"Until You do Right by Me, Everything You Even Think About Gonna Fail:" an Investigation Into the Macon Georgia Black Ancestors Buried Within Muscogee Nation Ceremonial Homelands who are Lost due to the Trauma of the Western Gaze

A Thesis

Presented in partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Masters of Arts

with a

Major in Anthropology

in the

College of Graduate Studies

University of Idaho

by

Maia N. Wilson

Major Professor: Katrina CL Eichner, Ph.D.

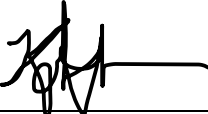Committee Members: Katharine Kolpan, Ph.D.; Mark Warner, Ph.D.

Department Administrator: Brian Wolf, Ph.D.

August 2021

Authorization to Submit Thesis

This thesis of Maia N. Wilson, submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts with a Major in Anthropology and titled "'Until You do Right by Me, Everything You Even Think About Gonna Fail:' an Investigation Into the Macon Georgia Black Ancestors Buried Within Muscogee Nation Ceremonial Homelands who are Lost due to the Trauma of the Western Gaze," has been reviewed in final form. Permission, as indicated by the signatures and dates below, is now granted to submit final copies to the College of Graduate Studies for approval.

Major Professor: _____ Date: _May 20, 2021

Katrina C.L. Eichner, Ph.D.

Committee Members: _____ Date: _May, 20, 2021

Katharine E. Kolpan, Ph.D.

_____ Date: _May 20, 2021_

Mark Warner, Ph.D.

Department
Administrator: _____ Date: _May 21, 2021

Brian Wolf, Ph.D.

Abstract

This thesis discusses the relationships of misplaced ancestors of perceived African ancestry and the Muscogee Nation's ancestral lands in Middle Georgia. These ancestors were excavated from Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park (OMNHP) almost 90 years ago (1930s and 1940s) in what is still considered the largest archaeological dig in U.S. history. They presently exist in a state of flux as they are held within the Smithsonian complex, considered unworthy of return for reburial. This thesis follows their afterlife in archives across three institutions across these 90 years that they have been disturbed from their journey. The objective here is to ask who and by what process can we investigate and decide contested identities of people who cannot self-advocate and how can we incorporate descendant-stakeholder oral histories and community wishes into how these misplaced ancestors are memorialized and treated? I develop their stories by utilizing the archaeological record, the documentary archive, and oral histories from descendant and stakeholder communities to better inform how archaeologists may begin to understand these people in an effort to repatriate people who are not so easily identifiable. In this way, the project makes efforts to decolonize the field of archaeology and the Academy as a whole.

Acknowledgements

I have a great deal of people to thank for their help in this project, and several organizations to acknowledge for their support in my research endeavors. Thank you to the University of Idaho Anthropology Department for investing in me and my work through assistantships and the Donald E. Crabtree Scholarship on behalf of the Crabtree Estate. Thank you to the National Science Foundation for awarding me with a Graduate Research Fellowship. This investment makes getting a PhD a reachable reality and gives me the chance to continue this project so I can make meaningful contributions in this profession of archaeology.

To my committee, Dr. Katharine Kolpan, Dr. Mark Warner, and Dr. Katrina Eichner, thank you for giving me such great guidance and support as a student, as a researcher, as a colleague, and as a person trying to figure out their path. I have been given such invaluable tools and memories working with you three. I will carry all that I can with me life-long. All of you challenged me and helped me grow tremendously. A special thank you to Dr. Eichner, my committee chair, for answering my late night texts and talking me down from the metaphorical ledge the moment I needed her.

Thank you to RaeLynn Butler and the Muscogee Nation's Historical and Cultural Preservation Office for meeting with me, giving feedback, and allowing me to work on their ceremonial ancestral lands. You were all so kind and welcoming. RaeLynn Butler, thank you for making space for me and this work. I hope to continue working with the Historical and Cultural Preservation Office in the future and provide my services to you someday. It would be the least I could do to return the kindness.

Thank you to the staff at Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park and at the Southeast Archaeological Center for their research assistance and insights. You are all warm people who were so helpful throughout the process of putting together this thesis. I give special thanks Lonnie Davis and Sam Rodgers from Ocmulgee. The two of you taught me everything I know about being as dedicated member of a cultural resources team and have always made time to help me learn and attain my professional goals. Thank you all of the knowledge, the laughs, and bringing so much light to the dungeon. I think of our time in together fondly. I hope retirement has treated you well, Lonnie.

Lastly, I look forward to the day that you get to step into Lonnie's former title, Sam. There is no better person for the job.

To the Black community members and non-Black community members that got involved in this work, thank you for sharing your words and your time with me. This has been the greatest work I have ever done, and I am so glad to share it with you. I look forward to working with more community members in the future and developing this African American history further.

Thank you to the Historic Macon Foundation's Executive Director, Ethiel Garlington, and Director of Communication, Oby Brown, for giving the project publicity to give this work a better chance to reach community members invested in local Macon history. Thank you to Yolanda Latimore, President of the Macon Cemetery Preservation Corporation, for your time and insights about caring for Black burial grounds. You were very honest with me and I enjoyed speaking with you.

To my fellow anthropology and archaeology cohort from the University of Idaho and from Washington State University, I would not have been able to complete this part of my academic and professional journey without all of you. Friday beers, group chats, dank memes, shared office spaces, carpools, crying sessions and writing groups are my fondest memories from my time completing this degree. You are all brilliant scholars, thoughtful classmates, and all around lovely people. I am thankful that we have been on this path together, and I am proud to have you all as my colleagues and friends. I cannot wait to see all that each and every one of you do in the future. You inspire me.

Dedication

I want to thank my family and all of my friends for their support and uplifting words. You kept me sane, picked me up when I was sure I could not continue the project, and made sure that I stayed grounded.

To all the ancestors lost and the families that seek them. May we find you and give you your stolen peace.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Affiliated Tribes of Ocmulgee Based on the Most Recent Repatriations

* The Absentee- Shawnee Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma

* The Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas (previously the Alabama- Coushatta Tribes of Texas)

* The Alabama- Quassarte Tribal Town

* The Catawba Indian Nation (aka Catawba Tribe of South Carolina)

* The Cherokee Nation

* The Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana

* The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians

* The Jena Band of Choctaw Indians

* The Kialegee Tribal Town

* The Miccosukee Tribe of Indians

* The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians

* The Poarch Band of Creeks (previously the Poarch Band of Creek Indians of Alabama)

* The Seminole Tribe of Florida (previously the Seminole Tribe of Florida- Dania, Big Cypress, Brighton, Hollywood & Tampa Reservations)

* The Shawnee Tribe

* The Chickasaw Nation

* The Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma

* The Muscogee (Creek) Nation

* The Seminole Nation of Oklahoma

* The Thlopthlocco Tribal Town

* The United Keetowah Band of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma

*** This list is as reported by Notices of Inventory Completion and Notices of Intent to Repatriate documents of the *Federal Register* in 2017. Further, the list of culturally affiliated communities and the list of communities that have interest in Macon-Bibb County are not entirely identical.

PROLOGUE: How I'm Finna Talk…

  This thesis participates in language inclusion and accessibility. I have decided to include Black English/African American Vernacular English (AAVE), sometimes called Black Vernacular English, in this writing. Some of these phrases do not have a direct translation. The pointed choice to not include translations for some of the language is for several reasons. I include the literary influence of Zora Neale Hurston, who was a proponent of writing with Black English, in my list of reasoning. Hurston's 1937 text *Their Eyes Were Watching God* was a literary marvel for Black literature. The book paints a fictional story that highlighted the realities of being Black in America in the early 20th century. In the world of the text, and in the world that I exist in, Black people daily have to reconcile navigating a socially unjust America and proudly remain within their Blackness. Hurston writes the text in AAVE. It is the language these individuals would use to talk to one another in the real world, in our Black worlds. AAVE's intentional use by Hurston was revolutionary in allowing a typically ridiculed audience where depictions of us were still majority minstrelsy, to see ourselves with the humanity that we would be denied in mainstream white media. To an even greater extent, the book is led by a Black woman named Janie telling her story in AAVE to recount her experiences in her world. The characters not only looked like us and walked through life like us, they sounded entirely like us.

  Lorraine Hansberry's *A Raisin In The Sun* (1959) provided the same opportunity twenty years after the publication of *Their Eyes Were Watching God* while taking the images and sounds of Blackness further by having her Black characters move into a white neighborhood. The plot of a Black family moving into a middle-class white neighborhood plays with the idea of moving Blackness into the mainstream where there is opportunity, visibility, and mobility. I want readers to have a chance to recognize themselves in the same revolutionary way. Concurrently, I want those who exist outside of marginalized and disenfranchised communities to recognize the humanity of myself and participating stakeholders in the same way that Black, Brown, and Indigenous people must make heroes of white characters who lead the majority of the stories of American history, literature, and film.

Black feminists like Hurston, possibly the first recognizable Black Feminist anthropologist, have created a space wherein Black feminism entails personal narrative on personal terms: tell your story, paint your portrait, on your terms, with your words (Battle Baptiste 2011; Collins 1990; Franklin 2001; hooks 1990; Walker 2003). It is why Black Feminists can firmly use I. The language use ensures one's presence in the story that cannot be extrapolated out. Storytelling where the center of the story is a person who is not male, is not white, and is not wealthy or prestigious is a central exercise of Black Feminist writing (Battle-Baptiste 2011; hooks 1990; McClaurin 2001). For example, Whitney Battle-Baptiste situates herself in her 2011 book *Black Feminist Archaeology* by describing her professional experiences and portions of her identity that colored her interactions with the discipline of archaeology, including experiencing invisibility, poor choices, anxieties and feelings of inadequacies, and shortcomings. So, know that I am not the first, second, third, or fiftieth person nor will I be the last to use cultural language to situate my personal narrative in my academic work, to rigidly use I in my writing, and to focus on the people over the artifact.

I implore that the reader accept the fact of translation absence considering a piece of insight I was granted by Dr. Philip Stevens as we explored Indigenous Ways of Knowing: If you do not understand it, it is not meant for you. I couple this with the following: There are things you are meant to know and there are things you are not meant to know. There is x knowledge and y knowledge that I shouldn't have because I am not x or y, but I should have relationships with x people and y people. Understand this thesis as a chance to build and grow a relationship. Be assured, it is not a failure or a blemish to not have access to some pieces of cultural knowledge as there are cultural spaces that one is not always meant to enter until invited in. I further assure the reader that all who read this will still walk away understanding the points of the work and seeing the intellectual contributions of this thesis. It is supremist to think that one is due all possible knowledge, and it is unfortunately a major undercurrent of Western sciences. I might inform you of what some of this cultural language means. However, if it must be explained and broken down too far into some sterile scientific language, it then loses the love, the essence of the language, the energy. It is no longer what it was originally, and this ends the vitality of the alternative language. To explain the decision itself of this language use feels

similar to this killing of language I have described, but I maintain the ability to see the importance of transparency in methodology and can see that explaining gives an opportunity to help you feel better prepared for this reading.

First, the myth of standard or proper (White) English as the right use of the English language unfairly impacts those who are multilingual, have an accent, and/or regularly use a dialect that is not native to the area in which they attend school or work. "… Compulsory education in America compels accommodation to exclusively White forms of 'English.' White English, in America, is 'Standard English,'" (Jordan 2007: 161). In the conception of test writing, there is a discussion that language use and cultural backgrounds need to be considered. Standardized tests are normalized/standardized by the epistemes of the majority group, and the issue is called cultural bias (Arewa 1977; Green and Griffore 1980; Marlaire and Maynard 1990). Majority group is the vague way of saying white and middle class. I have experienced multiple instances of language policing for my use of improper English. Positionality in AAVE is relational as opposed to exact. For example, the phrase "I'm going to x's house," would be said as "Imma be over x [no possessive] house," or "Imma be by x's." Even at 25 years old, my issues with positionality and prepositions continue because of this. I am not always able to differentiate the two as both exist for me as correct. The accommodation for Standard English and the resulting sanctioning by authority figures in academic and professional spaces to curb the use of non-Standard English is the reason that code-switching exists. Multilingual students and specifically students where English is not their first language must prove their English proficiency by a standardized test no matter their spoken proficiency. The cultural biases of these tests remaining unaddressed, scores continue to misleadingly demonstrate an ineptitude for the English language (Meaghan and Casas 2004). Coleman's chapter in *College Composition and Communication* specifies that educators have noticed that English as Second Dialect (ESD) students, although attempting to use Standard English, write in an accent (i.e. written AAVE's spelling is based on phonological design- spelled exactly how it sounds) (Coleman 1997).

Moreover, English is considered a universal language. It takes many forms while being employed across the global landscape. The global varieties of English are encapsulated in the term World English (Kachru and Smith 2008). Standard English thus

does not exist as defined by some American academia. The white elite created the standard form. As such, it is easily inadequate considering the world is not entirely white or entirely elite. Standard English of Westernized societies then cannot translate globally. So, it is culturally insensitive, blind, and elitist 1) to believe that this small white elite might be able to police a global language and 2) to believe that Black, Brown, and Indigenous peoples and non-Western societies- elite or not- somehow pervert the English language by bending it to work for their intentions and goals (Kachru and Smith 2008). Second, the use of alternative forms of English is not synonymous with low intellect or deficiency in ability to communicate and comprehend complex ideas even though Western education was foundational in suggesting that they were and are (Kachru and Smith 2008; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006). These languages have rules and structure/syntax, and even more, it is very apparent when the language has been misused. Language is about communicating ideas for the purpose of accomplishing target goals and naming intentions, and that best happens when the language includes the best fit lexicon and structure for individual purposes (Kachru and Smith 2008). Goals and intentions, values, ideas, and knowledge are culturally bound. Therein we need to use culturally relevant language. Culturally relevant language means needing to first understand what is culturally relevant, and that is to know the cultural context. When the cultural context is absent, the language use can feel disingenuous. The speaker is more likely to misuse it, and I know. Every time AAVE is misused, I know. How is it not a language by the same basic tenants that make standard English, French, Q'eqchi Maya, or Muscogean dialect Creek complete languages with intentional design, if misuse can so easily be caught by native AAVE speakers?

I want to move toward my goals with the inclusion of Black English. I find it would be counterintuitive to attempt to make this thesis- that challenges who and how to story tell- conform to standard English especially when the stories I gathered were told in multiple languages. I want to engage multiple audiences, including the academy, but more importantly, I want to centralize my collaboration with descendant stakeholder communities. My choice in centralizing stakeholder descendant communities is akin to the practice of progressive stacking. It is a technique employed in educational and professional spaces wherein questions, comments, and concerns are prioritized so that

those coming from participants and audience members from communities most directly impacted by the discussion topic and typically less visible-audible (women, BIPOC, LGBTQ+, disabled, etc.) are addressed first (Wright 2018). The objective is that minority voices are elevated and encouraged to be heard. The historically less visible-audible must be able to recognize themselves in this work, further supporting the use of AAVE. This does not mean that these communities I worked with would not be able to digest formal/standard English, but I want to make sure they can recognize their words reflected in the writing as they spoke it into the project. Jordan communicates a similar point to what I am saying here, "the syntax of a sentence equals the structure of your consciousness," (2007: 164). How one speaks about the world is how they see and experience the world. How stakeholder communities speak about their ancestors is how they have seen and experienced these ancestors, and this includes speaking on not knowing who these ancestors were.

In this decolonization of language, there is participation in decolonization of anthropology and greater academia. The thesis I present here follows the forementioned long-established practice of academic decolonization- Baldwin (1993), Battle-Baptiste (2011), Canagarajah (2020), Carey (2019), Collins (1990), Flores (2013), Franklin (2001), Hanna (2019), hooks (1990), Hurston (1935), Kubota (2016), Mutua and Swadener (2004), Ngugi wa (1986), Whit and Draycott (2020). From this list of scholarly participation in decolonization of archaeology, anthropology, education, economics, and more incorporating language use beyond standard English, this thesis sits in great company. I let this group speak to the scientific rigor of my choice to use AAVE, because for me to do a complete justification would mean feeling the pressures of the Academy's propensity to put the onus on minority contributors to validate their space, voice, and identities within the Ivory Tower. I practice self-advocacy in deciding when I will and will not take on that extra emotional and intellectual labor.

The practice of inclusion of language is not unique to this work. I do hope that you, the reader, will critically engage and participate in this language use. If this makes you uncomfortable or you have thoughts as to how or why this may get in the way of the real science in this thesis, I have one final thought to offer you: *Dis how I'm finna talk*

CHAPTER 1: Introduction- Really?! It's Black Folx Out Here?!- Me
Where I sit

Most children that attended school in the Middle Georgia school district took a field trip to the colloquially named Indian Mounds. I wenton two fieldtrips- one in fifth grade (2006) and again in eighth grade (2009). Evidence of the of Creek Indian occupation on this cultural landscape that is marked by mound structures fascinated me. This reinforced a mystic and mythologized narrative I was taught of the Indian. By the end of middle school, I understood Indians as a singular group of people that Western education claimed no longer existed. I learned of an appropriated singular Indigenous past but not of varied contemporary Indigenous existences. My interests in alternative histories, invisible histories, and self-narrated identities began with these trips. I needed to know every possible detail about the people memorialized at Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park (OMNHP), but not truly recognized in any of the textbooks or fifty-minute power-points I was provided during my K-12 education.

In 2017, I began working as a volunteer for Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park (state site 9Bi1) through the Volunteer-In-Parks program. Then named Ocmulgee National Monument, I was trained by the cultural resource team that included now retired curator, Lonnie Davis, and museum technician, Samantha Rodgers. My volunteer position as curatory support technician included major duties such as helping catalog backlogged artifacts in the curatory. Curatory here means the collections or repository wherein the artifacts not displayed on the museum floor are processed, accessioned, repaired/cleaned if needed, and stored. Curatory is the term that the cultural resources team uses to refer to the combined repository of artifacts and archive of documents. Artifacts and documents are stored to their respective needs, but the space is shared. Being immersed in this curatory setting comes with great cultural education. During this time, I had daily conversations with Mr. Davis that would be the beginnings of a research topic. Late 2017 to early 2018, I was first made aware of Black ancestors being buried within OMNHP. I wanted explanations as to why they remained misplaced in time and space because of their continued invisibility in the Smithsonian's retainment of their remains. I took up the work to document and repatriate OMNHP's Black ancestors in 2019.

The interaction in a liminal space of persons with marginalized existences is the focus of thesis project. Through collaboration with the Muscogee Nation (also known as Muscogee (Creek) Nation on official documentation; MCN) and the local Black communities of Macon, GA, my thesis considers how processes of racial and ethnic identification have been enacted and negotiated in the past and present. My work focuses on a group of individuals buried at Ocmulgee Mounds Historical National Park (Muscogee ancestral lands) who have previously been categorized as African ancestors. Using the archaeological record in conjunction with oral histories and a robust documentary archive in the coming chapters, my research grapples with how the process of racialization has been mapped on Black ancestors in three different time periods: when their remains were originally excavated in the early twentieth century, their re-evaluation during the mid- to late- twentieth century, and in contemporary discourses centered on contested histories. I am specifically focusing on narratives and histories surrounding the institutional treatment of Black ancestors associated with OMNHP.

This work further considers the repatriation of Black Americans, the negotiation of contested histories within diverse descendant communities, and the use of oral histories in retelling stories of the past. I am particularly interested in addressing how both NAGPRA and the dead bill of the 2020 Congress for recording African American burial grounds may not directly cover the repatriation of all individuals deemed Indigenous under NAGPRA or Black under the African American Burial Ground Network Act (H.R. 1179) because of Western law that often fails to consider that Blackness and Indigeneity are complex identities. They cannot be defined by Western institutions like the Western academy or the Western judiciary. Even though these communities have internalized Westernized epistemes which are the placed in the center, Indigenous and Black communities markedly exist on the fringes, also called the margin.

I want to further situate myself here. I identify as a Black woman with lost Indigenous affiliation due to vanishing familial oral traditions. As a woman from the African diaspora where we presently create familial ties that ignore and are not entirely based on biological kinship, a lasting cultural product and survival technique to cope with the moving and removing of biological family during chattel slavery, I find myself frustrated at the treatment of Black ancestors in this case as if they are my own family. I

recognize to make any form of connection between the subject and the researcher that is not purely objective falls outside of the best practices that traditional Western anthropology and archaeology would endorse (Boaz [1896] 1940; Risjord 2007; Thomas 2000). The pedagogy of objectivity is born out of anthropological and archaeological concerns with leveling themselves as hard sciences- any discipline that would fall within STEM programs and utilizes the basic tenants of the scientific method- absent of objectivity thus results are as true as possible, because they are acultural, absent of biases, and rigid. Social sciences or humanities are thus considered soft due to their flexibility and focus on humanity that is always imbued with abstract and fluid context. I would like to follow in Juliet McGraw's, of the Cathlapotle Plankhouse, footsteps of then identifying myself as "a hard scientist with soft edges," (McGraw, Nevertheless She Persisted Panel NWAC, April 2021). In the context of this thesis, the phrase refers to myself as a descendant stakeholder researcher who upholds the scientific method in the process of rigorous study but simultaneously centers humanity, cultural context, concerns, and investments of the communities I collaborate with and of myself (Battle-Baptiste 2011; hooks 1990; Voss 2008). My investment isn't going anywhere because my existence is permanent. I will continue to experience the world I live in as a Black woman, and it is an inextricable experience. I accomplish becoming a hard scientist with soft edges by highlighting the people of this thesis, remaining forthright about my identity connections to the project, and inserting myself and participants with AAVE language use so that the worldviews and oral traditions contributed retain their vitality.

Black Feminist Theory (BFT): Make It Female and Make It Black, As You Should

Black Feminist Theory (BFT) is inspired by Feminism and Black intellectual thought, two epistemological traditions that at times interact, sometimes conflict, yet hold the same desired actions of social transformation, equity, and justice (McClaurin 2001: 5). "As part of a Black intellectual tradition, [Black feminist theorists in the U.S] claim a consciousness that identifies race as a social construction," that is enforced by living a reality where structures in place come with real, visceral, and harsh impacts in economic, social, and political realms (McClaurin 2001: 5). Within its field of study, BFT includes the global African diaspora, a phrase commonly used across disciplines (e.g. African and Africana Studies, African diaspora centered studies, Black and African

anthropologies/archaeologies, etc.) and which hereinafter refers to the scattered collective of African persons and descendants to any other part of the world due to voluntary movement or involuntary removal and dispossession of space (Harris 1979; Larson 2008 McClaruin 2001; Walker 2015; Zeleza 2010). Although the definition of African diaspora carries a silent global designation, BFT highlights its global reach to disrupt the centering of Westernized African diaspora. African diaspora studies in the United States have traditionally focused on the African diaspora within the United States as Black and African archaeologies began as slave archaeology and plantation archaeology, which contributed to a disproportionate study of the African diaspora in the Western hemisphere and the Global North (McClaurin 2001; Ndhlovu 2016).

  To best qualify Black feminism's place in the project, I present terminology that breaks down how BFT is framed. I conclude that the term *Black* refers to persons of African descent who recognize themselves to have a colonized ancestry and history and who also feel the varied lived experiences of being part of the African diaspora historically and presently. Moreover, *Black* both qualifies an African ancestry and the particular reality(ies) of displacement due to encounters with colonial Western culture, knowledge, and institutions. It remains an identity that is not so easily defined, because Blackness is constantly imagined and reimagined (De Walt 2013; Wright 2006). Due to the dynamic nature of Black identities' definition, I will not participate in stripping persons of African descent of the agency to identify how they see fit due to their geographical location (De Walt 2013; Wright 2006).

  In this thesis, *colonial/Western/traditional* refers specifically to the United States. I also use the term *homeplace*. bell hooks put forth the *homeplace* concept in her 1990 book *Yearning*. She described *homeplace* as a restorative space wherein Black people, particularly Black women, recreate or create a place for themselves and their families. Black people use *homeplaces* to self-validate their humanity and self-determine a new shared identity in response to chattel slavery's strategic efforts to strip their sense of self. In a *homeplace*, Black people could resist the complete disruption of retaining connection from their ancestral lands/cultures and/or resist colonial efforts to keep the colonized from crafting new shared identities, communities, and families. It would seem the identity of *Black*, because of its ethnogenesis hinging on events creating diaspora, exists

in Western societies and outside of the *homeplace* (hooks 1990; Morris 2017; Voss 2008; Wright 2006: 146). Those who are African and reside in Africa, never having been entirely removed from *homeplace* (though it has been deeply fragmented by colonialism), do not typically self-identify as Black. Among African peoples not residing in Africa, Black is used in place of ancestral identities like Hutu, Zulu, Maasai, Samburu or African nationalities like Nigerian, Ethiopian, or Kenyan because of the lost cultural knowledge. Given the packaged complexities of African diaspora and colonialism, Black Feminist Theory (and archaeology) looks cross-nationally, like the typical anthropological gaze, but also inwardly which is aligned with the Black intellectual gaze (McClaurin 2001: 9).

Under the BFT framework, feminism contributes to the understanding of gendered experiences that, for a Black female researcher like myself, compounds institutional encounters. Blackness and womanhood do not exist in me separately, neither do others perceive these two identities of me separately. The idea is that gender and gender identity are as integral in framing experience as race/ethnicity. The lens of feminism in anthropology/archaeology often entails description away from the dominant figures (e.g. white men of prestige) that form part of the American history monolith (Hays-Gilspin 2000). The American history monolith is the core history curriculum that all American students are taught that disseminates a homogeneous doctrine of events and figures throughout America's inception and development. Notable feminist research in archaeology and anthropology includes Hurston (1935)- documented oral histories of Eatonville, Florida which is one of the first Black towns self-determined and governed by its Black inhabitants, Davis (1978)- looking at PaleoIndians of southern California and in novel fashion included feminine voices in archaeological narrative and her personal narrative of doing the work, Spector (1983)- developed the task differentiation approach to trace women in archaeological record by gendered activity, and Watson and Kennedy (1991)- found evidence that women likely responsible for plant domesticates which had originally been attributed to male religious leaders. Through a focus on intersectional and marginalized identities, BFT makes visible a shared sex- and gender- based equity problem.

Unsurprisingly, traditional second-wave feminism (1960s to 1980s) is less useful for this work in that it fails to recognize the intersectional nature of identity, with

gendered experience being compounded by race/ethnicity, class, education, and sexuality dimensions and more (Evans 1995). Second-wave feminism is marked by the major issues of workplace discrimination and systemic sexism. Its framing suggested that issues of discrimination and equality were described as homogenous experiences that did not take into account the compounding other identities that could worsen discrimination and equity work (Evans 1995: 2). Thus, second-wave lacks intersectionality for queer women, women of color, disabled women, women in poverty, and so forth. Black feminism is the divergent line where second-wave/white feminism meets Black intellectual tradition.

Black feminist theory gets its foundation through the seminal work of writers like Adefarakan (2011), Battle-Baptiste (2011), Hill Collins (1990), Franklin (2001), hooks (1990), Hurston (1928, 1937), and Wells (1892, 1970). Importantly, the Black feminist agenda builds on theory but hinges on action and activism. Intellectual thought and political activism are cross-applied/bidirectional (Collins 1990; Franklin 2001). Political activism requires intellectual thought, and persons applying intellectual thought to address their community concerns, desires, and intentions is political work. Black Feminism is an actionable theory defined by the socio-political activism of Black & African American women that shaped the theoretical home attempting to call women and men to action in creating a better humanistic community (Franklin 1997; Taylor 1998: 251).

Black Feminist Theory contributes to archaeology specifically in the growth of African and Africana archaeologies, plantation archaeology/slave archaeology, decoloniality, community and public archaeology, as well as descendant stakeholder research (hooks 1990; Flewellen et al. 2021; Franklin 1997; Ndhlovu 2016). In turn, BFT birthed the critical 'x' theoretical school by demonstrating how researchers may apply scientific rigor to alternative histories and experiences through highlighting the non-white, non-elite, and non-male (Battle-Baptiste 2011; Bell 1995). Then, there is the coupling of the alternative histories/experiences lens with the objective of some activistic actionable result that addresses the specific major concerns and issues of the stakeholder communities of study (Collins 1990; Franklin 2001).

...So what's the move?...

The application of Black feminist theory in this specific project is about 1) my perspective as a Black woman researcher highlighting that existence in America is beyond white, male, and possessing sizeable and/or unique capital, 2) making it clear that telling/knowing the story of marginalized groups must include these persons in the narrative formation because their perspectives and struggles are uniquely experienced, and 3) recognizing institutional inequity and that some attempt at correcting it is endemic to good anthropology/archaeology (Collins 1990; Flewellen et al. 2021: 4). Spillers (2006) argues real Black culture is made up of the pieces, feelings, thoughts, and spaces un-named; I consider the phrase mentioned by Stevens, "if you do not understand it, it is not meant for you" (Stevens, Indigenous Ways of Knowing, December 2020). Whatever Black culture/heritage is, it is a space wherein Black women (and Black men, Black gender absent, and Black gender queer) are supplied a space of (re)charge and provided a toolkit to navigate discrimination that forms part of everyday existence and make it into some new thing that serves us. Considering Black feminism as such a space harkens back to the homeplace concept (hooks 1990; Voss 2008). Black feminist archaeology is a homeplace wherein scholars have the ability to safely and actionably contribute to themselves and to the communities they engage with.

Of the four themes Collins (1990) introduced to Black feminist theory, I apply the following to my archaeological work. A central theme/tenet of BFT is uplifting the process of creating self-definitions and self-valuations that enable the establishment of positive, multiple images that functionally repel negative and/or controlling representations of Blackness (Collins 1990; Franklin 2001). In this project, I have used interviews to accomplish a return of power to define and bound up identity as a Black ancestor to the living Black communities that are most impacted by Black ancestor memory and narrative. This approach is grounded in a critical discussion that re-evaluates the patriarchal nature of Western society over those it has attempted to subjugate. In this is an expressed mission of narrative control and disruption of negative myths.
Help is contextually dependent. To be Black in America is racially polarizing and political. Working with or living in these community spaces makes stakeholder researchers abundantly aware of the political disservice Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities historically and presently endure. This is reminiscent of the code of ethics

for anthropology/archaeology "do some good," and its transformation from "do no harm." You cannot frame Black communities without this element, and all Critical 'x' theories (Adefarakan 2011; Brayboy 2005; Collins 1990; Wells 1892; Wilson and Yellow Bird 2005; queer theories: Croucher 2005; Weismantel 2013) tell us that activism is a pillar in the BFT framework. Identifying, understanding, and collaborating on Black issues, recording them for academic/professional advancement, but not engaging in the work of addressing communities' concerns is exploitative.

