 m section of this palisade, located at its junction with South Palisade 1, was sampled by TU160. TU177 was placed immediately north of TU160 to insure that the northern terminus of West Palisade 4 was correctly identified and to verify that West Palisade 4 did not connect to South Palisade 2. The discovery of West Palisade 4 also provided proof of a strong palisade surrounding the southeastern blockhouse on the western exposure.

West Palisade 5

West Palisade 5 was exposed in XU7. It was designated as part of Feature 270 and was completely excavated in 2006. This palisade wall formed the western edge of the yard enclosure of the northwest blockhouse. The function of this feature as a palisade ditch was not fully realized when it was excavated. It contained no trace of any palisade posts and its upper fill contained a deposit of early 19th century kitchen refuse. Its true function became apparent in October 2007, when the corresponding palisade lines were discovered in the southeastern blockhouse yard. Feature 270 was described earlier in this report. The southern end of West Palisade 5 intersects with the western end of South Palisade 4 (the east-west segment of Feature 270). This palisade lacked any post remnants and the upper zone was filled with fort-era refuse. This suggests that the posts and all the fill on this palisade ditch were completely removed while the fort was in use. The open trench was then used briefly as a refuse dump. Another interesting feature of West Palisade 5 is its stepped down floor, which mimics the natural topography northward. This characteristic was interpreted as an intentional engineering design that allowed sections of palisade posts to have consistent basal elevations. Thus, it appears that the northwestern corner of Fort Hawkins followed the natural slope and was not built on a level plain.

Chapter 8. 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 sub-surface 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. None of their writings contain any quantified artifact data. More than 38,590 artifacts were excavated, documented and researched by the current archaeological team. A complete inventory of these artifacts is presented in Appendix C and numerous examples are illustrated in this chapter and Appendix D. The Fort Hawkins artifacts are summarized in Table 16. Many times that number of artifacts, in the form of brick building rubble, foundation stones, and very small artifacts were left at the site. Archaeologists use the recovered artifacts and their context to help tell the story of Fort Hawkins. This vast deposit of in situ material culture was an important discovery during the

Category	Count	%
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 16. Artifact Summary, Fort Hawkins, 9Bi21.

present archaeological project—a discovery of national significance. The section below examines various artifact categories and specific examples.

ARCHITECTURE GROUP

Construction materials related to Fort Hawkins were abundant at the site. Approximately 14,193 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 quantified by weight and 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 8,677 nails or spikes are represented in the collection. Of these, 8,566 are likely associated with the Fort Hawkins occupation. 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 and tenon construction.

Improvements in nail manufacturing technology in 1790 led to drastic changes in nail production. Whereas wrought nails were each made by hand, new nail manufacturing machines later enabled local blacksmiths to be replaced by less skilled factory workers. This new technology began in 1790 and was marked by improvements in the early decades of the 19th century. Augusta, Georgia had a nail factory that was operating by 1810. 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 consists overwhelmingly of cut nails, although this tally drastically underestimates their presence in the assemblage for the reasons noted below.

The vast minority of the nails from Fort Hawkins were only identified as wrought (n=372) or cut nails (n=491). Most (n=7,754) were square 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 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 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-six 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 45%), followed by Feature 271/TU112 (n=19, or 25%), and Feature 313 (n=6). The relatively lower frequency of

spikes in Feature 101 is intriguing. The total excavated sample of Feature 101 was considerably larger than that of Features 271 (and TU112), and 313 but the quantity of large iron spikes was not substantially greater in Feature 101. 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 versus wood timbers 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 73). These hinges indicate that Feature 101 was a building with many doors or shuttered windows. This artifact and its context provide 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 H a w k i n s school. The



Figure 73. Locks.

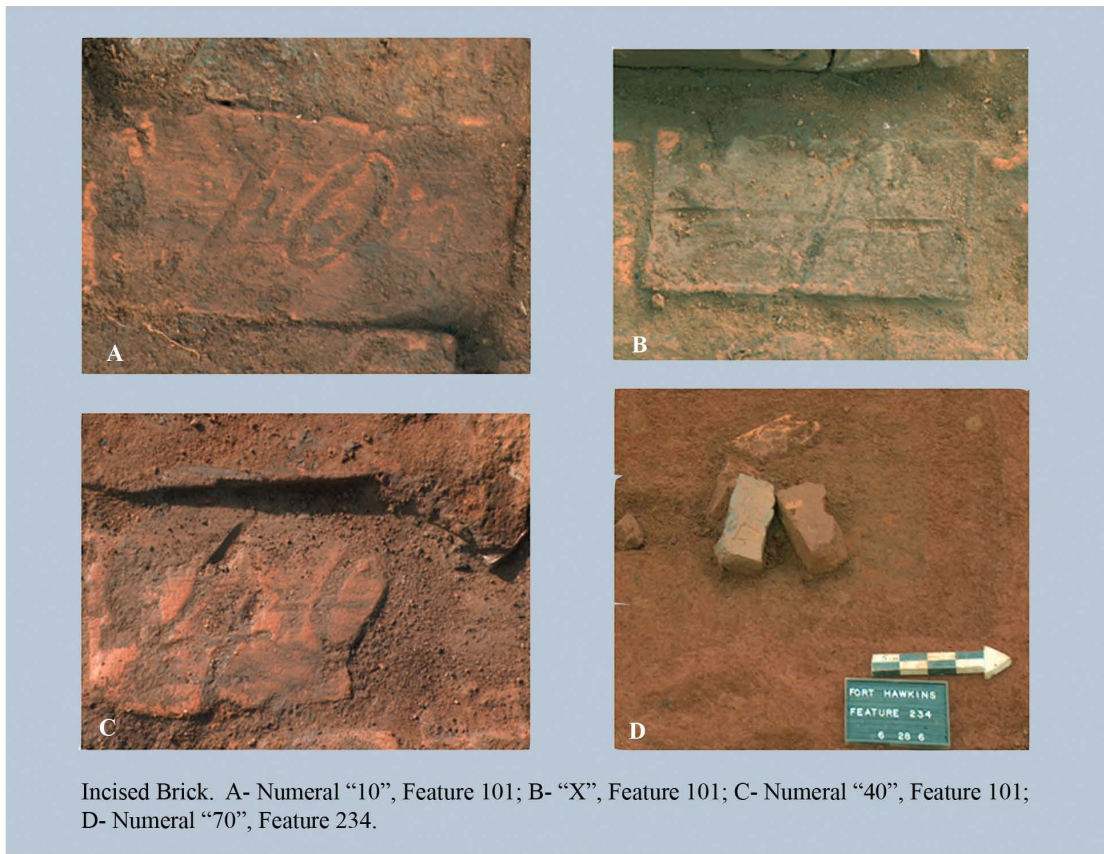


Figure 74. Incised Brick.

Fort-era bricks were less easily distinguished from bricks associated with the Woolfolk Plantation, although the paste of the Woolfolk bricks, which were also hand molded, tended to appear more yellowish, possibly indicating a very different clay source.

Nine unusual 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”. A brick marked with an “X” was left in situ 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 (Feature 234) on the outer East Palisade. 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 74.

These individually-incised bricks piqued our curiosity and two competing theories were advanced to explain them. Bricks with these types of incised numbers have not been observed 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 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 the 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 5,459 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 82% of window glass). 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 around the building.

Feature 271 (and TU112) 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 the Feature 101 building. 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 TU111) contained 192 window glass sherds (19 and 173 fragments, 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 fragments 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 fragments.

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 of 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 or storage, its correlation with other building evidence at Fort Hawkins supports this hypothesis.

Thickness measurements were obtained from 5,322 window glass fragments from Fort Hawkins. These data were used to calculate MCDs for various site contexts. Window glass dating has been applied to 19th century sites in the southeastern U.S. with variable results. This formula is based on the tendency for window glass manufacturers to increase the thickness of window panes 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 (WGD) 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.

Window glass dates were obtained from 12 contexts at Fort Hawkins. These results proved to be a less accurate 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. It also may be the result of a small sample size.

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 12,505 ceramic sherds were collected from Fort Hawkins and approximately 5,921 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 a wealth of information about food ways 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 12,505 ceramic sherds are contained in the Fort Hawkins collection. Of these, 9,256 were sufficiently diagnostic for dating purposes and that sample was used for MCD calculations. These ceramics were grouped by major ware class, including tin-enameled wares, stonewares, refined earthenwares, coarse earthenwares, yellow ware, porcelain, and also by 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 17.

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.

Feature	Ceramics	
	Count	Date
307	13	1802.5
S. Palisade 2	13	1802.5
270	271	1803.5
313	848	1804.0
267	65	1804.5
316	64	1805.3
E. Palisade 1	39	1805.4
E. Palisade 2	37	1805.6
271	619	1805.6
265	15	1806.1
West Palisade 2, XU13	199	1807.3
272	263	1807.7
314	11	1808.7
264	33	1809.0
324a	15	1809.7
West Palisade 2	74	1810.1
109	118	1810.1
259	18	1810.2
101	6425	1811.0
266	17	1815.1
317	6	1831.7

Table 17. Date Calculations from Selected Features, Fort Hawkins, 9Bi21.

Redware

Redware sherds were present as a minority ware (n=60) at Fort Hawkins. These lead glazed wares were found in Features 101, 270, 271, 272, 307, 313, and other areas. Most (n=29, or 48%) 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 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 441 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 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 volume of black basalt sherds was 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 type 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. Another type of salt glazed stoneware recovered at Fort Hawkins included a stoneware ginger beer bottle. One unmarked 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. Had Fort Hawkins been occupied heavily in the 1830s, one would expect greater amounts of alkaline glazed stoneware. 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 would become Crawford, Upson and Pike counties by the late 1820s and early 1830s (Burrison 1995, 2007). By the time these potters were operating in this area, however, the Fort Hawkins era had ended. Likewise, when Fort Hawkins was first constructed in 1806, this type of pottery was unavailable. 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 314 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 stoneware, 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 Josiah Wedgwood pottery in England and was a relatively expensive export ceramic. Other English potters, such as William Adams, produced similar wares. Fragments of a jasperware mug bearing a patriotic decoration were found in Feature 101. The Fort Hawkins specimen has a cobalt blue background and raised wide decorations (Figure 75). The motif on this jasperware vessel is the Great Seal of the United States - an American eagle behind a shield with its legs spread and talons clutching a cluster of arrows and an olive branch. This seal, or coat of arms, was adopted by the United States in 1782. The version of the seal on the Fort Hawkins specimen is similar to the original 1782 design by the Secretary of the Continental Congress, Charles Thomson and its production can be bracketed between 1782 and 1841. In 1841, the eagle design was modified (U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs 1996). (See Figure 75.)

A similar cobalt blue and white mug with the Great Seal motif (post-1841 style) recently sold at auction. That specimen was attributed to the William Adams pottery in Greengage, Tunstall, England. It bore the bottom mark, “Tunstall, England Adam Estbd 1657”, and “The National Remembrance Shop Washington D.C.” (Aspire Auctions, Inc. 2005). (See Figure 75.) That specimen measured 5.25 inches high and was 5.12 inches wide. It was described as a,

Cobalt blue container decorated with white relief designs of the presidential seal: a bald eagle holding an olive branch, a quiver of thirteen arrows, and a scroll reading ‘E pluribus Unum’ (out of many, one); interspersed with floral swags. Round base flares out. Interior is white’ (Aspire Auctions, Inc. 2005).

The National Remembrance Shop was a souvenir shop in Washington, D.C. that was active in the early 20th century. Their bottom mark was added after the vessel was imported to the United States, and possibly decades after it was manufactured.

William Adams and sons produced a wide variety of ceramics in the 18th and 19th century. William Adams (1745-1805) was renowned for his cobalt blue jasperware, which was equal in quality and workmanship to the wares produced by Wedgwood (Thepotteries.org 2008). Although the Fort Hawkins patriotic mug fragment bore no trace of a bottom mark, this vessel was probably made by William Adams sometime between 1782 and 1805. It probably served as a shaving mug.



Figure 75. Patriotic Jasperware Mug, Feature 101.

Refined Earthenwares

Refined earthenwares comprise the largest single pottery grouping at Fort Hawkins. These included creamware, pearlware, and transfer printed wares. Creamware, also known as Queens ware, was produced in England from about 1762 to 1820. This very popular ware was developed by Josiah Wedgwood and others and it quickly drove out delftwares as common table service. Creamware also was produced in America, including ware made by potter John Bartlam in coastal South Carolina.

At the time Fort Hawkins was constructed creamware was already waning in popularity. Creamware was fairly common at Fort Hawkins, represented by 905 undecorated creamware sherds. Decorated refined earthenwares on creamware bodies included several varieties of annular ware, edgeware, mocha ware, polychrome hand-painted ware, blue floral ware and finger painted ware. Three over glazed transfer-printed creamware sherds were found in XU20.

Pearlware was another extremely popular English table ware in North America. It was first produced about 1774 and continued into the 1830s. Pearlware was popular during the Fort Hawkins era as reflected in the ceramic assemblage where it was the most common ware. Undecorated pearlware was the most common sherd in the Fort Hawkins assemblage, represented by 2,710 sherds. Most of these represent interior sections of plates and bowls, minus the decoration. These included many small sherds.

Transfer-printed ware was the most common decorated ceramic category in the Fort Hawkins assemblage. Transfer printed designs were applied to a variety of creamware, pearlware, and whiteware vessels. The transfer-printed technique was developed in 1784 by Josiah Spode, I, in his Staffordshire pottery. Spode's early transfer printed wares were blue, underglaze decoration. Within a few years other potters had learned his technique and were producing transfer-printed wares. The earliest motifs were simple blue floral designs and more complex scenes were added later. Transfer-printed wares became wildly popular and are still produced today (The Spode Museum Trust 2008).

Examples of transfer printed sherds from Fort Hawkins are shown in Figure 76 and many more specimens are illustrated in Appendix D. Most of these were underglaze, blue-decorated transfer print (n=2,256 sherds). Brown transfer-printed ware was made from about 1809 to 1845. Sixty-six brown transfer-printed sherds were identified in the collection. Other transfer-printed colors include purple, green, pink, black and yellow. 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. These were more common in the upper strata of this feature. Feature 271 yielded three black transfer-printed sherds and one purple example. Feature 272 yielded 12 black transfer-printed ware sherds. Feature 313 contained one black transfer-printed sherd and Feature 270 had one green transfer-printed sherd. XU20 yielded two examples of these later transfer printed wares. The black transfer-printed ware at Fort Hawkins may date slightly earlier than is generally thought. More likely, these sherds post-date the military period at Fort Hawkins and represent trash from the Woolfolk Plantation era.

As with the previously described patriotic jasperware mug from Feature 101, patriotism was displayed in the refined earthenwares from Fort Hawkins. A remarkable blue transfer-printed plate with a patriot theme, which the field crew dubbed, "State Plate" was discovered in XU1. Within the surround of the plate were the States of the Union. State plates or platters were made in Staffordshire, England by Ralph and James Clews from 1818-1834 (Figure 25 in Moore 1903). Clews' plate design shows from 15 to 18 states with many different thematic patterns in the middle. Twelve states were represented in the Fort Hawkins sherds, including: Connecticut, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Vermont. Kentucky, the 15th state, achieved statehood in 1792. Tennessee was next to join the Union in 1796. Louisiana was the 18th State and it entered the Union in 1812. Delaware, Louisiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Virginia were not represented in the Fort Hawkins ceramic collection.

Moore (1903:29-30) noted that the "States pattern" was one of the more popular designs produced by the Clews pottery:

Undoubtedly the most celebrated china which Clews put forth were the two patterns known as 'Landing of Lafayette,' made to celebrate that hero's visit to this country in 1824, and what is known as the 'States' pattern, bearing a border of festoons containing the names of the fifteen states. Both of the views are great favourites among collectors, and are generally among the first pieces sought. There is a large quantity of the Lafayette china in this country, and it has a beautiful border of leaves and flowers. All the pieces,



Blue Transfer-printed Ware, A, B, C, LN 397; D; E, F, LN 543;

Figure 76. Transfer-printed Ware.

from three and a half-inch cup-plates, to those of largest size are desirable, and they maintain a stiff price, even if repaired.

Moore went on to comment:

The States pattern presents many pleasing varieties. The border is always the same but the center varies according to the space to be filled, and the fancy of the potter. The border is composed of festoons, bearing the names of the fifteen states, and between the festoons are stars with five or eight points. There are at least a dozen different views in the center pictures. FIG. 29 [in Moore 1903] is the White House at Washington. Besides the White House, Mount Vernon and the Custom House, there is one view of an English castle. There is a three-story building, also, which often appears, the foreground being varied by sheep or cows, or women walking. However, it is always extremely simple to name this platter under any conditions, for America and Independence are ever in full view, and the medallion of Washington is always the same (Moore 1903:30).

Intact examples of the states plate are on display at the National Museum of American History and, more locally, at the Midway Museum in Liberty County, Georgia. Illustrated examples of these State Plate sherds, along with complete plates in private collections, are shown in Figure 77 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 mixed soil layer immediately above Feature 101. A cross-mend analysis of these sherds identified several cross mends between these areas. No whole specimens of these plates were excavated, nor were any reconstructed in the laboratory. These connections are detailed in the Cross-mend Analysis, which is presented following the Artifact Inventory in Appendix C.

Moore (1903:29) noted that the Clews brothers were not producing Staffordshire wares until 1818. If this is true, then their States pattern plates did not grace the tables of Fort Hawkins until 1818 or later. This would date to the final period of occupation of Fort Hawkins by the U.S. Army.

Archaeologists recognize two primary types of polychrome hand-painted refined earthenwares. An early variety used a yellow, brown and green color scheme. A

later variety used those same colors with the addition of reds and blues. Early variety polychrome hand-painted pearlware was well represented in the collection (n=1,273 sherds). Examples are shown in Figure 78 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 of hand-painted ware began about 1774 and continued to about 1833, although the period of greatest production was between 1795 and 1815. The Fort Hawkins early-variety examples are nearly all from pearlware-bodied vessels, although a few specimens are from creamware-bodied vessels. The later variety of hand-painted polychrome ware on pearlware and whiteware bodies was produced from about 1830 to 1840, or after the Fort Hawkins-era. The later variety gained in popularity after Fort Hawkins was abandoned by the military and its low incidence at the site was expected.

Edgeware sherds, often called shell-edged or feather-edged wares, were abundant in the Fort Hawkins collection, represented by 993 sherds. These included an impressive 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 began about 1780 (or possibly a few years earlier) and continued until about 1840. Edge-decorated whitewares and ironstones continued throughout the 1800s. These later wares are in a debased artistic form, however, and usually 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 consisting of scalloped sea-shells and other attractive patterns.

