

NEWSLETTER OF THE

SOUTHEASTERN ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

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EDITOR'S NOTE

AT LAST !!! for all of those libraries and individuals who have written to inquire about their copy of Southeastern Archaeological Conference Newsletter Vol. 10, No. 2, this should clear up the matter and explain why you have not received it. It wasn't published !!! This issue has probably been "In Press" longer than any other publication on record. The tapes and notes from the meeting were in the hands of former editor, Stephen Williams, until late in 1970. Most of the meeting had already been transcribed, therefore it remained the job of the present editor to go back over the tapes and notes to fill in all of the missing words and sentences. This was not an easy task (I can easily understand why Steve never did anything more with this particular publication), so if something is misinterpreted or statements attributed to the wrong person, please forgive me.

The meeting (except for reports on current field activity) is being presented here almost in its entirety, although much of the discussion is probably out of date after ten years. Several portions of Session III were omitted because they were lengthy discussions on the time chart and distribution map that were being prepared.

The Eighteenth Southeastern Archaeological Conference was held in November, 1961, at Ocmulgee National Monument, Macon, Georgia, with Steven Williams as general chairman. The subject under discussion was "The Origin, Development, and Dispersal of Mississippian Culture" and the "Lamar Culture". Session I on Friday morning began with the field reports from the various States. This was followed by a round table discussion on a definition of the Mississippian Culture, with Stephen Williams as chairman and James Ford, John Goggin, Clarence Webb, William Sears, William Haag, and Charles Fairbanks among the participants.

The first part of Session II, chaired by Robert Wauchope, was concerned with the origin and development of Mississippian Culture. Excellent papers describing a variety of sites and their related cultures were presented by Clarence Webb, Richard Marshall, and Gregory Perino. Part 2 of Session II was chaired by John Goggin and consisted of several papers primarily concerned with the Ft. Walton Culture, followed by a discussion of the dispersal of Mississippian Culture.

Session III on Saturday morning dealt with the problem of the Lamar Culture and was chaired by Charles H. Fairbanks.

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EIGHTEENTH SOUTHEASTERN ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

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SESSION I

ROUND TABLE ON DEFINITION OF MISSISSIPPIAN

Stephen Williams, Chairman

WILLIAMS- I thought we might start out by discussing the most obvious part of Mississippian Culture, the one we all know most about, or think we do, and that is the ceramic complex. As I mentioned in those notes to all of you, we obviously have shell tempered pottery, but what can we say about Mississippian ceramics beyond that? I mentioned that I thought there were a number of modes, of shapes, within the Mississippian ceramic complex which are found throughout the southeastern United States, and eastern United States in general, and which most of us use to identify Mississippian Culture by. Can we start with a discussion of that aspect? Different vessel forms which you feel are useful in identifying Mississippian Culture? There are a number of vessel forms. With what Mississippian complex do you see the carinated bowl? What about the Tunica rim? Certainly in discussing the Tunica rim, we find it in the Caddoan area. Where does that form occur in the Caddoan and does it have anything to do with Mississippian? Clarence?

WEBB- I'm not too sure. The carinated bowl comes in fairly early in the Caddoan Period, not in the first, but certainly by the latter part of Gibson or the early part of the Caddoan Period.

WILLIAMS- Is there anything Mississippian about the complex that it comes in with?

WEBB- Not too much except there are a few trade vessels that have been found in some of the Haley Period sites in southwestern Arkansas which are shell tempered. Otherwise, the pottery is not shell tempered at all at this period.

FORD- This bowl comes in as a straight-sided bowl first and then later on it develops the curve and in the late phase.

WILLIAMS- Okay, I think you would find that in Plaquemine. As I have said to the panelists, I would stand very strongly against suggesting that Plaquemine was a Mississippian Culture. Now, Mr. Larson, what about Mississippian in Georgia, do you recognize it?

LARSON- Well, not if you are going to take only the shell tempered material. In terms of the basic Mississippian things, the wide mouth bowl is common. Similar to number 2 on the basic chart, the chart of Mississippian forms. Also you get grit tempered pottery at Etowah. I think most of the things at Etowah that are real early are jar forms, although you do get a lot of bottles, short necked.

WILLIAMS- Do these jars have handles?

LARSON- Yes, there are some with handles.

WILLIAMS- Well, maybe I threw us a little off course by beginning with shell tempered pottery, because certainly if Jimmy Griffin were here, he would be wanting to introduce the Obion Phase material which is certainly not shell tempered, but which I would certainly feel has quite a bit to do with early Missis-

Mississippian forms and here, of course, we do not have shell tempered pottery at most of the Obion sites.

FAIRBANKS- Not only this, but a good share of the Macon Plateau material is grit tempered.

WILLIAMS- What do you mean by grit tempered?

FAIRBANKS- Well it's both, either sand or prepared grit, evidently it's very angular and somewhat limey and it doesn't seem to be riverine sand. It may be prepared grit. Then you have the whole area in central Alabama where shell temper is awfully scarce. Bill Lazarus, who will give a paper this afternoon, found out that there is a regular progression as we go from west to east along the Gulf coast. We continuously drop out shell temper without dropping out the other things. Shell temper may be good, but it can't be a

FORD- It seems to have been elements added to the social structure of the people in the eastern United States which made possible, or resulted in, the concentration of people in fortified towns earlier than the Hopewell level in most parts. The mound sites were ceremonial centers and the population lived in scattered villages. That is also true of pre-Mississippian down in the lower valley.

WILLIAMS- Can we keep on pottery for just a little bit longer. I think I quite agree that we can eventually add a number of things to this Mississippian Culture, and I would agree that something different happens. We are going to discuss that under socio-political organization. Certainly one thing that might be suggested here concerns the shapes. Don't you think some of these shapes might be coming in from Mexico? I think you would agree with that Jim.

FORD- Yes, I'm sure, but to really get back on the track that I started, this wide distribution of the pottery forms doubtless is the result of actual invasions of people coming out of the Mississippi They carried their pottery along with them.

SEARS- Kind of a natural population explosion, as it were, which is part of the definition, almost, of Mississippian. When you get Mississippian, you have a lot more people in a lot more towns, and a lot bigger towns.

HAAG- I think there are some other modes here, though, besides shell tempering. It seems to me that the cazuela form, at least in the far southeast, is highly typical.

SEARS- I think it is highly typical, but I think the cazuela form is very very late in our lower southeastern development. My own guess, right at the moment, is that cazuela is 1500 and later along most of the area that we're concerned with in Florida, south Alabama, and so on.

GOGGIN- Well, I think that we are dealing with a sloping situation at the time that these traits are definitely present. The cazuela, in its simplest form, appears with Ft. Walton in Florida sometime after 1400. In its most sharply defined form it appears in Leon-Jefferson, Ocmulgee Fields, in the 17th Century and it is even more sharply defined in 18th Century Seminole. So we are getting something that is much later here in the extreme eastern part of the south than it is in the western part of the southeast. We take this standing neck olla....

WILLIAMS- Are you talking in terms of standard jars?

The water bottle. This, again, is something that we know in Florida

from a single Ft. Walton Period vessel that had been bagged up with no context, whereas it does occur in 18th Century Seminole in Florida. In other words, again these things can be extremely late in the extreme southeast. So we are having interference, apparently, earlier in the Mississippi valley and then the gradual spread with a later and later time appearance as we move eastward. Of course, when you sit down and try to systematically trace the date of these things, we might then trace the origin a little more systematically.

WILLIAMS- Speaking of origins, we talked about where the Cazuela might come from, what about something as characteristic as the hooded bottle? Jim, do you know of any place to derive that from in Mexico?

FORD- Chihuahua.....

WILLIAMS- What time?

FORD- Well, the trouble is most of the materials are not adequately placed in time context, but it would be certainly late Pueblo III, probably, or Pueblo IV.

WILLIAMS- You don't think that is too late? Late Pueblo III?

FORD- Not necessarily. More likely Pueblo IV, early Pueblo IV.

WILLIAMS- For hooded bottles?

SEARS- It sounds to me as if perhaps hooded bottles went to Chihuahua from the southeast.

WILLIAMS- Well, what about that Bill? Either hooded bottles or rim effigies. You ought to have something to say on rim effigies. Where do you think they come from?

SEARS- I think the rim effigies probably do find their origin in Weeden Island and spread out from there. Pueblo has less of them than Weeden Island, but they are the same thing, decisively part of the same ceramic tradition.

GOGGIN- You remember that Moore dug up a very beautiful example of a Santa Rosa-Swift Creek

SEARS- I discovered this one time independently and took it to Jimmy Griffin to point out that the evolution of this is all there in Weeden Island. He then pointed out to me that I could find this in Holmes in the 20th Annual Report.

WILLIAMS- Okay, Clarence.

WEBB- To get away from the hooded bottle idea and back to the bottle form itself, I would be interested in knowing how soon this appears along the Mississippi, because in the Caddoan area it comes in between 500 and 800 A.D. It appears with the earliest pottery complex that we recognize as Caddoan and it appears with a number of other traits including the in-sloping bowl form that you mentioned a moment ago, not the strongly carinated bowl, but the in-sloping bowl. It also appears with engraving and we are quite sure that engraving must have reached the Mississippian area through the Caddoan area because it occurs earlier there, apparently, than anywhere else in the United States area.

WILLIAMS- Yes, John.

GOGGIN- Forms of this bottle probably are earliest found in late formative in the Valley of Mexico, I think, not quite as well rounded in the body but nevertheless they were able to find bodies somewhat more angular but nevertheless with the long neck.

WILLIAMS- Miller?

MILLER- I just wondered what the functions of these things were and if, in examining the function, we might come up with some clues about their origin.

WILLIAMS- The function of which?

MILLER- Well, of the different forms. Hooded bottles seem to be associated for the most part with grave goods, particularly as burial furniture. You get some fragments of them in refuse pits, but if they are being traded or distributed primarily through trade on a certain level in the society.

FAIRBANKS- Most of the hooded bottles here, I think, are in the utility ware. Bibb Plain, and I think this is true of the Obian and so on, isn't it?

WILLIAMS- Yes, it is, although it is certainly true that if you want to find hooded bottles up in southeastern Missouri or around Kincaid, you are going to get a tremendous number of them in burials and relatively few in the trash deposits. Greg, what about that?

PERINO- I believe they begin at Cahokia. You get the Monks Mound Red bowls with punctates around and you get the black paint hooded bottles at Cahokia and some of them have very large heads. I think they date around 900 A.D.

WILLIAMS- I think those are way way out of line.

PERINO- Well, we have obtained at least six radiocarbon dates from Cahokia and they do not get any earlier.

FAIRBANKS- It occurs to me, Steve, that what we may have here is on the early Mississippian level. We may have the hooded bottle as a fairly utilitarian form and then perhaps in the ceremonial centers or in the slightly later material, that it becomes a somewhat specialized form.

SEARS- I would like to comment on the Etowah situation with regard to hooded bottles since Lou brought it up. There are a tremendous number of hooded bottle sherds in the Etowah Period refuse. I am not sure that is part of this problem, however.

FORD- Well, the hooded bottle is a special variation of the bottle, which for some strange reason does not appear in the eastern United States at all until, first in the Caddoan in the Alto Focus. It hits the lower valley in the Paquemin Phase, and at the same time level as the Old Village. After that it is very popular and widely distributed.

PERINO- Is it possible that the blank face hooded bottle is an earlier type? I notice you have it here and it is the only type at Cahokia. As you mentioned awhile ago, concerning the bottles being part of a burial complex, at the Banks Plantation, we found that the reason for this was that when a man died, or other people, the vessel that apparently he was using before he died is the thing that was buried with him. We do find some of them in trash pits, but by and

large it is only household vessels in the garbage pits. I don't think, in most cases, that vessels found with burials in the Mississippian Period meant that they were specially prepared for graves, that is, in the Mississippi Valley where I am presently working.

WEBB- The bottle form in the Caddoan area is not purely a ceremonial form, it is found all through the village refuse. Additionally, the hooded bottle is almost completely lacking until very late and then it only occasionally occurs and it occurs about the time that other effigy forms apparently have come in from the Mississippian area. I wonder if it isn't an adaptation to the bottle form of the effigy idea which appears in the Mississippian on bowls and other vessel shapes.

HAAG- I believe, in those upper Mississippi sites, I mean in the upper part of the State, the effigy hooded bottle is clearly later, or at least that was my impression. That it was a later form.

WILLIAMS- Well, certainly one of the things that comes out in our discussion here in this chronology. John has mentioned the sloping chronology in the southeast, and we certainly would not want to deal with it. I have shown a couple of you the maps I have drawn up for our discussion this afternoon when we talk about dispersal. Here I was hoping we could talk about some of the forms which we would generally use to recognize this Mississippian Complex or Culture. We have mentioned some of those traits and modes. The whole idea of handles-- I mean a person like myself who has done most of his work in the Mississippi valley forgets that once one gets out of the Mississippi valley, handles, in the United States, become pretty darn rare. Isn't that true?

SEARS- No.

WILLIAMS- No? Well, alright.

FAIRBANKS- There are lots of handles here at Macon Plateau.

WILLIAMS- I mean in non-Mississippian contexts.

FAIRBANKS- Oh yes, in non-Mississippian contexts.

WILLIAMS- Well, alright, so that is a mode that I think we can trace and use as part of our definition for Mississippian Culture in general. Now, of course, as I say, we will get into the chronology later.

VOICE- Steve, just let me ask one thing. We do not expect to find a consistent distribution of what we might eventually call Mississippian traits, that is, there are not going to be all these traits in the whole area. For example, in the Upper Cumberland River, we find shell tempered pottery and we find Mississippian architectural traits, Mississippian non-ceramic traits, and yet we find Woodland bowl shapes.

WILLIAMS- Certainly, the ceramic context does not diffuse as a whole with the Mississippian cultural tradition. Parts of it, though, around and certainly I think all of you have heard of Fred Mattson's experiments with shell tempering. One would ask, why does shell tempering ultimately become so widespread and Mattson's suggestion was that it is just a darn good way to temper pottery.

VOICE- Why?

WILLIAMS- Well, there are a number of reasons. He did some experiments with it, one of them is that when you use it fairly coarsely, the way it layers helps to give tremendous strength. I think that is one of the reasons you get these huge Mississippian vessels, such as some of the ones at Cahokia, with tremendous thinness, yet huge vessels. Also, he felt that the fact that it retained a certain amount of moisture and helped the drying; would make it slow-drying without cracking. Well, I can't go into details.

FORD- This same thing was done in the southwest without shell tempering. They got thinner pots without shell tempering, large ones. It can't be demonstrated, but I would be willing to bet that shell tempering arose from the limestone tempering somewhere in the western Kentucky area.

WILLIAMS- Jimmy Griffin would be glad to hear you say that.

FORD- Well, this has been said many times.

GOGGIN- I would like to point out that I think this bowl and pot shape, olla or whatever you want to call them, globular jars, often of considerable size with strap handles.... I think there is something here on the change in culinary practices and so on, from the predominantly small jug-like things of pre-Mississippian to these big cooking bowls. Either the meals got awfully much more bulky or more numerous, or something. This whole thing is an indication not just of a pottery-making technique, but it is an indication of quite different patterns of food preparation or storage for some of these big pots. I think this is a very pertinent question because, if we look at the Seminoles at the present time who carry on perhaps the last of some of the Mississippian traits in some ways, their normal eating practices are to have a very large vessel of sopke on the fire all the time and everyone comes around, picks up a large wooden spoon, and helps themselves between meals. Or, during meals, they pass the spoon around. In other words, this is constant, a pot on the stove, so-to-speak. It is always going and the big pot, of course, can always be replenished easier without diluting your mixture too much than a smaller one, I think.

WILLIAMS- Well, sticking with form, these may have a very practical reason for their distribution, we surely ought to mention salt pans. They are in what I would consider a rather widespread distribution along with other, what I would term, early Mississippian traits. That certainly is true here at Macon Plateau.

FAIRBANKS- Yes, there is a salt pan technology here at Macon.

HAAG- Would you expect to find salt pans as an integral part of virtually every Mississippi assemblage? It is widespread, yes, but isn't it somewhat limited to specific areas?

WILLIAMS- Yes, it is. I think it may be, and this is just a hunch based on this stretch at Macon Plateau, is that it may be early rather than late. When we get the real pulse of Mississippian Culture down into the lower Yazoo, after Plaquemine times, it is not along with it. It doesn't occur in any frequency in the Parkin or Nodena phases around Memphis or the Wallace Phase, although it has been a very very popular item up in southeast Missouri, Kincaid, and western Kentucky.

SWARTZ- If shell tempering is so good for making pottery, why aren't salt pans thin? I mean, why do you have to have thick salt pans, if shell tempering can produce thin pots?

HAAG- They stomped them out in a pit in the ground with their feet and they didn't have a delicate toe.

WEBB- There may be some difference also in the method of manufacturing salt because, historically, salt is one of the two major trade items from the Caddoan area and yet salt pans are not present there. They traded salt as far as the southwest.

FAIRBANKS- I do not think these are really salt pans. I think they are family eating bowls like in the John White drawing. Now, maybe in that place on the Wabash, they were salt pans.

WILLIAMS- At Sellers and certainly at Kimswick, in the Kimswick situation they were salt pans.

FAIRBANKS- They were not using them for salt frying here at Macon, I am sure.

HAAG- That was the reason for my original comment. In west Kentucky, for example, or Cumberland, life must have been a lot saltier than it is there now.

WILLIAMS- Since we have only an hour left, we should discuss certain non-ceramic artifacts.

FORD- We might mention the arrow points in the lower Mississippi and the use of the bow and arrow. It seems to come from two directions: one is a little stem point coming through the Caddoan area and the other is a triangular point which probably come into the valley from the southwest and it is the Pueblo point.

SCHWARTZ- Where you do not find the triangular point in the Mississippian context, does this mean that it is pre-Mississippian? For example, when you find, as you do in the Dillenger Focus, triangular points and non-shell tempered pottery, would you think, just from a chronology of the bow and arrow, that you have a situation contemporaneous with Mississippian or pre-Mississippian?

FORD- Maybe in the earlier stages, when Mississippian is being born.

SCHWARTZ- Certainly, it is on that time.

GOGGIN- You have, in Florida, the situation of large triangular points at Weeden Island and then the little other triangular points follow the Weeden Island.

VOICE- You have the very thick triangular point here on the eastern seaboard which is entirely different from the thin point.

SEARS- It seems to me you also have, in this immediate area of north Georgia and up into Tennessee, this highly probably, I think, occurrence of the bow and arrow and the small triangular point all the way back on a fabric marked level. It would be somewhat in opposition to the theory that they were coming in from the Pueblo area on a late level.

VOICE- It also occurs in Hamilton in Tennessee.

HAAG- Yes, but Hamilton now seems pretty definitely to be some sort of a migrant group or a very strong diffusion group which immediately precedes early Mississippi. So they well enough could have derived the Hamilton point from Mississippian context.

WEBB- When the triangular point comes in from the southwest, generally it is notched, not all of them, but when you see it as a widespread find, side notching or side and basal notching come in together.

SEARS- Particularly at Cahokia.

WEBB- Yes.

WILLIAMS- Well, I wonder if our chronology, though, in the southwest allows that point to be early enough to come in with. I think we have got to have it coming into the Mississippian Culture on a 600-700 A.D. level.

WEBB- Side notched points go back to Basketmaker.

WILLIAMS- Small side notched.

WEBB- Yes, they tend to be a little bit longer than the later ones, but they are basically. Pueblos tend to be shorter and wider and Basketmaker tend to be longer and narrower.

VOICE- Isn't there a good possibility that it came down the middle and spread both ways? Don't you get it earlier there than you would in the southwest?

WEBB- I think this is fairly late Archaic, some of the Texas Archaic lasted a long time.

WILLIAMS- Well, then let us pass to architectural traits.

VOICE- How about celts?

WILLIAMS- All right, what have you got to say about celts.

FAIRBANKS- Well, I think here, again, the rather small fully polished celt, plus the so-called ritual forms, are about as distinctive of Mississippian as they are of... as the small points are, and this, again, would seem to me to indicate a quite radical change in the whole technology here.

HAAG- I always thought the broad limestone hoe was a very distinctive Mississippian trait.

FAIRBANKS- Well, it occurs with check stamped pottery, Wright Check Stamped kind of thing, Cartersville Check Stamp and so on here in Georgia, on a general Copena level.

GOGGIN- This reminds me that Bill Gardner, who has been working on a Ft. Walton site in Jackson County, Florida, did find what appears to be undoubtedly an atlatl hook in a Ft. Walton situation. So, we may have retention, at least, of traits that certainly were being held by marginal tribes, lower Mississippi valley and southern Florida people. Also, the discoidal certainly is a middle Mississippian stone artifact, isn't it?

WILLIAMS- Louie, do you agree with that?

LARSON- I don't think there is any argument about it. You get a variety, some of them are bi-concave and all of the ones that come from Etowah are not.