Repatriation Politics: Western Traditional Institutional Definitions of the Not Western and the Not Traditional

It stuck with me that Black ancestors would continue to be traumatized after their burial. They were removed through excavation and development. Then they were retraumatized in that they've been regarded as specimen meant to be held in a repository where they remain lost in time and space. Even though institutions like the Smithsonian and the National Park Service have increased their efforts for repatriative work that is absolutely worth commending- NPS repatriation at OMNHP (Rutland/MCNPR 2017), Mississippi returns stolen remains of Chickasaw people (Sharp 2021), five hundred year old Mayan urn returned to Mexico from Albion College (Marowski 2021), Penn Museum listening to community demands and repatriating the Black skulls of Morton's skull collection (Crimmins 2021), we (archaeologists, museum specialists, museums, cultural research institutions, etc.) are still wrong when we create a hierarchy of who deserves return and who does not. It reinforces the paternalistic positioning of Western science over cultural knowledge and experiences (Burkhart 2004; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006; Sternberg and Grigorenko 2006; WatsonVerran and Turnbull 1995). In this paternal position, Western science in some form gets to dictate identity classification of communities/groups whose identities Western societies disrupted with colonization. Such a scenario can be particularly absurd when descendant and stakeholder communities are expressing that deservedness of repatriation extends to all people and the connection the community has to these individuals is not entirely bound by some biological link. So I ask the question who should be making decisions about the cultural identity of buried ancestors?

H.R. 1179/S. 2827 The African American Burial Ground Network Act (AABGNA) is the first phase in NAGPRA-style legislation aimed at protecting African American and Black graves. This act would create a network for Black stakeholder groups to communicate with The National Park Service and Department of Interior (DOI) and to facilitate documentation of historic Black and African burials. Advocates hope that H.R. 1179 may be amended to include the topics of consultation, repatriation, and reinterment. In terms of its current status, the bill died in the 2020 Congress- passed in the Senate, but not by the House (Govtrack.us 2021). This legislation, currently in the process of gathering survey data from persons and organizations that care for Black and African burial grounds to inform AAGBNA's rewrite and resubmission, would be the first act to apply to all African burial grounds across the United States (K. Struckman in email, April 2021). If the act and its subsequent amendment detailing repatriative processes were to pass, it could directly impact the Black ancestors I have made the focus of this project. The Smithsonian, where the remains currently sit, does not have a repatriation protocol for Black bodies, making them subject to H.R. 1179 mandates. The remains also came out of federally owned land that is overseen by the National Park Service. H.R. 1179's most recent draft pointedly addressed National Park Service and DOI.

H.R. 5237 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) is legislation that develops mandates and guidelines to identify and map connections between living Indigenous communities and Indigenous burials and cultural materials that were seized by uninvited and colonialist archaeology. It was passed in 1990. NAGPRA does not apply to the Smithsonian's Museum of Natural History- meaning the Smithsonian does not have to comply with repatriative action as mandated by NAGPRA. NAGRPA's lack of jurisdiction is because the Smithsonian put in place their own set of repatriative codes before the passing of NAGPRA called the National Museum of the American Indian Act. The Smithsonian was then written outside of NAGPRA's reach. I want to speak on NMAIA and NAGPRA as they facilitate a few goals for the repatriation politics that also surround Black ancestors. These two acts may be used as a case study modeling what components serve target communities well, what doesn't, and how

AABGNA might be written to attract the needed governmental support for passing while also prioritizing Black and African diaspora concerns and self-evaluations.

I was given some direction by the Muscogee Nation and Dorothy Lippert (Tribal Liaison for the National Museum of Natural History) in the summer and fall of 2020 that the National Museum of the American Indian is easier to work with and much more related to this project focus. NMAI is more related in that they particularly focus on repatriation claims from the Smithsonian, including a case from the MCN and OMNHP that was pseudo resolved in 2018. It is considered the easiest point of entry for the project, because of the pre-existing relationships between NMAI, MCN, and OMNHP. RaeLynn Butler (Manager of the Historic and Cultural Preservation Department at the Muscogee (Creek) Nation) noted,

> In our opinion, it is much harder to repatriate from Natural History than it is with other institutions under NAGPRA. NMAI, a Smithsonian museum, on the other hand is not so bad to work with. Natural History is the hardest. It took them more than five years to review our request for repatriation of Ocmulgee ancestors. There were about [fifty] individuals they would not give back to us. They determined that the MCN was not connected to the earlier occupations [Woodland and Mississippian era] and only let us repatriate the proto-historic and historic burials in their collection (Butler in email, July 2020).

Refusal to repatriate MCN's recognized ancestors is contentious considering it is known history to the MCN that these traditions, Woodland and Mississippian, were speaking an earlier version of Muskogean language (Davis in pers. Comm. 2020; Gentleman of Elvas [1557] translated by Hackluyt 1609). This connection of traditions is further supported by the continuation of building traditional homes (all thatched of a particular height and oval shape) by contemporary Muscogee Nation that has been attributed to the Woodland era tradition (OMNHP Indian Celebration scrapbook, n.d.). Current Muscogee Nation demonstrate this house building form at the OMNHP Indian Celebration. Further, there was evidence of shared mortuary practices between multiple Muskogean-Creek communities that Henry Yarrow witnessed in the late 1800s- temporary internment, subsequent scraping of flesh to bone, permanent burial of bone- and Mississippian era burials excavated at OMNHP that showed the same signs of post-mortem flesh scraping (Yarrow 1879, 1880: 93-94). These are the same duties that historic figure Juan Ortiz

performed while held by the Cacique Utica (Creek community) in the early sixteenth century (Smith 1960: 30-35). These mortuary, linguistic and architectural connections also speak to the problem of framing of Indigenous cultures that assume they collapsed and disappeared following colonization (Fagan [1991] 2005; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006; Smith 2000). Collapse suggests that there was faulty design of Indigenous life and was destined to fail. Disappearance ignores Indigenous resilience, the continued cultural connections that Indigenous communities express feeling, and cloaks contemporary varied Indigenous communities with an ascribed invisibility and strips voice.

For example, the literature of NAGPRA specifies that only Indigenous communities with federally recognized sovereignty have rights to repatriation as they are legitimately Native by U.S. government standards. Because of this problematic definition of *Indigeneity* within the NMAI Act and NAGPRA, there are loopholes that destine some Indigenous material culture and human remains to not be returned. Sacred objects for instance must be proven to retain their use by religious figures to fulfil traditional Native religion practiced by contemporary Native communities (NAGPRA 1990: Section 2, lines 2-3). The glaring loophole is the vague nature of the language within both acts about what proves affiliation and at what point evidence proves cultural affiliation. This vague language makes the retainment of bodies and items easier to justify. Communities have to demonstrate to a committee, a new one drafted per repatriation case, "a preponderance of the evidence based upon geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, anthropological, linguistic, folkloric, oral traditional, historical, or other relevant information or expert opinion," (NAGPRA 1990: Section 7, subsection 4, lines 8-11). Preponderance is not operationalized, therein making the threshold of successfully proving contemporary connection to ancestral materials, landscapes, and populations a floating target.

Used to define tribal identity and categorize racial groups, NAGPRA and the NMAI Act have at times resulted in unclaimed remains or misidentified remains as members of another group. Tracking the frequency of failures to repatriate is difficult, because key federal agencies that participate in repatriation cases have in the past misreported or failed to report data about remains and items repatriated, on track to be repatriated, and not repatriated. As a unique project, the United States Government

Accountability Office tracked government agency compliance twenty years post NAGPRA. The 106 page report states that "through fiscal year 2009, 55 percent of the human remains and 68 percent of the associated funerary objects that have been published in notices of inventory completion had been repatriated, according to agency data and GAO's survey results," (GAO 2010; NATHPO 2010). Should there be another attempt at a claim of repatriation of OMNHP remains from the Smithsonian, it will be NMAI Act that will dictate the Smithsonian's actions/inaction and conclusions as well as inform the Smithsonian's appraisal of the claimants' ability to produce proof of affiliation for repatriation in reference to the Woodland and Mississippian remains and materials. For remains that are decidedly Black or Euro-American, I have found nothing to suggest what literature may be used by the Smithsonian.

The appraisal committee that makes the final decisions of affiliation and repatriation, which is discussed in the seventh and eighth section of NAGPRA, favors Western institutions even though the literature mandates the inclusion of people representing Indigenous concerns. A total of seven people, three of whom may be chosen by Indigenous entities, and two are required to be religious figures. Three more seats of this committee are filled by representatives from the institutions holding the sought out remains. The last member often sways the balance of Western input and Indigenous input. The appointed secretary of the team finalizes the makeup of the committee, usually personally selecting the final seat. "If a museum or other entity in possession of artifacts or remains does not feel that a reasonable amount of evidence exists to support a claim of affiliation the burden of proof falls to the Native nation seeking repatriation," (Williams 2018: 20). I find it hard to reconcile that these marginalized groups traumatized by Western institutions, institutions that thrived and were built up through colonial power structures and disruption of cultural identity(ies) would then get to make requirements of the same groups to prove their cultural connections (see accounts of Alice Fletcher's work) (Thomas 2000). The nationalistic and colonial history explained here makes it hard to parse out what assistance from Western institutions is meaning*less* and what is meaning*ful*. Not all museums and science institutions are bad actors, but in the age of Black Lives Matter, #LandBack, and Stop AAPI Hate, all museums and science

institutions are stained if they are not actively participating in decolonizing their spaces and decolonizing across spaces.

I argue that what works well is the ability to return proto-historic and historic materials and burials. The historic time period is recognized as the beginning of African burials begin in the United States. AABGNA (H.R. 1179) would benefit in including literature that mandates federal agency reporting by publishing repatriation inventory and action plans with the *Federal Register*. The committee formation guidelines need addressing to account for the biased processes that has potential to repeatedly favor museums and institutions over communities. GAO's report also recognized an alarming occurrence of unfit persons being appointed to repatriation committees. Language needs to adequately address committee qualifications. Among the most important inclusions for Black ancestor repatriation legislation is to poll Black and African American groups, as Kara Struckman of the National Parks Conservation Association and Kelly Lizarraga of the Coalition of American Heritage are presently doing, about what we would want repatriation legislation for Black ancestors to look like as well as what the needs and hopes are for Black and African American burial grounds.

Conclusion: The Institutional Problem

So, why do Black ancestors keep getting stuck in collections? Why are the Black ancestors, found during the 1930s and 1940s excavations of OMNHP, still subject to classification as collection specimen wherein they remain suspended in an unnecessary limbo outside of a temporal, cultural, or spatial context? This is the institutional problem I want to address. The identifying of Black ancestors is a component of discussing the problem of Black ancestors historically and presently stuck in collections, but the identification is not the major point of the arguments made by myself and collaborating stakeholders with the present work. It is the discussion of how Black bodies move through collections and the nature of treatment that Black bodies are subjected to. In order to successfully address this question, I first look at the archaeological record, documentary archive, and I center the opinions, concerns, and goals of the communities most impacted by Black ancestor misplacement to organize how to formulate Black ancestor repatriation.

Mandatory compliance for Black burials and grave goods is not the current standard for repatriation of historic Black human remains. Researchers of heightened investment in the treatment of Black bodies facilitate repatriation processes that they are not legally obligated to participate in. Vocal communities with resources- publicity, spending power, large amounts of available time, political sway, etc.- are integral to the return of Black bodies from research institutions, museums, and collectors.

CHAPTER 2: Background, Myth, and Documentary

Background

Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park

Ocmulgee National Monument (later Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park) was established via Presidential proclamation in December of 1936. It remains under the designation of the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior (National Park Service (1) 1940, 2010). The monument's creation was influenced by the mid twentieth century celebrating outdoor leisure activities (Datta 2018; Grey 1925; Thomas 2000: 139-141). President Theodore Roosevelt utilized this vanishing American trope to help propel the establishment of our national parks system. Slightly later, the New Deal presented a chance for archaeologists to help the presidential administration craft an American narrative that reinvigorates nationalistic ideologies, American exceptionalism, and expansion (Thomas 2000: 139-141). OMNHP is located on approximately 2,800 acres of Muscogee ancestral and ceremonial lands. It was utilized by the Indigenous Muscogee tribes, Euro-American colonists (most notably the Dunlap family), and enslaved and free African Americans over the course of 17,000 years of continuous human habitation (National Park Service (4) 2020).

The site of Ocmulgee sits on the Ocmulgee River (once known as Ochese Creek) and Walnut Creek (Appendix A, Fig 1.1). It has been attributed as being the same town named "Ocounelias" on the Beresford 1715 map and the town named "Ocumlgo" on the Barnwell-Hammerton 1721 map (Barnwell-Hammerton 1721; Beresford 1715; Appendix A, Fig. 1.2, 1.3). The area was initially dated by archaeologists using relative dating techniques including stratigraphy, seriation of the artifacts relative to their depth within the soil, and artifact typology. Evidence of occupation was found at Ocmulgee- Paleo period (15,000-8,000 BCE) through the Historic period (1540-present) (National Park Service (1), 1940, 2010). The name Ocmulgee translates to "boiling water" or "bubbling water." This region of the southeast was already in a state of change by the ancestral Muscogee well before the time that Macon, GA began to develop as a city in the early nineteenth century- the "Mississippian Climax" ended and European contact would deeply destroy many communities by disease and/or by force. Ceremonial centers like Ocmulgee were still inhabited from the 1500s into the 1700s, just no longer in a state of

rapid religious, economic, and population growth. Some Muscogee towns would continue to exist in Middle Georgia, but the Muscogee predominantly lived in Western Georgia by the time Jackson signed off on the Indian Removal act in 1830, leading to the "Trail of Tears," also known as the "Road of Misery" to Muskogean elders. I must recognize here that ceremonial, cultural, and ancestral ties are still honored, felt, taught, and practiced by the Muscogee Nation who are now centralized in Okmulgee, OK named after ancestral Ocmulgee.

This historical park features archaic mounds (Mound A/Great Temple Mound, Mound B/Lesser Temple Mound, Mound C/Funeral Mound, and Mound D/Cornfield Mound), a reconstructed ceremonial Earthlodge (Council House 1 or Council Chamber 1) with original floor, a European-Indian colonial trading post, prehistoric dugouts and defenses, an ancient corn cultivation field, Civil War trenches, and the Antebellum home of the Dunlap Plantation The variety of culture features speaks to a long history of occupation by a variety of racial and ethnic groups (Appendix A, Fig 1.4). The collections of OMNHP are tallied at 2.5+ million artifacts. The extent of the documentary collection is not concretely reported. Based on my firsthand experiences, OMNHP's documentary collection spans at least twenty four-drawer filing cabinets, each drawer measuring to fifteen inches wide by twelve inches tall by twenty-eight inches deep and able to hold about twenty-five inches of files. This measurement only accounts for documents with dimensions that would fit into a standard four-drawer filing cabinet. Maps and blueprints are outside of standard sizing.

OMNHP (the Macon Plateau site, state site number 9Bi1) was excavated from 1933 to 1941/1942. The excavations were conducted as part of Roosevelt's New Deal programs (Halchin for National Park Service 2019). This included men in the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the Civil Works Administration (CWA), and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (ERA & FERA) in the Southeastern United States. Across these programs, the work force at OMNHP totaled approximately eight-hundred men- none of them noted to have been trained archaeologists prior to OMNHP excavations (Appendix A, Fig 2.1). For the local Macon population, the excavation was a spectacle that they would visit for leisure and volunteer their time to with minimal monitoring. The community was quite welcome to

spend an afternoon participating in excavations. Descendants of excavation employees and volunteers to this day continue to donate items from the OMHNP excavations, suggesting that participants on the project regularly looted the site. The true tally of artifacts from excavation is unknown due to materials looted during the dig and the quick divvying of materials across repositories. At the time, Dr. Arthur R. Kelly was the Smithsonian Institutions' Director of excavations at the Macon Plateau site while James Ford assisted. Gordon Willey followed Ford as assistant to director of excavations in late 1936. Kelly would also keep a graduate student in his proximity for the purpose of transcribing his thoughts, observations, and interpretations in real time as Kelly did not typically take his own notes. The Smithsonian directed excavations at OMNHP only for the years 1933 through 1936, but Kelly would continue to direct excavations of OMNHP until the conclusion of digging in 1941-1942 (National Park Service (2), n.d.). The greater Macon, GA community is recognized as largely responsible for the onset of the dig and Ocmulgee's designation as a federal monument. Macon locals quickly raised funds needed to buy back the land lots that included Ocmulgee and the smaller connected Lamar site (Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science Division Southeast Region for National Park Service, in press: 103). Macon locals were also instrumental in encouraging Kelly's interest in the Ocmulgee Old Fields (OMNHP before federally named). They piqued his interest by presenting local knowledge of archaeological sites, information that Kelly was a proponent of using.

Kelly was involved in multiple digs simultaneously and often began his excavations with his spouse during leisure weekends by tapping into local knowledge to locate potential sites (L. Davis pers. comm. 2020). Kelly and Ford worked with the WPA to employ up to forty African American women as the archaeological field crew under the direction of white male supervisors for the Swift Creek site (state site number 9Bi3) in spring 1936 while OMNHP excavations were still taking place (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 69). It is this same group of women who would plant the natural boundary that surrounded the perimeter of OMNHP around the time of the museum's opening.

Kelly used the Chicago method of excavation at OMNHP. The Chicago method, originating at the University of Chicago and was taught as the main method of excavation in the 1930s and 1940s, is a rigorous excavation technique (Browman 2013). This

method was stratigraphy paired with horizontal stripping, vertical slicing, and balking (Cultural Resources, in press: 99). Kelly included five foot wide trenching. Walls of each trench would be altered if floors, larger structures, and sizeable artifacts were encountered that expanded the bounds of a trench (i.e., floor of Earth Lodge, noted as Council Chamber 1). In the late 1930s, Willey would incorporate pit style digging alongside the more commonly used trench work. Kelly's assistants, Willey and Ford, are considered the creators of culture-history of the southeast, which is based on the OMNHP excavations. Culture-history theory is a classification approach that attempts to make connections between precontact and ancient peoples with contemporary nations in a fashion that is similar to cultural evolution (Webster pp. 11 in Bentley, Maschner, and Chippindale 2008). Culture-history approaches often include rhetoric that fuels nationalist thought. They developed what they consider a chronology of southeastern prehistory (Ford and Willey 1941). Jesse Jennings and Charles Fairbanks also worked under Kelly, and Fairbanks would publish works on OMNHP throughout the 1950s. Grid systems were incorporated for the ease of mapping artifact locations with stakes placed every five feet. Tools of the excavation are archived at OMNHP. The shovel in particular was the most common tool. From my experience as a volunteer curatorial technician and museum specialist, "shovel incised" (scratching produced by shovel scrape) was a common component of the descriptions I created for records logged in the Interior Collection Management System (ICMS). Workers were trained to scrape layers of the Georgia clay with shovels predominantly for increased speed, to accommodate the breadth of the parcels dug, and to ideally minimalize damage and disturbance of artifacts *in situ*.

Forty-five men were trained to supervise the archaeological team, with each supervisor having been selected to participate in an archaeological night school that ran for three months. This was a late development, because the work force grew from 205 workers in December 1939 to approximately 300 by the following January (Cultural Resources, in press: 93). The positions of the night school included "trowel men, engineering assistants, laboratory technicians, and excavation foremen," (Walker 1994: 18). The field positions divided the work force into "burial men, trowel-men, profile trimmers, and shovel-men" (Cultural Resources, in press: 93). The crew grew to 700 men

in 1935, and peaked at 800 in August of 1935 (Cultural Resources, in press: 94; Walker 1994: 20). Georgia red clay soil is compact, highly acidic, and quickly breaks down organic material. The toughness of the soil did not allow for much use of smaller tools. The artistic interpretations and drawings of Joe Jackson aided OMNHP excavations. In several instances Jackson would combine existing drawings by multiple archaeologists and artist interpretation of Muscogee life into archaeological drawings, as well as produce unique three-dimensional drawings of excavation based on multiple archaeological documents (Appendix A, Fig 2.2; Halchin, National Park Service, 2019). Aerial photography of the excavations was facilitated by military fighter pilots in-training wherein pilots practiced steady low level flight benefitting OMNHP mapping and photography efforts.

Before my archive research in 2020, it was understood at OMNHP that burials uncovered across OMNHP parcels (Northern Plateau, Middle Plateau, Southern Plateau, and Ocmulgee Bottoms) were widely assumed to be only Muscogee citizens or at the very least Indigenous (Appendix A, Fig. 2.3). Material culture accompanying the burials was generally nondescript in terms of items signaling other cultural and ethnic groups beyond European trade items. For instance, this was during the point in time where colonoware was attributed to Indigenous communities and not the African diaspora. I reiterate that the archaeological crew was made up of men seeking employment during the Great Depression via New Deal programs. Interpretation was secondary to their ability to gather artifacts out of the ground, number them, and note their location. This is coupled with the knowledge that Kelly was recognized as the expert archaeologist on site. Willey, Ford, and Kelly's graduate students were considered archaeologists of lesser expertise to Kelly. The forty-five archaeological night school trained supervisors were considered of novice to intermediate expertise. Thus, only three archaeologists determined the culture attribution of uncovered materials despite the archaeological work force consisting of hundreds of government program employees and local Macon citizens at the site.

Southeast Archeological Center

The Southeast Archaeological Center (SEAC) was formed in 1966 (National park Service (5) 2020). SEAC is located in Tallahassee, FL. This facility is closely connected

to Florida State University, and holds collections from 70 National Parks and archaeological sites in the southeast. It is a regional archaeological center. SEAC facilities hold 2+ million artifacts that are also from OMNHP. The combined collection between the two facilities if 4.5+ million artifacts. This repository holds a representative collection from OMNHP that is comprised of sample cultural resources meant to represent the greater pool of material culture from OMNHP. In my professional experience, representative samples are not typically as large as the SEAC collection of OMNHP materials. I did not find any reports documenting the size of SEAC's documentary collections. In the 1970s, after SEAC established newer facilities, human remains from OMNHP were moved to this facility to protect them from the poorer conditions of OMNHP's curatory.

SEAC is divided into the following programs: Archeological Investigations, Compliance, and Evaluation (AICE), Archeological Collections and Information Management (ACIM), Archeological Landscapes, Technical Assistance Service, and Contracts (ALTASC), Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and Applied Sciences, and Public Outreach. SEAC aided in facilitating the MCN repatriation case by pairing unassociated funerary objects with the remains cleared for repatriation in 2017. Presently, SEAC does not hold any of the OMNHP skeletal remains, but they do have portions of the documentary archive recording the excavations, inventories that trace the quantity, type, and locations of artifacts at specific points in time, and the interpretative reports based on Kelly's field notes.

Documentary Data and History of Black Ancestors: Well Clearly We Did Not See THAT Coming

This research analyzes a documentary assemblage discussing approximately eight to twelve burials recovered from Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park (OMNHP) in Macon, GA. It is easy to blame bad archaeology for the wide gaps in the documented path of the sets of remains I am trying to trace, and quite frankly…

… As I should.

These Ancestors Are Removed From Their Journey

According to Muscogee culture, burials were and are necessary for the purpose of ensuring that the decedent may continue on their journey. The journey is part of the life

and death cycle (Rutland/MCNPR 2017). Kelly and his team framed all complete and near complete remains as museum specimens (Cho 2011; Schmidt 2011). Thus, these ancestors were removed from their journey. Burials considered too fragmentary and/or in a severe state of degradation were not excavated, and in some instances were merely photographed, because they were deemed not attractive enough for consideration as specimen (Kelly 2010). Though this was ranking ancestors as less than worthy of being a museum display under the archaeological gaze, this was simultaneously a positive conclusion as these ancestors were then not removed from their journey.

…Look at the white gaze working in our favor…

The eight to twelve potential African ancestors were documented in two spaces within OMNHP: 1) within the Northern Macon Plateau (site number 1Bi3) where Mound D (Sacred Cornfield Mound) and Council Chamber 1 (Earthlodge)- excavated 1933 to 1938, and 2) within the space where the OMNHP museum currently stands- developed (not officially excavated) 1940 to 1941 (site number 1Bi4- Middle Plateau) (L. Davis in pers. comm. 2020; Nelson, Prokopetz & Swindell 1974; Williams and Henderson, 1974; Appendix A, Fig 2.4). Part of the contention about the source of the African ancestors retained in the Smithsonian comes from the fragmentary archival record, Kelly's direction of multiple sites simultaneously, and the interpretive efforts of OMNHP's field curator John Ewers who was in charge of developing OMHNP's exhibit plan as he considered the physical remains may have come from beyond the bounds of OMNHP. While there is documentation and oral accounts of African ancestors buried at OMNHP, the documentary archive does not clearly attest that all African ancestors pulled from the OMNHP curatory were at one point buried at OMNHP.

Case-in-point: Kelly and Ewers may have combined skeletal elements from multiple individuals (from multiple sites) to create OMNHP displays of suitably complete skeletons. An account from one of the interviews I conducted in early 2021 included an interviewee recalling reading documentation that expressed OMNHP museum staff of the 1950s (likely including Ewers), were making inquiries to source a replacement cranium for a historic Muscogee burial on display in the Middle Macon Plateau of the Trading Post site (Interviewee 7 in pers. comm. 2021). The cranium was taken from another unknown museum that housed collections from a nineteenth century

hospital. At the time of OMNHP received the cranium, it was thought to have been from an African American person who died at the hospital. The interview noted that the hospital and the museum were not identified. I could not locate any OMNHP documents that fit the description of what was described in the interview.

A NAGPRA schedule description of a historic Muscogee burial from the Trading Post section of OMNHP describes the post cranial remains as Indigenous male and cranial remains as African female (file citation restricted). The probable use of Black bodies to facilitate visually attractive (mis)representations of Muscogee burials throws an unanticipated complication in following the path of Black ancestors buried and excavated at OMNHP. Ultimately the number of ancestors I am investigating is not concrete. Whether they were dug up from OMNHP or not, OMNHP accrued Black ancestors that are now understood to be connected to the space according to the archaeological record. At this point in time they cannot be separated into multiple groups; they are wards of the Smithsonian on behalf of OMNHP as long as they have not been repatriated.

...*sighs in intergenerational trauma to Black bodies*...

Dunlap Estate, Black Ancestors Enslaved to the Dunlaps & Black Union Soldiers

Dunlap slaves is a shorthand that refers to Africans and African descendants enslaved to the Dunlaps of Macon, GA. John Bruge won portions of MCN land in 1828 (Appendix A, Fig 2.5) at auction immediately after the last treaty of 1826 that dispossessed all Muscogee Nation homelands in present day Georgia (Chapman 1988: 95; Cultural Resources, in press; Appendix, Fig 2.6). The portion of the Dunlap estate that existed within the present park bounds was gifted to Bruge's daughter, Mary, and her husband Samuel S. Dunlap- lot numbers 61 and 62, 10% to 20% of lots 52 and 60, a third of lot number 75, 85% to 90% of lot number 74, and 45% to 50% of lot number 73 (Appendix A, Fig. 2.5). The farm was 400 acres in size and worth $16,000 at the beginning of the Civil War (Cultural Resources, in press).

This estate includes a one story house that was used as a summer home. It is considered an Antebellum structure having been built in 1855 to 1856, likely by enslaved ancestors. Of note, the map titled *Topography of Ocmulgee National Monument- portion 1,* includes four perimeters of Dunlap structures including what may have been the formerly detached kitchen of the Dunlap home wherein the enslaved cook would perform

their duties (Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1935; Appendix A, Fig. 2.7). Nineteen people are recorded as slaves of the Dunlaps in 1860 (10 of them children) (1860 Federal Census, 1860; Cultural Resources, in press). Each person was recorded as a number or a line which makes tracing any named ancestors to descendants unlikely.

…The dehumanization continues in the archives here and in a way that I cannot correct…

The plantation farm that existed on this property included slave quarters (only three dwellings documented in 1860), but the exact location of these are lost (1860 Federal Census, 1860). The lack of uniformity of the perimeters of the smaller three structures identified as part of the white Dunlap property, and too close proximity to the Dunlap home suggests they are not the slave dwellings. The path of OMNHP's main road called Park Road, during the time of the Dunlap's occupation of OMNHP called Old Farm Road or Farm Road, is parallel to the standing museum and thought to cover the location of slave dwellings. In the Historic Resource Study (in press), it is said that these dwellings were ten to fifteen feet apart. Three dwellings suggest three family homes wherein same-aged men and women and children are divided across them (Cultural Resources, in press). I would like to recognize as I cannot give names to these people that they should be memorialized as 1) people 2) whom cohabitated and 3) cared for one another.

Two members of the three enslaved families were found during the initial development of the OMNHP museum in 1940-1941, mythologized as Burials 46 and 47. One of these burials may have been included in an inventory document sent as a memorandum from the Southeast Archaeological Center (SEAC) to OMNHP (named in memo as Ocmulgee National Monument) dated 1991. The mythologized Burial 47 is recorded with the "original" number 40-4, thought to have been given during excavation, suggesting that 40 refers to the year 1940. This was the same year that foundation construction took place for the OMNHP museum. In this record, formatted like an osteological inventory form, the person is identified by the cranium as female, middle aged- 35+ years of age, no associated material, no conservation needs, and no sample taken. The remarks are of interest as they state "1 dec'd doll," which is interpreted as one decapitated doll (file citation restricted). The phrase "dec'd doll" could alternatively

mean decorated doll, a description that would still fit the figure in question. There are no other burials in this inventory with the same note. The other burial found within the museum's perimeter, initially introduced as Burial 46, is not recognizably documented.

...*stares in Black frustration*...

The Black Union soldiers known to have been in the Macon, GA area comprised the United States Colored Troops (USCT). They were organized as the Bureau of Colored Troops from 1863 to 1867 (Davis 2018). The U.S. War Department via General Order Number 143 in May of 1863 created this Bureau (Davis 2018: 7). The actions of Wilson's raid through the Confederacy formed the 136th, 137th, and 138th USCT regiments. At this time, the epicenter of the Confederacy was located in Macon, Georgia. In size, there were 3,211 former Black slaves recruited. Colonel Robert Minty's second division recruited 1,400 former slaves by the time he had reached Columbus, Georgia on Wilson's Raid. Colonel Minty's second division and Colonel Emory Upton's fourth division recruited another approximate 1,300 former slaves upon arrival in Macon, Georgia. This was during April of 1865, and by May, these 2,700 former slaves and other men of color were divided into the three USCT regiments (Davis 2018: 11). Meant to destroy southern morale in the Civil War and replenish the Union Army's numbers, Wilson's raid was an opportunity for Black men to step out of enslavement. Recruitment of Black soldiers directly hurt the southern economy and war effort- removed laborers and disrupted subsequent opportunities to expand chattel slavery. The year prior, General George Stoneman of the Union Army arrived at the Dunlap home July 30, 1864 with the task of choking the Macon & Western Railroad that supplied the Confederacy as well as the mission to free prisoners-of-war located in Macon, Georgia (Iobst 1999: 311; Evans 1996: 310; Cultural Resources, in press: 78, 81). This line still runs through OMNHP today. The Dunlap home acted as a Union base for less than a week after they failed to defend their artillery.

