

# The Florida Anthropologist



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**Cover:** USF students shovel test during the 2011 field school.

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# Middle Woodland and Protohistoric Fort Walton at the Lost Chipola Cutoff Mound, Northwest Florida

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Clarence Bloomfield Moore's (1903:445-467) important "Mound Near the Chipola Cutoff" was recorded over a century ago and has been lost ever since. I had been searching for it for decades, with numerous and diverse approaches but limited success. Recently, thanks to persistence, luck, and (as usual) the kindness of strangers, I finally found out what happened to it. The mound is long gone, washed away by river currents. But its location, more of its contents, and a better picture of its significance can now be documented. This article relates the evidence gathered from several sources, including local collectors and distant museums. The Swift Creek-early Weeden Island component of this site is typical of Middle Woodland mound building dating to about 1500 years ago. But the Fort Walton component is a rare instance of the cultural bridge between late prehistoric peoples and the earliest contact/mission-period natives, who were clearly affected by the distant Spanish presence to the east, well outside the Apalachicola valley region, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

## The Search

Moore's mound explorations all over the Southeast are perennial subjects of interest. Much of my career has been spent working with his sites in northwest Florida, south Georgia, and south Alabama (Brose and White 1999), especially trying to find many of his mounds, the original locations of which are unknown or ambiguous (White 2008). He returned several times over two decades to the Apalachicola-lower Chattahoochee valley region because it was so archaeologically rich and because he loved the beautiful Middle Woodland pottery.

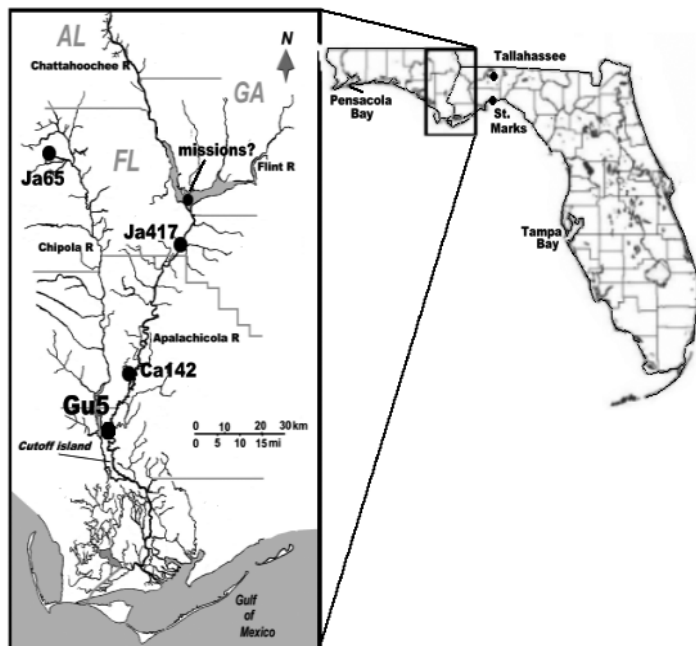
## Early Description

The Chipola Cutoff mound was elusive; Moore's (1903:440) map shows it deep in the swamps of the Florida panhandle, on the Chipola cutoff channel of the Apalachicola River, close to where this channel branches off as a distributary stream (Figures 1-3). The Chipola River is the largest tributary of the Apalachicola, with its basin originating above the Alabama state line. It flows southward for some 130 km until it turns east to empty into the Apalachicola at navigation mile 28 (28 miles [45 km] up from the big river's mouth into Apalachicola Bay, and ultimately the Gulf of Mexico). Somehow this cutoff channel developed at navigation mile 42

(68 km up) on the Apalachicola, taking about 25 percent of its water westward over into the Chipola to a point 14 miles (23 km) upstream from the Chipola's mouth. (This point is also just downstream from a naturally and artificially dammed portion of the Chipola known as Dead Lake; see Figure 3). All these streams isolate a "cutoff island," some 10 miles (16 km long) and 50 square km in area, which is remote and archaeologically interesting itself (White et al.1999). The cutoff channel is a meandering path (5 km long), and the mound (Moore 1903:440, 445) was on the north side, on the east bank of a large northward meander which is easy to see as a distinctive loop on the map.

Moore (1903:446) reported the mound as circular at the base, 1.6 m high and 13.7 m in diameter, in "a swamp about 40 yards from the bank" between it and the water was "a considerable excavation whence the material for the mound was taken." So the mound was already on low, wet ground, and there was lower ground, its borrow pit, between it and the stream channel. Such a setting doubtless enhanced its vulnerability to both water-table fluctuations and annual flooding, though it probably was not originally built in such a vulnerable location. Moore (1903:447-448) called it a "swamp-mound, underwater in times of freshet" though it was "somewhat above water-level" when he dug it, he had to use a portable pump to get below its base. Furthermore, by the time he arrived it had already been considerably looted, and so probably lowered and spread out. He recognized that many fine objects of the kinds he was looking for, especially pots, had probably been carried off by others.

In an extensively illustrated report, Moore (1903:444-466) described some of the 42 burials he unearthed and the Fort Walton and Middle Woodland ceramics he found. He also recovered four glass beads and four sheet-brass discs, which place the late Fort Walton component within protohistoric (early Spanish) times. His work on this mound has been cited often for the unusual artifacts obtained (e.g., Bushnell 1920:111; Willey 1949:254-256), but the site was never reinvestigated or relocated. The Florida Master Site File numbered it 8GU5 and placed a dot on the map about where it would be based on Moore's location, with the "GV" designation familiar to Florida archaeologists indicating "general vicinity" (i.e., not field-verified). Until the recent construction of roads and homes, the north bank of the Chipola Cutoff was relatively inaccessible. Moore had of course reached it by boat, his



famous *Gopher*, which had been outfitted for digging and designed for travel on large and small streams (Pearson et al. 2000).

#### Search and Research

My attempts to find this site began in 1983, as part of an Apalachicola valley survey supported by a faculty grant from the University of West Florida. A crew of two, we looked fruitlessly along the road that roughly paralleled the cutoff channel on the north side. In 1985 I took my summer field school students from the University of South Florida (USF) into the swamps in high boots and snake leggings, shove testing in the backswamp muck behind the channel bank. We also examined the banks from the water by canoe. At the place where we thought the mound was indicated on Moore's map, bricks, boards, and rip-rap had been put over the bank face probably to reduce erosion, but no mound or aboriginal cultural materials were visible.

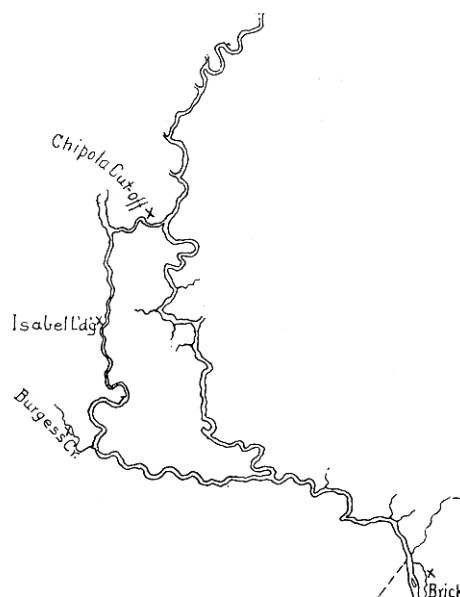
A gracious local resident, Doug Birmingham, who had ceramics picked up long ago from a place he thought was the mound, told us that it had washed away. He showed us a Lake Jackson jar he had obtained there, then took us to the area, but nothing resembling a mound was apparent. He helped us discover another site, 8GU50 (Henefeld and White 1986:58-60, 125), in a tilled garden 20 m back from the riverbank edge and about 200 m south-southeast (upstream) from the spot where the mound had been. This site, a small shell midden with early Weeden Island ceramics, may have been a habitation area associated with the mound (as discussed below).

In 1986, for a survey of the Chipola valley itself (White and Trauner 1987), we inspected all the Chipola Cutoff channel banks again by boat. This is a good way to find sites since

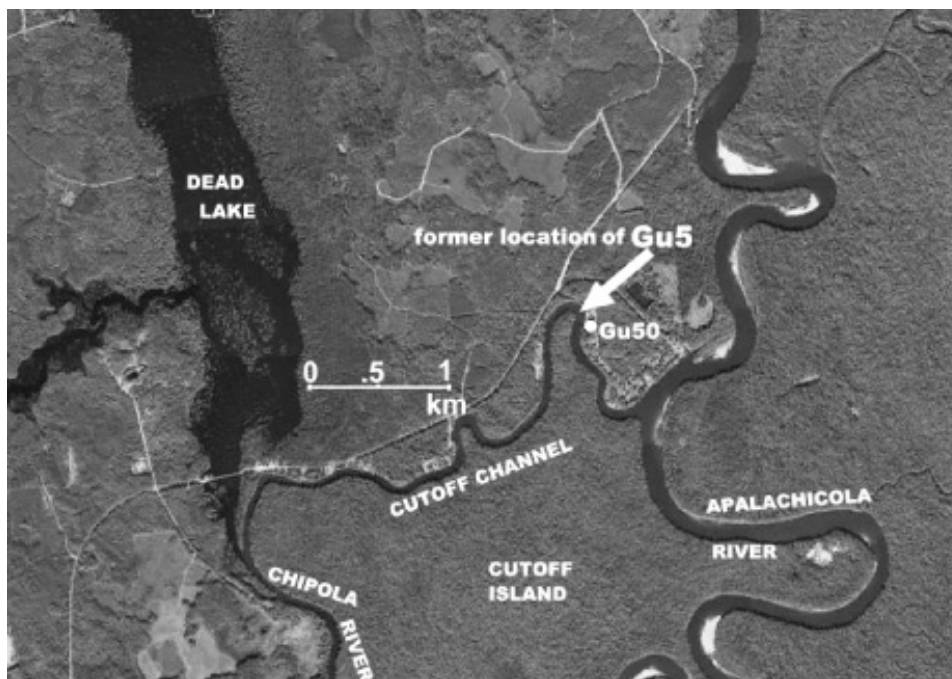
cultural material is often eroding out of the bank face. At this time the location Moore gave for the mound was even more heavily eroded (Figure 4), with fallen trees, but no artifacts visible in the exposed bank face. My 1998 survey of remote areas within the Apalachicola valley included returning to the cutoff channel yet again. On its south (here, west) bank, reachable only by boat, we explored the "cutoff island." The large chunk of forested land inside that big meander loop contained many old, now inactive channels, so there was the possibility that the mound was along one of these before the whole stream might have changed course. A day with a crew of six, coring, shovel testing, fending off hornets, and even searching the place from above in a tree (deer hunting) stand failed to identify any elevated land or prehistoric cultural materials (White 1999:25).

During USF's June, 2003, field expedition we took a break from digging to check out a new Gulf County library in the town of Wewahitchka (famous for its tupelo honey). Besides friendly librarians, the new building and facilities featured a display case of artifacts donated or loaned by local collectors. The best documented of these collections had an accompanying map with a dot at the exact location of Moore's Chipola Cutoff mound, and the information that the materials had been obtained over 40 years ago. Our inquiries prompted the librarian to call the collector, Tom Semmes, who generously arrived within minutes to take us to the location where the mound had been before it washed away. At that time much of the existing riverbank was underwater after heavy rains, but we could document the spot and get coordinates.

The mound had been exactly in the place Moore indicated. Semmes had learned of it from a fisherman who had picked up materials on the bank while sitting in his boat. Semmes, Doug Birmingham and another boy had explored the mound in May, 1962. A section about 1.5 m in diameter and at least a



**Figure 2. Segment adapted from Moore's (1903:440) original map showing location of the Chipola Cutoff mound.**



**Figure 3. Former location of Chipola Cutoff mound, 8Gu5 (arrow), today underwater (adapted from Google Earth).**

meter down from the top of the bank was all that remained slightly above water at that time. They had had to reach the site from land by trail bike and on foot through the wetlands. Semmes' ceramics displayed in the Wewahitchka library are all Fort Walton types, including an interesting bird-human effigy (discussed below). In 2010, he donated the rest of his collection, kept in a wicker basket wrapped in newspaper all this time, to the USF archaeology lab. Returning in June of 2004, a drier year, my student crew and I observed more of the riverbank exposed but still no mound or cultural materials. Slightly elevated berms were visible along the bank, made of coarser sand than the subsoil, indicating either recent flood deposits or dredging spoils or both. We found nobody among the residents in some houses along the street who could say what might have happened to alter this bank in recent times; most people were newcomers to the area. Today part of the swamp is covered with a paved road and a slow increase in building houses continues. The mound is decidedly long gone; but the good will and assistance of so many collectors and other interested Gulf County people have made possible its documentation, reinforcing again how crucial public archaeology is to research. Data from other archaeologists and museum professionals have aided interpretation of this important site within the poorly known protohistoric period of northwest Florida.

### Mound Stratification

The mound was of brown sand "with a certain admixture of clay," with deeper brown soil on the eastern and southern sides, where most of the pottery was, and below the mound a rather bright yellow sand (Moore 1903:446) typical of the natural riverbank. My work at other riverbank sites in the region suggests the mound fill was around 10YR 3/4 to 4/4 (dark

yellowish brown) or darker, and the paler natural riverbank alluvial sand is around 10YR 5/4 or lighter (yellowish brown). Clay may have been added in basket loads, perhaps even with different meanings for different soils. Darker, clayey sand was possibly obtained from deeper in the riverbank face or from the backswamp muck. Other mounds in the region (e.g., Yon [8LI2] and Chattahoochee Landing [8GD4]) have mound fill soils of varying colors and high clay content.

