THE CHICKAMAUGA NATION

TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES INVENTORY

WEST-CENTRAL ARKANSAS RIVER VALLEY

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INTERIM

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Abstract

Who owns the past and

who controls the study, documentation, interpretation

Indigenous people need clear honest images of themselves

Private, State, and Federal Land managing agencies and entities need to win public confidence and manage heritage professionally and sensitively to

are tasked with management of marked, unmarked, historic and archeological human remains across the entire landscape, often with no accompanying record.

This General land office records provide a time and space-transgressive cultural landscape of the Chickamauga settlement planning and community structure during their tenure in French and Spanish Louisiana and Arkansas Territory.

Abstract

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INTRODUCTION

In the 1990s, after performing an extensive and careful study of American high school and college textbooks, Loewen (1995) found that Native Americans, the indigenous occupants and owners of North America, have been the most lied-about subset of our population. The belief that the land never really belonged to them persists, and the myths are actively perpetuated by those academics, educators, historians, and archeologists Loewen surveyed. We are conditioned to think that the unaltered landscape of the Indian is *wasted* land, rescued by European civilization (Myers 1997:127). It is a delusion based on the 15th Century Doctrine of Discovery, and the Myth that North and South America were pristine landscapes unaltered by man (Denevan 1992, Rockwell 2010).

The Doctrine stated *discovery of land gave title by the government by whom it was made against all other European governments* (Johnson v. McIntosh 1823, Blackhawk 2023:7). The final years of the incorporation of the Northwest Territory were marked by what current-day international law defines as genocide committed by white settlers, Territorial and State militias, and the federal government (Frymer 2017). We were there; we concur. Congress also failed on the promise to seat a member of the Cherokee nation in the House of representatives. To seal the deal, they gave themselves authority to unilaterally abrogate Treaties as defined in the U.S. Constitution (Whitney v. Robertson 1888, Blackhawk 2023:7). Indian affairs dominated national politics, national economy, and social issues throughout the formation of the government; all orchestrated by federal (elected and appointed) officials (Rockwell 2010) employing the *Spoils System* of government.

As an indigenous cultural group traceable for nearly 500 years across the continent, and which still operates within the broader American social milieu, the Chickamauga or *Tiscamogee* are remarkable; given the vicissitudes of their survival story. Tiscamogee (Crayfish) in *Elanti* is our

name. Emerging from ancient cultural traditions dating to as early as (and probably older) A.D. 1200 with the Mississippian Interaction Sphere, (aka. *Southeastern Ceremonial Complex*, Smithsonian Institution 1901). Our origins are geographically centered in the Cumberland area of Tennessee, Kentucky, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama. We were forced over 300 years ago into multiple and continuous European pressures to cede our land. This report employs original data from Anthropology, History, Law, and Religion to reconstruct the traditional cultural landscape of our people.

Founding Father Religions

The clash of our cultures resulted in a series of Revivalistic Movements among Indians and Europeans that influenced subsequent events. In the early 1800s, a Shawnee man (brother to Chief Tecumseh) named Lalawhethika initiated a spiritual revival among numerous North American tribes. His vision was to reject European alcohol, clothing, and the concept of private land. He was *born again* as *The Open Door* or *Tenskwatawa*. He and Tecumseh argued that no single tribe had the right to sell the land, held in common right by all, and given to us by the Great Spirit. This was a direct blow to American plans to fund government by selling Indian land. Tecumseh died in 1813 at the Battle of Thames, during the War of 1812.

As Americans who practice formal religions, we are bound by emotional disputes about social issues. The English Civil War exemplifies the social discord between Catholicism (Doctrine of Discovery) and Dissenter Religions, which led to the Regicide of Charles 1 by Cromwell's Parliamentarians. That discord continued during the French and Spanish colonial periods with ever-increasing competition for economic and religious dominion over the New World native inhabitants.

The subsequent religious animosity sparked at least four Great Awakenings among these alien Europeans. The first (1730s-1770s) began as reaction to the Enlightenment's rationalism, and a virulent sense that religious passion had grown stale. Congregationalist Jonathan Edwards and Anglican George Whitefield were fiery proponents, part of the Dissenter Movement. It divided existing churches and led to Baptist and Methodist fluorescence within the American frontier communities.

The second (1790s-1840s) was influenced by revolutionary changes in the market economy, forcing concomitant changes in our society. The rise of secular rationalism also threatened the new *traditional* beliefs. Congregationalist Timothy Dwight, President of Yale University, and grandson of Jonathon Edwards played a significant role in the movement. He established the Presbyterian Mission system (Dwight Mission) that was applied to the Chickamauga and Cherokee. Sermons moved away from Calvinistic predestination, emphasizing free will, and seeking salvation at camp meetings. Mormonism, abolitionism, temperance, and women's rights were new movements initiated by this social fervor.

The third (late 1850s-early 1900s) is driven religious activism-the belief Christians have a duty to reform the Earth before Christ's return. Christian ethics are applied to social problems without any critical thought or consideration of the consequences of such actions. The worldwide spread of missionary movements and political mobilizations are the results.

The fourth (mid-1960s-early 1970s) rises from the social discord of the mid-20th century. It saw the decline of mainline Protestant denominations and the rise of conservative evangelical churches. Megachurches and parachurches have arrived.

Who owns the past? Religious fervor spilled over into the American mindset, particularly in how and what is written as historical fact. American historical literature can be characterized as

evolving historiographies of public opinion and self-promotion (Novick 1988, Hager 2010). We remember the yellow journalism that started the Spanish American War, but the remaking of public commemoration and memory took a dark turn in the late 19th century (Bodnar 1992).

William Archibal Dunning (Merriam 1922), teaching at Columbia University instilled a whole generation of "amateur promotionalists" with an idealized version of the region (county) they discuss. This perspective stresses the Confederate Tradition, Social Darwinism, and segregation between races and classes. A dominant theme is an aggressive, contemptuous attitude (or idyllic glorified savage image) towards Native Americans, imported slaves, and others. This form of class segregation was supported by lower economic scale whites, because they had *a place in a superior caste and opportunity to rise to status of planter* (Stampp 1956:29). Everyone wants to be on the winning side so they can have a hand in the till.

Religious Freedom. Indigenous communities themselves must be seen in a frame of reference to the broader cultural landscape to understand their relevance to todays' blended society. Using a direct historical approach Altman and Belt (2008) posit that Chickamauga worldview of history (*kenohesgi*) considers the past a distinct part of their present. This perspective is maintained by spiritual connections to ancestors who perpetually exist (Abram 2009:12). By examining oral tradition or reading about their past (*agoliye*) they keep their culture alive and relevant today. That is precisely our purpose.

For the last 250 years we resided in Arkansas with a legally recognized Reserve, resisting the forced emigration(s) to Indian Territory. Although assimilated, our people retain traditional practices while living modern lives.

Origin. Haywood (1823) reports oral Cherokee cultural memories that they once lived north of the Ohio River. The *Talike* or *Talliquewi* were also called *Hogohega*. They and

related/antagonistic Iroquois-speaking groups (see De Bry 1590, Harriot 1590, Van Groesen 2008 for Nottaway) apparently moved to the Appomattox River-near the Powhatan Chiefdom, where the Virginia militia and land-grabbing settlers attacked them in 1632. They moved up the Kanawha and New rivers into the headwaters of Holston and Watauga rivers.

A village was located near Asheboro, North Carolina. Another Cherokee village was documented by Moravian Bishop Spangenberg in 1752 in the "Old Fields" near Wilkesboro at the junction of the Yadkin River and Mulberry River. It was called *Keowee*, meaning mulberry grove place, or place of the mulberries. This town is not to be confused with the capital town of the Lower Cherokee in northwestern South Carolina on the Keowee River.

Eventually the eastern groups moved to their latter homes on Little Tennessee, Tellico, Savannah, Hiwassee, and Tuckasegee rivers. We have the tradition that the Tiscamogee were already there, based on the Iroquoian name for us, *People of the Caves*. Thus, it appears Lower Cherokee (aka. Chickamauga or Tiscamogee) have a different source population which merged with these later immigrants.

Indigenous Burial Practices

Heckwelder (1881) describes Algonquian (Iroquois, Delaware, Shawnee) burial practices at the time of first contact. Through his role as Missionary to the Delaware or *Lenne Lenape* in Pennsylvania he became intimately familiar with the *Walum Olam*, a narrative of the Delaware people and their neighbors. He notes that from earliest times there were more than 40 tribes that formed this confederacy, including ancestors of some *Tsaliki*. This list includes the three eastern groups of Cherokee (Valley, Middle, Overhill); as well as Tuscarora, Nottoway, Meherrin, Weanock,

Monacan, Powhatan, and other Iroquoian-speaking peoples (Haywood 1823, Roundtree 1987, Binford 1967).

Among Lower Towns (the Chickamauga) the Moravian Missionaries (Schwarze 1923) describe them as lower in social structure, retaining their indigenous belief they originate from the earth and caves. The three eastern divisions were influenced by the French Jesuit Christian Priber early in the 18th century (Mooney 1891, 1900). But the Lower Towns retained traditions and religious concepts, including subterranean origins and rock art ceremonialism (Shreve 2017; Deere 2022, 2023). They sought refuge in their caverns from the various State and Territorial militia, and later Continental Army attacks.

Formal funerals depended on circumstance at the time of death; whether at home, at war, on the hunt, or while traveling. Funerals at home included women, who assumed equal respect in death. In 1762, Heckwelder observed a coffin that was prepared for a prominent woman. Personal items, ornaments, rum or other infused liquids were added; and a wailing ceremony was conducted at the grave side.

When away from on a hunt, the corpse was covered with poles, and a palisade of sorts erected around the body. If at war the poles and palisade were supplemented with a deep grave and a manicured surface. This is still practiced among the Absentee Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma (AST) where historic graves are essentially invisible today, based on personal visits of some Chickamauga Cemetery Team members with AST Elders to visit Tribal Allotment farmsteads. If possible, the historically and rapidly buried individuals were recovered on subsequent visits by family or party members. Their defleshed bones were placed in tree bark containers and re-interred upon return home.

When contingencies were severe bodies were piled between large logs. They were covered with what debris was available, including rotten wood, rubbish, and loose soil. Leaving the body to be eaten was avoided at all costs, unless otherwise unavoidable. The relatively few bundle burials in indigenous cemeteries suggest that many were not retrieved by their kin. This desire to maintain cover may have inspired the stone box graves, and the subsequent stone box false crypts, of the Cumberland Plateau and adjacent regions.

Linguistics

The Bureau of American Ethnology conducted extensive ethnological work at the turn of the 20th century documenting the life and language of the Cherokee, led by James Mooney (1861-1921). Original data were also recorded by Barton (1797), Haywood (1823), and the Bureau of Ethnology (Gallatin 1836, Powell 1891, Hale 1883).

Haas (1970) provides a dated, yet comprehensive summary of Indigenous linguistic patterns and relationships. The Muskogean language is the only one spoken solely within the southeast. Cherokee is an Algonquin language (Lounsbury 1961), the most southern branch of Iroquoian, yet with similar roots to Muskogee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw. The Tuscarora, inveterate enemies of Cherokee, also spoke this language, but were driven back north to the Six Nations.

The Cherokee language is comprised of three dialects, *Elanti* or Lower spoken on the head of the Savannah River and those within the Qualla Boundary, Middle on the Tuckasegee River, and Mountain or Upper. The lower is also spoken by the Snowbird Cherokee on the Qualla Boundary, known as *kituhwa*. The third is spoken in Oklahoma (Seeker 2013:7).

Physical Anthropology

Earliest travelers provided physical descriptions of Indigenous peoples' body and face. Lawson (1714) speaks of tawny color, lack of facial hair, and cranial deformation from cradleboards. Subsequently Adair, Bartram, Swan and many others (Swanton 1946); added cultural details but yielded little more data on physical measurements (Pollitzer 1971;31). Boas (1895) published on Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creek population samples.

Large scale osteological studies begin with Hrdlicka (1916) based on 57 Lenape or Delawares from Mausee, at the junction of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The Algonquin people had oval to elliptical skulls, comparable to those of the Iroquois, yet *different* from eastern round heads. Reporting on similar Algonquin remains from Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, Hrdlicka (1927) specified a mean cephalic index from 74-77, with high vault and medium to large face. This led to his (Hrdlicka 1940) near universal model of *Gulf-type broad heads*.

Funkhouser (1938) in his study of Norris Basin (our heartland) of eastern Tennessee found the people to be tall, slight and graceful build, with round heads. He considered them the same stock as people to the north and west in the Mississippi Valley.

When Newman and Snow (1942) examined the Pickwick Basin at the junction of Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee, they differentiated two populations. The earlier people had undeformed, long heads with high vaults, and greater tooth wear; than the later deformed round heads. Two populations apparently merged, replaced, or shared their genetic material-while exhibiting material culture continuity.

Lewis and Kneberg (1961) in their study of the Archaic (6000-4000 BC) of the Eva Site in Tennessee found a third of them were long headed, 11% round headed, and the majority intermediate. Neuman's examination of the Catawba from Keyauee (Pollitzer 1971:33) found them like the Eva

Archaic population. The face and cranial features of Eva people are comparable to the Basket Makers of the southwest.

In Neumann's scheme Hrdlicka's Gulf type are like Adena Woodland from central Illinois. Webb and Snow (1945) see massive flat faces, broad high foreheads, and occipital flattening (cradleboard). Neumann sees the Algonquian of the Delaware or Lenape (with continuity from the archeology to historic record) with large oval crania, long headed with brow ridges, and muscular robustness. The face is long, rugged, with nasal extension.

Using these data drawn from inter-regional analysis, Lewis and Kneberg (1946) in their Hiwassee Island study of Late Mississippian to Historic human remains determined an admixture of several population stocks. The archeological culture they termed Dallas and identify them as ancestral Muskogee (see also Lamar, Mouse Creek, Yuchi) that evolved from Late Mississippian, to Protohistoric, to Historic. The Late Mississippian people exhibit no crania deformation. Historic people exhibit deformation from cradling or deliberate head wrapping.

Stewart (1941) examined contemporaneous remains from Peachtree, a known Historic Cherokee town, finding 16 cranial deformations. Summarizing (Pollitzer 1971:35) both the Iroquois-speaking Cherokee and the Muskogean-speaking Town Creek (also Dallas, Lamar) people are rugged, while the Siouan samples of the Yadkin and Occaneechi have smaller delicate skulls. They are found between the tall long headed coastal Algonquins and the rugged, angular, round headed people of the mountains.

The Graysville *Melungeons* are a tri-racial community in lower eastern Tennessee (Raymond 1979). Also called *Goins*, they exist among whites, both of which claim some Cherokee heritage. The Melungeons reject African descent and claim to be Cherokee as well as their neighbors. They are a typical Southern Appalachian community with complete assimilation of all their heritages.

Archeology of Origins

During the colonization of the Nashville area, a 1786 land grant to Nathaniel Lawrence was known to contain a large prehistoric and historic Indian site, called the Earthworks of Lebanon. It is known today as the Sellars farm (Butler 1981, Moore and Smith 2009), located on Spring Creek in Wilson County.

The Peabody Museum, Bureau of American Ethnology, and Museum of the American Indian-Heye Foundation were among several institutions who have salvaged the prehistory and history of Tennessee. Frederick Putnam (1878) focused his excavations on 60 stone box graves placed in three tiers on the flanks of the mounds at Sellars Farm. Over 100 low earthen mounds were also present, 19 of which were excavated.

The University of Tennessee McClung Museum also worked with the Tennessee Valley Authority to preserve and recover many collections from a broad range of sites. Webb and Wilder (1951) conducted the archeological survey of Guntersville Reservoir for the University of Kentucky. The University of Georgia (Caldwell 2011, Wynn 1990) has also mined the older collections for additional information. Researchers are now conducting archeological studies of these collections (Moore and Smith (2012), reconstructing the prehistory of Tennessee; and across the river in Arkansas (Cherry 2009, Morse 1981, Morse and Morse 1983, House 2003).

The earliest evidence for Mississippian mound sites in Tennessee is on the western side, beginning prior to AD1000 (Smith and Moore 2010). But where did they come from and what inspired them to build mounds and place stone box graves within them? The defining feature of these people is the vast number of stone box graves they used. There are indications that some type

of perishable marker was used, since the graves were re-entered multiple times; and are generally just below the ground surface. People knew the exact locations of their previous burials.

The cultural interaction spheres that led to this cultural explosion reached from the Oneota of the upper Mississippi, Fort Ancient of the Ohio Valley, Middle Mississippian near St. Louis, and Southern Appalachian Mississippian; to the Caddoan of Oklahoma, Texas, and Louisiana (Waring 1968, Beahm 2013:38-39, Brown 1981, Ferguson 1972, Smith 1992, Wynn 1990). The exact origin is unidentified at present; but may relate to the Kansas City Hopewellian Late Woodland Fristoe Burial Complex of Missouri (Wood 1967, 2000).

The Missouri State Artifact is a Jaguar, found by Wood and Pangborn (Wood 2000) at the Fairfield Mound in Benton County, Missouri. James Griffin associated the art style with Ohio Hopewell or Florida Weeden Island (Griffin 1958, Waring and Holder 1945, Webb and Baby 1957, Young 1910). Griffin notes in a letter to Eleanor Chapman that it is identical to one excavated by Baby (Webb and Baby 1957:94) at the Crab Orchard Mound in Ohio. The only variations are a raptorial bird, and a speech scroll like those carved on marine shells at Spiro, but not exactly like any Mesoamerican motif. Michael Coe associated it with Teotihuacan. It is the Jaguar of the Underworld. Authorities are reluctant to ascribe the ultimate source of the ideas or influence to Mesoamerica.

Schambach (2000, 2001; Jurney 1994; Jurney and Young 1996) demonstrate how the Spiro site in Oklahoma and the Sanders site in Texas served as entrepots in a Plains Interaction Sphere. The Caddoan people had geographic control of a vital resource, bois d'arc wood, one of the best woods for archers in the world. The exchange of bison (defleshed) products, turquoise, Puebloan pottery with seed maize, cotton fabric, tobacco, and other items were collected from the four corners of the continent. These commodity exchange networks also carried ideas orchestrated by the existing

social structures. The Aztec are known for interregional traders called *Pochteca*. Historically the Jumano of southwest Texas conducted the horse and slave trade from Mexico through Spanish Florida and Coahuilan Texas to the Chickasaw. Calusa traveled over the Gulf of Mexico in ocean-going canoes, navigating at will.

Southern Appalachian Precedents. In Normandy Reservoir on the upper Duck River, McCullough et al. (1979) found a shaft-and-chamber tomb that possesses similarities of funerary treatment and status exhibition. Chapman (1987) posits that the Late Woodland Kittrell Mound (AD485-658) on the lower Little Tennessee River could be another candidate for a source of the stone mortuary tradition. Kittrell has an earthen core capped with layers of limestone slabs. Here is one tradition of using rock when available as freestone in the Mississippian heartland.

Mounds, Villages, Stone Box Grave Cemeteries. Grays Farm is by far the most prolific mound and village site excavated by Curtiss, who was under contract with Putnam for the Peabody Museum (Moore and Smith 2012). Grays Farm is in Williamson County on the Harpeth River and is situated on a floodplain ridge adjacent to the mound. An orchard and garden associated with an 1811 historic house site was located 200 yards south. The orchard and garden yielded mostly children's graves apparently from domestic structures, perhaps including the occupants of the 1811 house site.

Curtiss opened 197 graves, 148 from the burial mound, another 30 from the orchard garden, and an additional 50 from a location 50 yards from the mound. Notable items include eight female effigy hooded bottles, seven of which are negative painted. This is followed by the second (behind Castalian Springs) largest trove of rattlesnake gorgets made locally from imported marine shells. Additional items include human effigy figurines; duck, fish, and frog effigy bowls; earplugs, and pendants.

Castalian Springs (Beahm 2013) is the first long term project in the Middle Cumberland region, extending beyond the Sellars investigations. The focus is examination of the size, spacing, and duration of these Chiefdoms over time, primarily through ceramic analysis of mortuary and domestic assemblages.

A defining feature is the use of subterranean stone box graves, arranged along the slopes of mounds, in localized groups or cemeteries, and within dwellings. Children were often placed within the floors of dwellings without stone boxes. Once established, the Stone Box Grave practice spread rapidly, apparently through ideas, not through migration. The burial practice continued into Historic times and was seen by both Indigenous tribes and their European invaders.

The Middle Cumberland region is layered with limestone and shale slabs eroded by streams, providing *freestone* to be picked up. The slabs provided the floors, side walls, and top covering-often over the entire grave. Floors were sometimes layers of ceramics, other times natural soil. Brown (1981) notes that the form was modified for local geology, burial forms, and social status.