PERINO- In our last year's dig, we worked on Hopewell, Late Woodland and pre-Mississippian. We were getting the beginning of the discoidal form, a limestone

or clay ring, and then it actually becomes a discoidal form with a bi-concave cup up in the Illinois Valley in Calhoun County.

SCHWARTZ- You say limestone ring, you mean limestone disc?

PERINO- It is perforated, that is how it begins.

VOICE- I would like to ask some of you who have been working with the southeastern tribes ethnographically, what role did the blow gun play in Mississippian? I know we would not be able to get much in the way of artifactual data.

GOGGIN- Well, of course, Riley and have gone into this in great detail and they feel that the blow gun is very late in the southeast and perhaps was introduced in historic times. The earliest ethnographic references we have to a blow gun is in the 18th Century. Now, some people counter this by saying that the blow gun in the southeast has always been more or less of a toy and was not a serious weapon like in South America, and for this reason the early explorers perhaps would not pay any attention to things children were playing with or young men or things that are used for minor games, where they would notice major artifacts perhaps. But that is one attempt to explain it away. But we do have it. Timberlake mentions it for the Cherokee; the earliest Seminole reference is in the 1820's and it is all pretty late, although it is very well distributed now-a-days or a hundred years ago.

WILLIAMS- Certainly, then, we have the discoidal, possibly the stone celt, the small chipped and ground stone celt within architectural traits. Is there anything more, then, we can say about rectangular wattle and daub houses with and, of course, without wall trenches. If we think of small log town houses we certainly have some indication of construction without wall trenches in an early Mississippian context.

FORD- There is generally a change from a round house to a rectangular house about that time.

WILLIAMS- Coles Creek houses are round, are they?

FORD- To begin with, and then they become rectangular without wall trenches.

WILLIAMS- Well, what about the distribution of just wall trenches, just rectangular wall trench houses, are they Mississippian?

FORD- Yes.

WILLIAMS- Does anyone know of them in contexts that are not?

WEBB- Well, possibly so, yes, because the rectangular log trench house with projecting entrance has a carbon-14 date of 1,100 years ago in the Caddoan area. There was nothing particularly Mississippian there at that time.

WILLIAMS- Certainly the addition of the projecting entrance which is certainly a good Caddoan trait, except for the whole idea of an entrance way, is certainly unfamiliar in most of the Mississippian Culture except for our little anomaly out here.

FAIRBANKS- No, up on the Hiwassee River-- I think they are going to call it the Reimer Focus-- it is good Mississippian, shell tempered pottery, and so on.

The houses were counter-sunk with a corner projecting entrance and individually set posts within. It don't think it has really been reported but there were a lot of sporadic examples and at Yarnell and so on, there were good Mississippian Dallas stuff. There were at least ceremonial buildings with projecting entrances. I guess you can argue on the keynot that this is a ceremonialized house.

SCHWARTZ- You mean a house in a pit or semi-subterranean when you say counter-sunk?

FAIRBANKS- Well, semi-subterranean apparently, since it was only about a foot or so, very shallow, but the supporting posts were set just inside the pit. They were rectangular, about 20 or 25 feet square, with a projecting corner entrance about four or five feet long, a central fire pit, wattle and daub construction, interior cruciform partitions.

WILLIAMS- Certainly I would think there is a distribution of this house form. I've got it in Plaquemine context, which, as I would want to argue, is not a Mississippian Culture ceramically, but certainly they have adopted this house form. You find the very familiar rectangular wall trench house in Plaquemine.

SEARS- It is in Etowah I and Etowah II, I would guess.

LARSON- On the pre-mound level at Mound C, which is certainly Etowah II.

SEARS- I encountered two or three of them in that area between the three mounds, a little plaza area there, none of which was completely excavated, but there were rectangular houses with wall trenches there, Etowah II, Etowah III, something like that.

LARSON- One of them has a projecting entrance.

FORD- I would suggest that perhaps the earliest occurrence of wall trenches in the east is the Davis Site out in east Texas. The house forms were circular, but they made use of wall trenches, and you do not have to have a complex tied together throughout its history.

HAAG- Isn't the rectangular house in Fort Ancient the non-trenchy. They didn't use a trench.

SCHWARTZ- I think you find both wall trench and posts.

HAAG- Is that right? And in Jonathan Creek, don't you find both?

WILLIAMS- Yes, I certainly thought so. I think you may have something of a sequence. I think there is certainly a possibility at Jonathan Creek, if there had been enough stratigraphy there, that one could find first small posts.... well, no, I take that back. I think there is some evidence from southeast Missouri going in the other direction. At the Matthews Site and at the Krosno Site, evidence of wall trench houses is followed by small single post construction. The published houses from the Matthews Site are all single post without wall trenches, but in their pictures you can see they got down to houses below which were earlier wall trench houses.

FORD- The construction of rectangular temple mounds, the destruction of the building, and the addition of caps of earth are certainly typical of Mississippian architectural traits.

WEBB- How wide-spread would you think the practice of palisading the top, walling the top, of the platform was? It seems to me there were more and more cases of it, little fences around the top.

FORD- I don't know of any in the Mississippi valley. I think it is an eastern trait.

WILLIAMS- I'm glad you mentioned temple mounds. It just so happens that I have a map here which we might be able to use in our discussion of this aspect of temple mounds of the Mississippian Culture. I have charted my own knowledge of the distribution of the temple mound tradition, but referring just to rectangular flat-topped mounds. I would like to separate the two things, Mississippian and the temple mound tradition. As I have said at this conference, I think they need to be separated. Now, first, can we just start with a revision of this map in the light of all this great assembled knowledge. Let's start on the north. Does anybody want to extend temple mounds any further north? Here's Aztalan, around in here. What about Minnesota? Louie, is there any?

LARSON- I do not know of any.

WILLIAMS- How about Missouri? How far does anybody want to take temple mounds out into Missouri?

MARSHALL- They have one at Thayer, Missouri, which is in about the center of the south boundary. There is a whole mound assemblage over there at Pineville, Missouri, which is just a few miles east of Noel, but I am not sure they are flat-topped temple mounds, but there is a big mound group there.

WILLIAMS- Let's stick with temple mounds. Do you find them any further west in Arkansas, Greg?

PERINO- No, the only ones I know of, the earliest ones down in Arkansas, are the Baytown Temple Mounds.

WILLIAMS- What about Oklahoma?

PERINO- Just in the southeast corner. Gibson has them all around it. There are some on the Texas side. They are up the Red River quite a way.

WEBB- There is one over by Fort Smith, Arkansas. I think your map fairly well covers the Texas and Louisiana area.

WILLIAMS- What about Florida, John?

GOGGIN- I think, probably, these are extremely late.

WILLIAMS- That's alright. We just wanted temple mounds, I don't care. Going up the coast, I have it running up through North Carolina. Has anybody got them in Virginia? I certainly do not know of any.

VOICE- There are not any on the coast except at Savannah. Then Town Creek in North Carolina.

WILLIAMS- How about up the Ohio, if you accept the Marietta Mounds.

SCHWARTZ- That extends it pretty far. There is an awful lot of break in between

there even if you accept it, and the next one is further south.

WILLIAMS- How about Indiana? I do not know of any north in this area here. That about covers it. All I wanted to do with this is to show the known distribution of temple mounds. I've only got two dimensions here, of course, we do not have time on here. If we can accept this red hatched area as roughly what I have termed the nuclear center of Mississippian Culture, I think we can easily see that there is quite a difference of distribution of these two things: Mississippian Culture in the nuclear center and temple mounds themselves. Temple mounds do not make Mississippian Culture, as Jimmy Griffin has often said.

SEARS- In what terms are you defining that nuclear center?

WILLIAMS- I have included within this area for those Cahokia fans, of course, Cahokia. For those Mississippi fans down to and just a bit south of Walls into northern Mississippi, and have come down here and taken in Moundville.

FORD- What are you going to do about Larkin?

WILLIAMS- Well, I do not consider that part of the nuclear center. I am only trying to organize or segregate an area in which I believe we really should be able to look for the growth of Mississippian Culture within the kinds of ceramic traits that we have. I came over here and included small log town houses. I think that within this area Mississippian Culture--the ceramics, the wall trench house, discoidals, celts, that sort of thing-- developed.

SEARS- Developed or came into.

FORD- The pertinent question that we passed over lightly is where are the temple mounds the earliest.

WILLIAMS- Okay, let's turn to that. It certainly is an important part of this discussion. Where are they the earliest?

VOICE- Would you consider a flat-topped mound a temple mound, or does it have to be a square truncated pyramid?

FORD- It has to have a building on top. There are flat-topped mounds in Hopewell sites.

GOGGIN- We have them on the same time level in Florida too, and they obviously must be of ceremonial origin. There is nothing in them, and we find no trace of structures in the sand.

VOICE- Some of the Marksville and the Hopewell sites start off with a flat platform on which a house once stood, and then the cone is placed over that. These may be the beginning stages of this.

WILLIAMS- I think certainly the evidence from the lower valley indicates that we have flat topped surface mounds of earth, but I would not call them temple mounds in the sense that we are discussing here. That does not mean that we will not find the earliest material, temple mounds, outside the nuclear area, in fact, I would guess they are. What would you say, Bill?

SEARS- South of your nuclear area-- Troyville, Coles Creek, Weeden Island.

WILLIAMS- Certainly, with the dates from Lake George of what I term the Balin Phase and early Coles Creek which we now have a number of dates for around 500. We have what certainly looks like a series of rebuildings of temple mound structures, surfaces on which structures have been built and rebuilt, within early Coles Creek, which I think now we must date in this period after 500.

FORD- We have them at Troyville, which preceeds Coles Creek.

GOGGIN- If we equate Kolomoki with Weeden Island I, we could have them pretty early.

SEARS- I haven't any argument about that at all, there isn't any doubt that Kolomoki is Weeden Island I, regardless of any other argument, and it sure isn't late Weeden Island. I might add to that, Steve, that there is another temple mound on a pure Weeden Island site, with no check stamping and no complicated stamping, on the River just above the Florida boundary.

WILLIAMS- Clarence, how early do you think temple mounds are in the Caddoan area?

WEBB- There are temple mounds at the Davis Site in east Texas, which is as early as we know, 500-600 A.D.

FORD- I would like to question the 500-600 date for the Davis Site.

WILLIAMS- If we are going to look in terms of origin and in just terms of numbers of temple mounds, as far as intensity is concerned, we certainly have to say that once we get really out of the Mississippi valley we drop off at a terrific rate.

FORD- I think that we are going to have to change our thinking in terms of these distributions. The Panamerican evidently travelled a long distance by water.....

WILLIAMS- All I was doing was pointing out that this distribution made it look rather difficult to use an overland route, and I certainly would feel this from what we just said about these temple mounds in the Weeden Island context. What about Crystal River?

SEARS- The temple mound there is, I am quite sure, good Weeden Island II.

GOGGIN- I don't know. What do we have there that would indicate this? There are two temple mounds, but one is so much like the other that you can't say that it is Weeden Island. It has check stamped pottery on it, but it is still inconclusive.

WILLIAMS- I wonder if some of the evidence with regard to temple mounds in Weeden Island might not suggest that the whole temple mound idea came in through the coastal area?

SEARS- Yes, I think if you would plot on the map the possible cases of early temple mounds, then you would have a beautiful harbor coming in here or at Mobile Bay.

WILLIAMS- Of course, the delta was not a very good place to build temple mounds or live with an agricultural base. We certainly want to talk more about the

possibility of the time depth here in terms of the development and dispersal. We hope to get to some of those questions later this afternoon. Perhaps, then, we could turn to some of the other traits which might have been coming in from the south, such as religious and burial traits. I suggest that Bill Sears might want to say something here, since he has written on burial forms in the south-east recently.

SEARS- I am afraid that, in spite of this opening, I do not have a great deal to say about Middle Mississippi burial traits. Well, perhaps I do, because it seems to me, in looking at the sites and cultures we are calling Mississippian in distinction to those down on the coastal plain that I have worked with more, that the Middle Mississippi burial complex was a very simple kind of thing. You dig a hole and you put somebody in it with some of his pots, and I frankly can't see that we can do a great deal more with it. I know vaguely that there are exceptions to this but most of the exceptions are not in these cultures that make lots of big shell tempered pots in big sites. They are in cultures with other roots and other relationships.

WILLIAMS- Such as the Caddoan forms which ultimately have very little to do with Mississippian Culture.

FORD- As was pointed out a number of years ago, you have an earlier Hopewellian complex that seems to center around the stripping of the flesh from the bones and putting them in a pit. Sort of charnel pit determent.

WEBB- The real contrast is between secondary and primary burial and in many times.

FORD- In historic times, in late times, you have remnants of the earlier Hopewell customs all around the borders of the Mississippi River, whether it is in the pits of the Virginia area or up around the Great Lakes. You just do not have mounds, or whatever it is, big burial pits like you have in Caddoan or in Spiro. In the center of that you have the primary burial which characterizes the Mississippian. Something which is new to the area, extended primary burials.

SCHWARTZ- In the nuclear areaKentucky we find the primary burial is certainly part of the burial complex, but an awful lot of secondary burials, a tremendous amount of secondary burial, in these stone graves. It looks like, in some cases, they may have just picked up the bones from the stone graves and put them someplace else, and then buried somebody else there.

FORD- On the Mississippian horizon they were still burying in mounds down in the valley of Mississippi.

SCHWARTZ- Kroeber wrote a paper a long time ago-- he is not really a southeastern archaeologist, but I think we can bring him in here-- in which he talked about disposal of the dead and in the fact that in many cultures there is not one single pattern, but a pretty wide variety of possibilities. It seems to me if this isn't generally true, it certainly fits for Mississippian.

WEBB- Would it be possible that some of your secondary burials are the result of encountering a grave. In the process of digging a primary grave, you encounter another, so you pick those bones up and put them aside, because you definitely have this superimposition.

LARSON- Well, don't we have ethnographic accounts of mortuary temples which are, in effect, secondary burials?

HAAG- This is all marginal. This is my marginal tradition in the southeast, which I will get to one of these days, but you only find it in the margin associated with basically non-Mississippian peoples, although with some Mississippian traits.

FORD- DeSota ran into it in eastern Arkansas. He helped erect one of those mortuary temples.

WEBB- We have good evidence for the Choctaws.

LARSON- What I was trying to get at, though, is that you have two types of burials for two types of people.

WEBB- Down in the periphery, where you have these secondary burials, you do not find primary burials as a rule.

WILLIAMS- You mean in Mississippian you may have the two kinds of treatment, as you have at Etowah?

LARSON- Well, that it reflects status position insofar as burial treatment is concerned. The people out in the village were being planted in graves, whereas the people on top of the mounds were put in mortuary temples.

SEARS- This is a very special case on these special sites. I agree with you completely. My impression of these huge Mississippian sites, which I never dug in and do not know much about, is that we see very little of this.

FORD- They were principally buried underneath the houses.

WILLIAMS- Take a site like Nodena where there are 1,500 primary burials in the village debris. I am not sure we know where the specialists were buried, they may still be there. Now, can we turn briefly to economics. Jim, you suggested that something new came in in terms of political organization. Do you think that something else came in agriculturally here, a new brand of maize?

FORD- I don't know about that, but certainly more intensive agriculture characterized the Mississippian.

SEARS- I was talking to Scotty MacNeish, who has become a maize addict of late, about this awhile back. The point that Scotty made, and I gather he has good documentation for this, is that what we apparently have coming in (in all probability through the Caddoan area and through the Davis Site) is not just a new kind of corn but one which is particularly adaptable, which can be grown in more kinds of environments successfully than the types of corns that we might have had on an earlier level. That would make it possible, for example, for people to take advantage of the wet bottomland habitat, which is something we see happening through the southeast. When we get the real Mississippian sites, we tend to move down onto these flood plains.

WILLIAMS- That certainly was what McGregor found in the Illinois Valley with his study of settlement patterns there.

PERINO- If I may say a word about the Cahokia agricultural situation. It

exists between Cahokia and the Emerald Mounds, some twenty miles out of the valley onto the prairies. In a line between the two groups, there are tremendous numbers of spades found. They actually were farming up on the prairies and not so much on the bottoms. There were some on the bottoms, but an awful lot on the top.

WEBB- The tremendous population explosion in Mississippian times suggests that either there were better varieties of corn and other agricultural products or better knowledge of how to use them.

FORD- There is very little evidence for it, but I would not be surprised if the Mississippian Culture was characterized by row crops, like the corn field here at Macon, while we know that the Woodland people planted in hills in an unsystematic fashion, in a little slash-burn clearing.

GOGGIN- You may recall a paper that Ralph Linton wrote a number of years ago. His thesis was that these great sudden florescences of population that occurred many places in the New World were a result of the appearance of corn and beans together as a counter-balancing diet, protein and starch, and that with this the population explosion began. How much evidence do we have for beans in the southeastern United States?

FAIRBANKS- You have some botanical evidence. I think that some of the remnant groups, like the eastern band of Cherokees, seem to have been raising bean types that may not be directly related to Anglo-American bean types in this area, which isn't too good.

GOGGIN- We do not really know, then, when the bean made its first appearance in the southeast, do we?

WILLIAMS- Getting back to the corn. I know that the typology that I am using is crude compared to the new kind of family groupings that some of the corn geneticists are using today, but, if we look at certainly what may be early Mississippian situations, we tend to find this big eight-row corn in some of these situations. Later it is replaced by higher row number and something, I would guess, that is coming in roughly at the time of the Southern Cult. Speaking of your marginal situations, this big eight-row corn is apparently surviving in some areas to a later time. It is found among the Iroquois, and we find it in southeast Missouri. I think Kneberg and Lewis mentioned that at Hiwassee Island there was a change from Hiwassee to Dallas, an increase in row number. I wish we would do something more about Mississippian corn. We mentioned finding it in this late context. I wish we could do something more, because I think we might have some real answers to some of these suggestions in corn genetics and the possibility of getting a time scale here with corn of early Mississippian derivation being possibly quite different, certainly different from Hopewellian corn, the little that we know.

SEARS- I think I could agree with that, Steve. Something that I have noticed recently is that there seems to be in the lower southeast another population explosion-- Mississippi suddenly goes wild down along the lower coast, with far more sites, far bigger sites. This is at the same time, all the way through the area, with another one of these uphill trends, that the cazuela bowl comes moving across. This is also the time when we suddenly start finding corn on archaeological sites, the early Mississippi sites. We find some now and again, but the late sites where there are cazuela bowls tend to have these caches of charred corn, not just in post holes. I have seen Cherokee situations where there were bushels of the stuff charred in the ground. Precisely what this means, I am not

sure, but there is something new hapenning in agriculture.

HAAG- I wonder if there is any one here who has ever seen an ethographic reference to manioc?

VOICE- None

GOGGIN- But it will grow, and pioneer people of Florida still grow it in the backwoods country.

FAIRBANKS- There is a fair exhibit of manioc every year at the Leon County Fair in northwest Florida, so it is being grown. I don't see it in the fields, but they bring it into the fair.

VOICE- Our experimental station some years ago put out a whole bulletin on possibilities in Florida, so it has been considered.

HAAG- The reason I asked was because there is some growing in Baton Rouge. It was probably introduced by the slaves.

WILLIAMS- What about this question of what percentage was non-agricultural? There was a recent paper on the Ethnohistory of the Choctaw, suggesting that they were not anywhere as agricultural as we might think.

VOICE- I don't find that very convincing.

WILLIAMS- What percentage do you think this Mississippian covers?

WEBB- This brings up a theory I have. I do not think of the Choctaw as being Mississippian. I think they are more, certainly in their art forms, derived from a Caddoan source than they are from a Mississippian source. Certainly they have a number of different culture patterns which do not fit in Mississippian. They are one of the peoples who do not have primary burials in historic contact.

SEARS- Isn't the tremendous amount of stored corn that the DeSota expedition ran into all across the southeast relevant here? If they were able to produce and store that much surplus, it was certainly a very important part of their food.

WEBB- When DeSoto returned after one year, they had tremendous stores already in evidence. One of the interesting points, I think, are the recent studies in the State of Pueblo in south central Mexico, demonstrating that this apparently was one of the centers of corn development in Mesoamerica, and this would make it a very easy jump across the Gulf along with the other traits that we have been talking about.

SCHWARTZ- What about the small number of chipped stone artifacts, as opposed to the larger number of sherds or whatever else you want to point to. It seems to me that this does indicate that there is a lot less non-agricultural economics than there was in earlier periods.

SEARS- That may be true, but I think there is an element we have overlooked here, and that is that there seems to be a greatly increased use of cane along the lower south which simply replaced the flint that was used earlier. That would have to be taken into account.

SCHWARTZ- Not in Kentucky. They were lucky enough to have flint up there.

FAIRBANKS- In this connection, I think Parmalee's study of the fauna at Etowah is interesting. They had a systematic use of many aspects of the faunal environment which means that they had not become solely farmers.

LARSON- Yes, but if you examine the identifiable bones from Etowah, seven or eight thousand of them, about 95% of them were of two species, turkey and deer.