Given this stratification, it was clear to Moore that some burial pits extended into the culturally sterile subsoil. Since these included burials with historic materials, there was obviously deliberate deep excavation or horizontal extending of the mound during Fort Walton times, which also must have churned up the existing Middle Woodland materials. Moore dug even below the water table, noting how hard it was to grapple at arm's length in the mud for artifacts (!). He also did "sounding" with an iron rod in and around the burial pits, and found materials extending into the yellow natural subsoil over 75 cm below the base of the mound. As he speculated, such artifacts might be ceremonial caches or ritual deposits initiating building of the mound or other dedicatory functions. The lack of evidence of disturbed soils, if these materials were indeed wholly within the subsoil and not in features extending from above, might also indicate some earlier component whose organic contents may have washed away. In this valley I have dug fiber-tempered pottery from yellow sand sites in which the only stratification evidence was a change in texture of the soil matrix (slightly harder packed) around Late Archaic deposits but no change in color.

Pottery (sherds, masses of sherds, single and multiple vessels) came from all around the mound margins, especially on the south and southeast sides for Moore and also later collectors. Typical of the Middle Woodland, there were pots with burials and also in groups as ceremonial deposits,





**Figure 4. Riverbank at location of Chipola Cutoff mound, June, 1986, with heavily eroded bank face, fallen trees. Actual former mound location is about under the boat from which the photo was taken.**

apparently not only on the east side but also the center and elsewhere in the mound. Given the history of disturbance at this site, by the original Woodland mound builders' use for burials, the possibly prehistoric and definitely protohistoric Fort Walton people, Moore, and countless looters and collectors before and after him, it is impossible to say much about the intermingling of ceramics and other artifacts from components that could be as much as 1000 years apart in age.

### Burials

Moore encountered 42 burials from the center to the margins of the mound. Nearly all were in the southern portion, where most of the pottery was also found, though rarely in direct association with burials. Unfortunately Moore described only a few of these burials, and did not give any map of their locations or orientations, as he did for many of his other sites. In his narrative he included a few other scattered details about the burials but did not reference them by number or say if they were ones he had already mentioned. A few additional data were in his original notebooks, on file at the Huntington Free

Library in New York when I saw them (microfilms of these notes are now in the Cornell University library). Table 1 shows what little burial information can be organized. Styles of burial included flexed, "bunched" (bundled bones), and single skulls. Bones were decayed and broken, and only one cranium was recovered, though Moore noted it had no artificial flattening. Where the affiliation of the burials can be discerned, they are clearly Fort Walton-protohistoric.

### Artifact Collections and Contexts

Artifacts recovered from this site were probably all deliberately placed in the mound, even though many were not associated with burials. Some items could have been scraped up in soils from a habitation area during mound construction but Moore mentioned no such area (though he was seldom interested in such things). For now, we must assume all the materials recovered were part of mound ceremonialism. Information on them comes from the following sources:

- publications by Moore and Willey;
- Moore's original field notes I briefly reviewed at the Huntington Free Library in New York in 1986;
- collections data from Moore's materials in the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), both from my own notes during a brief visit in 1986, when it was still in New York at the Heye Foundation (before becoming part of the Smithsonian), and from the current collections personnel;
- collections data on Moore's materials in the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts;
- the online collection of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia;
- the collection of Doug Birmingham of Wewahitchka;
- the collection of Tom Semmes of Wewahitchka, part in the public library there and the rest donated to the USF archaeology lab.

More information probably exists out there somewhere. Moore was generous and gave away many of the things he excavated. The human bones often ended up at medical institutions but apparently not at the NMAI.

At the NMAI, in addition to many (but certainly not all) of Moore's artifacts, there is also a small plain bowl from the Chipola Cutoff mound originally obtained by H. K. Deisher, with an acquisition date of 1-1-1915 (as compared with a date of 1-1-1930 for Moore's material as explained below). Henry K. Deisher was "a Pennsylvania manufacturer of ladies' knitted underwear, who from boyhood pursued Indian artifacts," bought over 400 Indian baskets between 1903 and 1907 (Glueck 1999:1), collected thousands of materials in Pennsylvania (Brunner 1897:112), and obtained specimens from "the mounds at Stockton, California, [and] also a

**Table 1. Burials at Chipola Cutoff Mound, 8Gu5 (Moore 1903:445-466).**

No.	Description	Associated materials	Age	Other data
?	earthenware vessel over skull		FW	same as burial with 3 individuals (below)?
15	bundle	stone celt 2 lg pointed shell columellae tools with portions of whorl (?) remaining as handles 2 marine shell chisels 2 fine shell gouges of Fulgar 2 shell hair pins <i>Marginella</i> shell beads mussel shells 2 probable deer ulnae, possibly pointed 2 deer tibiae with both ends cut off other bone implements 1 bone fish- hook 1 thin triangular bone tool	prob FW	
16, 17, 18	3 individuals flexed together	?	?	Moore's small notebook in Huntington Library, NY, p. 19
	3 individuals flexed side by side	vessel in fragments over the head of one; 1 fragmentary and the little vessel, no 29	?	Moore's small notebook in Huntington Library, NY, p. 18
9	a few badly decayed bone fragments	2 ceramic vessels 2 brass discs wrapped in fiber 3 glass beads	FW	in a pit extending below the mound base and below water table; possibly other glass beads in bottom of pit under water
5	a few bones	stone celt shell beads	FW?	also in a pit under water, below base of mound
0	2 skulls	large lightning whelk shell	FW?	shell = 38.6 cm long
32	bones which fell with caved sand	brass disk covered in fiber	FW	
1	bundle	vessel 48 vessel 49, Pt Wash Inc jar	FW	in a burial pit with the vessels
2	child skull	brass disk	FW	
	with the burials	celts of various raw materials 2 ferruginous sandstone hones many small round masses of hematite a mass of small, sharp chert flakes marine shell chisels pointed marine shell columellae shell beads (lg & sm) 50 small <i>Marginella</i> shell beads 1 glass bead (from the body of mound)	FW, MW?	association with burials but unknown which and how many

large amount of general archaeological material” (Pepper 1916:415). He seems to have bought artifacts but also dug them up himself, with reasonable documentation that has been useful for scholars. He may have been in Florida earlier than Moore, judging from the record of his activities and the earlier cataloguing date. He may have been one of those whose evidence of previous digging Moore saw later, or perhaps Deisher obtained the pot from one of those earlier diggers, or even from Moore. It is indeed fascinating how this location, remote as it is, was nonetheless known to famous and wealthy artifact collectors and antiquarians.

Three pots and eight shell artifacts curated at the R. S. Peabody Museum are also attributed to Moore’s excavations (Willey 1949:255), and four more shell items were sent from there to Maine in 1920 (Marla Taylor, Assistant Collections Manager, personal communication, 2011). At the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, which housed Moore’s collections and published his works, a new director in 1929 decided to get rid of all archaeological materials to make way for animal remains (Wardle 1929). Moore’s artifact collections from 30 years of work were sold to George Gustav Heye, and the Heye Foundation materials are now in the Smithsonian’s NMAI (hence the 1930 acquisition date). But the Academy retained at least one artifact from the Chipola Cutoff mound, a shell (discussed below), clearly for its natural significance in being a very large gastropod, and probably without even considering its cultural significance.

### Ceramics

Moore found sherds, whole vessels, and masses of sherds which often did not make up whole vessels, all over the Chipola Cutoff mound, especially in the southern and southeastern sections, sometimes with burials and sometimes in what he called ceremonial deposits characteristic of the region. Much of the ceramic assemblage he labeled “inferior,” but a few pieces were of “black, polished ware, the specialty of Mississippi” and a few other specimens he considered imported from more westerly locales (Moore 1903:448), which he did not name but likely included Moundville and the Alabama River region.

Moore said his total take was 51 whole or partial vessels, of which, however, he only described 27 plus a few unusual partial vessels. Some additional information is available in NMAI collections (including Deisher’s pot, though not all of Moore’s pots apparently made it there) and from Willey’s (1949:255) summary and the R. S. Peabody Museum collections. Table 2 presents what is presently known about these 50-plus ceramic vessels, sherds, and other items, along with the component of the mound with which they are probably associated. While the NMAI catalog lists several pots as “black ware,” some are not, having the typical yellowish paste and perhaps a black firing cloud (e.g., vessel 12). I also saw that the Chipola Cutoff mound ceramics had a micaceous and mostly not shell-tempered paste, but it was hard to tell the temper on many as they had smoothed surfaces. White pigment was in the incisions on the vessel surface of two specimens, the black

Moundville-type vessels.

Pottery collected by the two Wewahitchka residents, including that still on display in the town library and the 147 sherds donated by Semmes to the USF lab, totals 165 specimens, including 5 whole or nearly whole vessels. All these ceramics are listed in Table 3, with weights given for those now at USF. The total ceramic assemblage now known from this mound is described below. It includes many unusual specimens, a few so atypical that they could be either Middle Woodland or Fort Walton. Nearly all the vessels, except where indicated, were “killed” or had the basal perforation typical of burial offerings in both Middle Woodland and Fort Walton times.

### *Middle Woodland Ceramics*

The Swift Creek and early Weeden Island vessels are the clearest indication of the construction of a Middle Woodland burial mound here (Tables 2,3). As with most of the Middle Woodland sites, in this valley, whether mounds, camps, or villages, both ceramic series are represented (Frashuer 2006; White 2011).

Swift Creek Complicated Stamped vessels recovered by Moore numbered three. One of these, a late variety bowl (Moore’s number 41; Willey 1949:255) has a flat bottom, which is not that unusual for Middle Woodland in this region (White 1992:Figure 5), and a stamped pattern of interspersed large loops, similar to the incised patterns on the Fort Walton pots in the mound that are presumably nearly 1000 years later. Were later potters imitating what they found in this already sacred space of an existing Middle Woodland mound? The Semmes and Birmingham collections (Table 2) also each have a Swift Creek sherd.

Weeden Island Incised is represented by one jar (Moore 1903:452, Figures 102, 103) that has a composite shape, with a round rim on a square top on a round bottom, and with the distinctive large Weeden Island punctations, and incisions in a pattern of criss-cross and parallel lines and open loop shapes that could resemble legs and/or feet. Other specimens, sherds classified as indeterminate incised, may fit into this vessel type but are too small to categorize.

Weeden Island Plain vessels include at least five. One is an unusual rounded crescent-shaped bowl (Figure 5) which was not illustrated by Moore but probably is his vessel 38. It has a folded rim with an incision below the fold, and may have represented a gourd or other vegetable shape. Vessel 20 (Moore 1903:453, Figure 104) is a tapered-base cutout jar with an in-facing bird-head rim effigy (Figure 6). Moore’s (1903:457, Figure 111) vessel 28 is a multi-chambered or compound bowl measuring 20 cm at its widest point, with three circular lobes around an interior rectangular chamber that measures 2.5 x 6.5 cm and has raised sides. It is painted red on both interior and exterior. Compound bowls like this are common in Weeden Island funerary offerings; Moore recovered another one (larger, with four lobes) from the Gotier Hammock mound on the other side of Gulf County (White 2011: Figure 8). The plain vessel with 7 scallops, each having a bird head (Moore’s

**Appendix A. Chipola Cutoff mound ceramics collected/reported by Moore and others; most are now in museum collections (NMAI, R. S. Peabody).**

<i>No. *</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Moore 1903, page; fig nos.</i>	<i>Comments, cat. no</i>
	WI Plain	MW		8.5-cm diameter bowl; Deisher collection, NMAI 41609
6	Cool Br Inc	FW	449; 96	small bowl, incised double arc with punctations on top
7	FW Inc	FW	449; 97	1-qt bowl, 5-loop design with punctations filling in incised zones; probably NMAI 174042
8	FW Inc	FW	449; 98, 99	bowl with bird head and tail, incised-punctate feathers; probably turkey; NMAI 174928
10	FW Inc	FW	449; 100	5-pointed open bowl, yellow ware; NMAI 174046
12	FW Inc	FW	450; 101	4-qt casuela bowl, ticked rim, loop design; black firing clouds NMAI 174043
13	indet inc	FW	450	Upright parallel lines between 2 encircling parallel lines = Point Washington Incised?
14	indet plain	FW? MW?	450-52	5-pt plain bowl with 7 scallops, each with an animal head
15	WI Inc	MW	452; 102-3	composite jar with round bottom, square top, circular rim, abstract pattern that may be depicting human feet; NMAI 174052
16	PW Inc	FW	452	half-gourd effigy with incised scrolls; probably NMAI 174929
20	WI Plain	MW	452-3; 104	cutout jar with tapering base, bird head adorno facing inward, 34 cm high, 22 cm max diam; NMAI 174922
21	FW Inc	FW	453; 105	bottle with interlocking scroll design on body, wide neck, ticked rim, NMAI 174051
22	PW Inc or Moundville??	FW	453-56; 106-7	half-gourd effigy with incised triangles surrounded by interlocking scrolls, polished black with possible whitish pigment in incisions; no basal perforation; hole in pointed end for suspension; NMAI 174045
24	Pens Inc	FW	456; 108	casuela bowl with tall, outflaring neck, ticked rim, polished black, 32-cm diameter, 19 cm high; NMAI 174041
26	FW Inc	FW	456; 109, 10	constricted-neck ticked rim jar with incised crosses and interlocking scrolls, filled in with dentate-stamp instead of typical punctations; NMAI 174516
28	WI Plain	MW	456-7; 111	compound bowl with central square section and round sections on 3 sides, red-painted interior and exterior; NMAI 174926
29	PW Inc or Mdv???	FW?	457; 112, 13	miniature long-necked jar, 5.6 cm tall, dull black with white pigment inside incisions, 2 holes near lip for suspension; design may be stylized face; Willey (1949:255) said it may be WI Incised but resembles vessel 22, more likely Mississippian; NMAI 174053
32	L Jackson	FW	457; 114	2-qt jar with 4 D-shaped lugs, 2 incisions below neck, ticked rim; NMAI 174924
33	PW Inc	FW	459; 115	ticked-rim jar with incised hands or paws on neck, interlocking scrolls below; Willey (1949:255) called it FW Inc but it has no punctations; NMAI 174047
34	PW Inc	FW	459; 116	bowl with tall outcurving neck, incised loop scrolls; NMAI 174054
35	PW Inc	FW	459; 117	ticked-rim short-necked jar with incised interlocking scrolls; NMAI 174049
36	PW Inc Mdv??	FW	459; 118, 19	polished black with bird head and tail, incised interlocking scroll on base, possible white pigment in incisions, no basal perforation; NMAI 174044
37	Bell Pl?	FW	459, 62	dull black narrow-neck jar or flattened, wide-mouth bottle, ca. 7 cm diam at rim, ca. 17 cm max diam; NMAI 174515
38	WI Pl	MW	462	probably NMAI 174055; rounded crescent-shaped bowl with one incision below rim
41	SwCr Comp-St	MW	462; 120	flat-bottomed conical bowl with folded lip, stamped design of concentric loops in band around main vessel body; NMAI 174925
42	SwCr Comp-St	MW	462	small bowl, stamp faintly impressed
47	SwCr Comp-St	MW	462	jar, stamp decoration around neck
49	PW Inc	FW	462; 121	incised loops and parallel lines; NMAI 174048
?	FW Inc or colono	FW		NMAI 174050; not described by Moore but collected by him; small carinated jar with tall neck, 7 cm diam at rim, 10 cm at widest point on body, tapering to flat base.
?	FW Inc	FW		NMAI 174923; not described by Moore but collected by him; interlocking scroll design on short-necked jar or casuela bowl with sloping neck; has black (soot?)



