

RAMBLINGS WITH KELLY

Edited By
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LAMAR Institute Publication 7
LAMAR Institute
1990

INTRODUCTION

The information included here is taken directly from an audio tape made of a 2 hour and 10 minute conversation between Arthur R. Kelly (1900-1979), Marshall Woodson "Woody" Williams, and myself. The conversation was recorded in the den of the late Doctor Kelly's house on Fowler Mill Road in Bogart, Georgia, on the last day of August, 1974. At the time, I was just beginning research on my Master's thesis at Florida State University in Tallahassee. Woody Williams, my father, had been working on material from the Tugalo site, 9ST1, for some time. Since I knew I would write a thesis on some of Kelly's Macon material (I eventually wrote it on Stubbs Mound) and since I was beginning to write, with Joe Henderson, a summary of the 1930s' excavations on the Macon North Plateau, I wanted to get some input from Kelly, the original excavator of the site. My father wanted to get more background about the Tugalo excavations of Kelly and the late Joe Caldwell, who had died eight months before this conversation. The tapes were made by Woody Williams on an old reel-to-reel recorder. These were eventually transcribed to cassette tapes, which are now in my possession.

The information contained here is typically rambling and unorganized. But, as bad as it appears from the light of the present, I contend that it is not all worthless. I leave it to the reader to find those parts that may have some value, however. Kelly tended to wander in conversations somewhat randomly from subject to subject. As will be apparent to the reader, many of my own ideas were unclear in 1974, and I still wonder what I was thinking after rereading this text. Some of Kelly's stories and tidbits are interesting in their own right, of course, and others may eventually prove to be of some historical value. I have transcribed this tape to serve, perhaps, as a footnote to an earlier era in Georgia archaeology.

WOODY WILLIAMS - This is August 31, 1974. A conversation with Doctor A. R. Kelly, Mark Williams, and Woody Williams.

MARK WILLIAMS - All I was going to say is I was working with the Park Service people down there. And this summer some of us have been working on the stuff from the North Plateau.

A. R. KELLY - Well, I've got about a 50,000 word, 45 or 50,000 word manuscript down there. You read that I suppose?

MARK WILLIAMS - On the North Plateau or the whole site?

A. R. KELLY - North Plateau.

MARK WILLIAMS - I'm not sure I saw that one. Tell me about it.

A. R. KELLY - Crusoe said it was there.

MARK WILLIAMS - He hasn't shown it to me. Tell me about the background of it.

A. R. KELLY - I took off some years ago and spent a whole quarter at Macon working with the volumes of material there. And I started on the north Macon Plateau. And describing...the first part of it's just a narrative of the excavations. And god knows they were several years of them.

MARK WILLIAMS - Right. I was working up a complete excavation map. And boy, I tell you, it was a job.

A. R. KELLY - There's a map there of the excavation.

MARK WILLIAMS - Maybe this looks about like what you were talking about. Here's the earthlodge and here's the second earthlodge.

A. R. KELLY - I tell you what I wish you would be interested in if you do a thesis.

MARK WILLIAMS - Okay, what's that?

A. R. KELLY - It's to take this...

MARK WILLIAMS - I was wanting to talk to you about that.

A. R. KELLY - ...prehistoric dugouts I called it, which is, semantically, a cop-out. Their prehistoric and they were dug out, but it doesn't imply anything as to what the hell they were. So I guess that's just as good...

MARK WILLIAMS - You went through the discussion of pretty much what they were in you're original thing.

A. R. KELLY - Well I thought or admitted that they probably had something to do with the fortification, which is the most common idea. I didn't find stockade lines.

MARK WILLIAMS - Well, there were some scattered post holes.

A. R. KELLY - Not only that there were scattered post molds. And there were cooking pits.

MARK WILLIAMS - Were they in them? In the bottoms?

A. R. KELLY - They were in the bottoms.

MARK WILLIAMS - Were they rock-lined hearths?

A. R. KELLY - No, they were just dug out in the red clay. Fired, and they were filled with pottery and some sort of gooey mess that we never did identify.

MARK WILLIAMS - As bones you weren't sure...

A. R. KELLY - I mean, no, it's reduced to a gooey substance, which probably you couldn't prove it had been bone. You might be able to do it chemically.

MARK WILLIAMS - Right.

A. R. KELLY - But you'd never find any recognizable bone. But those prehistoric earthlodges...I've got profiles every 5 feet. In some cases every 2 and a half feet--very detailed.

MARK WILLIAMS - Absolutely.

A. R. KELLY - And some beautiful photographs. I don't know how good they are now.

MARK WILLIAMS - They're pretty good. We've got the negatives. They're 8 x 10 negatives.

A. R. KELLY - They're old, 30 years old, but we had the two best photographers in the county--the Coke brothers. They were the best ones then and they were recently. After they got out...

MARK WILLIAMS - I think Coke's still got a place in Macon. I think I saw in the phone book where he's still got a store.

A. R. KELLY - I think Cecil there, one of them, is dead now. So, and I went out every day with

Tidwell, a male secretary, and just made the rounds of all the excavations and gave a semi-report, eye witness account of everything that was happening. My interpretation of what was happening as it happened. Now this is something you don't ordinarily have in...

MARK WILLIAMS - A rather fortunate situation.

A. R. KELLY - ...archaeological literature, really in the best of them. They just don't do that. They'll give you their feature books and recordations, and they don't keep a diary. But I found that looking back over all those profiles and maps, with a diary of the day by day description of what was happening really kept you up to date because...

MARK WILLIAMS - You can go through it pretty easily. I've been going...

A. R. KELLY - Tidwell got to be very good. We did between 3 to 5,000 words a day. Now you not only have a diary but I had a genius there in Jackson.

MARK WILLIAMS - Oh, yes. Oh they were unbelievable.

A. R. KELLY - I've never seen an artist...he didn't have much education. I think he'd gone to commercial school maybe for commercial art. But he had a photographic eye.

MARK WILLIAMS - I cannot believe some of those drawings.

A. R. KELLY - Its absolutely fantastic. He could sit on the edge of an excavation, record that profile and this profile and the one that coming out, a three-dimensional thing by eye.

MARK WILLIAMS - And it's better than a photograph.

A. R. KELLY - And it's better than a photograph. And he's got everything in approximate proportion, because you can check it with the engineering profile, which is usually there too. And Jackson's got everything there in proportion, lens by lens.

MARK WILLIAMS - What ever happened to him?

A. R. KELLY - Well after WPA days he became a sort of...he couldn't become an architect of course with a license, but he was making, he had a government job of some kind...drawing plans. And around Macon if you had your idea of a \$100,000 dream house, and you wanted to know how it would look, you'd go to him and just talk to him, like we're talking. And he'd take notes and he'd put your dream on paper.

MARK WILLIAMS - Yes, those were unbelievable drawings. They really were.

A. R. KELLY - They were fantastic. And he's got others that are not in the museum collections that he kept, that he just did on his own. He had one for example...you know when we were doing the old trading post. And I found the trading path coming across the Plateau and leading up to the trading post. This was just something he did on his own. He has a drawing that looks like its done like some of Hogarth's nineteenth century wood cuts, showing pack animals and the traders coming in from Charleston. And that..

MARK WILLIAMS - It brings it to life.

A. R. KELLY - It really brings it to life. That boy is a genius. And so you have that.

MARK WILLIAMS - I want to ask you a couple of specific questions about the stuff on the map. Up here on the very north end of the Plateau. I know you ran a bunch of trenches up here checking out. There was a bulldozed area. Did you all do that looking for something?

A. R. KELLY - Yes, we'd been bulldozing looking for...you see, these things finally faded out.

MARK WILLIAMS - They did? Oh, I see.

A. R. KELLY - I mean they just simply pinched out.

MARK WILLIAMS - They weren't continuous all the way around?

A. R. KELLY - They probably were originally, but in the last thousand years there's been considerable erosion. There's an erosion channel through the Plateau that goes down to...

MARK WILLIAMS - This little branch?

A. R. KELLY - Yes, branch. Walnut. And during the plantation days the sand has crept. They plowed that off and eroded it, and there's been a lot of downslope.

MARK WILLIAMS - And the bulldozing was simply trying to pick up...

A. R. KELLY - I was trying to pick up any attenuated portions of it. And I just got it so far and from there on, nothing. Yet the implication is that probably at one time the whole, oh, about a mile square

area, was covered by these, this moat. There were two of the moats, you see.

MARK WILLIAMS - Right. Absolutely. I think this one was numbered 7. At any rate, there was interesting area up here in the profiles. This looks as if it might be a low house mound or something.

A. R. KELLY - Well, this goes out into sort of a...

MARK WILLIAMS - And the reason we brought that up, let me mention this, is that...

A. R. KELLY - You're not talking about McDougal Mounds?

MARK WILLIAMS - No, McDougal Mound is over here, in this scale.

A. R. KELLY - And you had mounds in the yard of the Dunlap house.

MARK WILLIAMS - That would be over here.

A. R. KELLY - Those are all described separately though.

MARK WILLIAMS - Right, absolutely. This is something that is not described as a mound. Now the reason I mentioned this is because...

