SOUTHERN INDIAN STUDIES

Volume XI October, 1959

The *Southern Indian Studies* was established in April, 1949, as a medium of publication and discussion of information pertaining to the life and customs of the Indians in the Southern states, both prehistoric, and historic. Subscription by membership in the North Carolina Archaeological Society (annual dues $2.00) or $1.00 per year to institutions and nonresidents of North Carolina.

PUBLISHED
by
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH CAROLINA
and
THE RESEARCH LABORATORIES OF ANTHROPOLOGY
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
Chapel Hill

Southern Indian Studies

VOLUME XI OCTOBER, 1959 WHOLE NUMBER

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FLORIDA'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE ANTILLES AND MESOAMERICA: A SYNTHESIS

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The problem of Florida-Antilles-Mesoamerican relationships has been, and probably will continue to be for some time, a subject of much scholarly debate. Florida's link with Mesoamerica is obviously possible; her connection with the Antilles, while quite as possible, is somewhat less than obvious. It is quite true that we find scattered throughout this Circum-Caribbean area (if we may call Florida part of this area) such things as feather mantles, wooden stools, platform beds, litters, weaving, tattooing, fish poisoning, blowguns, and the thatched house. There are similarities in the war system with its torture of captives and occasional eating of their flesh; and in the religious system, too, with temple mounds, a priesthood, god-images, and undying fires.

An exhaustive study of similarities without an equally exhaustive study of differences might be inconclusive and misleading. Certainly such a study is beyond the scope of this paper. If there were these debated interareal connections they should be evident historically and/or archaeologically. It is the purpose of this paper to present a synthesis of some of the evidence favoring contacts of the aboriginal peoples of these three regions, then, to weigh this evidence and determine what part of it can be accepted as proof and what must yet remain "evidence."

What linguistic relationships are claimed seem to be of a broad, general nature. Sapir proposed a Hokan-Siouan language group which includes tongues spoken from the Timucua of Florida around the Gulf area as far south as Tamaulipas. This leaves us far north of any Mesoamerican connection.[1] It is possible that there may be a direct, though remote, linking of North and South American tongues. If the Lenca, Paya, and Jicaque of Honduras may be classed as Penutian, as suggested by Sapir, and if the Lenca, Paya, and Jicaque are Chibchan dialects, as Lehman believes, then we have a direct linking of North, South, and Mesoamerica.[2] Here, however, we are left with no Florida contact.

1. Griffin, 1949, p. 80.
2. Lothrop, 1940, p. 426.

Several Central American tongues, including Maya, were seen by Lothrop[3] as containing an Arawak element. If this is true, then the Maya may be an offshoot of this stock or they may embody an Arawak ingredient. As speech is classified at present, the Arawak language is Amazonian in type.[4]

All that is known of the Ciboney tongue is that it was different than that of the Carib and Arawak. Swanton[5] calls Calusa Muskogean but this seems to be unproven.[6] Unless a definite classification of Calusa and Ciboney is made, what could be a prime clue as to contact—or lack of it—between South Florida and the Antilles is missing.

Based upon present linguistic evidence it seems impossible to prove connection between Florida and either Mesoamerica or the Antilles.

Physical anthropology contributes little either positively or negatively toward the solution of our problem. The most valuable clue is that of head deformation—a cultural rather than a primarily physical factor. Here, however, we note that fronto-occipital deformation is practised in Florida, while in the Antilles frontal deformation is the rule.[7] There seems to have been a general spread of brachycephally but though this could have been the result of the migration of people it could equally well have been a general developmental trend in the American Indian or even the result of a shift in diet.