				deposits on exterior that could be radiocarbon-dated
	FW Inc sherd	FW	462; 122	partial casuela bowl with wide neck, ticked rim, design of interlocking partial scrolls surrounded by punctations; prob NMAI 174927
	PW Inc sherd	FW	462; 123	large sherd of probable casuela bowl with incised parallel horizontal and vertical lines, possible pinches down the sides; prob NMAI 174927
	PW Inc sherd	FW	462; 125	partial casuela bowl with wide neck, incised parallel horizontal and vertical lines, as in the one above, but blank vertical spaces down the sides
	FW Inc sherd	FW	462; 124	large sherd of probable casuela bowl, wide neck, incised design of rectilinear loops filled with punctates; NMAI 174927
	FW Inc sherd	FW	462; 126	partial bowl with fish or human eye and nose modeled on exterior
	FW Inc	FW	462; 127	spout from stirrup-spout bottle, South/Central American shape, some also known from Mississippi valley
	adornos	MW? FW	465;128	8+ effigies; Moore says Amany, @ illustrates 8; NMAI 170272 includes 7; some clearly from Pt. Washington Incised vessels; others may be from Weeden Island vessels
	ceramic mushroom	FW	462, 66;129	3 mushroom-shaped artifacts (stoppers, ear decorations, pottery-making tools?); NMAI 171820, 172059, 172060
	L J Inc	FW	382	Amany loop-shaped handles@
	L J Plain	FW		R. S. Peabody 39267; Willey 1949:255
	FW Inc	FW		R. S. Peabody 39313; Willey 1949:255
	PW Inc	FW? MW?		R. S. Peabody 39053; Willey 1949:255 called it St. Petersburg Incised

\* Moore=s vessel numbers (when he assigned them; many pots were left unnumbered)



**Figure 5. Weeden Island Plain bowl of unusual crescent shape, NMAI cat. no. 174055.000. Photo detail (background cropped by author) courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution; photo by NMAI Photo Services Staff.**



**Figure 6. Weeden Island Plain cutout vessel with bird effigy adorno (adapted from Moore 1903:Figure 104 by J. Du Vernay).**

number 14), sounds more like the kind of thing to be expected in Weeden Island Plain as well, though it could be from Fort Walton times.

The small Deisher bowl has a folded rim but is otherwise nondescript and, at first glance, an unlikely burial offering.

Elsewhere (White 2011) I have noted how the inclusion of such drab pottery in burial mounds and fancy sherds at habitation sites belies the once-heralded “sacred-secular” dichotomy. What was done with the ceramic vessels and other grave offerings before and during ritual activities at mounds may have been more important than what these artifacts looked like. A fifth vessel, the sand-tempered globular bowl in the Semmes library collection, is suggestive of Weeden Island Plain because of its shape, though the lip is eroded away from the rim; it is scratched inside as if heavily scraped. Other plain sherds of varying tempers recovered by local collectors may also be Weeden Island Plain but just as easily could fit into the Fort Walton component. One sand-tempered plain rim in the USF Semmes collection is over 1.5 cm thick and probably is better attributed to Weeden Island Plain.

Check-stamped ceramics were apparently not recovered (or not kept, or not recorded) by Moore but did exist in the mound; they could be associated with either the Middle Woodland or the Fort Walton component but more likely the latter (as discussed below). The tall pot in the Semmes library collection that has a conical, tapered base and constricted neck (in other words, it bulges out in the middle) does have a folded, Weeden-Island-like rim that might place it more in Late Woodland (late Weeden Island) or early Fort Walton, but it has a scratched interior like that of the plain bowl noted above, so it may go with the Middle Woodland component. However, the check-stamped type of the Middle Woodland is Gulf Check Stamped, only recognizable by its scalloped rim; no sherds of this type are known from the site. On the other hand, the site down the road, 8GU50 (see below), had two check-stamped sherds and only Middle Woodland (but no Fort Walton) types.

In sum: The early Weeden Island and late Swift Creek pottery suggest a date for the earliest mound construction somewhere between A.D. 500-650. The small number of Woodland materials known, as compared with a larger amount of Fort Walton ceramics and other artifacts, may indicate that



**Figure 7. Lake Jackson jars: left, D. Birmingham collection, with notched rim; right, T. Semmes collection at USF (larger jar on Table 2).**

**Table 3. Chipola Cutoff Mound ceramics recovered by Wewahitchka collectors, 1962.**

Type	N	Wt (g)	Comments
T. SEMMES COLLECTION, IN WEWAHITCHKA LIBRARY			
Fort Walton Incised (?) adorno	1		popeyed bird with hands, rim effigy; incised-punctated star design
Fort Walton Incised	6		1 has cross design; 5 from same pot, 2 of these with black paint/soot
Point Washington (?) Incised	1		sherd with unusual track pattern under curvilinear parallel incisions
Lamar Complicated-Stamped	1		sherd; wide, folded, notched rim
check-stamped	1		tall pot with conical skilled base, constricted neck, folded rim, scratches inside; rim diam=13 cm, max diam=20 cm; ht=25 cm
check-stamped	1		bowl with tapered, rounded base, rim diam=16 cm; ht=17 cm
sand-tempered plain (bowl= Weeden Island Plain?)	2		1 small globular bowl (rim diam=10.4 cm, max diam=22 cm, ht=14 cm), scratched inside; 1 sherd of jar with outcurving rim
T. SEMMES, COLLECTION DONATED TO USF			
Lake Jackson rim w/ticks and node	1	17.6	grit-tempered
Lake Jackson rim w/ ticks	3	74.6	grit-tempered
Lake Jackson rim w/ notches	1	13.2	grit-tempered
Fort Walton Incised rim	5	58.5	grit-tempered; 1= same vessel as 5 sherds in library; 1 has cross design different from that on sherd in library
Fort Walton Incised body	8	225.8	grit-tempered
Point Washington Incised body	4	101.6	grit-tempered
Lamar Plain ?	1	7.8	rim with notched appliqué strip; atypical grit, grog and shell temper
Swift Creek Complicated-Stamped body	1	25.4	grit-tempered (sloppy; small possibility it is Lamar)
check-stamped	45	1514.1	grit-tempered; 2 rims, 1 with small parallel incisions
indeterminate incised	8	175.9	grit-tempered
sand and grog-tempered plain	1	57.5	jar rim
grit-tempered plain rims	9	173.3	6 = from jars, 1 = from bowl; 2 sets of sherds fit together to make partial rims of 2 different jars: larger jar diameter = 7.5 cm; smaller jar diameter = 7 cm
grit-tempered plain body	50	950.6	1= basal sherd; 2 have soot deposits which could be dated
sand-tempered plain sherds	9	216.1	1= rim
sand-tempered plain rim, thick	1	67.8	1.54 cm thick
D. BIRMINGHAM COLLECTION			
Fort Walton Incised	1		rim; unusual pattern of punctate-filled triangle and arc over circle
Lake Jackson	1		plain grit-tempered jar with tall, outflaring neck, notched rim
engraved	1		unusual bowl with engraved design encircling rim, horizontal ladder pattern with large punctations inside squares
complicated-stamped	1		probably Swift Creek
check-stamped	1		
TOTAL =		165	CERAMIC SPECIMENS



**Figure 8. Sherds from Semmes collection (left 2, library; right 2, USF): top, Point Washington Incised, left, bottle (?) body sherd; right, unusual curvilinear and straight-line track pattern; bottom, Fort Walton Incised, two different jar (?) sherds with incised cross and punctations done by dentate stamping.**

the original burial mound was small, and later enlarged and/or intruded into by Fort Walton people. Most of the local collectors' materials are Fort Walton, from the remnant of the east side of the mound as it washed away. Often large ceramic deposits are on the east side in Middle Woodland mounds, but we have no idea of what may have been in the main body of this mound before it was lost.

#### *Fort Walton Ceramics*

As summarized in Tables 2 and 3, the ceramics attributable to Fort Walton times include all the usual diagnostic types but some are in unusual forms; additional pottery might have been imported from Alabama or elsewhere.

Lake Jackson is a type name now used to include both Plain and Incised, since recent work on the two older types has shown they overlap completely (White et al. 2007, 2012; Yuellig 2007). These are jar or bowl shapes, with several varieties of rim treatments. Figure 7 shows two plain surfaced examples, one with a notched rim. Moore's vessel 32 has D-shaped lugs protruding down the side from the lip, two parallel horizontal incisions below the neck, and a ticked (tiny notches) rim. He also reported many loop handles that usually belong in this type (or else Cool Branch Incised). Willey noted one pot of this type in the R.S. Peabody collection. The USF Semmes collection includes three rims, one notched, one ticked, and one with ticks and a node (spherical appendage below the lip). Other sherds in this collection include grit-tempered rim segments of another jar and a bowl, and a sand and grog-tempered jar rim. The grit-tempered (nearly 1 kg) and sand-tempered (.28 kg) generic plain sherds probably represent many more vessels of this type, though they may be plain portions of decorated types.

Point Washington Incised ceramics include possibly eight vessels and six to 10 or more sherds. The latter include eight sherds illustrated by Moore (1903:Figure 128; only seven are listed in NMAI 170272) that have adornos (rim effigies), some of which also have handles on which the effigies perch (Moore refers to the effigy appendages themselves as handles). The effigies include at least 5 woodpecker-type birds, an owl, a possible canid (or deer or panther), and a human with a wide oval face, slit eyes and mouth, a conical, protruding nose, and holes for ear decorations.

Most of the Point Washington Incised bowls, which by definition have incisions but no punctations, display parallel line incisions in the shapes of loops and scrolls (a pattern discussed more below). Moore's vessel 16 is a bowl in the form of a half gourd: shaped like a large teardrop in overhead view and curving upward at the (stem) point in side view. It could have been a dipper for drinking (before its base was bashed out). A ticked rim jar, Moore's vessel 33, has incised paws or hands on the upper portion and interlocking scrolls below. Two different partial vessels that Moore illustrated, but did not number, are casuela bowls. One has a ticked rim and both have incised parallel horizontal lines in zones set off by vertical lines; one has pinches or notches down the sides in between these zones, and the other has plain spaces in between. One sherd in the Semmes library collection has an unusual track pattern under curvilinear incisions (Figure 8, top right).

St. Petersburg Incised refers to one jar classified by Willey (1949:255) in the R. S. Peabody collection. It has an outflaring neck and four parallel horizontal incisions encircling the rim below the lip, with another four on the body just below the juncture of the neck. It is probably better classified as Point Washington Incised. Willey (1949: 42) thought this type extended from late Weeden Island into Fort Walton times. A





Figure 9. Fort Walton Incised sherds: left, unusual pattern in Birmingham collection; right, 5 rims of same vessel with scroll pattern, Semmes library collection.



Figure 10. Small jar classified as Fort Walton Incised that may be colono-ware, NMAI cat. no. 174050.000. Photo detail (background cropped by author) courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution; photo by NMAI Photo Services Staff.

sherd in the Semmes USF collection (Figure 8, top left) seems to be from a similar vessel but with more incisions around the body. Most of the generic indeterminate incised sherds are probably Point Washington Incised.

Fort Walton Incised is the most frequently encountered Fort Walton type at Chipola Cutoff mound, with nine vessels and 25 sherds. Many of these, such as Moore's numbers 7, 12, and another vessel, two sherds in the NMAI, and several in the Semmes library collection (Figure 9, right), are bowls with scroll and loop designs. One incised-punctated pattern is of rectilinear loops (Moore's Figure 124), which may be a variation on the same theme (Yuellig 2007). A possible version of the squared loop is the incised-punctated pattern in the shape of a cross on Moore's (1903:456-7, Figures 109, 110) vessel number 26. The cross motif of double parallel line incisions alternates with an interlocking scroll motif; Moore shows two each of these designs running around the shoulder of this jar that he indicates is of "heavy but coarse ware" and that has a ticked rim. Interestingly, as Moore noted, the punctations within the parallel lines of the cross and filling in the triangles above and below the scrolls are not done individually but stamped with some kind of toothed implement. The cross pattern is also seen on three sherds of two different vessels in the Semmes collections (library and USF), with similar dentate stamping of the punctations (Figure 8, bottom).

