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An Interpretation of Structural Features of the Cayson Site in Northwest Florida

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AN INTERPRETATION OF STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF
THE CAYSON SITE IN NORTHWEST FLORIDA

by

Regina M. Pitaro

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

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1981

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VITA

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Cayson site is a Fort Walton temple mound and village complex in northwest Florida. Located on the west side of the Apalachicola River, the site is paired with the Yon mound and village on the east bank. If contemporaneous, they represent one of the largest Fort Walton ceremonial centers on the Apalachicola and Chattahoochee Rivers (Sears 1960:19).

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the function of post molds and wall trenches uncovered at the Cayson site. The study attempts to ascertain whether these structural features represent domestic, ceremonial, defensive or mortuary activity at the site. While this paper cannot provide conclusive evidence, it attempts to disprove certain interpretations while raising important questions concerning others.

The interpretation of this archeological material requires the use of analogy, that is, reasoning in which relations are inferred from certain observed and known

relations or parallel resemblances. It is, however, "very difficult to take historic materials from known cultures, infer past behavior, and then relate this to known prehistoric archeological manifestations" (Lafferty 1973:7-8).

During the last 25 years, it has become common for American archeologists to use ethnographic evidence in order to reconstruct prehistoric remains and behavior patterns.

The past and the present, it is often claimed, serve each other: archeology depends on ethnographic data for interpretation: ethnology can make use of the temporal depth that studies of the past may provide (Ascher 1961:324).

The use of ethnographic analogy as an efficient methodological tool has been supported by Glyn Isaac, who states that "The most useful and economic hypothesis will normally be suggested by a knowledge of situations that are more completely documented than prehistoric ones can ever be" (Isaac 1968:254).

This method is not without critics. According to Binford, if "our knowledge of the past is limited by our knowledge of the present, we are painting ourselves into a methodological corner" (Binford 1968:14).

Analogy was first introduced to archeology in the era of classical evolutionary theory. It was held that if

certain living peoples represented early phases of human history, then the remains of extinct peoples could be interpreted by directly referencing their living counterparts. Evolutionary analogy, however, was not always carefully applied with regard to geographic location or other major factors. In response to much critical reaction two categories of analogy have been recognized. The first of these, known as the "folk culture approach", interprets archeological data by analogy to historical or living groups. This Old World approach is paralleled in the New World by the "direct historical approach", in which the archeologist works from known historical descendants to the unknown prehistoric past.

Both approaches admit the initiation of study from either end of the time scale. It is legitimate, presumably, to study the historically known prior to close examination of the archeological unknown, or, reversing the order, to proceed from the archeologically known to the historically unknown (Ascher 1970: 349).

Anxious to avoid the mistakes of the early evolutionary school, a number of qualifications have been placed upon the use of analogy. Clark has suggested that the archeologist draw analogies from societies "at a common level of subsistence . . . (and) . . . under ecological conditions which approximate those reconstructed for the prehistoric culture" (Clark 1953:355). Willey believes that the cultures selected should be on the same general level of technological development, and existing in

similar environments. The most reliable analog, then, is achieved by seeking "cultures which manipulate similar environments in similar ways" (Ascher 1970:347).

The primary concern of the ethnoarcheologist is to establish an ethnographic model, that is, to describe the patterns of ethnographic behavior which can be usefully compared with patterns of artifacts, faunal and floral remains, and features in archeological sites (Gould 1977: 370-371).

According to Lewis Binford, analogy, if used correctly, can "provoke certain types of questions which can, on investigation, lead to the recognition of more comprehensive ranges of order in the archeological data" (Binford 1971:289). Binford's methodology is demonstrated in "Smudge Pits and Hide Smoking: The Use of Analogy in Archeological Reasoning". In this article, Binford describes the feature he hopes to identify, giving special notice to form, size and other attributes. A literature search was then conducted in an attempt to find references to Indian tribes who may have utilized a feature of this type. Through this analogy, Binford was able to define the feature as a smudge pit for hide smoking (Binford 1971).

Binford's exercise follows certain criteria:

1. Make sure that the feature is distinct;

2. Consider the archeological and geographical distribution of sites which contain the feature;
3. Conduct a literature search for ethnographic examples; and
4. Consider the geographical distribution of the groups utilizing the feature.

This is the methodology which will be used in this paper, the purpose of which is to investigate the function of wall trenches which were excavated at the Cayson site in 1973. In order to follow Binford's methodology, the research which follows:

1. Describes post molds and wall trenches excavated at the Cayson site;
2. Considers northwest Florida archeology and the Fort Walton culture;
3. Conducts a literature search, attempting to locate a similar group who utilized these features;
4. Locates similar features in the archeological and ethnohistorical records and compares these with the features at the Cayson site; and
5. Attributes functions to the trenches and post molds based on the analogy.

Using this methodology, it will be possible to ascertain whether the function of these trenches was domestic, ceremonial, mortuary, or for the purpose of

fortification.

While the value of Binford's methodology has been generally applauded, his postulate that archeological corncob "smudge pits" were used solely for smoking hides has been criticized as being too narrow (Munson 1969). The current research concerning the Cayson site will strive to eliminate this problem. This paper will note attributes of the features known archeologically and those known ethnographically. Because the available data is extremely limited, no definitive statements can be made. Instead, possible functions will be suggested which will be proven or disproven only by further testing at the site.

In order to more fully understand the nature of the period and its significance in Florida prehistory, a discussion of the Fort Walton culture follows.

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION TO FORT WALTON CULTURE

Traditionally the Fort Walton culture has been seen as essentially Mississippian in type, and equated with the late Mississippian period in the southeast (Willey 1949: 455). Considerable fieldwork had been conducted in northwestern Florida prior to the 1973 Cayson excavations. Despite this fact, the 130 years of archeological investigations in the Apalachicola area presented no clear picture of the cultural dynamics for the development of the Fort Walton culture. The major reason for this outcome has been the shifting emphasis on the nature and focus of research within the discipline of archeology. Developments in archeological methodology become apparent in discussing the history of excavations in the Apalachicola area.

EARLY RESEARCH

The earliest probable report from northwest Florida was published in 1849 by Henry R. Schoolcraft (Brose 1978: 90). The principal focus in archeology at this time was

on the description and rudimentary classification of archeological materials. An 1876 paper by Sternberg tells of his excavation at a temple mound and shell midden at Fort Walton, but the recovered materials are not described (Brose 1978:90). Clarence B. Moore explored a number of key sites in his private houseboat and in 1902 published the earliest reliable descriptive reports of the area (Moore 1902). Although by this time a great number of sites had been discovered and studied and a huge quantity of artifacts had been collected, no efforts had been made to develop classifications of evidence (Griffin 1952:1). One of the earliest classifications was published by W.H. Holmes in 1903. Based on aboriginal ceramic collections including those of Moore, he explored the relationship of this area to the Mississippi Valley and the possibility of Caribbean and Mesoamerican influences in northwest Florida (Brose 1978:90).

Holmes, Moore, Sternberg and Schoolcraft all belong to a period defined by Willey and Sabloff (1974:42-43) as Classificatory-Descriptive (1840 to 1914). It is characterized by a lack of any attempt to control the chronological dimension of data, especially through stratigraphy. This period, however, can be credited with a number of positive developments. A greater amount of field exploration was carried out with greatly improved field techniques. Even so, the excavation of Fort Walton sites was usually

limited to obvious ceremonial mounds (C.B. Moore's excavations, for example) and the testing of eroded river banks. Major developments of the period were that artifacts were carefully described and classified, typologies were developed, and geographical distributions of the data were plotted. Holmes' monograph on ceramics laid the groundwork for archeological studies in pottery for a large part of North America. It was based on available literature and hundreds of pottery collections, most of which bore only general geographic province. In his monograph, Holmes paid great attention to minor stylistic differences in ceramic designs, forms, materials and inferred methods of manufacture. With these criteria, Holmes was able to identity several well-defined pottery regions within the Eastern United States.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Willey and Sabloff (1974:88-89) define the period from 1914 to 1960 as Classificatory-Historical. Methodologically, the emphasis in archeology shifted from classification to the establishment of chronology. In this period in the Apalachicola area, very little investigation was undertaken between Moore's visits and the Federal Relief Administration's program of survey and test excavations during the 1930's. The first effort to establish a chronological framework in which to interpret the sites was

made by Gordon Willey and Richard Woodbury in 1940. They surveyed 87 sites in northwest Florida and conducted limited stratigraphic test excavations at six of these sites. From this data they defined Fort Walton as the latest aboriginal ceramic complex in northwest Florida. Weeden Island was defined as the burial mound period and Fort Walton was representative of the temple mound period. Weeden Island, according to Willey, was the climax of indigenous development. This period was followed by Fort Walton, represented by a radical shift in ceramic styles and temper and subsistence-settlement and ceremonial patterns (Brose 1978:90-91).

In 1949 Willey noted the Mississippian nature of the Fort Walton Culture and equated it with the late Mississippian time horizon in the southeast. Willey's model of Fort Walton origins specified that Fort Walton was chronologically late in comparison to other southeastern areas and that it was a part of the spread of the Middle Mississippian intensive agriculturalists. He postulated that the Fort Walton culture resulted from an invasion of northwest Florida by the Middle Mississippian groups (Scarry 1978:1-2).

The experimental trend in archeology at this time was concerned with context and function and hinted at process. Artifacts were being understood as material evidence

of cultural and social behavior. In addition to ascribing uses to artifacts, attention was paid to functional inferences. The importance of settlement patterns as a key to understanding man's socio-economic adaptations and socio-political organization was recognized. Relationships between culture and natural environment, or man and his resource base, were being explored (Willey and Sabloff 1974: 131-132).

Willey and Phillips classified Mississippian with Weeden Island to assign the Fort Walton phase to a Formative stage. They define this term by "the presence of agriculture, or any other subsistence economy of comparable effectiveness, and by the successful integration of such an economy into well-established, sedentary village life" (Willey and Phillips 1958:146). Pottery making, weaving, stone carving, and a specialized ceremonial architecture are also generally associated with these American Formative cultures (Willey and Phillips 1958:146).

In Willey and Phillips' 1958 publication Method and Theory in American Archeology the authors define three operational levels of archeological research, namely observation or fieldwork, description, also called culture-historical integration or data organization, and explanation or processual interpretation. Included under culture-historical integration were both spatial-temporal ordering and context and function (Willey and Sabloff 1974:145-146).

Willey synthesized the prehistory of the Florida Gulf Coast in 1949 (Willey 1949). He defined cultural periods primarily on the basis of ceramics and other artifact types which were ordered into trait lists. Socio-political organization and economy were also speculated upon to some degree.

Willey (1949:452-470) describes the characteristics of the Fort Walton period as follows. The diagnostic pottery types for the period are Fort Walton Incised and Pensacola Incised. Weeden Island types do not seem to continue into this period, except for Wakulla Check Stamped, which appears in some Fort Walton period middens in small amounts (Willey 1949:452). Fort Walton pottery is abundant, but according to Willey it lacks the esthetic excellence of Weeden Island pottery. The paste is coarser than that of Weeden Island, with either a heavy grit or the diagnostic Fort Walton crushed shell temper. Heavy incision and punctuation are the major types of surface decoration, and red pigment is also occasionally used. Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic rim ornamentations are fairly common and represent Fort Walton ceramic art at its best. The most distinctive and common Fort Walton pottery forms are the bottle and the casuela bowl, and there is a strong conformity in design and vessel shape. Design elements, both curvilinear and rectilinear, are highly conventionalized (Willey 1949:457-458).

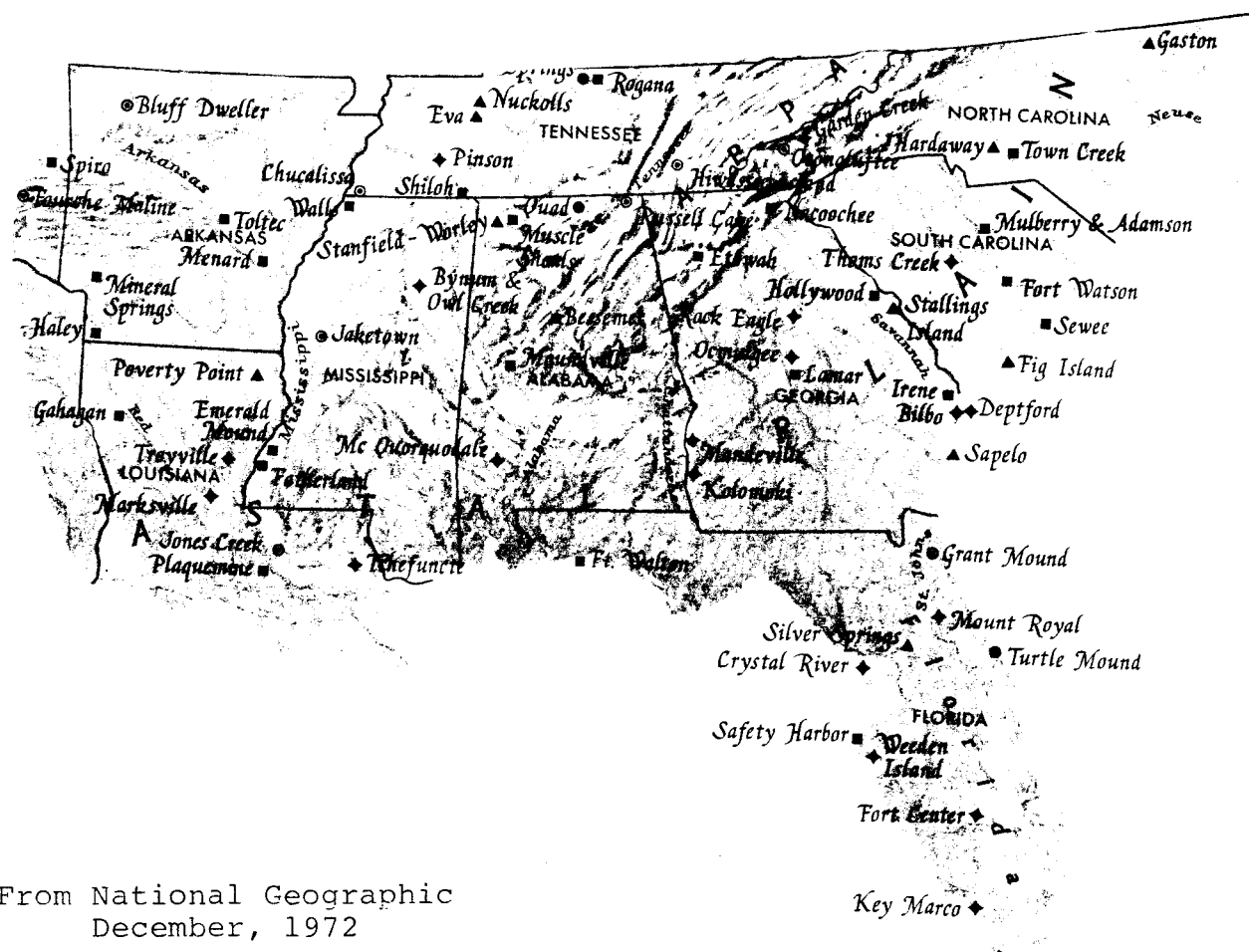
There is little change in stone work in the Fort Walton period from the previous period, except that chipped stone work seems less well developed than in earlier periods. Middens and burials do contain some projectile points and knives, which include triangular-bladed stemmed and barbed points. Fort Walton ground stone products recovered include stone celts, pebble hammers, beads and discoidal stones which probably represent the introduction of the chunkee game (Willey 1949: 467).