The 136th USCT regiment served in Atlanta beginning July of 1865. In May of 1865, the 137th was stationed at the Colored Enlistment Reorganization and Enumeration Site (CERES) which was approximately 20 miles westward of Macon (Davis 2018). The 137th regiment began service in Macon, Georgia June 1865. Duties connected to this regiment included burial details at Andersonville, Georgia. The 138th was created in

Macon, Georgia in June 1865, and was made up of former enslaved farmers and laborers. The 138th regiment was sent to Camp Cur Kendall, which was just south of Atlanta where the 136th was stationed, and began service in Atlanta in July of 1865. The duties of the USCT typically revolved around repair due to war damages- telegraph lines, bridges, and railroads (Davis 2018).

At war's end, Black Union soldiers from the companies of the USCT regiments were stationed in Macon, GA to: 1) Remind the slavery-supporting south of their defeat and new social order (though only imaginary) and 2) assist the Freedmen's Bureau (est. 1865) in cleaning up the damages of war in Macon, Georgia and to provide aid to war refugees and the newly freed (Cultural Resources, in press; Davis 2018).This included back-filling the Civil War trenches in OMNHP. The Williams and Henderson archaeological report (1974) based on Kelly's field notes details about five burials that were probably Black Union soldiers due to the context in which they were buried in, their location within the North Plateau Civil War trench, and the materials that were included with the burials (flint, nails, brass button, cloth, etc.). Combining Appendix B- Burials (Williams and Henderson 1974), the discussion of the Civil War trench (Williams and Henderson 1974: 40), Fairbank's book (1956: 35), Wilson's Civil War trenches account of a fallen member of the 137th provided by Lonnie Davis- a soldier died of disease during the process of backfilling Wilson's trench and was interred in the trench, the Ocmulgee National Monument Mound D Plateau Excavation Map (Ocmulgee National Monument, National Park Service, n.d.), and the interactive ESRI powered map titled *Ocmulgee National Historical Park: Celebrating Archaeology North Plateau* page (Halchin for NPS 2019), the following information was pieced together: "Along the Western and of the North Plateau, running in a north-South Direction, a buried ditch was located during exploratory excavations during November and December of 1935," (Williams and Henderson 1974: 40). Fairbank's book (1956: 35) described dimensions of this same trench as two feet by two feet on its southern end and he would also suggest that the northern eroded portion was wider and deeper. He also stated the trench as a whole was particularly marked by the prevalence of "glazed crockery and iron tools." "A few of the burials (such as burial 35) found in the western portion of the site were probably black slave burials," (Williams and Henderson 1974: 40). Using appendix B and

the Mound D Plateau Excavation Map to describe and map burial 35 as well as burials number 20, 23, 28, 29, 30, and 33, it appears that seven burials of similar style can be connected to the Civil War trench.

Burials Detailed in the Archive

These burials are all noted as *x* degrees from center of the Council Chamber 1 using a degree symbol. These are not possible measurements and more likely the notation was used to mean feet. The usage of the degree notation was not explained in Williams and Henderson (1947: 40).

Burial 20 was plotted at 680° North West from Council House 1's center (also Council Chamber 1, both phrases meaning the Earthlodge). It was at 28 inches below surface in a context of red clay. Within this extended burial was a singular side notched flint projectile. The remains found consisted of a broken skull and teeth (which are not specified further), one small bone fragment that was not further described, and two fragmented femur.

Burial number 23 was plotted at 805° North West of the center of Council House 1. It was shallow at 23 inches below surface in a context of tan sand. This burial included crowns of teeth and a singular fragment. The artifacts included one fragment of Macon Thick pottery, two fragments of Halstead Plain pottery, eleven fragments McDougal Plain pottery, five fragments of Bibb Plain pottery, and two flint chips.

Burial 28 was plotted 850° North West of the center of the Council House 1. This was an extended burial at 37 inches below surface. This was a more complete burial consisting of teeth, mandible, and skull fragment.

Burial 29 was plotted at 820° West North West of the center of Council House 1. An unspecified half portion of the skull was found in this Civil War pit at 61 inches below surface. No insight was given into how this was dated to the Civil War.

Burial 30 was plotted at 810° West North West of the center of Council House 1. Found in a context of tan sand and 49 inches below surface, this was an extended burial containing five long bones and a possible skull. It is dated to the Civil War and was found with the following materials: three fragments Bibb Plain pottery, three fragments Woodland Plain pottery, two Flint chips, seven nails of unknown manufacture, and seven brass buttons with cloth.

Burial number 33 was plotted at 720° South West of the center of Council House 1. A long bone and small bone fragments were found. I included these remains in the list in the list of burials, because of its location in the space that was the Civil War trench.

Lastly, burial 35 was plotted at 805° North West of the center of Council House 1. Like burial 30, which it is close in proximity, this burial was found in a context of tan sand. It was 53 inches below surface. The extended burial included a skull fragment, two femur fragments, and a humerus fragment. This is the burial that was specifically named as a potential Black slave burial. It is not explained why the designation of a potential Black slave burial is one sentence in the Williams and Henderson (1974) report.

All burials were assumed to be Indigenous or Muscogee when excavated in 1933-1941. However, Florida State University anthropology students in partnership with SEAC in the 1970s-1980s interpreted more of the unpublished and untouched Kelly excavation notes. Following the completion of the fieldwork, Fairbanks (1956), Ingmanson (1964, 1965), Prok[o]petz (1974), Smith (1973), and Williams and Henderson (1974) published reports about the site (NPS in press: 143). At least one of these mentioned interpretations of burials of Black ancestors. Kelly discusses this with Mark Williams and Woody Williams in 1974, transcription published in 1990:

> Well they were servitors, slaves, probably of the Dunlap family. Because all I found was the calvarium, the top part of the skull. It was very long with a peak back here. And I found what had been a brass button of some type. And I could tell that the brass button had not been sewed on, just sort of pushed the cloth around it and tied a string around it, which is an old Southern cheap way of getting a button and they loop over you see. And this was the dinner jacket a black major domo would have. So I said well these are some of the 1850 or '45 burials of the Dunlaps. Some of their servants were buried out here in pine boxes, and the only things left are these brass buttons. And the only thing left of the skeleton was part of the calvarium. It has that typical long, narrow, high cheek, longitudinal contour which is very frequent in African Negro skulls. A racial character. And that, right along about where I found those, I was still looking for these earth lodges... (Kelly in Williams 1990:7).

He even mentioned two specific burial numbers in his "lost" report of Mound D excavations.

> …Burials 29 and 20, which appear to have been the burials of slaves made in ante-bellum days. They were probably retainers of the Dunlap family who owned the land at that time. The sides of the grave went straight down in the friable sand,

the outlines of a pine pox showing in the bottom of the pit (Figure 28) [Appendix A, Fig. 2.8] . A long, high keeled, human calvarium was all that remained of the burial. The only burial furniture were brass buttons and a piece of cloth. The cloth was preserved by chemicals from the brass. The leaching of iron salts was well developed in the top fill of the burial fill. The calvarium was troweled out at a depth of 69 inches (Kelly 2010: 110).

Another burial record with a Smithsonian catalog number included a notation of 'Civil War burial' and 'African' (file citation restricted). This record described partial remains from Mound D section of the North Plateau. These partial remains were fragmented, and deemed culturally unaffiliated by the Smithsonian's conditions of NMAIA. I reexamined this record with the knowledge of the 137th regiment being charged with back filling the Civil War trench and the materials associated with Burial 30- in particular nails and brass buttons with cloth. I spatially analyzed the mapping of burials from Mound D and Council House 1 and the pathway of this Civil War trench. Lastly, I added Fairbank's description of historic items concentrated throughout the western portion of the North Plateau where these potential African burials were concentrated. It can be interpreted that historic Black burials were encountered during excavations in the 1930s that were understood to be African rather immediately, but cannot state if they were Black Union Soldiers or members of the three families enslaved to the Dunlaps. Both groups occupied the Middle and North Plateaus for extended periods of time. Poor documentation coupled with human error may have created the misidentification of these ancestors as Muscogee citizens.

The "African" doll and its identical twin by "the Indians to the North"

In my efforts to clarify the presence of Black ancestors at OMNHP, I researched the origin of the "African fertility icon." The female figure was used to prove African cultural connection to OMNHP. The material culture that most popularly mythologizes Black ancestors at OMNHP is limited to one figure and an unknown number of fragments of colonoware ceramics. Colonoware is an earthenware type that has historically been attributed to African makers. Colonoware products were initially thought to be attempts of Black slave to replicate Western/white culture. In truth, it is a low-fire earthenware made by Indigenous people and Black people in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries for a number of reasons that are not about centering whiteness- trade, utility,

décor, etc. (Crane 2010; Galke 2009). The point of this project was not to become an expert in art styles, so I began by first trying to find multiple other depictions of people in OMNHP's archives identified as Muscogee design, ideally a figure depicting the female form by the Muscogee.

The "African fertility icon" depicts an assumed woman sculpted from kaolinite clay and is virtually temper free (Appendix A, Fig, 2.9). It measures 85.05mm tall and 73.59mm wide. This artifact is heavy and thick with a round body and squared shoulders. The catalog record associated with the figure OCMU 23-5291 states female depiction. The person is sitting with legs under her, feet and calves not seen, but knees stick out at the base front. Hands are not detailed (no fingers), placed in lap, empty, and palms turned up. Her head faces forward. The torso is unclothed, bare breasts and belly button, while the waist down is clothed in "skirt." The skirt has a vertical zigzag and swirl design that appears to have been applied by bold incising. There is a round depression at the top of the head that looks like a part of the original design. Both ears, the nose, and the neck are broken. Found while developing the OMNHP museum building adjacent to historic burials and the nature of the break at the neck, it is thought that this figure was broken at or after excavation. A fragment of the neck appears to have been missing that ran from the bottom of the back of the head, down the neck, and upper back.

The other figure I found in the OMNHP archive also appears to depict the female form, but the interpretations are quite different. The second figure was found at the Swift Creek site dated to the Late Archaic and Middle Woodland periods, also a project directed by Kelly between 1936 and 1937. This site in Macon, Georgia was situated on the eastern edge of the lowlands of the Ocmulgee River floodplains (Walker 1971: 5). The figure is identified as very coarse grit tempered Zoned Red pottery. Zoned Red pottery is dated to AD 200 to 700, and is one of the typologies that Willey is credited with naming in 1949. The hardness of the figure suggests that it may have been fired at a higher temperature. There is residue of a red ochre applied to the body on the shoulders, hips, bottom, and legs. The body shape is particularly slim, flat, and stretched. Positioning and posing of the figure cannot be determined as the arms, legs below the upper thighs, and head are all missing. Back and bottom are particularly flat, and the angle of the figure when sitting on its bottom is leaning forward. It was broken at the

waist, and repaired post excavation- the methods of repair are not reversible as the glue seems to be rubber cement. There is no sign of dress or clothing on this figure. The only decoration the faded red film (Appendix A, Fig. 2.10).

The method of comparison- examining make by feel, visual analysis of design, weighing, measurement of height, width and length- yielded conclusions that the two figurines were made by two different artists of two different time periods. I transitioned to looking to see if there were documents detailing the "African" icon or if other versions of the same design had been encountered. In OMNHP's library, I found a Smithsonian Report from the year 1881. Charles Whittlesey wrote an article based on field notes taken in 1871 when he visited the Etowah Mound site. Three hand drawn images of a figurine similar in design to the "African fertility icon" were included in this short article (Appendix A, Fig. 2.11, Fig. 2.12). According to Whittlesey, the figure found at the Etowah site (Cartersville, Georgia) was made of limestone, 14 inches tall, and about 36 pounds heavy. The hands were positioned differently- outer side of the knee. The design was not described as incised. The version of this figure is absent of any coloring. There was evidence of white and brown zigzag patterning on the hips and back of the Etowah iteration. Dug from the northside base of an Etowah site mound, it was described as a "rude stone effigy," (Whittlesey 1881: 628 in Smithsonian Institution 1881). Having qualified the work as "quite grotesque," Whittlesey then compares it to "uncouth" wood carvings of the same design "of the Indians of the north." There was a male version removed from the same spot an unknown number of years before the female as removed n 1871. Unfortunately, Whittlesey suggests that the male had been destroyed and/or lost and this female was fated the same outcome. He does not explain how he arrives at that conclusion.

The site is attributed to the Cherokee, the Muscogee, and the Etowah culture of the Mississippian tradition. A man named Mr. Tumlin who owned land in the vicinity and had firsthand account of the site during its occupation by members of the Cherokee often made inquiries to them about the site origins. "Although the Cherokees made use of [the Etowah Mounds] as a fort against the Creeks, they always denied having any knowledge of the race or the persons by whom the mound was erected," (Whittlesey 1881: 629 in Smithsonian Institution 1881). The Cherokee did not claim to create this cultural

landscape, only reengaging the space as a line of defense against the enemy Creek. In fact, the Etowah site holds cultural importance for both the Muscogee and the Cherokee as citizens of both cultures lived in this space alternately. With the Cherokee not claiming creation of the space, MCN recognizing Etowah as a Creek site, and the collections of the Etowah site including more of these paired figures of similar design, at the very least OMNHP is better served at this juncture to discontinue references to the "African fertility icon" as such until someone further investigates the origins of the design. I cannot presently dismiss the design having Cherokee origins. I also cannot entirely dismiss some African cultural influence in the OMNHP decapitated figure's design. "Asking about the iconography? We have no idea. Those were ancient beings that ha- that created those. We can speculate, but really it's speculation when it comes down to it" (respondent in interview by Davis, August 2019).

The ancestors are completely invisible

> *...So... *sigh*... look...*

The documentary trail for these remains, tracking their movement in multiple archives, is disjointed. These documents are also about human remains which means levels of restriction that I could not always clear.

The human remains of perceived African ancestry come out of the ground at OMNHP between 1933 and 1940. The remains of African ancestors incorporated into OMNHP exhibits may have never been excavated from the site(i.e., the cranium sourced from the collections of a nineteenth century hospital). Based on statements made by Dr. Kelly about the excavations of the North Plateau and Middle Plateau, there were burials theorized to have been of African ancestry. Members of the public do not usually know of this detail. Any burials that were put on exhibit around the Trading Post, in the cross section of the Burial Mound, and in the Burial exhibits inside the OMNHP museum were intentionally interpreted as Muscogee people. In the era of New Deal politics that fetishized the vanishing American/the conquered wild Indian, Indigenous burials were a spectacle (Datta 2018; Thomas 2000: 139-141). Turning Black burials into Indigenous burials sensationalized the bones and their materials, and the sensation brought in money. This reinterpretation became the universal understanding by the public. The notion of all burials as Muscogee was easy to perpetuate when the public was not informed of burials

that were not Muscogee, and all other interpretive signs and exhibits fail to mention African ancestors and Black peoples' history in the region. The reinterpretation of Black bodies as Muscogee in a handful of the exhibits and the general lack of stating that Black people worked and lived on part of the land created the cloak of invisibility that encapsulates these Black ancestors.

During the middle to late twentieth century, the remains came off of exhibit at OMNHP. The burials on display outside of the museum were frequently subjected to vandalism because there was no way to adequately protect them outside of the building. The outdoor burial exhibits were the most vulnerable and valuable as they were meant to show a time stamp of Indigeneity in an immersive fashion. Burials still in ground had more connection to Indigeneity than those that sat indoors- more Indigenous because they had been less disturbed and were more natural. These exhibits were small shelters that a person could walk into and look down at an uncovered burial that had been to a degree articulated for presentation. The only protection that separated a visitor from the remains was in essence a box of glass on top of the remains. For protection against vandalism, the elements, and looting, remains in these outdoor displays were covered again. The bisected Burial Mound which displayed Muscogee remains was reconstructed to cover those remains as well.

The Mythologized History of Black Ancestors at OMNHP

The mythologized history of Black ancestors buried at OMNHP was born out of misinterpretations of burials, invisibility of Black ancestors, and lack of dissemination of archaeological findings. Accounts only centered around four burials, instead of the eight to twelve that documents indicate were found during the process of excavation and development of OMNHP. Davis relayed to me in 2017 that during the creation of the OMNHP museum footprint in 1940, two sets of human remains were encountered. Davis named these two burials as Burial 46 and 47 and pointedly described them as African. I was told Burial 46 was found in the area of the current museum, along the left side of the entryway stairs and facing parallel to the park's main road named Park Road. It was not specified if Burial 46 was on display inside of the museum. Burial 47 was found in what became the solar room at the backside of the OMNHP museum and facing parallel to

Park Road. Burial 47 was on display inside the museum in the room that became the gift shop. The burial was interpreted as Native American male.

OMNHP myth states that in the mid to late twentieth century, a tourist who was a retired medical examiner with 35 years of experience notified park staff that, based on cranial morphology, the remains of Burial 47 were that of a female of African ancestry. In response, the park hired an osteologist to examine Burial 47 and the other three burials that were on display inside of the museum. Two of the three burials on display alongside Burial 47 were sourced from the Trading Post area of OMNHP. The fourth of the four displayed inside of OMHNP's museum does not have a known origin. While other bodies were on display outside at the Burial Mound and at the Trading Post, it was not specified if they were subject to the same reevaluation. The resulting report concluded that two of the four individuals on display in the gift shop were of African ancestry, while the other two were classified as European, likely British traders of the Trading post. Interestingly, there are no reports available to confirm this story and in my interviews, I was unable to confirm the names of the medical examiner or the osteologist hired by the OMNHP/National Park Service. I found no materials in the archive to negate the accounts that Davis relayed about Burial 46 and 47. It is also not directly supported considering these two burials were not considered part of the excavations as burials of Dunlap enslaved family members were not part of the goals of the OMNHP dig.

The Dunlap family's plantation farm road which is Park Road may have covered the location of the slave dwellings when it was paved. I was unable to locate reports that clarify the depth of burials, conditions of the skeletal remains, the orientations of each individual's head, feet and hands, or exact measurements of distance between the two burials found during the OMNHP museum's development. These details may not have been recorded for two possible reasons: 1) the burials that were not supposed to be in this location, thus there was no preparation to record them, and/or 2) the burials were too degraded to be deemed worth appropriate for excavation. Burial 47 was found within the museum's perimeter and displayed so degradation does not apply to it, but could apply to Burial 46 which cannot be confirmed as ever being on display or not. Approximately 20 feet from Burial 46 was a ceramic figure that was identified to be likely of African design. Davis referred to this icon as an African fertility icon. I did not locate any report

that predates communications with Davis that make the same interpretation. The accompanying assumption was that the people in Burial 46 and 47 were part of the community of enslaved Africans owned by the Dunlaps. This is due to the lack of associated grave goods within these burials, the presence of the icon of perceived African design found adjacent to these burials, and their proximity to the theorized location of slave dwellings underneath Park Road.

…Buildin' on top o' Black folx and their only opportunities to (re)create a home… Don't we love to see it?…

Lonnie Davis also told me how Burial 44, found in 1933-1936 during the Mound D excavation, was believed to be that of an elderly woman of African ancestry (William and Henderson 1974). I located no document to suggest any dating of the burial, but persons of African ancestry's only documented presence on OMNHP is between the 1850s and 1860s. This burial was located beneath a lone oak tree in the northern plateau. It is closest to the Sacred Cornfield Mound (Appendix A, Figure 1.1). Excavation and interpretive reports refer to this mound as Mound D (Williams and Henderson 1974). Burial 44 came with a unique story of paranormal events. Davis and his coworker shared with each other instances of seeing an apparition at the oak tree by the burial plot. Beneath the oak tree, usually in the mornings before the park opened (9:00 am), Davis and his colleague on separate and multiple occasions recalled seeing an elderly Black woman dressed in an antebellum style black dress with a white apron tied around her waist and "hair tied up like Harriet Tubman," (Davis in pers. comm. 2020). Davis specifies that when he saw this elder, they held eye contact for a moment, and he proceeded to look away while walking toward the museum building. Upon turning around to tell her that the park was not yet open but that he would be glad to unlock the museum for her, she was no longer standing at the oak tree. It was immediately after this encounter that he recalled the nature of her standing there as being abnormal. She did not seem entirely physical, rather Davis recalls a noticeable degree of transparency. He also recalled that a burial was found in that same spot during excavations of the 1930s and 40s.

In later conversations, Davis confirmed that a coworker saw the same woman in the same style of dress standing by the oak tree. The coworker's encounters occurred

while mowing the grounds of the park, and he had seen her enough times to come to the assumption that the person was somehow spiritually tied to the oak tree, something that once stood in place of the oak tree, or the park grounds themselves. Davis informed his coworker that there was a burial excavated from that location and then attempted to find some excavation notes or other record that would confirm Burial 44 had been identified as elderly female of African ancestry. Davis did not find that record. Paranormal encounters, specifically seeing a person of rather dated dress, on park grounds were not abnormal for park staff or for visitors. As a result, a full standard filing cabinet drawer of written or recorded accounts of people- staff or visitor- detailing paranormal encounters is housed in curatory, Mr. Davis and his colleague's encounters of this Black elder were included as well as sighting of a legless confederate soldier running across the Middle Plateau field and the barking of a ghost dog in the basement level of the OMNHP facility.

The last burial that became mythologized as a Black ancestor was Burial 45. Davis described this burial with the least amount of detail which made it difficult to compare to any of the documentary archive. Burial 45 was found in the Northern plateau- the same section of the park that Burial 44 was found, but their spatial relation to one another was not detailed. Davis did not clarify why this burial was assumed African.

Someone Starts Calling For the Ancestors

Conditions of the curatory at OMNHP had degraded by the mid to late 1960s wherein human remains were particularly at risk of damage. This was expressed by an anonymous interviewee as one of the conditions that led to the movement of human remains from OMNHP. One additional event played into this movement of items from OMNHP. The Civil Rights movements of the 1960s and specifically Native Rights movements of the 1970s amplified the glaring negative relationships between archaeology and Indigenous communities particularly in respect to Indigenous bodies and possessions. Contingently, SEAC, originally housed in OMNHP's facilities, moved to a facility in Tallahasee, Florida taking portions of the OMNHP collections as well (National Park Service (4) 2020). At this juncture, remains were being reconsidered in how they have been interpreted, if their exhibition was ethical, how to better protect the remains from poor storage conditions, and ways to reconfigure curatory methodologies and museum practices.

The Smithsonian had artifacts and remains from the excavations before the1990s. Cultural resources from the digs were dispersed to multiple Federal facilities like OMNHP's curatory, SEAC after its inception in 1966, multiple universities- i.e. Mercer university and the University of Georgia, and multiple museums. The National Museum of the American Indian (established in 1989) would house materials and remains from OMNHP as well. A report dated March 16, 1953 refers to the Bureau of American Ethnology as the collector with the Smithsonian in D.C. as the address. This report is a History of Collections. The collections being referred to came from Ocmulgee. The report is included the same inventory memorandum from 1991 that was sent from SEAC to OMNHP. The subject line and message of the memo specifically suggested that the inventory details OMNHP collections held by the Smithsonian (file citation restricted). In 1995, a new inventory was compiled for a NAGPRA schedule, specifically cataloging the artifacts and human remains considered culturally unaffiliated- the people and materials that would be retained from repatriation to the Muscogee Nation (file citation restricted).

Some of the Ancestors Find Their Way Back

In 2006, OMNHP hosted a repatriation consultation wherein representatives of MCN, twelve other tribes considered to have cultural affiliation to the area, British museum representatives, staff of OMNHP including curator Lonnie Davis, and representatives from the Smithsonian Institute met for the purposes of discussing what, whom, and how all persons removed from OMNHP and associated grave goods would be returned to Muscogee Nation on behalf of all thirteen OMNHP affiliated tribes for reburial (Davis in pers. comm. 2018). Muscogee Nation- federally recognized status and considered the most culturally affiliated community of the 13 tribes involved- requested that all persons across time, space, and ethnicity who were disturbed and misplaced as a result of excavations would be reburied by the National Park Service on behalf of the MCN. The unnamed Smithsonian representatives admitted, after repeated questioning by the thirteen tribes, that sets of remains had to first be located and reconfigured. It was standard practice for the Smithsonian to loan partial portions of remains to research facilities and universities nationally (Butler, interview by Williams, February 2018). As a result, no sets of remains could yet be returned. The Smithsonian did not have clear documentation of the whereabouts of human remains from OMNHP despite having

physical possession of these remains and their items since the mid twentieth century. The affiliated tribes and OMNHP staff poorly received this information of separated human remains which quickly concluded the consultation.

Almost ten years had passed when the Smithsonian notified the MCN in 2014 that all sets of human remains they housed had been reconfigured but that they would need to hold on to these individuals for two more years for research purposes, including identification of culturally affiliated and non/un-affiliated remains. Muscogee Nation allowed this process to be completed during the 2016-2017 calendar year (Spain, interview by Williams, February 2018). Notices of Inventory Completion were published for the Lamar Mounds and Village and Ocmulgee Bottoms in June 2001. The ill-fated consultation meeting between the tribes, OMNHP, and the Smithsonian took place in 2006. Notices of Inventory Completion were published in the *Federal Register* for the Trading Post area of the Macon Plateau and the Funeral Mound (Mound C) in June of 2017 (National Park Service, Department of Interior (4) 2017; NPS, DOI (5) 2017). Notices of the Intent to Repatriate were published fin the *Federal Register* for the Lamar Mounds and Village, the Funeral Mound (Mound C), and the Trading Post area of the Macon Plateau in June 2017 (National Park Service, Department of Interior (1) 2017; NPS, DOI (2) 2017; NPS, DOI (3) 2017). These notices are for funerary items. Each report stated that the Smithsonian Institution repatriated human remains to affiliated tribes in 2015, two years prior to these announcements of repatriation intent. These documents tracked the burials considered culturally affiliated with the Muscogee, but simultaneously all sets of remains went through the same evaluative process at the Smithsonian. That re-evaluation of affiliated and unaffiliated remains tangentially confirmed the burials of perceived African ancestry were not repatriated.

> Of the 126 individuals in [the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History (NMNH)] possession, only 74 individuals were made available for repatriation. 52 ancestors were retained by NMNH until further evidence is presented to alter their findings. The [OMNHP] and SEAC had the remaining ancestors. We [the Muscogee Nation] took the ancestors from Smithsonian to SEAC to reconfigure or reunite. Some ancestors were split between institutions. It took SEAC 2 years to reunite the collection. At this point we were able to rebury our ancestors (Butler in email, May 2021).

In fall 2017, OMNHP held a mass reburial for the 114 ancestors from the Trading Post, Funeral Mound, and the Lamar Mound and Village (Rutland/MCNPR 2017). This was a positive step. MCN and OMNHP view the 2017 repatriation as a major milestone in OMNHP's history. Burials attributed to Mississippian and Woodland traditions, though known to the Muscogee Nation as their direct ancestors, were not returned. Though the previously discussed linguistic, architectural, and mortuary customs point to connection between the contemporary Creek and Mississippian and Woodland eras, the Smithsonian cited Euro-centered scholarship of Creek origin myths to prove disconnect (Williams 2018: 34). Black ancestors were also not returned, because the burials of perceived African ancestry were not found at the Lamar site, at the Trading Post, or in the Funeral Mound- the only portions of the site that were repatriated. Had Black ancestors been found within these spaces of the site, they would have been deemed unaffiliated because of the osteological reliance on morphological measures to prove identity. The two European individuals- English traders- who were found in the Trading Post were not repatriated. They were found within one of the three areas of OMNHP that repatriated remains were found, but their evaluation as European secured their designation as unqualified for repatriation. Retention of human remains did not align with the expressed wishes of the thirteen affiliated tribes to grant all displaced people reburial- the step needed for the ancestors to be able to return to their journey. These individuals remain in storage in Washington D.C., removed from their homeplace and descendants for the past five to seven decades. The continued displacement of ancestors and those connected to OMNHP does not diminish the importance of the 113 ancestors whom were placed back on their journey in 2018, but I'd like to offer this sentiment that comes from the greater Black and African diaspora, particularly Black Americans referencing Juneteenth: "Until we are all free, we are none of us free," and its sister sentiment that we recognize for Juneteenth, "We celebrate the last ones freed" (Emma Lazarus n.d.; unknown n.d.)

But More Are Waiting

The documentary data confirms that Black ancestors were knowingly encountered during excavations of OMNHP, and that they were knowingly reinterpreted as Indian burials to optimize aesthetic of OMNHP curation. I commend OMNHP and NPS for doing the work to remove the display of remains and to repatriate the removed burials

and grave goods, but the invisibility of these ancestors still stands. To address the institutional problem of Black ancestors stuck in curation, we must highlight that these ancestors are out there and we need to give descendant communities the chance to participate in designing how to discuss, memorialize, and handle ancestors. The invisibility has long robbed us of that, and it is unnecessary. With the politics of non-native repatriation gaining more attention, and promising legislation like H.R. 1179 (AABGNA) in the process of redraw, the sociopolitical climate for Black ancestor ownership and treatment is ripe archaeological work such as this where we look at the documentary, and incorporate community voices.

CHAPTER 3: Methodology and Interviews: Archaeology Is Cool 'n All, But You Ever Decolonized History?

Methodology

This project focuses on systematically identifying the archived materials associated with the 1933 to 1941 excavations (i.e. aerial photos, film, maps, excavation and interpretive reports, field notes, exhibits plans, etc.) and most importantly, understanding contemporary perspectives on the classification of individuals with contested Black/African ancestry and repatriation status. Using oral histories and archival documentation, this non-invasive research is imperative to understanding the contemporary politics and historical contexts that justify the need for the reanalysis, reclassification, and repatriation of the OMNHP Black ancestors' human remains. As a whole, the project is built into a collaborative framework with the stakeholder communities and includes local stakeholders in the collection of data, determination of the proper methodologies, and reporting of this research.

The IRB application (short title: Muscogee-Black Ancestors Oral Histories; IRB #20-149) for this thesis work was approved by the University of Idaho's Office of Research Assurances on August 9, 2020. The Muscogee Nation does not presently have an official tribal IRB, but cultural research project proposals are reviewed by the MCN's Historic and Cultural Preservation Office. Researchers are expected to participate in consultation with this office to gain approval of research, develop research methodologies that keep MCN interest in ethical research in mind, and to maintain dialogue with the MCN Historic and Cultural Preservation Office.