A. R. KELLY - Well, this thing goes on out here in a sort of a finger shape and there's a spring site out here. Now, we never excavated that. I'll tell you a story about that situation. I went back during the war. I was too young for the first war and too old for the second one. I was past 35. So I came back to Macon Plateau. And there was no visitors, and it was just a dead place. And they had to have someone there. And one Sunday when I was reading the paper, this character comes in, you know, you're sitting there and you have a sort of eerie feeling that someone's looking at you. And I looked up and there he just walked in the room. Just slipped in and didn't say a thing. Medium size, mousey-looking individual, with sort of watery blue eyes, very hesitant manner. And he wanted to ask me a question, and he was evidently having a little difficulty about it. And finally he sort of blurted out. He asked me if I believed in dowsing, like for water. And I told him, well, I didn't know. I'd never had any experience with those people, but I knew about them and I knew that by accident or what not, they did sometimes find water. My geological friends thought it was accident, and there really wasn't anything to it scientifically. And that sort of phased him out for a moment and then he sort of puffed up his courage and said, Well, I can do that too. But he said I can do something else that I hesitate to talk to you about because you won't believe it. And I said, Why? And he said, well, I can use the dowser and find bones.

And I took my foot off the table and looked at him sort of wide-eyed and said, You can do what? He said, I can find bones. Human bones. I said can you tell the difference while you're dowsing between human bones and animal bones? He said yes. I didn't say anything, but there must have been something on my face that expressed disbelief. He said, I know. That's what people say but I've done it over the years. He said, I have been called in up in Indiana and the middle west, where he came from, to solve a number of murders and to find bodies. One of them in a deep pool, sort of like a deep spring site down here in south Georgia. I helped find a body. I dowsed above the water and told them where it was and they finally went down there and found it. In another case, they suspected that someone had been murdered and had his body pushed back in some hay stacks. And there were a hell of a lot of hay stacks. Well, he used his dowser and located this body in this particular hay stack. This is getting down to the practically the needle in the hay stack. And then he said there was a cemetery, an old Colonial cemetery, where all the headstones had been removed and now it was just sort of an old wood lot sort of situation, and the old timers knew there had been burials there. And they needed to find them. So he went out there with his dowser and told them where all the bodies were. Well, this took about an hour, with all his recital of his various exploits. And finally he said, very hesitantly, he said are there any bones over there? And he pointed over to the hill. We were in the museum, you understand.

MARK WILLIAMS - Right, it was built in what, '39?

A. R. KELLY - I said, yes, there's a lot of bones over there and different things. We excavated all over the place for 4 or 5 years and we found minerals here and there, in various stages of decomposition, usually in rather bad shape. And he said, Well are there still bones over there? And I said, Yes I'm sure there are some over there because we didn't excavate all of it. And I'm sure there will be some there in the portions we didn't excavate. He sort of brightened up at that. He said, 'Well this is

Sunday and we've got the afternoon if you're not busy.' And I probably wouldn't get another visitor all afternoon. He said, 'I'd like to demonstrate.' Well, I'd read the Sunday paper and there wasn't anything else to do. And this sounded like it might be interesting, so I said, 'Sure let's go.' And I led him out and we left the museum and he stopped down there where the bridge used to be and cut himself off a twig, and dressed it out just right and tested it out. Then I just let him go where he wanted to. And I figured well now this is pretty soft. I said 'I've personally excavated most of this damn hill.' And I know damn good and well where I dug and I've got maps to show it. And I know where I have found burials. And now over the years, thirty odd years or so, they've put the dirt back and they've put some nice grass on it. So there's nothing to show on the surface. And I know about the places I didn't dig. So I really got advantage of him. I'll can really give him the works on this. Well, we walked literally all over that damn North Plateau and the slope and the prehistoric earthlodges. Way up all over around the museum, all the way back.

WOODY WILLIAMS - McDougal Mound?

A. R. KELLY - Well, we did that later on. First I went over the portions we had excavated for about 4 or five years with somewhere around 700 or 800 men and 50 foreman. And he never found any burials. He never did give any sign. He was beginning to look disappointed, because we removed all those of course. And, then I gradually led him up toward McDougal and that area you're talking about. And the part just beyond Mound D up there leading out maybe out to this spit of land that comes...

MARK WILLIAMS - The museum is right over here.

A. R. KELLY - But, then you've got the creek coming out of here, the little branch, below the museum. It comes out to here. No. No. The Council House is...

MARK WILLIAMS - Here's the Council House.

A. R. KELLY - Well you come over here. We came over here and went over all this, you see. But then I come out here and I had never excavated that. And we got out there on a little rise, I suppose it's maybe 1 and a half or 2 feet above the contour above the spring site. And he began to find things. He said 'There's something here.' And he went over about 20 feet and he said, 'There's something here.' And when he got through he had described a circle about as big as this living room. And he had 12 to 13 burials spotted. Then he looked a little puzzled. He said, 'There's something funny about these bones.' He said, 'Were all of your burials fully extended?' And I said, 'No.' He said, 'Well some of these don't seem to be any bigger than this.' Well that really hit me because we do have bundle burials. And he lined a bunch of these things out. As I say, described as sort of a circle, a diameter probably of about 35 feet or so. And he put a stick in each one. And then I didn't say anything 'cause I hadn't dug there, and I didn't know they could be there. And he hadn't bobbed once, you understand, for at least an hour and a half going over ground I did know about. I went back to the museum and scratched my forelock and sort of tried to figure that one out.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Did you ever dig there?

A. R. KELLY - When we went back to the museum this character said, 'Well, aren't we going to dig and confirm this?' And I shook my head sadly and said, 'No we can't do that. I am superintendent of this place but I don't have the authority to go out there and dig,' even though I dug with abandon for some years. 'Cause we have up in the Park Service what we call the Antiquities Law and I can't go out there and just dig because I want to. And I'm responsible law officer here. I'd have to have a permit. And this would cause quite a proposition with justification.' And I didn't tell him that but I said I don't know what the park would think about actual justification in this particular instance. And I don't think I can write that although I must admit there's some strange things about this situation. Well I never saw a more bitterly disappointed man. He went away very sad, just shaking his head. And every time I'd tell this to my students now they all shake their heads and say, 'You mean you let that thing go after all those years and never went back? You could have gone out there by moonlight with your shovel and sort of opened up one or two of those places. No one would have ever known anything about it. You wouldn't have had to say anything about it.' Which is true! And I was tempted!

WOODY WILLIAMS - It could verify the theory of divining anyway. You didn't map them by any chance did you?

A. R. KELLY - No, I didn't map them. I guess I should have. But years later when I came to Georgia and was working up there at, well this was the site that Bill Sears did out there at the Wilbanks site. Bill did the mound. Didn't do anything about the village. See the village was covered with about 2 feet of fine alluvium. But there had been an arroyo out there. And in the washed face a stone burial, a stone crypt came out. And this one produced a stone ear spool. One of which fell into the hands of a local pothunter and the other one Joe Caldwell got. And so this meant that there were burials out there in that old village area. I don't know maybe 50, 75 acres involved, maybe 100. I don't know exactly, in the Wilbanks Village site. And I thought then, I thought I wished to hell I had that character back. I'd try him out again. 'Cause this ought to be duck soup. He's only got about two, two and one half feet of sand over the whole village area. And he not only has the bones, he has enclosed mostly by stone and this ought to be easy.

MARK WILLIAMS - Then he would say that the stones interfered though.

A. R. KELLY - Yes, that could be.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Who knows?

MARK WILLIAMS - I've seen some references...maybe I just haven't read the right things. There was a Civil War ditch right along here.

A. R. KELLY - That puzzled me. I found it right next to the edge over there on the far side, where I also found some burials which I later identified as...

MARK WILLIAMS - Civil War maybe?

A. R. KELLY - Well they were servitors, slaves, probably of the Dunlap family. Because all I found was the calvarium, the top part of the skull. It was very long with a peak back here. And I found what had been a brass button of some type. And I could tell that the brass button had not been sewed on, just sort of pushed the cloth around it and tied a string around it, which is an old Southern cheap way of getting a button and they loop over you see. And this was the dinner jacket a black major domo would have. So I said well these are some of the 1850 or '45 burials of the Dunlaps. Some of their servants were buried out here in pine boxes, and the only things left are these brass buttons. And the only thing left of the skeleton was part of the calvarium. It has that typical long, narrow, high cheek, longitudinal contour which is very frequent in African Negro skulls. A racial character. And that, right along about where I found those, I was still looking for these earthlodges...

MARK WILLIAMS - The trace of these things...

A. R. KELLY - ...but then I got over there on that far edge, I got trenches. And the damn things were straight and they ran all the way across the Plateau and I exposed them.

MARK WILLIAMS - Did they have any surface exposure?

A. R. KELLY - No. They filled in and they had cultivated over them. There was nothing to indicate they were that? And I said, no Indian ever dug this trench, I can't imagine. And I talked to General Harris about it and he said, oh those are Joe Johnston's trenches. They're part of their defenses in Macon.

WOODY WILLIAMS - That's where you great-great grandfather got wounded.

MARK WILLIAMS - Was that traceable? How far? Just from the edge of the train cut, up in here somewhere.

A. R. KELLY - Well I suppose. I'm sure we must have mapped them. Of course, I might not have been as persnickety about those as I was some others, because quite frankly I was so deeply emerged in the prehistoric aspect of it. And my people were busy, I don't know whether they ever got around to do doing that or not. But I found Joe Johnston's trenches. They would zip out at the railroad excavation and come out just about where Mound B is.