SEARS- Which was exactly the situation at Kolomoki. They were going out and selecting what they wanted to eat out of what was available, not taking everything that was edible because they were hungry.

WEBB- I would like to say one more thing about the food. One of the great problems of food in the world is the lack of oil. In a mild temperate area like the southeast the oils generally are not scarce, game is not particularly fat. On the other hand, we do not have wild plants of oil sources that seem to have been utilized by the people in order to balance the diet. We have constant references to the use of pecan and hickory acorn oil and it may be that the late discovery of how to prepare these oils may have been a contributing factor. Certainly we know that oil lacks in many parts of the world is one of the greatest problems, in the Amazon Valley and places like that, for example.

WILLIAMS- I would like now to go over socio-political organization. On this topic, I do not think that there is too much that has to be brought out. We talked about different levels of class structure which we all are willing to admit occurs in the Mississippian Culture, and the fact that there were religious specialists certainly within the Southern Cult or southeastern ceremonial complex. This is certainly something we all know very well from archaeological evidence. I would like to touch, just briefly, on this problem of satellite town relationships. This is something which I have been very struck by in my excavations at Lake George, when I found out that very little of the village was really occupied. The Lake George Village was 55 acres enclosed by a wall and ditch. So, I think we certainly have to look for, in this case, satellite villages. I have a few of them located. What kind of evidence do we have elsewhere in the southeast except that this is probably the way it was? Do we have any hard data for this?

FORD- The Spaniards evidently recognized the Feudal set-up when they walked into it. I don't think it is a matter of interpretation.

FAIRBANKS- In my paper this afternoon I am going to point out that you have the temple mounds spread across east of the Apalachicola and that you have them on about every farmable red clay knob in between. You have a little homestead site. It is a little bit more watered down than the Creek pattern of mother towns and villages, but it is the same general pattern. You can repeat that here in central Georgia. I have not mapped it, but you have your Lamar temple mound sites and then scattered in between, in the favorite agricultural Greenville silt-loam, sites and so on, small Lamar sites without temple mounds, without depth and so on.

SEARS- Etowah is a particularly good example of this, your ceremonial center with a lot of known and located smaller communities that do not have the central set up, the religious temple mounds, the meager evidence of the Southern Cult and so on. In fact, in the Etowah case, you can make a very good case for the fact that the governmental organization was the Cult, the ceremonial complex, because

you get a minor representation of it in each one of these villages, the mayor had one pair of ear spools or something of that sort as you go up and down the valley.

HAAG- I think Jennings' study of the Chickasaw Old Fields is an ideal example of that, where you have ethnographic evidence to back it up, one big center that probably was occupied a part of the year only, then a dispersed population the rest of the time.

BULLEN- I took the position in my 1948 Chattahoochee report that you have these temple mound sites strung up and down the river on the natural levees, with a dozen or so little towns located around that central place. There is good evidence for it. You can do the same thing in Florida.

WEBB- Following up what Jim said concerning the DeSota narratives... they repeatedly refer to provinces, which to them had meant a big centralized town and many smaller towns around.

SEARS- It is not only that. There is good evidence in the DeSota narratives for real authority centralized in these towns. A man in one town, as I remember, was able to give away slaves, corn, and practically anything else, in towns that were a days travel away, but you know it was a functioning political setup and not particularly a ceremonial center kind of thing.

VOICE- If we are going to draw this in some kind of accurate line, would one possible way be to identify those most peripheral political centers and the satellite villages to which they belong? And when they do not belong to some kind of satellite village, if we could ever document this, would this mean that this would be out of the limits of Mississippian? Up in the Fort Ancient area would we expect the same kind of satellite village pattern, for example?

WILLIAMS- I think so. I think Lake George is the last Mississippian site, or site with Mississippian Culture, down the river. You get into Natchez and you are really sure they were influenced by Mississippian Culture traditions, just as their Plaquemine forebearers had been, but it is an outlier. I think perhaps when we talk about dispersal this afternoon we can plot some of these major centers and diffusion up from these satellite towns around them.

(END OF FRIDAY MORNING SESSION)

SESSION II, PART 1

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF MISSISSIPPIAN CULTURE

Robert Wauchope, Chairman

WAUCHOPE- ... hypothesize a dissemination of a stimulus diffusion from the south either via the southwestern United States or eastern Texas, or, as Jim Ford suggested this morning, the possibility of movement by sea is becoming more and more possible, more and more likely, as we learn about pan-continental connections. Even the Mexican inspiration for Mississippian Culture was doubted for some time and still is doubted in certain areas. Spaulding pointed out in 1955, for example, that there was no new physical type in the southeast at this time and no language connection with Mexico, although, in view of some of great work with languages, we all hesitate to deny any connection between any two languages in the whole world any more. Others have taken the view that Mississippian Culture moved southward down the Mississippi River and therefore could hardly be of Mexican origin except by a very roundabout route. Phillips, Ford, and Griffin doubted that a single center for Mississippian Culture existed anywhere, but rather that at least five different major elements indicate a multiple origin of the complex. Population and culture carry-overs, for example, from a former period, from the Middle Woodland, influences from the north, indirect stimulus from Mesoamerica, and more direct influences from the southwest, together with local contributions. From Middle Woodland, for example, according to these authors, came pyramidal mounds and plaza arrangements, ultimately from Mesoamerica, lack of burial concentration, and several lower Mississippi valley ceramic features. Northern elements included shell temper for pottery, certain vessel shapes and appendages, agricultural tools, and triangular points, plus, perhaps, fortified villages, single primary burials with grave goods, and the effigy complex. Caldwell saw the Mississippi tradition as a focalization over a fairly extensive area of late Gulf features with indigenous culture elements in the central Mississippi valley and from this new balance, as he called it, there emerged the Mississippi peoples whose radiation stemmed from economic advantage and burgeoning populations and the need for new lands. I am not going to discuss here the various hypotheses regarding the origin of local features, but these have been discussed very fully, and probably will be later on by Sears and others.

This by no means summarizes all the hypotheses regarding the origin of Mississippian Culture. As we saw this morning, the whole problem is far more complex than even looking for single or multiple sources so much, because it is becoming more and more obvious that, at least throughout the southeast, many of the local cultures rocked along as they always had and derived many of their cultural traits from the preceding Middle Woodland, in spite of, perhaps, Mississippian overlords or a domineering Mississippian religion. For further development of these ideas, I will call on the first speaker, Clarence Webb.

A LOG TOMB BURIAL IN AN EARLY CADDOAN MOUND:

DESCRIPTION AND IMPLICATIONS

Clarence Webb

Twenty-five years ago, when we had finished working in the Gahagan Mound and had found in it some unusual features-- including the long-nosed copper god and various other exotic things of this kind-- Jim Ford pointed out to me that there were similar long-nosed gods illustrated from the St. Johns area of Florida. I pursued this and obtained some of Moore's reports. I was struck at that time, as Greenman had been, with some of the possibilities that traits of this kind had a Hopewellian origin. In the Gahagan report we pointed out some things that seemed to have at least a Hopewellian flavor: the presence of mass burials, extended, and, we thought, primary, with suspicion of family and retainer sacrifice; special burial mounds; burial in sub-mound prepared pits; colored sands on the burial floor and colored clay pigments with the burials; profuse ceremonial offerings; the breakage and scattering of these offerings; copper-plated large ear spools of various metals; hand effigies which were in mica in the Hopewell area and in copper in the Caddoan mound; and several other similar findings, for example, conjoined copper tubes, large ceremonial knives, effigy pipes, and so on.

About this same time the spectacular findings at Spiro turned up, but they turned up under such circumstances that, until our friend Marshall from Missouri could gather them together, nobody was too sure what was Spiro and what was not. At any rate, at that time it appeared that this was almost fantasy, that there was just too much time gap between the ending of the Hopewell Period and the beginning of presumably later Caddoan materials.

However, over the years I was nagged by some pottery resemblances; for example, the type Cowhide Stamped in the Caddoan area appearing at Belcher which has dentate stamped bands around the neck and stamped or scored curvilinear bands on the body outlined by deep U-shaped grooves, all of these suggesting Hopewellian or Marksville influences in the pottery. Again, it seemed just too much of a jump from the Hopewell or Marksville period to this particular time period. We were intrigued also by the linear punctated designs which appeared in Tchefuncte, apparently were lost, and reappeared in the Bosier Focus in profuse linear punctating.

Time has helped, however. That is, things that have been found since that time. We found, for example, that there is good linear punctating in Troyville, from the Troyville Site itself. I have a number of sherds showing this. We found that stamping technique on curvilinear bands is not found just in later Caddoan, but goes back into the Haley Focus and Bosier time periods. Later, all across north Louisiana, there appeared to be a contact zone between the central Louisiana developments of Tchefuncte, Hopewell, Troyville, Coles Creek, Plaquemine, and the Caddoan sequence in northern Louisiana and on into the Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma area. And we were able to distinguish three groupings of potteries in this area, showing that Coles Creek pottery came into this area just about the same time that Caddoan pottery appeared. Not long after that we found the Bellevue Focus in northern Louisiana with small mounds which had Archaic stone forms of various kinds, stone and copper beads, and flexed and cremated burials. The pottery, largely plain and some of it bone tempered, had a few sherds, presumably intrusive, which were identifiable as Marksville and Troyville

types. It, therefore, became apparent to us over a period of years that the early Caddoan Culture seemed to develop at or shortly after the termination of the Marksville-Troyville sequence in central and southern Louisiana. Carbon-14 datings since that time have helped to confirm this because now, although Jim Ford still doubts the 500 A.D. dating, we have a dozen dates at or prior to 900 A.D. in the Gibson or early Caddoan Period.

One of the sites which helped to resolve the difficulties about the relationships between the central and southern Louisiana sequence in the Caddoan area is the Mounds Plantation Site, which I want to describe this afternoon. Previously I had collected quite an accumulation of pottery from the sides of a burrow pit, most of which was thick, clay or bone tempered, and plain. However, along with this were recognizable sherds of Coles Creek and the chocolate-brown to black Caddoan wares, showing that these apparently began at this site at a reasonably early period prior to mound construction.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The remainder of Dr. Webb's talk was accompanied by slides. The comments have been edited to a small degree, with dotted lines to indicate where something has been omitted.)

..... I would like to describe some work done by a friend of mine, Ralph McKinney, in recent years in some of the mounds at this site. This is the best of the plaza-mound groups of the Caddoan area in northern Louisiana. .. group of eight or nine recognizable mounds, some of them still recognizable as flat-topped rectangular mounds. the slicing of a trench through to the bottom demonstrated that from the pre-mound level on up to the termination of construction of this mound, there was a good admixture of Caddoan and Coles Creek. Recently, a second mound at this site has been dug by Mr. McKinney. In a way, this is salvage archaeology, because the owner had started pulling these mounds down with power machinery in order to level off his fields and build roads. McKinney secured permission to work the site, and in this mound, which is about ten feet in height, he found a number of the deep early Caddoan burial pits..... The vertical section shows one of the striking features of these burial pits, which are different from those we found heretofore in this area. The burial pits are not cut directly vertically down, but are cut in crater fashion. When you look at the profile you can see the dark line tapering to the left, showing the pit fill above, the habitation layers below. So far, five large burial pits have been found varying from eight by ten feet in size to thirteen and one-half by fifteen feet in diameter, and usually five or six feet in depth. A greenstone celt and several large blades were with one of the burials, in a cluster or cache..... these are the recurved blades, whether or not you wish to recognize them as Copena. This is the kind of blade found in late Archaic in central Texas and it comes into the Caddoan area. The general outline does extend on across to Tennessee and is the same outline as the Copena blades. However, in manufacture, there is a considerable difference..... The most spectacular of these five burials is the log tomb, or log covered burial, which was completed this past summer..... The burial pit was started from a small primary mound which was about two feet in height, was cut down through this in a sloping or crater fashion. The dirt was thrown out and, as it was heaped up on the outside, it increased the diameter of the crater. Into this burial pit the placements were made, a total of 21 burials ranging from fetuses in two instances, newborn infants, on up to fairly old people..... As the pit was covered, it was leveled off and, eventually, built up to a flat-topped mound. Iron ore had been scattered around the margins of the pit and over the slopes down to the floor of the pit. The soil was reddish, markedly red in color, and there were

lumps of this iron ore pigment. It certainly was not a natural placement, and I suspect that this was ceremonial, a part of the pit preparation. The logs were first found at about two and one-half feet below the pre-mound surface. The bottom of the burial pit was approximately four feet below the pre-mound surface. It lay directly on the heavy red clay which forms the base stratum of Red River Valley in Louisiana. The pit was also laying in the permanent water table, so we had good preservation of some wood and cane fabric material..... The logs were placed approximately two feet above the pit. There were three logs in parallel position, one of them had decayed,.... these extended from a corner of the pit inward toward its center and then across it, where other logs laid transversely. We do not think that these were upright logs as was reputed to be the case in the Spiro Mound, but that there was some kind of horizontal log structure..... The log above has a double hole which appeared natural at first, but when we looked at it very closely, the hole seems to have been drilled into the log and possibly was a tenon joint. The middle log also has a curvature in its end, and may have had a similar hole for placement of mortar and tenon joint construction..... The shorter logs ... were about 20 to 22 inches in length and we suspect that they were upright supports for the longer logs. The other ends of the longer logs were placed on a sand-bank built just inside the tomb. These were cedar logs. A C-14 date of 872 A.D. \pm 50 years was obtained from one of the shorter logs by the University of Texas laboratory. We thought that underneath the logs we would probably find the significant person of importance for whom this burial was prepared. However, we think the large male was this individual of significance and from his posture..... he received the affectionate name of Bill Bowlegs. the skeletal was a rather large individual, six feet in length and, not massive, but rather well built. Along the left side of the individual was a knife..... and a wooden bow, five and one-half feet in length, extending from his shoulder down to the feet. Fortunately, through the acquisition of a preservative material we were able to preserve all of these wet wood artifacts in very good form. the large male.... a group of three to the right, another group of three to the left, and another group of three which lay beneath the log structure..... We do not know why this log structure was built over only a portion of this pit and, particularly, why it was not above the person of importance, but that was the way it was.....

..... the south group, the group to the left, three individuals and, to the left side, five more. These are adults and adolescents. The infant burials were very poorly preserved..... beside the right arm of the large male was this placement, two very large red stone beads, These are approximately four inches in length and, amazingly to me, were drilled from one end entirely through. The drill-hole was only about two millimeters in diameter at the large end and one millimeter at the small. also placed a hematite plummet which could be lost among the plummets from Poverty Point as far as technique of manufacture is concerned. a half of a slate two-holed gorget,..... three or four bear teeth, which were extremely blackened by age and condition of the soil. some of the stone artifacts found in the three or four burials. One of the deep burials at this site had no artifacts placed with it. a wooden ear ornament with copper bossed.... and five or six small copper knobs or bosses around the periphery,

Besides the bow already mentioned, there was a shorter one about three feet in length. split cane matting, some of it decorated. One of the pieces has alternating dark and light bands.. We could recover only that matting which did not immediately overlies the bodies, because that over the bodies was practically gone. It was in a very poor state of preparation. In some instances there were as many as five and six layers of this matting. One piece, which is our prize, has the reversed bird-head illustration or decoration in the woven matting. Jim Ford says that it must be an eagle, but I think it is

a turkey.

In conclusion, it appears that a certain number of traits moved through the Caddoan area from Mesoamerica toward the Mississippian area-- some of those we mentioned this morning. These traits include the chocolate-brown or black polished wares, the engraving technique, the placement of pigment in lines-- red and white generally, red in the early period and white becoming predominant later-- the carinated bowl form, possibly some of the small projectile types -- the stemmed projectiles like Hayes, Scallion, and Alba-- may have had a Mesoamerican origin and entered the central Mississippi Valley through the Caddoan area, and the presence of deep pits or mound shafts. Some of the shafts in the early Caddoan Period were nine and ten feet deep, and in one of the Haley burials it was 14 feet from the beginning of the burial pit to its bottom, reminding one of the deep pyramid shafts in sites like Chichen Itza and some of the others in Mesoamerica.

Undoubtedly, as was mentioned this morning, a certain number of traits came into the Mississippian area through the Caddoan area from the southwest and central Texas. I will not recount these, but I would call out attention to the fact that we feel, also, that sites like the Mound Plantation Site, Spiro, and Gahagan, demonstrate that at least in the ceremonial and burial forms, some of the traits in the Caddoan and, we believe, probably the Mississippian area, are derived from Hopewellian time periods.

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AN UNUSUAL HOUSE AT THE BROWN'S MOUNTAIN SITE

Richard Marshall

In the spring of 1959, Robert T. Bray (then archeologist at Ocmulgee) and I visited Brown's Mountain with the idea of seeing what sort of remains might be found on the surface. The area had been cultivated several years earlier, but apparently they had just rolled it over and left it there, so that the ground was very rough. We found some pieces of pottery and flint as we moved over the site, and in one particular area we noticed some burned clay, possibly from a burned house nearby. There was no other evidence in the vicinity, but when the area was viewed from the top of a nearby hill, we could see that this area contained less vegetation and was slightly mounded up. Excavation did reveal a house pattern in this area.

It appears that what we uncovered was an earth-covered structure similar to the small log town houses of eastern Tennessee. As we began excavation, we immediately ran into burned flooring, and, as we spread out, into a very finely prepared hearth about 12 inches deep by 36 inches in diameter. It was full of burned clay and several charred posts. From this charcoal we obtained four good samples, two of which were sent to the University of Michigan, which dated at 970 B.P. \pm 150 years.

The structure was supported by four very large center posts. Two of these were cross-sectioned and they extended to a depth of 37 and 42 inches. They were about 12 to 14 inches in diameter. The floor had been covered with

hard-packed red clay which extended out beyond the edge of the postmolds by about eight feet. One area of the floor had been heavily damaged by cultivation, and we found a great many plow-marks running through it. In one corner we ran into a series of four small depressions in the floor which formed an arc. I am going to suggest that these possibly resemble the pits that are found in other earth lodge or ceremonial structures in the Macon Plateau area, although I cannot prove it. The depressions were very very shallow and, because the floor in this area had been damaged by cultivation, it was impossible to tell whether or not they had ever been deep. If there was any kind of a throne or raised platform in the structure it was gone when we excavated it.

During excavation an entrance was uncovered with posts set in a trench filled with hard packed red clay. There was no evidence for other posts being set in a trench. In another area, after passing over a large area that did not reveal any postmolds, we found another entrance. This is extremely confusing, but I suspect that what we have is really a double post hole pattern with a structure originally having an entrance in one direction, but after later repairs or complete rebuilding an entrance off in another direction.

As we continued excavation, we ran into more post holes and later on uncovered a smaller structure. The red clay flooring of the first structure extended out over the postmold pattern of the second structure, indicating that this one was somewhat earlier. In the process of excavating the second structure we uncovered several other seemingly very large post holes. After examining these we began looking for signs of burned clay, which was found. I do not know whether these are four big center posts for an even larger structure. We did not find any evidence for it, but we did not carry the excavation any farther.

A number of the features at this site suggest that the building was covered with earth. A lot of clay from inside the structure looked like it was clay that had fallen from the roof. Also, the roof timbers were covered with split cane matting which is above a lot of the burned earth, so it appears that we have, for the first time in the Macon Plateau area, a square structure. I think the other earth lodges that have been found are all circular. It appears that we have a building that resembles very closely some of the eastern Tennessee structures.

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THE CHERRY VALLEY MOUND GROUP

Gregory Perino

There are approximately twenty mounds in this whole area. The Cherry Valley Group consisted of five mounds, the largest being 17 feet high and about 85 feet in diameter. We excavated the first three of the mounds, left the fourth one for Arkansas State, and the fifth unexcavated. The upper portions of all of the mounds are completely torn up. The radiocarbon date on the earliest of these was about 810 A.D. Jimmy Griffin says this is the earliest, fully Mississippian, radiocarbon date in existence thus far. We obtained an average of about 120 burials from each of the mounds, although an equal number had probably already been taken out by collectors. Most of the material was

obtained from the bottom levels. The burial custom was a little unusual. The mounds themselves were built by accretion.

Burials were set in little pits, excavated into the primary surface. Each one of these pits was lined with pencil sized canes with the ends projecting upwards. Most of the burials consisted of bundle burials, or at least more than one-half of them. The skeletal material was so badly rotted that only in the lower two or three feet were we able to find even powdered bone. Also, at this point, we found on five of the burials, actual seed beads in panel formation down the chest. They had turned to a white substance, apparently replacing the original seed, but these tiny seeds were ground off at the ends and perforated, and then placed in panels down the chest.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The remainder of the talk was accompanied with slides, therefore has been shortened and some sections omitted, these to be indicated by a series of dots.)

This is an important site. It has a lot to do with Cahokia because it seems to be a southern projection of the population explosion at Cahokia.

MOUND 1- a primary mound consisting of gravel and sand. Each of these platforms had contained a burial. The only way that we could tell this was by very fine bone meal and a few vessels now and then. Several burials were intrusive into the original ground surface.....