A small indeterminate punctate jar not illustrated or even mentioned by Moore (so the vessel number, if any, is unknown) may be Fort Walton colono-ware (Figure 10). It has a flat bottom, which is (unusually) not perforated or "killed," and a possibly European-looking shape in that the neck is outflaring and the body is sharply shouldered. A line of punctations in a zig-zag pattern encircles it at the shoulder. This vessel form is known from some late Mississippian phases in the central Mississippi valley (Jeff Mitchem, personal communication, 2011).

The Fort Walton Incised five-pointed open bowl, Moore's



**Figure 11. Unusual, unclassifiable bowl from the Birmingham collection with engraved ladder-like pattern and circles.**

vessel 10, is similar in design and incised/punctated pattern to the more common six-pointed bowl but far more rare. This form of an open bowl with five or six points is distinctive to Fort Walton and Pensacola cultural manifestations in northwest Florida, perhaps reflecting the maintenance of some ethnic or other identity (Marrinan and White 2007). Moore (1901:459-465) got another five-pointed bowl from Jolly Bay mound on Choctawhatchee Bay some 120 km to the west on the coast. Jolly Bay produced similar Fort Walton ceramics of the other diagnostic types and no clear protohistoric materials but did have one Fort Walton Incised casuela bowl inverted over an infant burial.

Among the most significant of the ceramics is the fragment of a stirrup-spout bottle (Moore 1903:Figure 127; White and Weinstein 2008:Figure 6e). The surface decoration consists of typical Fort Walton punctations within rectangular zones set off by incisions, but the vessel shape is originally from South or Central America. Stirrup-spout bottles appear as early as 4000 years ago in Peru and elsewhere in South



**Figure 12. Unusual popeyed bird effigy on rim of bowl classified as Fort Walton Incised, from Semmes library collection (exterior, right side, and top views).**

America (Bruhns 1994:126-131; Weber 1971) and spread widely. They are known from late Mississippian contexts in the central and lower Mississippi valley, where they are also apparently made with local clay and attributed to influences from Mesoamerica, where they appeared perhaps before 2000 years ago (Phillips et al. 1951:172, 452). The idea of this form may have come into the Southeast prehistorically, perhaps via the Southwest. It may also have been brought by South or Central American Indians who accompanied Spanish exploration and colonization efforts. But, since it was made locally, this specimen from Chipola Cutoff mound is unlike a piece of Spanish metal refashioned into an aboriginal ornament. This pot suggests either that a local craftworker became familiar with a foreign idea (even if only as foreign as the Mississippi valley), or a potter from elsewhere (in Spanish America?) stayed long enough to learn and adapt local surface designs to a vessel shape from afar.

A more conventional bottle form is Moore's vessel 21, with an interlocking scroll design on the body. His vessel 8 is a Fort Walton Incised bowl with bird head and tail appendages on either side and incisions and punctations that seem to represent feathers. It could be a turkey effigy. Another Fort Walton Incised bowl fragment Moore illustrated (in his Figure 126) shows the head of what he called a fish modeled in profile on the exterior of the bowl body. It has a bulging eye and human-looking nose. An unusual vessel in the Birmingham collection has what seems to be an engraved (scratched into hard clay) pattern of parallel lines around the rim in a ladder-like shape, with large circular punctations inside some squares (Figure 11). This bowl is not presently classifiable as to a specific type.

A remarkable piece, from the Semmes library collection, is a rim effigy of a strange character facing outward from the vessel rim (Figure 12). It has a long beak, bugged-out or popping-out eyes, a protruding, incised topknot, human-looking hands raised to either side of the face, and a six-pointed incised-punctated circle-in-star pattern on what could be called the chest-neck area. This pattern is reminiscent of that on the possible colono-ware jar noted above. The stylized hands are similar to those on vessel 33, noted above. This figure somewhat resembles other effigies with protruding eyes from the mound but is weird, even Disneyesque!

The popeyed bird head effigy, usually a ceramic adorno but occasionally of wood or stone, is known to be associated with late prehistoric and contact-period burial mounds elsewhere in Florida (Luer 1992; Mitchem et al. 1985; Weisman 1993). Popeyed birds occur at mission sites near Tallahassee (Milanich and Hudson 1993:223; Weisman 1993:58) and Brent Weisman showed me a photo of one labeled as being from Calhoun County on the Apalachicola that he photographed in the Harvard Peabody Museum (Cat no. 42-10-10/23619). Its provenience is written as "Strauss Landing? Calhoun County" (I have so far been unable to locate a place by that name. It is presumably an old steamboat landing on the river; the search is complicated by the fact that until 1925, Calhoun included what is now Gulf County, as well). Also similar to the Chipola Cutoff effigy is one reported by a collector to have come from the east side of the Apalachicola, either in Liberty or Franklin

County. This specimen is an in-facing head with pop eyes, two horns (like the horned owls on the upper Chattahoochee [Heye et al 1918:73-74], and a loop handle for a beak, all on the rim of a Fort Walton Incised bowl with parallel incisions and also incised triangles filled with punctations on the exterior, reminiscent of the triangles and star pattern on the Chipola Cutoff specimen.

None of the known popeyed bird effigies, even the other birds from Chipola Cutoff mound, has such a huge beak and hugely protruding eyes or hands, let alone hands on either side of the face like this unusual one. However, interpretation of this figure must be tempered with the knowledge that birds with protruding eyes were represented frequently and widely throughout the South, and over a wide time span, including as early as Middle Woodland. The mound's cutout jar that is clearly Weeden Island Plain, and so some three to six centuries older than Fort Walton (Figure 6), has such a bird. Perhaps later people were imitating the earlier concept, with greater exaggeration and anthropomorphism. Viewing the photo of this Chipola Cutoff popeyed creature, famous Florida archaeologist Jerry Milanich said the hands make it look like Excedrin Headache No. 3. Perhaps it was really saying, "look at these weird invaders in metal clothing: Spaniards!"

Cool Branch Incised may be represented at Chipola Cutoff mound in the form of only one small bowl, the decoration from which Moore (1903:Figure 96) illustrated in a drawing showing double parallel line incised arcs around the body of the vessel, with punctations along the top of the upper arc. With this pattern it can only be classified as Cool Branch Incised (unless it is has shell temper, then it would be Moundville Incised or Dallas Incised). Interestingly, Cool Branch Incised predominates in the Rood Phase of the upper part of the lower Chattahoochee valley (Blitz and Lorenz 2006:232-33), dated



Figure 13. Lamar sherd from Semmes library collection.



to A.D. 1200-1300. Intensive research at Yon mound in the middle Apalachicola (Du Vernay 2011) indicates that the small amount of Cool Branch Incised there (about 2-3 percent of the diagnostic Fort Walton types) is associated with the Fort Walton occupation solidly dated to the same time span. So if this is a Cool Branch Incised specimen from Chipola Cutoff, it might indicate earlier Fort Walton use of the site, centuries before the protohistoric.

Check-stamped sherds are probably mostly Wakulla Check Stamped associated with the Fort Walton component. One reason to say this is that most of the two bowls and 46 sherds have grit temper. A tall jar in the Semmes library collection is noted above; the second check-stamped pot in that collection is a simpler bowl. The 46 check-stamped sherds (Table 3) weigh over 1.5 kg, suggesting possibly some utilitarian use, even though they ended up in a mound. Moore does not mention any check-stamped pottery; though he often ignored it, he sometimes did note it in the accounts of his investigations.

Lamar appears only in the form of a single Lamar Complicated Stamped sherd (Figure 13) in the Semmes library collection. The implications of this ceramic type – imported ideas or people from Georgia – are discussed below.

Ceramics from the west? Two shell-tempered vessels, a Pensacola Incised and a Pensacola Plain, may be from more westerly locales. Shell-tempered ceramics are usually a very small minority in Fort Walton (Marrinan and White 2007; White et al. 2007, 2012), but perhaps they reappear in protohistoric times as more groups from the west or north are moving around due to the disruption from European intrusion. One jar (NMAI 174515) with a short narrow neck that is probably Moore's (1903:462) vessel number 37 is of the type Bell Plain or Mississippi Plain (Phillips et al. 1951:122-126;

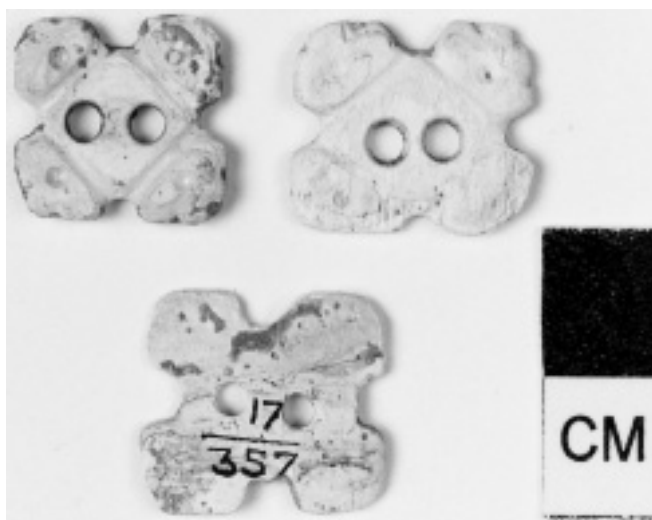
Steponaitis 1983:305-6, 312-14), since it has shell temper and a burnished black surface, also suggesting association with Moundville. Moore did not illustrate it but called it a water bottle that resembled types found farther westward. It is one of the few pots that is not "killed."

Three other vessels with connections to Moundville appear to be Moundville Engraved, with burnished black surfaces (Steponaitis 1983). One of these, Moore's number 22 (Table 2), is shaped like half a gourd, similar to the Point Washington Incised bowl noted above. Another, number 29 (Moore 1903: Figures 112, 113), is a small jar with a black, less-polished surface and a design that looks (in a roll-out drawing) like a face. The third, number 36, is a bowl with bird head and tail rim appendages. All three have white pigment (of unknown origin or composition) in the incisions. At Moundville this type dates to as late as the Moundville III phase, which is not thought to extend into early contact-period times (Knight and Steponaitis 1998:7-8); it is not part of the protohistoric Moundville IV or Alabama River Phase (Knight 2010: 27-33; Knight and Steponaitis 1998:8-9; Sheldon 1974:Figure 4; Steponaitis 1983:126). So these Moundville Engraved pots at Chipola Cutoff may indicate either an earlier Fort Walton component or else curation and later burial of older, foreign heirlooms (as at other Mississippian centers such as Spiro mounds in Oklahoma).

#### *Ceramic "Mushrooms"*

Moore (1903:462-66, Figure 129) dug up three mushroom-shaped objects of fired clay from Chipola Cutoff mound. He illustrated one (NMAI 172060) that has an "encircling line of impressions made by a triangular point around the margin" or, in other words, triangular notches or punctations around the thin vertical side face of the disk-shaped top. It also had a circular depression in the top surface, which is about 6 or 7 cm in diameter. Thus it is not convex or smooth on the top surface, so it is unlikely that this artifact is a pottery trowel or smoothing tool, as has been suggested for similarly-shaped clay artifacts. It was probably either a roller stamp (using the side edge to roll a dotted pattern on wet clay, cloth, or skin?) or a bottle stopper, or possibly an ear decoration or even a body stamp on the top surface. However, the other two such objects from Chipola Cutoff mound (NMAI 172059, 171820) were indeed mushroom-shaped, one with a flat top and one with a rounded top (both slightly larger in diameter than the one Moore illustrated); they could have been smoothing tools for pottery making or other crafts. They may have been bottle stoppers, but the thickness of the stopper part, 2 to 3 cm, is not great enough for stopping up a typical ceramic bottle, though perhaps they were used with bottle gourd bottles that had thinner necks.

Ceramic mushrooms are known from other protohistoric contexts in this region. In the middle Apalachicola valley at the Corbin-Tucker site (8CA142), and in the upper Chipola at Waddell's Mill Pond site, 8JA65 (discussed below; see Figure 1). Moore (1918) also got one at Hogtown Bayou, to the west; this specimen had a protruding knob on top and a



**Figure 14. Shell buttons, NMAI cat. no. 170357.000. Photo courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution; photo by NMAI Photo Services Staff.**



pattern of fingernail punctations around it. Lazarus (1971:44, 47) called them “giant ceramic ear plugs” and noted that they occur at more than one coastal Fort Walton-Pensacola site on Choctawhatchee Bay. They occur in south-central Alabama protohistoric sites (Liddell site, Sheldon 1974:169), and also far upriver on the upper Chattahoochee at the protohistoric Nacoochee mounds, where they were called “ear plugs of earthenware” (Heye et al. 1918:71). Possibly these artifacts served many different functions.

### Stone Artifacts

Besides the items listed with the burials (Table 1), Moore notes (but does not illustrate) many lithic artifacts from the mound. Most he recognized were from previously disturbed contexts and therefore might have been burial offerings (probably they all were, unless some came from midden soils used in mound building). These materials are 3 pebbles, 1 sandstone hone, several chert flakes with a cutting edge on one side (knives?), and 24 celts. Any of them could go with either cultural component, though the chert may be Middle Woodland, since chipped stone is curiously reduced in this region in Fort Walton times from what it is earlier and later (Marrinan and White 2007).

The celts Moore (1903:446-447) described as being of various raw materials and from 6.6 to 25 cm long; some were with burials, some were alone, and some were at “the very margin of the mound and evidently had been placed there ceremonially, since burials were not met with until farther in.” However he earlier said burials were in the margins of the mound too. Furthermore we have encountered at least one burial with a greenstone celt in the margin or lower (west)

slope of a Fort Walton mound at the Yon site, in the middle Apalachicola valley (Du Vernay 2011; Marrinan and White 2007). Only one greenstone celt (cat. no. 171566) is present in the NMAI collection from the Chipola Cutoff mound. It is 22 cm long, 6 cm wide at the rounded bit end, and 4.5 cm wide at the rounded butt end. It has a serpentine pattern in the greenstone and parallel worn lines close to the butt end that probably indicate hafting. Since he had originally recovered so many celts, Moore may have given the others away.