Certainly, on some temporal level, the Florida-Antilles-Mesoamerican starch plant complex appears to be interconnected. Smith[8] suggests that *Zamia* was brought into Florida by man. One indication that it was probably used by the prehistoric Indians of Florida is that it is more abundant on and around archaeological sites. Because the complex of traits surrounding the processing of *Zamia, Smilax,* and *Manioc* is rather similar, Smith postulates that the techniques for flour manufacture came into the Southeastern United States from the Antilles. *Smilax* and *Zamia* occur throughout the Antilles and Florida. Archaeologically and in early historic times corn did not occur in southern Florida and, moreover, the eastern North American corn was a different variety than that of the Antilles. Thus, we find a gap

3. Lothrop, 1940.
4. Rouse, 1948.
5. Swanton, 1946.
6. Sturtevant, 1958.
7. Stirling, 1936.
8. Smith, 1951.

between the Southeastern and the Antillean corn growing areas—a gap filled by *Zamia* and *Smilax*.

DeBoyrie Moya, Krestensen, and Goggin,[9] on the other hand, see no direct historical meaning in the resemblances between *Zamia* starch making among the Seminole and the country folk of Santo Domingo. While the present manufacturing technique in Santo Domingo is similar to that of the early historic—and obviously, prehistoric—techniques of the Arawak, Moya finds that the similarities exhibited by the Seminole manufacturing method are the result of a convergent process stemming from different sources. In any case this technique was not universal among the Seminole until relatively recent times.

Escalante Fontaneda[10] assures us that the south Florida Indians had a bread made of roots and, in the notes appended to this book, Buckingham Smith indicates that the plant used was the *Zamia Integrifolia*. Unfortunately, the crux of the contact question—the method of manufacture—is not defined by Fontaneda nor discussed by Buckingham Smith. However, Stirling[11] believes, and what little we can glean from Fontaneda seems to bear him out, that the Calusa root preparation technique was similar to that used in the preparation of manioc.

There is little question but that the major part of the southeastern agricultural complex had a Mesoamerican origin. The aboriginal Florida corn occurs even today in highland Guatemala and Chiapas. The eastern bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) is said to be native to Guatemala. Forms of pumpkin, *Cucurbita moschata* and *Cucurbita pepo,* both occur in Mexico as well as Florida. While there is considerable evidence for the independent agricultural development of pumpkins in the eastern United States, it seems likely that knowledge of domestication, if not the actual variety, was an introduction.[12] A stronger argument for independent southeastern agriculture exists in the apparent domestication of chenopodium and sunflower though there may be some question whether the chenopodium seeds, whose unusually large size caused the plant to be called domesticated, were not merely the wild product of a rich southeastern riverine environment.

Ceramic similarities, while numerous, are rather hard to tie down specifically. The limited temporal position that any particular ceramic type occupies must be borne in mind when an

9. Moya et al., 1957.
10. Fontaneda, 1944.
11. Stirling, 1936.
12. Griffin, 1949.

interareal comparison is made. Any argument for diffusion based on typology is weak unless the types occurred at nearly the same time and had continuous distribution or unless a reasonable explanation exists for temporal and areal gaps.

There are a great many ceramic decorative and manufacturing techniques which would indicate Florida-Antilles-Mesoamerican contact. Phillips[13] feels that Middle America was the heartland from which the Southeast received the funnel-neck jar, the cazuela bowl, tripod supports, the annular base, spouted vessels, stirrup neck bottles, double-bodied vessels, shoe form vessels, effigy vessels, human head vessels, and rim effigy bowls. Negative painting is another Mesoamerican trait found in the Southeast as is the engraved technique of decoration, often with paint subsequently rubbed into the lines.

About the same time that Phillips was seeking to determine Middle-American-Florida relationships Rouse was working on the problem of West Indian-Florida contact. He felt, at that time, that the key to ceramic origins lay in the Meillac and Cuevas types.[14] He stated that it seemed likely that pottery making in the West Indies had a multiple origin—from both North and South America—and he found that Meillac sherds occur in the parts of the West Indies adjacent to North America while the Cuevas sherds occur in those parts of the West Indies closest to South America. Though Meillac-like sherds do not occur in south Florida, they are found in the Southeast and on a temporal level that corresponds well with the early date postulated for the Meillac type.