MOUND 2- here we have one of the finest Mississippian houses, and it is unlike anything at Cahokia or, I think, anywhere else. This mound was 17 feet high..... The house walls are 5 feet wide at the base, 3 feet wide at the top, with an entrance ramp 20 feet and 2 inches long to the outside. It is a circular structure, with duplicate post holes, this house was built twice. We have a fireplace... all three of the mounds had three of these features which consists of three posts set in the ground just prior to mounding in an east-west direction, but not in line..... the amateurs said that they took out one of the posts which was 8 feet high and 16 inches in diameter..... I don't know why angular posts were near the fireplace, but they were. Since this structure was burned, the floor was very easy to follow. It was not constructed with wattle and daub, strictly grass and cane. I expect the earth walls were not over 36 inches high. The walkway was 28 inches across between the postmolds. Our radiocarbon dates came from the stumps of the posts by the entrance way. The ramp comes off the wall and raises 12 inches..... a part of the wall where the grass and log supports..... rested on this circular enclosure I do not know of any other structure like it.

MOUND 3- this was 11 feet high..... under this mound we found a structure 13 by 13 feet. It is not square and it is not round. It does have large round corners. It is an unusual house. the three post feature that was in all three of the mounds. That has nothing to do with the house, but the house did have two support posts. The person who built the house goofed; when he began his house posts he went on around and then didn't come out square, so he had to come in a little. pit contained five bundle burials, one of them was cremated, one of the burials ... had marginella beads in a panel-pattern across his head. You see that sometimes on pipes, it is a type of bead suitable for paneling. Then there were some vessels..... These are the only two structures we ever expect to get from this site because it is so heavily eroded. If there are any more houses they would have to be under the rest of the Cherry Valley Mounds.

POTTERY- these mounds contained a great deal of manganese so some of the vessels were discolored. an unusual form and the only one that I found having nodes around the top of the bottle. other bottle forms, some

of them are very much like the Cahokia vessels, especially with the angular shoulders. A feature of these vessels are that a lot of them have the dimpled base that is a good Cahokia trait. larger bottles. The little difference in these bottles is the fact that the necks constrict a little bit at the tops.....the only bottle that we got with the Mound Place Incised decoration on the shoulders. Mound Place Incised decoration is the one decoration that began at Cahokia and it follows on through into the area, into Walls-Pecan Point, and of course gets its name from Mound Place in eastern Arkansas.the area produces a tremendous amount of beakers, a fact that was overlooked in the lower valley report because they did not find even a sherd of them. But here we get a local decoration known as Branch Incised. The beakers here vary so much more greatly than at Cahokia that it seems like that was one of their special vessel forms. This type does not occur at Cahokia with this particular shape. Usually it is a concave-sided thing with the two lips and the straight handle at Cahokia. Mound Place Incised, the decoration drops below the handle and goes on around and drops below the lip lug..... variation of form on the beakers. Some of these are actually so flat they almost look like small frying pans..... These things are thin, they are just as good a quality as the Cahokia beakers..... All of these are shell tempered. I have never found anything that was not shell tempered. The amazing thing is that here in Cherry Valley it is a Cahokia-like splinter group with a date of at least 200 years earlier than Cahokia.... and apparently lived for a long time, because the lower valley report shows a beaker at the Rose Mound and a beaker was found just recently on the house floor at the Vernon Paul Place, which are late St. Francis sites. Also different from Cahokia is the fact that some of these beakers are actually beaker bowls, very large items. first of a kind, it is a beaker bowl with an effigy head of the type that you would expect to be early.... This diverges from Cahokia somewhat because it has the perforated lugs on the rim and has the red slip that is common at Cahokia. very thin vessels and the way they were constructed is shown on them-- the coiling process. They were perforated with two holes, each have double holes for suspension..... it is a bowl type thing with a handle and a dam-like projection so things can't pour out, and then a little deer effigy on the rim. This is rather unusual, but I have seen fragments of them at Cahokia. the little bowls, the noded shoulders on the bowls are common to that area, not so common at Cahokia. I don't believe I remember any. Occasionally you get the square bowl, you get it at Cahokia, but it is rare. We got one at the Banks Site, but it is rare and would be rare anywhere it occurs. plate forms..... the deep plate which does not occur at Cahokia, but in later sites up in the Illinois River valley. The plate rims at Cahokia are at least one and one-half inch wide, while those from Cherry Valley are only an inch. The plates are one and one-half to three inches deep..... jar forms..... we got two that were noded, but that again is a local trait. We are getting Cahokia handles, the ones that extend over and sometimes have the little fluting down the sides..... oval bowl with the two suspension handles. These also occur at Cahokia, but in much larger form. The crows-foot or bird-foot type handle is rare and is the only one we found there. One had a frog for a handle. We also got a frog handle at the Banks Site. They occur very sparingly at Cahokia, and I'm sure they occur on a lot of other sites. The mending also occurs at Cahokia as it does in Hopewell and even earlier cultures in Illinois..... The perforated lip and the four lugs for suspension without handles also occurs at Cahokia, but it is rare..... The pipe types are the same as may be found on most Mississippian component. What strikes me is the fact that the large shell-tempered clay pipe is identical to the limestone and sandstone pipes of the Illinois Valley..... a few other unusual artifacts from the mounds: apparently there was a great deal of folded

up blankets, matting, and rope in the corner of the mound..... A Dalton point was found with Burial # 2 in Mound 2, which was definitely picked up by the Mississippian people. Three other Dalton points came from the Whitehall area just a few miles north of Cherry Valley on the Langlee River.

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DISCUSSION

LARSON- Louis Binford and I worked on at Michigan several years ago, and it concerns viewing the Mississippian-- or probably more correctly put the late pre-contact--- situation here in the southeast as a culture type in an effort to look at it not solely from temporal and spatial relationships, but as a functioning cultural situation. Now, in an effort to set up a culture type, I thought that it perhaps might be fruitful to look at it originally or at least to establish-- formulate, what you will-- an ideal culture type, one which is an ideal type in the Max Weber sense, one which has no empirical reality but yet has a great deal of value in that we can compare the actual situations that we get to such an ideal type. Drawing on both the archaeological data and the existing ethnographic records that we have for the southeast, I would create a type in which you have a particular economic form, that is, one which is redistributive in nature, a social organization which is that described by Kirchhoff as the conical plan. It is the same thing that Raymond Firth refers to as a ramage. Then we would see the technology of the type as being primarily oriented toward the utilization of the domesticated plants, a number of horticulture types, and a secondary energy source being that of hunting and gathering. The religious complex or the ideological aspect of the culture type would be one in which there was a very formalized religion on, for lack of a better term, I would call national religion. Now, if we look at the type of material which we get from archaeological situations, I think we can draw inferences which would give us some idea of how these various things manifest themselves. The economic form, redistributive system, would be one in which there was the channeling of the goods of production up to a central agent and then, in turn, channeled back down again by the agent to the original contributor and the consumers. I will not go into all the details about this except to say that, archaeologically, we would perhaps see this in the utilization of communal storehouses where production was not a production.

The production was carried out not by family situations, but by communal situations. The Natchez, for example, have communal storehouses, the Mississippian data presents no evidence for storage pits associated with house structures. We presume they are above ground, but there are excellent individual refuse pits associated with the preceding Woodland, and they also appear again in the post-contact period, which to me indicates different economic situations in the period preceding Mississippian development and following it. The emphasis on agriculture, I think, is important here. It is the thing which makes possible the particular culture type in that we haven't had the technology of the situation reflected in the archaeological data; in the use of ground stone celts, different types of hoes, the agricultural products themselves, and then the lack of emphasis which you have on hunting. I mentioned this morning the fact that you only have two general species being taken at Etowah, turkey and deer. There is no wide-spread utilization of the local fauna. These are also, the deer at least, probably being taken in communal hunts.

The social organization, of course, is reflected in the mound situations where you have long houses occupying the summits of some mounds at least. I

think there is good evidence that not all of the structures on mound summits were religious structures. Contrast these with the type of structure which you get in the village sites, very small, not large, such as the mound buildings. There also seems to be a control of trade on the part of the ruling hierarchy during the Mississippian Period. The exotic materials which appear on this site are seemingly channeled into the production of materials used by a special class-- copper, shells, special flint are not part and parcel of everyday life in any of these towns. The religious complex, of course, is reflected in such things as the Southern Cult, again the fact that you have very specific areas set aside for ceremonial purposes, ceremonial structures themselves, the mortuary cult which centered around a specific class rather than what seems to be general throughout the society. The creation, I think, of a type, an ideal type, would allow us to compare the actual situations which we get, say, at Cahokia with an ideal type and to ask questions then about divergence or approximation of reality to our ideal type-- why is there a divergence, what is the reason for it, where can we find our answers. It will also, I think, clear up a great deal about marginal situations, coastal situations, for example, which seemingly are not based on agricultural production but on utilization of the local marine resources. Well, I will not go on, I just wanted to throw out these ideas. I would appreciate someone commenting on them.

WAUCHOPE- Are there any immediate comments at this stage? Steve Williams provided a list of suggested topics for this discussion. The first one was a description of early Mississippian. I judge from this that his idea was for us to try to get leads toward the origins themselves. From the point of view of looking for origins and sources, maybe we could eliminate some of the later traits that developed after Mississippian Culture was established and identify those traits, like the small triangle point, which apparently had no particular function within the complex itself but was simply more or less a chronological marker, that perhaps we would get leads toward the origins themselves. Can we identify as earliest Mississippian any lists of traits? What are the earliest Mississippian villages?

PERINO- I think one of the earliest traits is the red painted inner rims of the vessels-- a lot of red slip on the inside rims. That occurred at Cahokia very commonly and at the Banks Site we ran into a Baytown-early Mississippi combined pit, and the shell tempered vessels with the Baytown sherds were also red-slipped inside. It was a large jar formed with a large neck. I think that red slipping is a very early trait.

WILLIAMS- You get that on Cahokia Cord Marked which might be a transitional type.

PERINO- Cahokia Cord Marked is earlier than Griffin ever thought it was. It occurs with Old Village.

WILLIAMS- Yes.

WAUCHOPE- But there are a number of transitional traits leading into early Mississippian from the preceding culture, but part of the native context, you might say, outside the Mississippian Culture itself. So, we want to be sure not to be talking about them particularly.

GOGGIN- Again, this is a fine example of this chronological scope. In north Florida a red zone on the inside of the lip is a fine indication of early historic times. This is a problem.

WAUCHOPE- Is there a source for this trait?

PERINO- Another early thing at Cahokia is the fact that Old Village is not the earliest Mississippian at Cahokia. Mississippi comes into the area fully defined with huge vessels, the bi-conical dish, and the very thin sharp rims; the refuse pits are different, they are square, some are bell-shaped, they have a little platform in the bottom. These sites are rare, but they do occur at Cahokia, and I think gradually we are beginning to realize this. The same thing occurs in eastern Arkansas, that is a vessel type which is sort of an angular shouldered thing. At Cahokia it has a rolled rim, in the south or eastern Arkansas it just has a sharp rim that is cut off. But you always have only the loop handle and not the strap handle.

WAUCHOPE- Are there any other traits that we could name as earliest Mississippian culture traits, not earliest Mississippian Period traits necessarily?

WILLIAMS- Certainly some of those vessel forms-- those bottle forms, for example, that we just saw from Cherry Valley-- look to be early for Mississippian. Don't you agree, Louie.

LARSON- Yes, they certainly are early, but the thing is, what is Mississippian? Is it a culture that we're talking about or is it a complex of artifacts?

WILLIAMS- Well, unfortunately, in archaeology we have to deal with the artifacts, not the ideas.

LARSON- I know, but I think we can deal with a culture too.

WILLIAMS- Sure, that is what we were trying to do this morning for our definition of the culture.

LARSON- But we talked about it in terms of artifacts again, not what the artifacts imply.

BINFORD- We can deal with artifacts in two ways, we can deal with artifacts in units. That is the kind of discussion that this was taking, in other words, we are talking about red filmed lips and this vessel shape and that vessel shape. Or, you can think in terms of artifacts as fossils of a functioning system. I mean they are the material remains of a functioning cultural system. The problem, in terms of definition of a culture type, is not a list of ceramic traits or anything like this, it is understanding in terms of degree of complexity, in terms of differences in adaptation as manifested in social groups, and so forth, in exploring the natural environment and so forth and so on. Can we show, from early Mississippi and late Mississippi, differences and changes in the nature of internal social organization through such things as settlement size? Can we talk about population densities and so forth and so on. We are still talking about artifacts, but we are asking different questions of the artifacts.

WILLIAMS- Well, you're just making certain inferences from them.

BINFORD- You made certain correlations-- artifact forms with special low sides, with structural types, with other artifact forms.

WILLIAMS- Those aren't inferences?

BINFORD- No, they are correlations. You can quantify them, measure them, plot

them, do anything you want to with them, they are not inferences. What you infer from the correlations are inferences, but correlations themselves exist.

WAUCHOPE- Can we define an early Mississippi complex trait? I think we all agree that artifacts function as parts of a system that we infer from them, but at this stage of tracing origins and early developments, I think we have to look at the artifacts. I do not believe we can skip the artifact identification stage at this moment.

BULLEN- I do not know if I can contribute or not, but it seems to me that we may be sort of shadow-boxing with Mississippian Culture. I think that Mississippian is a result of accrument of many traits which came from different places. I am sure you can say that you get a pot from here and an arrow from there, but it isn't until you put them together that the culture is Mississippian, and I wonder if perhaps the thing didn't grow gradually by little increments until sometime we decided this is Mississippian. We can't necessarily pick out the earliest, but we should be able to pick out the earliest village which we call Mississippian. This is a problem, and it is going to be great.

WAUCHOPE- What is the question that we are raising? Can we identify say two, three, or four early-- recognized as the earliest-- Mississippian sites and then see possible origins for the traits there if necessary? This is not a good example because it is not part of Mississippian Culture, but here in Georgia, or at least in north Georgia, the Woodstock ceramic stage is the earliest Mississippian ceramic manifestation we have, and we have certain things like a few small triangular points associated with it, as well as a palisaded village, I guess, and so, associated with the Woodstock. However, I say this is a bad example because Woodstock apparently did not partake of Mississippian Culture, Mississippian classic type culture as we were defining it this morning. If we had a Woodstock stage somewhere that could be identified as it was in north Georgia, as earliest Mississippian, then we could formulate one expressing Mississippian Culture itself better.

VOICE- Well, could you quote a minimum definition then of Mississippian by saying that certain types of ceramic materials, that is, low squat bowls with everted lips and loop handles, goes together with flat-topped temple mounds-- Would that be a minimum definition?

PERINO- Also agriculture.

WILLIAMS- I think people were living in these villages and had a social organization.

BINFORD- But here we have a minimum definition of Mississippian that is based on a stylistic element and an element that obviously is more related to some type of social situation. Now, I think, in terms of social structure, that a temple mound is something that does not move around as freely as some particular design motif may, because it has to be integrated, to have a whole social system to complement this, the presence of such things as temple mounds.

VOICE- They need centralization of power to build one.

BINFORD- But this pottery type doesn't. This is the point. In other words, just a trait list that the functions of these traits have varying relationships to the total culture system is a meaningless list as far as I can see, because some of them will diffuse more freely, will be present in sites that exclude,

by virtue of differences in levels of production efficiency, and so forth and so on, the presence of others.

WAUCHOPE- I think we appreciate that point, but the thing is that if we limit ourselves to seeking origins on such a high level of interpretation the we are, in effect, looking for any first theocratic political caste organization where it came from. Well, that is pretty broad. It could have come from the north-east coast, no, it didn't necessarily come from it.

BINFORD- I can't diffuse social organization; I don't see how you could possibly diffuse a whole social organization.

VOICE- Do you think the temple-priests felt as independent in the southeast as in Mesoamerica?

BINFORD- The development of societies to levels of complexity is independent, the particular style may well be related, but the style would never appear in the east until we had a certain level of development in society, in eastern society, that would support such a stylistic element. Origins in the terms of what we are talking about are not just looking for where something first occurred, you have to understand the whole system in which things appear.

VOICE- Surely you do not mean that if you have the base then you will have the priests.

BINFORD- Yes, I do, and I think we can argue all the way around the world for this. Polynesia is the most beautiful example of this you want to deal with.

GOGGIN- Getting away from generalities, can someone answer my question? What is the earliest site for this type of pottery and these temple mounds?

WILLIAMS- Well, I think what we are trying to do is discuss details of cultural history here rather than a system of

BINFORD- I do not think you can talk cultural history until you understand the matrix.

WILLIAMS- Well, pardon me, I think I understand the matrix, but I think we are now trying to discuss details of culture history of an area and I think we are all anthropologists enough to know how these things go together and what we can't have with a particular level of cultural development. Now, let's go on now to try to discuss what we know about the culture history of this area, and to answer John's question. I think the earliest well-known sites of this early Mississippian Culture complex are probably in the nuclear area that I outlined this morning, and possibly look something like the material that Greg Perino has shown us in terms of ceramics; the house form that you have there is different, but I do not think we know enough about that aspect. We do believe that these people had houses and they had temple mounds. From there on, I think we have got to look for the spread of this culture and I hope the next session will discuss the dispersal at different times. Because of the kind of organization you are suggesting that these cultures had, we have a dispersal, a very interesting pattern of dispersal through time, over perhaps some 1,000 years, and it is not a simple thing. It is a series of pulses of these cultural transmissions from these centers because of the successfulness of this cultural complex with its socio-political organization and its economic base which we discussed this morning.

VOICE- How long was a Mississippi site, say a big one like Cahokia, occupied?

PERINO- Four hundred years.

VOICE- What happened to Mississippian in that one site during the 400 years?

WILLIAMS- Well, I think we can show quite a bit of cultural evolution and change. Well, change certainly, and how do we look at this change? We have to look in the ground and we have to look at the ceramics and this is the problem that we were discussing this morning. Why we have always looked for loop and strap handles, differences which have shown, over and over, to be chronologically significant. I think that in terms of the spread and diffusion which we will be discussing next, we will have to be careful to make sure we are separating the cultural historical events of these different transmissions. Now, as to origin, I do not know.

WAUCHOPE- Do you feel that the earliest total expressions of what we define as Mississippian Culture are found in this nuclear area? Then it seems to me the only other step we can take in seeking origins is to see whether there is a total system of this kind that you are speaking of elsewhere that it could be derived from. Was it purely cultural evolution in situ or what was it? And these matters I believe can be determined only on a trait by trait, historical method.

SEARS- I think one of the things that bothers us about the culture development, or evolution or whatever, of early Mississippian, is that all of a sudden we have it, there is that problem. You can trace the history of these individual elements-- you get the bottle form coming out of the Caddoan area, you have temple mounds perhaps coming out from lower down in the coastal plains, where the main pot form came from I don't know--- but when these things coalesced or got together in this nuclear area, and I do not know the historical process that brought this about, it would be undoubtedly a far more efficient economic system, successful because it worked; the growth at this time was virtually overnight. You have a culture which, within a couple of generations, is suddenly tremendously more successful than anything else that has been around, and everybody either becomes a member of the party or gets out of the way for these people who suddenly had to have five gallon cooking pots instead of one quart ones to feed all the people. It simply spread so fast that there any I think we will see it archaeologically eventually, I think we are looking at a very very short term thing, the development of a discrete type into the most successfully functioning cultural type that we had in North America until that time.

PERINO- If this will help, there is an occasional clay tempered bottle from some of the Baytown mounds in eastern Arkansas, but they are very rare. One or two of them, we think, came from the mound. There appears to be in that area a development of the pottery into shell temper. But, again, a thing like this can fool you, because in the Illinois Valley and up around Cahokia, when Mississippian peoples came into the area they immediately began trading with the Woodland people. I think this also happened in the Baytown area. You are going to get a mixture of Woodland and Mississippian traits and they are going to be very difficult to separate.

FORD- It seems to me that the culture of Cherry Valley did not come from Cahokia, but probably reflects influences on their way up toward Cahokia. Something was happening between St. Louis and central Arkansas. Those houses would be very different.

PERINO- It is not a Cahokia type house and Jimmy Griffin is not willing to accept the principal that Cherry Valley is earlier than Cahokia.

FORD- It certainly isn't late Baytown. The only question is where did the houses come from.

SCHWARTZ- I think we would all agree with Bill Sears' summary, more or less. It seems to me that most cultures do come together as a result of a number of traits that are borrowed from separate areas. If we accept this, if we say that we can not look for the origin of the Mississippian Culture in one particular place, maybe it would be useful to go back to Louie Larsons point of the ideal culture. I think I understand what he means by ideal culture in this context. You mean that if we took all those traits of all those components we generally consider as Mississippian and, through the distribution of all the elements that are in them, find that point where most of them overlay and from that we took the generalized traits-- such as redistribution of economy, etc., general traits that would characterize an ideal culture, that you could find no matter what the particular element was, you might find some place else.

LARSON- I am talking about general elements, but is not a modal or, it is simply a constant. I would not expect exact conformity anywhere along the line, because it simply does not exist in reality.