With the exception of shell tools, beads and long ear pins frequently found at Fort Walton sites, the shell and bone industries show a decline from earlier periods. Native metalwork is exceedingly rare, in contrast to the frequent trade of copper in the Santa Rosa-Swift Creek period. According to Willey, a possible cause for this disappearance is the introduction of European metals, which were reworked by the Indians (Willey 1949:467-468).

Willey's explanation is based on the belief that the Fort Walton period began after A.D. 1500. The probable cause for the abundance of copper in the Santa Rosa-Swift Creek periods is participation in the Hopewellian Interaction Sphere, which was characterized by intensive trade between the midwest (Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin) and the southeast. While the trade was mostly

FIGURE I

MAJOR ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES IN THE SOUTHEAST



in raw materials, southeastern style sherds such as Swift Creek occur in Ohio Hopewell sites. Willey believed the Fort Walton culture was a late occurrence, while today it is believed to date to at least A.D. 1100 (Essenpreis: 1980, personal communication).

All Fort Walton sites are located in the Florida northwest coast region. Coastal sites, located along coasts, bays or waterways, are characterized by shell midden refuse. Most of these midden sites are mixed, with shallow Fort Walton occupation levels. Several inland Fort Walton sites have large, flat-topped temple mounds surrounded by large plaza areas. Temple mounds are the most common near Tallahassee and also occur inland on the Apalachicola River. Fort Walton burial mounds are rare (Willey 1949:453-454).

Willey makes note of the differences in political and social organization of Fort Walton peoples from that of the Weeden Island culture. The reduction of ceremonial sites or centers in the Fort Walton period indicates a trend toward religious and political cohesion. This is supported by ethnohistoric accounts of the 16th century which describe assemblages that include many communities and a capital town (Willey 1949:455).

The temple mounds of the Fort Walton period imply a different social orientation than the burial mounds of

the Weeden Island period. The burials found in some Fort Walton mounds were clearly later additions to the mounds, and not part of their primary function, which, according to Willey, was to lend prestige to a political or religious building and its occupants. Willey notes that the shift from burial mound to temple mound indicates a decline in the importance of the death cult and a rise in the significance and powers of tribal leaders. This is supported by the fact that Fort Walton grave goods are less abundant and less elaborate than they were in the Weeden Island period. Fort Walton grave goods are often found with individuals and in great variety. Weeden Island goods occur in caches, not usually with one individual.

Willey postulates a Fort Walton period shift in the population from the coast to the more agriculturally fertile interior. With this move, native agriculture would have become more important and widely practiced than before. On the coast marine foods played a diminishing part of the Fort Walton diet, as would be expected with the development of an agricultural economy. Interior sites such as Lake Jackson show refuse of mostly decayed organic matter with little shell refuse. Animal and fish bones are present in middens, but in smaller proportions than in former periods (Willey 1949:454-455).

The methodology of Willey and his contemporaries

made it impossible for him to see the internal development of the Weeden Island culture into the Fort Walton phase. Typologies were used to describe the data and simplify it into a grouping for examination and comparison. In the case of pottery, Willey selected those modes which best indicated differences in time and space (Fagan 1970:190). Given the above, it is also apparent that data regarding Fort Walton subsistence-settlement patterns were limited. Fort Walton culture was believed to represent a sudden infusion of Mississippian ideas or population movements which displaced the earlier Weeden Island culture. Support for this belief was based on limited or statistically unsound data and arbitrary ceramic typologies. The earlier data also showed a bias toward large, ceremonial sites or coastal middens (Brose et al. 1976:6).

SURVEY AND INTEGRATION

The Fort Walton and Weeden Island cultures appear to be distinct. Finding both Fort Walton and Weeden Island ceramics in one stratigraphic level, Willey assumed Fort Walton was an intrusion rather than a development from the earlier cultural phase.

Ripley Bullen began survey and salvage excavations in 1948 of sites along the lower Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers and uppermost Apalachicola River, an area eventually destroyed by the Jim Woodruff Dam construction.

Although many sites were located, it was only possible to excavate a few of these. The careful attention Bullen paid to stratigraphy enabled him to recognize internal chronological change within Fort Walton assemblages, and to postulate four sequential stages. With the minimal amount of digging that could be done, little information other than ceramic chronology was produced by the excavations (Brose 1978:91).

Excavations were conducted by William Gardner in 1959 and 1960 at the Waddells Mills Pond site in Jackson County (Gardner 1966). Gardner believed the site to be the Chatot Indian village of San Carlos mentioned in Spanish documents, but later excavations by B. Calvin Jones did not support this hypothesis. In 1971, Gardner suggested that the site had been a ceremonial center and a refuge for invading Fort Walton peoples surrounded by indigenous, hostile peoples. Recent excavations by Jones have proven the site to be fully prehistoric and have produced data concerning the intra-site settlement pattern and late Fort Walton subsistence patterns. The site contains a large Fort Walton mound and an extensive scatter of Fort Walton occupation (Brose 1978:91-92).

William and Yulee Lazarus excavated a number of contact period Fort Walton burial sites and midden areas along coastal areas of Choctawatchee Bay and reported on

them during the 1960's (Lazarus 1971:40-48). They also excavated a number of Fort Walton village and midden components but did not report on subsistence-settlement data. David Brose (1978:92) notes that many of these midden sites are interpreted as an earlier variant of Fort Walton and that Lazarus believed there was a discontinuity between Weeden Island and Fort Walton occupations.

Several Fort Walton sites along eastern Choctawatchee Bay were excavated by Fairbanks during the 1960's. During this period Phelps tested Weeden Island and Fort Walton components along the Bay and the State Archeologist, the Florida State Museum and others excavated a few small inland Fort Walton components. All of these sites were either located in the red sand hills of Leon and Jefferson Counties or along the Marianna lowlands. No settlement patterns for these sites were found and site limits are also not known, except for the Borrow Pit site excavated by Jones (Brose 1974:4).

Further work at the Lake Jackson site, excavated in 1947 by Griffin, was conducted by Frank Fryman in 1968 and 1969. Testing showed wall trench structures had been present and associated midden accumulation suggested that occupation was for several hundred years, but no settlement patterns or site limits could be defined (Brose 1978:92).

In 1971, under George Percy (1972), a survey of the upland zone along the Apalachicola River Valley's eastern coast was begun and located about 60 sites in the western corner of Liberty and Gadsden counties. At this time a transect survey of the section from Tallahassee through the Apalachicola basin was completed by B. Calvin Jones, who also re-excavated parts of the Waddells Mills Pond site and located several late Weeden Island sites near Aspalaga Landing in Gadsden County. Some late Weeden Island components and small Fort Walton ceremonial villages and camp sites in the Apalachicola basin were investigated by David Brose in 1973 and 1974 (Brose 1974:4-5).

To a large extent, the models of cultural dynamics and settlement which Willey proposed in 1949 were not seriously rethought until the last decade. Recent excavations reveal the use of a new methodology. The central concern is now an elucidation of cultural process: the explanation of the variability that is observed in the archeological record. Archeological data is now viewed in the light of three things: an evolutionary point of view, a systematic view of culture and society with its interacting parts of subsystems, and deductive reasoning. Methodological changes through time are apparent in excavations at Cayson and surrounding sites as described by David Brose (1974:5-12).

APALACHICOLA RIVER FORT WALTON

The inland portions of the Apalachicola River Valley in northern Florida, which are abundant in archeological resources, have remained relatively undisturbed. Moore, Percy, and Willey noted several large Weeden Island sites in this area, and Florida State University and Case Western Reserve University field crews located several large Weeden Island villages and many small Fort Walton components. On opposite sides of the Apalachicola River are two sets of paired Fort Walton ceremonial mound and village sites. The sites, which are apparently partly contemporaneous, are 8JA185 and 8GD2 located about 100 yards below the U.S. 90 bridge below the Jim Woodruff Dam and the Cayson and Yon sites below the Bristol-Blountstown Bridge, 30 miles downstream. Moore had reported a third pair of early Fort Walton mounds at the mouth of the Apalachicola River, but they had been destroyed by 1940 when Willey returned to the area (Brose 1974:5-6).

In 1974 Patricia Essenpreis, Nancy White and John Scarry directed test excavations at 8JA185 on the west bank of the Apalachicola River. Cultural materials had probably been exposed to river erosion since the Jim Woodruff Dam was built in 1954, as the site is not mentioned in surveys by Moore, Willey, Sears and Bullen. Controlled survey and sample excavations conducted in 1975 indicated

that significant areas of the site were still undisturbed. The site appears to represent a single component early Fort Walton or transitional Weeden Island-Fort Walton temple town occupation. GD2, the mound and village complex on the east bank, was noted by Moore in 1912. The site is multicomponent, has been little excavated, and is covered by heavy vegetation (Brose 1974:6).

Both the Cayson and Yon sites below the Bristol-Blountstown Bridge were first mentioned by Moore in 1903 (Moore 1903). He describes Cayson as a flat-topped pyramidal mound with a ramp approach. He also completed minimal excavations at the Yon Mound on the east bank. After trenching the mound and finding a small deposit of burned human bone, Moore concluded the mound was domiciliary. He reported a small circular mound one mile west-southwest of Bristol which Willey was not able to locate in 1940 but placed tentatively in the Santa Rosa-Swift Creek horizon. Willey did not visit either Cayson or Yon (Brose 1974:7).

In the early 1960's Sears (1960:21-24) worked at Cayson and Yon and made a ceramic collection at Cayson consisting entirely of Fort Walton series material. He notes that these two sites, apparently occupied together, comprise one of the largest Fort Walton ceremonial centers on the Chattahoochee. He reported a circular burial mound one half mile upstream from the Cayson mound, but this

could not be found during the 1973 CWRU-FSU excavations (Brose 1974:7-8).

Testing at Yon by Morrell and Keel in 1962 yielded Fort Walton and late Weeden Island materials to a depth of at least four feet. They also noted three distinct, stratigraphically separate zones of cultural material. The excavation ended when a burial was found at a depth of six feet (Brose 1974:8).

About ten years later George Percy opened four contiguous 5' x 5' units in the plaza area at the Cayson site, in which a total of four sherds were found. A layer of fine gray silt was noted and Percy believed this constituted a prepared plaza floor. Further excavations by Percy in 1973 were conducted to locate the village areas of the site. A portion of the domestic occupation area lies to the northeast of the ceremonial plaza, but more testing is needed before the extent of this area and the possible existence of others is known. Since this zone is covered in pine, site boundaries are uncertain. In order to better understand their functional significance, parts of post holes and wall trench structures were excavated and artifacts were mapped in place. Among the artifacts recovered were fragments of several species of nutshell and charred bones of turtle, deer and several species of fish. Artifacts indicate that occupation was

in the Fort Walton period (Brose 1974:8-9).

During 1973, test excavations at the Yon site were conducted by John Scarry. This site is deeply stratified with well-defined separate occupations. Immediately south of the mound a refuse area with clear stratigraphy and well preserved faunal and ethnobotanical remains was found. Intermediate levels were dated to A.D. 1050 (CWRU 95) and the ceramics were entirely Fort Walton with a large amount of Wakulla Check Stamped. The upstream face of the mound had three distinct cultural levels. The uppermost disturbed level contained Lamar Complicated Stamped pottery, sand-mica tempered Fort Walton ceramics, lithic debitage and faunal remains. Below these levels was a sealed, burned floor dated to A.D. 970 (CWRU 114) and with Fort Walton ceramics. Below this was another sealed and burned living floor, containing ceramics assignable to Fort Walton Incised and Punctate, Ruskin-Dentate Stamped, sloppy Keith Incised and many plain and incised punctate sherds, with mostly sand-mica tempered ceramic paste. The Yon excavations reveal a complex picture with various activity areas in regions adjoining the mound. Nearby units are either sterile, or contain abundant materials varying through the Weeden Island II and Fort Walton phases (Brose 1974:9-12).

INTERPRETATION OF DATA

Gordon Willey, Ripley Bullen and a number of other authors viewed Fort Walton as a secondary Mississippian cultural complex. Fort Walton represented the "implementation from a single external center of colonies of socially stratified agricultural sociopolitical systems highly integrated with distinctive and highly efficient settlement-subsistence patterns" (Brose et al. 1976:6). These colonies, which are set in "the midst of distinct local populations of hunting-gathering-horticulturalists have been represented as acculturative centers of secondary stimulus diffusion and, in some cases, centers of secondary population displacement" (Brose et al. 1976:6). Other authors including Jeffrey P. Brain (1969) view the Fort Walton culture in northwest Florida as an example of non-local cultural displacement, even though they have argued for Mississippian internal regional development in other areas of the southeast.