If Meillac and Cuevas types did have separate continental origins, Rouse reasoned, then they should resemble their analogies in North and South America more closely than they resemble each other. This was true. Of the 28 characteristics which Rouse listed for Meillac 18 also occur in the southeastern United States while only 3 occur in Cuevas styles. Of some 23 traits listed for Cuevas 16 occur in northeastern South America and only 3 are found in Meillac types. Rouse cautiously concludes that the North American influences on West Indian pottery are at least as strong as are those of South America.

Willey[15] believed that the most intriguing Florida-Antillean relationships were between the Weeden Island and the Carrier

13. Phillips, 1940.
14. Rouse, 1940.
15. Willey, 1949b.

ceramic styles. The Carrier style is the late, most widely distributed, best known pottery of the Greater Antilles. A possibility of a south to north diffusion was postulated. However, a close inspection of the elements held in common weakened, rather than strengthened, arguments for relationship between the two styles. Some of the style designations are so general as to have little meaning except for broad comparisons and contrasts.

It has been suggested that complicated stamped pottery in the Southeast may have been the result of the introduction of West Indian art forms onto the North American mainland.[16] It is true that complicated stamped pottery designs do appear quite suddenly and full blown, but, in the final analysis, the possibility of a West Indian diffusion in this case rests only upon similarity or lack of similarity between Southeastern pottery decoration and West Indian wood carving designs.

A specific similarity is seen by Bullen and Laxson[17] between the Key Largo and Matecumbe Incised wares and those from the Cayo Ocampo site in Cuba. In this case the local chronologies, too, seem to reinforce a possible Florida-Cuba contact about 1200 A.D. Here we have a resemblance between a Marginal culture, Glades III in Florida, and a Tropical Forest culture in Cuba.

In addition to the possibility of the introduction of the curvilinear *stamped* design from the West Indies there is also some evidence that the curvilinear *incised* tradition might have come from Mesoamerica. Highly similar pottery is found in the Mexican Archaic, the Bay Islands of Honduras, and the Chavin and Cupisnique cultural manifestations of northern Peru. An interesting boat shaped vessel form found most commonly in the St. Johns area also occurs along the east coast of Mexico and a similar form in carved jade is found at La Venta.

As can readily be seen, suggestive similarities in pottery types far outweigh specific similarities. Also, there is a noticable tendency of workers in the field to emphasize similarities and neglect the differences. Though the suggestions are so strong that the certainty of Mesoamerica to Florida diffusion is generally accepted the routes of diffusion are still not established nor are we certain whether the diffusion was one of peoples or merely ideas.

16. Holmes, 1894.
17. Bullen and Laxson, 1954.

Non-ceramic artifact similarities begin to occur on the Mexican Early Formative-Southeastern Archaic levels. Leaf shaped and stemmed projectile points, flake knives, thumbnail scrapers, flaking implements, and other stone tools are of equivalent types. Griffin[18] states that these early Mexican non-ceramic forms are probably carry-overs from an earlier period which may be regarded as representative of the same general cultural level as the late pre-ceramic Southeast. The side-notched projectile forms which occur in the Late Mexican Formative seem to be accompanied by a similar shift in the Southeast in the Early and Middle Woodland periods. Pipe smoking, introduced into Mexico during the Mesoamerican Militartistic period, may have come into Mexico from the Caddo area.

MacNeish[19] published a list of some 42 significant resemblances between Mexico and the Southeast, a list which includes elements which cannot be explained away. Griffin[20] and Willey[21] generally tend to accept or to add to this list. Some of the items are the dugout canoe, palisades, temples, chief's houses, temple mounds, pole and thatch—wattle and daub houses, the platform bed, stools, celts, monolithic axes, textiles, woven basketry, wooden mortars, and cane slat and hide covered shields. The bow and arrow, throwing stick, and sword-like clubs are also listed but it would seem that items like these would have to offer more than their mere presence to be of value as evidence of Mexico to Florida diffusion.