Blue decorated hand-painted 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 549 sherds. Examples are shown in Figure 79 and many others are depicted in Appendix D.

Annular (dipped) ware pottery was present in moderate quantities at Fort Hawkins, represented by 359 sherds. Production of this 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



Figure 77. Transfer-printed Pearlware State Plates.



Figure 78. Polychrome Hand-painted Pearlware.

Fort Hawkins 2005-2007 Excavations, Daniel T. Elliott, The LAMAR Institute, 2009



Figure 79. Blue Hand-painted Pearlware.

began about 1795 and continued to 1895. Mochaware produced during the latter part of the date range occurs on whiteware and ironstone bodies, as opposed to the earlier pearlware and creamware.

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 another 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 pearlware vessels.

Lusterware sherds were found in low frequencies at Fort Hawkins, represented by 17 sherds. These unusual sherds have a shiny, metallic appearance. This ware became very popular in the early 19th century when it was produced by Wedgwood, Josiah Spode and other English potteries. It was produced on porcelain and refined earthenware bodies in a wide variety of vessel forms. Similar lustrous glazing techniques on ceramics date back to the Egyptian dynasties (Gibson 2006). Most of the lusterware (n=14) was from Feature 271, two sherds were from Feature 109

and one sherd 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 a European ceramic that imitated marble and a variety of busts, figurines and other non-utilitarian forms. Production of this pottery type began in England about 1842 and continued through the Victorian era (Brooke 2007). Parian ware was another minority ceramic at Fort Hawkins, represented by 14 sherds. All of these came from Feature 101. 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. These sherds are associated with the Woolfolk occupation.

Cream-colored refined earthenware, or CC Ware, was a common ware throughout the mid-late 19th century. These wares were produced in England and were the cheapest variety of refined earthenware (Miller 1980). CC ware was a term used by the potters who produced it and this category of ceramics received a variety of classification treatments by historical archaeologists. Cream-colored ware was a minority ware at Fort Hawkins, represented by 201 specimens. These sherds mostly date after the Fort era and likely are associated with the Woolfolk Plantation.

A portion of the ceramic assemblage (n=595) 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 vitrified and generally thicker in cross section than refined earthenware. It was produced in Europe and America from about 1810 and throughout the 19th century. Ironstone was first patented by Charles James Mason in 1813, who produced the ware in Staffordshire, England. Mason's patent expired in 1827, which was followed by an explosion in production of this popular ware (Godden 1999).

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, 315, 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 over glaze 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 high 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 greater than average frequencies of porcelain than on civilian sites from the same areas. This pattern, which was recognized by Stanley South following his excavations in North and South Carolina, holds true in colonial Georgia. As the 19th century progressed access to porcelain was improved and the relative cost of this ware decreased, making it attainable by the public. Elaborate hand-painted porcelains, with multiple colors and gold gilding, remained an expensive ware category.

Bottle Glass

Glass bottles were not manufactured at Fort Hawkins or anywhere else in Georgia, but were imported to the site from other states or from overseas. Approximately 6,413

glass fragments in the Fort Hawkins collection were classified as kitchen glass. Of these 5,921 sherds were from glass bottles and 492 were tableware glass sherds.

Liquor and Spirits

Alcoholic beverages were an accepted part of Army life at military posts, including Fort Hawkins. The soldiers at Fort Hawkins 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. Soldiers often had other access to liquor, including the purchase of it at taverns from individuals. 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 belonging 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).

Brigade orders of November 8, 1814 specified, "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).

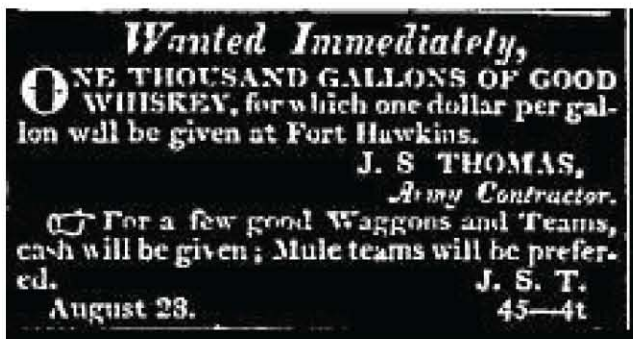


Figure 80. Liquor Requested at Fort Hawkins (Georgia Journal 1816a:3).

The volume of whisky that passed through the gates of Fort Hawkins is astounding. This is illustrated by one newspaper advertisement placed in the Milledgeville paper on August 23, 1816 by U.S. Army contractor John S. Thomas, which is transcribed below (Figure 80).

Wanted Immediately,
 One THOUSAND GALLONS OF
 GOOD WHISKEY, for which one
 dollar per gallon will be given at Fort
 Hawkins,
 J.S. Thomas,
 Army Contractor.
 For a few good Waggon and Teams,
 cash will be given; Mule teams will be
 preferred.
 J.S.T.
 August 23.
 (Georgia Journal 1816a:3).

Georgia had a rich tradition of distilled spirits, which dates back to the mid-18th century. By the Revolutionary War period many farmers in northeastern Georgia maintained liquor distilleries on their property. This local source of supply, which is very difficult to quantify historically or archaeologically, was probably a significant source for Fort Hawkins. Some counties issued liquor licenses but most of the alcoholic beverages were produced without documentation.

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 capita 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, however, was common and this often led to other social problems.

The unfortunate 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 more prominent Creek chiefs who were prone to binge drinking were Captain Alleck and William McIntosh.

The Fort Hawkins artifact collection contains considerable evidence that the troops consumed alcoholic beverages, namely bottle glass. Other beverages like 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 bottles are common on archaeological sites in Georgia throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. These bottles contained wine, brandy, rum and other distilled spirits. Cylindrical olive green spirit bottles were the common bottle type at Fort Hawkins (n=2,617, or 44% of bottle glass). 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 TU112 (n=287, all levels combined), Feature 272 and TU111 (n=156, all levels combined), Feature 109 (n=113), and Feature 314 (n=50). The remainder was 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, wooden 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 2.6 percent of the bottle glass sherds. A total of 154 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 crystallized in the seminal work by McKearin and McKearin (1941, reprinted in

1989). The McKearin categories of various flask types are 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 81). 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 82). These bottles were manufactured at the Keene Glassworks on Marlboro Street in Keene, New Hampshire. A complete flask is approximately six inches tall. 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 and 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 TU111 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 and 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,



Figure 81. Whisky Flasks.



Figure 82. Examples of Sunburst and Masonic Whisky Flasks.

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%). 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. The bulk of fermented beverages that were consumed at Fort Hawkins may have left very little archaeological trace.

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 consisted of 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 (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 Vegotsky provided an excellent discussion of Essence of Peppermint bottles and their archaeological contexts. Citing work by Olive Jones (1981:1-57) Vegotsky noted that essence of peppermint had several purposes including: as a flavoring agent for foods, candies and medicines, and he suspected that it had a medicinal function at Fort Hawkins. Vegotsky provided these comments:

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).

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. Godley'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 1993:245.) (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 a modern reader may envision a soldier in uniform eating a hot dog covered with mustard, Allen Vegotsky researched this bottle type and provided a thorough discussion of its history. Mustard may have been used as a condiment for meats at Fort Hawkins but more likely, it was used as a liniment or plaster to sooth a soldier's aching muscles. Drawing on research by Olive Jones (1983), Vegotsky noted:

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.

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 Vegotsky personal communication, June 15, 2006).

Tableware Glass

Clear tableware glass was widespread at Fort Hawkins, represented by 492 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, 313, and in XU20. These were made from clear glass. Goblets were often used for consuming wine, although they were also used for other spirituous liquors and brandies. Six etched clear glass container fragments were found in XU20.

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. It is likely, in fact, that a soldier's long knife was used for multiple food and non-food related purposes. 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 83). 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.

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 a kitchen 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. Cast iron had little value once it was broken, since it was not easily recast.

Other cooking related items include portions of a trammel hook. This was 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. Archaeologists recovered the trammel hook 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



Figure 83. Table Flatware.

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 2004).

A fragile, stamped brass or copper nameplate from a coffee grinding mill was recovered from the midden in Feature 272 (Figure 84; 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). These lines of evidence indicate



Figure 84. Coffee Grinder George Slater Manufacturer's Plate.

that this artifact is a relic of the George Slater English coffee mill manufacture. The research team was unable to locate any additional information on this firm. The item was undated but its archaeological context places it in the very early 19th century.

Food Remains

Zooarchaeologist, Lisa O'Steen, conducted an analysis of a selected subset of the Fort Hawkins faunal collection. This analysis is presented as Appendices A and B and explores exciting aspects of Fort Hawkins, as revealed through the archaeology of the faunal record. O'Steen also compares the "Fort Hawkins diet" with that of Fort Mitchell, a contemporary U.S. Army fort in Russell County, 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. O'Steen offered this summary, based on her 2007 analysis:

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.

The 2007 excavations yielded a small quantity of animal bone. It consisted mostly of small fragments of limited analytical value. Consequently, O'Steen applied her efforts in 2008 on additional analysis of the unexamined 2005-2006 faunal collection from Feature 271. O'Steen (2008:Appendix B, this volume) offered this summary of the results of this analysis:

The current analysis from the Feature 271 cellar at Fort Hawkins expands both the assemblage of analyzed bones and the range of species that were consumed at the fort. Over 6,200 faunal remains from Feature 271 were analyzed for this study, and 24 percent (N=1,504) were identifiable to family, genus, or species. The large percentage of identifiable remains and the recovery of very small remains and fish scales (albeit primarily from fine screened and flotation samples) indicate the excellent preservation and relatively undisturbed deposits in this cellar.

A minimum of 70 individuals was identified from Feature 271, including two freshwater mussels, 22 fish, a small unidentified turtle, a bullfrog, 6 domestic chickens, 5 wild birds, 10 domestic pigs, 5 domestic cattle, 16 wild mammals, and two commensals, a wild or domestic rat and a juvenile domestic cat (Appendix Table 1).

These data significantly expand the assemblage of analyzed bone remains from the fort to over 10,300 specimens and a minimum of 150 individuals (O'Steen 2007a).

In concluding her 2008 zooarchaeology report, O'Steen (2008:Appendix B, this volume) summarized her findings:

A previous analysis conducted during 2007 included over 4,000 zooarchaeological remains from two structural cellars, a trash filled structure foundation/basement, and an ell-shaped trench at Fort Hawkins (O'Steen 2007a). Data from this analysis indicated that soldiers were butchering pigs within the fort and cattle probably just outside of the fort. They likely supplemented their provisioned diet (50% beef) by raising pigs (25-30% of the diet) and chickens (1-3%), and by hunting, trapping, fishing, or trading for fresh wild game, birds, and fish. The small wild animals and turkeys would have been attracted to forest edge habitats, clearings, gardens, and garbage around the fort. Fish, aquatic turtles, and ducks were likely seasonal resources acquired from the Ocmulgee River and freshwater marshes and creeks near Fort Hawkins (O'Steen 2007a). These activities would have provided a welcome variety to monotonous daily rations of "20 Oz. of beef, 18 Oz. of flour, 1 Gill of Rum, 0.32 Oz. of vinegar, and 0.64 Oz. of salt" (Wilson 1928, cited in Stickler 2004:2).

Based on the current analysis of food remains from the Feature 271 cellar, the fort residents primarily consumed a diet of mammal meat, of which seventy three percent was domestic beef and pork, supplemented with small wild mammals (0.5%) and deer (0.6%). While pork may not have been part of the official rations at Fort Hawkins, pigs were raised in or near the fort. Most pigs were less than two years of age when consumed, and based on size, many were probably less than six months old.

Birds, primarily domestic chickens, provided about 1.5 percent of the diet.

Laying hens, chicks, and eggshell indicate that flocks of chickens were maintained. Wild turkeys, waterfowl like the grebe and Canada goose, and even smaller birds, provided variety and another one percent of the diet. The cut spur on a male turkey leg suggests that flocks of turkeys may have also been kept in captivity.

Fish, and likely bullfrogs and mussels, provided additional variety but less than one percent of the represented diet. Three ducks, a gar, and an aquatic chicken turtle identified during the 2007 analysis provide additional support for hunting and fishing by the fort residents (O'Steen 2007a).

Excellent preservation of the assemblage is indicated by the high percentage (24%) of bone that could be identified to family, genus, or species. A number of fish scales and very small mammal and fish bones also support the undisturbed contexts of the feature deposits. The low number of rodent and carnivore gnaw marks indicates that most remains were not left exposed, but were buried or discarded where scavengers could not get to them. Scavengers may not have been common within the walls of the fort.

With a few exceptions, little can be said about seasonality except that fish and the turtles would have been more active and easier to acquire during warm weather. Some fish were exploited during spring spawning runs up the river. Turkeys and deer are fattest and in the best condition in the fall, but this may not have been a concern. Many of the other wild animals would have been available year round, and would have been attracted to gardens, clearings, forest edge habitats, and garbage in and around the fort. In this context, the small wild mammals and turkeys would have been easy to shoot or trap.

Butchering cuts made to divide carcasses, cuts made to produce portions of meat for the table, and the represented parts of pig and cattle carcasses indicate that pigs were butchered within the walls of the fort, and that all parts of pigs

and cattle were utilized in one way or another. Superficial cut marks reflect the slicing of meat from large pork and beef portions and ribs and joint disarticulation. Cattle were usually butchered outside of the fort, with sides or quarters brought in for further processing. It is likely that these animals free-ranged around the fort and were rounded up as needed. Cattle may have been procured from local non-military residents in the nearby community.

During the early nineteenth century, many parts of cattle and pigs that are not marketed today were considered delicacies, including brains, tongues, jowls, and products made from cooking pig and cow (and sheep) heads and feet. Cow feet were a good source of gelatin for thickening soups and stews, and could have been used for glue and soap making. Many elements that are considered debris that are discarded during the butchering or carcass trimming process today represented highly esteemed food items in the nineteenth century. Based on contemporary cookbooks, bone marrow was also used regularly in a number of recipes, and marrow extraction is reflected in the large number of broken up and cut unidentified mammal bones. Some early recipes call for the use of broken bones. Bones, fish heads, and a number of other body parts of birds and mammals were regularly used to make broth and stocks, and to season other dishes (Lee 1832).

Most of the burned bone in the collection was calcined, which resulted in almost total reduction by burning in fires or fireplaces. Most burned bones were assigned to the unidentified mammal category. The remaining burning represents food preparation, where attached extremities like ankles and feet, and portions of bones within roast cuts were burned or partially burned during roasting directly over fires or during smoking of meats with bones. Pigs were occasionally prepared whole, where skull, lower leg, ankle, and foot bones were burned. Unless bones were later disposed of in a hearth, roasting of

large portions in pans or stewing of meat cuts would likely leave no evidence of burning. With the exception of two ribs, beef cuts were prepared without direct exposure to fire.

Interestingly, despite the stated daily rations that were provided to soldiers, a number of accounts indicate that soldiers did not always receive these rations. During the Revolutionary War, soldiers in Virginia were allocated less than two pounds of salted or cured meat, but almost three pounds of fresh meat, along with salt, vinegar, and rum or whiskey. Unfortunately, these rations existed largely on paper only, because most privates went barefoot and hungry, in some cases living on half-rotted corn (Palmer 1883, cited in Arnow 1983).

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 food ways 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 food ways 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 tells us that the soldiers at Fort Hawkins ate a variety of both wild and domestic plants.

Archaeologists working at Fort Hawkins collected soil samples for the identification of a sample of smaller plant

remains for archeo-ethnobotanical analysis. These samples were subjected to flotation and reduction. 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.

CLOTHING GROUP

Approximately 901 artifacts from Fort Hawkins were categorized in the Clothing group. Clothing artifacts from Fort Hawkins consist of two primary types, military and civilian. 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.

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 headpieces 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. 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 shown in Figure 85. 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). 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. One source dates this particular style shako to 1813 (My Military History Pages 2008). 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 in 1814 (My Military History Pages 2008).

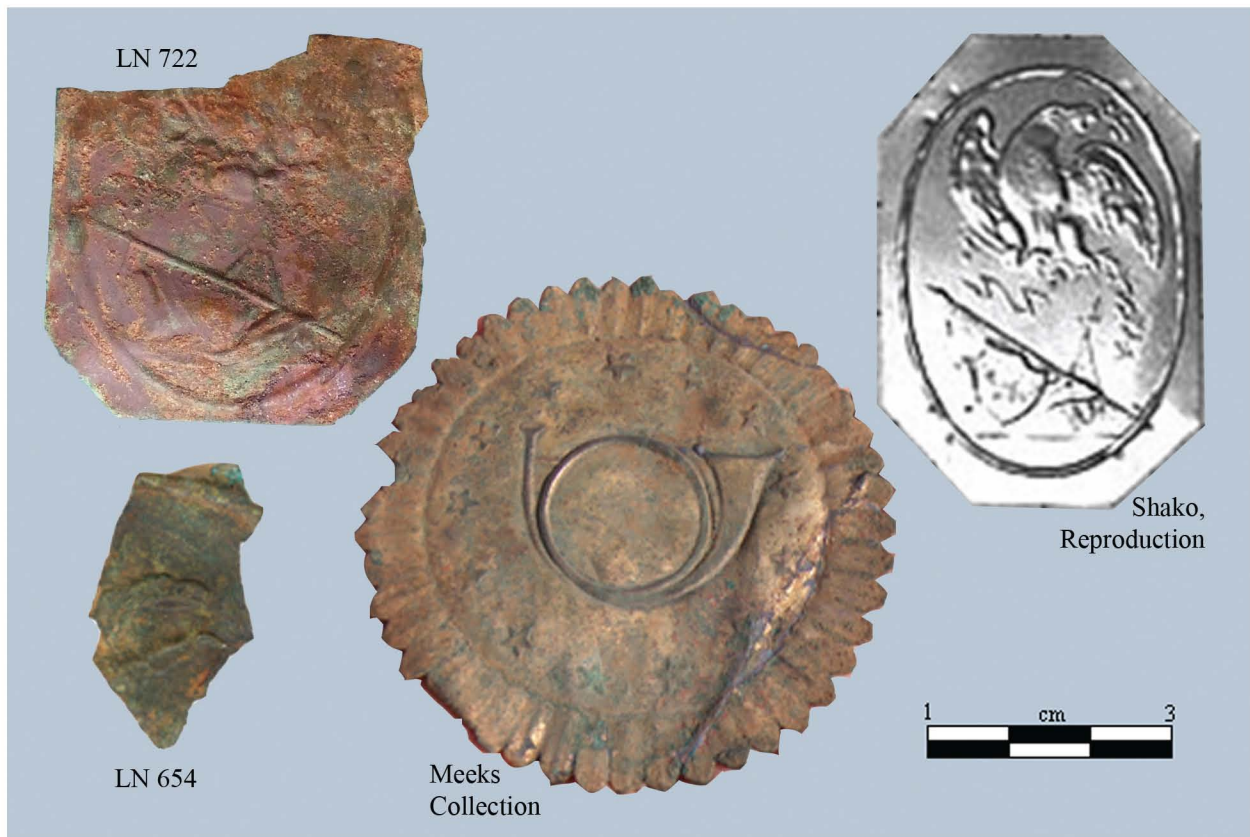


Figure 85. Shako Plates (Reproduction is not to scale.)