SCHWARTZ- What can you see from contrasting this ideal type about the development of Mississippian Culture?

LARSON- Well, I think if you set up your ideal type and then, through time, take your real manifestations, your realities, as you have established it through your sequences-- C-14 or however you are doing it-- and compare it to your ideal type, that you can see it developing and perhaps you might be able to see the origin of a culture type.

WILLIAMS- Don't you think, Louie, when we talk about Macon Plateau, that is just about that we are doing? We take a look at the complex here at Macon Plateau and we can see how in using trait lists, however you want to describe Macon Plateau, that we then compare it with an ideal type which we might call early Mississippian, just as we do the same thing with Aztalan, we compare it with Old Village, as we compare Steed Kisker with Old Village, isn't that what we are doing. And aren't we seeing certain traits that occur in Aztalan or Steed Kisker or Macon Plateau that do not occur in the ideal type early Mississippian? And don't we learn something about culture history as a result?

LARSON- I am not sure I understand what you are saying, because the ideal type as I would formulate it, would not have the ideal early type, the ideal developed type, or an ideal late type or something like that, but simply a type of culture to which you compare, say, the plantation system or Macon Plateau or anything else. And then, where it does not conform or where it diverges or where it approaches it, ask the question why does it diverge or why does it approach your ideal type. What is there in these real situations which would explain this.

WILLIAMS- That is what I thought I just said.

WAUCHOPE- We all admit variation in culture. Although you may have an ideal type, there is a variation through time and through space both. At this moment, we are trying to find variations in early time and preceding time that might give us a clue toward the formation of this total ideal type.

SESSION II, PART 2

DISPERSAL OF MISSISSIPPIAN CULTURE

John M. Goggin, Chairman

GOGGIN-..... to deal with the culture outside of its nuclear area and here we see it somewhat segregated; that is, somewhat segregated out, rather than having a complete complex. The first of these afternoon papers is by Harald A. Huscher.

TWO MISSISSIPPIAN MOUND SITES IN QUITMAN COUNTY, GEORGIA

Harold A. Huscher

These two mound sites are two partially destroyed mounds that have been under investigation by the River Basin Survey on the Chattahoochee River Project on the boundary between Alabama and Georgia. The mounds are on the Georgia side. There are a number of mound sites there, but we did not want to get involved in any of the larger mound excavations which were on sub-contract to university parties. However, because these two mounds had been damaged they seemed like logical places to conduct quick sampling tests. It did not work out that way.

These mounds, as well as a number of other mounds in the area, had been noted by C.C. Jones, Clarence Moore, and subsequent writers, including Wesley Hurt. One of the two mounds I will be discussing was listed by Moore as the mound near Georgetown, Quitman County, Georgia. This is now carrying the number 9 Qu 1. The other mound is known as the mound above Cool Branch, or as the mound on the lower Lampley Place. It is now number 9 Qu 5. We usually just call it the Cool Branch Mound or the Cool Branch Site.

Both of these mounds had been damaged. The Georgetown Mound had been quarried for dirt to build a fish pond on two separate occasions, and it is almost gone. The Lampley Place Mound or the Cool Branch Mound had been plowed down for the 100 and some odd years since cultivation began.

I might mention that there are several other mounds that are not in the literature that are known in that area, one is a large Woodland mound outside the reservoir on private property. Of course, you are familiar with the Kolomoki Site not too far to the southeast situated away from the river. There is the Singer Moyer Mound Group at Lumpkin, and then on the Alabama side of the river, Wes Hurt found another series of inland sites, back away from the river. The ones that I will be discussing are right down on the river, however. The sites are within the actual easement area of the Walter F. George Dam. The mound at the upper Francis Landing was dug by the University of Alabama and the Griffith Mound or Mandeville Mound by the University of Georgia.

These remnant mounds, however, did not seem to justify any commitment of any large part of the salvage funds in anything like complete excavation. They did seem important enough to require testing in the mound proper and in the adjacent village areas to get adequate samples of cultural debris and to

distinguish between mound periods, pre-mound periods, and post-mound periods. However, there is no such thing as doing a little bit of digging in a mound. Once you get started in them there is no place to quit, as we are finding out. A small amount of preliminary testing in 1958 at the Garrrys Pond Mound (Qu 1) revealed a much older layer underneath. We had some material, possibly Archaic. No work was done at the Cool Branch Mound that year.

Early in 1960 both mound sites were tested with five-foot trenches from the eastern margins to the approximate center of the mound. We were digging in 6 inch (.5) levels and all of the material was sifted. We also dug a trench lengthwise of one of the longest remaining ridges that the bulldozer had left to see if we could get a profile. It was a fairly good profile and indicated an undisturbed sub-mound level. The same thing was done at the Cool Branch Mound and the trench reached the apparent center of the mound where we found a series of postmolds indicating some sort of sub-mound structure present. Several pits were not productive, with the exception of the large pit in one trench on the Garry Site which produced a large quantity of chinkapin nuts.

At the beginning of 1961, because of the unexpected results of the excavation at Mandeville Mound and at the Reeves Mound, both of which turned out to have comparatively minor Mississippian occupations but important Woodland occupations underneath as sand cores, it seemed desirable to do additional work on these two mounds in order to keep the overall program of the river in better balance and to determine more exactly the period of the building even though only the roots of the mounds were left.

Since the outwash aprons of these mounds had been found still intact, it seemed that these sites offered a chance of getting direct separation of these mounds and etc. In the second half of 1961, a larger area in the west half of the mound area at the Garrrys Pond Site was stripped, revealing the roots of a circular mound, quite surprising. We found a circular clay mound faced with clay and probably originally 200 feet in circumference, or roughly, at the base. The section trench was cut through the west margin and revealed that the clay was carefully built up at a steep angle, the actual base of the mound was four feet below the present surface in this area. There seemed to be some sort of a palisade of spaced large-diameter posts that was involved in approximately the same circle as the outside of the clay mound, but which did not actually seem to be part of the clay. How they go together I don't know.

Now, at the calculated center of this circular mound, we excavated an area 20 by 20 feet to try to get into sub-mound fill there. It was through the mottled midden fill, and we found numbers of postmolds in interrupted alignments, but we were not able to make out any clearly defined structure. Because of the weather we shut down before we got into the sub-mound area. This last year, as soon as the pit had dried out, it was taken down to 1.5 feet below the mound base and into essentially sterile clay or silt. There is not a trace of any Early Woodland or Archaic level that we had expected to find. So, the lower level essentially starts from a sterile base. There were several midden pockets found in this 20 by 20 area. We found that there was a high frequency of a carefully finished plain ware with thickened rims and no handles. They do not seem to be the locally derived Weeden Island types and they document contacts with an actual occupation of the site by earlier Mississippian people carrying something of a culture like Coles Creek or the later Moundville further west. The overlying rectangular structure then would be more likely to refer to the later Ft. Walton-Lamar period which seems to account for the greatest part of the pottery from this site. To the southeast of the mound center, after we had

stripped off enough of the area to find out that there definitely was a margin line outlining a rectangular mound, we laid out another area 30 by 70 feet. We experimented here with digging with a power screen to see if we could get a larger sample. The difficulty of working this way with a power screen turns out to be in the keeping up with the recording.

We found a great number of postmolds, but no recognizable pattern. Part of that is because you just can't see the postmolds. The soil is very difficult to read. The small log type of building with small posts closely set in a trench do not seem to be present at this site. This is important, because at the other site we did get them. Bone at this site is very badly preserved except for a few game animal bones which had been in ash midden and were preserved. Several pits are probably burials, but they are not yet worked out. One semi-flexed burial in an oval pit dug into the underlying clay, probably because of the water table, had been preserved but the bone had a cottage cheese consistence. We couldn't do anything with it. We worked it out carefully, tried to let it dry, finally gave up and plaster-cast a jacket on it. We took the skull out, left the rest of the bones to dry, and during the night it was destroyed by vandals.

During the first part of 1961, additional work at the Cool Branch Site became possible. The postmolds underlying the surviving clay mound turned out to be a building that is off-center from the actual rectangular mound lines as we were able to find them. We again bulldozed down to a control level, leaving a mattress of six inches of clay, and then started using the power screen in cleaning very rapidly. We are getting total recovery of the artifacts on the contact between the clay and the sub-mound level, digging by 6 inches (.5) intervals. We dug along the north side of the site, where we thought we had houses before-- we had found the small log type of trenches and angular junctions which seemed to us to indicate possible overlapping house patterns. We opened up a very large area here. We found that instead of being in a small log house area, we were in a very elaborate system of fortifications were actually, after we ruled out extraneous trenches, we actually were digging in the square bastions on a very elaborately laid out fortification system. The total fortification system, as now known, indicates a square-type fortress 700 feet on a side and regularly spaced bastions that are about 115 feet apart. The actual orientation of the mound margins that we picked up indicate that it is exactly in the center of this thing and oriented on exactly the same angle which is approximately 60 to 62 degrees off magnetic north.

The first sub-mound structure turned out to be a small log type thing, 30 feet plus square. It has a false fire in the center made of red iron ore, which very heavily stained the central area. There are two lines of posts cutting across this area and running to an undetermined distance. Adjacent to this, however, we ran into a different pattern. In digging a test pit, we hit the corner of a small log type structure with open corners and apparently the support posts set at an angle inside. We have been gradually extending this area to see what is involved. It very probably was the original center of the mound, and we were way off because our first trench went to the center of the resultant mound. Apparently there were two stages and we were digging this mound backwards. Because we have already bulldozed the center of the mound to take the clay layer off, we probably have destroyed many of the essential points of final interpretation. But the thing had been badly disturbed to begin with. In the center is an area of sand that we thought was very possibly going to be the core of a ramp on this side of the mound. It turns out that it is no such thing. This sand area is coated with bright red clay and we thought it was just a clay faced ramp; however, sectioning through this we found that

we had a pattern of concentric clay lines which indicated a deep pit here and, although we have not cleared far enough out yet to tell what is involved, it seems to us that here is a central pit in the center of this 30 by 30 feet small log house, this dias, or pile of dirt, piled here is definitely inside the house because it is against the clay wadding of the wall line here. Apparently this is some kind of a central pit in a central ceremonial structure within the original mound and this is a later addition we have out on the side.

(EDITOR'S NOTE The remainder of this talk was accompanied by slides and the comments were more or less duplicates of the previous portion of the talk, therefore they are being omitted)

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THE APALACHICOLA RIVER AREA OF FLORIDA

Charles H. Fairbanks

..... Apalachicola because he has a great deal more spectacular material than I have. East of the Apalachicola River we have what seems to be a rather definitely different culture sub-area from the Ft. Walton area west of the Apalachicola. This area between the Apalachicola, which is an extension of the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers after they join, and the Aucilla to the east is the area which was the Apalachi historic area, from DeSotas time to 1700-- with the destruction of the Apalachi missions. There is a good likelihood that we are dealing with a prehistoric variety of Alalachi material culture.

In this area, we have a long sequence of occupation: Archaic, Stallings fiber tempered material, Deptford, Santa Rosa-Swift Creek, Weeden Island, and then, apparently, a break. There are no good relationships between Weeden Island and the following Ft. Walton. Following Ft. Walton, however, there are good relationships with the Leon-Jefferson Period which is in effect a missionized Ft. Walton. Then finally, after another gap with the Carolinian destruction of the missions from 1705 to 1730 or something, we have the Seminole Period followed by territorial.

In this general area, we have a quite consistent settlement pattern. On the red clay hills which lie back from a rather narrow coastal plain, we have a series of large temple mound sites of which the largest is the Lake Jackson Site (LE 1). This site consists of six pyramidal mounds and one mound which seems to be circular but may have originally been pyramidal. At this site we get Ft. Walton Incised pottery, Lake Jackson Plain, some Safety Harbor Incised, a little Lamar Complicated Stamped, a plain red, some St. Petersburg Incised, and a little brushed material. Formerly, we had assumed that possibly this brushed material was scattered odds and ends from up in Georgia or Alabama or some place, but more and more we are becoming convinced that it is an in-place brushed development, not trade sherds necessarily.

About three miles-- in an air line-- north of the large Lake Jackson Site, on a point of Lake Jackson and sticking out into the lake, is another site which I am calling Miller's Landing, but is also probably Willey's Rawlings Site. It is another Ft. Walton site with adjacent Ft. Walton village material. We have little material from the site yet, but it is clearly Ft. Walton Incised, Lake Jackson Plain, and I suppose larger collections and excavation would show

the rest of the Ft. Walton complex.

About ten miles northeast of this, on the southern shore of Lake Iamonia, is the Iamonia Mound, again a single temple mound with a rather large village site adjacent, Ft. Walton Incised, Lake Jackson Plain, Lamar Complicated Stamp, and stamped clay balls about the size of a big-league baseball that have been paddled, usually with concentric circles or rather Lamar-like stamping. Some of the balls, through the stamping, have become slightly faceted.

At a distance of about five miles southwest from this site, we have another single temple mound. This mound was bulldozed because the kids had always wanted to dig in a temple mound, so they bulldozed a trench through it. We went in and profiled it. Here we had a temple mound consisting of several sequent levels of building apparently with earth covered structures on the various levels. It involves clay plates and so, and is seemingly quite typical of temple mounds of this area. In the large village site around it, again we have the Ft. Walton sand tempered pottery types.

Then, at a distance of about 15 miles east, at the south end of Lake Miccosukee, is the large Neismith Mound, very much similar to these others with a single temple mound, adjacent village site, and Ft. Walton series pottery. In between this site and the bulldozed mound site, about half way between, is the Buck Lake Mound, another Ft. Walton mound with a village site around it.

There may have been an additional temple mound site about five miles north of the most eastern one. These are all in Leon County, the area where we have the best control over the sites. We do not, by any means, have all of the sites or even ten percent of them, but we know more sites in this county than in adjacent counties. In between these large temple mounds, almost anywhere where there is either red clay soil which is eocene residual soil or where there are sandy well-drained clay loams, we will find small Ft. Walton sites. In most cases, since this is the game-bird hunting plantation area, there are not large plowed fields to collect in. They plow up a small area 20 feet across and plant something You do not get a big collection from these sites, but it is quite clear that these sites are small. The largest of them is probably considerably less than an acre and a good many of them would be only the size of this room.

I am sure we need to excavate one of these and I think we can get permission if we could get funds. I imagine from the size and the amount of pottery on them that these will turn out to be single family homesteads with, I would imagine, single family houses. They do not seem to be multi-family settlements. There are a few larger Ft. Walton sites without temple mounds in the area. The general pattern seems to be a rather thickly scattered temple mound sites with farming homesteads in between.

Now, admittedly, what we do not have is a precise chronological control. How many of these temple mounds and the homestead sites are strictly contemporary? How much of a time scale is involved? In addition, east of the Apalachicola, we have a series of Ft. Walton sites in the coastal plain along the marsh area where it seems quite certain that corn agriculture would have been singularly unrewarding. Anglo-americans have tried to grow corn in this area and starved to death repeatedly. It is leached white sand and does not seem to offer many rewards. Many of these sites have not fixed, but consistent, scatterings of drum fish bones, shell fish, shells, and so on and it would seem that they were subsisting on the coastal marine animal food. This offers an interesting

possibility. It does not seem that these are summer encampments or winter encampments of the interior people. The pottery, while it is still eastern Ft. Walton sand tempered variety, seems to differ significantly in design, surface finish, and so on, so that I do not think these are vacation cottages of the Lake Jackson groups and so on.

Finally, in general summary of the whole area, we find almost no shell tempered Ft. Walton pottery types east of the Apalachicola. They do occur in very minor-- one or two percent-- amounts on some of these sites where we have adequate samples. In general, the more elaborate decorative techniques (the black polished ware of western Ft. Walton, the filling of incised lines with red or white paint, the more elaborate vessel forms in effigies of shells, or gourds, or so on) are absent, but I think, at least, we have the potential here of getting a very clear picture of scattered county-seats with farm homesteads in between. What the pattern of the coastal settlements is is far from clear, they are on both the mainland and a few fringing barrier islands.

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THE FORT WALTON CULTURE WEST OF THE APALACHICOLA RIVER

William C. Lazarus

The Fort Walton Period was initially defined by Dr. Gordon R. Willey (1949: 452-470) based on data from 39 sites, of which 29 are west of the Apalachicola River. Today, I shall present information based on 88 Ft. Walton sites now known between Perdido Bay and the Apalachicola. This is more than three times the original sample size. Table 1 shows the breakdown of these sites in comparison with the original tabulation:

TABLE 1

<u>Pure Sites:</u>	<u>1949</u>	<u>1961</u>
Middens	6	21
Temple Mounds	4	5
Burial Mounds	2	3
Cemeteries	3	5
<u>Mixed Sites:</u>		
Middens	12	49
Burial Mounds	1	1
Spring		1
<u>Questionable:</u>		
Burial Mounds		2
Temple Mounds	1	1
	<hr/> 29	<hr/> 88

Please note that we have found one new kind of site plus more middens, mounds, and cemeteries. Not only do we have data from the new sites, but we have much more data from many of the original sites. The raw data now available is at least five times that which was available to Dr. Willey in 1949.

In the face of this new evidence, I propose to comment upon the original Period Definition and other traits of the Culture as it existed west of the Apalachicola. Where appropriate, I will show evidence to substantiate proposed changes. Willey's Period definition remains basically valid. It reads:

The diagnostic pottery types for the Fort Walton Period are Fort Walton Incised and Pensacola Incised. Related types of both the Fort Walton and Pensacola Series are confined to this period. There seems to be no continuity of Weeden Island types as such except for Wakulla Check Stamped which appears in small quantities in some Fort Walton Period middens.

There is one regional or subregional variable. Types of the Pensacola Series, which are shell-tempered, occur more frequently at the western end of the northwest coast region, diminishing toward the east.

There is now conclusive data to substantiate this last statement and to elaborate upon it. Table II shows the percentage of shell tempered sherds from 32 of the 88 sites arranged in a west-to-east sequence. The * indicates that European materials are present, therefore we can assume a late dating.

In order to obtain a high confidence factor, only those sites are plotted where 100 or more total sherds were available for classification. For five of these sites the sample size is over 10,000 per site. At five others the sample size is between 1,000 and 10,000 per site. On the remaining 22 sites, the sample size is between 100 and 1,000.

I invite your attention to the "step" changes. These clearly correspond to the sub-regions associated with the Coastal Bays. Around Perdido and Pensacola bays the shell temper percentage ranges from 100% downward to about 60%. The Choctawhatchee Bay area has no known site which exceeds 72% and the average is slightly less than 50%. On the eastern end of the region under discussion (St. Johns Bay and the west side of the Apalachicola River) the highest recorded percentage is 35% with an average of less than 20%.

In attempting to account for this phenomena at least three factors must be considered:

- First- Are sand and shell temper materials equally available in each of the sub-regions? The answer to this is clearly yes. All five bays are or have been rich in oysters and clams. The sand throughout this region is generally uniform and plentiful.
- Second- Are these step changes temporally related? The answer to this is apparently no. Although we can not assign dates to all 32 of these sites, there are 10 among them which contain European materials (*). The fact that the historic sites do not have consistent temper proportions mitigates against the proposition that the change is temporally related.

TABLE II

SHELL TEMPER VS SAND TEMPER IN THE FORT WALTON CULTURE
(Sites listed from West to East along the Gulf Coast)

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100 (PERCENT SHELL)	
*BA-1(Ala)												} Perdito Bay
*ES-18(Fla)												
SA-29												
*SA-11												} Pensacola Bay
*SA-12												
SA-10												
OK-5												} Choctawhatchee Bay
OK-6												
OK-12												
OK-31												
OK-19												
*OK-35												
WL-2												
WL-8												
*WL-50												
WL-58												
WL-61												
*WL-30												
*WL-59												
WL-32												} St. Andrews Bay
*WL-33												
*WL-15												
BY-3												
BY-4												} Apalachicola Bay and River Basin
BY-5												
BY-9												
*GU-5												
FR-13												} Apalachicola Bay and River Basin
FR-14												
FR-Grady												
HE-(Ala)												
HO-27(Ala)												

* signifies that European materials are present- assume a late dating.

Third- Could shell temper represent one culture and sand temper another? Apparently not. Identical decorative motifs and vessel forms occur on both sand and shell temper pastes, as will be seen later. Nothing in this culture other than temper currently appears to vary from west-to-east. It is possible that with this minor breakthrough on temper variation, other variations may be observed but none are apparent now to my knowledge.

At this time, it appears to me that use of temper materials in the Ft. Walton Culture was a matter of preference. This implies the existence of two distinct schools of pottery makers within the culture-- shell temper to the west and sand temper to the east and a mixing in between. The existence of sites with single temper would seem to substantiate this hypothesis.

Settlement patterns: With regard to settlement patterns, the new data tends to increase the number of mixed middens over pure middens but this does not seem to disturb Willey's original treatment of the subject. In the area from Perdido Bay eastward to the Chipola River basin, we have no new inland sites. There are surely some there, but the Coastal Region, which is experiencing a population explosion with bulldozers running constantly, has held our almost undivided attention for the past eight years.