David Brose (1976:6) suggests an alternative model for the development of Fort Walton out of Weeden Island through agricultural intensification and social restriction of an expanding population which led to a new form of socio-political integration. The model attempts to predict early Fort Walton settlement patterns by using

such criteria as restricted availability of good soils and the location of major river valleys. Evidence of the socio-political organization is seen in the seasonal nature and reoccupation of early sites, the dichotomy between ceremonial centers and short term camps, and the nonexistence of minor ceremonial centers. Brose and Percy (1974:21-22) suggest that in Fort Walton, the community pattern seems to be strongly nucleated with larger villages concentrated into bottomlands and organized into temple mound communities.

Two sets of developments were involved in the change from Weeden Island to Fort Walton. The first of these was a change in farming methods, with a more intensive cultivation system and the possible introduction of new plants such as beans, which are less destructive to soils than corn. The second is the establishment of more efficient social control institutions, which may have involved a shift from a tribal to a chiefdom level of social organization. If this proposed model of internal subsistence-settlement system development with later adoption of external symbols of socio-ceremonial reintegration is true, the socio-ceremonial aspects of Mississippian culture may be adopted into local cultures with regionally variant subsistence-settlement systems (Brose et al. 1976:8).

Archeological excavations at the Cayson and Yon

sites support this hypothesis. They demonstrate stratigraphically and typologically that within the Apalachicola River Valley there is considerable continuity in styles for this tradition. Radiocarbon dates available for early Fort Walton materials at these sites also refute a late Mississippian intrusion from Georgia or Alabama. Evidence supports the gradual adoption of Mississippian styles in material culture and socio-ceremonial organization by late Weeden Island horticultural populations (Brose et al. 1969: 15-18).

Research by David Brose and others (1976) estimated that occupation at the Cayson site extended at most over 200 years from A.D. 1,000 to A.D. 1,200. The occupation indicated a single, relatively homogeneous population with a material culture which changed gradually from final Weeden Island into early Fort Walton. No abrupt changes indicating the introduction of Mississippian intensive agriculture or rigid Mississippian settlement patterns were supported by the subsistence-settlement pattern at Cayson (Brose et al. 1976:16).

Previously collected materials from the Upper Apalachicola Basin have recently been reanalyzed by John Scarry (1978). Using these data, Scarry has formulated a refined chronology for the Apalachicola Valley, identifying five phases for Fort Walton Development. These are

the Wakulla phases (A.D. 750-850); the Chattahoochee Landing phase (A.D. 850-900); the Bristol phase (A.D. 900-1,000); the Cayson phase (A.D. 1,000-1,200) and the Yon phase (A.D. 1,350-?) (Myers 1979:840). At the type site, the Cayson phase forms the major occupation and appears above Chattahoochee Landing phase materials.

Scarry's work with ceramics indicates that "the change from Weeden Island to Fort Walton in the Apalachicola Valley was probably the result of in situ changes in Weeden Island social structure and subsistence with subsequent adoptions of Mississippian traits, particularly ceramics" (Scarry 1978:19).

While Scarry has tentatively dated the origins of Fort Walton ceramics in the Apalachicola Valley, the appearance of a chiefdom type of social organization and the accompanying intensive agriculture economy is more difficult to date. Pyramidal temple mounds, frequently associated with hierarchical social systems, appear by the Cayson phase (Scarry 1978:14-16).

There has been an obvious shift in the methodology of the above archeologists in the last decade or so. Perhaps the most obvious is the change in research design. In the earlier excavations discussed, the culture was thought to be the sum of all the artifacts. In studying the wall trenches at the Cayson site, Brose and Essenpreis

are incorporating the ideas of the new archeology. This approach is in part an expression of neo-evolutionism, a body of method and theory which recognizes the failures of historical particularism and is strongly biased toward economic and materialist explanations for culture change (Harris 1968:684).

The questions asked at the Cayson site have to do with linkages among environment, economy and social organization. In the 1973 excavations, Essenpreis began by asking certain questions, including what the function of the wall trenches was. The answer is found through the systematic analysis of appropriate kinds of paleo-environmental, archeological and other data, starting with the premise that the question can be answered through the skillful use of the archeological record. Seeking appropriate kinds of data leads new archeologists to look for data that had been little noticed in the past. Because of a cultural materialist orientation, the Cayson research emphasizes settlement patterns, subsistence practices, and community organization.

CHAPTER III

THE CAYSON SITE

ENVIRONMENT

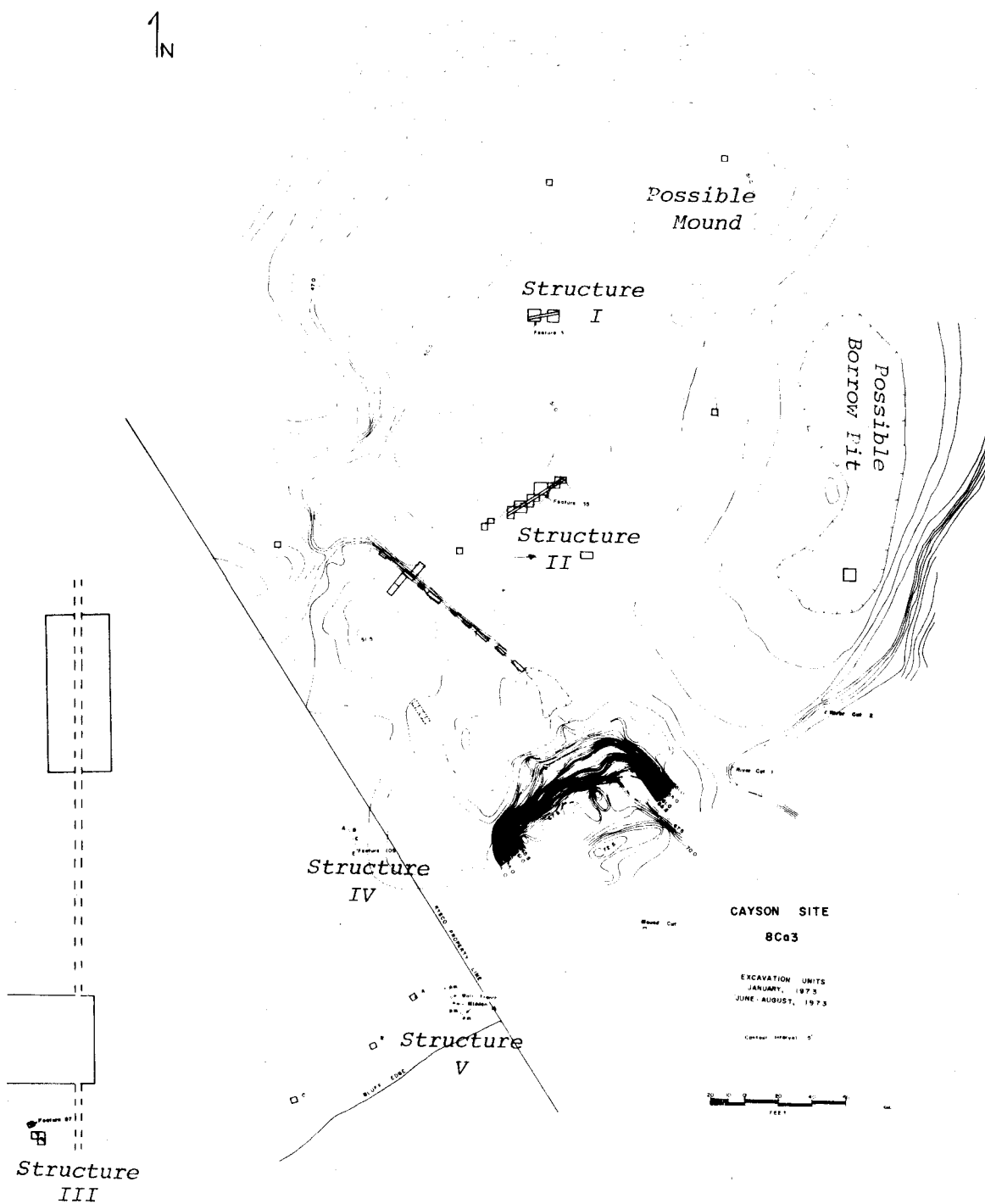
The Cayson site can be located on USGS Blountstown 7.5 Min. 1945 map, Township 1S, Range 8W, Section 3, quarter section northwest, quarter quarter section northeast. The site is reached by going about one mile northeast of Blountstown Landing and following the west side of the Apalachicola River bank upstream for about one mile. The large mound is visible from the bank, with the village to the west, north and possibly south of the mound.

The topography of a given area in many ways helps to dictate and shape the nature and distribution of environments and therefore, the resources which were essential to human settlement and subsistence. Fort Walton artifacts occur in Florida, Georgia and Alabama in contrasting local environments. The primary physiographic divisions within the Fort Walton area are the Northern Highlands, Marianna Lowlands, and Gulf Coastal Lowlands.

The Cayson site is located on flat river bottomland in the Marianna Lowlands, which are part of the larger

FIGURE II

MAP OF THE CAYSON SITE SHOWING STRUCTURES



Dougherty River Valley lowlands zone. The lowlands are a vast karst plain formed on limestones of Oligocene and Eocene age. The topography of the region reflects the abandoned Apalachicola, Chattahoochee, and Chipola river valleys. The surface is well drained by a dendritic stream system, and lime sinks are numerous. These are bounded by sink rims and rolling hills (Puri and Vernon 1964).

The Apalachicola River is the largest river in Florida and the only one with headwaters originating outside of the coastal plain. The physiography of the modern Apalachicola is one of long reaches and wide, easy bends. The river's average width is approximately 600 feet, and banks vary from 10 to 15 feet in height. It falls at a rate of .4 feet per mile (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1978).

The Chattahoochee and Apalachicola river valleys fall within the North Gulf Coast sedimentary province, a subunit of the eastern Gulf of Mexico sedimentary basin. From Columbus, Georgia, the Chattahoochee River runs south for 155 miles. At this point it joins the Flint River, and forms the headwaters of the Apalachicola River, which continues southward for another 107 miles and then empties into Apalachicola Bay (Puri and Vernon 1964).

The density and diversity of aquatic flora found in the Apalachicola River is high. Fresh and brackish water

plants such as coontail, water milfoil, cattail, reeds, American lotus, sedges, sawgrass, cutgrass, and rushes inhabit these waters (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1978). Aquatic fauna are equally diverse and abundant and consist of fresh water and some marine species.

The biotic communities on the surface of the Lowlands zone are upland pine, mixed hardwood-pine, and mesic hardwood (Puri and Vernon 1964). The general area around the Cayson site is planted in pine. Other dominant trees are water-oak (Quercus nigra), live-oak (Q. Virginiana), hackberry (Celtis laevigata), sweet-gum (Liquidambar styraciflua), blue-beech (Carpinus caroliniana), magnolia (Magnolia grandiflora), American holly (Ilex opaca) and wafer-ash (Ptelea trifoliata). Some of the more obvious shrubs and herbs are bluestem (Sabal minor), and French mulberry (Callicarpa americana) (Hubbell et al. 1956:55-56). The soil type at Cayson, yellow river bottom silt, is especially good material for the preservation of structural information.

In the Apalachicola River valley a variety of intermingling ecological zones occur, thus supplying a high diversity and density of faunal resources. Large mammals in the area include white tail deer, black bear and bobcat (Brose et al. 1976:22).

1973 EXCAVATIONS

The platform mound at the Cayson site is about 6.7 meters high and 7.6 meters wide at the top. It is difficult to establish an exact size for the mound since the Apalachicola River cuts through the back of it to the east. Two probable ramps leading to the summit can be traced on the inland side. Sears (1960:23) noted slight rises at several points in the large mound which may indicate the remains of houses or other structures. The presence of these structures is also demonstrated by fragments of burned wall plaster. A depression near the mound may remain from the borrow pits used as a source for mound building material. The second mound is barely discernible, and rises to about 1.5 meters in height. There is a possibility that other mounds exist at the site, however further testing is required to either confirm or negate this.

In January of 1973, extensive testing at Cayson was undertaken by David Brose to determine whether the site was suitable for a study of Fort Walton settlement patterns. The site proved to be basically single component, with shallow cultural deposits in the central portion. A border of large posts was discovered along the edge of the plaza. Test units in the low mound on

the west side of the plaza revealed it to be at least partially a Fort Walton construction, since building stages of basket-loaded clays overlay the plaza level. To the north of the central plaza area a wall trench and a rebuilt clay wall were located, but their limits were not determined. A large amount of pottery was found in a deep midden deposit north of the large mound and along the river bluff edge. A very small quantity of faunal and floral remains were also found (Brose et al. 1976:11-12). In general, the acidic nature of the soils at Cayson prevented the preservation of faunal and floral remains.

During the summer of 1973 Patricia Essenpreis conducted further excavations in the ceremonial area of the site to determine what type of structure the wall trenches represented, and the relationship between the various parts of the ceremonial area and the function of the low mound.

A number of construction stages were noted in the second, lower mound. Two of these had post structures and refuse filled pits, one containing charred 8- and 10- row corn (Zea mays), and the other containing charcoal dated to A.D. 1150 \pm 110 (CWRU-117). Charred floral material, pollen and spores are well preserved, and maize has been identified from dated, sealed features in the mound. At the time of occupation, the general vegetation cover was

probably oak, cypress, hickory and laurel with maize and pollen in nearby disturbed ground cover areas (Brose et al. 1976:13).

ARCHEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR WALLS

Several possible pits and post molds were identified at the south and west areas of the site by Patricia Essenpreis. During the excavations, levels were dug according to the natural stratigraphic profile. In many cases, possible post molds, tree roots and rodent burrows were recorded in the field notes. For the purposes of this thesis, only definite post molds will be identified and interpreted in order to insure as accurate a pattern as possible. Post molds described originated at about the same level as the wall trenches unless otherwise noted. Based upon evidence for post molds and trenches, five structures have been identified.

STRUCTURE I

Description: Structure I consists of Feature 3, a linear wall trench with associated clay platform areas and post molds. Excavations defined 6.6 meters of the trench, the maximum width of which was 64 centimeters with a minimum and average width of 2.4 cm. and 49 cm. respectively. The structure was discovered at the base of the plow zone, at a depth of 21 cm. and an actual elevation of 15.1 m. A gap in the wall unit was noted.