Collaborative Archaeological Design: If You Want To Go Far, Go Together

The research is built into a collaborative framework with the stakeholder communities and included local stakeholders in the collection of data, determination of the proper methodologies, and reporting of this research. Collaborative archaeology, conceptually synonymous with the term *community-based archaeology* (Atalay 2012), is defined as an archaeology that considers the archaeologist and the community of equal expertise where the design, goals, and objectives of the research are co-created. Tangentially, all communities and researchers see shared benefits from the project (Atalay 2012: 3-4). Community concerns, research interests, knowledge, socio-political

interests, and so forth inform the archaeology as well as the archaeologist(s)' training, concerns, research interests, knowledge, socio-political interests, etc. Because of this type of inclusion in collaborative archaeological research, projects such as this one are subject to the same question of compromised objectivity. This line of questioning is similar to my identity as a descendant stakeholder researcher being questioned for putting the project's objectivity and subsequent scientific rigor at risk (see ch. 1; Wylie 2015). The inclusion of alternative epistemologies/ways of knowing strengthens the research and widens archaeology. Epistemologies, culturally provided ways of knowing, include what people know of the world, what is known to be true and to be false, and how the world is organized. Thus, epistemologies inform how people navigate the world they live in as these ways of knowing are comprised of truths and justifications (Mills 1988: 237).

Colwell's (2016) article that discussed collaborative archaeologies demonstrates the nature of power and control in an archaeologist to Indigenous paradigm (2016: 117). In relation to power and control in this paradigm, collaboration is achieved so long as six base criteria are met: goals of the research are jointly developed between researchers(s) and communities, information flows freely across all, there is full stakeholder involvement, descendants are given full voice, tacit support, and needs of all parties are fulfilled (Colwell 2016: 117). The nature of collaboration between researcher(s) and the communities involved in archaeological research is unique to each project. In turn, actualizing collaboration entails a floating margin that is set by continuing dialogue between all parties crafting and completing the archaeology. I consider collaboration as a living component of the research design, meaning it is dynamic- adaptable and created as the work takes place.

Stakeholder and descendant communities are not merely subjects but also orators of this invisible narrative who contribute to the research's basis in alternative epistemologies/ways of knowing. This basis keeps the work connected to people of the present, engaged with the local Black public, and community members are actively participating in decolonization of this discipline because members are choosing to volunteer their contributions to this work on their own terms. I include myself in this as well. "We must open up the epistemological tool-box and situate ethics within intellectual and scientific work. This will be a recognition of how ethics and

epistemology are tied," (Sefa Dei 2011: 32). Archaeologists and anthropologists can and should study marginalized and disenfranchised communities, but must be mindful of the contexts that are walked into and the contexts brought in by the researcher.

Collaboration in this thesis included several components. Consultations with the MCN Historic and Cultural Preservation Office (MCN HCPO) staff were held as required for their processes of research oversight. Correspondence by email and phone maintained throughout the research process with all of the stakeholders. Black community leaders and the MCN HCPO received advanced copies of the final thesis draft for comment and review. Lonnie Davis, a descendant stakeholder community member and (then) curator of OMNHP, assisted in the collection and analysis of archival data for the full duration of the archival research process. Interviewees were stakeholder community members. In each consultation and interview held, I collected information from informants about their unique research interests and what next steps or questions should be at the forefront of the continuing phases of the project. In correspondences, I made inquiries about what work I might assist in that was specific to their needs. If they communicated a need, I would do my best to fulfill it. Each volunteer was allowed the space to decide how they choose to contribute the project (i.e. the MCN has to draw careful lines about contributions due to a legal case; the Macon Cemetery Preservation Corporation had to limit time spent on contributions due to their pre-existing obligations). Stakeholders had/have full voice in this project as they make up the majority of the direct quotes in this thesis. I have done little to reinterpret the words of these community members so as to not get in the way of their voices or diminish their vocality. Black and/or Indigenous researchers support the theoretical and conceptual basis for this thesis. Major concerns of community members (i.e. MCN- do not touch remains, do not do invasive research; MCPC- prove that there are Black Union soldier burials; Dr. Duval- give Black youth a history that they may see their own image in) were incorporated into this archaeological project.

Archival analysis processes: Make It Make Sense, Sis

In Fall 2020 and the winter of 2020-2021, I systematically identified a range of written materials associated with the original excavations and gathered contemporary perspectives on the classification of individuals with possible African ancestry of human

remains excavated from OMHNP, and the Muscogee Nations' relationships with the African and people of African descent buried on MCN ancestral lands. This work used four types of data: a) field forms and notes from the 1930s excavations and the post excavation reports based on these field forms and notes, b) historical accounts of the exhibits/perspectives from the time of the exhibits, c) community oral histories that have been previously recorded, and d) contemporary interviews with descendant stakeholders of the local Black communities of Macon, Georgia and subsequently stakeholders of the greater Macon-Middle Georgia region. This non-invasive research is imperative to understanding the contemporary politics and historical contexts that justify the need for the reanalysis, reclassification, and repatriation of remains in the future. *Non-invasive* means nothing was dug and no human remains or grave goods were removed or analyzed during this thesis study.

I have examined approximately two hundred archived documents: field forms, photographs, maps, excavation notes, Kelly's field notes and associated reports/post-excavation interpretive publications, census records, letter books of the Trading Post, archived community accounts, site reports to access burial style/form, NAGPRA schedules, inventories, and intent to repatriate forms. The documents are differentiated by date of creation, form of document, and source type of the author (primary source, secondary source, etc.). While compiling the documentary data, no catalog was created, but I made notes of each archived document that contributed to the thesis. See Appendix F, Catalogue for the list of these contributing materials from OMNHP's archives. I used the following categories to further organize the documentary archive- three levels of interpretation (initial intake, early interpretation, and late interpretation) as well as two levels of source material (primary and secondary). Initial intake referred to documents from the excavation that included first interpretations and evaluations. Early interpretation included documents from post excavation that interpreted burials and artifacts that created a new narrative for the visiting public (i.e. exhibit plans and initial museum curations of the 1940s and 1950s). Late interpretation materials included documents that made new interpretations about burials and grave goods in the 1990s to present. Primary and secondary referred to the author's connection to the data thy presented. Primary sources were direct accounts. Secondary sources were materials

authored by people not at the excavations or involved with museum curations that used a primary source (i.e. Kelly's field notes) to publish interpretive material.

I separated field forms, site reports of burials, excavation records, census records, maps, photographs, and the Trading Post letter book as initial intake and primary source materials. Museum curation, identification records, and post-excavation interpretive publications were considered early interpretation documents and in a gray area of primary and secondary source level materials. NAGPRA schedules and inventories, and intent to repatriate forms from the 1990s and forward were considered late interpretation and primary source materials. Archived community accounts from a 2019 oral history project and interviews I conducted between September 2020 and April 2021 were categorized as secondary and primary source materials respectively.

Community leaders for the Muscogee Nation, the Creek Freedmen, and the local Black communities of Macon, GA received copies of this thesis. As this was, is, and continues to be collaborative work that impacts them more directly and deeply, the resulting product- this thesis- needed to be accessible to them. These groups helped me at every level of my thesis project. Transcripts, recordings, and documentation that I collected from interviews or from archival research will be returned to the contributing stakeholders if requested; at this time, none have been requested back. All files that were of an electronic format were stored in a password-protected computer that was kept only in my custody. All hard copies of signed interview consent forms, photocopy scans, or print out of records were kept in a file folder kept in a file cabinet in my home (Appendix C, Informed Interview Consent Form).

Interviews

I used convenience sampling to gather volunteer participants for a target of ten interviews. I left room for more to be gathered as time and availability permitted. No one under 18 years was interviewed. The majority of the events that relate to the history of persons of African ancestry at OMNHP occurred in the 1930s-1940s (excavation), again around the 1960s- 1980s (removal from Ocmulgee and SEAC custody), and lastly in 2017 (partial repatriation). I collected qualitative data and oral histories from those who had direct experience of these events, were children of those who had direct experience

of these events, or were potentially grandchildren of those who had direct experience of these events. My informants ranged about 25 to 80 years old.

Recruitment material was given to collaborating community leaders and organization heads to be distributed as seen appropriate. Flyers were placed on the front desk and outdoor bulletin board at OMNHP, the bulletin board at Washington Memorial Library, and at Middle Georgia State University- Macon campus (Appendix B, Flyer). I initiated communications and rapport building with community organization leaders-board of the Muscogee Creek Indian Freedmen Band, the office manager of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation Historic and Cultural Preservation Office, and staff at SEAC and OMNHP by email first and by subsequent phone calls. Phone calls were either cold calls or expected phone calls. I am aware of one stakeholder who posted the flyer to their personal social medias. One interview with Oby Brown of the Historic Macon Foundation (HMF) was conducted for the purpose of publishing a call to participate in the HMF's e-newsletter. I intended to solicit interviewees via social media posts on The Ocmulgee Mounds Association and OMNHP Facebook and Instagram pages; however, through discussions with organization heads, I determined that there were ethical concerns about this form of community outreach, and I chose not to post the solicitations.

I introduced myself to participants and explained the purposes of this study in introductory emails, phone calls, and at the start of each interview. In the interviews, I collected opinions and stories from living descendants on 1) the persons buried at Ocmulgee that may have African ancestry, 2) who descendants may have understood these ancestors to be, 3) if they would be in favor of their return to descendant communities, and 4) how these ancestors should be understood- how they may best be memorialized and what story(ies) should be told of these Black ancestors. This qualitative data helped to contextualize data gathered from archival materials.

All interviews were recorded and transcribed if possible with redaction of identifying material. Participants have been kept anonymous in recorded documentation via a code of random number assignment unless they consented to being named in this thesis. Random numbers were assigned using a random number generator in the Google Chrome web browser. Consent to direct quoting with participant name was addressed in the Quotation Agreement section of the interview consent form. Interviews were planned

to be forty-five minutes, but multiple ran up to an hour and thirty minutes long. I conducted three in-person interviews using CDC guidelines for prevention and protection from the novel coronavirus, three interviews over email wherein I would send the sample questions, receive responses, and then correspond through email back and forth an average of three rounds to better qualify responses. This method of interviewing was not anticipated, but these three individuals found the interview over email method to be the most accommodating for their needs. Four interviews were conducted via Zoom. The sample questions noted in Appendix B functioned as guide material, but by no means were interviews limited to these questions. Interviews were not rigidly structured and questions flowed with the conversation- questions not on the list were asked when relevant and sample questions were not always asked in the exact form that they appear on the written sample question list. Each interview was recorded. Interviews held over Zoom, in-person, and through phone had an audio file that was then uploaded to the software Otter.AI. Otter.AI would produce a transcript that I would then proof read and revise if needed while listening back to the audio file. Once proofed, the transcript was sent to corresponding informant for further proofing and requests for edits/revisions.

Respondents were given a two week window from date of the transcript being sent by email for edit/revision requests, but participation withdrawal was permitted at any time which included after the two week window had passed. I also listened to pre-recorded oral histories gathered by Lonnie Davis in 2019 on behalf of OMNHP's historic resource study and cultural research preparing for OMNHP's 2,100 acre land expansion. I also analyzed previously recorded firsthand accounts from participants of the excavations in the 1930s; some additional personal stories of life in the region were also available in a volume of called the "George Stiggins Manuscript Account of Creek Indians" which was completed by Joe N. Stiggins in 1873. Oral histories and community accounts were upheld to have a similar scientific utility as the archived archaeological documentary data, meaning they were considered as trustworthy as scientific data that was found in the archaeological archives.

COVID-19 Adjustments for Researcher and Participant Safety and Protection

The documentary archive has been difficult to piece together, specifically in regards to documenting the timeline of archaeological fieldwork and curation. Moreover,

the novel COVID-19 further impacted my access to archives and interview subjects. All CDC, national, state, and local requirements and recommendations for the prevention of COVID-19 spread were observed at all times during this research process. Interviews held in-person required face masks. The interviewee and I the interviewer were socially distanced. Whenever available and accessible I utilized internet- based formats for interviews which included Zoom and email. All archival work at OMNHP had to be done in person as stipulated by the security and sensitivity of the documents. SEAC follows security measures, but due to the archives' physical inaccessibility during shutdown and being in an area more impacted by COVID-19 than OMNHP, I was able to make inquires for archived materials and have non-restricted information interpreted and relayed to me by phone and email through an employee. The health and safety of all parties involved in this research were of the upmost importance. As COVID-19 had a greater impact on Black communities, including the members of the local Black communities of Macon, Georgia that engaged in this project, I was hypervigilant in protecting informants due to their disproportionate risk or infection, higher risk of mistreatment due to medical racism, and subsequent higher risk of death due to COVID-19. Similar and worse disproportion of COVID-19 impacts was felt throughout Indian Country, which greatly impacted the MCN HCPO and consultations.

Communities of focus: Who All Gon' Be There?

The Muscogee Nation is a confederacy of multiple tribes originally from the southeast region of the United Sates. Their citizenship data currently states that their population is 87,000+ citizens. This population size is the basis of Muscogee Nation's claim as the fourth largest of the Five Civilized Tribes. The MCN has had to and must continue to choose carefully in what ways they participate in this research as they have to consider how the work could impact their standing in the lawsuit brought to them by the Muscogee Creek Indian Freedmen Band. This plan of participation is fluid and was discussed at a consultation meeting on October 8, 2020. MCN's participation in the thesis has continued to be discussed. The main point of contact for any research project is the MCN Historic and Cultural Preservation Office (MCN HCPO). I hold running correspondence with the office manager, RaeLynn Butler. There is no official tribal IRB process for MCN, but in relation to this project, the Historic and Cultural Preservation

Office oversee research processes in a similar fashion as a review board. A project proposal was sent to the Historic and Cultural Preservation Office in the spring of 2020, and received comments from the MCN HCPO in the summer of 2020. A second proposal was sent to MCN HCPO in the fall of 2020.

Muscogee Creek Indian Freedmen Band (MCIFB or Creek Freedmen) have not published census data on their population size, but they are based in Moore, Oklahoma. Census data from the year 1890 specified 4,621 citizens of Creek Nation as "Negroes" (Carter 1999: 39). When the MCN reorganized governance and citizenship in 1979, the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936 was used as a model, and included from this a blood ancestral affiliation requirement. Members may maintain membership by proving an ancestor listed as "Indian by Blood" on a Dawes Roll between 1898 and 1906 (documentation that is the basis of determining membership of the five Civilized Tribes-Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Seminole, and Chickasaw). The rule was enforced beginning 2001. The Dawes Commission did not always specify this ancestry for Creek Freedmen. Creek Freedmen descendants are currently in the lower court of the Muscogee Nation attempting to reestablish their full citizenship rights awarded in the 1866 Treaty, and they are estimated to be about 2,000 to 3,000 members (Grayson and Kennedy v. Citizenship Board of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, Case no.: CV 2020-34). The MCIFB has not responded to any communications about participating in this research project. This communication was made in the spring of 2020. A research proposal was attached to the introductory correspondence.

Estimations of the population of Black/African Americans of Macon, GA are based on the U.S. Census' Annual Population Estimates by County for Georgia. As of July 1, 2019, the total population of Bibb County, GA was 153,159, and those identifying as Black made up 54% of the county population (Census.gov 2019). This means that the estimated population Black/African Americans in and surrounding Macon, GA is 82,706 people. The African American/Black communities of the United States do not have centralized leadership in regards to their heritage management so I reached out to multiple Black community groups in the Macon area. There are multiple points of contact with several institutions and centers that represent the history and the presence and culture of Black communities in Macon, GA (see Appendix G, Table 1).

During the month of July 2020, I put together a list by internet search of points of contact for individuals that were connected to or worked within organizations that represented Black communities in Macon, Georgia. All of these individuals were contacted by a cold phone call. Following an initial phone conversation, correspondence was kept through follow-up emails where I shared my research materials- a project proposal and research flyer. If my phone calls were unanswered, I would leave a voicemail with my contact information and then send an email with a similar script to the voicemail sent. I waited forty-eight to seventy-two hours before reaching out again if I received no response. Community members expressed intrigue about the research, and where they thought appropriate, offered more names and contact information for individuals they deemed potentially helpful to the research- often the same names. Not all individuals contacted responded. These conversations were considered consultations.

The University of Idaho's Office of Research Assurances requires that university researchers fulfill Collaborative Institutional Training Tnitiative (CITI) modules delivered through the citiprogram.org website and prove certification in this training as part of the submission of an IRB application. I was certified for this training on August 16, 2020 (certification ID: 37833667). The IRB application (short title: Muscogee-Black Ancestors Oral Histories; IRB #20-149) for this thesis work was written over the months of June and July of 2020. The complete application includes the uniform application that all researchers submit with the project flyer pdf file (Appendix B, Flyer), the interview consent form pdf file (Appendix C, Informed Interview Consent Form), the sample questions pdf file (Appendix D, Sample Interview Questions), and the post interview contact information pdf file (Appendix E, Post-Interview Contact Information Form) all attached. These were original documents that I authored. The IRB application was submitted on August 9, 2020 for the IRB exempt review track via the Vandals Electronic Research Administration System (veras.uidaho.edu) portal and was subsequently approved by the University of Idaho's Office of Research Assurances.

Community Stake Compared

From September 10 to October 9, 2020, I travelled to Georgia and completed archival research at OMNHP, and began conducting oral history interviews. During this time, I found materials in the archive that indicate those buried at OMNHP with

perceived African ancestry were: 1) historic and 2) were likely to be Black Union Civil War soldier(s) and enslaved Africans of the Dunlap Family (often referred to as Dunlap slaves). Interviews also support this hypothesis. I have not found any archival materials or had any interviews that suggest admixture of the Muscogee Nation and the African Diaspora was taking place at Ocmulgee. Based on the time period of movement of the Muscogee Nation from Middle GA westward prior to the Trail of Tears (1831-1877), the Creek Freedmen identity was not officially recognized in OMNHP archives.

In September 2020, Lonnie Davis and I read, compared, and cross-analyzed a handful of documents and accounts. Based on my research and discussions with Davis, I found strong indications that those interred with perceived African ancestry were indeed of the Antebellum and Civil War era (see ch. 2). The implication is that there were potentially five Black Union Army soldiers buried in a Civil War trench within the bounds of these ancestral lands and that at least two enslaved Africans (most likely owned by the Dunlap Family) were interred in a separate area of these ancestral lands in close proximity to the theorized location of the Dunlap slave dwellings (Williams and Henderson 1974; Cultural Resources, in press; see Appendix A, 3.1).

Considering the temporal evidence from archives, the noncommunication from the Muscogee Creek Indian Freedmen Band (MCIFB), and the support of local Black communities of Macon, GA and the Muscogee Nation, I chose to focus this thesis on the history and public perceptions of the documented Black Union soldier(s) burials and the burials of Black family members enslaved to the Dunlaps.

Contributions: It's Very Much Giving Me…

Our (I and those I collaborate with) work makes three main contributions. First, we are bringing to light the importance of stakeholder and descendant cultural information into the practice of archaeology and into discussions where identity is trying to be understood. NAGPRA and the (now stalled) African American Burial Grounds Network bill do not sufficiently protect Black contested race/multiethnic individuals and their descendants who have complex and undocumented histories. Secondly, bioarchaeological classifications, as have been loosely applied to these individuals, cannot be singularly used to access ethnic and racial identity. Yip, Douglass and Sellers specify that ethnic/racial identity (sometimes written ERI) is a social identity that people

utilize in determining sense of self (2014: 179). Cokley defines *ethnicity* as "a characterization of a group of people who see themselves and are seen by others as having a common ancestry, shared history, shared traditions, and shared cultural traits such as language, beliefs, values, music, dress, and food" (2007: 225). "*Race* refers to a characterization of a group of people believed to share physical characteristics such as skin color, facial features, and other hereditary traits" (Cokley 2007: 225). Race has no biological basis, but is imbued with a biological othering of a group of people due to their perceived genetic relatedness.

> Thus ethnic identity refers to the ways an individual understands and identifies ethnic group belonging based on self-labeling, sense of belonging, preference for the group, positive evaluation of the ethnic group, ethnic knowledge, and involvement in ethnic group activities (Phinney 1990, 1996 in Cokley 2007: 225).

Racial identity is a shared identity wherein persons perceive themselves to share a basic physical relatedness as a result of socialization that suggests their physical attributes equate biological connection (Cokley 2007; Helms and Cook 1999).

As we understand race to be a cultural construct, I am addressing the utility then in not relying so specifically on biological indicators and finding the root of race in a cultural context via oral histories. Thus, I am proposing a methodology rooted in collaborative oral history and archival analysis as a means of determining a well-rounded understanding of racial-ethnic identity. Studies of racial/ethnic identities are a common subject of study in psychology, because the processes of developing one's own ERI is an internal process that happen over time (Cokley 2007; Rivas-Drake et al. 2014; Yip et al. 2014). Clary-Lemon's publication details her study of Irish national and immigrant identities through oral histories that record the discursive nature of identity construction (2010: 5). This is a similar process of discursive construction that is revealed of Black ancestors and descendant identities in the interviews I conducted. Tse studied Asian American ethnic identity through oral histories, referring to them collectively as a heritage language (1998). Benmayor (2002) explored cultural citizenship through the shared oral histories of first generation college students of Mexican backgrounds. The use of oral histories to document ERI and group connections is a standing practice. Lastly, I am addressing how identity is a dynamic and contested process, both from the

perspective of people in the past, but especially as it relates to current discussions of ancestry, descent, and heritage management in the contemporary world.

Interviews and Opinions of Misplaced Ancestors and Their Respective Documentary Data

In presenting my interview data, I have organized this section listing sample questions that I brought to interviews and then the questions that interviewees brought to me during these interviews that for myself were very striking (Appendix D, Sample Interview Questions). Questions that interviewees asked me were not uniform so I have a paraphrased list. The questions I drafted were formed before beginning my fieldwork when my fieldwork focus changed in-field from tracking potential multi-ethnic ancestors of African and Muscogee descent buried at OMNHP. The thesis topic solidified to tracing Black ancestors buried at OMNHP (Black ancestors enslaved to the Dunlap family and of potentially Black Union soldiers) after my field season began. Contested identity of Black ancestors, racialization, invisible alternative histories, and repatriation remained the major themes of the thesis before and after fieldwork began. As a result, the list of pre-written sample questions was not amended. Interviewees quoted by name and/or Interviewee number expressed written consent to quotation with name or interview alias. Other respondents who specified allowance of interview data inclusion, but not consent to direct quotes are only paraphrased with complete anonymity as respondent(s) or informant(s*)*.

Interviewer asks the Interviewees

Are you familiar with the Ocmulgee Mounds NPS [OMNHP] of Macon, GA?

Each interviewee expressed some familiarity with the OMNHP. All had physically been on the grounds. A common explanation for their introduction to OMNHP was via school field trip in elementary or middle school that built off of lessons in their respective classrooms that discussed Creek Indians in Georgia history.

> It's been a very long time since I've been there. I'm not- I don't have it memorized […] I have a memory. I don't know if it's right or not. Because I did go on field trip and I was homeschooled in seventh grade. And I'm not sure if that field trip is th[e] Ocmu[l]gees or not, because it was like, it was a plot of land that was very much like in the woods, but also like, had some like, like Native American like, things in it. Like they had TVs and

that's where I was like, is this accurate? If that's Ocmulgee, That's what I remember (Kassidy Wasden in interview, 8 Jan 2021).

Wasden, long time resident of Middle Georgia and history enthusiast, described an unclear memory of OMNHP. Interviewee 2, a stakeholder community member, recalled a field trip as well.

I will say I do remember a field trip in middle school in which there was a bunch of Indian stuff around. I don't, I'm not going to confirm that it was that. Because I know the best- like the most Indian it was- was we were outside and there was a bunch of little gift shop areas. So it could have just been a museum and they had like a section about it. But I mean, I suppose it's possible we were there. Maybe if I was a kid, I wouldn't have put two and two together. If I'd seen it now though I would (Interviewee 2 in interview, 11 Jan 2021).

The word *it* in interviewee 2's statement is OMNHP. Every school in Middle Georgia school districts include OMNHP as a field trip location, and the park recognizes the spring semester as field trip season.

One respondent spoke of visiting OMNHP as a main pastime activity for hiking as they live in close proximity.

[M]y familiarity with it is from grammar school field trips, to- actually one of my professors- me telling one of my professors about my father who was into folk medicine. They went over and we did a- we did ground tour, or feel tour and they [keyed] some plants that they weren't familiar with. I've been fishing over there over the years, walk the trails, climb the mounds. So I'm very familiar with Indian mounds (Yolanda Latimore in interview, 19 Jan 2021).

She continued, saying, "I just know, on the surface things. And then going through the trails. Just learn a lot more about nature and just, you know, just a peaceful place to walk through and feeling like you're in nature, but you're a little safe." Most of the respondents reside in the Macon and Middle Georgia areas, and understand OMNHP to be fairly accessible as a result.

Two respondents spoke mostly of their professional connections to the park and its history- working on staff and writing literature that covers OMNHP. Matthew Jennings, university level history professor, wrote:

I first visited Ocmulgee in 2000, and was entranced by the site immediately. I went to write a dissertation and book about Native

American violence, both of which mentioned the site. I was hired at then
Macon State College (now Middle Georgia State University) in 2007, and
have since published a handful of other books related to local history,
including a new history of Ocmulgee (2018), and a pictorial history of the
site (2015) (Dr. Jennings in interview, 22 Feb 2021).

The other historian professional remembered visiting OMNHP, working with the
collection staff, and recent (not specified) work with Davis. They recalled some general
knowledge of the OMNHP excavations.

The features mentioned most commonly were the burial (funeral) mound, the
trails of the park, a house- informants remembered a house but not specifically as the
Dunlap house- and the Earth lodge. Interestingly, five people interviewed expressed not
knowing anything about the Dunlaps and their plantation farm. "You mentioned that
there was the house or a home?" (Ashley Harrington in interview, 12 Jan 2021).
Interviewee 2 made a reference to the typical antebellum architectural style that homes of
slave owners modelled.

I wasn't aware that there was plantation land in around the Ocmulgee area.
That one's a little new to me. Again, not super surprising […] Had I drove
into Ocmulgee and I'd seen a house that looked like a house that on the
plantation, I would have said, 'Hey, there was probably a plantation.' It's a
really particular look (Interviewee 2 in interview, 11 Jan 2021).

"You know, I don't know, I haven't read the marker. I passed it millions of times, well,
1000s of times, but I've never read the marker," Yolanda Latimore, of the Macon
Cemetery Preservation Corporation, recognized the house, but not the Dunlap name. She
then asked for clarification, "is that where the house the white house? Yes, yes. That's as
you drive through the entrance to the left, going to the main entrance." Wasden also did
not recall the name. "The Dunlap thing I've never heard before, but at the same time, it's
very interesting theory," (Wasden in interview, 8 Jan 2021). Their home and their
historical markers are the first thing seen ahead on the driver's side when entering into
OMNHP via its main entrance (Appendix A, Fig. 3.2: A and B).

Beyond the respondents whom are professionals of southeastern history and the
respondent whom visits as a frequent pastime, the level of familiarity is considered
general- awareness the space exists, recognizes space has some link to Indigenous in
Georgia, recognizes that the term *Indian Mounds*. Respondents collectively recognize the

park, recognize its general connection an Indigenous community of the southeast that no longer lives there, and recognize the space being connected to the Civil War. There was only one form of introduction to OMNHP that was not related to Georgia history curriculum, professional connection to OMNHP, or grade school field trip. Harrington, a Black community member and an alum of two HBCUs recalled her introduction to OMNHP through school and poetry, saying "honestly, I don't know a lot about them. I've been there maybe once or twice, but other than that- any talk about them briefly, in poetry, or in maybe some classes I've had." Poetry was a novel answer because she was the only one to say this. The specific poem was not remembered. Ashley later shared what she could recall from a visit to OMNHP.

> A lot of what [interpretive exhibits] said would be things like, 'this is a burial ground.' They discussed, maybe the- the history of the entire situation where people felt as though some of the things that people were doing through there were a little bit maybe disrespectful, or, you know, maybe you wouldn't want things like that done to you like the train that goes through there. I know about that, but... (Harrington in interview, 12 Jan 2021).

When I asked if she was talking about the railroad track that supplied Confederate efforts in during the Civil war, which was cut through one of the two temple mounds, she responded, "yes and that was, from what I understand, the controversy. People were very upset about that, but they weren't going deeper into that."

What are your thoughts about potentially returning the remains of people historically buried there [meaning at Ocmulgee] who are not Muscogee (Creek) Indian?

This question was understandably met with other questions on occasion. It is intentionally loaded, and I would typically use it before any discussion of NAGPRA or that the thirteen affiliated tribes of Ocmulgee agreed all persons are due return to their post-life journey. Without that context, all informants agreed that reburial was morally the choice that they would support, but each considered it to be a complex issue. Dr. Matthew Jennings specified that should identifiable families request a specific family member, then that kind of accommodation should be respected as well.

> That's complicated. If the remains were originally unearthed at Ocmulgee, then I think they should be reinterred there. I suppose if identifiable descendants made a claim on them and requested reburial someplace else, that should be accommodated, too (Jennings in interview, 27 Jan 2021).

Latimore, of the Macon Cemetery Preservation Corporation, wondered first why these individuals were even removed.

> [T]he thing that's disturbing is they had some kind of tie, so why would they just be thrown away? They- I mean, that that- That is Ocmulgee National Monument history, and I'm trying to figure out why they would just be separated from somewhere they had ties to. That itself is, is it's like segregation like, and then there was looking at what time frame it was done in, it's like, "just put these Blacks, they're not going back in," and you know, I don't- I really don't, don't get why they're- they would be disturbed from the place- from the resting place. That's- that's what I'm trying to, you know, put all together (Latimore in interview, 19 Jan 2021).

I had two informants suggest that these ancestors were buried within this context of OMNHP for a reason, so in their views it would only make sense to return them to the same spaces. Wasden called on her Christian faith believing that all people may find peace in being reburied and then undisturbed suggesting that these ancestors are not at peace now. "As a Christian to get [to] rest in peace and kind of like be their own? It's hard. You know, part of me is like, at least they got to go back to where they started [if reburied]" (Wasden in interview, 8 Jan 2021).

Whitney Limewood, long-time Middle Georgia resident who herself is Passamaquoddy of Maine, said, "my thoughts on returning the remains of non-natives is an issue that is hard to tackle. If [non-natives] had no significance to the natives, then they don't deserve to be buried at [their, meaning Muscogee] spiritual site." If these Black ancestors had no significance to the Indigenous communities affiliated with Ocmulgee then they should not be reburied within OMNHP. This she explained after interpreting the question that "not Muscogee (Creek)" meant they had no value or relation to the Muscogee and that they had not been originally buried at OMNHP. This is not what that question meant. After I clarified that we are not entirely sure of their connectedness or not and this is where these remains were already found, she adjusted her answer to suggest that if OMNHP is where Black ancestors were originally interred, then return them there. "Sorry I misread the question as; there are people buried there with no value or relation to the natives. If they are historically buried there I see no need to move the buried" (Limewood in interview, 18 Jan 2021). It has not been confirmed that the Black ancestors buried at OMNHP never held relationships with the Muscogee

Nation, but the Muscogee Nation was subject to removal westward beginning in the 1830s before the Dunlap settlement and Civil War in the 1850s and 1860s. Limewood continued with a sentiment close to Jennings, "hopefully if they are removed it is because the family requested."