Cultural Chronology Middle Cumberland. Moore and Smith (2009) organize the Middle Cumberland Mississippian archeology into five periods shown in Table 1 with their notable sites, river basins, and references:

TABLE 1

Mississippian Stone Box Graves to Cumberland Stone Box False Crypts

Precedents

- Formative Woodland or Hopewellian
  Wood (2000) Missouri Fristoe Focus, Jaguar Gorget
  (Bennett and Young 1910), (Webb and Baby 1957), (Waring and Holder 1945) Hopewell Ohio, Jaguar Gorget
  (Wood and Bowen 1995) Northern Georgia

- Middle Cumberland
- I AD1000-1100 Emergent Mississippian. Mound Bottom 400 years
  Mansker Creek 40DU53, two cemeteries with stone box graves
- II AD1100-1200 West to East spread
  (Webb 1938) Norris Basin
- III AD1200-1325 Chiefdoms. Stone Box graves become common
  3-4 Tiers of box graves on mound slopes and cemetery platforms
  Barker and Kuttruff (2010) Brick Church Site (40DV39)
  Smith, Stripling, Moore (1993) Brick Church Park (40DV301) Hamlet small Box Grave cemetery and habitations
- IV AD1325-1425 Decline. No Chiefdoms. All village cemeteries
- V AD1425-1475 Vacant Quarter is a Concept Not the Reality
  Site Focus and Density drop below the level of archeological visibility. Sampling and Theoretical Bias
  (Webb 1938). Chickamauga Town (40HA67) found by accident, at end of project during analysis of surface collections
  Smith (1993) Thruston Phase AD1250-1450

Structure and Variation
(Jones 2018) Burial Orientation degrees east of north, Cranial Direction, Three Groupings, Grave Goods

Sixes Town, Galt Ceramic Period
(Caldwell 2011) Altoona Reservoir Etowah Valley. Rock Graves, Rock Cenotaphs, Small Size-Distribution in clusters European Ceramics-Situated high above river, like White homesteads after 1836. Clusters equal Settlement

Indian Spirit Shelters, Rock Grave Structures, Stone Box False Crypts
(Wauchope 1966, Thornton and Alekmountain 2022). Nacoochee Mound and Valley, White County, Georgia (Apalachee/Muscogee, Chickasaw, Shawnee, Cherokee contemporaneous

> communities). Rock *Huts* Rectangular 4 x 7 x 3 ft, Cylindrical Cairns-Endemic to Georgia Gold Belt, Volcanic (Basalt, Rhyolite) Fieldstone
> (Wynn, Jack T. 1990). Georgia Blue Ridge Mountains. Eastwood 9WH2
> (Wells and Wells 2020). Caanan Cemetery-St. Joe, and Bear Creek, McClaroy, Roland, and Witts Springs; Arkansas.
> (Adgent 2010). Body Stone Grave-Cherokee County, Box Marker with Lid-Nacogdoches County (both Texas), Box Marker replaced with *Jane Hawthorne Walker ½ Mother Louisa Goodwin full blood Chickamauga*
> (Finch 2015). Tennessee and adjacent states Comb (Tent) Grave Tradition 1815-1820.

Villages and mound centers apparently were occupied by several generations, then abandoned. Literally tens of thousands of stone box graves in the Nashville area alone, and perhaps hundreds of thousands have been uncovered by plowing, construction, and amateur and professional digging for relics. It became the dominant burial form along the Cumberland River and adjacent states. The distribution of the various forms appears to be structurally controlled by the available sandstone and siltstone rocks of the Tennessee-Arkansas region, following a west-to-east gradient.

Tier Orientations. Fourteen Middle Cumberland archeological sites with associated stone box cemeteries or stone box cemeteries without habitation have been investigated since the Tennessee Cemetery Statutes went into effect (Moore 1989, 1998; Jones 2018:91). These include a single large mound site (40SU15) and three palisaded villages (40DV6, 40WM210, 40SU20). Six sites (40DV11, 40DV392, 40DV15, 40WM5, 40DV152, 40DV234) are hamlets or undermined if a palisade is present. Four (40DV12, 40DV301, 40WM32, 40WM87) appear to be isolated tiered cemeteries (Jones 2018:91).

Cemeteries made quickly are arranged symmetrically in tiers. Cemeteries with greater time depth exhibit re-arrangement of individuals. Wooden or non-permanent markers must have been present since the living knew where their dead were placed. Jones (2018:92, Figure 3) illustrates all burial orientations. The resulting population marks three major positions in the night sky, North 0 degrees East, 100 degrees East, and 290 degrees East (the dominant orientation). These stone box

graves may be arranged by sociopolitical circumstance or acquired status but may also represent stellar associations.

Rock Art and Astral Alignments. The Old Stone Fort in Coffee County, Tennessee is reported to have solar (summer solstice) and lunar alignments. These apparently are associated with Ohio Hopewell culture (Pearsall and Malone 1991).

Richard M, Mooney (1992) reports another site in Tennessee with associated petroglyphs. These are associated with shadows on the petroglyphs cast at winter solstice sunset, and during southern lunar standstill periods. At another site is described where a drilled hole casts the shadow of a stick marking the solar equinox at the center of a distinct petroglyph.

In the Black Hills Lakota have a Star Clock that has specific stars aligned with the geographic features (Lee, et al. 2014). Ray Williamson (2017:72), Editor *Archaeoastronomy in the Americas* confirms a 2,000-3,000-year-old artifact. The Lakota synchronized their movements based on the stars. Tratebas (2000) dates the rock art varnish to 11,500 years ago within the North-to-South Whoop-Up Canyon which bisects the Black Hills. The canyon served as a holding ranch for several prehistoric peoples as well as the Lakota. Shifting emphasis begins with elk and mountain sheep in the oldest Paleo-Indian rock art panels and deer within the Archaic. Dogs (Canidae) are present in both. The images include large game nets, looplines, hunters spearing entangled prey (snare corral), and shamanist images (headdresses ca. 9,000 years ago) apparently calling game. This last practice is confirmed ethnohistorically among Plains groups (Elk Shaman).

Rock False Crypts

The Stone Box Grave form was adopted as a cenotaph or false crypt by Europeans (militia and land squatters) and has evolved into a historical geography of several styles of freestone mortuary

architecture. (Finch 2015). In Tennessee the Comb (Tent) Grave Tradition began 1815-1820. We found an 1820 Comb Grave in Garrison Cemetery, Fort Smith, with a hand-carved Freemason symbol. The style moved west in five years, marking the spread of the frontier.

Ball (1977) conducted an intensive survey of the historic cemeteries in Cannon, Coffee, and Rutherford counties, Middle Tennessee. He found 16 extant gravehouses in nine cemeteries, and the location of former ones. They exhibited various forms, apparently changing through time. His interpretation was a European source, with geographic distribution in North America determined by personal, rather than social selection of false rock crypts.

Tennessee (Finch 2015) conducted distribution inventories of the tent or comb grave house, finding it remains popular among militia and military until after the Civil War. Texas (Adgent 2010) has compiled an exhaustive summary of folk and commercial stones, finding rock crypts in association with both Native American and white communities. The Chickamauga under the Bowl left their imprint in East Texas, particularly in Cherokee and Rusk counties.

CURRENT SETTING

Relict Chickamauga communities are present today in several Arkansas counties. Significant properties are known ethnohistorically or archivally, including three capitals, three ceremonial grounds, numerous farmsteads and villages, and the resulting cemeteries. Charleston (Flanagan and Stubblefield families), in Franklin County, Dardanelle in Yell County (Hodges family in Graves Cemetery), and Norristown (Poplin and Brearley families in Norristown Cemetery) and Dover (unmarked rock crypts Tag) in in Pope County all have at least three such groups of citizens. A Historic Indian burial *from Dardanelle Rock* was given by a local collector to the National Park

Service, River Basin Surveys' archeologists surveying proposed Lake Dardanelle in 1956. It is highly probable that this individual is Chickamauga.

The community of Tag, located on the North Fork Illinois Bayou, is named for Tag Glass, the son of Thomas *The Glass*, a prominent Chief. Based on our current understanding of rock box false crypts and our lineal ancestors, we find parallels from burial practices of the Middle Cumberland and our rock grave markers we use today. It is possible that individuals related to The Glass, or other Chickamauga, are buried in the nearby Sherman Cemetery and Jones-Prince Cemetery in the upper North Fork Illinois Bayou valley. The Boyd Cemetery also has rock crypts and is also located on North Fork Illinois Bayou at its head. Indian Creek and Moccasin Creek, adjacent to Treat in the Big Piney Creek Valley have similar rock monuments, all unmarked and unknown. This is where the reported Bull Frog Valley Village led by Will Embry (Bill Frog), alluded to by Piney Page in *Voices Along Moccasin Creek*.

Remaining Arkansas Indigenous communities sought federal 501-C3 status at least 30 years ago, including the Chickamauga Nation of Charleston (see Time Space Timeline below). In 1983 Missouri recognized the Sac and White River Chickamauga. In 2014 Five Bands were formed in Arkansas. Names from our cemeteries in Franklin County that the Chickamauga Cemetery Team (CCT) has documented to date include Allen, Brown, Cagle, Cook, Gage, Garrett, Kersey, Kersh, McGee, Milam, Morris, Posey, Rainwater (also Graves), Rice, Robertson, Stubblefield, Tate, Underwood, and Wilson.

This study, the third in a series (Kersch et al. 2025a, Kersh et al 2025b) employs the French and Spanish, Missouri-Arkansas Territory, and Arkansas General Land Office records to capture Chickamauga (hereinafter our) immigrants as they progressively migrated west of the Mississippi River. The focus is the portion of the McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation system from Point

Remove to Arbuckle Island. Specific study areas include Norristown and Dardanelle, Norristown Cemetery, Lake Dardanelle, the Intermodal Transport Facility, River Mountain, and the Lovely Purchase Reserve on Lower Illinois Bayou.

HISTORICAL MOBILITY

In response to Spanish Mine LaMotte in 1717, our hunters moved into Spanish Florida (Missouri) and expanded their fur trade. Antoine de la Motte Cadillac received the large colonial grant, moving French lead and silver miners and their families into the interior. Slaves soon replaced them. More of our families emigrated from Tennessee as early as 1785 (Myers 1997) into the upper St. Francis River region of today's Missouri.

The time and space transgressive movements of Chickamauga into and out of hunting and trapping territories were followed by resettlement to lands assigned under the various agreements and treaties. The United States opened to door to land speculation (S. Charles Bolton)

Professional Arkansas Surveyor Webb states:

> The federal government's objective in the original 19th century surveys in Arkansas (1815-1845) was to raise revenue by selling patents to the undeveloped parcels of the public domain to private individuals thereby giving these settlers title to the land… creating tangible wealth out of ancient and inert wilderness. "A secondary function of the land system, presumably unintended by the law makers who designed the system, was to promote the rapid economic mobility of individuals with the special skills necessary to manipulate or defraud the government to their special advantage. *Territorial Ambition, Land and Society in Arkansas, 1800-1840* (Bolton 1993:75).

This is cited from Webb (2020, compiler) *History of 19th Century Surveys in Arkansas 1815-1883: a Lively Heritage*.

Despite the evidence of progressive improvement by all Southeastern Indian Tribes, federal Indian Agent Return J. Meigs stated in 1808 …*there will never be quietness on any of these frontiers*

until the Indians are removed across the Mississippi. Meigs was retired U.S. Army, a member of The Ohio Company of Associates, land surveyor, and member of the Northwest Territorial Legislature (Fayles 2022:94). He was commissioned Indian Agent to the Cherokee, with financial ties and business enterprises to John Ross and his son Timothy (Abram 2009). He played an active role in the 1806 and 1807 treaties, and by 1811 about 2,000 Cherokee (Markman 1972) had migrated to the Arkansas River valley.

Meigs and Ross' son were implicated in financial gain from the Red Stick War, pitting us against Creek. Both Chickamauga and Red Stick Muscogee were traditionalists with concurrent revivalist movements and prophets. Arkansas provided a new home where those old traditions could be restored. The Red Sticks did not complete that journey.

The fur trade was highly competitive among European powers seeking economic control over indigenous people, and people seeking advantage and profit above all else. The rapid expansion of the trade outstripped the settled frontier and acquisition of land. Native entrepreneurs such as William (aka. Walter, Watt, Red-Headed Will) Webber set up a trading post on the White River in the 1790s; then moved to the Arkansas River at what became Norristown in 1794. One source places Webber at the mouth of Illinois Bayou at the same location of *Duvals' Enclosure* (see Locus 5 in Exhibit 3). Webber continued up the Arkansas River in 1807, settling below Spadra Trading Factory, and competing with the government factory there. Another stop was in the Lovely Purchase on the headwater of Lee Creek, named *Webbers Fork Lee Creek* by the General Land Office Surveyors. He was accused of murder in 1821 near Salina, Oklahoma. Col. David Brearley wrote 28 August 1821 letter to the Arkansas Gazette, clearing him.

Watt finally settled at Webber's Falls Oklahoma (so named for him) in 1829, and played a prominent role in our leadership, federal treaty consultations, and warfare. His movements reflect the

shrinking fur trade and the progressive movement of the frontier. If you wonder about multiple names, they are common among Indigenes within a larger dominant society based on Indian Hating (see Dorsey 1887).

The upper St. Francis settlers abandoned their New Madrid lands after the 2,000 earthquakes (three magnitude 7-8) occurred from 16 December 1811 to 7 February 1812. Also, our relatives and citizens of other Towns back east divided the Cherokee Nation voluntarily among the four autonomous geographic divisions. With federal support all agreed the Chickamauga would move west as an Independent Tribe. Our relatives and like-minded Cherokee moved west, comprising nearly one-quarter of the entire Nation.

In addition to squatter pressure and social stress, the year 1816 is known as the year without a summer, caused by the eruption of Mt Tambora the previous year. This had great effects on crops and harvests. Evidence of this may be present in the Chickamauga artifacts recovered from the sites we occupied in Arkansas during this time, concurrent with the establishment of our first Indian Agency on Illinois Bayou.

The 1817 and 1819 Treaties secured their dominion in Arkansas, with an estimated 2,000-2,600 population. Brearley and Miller conducted an 1817 census, names that we are verifying. White squatters immediately violated these and all subsequent lines and were allowed (encouraged) to do so. In 1828, we agreed to vacate the Lovely Purchase. Only 18 Chickamauga signed the Cherokee Nation Articles of Union in Oklahoma. Most of them had settled along the way west and lived as whites, but without squatters' rights as an identifiable Indian.

Some astute Chickamauga farmers who followed our hunters into the Missouri portions of the upper St. Francis River applied for, and received land grants (Hilderbrand, Thomas Graves, Richard Fields) and began to establish prosperous settlements with several thousand people. Both Thomas

Graves and Richard Fields received Missouri compensating lands (see land grant discussion below) in Arkansas following the New Madrid earthquake. Richard Fields received a grant on Crowleys' Ridge adjacent to Sylvanus Phillips, founder of Helena, Arkansas. This became St. Francis Town or Franklin or O*ld Cherokee Village*, later the 4-story William Strong Trading Post, and todays' Village Creek State Park.

Richard Fields then moved to Bossier Parish Louisiana, where he is listed as the first white settler. Lastly, he represented the 1819 emigrant Chickamauga of Texas in their negotiations for a grant. At the behest of U.S. War Department and Mexican government, Richard Fields and John Dunn Hunter were assassinated by DuWaLi. Colonel Bowl was awarded a Spanish Land Grant (Cheroke County, Texas) for that deed. The Bowl compensated Fields' Widow with a stipend, following his guilt and responsibilities as Chief of the Texas Chickamauga.

TIME, SPACE, PERSONAGES, EVENTS

- 1650 Iroquois Fur Trade pressure on Delaware, Shawnee, and Chickamauga. Cherokee move into Virginia and Southern Appalachians
- 1717 Chickamauga upset with the Treaty of Hopewell attack Spanish lead mines in Missouri
- 1719 *Company of the Indes* incorporated for lead and silver Mine La Motte, Missouri
- 1720 Phillipe Francois Renault brings first black (mullato, metis) slaves to replace white labor at mines
- 1745 France commissions bison hide maps Arkansas Post Chickasaw trophy (Horse Capture et al. 1993) early Native American maps (DeVorsey 1971:25, Lewis 1998:117)
- In 1775 John Stuart and Alexander Cameron split Chickamauga from the Lower Towns, with Henry Laurens the SC Whig Vice-President (Kane 2018) taking political advantage and setting the Indian Hating political tenor for the next century
- 1776 Lt. William Lynn smuggles gunpowder into lower Ohio from New Orleans (Staab 2000) through native assistance
- 1777 Dragging Canoe splits with his father Attakullakulla and allied groups over Frontier land cessions, withdraw from Lower Towns to Chickamauga Town aka. Chattanooga and proceed west
- 1779 Spain joins France and patriot rebels against England

- 1781 James Colbert and Chickasaw conduct mercenary war against Spanish Louisiana
- 1782 Chickamauga abandon Chickamauga Creek (Myers 1997) due to a witch infestation, move 40 miles to Chatunga (Chattanooga) Mountain Tennessee
- 1782 Spain allies with America rebels
- Chickamauga leaders include Dragging Canoe, the Glass, Bloody Fellow, Toluntuskee, Dick Justice, the Terrapin, Fool Charles, the Badger, Walter (aka. Watt, Red-Headed Will) Webber, Will Elder, Doublehead, Pumpkin Boy, Black Fox, Unacata, and John Watts (Markman 1972, McLoughlin 1986)
- 1785 Chickamauga from Tennessee begin settling along St. Francis River; aiding Spanish defense. 1785-1795 Northwest Indian War Chickamauga within Alliance
- 1786 Spain tries to close Mississippi to commerce
- 1787 Slavery prohibited north of Ohio River. French move chattel property south
- 1788 Tourquin granted settlement rights for six villages by Esteban Miro (Houck 1909)
- Ohio War costs 630 U.S. troops (Myers 1997)
- 1789 Osage impact French fur trade, attempt halt to commerce on rivers and overland
- 1792 Spain clandestinely supplies guns, ammunition, hatchets, knives, clothes, and paint to Southeastern Tribes. Glass and Dick Justice under treaty attack squatters
- 1793 Cape Girardeau Louis Lorimer Trading Post
- 1793 Shawnee and Delaware French Land Grant
- 1794 Dangerous Man (*Yuhwi Usgu Siti*) leads 600 Chickamauga families to St. Francis. Chickamauga granted settlement rights southeastern Missouri
- 1794 State Militias burn remaining Lower Towns
- 1795 John D. Chisolm joins Chickamauga, implicated along with Congressman Blount of Tennessee in a conspiracy to overthrow Spanish Louisiana by force of mercenaries
- 1796 Connetoo (John Hill), William (aka. Walter, Watt) Webber, and Unacata (White Man Killer) settle 10 families in Spanish Louisiana
- 1797 80% federal budget spent on Indian Wars (Loewen 1995)
- 1800 Thomas Glass operated a ferry at the foot of Chatuga (aka. Lookout) Mountain and with Dick Justice owned a nearby mill.
- 1805 Congress appointed Land Commissioners to investigate colonial grant frauds: while being hawked among Eastern capitalists (Sakolski 1957)
- 1805 John Treat appointed Indian Agent (Population 600)
- 1806 District of Arkansas
- 1806-1808 inclusive, emigrations from homeland (six towns on Post Road, population 2,000 which is 4x Arkansas Post)
- 1809 Missouri Fur Company (Lisa, Choteau's, Clark)
- 1809 John D. Chisolm and Toluntuskee flee assassination to Arkansas (Myers 1997)
- 1810 Taloteske and Cunnetue Letter to Return Meigs June 23, report 14 years productive residence (1810 Records BIA) in Missouri. Willstown Lower Towns council disbanded, abolishing geographic councils. Land Granted NW AR and SE MO to Chickamauga. These events split Nation further, Blood revenge banned but still employed politically for decades
- 1811/1812 New Madrid Earthquakes
- 1812 Chickamauga prophet Skaqaw calls for flight, three months later all abandon their farms (West 2020). Richard Fields Council House treaty council with Chickasaw

- 31 Dec 1813 New Madrid and Arkansas Counties. William Lewis Lovely appointed Indian Agent, Post one-mile up Illinois (named for Michagamea and Chepoussa) Bayou
- 1813 St. Francis Town or Franklin on O*ld Cherokee Village*
- 1814 Richard Fields (1780-1827) Captain of Cherokee auxiliaries Gen. Amdrew Jacksons' army
- 1815 Congress passes earthquake disaster relief New Madrid
- 15 Jan 1815 Lawrence. General William Rector (1773-1826) began the federal land office in St. Louis. P.K. Robbins run the 5th Principal Meridian in 1815, opening the territory for settlement and land sales, completed by 1855 (Morrow 2007:4)
- 1816 Lovely acquires Osage land for eventual Chickamauga resettlement. Dardanelle settlement begins
- 8 Jul 1817 Treaty "Chatu(n)ga Mountain the first hill above Shields Ferry on White River. "Chatuga" is the Elanti dialect spoken among Lower Town (Chickamauga) and is known as Chattanooga in English. Maj. Lyon establishes U.S. Trading Factory at Spadra Bluff
- 15 Dec 1818 Lawrence County MO/AR lost all land west of the Cherokee Line (Shinn 1900:69). Thomas (*The Glass*) leads 120 families to Arkansas settling first at Point Remove. John Jolly brings 330 people on flatboats, settling at Spadra Bluff. Webber 5 mi upstream Illinois Bayou (ASA IA V2:329), Nuttall metis *acts as Indian Trader* house, slaves, large, cleared field, fence ½ brother David Brown (A-wih)
- 1819 General William Rector surveyed the Cherokee Reserve line (Point Remove to Chatunga Mountain) for Reuben Lewis, filing with the General Land Office (Shinn 1900:72, Jurney 1976:14-16). All whites west of this line, except Mrs. P. Lovely, were compelled to remove
- 1819 Texas Chickamauga under DuWaLi flee Arkansas for Spanish Colonial Grant intercepted by Arkansas Militia, clash with Lighthorse Lost Prairie
- 1820 Dwight Mission, Cephas Washburn and Takatoka smoke at Watt Webber's cabin. Chickamauga leaders include Takatoka, Black Coat, John Jolly, Major Maw, George Morris, John Rogers, James Rogers, Black Fox, Dick Flowers, George Guest, and Dik-Keh the Just (aka. Taketuh or Dick Justice, also Medicine Priest)
- 1820 Col. Matthew Lyon Spadra Bluff Trading Commissioner. Cadron County Seat. Dwight Mission opens second station at Spadra (Langford 1921). 1820 William Strong Trading Post (now Village Creek State Park), 4-story mansion, St. Francistown or Franklin. 18 Oct 1820 Crawford County created at Billingsley's settlement called Crawford Court House (Lemke 1951). Takatoka national council at Webbers, 9 chiefs (minus one)
- 1821 War with Osage. Webber accused of J. Revoir murder Salina, D. Brearley 28 Aug Arkansas Gazette disclaimer
- 1823 Webber Washington Delegate
- 1824 Baron Bastrop issues titles to 270 Mexican Land Grants. Webber Post burns, $10,000 loss
- 1825 Lovely Purchase Parallel Line is ordered by Governor Miller from Table Rock Bluff-Arkansas River to Little North Fork of White River. Chickamauga vacate the Lovely Purchase
- 1826 Cherokee Agent E. DuVal to R. Crittenden (Carter 1953) Arkansas Chickamauga commissioned their own survey and map, provenance unknown (West 2020:298-299)
- 1827 Lovely County established, Auguste P. Choteau sells Col. David Brearley remaining buildings of the Barbour and Brand (TN and Cherokee by marriage) 1819-1823 Trading Post

at falls of the Verdigris River for the McIntosh Creeks, the first Indian Agency in Oklahoma and Brearley's last post. In Texas, Richard Fields and John Dunn Hunter were executed (political Blood Law) by DuWaLi. Col. Bowl awarded Spanish Land Grant todays' Cherokee County, Texas