There are other items such as the musical rasp, known to the Choctaw and also known in Mexico; the blowgun, found in the Southeast, Mexico, and South America; the Southeastern representation of the skull, the heart, and the hand which show a very close connection with the Mexican representation of their God of death, Mictlanteucutli. But one of our best evidences of diffusion from Mesoamerica, which, incidentally, is also our best single trait to mark the beginning of Mississippian culture, is the pyramidal mound used as a substructure for important buildings.

Cosculuella[22] first suggested Florida as a place of origin of the Ciboney. One theory[23] is that the Ciboney left Florida and

18. Griffin, 1949.
19. MacNeish, 1947.
20. Griffin, 1949.
21. Willey, 1949b.
22. Cosculuella, 1922.
23. Osgood, 1942.

the Arawak left South America about the same time. About 500 A.D. the Ciboney, a people of simple culture, existing primarily on shellfish and without agriculture, under the pressure of more highly organized populations, moved down the coasts of Florida and across the channel to western Cuba. Gradually they expanded eastward until they occupied most of the island and, in time, pushed on into Hispaniola. Here, and in east Cuba, the Arawak met the Ciboney and drove the Ciboney to the less desirable parts of the country. Rouse[24] and Willey[25] generally tended to lend their support to this view.

On the face of it, a Florida origin for the Ciboney seems quite reasonable. The paucity of comparable archaeological materials connecting the two areas is explained by the fact that the temporal level on which the presumed contact took place was one in which material goods were few and populations small and scattered. While the use of shell in the two areas for gouges, cups, and plates may be evidence of this supposed contact, it is weak evidence. In two primarily coastal occupations, such as these were, nothing less than the failure to use shell would be noteworthy. The splinter bone awls, red paints, stone celts, and flat circular shell beads are of such general nature that they add but little to our case for diffusion.

Gower[26] made a tabular summary of some 53 South American-Antillean-Southeastern traits. Thirty-five of these traits occurred in Florida, 28 in Florida *and* the Antilles, and only 6 in Florida *and* South America; there were 12 South American-Antillean similarities. The choice of the particular traits selected for comparison may, in some cases, be questioned; some may be accounted for by a primitive common culture; and still others, matrilineal descent for example, are traits which are extremely widespread. Still, we are left with such a number of cross similarities that even though each in itself could well be fortuitous, en masse they supply reasonable, if not incontrovertible proof of diffusion.

Stirling[27] says that the "similarities which exist seem more likely to be due to an early common Middle American impulse which spread in opposite directions around the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean, the extremities of which are to be found in Florida and the Greater Antilles."

24. Rouse, 1949.
25. Willey, 1949b.
26. Gower, 1927.
27. Stirling, 1936.

One specific instance of contact is found in an Arawak "eared" stone axe from Alachua County, Florida. This is, quite certainly, a prehistoric trade object from the West Indies.[28]

On the socio-political and religious levels Willey[29] made a list of patterns which appear common to the later Southeast and northern South America and which appear here and there in other parts of the Circum-Caribbean area. These patterns and Willey's discussion of them may be summarized as follows:

(1) Community patterns: Palisades, temples, special chief's houses, temple mounds.

These could arise independently as responses to certain types of socio-political situations. Platform mounds, as opposed to the temples themselves, carry a greater quality of uniqueness. They are rare in the Circum-Caribbean but they do exist in Panama. Their apparent absence in northern South America and the West Indies suggests that the temple mound arrived in the Southeast from Central America and Mexico rather than across the Caribbean.

(2) House types and features: Pole and thatch-wattle and daub, platform bed, stools.

Willey considers these diffused traits. Only the platform beds and stools are specific enough in their form and limited enough in their American distribution that a trans-Caribbean diffusion is a reasonable explanation.

(3) Socio-political patterns: Class and caste systems which were often partially hereditary, high status of chiefs, litters, retainer burials, federations, and capital villages.