At this time we can add some information on village layouts at three Ft. Walton sites-- two of which are coastal and one inland.

In the vicinity of Gulbreeze on U.S. Highway 98 a few miles east of Pensacola, a site known as "La Casa" (SA-12) reveals a definite settlement pattern. Investigation is not complete at this site. The 600-foot-long midden which runs north and south is about 25 feet wide. Only one stratigraphic pit has been dug into it. No post molds were encountered and the midden was relatively thin (10 inches). This site is 96% shell tempered. The Ft. Walton sherds from this pit were classified as follows:

Ft. Walton	7
Pensacola Series	312
Moundville Engraved	13

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Of the 312 Pensacola sherds, at least 216 showed brushing of the outer surface. This evidence, plus similar brushed shell tempered sherds from other sites, has led me to propose a PENSACOLA BRUSHED type classification. This is discussed in a paper appearing in the current issue of The Florida Anthropologist (Vol. 14, Nos. 3-4) and I shall not take the time to define the type here. However, since it seems to appear in association with European materials, I consider it a late Ft. Walton Period type. This site therefore is considered post-contact and is suspected of dating in the early 18th Century.

The two circular middens, one slightly larger in diameter than the other, with the larger one on the highest ground, appear to be related to the row midden. Twenty-five sherds from the surface of the larger and 12 from the smaller are all shell tempered and are indistinguishable from the large collection from the row midden.

The second village pattern which has been observed in the coastal area, occurs at the Pickins Village Site (WL-51) on the west side of Hogtown Bayou. Here, six or seven small midden piles of shell are arranged in a pattern..... Sherds from these midden piles are few but are 100% Ft. Walton Culture. Both sand and shell temper is represented but the sample size is far too small to warrent any speculation based on ceramics by dwelling unit.

A third village pattern for the Ft. Walton Culture has been under investigation at the Wadell Pond Site near Marianna by Mr. William Gardner, a graduate student at the University of Florida. I have not seen the site nor a drawing of it. However, it has been described to me by Mr. Gardner and Dr. Goggin as a Ft. Walton palisaded town site. A group of caves appear to have been included in this palisaded area. The artifacts from this site appear to be more of the eastern area variety (i.e. sand tempered). The presence of giant ceramic ear plugs, similar to those to be discussed later, was noted however.

No dating can yet be attached to the latter two village sites.

Economy: In commenting upon the economy of the Ft. Walton Culture, Willey lacked evidence of agriculture, but speculated that "there is little doubt that agriculture was known to the Fort Walton peoples." Charred corncobs have now been found in a Ft. Walton context at the two sites on the Apalachicola River. One by Bullen (1958) and the second by Neuman (1961).

Although Willey suggests that agriculture was replacing marine foods in Ft. Walton times, we have serious doubts that agriculture was widely practiced by these people in this coastal area. The sandy soils of the coast afford little nourishment for crops yet we find numerous village sites. The middens contain much oyster and clam shell plus a wide variety of fish bones with occasional deer and bird bones.

Fairbanks, in his report on the 1960 excavations in the Ft. Walton Temple Mound which uncovered 17 Ft. Walton Period burials, said "Permanent dentation is generally badly worn. The teeth, even when worn down to a very considerable extent, generally do not show caries. This suggests a more varied and qualitatively balanced diet than is usual for fully agricultural peoples such as the Fort Walton occupation is supposed to have been..." These same comments would apply to several adult skulls recovered recently at two other sites (OK-35 and WL-30) in the Choctawhatchee Bay area. Therefore, I believe that on the coast, marine foods played the major role in the Ft. Walton diet and that agriculture, although known, was a relatively minor economic factor.

An interesting observation about the Ft. Walton Period middens is that they usually have a stand of Big Bud Hickory trees (Hocoria alba, Britt.). We have frequently found new sites by looking for these trees. There does not appear to be any way of proving whether these nut trees are related to the Indian cultures. Their presence in the village area would have produced nuts in season and assured a year round squirrel population in close proximity.

Organization of the Society: The original discussion by Willey on the organization of the society in the Ft. Walton Culture remains basically valid. However, new evidence invalidates some of the statements made concerning it and tends to indicate a degree of sophistication particularly in the Choctawhatchee Bay area, which was not previously recognized.

For example, Willey states that "... specially made mortuary ceramics disappear and in general, grave goods are less abundant and more elaborate, but in a different style than ever before." In the Fairbanks report on the Ft. Walton Temple Mound we find this statement: "The Fort Walton period ceramics present a very broad array of executions. From a number of Fort Walton Cemeteries we have a large collection of burial vessels. The execution of designs ranges all the way from broad grooves traced in the wet clay to sharp lines engraved in the fired surface. In many cases it is difficult to tell at just what stage the vessel was decorated. In addition, many of the pots show either red or white pigment rubbed in the lines."

A ceremonial complex of considerable proportions is now evident in the vicinity of the Ft. Walton Temple Mound. There are similarities with Moundville, Spiro, and Walls-Pecan Point. The artifacts come from sites which show a small amount of European contact materials. Death cult symbolism is clearly present and no doubt played an important role in the organization of the society.

Ceramic Arts: By means of a series of color slides, I would like to illustrate the Ft. Walton ceramic arts as they exist in the coastal area. This also demonstrates the ceremonial complex I have mentioned.

The Cult Motifs, God-Animal Representations, Human Form Representations, and Ceremonial Objects of the Ft. Walton Culture on the Gulf Coast are described by title in Table III of this paper. A final group of slides will then show the urn burial materials and two Ft. Walton skulls.

Conclusions:

- 1- Although evidence of corn has now been found at two Ft. Walton sites on the west bank of the Apalachicola, the economic base of the large segment of the Ft. Walton Culture living in the Coastal Bay areas remained oriented to the sea.
- 2- The Ft. Walton Culture around Choctawhatchee Bay and in the vicinity of the large Temple Mound at Fort Walton Beach achieved a ceremonial complex with strong cult influences shortly after European contact in the last half of the sixteenth century A.D. There are many parallels with Moundville, Spiro, and particularly Walls-Pecan Point.
- 3- The ration of shell tempered to sand tempered ceramics varies from west to east in steps associated with the Coastal Bays of northwest Florida. These variations do not appear to be temporaly related. The Ceremonial Complex centers in the area where the ratio is about 50%.
- 4- Three ceramic characteristics have been provisionally identified at post-contact Ft. Walton sites.
 - a- Engraving is sufficiently common on Pensacola type paste to consider it indigenous to the Ft. Walton Culture.
 - b- Brushing of exterior surfaces of shell tempered ware is fairly common at historic level sites in the Pensacola Bay area.
 - c- The Hogtown Bayou style, involving red or white pigmented filler of incised lines on either sand or shell tempered vessels, is recognizable as a late Ft. Walton Period characteristic.

TABLE III

CULT MOTIFS, GOD-ANIMAL REPRESENTATIONS, HUMAN FORM
REPRESENTATIONS AND CEREMONIAL OBJECTS OF THE
FORT WALTON CULTURE ON THE GULF COAST

CULT MOTIFS (In common with Moundville, Spiro, and Walls-Pecan Point)

1. Cross (WL-30, WL-33, WL-50)
2. Cosmic or World Symbol (OK-35, WL-50)
3. Sun Circles (WL-30, WL-33, WL-50, OK-6)
4. Crescent (WL-50)
5. Barred Oval (WL-50, WL-30)
6. Applique (WL-50)

GOD-ANIMAL AND SIMILAR REPRESENTATIONS

Effigy Vessels	Pictograph on vessels
<u>Bird</u>	<u>Bird</u>
1. Eagle (one & two heads) (SA-11, WL-30, WL-33)	1. Eagle (WL-15)
2. Woodpecker (WL-ss, WL-30)	
3. Duck (one & two heads) (WL-30, WL-50)	<u>Reptile</u>
4. Goose (WL-30)	1. Plumed Rattlesnake (WL-50, WL-33)
5. Quail (WL-30)	
6. Heron (WL-30, WL-33)	<u>Vegetable</u>
7. Owl (WL-33, WL-30)	1. Corn (?) (WL-30)
8. Turkey (WL-33)	
9. Buzzard (WL-30)	
<u>Reptile</u>	
10. Snake (WL-33)	
11. Lizard (WL-33)	
12. Alligator (WL-30)	
13. Frog (WL-33, WL-50, OK-6, OK-35, WL-30)	
<u>Animal</u>	
14. Fox (WL-30)	
15. Otter (WL-30)	
16. Opossum (OK-35, WL-33)	
17. Squirrel or Dog (WL-33, WL-30)	
18. Cat (WL-33, OK-6)	
<u>Marine</u>	
19. Oyster (?) (WL-30, WL-33)	
20. Cockle (WL-33)	

HUMAN FORM REPRESENTATIONSEffigies

1. Human head on vessel rims (single & dual) (OK-6, WL-30, WL-33, WL-50)
2. Two-faced head rim effigy (humans face inward; bird outward) (WL-30)
3. Human effigy head rattle or small dipper (hollow) (WL-28)
4. Hollow head rim effigy with bead rattle inside (Dauphin Island, Alabama)
5. Human form bottle with spout at rear of head (WL-33)
6. Prefabricated heads imbedded in sides of rim collar (WL-33)

Human Form Design Elements (Incised)

1. Face (anterior view) (WL-30)
2. Skull (lateral view) (WL-33, WL-50, OK-35)
3. Hands (WL-30, WL-50, WL-33)
4. Hand and eye (WL-30)
5. Weeping eye (WL-50, WL-30, WL-33, OK-35)
6. Open eye (WL-50)
7. Foot (WL-30, WL-33, WL-50)

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS

1. Giant ceramic ear plugs (OK-35, WL-33, WL-30, WL-50)
2. Ceramic baton heads (WL-33, WL-50)
3. Tripartite bottle form (Henry County, Alabama)
4. Stirrup neck bottles (WL-50)
5. Medicine stones (various colors) (OK-35)
6. Discoidal stones and discoidal sherds (WL-30, WL-33, WL-57)
7. Two-compartment bowls (WL-30)
8. Miniature vessel grave goods-- pre-killed (WL-30)
9. Projectile points of Archaic and Hopewellian cultures as grave goods (OK-6, OK-35, WL-30)
10. Copal or equivalent (OK-6)
11. Spatulate Form of Axe (WL-33)
12. Ceremonial Pipes (WL-30, OK-60)

COSTUME (as determined from human effigies and from burials)

1. Occipital hair knot (WL-30, WL-33, WL-50)
2. Anterior-posterior head deformation (OK-35, OK-61, BY-3)
3. Pierced ears (much elongation?) (WL-30)
4. Long conch columella shell hair pins (large head) (OK-6, OK-35)
5. Large conch columella shell beads (necklace) (OK-6, OK-35, WL-30, WL-33)
6. Small shell barrel shaped beads ($\frac{1}{4}$ " long) possibly sewn to fabric (OK-6)

EXOTIC BURIALS

1. Four urn burial (rare) (WL-30)
2. Skull-under-large-bowl burials (common) (OK-35, WL-30, WL-33, WL-50)

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FT. WALTON IN INLAND FLORIDA

William M. Gardner

This paper deals primarily with the Ft. Walton Culture in inland Florida. The major portion of peninsular Florida excluding the lower Gulf Coastal region is void, as far as I know, of the Ft. Walton Culture with the exception of a few trade sherds and an occasional Ft. Walton design motif found on a native paste.

My major concern with the Ft. Walton Period stems, of course, from the Waddell's Mill Pond Site (Ja65) located in Jackson County, Florida. This site is the focus of the Masters thesis which I hope to present for consideration in June of 1962.

The site at Waddell's Mill Pond is unique in two ways: first, it is the only known stockaded site of the Ft. Walton Period in Florida, and secondly, it is an extensively occupied cave site, with undisturbed and primary occupation levels existing as deep as 30 inches. The average depth is 18 inches. There is one other cave rock-shelter site in Jackson County that deserves mention. This is the Smith Site, which is located about three and one-half miles southeast of Waddell's Mill. Here the occupation level has an average depth of 12 inches.

Both of the above mentioned sites show heavy occupation and in what one must assume to be crowded conditions. The diet apparently consisted primarily of animal remains, indicating here a departure from the normal Mississippian pattern of agriculture. Among the skeletal remains found in the midden are deer, possum, rabbit, bear, box turtle, turkey, squirrel, fox, raccoon, and fresh water fish. This difference may be misleading. The replacement of agriculture for hunting may have simply been forced upon them. This question alone presents complications for which I have several alternative answers, none of which will be gone into here.

Other midden material yields evidence of another aspect of their diet in the fresh water mussel, however, it definitely played a minor role in their economy. A further variation is seen in the half dozen fragments of charred corn cobs recovered. The absence of more evidence of corn is puzzling, especially when noted that all of the cobs recovered came from the same square and at the same depth.

Fertile land surrounds the caves and the soil is a relatively sandy clay that would lend itself to cultivation even with crude tools. Within this fertile land and for quite a distance around the water and rock shelter area, there is evidence of an extensive occupation. Culture periods noted range from Santa Rosa-Swift Creek up through Ft. Walton with the latter comprising the major occupation. Cultivation through the years has ruined any stratigraphy that existed, but from the frequency of sherds it can be assumed that the area was occupied for considerable time within the two or three hundred year span of the Ft. Walton Period. One would surmise that this extended village was like most of its prototypes, based on an agrarian economy. The field sites and the stockaded rock shelter must be connected, with the latter probably being a refuge for the population of the field sites. Here we have indirect evidence of social turbulence within the Ft. Walton Period that is not, or has not been, indicated elsewhere.

The Lake Jackson Site in Leon County is an open type village compound with a ceremonial complex. The surrounding Ft. Walton sites in Leon County are small and with little depth, and presumably existed as a result of agriculture. The Lake Jackson Site itself appears to have been a ceremonial center. Likewise, the area around Fort Walton Beach gives indications of being a ceremonial center. Temple mounds are located at other points along the Gulf Coast and the Apalachicola River. To my knowledge there are no temple mounds present at inland Ft. Walton Period sites west of the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee rivers. Then again this region has not been explored as thoroughly as has the coastal regions, but enough exploration has been done to satisfy me that the yield of Ft. Walton Period ceremonial mounds in this area will be significantly lower than the yield for the other areas. A less dense population could possibly explain this, but we come back to the Waddell's Mill Pond Site and the surrounding Ft. Walton Period sites and this reasoning does not apply. Waddell's Mill Pond appears to have been a population center, but it was not, from the mound aspect, a ceremonial center.

Pottery differs in quite a few respects. Most notable among these is the small percentage of shell tempered pottery found in inland sites. This is especially noteworthy at Ja 65 where not one percent of the several thousand sherds are Pensacola or related ware. A unique tempering style in Ft. Walton, that of limestone tempering, is found in large percentages at Ja 65. Further, the coarse gritty ware found at the Lake Jackson Site comprises a small majority of the sherds. Most sherds are of the compact Ft. Walton paste.

Design motifs, quite elaborate and highly stylized along the coast, conform to four or five patterns at Ja 65 and are not nearly as elaborate. In fact, sherds of this nature can almost be considered trade sherds or ceremonial sherds. The major difference here may result from the numerous funerary vessels recovered along the coast and the absence of exhaustive reports on middens. The sherds at Ja 65 came entirely from within the midden.

In considering the statewide aspects of the Ft. Walton Culture, there appear to be three geographical regions, the northwest Gulf Coast, inland Florida west of the Chattahoochee-Apalachicola and east of Crestview, and the area between the Chattahoochee-Apalachicola rivers and Tallahassee. A fourth manifestation now

called the Safety Harbor Period is seen in the Tampa Bay area. These areas appear to differ in economy, socio-religious organization as well as in ceramics.

Looking at this situation in a broader scope, the division between the two inland areas becomes less significant than the division between inland and coastal areas. It is my contention that the difference between inland and coastal Ft. Walton is significant, enough so that I may in my thesis propose an inland phase and a coastal phase. This then would make a Ft. Walton Period with three manifestations or phases, the third one being what is now known as the Safety Harbor Period, all more or less occupying similar time periods but differing economically, socially, and religiously.

If the results of this research bear out this hypothesis, I will propose it more fully then. I do not think such a proposition would confuse the picture of Ft. Walton any more than it already is, rather I feel it would tend to clarify it. We could then look for the major culture influences of the coastal area out of the Mobile Bay region and perhaps from Moundville down the Alabama River. The cultural influences of the inland region probably came from all directions. Perhaps this is the significance of the stockade at Ja 65. I only wish that south central and southwest Alabama and inland north Florida were more adequately surveyed.

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THE SAFETY HARBOR PERIOD: A BRIEF STATEMENT

Ripley P. Bullen

The heart of the Safety Harbor Culture centers around Tampa Bay and these remarks are limited to that region. We should mention, however, that there are temple mounds in the Everglades area including three large mound groups near Lake Okeechobee in south Florida which may well be contemporaneous with and which may also reflect Mississippian influences. I refer to Big Mound City-- a complex of some 16 mounds with causeways and semi-circular embankments-- east of the lake; Tony's Mound-- including semi-circular embankments, causeways, and about 20 mounds-- southwest of the lake; and the Ortona Earthworks west of the lake.

Flat-topped, pyramidal mounds are typical of major Safety Harbor sites. In 1955 in an article on the Tampa Bay area in the Florida Historical Quarterly, I located 13 temple mounds between Tarpon Springs and the center of Sarasota. Since then, Sears located another at the Bayshore Homes Site in northwestern St. Petersburg. There is also one just south of Englewood.

Such sites consist of a living area or midden, a burial mound, a temple mound, and a plaza which is devoid of debris. Nearly always the ramp of the temple mound points towards the living area situated across the plaza. Ball games may have been played in the plazas and people there could easily observe ceremonies if conducted on the tops of the temple mounds. Scattered along the shore and inland were small villages whose inhabitants went to the major centers for ceremonial purposes. Perhaps they held markets in the Square as is the custom in many countries today.

These major centers are frequently multi-period sites-- Weeden Island period sites which become Safety Harbor with the addition of a temple mound and

a plaza. The older burial mound may still be used or a new one built for use during the Safety Harbor Period. The standard Safety Harbor form of disposal of the dead-- charnel houses and concomitant bundle burials-- undoubtedly started during the preceding Weeden Island Period.

The Safety Harbor Culture seems to be the result of the gradual absorption of Mississippian influences by Weeden Island people whose culture had "lost its bloom." The pottery degenerates both technologically and artistically. Throughout extensive deposits no decorated pottery is found.

The first evidence of definable Safety Harbor seems to be the construction of a temple mound which implies a priesthood or governing class who take control away from the common man. From this beginning the Safety Harbor Culture develops as more Mississippian traits appear.

Fragments of grindstones are fairly common as are bone awls and pins, shell tools, and plummets. The latter are holdovers from the previous periods. Typical ceramic traits include: 1, Pinellas Plain vessels with nicked or grooved outer lips; 2, Pinellas Incised vessels with punctation bordered arcades; 3, coil or lug handles with or without horizontal incised lines between them; 4, Safety Harbor Incised; 5, incised water bottles (known only from burial mounds); 6, a rather linear variant of St. Johns Check Stamped which may be more common during the earlier than the later part of the period; and 7, in very late times, sherds of Jefferson ware and of Spanish tinajas. The small, narrow, triangular arrow point and drill are also relatively late traits.

This was the culture found by the first Spanish explorers in the Tampa Bay region. It seems to have been a mixed culture, one in which some people were settled fishermen and others settled farmers. Their ceremonial centers performed useful functions in their culture as economic, religious, and governmental centers. While peripheral to the main Mississippian region they enjoyed the basic Mississippian agricultural customs and culture.

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DISCUSSION

GOGGIN- To present an addition to this program I would like to briefly mention something about the Glades area of southern Florida because I think it seems to fit in this discussion. The Glades area of southern Florida is essentially the area south of Lake Okeechobee. As Ripley Bullen has already pointed out, there are a number of tremendous ceremonial centers in the area. In addition to those he mentioned, there are a number of others equally as large and many small ones. The area seems, at the time of European contact in the early 16th Century, to have been under the political domination of the Calusa. The Calusa are perhaps one of the most fascinating of all North American Indians because, on the basis of a non-agricultural economy but rich in marine food, they achieved a level of culture complexity that is very astounding. According to one of the early Spanish missionaries, the Indians had their temples on small hills within the villages. These flat-topped temple mounds are, of course, quite apparent and many of them are very impressive in size. The thing that is interesting about the Calusa is that there are practically no direct Middle Mississippian artifacts here. There are half a dozen pieces of Ft. Walton pottery, perhaps it might run into several dozen but no more. These are the people, of course, who are responsible for the Key Marco material which dates around 1400 or 1450.