Soil: The trench was filled with a sandy, grayish clay which is possibly not local in origin. The surrounding soil matrix was a mottled silty clay (10 YR 5/4) of a yellow-brown color. The post molds were filled with yellow-orange, fine silty clay (10 YR 5/6, 5 YR 5/8).

Artifacts: Ceramic artifacts were abundant .9 to 1.2 cm. north of the trench, while very few were recovered to the south of it. A piece of white quartzite was also located 46 cm. north of the wall trench, at a depth of 21 cm.

Feature 3 seems to be a wall structure which is contemporaneous with the concentration of sherds and the piece of quartzite. The bottoms of the post molds originate at about 46 cm. below datum, and the wall trench was encountered at a depth of 21 cm. Excavations defined

only a portion of the trench, and the depths of all post molds were not recorded. Table I gives further information concerning the post molds associated with Structure I.

TABLE I

STRUCTURE I POST MOLDS

<u>No.</u>	<u>Wall #</u>	<u>Distance center to center (in cm.)</u>	<u>Diameter (in cm.)</u>	<u>Depth (in cm.)</u>
1	1	45.7	8.9	?
2	1	39.4	8.9	?
3	1	52.6	11.9	17.8
4	1	30.5	21.6-30.5	21.6
5	1	30.5	15.2-24.1	21.6

STRUCTURE II

Description: Structure II consists of Feature 35, a 21 m. long wall trench with post molds. No corners for the wall trench have been found. The maximum width of the trench is 76 cm., with a minimum width of 30.5 cm. and an average width of 45.7 cm. The trench was discovered at about 19 cm. below datum. Clay platform areas to the north (Feature 70) and to the south of the wall (Feature 63) are of unknown extent.

Soil: The surrounding soil matrix was a grayish-brown silt (10 YR 5/3) with a hard, red-orange clay at a deeper level (10 YR 6/8, 10 YR 6/6). While soil in the trench approximated the surrounding soil in color, it appeared to be more oxidized.

This trench extends to the southwest portion of the site, around the plaza and toward the lower mound. It possibly extends up to the low mound, but further testing will be necessary to confirm or negate this. Of the 21 post molds recorded, depths were noted only for 5. This information is contained in Table II. An orange-red clay was packed into the spaces between the posts, and was also packed into the post holes. Figure VI represents only a portion of the excavated wall.

TABLE II

STRUCTURE II POST MOLDS

<u>No.</u>	<u>Wall #</u>	<u>Distance center to center (in cm.)</u>	<u>Diameter (in cm.)</u>	<u>Depth (in cm.)</u>
1	2	17.8	15.2	?
2	2	40.6	17.8	?
3	2	45.7	15.2	?
4	2	30.5	15.2	?
5	2	24.1	21.6	?
6	2	26.7	15.2	?
7	2	33.0	17.8	39.4
8	2	21.6	11.4	?
9	2	43.2	17.8	?
10	2	115.6	26.7	?
11	2	91.4	30.5	?
12	2	35.6	11.4	76.2
13	2	45.7	11.4	39.4
14	2	30.5	10.2	73.7
15	2	76.2	10.2	78.7
16	2	57.1	24.1	?
17	2	45.7	21.6	?
18	2	?	30.5	?

STRUCTURE III

Description: Structure III consists of Features 83 and 87, a wall trench and post molds. The trench is in two sections, with a gap in the wall. The sections are 2.16 m. and 3.2 m. in length, and about 30 cm. wide. A possible pit (Feature 86) was noted just southwest of the wall trench. The trench was located at the base of the plow zone, at 35.6 cm. below datum.

Soil: The structure originated in a hard, dark brown clay matrix (10 YR 5/8). Soil within the trench is a soft, gray silt (10 YR 5/8) and the postmolds were of the same gray porous material. Orange clay intrusions were noted from the area of the wall trench.

Artifacts: A duck head effigy adorno and three sherds were located in the wall trench. The trench was not completely excavated because all units were backfilled by a bulldozer during construction by the Rysco Company.

The trench and post molds are located southwest of the main mound. Table III summarizes data concerning the post molds.

TABLE III

STRUCTURE III POST MOLDS

<u>No.</u>	<u>Wall #</u>	<u>Distance center to center (in cm.)</u>	<u>Diameter (in cm.)</u>	<u>Depth (in cm.)</u>
1	3	24.1	15.2-10.2	82.5
2	3	26.7	10.2-14.0	86.4
3	3	24.1	12.7-17.8	87.6
4	3	24.1	20.3-15.2	99.6
5	3	24.1	24.1	48.3
6	3	33.0	?	?
7	3	30.5	?	?
8	3	24.1	12.7	82.6
9	3	30.5	12.7	83.8
10	3	15.2	12.7	69.8
11	3	15.2	11.4	63.5
12	3	24.1	11.4	78.7

STRUCTURE IV

Description: Six post molds (Feature 105) were located directly west of the main mound. No wall trench was associated with these posts. Because the area had been truncated by a bulldozer, the posts were located well below the surface.

Soil: The plowzone consisted of a dark silt, under which a yellow clay was encountered.

The post molds which constitute Structure IV were much larger than any others recorded at the site, as can be seen in Table IV.

TABLE IV

STRUCTURE IV POST MOLDS

<u>No.</u>	<u>Wall #</u>	<u>Distance center to center (in cm.)</u>	<u>Diameter (in cm.)</u>	<u>Depth (in cm.)</u>
1	4	61.0	15.2	?
2	4	83.8	20.3	?
3	4	137.2	27.9	?
4	4	114.3	24.1	?
5	4	144.8	25.4	?
6	4	?	21.6	?

STRUCTURE V

Description: This structure consists of Feature 101, a set of double post molds. Although they were not in a wall trench, a trench (Feature 102) was located northwest of the posts. These features were located in a ditch south of the main mound.

Soil: Underneath the 15.2 cm. plowzone a dense silt several feet in depth was recorded. At 45.7 cm. below datum, the soil was a sterile, mottled yellow clay (10 YR 6/8).

TABLE V

WALL TRENCHES

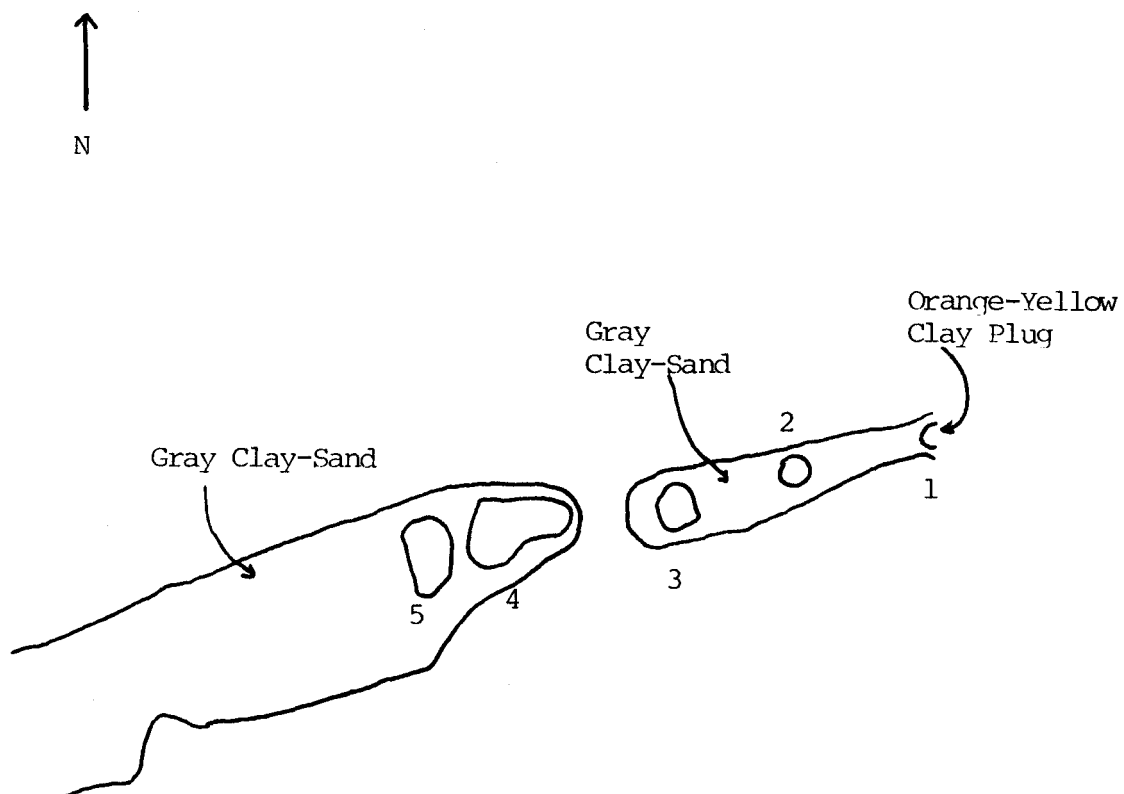
	<u>Length</u> <u>(in m.)</u>	<u>Maximum</u> <u>Width</u> <u>(in m.)</u>	<u>Minimum</u> <u>Width</u> <u>(in m.)</u>	<u>Average</u> <u>Width</u> <u>(in m.)</u>	<u>Depth Below</u> <u>Datum</u> <u>(in m.)</u>
Structure I	6.5	.64	.09	.49	.21
Structure II	20.9	.79	.36	.46	.21
Structure III	5.4	?	?	.30	.36

FIGURE III

STRUCTURE I POST MOLDS

Grid Coordinates:

690E490 - 690E505



STRUCTURE I

POST MOLDS 1 THROUGH 5

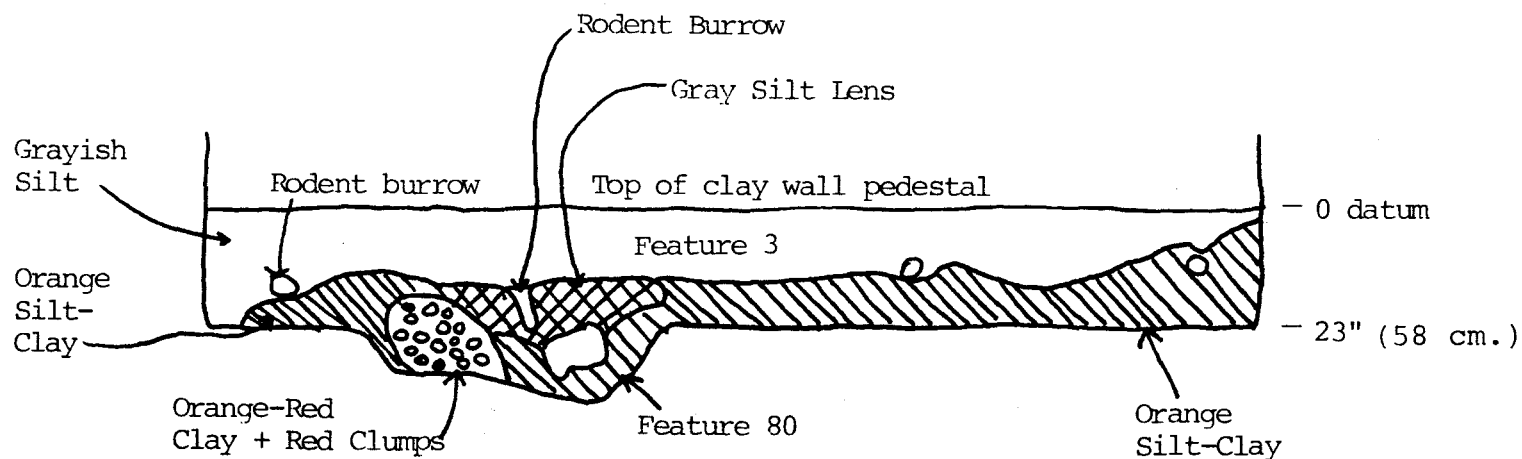
2 feet
(61 cm.)

FIGURE IV

STRATIGRAPHIC PROFILE OF STRUCTURE I

Grid Coordinates:

690E505



STRUCTURE I

PROFILE OF CLAY WALL PEDESTAL LOOKING NORTH, ALONG THE LONG AXIS

2 feet
(61 cm.)