Uniform Buttons

A large assortment of military buttons was excavated at Fort Hawkins. Approximately 565 metal buttons were recovered in the 2005 through 2007 excavations and many of these were identified by type. Examples of these are shown in Figures 86 and 87 and many more buttons are illustrated in Appendix D. These uniform buttons are summarized in Table 18. 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. These 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 to specific 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 are no associated historical documents. Another factor to consider is that soldiers may have used regimental buttons, different from their own, out of necessity.

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. This would have been from approximately 1806-1810.

Early varieties of regimental buttons for the 4th, 6th, and 9th Regiments were recovered from the archaeological 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



Figure 86. Selected Military Buttons from Fort Hawkins. A, B, & C. LN 346; E. LN 621; F. LN 619; G. LN 330; D, H & I. LN 347.



Figure 87. Additional Selected Military Buttons From Fort Hawkins. J & S. LN 346; K. LN 341; L & R. LN 633; M, N, Q, & U. LN 347; O. LN 621; P. LN 337; T & V. LN 431.

TU	Fea.	Count	Description	Military Unit	TPQ
108	101	1	Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
121	101	1	Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
131	101	1	Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
141	109	1	Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
137	271	1	Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
111		3	Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
112		1	Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
General		2	Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
TOTAL		11	Eagle Motif	Undetermined	
135	271	5	Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1812
136	271	1	Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1812
137	271	1	Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1808
140	272	1	Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1808
142	313	3	Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1808
111		4	Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1808
112		1	Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1808
General		1	Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	1808
TOTAL		18	Script "RR"	Regiment of Rifles	
118	101	1	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
122	101	3	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
124	101	1	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
127	259	1	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
	264	1	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
	266	1	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
135	271	9	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
136	271	5	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
137	271	7	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
140	272	2	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
143	313	1	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
146	313	1	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
	314	1	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
111		11	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
112		6	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
113		1	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
117		1	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
121		1	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
147		1	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
160		1	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
PP1		1	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
General		1	Script "I"	Infantry	1813
TOTAL		58	Script "I"	Infantry	
111		1	Eagle and "I" in Shield	Infantry	
112		4	Eagle and "I" in Shield	Infantry	1815
135	271	1	Eagle and "I" in Shield	Infantry	1815
TOTAL		6	Eagle and "I" in Shield	Infantry	
	PP25	1	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
121	101	4	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
130	101	1	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
131	101	1	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
	270	3	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
135	271	6	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
136	271	2	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
137	271	3	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
142	313	5	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808

Table 18. Uniform Buttons from Fort Hawkins (contued on next page).

TU	Fea.	Count	Description	Military Unit	TPQ
111		21	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
112		6	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
117		1	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
121		1	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
122		1	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
146		1	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
160		2	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
General		7	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	1808
TOTAL		66	Roman Numeral "US"	General Service	
127	101	1	Script "RA" and "2"	2nd Regiment of Artillerists	1811
121		1	"CUFG EAGLE ARTILLER"	1st Regiment Artillery	1802
112		1	"Don't Tread on Me" with Rattlesnake	Chatham Artillery	1800
140	272	1	1ST RA	1st Regiment of Artillerists	1811
General		1	Cannon and Eagle with "I REGt"	1st Regiment Artillery	1802
112		1	Eagle	1st Regiment Artillery	1802
111		2	Script "A 3"	3rd Regiment Artillery	1813
133	101	1	Script "A" above "2"	2nd Regiment Artillery	1813
135	271	1	Script "A" above "2"	2nd Regiment Artillery	1813
136	271	1	Script "A" above "2"	2nd Regiment Artillery	1813
137	271	1	Script "A" above "2"	2nd Regiment Artillery	1813
140	272	1	Script "A" above "2"	2nd Regiment Artillery	1813
General		1	Script "A" above "2"	2nd Regiment Artillery	1813
	PP102	1	Script "A" with 3 in Oval	3rd Regiment Artillery	1813
107		1	Script "RA 2"	2nd Regiment of Artillerists	1811
142	313	1	Script "RA"	1st Regiment of Artillerists	1811
General		1	Script A with "3"	3rd Artillery Regiment	1813
TOTAL		18	Artillery		
109	101	1	Eagle 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	1	Eagle facing right, 4th Regiment	4th Infantry	1798
131	101	1	"2"	2nd Regiment Infantry	
135	271	1	Eagle, right facing, Stars surround,"2R"	2nd Regiment	1798
136	271	1	Eagle above "2RT"	2nd Regiment	1798
130	101	1	Eagle above "2RT"	2nd Regiment	1798
111		1	"2 R" with Eagle	2nd Regiment	1798
Trench		1	2nd Regiment	2nd Regiment	
111		1	"_FG T" OR "REG T"	undetermined	
General		1	Naval, Eagle on Anchor	U.S. Navy	
General		1	U.S. Infantry	Union--Civil War	
TOTAL		13	Other		
TOTAL		190	ALL DIAGNOSTIC MILITARY BUTTONS		

Table 18. Uniform Buttons from Fort Hawkins (contiued from previous page).

as being garrisoned at Fort Hawkins. These buttons may have been 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. This type was produced between 1815 and 1821 (Albert 1997). Their spatial distribution at Fort Hawkins was limited, with buttons 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 1989:31; Hughes and Lester 1991:207; Kochan 2000:13-14). This script "I" with asterisk type was produced from 1813 to 1815. Despite the short production period of only two years, this was a common button type, represented by 59 specimens in the Fort Hawkins assemblage. Script "I" buttons bearing no regimental number were recovered from Features 101, 259, 264, 266, 271, 272, and 313 and in TUs 111, 112, and 160. Their presence in those contexts strongly suggests that those buildings were in use during the War of 1812.

U.S. 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 during historical research as being part of the Fort Hawkins garrison. 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 TU127. The other specimen was recovered from TU107, 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).

Chatham Artillery Button

One button, tentatively attributed to the Chatham Artillery of Savannah, Georgia, was recovered from

TU112 (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 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 was assigned to duty at Fort Hawkins. Eighteen "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 from Feature 101 strongly suggests that Colonel Smith's troops had left Fort Hawkins prior to the occupation of this part of the fort. Willett (2007) recovered another "RR" button while removing the turf from the brick walkway on the southeastern corner of the southeast blockhouse.

Fredriksen (2000:1-80) provides information about the uniforms and accoutrements worn by the Regiment of Rifles. In addition, a Raleigh newspaper described the uniforms of the Regiment of Rifles, when it passed through North Carolina on May 23, 1809, "Their uniform was very handsome—It was green coats, faced and turned up with brown and yellow; green pantaloons, fringed; white vests; leather caps, high in front, on which were in large yellow characters, U.S.R.R. with tall nodding black plumes" (*Star* 1809:119). An 1813 list of U.S. Army rules and regulations for Rifle Clothing included:

- Cap
- Coat
- Vest
- Green overalls, fringed
- Woollen overalls
- Rifle frock
- Shirts
- Stockings
- Socks
- Shoes

Blanket
Stock and clasp
Cockade and eagle
Feather

(ASP, American Memory 2008).

General Service Buttons

A common U.S. Army button style, known as General Service Buttons, contained a simple “US” in Roman font. This common button style was used by the Army between 1808 and 1830 (Albert 1997:19-20; Katcher 1990:30; Hughes and Lester 1991:207). Because the General Service Buttons were not manufactured until 1808, they represent a sensitive time marker for dating deposits at Fort Hawkins. These standard “US” buttons were common at Fort Hawkins, represented by 66 specimens. Examples were recovered from Features 101, 270, 271, and 313 and in TUs 111, 112, 117, 121, 122, and 160. 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 far as the current research was able to determine, 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 in another regiment, for want of a more correct one.

Other Metal Buttons

The most common metal button type recovered from Fort Hawkins was 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.

Decorative metal buttons also were present in the Fort Hawkins collections. These were non-military issue and not part of the official Army uniform. These included geometric and floral designs. Civilian buttons at Fort Hawkins were made from a variety of materials including glass, metal, and bone.

Bone Buttons

Bone 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 local bone button manufacture at Fort Hawkins. Bone button manufacturing evidence was observed from excavations at several other early military sites, including Tellico Blockhouse in Tennessee and Fort Frederick on 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 or supply a much needed commodity. Many of the bone buttons at Fort Hawkins 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 also 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-nine buckles or buckle fragments were recovered from Fort Hawkins. These include iron and brass buckles (n=35 and 18, respectively). Several of the brass buckles had iron tongues. Of these, 28 buckles were classified as small and 13 were large. The dimensions of the other buckles could not be determined and were 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. Collar stays are made from thin, rectangular sheets and have male and female parts. Examples are shown in Figure 88. These collar stays helped add to the look of the stylish, though uncomfortable and impractical, uniforms. 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. Archaeologists excavated brass collar stays from Features 101, 109, 271, 272, 313 and other contexts at Fort Hawkins. 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.

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 dating 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 1/8 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 89). These artifacts 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 possibly served as Army uniform regalia, as well. These include a fragment of small gold-gilt brass (possible) cannon insignia from Feature 101 and small white metal bars from TU112, 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 cast brass boot heel frames were recovered from Feature 101 (LN 379). Both specimens are from men's boots. Another brass boot heel plate was recovered from Feature 109 (LN 659). It was also simple in design and secured with five tacks but shaped slightly different from the Feature 101 specimen. Examples of a military boot from the period shows a sturdy, simple design that was secured with five tacks (Figure 90). 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 several brads. These shoe parts were recovered from Feature 109.

Other Clothing Hardware

Brass hooks 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. Archaeologists uncovered other clasp



Figure 88. Uniform Collar Stays.

mechanisms in addition to hook and eyes. 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 the face. The researchers were unable to learn any details about Webb or his buckle patent. A small, plain brass keep for a belt or strap came from Feature 101 (LN 414).

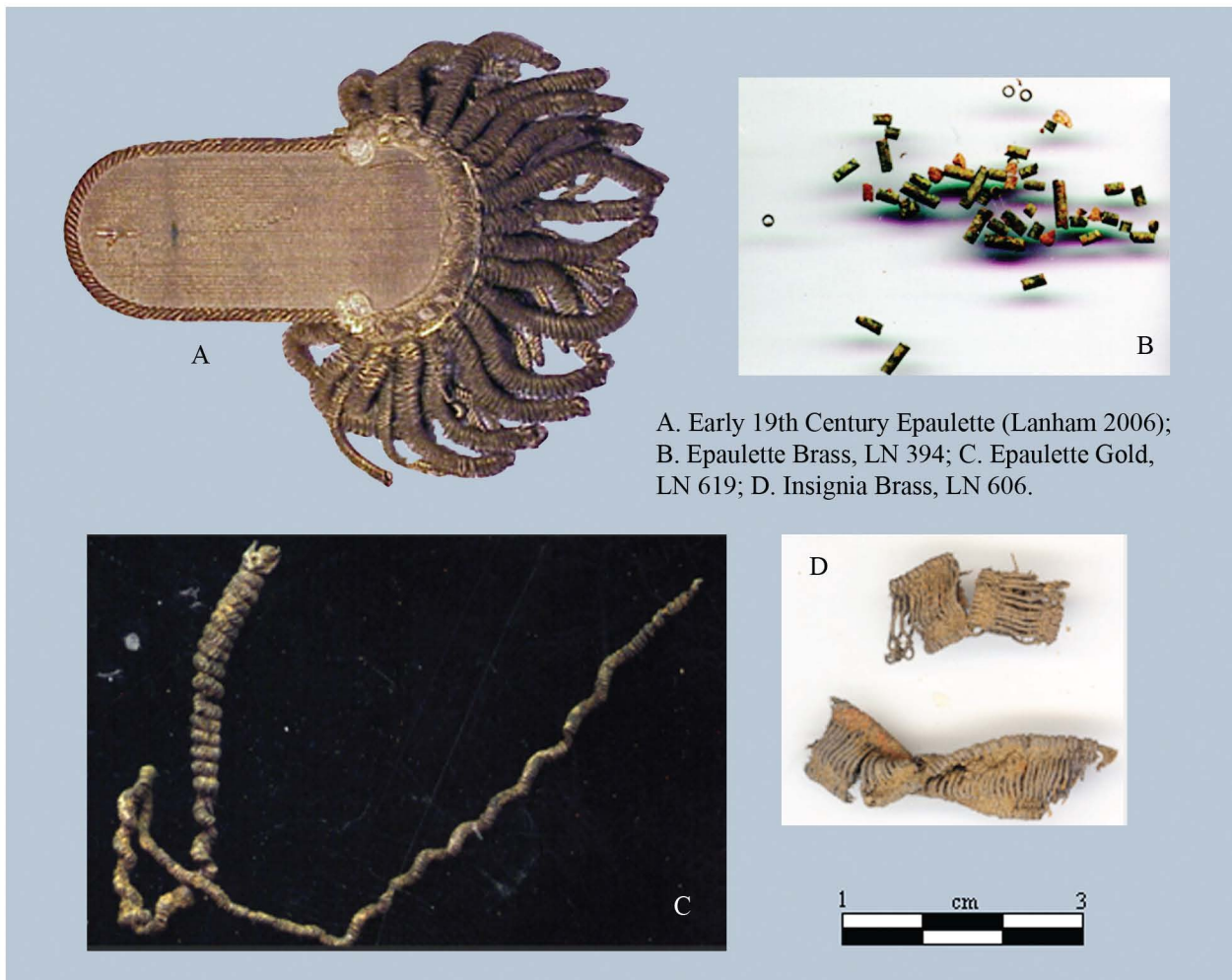
Sewing items at Fort Hawkins included thimbles, scissors, and straight pins. Six brass thimbles are contained in the Fort Hawkins collection. Five were found in Feature 101 and the other from Feature 272. Nine iron scissor fragments were found in Features 101, 271, 272, and 313. Straight pins were common in the Fort Hawkins midden, represented by 109 examples. Many others may have been present in the midden but were not recovered in the ¼ inch mesh soil sifting methodology. The straight pins appear essentially the same as modern day examples, although the former were 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 common on early 19th century sites and we expected to find many beads at Fort Hawkins, particularly because it had served as a major U.S. trading factory for the Creek Nation. Despite the extensive archaeological excavations, however, only 43 glass beads were discovered. With one exception these 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 generally is not found on 19th century sites. Many examples of the Punta Rosa type bead were discovered



A. Early 19th Century Epaulette (Lanham 2006);
 B. Epaulette Brass, LN 394; C. Epaulette Gold,
 LN 619; D. Insignia Brass, LN 606.

Figure 89. Epaulette Pieces, Feature 101, Fort Hawkins (Right) and Early 19th Century Complete Specimen (Lanham 2006).

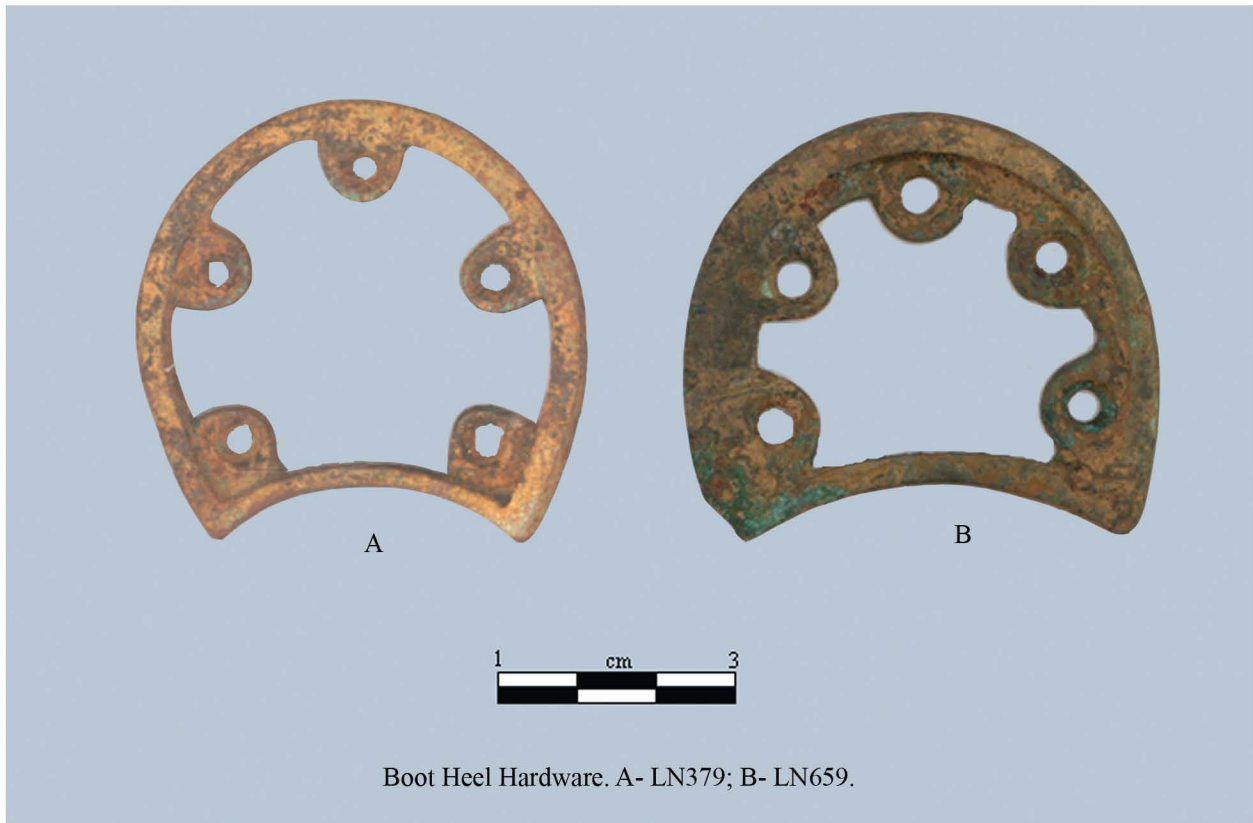


Figure 90. Boot Heel Hardware.

in archaeological excavations at the Tarver site in Jones County on Town Creek, a short distance north of Macon (Pluckhahn 1996). The beads there were contained in Native American burial contexts from the early 18th (or possibly late 17th) century. The presence of this bead in Feature 101 is a mystery, which may hint at a minor early historic occupation that pre-dates Fort Hawkins. Alternatively, it may have been a keepsake or heirloom item.