- 1828 Treaty grants Webber Heirs rights to Bean Salt Works until Civil War
- 1831-1835 Council Treaty New Echota
- 1838 Removal
- 1839 Blood Law taken by Ross faction, 100 Chickamauga leaders killed one night, including Ridges. Standhope Uwatie (brother-in-law to Ross) escapes, Uwatie's brother publisher Elias Boudinot executed, sparks perpetual revenge killings
- 1840-1912 Missouri Law No Indians in State, will face arrest. In Arkansas if the native language is spoken land taken away by law
- 1881 Congressional Report (No. 1004) admitting 1866 congress failed to pay for Lovely's Purchase, yet lands were now public domain. White Squatters' rights were attended, Chickamauga rights were denied without settlement
- 1906 Antiquities Act
- 1935 Historic Sites Act
- 1947 Clara B. Eno created Joe Peran/David Brearley/Hannah Jones Land Grant Myth that he named and founded Dardanelle in The History of the Council Oak, *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 6(2):198-200
- 1948 The convention of duly enrolled Cherokees by blood in Oklahoma. Indian Claims Commission, Tahlequah (Crane 1948)
- 1960 Reservoir Salvage Act
- 1966 National Historic Preservation Act
- 1970 National Environmental Policy Act
- 1976 American Indian Religious Freedom Act
- 1979 Archeological Resources Protection Act
- 1980 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act
- 1983 Missouri (Sac and White River) Chickamauga recognized
- 2014 Five Bands are formed in Arkansas

INDIAN AGENTS

As noted earlier, federal Indian Agent Return J. Meigs stated in 1808 "…there will never be quietness on any of these frontiers until the Indians are removed across the Mississippi." Meigs was retired U.S. Army, a member of The Ohio Company of Associates, land surveyor, and member of the Northwest Territorial Legislature (Fayles 2022:94). So were all Arkansas Territory Indian Agents. R.J. Meigs oversaw the Southeastern Indian federal policy, and selected William Lovely as his assistant. Lovely worked at least four stations in Tennessee, living among his constituents.

Major William Lewis Lovely was the first Arkansas Territory Indian Agent. After Lovely's death, Reuben Lewis was named, but never took office. The third was Colonel David Brearley. The fourth was Major Edwin Duval.

William L. Lovely (b. 1750 Dublin, Ireland; d, 1816 Illinois Bayou Takatoka Cherokee Agency) immigrated in 1774, and by circumstance resided in the home of James Madison, father of said President. He served seven years in the Continental Army (Ensign, 1st Lieutenant, Captain). He was awarded 4,000 acres of land in Kentucky for his service. In 1792 he served in the new State of Franklin as Major for the Washington County (TB) Militia under command of General John Sevier.

Major Lovely was requested by all Cherokee groups he worked with (after conflicts) to be Sub-Agent to Meigs. The leaders called Meigs *The White Path*, perhaps due to his fairness and trustworthiness, perhaps due to their choice (Abram 2009) of peace (white) over war (red). Lovely married Percis Brown Goodrich, a widow from Massachusetts in 1807. Their Agency moved from Chickamauga Town near Chattanooga to Hiwassee Garrison, to Calhoun, Tennessee (later McMinn County).

They were comfortable living among these Indians-their charges and constituents, who wished a life free of white encroachment. When it became evident the invaders would not stop squatting on Treaty lands, we decided to move beyond the Mississippi and seek alliances with French, and later Spanish authorities. This all changed after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803.

In 1813, Meigs assigned Lovely to set up a government outpost in Arkansas Territory for those among our people willing to relocate west, joining their relatives already moving from the St. Francis River lowlands into the White and Arkansas river valleys. Lovely also was assigned a clerk assistant, Richard S. Witt, to help him visit and administer the various clan villages. They took both their wives, and numerous relatives (see 1817 Brearley and Miller Census) with them to the frontier. Witts's wife, Stinnett may be related to William Stinnett the self-serving relative that accompanied the Indian Agents in their westward grab for land. William Stinnett built a mill powered by steam (see Birdseyes) on the Cherokee Reserve south on the Arkansas River.

Lovely selected a former Michagamea village situated one mile up from the mouth of Illinois Bayou, named for The Michagamea and the Illini Confederacy. The *Illiniwek* were a loose confederation of independent Algonquin-speaking, autonomous groups also called the *Inoca*; and comprised of at least 12 different Tribes (linguistic and political sovereignty). Only five remained by the 18th C., the Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Michagamea (and Chepoussa), Peoria, and Tamaroa (Illinois History 2004).

It seems Chepoussa and Michagamea settled in what is now northeastern Arkansas. The Mississippi was a water highway where *Indigenes* with cottonwood dugouts 50 ft long and 3 ft wide carrying 30 people, and their baggage. Each Tribe had its' own village or was part of a multitribal village. The expansion of Iroquois control over the fur trade led to attacks beginning in the 1650s.

Many of our people had allied with them and fought General Harrison during the Indian Wars in the Northwest Territories; as well as the Iroquois league before that. The site's location included a large orchard of plum or peach trees, left by the Illini. We built a log house, a government office, and *other* buildings for the Agency. Richard Witt settled at Galla, where two Villages were located, one of which was led by The Glass. So, the first Agency was two, and both Agents and their families lived among their constituents.

From 1814-1814 Lovely designed a plan and reached agreement with Osage and Chickamauga, by purchasing 3 million acres from the Osage Nation. Lovely requested a change of assignment due to age and health. One report has our leaders surrounding his house and said they too, would follow him and re-cross, never to return. Lovely relented and dies soon thereafter. We have not confirmed this report, but the respect shown Lovley continued with annual return visits to his grave until 1930.

Percis buried him adjacent to their house. The Hildebrand's at Brainerd Mission in Tennessee family adopted the Osage captive Lydia Carter, named for her New Orleans ransom donor to *rescue* her. Arkansas Territory Governor Miller used the opportunity to bring back Lydia and several other Osages from Tennessee, although all were now adopted (as practiced by Osage and Southeastern Tribes). Percis buried Lydia beside William Lovely. All were buried in the Lovely Cemetery and are now inundated by Lake Dardanelle. A memorial to William Lovely with a stone box cenotaph was emplaced by the Chickamauga and the State of Arkansas at Lake Dardanelle State Park (Plate 1). It was visited annually by Old Settlers until 1939, when the Condolence Ceremony was interrupted by WWII.

Agent DuVal planned to personally buy all the Reserve on Illinois Bayou, for 1/10 its value, yet denied Widow Lovely a $500 stipend. Percis was granted 80 acres of land near her home 30

September 1939, the east ½ NW ¼ 8N 21 W, Section 27. Percis spent the rest of her life in other people's houses. After an illness she moved from Illinois Bayou to Crow Mountain. As her health failed further, Kirkbride Potts invited her to live in his Inn at the base of said mountain. She died in 1842. The Potts Inn Museum has a display on Widow Lovelys' final days.

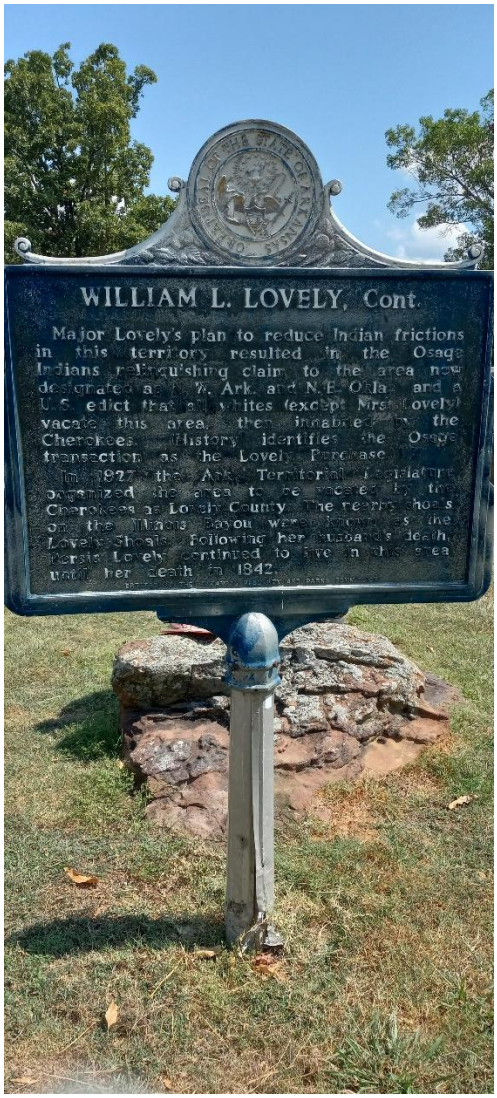


PLATE 1

Plate 1 is the cenotaph memorial for William Lovely at Lake Dardanelle State Park. The actual cemetery is under the lake. The Chickamauga Cemetery Team has documented Chickamauga false crypts from Tennessee to Oklahoma, and this style of marker is distinctive. It is our homage to William Lovely. The late Lina Jane Boyd, a Pope County historian and our descendant, recalled that the Old Settlers annually returned from Oklahoma in remembrance to their beloved Indian Agent.

ARCHEOLOGICAL CULTURE HISTORY

The Arkansas project area contains the full range of cultural manifestations known for the region. Briefly stated, geographers and archeologists have developed cultural-historical models that relate cultural change to several historic contexts, or adaptation types (Martin et al. 1993, Lockhart et al. 1995). In the Arkansas State Plan (Davis 1982, Davis and Early 2010) these include Early to Middle Holocene Adaptation Type 9,500-5,000 YBP; with the Rice Complex, Tom's Brook complex, and White River complex, also known as Early and Middle Archaic.

The Late Holocene Semi-Sedentary Adaptation type 5,000-300 YBP includes the Wister phase and Fourche Maline; also known as Late Archaic, Woodland, and Early Mississippian. The Late Holocene Sedentary Adaptation Type 1500-300 YBP includes the Gober complex/Mulberry River culture (Myer 1969, 1977; Bond 1977a, 1977b; Hoffman 1977); as defined by the salvage investigations at Ozark Reservoir conducted by the Arkansas Archeological Survey, University of Arkansas Museum, and Department of Anthropology. This archeological culture contains a distinctive assemblage of argillic siltstone digging tools (Jurney 1981) related to the Spiroan (and earlier) diaspora in the Arkansas River Valley. It is related to Limestone complex, Cooper complex, and Plum Bayou of Coles Creek tradition (northern extent); also known as Middle to Late Woodland.

The final prehistoric stages include the Evans phase, Harlan phase/Loftin phase, Spiro phase/War Eagle phase (also with siltstone digging tools), and Kent and Greenbrier/Parkin phases, also known as Mississippian; and the Huntsville phase and Fort Coffee phase/Neosho phase, also known as Late Prehistoric. Caddo (Perttula 1997), Quapaw (Key 2001), and Osage (Buffalohead 2004; Dorsey 1885, 2020; Drinnon 1972, 1973, 1980; La Flesche 1921, 1939); also known as Protohistoric and Historic (including immigrant Shawnee and Chickamauga among others), complete the Native American cultural sequence. Fourche Maline may be ancestral Caddo (Schambach 2001a) in affiliation and may be related to the Limestone Complex (Hilliard and Mainfort 2007, Sabo and Hilliard 2008, Schambach 2001b). There is a strong presence of Late Archaic and Woodland cultural components within rock shelters and open sites.

The Mississippian Greenbrier phase appears to be related to the Parkin phase, and their settlements may extend up the White River. The Parkin phase is considered ancestral to the Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma. Stewart-Abernathy (1998), Sierzchula and Lafferty (2003) Lafferty et al. (2005), and Buchner et al. (2013) have identified our village with Overhill Complicated Stamped native ceramics (see Britt Riggs 1997) and distinctive 1820-1840 European ceramics (Davenport Floral waisted teacups) Horizon household artifact assemblages within the proposed Intermodal Transport Facility.

RESULTS

LAND POLICY

All the European powers developed their land policies according to similar legal traditions, derived from the Romans. On the frontier, case law was not argued, no statutes were in place, and every Judge depended on unwritten local practices. Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765-1884, see Altschuler 1994, Boorstin 1996, Milsom 1981, Prest 2008, and Stacey 2003), based on Roman civil codes, were the only references. Most of Blackstone's texts deal with property, of greatest value in the feudal law which founded English law of the land. Property in chattels had already overshadowed property in land by 1760 in North America.

The European royal families and their parliaments did not believe in private landownership. On the American frontier, squatting rights became a new cause of conflicts between the haves and have-nots. The outlet came by taking Indian land through constant squatting.

Under English, French, and Spanish (similar in details) governance, to get a land grant settlers had to clear part of the land, build a house, plant crops, and swear loyalty to the king; all within a year-and-a day that said grant was received. To complete the title the claim had to be physically surveyed, monumented, and approved. In Missouri and Arkansas Territory, this had to be the Governor General in New Orleans.

Most settlers requesting grants could not afford all fees and expenses. Yet they retained the concept of an unspoken right of occupancy and were supported by local officials on the frontier. This frontier mentality becomes the driving force and *gestalt* behind the American Empire.

The colonial claims amounted to a little over 8,000 acres in Arkansas, by settlement rights and long-term residency. Most were granted and situated around Arkansas Post and along the edge of the Grand Prairie. Only two colonial grants are known above the Arkansas County settlements on the Arkansas River. Both (see discussions below) were granted under Missouri-Arkansas Territory Land Authority.

In contrast, land speculators submitting large claims never came close to legitimacy. Arkansas Post Comandante Don Joseph Valliere received a 11,520-acre grant in 1795 on the headwaters of the White River. Arkansas Post Comandante Don Carlos de Villemont received an 8,640-acre grant 25 leagues below the mouth of the Arkansas River. Joined by white speculators and investors, the heirs of both laid claims in the 1840s but were defeated in 1847. In December 1827, the Bowie Claims (124 for over 50,000 acres) were manufactured in New Orleans by John Bowie. Robert Crittenden and Ambrose Sevier were implicated (Webb 2020). Graft and malfeasance followed.

The Arkansas GLO was dominated by the Family or Dynasty of members of the Rector and Conway families (Webb 2020) prior to the Civil War. All surveys were contracted, administered, and conducted by the same members of these families. The principal surveyors in our present study were Stephen Rector and F.R. Conway, with contracts to A.L. Langham, Chastain, and John Ruland.

ARKANSAS GENERAL LAND OFFICE 1812

The new territory was named Arkansas Parish, after an old Indian town, called *Arkanses*. At Scott, below Little Rock, Peter L. Lefevre received a 640-acre grant (Spanish Grant 497), following the transition of governments. His service began in the Militia (rank Cornet) and fur trade in 1788 at Vincennes, IN; and was in Arkansas by the 1791 Census with his son (Kerby 1977). In

1806 Lefevre Sr. aided Lt. James B. Many in the inventory of Arkansas Post at the transition to military rule under the federal government.

John B. Dardenne received a 752 arpent, or 640-acre, grant (Spanish Grant 2432) in 1818; supposedly for his father's fur trading operations and landholdings at Arkansas Post (Quinn Evans/Architects 2005). In 1825, below Ozark on the Arkansas River, Dardenne's son Jesse and two white squatters (William Russell and Simon Miller) planted a crop on the newly surveyed tract. Not only was the grant 12 years long overdue, but also Senior Dardennes' main grant still laid at Arkansas Post. The three attempted to short-circuit the Cherokee Reserve and lost title when Lovely Purchase went into effect.

An unsupported legend (Eno 1947:198-200) attributes Dardanelle Rock, the City of Dardanelle, and their purchase to a French fur trapper named Joe Peran. Brearley and Miller, while doing the 1817 Cherokee Census, met this individual, who reportedly lived on Dardanelle Rock. He supposedly had acquired a large land grant and sold it to Indian Agent David Brearley and wife Hannah Jones on-the-spot (at some point) after 1823.

No record exists for a land grant to Joe Peran. No record exists for his sale or authority to receive land. In fact, colonial officials viewed the fur hunters and trappers as unscrupulous lower class, not fit for polite society. Indian Traders, however, had a good chance of becoming an Indian Agent. How then did Joe Peran get a grant? The original records show exactly where and when the Brearley family acquired their landholding in Arkansas.

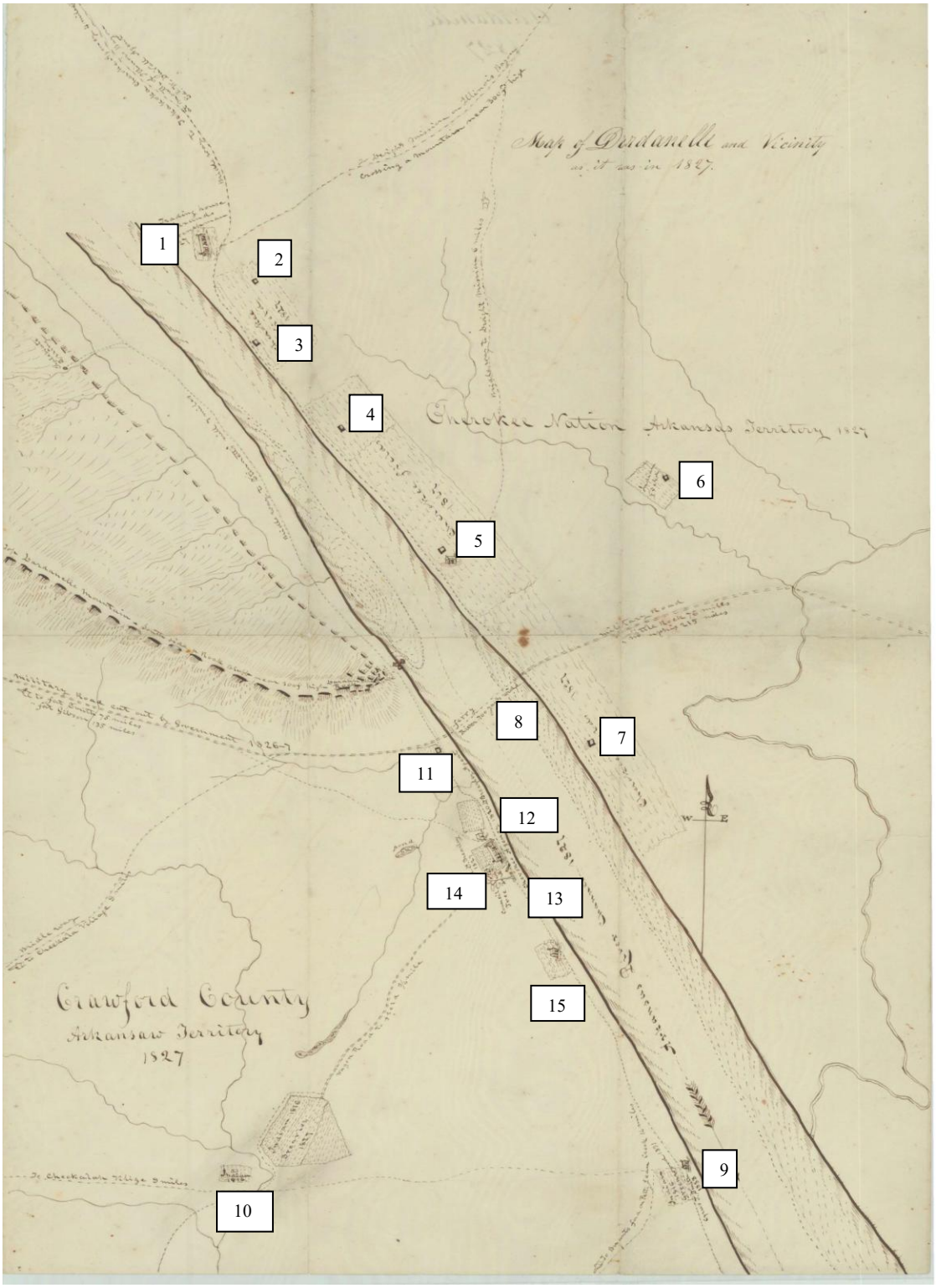


Exhibit 1. Original Plat of Dardanelle and vicinity when it was the Cherokee Nation, Crawford County, Arkansas Territory 1827; drafted sometime after 1833. (Unknown provenance). Arkansas State Archives, Map Collection 0194, access problems.