Do you have any knowledge of the relationships that the Muscogee (Creek) Nation had to African people and people of African descent?

Only one of the expert interviewees described Detailed knowledge of Muscogee Nation and African people and their descendants. Jennings stated,

> Muskogean[s] first encountered Africans who were enslaved by the various Europeans who probed the edges of the Native South in the 1500s and 1600s. Later, more sustained contact took on various forms… extraction of labor… to cooperation… and everything in between (Jennings in interview, 22 Feb 2021).

However, Interviewee 6 expressed no familiarity with the Muscogee interaction with the African diaspora. Another respondent did not have knowledge of specifically the Muscogee to African diaspora relationships, but expressed being aware that it is historical fact that Indigenous communities and Africans crossed paths. Wasden expressed having kin that are Indigenous and Black, recognizing that interaction happens presently, so why would it not have been occurring historically?

> My cousin lives in North Carolina, and they have- primarily African American and Native American […] they do also have like mixed kids that have both. So it's like, yeah, I've heard of it. I just. Yeah. I believe that for sure (Wasden in interview, 8 Jan 2021).

Overall, most of the informants do not recognize any history of interaction between the African diaspora and MCN specifically, but all mentioned something like they "could believe it to be true." This is for a number of reasons including the following argument brought up in interviews: 1) Black community members, including myself, often grew up knowing that those escaping chattel slavery may look to close by Indigenous communities for salvation and 2) the same entities brutalized these communities, thus allyship for resources, access, and safety were paramount to survival. Gullahs (Black enslaved who lived in the coastal plains of Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida) provided rice cultivation knowledge to Native Seminoles and Gullahs, who became Black Seminoles, adopted styles of dress from Native populations (Opala n.d.). Norris'

slave holding suggestions point to the side by side chattel enslavement of Indigenous and African people (1712). Tracy documented transcultural exchange with the suggestion that call-and-response patterns of African and Indigenous music and story-telling is a shared cultural pattern (2009). The Indian Removal Act of 1830 impacted the Five Civilized Tribes as they were moved westward from the southeast, and the Black citizens of these communities were removed with them when Indigenous communities refused to hand over their Black citizens for recapture into chattel slavery (June-Friesen 2010). America is so mixed now because of the admixture happening historically as well.

Would you find it important to include these intertwined histories in the Ocmulgee Mounds [National Historical Park] museum?

Interviewee 2 gave a quick and definitive response here. They were the first to illustrate Black community concerns of needing to be consulted about Black ancestors and contingent wariness about disrupting Indigenous space at the center of OMNHP's memorialized history. They suggested that incorporation of these intertwined histories of the Muscogee and the African diaspora is something that is reasonable and warranted, but even if small (i.e. one line on an existing historical marker within the park) it disrupts the history being memorialized, particularly the Muscogee history.

> Incorporating- incorporating these invisible or lost people into that- into that history [of OMNHP] potentially changes that history as a whole meaning- maybe it's small, but it does shake up, potentially shake up what- what we know about that period of time in that place or at least imply there was a reason for them being hidden maybe? I'm not sure how you would go about- how would you go about it? (Interviewee 2 in interview, 11 Jan 2021).

This participant was worried about infringing upon the recognition of the MCN and their ancestors by adding in the Black ancestors.

Another respondent communicated that this incorporation into OMNHP disseminated narrative and burials are complicated endeavors and emotionally charged for all groups because one does not want to upset the other or encroach on what remains of their histories and spaces and vice versa. Yet, these Black ancestors are worth some memorializing.

> It'd be- in a perfect world, it'd be nice if there was, you know… the- the association with Black people in the area, but if there isn't really a dedicated space or area for this to be done, maybe it can be done in I'd say a separate area, but that doesn't really necessarily seem right, but [I'm] not sure (Harrington in interview, 12 Jan 2021).

Latimore agrees to potential incorporation of OMNHP's Black history under certain condition,

> I think they could be incorporated. Especially, you know, if we get if they have something tangible, that- that proves, you know, we were present in/during that time, and it's […] more than likely slaves to the Dunlap family. I think, in the, in the main building [OMNHP Museum], you know, incorporating some of the history there, as well, and in the communities that they were probably from, if we could make heads and tails that, you know (in interview, 19 Jan 2021).

There was also a common suggestion that incorporation of these invisible histories would deepen existing community connections and investment as well as forge new ones, which would work in favor of both the Middle Georgia community and the park itself. "It's something the park has probably not done enough of in the past, and would also be useful in forging a deeper connection with the community which currently surrounds the park" (Jennings in interview, 27 Jan 2021). Limewood believed including Black ancestors into the memorialized histories of OMNHP was synonymous with telling the whole story by inclusion of the ancestors publicly. "Yes, I do find it important to include these intertwined histories, within the Ocmulgee Museum. They should tell the whole history and it's side stories correlating to their everyday life," (Limewood in interview, 18 Jan 2021).

Another respondent recognized the potential positive impacts that highlighting alternative histories may have for communities that are non-Muscogee and non-Black. Other interviewees agreed with this. Harrington finds that "maybe more people would not be so quick to just take one side of the story as the absolute fact and maybe consider other people's perspectives." She detailed a hypothetical scenario,

> 'well, you were taught that this group of people did this and it was good, but maybe this other group of people experienced the same event, and they don't necessarily agree on your take.' So maybe they go a little bit deeper into the things they learned previously (Harrington in interview, 12 Jan 2021).

She and three fellow interviewees categorized the history of the American school system as the history of the majority, which they then specified as history that concerns white America. Harrington and Latimore said that the introduction of alternative histories may trigger non-Black and non-Indigenous persons to feel compelled to learn more and question what they believe to know.

> I think it'll bring more awareness because some people genuinely they don't know that maybe the version of history they're being taught isn't the entire story. So by hearing these other stories, or this other version of history, they might seek to learn more themselves, and maybe question some of the things they had previously learned or been taught (Harrington in interview, 12 Jan 2021).

Latimore echoed this, saying it would,

> you know, it would wipe away some ignorance, because if we just don't know, we don't know, and it may, you know, form or shape a little more respect for others that aren't a part of what we always learn- aren't a part of the history that we always learn about, you know" (Latimore in interview, 19 Jan 2021).

A re-learning of history may relieve the multiple ways in which one piece of history has plural understandings, making history intersectional. An intersectional history is a pluralistic history wherein historical people of marginalized identities are also incorporated into the disseminated American narrative. Inclusion of this form presents an opportunity for living marginalized communities to "recognize their own image," as Thomas Duval, DDS, elder of the Pleasant Hill neighborhood of Macon, Georgia, and local historian of African American history, described. He finds inclusion particularly important for Black youth saying that "kids need things that they can see their own image in, " (Duval in interview, 20 Apr 2021). Therein, history reflects an image representative of the varied experiences of America, and moves away from reinforcing the image of American history as whiteness, maleness, and wealth.

Are you yourself aware of having any mixed both Native and Black ancestry?

A single participant identified themselves as having awareness of both Indigenous and African ancestry. Interviewee 2 discussed that there is running familial oral tradition from his paternal linage that there was an Indigenous ancestor who's documented name was Ann/Anne.

> Not in particular communities, [but] [my siblings and I] always hear about so and so on your father signs great grandmother whatever was a member

of some nation that I wouldn't say specifically Creek in this context because obviously I don't remember but we- I know that- I have- I have history in my family of maybe a few members being what would be the right term? Do we use like Native American still? Or do we say something else? (Interviewee 2 in interview, 11 Jan 2021).

I told him that use of Native American can depend on who you are speaking with, but I and colleagues use the term Indigenous. Ann is also my ancestor, and interviewee 2 is my relative and long-time resident of Middle Georgia. Ann is our great-great-great grandmother. This ancestor was believed to be an Indigenous woman of North Carolina who eventually settled in Virginia, likely Cherokee, and enslaved simultaneously with Africans. She likely married an African man named Rufus. A marriage record for Ann and Rufus' daughter Corean/Corene dated April 26, 1899- 96 years to the day of my birth- is on the same patrilineal line as my grandfather's sister, Lassie Anderson. Our aunt, known as Aunt Toolie, sister to my paternal grandfather, James Wilson, Sr., once relayed that as a child she had been told memories by her grandmother, the daughter of Ann called Corean/Corene, that she remembered witnessing her Indigenous mother being sold as a slave. "I remema cuz my- my gran'mama used to tell me stories 'bout how she saw her mama bein' sol' as a slave." A marriage record for Corene Travis who married James Hartwell Easter lists Corene's approximate birth date to 1881, which is post-Civil War. This may be a misremembering of the narrator considering Corene was born post slave exchange. However, it is possible that Ann was subjected to some form of exploited labor considering the Civil War did not undo the social-cultural roots of chattel slavery in one sweeping document. Aunt Toolie did not share more of this memory.

...I was too afraid to ask...

This question of African and Indigenous ancestry was intended for a previous project idea to trace African and Indigenous admixture. For this thesis, this question was still asking about mixed ancestry, but for the purposes of understanding how informants identified with these Black ancestors when they carry multiple ethnic/racial identities outside of just Blackness. How do they speak on their membership in either the Indigenous or Black communities when they are intertwined, and does that change their

sense of self-described ability to speak on what happens to the Black ancestors of OMNHP? My brother self-identifies as Black. I identify the same and am hesitant to unnecessarily mention any Indigenous ancestry because of our lost affiliation due to disappearing oral histories and familial materials that were connected to Ann-identification documentation and photographs. This loss of stories and physical materials of Ann is a disappointing topic for Aunt Toolie, who had long held onto the last pieces of connection to Ann. She once said, "I used to have her picture, but somebody came round to the house and I- I don't know. I ain't seen em." My mother followed that statement with "I just don't understand why somebody would just steal family pictures." My sibling and I both recognize our mixed ancestry, but feel most comfortable speaking on the parts of our identities we actively experience. People carry multiple identities at a singular time- gender, ERI, class, political, etc., but oral traditions (discursive construction- Clary-Lemon 2010; heritage language- Tse 1998) surrounding identities can strengthen or weaken feelings of connectedness to portions of identities.

In terms of evaluating Indigenous-ness or Black-ness, what might you look at when trying to decide how Indigenous or how Black someone is?

This question was tough for respondents to answer. Several mentioned that belonging for both of these communities is not always tied up in genetics but rather depends on participation within the community. Limewood gave the following insight,

> I truly believe to determine how [N]ative or [B]lack someone is depends on how immersed in [their] culture or how much they want to connect with [their] roots or even being proud of who they are. A non-native who appreciates the culture and wants to be a part of that culture truly, is considered native to me (in interview, 18 Jan 2021).

However, they recognized that for legal reasons many Indigenous communities rely on a degree of blood quantum. "This topic is very sensitive in the native community," Limewood implored, and she quickly noted what her community recognizes, which will not be shared because of the taboo that surrounds blood quantums. Jennings and three other interviewees wondered if there is even a position that they should take- deciding someone else's identity. "My strong personal preference is that it's not my call to make, and to accept people's self-identification," (Jennings in interview, 27 Jan 2021). Harrington was making similar statements when she said,

[S]ome of [identity] is cultural. So you can't really look at somebody's body or their bones, and determine what their cultural background is just maybe their actual, their actual physical ancestry. So I don't even know how you would even begin to determine after somebody has passed on what they are, what they may consider themselves to be, because that's also something to consider. They can't at this point tell you. So I'm not sure how you would even go about doing that. And it's not necessarily my place to do that. As an outside person," (Harrington in interview, 12 Jan 2021).

Self-identity is what should be honored, but in a case where that cannot be communicated, like this thesis where ancestors cannot tell you, there would need to be a combination of bio-evidence and cultural evidence.

Notably, the non-Native stakeholders and descendants did include some invasive biotesting of remains to help aid their decisions of identity.

I know in today's day and age you just take like a blood test of some kind, or like, or saliva and like, if you're like, 10%, you can get like, like an Indi- or you somehow get some of their rights. Like, like [name redacted]. She's got, like, so much going on? Because she's probably mainly from there. […] if it was like back then, which? I mean. Yeah, I don't- I wouldn't know exactly what to decide for that (Interviewee 1 in interview, 8 Jan 2021).

On the same topic,

[W]ere I forced to determine how Indigenous or Black someone is as an exercise, I would register my distaste for said exercise, but I suppose I would revert to a combination of phenotype, culture, community, and things like that. But it's a foundational belief of mine that people should identify as they see fit." (Jennings in interview, 27 Jan 2021).

Another participant said,

Well that that job seems kind of tough, unless you're doing like, unless you're capable of doing some sort of DNA testing, but that job seems kind of like it might be more and more difficult based on who's buried. Not everybody's probably buried with things. I can imagine if a lot of those people they think are slaves, or were slaves or just I should say Africans or Black people might not have been buried with anything other than just the clothes they were in. But I suppose it also depends on when they were buried too. I can see that being very difficult and deciding who is Indian or Black enough to be put where, yea that- that doesn't sound like a simple task (Interviewee 2 in interview, 11 Jan 2021).

Native informants did not mention this in their hypothetical method.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, definitions of race in the humanities agree that race are based on cultural constructs wherein similar physical attributes of a group of people are conflated with absolute biological connectedness to people who share hereditary physical traits (Cokley 2007; Helms and Cook 1999; Phinney 1996). Informants recognized ERI as tied to cultural participation yet simultaneously suggested that biotests might solidify identification of these potential Black ancestors, which I find paradoxical but understandable. From my experience as a teaching assistant, the race lecture in American education is difficult to produce and teach, because race is culturally conflated with biology in greater America. Difference in responses to the question of what methods participants would employ for determining ancestors' identities shows that there are multiple understandings across participants of what race is and how race may be isolated in identity studies.

What theories do you have about why the Muscogee (Creek) Nation and these African and African descendant people were interacting, trading goods/ideas, and intermarrying?

Wasden recalled that Indigenous and Black bodies were subject to chattel slavery next to one another for a duration until it fell out of favor to have Indigenous slaves in about 1750 due to the Indian wars of the early eighteenth century and growing availability of Africans to fulfill labor demands (Gallay 2008:7, 2009). Ewers recorded that slave holders had a preference for African slaves, also noting their availability lowered interest in Indigenous slaves (1938: 4). He disputes 1750 as the date of noticeable decline of Indigenous slaves was closer to 1763 (Ewers 1938: 4). She also remembered that there was common recommendation to slave owners to buy a certain ratio of Native slaves to African slaves, but was unsure of whether this was her misremembering some detail of a history class. "[S]ometimes, the slave owners would buy like, some Native Americans to some like African Americans, you know, just kind of like a- and I'm not saying that's like how that happens," (Wasden in interview 8 Jan 2021).

She may have been remembering John Norris who in his 1712 literature "Profitable Advice for Rich and Poor" suggested buying three African/Black women to eighteen Native women to fifteen African/Black men (Norris 1712). She theorized that

this was a major impetus to Indigenous-Black interaction and inter-kinship. Two more informants mentioned slavery being an impetus for interaction in that the slave trade brought Africans to the Americas where they were now in shared space with the Indigenous of the Americas. "My idea of how these two cultures intertwined is from the slave trade in Georgia at the time," (Limewood in interview, 18 Jan 2021). The time period she was referencing was not specified. The reality in this thesis is that OMNHP human remains of African ancestry were most likely of enslaved Africans. Respondents stating that chattel slavery influenced interactions between the Muscogee and African diaspora is sound. However, suggestions that slavery was the entire source of Muscogee to African diaspora relationships is too sweeping. Several mentioned not having any theories as this type of relationship was one that they had not considered or had been exposed to, so there was no reason to hypothesize the nature of interactions.

Most of the interviewees recognized the potential for a plethora of conditions contributing to why these groups were participating in multiple forms of exchange and interconnectedness.

> Well, my theory would honestly be- maybe people, maybe these people were traded to them, maybe these people somehow became- came upon them? Maybe? It could be a lot of things. Really, it could be several things at once, I would think possibly (Interviewee 3 in interview, 12 Jan 2021).

She elaborated that,

> I just feel like, they may have these groups, maybe one set a group of people who came into contact or came to be integrated into the group through one means and maybe later on in the future, or maybe previously in the past. Maybe there was some trading people going on between maybe Europeans and this group of people with some of the African people having been traded to them (Interviewee 3 in interview, 12 Jan 2021).

There were three mentions that non-interaction would have been the abnormal phenomena.

> To me, it would be strange if they *weren't* interacting with each other. Throughout the Southeast, Native nations and people of African descent were interacting with each other in a variety of ways. Individuals in some nations exploited Black labor in ways akin to those of their white neighbors, while in other nations, Black women and men were adopted and sought after as allies. Ties of commerce and kinship bound these

communities together and inter[t]wined their histories," (Jennings in interview, 27 Jan 2021).

It seems to some respondents that exchange in multiple forms across the Muscogee and African diaspora was inherent and inevitable.

> I had thought about it, I just assumed that somehow they had just become associated in some, some sort of manner. But not too much deeply beyond that. Because it just isn't necessarily surprising to me from other things. Because there's just been, like, in certain parts of Florida, a lot of people feel as though there is a group of people with African ancestry who should be able to join or who should be able to be considered a part of some of the tribes there, there are some groups of people who were there. So it just wouldn't be surprised if people feel that there's that association there, they might exist elsewhere (Harrington in interview, 12 Jan 2021).

Interactions of these groups had lingering effects. Black-Indigenous individuals exist, and these persons have an added burden of cross marginalization. Black communities recognize a shared trauma with Indigenous communities due to colonization, and there is a continued trauma of being Indigenous or Black in western societies. Also, there are contemporary efforts of Freedmen of the Five Civilized Tribes taking legal measures to address issues of citizenship in Indian Country. Each of these present realities illustrates that intertwined histories are not undone and these Black and Indigenous interactions are permanently affixed for people who decide to recognize intercommunity connections.

> *The Muscogee (Creek) Nation agreed to rebury any and all sets of remains at Ocmulgee Mounds NPS across race/ethnicity, time, and space approximately 10 years ago. What are your thoughts on this?*

> There was no argument that these wishes should have been respected.

> So I'm- from my understanding, there is a lot of controversy about whether or not Smithsonian and other museums even have the rights and hold these items from these other groups of people. they feel entitled to do so, these other groups of people may disagree. Okay. Like if okay. Yeah. If, if these bodies were recovered from this site, and this is where they were originally buried, I don't necessarily think that the Smithsonian or any other group really has the right to hold on to them. I feel that they should be re buried where they were. I don't feel like another group of people has that right to someone else's body or their bones or their items. You know what I'm saying? (Interviewee 3 in interview, 12 Jan 2021).

There were then inquiries from informants not familiar with the literature of NAGPRA or the Smithsonian's exception to it. They wanted to know why the Smithsonian would deem itself able to decide against the MCN's expressed wishes. The answer is that Smithsonian developed and ratified within-institution repatriation codes out of the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) Act before NAGPRA was complete. For transparency, I did not know about this relationship until February of 2021. Two respondents referred to the Smithsonian in this scenario as the third party, one other referred to the Smithsonian as being on the outside.

Limewood, speaking from the very personal space of being Indigenous, said that the authority over human remains and repatriation claims should not lie with the Smithsonian and their role should be minimal, only having jurisdiction over items and materials that are expressly donated to them by persons whom produced them.

> The Smithsonian shouldn't have the authority to hold or decline requests for remains. If they are tied to a historical site, the site should determine how the remains or artifacts should be treated. The Smithsonian shouldn't have a big role to play, they should just preserve certain items and people that are donated (Limewood in interview, 18 Jan 2021).

What the use of the word certain referred to was not specified. The flaw in this argument is that remains were specifically dug for OMNHP's museum- with the intent of drawing attention to OMNHP- and these remains were then recategorized as property of the Smithsonian. Attainment via donation does not always mean that the transaction of artifact or remains from one source to another is then ethical or that a donated item is more ethically owned. Should human remains be owned at all? Human remains donated to the Smithsonian that are not like Grover Krantz, a biological anthropologist who had the agency to decide to become a Smithsonian specimen, are people who either were stripped of the agency to decide their after death wishes or had their after death wishes infringed upon.

At the same time, respondents recognize that the Smithsonian's network and resources allow for these remains to be taken care of.

> I do know, I think we would have to have a little bit more perpetuity, which we're working on now, so that we would make sure that this, you know, history wouldn't be wouldn't get overgrown or neglected. So, there are some steps that we would need to take to make sure that it's a museum

or like a place that is going to be taken care of before- before we made that
move (Latimore in interview, 19 Jan 2021).

Remains at the Smithsonian are kept in a controlled environment that keeps the remains
from degradation. The remains in question at one point endured an uncontrolled
environment at OMNHP due to degrading building structure where the human remains
fell subject to the elements (improper climate) and infestation of pests. As discussed in
chapter 2, this poor state was one of the reasons for movement of remains to SEAC.

There was also concern about what the Black community might be able to do for
these sets of remains. Accepting these remains, interring them, and then maintaining the
grounds they are buried in requires a large amount of resources and help.

[W]e would have to probe and things like that, to make sure that we're
burying them in a- in an area- there's a lot that we have to do as far as
mapping the cemetery and preserving it because there's like only a portion
that's kept cleared, and that's mainly through by volunteers. So, what we're
working on now is to be able to- Well, first of all, we've set up an endo-
We set up an endowment fund. That takes time and people, you know,
putting money into it (Latimore in interview, 19 Jan 2021).

There is worry from multiple sources that groups with minimal support networks or
connections to powerful individuals (i.e. state and local elected officials) or as well
financed as the Smithsonian would struggle to adequately provide reburial rites. I inferred
from these expressions that it is a concern that returning these remains from the
Smithsonian may mean being returned to subpar circumstances compared to where they
are now. A few truths support this concern. OMNHP currently lacks the curation
materials, team, and space to care for remains. Finding space within the park to rebury
individuals is arduous in that there may not be space within the park to return remains
without encountering other cultural material. Also, Linwood cemetery may not be able to
accept remains because of the cost and labor required to upkeep the grounds.

These are valid concerns. Wariness to disturb Black ancestors comes from a space
of concern about further adding to the trauma of Black ancestors and the descendant
stakeholder communities that care for them. I argue the concern is a good sign- a sign
that these Black ancestors are being thought of as full human beings and not as
specimens. The concern is a sign that there is investment in making the correct steps
about Black ancestor memorialization and reburial, and so each choice about ancestors

will be deeply considered. These concerns of quality of care for Black ancestors is a sign that there are people willing to participate in the hard parts of repatriation that will come in the future. My evaluation of this topic of reinterment rites for all persons excavated at OMNHP align with the ideas expressed by interviewee 2:

> If it's- if I have to decide one way or the other, I mean, it's probably just better off let the Creek rebury them. […] I think having the Creek rebury everybody where they were, because I don't know- just- I mean, disturbing the- there- These tombs and such is a little odd to me anyway, but I understand the- the point research, but where it becomes a debate about who deserves to be buried where, just put him back in the ground, I think. (Interviewee 2 in interview, 11 Jan 2021).

> *There is suggestion that four burials discovered were of people of African ancestry, and the largest assumption is that they were enslaved Africans or African descendants. Had you ever encountered any information suggesting slaves would be buried [at OMNHP]?*

Only one informant had sound recollection of being presented the idea that persons of African ancestry had been buried within OMNHP.

> Yes, but I may be something of an outlier in this regard compared to the general public. My reading about the nineteenth century history of Ocmulgee, in concert with my conversations with Lonnie Davis (recently retired from the NPS), have led me to conclude that certain of the burials at Ocmulgee were enslaved Black women and men (Jennings in interview, 27 Jan 2021).

One other participant who is not a historian professional vaguely remembered hearing the notion of persons of African ancestry buried at OMNHP. "I had heard that they had found a few buiral- buried people who may have been of African ancestry or may not have been that's what I've heard." (Harrington in interview, 12 Jan 2021). She could not recall where they got this information from. All other respondents found the notion of Black individuals buried at OMNHP to be new.

This lack of familiarity was entirely anticipated. The absence of knowledge about Black ancestor burials at OMNHP, or general knowledge of African Americans being present within OMNHP, was anticipated because this history is hidden at the park. History lessons in local schools do not mention this African American history. Duval

said, "books I had [in school], they didn't reflect my history." (in interview, 20 Apr 2021). Currently in his seventies, he attended school during the days of segregation.

Generations later, marginalized communities are still noticing an absence of their history in school settings.

> [H]onestly, it's because a lot of the time, the history that is discussed in school is the history of the majority people. Some of the things that are not taught would kind of contradict with a lot of the things that we were taught in school. So when you find those things out later, you see, okay, so how I was taught that was not how that went down. And I feel like because it doesn't necessarily concern the majority of people, they just don't necessarily care about it, don't care to learn about it. Or it may be it just makes them feel bad for some reason. But it's, it's the truth. But, you know, if the groups of people whose history isn't really being taught were larger or maybe had more influence, you might be able to hear about it as often as you do the more common type of history," (Harrington in interview, 12 Jan 2021).

The significance of the knowledge absence demonstrates how the intentional miscategorization of Black ancestors as Indigenous in museum exhibits in the 1940s and 1950s, their silent removal from OMNHP and their housing within the Smithsonian complex has reverberated to the present.

The invisibility that these ancestors have been masked in since their removal from OMNHP in the 1930s and reflected in the archives, has permeated public. Descendant stakeholder community members do not know these Black ancestors and this is harmful. The Smithsonian was able to piece out portions of remains to research institutions and universities while not maintaining up to date tracking on these loans because the invisibility these remains carried from descendant stakeholder knowledge absence. The Smithsonian is not alone in this and the invisibility of Black bodies in collections impacts our recently deceased; Two ivy league universities, University of Pennsylvania and Princeton, were/are using the remains of a Black child(ren) for an anthropology course (Kassutto 2021). Philadelphia Police aerial bombed their own citizens targeting the Black liberation community called MOVE, and as a result murdered five children between the ages of seven to fourteen years old (Jenkins 1996; Kassutto 2021). Remains of Tree Africa (14 years old) or Delisha Africa (12 years old) have unknowingly been in university anthropological collections while their mothers Janet (mother of Tree) and

Consuela (mother of Delisha) continue to live in Philadelphia, grieving for their murdered children (Kassutto 2021).

... but Janet Monge, adjunct professor to UPenn and visiting professor to Princeton, calls the bones "juicy" (Monge qtd. in Kassutto 2021)...

Interviewees ask the Interviewer

The following are four standout questions that some orators brought to me in interview:

[Directed to the Smithsonian] What are you doing with people who aren't [repatriated]?

Interviewee 2 asked this question in response to a scenario I asked him to consider: Between the scientific community relying on osteological measurements and documentary academic evidence of cultural affiliation and the descendant communities who are removing citizenship and affiliation requirements requesting all people be given a burial- which side would they lean toward? His response was:

> Well, I'll say for me, I need to know. I need to know what the scientists after they've determined who is and who isn't whatever. What are you doing with the ones who aren't? That's my question. If, say, the scientists discovered 'Alright, we have five people here. Three of them are Creek, we're going to give you the creek back. We'll give Muskogee (Creek) back.' Well, what happens to the other two that weren't? They just- find a new plot? Do you figure out who they were? Because if you can't tell what they were, I guarantee you probably can't tell who (Interviewee 2 in interview, 11 Jan 2021).

He further qualified this; if by now someone had not come looking for these ancestors for the purpose of returning them to a family plot, then it is unlikely that someone would be any time soon. He further suggested that it should make minimal difference to the Smithsonian if these misplaced ancestors are returned. I extend this argument stating that no person was ever buried at OMNHP for the purpose of being seized in the name of science and then spend the next almost century in a repository. While the Smithsonian does not normally release statistics on unrepatriated human remains, it appears that they are held within the Smithsonian complex away from sight and ideally away from harm.

These human remains are away from sight because they have yet to be ascribed by the Smithsonian with a utility for display; they have not been deemed to have a story

worth telling in their Black identity. The only time Black ancestors were on display at OMNHP was to sensationalize an identity of Indigeneity. Also, to give these ancestors visibility requires addressing a hard history of intentional miscategorization and displacement. Facing participation in questionable ethical work is fraught; see the discussion of the 2006 OMNHP-MCN-Smithsonian consultation in ch. 2. Black human remains of OMNHP are ideally away from harm because they are presently specimen in the Smithsonian collection wherein they are adequately preserved and stored in a controlled environment where a team of professionals have access to any resources needed to maintain these human remains. That is ideal safety if I were to follow the Smithsonian's lead in addressing these remains as specimen.

However, because I follow the lead of my informants and consider them as people, I should not say that they are entirely without harm. Muskogean culture has a taboo about bones; they are meant to be buried so that the decedant can continue of their journey, and bones are not to be touched and handled by people. To be denied the death and rest that was bestowed at burial is harmful. Black enslaved strategically had identity stripped so as to better classify their existence as expendable livestock. Black males were commonly referred to as bucks on bills of sale and the children "considered no otherwise than [h]orses and [c]attel" (Higginbotham, Jr. 1980: 52-53). A similar process of identity stripping occurs when the buried ancestors are treated as museum specimen. Sam Dunlap only recorded his slaves as lines and numbers on slave census records (1860 Federal Census Records, 1860: Roll M653-111, Film 803111). Some of these same ancestors over 150 years later now have museum catalog numbers.

[Referring to me, the interviewer] What are your ideas for African Americans/Black people making [repatriation] claims and reburying ancestors?

I made the following answer based on a conversation with an unnamed historian professional who shared memories of colleagues participating in repatriation claims. I suggested that our communities build a team of invested members who build professional networks with the following people and offices. The regional archaeologist should be consulted as should the state archaeology office. The Smithsonian must participate with an institutional representative of the community's choosing. Some form of support from

the MCN would be ideal, but they choose entirely if and how they would participate.

Yolanda Latimore is hopeful the MCN would somehow be able to further collaborate.

> We can learn, we can learn from Indians, I mean, and I think we, we definitely need to work with them, we need to have them at the table in this effort, and [MCPC/Linwood Cemetery] do[es] have some land that we've acquired adjacent to the cemetery. I mean, I do that I think that would be very necessary, because this is like […] I'm not saying they were like, relatives […] maybe, with their history, and then knowing their culture, maybe some things can be revealed to help us have a better understanding (Latimore in interview, 19 Jan 2021).

State and local elected officials should be made privy to the conundrum that a community of their constituents are immersed in as they have a great deal of resources and pull. Title 43: Public Lands- Interior, Subtitle A, Part 10- Native American Graves Protection And Repatriation Act Regulations, Subpart D, subsection 10.17- Dispute Resolution states the duties of the revie committee in resolving repatriation disputes:

> *Review Committee Role.* The Review Committee may facilitate the informal resolution of disputes relating to these regulations among interested parties that are not resolved by good faith negotiations. Review Committee actions may include convening meetings between parties to disputes, making advisory findings as to contested facts, and making recommendations to the disputing parties or to the Secretary as to the proper resolution of disputes consistent with these regulations and the Act (Title 43: Public Lands: Interior, Subtitle A, Part 10- NAGPRA Regulations, Subpart D, 10.17).