Features 101 and 271 contained the most beads (n=35, or 80%) and the remainder were scattered at 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. One bead made from shell and one copper bead was identified in Feature 101. A brass tinkler cone was found in Feature 101 (LN 414). Feature 271 yielded eight glass beads. Another shell bead was recovered from the back dirt of XU20.

Fort Hawkins yielded two simple brass wire bracelets. This type of bracelet was frequently 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 small, delicate 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. Haley 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 and howitzers, 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 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

Ordinance and Military Stores on hand at Fort Hawkins 13th September 1814” listed one brass 3 Pounder and 2 Cohorts at the fort. A cohorn, or coehorn, was a small bronze mortar that was mounted on a wooden block. The list also contained rounds of grape shot for 3, 4 and 6 pounders, strap shot for 3 and 4 pounders, and loose balls for 4 pounders (Hays 1940, v.4:135-136).

The firing of cannons at Fort Hawkins is recorded in a letter from Major Fanning at Fort Hawkins to Georgia Governor Early, dated January 29, 1815, and announcing Andrew Jackson’s victory at New Orleans:

The American arms have again triumphed, directed by the brave and skillful Jackson. By a letter just received at Fort Decatur, I am informed the New Orleans mail brings advices up to the 13th inst. A letter from Major Woodfall commanding Fort Jackson says, ‘We have the pleasing intelligence of a most glorious victory obtained by Gen. Jackson on the 8th instant over the British forces. Our army was attacked at break of day in their intrenchments; ONE THOUSAND killed, and FIVE HUNDRED wounded and prisoners—ours stated to be *twenty* killed and wounded.’ We are rejoicing by illumination and the discharge of cannon from the Fort (*Augusta Herald* 1815a).

Cannons were again used to celebrate Andrew Jackson upon his arrival at Fort Hawkins in mid-February, 1818. The Milledgeville newspaper reported, “The Gen. was proceeding to Fort Hawkins and there is little doubt but he arrived there yesterday, as the firing of cannon in that direction was distinctly heard” (cited in *Franklin Gazette* 1818:3).

Expenses of the U.S. Army Ordnance Department for Fort Hawkins for a five year period (1817-1821) were published by the U.S. Congress. These were: 1817, \$813.58; 1818, \$138.43; 1819, \$206.38; 1820, \$0.00; and 1821, \$0.00. These expenses totaled \$1,158.39 (ASP 17, Military Affairs v.2.:509).

A December 31, 1818 inventory of large ordnance at U.S. Army posts, compiled by Decius Wadsworth, Colonel of Ordnance, listed three weapons at Fort Hawkins. This included two mounted, “field cannon, 12 and 6 pounders”, and one dismounted, “Howitzers, 8 and 5 8/10 inches” (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 & received 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).

An 1819 inventory of the ordnance remaining at Fort Hawkins, which was made by David Twiggs, listed 5 howitzers, 1 brass 6-pounder, and 2,040 pounds of damaged gunpowder (Daniel Parker Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania). A confidential report by the Assistant Inspector General, dated June 30, 1820, stated that Fort Hawkins possessed, “two twelve pounders, one of them mounted” and he also noted that the Quartermaster stores at Fort Hawkins included, “a considerable quantity of powder, which from the length of time it has been in store has become considerably dangerous” (Ford 1994).

An 1875 Macon newspaper article, which cited an 1823 *Messenger* news article, provides additional information about the ordnance that was left at Fort Hawkins after the removal of the garrison. Apparently the ordnance was used in a July 4, 1823 celebration.

First, there was an old iron four pound cannon left as a waif on this community by the breaking up of the garrison at Fort Hawkins, which was to be the principal speaker of the day. During the night previous, there existed a very excited ‘border war’ whether that cannon was to speak from Fort Hawkins or Macon. The Macon boys, with some others of more experience, had gotten possession of the prize, and having it well loaded, and with about forty muskets and as many lightwood torches, prepared to defend it.

The other party, having control of the ‘Navy Department’, consisting of the ferry flat and one batteau, crossed the river, reconnoitered like prudent soldiers, went to Tiger Town, near what is now called Pumpkin Hollow, for recruits, but returned to their muster

ground, in New Town, now East Macon, much disappointed, and were dismissed with no moderate cursing from their leader.

The recorded incidents of the day are few. The old gun spoke at daylight, and for every toast given, to the number of thirteen, and the last we ever saw of that old soldier was in the streets of Thomaston, where it had been loaned to speak for Gen. Harrison or Henry Clay for the Presidency... (*Georgia Weekly Telegraph* 1875).

An 1884 Macon newspaper noted that General Lafayette's arrival in Macon at 12 noon on March 31, 1824 was announced by firing a signal gun at Fort Hawkins. This is the latest mention yet discovered by historical research of cannons at the fort (*Macon Telegraph and Messenger* 1884:5).

The LAMAR Institute researchers learned of an iron 6-pounder cannon that had recently sold on the antiques market and was purportedly associated with Fort Hawkins and General Lafayette's 1825 salute in Macon. (The LAMAR Institute provided the information to Marty Willett.) That cannon was produced for the U.S. Army at the Columbia Foundry, which was established in Georgetown, Maryland in 1801. The weapon was being displayed at the Old Bardstown Village Civil War Museum in Kentucky where its (former) owner Steve Munson had the provenance connecting the weapon to Fort Hawkins. In early 2007 this cannon was purchased through the financial assistance of New Town Macon and the gun was returned to Fort Hawkins. The cannon is currently mounted for public display a short distance northwest of the replica blockhouse (Marty Willett personal conversation with Steve Munson, February, 2007).

Military historian Albert Manucy provides this summary of U.S. Ordnance of the early 1800s:

The United States adopted the Gribeauval system of artillery carriages in 1809, just about the time it was becoming obsolete (the French abandoned it in 1829)... Early in the century cast iron replaced bronze as a gunmetal, a move pushed by the growing United States iron industry; and not until 1836 was bronze readopted in this country for mobile cannon. In the meantime, U.S. Artillery in the War of 1812 did most of its fighting with iron 6-pounders (Manucy 1956).

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 grapeshot measured 1 inch in diameter and were from Feature 272 and TU112. Two slightly smaller grapeshot (.93 and .95 caliber) came from Feature 101. Archaeologists discovered an .80 caliber iron grapeshot, which came from a disturbed context at Fort Hawkins. Grapeshot was used as anti-personnel munitions by the U.S. Army. Grapeshot, or canister shot, was common ammunition throughout the Fort Hawkins era, continuing through the Civil War period.

The Fort Hawkins Commission has in its collection an iron 6-pounder shot, which was unearthed in downtown Macon in previous years. It is a solid iron shot with no obvious markings. While this cannonball could have been shot or lost at various times in Macon's history, Commissioner Chair Willett observed that it is the proper diameter for use with the newly acquired gun and the location where the cannonball was found fits with a potential firing trajectory from Fort Hawkins. A smooth bore 6-pounder cannon of the early 19th century had a maximum range (on level ground) of about one mile (Marty Willett personal communication October 1, 2007; Manucy 1956).

Other archaeological evidence for heavy ordnance included two friction primers. One of these was located just southeast of the reconstructed blockhouse. The other was from a disturbed context on the southwestern part of the site. Both were located with metal detectors. These primers likely date to the Civil War.

Since some military Civil War activity at Fort Hawkins is indicated from the other arms artifacts that were found, grapeshot cannot be definitively associated with either the War of 1812 or the Civil War periods, based on descriptions alone. When one considers the context where the two grapeshot 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 the Springfield, Massachusetts armories, and by private contractors. These military issue guns included mostly .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 91.

The 1803 model .54 caliber Harpers Ferry rifled musket was the first U.S. issue rifle. This weapon weighed about 8.5 pounds and had a barrel length of 33 inches. It required a .53 caliber lead ball, or smaller. This weapon was modified in 1814, and again in 1815. A total of 4,023 Model 1803 muskets were produced in the U.S. from 1803-1806 and 15,703 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, which was a .69 caliber smoothbore with a 41 inch long gun 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 Wagoner, signed a receipt for a shipment bound for Major Abraham B. Fannin, Deputy Quarter Master General of the State of Georgia at Fort Hawkins. The shipment 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, v3:269).

When the Georgia militia embarked on its campaign in mid-December 1814, it lacked sufficient pistols for the troops. General Blackshear inquired if pistols were available at Fort Hawkins that could be requisitioned by the Georgia militia. Captain Richard H. Thomas wrote to General Blackshear on January 1, 1815 with this answer, "there were one hundred and ninety pistols at Fort Hawkins..."(Miller 1858:433). These weapons were apparently dispatched to General Blackshear's troops.

At the close of the War of 1812, 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 cartouche boxes and belts, 353 swords, 212 rifles, 146 rifle moulds, 157 rifle wipers and 2,000 Musket flints (Hays 1940, v.4:21-22).

The Tennessee Mounted Volunteers, who accompanied Andrew Jackson in the 1st Seminole War campaign,

deposited a portion of their weapons at Fort Hawkins upon their return to Tennessee in late January 1818. These included, "fifty-three, of every description, including twelve rifle barrels, presumed to be without stocks or locks" (ASP 36, Claims V.1:806, 810). These weapons, which included 13 muskets, 18 rifles, 10 fusils, and 12 rifle barrels, were largely broken and considered useless. An 1819 inventory of the Fort Hawkins armaments made by David Twiggs listed 77 damaged muskets, 20 pairs of pistols, and 1,769 damaged cartridge boxes (Daniel Parker Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

Surprisingly few pieces of gun hardware (n=22) were uncovered by the Fort Hawkins excavations (Figure 92). Gun parts recovered from the Fort Hawkins excavation included: 2 trigger guards, 6 butt plates (1 brass), 2 rifle barrel sections, 3 mainsprings, 2 hammers, 1 flint lock plate and hammer, 1 frizzen, 1 rear brass sight, 1 gun barrel band, and 1 iron sling swivel gun hardware. These objects were recovered from Features 101, 109, 271, 313, and XU20. Feature 271 contained three gun parts and Feature 101 yielded two gun parts..

Willett (2007) recovered two gun parts from the surface of Fort Hawkins after the excavation project was completed. These included one frizzen, which was found south of Feature 101 and a Y-shaped gun tool (screwdriver and punch combination tool) that was found north of Feature 101. Both of these items were made of iron or steel. Both of these artifacts likely date to the Fort Hawkins era.

Gunflints

Gunflints are essential to the operation of the flintlock firearm. The sparks created by the gunflint 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 93.

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 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

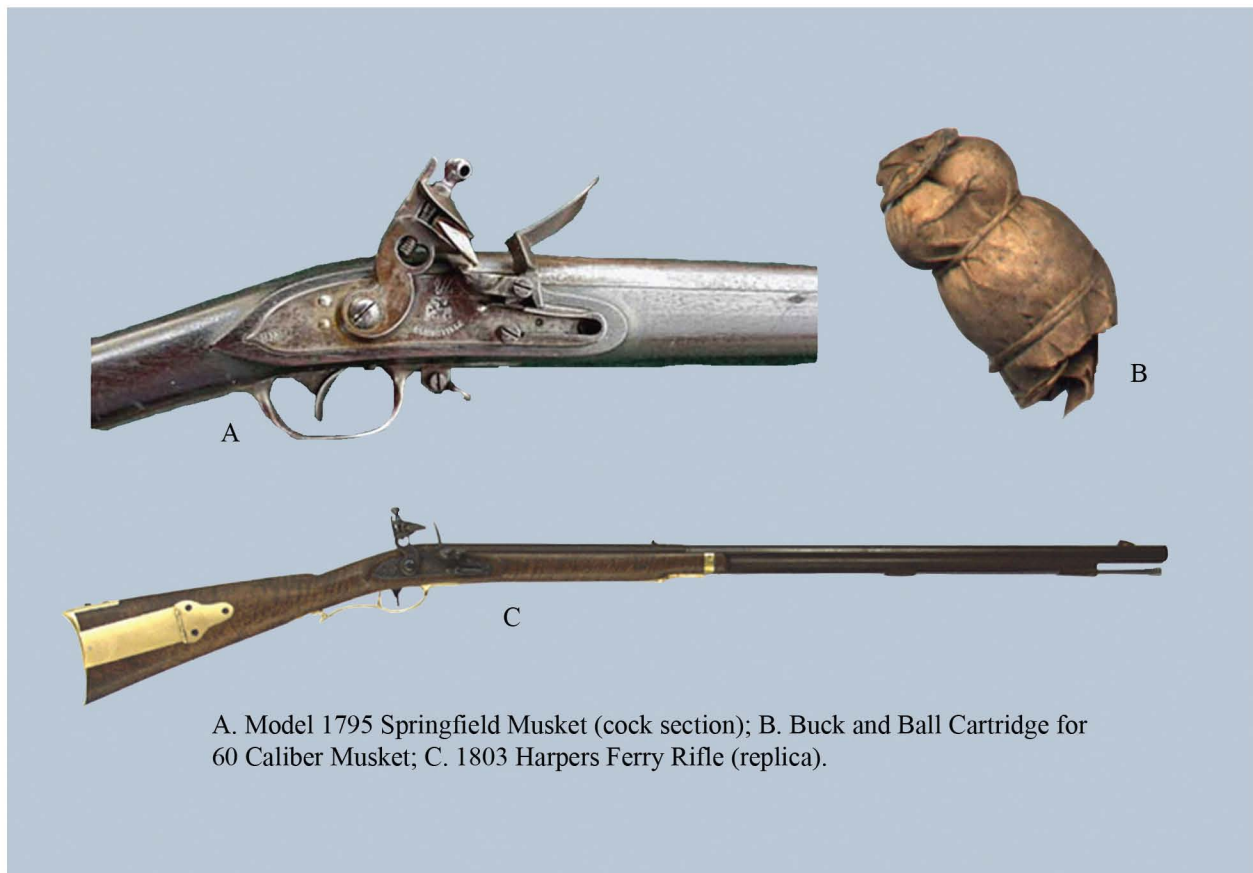


Figure 91. Examples of Weapons and Ammunition Types Likely at Fort Hawkins.



Figure 92. Gun Parts and Accoutrements.

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-late 18th century (Hamilton and Emery 1988; Elliott 1992a). French gunflints are readily distinguished from English gunflints by the former's "honey" color flint, contrasted with 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, was located in Feature 271. Gunflints were found in Features 109, 271, 313 and other site contexts. Willett (2007) found one French gunflint on the surface, northeast of Feature 101, after the excavation was completed.

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 surround partially the gunflint and served to hold it securely in the flintlock hardware. The lead also served to prevent gunflints from snapping when force from the flintlock 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 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. 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 extremely rare in the archaeological record. The single example that was discovered more likely dates to the Civil War period.

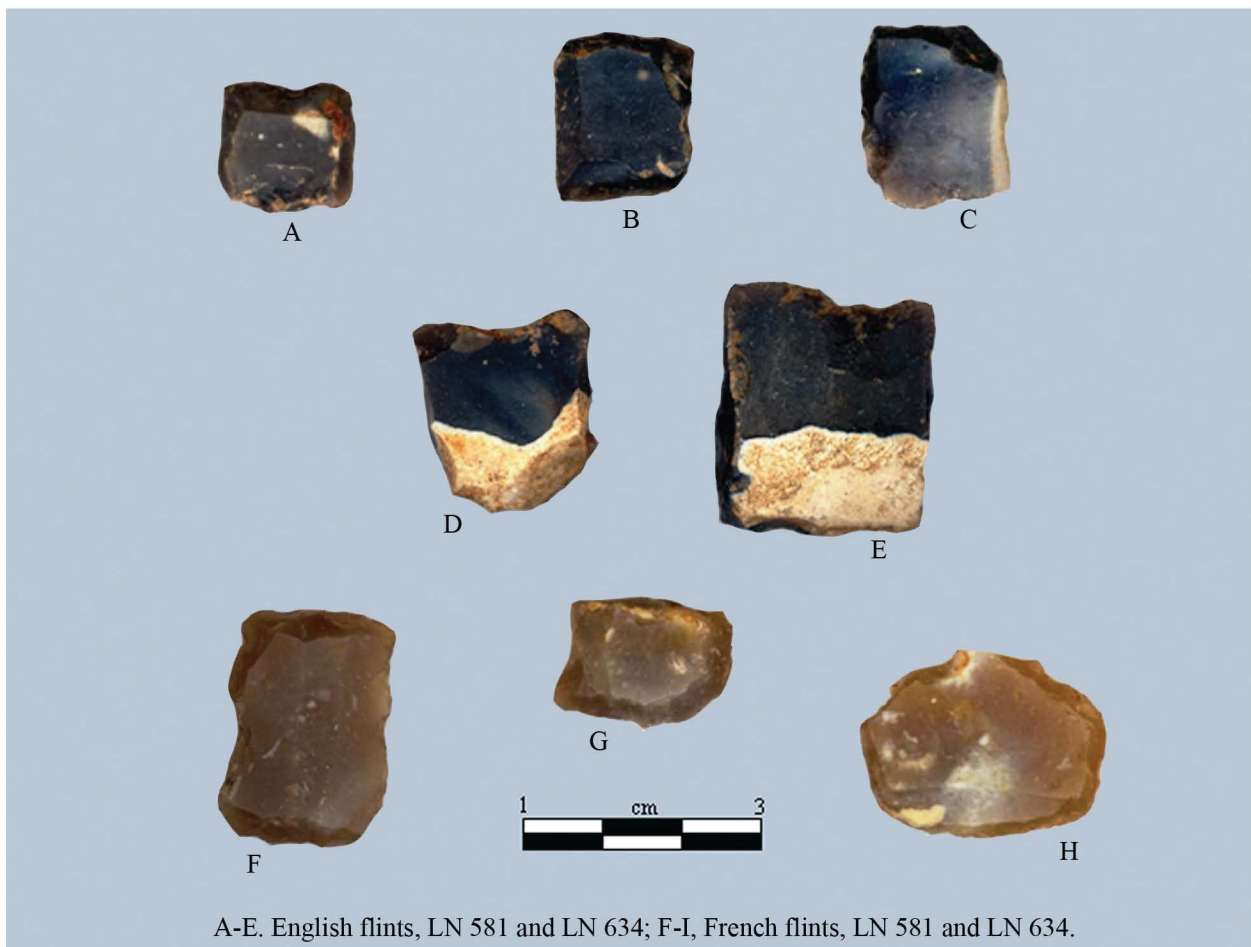


Figure 93. Gunflints from Fort Hawkins.