MARK WILLIAMS - Let's see. We've got that down.

A. R. KELLY - On the other side of the...

MARK WILLIAMS - Let's see. Here's the trading post and here's Mound A and B.

A. R. KELLY - Well, they'd be coming along here across the flat. As I say, maybe they need a bow

because you see I have been following, another thing I was looking for was this trading path that came up to the Trading Post. Then I picked it up and ran it over here to the edge of the Plateau and I was looking for it over here around Mound B, see. And then of course it cuts down to the river. Because General Harris had in his office an 1830 map of Macon. And on that 1830 map of Macon there is a note. On the other side of the river you understand. And the note says Moore's Path. So that, you see, is part of my proof that this is the trading path that was coming in from Charleston. Comes up to my Trading Post, cuts across here somewhere and then cuts down you see. There must have been a shoals or something there at one time. I imagine it's been cut away in recent years so they could, at one time the Ocmulgee was...

MARK WILLIAMS - Doc, did you ever think or have any evidence that one of these dugouts was earlier or later than the other one?

A. R. KELLY - I think it would be, yes.

MARK WILLIAMS - Which one do you think it might be?

A. R. KELLY - Well I don't know and there's only one way of knowing. I believe it's the upper one. You can tell by studying my profiles precisely where the fill was about the time of the American Revolution and where it was at the time after the Revolution when the Fort was in operation and Halstead had his factory, because Halstead put a lot of his stuff out there. And you can even see where it was still open at the time of the Civil War and the people from Macon brought out food for the Confederate soldiers. In other words, you could...and then in the bottom field, it's interesting, stuff that doesn't look like it washed in there. It looks like it collapsed that. That's another reason I thought the thing had actually been covered over. And that they were pit houses of some kind.

MARK WILLIAMS - What do you think now?

A. R. KELLY - I still think so. And I think the evidence is stronger now since I worked 8 years at Bell Field and there is some Macon Plateau like pottery at Bell Field. Their salt pans. You find salt pans at Macon Plateau, and you find them at Bell Field, and you find them underneath Mound B at Etowah in the trash pits, and you find them at Hiwassee Island.

MARK WILLIAMS - Well did you find any sort of dugouts at Bell Field?

A. R. KELLY - I didn't find whole big pieces, but I've got big flat pieces big as my thumb and which have some sort of netting impression underneath, which is precisely the same thing as Macon. And salt pans I think is one of the ceramic features. And I've got earthlodges at Macon. I not only think they were earthlodges I think perhaps they were grouped around the Plateau more or less as a defensive measure. I mean the people the men lived in these earthlodges and they were sort of an armed guard who lived and slept there and protected the whole mile square area. They lived on the rim.

MARK WILLIAMS - Did you ever have any ideas about what might have been in here?

A. R. KELLY - No. Look back in the newspapers and they did find things in there.

MARK WILLIAMS - I was talking with someone recently who had the idea about the 1806-1810 when Halstead was the factor. He says that there's some possible data that the original factory may have been in this area, which would account for tremendous amounts of...

A. R. KELLY - They never located Halstead's factory. And it could have been. You wonder why. He hauled an awful lot of stuff out there and put them in these prehistoric dugouts for one thing. I don't see why he would go to the trouble to haul them all the way from over there at the old Fort site. That always puzzled me.

MARK WILLIAMS - I think it's possible it could have been in here.

A. R. KELLY - It could have been. And I was looking for evidence of Halstead's factory and I never found it. Except that I had his disposals.

MARK WILLIAMS - There's a map that calls this whole area Halstead's old plantation.

A. R. KELLY - Yes, I know that and I think it's very likely that it could have been in here. Now I did such a complete excavation on the Plateau itself, I believe if it was there I would have found it.

MARK WILLIAMS - I agree. It just couldn't be up here.

A. R. KELLY - Now it might be over there in that spring site somewhere, you know.

MARK WILLIAMS - I don't know, with all the plowing that was done. This whole area was plowed real good. That would have shown up. So you still think now that these may well have been houses.

A. R. KELLY - Yes, well that's all in this 50,000 words I wrote.

MARK WILLIAMS - You know what year that was, Doc?

A. R. KELLY - Well it was about...I came here in 1947. It must have been in the early '50s.

MARK WILLIAMS - Early '50s. Did you have help analyzing pottery and stuff.

A. R. KELLY - I didn't analyze the pottery.

MARK WILLIAMS - I see. It was mostly analyzing of the features?

A. R. KELLY - What I have in just 50,000 words describing the excavations. I haven't gotten around yet to the pottery.

MARK WILLIAMS - Did you deal with any of this down here in that report?

A. R. KELLY - No. I didn't get across... Just the Macon North Plateau? I discussed the Council House. I discussed Mound B. And I discussed the fact that there were other Council Houses there. I had gotten down to the next thing I was going to do was what I called a hundred foot correlation trenches, which were right behind the Council House. And this was a special excavation through all of that leached sand down into the clay, bordering the area in which we found the Folsom point.

MARK WILLIAMS - Yes, that would be right over in here.

A. R. KELLY - Well, this probably the hundred foot excavation here.

MARK WILLIAMS - They call it the Stratified Village in the notes.

A. R. KELLY - Well, this is part of it that's closest to the Council House, right back of it. That could be it right there.

MARK WILLIAMS - It was made behind the tool houses, right here. And that was to check out the early digs?

A. R. KELLY - The was a special stratified dig, 6 inch removal, to record all chips, small stone tools.

MARK WILLIAMS - Did you think there was any success? Or did you ever get a chance to look at it?

A. R. KELLY - Yes, and I did the same thing over here on the Middle Plateau with my 200 foot, 1000 foot correlation trench. That was taken out by arbitrary levels. We got an enormous amount of material there. Either one of those would make a beautiful study, if they kept all that stuff the way I boxed it.

MARK WILLIAMS - That's a problem possibly. I can tell you this. We analyzed some chips from some of these areas, and we broke them down into very light or no patination, medium, and then heavy patination.

A. R. KELLY - I did this. Old Dean Smith over at the college was a geologist at the University of Chicago. And when he'd been at University of Chicago, he'd been interested in patination. So I did gather flint chips, material found in workshop sources, in good geological contexts. And where I had it by depth. And Dean Smith did the measurements. And it is true that the deeper levels are more patinated. They get up to a centimeter of patination or more. And as you get to the surface, you get sort of a milky patination. But it doesn't have any depth. It would be a tenth of a centimeter or millimeter or something like that.

MARK WILLIAMS - There were some heavily patinated chips from these pit houses. Do you think that they were thrown in there? Or do you think that the patination of a thousand years could have done it?

A. R. KELLY - If they were earthlodges. And they're bringing in soil to cover those things, then they are going to bring in the chips. Then when the things collapse and you go through this, oh, nearly 200 years of gradual fill, and you can tell which are revolutionary, which ones are Halstead and which ones are Civil War. By the time I went there, the plantation operations had finally filled those things. So you couldn't even tell there had been a prehistoric dugout there.

MARK WILLIAMS - Did anybody come to you after you had found them and said, Oh, I remember those things?

A. R. KELLY - Well they were probably, see I was there in 1930. Thirty years. There probably would

have been a few old timers around who remembered them.

MARK WILLIAMS - Let me ask you this. Now if we talk about these maybe as being houses of sort, what about the fact that they only outer perimeter though. Wouldn't that mean they'd be sort of poor for defensive purposes of your homes? Seems that would make more logic as a stockade ditch.

A. R. KELLY - Well, you see I had other structures here on the Plateau.

MARK WILLIAMS - As houses.

A. R. KELLY - And Jackson drew...one of his drawings is a hypothetical, in his mind, the way those Macon Plateau structures look like.

MARK WILLIAMS - Sort of rectangle?

A. R. KELLY - Sort of rectangle or oval.

MARK WILLIAMS - I remember seeing pictures of these as houses.

A. R. KELLY - It was like a saucer. Part of the saucer had been erased by this constant cultivation. But you still tell that the floor was depressed and sort of saucered. And Feature 110 was one of them.

MARK WILLIAMS - I remember that number, definitely.

A. R. KELLY - It was one of them that's got pretty good detail on it. It could have been a structure somewhat like the ones at Bell Field. It was a domestic structure, you understand, not a big ceremonial one. It wasn't very big. Probably not more than 15 by 18 or 15 by probably as much as 20. But I got little light post molds and I got the saucer. And only the...since it had been plowed over of course and with all this leaching was going on and I didn't get the details. And they might have been using sand you see. Sort of like sandy bone instead of gumbo. So after a thousand years you just get your saucered floor and the whole top part of it has all been cut across.

MARK WILLIAMS - Well, Doc, what would you like to see us study on this site? What aspects of that site do you think that we should investigate? What do you think we could gain from it?