I have found precedent of agencies like NPS, the Smithsonian's Natural History Museum, Beloit College's Logan Museum of Anthropology, and American Association of Physical Anthropology keeping repatriation review teams/committees in place (nps.gov, naturalhistory.si.edu, physanth.org), but they were exclusively designated for section 106 compliance mandates of NAGPRA. It would benefit Black communities organizing repatriation efforts to become familiar with and build relationships with the members of the repatriation review teams at the agencies they seek repatriation from. These are not necessarily the final committees that oversee an individual repatriation case, but persons from agency repatriation review teams/committees may be appointed to a repatriation case. The last piece that I believe could be most integral, as seen with the African Burial Ground National Monument of New York (Franklin 1997: 39-40), is amplified community vocality.

Would [the MCN] be willing to be a part of this effort for people who may not be a part of their family/community?

The multiple ways that this question was asked was in connection to Black community members' desire to make sure that at all times the Muscogee and all affiliated tribes were not disposed of their ancestral ties to the land and that the Indigenous communities' own repatriation efforts were not negatively affected. Consideration for this collaborative effort across communities is part and parcel to Black communities recognizing that they and the Indigenous of the United States all live with pluralistic identities that have been politicized through Western disenfranchisement.

How do we share history we don't know?

This was asked rhetorically, but it is a resounding question. Sharing unknown history is the center of the change I am arguing for and change that community members have said that they want realized. We preserve and disseminate histories for posterity, so that generations following may know their ancestry, how they came to be, how the world around them was built up, broken down, and evolved. When we do not preserve and disseminate these alternative histories, their posterity, their descendants are disserved and only provided a history that serves the majority. With connectedness to ERI's held in our shared histories, identities are jeopardized when the stories are no longer captured and told.

> Yeah, I feel like we didn't- I feel like we didn't get a lot of the story, which is probably the big issue here is that even those of us who are really learned, I suppose, we still are starting from kind of what they bothered to teach us to go off of (Interviewee 2 in interview, 11 Jan 2021).

The invisible Black histories that this thesis documents is a small feat compared to the unknown histories that we cannot document. The effects of invisible histories from absence of knowledge about these ancestors is deep.

> [W]e were taught that slaves existed…there were plantation owners, and that they bought and sold people. […] there were fields and people were out there picking. I remember the three fifths bit [the 3/5 bill that gave partial voting representation to Black men which slave holders would exploit for more voting power] […] So, I feel like there are a lot of gaps sort of there, and that's- that's sort of the modern schools- our modern schools- it's just the school system. There's definitely a version of history that we're taught, 'What- What does history look like from that

perspective, as opposed to mine?' (Interviewee 2 in interview, 11 Jan 2021).

Stakeholder respondents made it clear that they were contributing to narratives about ancestors they had no introduction to. Latimore mentioned early in the interview that,

> [n]one of this is in Georgia's history […] and I do not recall reading anything about Black Americans who were at the Ocmulgee National Monument [OMNHP], or interacted or lived there or even there as slaves. None of that has ever been introduced to me before you [you referring to interviewer] (in interview, 19 Jan 2021).

The lack of knowledge made Wasden unsure of herself for a moment.

> I'm very confused right now. A lot of it is the fact that I don't know, really anything about the topic. And so then that makes me nervous, because I don't really know like, what's going on. Yeah, I'm just- I'm confused. it's just, history is my favorite subject. And I don't know anything about this (in interview, 8 Jan 2021).

In my inquiries with other historian professionals and elder community members asking about what they already knew of Black ancestors at OMNHP, these informants regularly mentioned that based on the details I shared in correspondence that I already knew more than they did. This made me uneasy, because I was not expecting to be viewed as the expert of OMNHPO's invisible Black history. Also, I wondered why is it that I know more than my fellow descendant stakeholders. I had no wish to speak as if I knew about OMNHP Black history, because I was aiming only to learn about OMNHP Black history. I am bestowed the title of expert, but I struggle to develop an answer to this question of how to share history that is not known. I do not know this history better than my co-collaborators, because I am also feeling the effects of the absence of ancestor knowledge. I have only recently processed that the invisible history focused on in this work is real history that took place at OMNHP.

In sum

After the socio-politically and racially fraught year of 2020, which invigorated academia's introspection into its colonial foundation and continuing issues of systematic racism, it is hypocritical for the Smithsonian, a cornerstone of academic North American anthropology, to continue to hold onto these bodies. It is furthermore an issue to retain these burials and grave goods when the justification to retain control of these Black

ancestors as well as the Muscogee Nation's Mississippian and Woodland ancestors is ill-informed Euro-centric scholarship. I make the declaration that time is waning on western institutional control over human remains from marginalized communities that were obtained through questionable means- a black market, absence of consent of the decedent, uniformed living relatives, collection of remains (i.e. Boas and Morton), etc. I've gleamed from consultations, interviews, and conversations with descendant and stakeholder community members that there is a desire to do for these misplaced ancestors what they can, but few community members feel it is their place to make decisions about burial rights for these Black ancestors. Even fewer invested community members know where to begin the process of organizing for repatriation.

These respondents, descendant stakeholders and non-descendants stakeholders, recognize these lands as Muscogee ancestral ceremonial lands, and they recognize that there are more situations of Black ancestors and Indigenous ancestors in the archaeological void due to ill-informed and white-washed academic practices. We, I and these co-collaborators, are all hopeful still that there is a resolution that can be achieved. The route to address repatriation politics for the non-Indigenous begins with asking descendant stakeholders what they would like to see done for their ancestors. Archaeologists collaborating with descendant stakeholder communities then need to make sure that descendant communities have the opportunity to collaborate in designing the repatriation methods desired. Opening of dialogue and invitation to collaborate with the most impacted and most invested communities is what the interviews of this thesis begin to do.

CHAPTER 4: Conclusion: That Sign Can't Stop Me 'Cuz I Can't Read
What did we accomplish?

…You did this for… what?…

…Why not?…

We, I and co-collaborators, using interviews and archival research, were able to document the available history connected to Black ancestors buried at OMNHP. We cannot name them. We do not know precisely the nature of their afterlives in the archives. What I mean is the chronology of when remains are at which repository is not concrete. I cannot confirm or deny that Black OMNHP remains were part of the collection of OMNHP remains that were loaned out from the Smithsonian to research facilities and universities. I cannot confirm the exact space within the Smithsonian complex that Black OMNHP human remains are held and what methods of care they receive at the Smithsonian. We are in the early stages of figuring out how to address Black ancestor repatriation. Even still, the introductory work that is this thesis is growth. Acknowledgement is a key component of resolution, and the first piece of a true and sincere apology. Knowing the history connected to persons of African ancestry buried at OMNHP is part of the solution to an ongoing problem. Visibility is the key component to addressing the disconnect that descendant stakeholders feel from not knowing the parts of OMNHP history that would most impact them.

Archival research has broken down how these misplaced ancestors have been perceived and interpreted through time. Eight to twelve misplaced ancestors have passed through OMNHP, SEAC, and/or the Smithsonian's collection. Along the way they were disassociated from the documentary archive. As a result, their collection history is riddled with holes. Yet, with an incomplete documentary record we are able to track perceptions of the misplaced ancestors and how Western entities categorized them in the 1930s, the 1950s, the 1990s, the early 2000s, the late 2010s, and in 2020-21.

A second way that this thesis has provided visibility to the misplaced ancestors is through the breakdown of the mythologized history related to OMNHP Black burials. We addressed myths that were considered part of OMNHP historical fact from staff or general public. While burials found at OMNHP were perceived as American Indian initially by the general population, the documentary archive of OMNHP revealed a

different history. In reality, burials of perceived African ancestry were recognized in the 1930s as being of African ancestry at their uncovering in the north plateau by Kelly himself. It was in the first exhibit interpretations created by Ewers (first field curator and park superintendent) for the park's Visitor Center that created the myth that "all burials were assumed American Indian." This misinterpretation resulted in 70 years of professionals overlooking potential African remains at OMNHP while they were used as museum displays.

The potential misunderstanding of the effigy/figurine that is broken at the neck as an "African fertility icon" was used to further mark African identity at OMNHP beyond the Dunlap plantation farm. Contrary to this, material culture of Etowah site currently on display, Etowah's history of alternating occupation by the Cherokee and Muscogee, and accounts of a similarly designed effigy/figurine from Whittlesey suggests that the "African fertility icon" moniker should be suspended as this account is likely a misnomer. There is potential that the OMNHP effigy/figurine is a variation of a Cherokee design, variation of a Muscogee design, or an African design. Lastly, we cannot dispel that this effigy/figurine is a product of intercultural exchange between members of two or all three of these groups.

OMNHP's current interpretive exhibits make no mention of the presence of Black Union soldiers on the property. However, three regiments of formerly enslaved Black men were created in Macon, Georgia in April of 1865. One of these three regiments, the 137th, was stationed in Macon, Georgia at its inception. Kelly suggested burials of African ancestry in the Civil War trench of the North Plateau were slaves. Contemporaneous to Kelly's claim is documented history and oral tradition that places the 137th Black Union soldier regiment in OMNHP for the purposes of cleaning up military defenses no longer needed at Civil War's end. Considering the plantation farm did not exist until the 1850s, making slave burials in the vicinity most likely from then or later, in relation to Black Union soldier presence in 1865, conditions of African ancestral burials would be similar in age and degree of degradation from highly acidic soils. This also addressed the myth that all burials of Africans are absolutely that of slaves when in reality, there is no documentation that differentiates Black Union soldier burials from Dunlap enslaved Black family member burials. Plus, not all experiences of Black people

and communities are homogenous or comply with the mythologized monolith of historical Blackness in America.

The repatriation of ancestor to OMNHP is not mythologized history, but can also illuminate issues of visibility for Black ancestors. Muscogee Nation's Woodland and Mississippian ancestors have been ascribed some mythologized repatriation history, because of misunderstandings about the Muscogee Nation's continued cultural connection to the Mississippian and Woodland traditions. I too assumed that OMNHP repatriation goals were fulfilled in 2018, thus I believed the implication NAGPRA works completely for all Indigenous communities. Indeed, goals were fulfilled for the ancestors who were categorized by scientists as protohistoric and historic *Creek*. NAGPRA is written for Native American graves and living descendants of the buried Indigenous, but Western notions of collapse and disappearance perpetuate this neatly categorizable history of culture. As discussed in ch. 1, collapse implies that there was faulty design in all Indigenous life-ways and were predestined to fail. Disappearance as applied through Western history to Indigenous communities, suggests a complete end of culture and physical people. Disappearance ignores that Indigenous people and their varied experiences were and are resilient. When using the logic of disappearance, no Indigenous should exist. The Western scientific need-to-prove- in this case "Indian-ness-" in a manner acceptable to Western science is disjointed. Indigenous communities are are disenfranchised and othered by Western society and institutions, where much of history is not written, because everyone is an orator of history. Mississippian and Woodland ancestors are misplaced still.

This matters to Black ancestors as well, because any repatriation legislation that addresses Black ancestors has to pass through the American government- a space rife with institutional racism and struggles with representation of Black constituents and their unique concerns. Repatriation literature for Black ancestors cannot be assumed to be fix-all tool for Black archaeological concerns. If Black repatriation legislation is mythologized as full proof for all Black ancestors, like general public perceptions of NAGPRA consider the legislation as all-encompassing for Indigenous communities, there is a risk that partial address of ancestors will be enough to placate the issues of Black

repatriation. I do not want to settle on the issues of repatriation for Black ancestors, and I do not want hypervigilance about this issue to wane.

A target goal of this research was to address hierarchical evaluations of Western science in repatriative work over other knowledge and expertise. Archaeology has a unique opportunity to be a leading example for greater academia. This is an example of the utility of multiple lines of evidence and decolonized methodologies at a time where academia is participating in real conversations of introspection about its colonial foundations. Myself, and collaborating respondents have not squarely answered the question of who should decide questions of Black-ness, but we know it should not only be Smithsonian curators. To completely and humanely care for misplaced ancestors, we have to follow the lead of people who never saw these ancestors as specimen- who never saw profit from their deaths, destruction, and invasive handlings. One of the best examples of this is the African Burial Ground as mentioned in ch. 3. The Black communities of New York carried the efforts to give excavated Black ancestors ethical/humane treatment and due memorialization (Franklin 1997: 39-40). The African Burial Ground is a feat that Black people and archaeology benefitted from. Archaeology got a wave of Black community investment, public attention, and the field saw an increase in diversification of research and researchers, which contributed to the scientific validity of decolonized methodology (Franklin 1997; LaRoche and Blakey 1997). Black communities were able to hold intellectual power over their history through collaboration with archaeologists (LaRoche and Blakey 1997). Black ancestors of New York were permanently memorialized, and that history remains accessible.

An unanticipated accomplishment of the archival work and interviews of this thesis is a record of lasting effects of irresponsible museum interpretation. I knew of misinterpretation of human remains, but not of intentional reinterpretation to change ethnicity of exhibit subjects. The largest impetus for the lack of awareness of these Black ancestors is due to Ewers' and 1950s OMNHP museum staff's choice to knowingly represent Black bodies as Native bodies. When community is not involved in developing dissemination of cultural context, mischaracterization can be the result. In the case of OMNHP, Black ancestors are stuck in a liminal void and their Black descendant communities do not know them. Just as in other NAGPRA cases where the onus is on

Indigenous communities to prove connections with displaced and abducted members to the very institutions that displaced and abducted their ancestors, the onus is on descendant communities to create a plan for how to prevent further mistreatment of ancestral remains at the hands of scientific practice.

The last goal achieved is that I have been welcomed into spaces I thought not accessible- into spaces and conversations that I was told to not try to access. With this being my first attempt at this form of research, I found myself experiencing a "baptism by fire." For transparency, I cried. I have doubt about my work only because of myself in this work. I am still learning how to be the kind of archaeologist I want to see in archaeology- an archaeologist that uses archaeology as a service, an archaeologist that always centers community epistemologies, an archaeologist that does not harm. I am navigating muddy sociopolitical, religious, and economic waters. This is a personal accomplishment. In redefining research wherein I inescapably must incorporate the personal (parts of my identity are embedded in this work) and feminist waves in anthropology/archaeology suggest that researchers highlight their experiences of the research as well as reporting the work itself (Battle-Baptiste 2011; Davis 1978; hooks 1990; Hurston 1935). I feel personal accomplishment hold an importance in this thesis just as the professional accomplishments do.

There are a number of reasons I thought these spaces were inaccessible. I do not have a known Indigenous affiliation. I am not originally from the Middle Georgia area. I have never lived in Macon, Georgia. I have only been a trained archaeologist for two years. I learned about Black Feminist archaeology in the fall 2019. I do not yet have a title of weight. I am anxious about every encounter I have related to this work. I sometimes want to quit. In retrospect, each of these reasons are connected to imposter syndrome. I have felt like an imposter, and I am aware that there are better trained and more seasoned archaeologists who could do this research justice. Because I walked into this project with all of these thoughts, I thought of myself as the wrong fit. I assumed the people who lived in these spaces I was trying to access would push me out. However, I become more confident in my station as a Black feminist archaeologist as I do this research.

...and for the other Black girl who feels she can't really be magic because she is too afraid to fly: I'll catch you...

Where is descendant community investment now?

Across my interviews and consultations there was clear interest, an understanding, and a desire to give the misplaced Black ancestors the return to journey that they are due. I have seen hesitation, because there is minimal blue print available for how to reclaim these ancestors. There is a strong sentiment from the Black communities that the MCN should be at this table when drawing up the actions for repatriation of African remains. This is not because the Black communities feel owed collaboration from the MCN. Rather, Black communities of this thesis want to make sure that the MCN are disposed of their centrality in OMNHP. MCN HCPO has a desire to honor all forms of connections to the ancestral lands of OMNHP. However, the MCN have legal constraints- citizenship lawsuit, so they must tread much more carefully.

I see that the first action that these groups agree on is developing how these misplaced ancestors may be memorialized in the near future. Ideas of (re)introduction include a marker or plaque of a similar design to those that currently stand in OMNHP. The markers include descriptions of significance and general discussion of how the marked landscape is connected to OMNHP. OMNHP also has a rotating curation case. Displays in the revolving case change each month, hence the term *rotating*. It may be easiest to create an exhibit of Black ancestors at OMNHP in this case to easily introduce the history, and to be able to quickly adjust the exhibit. Most of the exhibits within the OMNHP museum are pseudo-permanent, but this also makes sure that space meant for memorializing MCN's ancestral and temporary connections are not encroached.

There is recognition that human remains of perceived African ancestry may not be returned for years down the line or potentially ever. Never seeing repatriation of Black ancestors for OMNHP is a frustrating idea, but respondents saying that it would be possible to memorialize these individuals even without the physical remains of these ancestors is a welcome silver lining. The Smithsonian is a powerful entity that creates major road blocks to repatriating human remains, but this does not mean that the absence of repatriation silences the history of Black ancestors. We can memorialize them anyway, because at all times people should have the power to tell their histories. Spaces like

OMNHP that memorialize invisible histories tell their complete histories. This could put pressure on entities that are keen to retain ancestors that are not in any form theirs to own.

There is a symbolic return when they are memorialized in OMNHP as it reintroduces them into the context from which they were removed, but these ancestors would return with a humanity they were not ascribed at their removal. A symbolic return would provide a visibility that these African ancestors may not have ever had in life. I imagine that people who have been forever reduced in the archived record to lines and numbers in place of names on one of the few documents to ever say they existed and where likely felt minimally seen or recognized in their humanity. Duval posits that it is hard to argue any history as fake or myth when that history is "sitting right there in your face," (Duval in interview, 20 Apr 2021). If we take bell hooks' concept of homeplace and extend it to these ancestors, the restorative and nurturing self-made space of home inside of a slave quarter, at a military camp with other freedmen, or even their ceremony of burial may have been their only instances of visibility (hooks 1990). Descendant community members are invested in honoring this now because it can happen faster and feels as impactful as a physical return.

Next Questions and Design Alterations

At the conclusion of M.A. phase of my academic and activistic career, I find myself with more questions than I entered with. Appendix G- Table 2 is compiled a list of questions that take priority for the dissertation level of this research which are collaborative- meaning my own questions combine with those descendants and stakeholders see as the most pertinent for the next stage. In terms of the design of this thesis and the next stage of the PhD, my biggest self-critique is that I need to conduct more interviews. My population pool allowed me to field some general stances from local communities. and I also had some input from experts in history, archaeology, and museum studies. Interviews are the main source of community vocality in this research. More interviews can grow this multivocality, and I can more concretely express their sentiments if more people are recorded. It was quite novel to attempt this research as a whole considering the pandemic of the past year and present year altered my plans of community inclusion quite drastically. The ways in which the pandemic has disproportionately impacted Black, Brown, and Indigenous populations made the groups

I collaborated with that much more inaccessible. This greatly impacted the nature of the collaborative components of this project. As a result, I find the collaborative portions lacking, because I had to prioritize prevention and safety. A design improvement would be to conduct this work when there is not a pandemic, but that is something beyond my control. A pandemic cannot be a research design critique in the same way that too small an interview pool is. I could only make accommodations for disease prevention, but I could not will away the pandemic from impacting my co-collaborators.

I foresee the second stage of this research, the dissertation, may include the archaeological and osteological materials in order to better identify biological markers of ancestry and material markers of ethnic practice. The initial draft of the dissertation design suggests employing contemporary bioarcheological methods to analyze metric and morphoscopic traits such as stature and dental/cranial morphology to reassess ancestry determinations using biodistance modeling. Additionally, at that stage I would conduct a reanalysis of grave goods found in association with human remains, as ancestry alone cannot be used to determine racial and ethnic group membership. Rather mortuary practices may signify how individuals were classified by their contemporaries.

Or, I will do none of these. The word collaboration here applies to almost all elements of the work. The conclusions of this thesis inform the design of the dissertation. Consultations with stakeholders and descendants has informed me of the following: MCN dos not support DNA or isotope analysis of remains and is a non-negotiable. Other noninvasive bioanthropology methods are due extreme review, and are in essence taboo. Black community members do not express any kind of taboo around osteological analysis, but do want these methods to be used sparingly, and they all recognize that identity and belonging are not entirely biological. The design of the PhD is in flux, but is going to be community/culturally informed in whatever shape that it takes. The room I have left for communities to hold partial power over the design of the PhD will be a foundational collaborative component. I find the PhD will be better suited for expanding collaborative techniques than this M.A. thesis.

Conclusion

Archival research and interviews with descendant and stakeholder community members addressed the thesis questions of the mistreatment of un-repatriated Black

ancestors. Archival research gave a historical account of what the mistreatment and misplacement was, when they took place in the chronology of Black ancestors in the archives, and how institutional evaluations of these Black ancestors as specimen informed choices of handling in OMNHP, SEAC, and Smithsonian archives and curation. Interviews revealed the kind of trauma of descendant stakeholders not knowing their ancestral history, the lasting impacts of ethically questionable removal and interpretation, and the investment of descendants to prevent further harm to their ancestors. Providing a more holistic interpretation of the past through archives and interviews takes into account the perspectives of descendant communities that are invested in the visibility of their ancestral historical narratives and heritage within spaces like Ocmulgee. The research put into practice space-making, specifically for the unburied and their descendant communities, and ultimately myself, to control a narrative where we historically have not been imbued with the power to define our own pasts.

My modes of practice of academic activism as a stakeholder researcher are informed by this archival research and interviews. First, I am continuing this project into my PhD. Second, I now have experience handling what feels like a paradox of being a woman of color and being an archaeologist. It is apparent every day that to be a Black woman in archaeology is to decide to dive head-first into the trauma that the discipline has inflicted on people of color. Archaeological trauma specific to Black people was not a thought that occurred to me until three to four years ago, and stories like the MOVE children remains are getting harder to process. I have found a way to use archaeology to prevent further trauma. I am emboldened by the work and the narratives shared in these interviews. Collaborative research is the best method of practice for anthropology and archaeology. It is the method I am ready to mentor future archaeologists with. The archival research and interviews were opportunities for Black, Native, and multi-race/multiethnic communities in Georgia to question, analyze, and reinterpret a history currently traumatized and rendered invisible by directly asking the people most impacted what is at stake for them.

A researcher I respect greatly earnestly advised I leave this research topic be. They stated that there was too much political red tape, and they had authority to have told me this. They were then and are now absolutely correct about that. As sociopolitical

moves are made to correct the disenfranchisement that living descendants of brutalized and marginalized groups deal with presently, so too are the deceased owed retribution and respect. This is not to rebuff the concerns of descendant and stakeholder communities whom are weary of archaeological investigations that ask questions about their history, especially that which is dark and contentious. Simultaneously, I do not wish to speak like I know. It is partially the point of the work that I don't know, that we don't know. What I mean is that I do not wish my station as the researcher from a Western academic institution with the Western scientific degree to mean that my expertise only comes from that Western space or that this academic knowledge sits on a hierarchy above cultural knowledge. Instead of taking these words as merely my findings and stepping away after the conclusion, take these words as an invitation to participate.

References

1860 Federal Census. East Macon. Bibb County. Georgia. Roll M653-111. Family
      History Library. Film 803111.

Adefarakan, Temitope (2011). "CHAPTER TWO: (Re)Conceptualizing 'Indigenous'
      from Anti-Colonial and Black Feminist Theoretical Perspectives: Living and
      Imagining Indigeneity Differently." *Counterpoints, Indigenous Philosophies and
      Critical Education: A READER*, Vol. 379: 34-52.

American Association of Physical Anthropology (2021). "Community Partnership
      (formerly Repatriation)." *Physanth.org*, n.d. Retrieved from
      https://physanth.org/about/committees/community_partnership/.

Atalay, Sonya (2006). "Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice." *American
      Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 30: 280–310.

Atalay, Sonya (2012). *Community-Based Archaeology: Research with, by, and for
      Indigenous and Local Communities, 1st ed*. Berkeley: University of California
      Press.

Barnwell, John and William Hammerton (1721). *Map of the Southeastern Part of North
      America*. Retrieved from
      https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/orbis:9600894.

Battle-Baptiste, Whitney (2011). *Black Feminist Archaeology*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left
      coast Press.

Bell, Derrick (1995). "Who's afraid of critical race theory?." *University of Illinois Law
      Review*, 1995: 893–910.

Benmayor, Rina (2002). "Narrating Cultural Citizenship: Oral Histories of First-
      Generation College Students of Mexican Origin." *Social Justice*, Vol. 29(4(90)):
      96-121.

Beresford, Richard (1715). *Map of North and South Carolina and Florida*. Retrieved
      from
      http://rla.unc.edu/Mapfiles/LCp2/PRO%20CO700%20Carolina%203.LCp.2.jpg.

Braund, Kathryn E. Holland (1991). "The Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery." *The
      Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 57(4): 601-636. https://doi/10.2307/2210598

Brayboy, Bryan M. J. (2005). "Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education." *The
      Urban Review*, Vol. 37(5): 425-446. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-005-0018-y

Browman, David (2013). "The Origin of the 'Chicago Method' Excavation Techniques: Contributions of William Nickerson and Frederick Starr." *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology*, Vol. 23(2), Art. 4: 1-9. http://doi.org/10.5334/bha.2324

Burkhart, Brian Yazzie (2004). "What Coyote and Thales Can Teach Us." *In American Indian Thought: Philosophical Essays*. Anne Waters (Ed.). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. pp. 15-26.

Butler, RaeLynn (July 31, 2020). Potential Consultation and Guidance on Proceeding. Email.

Canagarajah, Suresh (2020). "Trajectories in decolonizing language: a conversation with Ngugi wa Thiong'o." *Applied Linguistics*, Vol. 41 (6): 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amaa057

Carey, Mia (2019). "Toward an Antiracist Archeology." *Activist History Review*, September 27. Retrieved from https://activisthistory.com/2019/ 09/27/toward-an-antiracist-archeology/#_edn2.

Carter, Kent (1999) *The Dawes Commission and the Allotment of the Five Civilized Tribes, 1893-1914-Ancestry.com/ Incorporated, P.O. Box 990, Orem, Utah 84057*. Retrieved from http://www.1866creekfreedmen.com/docpage/cfb-fact1.htm.

CCP Staff, Cultural Property News (November 25, 2017). *Ancestors Return to Indigenous Peoples*. Retrieved from https://culturalpropertynews.org/ancestors-return-to-indigenous-peoples/.

Cho, Helen (2011). "Lessons Learned: Teaching the Race Concept in the College Classroom." *Multicultural Perspectives*, Vol. 13(1): 36-41. https://doi.org/10.1080/15210960.2011.548189

Clary-Lemon, Jennifer (2010). "'We're not ethnic, we're Irish!': Oral histories and the discursive construction of immigrant identity." *Discourse & Society*, Vol. 21(1): 5-25. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926509345066

Coleman, Charles F. (1997). "Our Students Write with Accents. Oral Paradigms for ESD Students." *College Composition and Communication*, 48(4): 486-500. https://doi.org/10.2307/358454

Collins, Patricia Hills (1990). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Colwell, Chip (2016). "Collaborative Archaeologies and Descendant Communities." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 45(1): 113-127. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-102215-095937

Cokley, Kevin (2007). "Critical issues in the measurement of ethnic and racial identity: A referendum on the state of the field." *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, Vol. 54(3): 224–234. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.54.3.224

Crane, Brian (2010). "Beyond Ethnicity: Compositional Analysis and the Manufacture and Trade of Colonoware." Presented at *The 81st Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Orlando, Florida*. tDAR id: 403796.

Crimmins, Peter (2021). "Penn Museum to repatriate skulls of Black Americans and slaves from Cuba." *WHYY*, April 14. Retrieved from https://whyy.org/articles/penn-museum-to-repatriate-skulls-of-black-americans-and-slaves-from-cuba/?utm_source=facebook.com&utm_term=nprnews&utm_campaign=npr&utm_medium=social&fbclid=IwAR0iWDr926dIdHbjPWHZEa3AdgmIy-1iHofxrLYv8n6bfjA1qv9ImYCaCrQ.

Croucher, Karina (2005). "Queerying Near Eastern Archaeology." *World Archaeology*, Vol 37(4): 610-620. https://doi.org/10.1080/00438240500418664

Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science Division Southeast Region for National Park Service (in press). *Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park Historic Resource Study*. Macon, GA: Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park, National Park Service.

Cutter, H. D., Civil Engineer (February 1926) *Plat of Dunlap Estate Property Comprising 412 Acres*. Map. Macon, Georgia: L. R. DEL.

Datta, Nilak (2018). "The Museum as West and West as Museum: the Micro-Politics of Museum Display in George Caitlin's Vanishing American Indians." *Western American Literature*, Vol. 53(3): 311-338. https://doi.org/10.1353/wal.2018.0056

Davis, Lonnie (2018) *Georgia's African Brigade: Slave to Soldier*. Macon, Georgia: Ocmulgee National Monument, National Park Service.

Davis, Lonnie (3 January, 2020). In-person communication. Transcribed.

Department of the Interior, National Park Service (1935). *Topography of Proposed Area For Ocmulgee National Monument, Bibb County, Georgia, Office of Deputy Chief Engineer, Washington, D.C*. Map.

DeWalt, Paul S. (2013). "Discourse on African American/Black Identity: engaging the expanded nigrescence theory with a diasporic consciousness." *SpringerPlus*, Vol. 2: 233-242. https://doi.org/10.1186/2193-1801-2-233

Edozie, Rita Kiki (2015). "African Perspectives on Race in the African Diaspora: As Understood by Chimamanda Adichie's Americanah" *In The Black Family and*

Society. James L. Conyers, Jr. (Ed.). *Africana Studies*, Vol. 6. New York: Routledge. pp. 67-88. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351305242

Edozie, Rita Kiki, Chambers, G., & Hamilton-Wray, T. (Eds.). (2018). *New Frontiers in the Study of the Global African Diaspora: Between Uncharted Themes and Alternative Representations*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. https://doi.org/10.14321/j.ctv65sxqz

Electronic Code of Federal Regulations (n.d.). *Title 43: Public Lands. Subtitle A. Part 10-Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Regulations. Subprat D-General: 10.17*. Retrieved from https://www.ecfr.gov/cgi-bin/retrieveECFR?gp=1&SID=1d8c21bf81bb04aceb65f32337750ce6&ty=HTML&h=L&mc=true&n=sp43.1.10.d&r=SUBPART.

Evans, David (1996). *Sherman's Horsemen: Union Cavalry Operations in the Atlanta Campaign*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Evans, Judith (1998). *Feminist theory today: An introduction to second-wave feminism*. London: Sage Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446222140

Ewers, John C. for National Park Service, United States (1938). *The role of the Indian in national expansion*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service.