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, or 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. 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 lead balls for .69 caliber guns were far more common than those for .54 caliber guns. Sixty-three balls were greater than .54 caliber. These ranged in size from .60-.68 caliber. Of these, most (n=33, or 52%) were located in Feature 271. The other examples were found in TUs 111 and 112, with four 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 the building uncovered in that feature. The absence of that button type in Feature 101 sheds doubt on their occupation of the building represented in

Feature 101. 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 226 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 used in a buck and ball cartridge load. The greatest frequency of this size range of shot was observed in Feature 271 and TUs 111 and 112 (n= 48 and 65, respectively, or when combined, 113 or 50%). The next greatest frequency was observed in Feature 101 (n=64, or 28%). 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 size from .30 to .65 caliber. They had been fired from a weapon, although some may have been intentionally smashed.

Willett (2007) found three lead balls at Fort Hawkins after the excavation was completed. These include one .69 caliber ball that was found south of Feature 101, one .54 caliber ball located east of Feature 271, and one spent musket ball, southwest of the southeastern blockhouse.

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 from 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 shot 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 94. 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. Consequently, this mass of metal contains many lead shot and balls that were not measured. This concentration of metal objects in Feature 313 is difficult to interpret but one hypothesis is that it represents a water-lain deposit, such as a building drip line, in which heavy metal items tended to congregate and coagulate into a single mass, as much as 30 cm thick.

Bullet Mold

Figure 95 shows one half of a bullet mold that was recovered from XU25. This object was discovered in the unit's south profile with the aid of a metal detector. It is made from white metal and was used to cast a single round ball. The diameter of the ball was approximately .59 caliber. This bullet mold is crudely manufactured and

likely dates to the Fort Hawkins era. This was one of the more interesting artifact finds from the October 2007 season.

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). See Figure 92 (C). 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, were recovered from Feature 101 (LN 414 and 409). This specimen was triangular in cross-section (Figure 96). Two bayonet hardware pieces, termed

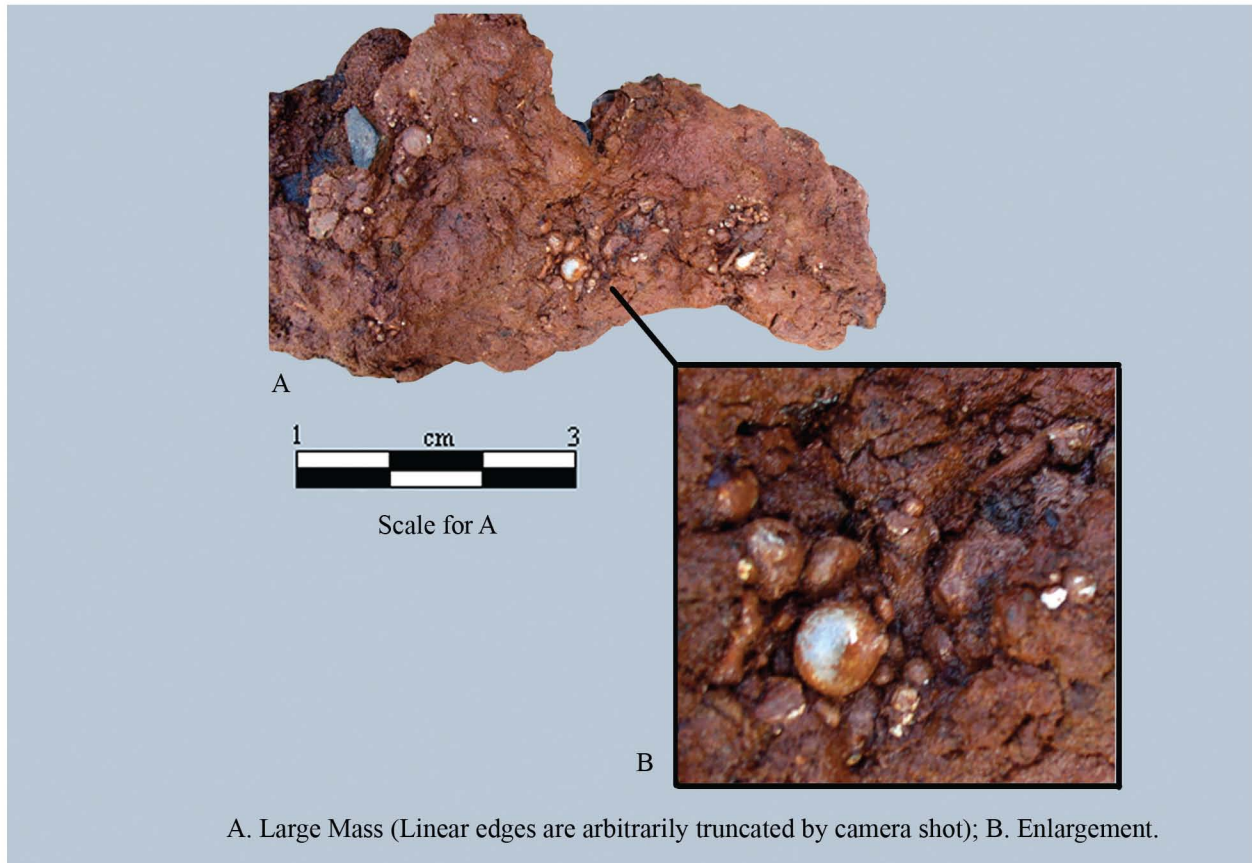


Figure 94. Iron and Lead Mass Containing Many Lead Shot, Feature 313.

“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 TU111.

Swords

The soldiers and officers at Fort Hawkins possessed a wide variety of military edged-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. An 1819 inventory of the military stores remaining at Fort Hawkins, made by David Twiggs, listed 357 Dragoon swords present at that time (Daniel Parker Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania). One brass sword counterguard was recovered from Feature 271 (Figure 97; 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 a government-issued sword. Several fragments of a possible sword blade were 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: two friction primers from an artillery piece; three .56 caliber brass shell casings from a Spencer rifle; one lead ball from a Spencer rifle; a Burnside .55 caliber bullet, and one Civil War vintage 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. Historical research for this study confirmed that the Confederates did maintain an artillery battery at Fort Hawkins. 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



Figure 95. Bullet Mold.

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 U.S. military personnel. 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 imported from Cuba and other Caribbean islands but did not reach their height of popularity until after the Mexican War in 1847. Nonetheless, many cigars were smoked 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 became popular 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 325 fragments. These



Figure 96. Bayonets and Related Artifacts.



Figure 97. Sword Counterguard from Feature 271.

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. 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 (Binford 1962; 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 98.

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 specimens displayed molded, ribbed designs. Some were made from low fired earthenware (or redware) and others were lead-glazed stoneware. Examples of two effigy pipes,



Figure 98. Long Stemmed Clay Pipes.

or face pipes, are shown in Figure 99. 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 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. (See Figure 100 for examples.) These artifacts were widely distributed across the site in various contexts. Artifacts in the Personal group include 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 by Tony Meeks at the site prior to archaeological excavation and included an internal brass watch plate made by a London watchmaker, inscribed “Bull London” in cursive script (Appendix D). Examples of watch parts excavated from Fort Hawkins are shown in 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 TU111, and 1 from TU112 (LN 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 post, the District Paymasters handled large payrolls for the troops here. 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).

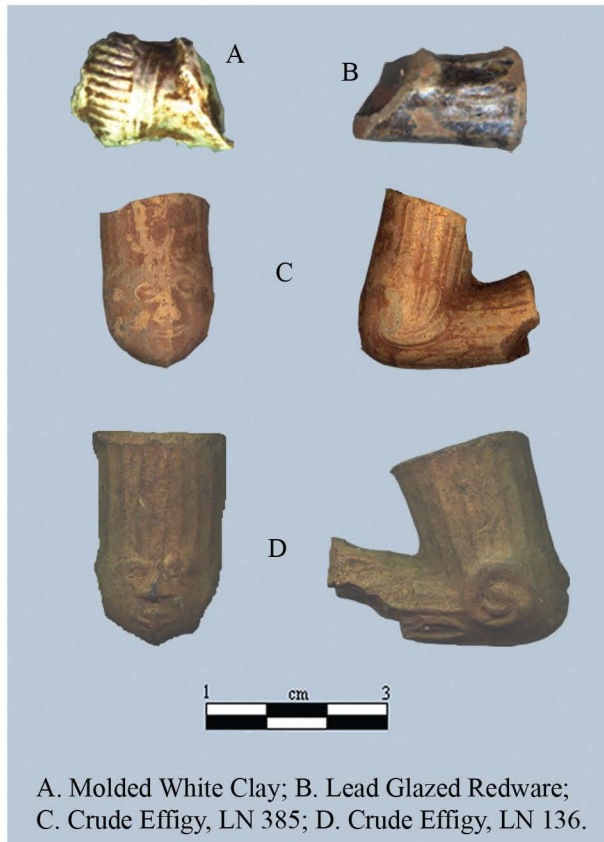


Figure 99. Clay Elbow Pipes.

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 coins were recovered by the present excavations (Figure 101). Coins were relatively uncommon in frontier Georgia. Spanish silver coins were the most common find. 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.

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 (Figure 101 A). 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.

One solution to this shortage was offered by local merchants who printed their own currency. Paper currency does not generally survive in the archaeological record. Figure 102 shows examples of private paper currency issued by merchants, Charles Bullock and Nicholas Wells in Macon in 1828. Their private notes include a one-half dollar note and a 25 cent note. These items were issued on June 10, 1820 and printed by Murray, Draper, Fairman & Co., and the 50 cent note states: “We promise to pay bearer at our office Fort Hawkins, FIFTY CENTS in current Money, on Demand” (American Numismatic Society 2008a&b; Marsh 2005; Gary Doster personal communication February 9, 2008).

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. 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

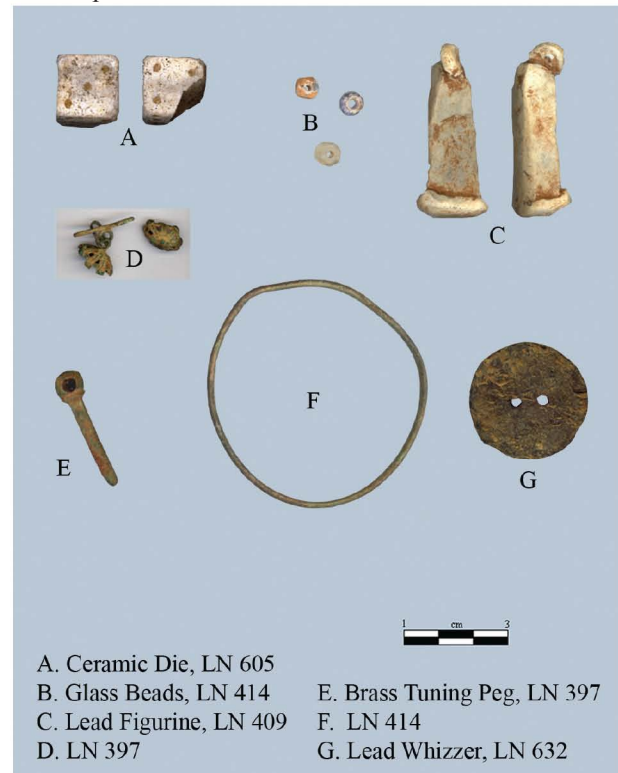


Figure 100. Selected Personal Items.



Figure 101. Coins.

271 and is shown in Figure 100 A (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 adults as well as children (Baumann 1999). Fort Hawkins yielded 17 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. Single examples were recovered from XU23 and XU25. 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. One curious example was fashioned from a pearlware spherical finial, recycled from a piece of tableware. Another unusual large clay marble was found by Willett (2007) at Fort Hawkins, northeast of Feature 271, after the excavation was completed. That specimen may have been faintly inscribed with the initials, “JH”, although this observation remains a subject of debate.

As mentioned earlier, whizzers were a type of whirligig, 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 known

later as a “buzzer” or “buzz saw” because of its similarity in sound and appearance to a rapidly spinning circular saw blade. The circular saw blade existed in England as early as 1777 but were not in common use in America until the 1830s (Ball 1975:79-89). The archaeological specimens from Fort Hawkins and a modern replica are shown in Figure 103 (ggodwin.com 2006). Whizzers are commonly found on early military sites in America. 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 was intended for use as a whizzer but had not been perforated. They generally were cheap toys that offered hours of amusement. This silver example would have been an expensive whizzer, given the value of the coin.

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 were used to secure military goods, or they may have protected personal effects, or secured strongboxes that contained valuable Army payrolls. Padlock parts from eight locks were found in Feature 101 and one was found in Feature 271. These included an iron shell and brass front plate,



Figure 102. Private Paper Currency from Macon, 1828.

an iron padlock hasp, and a small padlock, possibly from a personal chest or trunk. Feature 101 also yielded three iron keys. The greater frequency of padlocks and keys in Feature 101 may indicate that the occupants of that building had more items of value that were subject to theft. It also may indicate a function of the building, such as a paymaster office or storehouse.

Combs

Lice combs, made from bone, were used for personal grooming to rid the scalp of head lice at Fort Hawkins. The head louse was a constant problem in 19th century 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 (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 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 building's drip line along the west side of Fort Hawkins (LN 772). Two examples were from TU112 and one was from TU111. The specimens from Features 271 and 314 are shown in Figure 104.

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).



Figure 103. Whirligigs or Buzz Saws.

Brushes

Archaeologists discovered several fragments of small bone brushes. Bone brushes were possibly used for brushing teeth, polishing leather or for cleaning firearms. These were found in three areas of Fort Hawkins, including Features 101, 109, and 271 (LN 557, 676, and 632, respectively). The first mass produced brushes were produced about 1780 by William Addis in England. The first patented American brush was not manufactured until after 1857. The Fort Hawkins specimens most likely were made in England (Hyson 2003).

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 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 105.

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 stoneware and glass 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. All of these pencil specimens were small and probably represent items that were accidentally lost or discarded when they were exhausted.

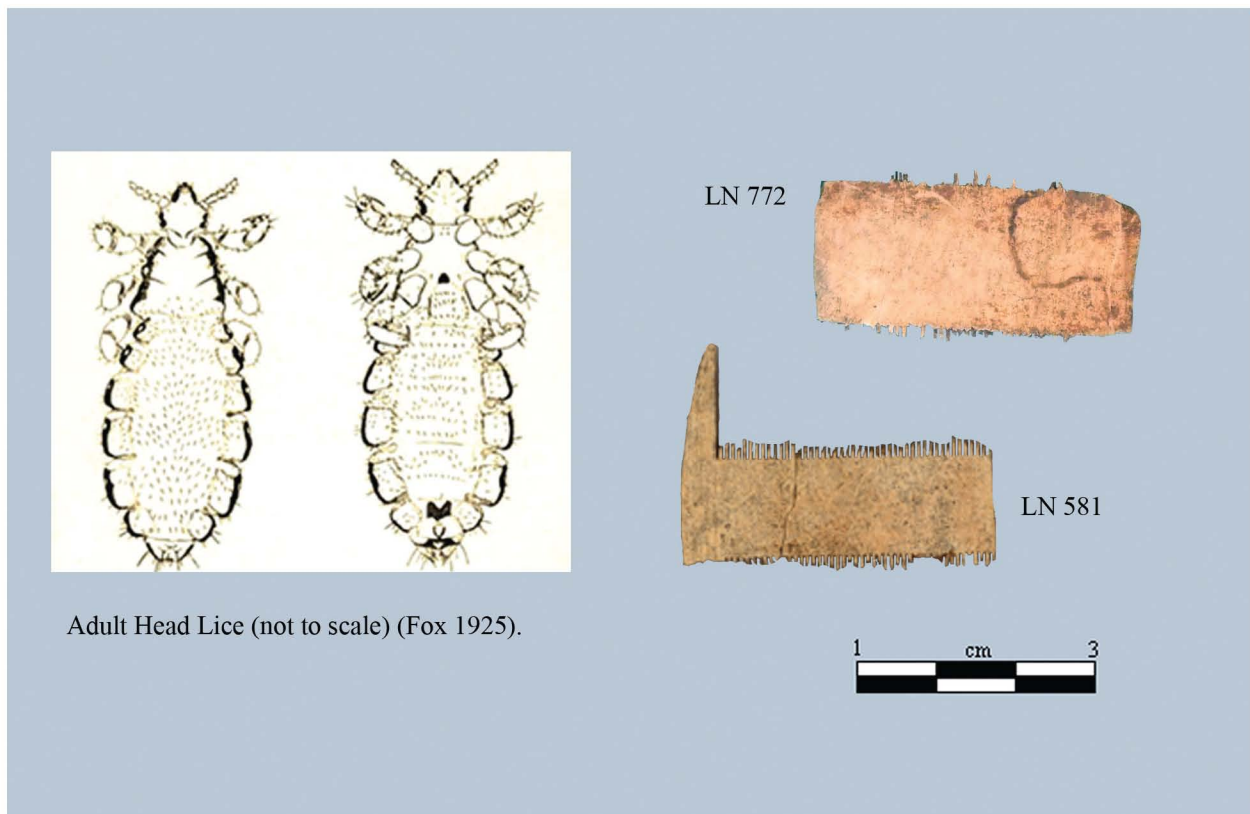


Figure 104. Lice Combs.

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. Two cast or spun brass fireplace tool handles were recovered from Feature 101. One fire dog fragment was recovered in Feature 101 and another came from TU111.

Three brass drawer pulls and a brass drawer pull screw were recovered from Feature 101. A fourth brass pull 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 ornate brass furniture escutcheon plate was located just southeast of XU25 during the metal detector survey (LN931, PP115). This specimen was probably from an officer's trunk or other furniture piece.

An iron bail-type handle, which resembled a 19th century 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, nor was any other mortuary evidence discovered. This artifact's depositional context was from a jumbled rubble pile, so it's presence within Feature 109 does not appear to represent a burial situation. More likely this building contained a variety of cast-off metal items from the fort era and the subsequent Woolfolk Plantation era.

Forty-two 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 various test units. These tacks were used to adorn trunks and for furniture upholstery.

Glass mirrors were well represented at Fort Hawkins. Sixty-one mirror glass fragments were obtained from Fort Hawkins. Most were from Feature 101 (n=45, or 75%), with minor amounts from 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.



Figure 105. Umbrellas.

ACTIVITIES GROUP

Activity Group artifacts account for approximately 2,696 pieces in the Fort Hawkins collection. Most of these (n=2,232, 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, supplies, instruments, and Native American tools and weapons.

Blacksmithing Debris

Blacksmithing was 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(s) 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 including scrap brass, iron, lead and pewter. Many pieces of scrap iron chain links, barrel hoops, iron bars, and unidentified flat iron fragments may represent metal stock reserves that were intended for recycling by blacksmiths. The presence of metal 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 locally cast items may have included bullets and buttons. Many small pieces of cut lead and brass indicate other metalworking activities were undertaken within the fort.