A. R. KELLY - Well, I'm going to finish. I think the Park Service...see I have a contract now to do Swift Creek. Betty Smith and I are working on that. And tentatively it was suggested that there were a couple of other things we wanted to do assuming that I stay healthy and I'm around. I will do for them, I'll finish up this Macon North Plateau. Now one thing you could do to help me is to, you see, a pottery analysis was done with another WPA project after I went up to Washington by Fairbanks, and I think Jennings around part of the time. A WPA project, where they box the stuff and put it away. So they've got all those potteries and god knows we had tens of thousands of sherds in context, but they made some mistakes. They made one mistake, which Fairbanks later frankly realized. He told me about it. They were unable to distinguish between Bibb Plain and McDougal Plain or Swift Creek Plain. You just can't do it because they're both there in the same damn soils and their impregnated with that damn iron.

MARK WILLIAMS - It's a problem. You just end up guessing.

A. R. KELLY - Well, I mean it's highly subjective and I don't think they realize the fact that these different types were there then. They did later. But by that time this has all been done and they realize, well what the hell, those damn statistics on them, and since Macon Plateau is about 90 odd percent is about plain, this obviously is a terrible error. A major mistake. So as I see it, frankly I think it's going to have to be done over.

MARK WILLIAMS - Well, maybe that's what we can do then.

A. R. KELLY - I wouldn't want to cast aspersions on the work of two distinguished American archaeologists, but I think Fairbanks at least agrees and would be frank enough to say he thinks it ought to be done over again, too.

MARK WILLIAMS - I'm sure that he probably would.

A. R. KELLY - Because you got to recognize you're difficulty. It may be that we can do some microanalysis on it and do something.

MARK WILLIAMS - One interesting thing I think we've found is that some of the Bibb Plain sherds look like they were tempered with limestone.

A. R. KELLY - This is an extremely important..I'll tell you what the implications are here. Here I am, another thing I've got to do for the Park Service is to write up my eight seasons at Bell Field.

END OF SIDE ONE

BEGIN SIDE TWO

A. R. KELLY - Now at Bell Field I have at least three earthlodge levels and then I go into the succeeding mound tops with wattle and daub houses on them. And the last stages of Bell Field definitely belong to Dallas. And Dallas finally goes into a mixture of Dallas and Lamar I call Dallamar and which Hally wanted to call Barnett phase. But it's the same thing. I found...let's see, I worked there in '71, '72, '73. I didn't work there this year. The engineers told me they were going to put the water in there. And may anyhow, but they still haven't done it. I could have had another season if I'd had some money. And god knows they left part of our earthlodges where we were never able to excavate. But, it seems now that the dominant pottery on those earthlodge floors...we don't have a hell of lot, they keep them pretty clean...was a shell-tempered cord marked or plain. Now this is the kind of pottery at the base of Hiwassee Island. There is some grit and sand-tempered stuff there that could belong to Savannah. And when you get up into my last earthlodge phase, before we go into wattle and daub, I get some...I get a rather large compliment of Etowah stamp. And it's the kind of Etowah stamp that I found across the river in Sixtoe, where it was the dominant wear. And it's the kind of Etowah stamp that Sears found at Wilbanks at Canton.

But, on one side of the river I've got earthlodges, shell tempered wear, with either plain or cord marking and some of the stuff in there looks like it's thick stuff that I think is parts of salt pans. And at Macon Plateau there is small minority of stuff that has some discrete cord impressions. Not fully all over like you get in Dallas, but there's some cord impressed stuff there and some net impressed as you get in the salt pans. But, the evidence implies now that living on the opposite sides of the Coosawatee River was an Etowah-based group who did not have earthlodges. They built the sort of things that are described at the base of Hiwassee mound. Big...they were huge things...bigger than this living room, with rounded corners. And you entrances that come in from the corners and there are walls this thick, compound walls. And that's what I found on top of the Sixtoe Mound. So you've got a radical different type of architecture. You got a difference in pottery. You got Etowah on one side of the river and you got...call it early Dallas or whatever on the other. And they must have been, for part of the time they must have been contemporaneous, and I've got some more carbon dates to run on this, but they'd have to be.

Now the Sixtoe situation parallels the Wilbanks site. It's about the same type of Etowah II, Etowah III. And in my Sixtoe report one of my conclusion is, I think I have evidence in the trash pits there, the borrow pits, which were filled with garbage, with my Etowah levels in the base and with Dallas in the top. But with some wind-blown materials in between. This suggests a brief period of practical abandonment of the site. The major population, the major activity was during Etowah time. There's very little Wilbanks on the site. I found a little bit and Hally's found a little bit. Wilbanks is very attenuated. Lamar comes in pretty strong again. But there was a drawing away of populations at the end of the mound period at Sixtoe. And I thought well this should be just about the time, you know now that the climax of Etowah was not in Etowah pottery times, but in what we call Wilbanks. So I said, well it may have been that we had all this excitement going on 40 miles below down below there. People just took off and went down there. That's the way I've explicated the abandonment of the site.

Let's come back. You've got comparative architecture here. You got earthlodges. Where do you have earthlodges? You have earthlodges at...they found some in Tennessee, but they were never described by Kneburg. Fairbanks said they were there. The weren't at Hiwassee Island. At least if they were they weren't recognized as such. And apparently the structures they have are as I said like the ones that we find on Sixtoe and at Sears site. And also underneath Mound C where Larson found them, at Etowah, same type of structure, with Etowah pottery. Then you go to Macon and then you find earthlodges. You find a pottery series which is predominantly plain. You find the salt pan. And the earthlodges are more sophisticated. They've got some.. they've got platforms, and more symbolism there and the eagle and the seating arrangements. But the carbon dates for Macon are about 1000 A.D. The carbon dates for Bell Field and we've got 6 or 7 of them now, and we've got a

few more I can run as soon as I get some money, will run from about 800 to 1400. So I think there's a good chance, and this is all extremely important because remember they had earthlodges in Tennessee, which weren't reported. And in the most recent work in Tennessee, within the last year, in the last Tennessee Archaeologist, they've been doing some more work on some of those east Tennessee burial mounds which were supposed to belong to the Hamilton Focus. Now the Hamilton Focus as the Tennesseans explicated it, covers damn near everything from Middle Woodland to Late Woodland, or what we would call Woodstock. I mean it's all just sort of a hodge podge thrown in there together, and they sort of undigest it, in the Hiwassee report, but we can see now that that's what it was. But these burial mounds apparently are late, and they belong to the Hamilton people. And this might be the explanation of why I couldn't find burials in the base of Bell Field. Although I've got these 15 typical Dallas tombs in the top of the mound.

Then I go over to Sixtoe. oh, I found burials. But again these were burials in and around the walls of these huge buildings of the priest or the shaman who was there. And so the lack of burials at...you have a lack of burials at the base of Hiwassee, too. But it may be that the most recent evidence in regard to the Hamilton tomb...and the carbon dates on these Hamilton mounds are beginning to overlap Hiwassee. See? So maybe this is opening up some sort of light on what you didn't find burials at Hiwassee and why I didn't find them in the base of Bell Field. They buried them alright, but the probably plunked them off in a little hillock or mound somewhere off the village area, up around the Coosawattee there, where I never dug. And I never found them. And they never will be found.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Talk about...

A. R. KELLY - But you see, you got here then a curious opposition here between highly complex, highly important complexes, such things as architecture and burial and pottery--three. Across the river Coosawattee, on one group you've got these big compound houses with entrances from the sides. Great big posts supporting roof in the middle, and maybe some sort of stone used as a seat or deck in the back...a platform of authority. And using stone by stone around the slopes of the mound where the river hits it with full force, that much to protect it. And then you've got two totally different types of architecture. You've got a difference in burial customs, and you've got a difference in pottery. And I would say with that much you have to have two different types of people. One of these could have been Muskogean and the other could have been whoever these earthlodge people were. I was just reading just today I reread an interesting article that came out a couple of years ago in American Antiquity. This was a lexico-reconstruction of the Southeast, languages and the archaeological cultures. And they're talking well which archaeological pattern would best fit the linguistic character of let's a Muskogean as against Siouan. Unfortunately in this particular article they don't talk about Iroquoian which is extremely important too, since earthlodge seems to survive among the Iroquois. And the Muskogean so far as we know, go in for a totally different sort of set up. They get what they call tchkofa, a chieftains house, which is not an earthlodge.

WOODY WILLIAMS - What about Tugalo?

A. R. KELLY - Well, Tugalo is another earthlodge situation, and it's supposed to be Cherokee. It was Cherokee.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Do you think...Joe in one of his notes said that he couldn't see any decent break...

A. R. KELLY - He can't see any different decent break in Tugalo any more than I can see any break at Coosawattee. And you can't see any...Coe doesn't think he can see a break in the Iroquoian portions with the prehistoric. And the Tennesseans believe for ever since I first met Lewis and Kneburg, they've always believed that the Cherokee have been right here in the Southeast, at least in the mountain Southeast. They didn't come from up in Ohio or any place like that.

MARK WILLIAMS - What about the language problem? How would they go about picking up the Iroquoian language?

A. R. KELLY - They don't have to pick it up, they have it. And the Iroquoian the only other one you know anything about is up in New York. And there Ritchie doesn't make any bones about it. It

comes in as an invasion.

MARK WILLIAMS - About twelve or thirteen hundred?

WOODY WILLIAMS - So they came from down here?

A. R. KELLY - Yea, twelve or thirteen hundred, you see. Hell, I've got proof that they're here. So has Joe Caldwell. The Iroquois are still here. Well if there were here then and they appear in New York at that time, it seems logical that they went from here to there.