Fairbanks, Charles H. (1956). *Archaeology of the Funeral Mound, Ocmulgee National Monument, Georgia. Archaeological Research Series 3*. Washington, D.C.: United Sates Department of the Interior, National Park Service.

Flewellen, A., Dunnavant, J., Odewale, A., Jones, A., Wolde-Michael, T., Crossland, Z., & Franklin, M. (2021). "'The Future of Archaeology Is Antiracist': Archaeology in the Time of Black Lives Matter." *American Antiquity*, Vol. 86(2), 224-243. https://doi.org/10.1017/aaq.2021.18

Flores, Nelson (2013). "The unexamined relationship between neoliberalism and plurilingualism: A cautionary tale." *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 47(3): 500–20. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.114

Ford, James A. and Gordon R. Willey (1941). "An Interpretation of the Prehistory of the Eastern United States." *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 43: 325-363. https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1941.43.3.02a00010

Franklin, Maria (1997). "'Power to the People': Sociopolitics and the Archaeology of Black Americans." *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 31(3), 36-50. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03374229

Franklin, Maria (2001). "A Black feminist-inspired archaeology?." *Journal of Social Archaeology*, Vol. 1(1): 108-125. https://doi.org/10.1177/146960530100100108

Gallay, Alan (2008) [2002]. *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gallay, Alan (2009). "Introduction: Indian Slavery in Historical Context" *In Indian Slavery in Colonial America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. pp. 1–32.

Galke, Laura J. (2009). "Colonowhen, Colonowho, Colonowhere, Colonowhy: Exploring the Meaning behind the Use of Colonoware Ceramics in Nineteenth-Century Manassas, Virginia." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 13: 303-326. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10761-009-0082-1

GovTrack.us (2021). *S. 2827 — 116th Congress: African American Burial Grounds Study Act*. Retrieved from https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/116/s2827.

Grande, Sandy (2000). "American Indian identity and intellectualism: The quest for a new red pedagogy." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, Vol. 3(4): 343-359. https://doi.org/10.1080/095183900413296

Green, Robert, & Robert J. Griffore (1980). "The Impact of Standardized Testing on Minority Students." *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 49(3): 238-252. https://doi.org/10.2307/2295083

Grey, Zane (1925). *The Vanishing American*. New York; London: Harper & Brothers Publishers.

Halchin, J., National Park Service (2019). *Ocmulgee National Historical Park: Celebrating Archeology*. Retrieved from https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=2c23a36967c74f3 6a84ca5dc9d942821.

Han, Keonghee Tao & Judson Laughter (2019). *Critical Race Theory in Teacher Education: Informing classroom culture and practice*. New York and London: Teachers College Press.

Hanna, Karen Buenavista (2019). "Pedagogies in the Flesh: Building an Antiracist Decolonized Classroom." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, Vol. 40(1): 229–244. https://doi-org.uidaho.idm.oclc.org/10.5250/fronjwomestud.40.1.0229

Hansberry, Lorraine (1959). *A Raisin in the Sun: A Drama in Three Acts*. New York: Random House.

Hays-Gilspin, Kelley (2000). "Feminist Scholarship in Archaeology." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *SAGE Journal*s, Vol. 571(1): 89-106. https://doi.org/10.1177/000271620057100107

Helms, Janet E., Jernigan, M., & Mascher, J. (2005). "The meaning of race in psychology and how to change it: A methodological perspective." *American Psychologist*, Vol. 60(1): 27-36. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.60.1.27

Higginbotham, Jr., A. Leon (1980). *In the Matter of Color, Race and the American Legal Process: The Colonial Period*. New York: Oxford University Press.

hooks, bell (1990). *Yearning: race, gender, and cultural politics*. Boston: South End Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315743110

Hurston, Zora N. (1928) "How It Feels to be Colored Me." *The World Tomorrow*, Vol. 11: 215-216.

Hurston, Zora N. (1935) *Mules And Men*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company.

Hurston, Zora N. (1937). *Their Eyes Were Watching God*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company.

Ingmanson, J. E. (1964). *Archaeology of the South Plateau Unpublished Manuscript*. Macon, Georgia: Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park.

Ingmanson, J. E. (1965). *Mound E, Southern Plateau, and Middle Plateau Fortifications at Ocmulgee National Monument*. Tallahassee, Florida: Southeast Archaeological Center.

Iobst, Richard W. (1999). *Civil War Macon: The History of a Confederate City, 1st ed.*. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press.

Jenkins, Brian (1996). "MOVE Siege returns to haunt city." *CNN*, April 2. Retrieved from http://edition.cnn.com/US/9604/02/move_court/.

Jordan, June (2007). "Nobody Mean More to Me Than You and the Future Life of Willie Jordan" *In Reading Culture: Contexts for Critical Reading and Writing*. Diana George and John Trimbur (Eds.). New York: Pearson/Longman. pp. 160-169.

June-Friersen, Katy (2010). "An Ancestry of African-Native Americans." *Smithsonian Magazine*, February 17. Retrieved from https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/an-ancestry-of-african-native-americans-7986049/.

Kachru, Yamuna, and Larry E. Smith (2008). *Cultures, Contexts and World Englishes*. New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203891346

Kassutto, Maya (2021). "Remains of Black Children in MOVE Bombing Cannot Be Located." *NPR*, April 23. Retrieved from https://www.npr.org/2021/04/23/990187353/bones-of-children-killed-in-move-bombing-shuttled-from-lab-to-lab-for-decades.

Kelly, Arthur R. (2010) *WPA Archaeological Excavations at the Macon North Plateau*. Gretchen Eggiman, Randy Heath, Richard Moss, Chris Webster, and Dylan Woodliff (Eds.). Savannah, Georgia: LAMAR Insititute Publication 150.

Kubota, Ryuko (2016). "The multi/plural turn, postcolonial theory, and neoliberal multiculturalism." *Applied Linguistics*, Vol. (37): 474–94. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amu045

LaRoche, C. J. and Blakey, M. L. (1997). "Seizing intellectual power: The dialogue at the New York African Burial Ground." *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 31: 84–106. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03374233

Larson, Piers M. (2008). "Horrid Journeying: Narratives of Enslavement and the Global African Diaspora." *Journal of World History*, Vol. 19(4): 431-464. https://doi.org/10.1353/jwh.0.0027

Lomawaima, K. T. & McCarty, T. L. (2006). *"To Remain an Indian": Lessons in Democracy From a Century of Native American Education*. J. A. Banks (Ed.). New York and London: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Marlaire, Courtney L., & Douglas Maynard (1990). "Standardized Testing as an Interactional Phenomenon." *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 63(2): 83-101. https://doi.org/10.2307/2112856

McClaurin, Irma (2001). *Black Feminist Anthropology: Theory, Politics, Praxis, and Poetics*. New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press.

Meaghan, Diane and François R. Casas (2004). "Bias in standardized testing and the misuse of test scores: Exposing the Achilles heel of educational reform" *In Passing the Test: False Promises of Standardized Testing*. Marita Moll (Ed.). Ottawa, Canada: Canadian Centre Policy Alternatives. pp. 35-50.

Mutua, Kagendo, and Swadener, Beth Blue (Eds.) (2004). *Decolonizing Research in Cross-Cultural Contexts: Critical Personal Narratives*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

National Association of Tribal Historical Preservation Officers (NATHPO) (2010). "National NAGPRA Ineffective in Some Cases; Federal Agencies Fail to Comply with Law to Return Indigenous Remains, Cite Analysts in GAO Report." *PRNewswire-USNewswire*, August 2019. Retrieved from

https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/national-nagpra-ineffective-in-some-cases-federal-agencies-fail-to-comply-with-law-to-return-indigenous-remains-cite-analysts-in-gao-report-101059139.html.

National Park Service (1) (1940, 2010). *Ocmulgee Guidebook 1940: Ocmulgee National Monument*. Retrieved from https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/brochures/1940/ocmu/sec1.htm.

National Park Service (2) (n.d.) *Ocmulgee Mounds: Archaeology: Our Window to the Past*. Retrieved from https://www.nps.gov/ocmu/learn/historyculture/upload/Accessible-Archaeology-Updated.pdf.

National Park Service (4) (December 2020) *Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park Georgia*. Retrieved from https://www.nps.gov/ocmu/learn/historyculture/stories.htm.

National Park Service (5) (May 2020). *Southeast Archaeological Center: Our History*. Retrieved from https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1539/our-history.htm.

National Park Service (December 2020) *Native American Graves and Repatriation Act Review Committee*. Retrieved from https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nagpra/review-committee.htm.

National Park Service, Department of Interior (1). (2017). "Notice of Inventory Completion for Native American Human Remains and Associated Funerary Objects in the Control of the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Ocmulgee National Monument, Macon, GA; Correction. Document number 2017-11449." *Federal Register*, April 3. Retrieved from https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2017/06/02/2017-11449/notice-of-inventory-completion-for-native-american-human-remains-and-associated-funerary-objects-in.

National Park Service, Department of Interior (2). (2017). "Notice of Intent To Repatriate Cultural Items: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Ocmulgee National Monument, Macon, GA. Document number 2017-11453." *Federal Register*, April 3. Retrieved from https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2017/06/02/2017-11453/notice-of-intent-to-repatriate-cultural-items-us-department-of-the-interior-national-park-service.

National Park Service, Department of Interior (3). (2017). "Notice of Intent To Repatriate Cultural Items: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Ocmulgee National Monument, GA. Document number 2017-11452." *Federal Register*, April 3. Retrieved from https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2017/06/02/2017-11452/notice-of-

intent-to-repatriate-cultural-items-us-department-of-the-interior-national-park-service.

National Park Service, Department of Interior (4). (2001). "Notice of Inventory Completion for Native American Human Remains and Associated Funerary Objects in the Control of the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Ocmulgee National Monument, Macon, GA. Document number 01-15311." *Federal Register*, May 7. Retrieved from https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2001/06/18/01-15311/notice-of-inventory-completion-for-native-american-human-remains-and-associated-funerary-objects-in.

National Park Service, Department of Interior (5). (2017). "Notice of Inventory Completion: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Ocmulgee National Monument, Macon, GA. Document number 2017-11448." *Federal Register*, April 3. Retrieved from https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2017/06/02/2017-11448/notice-of-inventory-completion-us-department-of-the-interior-national-park-service-ocmulgee-national.

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, Public Law 101-601, 101st Cong., 2nd sess. November 11, 1990.

National Museum of Natural History (n.d.). *Native American Repatriation Review Committee*. Retrieved from https://naturalhistory.si.edu/research/anthropology/programs/repatriation-office/repatriation-review-committee/committee-members.

Nelson, Ben A., A. Wayne Prokopetz, and David Swindell III (1974) *Analysis of Mound D. and Macon Earthlodge materials at the Southeast Archaeological Center Tallahassee, Florida State University*. Hal G. Smith (Ed.). Tallahassee: Florida State University for National Park Service.

Ndhlovu, Finex (2016). "A decolonial critique of diaspora identity theories and the notion of superdiversity." *Diaspora Studies*, Vol. 9(1): 28-40. https://doi.org/10.1080/09739572.2015.1088612

Ngũgĩ wa, Thiong'o. (1986). *Decolonising The Mind: the Politics of Language in African Literature*. London; Portsmouth, N.H.: J. Currey; Heinemann.

Norris, J. (1712). *Profitable advice for rich and poor: In a dialogue, or discourse between James Freeman, a Carolina planter, and Simon Question, a west country farmer. Containing a description ... of South Carolina*. London: Printed by J. How, 1712.

Ocmulgee National Monument, National Park Service. (n.d.) *Ocmulgee National Mound D Plateau Excavation Map*. Map. 363/60021.

Opala, Joseph (n.d.). "The Gullah: Rice, Slavery, and the Sierra Leone-American Connection." *Yale Universi*ty, n.d. Retrieved from https://glc.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Black%20Seminoles%20.pdf.

Pennington, Marilyn (1997). *In His Own Words: An Interview with Dr. Arthur Kelly (1990-1979)*. Mark Williams (Ed.). Savannah, Georgia: LAMAR Institute Publication 44, University of Georgia.

Phinney, Jean S. (1996). "When we talk about American ethnic groups, what do we mean?" *American Psychologist*, Vol. 51: 918–927. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.51.9.918

Risjord, Mark (2007). "Scientific Change as Political Action: Franz Boas and the Anthropology of Race." *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 37(1): 24–45. https://doi.org/10.1177/0048393106296541

Rivas-Drake, D., Seaton, E. K., Markstrom, C., Quintana, S., Syed, M., Lee, R. M., Schwartz, S. J., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., French, S., Yip, T., & Ethnic and Racial Identity in the 21st Century Study Group (2014). "Ethnic and racial identity in adolescence: implications for psychosocial, academic, and health outcomes." *Child development*, Vol. 85(1): 40–57. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12200

Rutland, Amanda/Muscogee (Creek) Nation Public Relations (MCNPR). (2017). "Ancestors at rest: Repatriation at Ocmulgee." *MCN-NSN.gov*, September 5. Retrieved from https://www.mcn-nsn.gov/ancestors-at-rest-repatriation-at-ocmulgee/.

Schmidt, Ryan W. (2011). "American Indian Identity and Blood Quantum in the 21st Century: A Critical Review." *Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 2011, Article ID 549521: 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1155/2011/549521

Sefa Dei, George J. (2011). "CHAPTER ONE: Revisiting the Question of the 'Indigenous'" *In Counterpoints, Indigenous Philosophies and Critical Education: A READER*, Vol. 379: 21-33.

Smith, Sherry L. (2000). *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans through Anglo Eyes, 1880-1940*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

Smithsonian Institution. Board of Regents, & United States National Museum. (1846). "The Great Mound On The Etowah River, Georgia by Charles Whittlesey" *In Annual report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* (1881). *Smithsonian Institution*. pp. 624-629.

Spillers, Hortense J. (2006). "The Idea of Black Culture." *CR: The New Centennial Review*, *W. E. B. Du Bois and the Questions of Another World*, Vol. 6(3): 7-28. https://doi.org/10.1353/ncr.2007.0022

Stiggins, George and Joe N. Stiggins. (1873). *George Stiggins Manuscript Account of Creek Indians which was completed by Joe Napoleon Stiggins in 1873. Unpublished Manuscript*. Macon, Georgia: Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park.

Taylor, Ula (1998). "The historical evolution of Black feminist theory and praxis." *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 29(2): 234-253. https://doi.org/10.1177/002193479802900206

Thomas, David Hurst. (2000). *Skull wars: Kennewick man, archaeology, and the Battle for Native American identity*. New York: Basic Books.

Tracy, Barbara S. (2009). "Transcultural Transformation: African American and Native American Relations." *Dissertations, Theses, and Student Research: Department of English*, 16. Retrieved from https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/englishdiss/16.

Tse, Lucy (1997). *Ethnic Identity Development and the Role of the Heritage Language (Asian Americans, Immigrants)*. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

United States Census Bureau (2019). "QuickFacts: Macon-Bibb County, Georgia." *Census.gov*, Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/maconbibbcountygeorgia/PST045219.

United States Government Accountability Office (GAO) (2010). "NATIVE AMERICAN GRAVES PROTECTION AND REPATRIATION ACT: After Almost 20 Years, Key Federal Agencies Still Have Not Fully Complied with the Act, GAO-10-768." *GAO.gov*, July 2010. Retrieved from https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-10-768.pdf.

Walker, Alice (1983). *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Walker, John B. (1994). *A Brief History of Ocmulgee Archaeology*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Walker, John W. (1971). *Known Archaeological Sites in the Vicinity of Macon, Georgia*. Macon, Gorgia: Southeast Archaeological Center, National Park Service.

Wang, Yije, Douglass, S., & Yip, T. (2017). "Longitudinal relations between ethnic/racial identity process and content: Exploration, commitment, and salience among diverse adolescents." *Developmental Psychology*, Vol. 53(11): 2154–2169. https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000388

Walker, Sheila S. (2015). "Milestones and Arrows: A Cultural Anthropologist Discovers the Global African Diaspora." *The Journal of African American History*, Vol. 100(3): 494-521. https://doi.org/10.5323/jafriamerhist.100.3.0494

Webster, Gary S. (2008). CHAPTER 2: "Culture History: A Culture-Historical Approach" *In Handbook of archaeological theories*. R. Alexander Bentley, Herbert D. G. Maschner, and Christopher Chippindale (Eds.). Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press. pp. 11-28.

Weismantel, Mary. (2013). "Towards a Transgender Archaeology: A Queer Rampage Through Prehistory" *In The Transgender Studies Reader 2, 1ˢᵗ ed*. Susan Stryker and Aren Aizura (Eds.). New York: Routledge.

Wells, Ida B. (1892). *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in all its phases*. New York: New York Age Print.

Wells, Ida B. (1970). *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*. Alfreda Duster (Ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

White, William A., III, and Catherine Draycott (2020). "Reflections: Why the Whiteness of Archaeology Is a Problem." *Sapiens*, July 7. Retrieved from https://www.sapiens.org/archaeology/archaeology-diversity/.

Williams, Mark (Ed.). (1990). *Ramblings With Kelly*. --- :LAMAR Institute Publication 7, University of Georgia.

Williams, J. Mark and Joseph N. Henderson (1974*). The Archaeology of the Macon North Plateau: 1974*. Atlanta, Georgia: Department of Natural Resources.

Wilson, W. A., & Yellow Bird, M. (Eds.). (2005). *For Indigenous eyes only: A decolonization handbook*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Wright, Michelle. M. (2006). "What is Black Identity?" *Cahiers Charles V*, Vol. 40: 135-151. https://doi.org/10.3406/cchav.2006.1464

Wright, Jake (2018). "In Defense of the Progressive Stack: A Strategy for Prioritizing Marginalized Voices during In-Class Discussion." *Teaching Philosophy*, Vol. 41(4): 407-428. https://doi.org/10.5840/teachphil2018112198

Writer, Jeanette Haynes (2008). "Unmasking, Exposing, and Confronting: Critical Race Theory, Tribal Critical Race Theory and Multicultural Education." *International Journal of Multicultural Education*, Vol. 10(2): 1-15. http://dx.doi.org/10.18251/ijme.v10i2.137

Yip, T, Douglass, S., & Sellers, R. M. (2014). "Ethnic and racial identity" *In APA Handbooks in Psychology®.* F. T. L. Leong, L. Comas-Díaz, G. C. Nagayama Hall, V. C. McLoyd, & J. E. Trimble (Eds.). *APA handbook of multicultural psychology*, Vol. 1: Theory and research, American Psychological Association: 179-205. https://doi.org/10.1037/14189-010

Zeleza, Paul Tiyambe (2010). "African Diasporas: Toward a Global History." *African Studies Review*, Vol. 53(1): 1-19. https://doi.org/10.1353/arw.0.0274

Zywicki, Stephanie Masta (2013). *"There's nothing not complicated about being Indian:" American Indian student experiences in a mainstream middle school. 13030.* Ames, IA: Iowa State University Capstones, Graduate Theses and Dissertations. https://doi.org/10.31274/etd-180810-3201

Appendix A-Figures

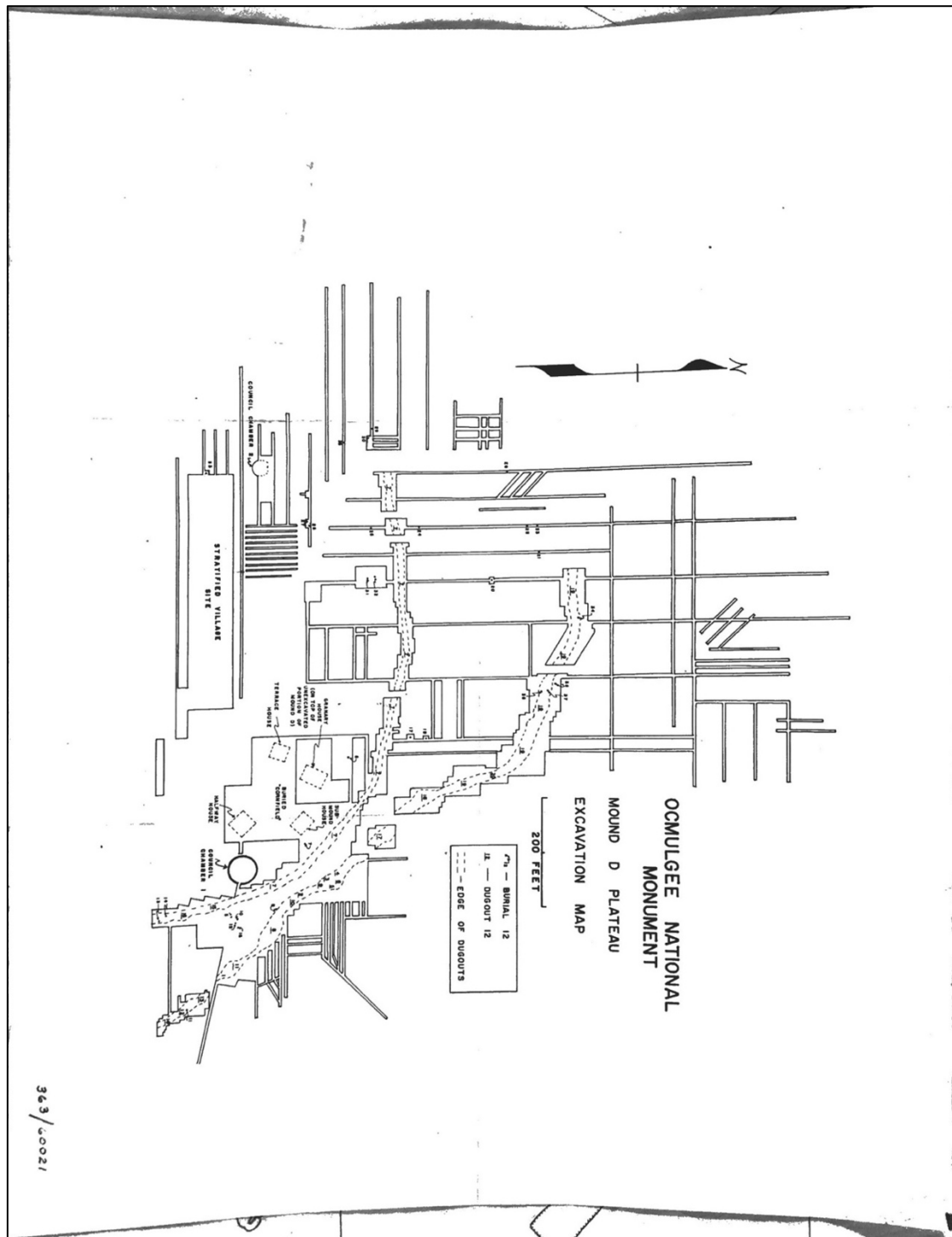1.1: Map of OMNHP today, National Park Service 2021

1.2: Beresford Map, 1715
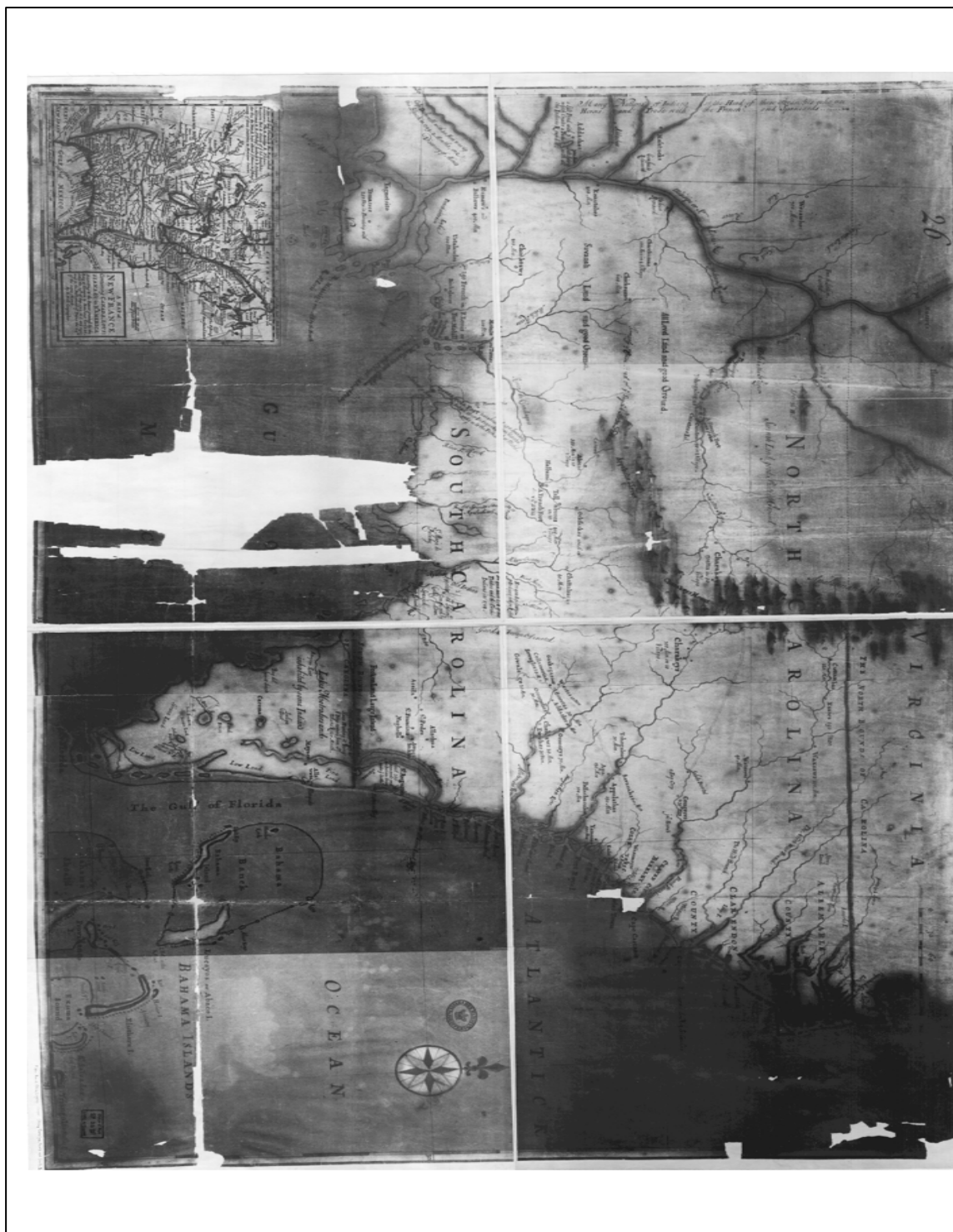
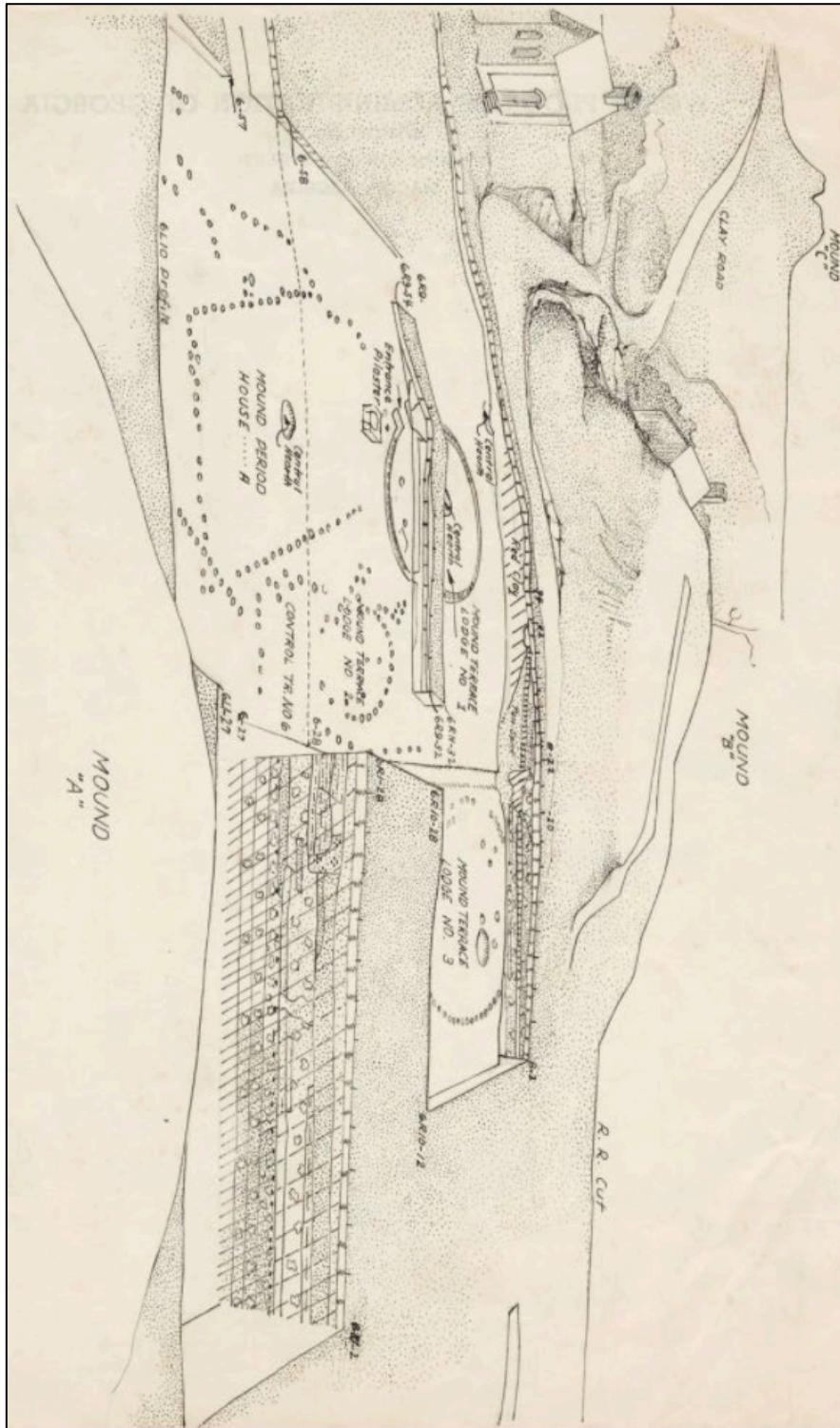1.3: Barnwell-Hammerton Map, 1721

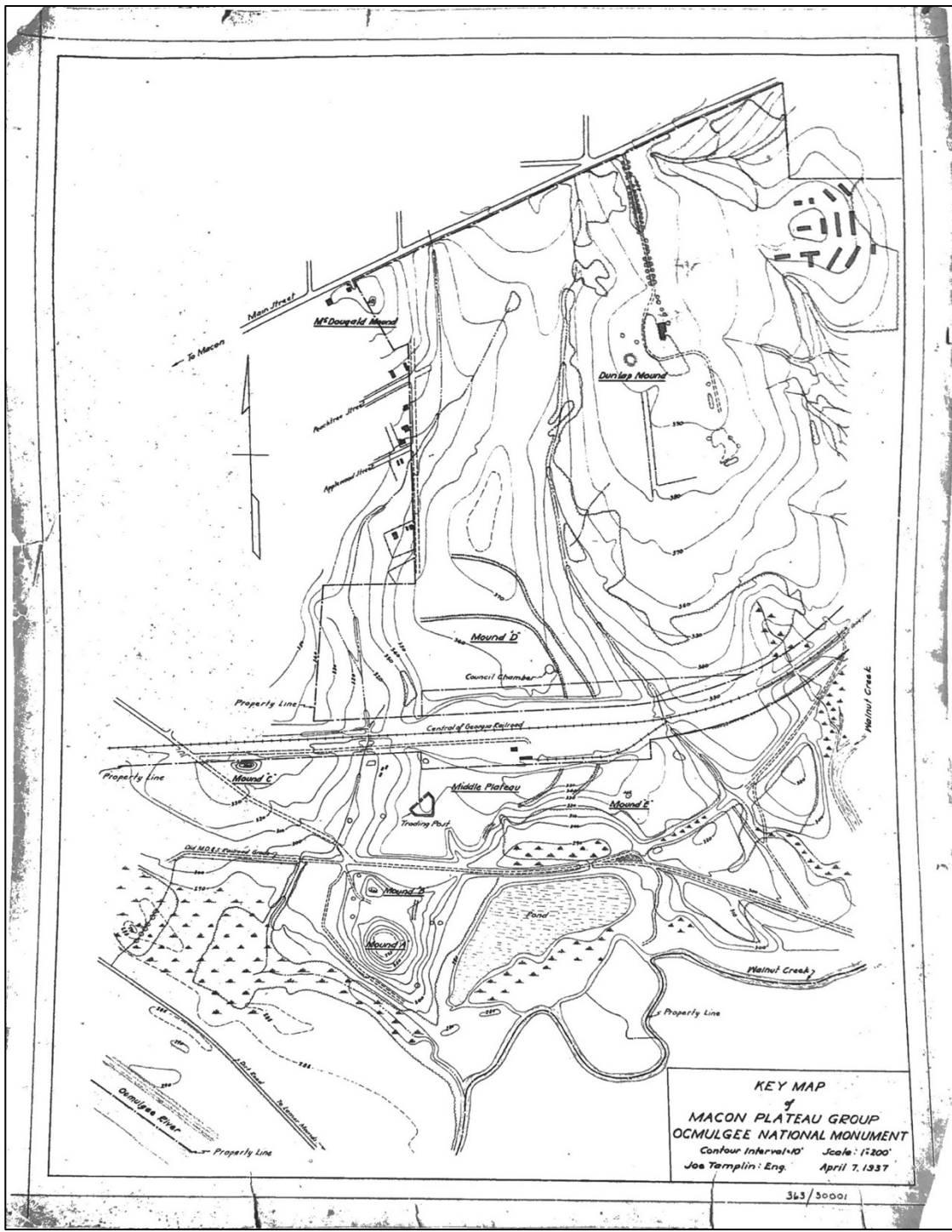1.4: Ocmulgee Mound D Excavation Map, n.d.