Horse Tack

Horses were a vital component of the U.S. Army throughout the 19th century and many horses were stabled at Fort Hawkins. These included riding mounts and draft animals. Although no U.S. Cavalry regiments were historically documented at Fort Hawkins, some horse dragoons operated as couriers and were based at Fort Hawkins. 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 (Ancestry.com 2008). Draft horses were used to haul wagons loaded with supplies.

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. Archaeologists excavated an iron saddle pommel from Feature 109 (LN 669). They unearthed a complete iron bridle while stripping XU14 (LN 747). Two iron stirrup fragments were located in Feature 101 (LN 387 and 409). Feature 313 yielded an iron stirrup fragment

(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 items also had other uses. Willett (2007) found a small brass spur fragment on the surface at Fort Hawkins, northeast of Feature 271, after the excavations were completed. This specimen likely dates to the Civil War and it may be associated with one of the battles that took place at Hawkins in that war.

Hand Tools

A 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). In January 1814, a list of supplies to be shipped to Fort Hawkins for the militia included 80 axes and 80 spades (Champlain 1814). Most of these tools were at Fort Hawkins for only a brief period and were intended for use elsewhere.

Broad axes were used in the construction of Fort Hawkins and one surviving example was noted in a 1923 newspaper article about the Twiggs County Fair, "A unique exhibit was an old broadaxe which was used in the construction of Fort Hawkins more than a hundred years ago. The axe is now owned by B.R. Wimberly and belonged to General Ezekiel Wimberly who is said to have commanded the troops that erected the log fort which was the first house ever constructed in Macon" (*The Atlanta Constitution* 1923:2).

Archaeologists recovered a variety of small, metal hand tools from the excavations. A complete iron felling ax head was recovered from Feature 271 (LN 581) and is shown in Figure 106. A few other hand tools were included in the Fort Hawkins collection. A 19th century shovel blade, 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 creation (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 wick trimmer made of iron or tin. This object was heavily corroded. It is either an English style trimmer, or an American imitation, both common from about 1780 to 1820. This "scissor" type trimmer 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, brass clock parts, 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 as well as more vernacular music. 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, this peg was probably from a large instrument, such as a harp, clavichord, or piano. A brass reed plate from a 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 widely introduced to North America until 1862. Consequently, no harmonica parts were expected from Fort Hawkins and none were found.

NATIVE AMERICAN ARTIFACTS

The Fort Hawkins excavations yielded a small assemblage of aboriginal artifacts, including stone and ceramic items. Approximately 118 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.



Figure 106. Felling Ax.

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, 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-four 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 mended and represent one Kasita Red Filmed vessel, which was 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 most common on Creek sites from the Fort Hawkins era, was not represented in the collection. The rest of the aboriginal pottery at Fort Hawkins is plain wares that may date to the prehistoric period or Historic Creek era.

Bibb Plain pottery was located in Feature 276 in XU1. 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. 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). 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.

Chapter 9. Context and Interpretation

FORT COMPARISON

A comparison of Fort Hawkins with other U.S. Army forts in the South is important for developing a proper interpretive context. In the following discussion, background information involves forts at Point Peter and Coleraine, Camden County; Massachusetts (Rock Landing/Federal Town), Fidius, and Wilkinson, Baldwin County; and Fort Scott, Decatur County, all in Georgia; forts Crawford, Mitchell, and Mims, all in Alabama; and Fort Smith in Arkansas. We also examine several early U.S. Army forts in the northwest, including forts St. Anthony and Wayne.

Fort Point Peter

Fort Point Peter was a U.S. Army garrison located near the mouth of the St. Marys River at its confluence with 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 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. Captain Thomas Smith and his Regiment of Rifles were garrisoned at Coleraine for some period of time. The site for Coleraine selected by Indian Agent James Seagrove 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. Probably some of the U.S. Army soldiers who garrisoned Fort Massachusetts also served at Fort Hawkins but the historical evidence for this is lacking.

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 just east of the Oconee River in present-day Baldwin County 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 and the Creeks were 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. Some of the same U.S. Army soldiers that served at Fort Fidius may also have served at Fort Hawkins, but historical confirmation for this remains to be established. 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 was sent to command Fort Adams in the Mississippi Territory by September 15, 1808 (Gordon 2003:1-5). William Gaither was another commandant at Fort Wilkinson (Gaither 1798-1838). Fort Hawkins’ first commandant, Captain William R. Boote, 2nd Infantry, was stationed at Fort Wilkinson prior to his command at Ocmulgee Old Fields and Fort Hawkins.

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. The author [Elliott] visited the ruins of Fort Wilkinson in May 2007. Evidence of severe disturbance to portions of the fort’s ruins was observed during that visit. Large building foundation stones and brick were scattered on the surface. Some intact brickwork was observed in one of the looter’s holes. While the site appears to be heavily damaged by looters, it may still retain sufficient archaeological evidence for a delineation of the fort’s architectural plan. At present, however, the configuration and dimensions of Fort Wilkinson are unknown. An archaeological study of Fort Wilkinson would be an important research effort, since this fort was immediately antecedent to 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. 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 preliminary research is available (Stickler 2004; Cottier 2004; Cremer 2004). Fort Mitchell is currently listed as a National Historic Landmark by the National Park Service.

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. 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).

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 Mitchell is currently operated as a historic site by the Russell County Historical Society. The site features:

A replica of the 1813 Fort Mitchell (150 feet by 250 feet) with block houses
Blacksmith Shop
Tavern
Carriage House
Indian Trading Agency
Hospital
Visitors Center, and
Heritage Center, a monument to the displaced Native Americans (Fortmitchell.org 2008).

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. The fort had a rectangular plan. 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' Weekly Register* 1813:105).

Fort Smith

Although it is several states and hundreds of miles removed from Macon, Georgia, Fort Smith, Arkansas provides many interesting similarities to Fort Hawkins. Fort Smith presents a crucial analog for comparison with Fort Hawkins for several reasons. Fort Smith was built in 1817 by U.S. Army soldiers in Colonel Thomas Adams Smith's Rifle Regiment, who had served at Fort Hawkins and had helped construct portions of that fort. Fort Smith was also garrisoned by soldiers in the 7th Infantry, who had served at Fort Hawkins. Both Smith and Hawkins 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).

Major William Bradford and his company of the Regiment of Rifles were 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. Major Bradford was in command at Fort Smith in June 1819, when the Cherokee and Osage were in conflict (*American Beacon and Norfolk & Portsmouth Daily Advertiser* 1819a:)

The original configuration of Fort Smith 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 glacis 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 107. Long's plan of Fort Smith also contained descriptions 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

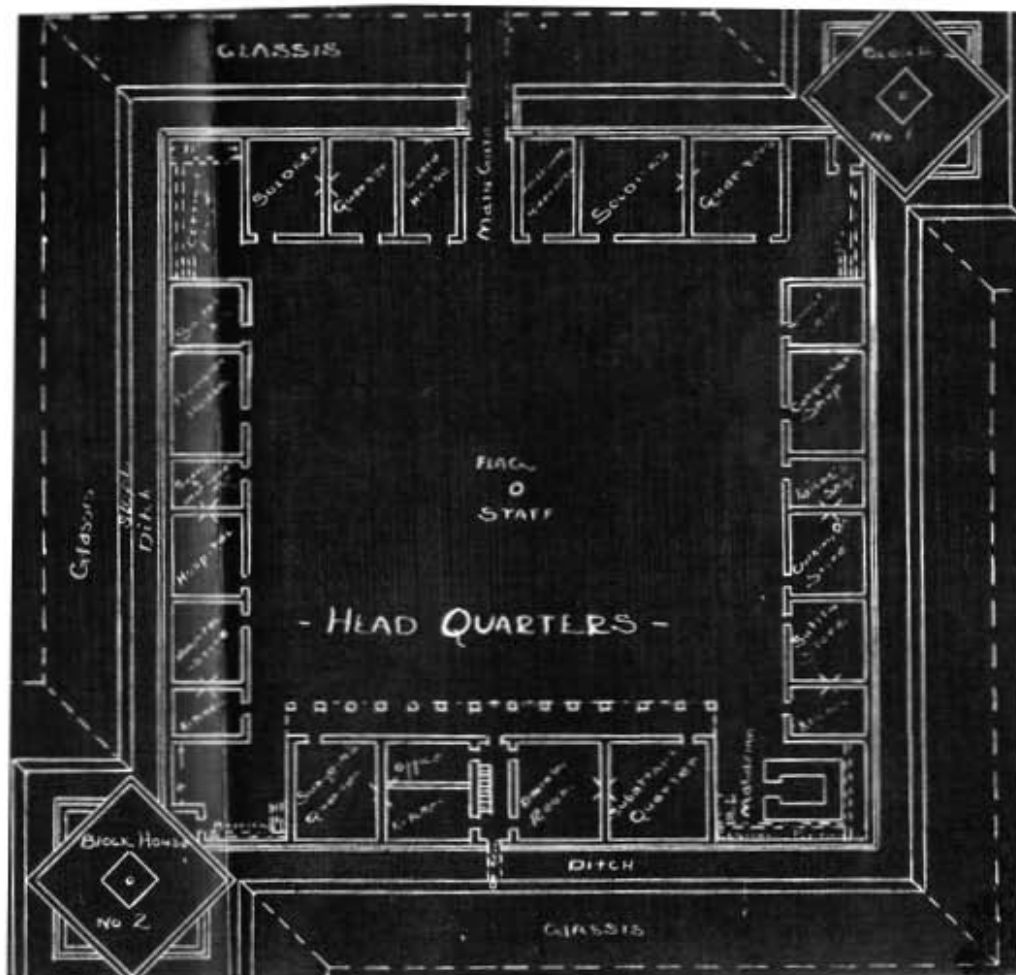


Figure 107. Plan of 1st Fort Smith (Long 1817).

- Provision House & Carpenter's Shop- 18 by 15, 2 rooms
- Saddlers & Tailor's Shops- 12 by 15, 2 rooms
- Suttlings, 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 108.

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.

The garrison at Fort Smith was abandoned in 1824, as the frontier moved further upstream to establish Fort Gibson, which 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).

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 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 LAMAR Institute's researchers. The most significant difference is as follows. 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 story of the southeastern blockhouse was oriented consistent with the fort grid. The Fort Smith version may represent an improvement over Fort Hawkins from a strategic military standpoint, since it would have



Figure 108. Watercolor of Fort Smith (Seymour 1820).

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 blockhouse design was that it was likely more difficult to construct.

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 St. Anthony (later renamed Fort Snelling) 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 and its surroundings offers some important analogs for Fort Hawkins (Figure 109). This map was drawn by Joseph E. Heckle, 5th Infantry. This fort was garrisoned by U.S. troops in the 5th Infantry and later by the 7th Infantry. Although the 5th Infantry never saw Fort Hawkins, the 7th Regiment served at Fort Hawkins. On this plan map of Fort St. Anthony the fort is shown as a six-sided enclosure, nearly diamond shaped. The plan 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

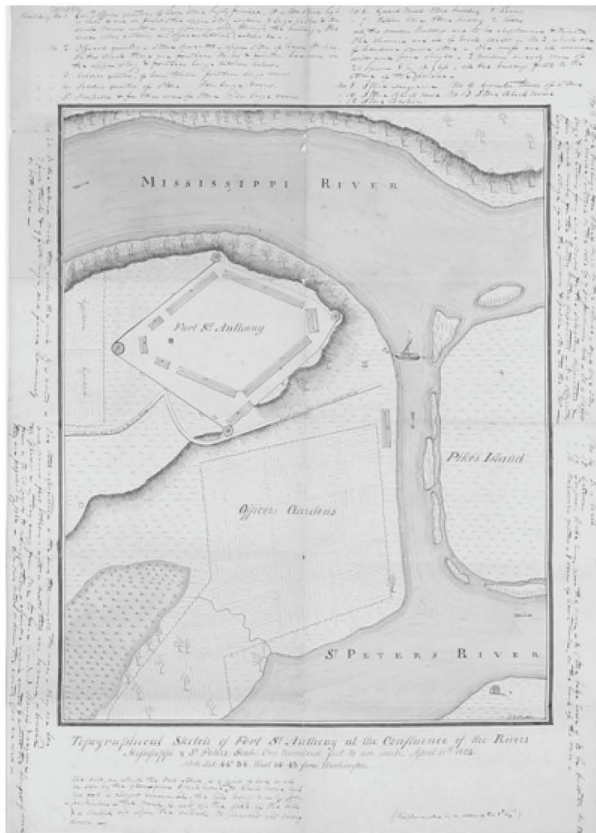


Figure 109. Fort St. Anthony (1823).

(Minnesota Historical Society 2006b). The diamond-shaped plan of Fort St. Anthony resembles the Outer Fort at Fort Hawkins in several respects, minus the two corner stockades of Fort Hawkins. Van Cleeve (1888) provides additional historical information on Fort Snelling in the 1820s.

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 110). 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

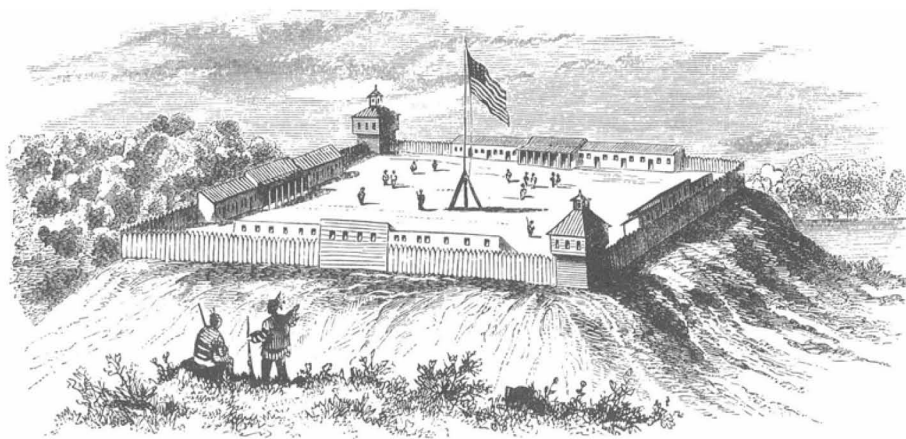


Figure 110. Fort Wayne (1812 [Lossing 1858]).

about this fort may represent some of the best examples for recreating Fort Hawkins.

Fort Osage/Fire Prairie

The Secretary of War received a letter on September 26, 1808 from Captain E. B. Clemson, 1st Infantry Regiment, containing the building plans for a fort and trading factory in the western country near a place called “Fire Prairie”, later known as Fort Osage in present-day Sibley, Missouri. These plans, while not identical to Fort Hawkins, were prepared by William Clark (of earlier Lewis and Clark fame) and contain several similar features. While the arrangement of these buildings in Clark’s plan was very different from Fort Hawkins, their individual dimensions may provide some analog to Fort Hawkins. Captain Clemson provided a sketch and accompanying legend of the facilities. The legend from the September 1808 plan is transcribed below.

- No. 1 Blockhouse 24 feet square
- No. 2 Blockhouse 18 feet square
- No. 3 Blockhouse same size with last
- No. 4 Blockhouse same size
- No. 5 Officers quarters 16 by 30 feet
- No. 6 Factors quarters 14 by 16 each
- No. 7 Factory 40 feet by 20 feet
- No. 8 Soldiers huts 14 by 18 feet long
- No. 9 Blockhouse 18 square
- No. 10 Artificers 14 by 18 feet
- No. 11 Big Gate 12 feet wide
- No. 12 Small gate 10 feet
- Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16 & 17 Picketts 11 feet high
- Nos. 18, 19 & 20 Picketts of same height

(NARA, RG107, M221).

Fort Osage, which was the second U.S. fort built on land from the Louisiana Purchase, is preserved as the Fort Osage National Historic Site. It is recognized by the National Park Service as a National Historic Landmark. It has been reconstructed, apparently using the original plans, and it likely would serve as a good source of information for a similar endeavor at Fort Hawkins (Johnson 2005).

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).

Levi Sheftall, the U.S. Army agent in Savannah, Georgia charged with provisioning the troops in Georgia, placed this newspaper advertisement in November 1808, regarding provisions:

Notice.

Persons willing to contract for supplying the Troops in the State of Georgia with rations, including the Ocmulgee old fields, from the first of January, 1809, to the 10th day of May, 1810, will give in their proposals, to the subscriber, on or before the last day of this month, at the same time mentioning the names of their securities.

The Rations per day, to be furnished and delivered, must consist of the following articles, viz. one pound and a quarter of beef, or three quarters of a pound of pork; eighteen oz. of bread or flour; one gill of rum, whiskey or brandy; and at the rate of two quarts of salt, four quarts of vinegar, four pounds of soap, one pound and a half of candles, to every one hundred rations.

Levi Sheftall,

U.States Agent.

November 1-13

(NARA, RG75, M221).

Jonathan S. Porter, an Army contractor, wrote to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn from Fort Hawkins on November

18, 1808 with his proposal, which was one of several in response to Levi Sheftall's bid notice, to supply troops at Fort Hawkins [Ocmulgee Old Field]:

I take the liberty to offer the following proposals for the supplying the U.S. troops with rations in this state for the ensuing year or term as follows:

Viz at Ocmulgee Old Field

Cts.	Hcts.	
	Bread flour or meal	6
	Beef or Pork	5
	Liquor	4
5		
	Small parts	—
<u>2</u>		
	Cents	15
7 Mills		

At Savannah or any of the other places in the State of Georgia as follows:

Cts.	Hcts.	
	Bread flour or Meal	7
	Beef or Pork	6
5		
	Liquor	5
	Small parts	—
<u>2</u>		
	Cents	18
7 Mills		

Should the above proposals be accepted you will please to forward on the usual advance with the contract to this place (NARA, RG107, M221, Roll 28).

Thompson Bird was awarded a contract to provide rations at Fort Hawkins, sometime prior to November 24, 1809, as noted in a letter from Jonathan Halsted to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn (NARA, RG107, M221). Farish Carter served as the primary U.S. Army contractor for Fort Hawkins during the War of 1812. Carter became very wealthy as a result of his service to the government and his many financial investments. He also was charged with provisioning the state militias who were acting in the U.S. service. Correspondence from Farish Carter to Brigadier General David Blackshear, Georgia militia, on November 23, 1814 at Fort Hawkins provides an understanding of the logistical problems and resulting tension that existed between the civilian contractors and the military officers. Carter wrote to Blackshear:

Fort Hawkins 2005-2007 Excavations, Daniel T. Elliott, The LAMAR Insitute, 2009

Yesterday I notified the quartermaster of the regiment that should be ready to issue provisions to them at sunrise, and, in consequence of the late hour they arrived to draw provisions, there is considerable complaint of the meat being killed last evening.