(4) War patterns: Prestige gain and social advancement accrue to warriors, head or scalp trophies, torture and death of prisoners, captive women.

These seem to Willey to be functional-developmental phenomena except for the litters for the chiefs and retainer burials. These two are specific enough to suggest Circum-Caribbean contact.

(5) Religious patterns: Celestial or solar cults, priests and/or shamans, temple-idol cult.

(6) Burial patterns: Secondary treatment of the dead, burial mounds, urn burial.

Except for urn burial these traits lack uniqueness. Urn burial was a common Tropical Forest trait; it occurs in the Circum-Caribbean and, on the Late Temple Mound horizon, in the Southeast.

28. Goggin and Rouse, 1948.
29. Willey, 1949b.

Cremation, secondary burial, and the use of red ochre occurs among the Ciboney. These practices also are noted in the Glades sites, though here red ochre is present only in the historic sites. The *caneyes* or burial mounds of the south coast of Cuba are reported similar to those associated with the Glades and Malabar traditions of Florida.[30]

Gower[31] recognized that the island form of the Antilles required the possession of certain habits of navigation by any group which entered and spread through this region. Coastal trade in the Gulf area probably required less maritime ability. We have historic evidence that the Indians did make these voyages; the natives of Florida made regular trips to the Bahamas to capture wild doves and there they intermarried with the Arawak;[32] there is both archaeological and documentary evidence that voyages were made from Yucatan to the gold manufacturing lands of Panama;[33] the Indians of the Keys traveled between islands by means of *chalupas* (shallops?) and canoes.[34] Escalante Fontaneda tells us that the legend of the Fountain of Youth was circulated in aboriginal Cuba. "Anciently, many Indians from Cuba entered the ports of the province of Carlos in search of it; and the father of King Carlos, whose name was Senquene, stopped those persons, and made a settlement of them, the descendants of whom remain to this day."[35] By 1605 it is quite probable that there was much contact in the area, though by this time it was more on the Spanish-Indian than Indian-Indian level.[36]

In examining traits for evidence of diffusion, the time element must be kept constantly in mind. Comparisons of isolated traits torn out of context, while suggestive, can never be conclusive. Many traits which have been compared, such as pile dwellings, house shapes, and shell heaps are of a highly generalized nature and similarities between such items as bowls, axes, and adzes of shell may be accounted for by the availability of common materials. Stirling[37] made a chart which compared the cultural traits of Florida with those of New Guinea as successfully as that comparing Florida and Northern South America.

30. Rouse, 1949.
31. Gower, 1927.
32. Rouse, 1940.
33. Lothrop, 1940.
34. Lopez de Velasco, 1894.
35. Fontaneda, 1944, p. 29.
36. Goggin and Sommer, 1949.
37. Stirling, 1936.

Lothrop[38] was of the opinion ". . . that the key to understanding the higher cultures of the New World may lie in the expansion of the Arawak tribes, whose original home seems to have been in the Orinoco basin. Starting untold centuries ago, Arawak groups have spread in all directions, with sufficient momentum to carry some across the Antilles to the tip of Florida and others southward . . ." Lothrop suggests that the Arawak offer, in part, an explanation for the existence of the "common Middle American material" recognized by Kroeber.

Whether or not the Arawak were responsible it seems quite evident that the Southeast was dependent on the New World civilization center to the south of it and that the West Indian culture, for all of its similarities to Florida, was fundamentally South American. That there was periodic, perhaps accidental, contact between Florida and the Antilles seems proven. But the great underlying cultural factors of both Florida and the West Indies belong to the civilizations of Mexico, Central America, and Peru. Both Florida and the West Indies were outliers of the culture there and, most likely, represent *culs-de-sac* into which these outliers fell.

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38. Lothrop, 1940.