In Moore’s (1903:446) description, the several small round “masses of hematite” were “perhaps used in a rattle.” This suggests that these pieces of heavy, red or blackish stone were nodules and not flattened for use as pigment to rub on something. I have seen little spheres of such stone occur naturally in creeks in the region. The pebbles Moore recovered may also have been for use in rattles. The hone and chert flakes, and possibly other material also suggest mundane, utilitarian functions (the deceased’s tool kit?) that perhaps were made sacred by their inclusion with the dead or use at the time of the burial ceremony.

Moore’s (1903:448) probing with the iron rod into the supposedly undisturbed yellow sand subsoil below the mound produced a “beautiful chisel or hatchet, of trap rock” 23 cm long, 8.9 cm in maximum width, and 2 cm in maximum thickness, plano-convex in cross-section, with a well-made cutting edge at the bit. “Trap rock” was a general term for dark, coarse-grained igneous rock similar to basalt (but not greenstone). It might refer to agatized coral, more locally available, in which the polygonal coral bodies show a coarse structure. This specimen was accompanied by two “ordinary celts,” which may have been of greenstone, a more common material for celts in the region but still something that would

**Table 4. Sheet-brass discs from Chipola Cutoff Mound, 8GU5 (Moore 1903:447). NMAI catalog number 170195.000**

Burial no., description, goods	Diameter	Holes	Other characteristics
19: decayed bone in sub-mound pit below water table in 1903; 2 broken ceramic pots (unknown which ones); 3 glass beads (unknown type)	4.5" (11.4 cm)	2 holes, 0.75" (1.9 cm) apart, 3 mm from edge, 5 mm in diameter	undecorated surface, wrapped in fiber; measurements from NMAI photo
19: as above	Moore said 8" (20.3 cm); actually ~16 cm	1 center hole, 6 mm diameter	undecorated surface, wrapped in fiber; about 1/3 of edge broken; diameter estimated from NMAI photo
32: “bones which fell with caved sand”	4.5" (11.4 cm)	1 center hole, 6 mm diameter	undecorated surface, slightly concavo-convex, wrapped in fiber; about 1/3 of edge broken; measurements estimated from NMAI photo
42: child’s skull	probably about 11 cm	?	probably represents about 1/5 of disk, with perhaps 1/8 of the edge; Moore said it was fragments but only one shown in NMAI photo; Moore said undecorated surface but photo shows raised bosses around edge

had to have come from the Appalachian mountains.

#### Shell artifacts

Shell items with burials (Appendix A) seem to have been both decorative and utilitarian. They included chisels, large and small beads, 50 small *marginella* perforated to use as beads, several pointed columellae, hair pins, gouges made from the whorl of *Fulgur* (lightning whelk, once also named *Busycon contrarium* or *sinistrum*, and now *B. perversum*), and an indeterminate number of mussel shells that may have been food waste, not artifacts. A huge *Busycon* shell with burial 30 (two skulls) was the largest Moore had ever encountered. It was nearly 39 cm long and was probably a cup for drinking yaupon holly tea, the special Black Drink of southeastern Indians. I recovered a similar, smaller, *Busycon* cup from 8CA142, the Corbin-Tucker site (see Figure 1; White 1994:195). The online catalog of the Malacology Collection of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, lists a *Busycon perversum* (formerly *Fulgur* [sic] *perversa* L.) shell, catalog number ANSP 84614, collected in May 1903 by C. B. Moore from the aboriginal mound at the east end of the Chipola Cutoff. This has to be the large shell with burial 30. Further study of it would be worthwhile to see if it is cut or modified into a cup, and perhaps to tell the Academy the reason they even have such a nice specimen is that it was used by ancient people and saved by Moore. Though they divested themselves of their archaeological collections, they kept this one for its natural value!

The most noteworthy artifacts from Chipola Cutoff mound are three rectangular shell buttons (Figure 14). Each is close to 2 cm wide, with four rounded lobes separated by notches. In the middle of each lobe on the outward face is a large circular punctation, and incised lines at the base of each lobe make up a rectangle or diamond. The inward face is plain; two circular holes are located in a horizontal or near horizontal line in the center of the button. A similar shell button came from upriver at the Waddell's Mill Pond Site (8JA65; Tesar and Jones 2009:676), discussed below.

This distinctive artifact, also called a shell bead or plaque, is known at protohistoric sites elsewhere in the Southeast. Some of those closest to northwest Florida are in the central and lower Alabama and Tombigbee valleys. Sheldon (1974:232-33) notes that the buttons are among the most diagnostic artifacts of the Alabama River Phase. At Durand's (Durant) Bend cemetery (1Ds1) Moore (1899:311, Figure 23) excavated 44 shell buttons (and illustrated 10) associated with an infant burial in a shell-tempered Alabama River Phase burial urn (Curren 1984; Nance 1976; Sheldon 1974:165-68; 2001:12, 73). They were near the skeleton's neck and probably made up a necklace, though Sheldon (1974:232-33) notes they could have been sewn like sequins onto clothing. Moore (1899:321, Figure 36) recovered more of them (and illustrated 11) from Mound 1 on the Charlotte Thompson Place (1Mt51), below Montgomery, where he also got iron, glass, bone and shell hooks, and other protohistoric Alabama River-Phase materials (Sheldon 2001:73, 149). On Florida's northeast coast, Rolland and Ashley (2011) report four similar

lobed rectangular or cloverleaf shell beads that an amateur archaeologist recovered, probably from the neck of a burial, in the Grave Robber mound (8DU140) in Jacksonville. This mound is thought to date to some time after A.D. 1450. All these beads seem to be more roughly made, have no incisions or punctations, and have two drilled holes but closer to one edge, not in the center; two of them have four lobes and the other two have suggestions of lobes but are irregularly shaped, perhaps unfinished.

Similar shell buttons are known from protohistoric sites in eastern Tennessee, north Mississippi, and most prominently the central Mississippi valley. There, in southeast Missouri and northeast Arkansas, they are diagnostic of the "Armored Phase" of the "Markala horizon," estimated to date to only a short time between 1500 and 1700, and representing "the latest aboriginal cultural unit in the region just prior to significant decimation and dispersal by strong European contact" (Williams 1956:31-32; 1980). In northeast Mississippi these buttons are thought to be seventeenth or maybe even sixteenth-century items; a set found with a Chickasaw burial is interpreted as a necklace since the largest button was in the center (J. O'Hear, personal communication, 2010).

It is curious that this distinctive form of native shell artifact appeared only in protohistoric times; perhaps they were even made by Europeans specifically for the Indian trade. It is also curious that Moore did not illustrate these shell buttons from Chipola Cutoff mound, or even mention them beyond the generic note that there were many shell beads. Perhaps they were old hat to him by the time he got to northwest Florida, since he had found so many elsewhere earlier. But usually his descriptions (e.g., Moore 1904) note connections with similar items across the South. It is surprising that, especially given the lengthy treatment of the Chipola Cutoff mound, he did not describe them or relate this site more specifically to others on the Alabama River. On the other hand, he dug so much and collected so many things that it is actually amazing that he published as much on relationships as he did! Plus, he really was in love with beautiful pots.

#### Bone Artifacts

Moore described several generic types of bone tools and two more-finished specimens. The latter include a bone hook (NMAI 170255) he called "fish-hook" (Moore 1903:Figure 94), 8.1 cm long, with characteristics Moore had not seen before: the hook end had the articular surface of the bone remaining, with a sharp point or barb tapering up from it; the hook shank had a groove around it possibly for tying a line around, with a slight expansion of the end above that groove. Another hook like this one, from elsewhere in the mound, was broken by the excavators. These hooks were not necessarily for fishing but could be for suspending or holding anything, such as drying meat from a branch or ceiling, or even holding a door closed. Bone hooks are rare, but others are known from Fort Walton contexts. At Yon mound up the river in the middle Apalachicola, two tiny hooks came from a refuse pit (Du Vernay 2011; White et al. 2012).

Another bone implement (Moore 1903: Figure 95) is a point or pin (NMAI 170256). It has a long (4.4 cm) triangular shape, and in the NMAI photo the narrower end has a faint incised line around the tip, possibly from wear or deliberately incised to hold a line attachment. The NMAI catalog labels it a bone barb for a fishhook, but it could easily be a fish gouge (pointed pin to get stuck in the fish's throat) or some other kind of fastener or poking tool. Less diagnostic bone items were two probable deer ulnae with distal ends broken but apparently worked into points, two deer tibiae with both ends cut off, and other bone tool fragments, all with burial 15. All the bone artifacts suggest everyday utilitarian functions, possibly someone's toolkit, but again, their inclusion with a burial must mean ceremonial/symbolic use.

### Historic materials

One glass bead came "from the body of the mound" and three were with burial 19. These four beads were not identified or described any further by Moore. They are unmistakable evidence of European contact. Unfortunately, they are unable to be located and may not have made it into the NMAI collections.

As early as the middle 1500s the brass disk was worn as a neck/chest ornament in much the same way (presumably) as prehistoric copper and shell versions. These decorative, probably status items were apparently manufactured by the

Apalachee to trade with natives farther in the interior, but they could also have been made by any Indians who salvaged the metal from European shipwrecks. Four disks came from Chipola Cutoff mound (NMAI cat. no. 170195.000). Two are over 11 cm in diameter and one fragment is probably from a disk also of about that size. One of the two has two drilled holes near the edge and the other has a central hole. The fragment has raised bosses around the edge, though Moore did not mention this. The fourth disk is larger, possibly 16 cm in diameter, with a central hole. Table 4 lists the discs and their characteristics and associated items.

Waselkov (1989a:124) classified the largest disk, from burial 19, as being of the variety that dates to ca. 1630-1700. This is based on the presence of a small central hole, making the disk similar to a form widespread from the Atlantic to the Gulf. As described by Moore, at 8 inches in diameter, this disk is also the largest in Waselkov's tabulation of some 3 dozen examples of this later form found throughout the Southeast. It is also larger than his over two dozen earlier style disks with a larger central hole. However, the NMAI collection photo shows this large disk is smaller, closer to 16 cm (6 inches) in diameter; Moore apparently overestimated its size. In addition, it is associated with the smaller disk with two holes that also came from Burial 19. Jeff Mitchem (personal communication, 2011) notes that there is too much variation in hole size to make it temporally diagnostic, and also that these disks should be analyzed to see if they are indeed brass and not copper, which could well be prehistoric. Moore, who recorded many artifacts

**Table 5. Materials from the D. Birmingham Site, 8Gu50, recovered 1985 from surface of plowed garden.**

Catalog No	Type	N	Wt (g)	Comments
USF 8Gu50-1	Weeden Island Incised	1	5.6	tiny parallel incisions ending in punctations
	poss Weeden Island Incised	2	11.6	1 has punch-and-drag punctations; 1 has incisions and punctations but could be Fort Walton Incised
	Weeden Island Punctate	2	9.7	rims; lines of punctations under lip and on top of lip
	probable Weeden Island Punctate	2	30.1	rims; line of punctations below lip (one = punch-and-drag)
	Carrabelle Punctate	1	6.4	rim
	check-stamped	2	14.8	1 = rim with wide, overstamped fold
	indet punctate	2	23.1	1 has rectilinear and 1 annular punctations
	indet incised	3	6.8	parallel straight lines
	sand-t plain	29	255.5	6 = rims, 2 of them beveled inward, 1 folded
	grit-t plain	17	240.4	4 = rims, 2 of them folded
	grog-t plain	9	185.5	1 = lg folded rim?
	bone frag	1	3.4	articular surface; poss deer tarsal or carpal
	mammal rib frag	1	.8	burned
	turtle carapace frag	1	1.0	
	<i>Rangia</i> clam shell	7+frags	53.3	ave l=2.7 cm, w=2.4 cm
gastropod shell	1	.9	l=.6 cm; w=.3 cm	
D. Birmingham collection	Weeden Island Plain (?)	1		rim with portion of lip expanded into possible animal effigy eyes 2 (large punctations)

of both brass and copper, presumably knew the difference, and in the photo the disks look more black than green, suggesting brass, not copper. But archaeologists are often fooled by such eyeball estimations and materials analysis of these items would be very useful.

Waselkov (1989a:123) said that, after the destruction of the Spanish missions in 1704, the brass disk was no longer produced. This does not mean that existing discs could not continue to move around or be held longer until they were

placed in the ground with the honored dead. But it correlates with other evidence that places the temporal extent of Fort Walton culture no later than about 1700.