You will be pleased to make known to me the hour that provisions are to be issued, and will appoint some one to inspect the same before they are offered to be issued, as the loose way of doing business as heretofore, of every man inspecting the provisions, is not admissible to my contract (Miller 1858:423).

And in a follow-up letter that same day, Carter wrote to Blackshear:

Having applied to the commanding officer of this post [Major Philip Cook] for an escort for the protection of the cattle and hogs designed for the army, and having received for answer that it will be out of his power to comply with the requisition, owing to the limited force under his command, he requests that I should apply to you on the subject. The beef and pork are ready to start. You will oblige me by stating if it will be in your power to furnish the necessary escort in the morning (Miller 1858:423).

Major General McIntosh (by his Aide-deCamp Thomas Hatson Harden) issued orders to General Blackshear that same day at Fort Hawkins, which addressed these issues:

The contractor will issue the rations in future at the camp [Camp Hope], 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).

It is interesting to note from Carter's letters that livestock were slaughtered on the spot at Fort Hawkins in order to meet the immediate provisioning needs of the more than 2,500 Georgia militiamen who were gathered there. Also, herds of cattle and swine accompanied the Georgia militia on their march, where they were slaughtered as the demand necessitated. Almost certainly, these animal herds were kept outside of the main confines of Fort Hawkins but not so far distant that they were beyond the watchful eye of the garrison. It is also noteworthy that the initial issue of rations to the Georgia militia took place at Fort Hawkins but was shifted by General McIntosh's orders to the militia camp at Camp Hope, several miles away. Nevertheless, meat processing for the Georgia militia's campaign took place at, or near, Fort Hawkins for some number of weeks in October and November 1814. By December 17, 1814, General Blackshear's troops were on the march southward to Hartford (Miller 1858:422-424).

In the period from mid-December 1814 to late-January 1815, the Georgia militia marched across large parts of Georgia and the Creek country (in present-day southwestern Georgia). This period was fraught with confusion and several changes were made to General Blackshear's marching orders. When Blackshear and his men were ordered to defend the Georgia coast, they were again in great need of rations. A letter from Major A.B. Fannin, Deputy Quartermaster General, U.S. Army, at Fort Hawkins to General Blackshear, dated January 24, 1815, discusses the logistics for supplying his troops:

I learn that the contractor has been ordered to supply thirty thousand rations per month at Hartford for your consumption...For the second month it should be deposited at Fort Barrington, or some other eligible place on the Altamaha, in readiness for your reception. It would be well to point out to [Farish] Carter the spot immediately, that he may have no room to equivocate and say the requisition is not in form. The contract requires the place of deposit to be set forth, and yours just received is in general terms (Miller 1858:452).

General Blackshear responded in a letter to the Army contractor, written by Blackshear's Aide de Camp Thomas Hamilton from a camp at Bell's Ferry on January 27, 1815: "The contractor will furnish at St. Savilla Bluff, on the Altamaha, one hundred thousand complete rations, to carry more completely into effect my general instructions

of the 22d instant, within thirty days from this notice” (Miller 1858:455).

By January 27, 1815, General Blackshear wrote to Governor Early concerning the shortage of rations for the troops and continuing problems with the Army contractor. Blackshear noted, “...We should have been completely out yesterday but for a boat we fell in with that had taken alarm on its passage down and was about to return. I ordered the quartermaster to purchase the load. Under existing circumstances, it is impossible to coerce the contractor to his duty except I have funds to enable me to furnish when he neglected. We have been much neglected by that department in small rations...” (Miller 1858:456).

An anonymous author, identified only as Y.M.C., sent a letter to the Macon newspaper in 1876, in which the author noted that his father provided flour to that garrison in 1812 and, “At the time my father owned a flouring mill in Putnam county, and had a contract to furnish weekly a certain amount of flour to the garrison occupying the fort. He received his pay for this quarterly...” (*Georgia Weekly Telegraph* 1876:8). The writer also relates a story of how Lieutenant Bee secretly substituted a old hound dog named Larry, instead of black bear cub, at the officer’s mess. This special meal was enjoyed by all. After learning of this trickery, however, a greatly enraged Major Arbuckle, who commanded the garrison at that time, had words with Lieutenant Bee. O’Steen’s analysis of the Fort Hawkins faunal assemblage did not identify any domestic dog. If the story of Lieutenant Bee serving Larry the hound dog is true, it was not a typical meal at Fort Hawkins.

Not only did Fort Hawkins contain the quartermaster stores for its own operation, it also served as the supply depot for food, munitions and other items intended for other forts and Army camps in the region. Army Contractor Ichabod Thompson advertised in the Milledgeville newspaper in 1813, “The Contractor having ample funds will give seven dollars cash for FLOUR, and \$4 50 per hundred for Pork, on the foot, delivered at Fort-Hawkins” (*Georgia Journal* 1813).

Army Contractor Farish Carter placed an advertisement in the Milledgeville newspaper offering to buy a variety of products for the U.S. Army troops (Figure 111). Carter’s advertisement stated:

10,000 DOLLARS

CONSTANTLY on hand, for the purpose of purchasing Pork, Fat Beef, Bacon, Flour, Whisky, Brandy, Soap, good Vinegar and Candles for the United States troops. The highest price will be given for those articles delivered at Fort-Hawkins, and a proportionable price for them delivered at Milledgeville—A large supply of them is immediately wanted. Also will be given 5 dollars per day for strong Waggons and good teams, or 3 dollars per day and found—should owner prefer the better price, they may rely on being well furnished.

FARISH CARTER.

February 21st

(*Georgia Journal* 1814c:4).

Another 1814 newspaper advertisement read as follows:

Wanted Immediately
At Fort Mitchell, in the Indian nation,
3,000 bbls. Flour,
3,000 bushels, Corn,
2,000 head Beef Cattle.
Apply to WILLIAM BUTLER, Fort
Hawkins,
or FARISH CARTER, Milledgeville.

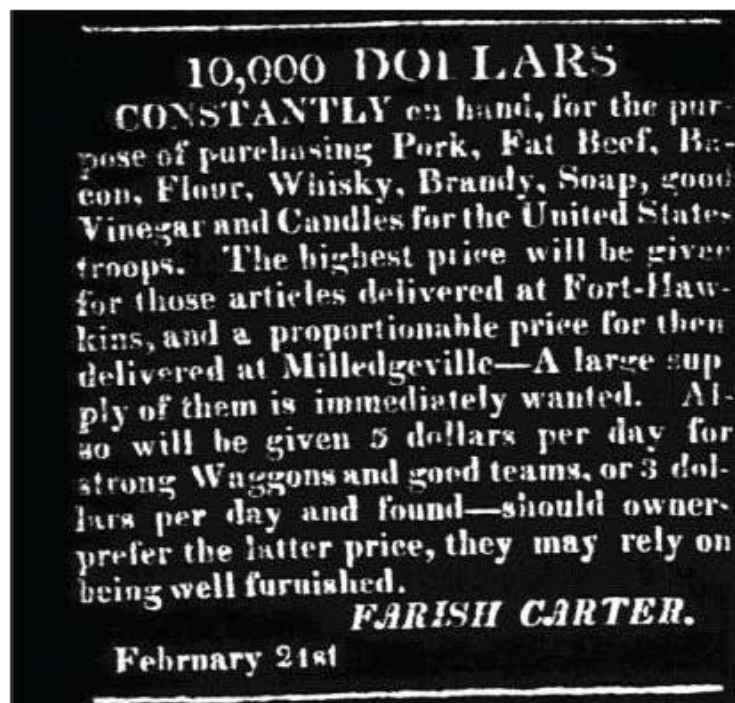


Figure 111. Advertisement to Purchase Goods (*Georgia Journal* 1814c:4).

(*Georgia Journal* 1814b).

In August 1816 John S. Thomas was the U.S. Army contractor for Fort Hawkins. Thomas worked at Fort Hawkins and also out of his Milledgeville office, where Captain William S. Mitchell assisted him. Thomas advertised for 1,000 gallons of good whiskey that was needed at Fort Hawkins immediately (*Georgia Journal* 1816a:3).

Captain Otho Callis served a dual role as military officer and provisions' contractor at Fort Hawkins during the 1st Seminole War. Charles Bullock contracted to provide supplies to Fort Hawkins for 1818. The U.S. Congress published a list of the articles that Bullock supplied to the post. They were:

<u>Article</u>	<u>Amount</u>
107 barrels of pork, at \$28,	2,996.00
223 bushels of peas or beans, at \$2.50,	557.50
287 barrels of flour, at \$18,	5,166.00
50 barrels of whiskey, at \$1 per gallon,	1,600.00
18 hundredweight of soap, at 15 cents per pound,	302.40
750 pounds of candles, at 27 cents,	202.50
31 bushels of salt, at \$3.25	100.75
500 gallons of vinegar, at \$1,	500.00
<u>[Total]</u>	<u>\$11,425.15</u>

(ASP 17, Military Affairs v.1:849).

Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Keiser served as Assistant Commissary, U.S. Army in the 1st Seminole War. During the three month period from June through August 1819, Keiser issued 3,812 rations at Fort Hawkins, which were valued at \$1,071.80 (ASP 17, Military Affairs v.2:74). Christopher Keiser died at Fort Hawkins in 1819 while serving at this post.

The historical record pertaining to provisions that were cycled through Fort Hawkins for the U.S. Army and State militias attests to significant traffic in livestock, processed meat, flour, dried vegetables (beans, peas), beverages (particularly whiskey), and condiments (salt, vinegar, etc.). Probably the vast majority of this food was not consumed within the main confines of Fort Hawkins but was placed in the quartermaster stores or was distributed outside the fort's walls. The fort's garrison did require a substantial amount of food and archaeological evidence

for this was clearly observed. A rigorous analysis of these food remains greatly enriches the story of Fort Hawkins.

Recent zooarchaeological study by Cremer (2004) of excavated samples from Fort Mitchell (1Ru102), Alabama is important for comparison with the Fort Hawkins food ways 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 to 1825, and four features 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.

Military Life at Fort Hawkins

Fort Hawkins was never designed to withstand a concentrated attack by a foreign power. Although the fort was surrounded with a substantial log palisade, its only military defense for most of its history were a few small cannons. The walls offered some degree of protection against attack by hostile Indians. Fort Hawkins was never the subject of a direct military attack by the enemy. 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 Peter Early reportedly dispatched Eleazer Early to Fort Hawkins to resolve the problems with Captain Thomas Smith, commander of the fort (Chalker 1970:81).

Fort Hawkins was built on a commanding hilltop for specific reasons. Other contemporary U.S. Army forts, such as the U.S. Army cantonment at Mount Vernon in Alabama and the U.S. Army fort at Chattahoochee, Florida, were constructed in similar topographical settings. These Army Command centers were a different type of fortification from many previous military posts. They required more office space to accommodate the many bureaucratic offices that ran the Army.

Once Nachitoches, Mobile Point, Pensacola, New Orleans, and other areas 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 and public funds went west.

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. For the most part these very young and very old soldiers were not given special treatment and were considered regular private soldiers. Apparently the recruitment standards in the U.S. Army in the Fort Hawkins era were quite lax, compared to later decades.

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 stunted. A very few soldiers were 6 feet tall and some had premature aging and gray hair.

Men at Fort Hawkins were regularly court martialed for drinking, sleeping on the job, desertion, 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 at Fort Hawkins under orders from 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. Nevertheless, desertion was frequent at Fort Hawkins and numerous officers who were stationed there petitioned the Secretary of War for another duty station.

Chapter 10. 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 country and state 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 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 first fort built in 1806 and the outer wall was added in 1809-1810. 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 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 at Fort Hawkins began in 1928 with private money from the citizens and merchants of Macon without the benefit of any apparent archaeological investigations. This effort was interrupted by the Stock Market Crash of 1929 and the Great Depression. The reconstruction effort was completed in 1938 with Federal assistance. The National Park Service opted not to include Fort Hawkins in their definition of the Ocmulgee National Monument, however, based on an analysis by one of their historians. In retrospect, that decision was 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, looting, and the construction of the school, and are of minimal value.*

Correction: While site destruction has occurred in some areas of the fort, particularly on the eastern and northern sides, other areas contain deeply buried and well-preserved archaeological deposits holding many secrets about the past. The construction of the Fort Hawkins school destroyed an unknown part of the fort's archaeological deposits, although other areas of the fort were preserved because of the school. Fill dirt, which was bought in when the school was built, capped some archaeological deposits. In other areas the school building itself was placed directly on top of important archaeological deposits and prevented easy access to them. By the early 1980s, looters realized that important Fort Hawkins era artifacts were contained in the features beneath the abandoned school and they began to mine these cultural resources for their personal collections and/or for commercial sale. In areas that were discovered by these relic seekers, the destruction was severe and irreparable. Their exploits were non-systematic and

incomplete, however, so the LAMAR Institute team was able to locate several areas that were undamaged by the looters. Other areas of undisturbed fort deposits are located in unexcavated areas of the site.

The present study destroyed a portion of these precious deposits in order 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 archaeological research using techniques not yet developed.

- *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.

RARITY OF FORT HAWKINS

The City of Macon possesses a rare gem in Fort Hawkins. Few cities in the Southeast can boast of such an important historical military site. In addition to its importance as a U.S. Army post, Fort Hawkins served a vital role in the Indian Trade. Fort Hawkins was one of just over a dozen U.S. trading factories that were established in

Indian Country during the period from 1795 to 1822. These included: Arkansas [Fort Smith] (1805), Belle Fontaine (1805), Chicago (1805), Chickasaw Bluffs (1802), Coleraine (1795), Detroit (1802), Fort Madison (1808), Fort St. Stephens (1802), Fort Osage (1808), Michilimackinac (1808), Natchitoches (1805), Sandusky (1806), and Tellico Blockhouse (1795). Only a few of these important factories have been identified archaeologically and fewer still are presently interpreted to the public. Several of the U.S. Trading Factories have been studied archaeologically, including Fort Smith, Arkansas, Tellico Blockhouse, Fort Michilimackinac, Fort Osage, Fort St. Stephens, and Fort Wayne, and these places serve as important companion heritage tourism sites for those interested in this subject of American history. Several of these trading factories, such as Chicago and Detroit, have been consumed by urban development and cannot be developed as archaeological heritage parks. Other U.S. trading factories, such as Coleraine on the St. Marys River in present-day Camden County, Georgia, may remain as archaeological sites but their full potential has not been realized (Rock 2006). Fort Hawkins has a rich history and well preserved archaeological remains, which make it a unique opportunity for historical interpretation.

THE REAL FORT HAWKINS

Archaeology approaches truth by a series of learned mistakes. We now realize, based on the results of the 2005-2007 fieldwork and historic research, that Carillo’s interpretation of the Fort Hawkins plan was wrong on several counts. Neither Gordon Willey nor Richard Carillo, nor anyone living for that matter, realized that Fort Hawkins had two sets of palisade walls until the archaeological discoveries in 2006. 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 were overestimated and his understanding of the fort’s plan was incorrect.

The current estimate for the length of the south palisade for the Inner Fort based on the 2005-2007 research is approximately 78 meters, or about 256 feet. This length is about 10 meters less than Carillo’s estimate. The current estimates for the length of the west palisade for the Inner Fort, based on the present data, is at least 78 meters. The similarity between the two estimates shows that this Inner Fort was a square configuration, measuring 78 meters by 78 meters, or about 256 feet by 256 feet.

Since neither Willey nor Carillo realized that Fort Hawkins possessed a second set of palisade enclosures 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 length of the south palisade of the Outer Fort is approximately 76 meters, or about 249 feet. The exposed length of the west palisade of the Outer Fort is approximately 75.5 meters, or 248 feet. The estimated length of the east palisade of the Outer Fort is approximately 60 meters, or 197 feet. These latter two distance estimates are hampered by three problems. 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 may have been destroyed by Woolfolk Street. A possibility remains that evidence of the fort may exist beneath Woolfolk Street, but that area was outside of the present study area and has not been investigated archaeologically. Consequently, the northwestern corner for the Outer Fort cannot be established absolutely by the current archaeological data. If one assumes the Outer Fort was an equilateral polygon, its dimensions would be 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 may have been destroyed by Woolfolk Street, or it may be preserved beneath the street. The northeastern angle of the Outer Fort would lie just north of Woolfolk Street. This area, west of Maynard Street, has a remote potential for containing some vestige of Fort Hawkins. It was outside the boundary of the current study area.

The distance from the estimated northwestern corner of Fort Hawkins blockhouse yard to the corresponding point on the southeast blockhouse is 120 meters, or about 394 feet. The estimated distance from the southwestern apex of Fort Hawkins to the estimated northeastern apex of the outer fort wall is 143 meters, or about 469 feet.

Within the Fort Hawkins compound were several compartments and one of these was the southeastern blockhouse yard. This yard surrounded the blockhouse and was defined by North Palisade 1, South Palisade 4, West Palisade 4, and an, as yet unlocated palisade on the eastern side. The southeastern blockhouse yard measures an estimated 28 meters by 28 meters. The blockhouse was centered within this yard. The approximate distance from the outer blockhouse wall to the outer wall of the fort was about 8 meters, or about 26 feet. A similar configuration is estimated for the northwestern blockhouse yard.

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 112. The palisade enclosure of the Inner Fort measured 78 meters by 78 meters and enclosed a space of approximately 6,084 m², or 1.5 acres (65,487 ft²). 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 above Woolfolk Street, at a higher elevation than the street currently lies. In other words, the northern wall would now be in mid-air.

A portion of the palisade logs on the eastern end of South Palisade 2 of the Inner Fort had been removed at some point during the Fort's existence. The removal of these posts allowing an opening from the Inner Fort into the area enclosed by the Outer Fort. The soil in this opening was extremely compacted, probably from repeated foot, horse, or wagon traffic. The exact width of this opening could not be determined, although it was no more than six meters, since the palisade posts resumed further east. Willey's 1936 excavation was relocated in this vicinity and remnants of the palisade posts were relocated by the LAMAR Institute team. Our re-excavation of Willey's excavation revealed that Willey's excavation crew did not remove the evidence of these posts in 1936 but had simply exposed them and reburied them. Our excavations, which extended eastward along this palisade line, were terminated at the formal brick walkway that currently surrounds the ground surface of the blockhouse. Willey's sketches of the 1936 excavations show that his trench extended flush against the stone blockhouse wall and that the palisade posts were continuous to the stone wall of the blockhouse basement.

Archaeological evidence revealed that the Inner Fort had buildings along the interior wall on the southern and western sides, and probably on the eastern side as well. Evidence for the buildings on the eastern wall was suggested by Carillo's excavation but the LAMAR Institute efforts were unable to confirm their existence. 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 of Fort Hawkins was possibly located along the center of the northern wall.