In some of these ceremonial works, in the ceremonial material, we do find a few Southern Cult influences, but here we have a people, who at the time of Spanish contact, were ruled by a supreme ruler who was both a civil and religious head who donned each role at the appropriate time. It was a very tight empire with apparently 20 to 30 chiefs paying alligience to him. The situation was one based on a brother-sister marriage for the chiefs. We have a tremendous elaboration of human labor in building these earth works that comprise many hundreds of thousands of cubic yards of material. In other words, here we have a tight cultural control, religious power, civil power, and yet I doubt many of the things that we associate with Mississippian Culture and corn-agriculture. Agriculture was completely lacking, the Spanish are very definite on it. I think we have a clear case here of diffusion of ideas, probably with a minimum of contact, and a proportionate economic situation that was taken advantage of by the local people. So much then for the Glades area, and we can turn to a discussion.

I would like to open the discussion by challenging statements made by two of my colleagues, Mr. Fairbanks and Mr. Lazarus, who stressed that corn agriculture is not practical on the soil of the particular areas they were talking about, that is the coast of western Florida. Actually you get some of the finest soils for the production of corn in this area that can be found anywhere in Florida. If you examine why the earliest whites homesteaded these areas, you will find that these are the Weeden Island Midden sites that could have been ideal for farming areas for the Ft. Walton peoples. Certainly when the white homesteaders came into these coastal areas, they moved right into the middens and planted on the middens.

LAZARUS- They moved into Fort Walton during the War Between the States.....

GOGGIN- But whenever they moved in, this was where they planted agriculture, and they had successful agriculture on the midden sites. I don't see any reason why the Ft. Walton people wouldn't look at a Weeden Island midden and see that black dirt and recognize that it was a rich soil.

LAZARUS- The biggest midden on the coast down there is in the downtown area of Fort Walton Beach for about three miles, real rich in all cultures up through Weeden Island. When you come to Ft. Walton you find only a small percentage (10%) in the area are Ft. Walton. If they farmed there, they didn't live there.

GOGGIN- If farming there was scarce, they would do like they did in Peru, live up on the hillside and save the bottoms for farming. Willey, of course, postulated this in terms of this particular area, down in the swampy area.... and at the time Willey produced his paper the data on occupation in here was very limited. Now we have hundreds of sites all the way from early ones right on through, and I cannot believe that in all these areas there are small bits of adequate land.

LAZARUS- This may be true right here at Fort Walton. There is an extensive midden right here where the is now, but need not have been then, but these pots came from sites on both sides of the bay. There just isn't any midden.

GOGGIN- Well, do you have to live where you bury?

LAZARUS- There are no large middens within five miles.

GOGGIN- Well, did Ft. Walton people live there or just bury there?

LAZARUS- There were burials in the top of the Fort Walton Mound, I believe.

GOGGIN- Well aren't your burial sites cemeteries?

LAZARUS- Of the number of Ft. Walton sites, there are only five of those that are cemeteries.

GOGGIN- Well, I think you have to go back into rural Florida, see where the rural farming people, the marginal people put their crops. They find little stretches of land here and there along creek edges and things where there is adequate soil.

(EDITORS NOTE: The remainder of the tape was a continuation of this discussion between Goggin, Lazarus, and Fairbanks concerning the areas that may or may not have been good for agriculture.

WILLIAMS- As a result of our discussion earlier, I just had a chance to talk to Louie momentarily, and I think it might be useful to clear up a few things now..... that Louie and Binford are discussing something which they term the Southeast Complex, I might term it the Southeast Village Formative Complex, and this is certainly a useful concept. We could then look at John's Colusa very very suggestively within this complex; we could look at the Caddoan Cultures within this context; we could look at Weeden Island within this context, without bringing in this apparently terribly value laden word Mississippian. Now, I know what I mean by Mississippian, but evidently there are a lot of people out there who don't know..... What I thought we were talking about at this conference, what I was talking about, was a specific discrete historic cultural, historically related cultural entity, which had its origin-- nuclear center-- up in here and which is not basically related to developments elsewhere outside it. It did have, through the thousand years of its history, influences on other areas. I am sure Clarence Webb would be the first to assert that Caddoan Culture history has little to gain from calling it Mississippian and I would not call it Mississippian. We can talk about trade items from this nuclear center which go out, we can talk about it in terms of the Southeastern Village Formative, we can talk about comparing Caddoan Culture at a particular time level with what was going on over here very usefully and see the differences; but when I proposed this theme last year that isn't what I was talking about and that is where I think this disagreement arose.

BINFORD- Can I state what I think you mean and then let you tell me where I am wrong? It appears to me that you are talking about a style zone. In other words, an area over which there is a great deal of homogeneity stylistically in a large list of artifacts.

WILLIAMS- Culture area with time depth.

BINFORD- I was thinking in terms of or using the term style zone here rather than culture area because I was thinking of it having a temporal.....

WILLIAMS- Culture area with time depth.

BINFORD- Right, and that it is possible that within this culture area, style zone, or whatever, that you may have-- and I am postulating this-- that you may have, although you have this stylistic homogeneity in a number of artifacts, that you may or may not have heterogeneity in terms of levels of social development. So that by speaking, in other words, Lou and I are not saying that we don't need to

work in terms of style zones and in terms of areas of culture center type approach; that's not what we're saying at all, but that going hand in hand with this type of approach in order to understand the mechanisms of distribution or changing style zones through time or the appearance of a new artery of diffusion, that you have to know between what, if I might use a term, what catalytic centers these arteries developed with respect to, in terms of levels of social development, so that in order to work with style zones, culture centers, so forth and so on, that this work has to be done in conjunction with analysis of the materials selected different ways, and that by structuring our data always to a system that is aimed at the definition of style zone or culture centers and their changing patterns areally through time, that our basis of explanation is not being fully investigated and it must be a contemporary type of analysis. In other words, the argument that we must do this first, we must know the history first and then start understanding process, is a fallacious argument. These two questions must be asked simultaneously because one in turn fertilizes the other approach. We're not saying that one approach is wrong and the other is right, but that a different way of talking about the whole problem may in turn allow us to ask a new question which some people have said is a mark of genius.

WILLIAMS- I would like to read a couple of questions that I wanted to ask. I think, although I may seem to be completely and totally committed to this other way of looking at the data for this dispersal of culture, I specifically asked the question what is the rationale for the spread and dominance of this culture and, under Lamar, what was the cause of the Lamar spread? I hope, tomorrow, that we can try to talk about Lamar as a cultural entity and try to understand what made it so successful. Not because Lamar Bold Incised was a pretty pottery type and engaged people along the way, but there was some historic reason. I think that you are right, that we have to look on both these levels. I might want to argue about procedure as to when we can. I think maybe the fact that we are progressing on this pedestrian level suggests that we do not want to get up there. You suggest that to get up there we've got to keep these things in mind as we go along, and I think we do, although I am sure there is evidence at hand in published reports which would suggest that we do not always keep the upper level, the process level, in front of us as we work.

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(END OF FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION)

SESSION III

LAMAR

Charles H. Fairbanks, Chairman

A LAMAR SITE IN SOUTHWEST GEORGIA

Bettye J. Broyles

Excavation of 9 Cla 51 was undertaken in August, 1960, as part of the salvage program in the Walter F. George Reservoir. The site is located on a terrace on the east bank of the Chattahoochee River, Clay County, Georgia. An area ten by twenty was excavated to below the midden zone. The site consisted of five zones, only two of which contained cultural material (the plow zone and a dark gray midden below it). Four pits were located, extending below the midden zone into the sterile brown sand of Zone 3.

POTTERY:

A total of 2,455 sherds were recovered from Zones 1 and 2 and Features 1, 2, 4, and 8.

Plain- Four distinct varieties of plain pottery were present in the 1,051 plain rim and body sherds found (51% of the total). The first and most common was a rather smooth finished ware with small to medium particles of grit tempering. Rims of this group were either plain or notched on the exterior surface.

The second group is a thick, rough-surfaced ware, tempered with large grit particles, many of which show through both the exterior and interior surfaces. Rim sherds of this variety were pinched or fluted.

Fine sand tempering distinguishes the third group from the previous two. Another distinguishing characteristic is the burnished interior and exterior surfaces. These sherds probably belong to vessels with incising or zoned punctate decorations around the upper portion of the vessels.

Only about 25 sherds belong to the fourth group, which is a thin shell tempered ware. Most of the shell has been leached out of the sherds. No rims of this group were found.

Complicated Stamped- The complicated stamped rim and body sherds (513 sherds or 24% of the total) are mostly tempered with large grit particles. The various designs used are almost obliterated by overstepping and smoothing, but a few appear to be bullseyes and scrolls. No stamp resembling the filfot cross has been noted.

One design in particular is worth special mention. It consists of a circle (sometimes several within each other) with two cross bars and large dots in each of the four sections. Sherds of this design were found by Sears at Kolomoki. One rim and four body sherds bearing this design were found at 9 Cla 51.

Although the complicated stamped sherds from 9 Cla 51 vary somewhat from the type description of Lamar Complicated Stamped by Jennings and Fairbanks, they nevertheless probably belong to that general type.

Check Stamped- The check stamped sherds (44 sherds) appear to be the same as those found by Sears at Kolomoki. The rims are similar or identical to those with complicated stamping (pinched or fluted).

Incised and Zoned Punctated- Of the 485 incised and zoned punctated sherds, several were large enough to reconstruct the decorative band around the top of the vessel and also the shape of the vessel. This material closely resembles that of the type Fort Walton Incised described by Willey, but differs in that this type has no burnished wares. The incised and zoned punctated from 9 Cla 51 are mostly burnished or smoothed with either medium to fine grit or sand tempering. Several of the incised bands more closely resemble the type Pinellas Incised (also defined by Willey).

OTHER POTTERY ARTIFACTS:

Handles- Three handles were found in Zone 2. One is a shell tempered strap handle about one inch wide with a small node near the rim of the vessel. The second is a small round (about one-fourth inch) handle with a large node. The third appears to be an owl effigy handle on a complicated stamped vessel. The rim is plain.

Effigies- Two effigies (other than the owl handle) were recovered from Zone 2. One is a crudely molded human face looking toward the interior of the vessel. The rim was notched and at least one incised line ran around the vessel parallel to the rim. The second is possibly an alligator or a dog. The portion of the rim that it is attached to is plain and about one-fourth inch thick.

Pipes- Only one fragment of a pipe was found, part of the bowl, and this also came from Zone 2. It was originally painted red and had six incised lines running parallel to the rim of the bowl.

Discs- Also in the material from Zone 2 were three complicated stamped discs, one check stamped disc, and two plain discs.

NON-POTTERY ARTIFACTS:

Non pottery artifacts included six complete and ten fragmentary projectile points of at least three types (contracting stemmed, expanding stemmed, and stemless) that possibly represent other cultures. One knife and three blanks or blades were recovered from Zone 2, as well as eight utilized flakes that may also have been used as knives or scrapers.

SUMMARY:

The ceramics from this site show a relationship with the Lamar of central Georgia as well as the Fort Walton of Florida. The same type of material was recovered from the Kolomoki Site by Bill Sears. Other sites in this area have also produced a similar mixture of material, especially the Bull Creek Site at Columbus, Georgia, which has been excavated by Frank Schnell. Hopefully, reports on all these sites will be forthcoming so that we will have a better understanding of what is involved in this type of situation.

LAMAR IN NORTH GEORGIA

Arthur R. Kelly

I have prepared at least two papers which have been given in other places within the last year dealing, in general, with the subject which was announced for this morning's program. A discussion of the Lamar variants which are found in northeastern Georgia must refer to several rather intensive site excavations carried out in connection with river basin archaeology in the Hartwell Basin. I don't think that we are interested here in purely chronological statements regarding pottery or ceramics, although it is good to look at some slides and be reminded of some of these regional variants of Lamar. The type of Lamar which we are finding in the Chattahoochee at 9 Cla 51 is exemplary.

In northeastern Georgia, it is evident that we do have a subaerial or subregional variant of this horizon marker, horizon style-- whatever you want to call it-- which has been vaguely, generally, summed up as Lamar for a number of years. The sites in northeast Georgia in which we are particularly concerned in the discussion this morning are all historic Cherokee landmark sites, in Stephens County, Georgia, and just immediately across the Tugalo River in Oconee County, South Carolina. Some of these sites which have not yet been explored and so far have not been affected by the present construction of dams and reservoirs that extend all the way to Prince George. These are some of the best documented sites in terms of ethnohistory, belonging to the lower settlement sites of the Cherokee which were occupied throughout the 17th and 18th Centuries. Most of them were destroyed by the Americans in the end of the American Revolution. Some of them had succumbed before the American Revolution and they had, in a number of instances, continuous occupation.

The three sites in which we are particularly interested are Chauga, Estatoy, and Tugalo because they have been subjected to more intensive exploration. Chauga, in Oconee County, South Carolina, was excavated by the University of Georgia in the Hartwell Reservoir Survey with Robert S. Neitzel in charge of the field excavation, and subsequently analyzed in the laboratory of archaeology at the University of Georgia. We now have a publication on the Chauga Site in the Laboratory of Archaeology series, which has been sent out to most of the Conference members. Estatoy is about six miles on the other side of the present town of Toccoa on the Georgia side of the Tugalo River, and the Tugalo Site is about six miles from Estatoy. These three, as I said, have had a fairly protracted and intensive investigation. They are interesting because, together, they provide us with indications of what might be described as a cultural continuum which has one anchor firmly exposed in the historic level and the main occupation found both in the mound and in the village pit deposits extends back into a proto-historic and even a prehistoric sequence.

Let's point out first what happened at Chauga. Here Neitzel had a very difficult assignment because Chauga suffered from quite a bit of previous digging. The whole core section of mound had really been gutted and I think when you see the Chauga report you must admire Neitzel's performance from a technical point of view in getting profile situations and many segments of the mound which enabled him to reconstruct the mound history. In some cases he could only pick up the terminal slope portions of the mound in order to assure us that there actually was, as we finally determined, a total of ten successive mound constructions, pancaked one on the other. Since the top portions of this mound beyond the fifth or sixth stage had been truncated in modern cultivation, we had to depend, of

course, on very narrow segments of materials from the lateral extensions to get material in context which belongs to these phases. Since our analysis of the material in the laboratory only used material which we felt was in the context provided by these perceived ten stages of mound construction, in some cases we had to combine the material say from five and six or seven and eight or nine and ten. The following mounds, probably from about the fifth or sixth on, may not have been actual constructions of mounds by bringing in basket loaded material and building the summit of the mound up and providing another summit. There are not indications that these final mound stages had a deliberate capping as was true of the initial mounds, and it is possible that what the Indians were doing was to simply provide little ramp-like extensions to the existing mound. So, when we say there were ten mounds we cannot be sure about those last four or five, if you conceive of a mound as actually bringing in definite deliberate fill material, capping that with clay, and thus providing a building surface for ten different successive structures. But from what I have said you can see that there is quite a bit of architechtonics here, successive mound history and this is important.

The material from the fill in all cases is as carefully separated and distinguished from that which actually accumulates either on the mound surface, the occupied layer, or which accumulates in that particular feather edge where there is sort of a ditch-like depression which goes around the mound and in which a lot of material did accumulate. To make a long story short, it was evident at Chauga that the last two perhaps of these mounds are historic, in other words the material there is the same material which is found out in the village and this ethnohistoric data seems to be definitely a landmark Cherokee site.

The earlier mound-- one, two, three, and four-- give us, here in the northeast, a complex which would be what we have been calling Wilbanks and Savannah complex types in north Georgia. As you all know, the idea of the Savannah Complicated Stamped was something which was first formulated in the work on the Irene Mound near Savannah, Georgia, with Caldwell and McCann and others. Many of us feel that perhaps, while it was found there at the Savannah River Irene Mound Site, to call it Savannah Complicated Stamped made sense at that time. In the work that has been done in surveys all across northeast and north Georgia, in a 250-mile sweep which begins with the initial Clark Hill Dam, goes into Hartwell, Buford, and then finally the Allatoona, you have opened up a front, a good solid sweep of the Southern Appalachian territory or Piedmont Region. And throughout that whole area we found, at about this same time level, a type of complicated stamping which has been variously described as Wilbanks Complicated Stamp in Allatoona, for example, or the Savannah Complicated Stamp.

Louis Larson and I were together several seasons at Etowah, in the Allatoona region, and we have been a little bit uncomfortable about this Wilbanks-Savannah dichotomy. It is evident that the two are related somehow or another. All you can say is that Wilbanks is a little bit sloppier, it is a little bit more over stamped, and the paste itself is grittier and more friable. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that we have literally tons and tons of Wilbanks pottery from Etowah and other places, we have never been able to reconstruct a Wilbanks pot for the simple reason that the edges are always cracked and you cannot get original fits. I do not know of any other pottery series in which you are unable to reconstruct something with that much material.

We have discovered that Wilbanks occurs, for example, at the Etowah Site near the concluding periods of mound construction. Actually, the culmination of the Southern Cult at Etowah corresponds with what we define as a Wilbanks inter-

val, and actually it does not correspond with the true Etowah complex sherds as they were originally defined. Now, as I say, Larson and I both are not quite sure, we think that we ought to call this Wilbanks or Savannah Complicated Stamp. Evidently the large subaerial spread of this particular type of material, in the culture which it denotes, must be definitely inland covering a large sweep across the Southern Appalachians, this 250-mile area we have been able to cover in the basins surveys.

This general type of material, plus some definitely Etowah Complicated Stamp of a rather late type, are found together with a line block type of stamp in the first mound stage at Chauga, in the prehistoric mound. Neitzel was not able to work out the structures on these ten mounds because practically 90% of them had been destroyed by prior digging. We know they were rectangular, and we know that some of the corner posts were planted on templates of stone in a rather interesting way, but we cannot compare the structures at Chauga, for example, with the ones Joe Caldwell was able to bring out in his three interior core mound situations at Tugalo. There you definitely have three successive mound fills, each resulting in its own cap element with a temple on top, and these seems to be some sort of earth-covered rectangular structures with compartmentalized seats or rooms around a central fire.

At the third site, Estatoy, we found a succession of five or six superimposed structures, but these pick up only at the stage where Chauga and Tugalo left off, in about their fifth or sixth stage. The Carbon-14 dates indicate too, that Chauga and Tugalo would jibe very closely with the Wilbanks Stage, let us say at Etowah, about 700-900 years back. So, at Estatoy, we have just the final two or three hundred years or maybe 150 years of Cherokee occupation.

In each case you have continuous mound history, beautifully expressed, continuous building operation, continuous occupation of temples, and continuous ceramic series generally modifying from this Wilbanks-Etowahish influenced material in northeast Georgia, into Lamar. The same thing has been noted at all three sites. This provides, I think, an interesting sequence for the first time on what we might call prehistoric Cherokee about which there has been a good deal of speculation. I do not want to imply that, because I do not think we are able yet to establish tribal patterns within the Lamar entity as we are defining it, but we do have subregional patterns. Certainly you have a somewhat different one in northeast Georgia even from what you find in the other leg of this 250-mile sweep that I mentioned earlier. Certainly the one we get at Allatoona, I think, represents a local subregional development in which there is a generic Lamar base, on an age-area concept, which received some local fashioning from influences coming largely from Tennessee, Hiwassee material, for example, and surviving Etowah materials. You have other local variants along the Chattahoochee which we are uncovering now.

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DISCUSSION

FAIRBANKS- The floor is now open for debate and discussion. Do you have any comments on this?

KELLY- I would like to hear some comments made on the general relationship between Lamar and the sites in Florida that we were discussing yesterday afternoon, mainly Ft. Walton, because it seems to be a well understood and comprehended com-

plex. Most people are in agreement as to what Ft. Walton is, wherever it is, even though it might show little differences from one side of the Chattahoochee to the other, one side of the Apalachicola to the other. Ft. Walton is still Ft. Walton. To some extent this is true of Lamar. Most people will say this is Lamar or isn't Lamar, but there is a general agreement that it is Lamar. Just exactly how it is different and what the nuances are we do not precisely know. I personally hope that someone, sometime, can be persuaded to write a doctoral dissertation on the subject of Lamar, considered perhaps as a time horizon.

FAIRBANKS- Would anybody like to offer a definition of Lamar in respect to the difference between Lamar and Ft. Walton? No? Well, I will offer one if nobody else will. It seems to me that the distinction we are drawing here is largely a difference between two ceramic styles which share a great deal of their stylistic content. The Lamar ceramic style, while it includes cazuelas with broadly incised collars and so on, the Lamar ceramic complex as a whole is characterized by the presence of a particular kind of complicated stamping. The Ft. Walton complex has broadly the same basic pattern of incising on cazuelas, but it does not have stamping except in very minor quantity. It is interesting enough, I think, that we do not have good evidence, or do not have a good sample yet for demonstrating, but as we go farther west there is less and less complicated stamping, probably. Around the Tallahassee district, there is one or two percent, by the time you get to Mobile there is zero percent, I would guess. Now, there are other characteristics of the two styles. Certainly one of them is that by and large the Lamar ceramics (Lamar Plain, Lamar Complicated Stamped, Lamar Bold Incised, and so on), while they basically have been paddled, even for the smooth plain varieties, they show this rather slick surface with grains of temper protruding through it, which generally the Ft. Walton ceramics do not have. Does anybody want to suggest that this is simply a finishing style or does it relate to a basically different technique of manufacture?