FIGURE V

STRUCTURE II WALL TRENCH AND POST MOLDS

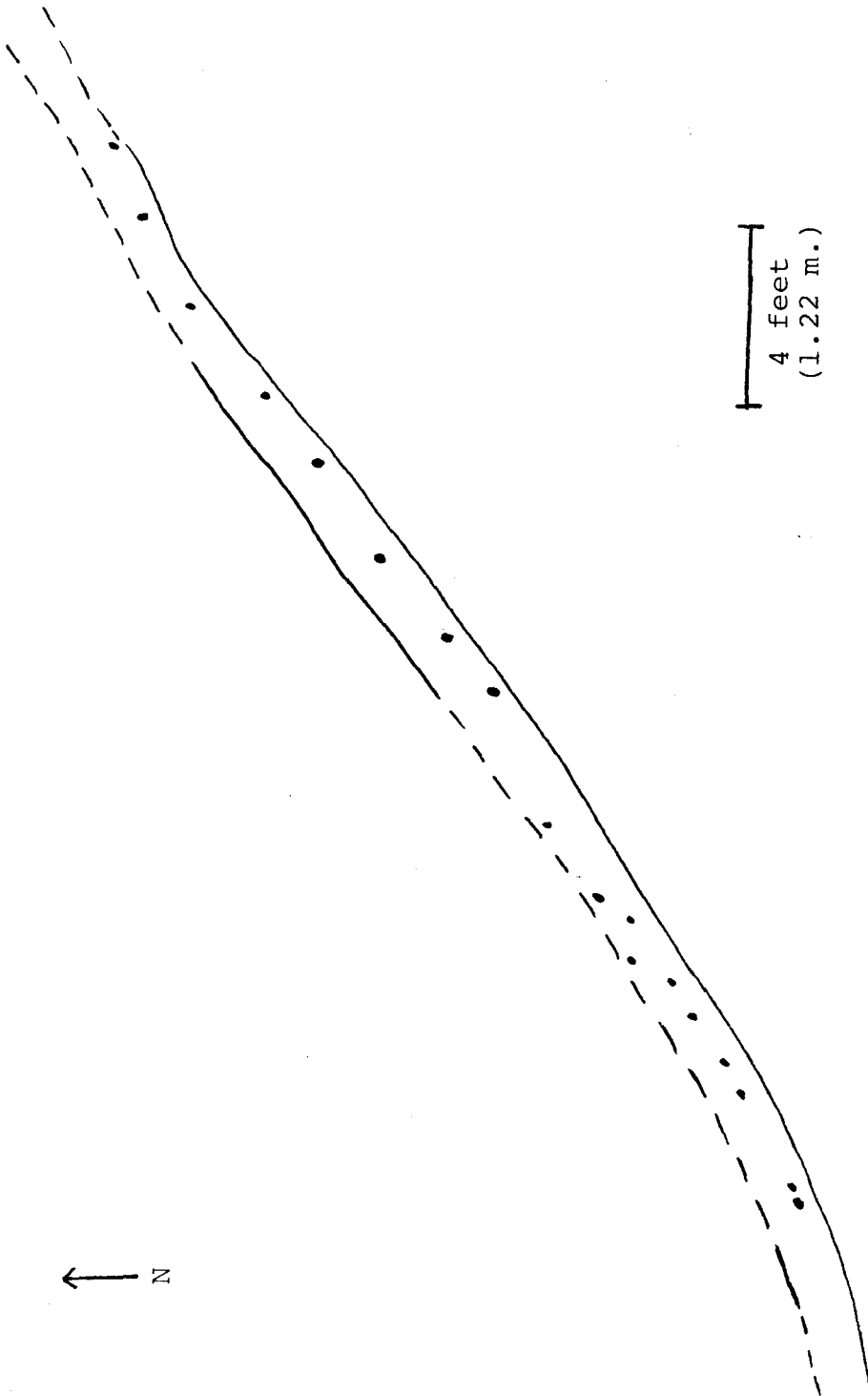


FIGURE VI

STRUCTURE II POST MOLDS

Grid Coordinates:

515E460 - 560E515



STRUCTURE II

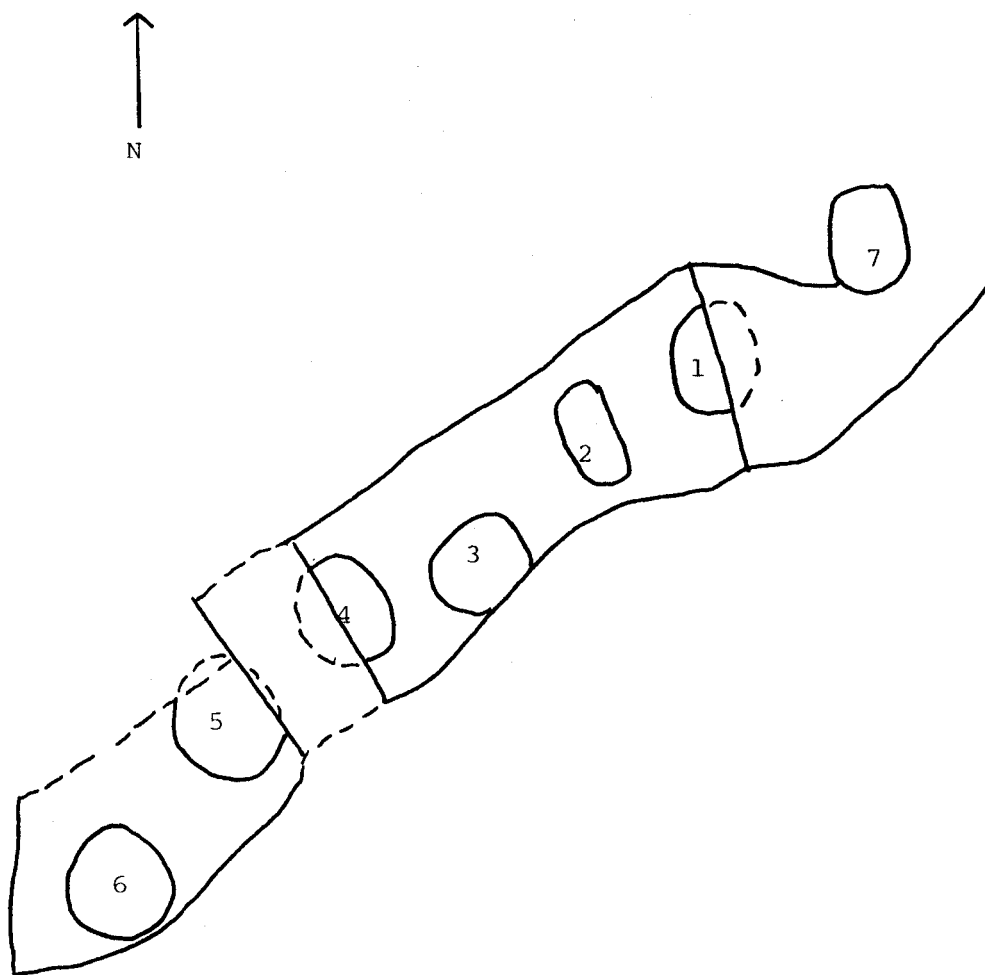
18 POST MOLDS SHOWN AS DOTS

FIGURE VII

STRUCTURE III POST MOLDS

Grid Coordinates:

15E125 - 20E120



STRUCTURE III

POST MOLDS 1 THROUGH 7

1 foot
(30.5 cm.)

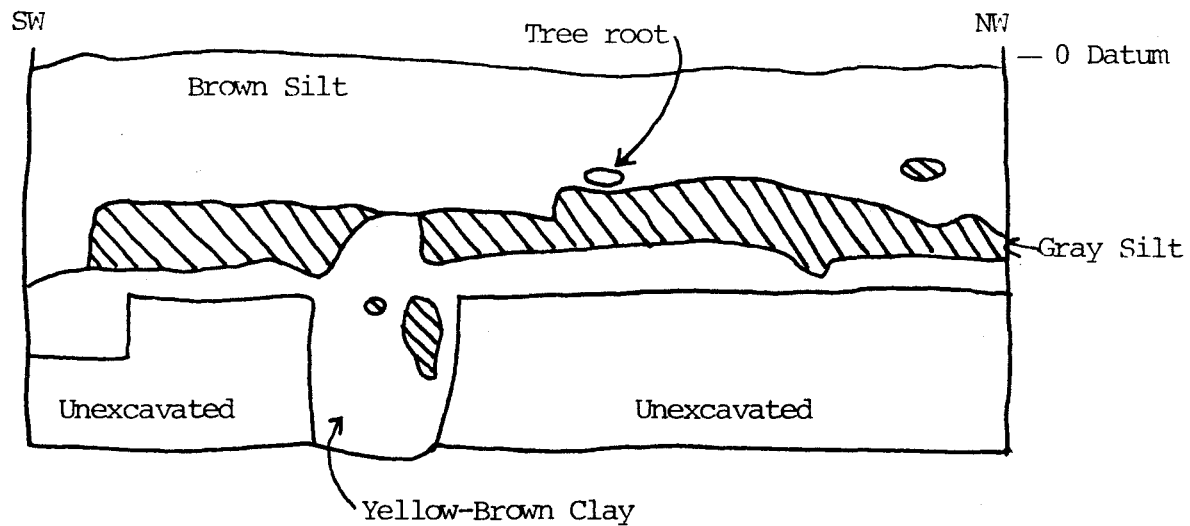
FIGURE VIII

STRATIGRAPHIC PROFILE OF STRUCTURE III

Grid Coordinates:

20E125

N →



STRUCTURE III

PROFILE OF FEATURE 83

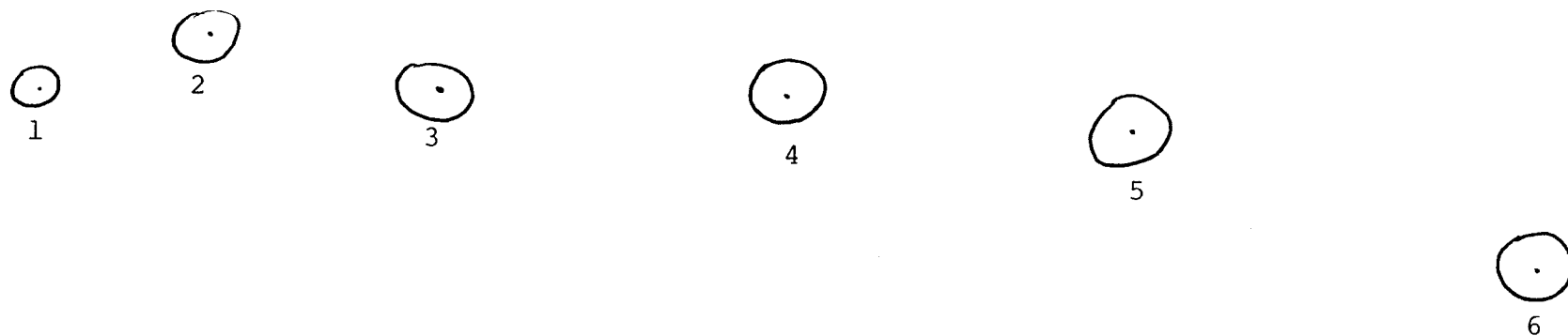
1 foot
(30.5 cm.)

FIGURE IX

STRUCTURE IV POST MOLDS

Grid Coordinates:

370E280 - 370E290



FEATURE 105

STRUCTURE IV

POST MOLDS 1 THROUGH 6
(A,B,C,D,E,F on site map)

2 feet
(61 cm.)

INTERPRETATION

Based on the information presented above, it would seem that the five structures cannot easily be assigned one function. Structures I, II and III consists of trenches which contain post molds. Structures IV and V consist of post molds only. Structure V seems to be quite different from the others, because it is a set of double posts. It may somehow be related to a house structure. Structures II and IV may have a similar function, since Structure II is aligned with the lower mound and may possibly extend up to it, and Structure IV is directly west of the main mound. Structure IV, however, is also unique in that it consisted of post molds only, and these were very large. Structure I is the only one with a high frequency of artifacts, and this possibly infers a different function. It is also possible that a third mound exists at the site, directly northeast of the lower mound. If this is true, then Structure I is aligned with it and could have a function similar to that of Structures II and IV. Structure III is located quite a distance from the ceremonial precinct of the site, and may be associated with yet another function.

The hypotheses to be tested in the following chapters are:

1. That all structures which are in alignment with a mound existed for ceremonial purposes;

2. That the double set of post molds (Structure V) was somehow related to a house structure; and

3. That Structure III was utilized for a third, and separate function.

The most definitive method of testing the above hypotheses would involve further subsurface testing at the Cayson site. Until future excavations take place, Binford's methodology outlined in Chapter I will prove useful. In accordance with this methodology, a literature search was conducted in an effort to find a group within the geographical area of northwest Florida who utilized such features. The results of this research are summarized in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

ETHNOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Upon conducting a literature search, it became apparent that the Creek Indians would provide a suitable analog for the Cayson investigations. The ancient inhabitants of Florida remained for the most part distinct from the Creeks, but they were near neighbors, and probably had hostile dealings for a long period (Swanton 1922:320).

The earliest mention of tribes living in the area of the Cayson site appears in a Spanish letter from 1639. The name Apalachicola was used by the Spanish to denote the Lower Creeks generally, and also it is clearly the name of a town and specific tribe in later times. It is probable that the 1639 application was to a tribe among or near the Lower Creeks (Swanton 1922:129).

The Spaniards had some knowledge of Florida by about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Ponce de Leon explored portions of both Florida coasts in 1513, and in 1519 Francisco de Garay sailed along the Gulf Coast west of the Florida peninsula (Newcomb 1974:36). In 1528 the explorer Panfilo de Narvaez landed some 400 men and 80 horses at the head of Tampa Bay. The main body of the

expedition then marched north, and reached the main Apalachee town of Apalachen, near modern Tallahassee. The Apalachees were unfriendly to the Spaniards, who occupied their town, and after about a month the expedition marched westward to an Indian town near Panama City and the sea. There, the expedition built barges in an attempt to reach Mexico, but only four men including Cabeza de Vaca, the treasurer, reached their destination (Swanton 1939:115).

Hernando de Soto landed at Tampa Bay in the spring of 1539, and probably established his headquarters at the aboriginal site on Terra Ceia Island. The army, consisting of over 500 men, also occupied the town of Apalachen (Swanton 1939:159-160). Upon leaving this area, the Spaniards marched northwest in search of a queen who supposedly had amassed great quantities of gold. About 25 miles south of Augusta, the army entered Cofitachequi, a capital of the Creek Nation. When no gold was to be found, de Soto and his men continued their search through North and South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, where de Soto died of a fever (Swanton 1939:185).

The Indians of northwest Florida described by Spanish explorers probably all belonged to the great Timacua group. While de Soto's chroniclers depict the tribes of this stock toward the western side of the peninsula, later settlements were made from the east (Swanton

1922:335).

The first expedition of French Huguenots sailed in 1562 under Jean Ribault, landing near the present day St. Augustine. Ribault later entered the River St. Johns and sailed along the coast of South Carolina, where he established a small colony near what is now Beaufort. The colony dissipated when Ribault set out for France and failed to return for a long period of time. A second exploration set out under the command of Rene Goulaine de Laudonniere, landing near the River St. Johns. They quickly established communications with the Indians and built Fort Caroline on the south bank of the River. The fort was captured by the Spaniards about a year later, marking the end of the French colonial period in Florida (Swanton 1922:334-336).

The Spanish explorers dealt mostly with peoples of the Muskogean stock. From the principal narrators of these expeditions, A Fidalgo of Elvas, Luys Hernandez de Biedma, Rangel, private secretary to de Soto, and Garcilasso de la Vega, we have been given much information regarding the Muskogean people (Willoughby 1932:9).

The French occupation, though shortlived, also provides excellent accounts of the ancient Floridians. These are in the form of drawings by LeMoyne, a member of the second French expedition. With the combined informa-

tion from French and Spanish accounts, it is possible to accurately reconstruct Creek subsistence-settlement patterns at the time of contact.