2.1: Map of 1930s-1940s OMNHP excavation, 1933-1942

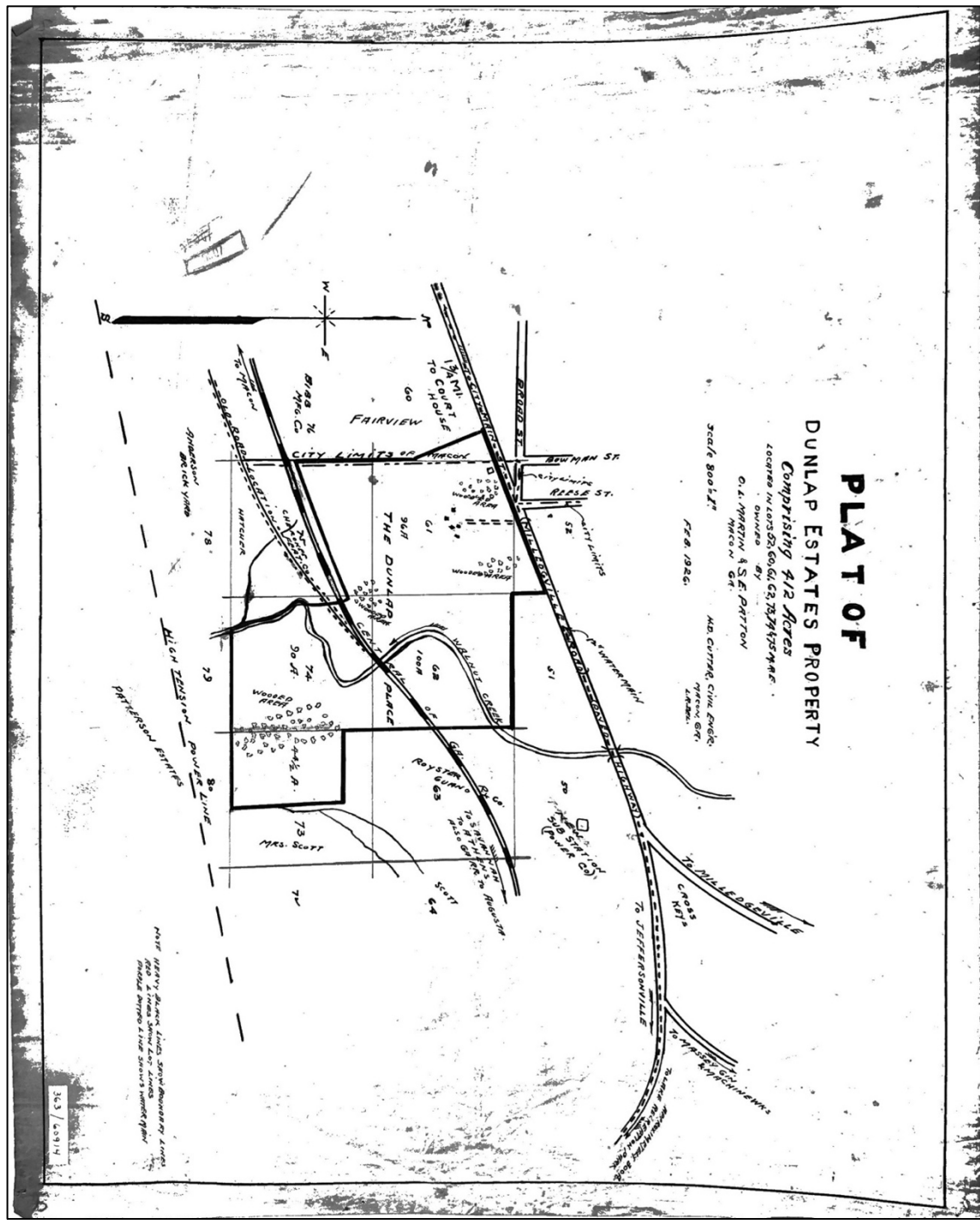2.2 Joe Jackson artist rendering of Ocmulgee Excavation, n.d.
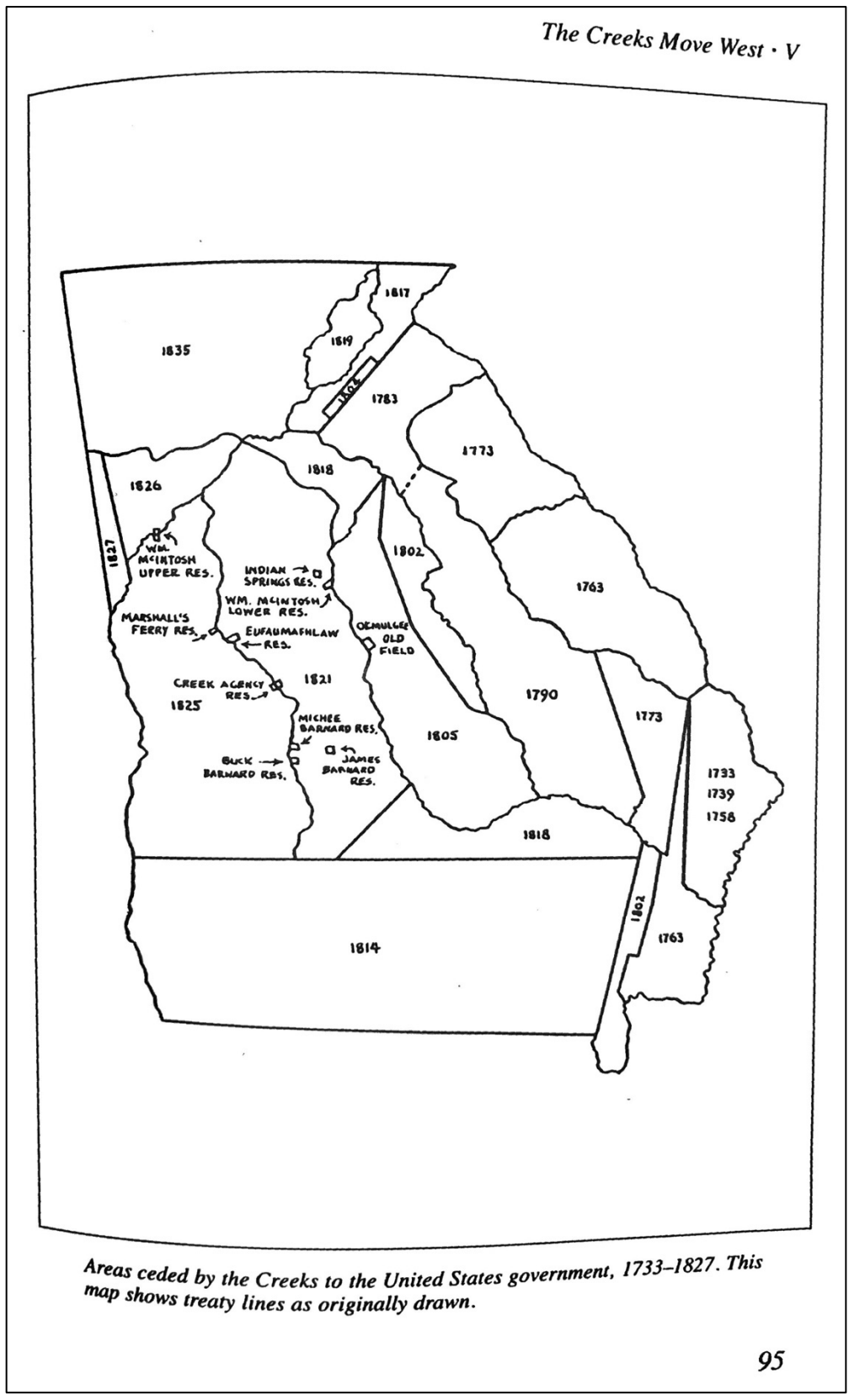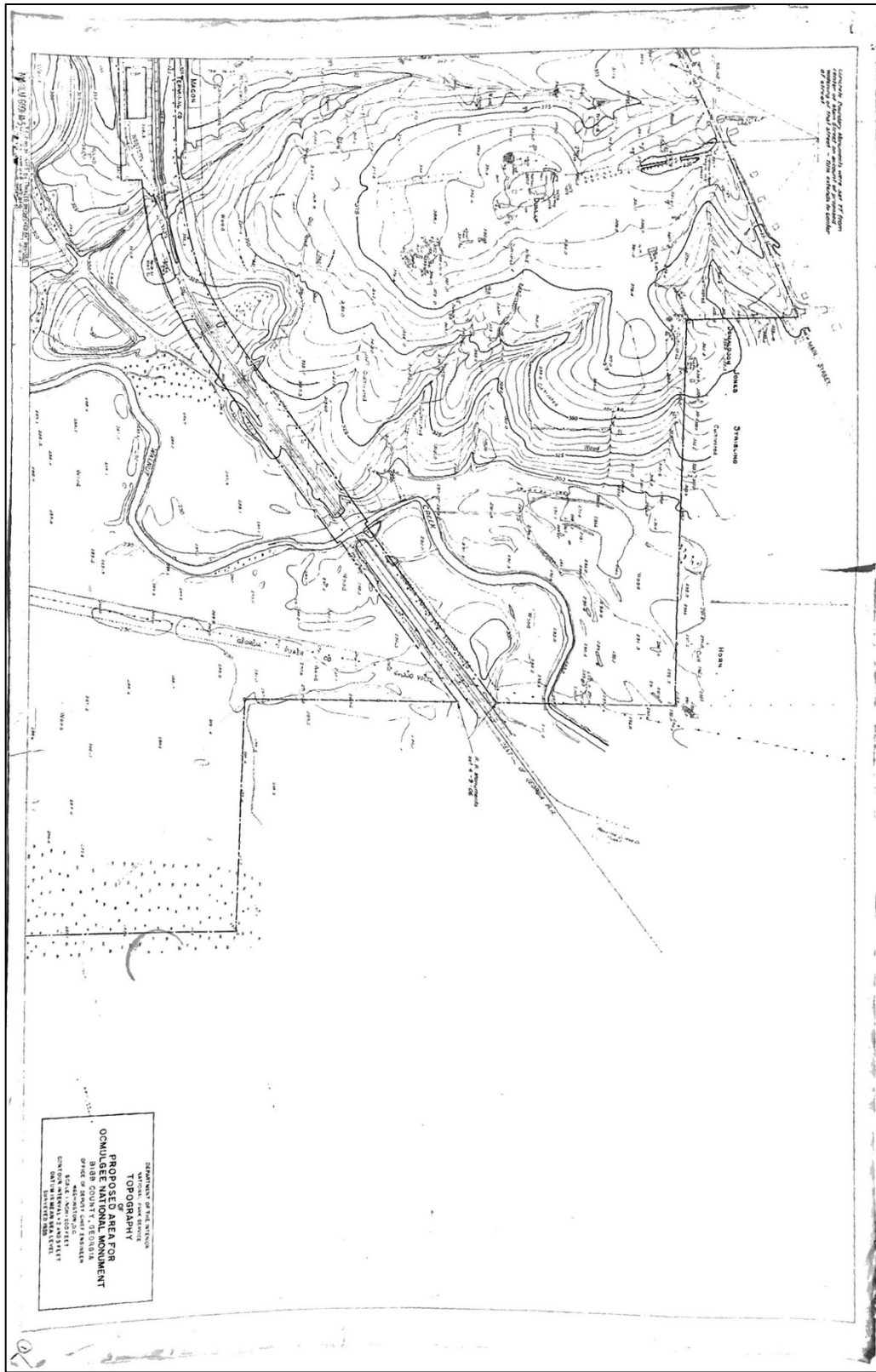
2.3: Key Map of Macon Plateau Group, 1937

KEY MAP
of
MACON PLATEAU GROUP
OCMULGEE NATIONAL MONUMENT
Contour Interval-10'   Scale: 1:200'
Joe Tamplin: Eng.   April 7, 1937

2.4: see Fig. 1.4

2.5: Plat of Dunlap Estate, 1926

2.6: Map of Creek land cession to US government 1733-1827, Chapman 1988

Areas ceded by the Creeks to the United States government, 1733–1827. This map shows treaty lines as originally drawn.
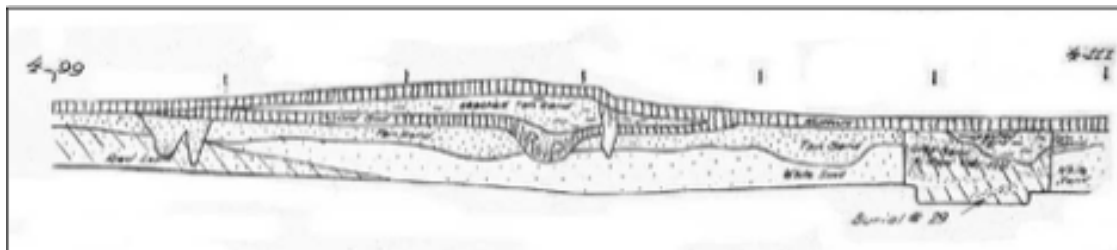
2.7: Topographic Map of ONM showing Dunlap structures, 1935

2.8: Kelly WPA Archaeological Excavations at the Macon North Plateau, n.d.

Figure 28: Modern Grave in Sandy Soil
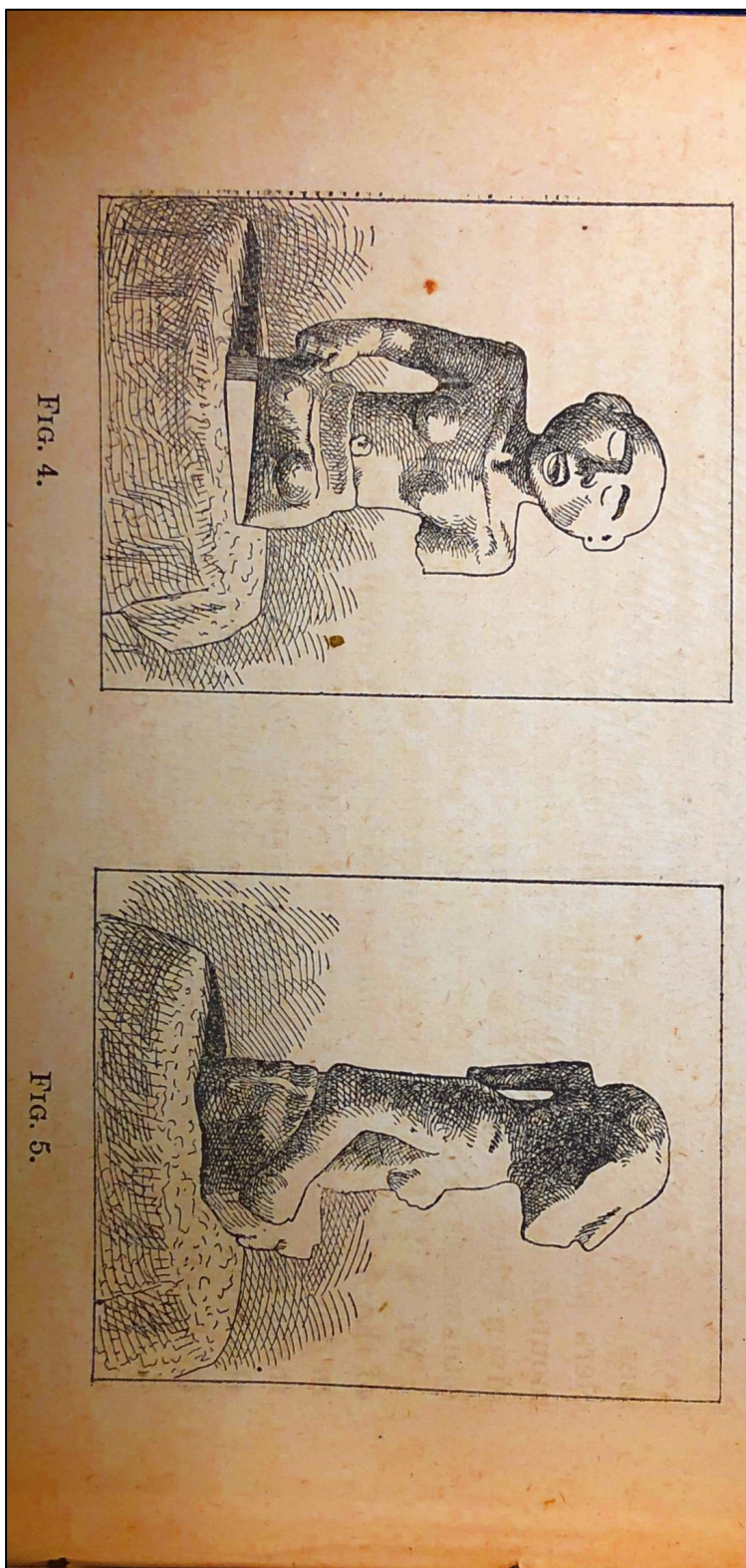

2.9: African fertility Icon, 2021

2.10: Swift Creek figure, 2021

2.11: Drawings of front and side of Etowah female figure, 1871

FIG. 4.

FIG. 5.

2.12: Drawings of back of Etowah female figure, 1871

FIG. 6.

3.1: Theorized location of Dunlap dwellings, 2021

3.2: Dunlap Home Historical Markers, A

3.2: Dunlap Home Historical Markers, B

Appendix B- Project Flyer

Looking For Interviewees for Thesis Project

I am conducting a thesis project that investigates the identities of likely African ancestors buried at Ocmulgee Mounds NPS in Macon, GA, and their potential relationship to the Muscogee Creek Nation. I am looking for volunteers willing to answer questions about the local Black communities of Macon, GA, Creek Freedmen, and the Muscogee Creek Nation. You do not have to be familiar with any of these groups or topics to participate. 18+ years and up. Contact Maia W. below by email.

wils8860@vandals.uidaho.edu wils8860@vandals.uidaho.edu wils8860@vandals.uidaho.edu wils8860@vandals.uidaho.edu wils8860@vandals.uidaho.edu wils8860@vandals.uidaho.edu wils8860@vandals.uidaho.edu wils8860@vandals.uidaho.edu wils8860@vandals.uidaho.edu wils8860@vandals.uidaho.edu

Appendix C- Informed Interview Consent Form

Front

Relationship(s) of Mvskoke (Creek) Nation and Black Ancestors Buried on Mvskoke Ancestral Lands in Macon, GA Informed by Oral Histories and Burial Styles/Grave Goods

Informed Consent for Interviews

Maia Wilson, from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Idaho is conducting a research study. The purpose of the research is to understand the relationships between the Muscogee Creek Nation and people of African ancestry buried on their ancestral lands by interviewing descendants of these communities. These interviews will help in figuring out how to best memorialize these ancestors. You are being asked to participate in this study because you have volunteered as a person 18 years of age or older who identifies with the Muscogee Creek Nation, the Creek Freedmen, or local Black communities of Macon, Georgia, or because you have insights into these communities and their historic interactions, or because you are invested in how these potential African ancestors are returned.

Your participation will involve answering open-ended questions relevant to the research topic. The interview should take about 30 to 45 minutes to complete. The interview includes questions such as:

-What are your thoughts about potentially returning the remains of people historically buried there who are not Muscogee Creek Indian?
-There is suggestion that four burials discovered were of people of African ancestry, and the largest assumption is that they were enslaved Africans or African descendants. Had you ever encountered any information suggesting slaves would be buried there?

Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate. You can refuse to answer any of the questions at any time. There are no names or identifying information associated with your responses unless you choose to be quoted by name in the *Quotation Agreement* section of this form. There are no known risks in this study, but some individuals may experience discomfort or loss of privacy when answering questions. Data will be recorded throughout the interview. It will be made anonymous, kept, and transcribed by Maia Wilson. No one else will have access to these interviews. A transcript of the interview will be given back to you via email and from the date of sending to you, you will have a two-week window to request revisions.

The findings from this project will provide information on how to best memorialize persons showing signs of African ancestry buried at Ocmulgee Mounds NPS, and gives you the opportunity to participate in sharing a historical narrative that is typically missing in the common national American education system for history and social studies. If published, results will be presented in summary form only, unless you decide to allow Maia Wilson to use direct quotes form your interview.

If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to call Maia Wilson at (478) 919-0599 or Dr. Katrina Eichner (co-PI) at (208) 885-6736. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, or about what you should do in case of any harm to you, or if you want to obtain information or offer input you may call the Office of Research Assurances at (208) 885-6340 or irb@uidaho.edu.

Quotation Agreement
With regards to being quoted, please initial next to any of the statements that you agree with:

Back

	I agree to be quoted directly.
	I agree to be quoted directly if my name is not published and a made-up name (pseudonym) is used.
	I agree that the researchers may publish documents that contain quotations by me.

By signing below by pen or by electronic signature you certify that you are at least 18 years of age and agree to participate in the above described research study.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Adult Participant   Signature of Adult Participant   Date

_____   _____   _____
Name of Research Team Member   Signature of Research Team Member   Date

Appendix D- Sample Interview Questions

Sample Interview Questions

Are you familiar with the Ocmulgee Mounds NPS of Macon, GA?

What are your thoughts about potentially returning the remains of people historically buried there who are not Muscogee (Creek) Indian?

Do you have any knowledge of the relationships that the Muscogee (Creek) Nation had to African people and people of African descent?

Would you find it important to include these intertwined histories in the Ocmulgee Mounds NPS museum?

Are you yourself aware of having any mixed both Native and Black ancestry?

In terms of evaluating Indigenous-ness or Black-ness, what might you look at when trying to decide how Indigenous or how Black someone is?

What theories do you have about why the Muscogee (Creek) Nation and these African and African descendant people were interacting, trading goods/ideas, and intermarrying?

The Muscogee (Creek) Nation agreed to rebury any and all sets of remains at Ocmulgee Mounds NPS across race/ethnicity, time, and space approximately 10 years ago. What are your thoughts on this?

There is suggestion that four burials discovered were of people of African ancestry, and the largest assumption is that they were enslaved Africans or African descendants. Had you ever encountered any information suggesting slaves would be buried there?

Appendix E- Post-Interview Contact information Form

Thank you for participating in this research. ⊙

There are no known risks in this study, but some individuals may experience discomfort or loss of privacy when answering questions. Data will be recorded throughout the interview. It will be made anonymous, kept, and transcribed by Maia Wilson. No one else will have access to these interviews. A transcript of the interview will be given back to you via email and from the date of sending to you, you will have a two-week window to request revisions.

If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to call Maia Wilson at (478) 919- 0599 or Dr. Katrina Eichner (co-PI) at (208) 885-6736. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, or about what you should do in case of any harm to you, or if you want to obtain information or offer input you may call the Office of Research Assurances at (208) 885-6340 or irb@uidaho.edu.

Appendix F- OMNHP Archive Contributing Documents

Maps
Beresford map, 1715
Barnwell-Hammerton map, 1721
Contemporary OMNHP today from OMNHP brochure
Key Map of Macon Plateau Group, 1937
Map of 1930s and 1940s OMNHP Excavation, 1933-1942
Map of Creek Land Cession to U.S. Government 1733-1827, in Chapman 1988
Ocmulgee Mound D Excavation Map, n.d.
Plat of Dunlap Estate, 1926
Popple Map of Southeast U.S., 1733
Topographic Map of Ocmulgee National Monument 1935, showing Dunlap structures

Interpretive Visuals
Joe Jackson Artwork, n.d.
Halchin- ESRI powered map titled *Ocmulgee National Historical Park: Celebrating Archaeology North Plateau* page, 2019

Reports, Publications, Notes, Manuscripts
Boyd 1953, Jennings 1939, Walker 1969, Walker 1971, Willey 1939- bound together; manuscript
Early Georgia Volume 46, no. 1 & 2, 2018
Ewers ONM Exhibit Plan, 1940
Ewers Role of the Indian in National Expansion, 1938
Fairbanks 1956- manuscript
Georgia's African Brigade by L. Davis, 2018
Kelly 2010 lost report
Macon East, USGS Quadrangle, 1956
Mark Williams and Woody Williams in 1974, transcription published in 1990- Kelly interview
Mason Archaeology of the Ocmulgee Old Fields, 1963
Nelson & Prokopetz & Swindell, 1974- manuscripts
NAGPRA schedule
OMNHP Historic Resource Study, in press
Rutledge, 1977- manuscript
Trading House Letter Book 1802-1816
Walker Known Archaeological Sites in the Vicinity of Macon, GA, 1971
Whittlesey 1871 visit to Etowah- Smithsonian report, 1881
Williams NAGPRA and the Un-Repatriated, 2018
Williams and Henderson, 1974- manuscript

Pre-recorded Interviews, Nonarchaeological Accounts
George Stiggins Creek Accounts- completed by Joe N. Stiggins, 1873
Oral History Files For Historic Resource Study, interviewer: L. Davis, 1 32gb disk

Appendix G-Tables

Table 1: Points of Contact for Macon Black Communities

Name	Title	Organization
Sgt. Lonnie Davis	Curator, retired	OMNHP
Jeff Bruce	Director of Exhibitions	Harriet Tubman Museum
Muriel Jackson	Head of Genealogy Room	WA Memorial Library, Genealogy and Historical Room
Yolanda Latimore	President	Macon Cemetery Preservation Corp.
Melissa Jest	Coordinator, Afr. Amer. Programs	GA African American Historic Preservation Network
Gerri McCord	Executive Director	Ruth Hartley Mosely Memorial Women's Center
Jason McClendon	Executive Director	Pleasant Hill Community Development Corporation
Thomas Duval, DDS	Elder, Black history historian	No organization
Ethiel Garlington	Executive Director	Historic Macon Foundation→ to get contact for Cotton Ave
First Baptist Church	Church, community	First Baptist Church, c. 1835 oldest Afr. Amer. church in Macon, GA
Holsey Temple CME Church	Church, Community	Holsey Temple CME Church, c. 1839 Afr. Amer. church in Macon, GA
Steward Chapel AME Church	Church, community	Steward Chapel AME Church, c. 1865 Afr. Amer. church in Macon, GA
WA Ave Presbyterian Church	Church, community	WA Ave Presbyterian Church, c. 1838 Afr. Amer. church in Macon, GA
The Cotton Avenue Coalition	Historical Black business district	Organization disbanded

Table 2: Next Questions for Continuing Research

Continuing Research Questions
What is a preponderance of evidence when the topic is cultural affiliation?
If the local Black communities of Macon, GA organize a committee to serve as representatives for a repatriation claim, how do we make the Smithsonian pay attention?
What is the cultural context of the "decapitated doll"?
What ways could OMNHP begin to memorialize African ancestry at OMNHP?
Can we attempt genealogical tracing on these burials to find direct descendants?
How can the Muscogee stay involved if there are major swings in the MCN and MCIFB lawsuit?
Why are Muscogee ancestors- Mississippian and Woodland people- considered not culturally affiliated when contemporary Muscogee Creek recognize cultural continuance?
How might MCIFB involvement change goals of this thesis if they decide to join?
What bio methods suit this project best with one group that has no cultural taboos of biomeasures and bioancestry, and the other does?
Good intentions and high ethical standing are not enough; Is this project really feasible?
How does the contemporary African diaspora of Macon, Georgia and the contemporary MCN have conversations about their intertwined histories?
Why did AABGN Act fail? If it one day was reintroduced and passed, how might it help at OMNHP?
What ways would be best for the groups to now collaborate on this work across one another, and not by proxy of just myself?
How do we organize repatriation efforts for groups that large, powerful, rich, and connected entities say are not due those rights?
Am I truly the right person for this work, and will I hurt someone?***

*** = Questions researcher flagged as most concerning