KELLY- It seems to me that Lamar might be defined in terms of the perceived traditions which have been fairly well recognized ever since Holmes' time in the southeast. The earliest most persistent and most consistent form that you can put your finger on in the southeast is complicated stamping, stamped pottery, and Lamar appears to me, in the Piedmont region, as some sort of a nuclear center if we are going to keep this concept of a terminal expression of this oldest stamped pottery tradition. It seems to me that is the first significant statement you can make about Lamar. It very definitely comes up to the historic horizon and can be identified with tribal elements. I have talked this over with Joffre Coe, as most of you have perhaps at times, and he thinks that perhaps he can distinguish between Cherokee and Siouan situations in the area he has been studying in the Carolinas. I am not at all sure, I don't know of anyone who thinks that we can distinguish between tribal patterns of Lamar and between Cherokee and Siouan traditions in the southeast.

FAIRBANKS- Well, now I am not sure I would agree with this. It seems to me that we certainly do not get that ceramic complex as a whole in the Muskogean area of Georgia or Alabama, the late check stamped. Now the Mercier Check Stamped or the old Irene Diamond Check Stamped and so on, is a very very minor element in Lamar, as such, in central Georgia and it extends a little bit into Alabama, but it seems to me from Peach Tree on down that it is a rather major element of the Lamar in those areas that somewhat later had Cherokee-speaking peoples in them.

WILLIAMS- Could I ask a question of Bill Sears. At Kolomoki, you said there was a light Lamar occupation. How did you know it wasn't Ft. Walton that far south?

SEARS- It was very obvious, I read the definition. It had complicated stamped in it and Ft. Walton didn't.

FAIRBANKS- I think the sherds, at least some of them, showed these temper particles appearing through the surface which isn't Ft. Walton.

KELLY- I don't think any of us had any doubts as to which of those were Ft. Walton and which were Lamar coming out of this rather restricted midden there. In other words, even though there is a great deal of subaerial variation in Lamar over a rather wide area, it is certainly one of the most widely extended prehistoric elements. There must be at least six and perhaps more distinguishable Lamars, if you want to put it that way, but nevertheless they are all recognizable, indubitably what we would call a generic Lamar.

WILLIAMS- Where are those six?

KELLY- Well, I don't know whether we should use the term classic Lamar or not. I think perhaps this semantically is likely to get us into difficulty. In almost any of our horizons, but certainly in central Georgia at the original type site, we defined, in successive years of working there, certain ceramic types which have generally come to mark what we call Lamar pottery.

FAIRBANKS- How big would you say this area is going to be?

KELLY- Well, what you find there in middle Georgia tends to be pretty much what you got as you go up toward the Rempert Mounds, for example, in South Carolina. You are still getting basically the Macon Lamar as you go south to the Flint River, that portion of the Flint River. Of course, we have not had much surveying there but we have certain collections, although you might begin to question this because we are getting some new and significant developments at Neisner.

FAIRBANKS- You think it is a band going across the Piedmont?

KELLY- That is my conception, yes. It goes up toward South Carolina, there is something in there. Then I think we are going to have to distinguish the Irene Mound Site, extending on up into South Carolina. That probably is another Lamar variant. The area around Allatoona presents, as I have indicated, derivatives from this Wilbanks-Savannah complicated sort of deal which still incorporates some of the older elements like line block. Then I think we will agree that the present work on the Chattahoochee survey is indicating some specialized type of Lamar on the Chattahoochee River in western Georgia-- Bull Creek Lamar-- it is sort of a melange of Ft. Walton and Lamar. Now, whether you are getting pure unmodified Ft. Walton and pure unmodified Lamar or whether you are getting some sort of mixture here, the two coming together and some new elements. Certainly I would say that this western Lamar reflects subaerial peculiarities because of the material that is coming from the south, from the Ft. Walton, probably some elements which are coming from Alabama which are not very well defined yet.

LAZARUS- I just had one observation with regard to the Ft. Walton materials that Bettye showed earlier this morning. They are real Ft. Walton, I mean they would fit right into our context. On the other hand on the coast I only know of about three sites that have shown up with any Lamar. Lamar is very scarce down there, but it does occur and the two sites I could think of immediately are both with a European context sort of thing along with them.

FAIRBANKS- I would be inclined to say that Ft. Walton is essentially another

complex and where you get complicated stamp in any quantity they probably represent diffusion or something perhaps from Lamar areas.

KELLY- The problem is to get the component in relation to Ft. Walton and Lamar. Ft. Walton seems to be penetrating Lamar territory but apparently Lamar makes very few inroads in Ft. Walton territory. This will probably have some significance.

WAUCHOPE- I think the relationships between Ft. Walton, Lamar, and Ocmulgee Fields can be most rewardingly investigated in Monroe County, Georgia, among other places. We have about 21 site collections from Monroe County plus some excavations. There the Lamar stamping has almost disappeared with a plain Lamar-like pottery with its pinched rims and so on, much like that Bettye showed, but with a chiefly Ocmulgee Fields occupation. I think the second way of investigating the relations would be through the incised wares which have been more or less neglected. There in Monroe County we have the Ocmulgee Fields Incised, which stylistically is much more like Ft. Walton than it is like Lamar, and the few Lamar incised sherds which are not classic Lamar Bold Incised, are quite different from the Lamar Bold Incised from the north. If we had no stamped pottery at all, just on the evidence of the incised ware it is stylistically Ocmulgee Fields designs and much closer to Ft. Walton design.

KELLY- Wouldn't you say, Bob, that once your complicated stamp has so completely disappeared, that you've got plain and incised wares, that you no longer have Lamar, you have Ocmulgee Fields or some other expression?

WAUCHOPE- I can't be absolutely sure, but I think that in Monroe County you do have Lamar stamping disappearing with some incised wares that are closer to Lamar than they are to Ocmulgee Fields. When I say stylistically Ocmulgee Fields is more like Ft. Walton I mean in design elements, not in execution because Ocmulgee Fields has thinner lines.

KELLY- That is interesting, because around Athens I have taken the students out to make type collections and there appears to be within 15 to 20 miles of Athens-- it might be more extensive than that-- something of the same order that you are describing in Monroe County occurs. In other words, there is a protohistoric occupation in which you have incised pottery but the incisions can be parallel lines around the rim. You do not get the chevrons and the scrolls and the elaborations that you get in true Lamar. This might be even another small variant but this is some link that formulation of Lamar in the other area. Now in some of these sites you will find a little bit of complicated stamped material, but in most of them you will find plain and incised combination. This would correspond to some kind of movement from what you are defining as Lamar into what was originally called the

FAIRBANKS- There is another area in here, Doc, that sets in the Darrien Bluff material and then it loses ground. There is a protohistoric or early historic level and then there is a late historic level. The McIntosh material and so on is early historic, 17th Century, let's say, and the Wally material and San Marcos type complex are late 17th Century and so on. So, that might be another one. One other problem it seems that we have here is the origin. Now, if we take classic Lamar as the center of this thing and some sort of a process whereby the Cherokee, as they penetrate into north Georgia in the 18th Century,..... We do not have the seemingly ancestral Wilbanks in the central Lamar area, but it seems certain that Chauga, probably Tugalo and so on, you have a continuity of development and evolution of the style from Wilbanks to Lamar. Etowah though,

I think, is another tradition in that it is so consistently rectilinear.

KELLY- Rectilinear elements are definitely more common than the curved linear.

FAIRBANKS- And to what extent does the rectilinear Etowah tradition, and perhaps the non-ceramic elements of the Etowah province-- in Sears' terminology-- contribute to these more northern Lamar varieties?

KELLY- Well, we find a fringing occurrence of the Cult at Chauga, for example, and I am sure that there is some of it at Tugalo. There are some conch shells, some beads, and at Chauga we even found one copper plate with a priest on it which is rather interesting. The Cult is there, it must be the peripheral spread.

FAIRBANKS- I might point out that at the Waddell's Mill Pond Site, there was a very nice elaborate shell gorget, quite east Tennessee, you could match it with one from the Yarnell Site. There was also a copper circular gorget that could be matched with one from the Grant Mound in the St. Johns Basin. The McIntosh material on the Georgia coast has some modified Cult elements in it, and Lazarus has pointed out that there are a large number of Cult elements in Ft. Walton in different form.

WAUCHOPE- Referring to your question just a minute ago about the derivation of northeast Lamar stamped and rectilinear stamped designs, the overwhelming design there, as you know, is nested rectangles, not a line block.

SEARS- I do agree with Bob, that is the dominant design in the Cherokee stuff. If anyone ever gets around to defining this stuff. I would like to check back on that other problem of the derivation from Wilbanks. I think that the complete sequence can be picked up at the Etowah Site. I saw about 95% of it. Etowah and Wilbanks do not look like each other at all. Wilbanks is intrusive into the area, but from what I have seen starts out as Wilbanks. You can't ask for an intrusion of a new people popping up in the same site at the same time all over an area like that, it's asking too much. What we apparently have is a major influence, coming up from the south I would guess, on the Etowah material, or on the Etowah people which produces the Wilbanks Culture. But the run through is certainly there. One other comment. Chuck mentioned before the difference in the check stamping. The check stamp up in that area, I am sure, comes into the Cherokee material rather late. Obviously if you are going to bring it out of Wilbanks and end up with a check stamped, the check stamp has to come along somewhere in that development and my own feeling, based a little bit on some of the Etowah work, is that the entire Cherokee complex complete with that kind of complicated stamping is formed before the check stamped comes in. I have seen from those south Georgia collections at Athens some complicated stamps that we couldn't classify, but stylistically remain perfectly good ancestors to the Lamar. I think the material is there. penetrates into south Georgia and produced this same sort of population spread and development coming into being very very quickly which may well account for the lack of big sites.

FAIRBANKS- Of course when you say quickly, you have a hundred years or so to work with.

HUSCHER- During the last two or three years on this rather intensive survey of the Chattahoochee, I am getting the impression that we do have long continuums there and we do have gradations of form. The one thing that has not been mentioned is the globular pumpkin pots or globular pot which does have a fairly

long continuous history and runs through the different temper variants and through several minor motifs. I think this is maybe one of the things we can start sorting out but it spreads over a very wide area and it was pointed out by Fairbanks in his Ocmulgee report. Here is one of the things that shows a relation of this southern manifestation with the Tennessee Valley material. There is something more here than has been touched upon and whether we will be able to sift this out in the future I don't know. I think continued work on the Ft. Walton problem and particularly in finding out to what extent it is fortified will tell us whether it is actually an invasion. We have used this term for years. It becomes a question of who is fighting who? Who are the good people and who are the bad people. We do not know. Does the elaborately fortified site that I described yesterday imply a highly warlike people invading the area or are these the good people who are defending themselves against a widely nomadic band such as are described by the Spanish in the earlier records.

FAIRBANKS- Well, it seems to me, Harold, we have one problem where we have a deep stratified site with gradual transition from something else to Lamar, this could be explained by archaeological mixing or one thing or another, but where we have these temple mounds with three or four layers of Wilbanks and then symetrically on top of them we have a layer of Lamar or where we have a couple of layers, of Etowah and then symetrical Lamar on top of it and so on, this implies a political continuity and so on rather than just some sort of culture evolution over generations. I can't believe that any one of these large temple mounds actually is very long in its existence.

BINFORD- I think where you would get your major change into some form of internally ranked society, which we can fairly well assume for most of the southeast, is where you begin to get your initial between-group competition which, archaeologically, would be defined by your beginning occurrence of intensive fortifications. I think your internal ranking is related to a more efficient way to manipulate manpower in competitive situations and is supported by some form of productive specialization which may incipiently be present in the population already in terms of some groups producing more non-domesticate materials than others depending on where they are located within the river systems. So that I would look for your major flip in social organization to the more complex forms at the point in time where you begin to get evidence of intensive fortifications. Now, whether the fortifications are the result of a population expanding into the area at the expense of a less complicated resident population or whether you have a situation in which you had, over a long period of time, a gradual and increasing population density. During this period of time I would see your major segments of groups as simply duplicating parent forms of societies as you have budding off of new groups from parent corporate groups. At some point in time you would begin to get between-group competition among these groups themselves so that the appearance of fortifications would not necessarily in all areas be the result of a military expansion but could simply be the result of your sudden population density and budding off process which has reached a point where groups are now competing for certain low site availability of natural resources, particularly I think in this case non-domesticate resources.

FAIRBANKS- Yes, but still I think you have got to explain the sudden appearance of small log town houses, Hiwassee Island, without any roots on the Macon Plateau, without any roots within the material culture of the area, as some sort of movement.

BINFORD- Intrusion, yes, but I think probably both of these processes operated in various areas.

FAIRBANKS- And this would seem to be the kind of situation for the Wilbanks-Etowah-northern Lamar area, where you seem to have a continuity that is not specifically interrupted.

KELLY- Larson and I worked for five seasons at Mound B and Mound C. Larson was working on the ceremonial mound where there were over 200 cult burials around in this mound. I was working on the edge of Mound B in a deeply stratified midden situation in which there were superimposed domestic type houses, except that one of these seems to have been a council house in which there were twelve inches of midden tightly packed and the post had been reinserted. It had been occupied perhaps for ten or fifteen years and so you had some 20,000 sherds from this very beautiful text book situation. These people were evidently living in and having food brought in and breaking up these dishes in some sort of clubhouse situation. All of this stuff is coming right off the floor, so in effect you have a neat little package situation where you can see what culture change takes place in a short time-- 15 to 20 years perhaps-- whatever life you want to ascribe to this building, and you have a large amount of material and this is Wilbanks pottery. The final stage of mound construction at Etowah is on top of this thing and then you have four feet of material which accumulated not as alluvium from the river but soil from the area. An interesting thing occurs here. In these four feet you get a ceramic transfer from a Wilbanks to a definite north Georgia Lamar and you are getting a marked increase in gamestones. Larson and I both played with the idea that there was evidence of some sort of revolutionary sudden and abrupt cessation of the temples and the whole priestly rule there. Some of these things looked almost as if they had been thrown down and disrupted. I have the impression that after that, these people moved up two or three hundred yards off the ceremonial site itself, and that represents the late Wilbanks and Lamar development. It is interesting that Mooney records in his Cherokee Myths that there was such a revolt against their priests and maybe this is such a case. This would mean that the break-down had come, and the people moved just off the site a little. They were still afraid of these temples, these sites, and these burial tombs of these priests, but they come over and play ball there, because you get an awful lot of gamestones, a marked increase of them, in this top final four feet. To me this suggests, in terms of the mound history, in terms of the ceramic history, in terms of the actual settlement history of the site, and in terms of some of their secular occupations, certainly an intense religious use and then a purely recreational use, something that is significant.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The remaining portion of the discussion has been shortened and some of the comments omitted since they concerned changing the lines on the Distribution Map prepared by Steve Williams)

WILLIAMS- There is something in the way of a summary. One of the things I would like to do a little bit later on in this session is work on a time chart. First, I thought we might try to generally summarize some of the things that have been going on in the last two days. I have put on a map a series of Mississippian phases, ones which I felt could be called Mississippian within the definition we were using yesterday. Probably, if one were to take some of these better known phases up here in what I have termed the nuclear area-- the Cumberland, Hiwassee-Dallas, Duck River, Obion, Kincaid, that small log-large log town house in east Tennessee-- perhaps you would know what I meant when I talked about Mississippian phases in terms of both ceramic complex and in terms of architecture, in terms of site plans and layouts, and of course, we have time in here--

Old Village versus Trappist, small log versus large log, Hiwassee versus Dallas-- but certainly in our later phases here some type of socio-political organizations that we have been talking about too. We did not get to talk in detail about the dispersal of some of these Mississippian Cultures or dispersal of traits from this nuclear center. Bill Sears said he might like to say a little bit about the specific dispersal that we have been hearing about with the Ft. Walton material on the coast, specifically this dispersal down the Alabama River.

SEARS- This is something that I have run across doing surveys through this area in the last couple of years and particularly through working with Bruce Trickey here around Mobile Bay. The Moundville type of material, shell tempered, identified largely by the incised technique, but without the paste. We do not get the gray stuff in this context. It comes down the backwater and Alabama River as if the darn thing was a funnel most literally. It runs right down the valley and does not go over here into Alabama. Ft. Walton comes right up to the edge of the valley and then you shift into this mud tempered Moundville material. When this complex which I regard as the first one hits the coast it splashes down and goes to Pensacola, down the delta, out across these islands, then over to the Mississippi River itself. Then another thing happens. I can find sites all over the place, the bottom levels of sites, there are a few of them over here and a little bit of it going this way, but then the cazuela bowl form comes through-- the Pensacola Incised tradition with the broken-down Moundville designs on it. The sites over here get larger, there are more of them, and we have a tremendous dispersion of it with huge sites running along the coast. You will find a few sherds for the Moundville level-- the incised bowl level..... this site is almost a mile long and a city block wide. I do not know how deep it is, it's over sand-- five, six, eight, or ten feet of it-- that runs along the coast, but again it doesn't go inland, it is effectively a coastal thing. I wanted to point out this funnel shaped business with the real emphasis on it, the tremendous breadth, all of the big shell mound sites around Mobile Bay, along the Mississippi coast, and down into here, and out this way is the very late phase of it. I am quite convinced, in this area and a lot of others, that this late phase is really late. I do not know whether DeSota saw the first of these cazuela bowls or whether they had been around for a generation when he got there, but I would say that they date about 1500, and I am rather tempted to believe that this is also true of the Ft. Walton Tradition which is predominantly these bowls. On the whole it is 1500 and post-1500. DeSota got in right at the end of one thing; a whole new economic system and new way of life was just coming into being. DeSota and his boys left and we do not hear anything about it for a few years, then the next people come along and you have an entirely different situation.

WILLIAMS- north Georgia. What I had in mind here was the diffusion from this nuclear area down to Macon Plateau, where we see it here in the Macon Plateau focus or phase and then the further spread or transmission of Mississippian traits. Now, once we get past Macon it is no longer an invasion. I think we are having rather a transmission line set up here and then traits going down into Florida.

GOGGIN- This is really very puzzling, because if we look at temple mounds in Florida, they are completely along this coast or on the St. Johns River, and there is not a single one in the middle of the State. Furthermore, there are none up in southern or southwestern Georgia as far as I know. It seems to have been a hop, skip, and jump kind of deal.

WILLIAMS- North Carolina. certainly in Pee Dee you are having a movement or an expansion on the Lamar time.

KELLY- Pee Dee is just another Lamar variant.

WILLIAMS- A Lamar variant, but there are certainly Mississippian traits-- or maybe they are better called Lamar traits-- going up into that area. Turning to Kentucky, certainly there was some sort of a Mississippian transition up into the Madisonville phase that I would say successfully changes the character of late Fort Ancient. I do not know whether it is a cultural transmission or whether it is a migration. I would say it is some sort of a diffusion of traits rather than of human individuals, in contrast to some of these other ones we talk about here.lower Mississippi Valley. Perhaps I have said too much about this spread down through the Yazoo Basin, but there seems to be little doubt that this spread of the nuclear type of Mississippian Culture is down, it is late and it terminates somewhere near the Lake George Site north of Vicksburg, although certain traits do seem to go down into the Natchez, but very few. We certainly have a transmission or migration of Mississippian up the Arkansas River. You have sites as in the Dardanella Reservoir, which I think is indubitably Mississippian in the kind of context we are talking about for this nuclear area. Now we also have a similar transmission up the White River. It gets up into southwestern Missouri in an attenuated form. Do you agree with that, Dick?

MARSHALL- It is very light, but it is there. You get noded pots, but there are only a few sherds that would be like your Mississippian from the nuclear area. Most of the stuff seems to be more like your Woodland plain, Neosho Punctate.

WILLIAMS- You get your standard Willow Leaf projectile points,..... a site on the White at Greenbrier Bottoms, is good Mississippian. It has the familiar ground stone forms, the effigies, bottles, that sort of thing, so you are certainly getting a transmission up the White River.

MARSHALL- It doesn't seem to go much beyond Bull Shoals Reservoir. It does carry on from there, but it is more common below the Reservoir which is on the Missouri-Arkansas State line. When you get beyond that you start running into more of your Caddoan types.

WILLIAMS- We mentioned the Steed Kisker Site yesterday, and we have information that in their work out there they are finding more components of this, so that it just does not seem like a single site. I think we have to postulate an actual migration of people from the Old Village area. Would you agree, Dick?

MARSHALL- I think so. The Vista Shelter near Osceola, Missouri, on the Osage River, has produced quite a bit of material that is good Steed Kisker.

WILLIAMS- This simple transmission up through JoDaviess County, Illinois, into the Aztalan area is again, I think, a rather comparable situation to Steed Kisker.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The remainder of this session was concerned with filling in a time chart by areas)

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(END OF SATURDAY SESSION AND 1961 MEETING)