THE CREEK CONFEDERATION

In general, the Indians the Spanish encountered possessed productive horticultural technologies, relatively complex social and political institutions, and elaborate ceremonial and religious lives.

The Creek Confederation consisted of a number of peoples who were originally distinct. Most of these groups belonged to the Muskogean stock, and the exceptions were very late additions. The upper portion of the Florida Peninsula was occupied by a number of tribes originally classified as an independent family, the Timucuan (Swanton 1946:239). In the early part of the 18th century, the Creeks were scattered over much of Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. Those who called themselves Muskogee were located mostly in the northern part of the region, and were known as Upper Creeks. Other later comers, such as the Hitichi, varied culturally and linguistically from the Upper Creeks, and became known as the Lower Creeks. The Muskogee, also known as the White People or People of Peace, did not take the initiative in warfare and their towns generally served as sanctuaries for murderers and enemies. The Hitichi, also called the

People of Alien Speech, and the Red or War People, were considered to be aggressors and did not provide sanctuary (Newcomb 1974:45).

The Creeks were primarily a riverine people, living on easily cultivated bottomlands and terraces of rivers and streams. Despite their crude digging sticks and hoes, they were extremely productive farmers. Cultivated plants used by the Creeks included several species of corn, peas, beans, squashes or pumpkins and gourds. Three varieties of corn existed: the little corn, or the first to mature; flint or hominy corn; and flour or dent corn of which bread was usually made. Wild vegetables included ground nuts, wild sweet potatoes, Angelico roots, persimmons, plums, grapes, strawberries, mulberries, blackberries, wild rice, chestnuts, hickory nuts, acorns, chinquapins and honey locusts. Creek fields were commonly cultivated by men and women. The ability of the southeastern Indians to feed de Soto's army through the winter from stored crops without undue hardship indicates the productivity of this horticultural system.

Despite reliance on cultivated crops, game such as deer, bear, rabbit, squirrel, wild turkey and wildfowl including passenger pigeon were avidly hunted. Bows and arrows were the chief weapons of the men, and the blow gun with an unpoisoned dart was also used. Bird's eggs

were collected and eaten. Fishing, an important industry, supplied trout, turbot, mullet and plaice. Fish were caught with hooks, traps and weirs, and also with bows and arrows (Swanton 1946:295-299).

The geographical, economic, consanguineous and religious factors of life all took shape in the household, family, clan, phratry, clan moiety, and town. At one time, the Creeks were divided into more than fifty matrilineal, matrilocal, exogamous moieties or major divisions. These social structures regulated marriage relationships, ceremonial observances, and even partnerships in ball games, since each clan had its special areas around the public square or plaza (Griffin 1952:362).

Creek households, organized on the basis of matrilineal inheritance and matrilocal residence, generally consisted of a woman and her husband, their married daughters and sons-in-law, their unmarried sons, their grandchildren, and perhaps some dependent clan relatives (Swanton 1946).

Creek towns were essentially autonomous political subdivisions, since they varied somewhat from one another in origin, dialect and other respects. But the towns regarded one another as friendly, shared various ceremonial activities, and often aided one another against enemies. A Creek town consisted of a series of scattered

neighborhoods around a town square. Each "household" consisted of 3 to 4 dwellings on the same pattern as the public square. Since the marriage residence was matrilineal, the unit or neighborhood area was a group of houses owned by women of one clan group, i.e. a lineage. A town was made up of a number of these clan groups (Swanton 1922:271-273).

A single town, or series of towns, might make up a political unit or tribe. These are reported to have had totems which were separate from those of the clans in some cases. Each town or tribe also had distinctive face paintings. Town solidarity was strong and was maintained by frequent public assemblies in the square (Swanton 1922: 271-273).

For the most part, the Creek governmental unit was a group of people living in the same locality. Anciently, the tribe seems to have referred to the units of the confederacy. Later it referred to groups having a town square in common. The miko, or town chief, was generally selected from his predecessor's clan and was associated with peace and the civil activities. While regarded with complete deference, the town chief did not have absolute ruling power. A group of "beloved men", who were retired warriors, advised and assisted the chief in important matters. An assistant, or "twin chief", was chosen by

the miko to take charge of affairs at the town square. "Second chiefs" were responsible for the direction of public works and work in the fields, and also took charge of the "black drink" ceremony (Swanton 1946:642-644).

The war officials were divided into three general classes: tastanagaldi, big imalas and little imalas. These groups received their positions on the basis of warlike feats. The "head warrior" was chosen from the first group by the miko and council, and he was privileged to call the town together. "War officials" were generally from Red clans, at least in theory, since White clans were supposedly devoted to peace. The council decided upon war and the "warriors" then carried it out. The "head warriors" arranged the ball games and were in charge of the "police". The imalas acted as assistants to the head warriors (Swanton 1946:692-694).

Warfare among the Creeks was primarily for blood revenge, not territorial aggrandizement. Experienced war leaders directed organized warfare, and participation in war parties was usually voluntary. Much attention was given to the ceremonial aspect of warfare, in order that sacred powers would incur success in the group enterprise. The Creeks took a chest filled with sacred objects along on war parties for this purpose. Priests were forbidden to shed blood, and those polluted by contact with the

dead had to be purified (Griffin 1952:353). Creek warriors used bows and arrows, knives, tomahawks, war clubs and javelins as weapons against their enemies (Swanton 1946:692).

SOUTHEASTERN CEREMONIALISM

In the southeast, great public religious rituals were conducted by priests in the ceremonial centers in an annual round closely geared to the agricultural cycle. The Creeks, the Natchez, and the Chickasaw possessed what once must have been a common ceremonial. Among the Creek Indians, the "green corn dance" specifically describes the busk, or posketa, meaning the fast, which occurred when the first flower corn of the season was ready for consumption. According to Swanton, this ceremony, which marked the beginning of the new year, occurred between the middle of July and the middle of August. It was not an isolated ceremony, rather it was the most important of a series of rituals spaced about a month apart which began in April or May. While the first three were local in character, people of related or friendly towns were invited for the main ceremony. The busk was followed by a succession of social gatherings which extended into the late fall. Masks were worn at these rituals, commonly called the "raccoon dance", or "old people's dance" (Waring 1968:27-28).

The busk ceremony was basically a rite of renewal and renovation. The old and impure were discarded to make way for the new year. This concept was symbolized by the throwing away, breaking, or burning of old clothing, tools, pottery, and other utensils. The town and its dwellings were swept clean and all fires extinguished. In the plaza, a new sacred fire, laid with four logs oriented to the cardinal directions, was lit and from it new household fires were begun. Bodily purification was attained through the use of the black drink, an emetic made from the leaves of the yaupon holly (*Ilex cassine*), and through fasting and ritual bathing. Past sins were also absolved, and all crimes except murder were forgiven. The busk was also a time for sexual license and an opportunity for leaders of clans to lecture their kin. The ceremonial ball games of lacrosse and chunkee, which was played with throwing sticks and rolling stones, were played on these occasions (Newcomb 1974:49-50).

Any discussion of southeastern ceremonialism would be incomplete without the inclusion of the Southern Cult. Since archeological investigations at Etowah, Moundville, Spiro and Key Marco, a complex of specific motifs and ceremonial objects has become apparent in the southeastern United States. This complex is believed to extend from Oklahoma to Florida, and from the Gulf to the Great Lakes (Waring 1945:9). The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, or

Southern Cult, "has been recognized for the last 35 years as a major grouping or complex of culture-historically related artifacts and symbols in the Mississippian Period of the eastern United States" (Brown 1976:115).

Based on data from excavations at Etowah in Georgia, Moundville in Alabama and Spiro in Oklahoma, Waring demonstrates the nature of the Southern Cult:

(a) that the motifs and ceremonial objects appear as a cult complex in association with platform mounds, (b) that the complex is found virtually intact over a wide geographic area, and (c) that the complex is chronologically late (Waring 1945:9).

The Southeastern Ceremonial Complex is characterized by motifs, god-animal representations, ceremonial objects and costume. These elements are widely distributed, and the material invariably appears in close association with platform mounds. The mounds themselves are pyramids of earth upon which ceremonial structures were erected. Actual evidence of habitation at a site often seems inadequate to account for the expenditure of labor to build a structure containing over a million cubic feet of earth. This suggests that the sites were centers which served an area larger than the site itself (Waring 1945:23). In Florida, elements of the Cult period do not appear until the Fort Walton period, which was marked by a degeneration of the older ceramic styles. Shell tempered ware appears, as do effigy forms, and the stylized Hand-and-Eye and

Skull designs on bowls appear in the protohistoric and historic periods in Florida (Waring 1945:26).

Because this material was believed to appear in the protohistoric and historic levels, ethnographic accounts of the area were searched to show evidence of organized ceremonials that could be correlated with this archeological complex. Waring believed that this common ceremonial was the green corn dance, or busk which formed a connecting link between the Creek and Natchez. Whatever the early form of the ceremony was, Waring felt that it reached the historic level in an altered form as seen in the ethnological and archeological evidence (Waring 1945:26-28).

A new view of the Cult has been introduced by Griffin (1966:126-127), which refutes Waring's position. Griffin believes that the specialized art and ceremonial artifacts are an integral part of the complex cultural systems of the period, and not the result of extraordinary historical conditions. They also do not represent ceremonies belonging exclusively to specific tribes. Griffin believes that the quantity of material and the number of symbolic representations of the Cult found at a site vary with the rank of the site in the settlement system hierarchy. The age of the Cult is the Mississippian period, and excludes late historic times.

The Cult trait list itself strives for homogeneity

of motifs, designs, artifacts and other elements within sites producing such materials. The trait list approach, however, is incompatible with the study of Cult styles and artifactual interrelationships as systems with their own organizational principles. The approach also seeks homogeneity of features, instead of a classification founded on principles of cultural context (Brown 1976: 118-123).

Recent excavations at Etowah Mound C and other Mississippian burial mounds have provided firm archeological context for Cult material. Moundville, Spiro, and Dallas culture materials have also been assessed in terms of cultural context. As symbols, the artifacts and art motifs which are Cult elements relate to prestige structures based on the sanctity of power in chiefdom societies. Brown delineates three categories of Cult elements. First, prestige artifacts which are socio-technic, war related, and are found overwhelmingly in specialized settings, such as burials of the elite dead. The second group consists of the falcon as a fierce and warlike symbol vested in the person of one of the major elites of Mississippian period societies. This symbol relies on analogy with the prowess of the hawk for its cultural content, rather than the implements of military operations seen in the first group. The third group is the mortuary temple, which upholds the sanctity of chiefdoms. Other groups, such as

the chunkee game with its special artifacts and costume, lack the widespread symbolic connections of the above three (Brown 1976:126-127).

Of these three organizational networks, only the mortuary domain constitutes a cult associated with ancestors of the elite.

Hence, much diversity of content in the Cult cannot be readily attributed to a cult in the sociological and ideological sense. . Instead, the most extensive array of specialized artifacts and symbols are status-displaying symbols created mainly from weapons and found most often with the elite dead in mortuaries or around the base of platform mounds. . the use of . . Cult features for symbolizing privileged status is most obviously a hierarchical feature of Mississippian Period cultural systems and only secondarily an ideological one. The Cult list comprehends much more than a religious cult (Brown 1976:128).

The importance of Creek chiefs and ceremonialism cannot be overstated. An example of the complex chiefdoms and protostates of the southeast is perhaps best signified by the Natchez, whose elaborate sociocultural position was probably shared by most of the other populations along the lower Mississippi, and also by those located on the coastal margins.

Natchez villages were located along St. Catherine's Creek, east of the present city of Natchez. Natchez government was strongly centralized, and entirely despotic. The great chief was as absolute as a king, and was called the brother of the sun. His people showed him complete

obedience and submission. The great chief appointed two war chiefs, two masters of ceremonies for the temple, two officers to regulate treaties of peace or war and four to order everything in public feasts.

To enable the great chief to better converse with the sun, the principal object of veneration, his cabin was built upon an artificial mound with the door facing east. The people viewed the great chief as absolute master, not only of their property but also of their lives. In this highly stratified society, the chiefs, the suns, and the honored men were born to command, and the Stinkards, or common people, were born to obey (Swanton 1911:100-107). While political organization among the Creeks was less extreme, as described earlier, Creek society was also highly stratified, with the chief ruling over the ceremonial domain of a town.

EARLY CREEK STRUCTURES

De Soto had entered Tampa Bay from the south, either through Passage Key Inlet or Southwest Channel and then sailed into the mouth of the harbor, landing at the town of Ucita. In the southern part of the Terra Ceia Island and between Terra Ceia Bay and McGill Bay is an old Indian town site with a number of low mounds. It is very probable that de Soto's troops and horses landed here. According to the Gentleman of Elvas, a chronicler of the

voyage:

They arrived at the town of Ucita . . The town consisted of seven or eight houses. The chief's house stood near the beacon on a very high hill which had been artificially built as a fortress. At the other side of the town was the temple and on top of it a wooden bird with its eyes gilded (Swanton 1939:124).

The conquistadores arrived at Cofitachiqui in May of the following year. Ranjel tells of the rifling of storehouses and sepulchers of the town, and securing a large quantity of corn and clothing in addition to some 22 pounds of pearls. The chief, apparently to rid her village of the Spanish plunderers, told de Soto of a recently abandoned town where he might find large quantities of pearls. Ranjel describes this visit:

. . this Talimeco was a village holding extensive sway; and this house of worship was on a high mound and much revered. The caney, or house of the chief, was very large, high and broad, all decorated above and below with very fine and handsome mats, arranged so skillfully that all these mats appeared to be a single one (Bourne 1904:101-102).

Garcilasso's description is a bit more exaggerated, but the main points are probably true. He wrote that the town, which was quite beautiful, was the residence of the caciques. It consisted of five hundred well built houses, and the chief's house was elevated from the town. It was also larger and stronger than the other houses, and stood opposite the temple in which the coffins of the lords of the province were kept.