#### Mound Location and Habitation

##### *Geomorphological and Useful Data*

Moore (1903:445) had placed the Chipola Cutoff mound

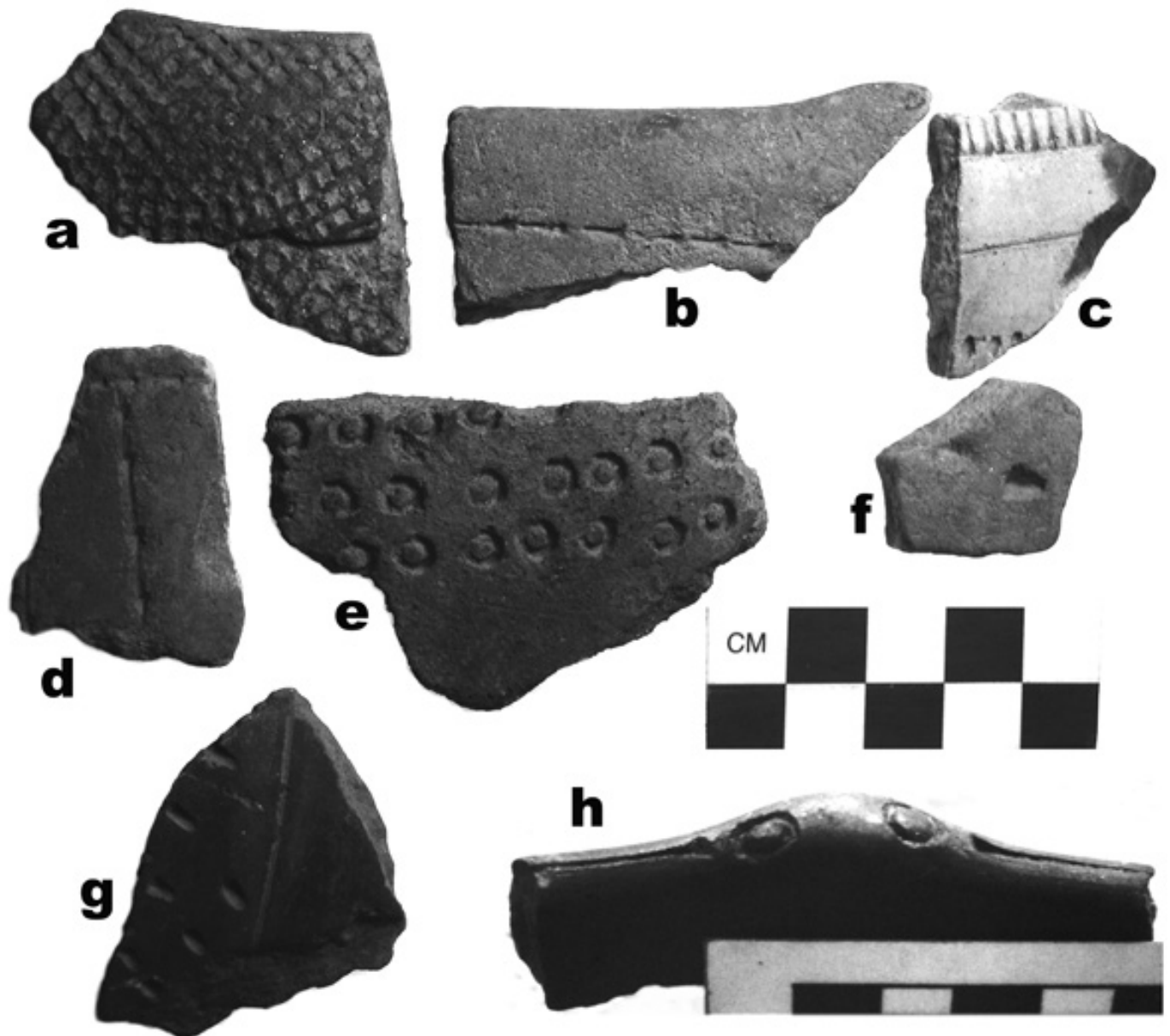


Figure 15. Pottery from the D. Birmingham site, 8Gu50, habitation possibly associated with Chipola Cutoff mound Middle Woodland component: a, check-stamped with folded, overstepped rim; b, Weeden Island Incised scalloped rim with punch-and-drag incised line; c, body sherd with fine parallel incisions and punctations; d, possible Weeden Island Incised with punch-and-drag incision; e, f, 2 indeterminate punctate (annular and triangular punctations, respectively); g, indeterminate incised and punctated (could be Weeden Island Incised or Fort Walton Incised); h, probable Weeden Island rim with incised eyes (?).



barely above water but about 40 m from the channel; so at least that much bank has been lost here. He said that the large borrow pit was between the mound and the water. This possibly ancient excavation, along with later looting, may have hastened erosion. The mound and its surrounding area may also have been impacted when the paved road was built. Perhaps this is the reason for the recent shoring up of banks with the riprap and then the newer sand berms. On the 1945 USGS *Dead Lakes, Florida* quadrangle map there is a small blue wedge off the river meander extending south-southeast at an acute angle to the channel, indicating a watery inlet that may have resulted from the intensive digging of the mound. This inlet is absent from the newer (1990) edition of the USGS map and also recent aerial photos. In November, 2010, Tom Semmes estimated some 15 m of riverbank loss back from the mound over the last 45 years. He reported that recent aggressive erosion has left the river less than two m from the road. He said “the mound is now only a memory”; luckily, with his contributions and others, its information can be preserved.

It is unlikely that prehistoric people, who surely understood annual flooding and seasonal conditions, would have built so sacred a site in such a vulnerable location (though everyone makes mistakes sometimes), not to mention either continued using it or returned nearly a millennium later to inter more of the honored dead. Reviewer Louis Tesar reminds me that, at the time of the earliest mound construction, some 1500 years ago, sea level was still slightly lower than it is today, probably making for higher, drier conditions at the site. Perhaps, during the last several centuries since its abandonment, the mound was destroyed by naturally shifting fluvial action. But it is curious that a mound first built some 1500 years ago lasted all this time until it began rapidly eroding away by the late nineteenth century. Possibly modern human action is involved as well, whether generally (steamboat and other watercraft travel, global warming bringing more storms?) or specifically (dams, clearing for modern agriculture leading to heavier flooding). Human manipulation of this river is documented as early as the Civil War (White et al. 1999). Examination of this site’s history could be useful for understanding modern geological and other scientific issues.

Perhaps the original mound location was related to its physical geography and fluvial setting. The cutoff channel is a distributary stream flowing from the big river toward the smaller one. This unexpected current direction may have had some spiritual or other ideological importance. The mound sits near the top of a long north-south loop meander, another unexpected reverse of direction if someone is trying to go downstream – south – on the big river. Another important aspect of mound location is of course the deliberate reuse of the Middle Woodland burial place by protohistoric and possibly earlier Fort Walton people. Such Mississippi-period reuse of existing Woodland sacred spaces is known from many mound sites in the Southeast, including in this valley (e.g., Waddell’s Mill Pond [Tesar and Jones 2009], farther up the lower Chattahoochee valley [Blitz and Lorenz 2006], and elsewhere [White et al. 2012])

*A Lost Village?*

There are three possibilities for a habitation area related to the Chipola Cutoff mound: some nearby occupation area that is now gone, a domestic site farther up or downstream, or more distant villages whose peoples came for very brief visits to bury their dead. The reality may be some combination of these possibilities.

A linear riverbank village may have existed along either side and in front of the Chipola Cutoff mound, only to be washed away like the mound was. Many sites along the Apalachicola and other waterways in this region are long and thin, aligned with the bank or shoreline, and in modern times mostly washed away. This is especially true for Fort Walton sites, right on the riverbanks, presumably to take advantage of alluvial soils for agriculture. I have seen a change in river flow patterns take out at least one Fort Walton site (8JA7) in about 25 years (White 1982; White et al. 2012). Normally the riverbank forms an elevated levee, behind which a low backswamp would have been a natural site boundary. At this spot on the Chipola’s cutoff channel there is no clear division between backswamp and immediate bank, everything being rather low and wet. If there was a village nearby, its midden deposits may have been mined to construct the mound, leaving the large borrow pit and accelerating erosion. Some of the more utilitarian items in the mound, such as chert flakes and bone tools, could be domestic items originating in midden deposits.

#### *The Doug Birmingham site, 8GU50*

As noted, this site is a small midden less than 30 m square, 200 m south of the mound (Figure 3), exposed in a newly tilled garden. The large size of the sherds suggests it was not too disturbed before the tilling. Table 4 lists the materials it produced. The USF collection includes 69 sherds and Birmingham has one (probable) Weeden Island rim with an expanded portion of the lip on which are two annular punctations that look like eyes (Figure 15h). Other sherds with some kind of surface treatment (Figure 15) include a Weeden Island Incised and a Weeden Island Punctated (both unmistakably early Weeden Island), a Carrabelle Punctated (could be early or late Weeden Island), indeterminate incised and indeterminate punctated, and two check-stamped, one with a wide, folded, overstamped rim. None of the last three types is clearly Middle Woodland, and two (Figure 15c, g) could just as easily be Fort Walton Incised. The 54 plain sherds have grit, grog, and sand temper in roughly equal amounts by weight, though by number the grit-tempered make up over half. Birmingham noted recently that since we first discovered the site, a friend who bought the land had found many projectile points there and more ceramic vessel rims with the “eyes” motif.

The shells from this midden site are interesting. One is a small gastropod and the rest are not the usual river mollusc but *Rangia cuneata*, marsh clam. This species lives in brackish water near river mouths where there is high turbidity and soft substrates consisting of sand, mud, and vegetation. While oyster shell middens with some *Rangia* shells are common on the bayshores in the lower Apalachicola delta, middens of

predominately *Rangia* occur frequently farther inland in the estuary, on old river and creek meanders; but none is known more than about 16 km inland from the bay. The Chipola Cutoff area is some 70 km upriver, with totally fresh water that is presumably not suitable for *Rangia*. Though these *Rangia* shells are few, for them to be this far from their source could mean that travel down to the bay was frequent enough to bring back a shellfish dinner. They may have been some rare special occasion food. The unexpectedness of this unusual biotic evidence is reflected in the original site description (Henefield and White 1986:60), in which we erroneously labeled the shells as freshwater mollusc without examining them carefully.

Other biotic remains include bone and turtle shell fragments; along with the shell, black soil, and ceramics at 8GU50, they indicate a domestic area that could have been associated with the Woodland use of the mound. Since the site is small, perhaps it was a short-term occupation by those who came for burial ritual to what is today the northeast corner of Gulf County during the Middle Woodland. Down in the southwest corner of the county, the Gotier Hammock mound was a similarly isolated Middle Woodland burial place with its probable habitation area, a shell (oyster) midden, also some 200 m away on the shore of St. Joseph Bay (White 2011). No Fort Walton habitation site associated with the later component of the Chipola Cutoff mound has been located.

### Interpreting the Chipola Cutoff Mound

The Middle Woodland burial component of the Chipola Cutoff mound is typical for the region. It is now better documented with the greater availability of museum and private collections, though what was looted or washed away over the centuries remains unknown. People who came to bury their dead may have stayed at the small campsite, 8GU50 but did not live permanently nearby.

The Fort Walton component, regardless of where the mound users actually lived at that later time, suggests more intensive and/or longer use of the mound. This component may include separate mound activities during both prehistoric and later protohistoric times, or a continuous use of what was probably already considered a special place. The protohistoric component is important to examine further, since so little from this time period is known in the Apalachicola-lower Chattahoochee valley region. The meaning of "protohistoric" is the time of the first written history about the general area but not about this specific region. The Spanish arrived in Florida in the early 1500s as explorers and conquistadors (Clayton et al. 1993; Covey 1961), then left, then returned to the east coast, moving westward to set up missions beginning in 1633 in Apalachee Province (the Tallahassee area). By 1674 they got as far west as (apparently) the lowest reaches of the Chattahoochee valley, where three small missions were established and then soon abandoned (Hann 1990, 2006). No Spanish are documented in the rest of this valley region at all.

### Protohistoric Associations

The historic items from the Chipola Cutoff mound securely place the latest Fort Walton within what is best labeled the contact/mission period, for lack of finer temporal control. There are many connections with protohistoric adaptations elsewhere in the Southeast. For example, the one vessel (Moore does not say which) recorded as being immediately (presumably inverted) over a skull in the fashion of the "Burial Urn" tradition, as well as the distinctive shell buttons, relate to the Alabama River phase, dated to about A.D. 1500-1700 (Curren 1984; Sheldon 1974; Walthall 1980:257-262). Jenkins (2009:224-227) defines the Alabama River phase as a product of sociopolitical reorganization after the De Soto entrada (1539-1543), a time of the disappearance of both mound building and elaborate grave goods, of urn burials, and of nutritional stress and poor health in central Alabama.

Artifact assemblages similar to that from Chipola Cutoff mound are known elsewhere in Florida and along the Gulf Coast in this region (Moore 1901, 1918; Smith 1956; Willey 1949). They include gourd effigy vessels, Point Washington Incised bowls with looped or interlocking scrolls (guilloches), bird and other effigy adornos, black Moundville-type ceramics with white pigment in the incised lines, burials with upside-down bowls over the skull, polished ground stone celts, hematite objects, shell beads, as well as glass beads and metal, even Spanish coins (Lazarus 1964) from cemeteries at Hogtown Bayou and Point Washington on Choctawhatchee Bay, west of the Apalachicola valley. A protohistoric Fort Walton shell midden 2 km northwest of Hogtown Bayou produced a ceramic popeyed bird, a disk engraved with a cross, a *Busycon* shell cup, and Spanish metal, including a brass buckle. This site had earlier prehistoric Fort Walton materials, but the protohistoric occupation produced a radiocarbon date with a calibrated 1-sigma range of 1468-1552 (Mikell 1994). Such sites and other indications of the Spanish presence, such as more European items with women's and children's burials and other changing mortuary rituals, are well documented (e.g., Brose and White 1999; Hutchinson and Mitchem 2001; Marrinan et al. 1990; Mitchem 1990; Moore 1901, 1902; Scarry 1990).

Ceramics at these sites become more shell-tempered moving westward toward the region characterized by the Pensacola series, as opposed to the decidedly non-shell-tempered pottery typical of Fort Walton (Lazarus and Hawkins 1976), but they are the same shapes and have the same kinds of burial associations. Westward from there into Alabama, the Bear Point site and others of the Alabama River Phase continue some of these designs and trends but add urn burials and other different and distinguishing regional characteristics (Cottier 1970; Sheldon 1974). Alabama River Phase sites continue hundreds of km up into the riverine interior, territory De Soto explored in 1540, encountering the Coosa, Alabama, Mabila, and other historically-named indigenous groups. Transformation by direct Spanish contact can be suggested along the coast as well, because that is how they could travel most easily, in large sailing vessels. Moving overland with

armor and horses, even along existing paths, which were only intended for human foot traffic, was harder.