By 1810 an outer shell had been added to the original stockade at Fort Hawkins. This expansion we term the Outer Fort. The architectural plan of the Outer Fort at Fort Hawkins is shown in Figure 113. The palisade enclosure of the Outer Fort measured 89 meters by 89 meters. The fort compound confined a space of approximately 9,343 m², or about 2.3 acres (100,568 ft²). The Outer Fort formed

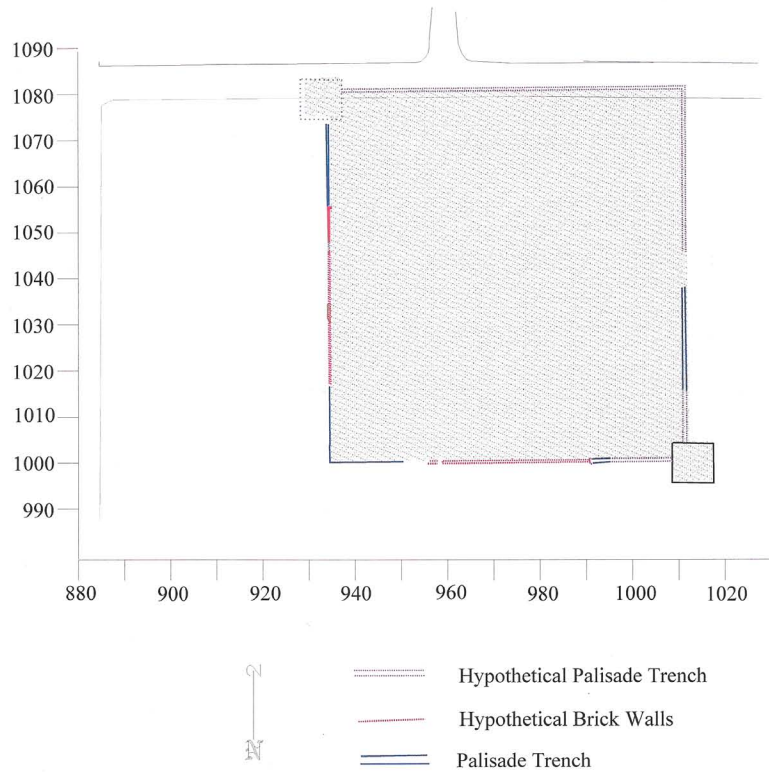


Figure 112. Plan of Inner Fort, Fort Hawkins (9Bi21).



Figure 113. Plan of Outer Fort, Fort Hawkins (9Bi21).

a diamond-shaped parallelogram with two-rectangular projections on the southeast and northwest corners. Its east-west axes were oriented east of Magnetic North and its south wall was oriented south of Magnetic West. Like the Inner Fort, most of the northern wall of the Outer Fort now would be in mid-air, hovering above Woolfolk Street. Some vestige of this Outer Fort palisade wall may exist in the area immediately north of Woolfolk Street and west of Maynard Street, or possibly beneath Woolfolk Street. That area, which is currently private property, deserves an archaeological survey 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. In those areas the building walls probably served the same purpose as a palisade and no vertical log wall was necessary.

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 rather than an entrance gate for the fort. Archaeologists estimate the north-south dimension of the building along the Inner Fort to be 22 feet, or about 6.7 meters. They estimate the north-south dimension of the building along the Outer Fort to be about 25 feet, or 7.65 meters.

The palisaded blockhouse yards surrounding the two blockhouses at Fort Hawkins created additional defensive space at the fort. The palisade surrounding the southeast blockhouse measures about 28 meter by 28 meters, or about 92 feet by 92 feet. The limited evidence for the northwestern blockhouse palisade suggests identical dimensions for that enclosure. The archaeological evidence from the gap in South Palisade shows that this blockhouse yard enclosure was not part of the 1806 fort construction of Captain Boote but was a later modification. That modification was probably made in 1809-1810 under the direction of Captain Smith. The primary purpose of this gap was to allow access to the blockhouse yard.

Many of the buildings that were built along the interior wall of the Inner Fort were likely constructed in 1806, but underwent multiple episodes of remodeling. The brick flooring within Feature 101, for example, contains recycled bricks from an earlier building. Since it is unlikely that the soldiers hauled broken, used bricks from Milledgeville or Clinton, we may assume that these bricks were part of earlier buildings at the fort that were

demolished or modified and the soldiers used these spare bricks to pave the dirt floor of that building.

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 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 differs from the Inner Fort by only a few years. 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. The Inner Fort has abundant material culture associated with it, which offer a full spectrum of interpretive potential. The buildings that once flanked 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. Their remains potential 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 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 bases 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 other building ruins 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, and/or interpretive markers containing site maps or artist's renditions of the fort showing various configurations. High tech video or touch screen kiosks offer other options. Likewise, a site brochure could contain a plan map of the site showing definite structures and dotted lines for possible structures.

Fort Hawkins was built in two major construction stages. The first stage of construction began in 1806 and was

mostly completed by 1807. That effort, directed by Captain William R. Boote, 2nd Infantry, resulted in a nearly square fort with two opposing blockhouses on the northwest and southeast corners. Buildings were built along the inner walls of this fort on three, and possibly four, sides. A second construction effort began in 1809 and was completed by 1810. That effort, directed by Captain Thomas A. Smith, Regiment of Rifles, added an outer wall to the fort and palisade enclosures surrounding the two blockhouses, which created a blockhouse yard. Other additions, modifications, and improvements to the fort's interior took place over the next decade, but the basic layout of the fort was probably established by 1810. Regular maintenance of the fort's walls was probably required as the palisade posts rotted or otherwise degraded (some evidence of burned posts may indicate that the fort was prone to lightning strikes).

The current estimate for the length of the south palisade for the Inner Fort is approximately 75 meters, or about 246 feet. This length is considerably less than Carillo's estimate. A section of this wall was removed sometime during the fort's use and this opening served as an access point to the yard surrounding the southeast blockhouse.

The current estimate for the length of the west palisade for the Inner Fort is 74 to 75 meters. The exact termination point on its northwestern end would be beneath a massive cement foundation section of the Fort Hawkins school that remains in place. The palisade walls would have terminated at the blockhouse walls on the southeast and northwest sides, so the distance beneath the blockhouses to an "imaginary intersection point", is another 3 meters. Thus, the Inner Fort was a square configuration, measuring 78 meters by 78 meters, or about 256 feet by 256 feet.

The dimensions for the northwest blockhouse palisade are estimated to be identical to that of the southeast blockhouse. The additional space created in Fort Hawkins by these additional palisade walls on the southeast and northeast corners of the fort is approximately 1,422 m² (0.35 acres or 15,306 ft²).

Our current understanding of the complete plan of Fort Hawkins is a fort enclosure that is just under two acres in size. The inner compound is a rectangular enclosure with a series of long buildings lining the interior wall on two sides (south and west). The situation on the north side remains a mystery because that portion of the fort is gone. The east side of the fort exhibits some evidence for former buildings, although the extensive erosion on that side erased most evidence for this. The wide gap in the two fort walls on the east side probably represents the location of a large log building. The log wall of the building served as the fort wall in that instance. Buildings were uncommon in the area created by the outer fort wall.

These spaces may have been used for storage of supplies, or possibly as compounds for animals.

The Outer Fort 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.

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 that was laid prior to October 1929) 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 were 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).

The LAMAR Institute's excavation project built upon the earlier efforts by Willey, Carillo and South. The LAMAR Institute's study of Fort Hawkins had the advantage of access to areas beneath the Fort Hawkins school, which were unavailable to Willey and Carillo. The 2005-2007 excavations yielded many new discoveries include several buildings and palisade ditches that were previously unknown. As a result of this recent work, the plan of the fort is completely revised. The outer dimensions of the fort are more accurately established. Multiple construction episodes were recognized. New historical research on Fort Hawkins by the LAMAR Institute team provided additional clues to the layout and configuration of the fort and its various phases of construction and remodeling. The archaeological findings from the recent excavations forced a re-thinking of the previous perceptions of the appearance of Fort Hawkins. The research called into question Butler's 1879 description of the fort, which has been the source of many subsequent historical descriptions of Fort Hawkins, to be inaccurate. The LAMAR Institute's efforts also yielded an abundant record of the material culture of Fort Hawkins, which was not well demonstrated by the previous researchers. The combination of architectural and artifactual discoveries resulted in a more significant archaeological site.

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. They 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 National Archives and Records Administration (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 the search of its vast collection of primary military records is 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 holdings include many thousands of military service records, pension records, and records of enlistment for soldiers who were stationed at Fort Hawkins. These include more than 300 Creek warriors in the U.S. Service. Many of these soldiers filed for pensions and that dataset likely contains additional details of their military service. These records are contained on thousands of microfilm reels and locating the records of an individual is tedious and time consuming work. Such work, however, would result in a much more colorful and comprehensive understanding of Fort Hawkins. 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. As more of these documents are placed online in a computer searchable format, the potential will exist for identifying thousands of U.S. Army soldiers and state militiamen who experienced Fort Hawkins.

HERITAGE TOURISM AT FORT HAWKINS

Heritage tourism at Fort Hawkins can be a profitable 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.

Tours

Organized tours of are an important way to educate the public about Fort Hawkins. One example, Fort Tour Systems, Inc. (<http://www.forttours.com>) offers tours and includes visitor information about Fort Hawkins on its 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 For Hawkins. While ghost tours are of questionable legitimacy or appropriateness for an important historic site, they are a fringe element of historical tourism currently in vogue. In Savannah, for example, at least three tour companies operate regular ghost tours, and these generate a significant volume of tourist revenue. Some of these tours have come under fire recently by critics, particularly in regards to their visitation of the city's historic cemeteries. 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. Other types of tours may include self-guided tours, student tours, and package tours. The city of Macon would derive benefit from these tours since many of the tourists would require lodging and meals, as well as shopping at local businesses.

Living History and Demonstration Days

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.

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

Fort Hawkins 2005-2007 Excavations, Daniel T. Elliott, The LAMAR Insitute, 2009

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>.

Army Command Demonstrations are another type of military life that can be interpreted. Interpreters could re-enact the roles of Major Generals Gaines, Jackson, and Pinckney, Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, Brigadier General William McIntosh, and others in a series of skits, monologues, and/or seasonal plays. 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 involves 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 various perspectives of trading agent and deerskin hunter could be presented in this fashion. The possibilities for public interpretation programs are far-reaching as the historical research in this volume attests.

Archaeology

A full spectrum of opportunities to participate in exciting archaeological explorations at Fort Hawkins exists. These range from observer to intensive participant in the archaeological study process. Others may wish to participate in the archaeology of Fort Hawkins from a distance. These supporters may include scholars, avid archaeology or military buffs, and students.

The continuation of the Fort Hawkins Archaeological Project would be a careful, progressive scientific study of the archaeological and historical resources at Fort Hawkins. The project would recognize the finite nature of the archaeological resources at Fort Hawkins and would attempt to limit unnecessary damage to these resources and to bank, or set aside for long-term conservation, an established percentage of these resources for research by future generations of archaeologists. With careful stewardship of these precious resources, the study of Fort Hawkins could extend many decades into the future.

The Fort Hawkins Commission outlined in their Master Plan a concept of Fort Hawkins as, “the State of Georgia’s

first public archaeological demonstration area, where archaeology is celebrated and demonstrated daily (Willett 2008). Georgia currently has no such demonstration area. The Topper Site in South Carolina, where the public may participate in the dig as a paying, educational experience under the careful guidance of professional archaeologists, is one possible analog for the Fort Hawkins site. Working collectively with the Society of Georgia Archaeology, the State Historic Preservation Office, and all three of our local colleges plus more in Middle Georgia if not throughout the state, will allow a daily dig experience for the visitor to witness or even participate in.

A realistic, yet exciting, schedule for the continuing Fort Hawkins archaeological research reflects a systematic search for fort-related data:

- Phase 1: Fort Footprint
Documentation (2005-2006)
- Phase 2: Outer Palisade Wall
Documentation (2007-2008)
- Phase 3: Inner Palisade Wall
Documentation
- Phase 4: Inner Fort Documentation
- Phase 5: Nearby Fort Documentation
including:
 - Adjacent land as needed
 - Fort Hill Cemetery
 - Camp Hope
 - Halsted’s Trading Post (on Ocmulgee
National Monument)
 - Federal Road
(Willett 2008).

Fort Hawkins did not operate in a vacuum and its archaeological study should not be confined to the one archaeological site. Rather the historical archaeology groundwork laid at Fort Hawkins can serve as a springboard for studies of related sites in the region. Once the fort dig is completed, Fort Hawkins could sponsor and lead further needed archaeological digs throughout Middle Georgia. With the wealth of potential worthy archaeological sites in our area, this celebration of archaeology will be forever. Willett describes this phase of research as Phase 6 in the Master Plan. Phase 6 would include archaeological inventory, research and excavations at other middle Georgia sites including:

- Hawkins Creek Agency
- Fort Wilkinson
- Fort Fidius
- Fort Massachusetts/Rock Landing
- Federal Town
- Fort Lawrence
- Camp Manning
- Fort Perry
- Hartford

Clinton
Milledgeville
Ocmulgee River Ferry
Town Creek Reservoir
Brown's Mount
Cherokee Brick Mounds
Bullard Mounds
Lamar Mound
Historical Creek Villages
Georgia Militia Forts
DeSoto's Route
Bartram's Trail
Battle of Griswoldville
Battle of Sunshine Church
Macon's 1864 Defense
Camp Wheeler
(Willett 2008).

Support and public participation should not be limited to field work, but can include laboratory work, historical research, transcriptions, map research, deed study, and other specialty topics. A schedule of ongoing archaeological projects should be developed and gradually implemented. All archaeology projects must meet or exceed best practices and standards, as recognized by Society for American Archaeology (SAA), National Park Service, and other professional groups.

Teacher workshops represent another venue where archaeology can be presented to the public. Teachers are hungry for experiences and content that they can impart to their students. The multidisciplinary nature of archaeology lends itself brilliantly to teaching language arts, social studies, mathematics, art, and science. It is an engaging and effective tool to teach an extraordinarily large amount of Georgia Performance Standards (GPS) mandated by the state Department of Education. Additionally, archaeologists and teachers have discovered that archaeology can teach less tangible, but more important skills involving problem solving, logic, and inductive and deductive reasoning. Over the past three decades the LAMAR Institute has participated in a variety of teachers' workshops on archaeology. These have ranged from a series of brief lectures presented in a few hours to week long experiences that included hands-on excavation or laboratory analysis. The advantage of educating teachers about the history and archaeology of Fort Hawkins is that they can return to their classrooms and reach dozens of individuals with the lessons learned from their experience. It is simply a more efficient way to reach a broader audience. Teacher workshops that include specific historical background, laboratory, and field work at Fort Hawkins, in addition to hands-on activities that teachers can replicate in their classrooms to meet curriculum requirements, can be extremely beneficial to the community as well as the historic site.

The Fort Hawkins Commission should develop a curriculum guide using Fort Hawkins as an outdoor learning laboratory for K-12 educators and students. This guide should incorporate the goals of the Georgia Department of Education. Long's (2007) teacher's guide, which accompanied the 2007 Georgia Archaeology Month poster, provides a model for a curriculum guide. The newer version should incorporate more recent archaeological finds described in this report.

Topical field trips are another way to inform the public about Fort Hawkins. The field trips can be designed to address specific subjects, such as archaeology, science, math, biology, history, geography, art, music, and tour groups may be able to satisfy certain educational requirements in this manner.

Youth groups, such as Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, 4-H Club, Big Brother, and others, are likely candidates for participation in the archaeology of Fort Hawkins. Several Boy Scouts and at least one Girl Scout volunteered in the LAMAR Institute excavations at Fort Hawkins and they proved to be useful assistants. The children also derived benefit from the experience by achieving requirements for the Archaeology merit badge.

Podcasts are another venue for educating the public about Fort Hawkins. Podcasts may be tailored to specific thematic, seasonal, or geographical aspects of the site. These podcasts could be accessed via the internet from the Fort Hawkins or City of Macon websites. The advantage of this audio technology is that once it is in place and online, it could be accessed by the public with little overhead cost to the City of Macon.

Fort Hawkins can serve the scholarly community in various ways. Scholarly symposium could be held every 2 to 5 years on topics relevant to Fort Hawkins. This could include invited scholars to discuss a chosen theme and/or contributed papers by recognized scholars. Graduate Student Scholarships could be created to support study of Fort Hawkins, its history, people, architecture, artifacts, subsistence studies, and life ways.

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. 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, whose greenish tint is a result of 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.

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 FHC and others concerned with historic preservation at Fort Hawkins. Hopefully, these findings will stimulate a healthy debate on the subject and the outcome will result in an even broader, yet more detailed, comprehensive public outreach effort. The LAMAR Institute team is excited that archaeology is 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 2005-2007. This cannot be emphasized too much. The value of a documented archaeological collection that stays together lies not only in its exhibit potential, but 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 and at other related fort sites be undertaken to make the untold story of this chapter of American history all that much clearer.

In March 2008, the FHC approved and released its “Master Plan” for the Fort Hawkins Historic Site. The FHC forwarded this document with its recommendations to Macon’s Mayor Robert Reichert (Willett 2008). Commission Chairperson Willett’s vision for bringing Fort Hawkins back to life is a well reasoned one. This plan takes the archaeological findings, as well as the areas of Fort Hawkins and its surroundings that have not been closely examined by archaeologists, into great consideration. This incorporation of archaeology into the development plan is very refreshing. Too often archaeology is included as an afterthought in the development of historic sites. The FHC’s support of the archaeology at Fort Hawkins is to be applauded. By including archaeology in the mix, a more accurate portrayal of early life in Fort Hawkins may be realized. With the present document in hand and armed with Willett’s masterful “Master Plan”, Fort Hawkins’ stewards will be well served in their future endeavors.

Lest history repeat itself, we close with these comments from the April 2, 1880 edition of the *Georgia Weekly Telegraph*, in an article entitled, “Fort Hawkins”:

It has been suggested that an effort be made to preserve this relic of the past, and to keep it on exhibition as an historic building of Georgia. Doubtless a small sum of money would purchase it with an acre or two of the surrounding land. This, with a neat fence, and a few trees planted about the grounds, will give to the city a pretty pic-nic resort. The

building might be fitted up as a museum for the reception of Indian relics; many of our citizens have fine collections of these antiquities and perhaps would be willing to deposit them in the fort during the summer months, or for all time, if they were assured that proper care would be taken of them.

As the country becomes more thickly populated, all signs and vestiges of the race that once inhabited this land, grow fainter. Eventually they will pass away entirely. Fort Hawkins is one of the oldest buildings in the State, and should by all means be preserved. The city, whose birth and growth was almost under the shadow of its walls, should see that it does not go to ruin.

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