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PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF ROCK MOUND AT 9ST3, GEORGIA*

CARL F. MILLER

While investigating a number of sites within the Hartwell Reservoir Basin in northeastern Georgia and northwestern South Carolina on the Tugaloo River, 1958, one site in particular stood out from all the rest in uniqueness. Site 9ST3, which may have been later settled by the Cherokee and given the name of Estatoe, is located two miles downstream, on the Georgia side of the Tugaloo River, from the Yonah Dam built and operated by the Georgia Power Company. There the cultural remains lies scattered over an area roughly a half mile long by about 500 feet wide. Near the southern limits of the site and paralleling the river is an old river-built dyke 1000 feet long by 180 feet wide. Upon its surface a group of Indians lived, constructed their houses, buried their dead, and erected a unique rock mound of significance.

The present owner pointed out the heavily rock impregnated area of the mound and indicated that his farm equipment had hit numerous rocks in the past while attempting to cultivate this particular portion of the field. Earlier, he had removed several loads of rocks which did not free the area of stone. He thought that since the surrounding area is completely free of rocks that this might be significant.

Using his suggestion we put down a series of 10 foot square test pits parallel to the long axis of the dyke and one well within the limits of the indicated rock area. Rocks were found immediately under the surface and continued to be found within the limits of the test pit.

By carefully removing the present-day mantle of dirt we exposed a cone-shaped heap of rocks all of which were water-worn. They ranged in size from those about the size of a grapefruit to large melon-shaped ones weighing in the neighborhood of fifty pounds. The nearest source of these rocks was the Tugaloo River to the East from whose riverbed they were lugged and used to build the mound.

A series of smaller test pits around this area outlined the mound. These showed that the base of the mound, rather than

* Published by permission of the Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

being circular in outline, was ovoid.* Its longest axis being twenty-two feet while its shortest was slightly under fifteen feet.

Removing only the rocks within the ten foot square of the test pit we counted 325. Rocks were found to rest directly upon a well-prepared hard-packed clayey floor above which they crested to a height of 1.8 feet. This was not representative of the mound's former height for many wagon loads of rocks had been carted away over the past hundred years for road fill and to clear the area for cultivation.

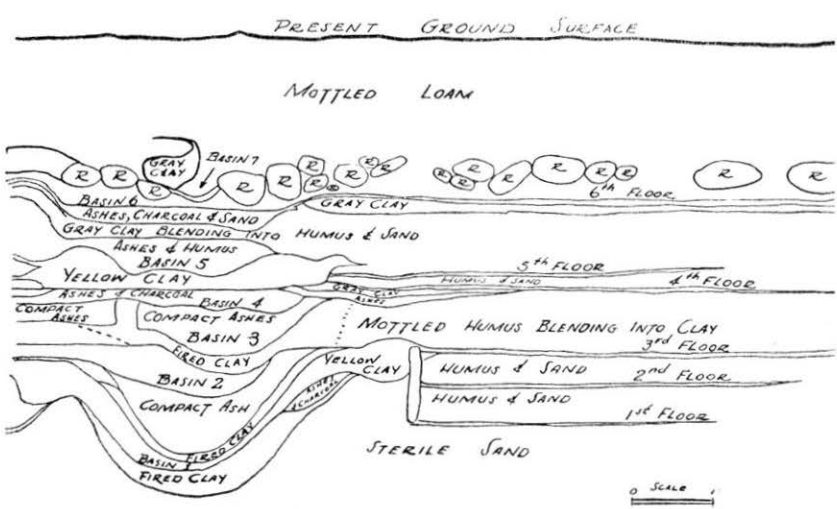
Carefully uncovering the floor failed to reveal even a single artifact or any cultural refuse. We exposed a large circular pit, 3.9 feet in diameter, completely filled with a compact whitish ash and noted that the surrounding area was burned to a brick red color.

Troweling out and sifting the ashes of the pit we noted the presence of bits of charcoal and small sections of burned bones. The pit, itself, after cleaning, measured 0.8 foot in depth. Its walls were almost perpendicular sloping ever so slightly towards the bottom and joined the floor on a curve.