### Other Fort Walton Protohistoric Sites in the Valley

Despite the repeated investigations by Moore in the Apalachicola-lower Chattahoochee valley system and the work of succeeding archaeologists for over a century afterwards, and despite the wide and dense distribution of prehistoric Fort Walton sites here, only three others besides Chipola Cutoff mound are known to have protohistoric materials, as described briefly below. All four of these early protohistoric sites (see Figure 1) appear to be earlier than and different from any sites that might represent the three short-lived Spanish missions.

#### *Waddell's Mill Pond, 8JA65*

Located in the upper Chipola basin, this site has a Middle Woodland platform mound with a Fort Walton component, another possible mound, and a Fort Walton occupation area including caves and a large rectangular structure ("townhouse"), as well as large Archaic and small Deptford components. It is on a creek, latitudinally at least 23 km above the forks of the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers (which form the Apalachicola). It is 10 km up this creek from the Chipola and would have been a boat trip of 100 km from the Chipola Cutoff mound. Gardner (1966, 1969, 1971) documented the Fort Walton component and thought it was the site of a Spanish mission because occupational debris in the larger cave suggested the Chacato Indians or Chatot (close to the French for "house," somehow associated with living in a cave), recorded as living at two of the 1674 missions. This interpretation was later discarded because no European materials were recovered.

Excavations in 1973-1974 by Calvin Jones showed a Middle Woodland component with Swift Creek pottery but no early Weeden Island diagnostic ceramic types (Tesar and Jones 2009). Calibrating the two radiocarbon dates for this component using CalPal online (at 1-sigma reliability; Cologne Radiocarbon 2006), gives dates of about A.D. 240 and 550 (both  $\pm 80$ ).

The Fort Walton component (Tesar and Jones 2009) produced greenstone celts; hematite and limonite (pigment stones?); Fort Walton ceramics such as Lake Jackson, Fort Walton Incised (including several 6-pointed open bowls), Cool Branch Incised, and Point Washington Incised; about 19 Moundville Engraved sherds (identified by Tesar and Jones [2009:545] as Pensacola Incised variety Gasque); 6 clay mushrooms; large cylindrical shell beads and marine shell tools; and a rectangular shell button (mentioned above) like the three from Chipola Cutoff mound. This site apparently also produced a "Tennessee" or Williams Island-style engraved shell gorget (Wheeler 2001) and a circular "repousse" [sic] copper disk, as indicated on a card in the Florida Museum of Natural History collections (the location of these artifacts is unknown; Donna Ruhl, personal communication, 2010). Fairbanks (1971:63) mentioned these two artifacts, though other workers did not seem to know of them or associate them

with this site. There were also a few sherds of protohistoric types: nine Chattahoochee Brushed, one Ocmulgee Fields Incised, a few Leon Check Stamped, and 5 Lamar (or Jefferson) Complicated Stamped (Tesar and Jones 2009:538, 632, 635-37). I examined another collection of materials from this site (beyond what Gardner and Jones excavated) at the Florida Museum of Natural History, donated by an unknown person; it consisted of typical Fort Walton ceramics.

Fort Walton dates (Tesar and Jones 2009:716-717) for Waddell's Mill Pond suggest both a prehistoric and a protohistoric occupation. For the former (also calibrated at 1-sigma using CalPal), charcoal under a burial dated to A.D. 1120 and some from a feature to about 1200. For the latter, samples from the cave mouth midden, a postmold in the townhouse, and an occupation inside a possible palisade ranged from 1422 to 1521 (all  $\pm 80$ ).

So the dates and a few artifacts such as the shell button and copper disk do suggest protohistoric use of this site, though whether it was a mission is a separate question. Both Gardner and Jones and Tesar thought it had a semicircular palisade around the part of the habitation area that was on the hilltop over the larger cave. This view was based on the presence of a low, irregular earthen ridge with a few postmolds at its base. Tesar and Jones (2009:669) describe daub fragments that may have been from plastering the wall surfaces of this palisade. They note that Chacato villages were not described as palisaded, though villages of the Chisca, on Choctawhatchee Bay to the west, did have such defensive walls.

The excavation data still seem rather ambiguous, and the area enclosed by this "stockade ridge" or palisade does not even include the townhouse or most of the Fort Walton occupation zone that would have needed protecting. Thus I remain unconvinced that any true palisade was present (White et al. 2012). But if it was indeed a wall of posts, and a defensive structure that people could retreat behind in times of attack, it would be the first palisade construction known in Apalachicola valley Fort Walton (by contrast with many Mississippian sites in other regions). Further, if it was protohistoric, it might relate to the kinds of disruption and conflict characteristic of the contact/mission period.

#### *Thick Greenbriar site, 8JA417*

This village, at Apalachicola River mile 99 (160 km inland), was 92 km upstream from the Chipola Cutoff mound (Rodriguez 2004; White 2000). The deeper component was a Fort Walton midden dated to cal. A.D. 1270-1430 (all dates here are given in 2-sigma ranges). The upper, thinner component had the same typical Fort Walton ceramics and a few European items: three aquamarine-blue seed beads, a fragment of a black glass bead, some tiny metal lumps from the fine fraction of the flotation recovery, and a rusted square nail probably of the Spanish *alfaxia* or *media escora* type (Deagan and Cruxent 2002:105, 251-55; Hann and McEwan 1998:48, 82; South et al. 1988:33-47). Jerry Lee, from the Mission San Luis laboratory in Tallahassee, examined the beads and noted that the black one could also be brownish-burgundy-colored



and is similar to specimens recovered at San Luis, and the seed beads are among the most common types there (Hann and McEwan 1998:22). All the beads could date to any time from the late sixteenth through the late seventeenth century.

A few other artifacts merit description. An unusual sherd bears impressions of some fabric or tool stamp, possibly something rolled into the surface (White 2000:211, Figure 6 bottom). This design could have been made with a roller stamp such as the one ceramic mushroom from the Chipola Cutoff mound. A ceramic disk had a scratched double-X or cross design. From the river at this site, diver-collectors have recovered greenstone celts and a metal Kaskaskia point, a type known at Mission San Luis as well. A radiocarbon date obtained on the upper midden, from charcoal in the same pit feature as one seed bead, was cal. A.D. 1420-1660, with the intercept of the curve at 1485 (but the midpoint of the range at 1540). A second date on charcoal from around the area of the two other seed beads was A.D. 1680-1740.

#### *Corbin-Tucker site, 8CA142*

In the middle Apalachicola valley, about 18 river miles (30 km) up from the Chipola Cutoff mound, this site sits on an old meander channel two km west of the main river. It has a habitation area and a cemetery; in the latter, we exposed some three square meters (White 1994; White et al. 2012). One grave had a woman's skull with a copper disk on the forehead and a large greenstone celt under the chin (Marrinan and White 2007:Figure 8). Ceramics included Fort Walton Incised (including 6-pointed bowls), Lake Jackson, Cool Branch Incised, and Point Washington Incised. Longbones, sets of teeth, and two more skulls represented between 10 and 19 other individuals (bundle burials, maybe some trophy heads). Other grave goods included a *Busycon* shell cup, a ceramic mushroom, and a copper-covered wood disk.

Charcoal from just underneath this disk was radiocarbon-dated to cal. A.D. 54-310, obviously not a Fort Walton date. Since no Woodland material at all is known from the site, the date may be erroneous or from some long-stored heirloom wooden artifact. Longbone fragments near the woman, from her or another person's legs (Marrinan and White 2007:307), dated to cal. A.D. 1650-1880. Other longbone fragments near the ceramic mushroom were dated to cal. A.D. 1440-1640. No clear historic materials were recovered. But the copper disks are embossed with raised centers and one also has small raised bosses around the circumference, an early historic (repoussé) style (White 1994:190), similar to the disk fragment from the Chipola Cutoff mound. Combined with the dates, these items suggest the cemetery was so important to late prehistoric Fort Walton people that their descendants continued to use it well after contact.

### **Historic Documentation**

#### *Earliest Spanish*

The story of the European invasion of Florida and the

Southeast is well known (e.g., Milanich 1995), but there is no record of any early Spanish presence in the Apalachicola-lower Chattahoochee valley. Slave raiders were cruising around the Gulf from probably before 1500. Between 1492 and 1504, some 80 voyages across the Atlantic by Spanish, English, French, and Portuguese are historically documented, and maps suggest European knowledge of the New World was far greater than what was written about it (Cummings and DeVorse 1998; Milanich and Milbrath 1989:12; Weddle 1997). When Juan Ponce de León landed on Florida's east coast in 1512, he met already hostile natives, who were possibly even shouting Spanish words (Tebeau 1987:19). He sailed around the Gulf side, though probably not near the panhandle, but he met somewhere in southwest Florida at least one native who understood some Spanish (Milanich 1995:109). Alonzo Álvarez de Pineda sailed around the northern Gulf in 1519 (Fernández 1975:17; Weddle 1985:99-101); he must have passed by the Apalachicola River mouth twice. Beyond undocumented slavers, there were also many shipwrecks that left materials salvaged by Indians.

The Pánfilo de Narváez expedition is the first recorded as coming remotely close to the Apalachicola valley, reaching the Apalache area south of Tallahassee in 1528. From there, according to Cabeza de Vaca's memoir (Covey 1961), they made three explorations of the surrounding area but probably not as far west as the Apalachicola, which would have been a rough trek of some 80 km overland in the summer swamp forest. The unfortunate expedition finally ended up on the coast, probably at St. Marks (Marrinan et al. 1990; Milanich 1995:124-125; Mitchem 1989), where they stayed six weeks and ate their horses while building rafts to go westward. They left in late September, sailing for seven days in shallow sounds and inlets out of sight of open sea. This had to have been along Apalachicola Bay behind the barrier islands. They finally found the open Gulf west of the bay (Covey 1961:47; Hallenbeck 1940:45) just past St. Vincent Island, first stopping on this island to steal some canoes and food (Covey 1961:47-50; Krieger 2002:172-173), then going west toward the Mississippi. But they might have left some of their artifacts along the way.

Hernando de Soto, eleven years later, also went to Apalache, including exploring the coastal place where Narváez had camped and left horse bones; then he turned north through Georgia, never coming closer to the Apalachicola valley than at least 70 km above the Flint-Chattahoochee forks (Clayton et al. 1993; Hudson 1997:147-148). Luna's 1559 expedition was even more distant, some 160-320 km to the west at Pensacola; here the Spanish lasted only a couple of years, though they did venture far inland northward into Alabama (Priestly 1928). None of these early expeditions went near the Apalachicola-lower Chattahoochee valley beyond possible brief stops on the coast and barrier islands. De Soto's crossing of the Flint River far to the north may have left materials that could have filtered downstream in aboriginal hands. Though there has been much progress in understanding what happened in the nearly two "forgotten centuries" (Hudson and Tesser 1994) between the Spanish explorers and those who came later to colonize and



missionize, nothing is known of the Apalachicola valley at all.

#### *The Mission Issue*

Nearly a century later the Spanish returned to the panhandle to begin establishing their mission system. By 1674, extending it to what they called the Apalachicola area, they set up three missions somewhere near the lower Chattahoochee-Flint forks (Boyd 1948; Hann 1988, 1990, 2006). The picture is complicated because the people named Apalachicola apparently did not live on the river that has the same name today but on what is now called the lower Chattahoochee. At that time the whole river was apparently named Apalachicola (Hann 2006:89). These missions constituted the very “tenuous” Apalachicola province (Weber 1992:104), and lasted only a few years. In 1686, Marcos Delgado was sent from San Luis in Tallahassee to gather geographic information to help Spain counteract French inroads along the Gulf (Boyd 1937). He traveled westward, again to the forks area, where he encountered missionized and other native peoples; from there he headed northwest. Archaeological sites corresponding with any of these settlements are uncertain, but I believe material culture by this time was greatly changed, and Fort Walton was already or nearly gone. Nothing is known of the rest of the 100+ river miles of the valley, from the forks down to the Gulf and barrier islands. Why the Spanish ignored this huge area is a mystery. Seventeenth-century references are all to either Apalachee province and its port of St. Marks, to the east, or Pensacola, to the west.

Bullen’s (1950) survey of the lower Chattahoochee and uppermost Apalachicola valley before reservoir construction identified two sites he called Leon-Jefferson, meaning mission period. They were J-1 and J-3, now 8JA4 and 8JA60, respectively. Both were on the same strategic high bluff overlooking the forks (see Figure 1). I looked at Bullen’s collections in the Florida Museum of Natural History in December 2010. The few sherds reported from J-1 were not able to be located. From J-3 he reported what he identified as Spanish olive jar, Ocmulgee Fields, and Jefferson Ware sherds. There is one thick grit-tempered sherd that could have been what he called olive jar, though it is actually aboriginal, with no indication of Spanish/historic manufacture. Nothing else in the collection resembles an olive jar. The “Jefferson Ware” sherds are simply grit-tempered plain that could characterize anything from Fort Walton through historic Seminole times. The Lamar Complicated Stamped he reported were actually Swift Creek Complicated Stamped; one even had a tetrapodal base, a clear indicator of Early Woodland. There were Chattahoochee Brushed (some cobmarked) and Ocmulgee Fields Incised sherds indicating a later historic aboriginal presence. But nothing in the assemblages was Spanish or clearly of the mission period, nor Fort Walton either, and Bullen (1950:118) also noted the absence of Fort Walton ceramic types here.