Significant cultural information is present on this unidentified map (Exhibit 1), drafted sometime after 1833 (based on annotations). It is the Chickamauga (*Cherokee Nation Arkansas Territory*) settlement and the actual founding of both Dardanelle and Norristown. The annotations on this map record at least twenty physical and cultural features. The *Col. David Brearley 1827 Cherokee Agency* with attached plantation is the centerpiece. At least ten buildings or structures of various types are indicated by minute architectural birdseyes. These sketches are screen-captured at closer magnification and discussed in the Architectural Birdseye section below. The village plan discussion begins at the NW where the modern Dardanelle Dam and Post Oak Park are currently located and proceeds clockwise.

The *Trading House of Alexandre a Frenchman* (1) is situated under the current Dam and Park complex where a NE SW road split in 1833. The lower (left) route is the *bridle* (i.e. carriage) *way to Takatoka Cherokee Agency 4 miles Col. Edwin W. DuVall Agent 1827*, with the road forking at the front door of the multiroom Trading House. The upper (right) route leads *to Dwight Mission on Illinois Bayou crossing a mountain* (Norristown Mountain) *300 feet high*. At the northern tip of the mountain the road is joined from the right (east) and is the *middle way to Dwight Mission 6 miles*. This road leads from the center of Chickamauga fields, houses, and Arkansas River levee road; constituting the center of Norris(Chickamauga)town.

Across the road intersection is the upper Cherokee house and field complex (2, 3) labeled *Cherokee Fields 1827*. This complex stands separate from the next field downstream. This is a large plantation-style field that extends past the Cherokee Agency (Dardanelle) settlement on the south (opposite) bank of the Arkansas River. The field has three modules or separations, each with buildings (4, 5, B). A house (6) and field on the largest creek (Cherokee Creek, later misnamed Whig Creek) is centrally oriented with the village lines. The field lines appear to be surveyed at the NE SW

declination of the Reserve's Point Remove east boundary line. The *Military Road Little Rock 76 miles Memphis 215 miles* leads into the center of this landscape, crosses a SE lateral of the levee road, then meets the *ferry 700 yards* crossing (8). Clockwise, the next improvement (9) is farthest downstream from the Cherokee Agency. The levee road continues south, and the road *to Durants Ford on Petit Jean Creek* (is) *14 miles*.

In 1816, a large Chickamauga complex was built on the lower road to Tsikala (Chickalah) Village. The farmstead (10, a tent or small gabled-possibly earth-protected, building in field) and communal field (*Indian 1816 Brearley 1827*) are connected to Dardanelle by *Wagon Road to field ¾ mile*. Both upper and lower roads are *9 miles* to Tsikala.

Completing the circle is the *Military Road* leading west out of Dardanelle. The road was *cut out by the government 1826-1820 to Ft. Smith 75 miles Ft. Gibson 135 miles*. U.S. Army Engineer Jefferson Davis supervised the construction, and Highway 22 is called the *Jefferson Davis Highway*.

The first house (11) and field in what becomes Dardanelle are situated on the west side of the Levee Road and the south side of the Military Road, adjacent to a large creek (with natural *pond*) separating it from the Agency complex adjacent to the south. The *Cherokee Agency 1820 D. Brearley Agent* is a plantation, first is a garden beside the levee road, with a slave house (12) attached and a road that leads SW across said creek, joining the Military Road. Next is the central compound of Col. D. Brearley 1827 with a log two-story central hall I House (13) see Attachment 1 for details), and a large garden with slave house (14). The Council Tree with log benches (Black Fox-Crittenden shoving match) is adjacent and beside the levee road. The last house (15) and field of Dardanelle is situated south on the levee road, about halfway to 11 and the Road to Durants Ford.

BREARLEY FAMILY LAND AND PLATTING

Col. David Brearley (1780-1832) arrived at Arkansas Post with his sons Charles, Joseph H. (1804-1882), and Pearson (1827-1835) in 1820; where he operated a mercantile for two years. He was the son of Founding Father David Brearley (1745-1790) of New Jersey and Mother Elizabeth Miller (b. 1768). Senior Brearley's brother, Joseph enlisted early in the Revolution, joining Militia in the assault on Montreal. Senior David Brearley followed suit.

Junior David Brearley also became a militiaman, then joined Samuel Pike's 5th Regiment in 1808, rising to status of Colonel to lead said Regiment in 1813. His experience gained him a Presidential appointment as Indian Agent. It consisted of two generations of military command and two years in the mercantile and fur trade at Arkansas Post. Col. Brearley received his commission 26 June 1821. Speculation was part of his character as was the Presidents'.

Col. David Brearley received 640 acres from the Batesville Land Office 26 July 1825 in Section 21 T6N R17W, south of todays' Morrilton. He selected the location, which is inside the Cherokee Reserve at Point Remove, and supposedly off-limits for white settlement. The unlocated (paper) tract was surveyed four years later by A.L. Langham in 1829. It is situated on lower Point Remove Creek, with two large Indian Mounds present on its northeastern corner. He paid his taxes 1828 in Pope, 1836 in Pulaski, and 1838 in Poinsett.

Indian Agent Maj. Edward DuVal replaced Brearley, when he was assigned to the McIntosh Creek forced emigration. Brearley became the first Indian Agent in Oklahoma Territory and set up the McIntosh Agency in old fur trading buildings at the falls of the Verdigris that were out of business.

Joseph H. Brearley filed for and received three tracts, in what becomes Pope and Yell counties. The first was 20 August 1838, NE ¼ Section 20 7N 20W 160 acres and the Townsite of Dardanelle (No Joe Peran). The second was 2 May 1842, Lot 1 SW ¼ Section 30, 7N 20W, comprising 80 acres in the Townsite of Dardanelle. The third was 1 March 1855, Section 27, 7N 20W, comprising 80 acres. Norristown was reportedly founded by Samuel Norris in 1837. Joseph H. Brearley reportedly founded and mapped Dardanelle in 1847 and Norristown in 1877 (Exhibit 2). They were both late.

Pearson Brearley (1795-1835) was granted 42 acres 23 June 1836 from Batesville after his death. It was also in Dardanelle, located in the NE fractional ¼ Section 30, 7N 20W.

Charles Brearley signed two petitions at Arkansas Post, one in 1821 praising the Choctaw Treaty, and one for 4 Feb 1822 Mail Route to Ouachita Post. Charles apparently moved to Pope County but does not appear to have filed for land.

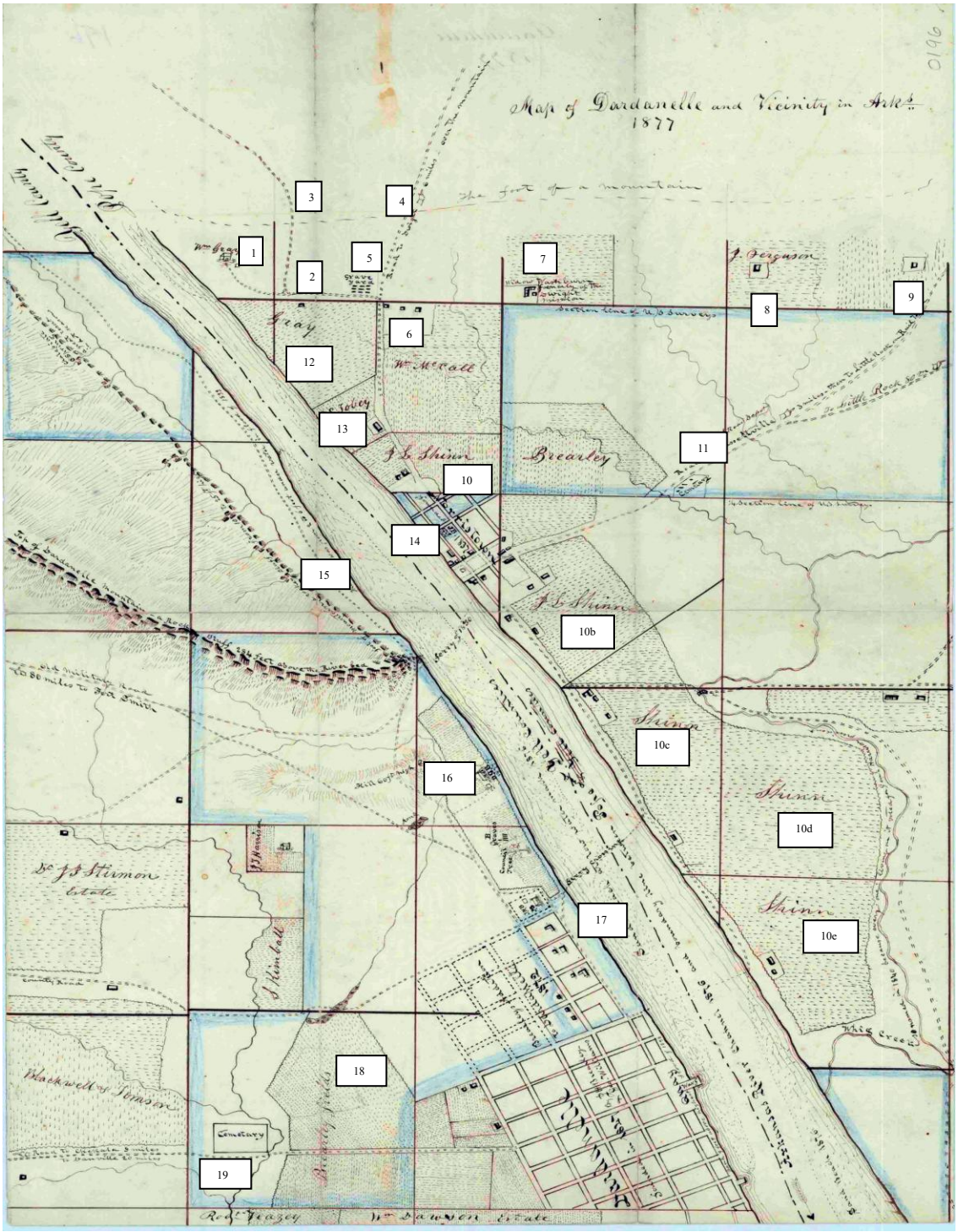


Exhibit 2. J.H. Brearley's 1877 Plat maps of Dardanelle and Norristown, Arkansas. Arkansas State Archives, Map Collection 0196.

DARDANELLE AND NORRISTOWN

Exhibit 2 is the original Plat of Dardanelle and vicinity drafted by J.H. Brearley in 1877 (Arkansas State Archives, Map Collection 0196). It is nearly an exact overlay of Exhibit 1 and appears to have J.H. Brearley's marginal notes *Dardanelle and Vicinity* added to both works.

Significant political and social information was recorded by Brearley on this map, drawn in 1877. Locus 1 (owned by William Gray, residence and field house, 160 acres), begins at NW as in previous exhibit, upstream of the former Alexandre Trading House. Locus 2 is the same footprint of the road to the former Takatoka Cherokee Agency, now the Lovely Purchase Reserve (see Exhibit 3) occupied by squatters (Congress 1887). Locus 3 is the same footprint of the bridle (i.e. carriage) road to the former Dwight Mission. Locus 4 is the same footprint of the road to Dwight Mission over a mountain (Norristown) 300 feet high. Locus 5 is the Washburn Cemetery, NW catty corner to Locus 6 SW catty corner with 3 buildings on Tract 12 (William McFall 80 acres; contains Norristown Cemetery-unmapped). Locus 7 is the residence of *Widow Washburn, formerly of Dwight Mission*. Locus 8 and Locus 9 are farmsteads, *J. Ferguson* and his tenant east along the road by Widow Washburn (see Exhibit 11).

Locus 10 is the largest landholder on the entire map, J.L Shriver, followed by J.H. Brearley and several others. The NW parcel (Locus 10 80 acres) is on the *Road to Dwight over the mountain* (Locus 4) and seems to be the residence center (two buildings), on the northern end of the central business grid (see Locus 16) of Norristown. Moving south and east, Shriver acquires all of our former fields and at least one 13 house village; where there are now four plantation parcels (Locus 10 b-e, inclusive) about 160 acres each. They are bounded to the east by Tiscamogee Creek, now named Whig Creek. The Conway silt loam soils present here are known as crawfish land, which ranges from

saturated to cracking when dry (Lounsbury and Deeter 1913). It is within the proposed Intermodal Transport Facility planning area (see Table 2 Previous Archeology). *Whig Creek* (is) *named in 1840 because everyone living on it voted for General Harrison* (as) *President*. After more than 40 years, the squatters still celebrated the extinction of indigenous North Americans by constitutional government.

Locus 11 is the Military Road, with branches to Pottsville and Atkins. The main road frames an odd-shaped 200-acre parcel of Brearley, which is used today for rock and mineral mining and agriculture. It is adjacent to the east of the parcel containing the Norristown Cemetery (see Locus 12), which he did not map. A small cemetery is shown at the junction of the roads, near the SE tip of Brearley's parcel in Norristown. It has the same boundary configuration as the 1816 Indian Field (10 in Exhibit 1) Brearley acquired by squatting on Chickamauga-vacated land.

Locus 12 contains the 20-acre catty corner parcel (see Locus 6) within an 80-acre parcel owned by William McFall with Norristown Cemetery. Two arms of Whig (aka. Cherokee Creek) Creek drain the uppermost of the landform into the Brearley parcel.

Locus 13 is a 15-acre parcel jammed against the Arkansas River, owned by C.E. Jobey. It has a residence and yard compound with a detached building halfway to the river.

Locus 14 is the Town Grid for Norristown's central business district. The ferry shown in 1833 is still in place, shuttling to the tip of Dardanelle Rocks on the south shore.

Locus 15 is the South Bank River levee road connecting the bottom above the ferry to the *Chalybeate Spring* shown on 1833 Dardanelle Mountain, *a great resort in hot weather*. *This bank was underwater* (1822). It leads on to the former location of Stinnett's Mill on Shoal Creek.

Locus 16 is adjacent to the 1833 house between the creek and Military Road, except it is east of the dividing creek, and has a new plantation with field building. It adjoins the Old Brearley

Cemetery and the Council Tree. One block south, at Locus 17, a new ferry crossing to Brearley's Addition in Dardanelle is in place and the 1833 wagon road is now a street leading to the 1816 large 25-ac Indian Field (Locus 18).

Locus 19, the smaller 1816 Indian Field with a gable building may be a ceremonial ground, once pulling Chickamauga from Tsikala 9 miles SW and the Dutch's village near Booneville. This may have been an arbor at a ceremonial dance ground, similar too the one on River Mountain (Robert Lafferty personal communication to David Jurney 2002). The Eagle dance was reported at Mouth of Illinois Bayou, at Spadra.

The location of the 1816 *Indian* field is now the dedicated Brearley Cemetery on Danville Road, donated by J. H. Brearley (over our people). The larger 1816 Indian Field is under *Brearley Fields* and the image of the footprint is still visible under J.H. Brearley's cartography. The annotation reads *Dardanelle founded 1847 by J.H. Brearley and Geo. Walker*, *Brearley Addition to Dardanelle 1872*, *Quay above highest flood of 1830*, and *sand beach at low water crossing 1876*.

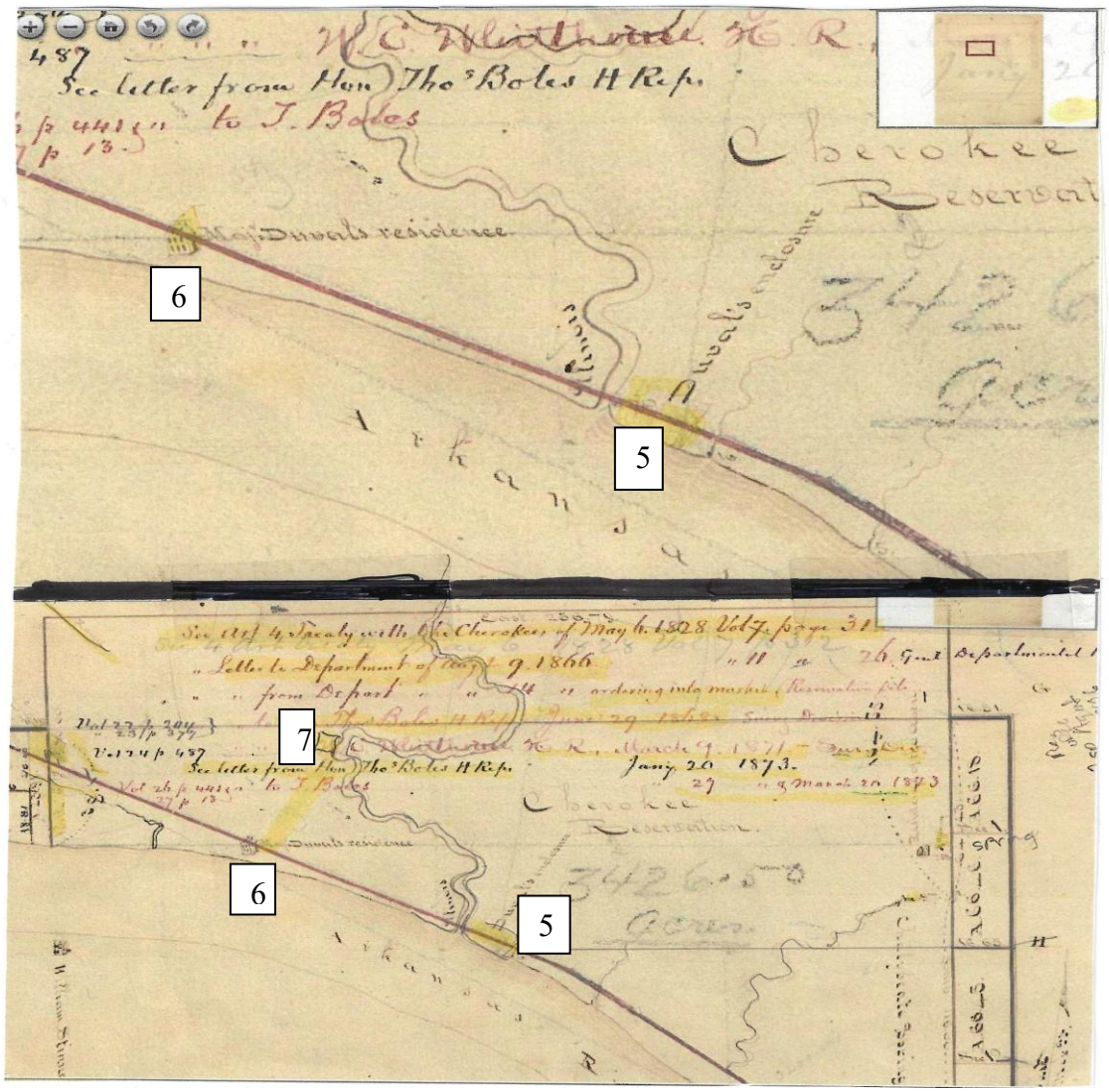


Exhibit 3. Lovely Reserve, Illinois Bayou. A.L. Langham Sept 1829 and 2 January 1830. Annotations document the congressional actions in 1866, 1868, 1871, and 1873.

LOVELY PURCHASE RESERVE

Significant political and social information was recorded by the Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office on this map (Exhibit 3). The base layer was surveyed and drawn by A.L

Langham Sept 1829 and 2 January 1830. The annotations document the congressional actions in 1866, 1868, 1871, and 1873 when it was edited.

Langham usually provides details, but the cultural features are sparse here. They are described from NW clockwise in Exhibit 3 and Exhibit 4 below, and in Exhibit 5; all using the same Locus sequence designations. Locus 1 (see Exhibit 5, composite) is a road at the NW corner of the Reserve footprint leading from Round Mountain to Bunker Hill. Locus 2 is the *Missionary Mill* at the head of the gap on Mill Creek between London Mountain and Pleasant View Mountain. Locus 3 is an 1829 *Mission Field*, just SW of the site of Dwight Mission (19 buildings see Exhibit 6 and Exhibit 7), which was not mapped by Langham in 1829 or 1830. Locus 4 is *Chalybeate Springs* with three adjacent springs. It has a commanding view of the Reservation where few Chickamauga cultural features were mapped.

Locus 5 is *Duvalls' Enclosure,* suggesting a fenced corral or field, situated on the east bank at the mouth of Illinois Bayou. This is the historic site of two Chickamauga Capital under Chiefs Tahlontuskee and Takatoka. Locus 6 is Major Duvalls Residence, shown as a two-story, six fenestra I-House plantation on the edge of the river. It apparently washed away, based on the channel shifts shown in Exhibit 5.

Locus 7 is an Indian Field that James Potts identified in 1878, at the north end of a wagon road (Locus 8) that leads straight to the river, at the former site of Duvalls mansion. This is a similar pattern to Dardanelle and Norristown. This is the Michagamea village site, and the first Indian Agency where William and Percis Lovely lived among their constituents. It appears that that we had a third Green Corn ceremonial area here.