MARK WILLIAMS - You think you can carry it all the way back and say something maybe like the Swift Creek people had a Pre-Iroquoian tongue?

A. R. KELLY - Yes, but you got a curious dichotomy within the stamped-pottery horizon. There seems to be a consistent dichotomy in site situations, as between the linear comps and the curvilinear comps. I think the curvilinear comps all come out of Swift Creek. And Swift Creek was absolutely a unique situation in the Early Woodland.

WOODY WILLIAMS - No antecedents?

A. R. KELLY - No antecedents and I..George Vaillant came to see me when I was working at Macon from Mexico. His wife, her family had been in Georgia. They were a banking family. After the Civil War they took off like everybody else. I think they went to Brazil. And I guess for some sort of such reasons George and his wife were visiting. And we had a few beers, and we were looking at the comp stamps and he said he had seen them in Mexico. And they had them down there. He said he had seen them. They're a minority ware. So he was quite prepared to have the comp stamps come up from the South. Now as you know, Joe Caldwell and Sears agreed on that. They want to put Swift Creek in what they call the Gulf tradition.

WOODY WILLIAMS - That would explain Swift Creek's appearance in the Southeast.

A. R. KELLY - Yes. We're going to have fun with that, Betty and I are, and this has come up. And you know there's another thing. Out in the Caribbean you don't get complicated stamped pottery.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Hold off a second, Doc.

PAUSE IN TAPE

MARK WILLIAMS - Somebody told me they had had some discussions with you about the...

A. R. KELLY - Well, you know the person doing the most on this now is Margaret Clayton Russell. She's writing her dissertation on it, or was. I hope she hasn't given up on it. She married. Margaret and I went down to Tallahassee to attend one of their little seances on Lamar. And she was writing her dissertation on Lamar. She thinks the incised stuff is late and it's not...it's something that's been added to Lamar. On the west. And she thinks she can demonstrate it site by site.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Let me say this about Tugalo, now. You know I'm kind of working on the Tugalo stuff.

A. R. KELLY - What's happened to Liz by the way?

WOODY WILLIAMS - Liz? She has had to take the summer off, I think, to pacify her husband.

A. R. KELLY - They had been separated or something, hadn't they?

WOODY WILLIAMS - Yes, and they're back together. And she's got some surgery problems too that she's got to attend to. She'll be back though. She called me not too long ago.

A. R. KELLY - I'm glad to hear that. After the years she's become one of the spirits that have belonged to the basement of Baldwin Hall.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Right. At Tugalo, no incising in...Joe has written down the stratification of the mound, beginning with the first..with the four temples or earthlodges...

A. R. KELLY - Well, you've been doing an awful lot of work on those dumps.

WOODY WILLIAMS -...then he comes up through what he calls the burned mound layer, Etowah ash-bed layer, and then he says there's no incising...

A. R. KELLY - You're beginning to get your pottery dumps. That's where Liz has been doing an awful lot of work.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Right. That's where we've been doing the work. Now we have a carbon date

of 1480 from the bottom layer of this dump which is where the incising first appears in the mound. 1480. Does this time, as far as you're concerned, correlate with other things you know about?

A. R. KELLY - It correlates with Bell Field. In Bell Field you have an incising there, as far as Dallas is concerned, comes in with Dallas incising. Dallas incising is part of the...is late both at Bell Field and at Hiwassee Island. It's part of what they call the Dallas Decorated. When you get down into earthlodges, you do not find any incising.

WOODY WILLIAMS - That's right. There is none.

A. R. KELLY - And that means from about 800...I don't think I have about 700 or 800 study sherds from Structure 8D. That's above. That's my last earthlodge. 8D is tied up with 11B, 10B, and 9B.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Right. I've seen a drawing of that.

A. R. KELLY - And there are connections. Here, curiously enough, is where most of your Etowah is coming in. The end of the earthlodge. I wouldn't say all of it, but most of it. It's increasing. And where you still don't have any incising there. You've got such things as a minority wear of 1 or 2 percent of Hiwassee Red Filmed, and Hiwassee Red on Buff. There's some little Hiwassee contact there. And they're having some contacts with their people across the river.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Have you had a chance to read or hear this paper of Roy Dickens that he gave up in Virginia back in the spring on the "Origins of Cherokee?"

A. R. KELLY - This spring? That isn't part of his dissertation?

WOODY WILLIAMS - No, it's not that. Let me tell you briefly what this paper was in case you haven't seen it. As you know there are rather drastic differences...

A. R. KELLY - Was this a meeting of the Carolina Archaeological Society or something?

MARK WILLIAMS - Cherokee Symposium.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Cherokee Symposium up in Virginia.

A. R. KELLY - I wanted to go to that thing, but I didn't get up there.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Yes. He gave a paper, and as you know there are rather drastic differences, demonstrated differences, in the Lower, Middle, and Upper Cherokee pottery, overhill Cherokee pottery. Duane King's dissertation on Overhill Cherokee showed, I don't know, something better than 90 percent of it was plain, Dallas-appearing stuff. The Lower Cherokee pottery is complicated stamp, check stamp, whatnot, and the Central or Valley towns, middle settlements have what they call 'Qualla,' I guess. Anyway, Roy Dickens says that to account for this that you have three separate traditions. That the Lower Cherokee pottery, modern Lower Cherokee pottery of the eighteenth century, developed from, what did we start off? We started off with Etowah, Wilbanks...

A. R. KELLY - Well you see, I haven't published it yet, but when I did my preliminary analysis on Etowah, Mound B, you see I did the trash pits. Those were the dugouts where they got the dirt that went in the mounds. Then the trash pits filled and they're filled with Etowah pottery. And in the top of those fills you've got Etowah III with some Dallas stuff, early Dallas stuff, and Savannah stuff. And you got some red filmed, for example, which would tie in with Hiwassee, and you got a few pieces of what the Tennesseans called red on buff. And you got...when Sears worked at 9CK5 he even got some nice specimens of the negative painting. That negative painting seems to come in a little bit later than Hiwassee. Anyway you get this Tennessee stuff on top of this Etowah base in the fill of these trash pits. That's what Sears called them. And then that's the anti-penultimate? phase of Mound B...that's the one before the last. Because they built a sort of an orange layer, it's, oh, a foot thick, out from the carpeting, from the mound out into the plaza. And on top of that orange layer they built this beautiful Wilbanks structure which I uncovered. About 35 feet in diameter. And it looked like it had about 6 or 7 sides. Beautiful central hearth, compartmentalized seats all around. The walls here were probably matting of some kind. There would have been no stucco. I got over 12,000 study sherds from the floor of that structure. That's something that hasn't been done yet.

MARK WILLIAMS - It's high for one house.

A. R. KELLY - It rated some interesting...see this is in contrast to the council houses in other places. And I speculated here that these people were some sort of...it was a club house for novitiates. And they're living in and they're being fed on the spot. They're bringing their food in. And like a young

priest, they get a little bit boisterous, and they break a hell of a lot of dishes, and they just let them fall where the fall, and they never clean the damn place up. But above there you see after that, I've got 2 to 2 and one half feet of the subsequent fill, but in the plaza between Mounds A, B, and C. And in there I find an evolution into Lamar. It's all there stratigraphically.

WOODY WILLIAMS - How about incising?

A. R. KELLY - Well, some incising appears, later in Lamar.

WOODY WILLIAMS - I mean at this site, Etowah?

A. R. KELLY - Yes.

WOODY WILLIAMS - And this incising is also later at Etowah?

A. R. KELLY - It's later at Etowah. It's later at Hiwassee Island. It's later near Carters. It's later at New Echota. It's late at Sixtoe and Willey, you remember, did a survey with his CCC group on Lamar. He did stratified test pits and he said...he told me verbally one time, I never saw his figures then, that he thought that the incising came in later. He thought his survey showed that.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Now at Tugaloo the incising suddenly appears, just like that in this Northeast dump, with nothing below it. Would this indicate that there is no experimentation going on from time to time. It just suddenly appeared. What kind of connotation would this be?

A. R. KELLY - I think incising is brought in by this inflow of peoples from the West from the Red River country or Mississippi, and this is, I think, the migration with is reflected in the Chikili legend.

MARK WILLIAMS - And not the Macon intrusion of much earlier?

A. R. KELLY - Macon could have been, well it could have been an earlier movement of the same...I mean these people didn't just didn't come all at one flood time. I mean coming out of the West. They were probably coming out of the west in several different moves. We don't have any Macon dates then. That's tragic. Because of course, Ford was working there and Ford wouldn't have kept any carbon at that time. I know the only carbon I kept was the part I thought would be significant for dendro.

MARK WILLIAMS - That was fortunate. Too bad the dendro didn't work out.

A. R. KELLY - And we wouldn't have bothered with it if I hadn't had Gordon Willey on the dig.

MARK WILLIAMS - They were from the Southwest where they just said, Well it might be a good idea to try it, and they kept the carbon.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Are you saying, Doc, do you think that a sudden appearance of this pottery that it was a pottery style that was adopted or the people came in?

A. R. KELLY - It's a pottery style. Part of the pottery morphology and decorative treatment that was characteristic of the west of the lower Mississippi. They had a lot of incising. And they had a lot of painted ware and they had a lot of rim modeling and other doodads.