Cross-sectioning the pit and adjoining floor showed that the floor was a mixture of clay and sand well compacted. The walls of the pit were less clayey but well packed and smoothed. The floor surrounding the pit, for a distance roughly of a foot, and the walls of the pit were intensively burned with the base of the pit less effected. This was probably due to the fact that as the ash started to accumulate it acted as insulation against any subsequent action and only allowed those exposed surfaces to be acted upon by the fire. The fill under the floor and the pit was almost pure river deposited sand.

Two tenths of a foot beneath the base of this pit we came upon a second floor. This was topped with a thin layer of brownish soil which came away from the floor with ease. No artifacts or other cultural debris were found on the floor. After the floor was completely cleared we found a second circular pit, the dead ringer of the first, directly beneath the one above. It too, was filled with the same whitish ash. Further investigation showed that this one exactly duplicated the one directly above in contents, shape and fire action and almost as to size. The only difference was the presence of a purplish deposit within the basin which formed a thin film on the walls of the pit.

* Later work by De Baillou showed that the outline was a clover-shaped affair rather than ovoid. (Personal communication.)



SOUTH WALL

Four tenths of a foot beneath the base of the second pit we encountered a layer of soil predominantly brownish in color with a grayish cast. This covered a third floor surrounding a comparable circular pit.

Slightly to the West and about on the level with the base of the second pit but still above the level of the third floor was a small circular pit 2.0 feet in diameter filled to the depth of 2.0 feet with a dark grayish soil. Removal of this fill showed that the walls were perpendicular and the base rounded. Obviously whatever had been placed inside of this pit had completely decayed away leaving no trace of its nature.

Bordering the large ash-filled pit to the south were three small circular post holes, 0.2 foot in diameter, spaced about a foot apart. The purpose and function of these could not be ascertained for no other post holes were found.

Again a purplish material was present on the walls of the pit but in greater quantity. Upon exposure to the dry summer air it faded to a very light bluish gray color and when dampened after a shower it did not return to its original color but gradually got lighter.

Beneath this third large circular pit and slightly off center was a smaller circular pit, 1.6 feet in diameter. Like all of the other pits above it, it was filled with the very same type of whitish ash, occasional bits of charcoal and very very small bits

of burned bone. It was basin-shaped having a central depth of 0.5 foot.

The presence of a series of floors and pits placed directly one above the other and filled with compact whitish ash mixed with bits of charcoal and bones and surmounted with a mound of river worn rocks is not a usual feature for this section of the Southeast. All of the large pits were of sufficient size to accommodate a loosely flexed body of a six foot male for this was tried out at the time they were exposed. Whether these were intended as crematory basins is suspected but since there was not sufficient bone remains in them it would be hard to verify this as their purpose. Obviously, these features were of sufficient importance to the former inhabitants of this site to go to all the time and trouble to build one above the other and to erect a mound of water worn rocks over the area setting it aside from the rest of the site.

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THE CHEROKEE INDIANS OF JACKSON COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

HIRAM C. WILBURN

Shortly after the year 1700 when the white mineral prospectors and other adventurers began to come through the gaps in the Blue Ridge Mountains and to roam the valleys of what is now Western North Carolina, the Cherokees of the Pigeon Valley and adjacent areas became alarmed and took refuge west of the Great Balsam range and the Great Smokies. Some of them joined existing settlements on the Tuckaseegee River and the Little Tennessee. Others crossed the Smokies and boosted the Overhills settlements in east Tennessee. Thus Jackson County Indian population was strengthened.