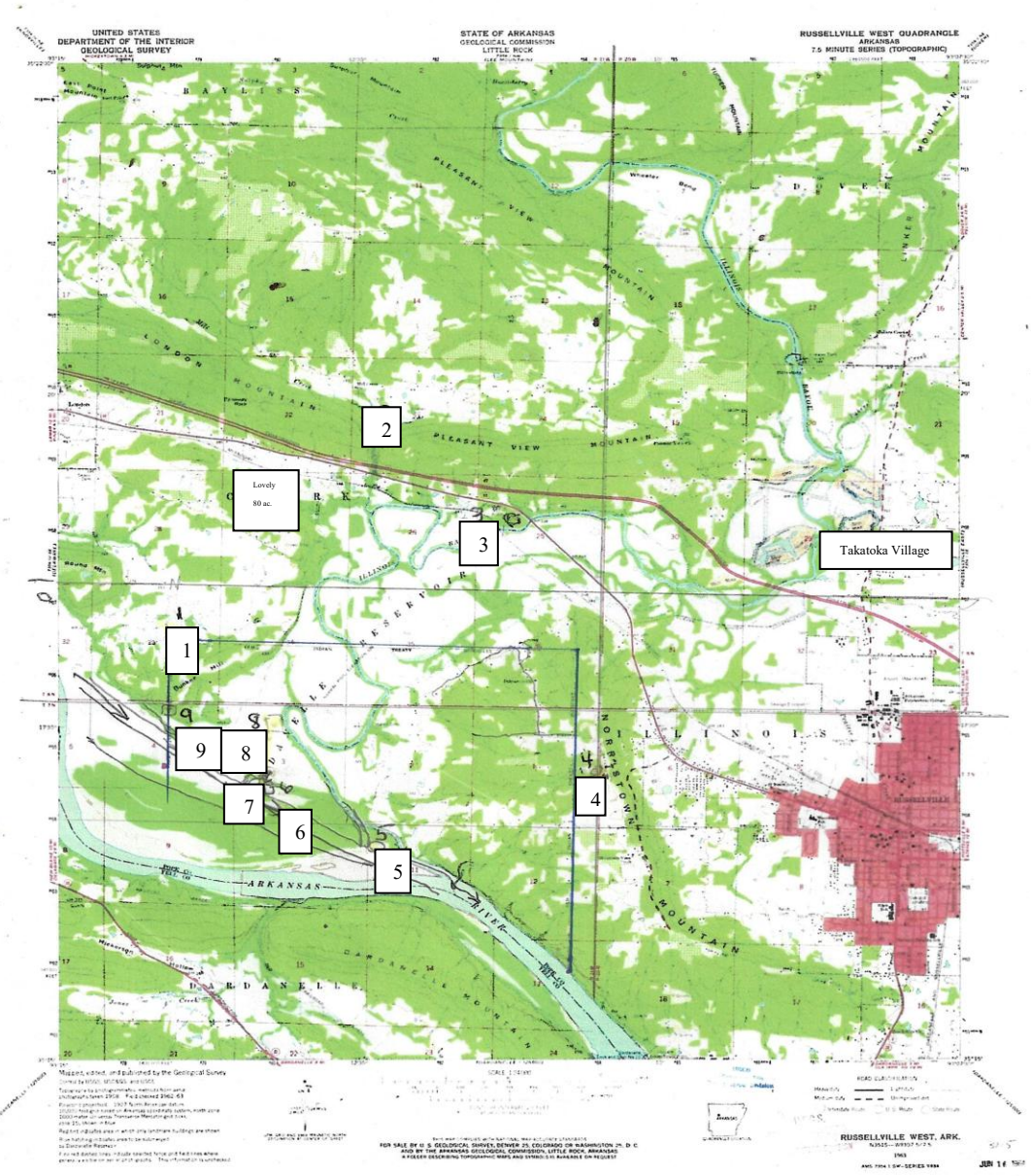


Exhibit 4. 1963 USGS Topographic Map, Lovely Reserve. Russellville West. Locii 1-9, inclusive.

Also, a dance ground was indicated here when Takatoka was Chief.

Based on the works of Jarvis (2014) and King (1984), this is now identified as the first Cherokee Agency site, built and occupied by William Lovely. Percis buried him, the adopted (Hilderbrand's in Tennessee) Osage captive Lydia, and was finally interred here by Kirkbride Potts after her death. There was no effort by USACE, NPS RBS, or the State of Arkansas to move this extremely important cemetery prior to inundation. Hence the annual visits by Oklahoma and Arkansas Chickamauga to conduct their Condolence Ceremony. These were conducted annually from Removal to 1939, when WWII interfered.

Locus 9 is a field at the SW corner of the Reserve. The field is identified as *Bollinger*. Samuel and Owistee Bollinger listed on the 1817 Census may be associated with this field.

Exhibit 3 is the base layer of the Lovely Reserve surveyed and drawn by A.L Langham Sept 1829 and 2 January 1830. The annotations document the congressional actions in 1866, 1868, 1871, and 1873 when it was edited. The images show the squatters in 1877, whose rights to the land trump those of the Chickamauga who were granted the land.

Exhibit 4 is a composite of historical map data, showing Locii 1-9, inclusive. It overlies the 1963 USGS Topographic Map, Russellville West.

Table 5

Partial Listing Arkansas Valley Coal Mines

Date	Location	Owner	Method	Yield	References
1881	2 m NE Paris	Spear Titsworth	shaft windlass slope	25 t/yr 6500 carloads	Petty 1932
1886		Jesse Hixon			
1901		AR Cent RR		1.3 t	
1910	E OK WI Coal Fld			75 x 20 m	
1912	Altus		breaks WPA canal 37		
1922	99 active				
1922		Paris Purity Coal Co.			
1922	5 m W Conway				
1922	5 m E Rushing			3589 1.5 mt	
1928	Greenwood TS	Midland Valley RR	shaft tunnel		
1928		McAlester Coal Co.			
1931	Compton NW	Joe McFrue			
1930	Bebe reop	adj old Big Thirty			
1932	Spadra	Midland Coal Co.		100 labor dispute	
1935		Smokeless Coal Co.			
1936		Batesville Coal Co.		1000 labor dispute	
1936		D. Modern Fuel Co.			
1936					
1937	Altus Alix		flooded dual purpose	400 1000 t/d 4.79	

ARKANSAS VALLEY COAL MINING

The 1872 General Mining Law allowed all citizens 18 years old to locate a mineral, or *lode* (hard rock), or placer (gravel) mining claim on federal lands. This was in response to the California Gold Rush of 1849, where miners wanted free access to public lands. Congressmen regarded them as

squatters robbing public patrimony. Chaffee Laws went into effect in 1864 and 1866; placer mines were added in 1870. Hard rock mining and the excavation of clay, sand, gravel, coal, and building stone in the United States generally, and Arkansas specifically exponentially increased at this time. Lignite mining by tunnel and strip methods were extensive from 1890-1940, then were followed by oil and gas exploration and extraction until today.

In Pope County the sandstones cap the hills while the clays underlie the valleys. The Carrion Crow Mountain sandstone ledges (Hartshorne) run from Atkins to Galla Creek to Norristown Ridge. The coal of the Ouita Basin and that of Shinn mines south of Russellville (Plate 2) overlie the Hartshorne. The target is the 100-500 ft thick Spadra shale (Collier 1907).

The need for industrial coal led to adit-and-shaft coal mining in the Arkansas River Valley/Arkoma Basin from the 1890s until the 1960s; focused on the Atoka, Hartshorn, McAlester, and Boggy coal-bearing formations (Branner 1908, Oakes and Knechtel 1948).

Coal mining is concentrated within the study area Table 2 with five districts identified (Collier 1907). These districts are (from west to east) Van Buren and Alma, Charleston and Paris, Coal Hill and Denning, Spadra, Prairie View, and Russellville (Ouita Basin, Shinn Basin, and Norristown). Secondary roads and railroads in the Arkansas Valley are reinforced with road metal (Collier 1907:C26), crushed sandstone and siltstone, shale fragments, coal mine refuse and clinkers, and stream and terrace gravel. The most extensive quarries are in the Hartshorne and Savannah Formations; with deposits in T9N R25W, S29-30 extending eastward to T7N R20W, S22-27. Informants report that when Lake Dardanelle filled, the coal tunnels under the Arkansas River collapsed, leading to the rupture of water wells south of Coal Hill. No records of this event have been located.

Plate 2
Coal Mining Town between Russellville and Dardanelle (Norristown Mining District). Arkansas State Archives.

Norristown Mining District shown in Plate 2 was adjacent to the Norristown Cemetery and the current dam site. The Trading House of Alexandre, and at least two Chickamauga plantations were formerly located here. The area shown is near Norristown Cemetery, and mining and reclamation activities have caused extreme harm. This road metal is used to confirm the exact time that the damage was caused to the Norristown Cemetery.

Plate 2 shows the mining town for the workers at Southern Anthracite Coal Mine within the Shinn basin (Norristown) ca. 1930 soon after its emplacement. Electricity is provided but not fuel, and the remaining bushes are fast disappearing. The rock metal road surfaces are unrutted. Rock metal is the term engineers use for the waste products of coal mining, and the need for disposal. They simply use the material to build roads. The waste from burning the coal for power, fans in the tunnels,

and excavation debris became a useful tool for county road crews. The materials were mixed with crushed and river gravels. This material produced underpinning for most secondary roads in the central Arkansas Valley (Collier 1907).

By 1935, 65 coal mines were in operation in the Arkansas River Valley from Paris to Russellville, with planned openings near Conway and Shirley. This seasonal workload (Apr-Oct) required 2,890 miners. The excavations were as shallow as 3 x 9 ft, 15 ft deep: with angled ramps at 35 degrees. Tracks were laid along the ramps for 8 x 4 ft cars that convey the coal to the *tipple.* In this tower, the materials were graded and sorted and loaded into railroad cars.

Shaft mines are dug straight into the ground, with workings extending in every direction underground. The miners followed the seams, in shafts 24-36 inches wide. Mules or small horses hauled the cars to the shaft, where powerful electric hoists lift to surface containers. Sebastian County had 26, Logan 16, Franklin 9, and Johnson and Pope combined had 14 open pit strip mines. The estimated annual revenue was $3 million. Paris yielded one of the best grades of semi-anthracite, with a yield of 15,192 BTU.

PREVIOUS ARCHEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS ARKANSAS

Archeological expeditions radiated from museums and universities throughout the 19th century looking for display materials. Harrington (1922) and Moorehead (1931) were just two of them in Arkansas, along the Arkansas, Red, St, Francis, and Mississippi Rivers and in the Ozarks (see also Cherry 2009, House 2003, Lankford 2011, Morse 1981, Morse and Morse 1983). All universities and museums were in extreme competition with avid and well-financed collectors investing in the looting (see Pocola Mining Company for looting of Spiro). Finds were frequently exposed in large construction and excavation projects and drew avid public attention to the discoveries, furthering the *Gold Rush* mentality and public fervor.

Congress became aware that the extreme mining, dam building, and earth modifications were destroying our cultural heritage; and passed the Antiquities Act in 1906. The Historic Sites Act of 1935 responded to highway construction and landscape scale excavations. Then the River Basin Surveys Act of 1960 was enacted to recover and preserve lands and cultural resources before federal lakes were built. This sporadic approach led to the construction of Lake Dardanelle in 1957 without any adequate funding, inventory, or assessment of the historical significance of our presence here.

In 1966 the National Historic Preservation Act and in 1970 the National Environmental Policy Act took force. Still, it was a while before archeological resources were deemed important by land managing agencies. In 1973 the USDA-Forest Service, Corps of Engineers, and other federal and state agencies reluctantly began to comply with federal environmental and historic preservation legislation, such as the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 (Sections 106 and 110), the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969, and President Nixon's Executive Order

11593 (1971). This approach led to unfunded requests of academic and state entities to provide assessments of their cultural and historical significance. Competitive bidding among entities is now mandated by the Code of Federal regulations and has become an industry but with scientific, historic, and accountability pitfalls. In addition, the academics and professionals who did respond to the burgeoning emergency, were biased for prehistoric and against historic sites, resulting in uneven coverage of our heritage. That bias remains today.

In Arkansas, many Depression-era farmers survived by digging up Indian graves and selling pots. Looting resembles mineral exploration in all ways and Museums were guilty of a rip-an-tear mentality as well. The Pocola Mining Company secured the lease to mine the Spiro site, while the Oklahoma Legislature created a fake Norse State Park (Heavner Runestone). These approaches and cultural biases against Indigenous Americans led to broad-scale, poorly documented investigations across America, especially Tennessee and Arkansas, the heartlands of our people.

When the Chickamauga and Cherokee removed to Oklahoma, they were granted a small strip of land that included the mouth of Illinois Bayou at the foot of Norristown Mountain. For nearly a century they held the title of Lovely's Purchase and returned annually to hold ceremonies near Dardanelle Rock (Boyd 2007). The Lake was built over everything, and Lovely's Purchase Reserve lies there still.

Tribal consultation was required by law as early as 1966 but none was conducted for Lake Dardanelle, and all recommendations for further work, salvage and recovery of known human remains were ignored. Furthermore, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (42 USC) of 1996 mandates consultation and access to sites the lineal descendants consider sacred. All these acts are under the authority of the Administrative Procedures Act of 1946 (P.L. 74-404, 60 Stat. 237). The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Department of Interior-National Park Service, State Legislature and

citizens failed to employ tools available to them. Why? This report explores the problem of over-reaching governmental mandates that do not yield fruitful results for their public.

DARDANELLE LAKE AND SHIP CHANNEL

The focus is the portion of the McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation system (Northrup and Bennett, a b) from Point Remove to Arbuckle Island. Specific study areas include Norristown and Dardanelle, Norristown Cemetery, Lake Dardanelle (Greengo 1957, Caldwell nd), the Intermodal Transport Facility (Klinger 2003, Sierzchula and Lafferty 2003, Lafferty et al. 2005, Buchner et al. 2013) and River Mountain Hydroelectric (Lafferty per com to David Jurney 2003) facility, and special use.

The first major project in the study area was the inventory of Dardanelle Reservoir (Greengo 1957), conducted under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution River Basin Surveys (Table 2). That agency was congressionally mandated only for the Missouri River. To remedy the situation and save some resource information, the National Park Service provided minimal funds. Frank Roberts administered the work conducted by the Interagency Archaeological and Paleontological Salvage Program of the River Basin Surveys. Private landowners donated their collections, particularly from Dardanelle, Lamar, Clarksville, and New Blaine. Human remains, funerary objects, items of cultural patrimony, and remains with religious or sacred associations were part of these collections. Their provenance, status, and condition are unknown. Also, NAGPRA and AIRFA have not received any attention from the State and Federal agencies responsible.

Fifty-three two archeological sites were recorded at some level of intensity during this period; one was the donated historic (possible Chickamauga) Indian burial from Dardanelle Rock

mentioned above. Only 52 sites were discussed in the Phase I survey (Greengo 1957); including extensive villages, cemeteries, farms, dwellings, and sites recommended for further work; as required by the Reservoir Salvage Act. This was never authorized, and the Dardanelle reservoir was built in violation of the said act, as well as the Administrative Procedures Act; and resulting in Violation of Sepulchure of Indigenous people. Extensive NAGPRA collections for Lake Dardanelle have never been analyzed or received consultations on their disposition.

No historic context was provided for the prehistoric or historic cultural resources of the Lake Dardanelle reach. None of the Smithsonian River Basin Surveys' salvage projects were this lax. None of the Missouri River fur trading research questions were asked for the Arkansas fur trade and those Chickamauga sites associated with it. No attention was given to one of the most important forced human removals in world history. Since the Lake Dardanelle footprint never received NHPA Section 106, or NHPA Section 110 mandating a complete federal inventory; the subsequent work was also inadequate and non-compliant.

The McClellan-Kerr Navigation System subsequently emplaced over and within Lake Dardanelle received better funding, compliance and review; but was within an already damaged landscape that was improperly investigated. Smith (1986) conducted an intra-agency geomorphological overview for the US Army Corps of Engineers

TABLE 2

Previously recorded archeological sites
Dardanelle Reservoir (Caldwell nd, Greengo 1957, Harden 1981)

SITE	PREHISTORIC	CHICKAMAUGA	HISTORIC
3YE1	_	Burial D Rock	G.E. PilquistColRBS/NPS
3YE2	A W	_	_
3YE3	W	_	_
3YE4	A W MS Burial 6	_	_
3YE5	A W Stnt Ck	_	_
3YE6	A W MS Burial 4	_	_
3LO1	A W	_	_
3LO2	W MS Burial	_	_
3LO3	A W	_	_
3LO4	W MS Burial	_	_
3LO5	A W MS Burial BrnHse	_	_
3LO6	A W ShlCkB	_	_
3LO7	W ShlCkB	_	_
3LO8	A W	_	_
3LO9	W Spirn	_	_
3LO10	W MS Vlg pitovens	_	_
3LO11	A W	_	_
3LO12	MS Vlg	_	_
3LO13	MS Vlg	_	_
3PP1	W MS Burial Rkshltr	_	_
3PP2	W	_	_
3PP3	W	_	_
3PP4	W	_	_
3PP5	W	_	_
3PP6	W	_	_
3PP7	W	_	_
3PP8	W	_	_
3PP9	W	_	_
3PP10	W	_	_
3PP11	W	_	_
3PP12	W	_	_
3PP13	W	_	_
3PP14	W	_	_
3PP15	W	_	_
3PP16	W	_	_
3PP17	W	Chickamauga village	H
3PP18	W	_	_
3PP19	W	_	_
3PP20	W	_	_
3PP21	W	_	_

3JO1	A W	Chickamauga Big Piney	_
3PP255	A W	_	_IB
3PP258	A W	_	_IB
3PP259	A W	_	_IB
3PP262	A W M	_	H IB
3JO2	W	Chickamauga Big Little P	_
3JO3	W	Chickamauga Big Little P	_
3JO4	W	_	_
3JO5	W	Chickamauga Big Little P	_
3JO6	W burial	Chickamauga Big Little P	_
3JO7	W MLR	Chickamauga Big Little P	Hist Ind VLG TRL
3JO8	W MLR	Chickamauga Big Little P	Hist Ind VLG TRL
3JO9	A W	_	_
3JO10	A W	_	_
3JO11	W MLR	Chickamauga Big Piney	_
3JO12	A W	Spadra Bluff	Hist Ind VLG Spadra mth
3JO13	A W	_	X Phillips Hse

LAKE DARDANELLE TO OZARK LAKE

The University of Arkansas Museum, the Department of Anthropology, and the incipient Arkansas Archeological Survey sponsored salvage excavations of several sites in Ozark Reservoir. The premier was a rectangular palisaded (?) village called the Spinach Patch site (Bond 1977a, 1977b; Hoffman 1977; see Jurney 1981).

Northrup and Bennet (1988) conducted site revisit condition assessments of sites (Table 3) investigated (salvaged) in 1967 by the Arkansas Archeological Survey (Myer 1969, 1977; Bond 1977a, 1977b; Hoffman et al. 1977). That was the only professional or academic work done prior to the construction of Ozark Reservoir.

In 1985 Northrup and Bennet (1988) performed additional reconnaissance 0f 4,290 acres from Ozark Lake shoreline along the McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation (Locks and Dams) System of Lake Dardanelle. This work yielded 93 sites, ranging in age from Early Archaic to

Historic. The USACE released all Lake Dardanelle and Ozark Lake site locations to the public in 1987, by releasing this report with sit locations attached. ARPA investigations show that these maps may have aided several fishermen mine underwater sites, based on the known locations. ARPA allows the confiscation of all equipment to conduct looting, and these fishermen were tagged for their actions.

Bennett and Smith (1989) performed Cultural Resources and Geomorphological Reconnaissance, for Pools 1-9, on the McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System. No sites were evaluated or recorded in this study.

RIVER VALLEY INTERMODAL FACILITY

This project, cognizant of the previous management errors, and with a significant impact, planned appropriately, employing the NEPA process. The Rivers and Harbors Act mandated full public comments and review of the River Valley Intermodal Facility in compliance with the National Environmental Policy Act and the National Historic Preservation Act. Since the environmental impacts were projected to be major, a full Environmental Impact Statement, compliant and legally sound, was required. Invitations were extended for all Interested Parties, federal and state-recognized or local Tribes, and review agencies.

Under the National Historic Preservation Act, Tribes must be federally recognized, geographically and culturally relevant, and on a List, unless the federal agency waives that requirement for organized local ethnic or Tribal groups. Under the National Environmental Policy Act full consideration must be applied to all public interests, and consultation is not limited to Tribes

with a special relationship to the federal government. The National Environmental Policy Act does not discriminate by List.

Klinger (2003), of Historic Preservation Associates conducted the Russellville Intermodal Cultural Resources Records Review. Sierzchula and Lafferty (2003) conducted a partial initial Phase I Archeological Survey of 220 Acres. Following further acquisition, Lafferty et al. (2005) conducted the additional Phase I archaeological survey of the facility alternatives.

In the entire project area 72 archeological sites (Table 2) were found and recorded in Phase I (Lafferty et al. 2005). Banks (2010) conducted partial cultural resources testing and evaluation (Phase II) survey of the Bend (Purple) Alternative, for Panamerican. Panamerican completed this work and based on the Phase II results 49 sites were impacted, with 39 recommended no further work (Buchner et al. 2013). Twenty-seven sites are considered eligible for the National Register of Historic Places or recommended for further work. Thirteen Chickamauga farmstead sites are included, five of which were recommended not eligible with no further work.