WOODY WILLIAMS - But you're saying it's not necessary that their people had appeared over here to do that?

MARK WILLIAMS - There may have been a few women. It's too hard to tell.

A. R. KELLY - You have your Chikili legend, which shows us there were people coming in. And there are other legends in Alabama. So I think that's really the nubbin of Margaret's thesis as I understand it.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Well, now apparently at Tugaloo...I keep coming back to Tugaloo because I'm interested in Tugaloo...you have everything. You have a pre-mound Swift Creek occupation at Tugaloo.

A. R. KELLY - I didn't know that.

WOODY WILLIAMS - There was a...we have a number of Swift Creek sherds from under the mound.

A. R. KELLY - Well I never say this. All of my work that I did there was with Edwards out in the village.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Yes, and I want to talk to you about that right now. Tell me about what you know about Edwards dig, or anything that you can remember that you did. And how far away from the mound was it?

A. R. KELLY - I guess I was at Sixtoe,

WOODY WILLIAMS - Edwards was digging in '52 there, I believe.

A. R. KELLY - Well, I must have been at Pine Log up there at Etowah. At any rate I was in the West and he was working there. He was a very methodical character. I went up there and it was gridded, and we had this big village site. And we started off with long slot-like trenches just clearing off the plowed ground down to the village level. They were about...I've forgotten what it was, 20 to 40 feet, 30 feet apart. The idea was that if you found the cabin sites we would expand them and do them. And you weren't going to find anything context until you got this plowed ground off anyhow. And also the cabin sites were there and they'd been burned. And he found several burned cabin sites. And he did...his wife was with him then and she was a very methodical person. She did some nice cataloging of enormous quantity of beads, for example. And the glass beads, they ran all the way from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth.

WOODY WILLIAMS - What every happened to all his historical stuff? Do you know?

A. R. KELLY - It's supposed to be in the collections.

MARK WILLIAMS - What about the notes and stuff?

WOODY WILLIAMS - Well, Edwards has got those I think.

A. R. KELLY - No, he gave them back.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Whose got them? They aren't at Georgia.

A. R. KELLY - Well, if they aren't, I don't know who took them off. When he left they were here.

WOODY WILLIAMS - The were? The Edwards notes?

A. R. KELLY - No, not his notes. I thought you were talking about the beads.

WOODY WILLIAMS - The notes.

A. R. KELLY - No, I never got his notes. And when I did get them I couldn't read them.

WOODY WILLIAMS - I don't think the beads are here either, or any historic material for that matter.

MARK WILLIAMS - There may be some.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Very few, very few.

A. R. KELLY - There was a enormous collection of beads. I sent them off to our friend in Pennsylvania.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Malcolm Watkins?

A. R. KELLY - No, not Watkins. I got a report on the beads and that should be in the file. And as I say the beads extend, if you made a graph of them it would show the peak in the early eighteenth century, about 1715 or 25.

WOODY WILLIAMS - That would make sense according to what I know.

A. R. KELLY - But you had earlier beads from back in the seventeenth century. And there were still Cherokees around there making late glass beads up 'till the nineteenth century. But the peak would have been around the first quarter of the eighteenth century. That's when they stop.

MARK WILLIAMS - Did he not find any prehistoric houses in the village?

A. R. KELLY - No.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Well now all this pottery that was...He went down in some cases thirty something inches...

A. R. KELLY - Well, he found a ditch, which was as wide as this rug in places almost. Two thirds as wide and six feet deep, going right through the bridges and coming from across the river...to the river. And that thing is filled with pottery. That site was occupied for a long time. Tugalo was. I mean it had a long prehistoric occupation. I think it will probably go back...we don't have carbon dates. And of course there we just simply didn't have the money to do the site. Joe Caldwell only got to do his top earthlodge. There were other earthlodges lower in his mound, just like there was a Bell Field, he didn't get to do.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Oh, I see.

A. R. KELLY - I think Tugalo, if we'd ever been able to do a proper dig, would have been a parallel site to Bell Field.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Well now he did put some tests down through the mound, right, to get this...

A. R. KELLY - Yes, we know there were other occupations there and we know now they were probably earthlodges. You've got a series of them there. The last structure on top of the mound was

a tchikofa?. Oh, it was earthlodge maybe, but if it was it was like the earthlodges that the Cherokee's had in the eighteenth century.

WOODY WILLIAMS - But now this last earthlodge was prior to any advent of...

A. R. KELLY - Well, the town house that Chicken visited, where he conferred with...he tried to get the Cherokees to side with the colonies, and the Creeks were there. War of the Creeks emissaries began...the Cherokees murdered the Creek emissaries. Now that episode is described in the history and that probably happened on top of what was the Tugalo mound. But that portion of the mound had been destroyed before Joe started.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Right. Okay, so this last earthlodge that he did, I mean the top one that he did, was prior to the appearance, let's say, of incised pottery?

A. R. KELLY - Your incised pottery and your dumps would probably belong to that eighteenth century, seventeenth century occupation.

WOODY WILLIAMS - It goes on back to the fifteenth century according to the carbon dates. Tell me what your opinions are about applique-pinched rims. They apparently show up earlier at Tugalo than the incised pottery.

A. R. KELLY - I have a very confusing situation there. I discovered this spring in looking over my Bell Field pottery. I found some applique rims in my earthlodges. And I couldn't understand it except most of these were coming out of Structure 14. And Structure 14 underlies the portion of the mound where it would be the northeast corner of the mound. There the later mound you see is coming down and the slope sort of nips in over this earthlodge level. So that it's possible if they dig a pit or something that you can get the later material down in the earthlodge context.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Around the outer edges.

A. R. KELLY - Yes, around the outer edges. So there I've got a sort of..and yet there are three or four places where, for example in Structure 9 I found some...a few of those applied rims with notching. And I've got them...you remember that series of sherds that Liz was doing for me? And you photographed? One of those had an applied rim, a notched rim.

WOODY WILLIAMS - That came from one of the earthlodges?

A. R. KELLY - Yes, and you remember the others were typically earthlodge sherds of this shell-tempered plain and cord-marked pottery. And yet there's one rim in there that looks like the late stuff. I showed it to Joe and Joe wouldn't believe it. He said well it's got screwed up. I don't know how it got in there. But I don't know.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Well, there are no pinched rims in any of the houses or floors from the lodges at Tugalo. They all appear above...well, the last one had some what appeared to be rudimentary..what I would say, or I think Joe said, the beginnings of applique.

A. R. KELLY - I've got to study my profiles and see just how close...most of this stuff I've seen is coming from Structure 14, we continued that north trench on out and found the down slope of those late mounds. Not more than 20 feet from where 14 was, the mound fill is probably oh about 3 feet I'd say.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Doc, you went up to Tugalo and did some digging from time to time.

A. R. KELLY - Oh, god yes. Over the years when I didn't have any money, I took groups up there. I imagine almost as much work was done in recent years on Tugalo...that's right, I took some of them up there.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Your work was done in the village I guess though, but not on the mound? You did some on the dump, I believe.

A. R. KELLY - We did some on the dump, and I found burials is another feature that we find at Tugalo that's interesting at the mound. I found the burial of that, what I call the shaman burial.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Oh, yeah, I've seen that. That's wasn't in the mound though was it?

A. R. KELLY - Yes.

WOODY WILLIAMS - It was.

A. R. KELLY - It was in the mound and it had enough mound soil above it that Wilbanks, who was excavating it got buried by slump. But there would seem to have been burials, a series of burials,

around the inner mound, one of the inner mounds around the periphery. And these were graves about the size of that rug or smaller. And the grave outlines were very distinct because there was a, oh 1/16 of an inch of carbonized matter that could have been either decayed skin or matting of some kind. As if those bodies had been wrapped. They were mostly flexed burials. They had practically no associated material with them. And they were around the edge of the mound.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Well, now did any burials turn up from inside the mound itself, or in the earthlodge floors or anything adjacent to?

A. R. KELLY - No. No.

WOODY WILLIAMS - So all the burials at Tugalo came from the outer...

A. R. KELLY - The outer rim, perimeter of the mound. Including the shaming burial.

WOODY WILLIAMS - How about the village?

A. R. KELLY - I found what I call shaman burials. I call it a shaman burial because this individual was laid out with considerable more pomp than had others. And there was a little raised shelf on his left side, oh, about 2 feet square. And there was some dark discolored organic matter and two barely recognizable leg bones, bird bones. They'd evidently been wrapped. And I interpreted that as the medicine bundle. So just as I said, it was a shaman medicine doctor with his bundle. Now we found the same thing indicated at Sixtoe. We have there what I thought might be shaman burials. Same thing. Extended flex barrels with a little raised shelf on one side and some dark organic remains...just the outline of them, suggesting what we call a medicine bundle. And it was very similar to what I'd seen at Tugalo. Course they're both Etowah related and probably about the same time, and one is Lower Cherokee and the other is probably prehistoric Cherokee here in north Georgia. But these would be the Middle valley and Cherokee are related to them.

MARK WILLIAMS - Doc, see for us if you can make...

BEGIN TAPE 3

MARK WILLIAMS - ...a synthesis starting at Swift Creek times of influence.

A. R. KELLY - I have just started taking notes now on something that's going to be a comparative study on the basis of architecture, burials, ceramics, those three critical areas.