The temple, which Garcilasso describes in some detail, was more than 100 steps long and 40 steps across. The roof, which was quite high, was decorated with shells. Twelve wooded statues, gradually decreasing in size, were situated near the temple's entrance. These were armed with clubs, bows and arrows, spears, and stone axes. Around the four inner sides of the temple was a kind of cornice decorated with shells and pearls. Two rows of statues, one of men with weapons and pearls and the other of women, were located below the cornice. The coffins of the lords of the province and their families were placed at the base of the walls, upon benches, and statues of the dead were placed two feet above the coffins in wall niches. Three rows of chests containing skins, clothing and pearls were placed upon separate benches in the middle of the building. Eight halls or apartments were divided around the temple, and these were filled with shields and weapons (Shipp 1881:362).

The wooden statues guarding the temple seem to be characteristic of southeastern Indian temples. In Louisiana, DuPratz notes that while temples are similar to private cabins, they can be distinguished by two posts at the door which have the upper part cut into the shape of a man's head (Shipp 1881:627).

While travelling through northern Georgia, de Soto

and his men came to Guaxule, which was probably located in the Nacoochee Valley. Garcilasco noted that the town consisted of 300 houses, and the chief's dwelling was located upon a high mound with a terrace around it wide enough for six men to walk abreast. A description of the mound is given by Garcilasso:

They choose a place where they bring a quantity of earth which they elevate into a platform, 2 or 3 pikes high. . Then they tract, at the bottom of this elevation, a square place conformable to the extent of the village which they would make; and around this place the most important persons build their dwellings. The common people lodge in the same manner; and thus they all environ the house of their chief (Shipp 1881:301).

In the state of Alabama, de Soto and his men entered the village of Tascaluca, a Choctaw chief. Elvas described the chief as being on a kind of balcony before his dwelling on a mound at one side of the square. His men formed a circle around him, with those of highest rank sitting closest to the chief. The chief was shaded from the sun with an umbrella of deer skin extended over cross-sticks quartered with red and white. This formed the standard of the chief, which he would carry into battle. This symbol of four directions and four quarters occurs throughout a large portion of the Mississippi valley. The balcony before the chief's dwelling was most likely one of the four open sheds of the summer council house, which again utilized this symbolism (Willoughby 1932:19).

From the above descriptions, it is apparent that

Muskogean people sometimes built certain types of temples, mortuaries, or priests houses upon artificial mounds. At Talimeco, the temple and chief's house and at Guaxule the chief's house were located upon a mound. Spiral paths or ramps built up from the side of the mound accomodated those ascending to the summit of such domiciliary mounds. At more permanent towns, at least a portion of the public houses or dwellings of the head chiefs were also placed upon mounds. These chief's dwellings were not private homes, but had a semi-public character. It is probably true that at least some of the mounds were built by the people who erected the houses. Many of the mound groups, however, are much older than the date of the Spanish conquest (Willoughby 1932:21).

William Bartram noted two types of public or ceremonial houses common about 1778. The first of these was the large, circular winter house, with low walls and a conical roof. The second was the summer assembly place, consisting of four open sheds enclosing a small square, each shed facing inward and having usually two or three tiers of mat-covered benches or seats. These two forms of public buildings were situated near the public square, and according to Bartram, were in former times built upon mounds (Willoughby 1932:21).

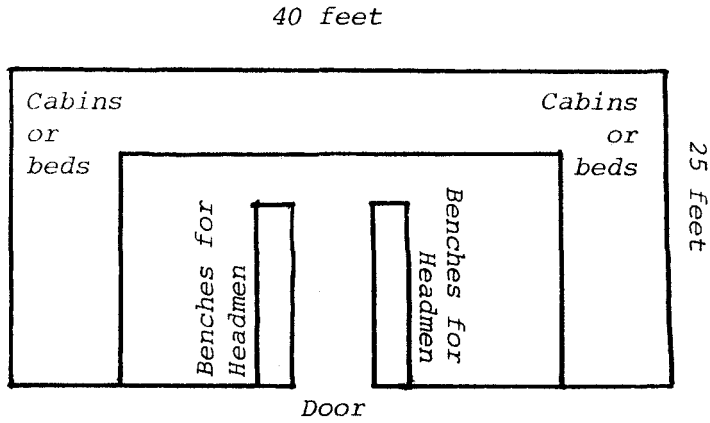
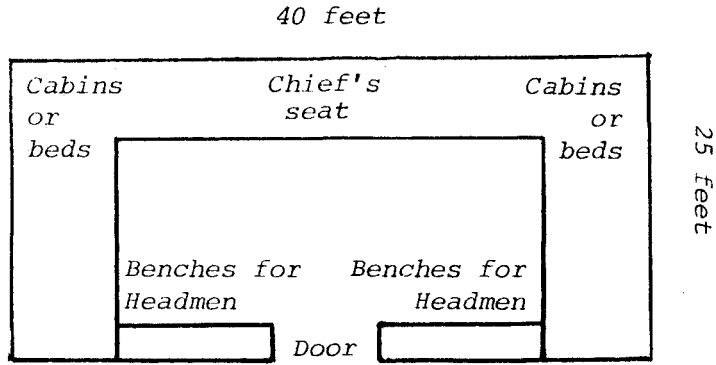
In the above reports, the chief's house is repre-

sented as the largest in the town, and seems to have supplied the place of the public houses of the Timucua and Creeks. Among the Creeks, the chief was also the guardian of the town house, so the houses may have been identical (Swanton 1922:393-394).

Swanton gives us a general idea of what such a house might look like, based on a description by Jonathan Dickenson in 1699 of the town of Santa Lucia. Figure X shows Swanton's interpretations of this description. Of the two, the second is probably the more correct rendering (Swanton 1922:394). Santa Lucia was probably located on Lake Okeechobee, where a Spanish mission station was at one time established. Daily meetings were held at this house, and great quantities of the black drink were brewed and imbibed.

Town houses are described by LeMoyne and Ribault as long, quadrilateral buildings with a regular gable and perpendicular ends. Roofs were probably thatched with palmetto. Houses of ordinary Creeks were rectangular or oval in shape, from 10 to 25 feet in length or diameter and had gabled or conical thatched roofs and clay plastered walls. Foundations were of poles, to which were tied smaller branches and laths. In these nuclear family dwellings, a fire was built in the center of the floor, and the smoke escaped through the thatch. Platforms for

FIGURE X



SWANTON'S DEPICTION OF CHIEF'S HOUSE AT SANTA LUCIA
(From Swanton 1922:394)

sleeping were placed around the walls. Wooden stools might be included, and these were reserved for high ranking people (Swanton 1922:353).

FORTIFICATIONS

Based on the analogy with the Creeks, it seems highly probable that the structures at Cayson served some ceremonial purpose. However, because warfare was so prevalent in the southeast among the Creeks, it is necessary to examine the possibility that the walls were erected for the purpose of fortification.

At the time of the de Soto expedition, warfare, or the constant threat of warfare, was a regular feature of daily life. Forts are frequently mentioned by the de Soto chroniclers. No mention of stockades is made in the Timacua country, but Apalu, the name of a northwestern peninsula town, means fort and LeMoyne gives a long description of Timacua forts:

A position is selected near the channel of some swift stream. They. . dig a ditch in a circle around the site, in which they set thick round pales, close together, to twice the height of a man. . The chief's dwelling stands in the middle of the town. . (Swanton 1946:436).

At the border of Apalachee, between northern Florida and Apalachee, de Soto and his men encountered three field fortifications, which were used in the swamps. The identity of the Apalachee is well established (Swanton 1922:109-

120). A town located in southern Georgia, in the middle of a swamp, is mentioned by Garcilasso de la Vega (1951: 263). The ethnic identity of this defended town is doubtful.

The next fortified town mentioned by the expedition is Chiaha at the Middle Tennessee River. Swanton (1922: 167-172 identifies it as Hitichiti. Three Creek towns, Ullibahali, Talisse and another southwest of Tuasi were also named as having fortifications. The town of Tascalusa was possibly Choctaw. It is questionable whether or not this town was fortified, as is mentioned by Garcilasso. He calls it, as others do, the "Capital" of the province. Tascalusa is a Creek word for "Black Warrior" which is the name of a river the town was possibly located on (Swanton 1946:433-435).

The last five fortifications mentioned by the Spanish were in the Lower Mississippi Valley. The large number of tribes in this area, combined with their engagement in endemic warfare, make it difficult to determine which historically known ethnic group is being described. It is also uncertain as to exactly where de Soto crossed the Mississippi, so that neither the location nor the identity of the tribes is certain (Swanton 1939:205).

Information on fortifications in the southeast is scanty and generalized at best. The first discussion and

comparison of fortifications was done by Squier and Davis (1848:9-46). This study dealt primarily with the earth fortifications of the Ohio Valley, which were classified into types. One type, the enclosures for defense, were bounded by embankments, circumvallations, or walls (Squier and Davis 1848:7). "The natural strength of such positions and their susceptibility of defense would certainly suggest them as the citadels of a people having hostile neighbors, or pressed by invaders" (Squier and Davis 1848:42). Squier later reversed this opinion for New York State, stating that the earthworks there were erected by the Iroquois or their western neighbors (Squier 1850:83).

The second major comparison of fortifications and other aboriginal earthworks was an 1894 report by Cyrus Thomas. In this report, Thomas concluded that earthworks in the eastern United States were constructed by the Indians (1894:671).

Bushnell (1919) compared villages east of the Mississippi River and briefly mentions village fortifications found in early ethnohistoric literature. Several more recent comparisons of fortifications in relationship to fortified sites have recently appeared: Barrett (1933) in relation to Aztalan; Faulkner (1968) in relation to the Old Stone Fort; and Black (1967) in relation to the Angel Site (Lafferty 1973:2-3),

CHAPTER V

ARCHEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The general topic of warfare is a complex one. Anthropological theories of how warfare works or what the functions of fortifications might be in such a model are beyond the scope of this paper. One aspect of this topic seems obvious: that a people will not build fortifications unless there is good reason to do so, that is that they are in danger of an attack (Lafferty 1974:4).

Archeological evidence shows that during the Mississippian period, aboriginal fortified villages were widespread east of the Rockies, including the South Atlantic coast. Variation in the types of fortifications in the southeast appears to reflect the circumstances of the localities where the sites are found. According to Larson (1971:384) "These circumstances have to do with the nature of the topography, the presence or absence of streams, and the ease with which the subsurface soils can be excavated". Lafferty gives a number of factors on which the exact nature of a fortification will be dependent:

- (1) the frequency of expected attacks; (2) the effectiveness of the weapons used by each side; (3) the constructors' knowledge of military fortifications

and theory; (4) the level of social stratification; and (5) extant settlement patterns (Lafferty 1973:5).

Southeastern fortifications included palisades constructed of vertical posts, moats that were usually dry, and embankments. Palisades were generally indispensable to a fortified site, while other devices may or may not have been present (Larson 1971:384). A short description of two probable fortified sites follows for the purpose of comparison.

Aztalan, a Middle Mississippian site in Wisconsin, was occupied from about 1100 to 1300 A.D. The 21 acre village was surrounded by a 12 foot high stockade of logs which were plastered with clay. Large earthen pyramids were erected in the northwest and southwest corners for ceremonial purposes. In order to construct the walls, post holes were dug into the earth to a depth varying from 3 to 7 feet. The walls were plastered as a further protection, with guarded gates and blockhouses or watch towers at regular intervals (Barrett 1970:47-49).

Kolomoki, dated to about 1200 A.D., is a large site on Kolomoki Creek which flows into the Chattahoochee River about 6 miles to the west of it. Its location in the southwest corner of Georgia places it on the fringe of the Gulf Coastal Plain, near to the Florida Northwest Coast.

One of the 9 mounds at the site is about 5 feet high

and 50 feet in diameter and contains a collection of post-holes. Very large posts, 24 to 30 inches in diameter, were erected with yellow and red clay mounded around the base of each post. The lower 30 to 36 inches of each post was buried, and a trench had been dug to receive them. The posts were probably originally 10 feet above ground, as evidenced by an elaborate method of erecting them from the sloped base of the trench (Sears 1956:10-11).

There are some interesting aspects to note when discussing wooden stockades. First, Custance (1968:100) calculates that with a stone axe a man can fell an average of 2.6 twenty centimeter (8 inch) diameter trees per hour. This also includes the trimming and sizing of the trees, and will build about 2 linear feet of palisade. Secondly, Meighan (1964:377) notes that a man can excavate 3 cubic feet of dirt an hour with primitive tools. In one hour, a man can dig 2 linear feet of a trench eight inches wide and two feet deep. These are, of course, approximations and Meighan assumes that the posts were close together (Lafferty 1973:97-100).

Reasons for the construction of wood stockades, rather than those of earth or stone, are efficiency ones. The development of effective axes made woodworking easier. There was also an abundance of wood, of which houses were built. Tall stockades could be built, and these would be

an effective obstacle. The most significant advantage seems to have been the savings in energy expended for the construction of a wooden stockade. Lafferty calculates that the construction of wooden fortifications would require 1 to 2 man hours per foot, or approximately 150 man hours per 100 linear feet. Earth structures, in comparison, would require 56 man hours per linear foot, or 5600 man hours per 100 linear feet of fortification (Lafferty 1973:99-100).

Larson (1971:387) suggests a method for determining the approximate height of a wall, based on post mold and trench width. He calculates the height of a wall by multiplying four times the depth of the post mold or trench. The telephone company, which uses poles about the size used in wooden stockades, usually buries the pole one fifth of its height in the earth. While this of course is not a perfect analogy with the southeastern Indians, it does give a general idea of how deep poles must be buried to be firmly in place.

Based on early ethnohistoric accounts, it seems that there were a number of different types of defensive structures among the Indians of the southeast. Palisades of spaced posts were found in historic times along the Atlantic Coast from Florida to New Jersey. Another type, a stockade of closely placed posts with no space between

them, was found historically in the northeast. De Soto accounts mention a stockade of spaced poles with withers of cane or other light wood woven between them, and then coated with mud. These were apparently encountered in the Mississippi River Valley and south to the Gulf of Mexico. The Iroquois seem to have also used this method, but did not apply plaster over the withers (Lafferty 1973:101-102).