TABLE 4

Previously recorded archeological sites within the
Intermodal Transport Project Area and adjacent locations
(Sierzchula and Lafferty 2003, Lafferty et al. 2005, Buchner et al. 2013)

SITE	PREHISTORIC	CHICKAMAUGA	HISTORIC
3CW13	A W MR	_	_
3CW14	A W MR	_	_
3CW15	A W MR	_	_
3CW21	A W MR	_	_
3CW26	A W	_	FrgB
3SB29	P A W MS	_	_Sliding Slab RS
3CW31	A W M	_	_
3CW32	W MR	_	_
3CW54	A W	_	_FrgB

3CW57	X	_	_
3CW58	A W MR	_	_
3CW59	A W MR	_	_
3CW60	X	_	_
3CW61	A W MR	_	_
3CW63	W	_	_
3CW161	X	_	_
3CW643	W	_	H FrgB
3CW646	A W	_	_
3CW648	A W	_	_
3CW693	A W	_	_
3CW694	A W	_	_
3CW695	A W	_	_
3CW696	A W	_	_
3CW697	A W	_	_
3CW698	A W	_	H
3CW699	A W	_	H
3CW700	Iso P	_	_
3CW701	Iso P	_	_
3CW702	W	_	H
3FR1	MR	_	_Spinach Patch rectvlge
3FR2	MR	_	_
3FR3	A	_	_
3FR19	A	_	_
3FR20	A	_	_
3FR21	A		
3FR23	W	_	_
3FR24	A W MR	_	_
3FR16	X	_	_
3FR18	A W	_	_
3FR23	A W MR	_	_
3FR27	X	_	_
3FR29	X	_	_
3FR140	MR	_	_
3FR142	X	_	_
3FR157	A	_	_
3JO75	X	_	_
3PP449/611	A W	Chickamauga	1810-1830 MatCult
3PP610	W	_	Grooved ring Astro device
3PP612	W	Chickamauga	_
3PP681	W	Chickamauga	X
3PP682	W	Chickamauga	H
3PP692	A W	_	_
3PP693	W	Chickamauga	Iso
3PP694	A W	_	H
3PP695	W	_	H

3PP697	Iso	_	H
3PP699	W	_	Iso
3PP700	W	Chickamauga	Iso
3PP701	W	_	_
3PP703	W	_	_
3PP709	W	_	_
3PP710	W	_	_
3PP712	W	Chickamauga	_
3PP722	_	_	_
3PP725	_	_	_
3PP727	-	Chickamauga	_
3PP728	X	Chickamauga	_GLO plat 1830
3PP730	W	_	_
3PP731	W	_	_
3PP732	_	Chickamauga	_
3PP733	_	Chickamauga	No Access
3PP734	_	Chickamauga	_
3PP735	W	Chickamauga	_
3PP736	W	_	_
3PP737	Iso	_	
3PP741	Iso	_	

The ceramics illustrated by Lafferty and Stewart-Abernathy exhibit frost fracturing. Since the Chickamauga were here in 1816, this may be direct evidence of that severe winter.

The Chickamauga Nation considers the setting and place of a property to be significant and sacred. The thirteen Chickamauga sites obviously form a village. Under Criterion B and Criterion C, as well as association with AIRFA, the Chickamauga Nation recommends all 13 of our sites (3PP449/611, 3PP610, 3PP681, 3PP682, 3PP693, 3PP694, 3PP701, 3PP722, 3PP728, 3PP733, 3PP734, 3PP35, 3PP737) be considered eligible. The intent of the National Historic Preservation Act is to protect and enhance, and interpretive themes and nominations should be considered as mitigation.

CURRENT INVESTIGATIONS

NORRISTOWN CEMETERY

Norristown Cemetery is located on a lower slope toe of Norristown Ridge in Pope County, surrounded by low marshy bottoms; comprised in large part by reclaimed coal mines. It is the last above ground remnant of Norristown itself, a sister town to Dardanelle, at the highest point of navigation on the original Arkansas River. The cemetery is listed (1994/95) on the National Register of Historic Places as locally significant under Criterion A, association with the Brearley and Norris Families. Native rock mortuary architecture was also mentioned as a contributor to the nomination.

TABLE 5

Norristown Demographic Analysis Marked Stones, Actual Interments
(Lina Jane Boyd 2009, Usgwarchives.Net/Copyright.Htm)

BREARLEY	
GENERATION 1	
Samuel Norris	Susan Lyon (parents of M.A. Norris Brearley)
Elijah Truett	Anna Harvill (parent A.E. Truett Brearley)
GENERATION 2	
	Mary Ann Norris Brearley 18 Oct 1811-4 Oct 1853
GENERATION 3	
Joseph H. Brearley (Jr.) 2 Jul 1839-15 May 1926	Atlantic Elizabeth Truett 28 Dec 1832-28 Jan 1894
GENERATION 4	
Joseph Brearley 12 Mar 1864-6 Feb 1865	
Minnie Brearley 8 Feb 1871-4 Aug 1871	
Samuel N. Brearley 28 Feb 1857-16 Aug 1886 obit	
POPLIN	

GENERATION 1	
George Poplin	Elizabeth 53
1791-1846 NC	
GENERATION 2	
Israel Poplin	
Madison L. Poplin	
Marcus Barnard	Sarah L. Poplin Bernard
1817	m. 30 Jun 1842 PP A:52
WB	Bernard or syllabary? Carved rock
William T. Poplin	
Stephen H. Tobey	Angelina A. Poplin Tobey
24 Jul 1833-27 Sep 1873	
James R. Poplin	
James B. Logan	Nancy Adeline Poplin Logan
	m. 13 Oct 1837 PP A:27
John Franklin	Chaney Ellis Poplin Franklin
	m. 1833 d. 1857
	Rebecca Garner
	m. 11 May 1848 PP A:115
GENERATION 3	
Infant Poplin	
Burrell Poplin	
Fred Poplin	

TOBEY GENERATION 1	
Ellis Tobey	Mary
	1794
TOBEY GENERATION 2 and 3	
	Ellen E. Tobey Goodell
	22 Oct 1828-13 Sep 1857 stone broken
	Child Goodell carved rock
TOBEY GENERATION 3	
James J. Albright	Martha
George Tobey	Cornelia Albright Tobey
	m. 22 Mar 1877 PP E:146
	1857-2 Oct 1880
Stephen H. Tobey	Mary N. Ford Tobey
24 Jul 1833-27 Sep 1873	m. 4 Oct 1868
	1843-12 May 1878

TATE GENERATION 1	
Zachariah Tate	Martha Timmons
TATE GENERATION 2	
Andrew J. Tate obit	Mary J. Berryman obit

1854-3 Nov 1882 m. 7 Feb 1877 PP E:113
d. 22 Apr 1883

TATE GENERATION 3
Ella Tate
d. 30 Sep 1879 obit
George Tate
d. 23 Apr 1883 obit twin to Wallace
Wallace Tate
d. 20 Apr 1883 obit twin to Goerge

FERGUSON
John P. Ferguson Tennessee
1841-14 Sep 1898
7 children

FOSTER
Sophia Foster
1853-d. 8 Feb 1906

PRUITT
GENERATION 1
W.A. S.P.
GENERATION 2
Lizzie May Pruitt
13 Dec 1898-16 Jul 1899

ROBERTS
J.W. Roberts no marker

E. McC footstone only

DARDANELLE OLD BREARLEY DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS FINDAGRAVE

BREARLEY
GENERATION 1
Col. David Brearley Hannah Jones Brearley
1780-4 Oct 1837 1777-5 Dec 1846
Samuel Norris Susan Lyon (parents of M.A. Norris Brearley)
GENERATION 2
Pearson Brearley
1795-11 Sep 1835
Dr. Joseph Henry Brearley Mary Ann Norris Brearley see Norristown cem
26 Apr 1804-12 Dec 1882
GENERATION 3

David Dumont Brearley
1813-28 Sep 1833

GENERATION 4
Sarah P. English Brearley
24 Nov 1854-25 Mar 1883
GENERATION 5
Charles A. Brearley
12 Dec 1877-28 Aug 1886
Mary P. Brearley
28 Jul 1881-12 Oct 1886

Exhibit 6. LIDAR Norristown Cemetery. The perfect square is the top layer symbol for a National Register Listed Property, near the supposed site center, but another third of the cemetery is north of the mine trench.

Exhibit 6 is the LIDAR image, showing a 2-to 3-meter-deep trench dug through the Norristown Cemetery landform. Based on cultural vegetation, topographic evidence, and surface material the cemetery was bisected by a railroad spur (R12) leading to the Southern Anthracite Coal Company's mine shaft pit (Exhibit 6). The road surface was rebuilt with road metal surface, clinker edging boulders, iron drill pipe, and a stair to an elevated viewing area of the remaining graves-and those exposed to the sides of the trench. It appears that the northern third of the actual cemetery was not included in Ken Story's (AHPD) NRHP documentation.

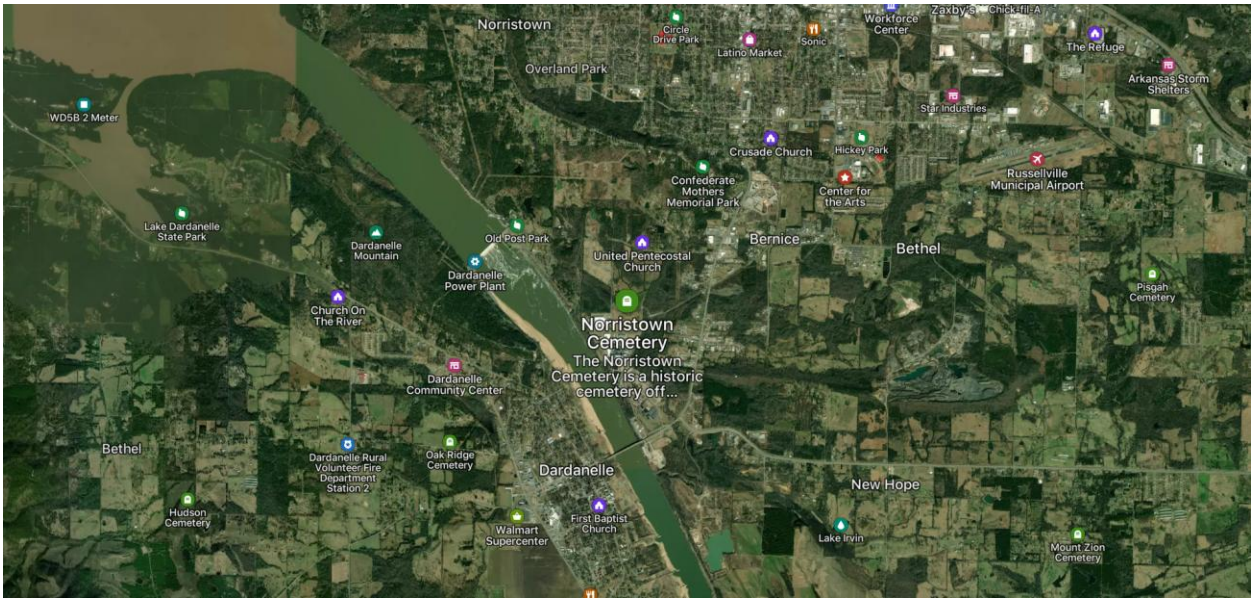


Exhibit 7. The area between the dam and Norristown Cemetery was the Southern Anthracite Coal Mine, all reclaimed land.

Five generations of the Brearley Family are present in the Old Brearley Cemetery in downtown Dardanelle. Four generations are indicated in Norristown Cemetery by archival (Boyd) and tombstone evidence (Table 3). Joseph H. Brearley did not plot or discuss this cemetery, containing his direct relatives, in his 1877 (see Exhibit 2) plat map of Norristown and Dardanelle, perhaps because it contained Indians.

Exhibit 8

Exhibit 8. This is a collapsed stone box false crypt at the southern edge of the landform, with a 9.5 cm lichen dating to 1811 (Kluthe et al. 2018).

We found what Ken Story noted, but also found one missed by him. This pile of rock (Exhibit 10) is typical of the grave structures we feel the Chickamauga people built for their dead. The lichen date was 1811, over 40 years earlier than inferred date range of 1853-1934 (stones, obits, Boyd archives) for the cemetery. Kluthe et al (2018) also found this pattern at the Cedar Grove Cemetery in Johnson County. The point is that many cemeteries are nearly 50 years older than historians thought they were.

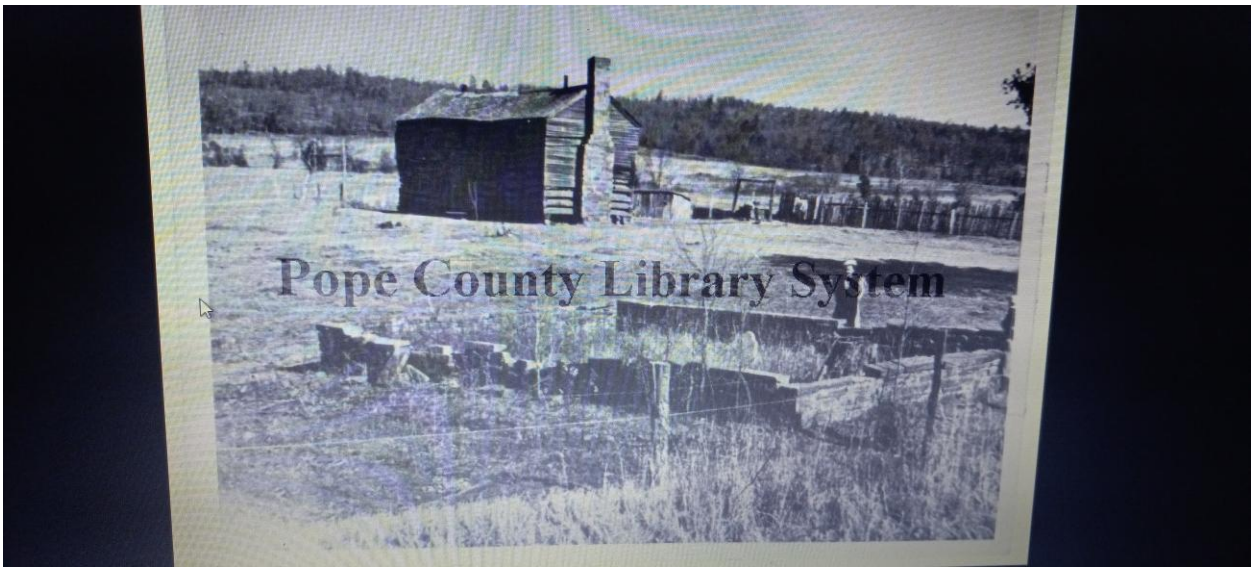
The oak tree growing on this collapsed grave structure dates 1927-2025. The oldest oak tree is just downslope near the southern edge of the cemetery as mapped and dates from 1904 to 2025. The tree-ring growth patterns show that significant disturbances occurred from 1926-1948. We later found that this happened during the Southern Anthracite Coal play.

WASHBURN CEMETERY

Plate 3 comes from a private photograph collection in the Russellville Public Library. It is the Widow Washburn standing beside her resting-place to be, with her old home in the background. Her residence at this time was down the road to the east.

PLATE 3

The Cephas Washburn residence, with portions stripped away, probably just prior to mining the entire bottom.



This two-story house began as a horizontal log central hall, subsequently framed with (now missing) rear additions. The garden fence (palin) is to keep free range (i.e. loose) livestock out of the produce. This road connected to the bridle path to Dwight Mission.

CHAPEL CEMETERY

This is the cemetery near the Washburn Cemetery on the road leading over Norristown Mountain, to Ouita and then Dwight Mission. It was established on a bench beside a spring and was turned into a soccer field several years ago. A mountain bike trail leads across the gravestones, and the cemetery is not maintained by trail users or the Russellville Parks and Recreation Department.

CHICKAMAUGA SITES GENERAL LAND OFFICE SURVEYS

TABLE 6

Reserve to Spadra

Township North	Range West	House	Field	Road/Path	Prairie	Village
6	18		4			1
6	19	1	1	1		1
6	20	2	3	4	1	1
6	21			3	1	
7	18	1	2			1
7	19		1	2		
7	20	10	5	10	2	2
7	21	2	8	2		1
7	22			2		
7	23	1	5	1	2	1
8	18	1	4	1		
8	19		1	1		
8	20		11	4		2
8	21	2	8	1		1
8	22		4	3		
8	23	1	4		1	
8	24		2			
8	26		6			1
8	28				1	
8	29		5			1
8	30		5			
8	31		11	2	2	1
8	32		12	2	2	1
9	22		6	6		
9	23	1	6	1		
9	24		1		2	
9	25	1	8		2	1
9	26	1	3		2	
9	27	1	4			
9	28		1	1		
9	29		6			1
9	30		6		1	1
9	31		6	3	4	1
9	32		5		1	
10	22	2	1	2		
10	23	3	6	1		1

10	24		1			
10	25	1	1	1		1
10	26		1	3		
10	27		5			
10	30		1		1	
10	31		7	3		1
10	32		4	5		1
Totals:		31	181	65	25	23