MARK WILLIAMS - Carrying them all through.

A. R. KELLY - Starting with Hiwassee, to Bell Field, to Sixtoe, to Wilbanks site, to Macon, to Tugalo, to Chauga. Because at Chauga we couldn't tell anything about the structures-Neitzel couldn't, cause they'd all been dug out. But Neitzel had a little hump, a ramp way that led off from that mound, which was not part of his dig when he was working on the mound proper. And it bothered him. And it bothered him so much that even after his project was ended, he went back on his own, picked up some volunteers, and got a hold of a backhoe and cleaned off that ramp and found within a day or so what he said he thought what might have been a collapsed earthlodge. Evidence of one. Now that's not in the Chauga report. He didn't put that in there. He just told me.

MARK WILLIAMS - I talked to him one time and he said you all finished that up right before Christmas.

A. R. KELLY - Well, he went back and he picked up this ? mound. And he said that was the impression he had of it. He didn't have time to work it out. It was a highly complex situation, but that's what he was opening up. And it's tragic that we didn't time have or funds to do that thing.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Doc, I have a problem. Now I've been working on Tugalo and all of the pottery that I can find from Tugalo is stamped or incised or decorated in some manner. I haven't I don't think found one sherd of plain pottery from Tugalo. Yet according to the Chauga report, from the mound at Chauga the preponderance of pottery was plain pottery. How do you explain the discrepancy? In mounds so close together, which must have been occupied at the same time?

A. R. KELLY - Well, I'll tell you. You have to remember this. One thing, you remember, you have the cazuela bowls. Cazuela bowls, incidentally is an extremely important trait in itself. They come in very suddenly and almost certainly have to be...

MARK WILLIAMS - From the West?

A. R. KELLY - They have to come from the West maybe, but they come from the South, Mexico, too. Cazuela as the name implies, it's a southern trait. But they come in late. But in cazuela bowls you get decorated, inverted rim borders, and the body of your pot can be stamped or it can be plain. So when we do our percentages and say well it's plain or it's stamped or it's incised, you can get all three of them on the same damn vessel.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Right, however...

A. R. KELLY - And if it's a piece no bigger than that it doesn't mean the whole pot was plain.

WOODY WILLIAMS - A good example of that are these pots I put together from down here on the Oconee River, you remember. They were all...the most common shape was the cazuela shape, incised to the shoulder and plain thereafter. But at Tugalo we didn't have that. It's incised to the shoulder and stamped there under, and there is none that I can find that is different. However at Chauga it obviously was different. And I just, I'm just trying to figure out, what does it mean?

A. R. KELLY - Well, Margaret [Clayton Russel], I think has given the explanation. The incising and the cazuela form too, probably, come from the West. They come just before DeSoto. Swanton told me once--the old man was down in Macon when I was there and I was sort of a protegee of his and we got to be very close friends. And he told me once that he thought from his years of study on the Creek materials, that he thought in the accounts that have survived since the Spanish explorations, that the country here in Georgia that the Spaniards were describing, the DeSoto chroniclers, was largely vacated all the way from south Georgia up to the crossing of the Ocmulgee when they found Patofa and Ocute. And then they got to Briar Creek and have a lot of trouble you remember. And then they get to Cofitacheque. Well all that vast country through south and south-central Georgia they call the barren lands. And you also, now I'm quoting Swanton now, you get an impression they sort of came through in 1540-41, it was just a generation or perhaps less after a rather...you get the sense of a disaster. There's been a lot of dislocations. Possibly some diseases, some plagues, and possibly the dislocations that could come from the sort of thing that Chikili was recording. And that's the reason...I was one of the first to who, when I worked at Macon, to say that I thought that Lamar was pre-DeSoto. That's in my 1938 report. But No one believed it then. Hell, they wouldn't believe it for 20 years. They're beginning to believe it now. I did it simply on, of course...Joe Caldwell was working on the coast. There we were finding a coastal Lamar and it came up to the historic period.

And in those early days I had my first contacts with some of the Tennesseans and I knew that...and I had been at Cherokee, North Carolina for the Park Service, and talked to the Cherokees about the mound there at Franklin and the mound there at Cherokee, North Carolina. And they still remembered, some of those old Cherokees, there back to their great-grandparents. They told me about an old Owl, oh, who was their last witch doctor there? At any rate, they remembered him. They told me about...that these were earth-covered buildings. They described them. That they had their ceremonial dances there. And I said when the Valentine Museum came in from Richmond I was talking to M. S. Long, the old tribal counselor, that they found bones there and they didn't think the bones had been buried very long and the Cherokee's were sort of bothered, so they left rather hastily. And I said yes. And I said why did they bury their bones in the floors of the lodge? And he said, Well because the spirits wanted to be near the people. I mean there's no such thing as the quick and the dead. The spirit's were just as much alive as anybody, and they're still participating. But the point on this you see is a folk recollection of that mound and of the lodge that had been there. I was keeping, while I was doing physical anthropology, I guess in 1927, with a National Research Council Grant, and I was also he taking some ethnological notes, which I was sending on to Speck, Frank Speck. And this is one of the items that I sent him. I don't remember whether Speck ever used that or not. He used some of the stuff I sent. But, and the Cherokees told me and they told Mooney that their pottery, if you ask them what their pottery...they showed you stamped pottery in 1927. Oh, it was a complicated stamped of a rather linear variety, and that's what they said was their pottery.

MARK WILLIAMS - What was the name...that described the Cherokee potter? A real short article showing techniques of firing.

A. R. KELLY - Oh, that was the life of...she was a Catawban.

MARK WILLIAMS - No, I don't know who the woman was, but I'm trying to remember the name of the man who wrote the article.

A. R. KELLY - Oh. Was it Fewkes? I don't remember whether Mooney ever wrote anything on pottery or not.

MARK WILLIAMS - It wasn't Mooney, either.

A. R. KELLY - It wasn't Ohlbrecht, was it? He did medicine.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Doc, while Mark is thinking, let me ask you something. What is your, how familiar are you with...

A. R. KELLY - Harrington?

MARK WILLIAMS - That's it. Harrington, yeah.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Pisgah pottery, your pseudo-Iroquoian at Chauga. Have you seen anymore of that in any of your other mounds you've worked on?

A. R. KELLY - Yes, but it has to be run down. You're talking about these collared rims? Well, I remember having a discussion with Joffre Coe on this. And it was something that Joffre was interested in and one time we time talked about gathering his notes up of Georgia and North Carolina and putting them together in regard to this situation. And we never did it. I had some collared rims from north Georgia on some pots that were given...they were also in the laboratory somewhere, by John Wear, used to be at Fairmount and he's now got a foundry up at Calhoun. He's a collector. He had some pots that had these collared features. Of course, that didn't help us much because he didn't have context on them. But, they came from up there.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Dickens says that this Pisgah is antecedent to the Middle and Valley towns Cherokee, Qualla. And that the Dallas is antecedent to the Overhill Cherokee, and the Etowah is antecedent to Lower Cherokee. Does that say what you think might be true?

A. R. KELLY - Etowah is antecedent to Lower Cherokee. Well, in my Chauga report I said I've got something that looks like Wilbanks at the base.

MARK WILLIAMS - Which could be post Etowah.

A. R. KELLY - That's the implication.

MARK WILLIAMS - I'm still fascinated about this idea about carrying the Cherokee idea back further in time to, say, pre-Etowah. Do you think that's even tenable at all? Like Napier or something like that?

A. R. KELLY - Oh, yes. I think...you see I always interpreted what we call Cherokee complicated. I mean Lamar Complicated Stamp. The point I made rather earlier I thought was, if your steady Lamar Complicated Stamp at Etowah, Macon, and different places, it was what I call a terminal complicated stamp. And it contained within its spectrum, elements of all the earlier types, even going back to check stamp. And some, you can even find some Lamar rims on simple stamp.

WOODY WILLIAMS - A degenerate termination would you say?

A. R. KELLY - Residual is the term I use. All these residues were there in this final complicated stamp tradition which we call Lamar.

WOODY WILLIAMS - What is antecedent to Etowah?

A. R. KELLY - Etowah grows out of Woodstock and Woodstock is thought to come out of Napier, which is another Macon type. There was so much that came out of there. There are pure Napier sites in and around Macon. Then it seems that whoever these people were...see both, when I did the Swift Creek site out in the village, I found some Napier in the top of the village layers. And I thought that implied that Napier was associated with the final stages of Swift Creek. Although this would be hard to determine because that area, Smithsonia, was the old county farm there and they disc harrowed and plowed it pretty deep, and it was on a first terrace above the river bottoms, and it was a rich sandy loam and it was, the whole contour was there. The terrain consisted of low hummocky rises with swales in between. So when you cultivate this, what you do, you nip off your rises and you fill your swales in between and even though you had a rather rich village there, it's all mixed up. I was talking to Betty yesterday. I said, Betty I don't know how we're going to be able to do that village

collections. I said the only place we could work out any sort of stratigraphy was in the mound where we did it. I said we're going to have to examine the material. I said since we have the mound results and we have indications of what the successive developments were...

MARK WILLIAMS - Does that go through Late Swift Creek?