All this lends support to the idea that, if the site was a mission, the people being missionized were not the original natives of the area. Since the Jim Woodruff reservoir (now euphemistically called “Lake” Seminole) today drowns the

whole forks area and hundreds of km of riverbanks here, we may never know if other potential mission sites are present. No other reasonable candidates for mission sites have been found, nor have I seen any Spanish materials among the hundreds of thousands of artifacts in local collections that I have reviewed now for decades in this region, with two exceptions: Two olive jar sherds came from the surface of the Curlee site (8JA7) right below the forks (White 1982:113, Tables 25, 27), and a single majolica sherd, associated with a Lamar and a Chattahoochee Brushed sherd, but no Fort Walton pottery came from the surface of the One Mile site (9SE77), 15 (24 km) miles upriver from the forks on the Chattahoochee (White 1981:524-528). Further research on both these sites is ongoing. Meanwhile, a crucial question concerning both the original Spanish documentation and most scholarly discussion of missions or indeed any sixteenth- through seventeenth-century history is why the entire Apalachicola valley and delta area below the forks was and has been ignored. Perhaps it was already depopulated by the time missionization efforts were underway? This would be a stunning contrast to the heavy population density during late prehistoric Fort Walton times.

#### *The Lamar Issue*

When Leon-Jefferson was established as the name of the ceramic series associated with missionized natives in the Apalachee province around Tallahassee, it was defined as both different from Fort Walton and including some Fort Walton Incised pottery (Smith 1948:316; Willey 1949). Leon-Jefferson was also recognized as being about the same as Lamar ceramics in Georgia, which originated in prehistoric and lasted into protohistoric times. There are still no clear criteria for telling these two apart. Both Lamar and Leon-Jefferson have the notched (or pinched or punctated) rims that could also overlap with earlier Lake Jackson types or with later Creek/Seminole pottery, or else a more distinctive notched appliqué strip below the rim. Both can have incised patterns that also overlap with the earlier Point Washington Incised and the later Ocmulgee Fields Incised, and both can have the most distinctive feature, complicated stamping. It is unknown if Fort Walton people of the early 1500s were making this pottery or inviting/harboring other people who made it. The Martin site, probable location of de Soto’s 1539 camp in Tallahassee, has some Lamar sherds (Ewen and Hann 1998), but no stratigraphic details are available and there are also later components there.

In the Apalachicola valley Lamar ceramics were once seen as just a part of late Fort Walton, but evidence is mounting that they represent something even later that may have been part of or even postdated the Fort Walton demise (Du Vernay 2011; Marrinan and White 2007; White 2005; White et al. 2010). Lamar occurs at only a very few sites and only in three limited areas of the valley: the forks, the middle valley around Yon mound (8LI2), and the barrier islands; so far it is not clearly associated with any European artifacts. Where they have been dated, at Yon and the Lighthouse Bayou site (8GU114) on the St. Joseph peninsula, Lamar components consistently fall

within a 2-sigma calibrated range of 1660 to 1770.

A single Lamar sherd (Figure 13) was recovered from Chipola Cutoff mound. Waddell's Mill Pond site had no clear Lamar pottery, nor did the Corbin-Tucker site. Thick Greenbriar site produced one tiny rim sherd with a possible Lamar notched appliqué strip. These four are the latest Fort Walton sites and the only ones so far known with early Spanish materials. They indicate that, whatever Lamar was in northwest Florida, it was not really there yet in this valley during the early protohistoric. Perhaps the connection was just being established as the Fort Walton material culture was hanging on but ready to disappear.

I am currently examining Lamar sites in greater detail and hope to report more analysis next year. However, so far it looks like this distinctive material culture represents yet another, later protohistoric indigenous group that may have moved for only a short time into the Apalachicola valley, perhaps fleeing the post-contact and mission-period or post-mission disruption but beginning to appear here just as or immediately after the disappearance of Fort Walton was taking place. Though many researchers trace the evolution of Lamar directly into the historic Lower Creek identity (e.g., Worth 2000), this takes place in the later 1700s and apparently only in the upper part of the lower Chattahoochee, close to Columbus, Georgia, and the fall line. In the lowest 50 navigation miles (80 km) of the Chattahoochee and entire 107+ miles of the Apalachicola (so up to 250 km upriver/inland), the very few Lamar sites that are present may indeed represent the earliest of the Lower Creeks moving downriver but either not staying long or producing a material culture that soon evolves into something else (characterized ceramically by Chattahoochee Brushed pottery, the disappearance of Lamar complicated stamping, and the evolution (?) of Lamar Incised into Ocmulgee Fields Incised).

### Protohistoric Interactions and Depopulation

The trade to the Spanish of Indian deerskins (Milanich 1994:297-8) and other commodities began early. Waselkov's (1989a) in-depth analysis of this substantial economic activity showed that it resulted in movements of Old World artifacts far inland by at least the late 1500s, earlier than is documented in historic records. He notes that after 1639 the focus was on the Gulf Coast, with the Apalachee port of San Marcos (St. Mark's, on Apalachee Bay) established to send deer hides to Havana, thus bypassing royal Spanish taxes required when shipping from St. Augustine (which was by this time a well-established Spanish town on the Atlantic). Trading downriver and over to San Marcos would not even require much travel out in the Gulf, since most of the route could be in sheltered bay waters behind the barrier islands. Similarly, connecting with inland Alabama and Georgia groups could be done by overland travel or by longer but easier movement up and down rivers and across bays. New early Spanish-period information from south Georgia (Blanton and DeVillar 2010) may reveal more inland connections than previously assumed.

By contrast with the interior of Alabama and Georgia, northwest Florida's protohistoric sites are mostly on the

Gulf Coast or its adjoining bays, locations easy to access by Spaniards sailing by and stopping for supplies, or even wrecking their ships, which were then salvaged by Indians. However, Chipola Cutoff mound is 70 km upriver inland, and Waddell's Mill Pond site was another 100 km of river travel in from there. Whether a few foreigners themselves actually went that far inland that early is unknown but not unlikely (some might have been shipwreck survivors). Obviously, some of their artifacts did move inland, and however they were passed along, it probably entailed exposure to Old World germs.

The evidence from the Chipola Cutoff mound and the other three early protohistoric sites, dating to possibly the earliest 1500s through some unknown portion of the 1600s, is the latest of Fort Walton material culture, and could be interpreted as indicating rapid population decline. We may never know their name(s), but we can picture these peoples hanging on tenaciously, even adding to their material culture repertoire some borrowed things such as heirloom pottery from afar (e.g., Moundville), ceramic mushrooms, the distinctive shell buttons, disks with engraved crosses, and Spanish glass beads and metal items. They emphasized traditional burial goods such as greenstone and other ground stone celts, *Busycon* shell cups, perhaps the popeyed-bird effigies. Distinguishing them from other protohistoric manifestations were the distinctive 6-pointed and 5-pointed bowls, as well as materials or ideas from really far away, such as the stirrup-spout bottle.

### *Protohistoric Peoples/Identities Lost?*

Though associating ceramic types with ethnic identity is tricky, the protohistoric Fort Walton evidence may represent the last gasp of the original peoples of this valley before they abruptly disappeared. By the seventeenth century, Indian communities all over the Southeast were decimated and the remnants absorbed by other native groups attempting to retain their identities in the face of external change. Epidemics brought in by slave traders and more colonized/missionized natives such as the Apalachee, or those who traded with them, would spread even better in a densely populated place such as the Apalachicola valley. This observation is not new, of course (e.g., Smith 1987). Population loss may have led to migration, cultural breakdown, and perhaps even a desire by those remaining to move out and over to the Spanish settlements to the east, in St. Augustine and Tallahassee, for protection. Perhaps movement back and forth to Tallahassee bred a desire for more intensive contact, and the result was the later establishment of three brief missions in the Apalachicola valley.

When the British and other Indians from the Carolinas and Georgia moved southward to destroy the missions, they also struck west of Apalachee (Hann 2006; Milanich 1995:223). By 1704 most of the mission settlements were gone, though some communities persisted in remote areas (Hann 2006; Swanton 1922:130-131; Waselkov 1989b). But even before this, across the whole post-contact Southeast, Indian peoples were moving around, consolidating and breaking up. Depopulation through slave raids and other violence or disease

led to taking refuge with and becoming a part of other groups in “coalescent societies” (Ethridge and Hudson 2002). Lamar in the Apalachicola valley may represent one or more of those societies, whose people B also nameless, so far B stayed a short while then moved away or died out as well.

This article is not the place to review the debate over the effects of the European invasions and early colonization and the disease, conflict, and other ills they brought to indigenous peoples. Some studies suggest up to a 90-percent population loss among groups first contacted (Ethridge 2009:10), while others question the large numbers (e.g., Henige 1998). More complex models range from indicating total demographic collapse to suggesting there was a patchwork of different responses in different places (Cook 1998; Crosby 1972; Denevan 1992: xix; Dobyns 1983; Milner and Chaplin 2010; Pertulla 1992, 1993; Ramenofsky 1987, 1990; Smith 1987; Stojanowski 2009; Wood 1989). Clearly the impacts not only preceded the written historical record but also began long before Europeans physically reached many regions, though they may not show up archaeologically until later. Separating contact-period material evidence from later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century material culture is fraught with difficulty, even in areas where there is good historical documentation, and so even harder in the Apalachicola region. As Worth (2009:308) notes, all the groups who were the initial victims of slave raids and native vs. native violence in the service of commercial trade became extinct. Amid the ethnogenesis of new coalescent societies resulting from mergers of remnant populations redefining themselves with new traditions, there was also the opposite process of ethnic extinction.

The constant interplay of remoteness and connectedness in the Apalachicola valley makes for fascinating archaeology but difficulty of interpretation because of so few historic sources. The vast region below the forks is conspicuously absent from the discussions of both the Spanish entrada and the mission period. John Hann, the late, accomplished historian at Mission San Luis in Tallahassee and expert on early Spanish Florida, referred to the territory west of the Ochlockonee River, which marked the western boundary of the Apalachee province, as “terra incognita” because so little is known of original native societies there. Using mostly Spanish documents he summarized early seventeenth-century groups named Chacato (or Chatot, but *not* Choctaw), Chisca, Chine, Savacola, and Tawasa (or Toasi), all of whom might have been in the Apalachicola delta region. Significantly, however, he places no group specifically on the Apalachicola below the forks except for the Chisca, newcomers from the north tentatively located on the east side of the river’s mouth in 1661 (Hann 1988, 2006:53-57, Maps 1, 2). Knowledge of these groups often dates from the time they ended up somewhere else to the west as they fled from the invasions of the early 1700s. Hann’s (2006) expanded study presents a wealth of documentation on these indigenous groups but does not tie communities to geographically specific places, let alone archaeological sites. Delgado’s 1686 expedition through northwest Florida apparently went straight from Tallahassee to the forks area and northwest into Alabama, ignoring (again)

the whole Apalachicola valley (Boyd 1937).

#### *Revitalization?*

Waselkov and Dumas (2009, 2010) have suggested that an effect of contact and early colonization across the Southeast may have been some kind of revitalization movement. This venerated anthropological concept refers to a set of religious and material practices that are a deliberate response to rapid, radical culture change and that involved both multiple innovations and a harkening back to (or reinterpretation of) older, happier times and traditions. The enormous stresses of the seventeenth century led to dramatic shifts in native adaptations. Archaeologically this means abandonment of mound building and of fancy artifacts signifying Mississippian chiefly power, as well as coming up with new artifact types and rituals. Significant representations from more ancient times, such as the 4-part looped square and scroll motifs, symbolize the native world view; these cosmograms are reinterpreted into new aspects of society such as the square ground of the historic Creeks. Whatever the spiritual meaning, certain motifs such as loops, spirals, and scrolls (often in groups of 4) not only become more common and standardized but also less associated with elites as society was becoming less hierarchical and the more egalitarian communities of historic Indians were emerging. Such practices may have helped to integrate newly forming communities whose members were remnants of different ethnic and linguistic groups. Waselkov and Dumas think that the looped square design and brief but widespread distribution of the distinctive shell buttons, as well as the spiral and scroll motifs on protohistoric pottery, are evidence of this revitalization movement, part of the transformation of native culture across the Southeast.

Most of the Point Washington Incised and Fort Walton Incised pots at Chipola Cutoff mound have designs of scrolls, interlocking scrolls, or scrolled loops that even Moore (1903:462) noted were “frequently encountered in this mound.” Variations of these designs are widespread across northwest Florida, especially at protohistoric sites (Lazarus and Hawkins 1976), and throughout the Southeast (Curren 1984; Williams 2010). Though the meanings are unclear, such patterns are ancient by the time of late prehistory, going back a millennium to Middle Woodland times. The revitalization movement idea is a fascinating possibility; such movements were probably seen repeatedly among Native American and other cultures in later historic times. However, to support the idea there would need to be good documentation and dating of both a decline in use of these motifs and then a new increase in their use.

The shell buttons and other items at the Apalachicola valley protohistoric sites demonstrate the participation of peoples in this region in pan-Southeastern exchange during the early protohistoric, whether of spiritual or just material (or even commercial) significance. Another aspect of revitalization may have been the deliberate reuse of far older Middle Woodland mounds, which may have been kept within native consciousness as revered places anyhow but then were



actually used with greater intensity. Other contact-period burial sites along the Gulf Coast, such as Marsh Island (8WA1) and Pierce (8FR14), as well as Waddell's Mill Pond, noted above, demonstrate this reuse of Middle Woodland sacred space. Even popeyed bird depictions may have reflected and reinterpreted earlier Woodland concepts.

### *Extinction*

By the time the Spanish finally established a settlement at the southwestern edge of the Apalachicola valley on St. Joseph Bay (lowest left corner of map in Figure 1) at Fort San José, in 1701 and again in 1719, the local natives were either gone or radically transformed. Our ongoing analysis of the materials from this fort (Rogers 2009) has so far turned up no Fort Walton ceramics, and only a couple of specimens that could really be classified as Lamar, among the aboriginal potsherds, even though there were prehistoric Fort Walton sites and even one Lamar site around this bay. Fort Walton material culture had disappeared, and whoever was represented by Lamar (maybe even Apalachee, stopping relatively briefly as they were fleeing westward?) as well. Though we do not have names for any of them, in the absence of historical documentation, archaeology can fill in some information on their last bursts of material creativity and beautiful craftwork, art, and ideas.

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