Hartman Coal Hill

Horsehead

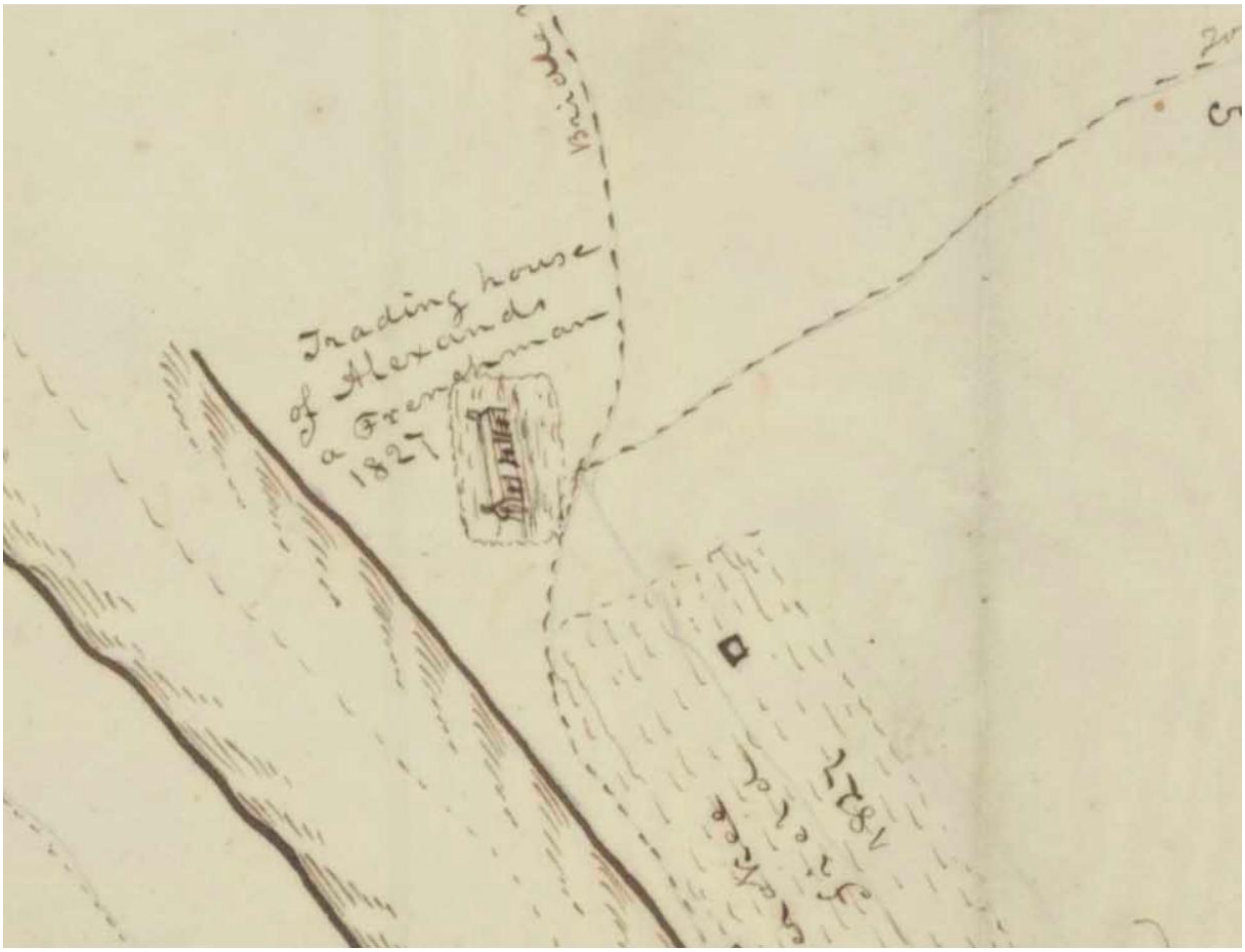
Ozark

Billingsley Settlement

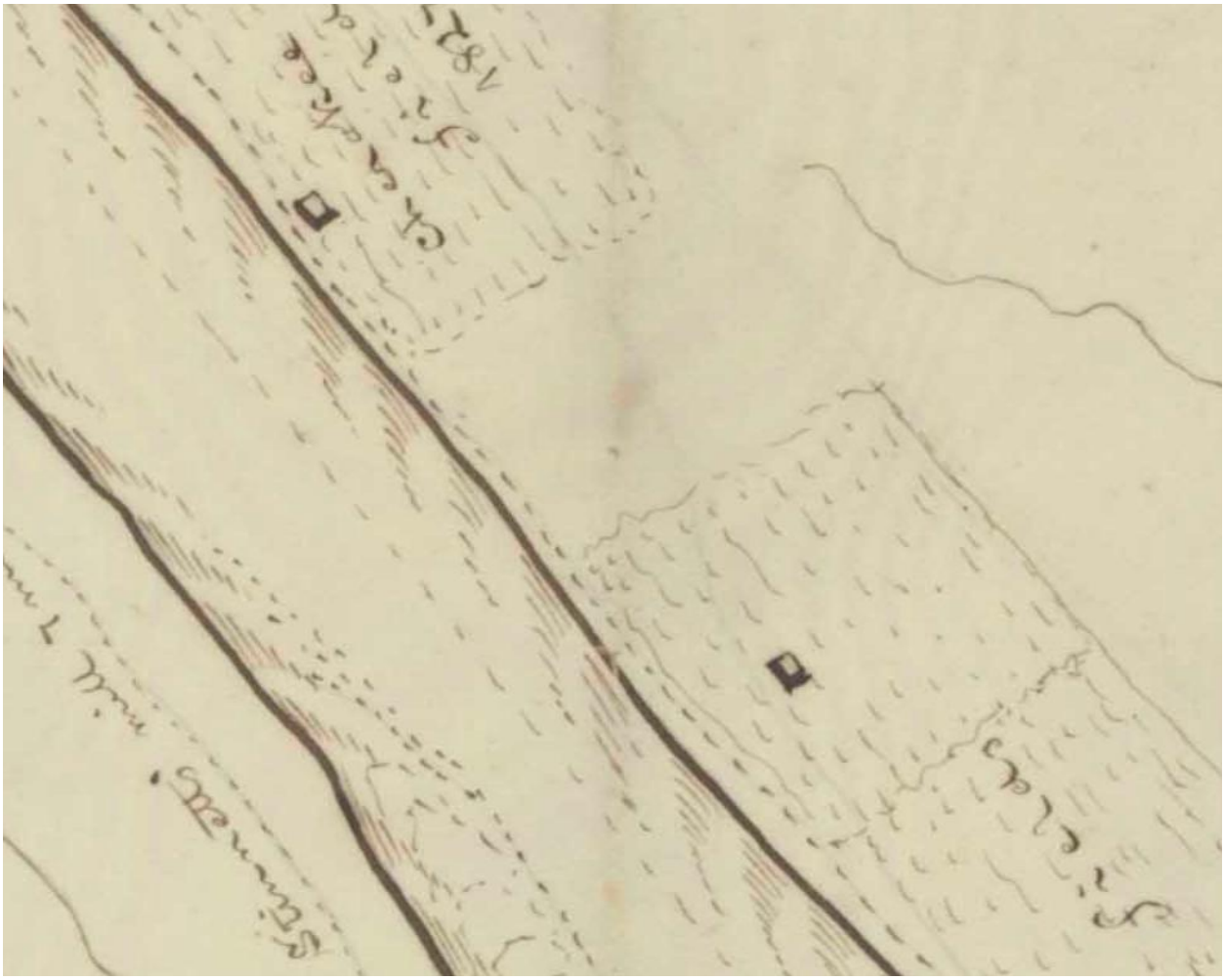
Ex 8

ARCHITECTURAL BIRDSEYES

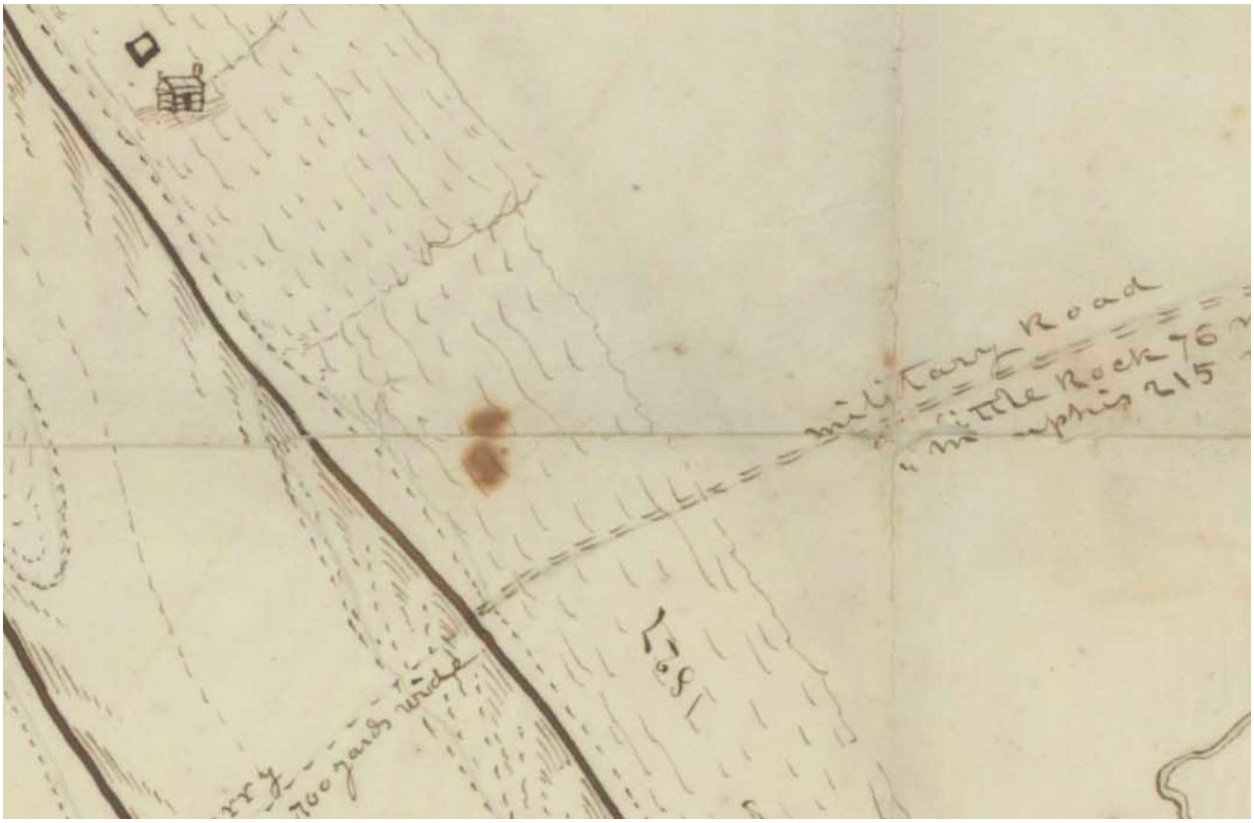
This discussion begins with Norristown/Dardanelle proceeds to the Lovely Purchase Reserve, thence up the Arkansas River Valley and the McClelland-Kerr Navigation system.



Alexandre Trading Post 1827. It's a one-story building with two gable-end rock chimneys. The left faces the road and appears to be the fur intake with a large door opening and no windows. On the right is a central hall with two windows. The complex sits in a plowed field.

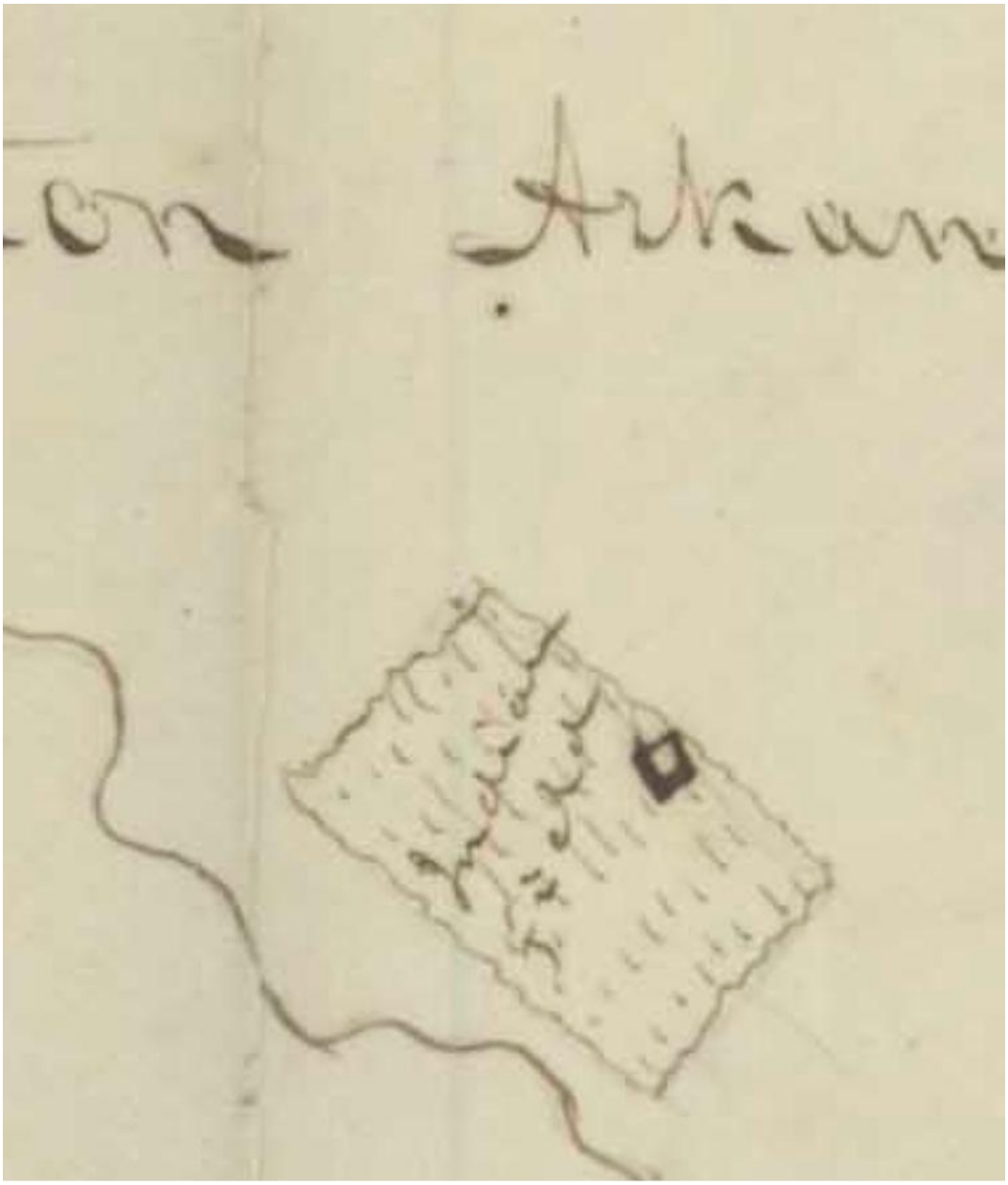


Cherokee Fields 1827. Two rectangular symbols with one reinforced wall are shown; and appear to be filed house or storage facilities. The size of the fields suggests communal, or chattel labor was used especially at harvest time.

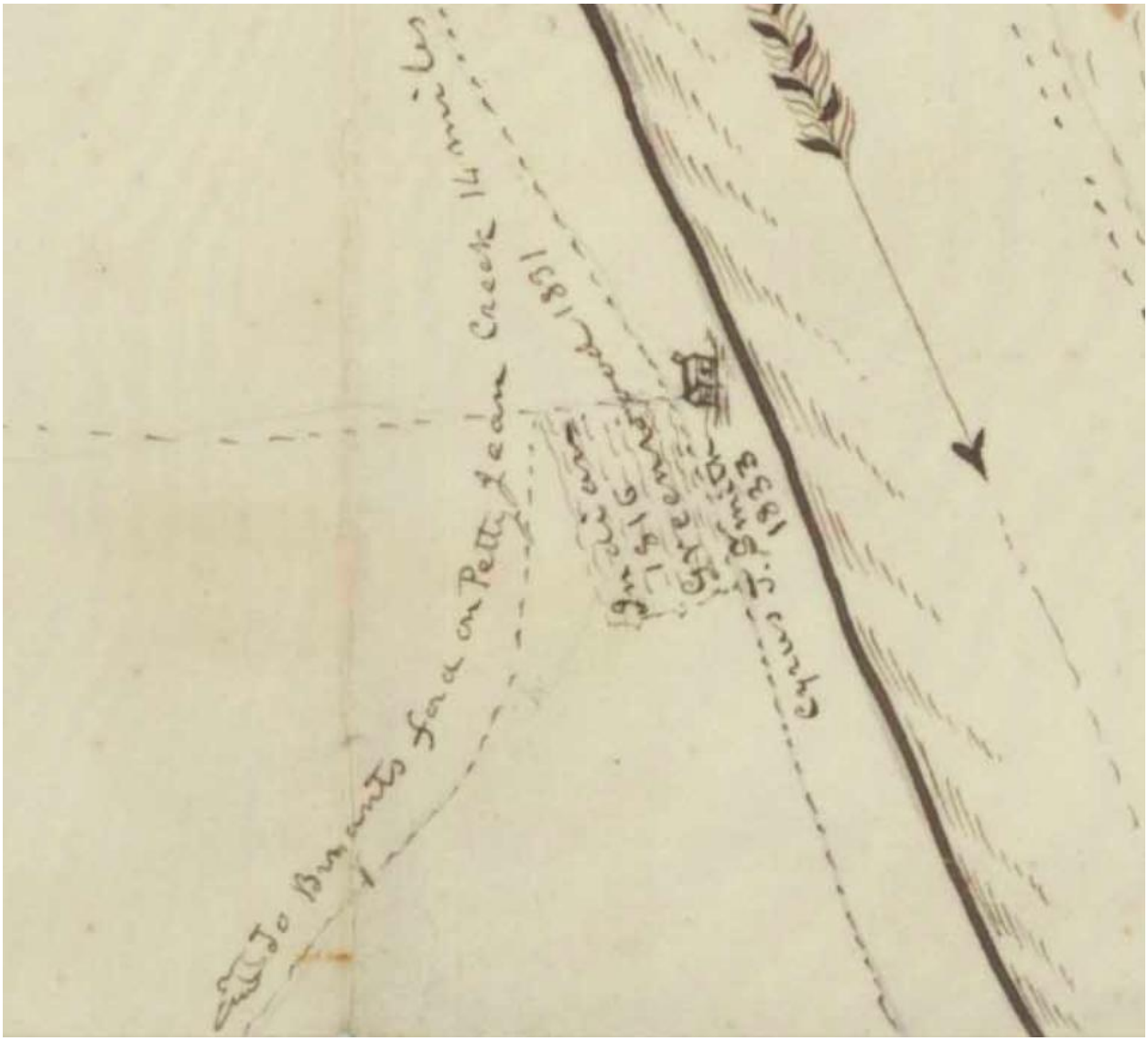


Indian horizontal log house with single right gable rock chimney, and an adjacent field structure as the two previous. Military Road. Ferry Crossing. 1827.

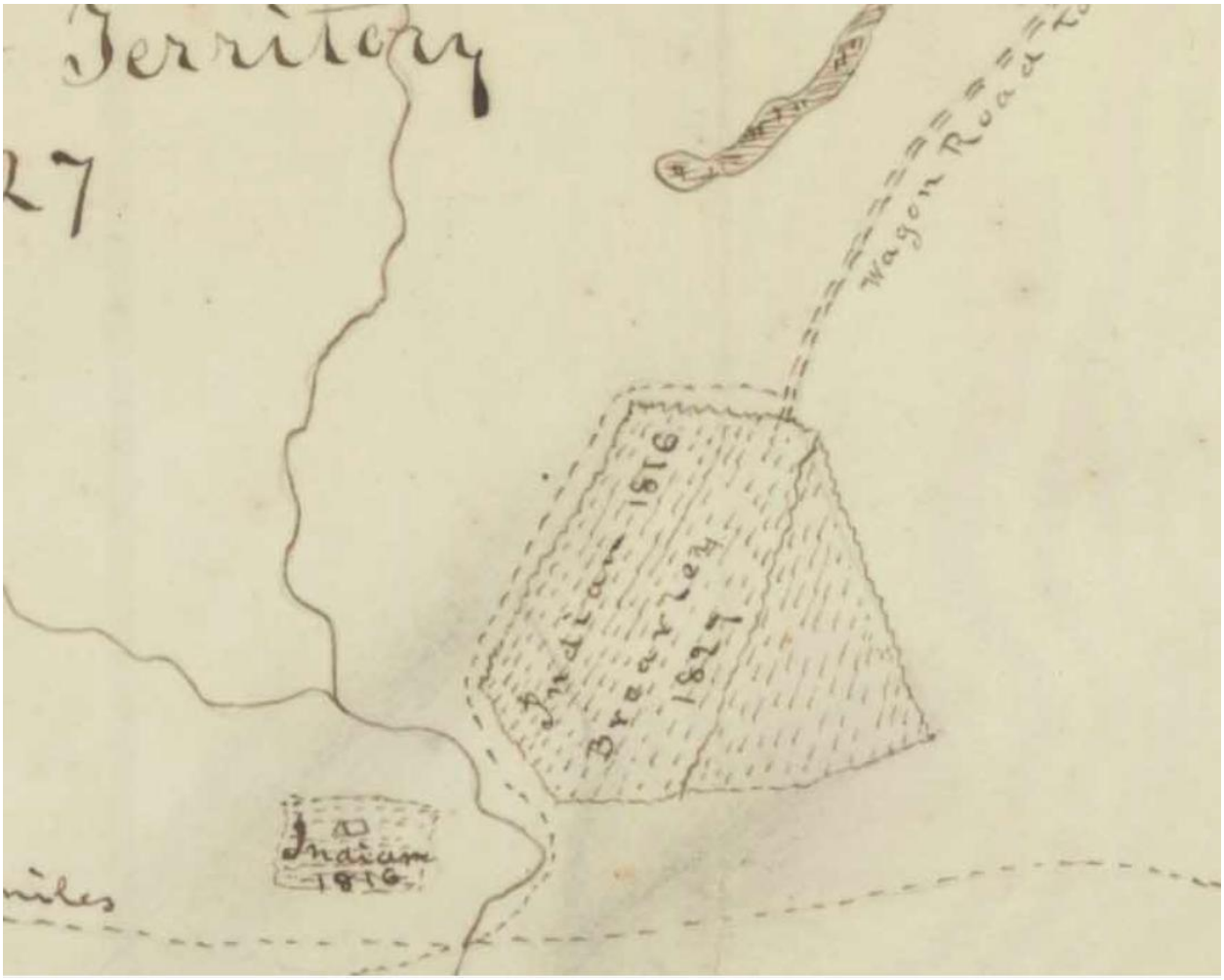
Brearley Plantation house, two slave cabins, Council Tree, Blak Fox-Crittenden split log bench, and a separate house and field by the Military Road. The house is a one-story horizontal log central hall, with right gable chimney and rear left ell chimney, which leads to hip-roofed slave house in field. The second slave house appears to be the house staff, also hip-roofed gable.



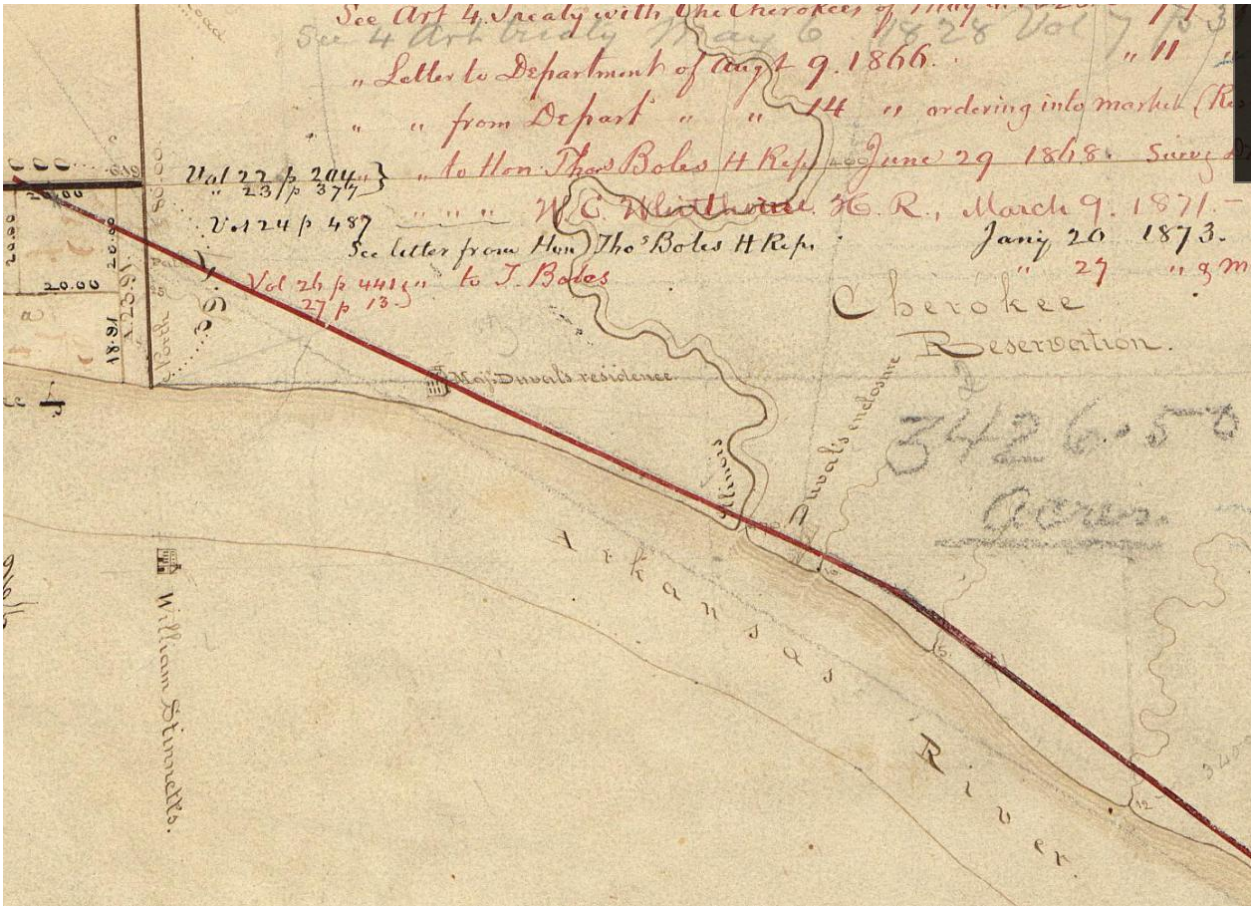
Indian Field 1827. Similar to previous three. This may be the Green Corn field for the Norristown side of the river.