A. R. KELLY - ...Maybe it would be worth while. You don't have a hell of a lot of pottery from the mound. I think our study series, a little over 1,000 study sherds in good context. We have thousands of stuff out there in the village. That's (mainly what we need?) since we had the mound data. We do have some stratigraphy there. Fortunately, I was operating a laboratory at the same time we were doing the field work up there at the old auditorium, Macon Auditorium. And my wife was with me, and she couldn't be paid as a supervisor, but she was interested in the designs, Swift Creek designs. As a matter of fact, she was the first one that really recognized that this was something different from anything we had seen in Georgia and the Southeast. So we gave it more attention. And she wanted to...she worked out a stratigraphic study of design evolution in the mound at a time when it was coming out. And we still have that. I still have that data. And some beautiful tabulations. And that's the only stratified study of Swift Creek I know of except the one that Joe Caldwell did down at Fairchild's Landing. He made a very elaborate one there, which hadn't been published yet.

MARK WILLIAMS - Fairchild's and Hare's Landing.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Did Napier show up in the Swift Creek Mound?

A. R. KELLY - Yes...not in the mound.

WOODY WILLIAMS - In the mound?

A. R. KELLY - No.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Not even in the top?

A. R. KELLY - No. It's in the village. Pockets of it.

MARK WILLIAMS - You think then that we...

A. R. KELLY - In the upper level of the village. I mean there were some places when they truncated the village layers they'd leave maybe the bases of oh, maybe not as big as that hassock, the pits. The top side was lopped off. I couldn't tell where they came from. And of course it's all black and you can't sometimes see the pit outlines, but by the concentration of stuff you could tell there was a pit there approximately. So we always made features of those things and did what we could with them. But that was the basis of my supposition that Napier was intrusive into the final stages of Swift Creek. And then across the river, really in the right of way of the Southern Railroad, right next to that draw-bridge, if you remember your Macon locale, was the site of the Napier type site. The stuff was coming out of the right of way bed.

MARK WILLIAMS - Doc, what can you tell me about the Stubbs Mound?

A. R. KELLY - Stubbs mound was another mound in a plowed field. It was several miles out of Macon. I think it had been found...I don't remember whether it was initially found in Gordon Willey's survey or whether someone had reported it to me. And I had all these social workers constantly sending me new people and I couldn't turn them down and I tried to get rid of some of them in peculiar fashions, that's another one of my stories, but in this case, we were still working on Stubbs Mound at the time the laboratory students turned up. And I turned that over to them. And I don't know, they were all top-notch students of course. Three of them were superstars in our present archeological firmament, people like Gordon Willey and Walt Taylor for example, Charles Wagley and J. Charles Angel, you recognize all those names. They worked out there. We didn't keep, they didn't keep an elaborate diary. I went out to see them practically every day. It was a very complex situation at Stubbs Mound.

MARK WILLIAMS - Do you think it was basically a Lamar period mound?

A. R. KELLY - It was Lamar, but it had some Macon Plateau there too.

MARK WILLIAMS - What about, is it asking too much, do you think it was a transition from Macon Plateau?

A. R. KELLY - No I never thought there was there was a transition.

MARK WILLIAMS - Just a break and a reoccupation.

A. R. KELLY - In my 1938 I thought I'd made that fairly clear that we'd demonstrated there had to be some sort of break between Lamar and Macon Plateau, even though Lamar goes back, I wouldn't be surprised to around 1400 at least.

MARK WILLIAMS - But, not nearly early enough.

A. R. KELLY - The Macon Plateau was 1000 A. D., 1100 somewhere in there. So you still got oh probably a century or so break in there. A couple of hundred years at least. Now, I tell you Mark, if you're down at FSU, and they want to know what to do, tell them on the basis of our discussion that I've got this 50,000 word write-up on the Macon North plateau. I've got to go back and do about another 40,000 words just describing what we did. I've done Mound D, the Council House, the village, prehistoric dugouts, and the next thing I've got to do is do that 1,000 foot correlation trench, which I did behind the Council House to get material on the flint situation, because that's where the only, as far as I know, the only instance of a Folsom point that was found in a qualified dig in the Southeast. We've got them all over in collections, but none that came out of an actual controlled excavation.

MARK WILLIAMS - It came from pretty high up in the levels, though wasn't it?

A. R. KELLY - No, as I recall it was about 16 to 18 inches down from the surface.

MARK WILLIAMS - I was thinking it was mixed with some pottery or something.

A. R. KELLY - No, no, it wasn't. I don't think so. I remember...

MARK WILLIAMS - It has the point was broken off, right?

A. R. KELLY - Yes, the point was broken off. But it was an unmistakable Folsom, beautiful type. Of course Folsoms of that type have been found in collections there in middle Georgia. Several of them were brought to me and I had one or two of them drawn in the notes that were brought to me by collectors.

MARK WILLIAMS - I've seen those in the notes.

A. R. KELLY - I wrote those notes very voluminously, everything that was happening and that interested me at the time and ordinarily there's just so much that didn't, I was fortunate that I did, because for anyone whose interested in the Folsom problem, is evident there in 19'...you know, John Walker did some work over there at Mound A. And he got into the prehistoric dugouts that came around the mound over there. And the mound was built partially over them. And he excavated. Of course I didn't dig them right on through the mound, he did. I brought them right up to the foot of the mound.

MARK WILLIAMS - It's too much work.

A. R. KELLY - Well, it's on the down slope of the mound that fell off into Walnut Creek there, and we were perched up there at about a 45 degree angle. And I followed the damn things and had I followed them to the bottom of the mound and I said well they go under there and that's it. That's just more than I'm prepared to handle right now. I'm not supposed to dig that mound anyway. But he did. And he, because he did, he read very carefully all my own notes about those things. And he had his own impressions of them. John said you know, the damn things looked like they were cut away. Just cut away part of the hill and sort of sculptured it. Well, I think they cut them away, but I don't think they were doing any landscaping for aesthetic purposes. I think they cut that damn thing away to build some sort of a structure, is what I think. Because he didn't find any evidence of stockade there either.

WOODY WILLIAMS - This ditch you were telling me about at Tugalo, was this a..

A. R. KELLY - I think that's a trail.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Oh, you do?

A. R. KELLY - Yes, I think that's a trail coming down through South Carolina right into the village there.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Was there a ford across the river?

A. R. KELLY - It's the same thing that I had at Macon see. I didn't think of it at the time as being a trail. While Edwards was working there I saw it, but it was an early trail. My god-it would be

prehistoric when it started.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Was there a ford there across the river at Tugalo?

A. R. KELLY - Yes.

WOODY WILLIAMS - I never did know whether there was or not.

A. R. KELLY - So I think that's a trail. And it's coming down through South Carolina. And it might be, it could be the same trail that finally winds up at Macon. The Lower Creek Trading Path.

WOODY WILLIAMS - You don't happen to have any of your notes on Tugalo around here, do you?

A. R. KELLY - No.

WOODY WILLIAMS - I found some of them in Joe's notes.

A. R. KELLY - Joe had them you see when he started work there. And you see I only went on maybe a Saturday or Sunday.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Well, now, let me ask you something else.

A. R. KELLY - And I think they didn't take notes like I would have if I'd been there all week.

WOODY WILLIAMS - This...was it the Tsalali Institute that backed some of this dig? Did they ever get a report on the goings-on there?

A. R. KELLY - They didn't back any dig. All they backed was the restoration of the village.

WOODY WILLIAMS - They didn't. Oh, is that what it was?

A. R. KELLY - Yes. They wanted a tourist attraction. So three of us acted as sort of, well we came and advised them.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Well, now what about the Smithsonian? The Smithsonian was, weren't they the people who put up the money for this Tugalo dig? Or was it Georgia Historical Society?

A. R. KELLY - I think Joe Caldwell worked there for a while with a little Smithsonian money? And then I think he had a little money from the Historical Commission.

WOODY WILLIAMS - I'm trying to figure out where the rest of the material is, primarily there's a bunch of...

A. R. KELLY - Some of it may be with the Historical Commission. Joe might have sent some of it back to Smithsonian. I don't know.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Okay, the Historical Commission says the only thing they have catalogued there is more boxes from the Northeast Dump which I don't need, particularly, but I would like to know if there's anymore from the earthlodge levels or the historic material which I'd like to get some photographs of that stuff, But I can't find it.

A. R. KELLY - Why don't you write Smithsonian?

WOODY WILLIAMS - I guess I'll have to do that.

A. R. KELLY - And ask them if Joe Caldwell ever sent anything from Tugalo up there.

MARK WILLIAMS - The field reports or something like that might be there.

A. R. KELLY - He sent field reports. He wrote a report for them which they didn't publish and which not we are redoing.

WOODY WILLIAMS - On what?

A. R. KELLY - On Tugalo.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Who's re-doing it?

MARK WILLIAMS - Wasn't that Allatoona?

A. R. KELLY - Well, didn't he finish it? Well, maybe he didn't finish it.

WOODY WILLIAMS - He didn't do a Tugalo report, he told me. He said that was about the time he left the Smithsonian and he never did do it.

A. R. KELLY - He never did do it. He meant to come back to Smithsonian and...I mean back to Tugalo and never did do it. That's a piece of unfinished business. That's right. And just before he died in the last year he was trying to get it pulled together again so we could publish it.

WOODY WILLIAMS - Well, we're about out of tape, so...