Archeologically it is difficult to identify which kind of wall construction is found. Post molds are preserved, but withers between the posts generally are not. With clay covered walls, the water eroded clay might be preserved as a raised area where the stockade was (Lafferty 1973:102).

The southeastern Indians had two basic methods for setting posts in the ground: the post hole method and the wall trench method. Digging tools utilized by the Indians were the dibble stick and the hoe, the latter which is not particularly effective for excavating post holes, but is efficient for digging trenches. Virtually all sites Lafferty investigated where the walls were set in trenches had spacing between the post molds. While this spacing could be evidence for only some of the posts, the large number of sites reporting spaced post molds argues against this. Lafferty suggests that the reason this spacing occurs is that the type of structure being constructed

did not require the close spacing of posts (Lafferty 1973: 105-106).

THE CAYSON WALLS

Larson (1971:389) has suggested that a causal factor for the apparently endemic warfare in the southeast during the Mississippian period was that suitable agricultural lands were a critical resource in some areas. There is a high correlation between the locations of southeastern Mississippian sites and the occurrence of areas of sandy and silt loam soils. These are the only areas which can be cultivated with hoe techniques. Because these areas are generally adjacent to rivers, they have moisture and are subject to periodic overflowing with the resultant renewing of soil fertility.

Sedentary communities with large populations during the Mississippian period were generally dependent upon maize agriculture. Soil was one of the most critical resources for the Mississippian farmer, yet it was severely restricted in the southeast. The primary cultural objective of warfare was to seize the town, and thus the territory it controlled. This territory was of great economic importance because of its agricultural land and environmental diversity (Larson 1971:389).

There are a number of reasons why the walls at the

Cayson site do not seem to be used for the sole purpose of fortification. The first and most obvious is the fact that fortifications were built around entire towns, enclosing houses which were roughly 25 to 35 feet apart. One or two sites in the southeast are known which contain fortifications around mounds, but these are either of stone or of earth (Lafferty 1980: personal communication). At the Cayson site the walls seem to enclose only the ceremonial precinct of the site. Habitation areas which exist to the north, and possibly to the west and south of the site would have received no protection from the walls as they are located. It seems that if any fortifications do exist at the site, they would be located at a greater distance from the ceremonial precinct and would enclose all habitation areas.

A second, and less convincing argument, is that the soils at the site as it is now defined consist mostly of clays, and would not be particularly productive agriculturally. There is no evidence for a large, open area clearing throughout the early Fort Walton occupations. Thus, if Larson's hypothesis is correct, enemies would not seek to take over this section of land. This argument is not without problems, as the inhabitants could possibly have controlled territory with loamy soil which would have been desirable to outside groups.

Based on the archeological evidence, it seems that these interior walls functioned as sacred enclosures or sacred buildings rather than defensive works. This position is strengthened by the third, and most convincing argument which is a comparison of Cayson with sites containing similar features. This analogy is based on archeological interpretation, rather than ethnographic information.

The Etowah site in Bartow County, Georgia, has a 9 to 10 foot deep moat, which ranges in width from 25 feet at the base to 31 feet at the top. At the town side of the moat the remains of a palisade were uncovered. The palisade, built in a trench 18 inches wide, held posts 12 to 14 inches in diameter and set vertically about 1 foot apart. The trench was 3 feet deep, and the posts extended down into holes 1 foot below the base of the trench, or about 1/4 their total length. The site, then, was surrounded by a defensive complex consisting of a wide and deep moat, a palisade, and also a series of bastions controlling the palisade curtain (Larson 1971:386-387).

Most of the archeological effort at Etowah has been expended on Mound C, because of the abundance and rich and exotic nature of the materials found there. Mound C was a clay platform, approximately 150 square feet at the base, and contained over 350 burials. It functioned as a temple

mound, and was subject to 5 rebuilding stages. Before the construction of the mound, four structures built one after the other had occupied the site. Because of their size and architectural features, they seem to have been public buildings. One of these was 111 feet long and 40 feet wide. Each stage in the enlargement of the mound was accompanied by the construction of a wall of vertically set posts that encircled the base of the mound. These posts were closely spaced, either set in wall trenches or in individually dug post holes. The total Mound C complex, temple, platform mound, encircling palisade-like wall, and the large number of burials, has been interpreted as a mortuary temple (Larson 1970:58-61).

Burials at Mound C which were not disturbed in earlier excavations by Warren K. Moorehead (1932) exhibit a remarkable regularity. All were made immediately inside one of the walls of posts that encircled the base of the mound at various times. However, not all of the walls that encircled the base of the mound during the several construction phases were associated with burials. This is true especially for the earlier phases and their accompanying walls (Larson 1970:61).

Based on excavations at Mound C and other burials in the residential areas of the village, it is evident that not everyone in the population received the same mortuary

treatment after death. It seems that only a small sector of society was given burial in Mound C, and that these individuals, in addition to a special burial locale, also received special ritual paraphernalia and costume and exotic goods (Larson 1970:66-67). This select group within the population probably controlled the redistribution of goods within the society. The site's location on the Etowah River between two major physiographic provinces made the exploitation of diverse ecologies possible. This location is one of the factors that made the development of a stratified, redistributinal society possible. In this respect, the site is identical to almost all of the large Mississippian period sites in the southeast that are not situated on the Coastal Plain (Larson 1970:58).

At Moundville, in northern Alabama, the occurrence of certain classes of artifacts, symbolic of high status positions, is also limited to a restricted number of individuals buried in platform mounds. The Bessemer site, located about 60 miles northeast of Moundville near Birmingham, suggests a direct cultural and structural relationship with Moundville (Peebles 1969:78-79). The site consists of an oval ceremonial mound with a truncated knob at its east end, a truncated domiciliary mound with a ramp, and a semi-truncated burial mound (DeJarnette and Wimberly:1941). With a single exception, burials were restricted to the burial mound, and all but one structure

were associated with the mound. One adult female was interred in the ceremonial mound with accompanying ceramic grave goods. The burial mound had a stockade pattern around it. Because of the high percentage of secondary burials in this mound, the post molds probably represent a charnel yard.

Artifacts at both the Bessemer and Moundville sites are similar. A small, accretional burial mound at Moundville was located outside the palisade wall and contained almost the same burial structure as the Bessemer burial mound (Peebles 1969:80).

Clarence B. Moore excavated a number of the mounds and several of the village and cemetery areas at Moundville (Moore 1907). One group of burials had been interred in a small, round burial mound outside the area enclosed by the palisade wall. This small mound was very similar to the burial mound at Bessemer, and the location of the Moundville mound outside the palisade wall strengthens this relationship: "one of alliance rather than identity; i.e., a political rather than an inclusive cultural and ceremonial relationship" (Peebles 1969:83).

The settlement system at Moundville was complex and varied, as was the ceremonial system. Large public buildings were located in the northeastern and northwestern corners of the plaza. Sub-rectangular structures which

composed village areas were located to the west, east and perhaps south of the plaza. Specialized structures were located near the edges of the plaza, of at least two of which were charnel houses (Peebles 1969:83).

The structured utilization of space, which could properly be termed status space, also serves to tie the mortuary ceremonialism of the various sites of the Moundville subset together. Individuals of high status were spatially segregated from individuals of lower status. Individuals were segregated within cemeteries; cemeteries within the Moundville site were ranked with respect to one another; persons buried in mounds were segregated from persons buried in cemeteries; and, if my inferences are correct, persons from allied or related cultures, though buried near the regional center, are segregated from its ceremonies (Peebles 1969:87).

According to Morton H. Fried, a ranked society "is characterized by having fewer positions of valued status than individuals capable of handling them. . the ranked society as a framework of statuses resembles a triangle" (Fried 1960:717). The burials at Moundville conform to this ranked model, since they represent a "hierarchically ranked set of socio-centric statuses denoted by the socio-technic grave goods which accompany them. The placement of these grave goods is neither random nor a matter of individual preference" (Peebles 1969:87). In ranked societies, Fried notes, there is a shift from an economy of reciprocity to one having redistribution as a major device (Fried 1960:719).

The model of a ranked society, a chiefdom, was de-

scribed in Chapter 4, in the description by Elvas of the cacique Tascaluca. This description fits the archeological data well. De Soto's chroniclers noted major cultural systems which controlled large areas. The leaders of these systems had the ability to assign individuals to the Spaniards as porters and to distribute food to the expedition.

The Cayson site, together with the Yon site, must have been such a center.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The hypotheses of this paper, as stated in Chapter III, were that:

1. All structures which are in alignment with a mound existed for ceremonial purposes;
2. The double set of post molds (Structure V) was somehow related to a house structure; and
3. Structure III, although in alignment with the main platform mound, was utilized for a third and separate function.

A literature search was conducted which described tribes encountered by chroniclers of the French and Spanish expeditions to the southeast. Creek society was described, and illustrated a highly stratified society in which a physical division such as a wall might lend additional prestige to a chief by stressing ceremonial inequality and manifesting differential access to the supernatural (Sahlins 1958:1-3). The Creek governmental unit, the tribe, seems to have referred to groups of people having a town square in common. The ceremonial grounds of the town were composed of a circular council house at one end of a

yard and a square terrace at the other. On the latter was the public square, which was composed of town buildings or "beds" oriented to the four directions. During the busk, the position of officials and clans in relation to these "beds" was fixed and important (Swanton 1928:204-296).

Thus it is obvious that spacing, physical position and status arrangements by rank order were of utmost importance in the location of structures within a village. It seems very likely that some of the wall trenches at the Cayson site were evidence for council or town houses.

In internally ranked societies, differential treatment of the dead is also a well-established fact. Studies of mortuary practices have shown that interment within a mortuary or charnel house was frequently observed (Swanton 1946). Garcilasso's description of the mortuary temple of the Cofachiqui (Chapter IV) gives much detail as to what such a structure might comprise. The French also found that mortuaries housing boxed and cleaned remains were still in use in the Gulf Coast area. This is especially well noted for the Natchez and Choctaw, whose respective practices of immolation at a chief's death and flesh stripping by "Buzzard Men" have received much attention (Brown 1970:101-103).

Evidence was also presented which showed similar structures to the walls at Cayson as being present at

Etowah Mound C, the Bessemer site, and Moundville. Based on the information presented, the following interpretations are offered.

Structure II appears to be similar to the wall constructions at the Bessemer and Etowah sites. The elevation directly adjacent to the wall is probably a third mound at the site. If the analogy with the Bessemer site and with Mound C at Etowah is correct, then it is possible that this is a burial mound and the wall structure is of a mortuary and ceremonial nature. It is suggested that this "mound" be tested in order to determine whether this hypothesis is correct. According to Lafferty, wall structures around mounds are most likely for mortuary purposes (Lafferty: 1980, personal communication). Testing at the northeast and western edges of the "mound" would also determine the full extent of the wall, and whether or not it encircles the entire "mound" as the walls at Bessemer and Etowah did. If this hypothesis is correct, test trenches around the "mound" would uncover the presence of post molds. Because the soil at Cayson is acidic, it is unlikely that any bone would remain preserved. However, a circle of posts accompanied by other material evidence for burials such as grave goods would strongly support this theory.

Willey's original definition of the Fort Walton

period as a temple mound period does not exclude the possibility that burials exist at Fort Walton period mound sites. A circular structure around the "mound" could have provided the living refuge from the spirits of the dead. "There is no question that the belief of Indians in the eastern United States in the effectiveness of a circle in offering protection from the supernatural or other undesirable influences either internal or external to the circle (existed)" (Hall 1976:362).

Structure IV consisted of post molds alone, with no associated wall trench. These were very large, and were spaced further apart than those of any other structure. Even taking into account the fact that the post diameters were measured well below the plowzone because they had been bulldozed does not compensate for the great difference in size from the other structures. The post molds are directly west of the main mound, and in alignment with it. They could have possibly been statues, as wooden statues guarding the entrance are characteristic of southeastern temples. Whether for a status separation of space or protection from evil forces, it seems that some ceremonial connotation is likely. Further testing in each cardinal direction of the extant molds is impossible, as the immediate area has been destroyed by Rysco construction.

Structure V consisted of a set of double post molds,

and a wall trench was noted a few feet north of these. This appears to be a house structure of some sort, possibly either a charnel house, in which scaffolds and platforms were used to support the bones, or a council house which would have included benches around the inside walls. The house was probably ceremonial, since it was located so close to the main mound.

The placement of a test trench perpendicular to the Rysco property line and adjacent to the post molds would hopefully uncover further posts. Because of poor bone preservation, the only support for this hypothesis would be the recovery of mortuary or status artifacts. The placement of posts revealing the shape of the structure would further distinguish between a council or charnel house.

The orientation of Structures III, IV and II lends further evidence to their ceremonial or mortuary function. Structures III and IV are both oriented in a north-south direction, and Structure II is parallel to the front of the main mound.

This fact, along with the recovery of a duck head effigy at Structure III strongly suggests that the structure was utilized by the upper strata of the society. Gaps in the wall units were noted in both Structures I and III, thus they were probably house type structures with en-

trances.

Because artifacts were located directly north of Structure I, and it is much closer to the habitation area in the northeast section of the site, it could possibly relate to a domestic structure of some type. Data for Structure I is incomplete, thus it is difficult to make any definite statements. The possibility that it is related to a domestic structure seems doubtful, due to its relatively close proximity to Structure II and a possible mound. A second, and probably more accurate interpretation, is that it represents part of a ceremonial structure such as a council house. It is also possible that the low rise to the east of the Structure is a fourth mound at the site. If so, then the domiciliary nature of this structure would seem implausible. Further testing is necessary before any definite statements can be made.

Testing at the fourth "mound" would greatly add to information concerning Structure I. Because ceramics recovered from the site have not been sufficiently typed, it is impossible to say whether pottery located at this trench was common or rare. Further ceramic collections in this area and also further testing to determine the shape of the entire structure would either prove or disprove this hypothesis. If the structure is ceremonial in nature, pottery recovered would be rare and possibly

decorated as the duck head effigy was.

Further work with ceramic collections from the site will add much to the information concerning these structures. Specific chronologies can be assigned to various areas of the site once this is accomplished.

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The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Date

April 14, 1981

Director's Signature

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