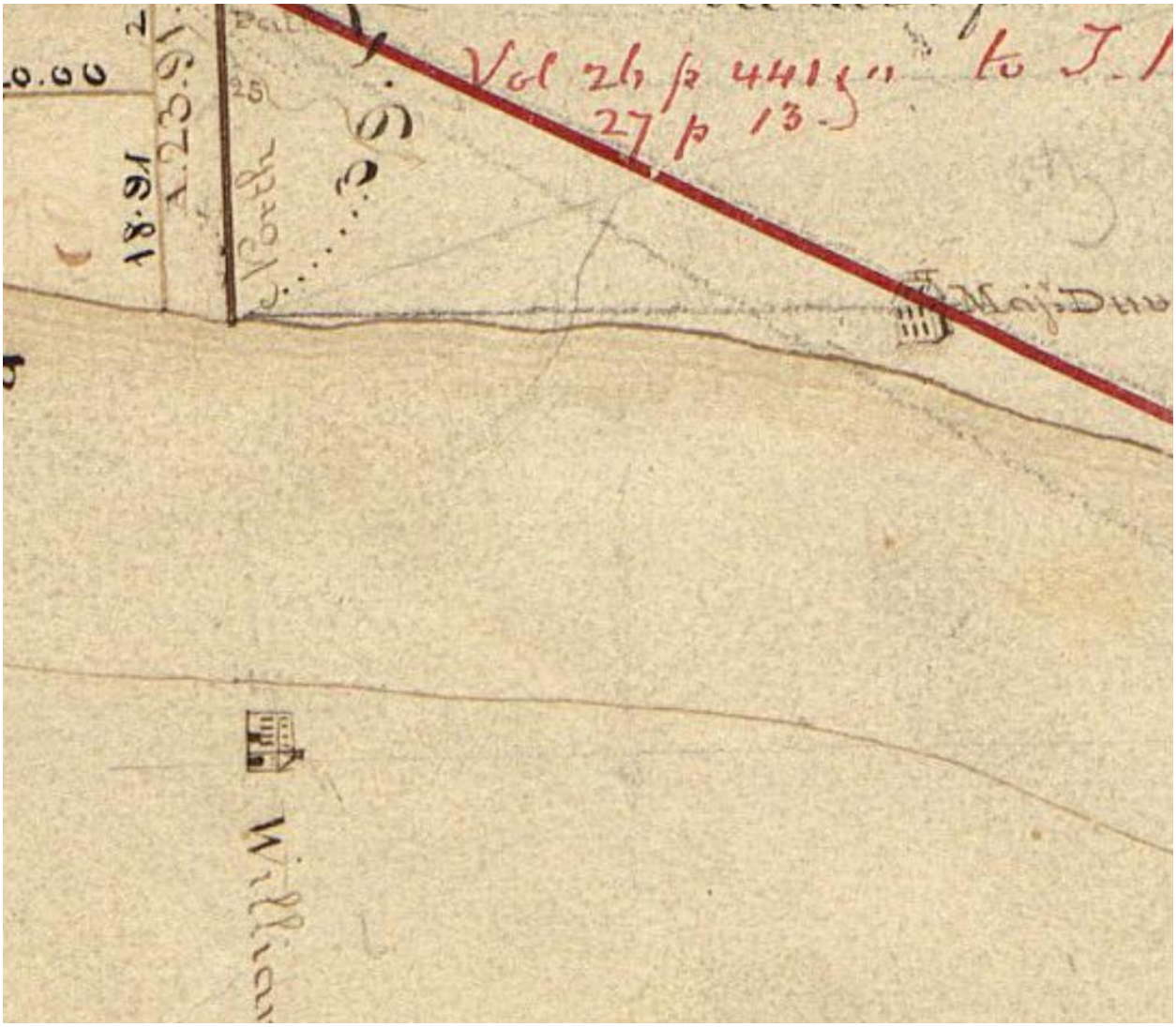
Indian 1816, Greenwood 1831, Cyrus J. Smith 1833 Frame house with tight rock chimney, one door, one gable window. Road to Durants Ford.



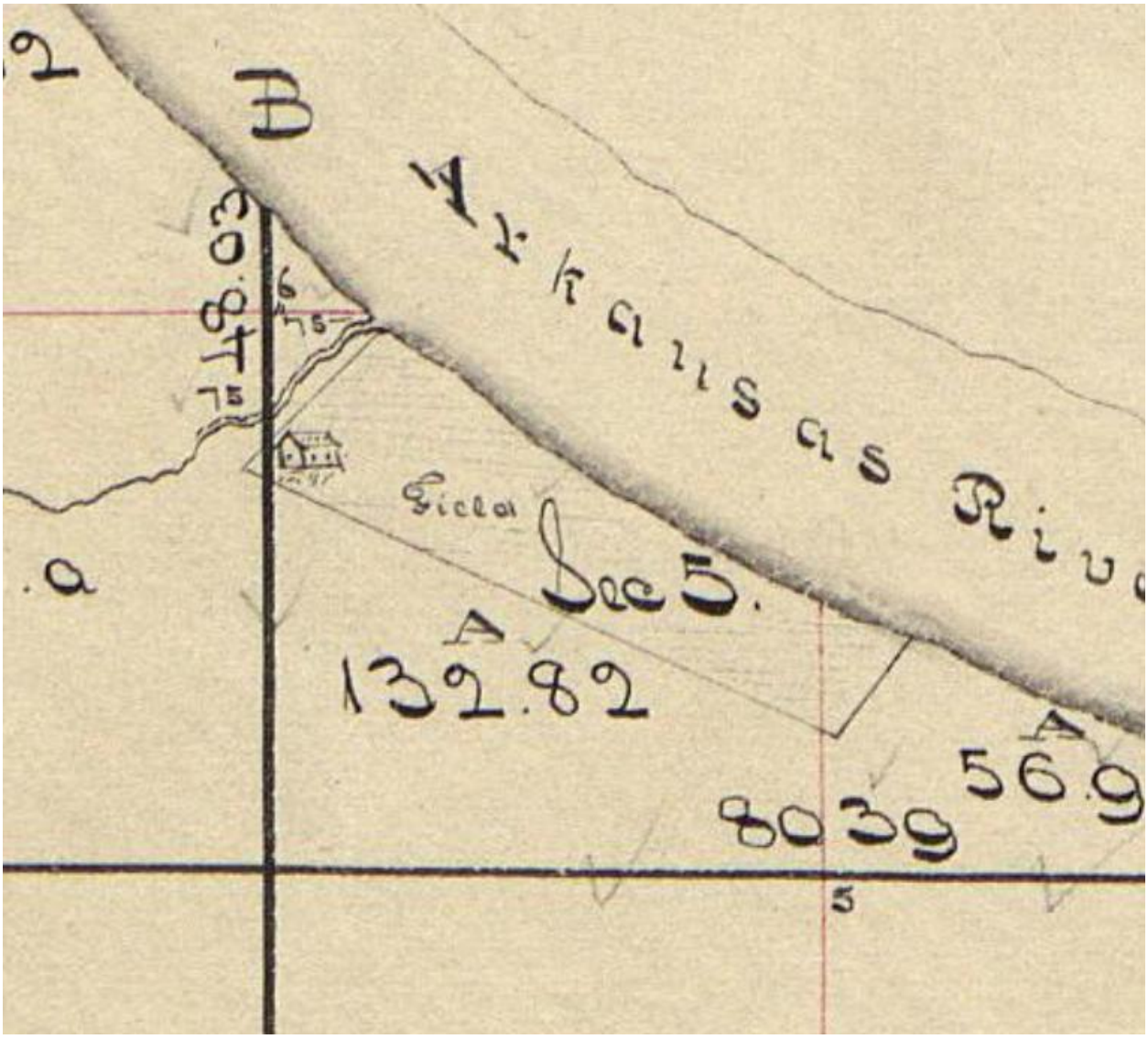
Indian Field 1816 – Brearley 1827. Wagon Road to Green Corn field. Single gable building in 1816 field, road to Tsikala.



Lovely Purchase Reserve, DuValls Residence and enclosure William Stinnett south of river.



Maj. DuVal's Residence. 2.5 story (attic) with two central chimneys. Central Hall, two lower three upper windows. Williams Stinnett's (Mill). Lower story two loading bays doors. Second floor has four long narrow windows. Third story roof with smokestack and hip gable. Early steam turbine needed coal.



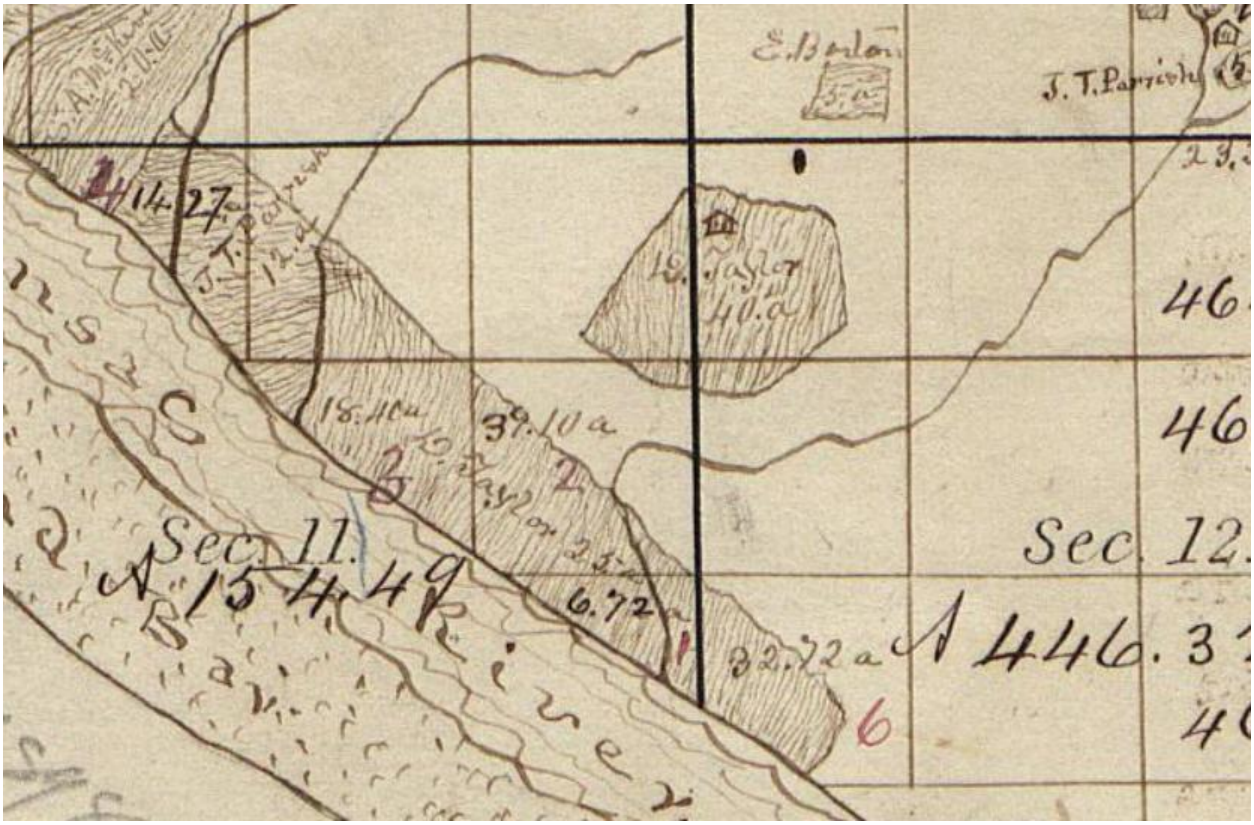
Exabit

Sec. 34
Sec. 35
Sec. 36
40.07
26.46
160.41
160.67
160.78
160.74
160.72
47.19
Q
R
S
Scale 40 Chains to an

46.94
A 440.40
Sec. 3
Sec. 2
Sec. 1
A 507.28
46.86
A 626.25
46.78
46.70
Sand Bar
Sec. 10
Sec. 11
Sec. 12
A 154.49
A 446.32
46.66
46.66
46.66
46.66

Exibit

46.94
1
A 507.28
46.86
2
Sec. 1.
Sec. 2.
26.25
23.41
3
46.78
46.70
4
J. T. Parrish
23.33
1
46.66



SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Early daguerreotype of Dwight Mission supposedly from Cephas Washburn's original *Reminiscences.* Photograph Negative number 16767. Taken prior to 1842, C.P. Moore Studio Anthony House, LR. Earlier tour through Cherokee territory Van Buren to Ft. Gibson, likely taken by him, matches the Sketch below, but in opposite direction.

Text here

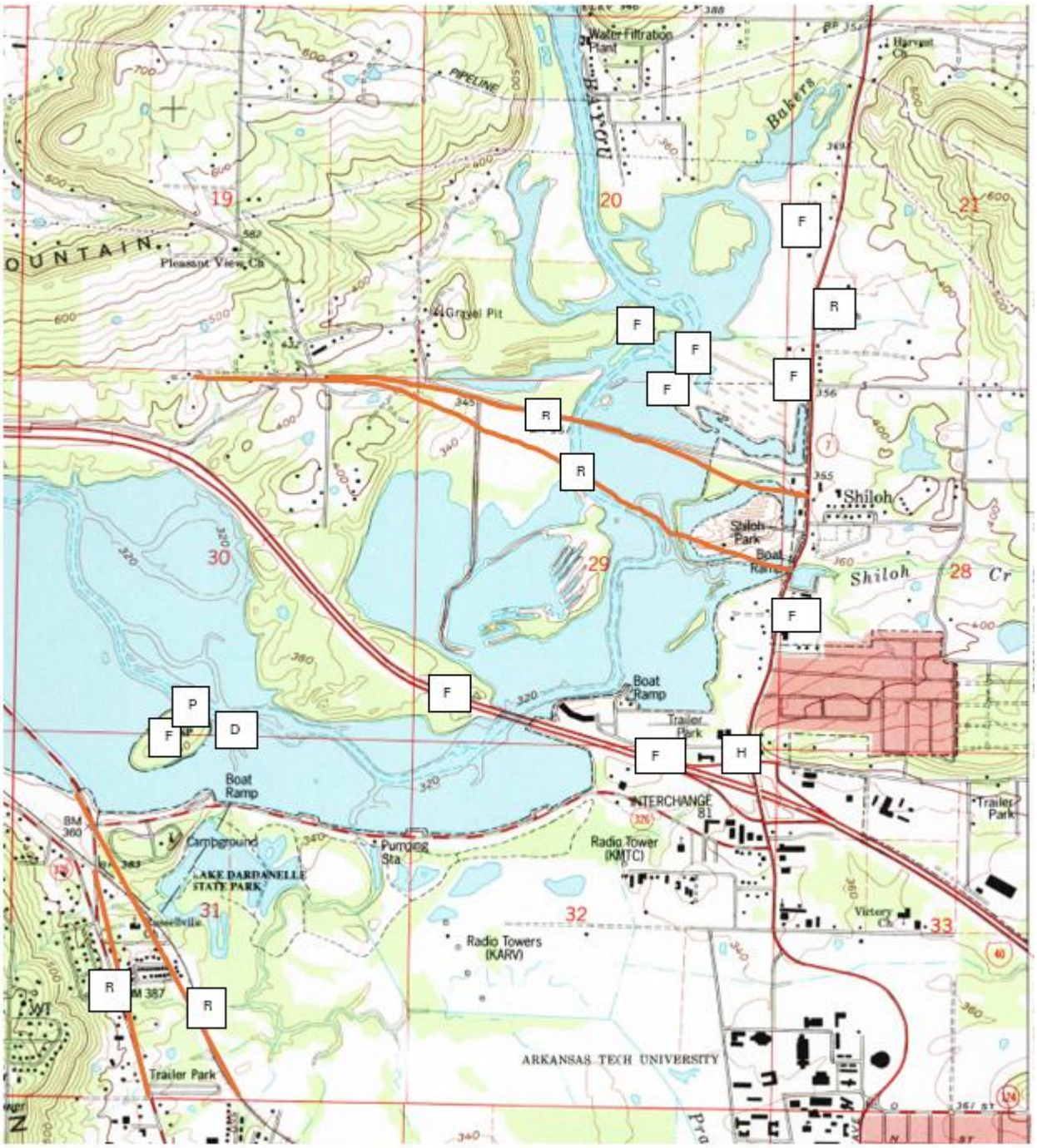

Water Filtration Plant
PIPELINE
BAYOU
Bakers
Harvest Ch
19
20
21
OUNTAIN
Pleasant View Ch
Gravel Pit
F
R
Shiloh
Shiloh Park
Boat Ramp
Shiloh
Cr
30
29
28
P
D
H
Boat Ramp
Trailer Park
INTERCHANGE 81
Campground
Pumping Sta
Radio Tower (KMTC)
LAKE DARDANELLE STATE PARK
31
32
33
Victory Ch
Radio Towers (KARV)
ARKANSAS TECH UNIVERSITY
Trailer Park

Exhibit View SW of Dwight Mission.

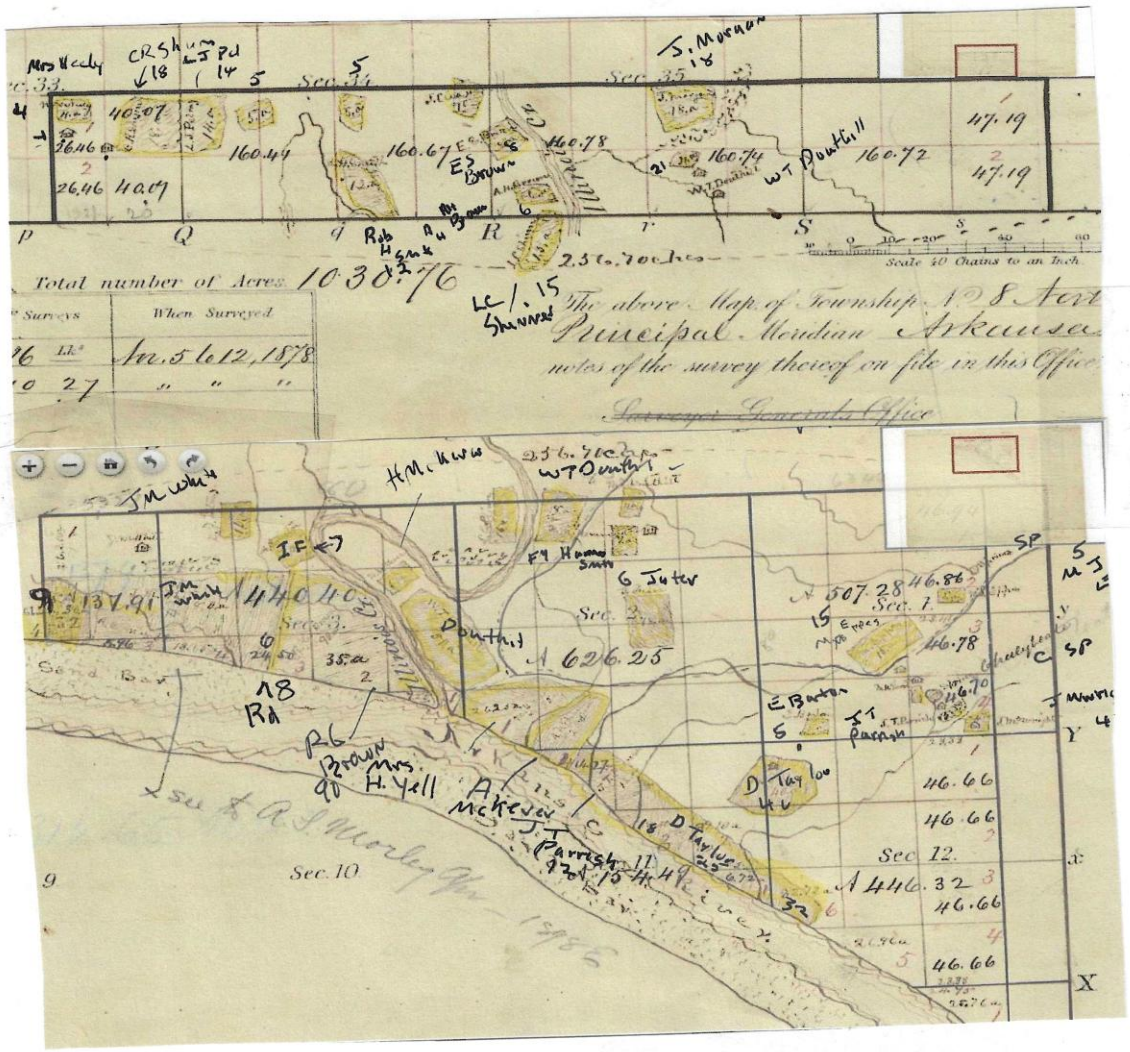


Exhibit 4. The images show the squatters in 1877.

MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

In 2005, within the Ozark-St. Francis National Forests' Forest Plan Revision (2005) the Arkansas General Land Office (GLO) records were compiled in Geographic Information Systems (GIS). The Chickamauga Nation employs this systematic sampling of Arkansas GLO records to begin their county-by-county settlement analysis; primarily because the two footprints overlap. Jurney, Foti, and Hocut (2005) captured the entrada of Old Settler (hereinafter Chickamauga) immigrants. Our work augments and expands theirs for the portion of the Arkansas River Valley from highest navigation (Norristown) to Arbuckle Island.

General Land Office Data, Ozark-St. Francis National Forests' Forest Plan Revision (2005); Jurney, Foti, and Hocut (2005)

ROCK MORTUARY ARCHITECTURE

The Chickamauga Cemetery Team (CCT) is documenting their traditional cultural landscape of America, specifically in Arkansas. The project combines archival research, informant interviews, and on-the-ground cemetery visits to known or reported cemeteries. The compiled information is presented in the following report

Discussion

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