Some 60 years later the actual destruction of the Cherokee Nation began. Notable are the Montgomery and Grant expeditions from Charleston, South Carolina in the 1760's and also the General Rutherford and Col. Moore expeditions from east of the Blue Ridge in the fall of 1776. Most of the settlements on the Little Tennessee and lower Tuckaseegee and Oconaluftee were destroyed and many of the inhabitants slaughtered. The more or less sheltered settlements on the upper Tuckaseegee escaped these earlier onslaughts. In March, 1781, however, General John Severe, accompanied by 150 horsemen, came through the Smokies and dealt out death and destruction on the upper Tuckaseegee. The Old Town of Tuckaseegee at the junction of the east and west forks, settlements at East La Porte, Cullowhee, Webster, and Savannah received the "scorched earth" treatment. Seemingly, these towns were never rebuilt but the sites were occupied by friendly Indians who were allowed to remain.

By the treaty between the Cherokee Nation and the United States in 1819 the Indian boundary was pushed down to the mouth of the Nantahala and the divide between Nantahala and waters of the Little Tennessee. Also, by this treaty a number of friendly Cherokee were allowed to remain on individually owned tracts.

Shortly afterwards, the North Carolina legislature passed an act providing for the purchase of these excepted tracts and the removal of the Indians. The names of some of those in what is now Jackson County may be of interest: Yonah, alias Big Bear, who owned 640 acres including the old townsite of Tuckaseegee; Sharp Fellow; Yha-ya-kah, or Grass Grower; Bear-Going-in-a-hole; Old Nancy; John Qu-chey; John Ben; Back-Water; Yeon-

ne-gis-kah; Enoch or Frank; Am-ma-cher, or Water-Going-in-the-Ground; Beaver-Toter; Sap-suck-er, and others.

It is of interest here to note that all the deeds signed by the Indians were witnessed by Humphrey Posey, a pioneer Baptist preacher, who established several churches in western North Carolina, including some among the Indians. This seems to indicate that he was befriending the Indians and helping them to re-settle.

Present-day interest in former Cherokee occupancy of Jackson County is the imprint of Indian nomenclature or place-names and their meanings in Cherokee culture and legend.

One of these is the Tuckaseegee River and the old settlement by the same name at its fork. The Indian name is Tsi-ksi-tsi the meaning of which is 'traveling terrapin' and refers to the slow-moving nature of the stream in the vicinity of the old town as compared to swifter head-streams further up the river. When the movements of a lazy, stupid fellow were compared to those of the terrapin, a shortened form of the name was sometimes applied in derision.

The Indian word from which the name 'Cullowhee Creek' was derived is Gul-la-hi-yi and is the name of a plant that grew in the vicinity. The location of the settlement of Gul-la-hi-yi was in the former old field now occupied by some of the buildings of Cullowhee College. An Indian mound was excavated there by representatives of the Valenting Museum of Richmond, Virginia, about 1880. It was known at that time as the Rogers Mound because a man named Rogers owned the 50-acre tract of land on which it was located. Cullowhee Creek joins the Tuckaseegee just below the college.

The name 'Tennessee' is fixed to five locations in Jackson County. The Indian form is 'Tan-a-si' the meaning of which is lost. The most prominent feature bearing this name is Tennessee Bald which is located at the junction of Haywood and Transylvania counties with Jackson County. Tennessee Creek is the easternmost head stream of the Tuckaseegee. Tennessee Gap is at the head of Tennessee Creek. The old Indian town, Tan-a-si, was near the mouth of Tennessee Creek at a location now known as Ginger Cake Bottom.

Five points in Jackson County bear names related to the mythical slant-eyed giant, Judaculla—the Indian name being Tsul-ka-lu, which is descriptive of his great slanting eyes. In the Judaculla tales he is thought to be a god, ghost, or devil, with

supernatural powers. He owned and controlled all the game animals; he had power over the winds, rain, thunder and lightning. It is said of him that in traveling from place to place, looking after the things under his control, he stepped from one peak to another, his footprints making the bald spots that are common on the Balsam Range.

Judaculla had his dwelling place, known as Tsal-ka-lu Tsune-gun-yi, on the slope of Tennessee Bald. Judaculla Old Field is located on the south and west slope of Richland Balsam Mountain. It consists of some 20 acres of open, grass-covered land with but few trees or other growth.

From the lower edge of the old field Judaculla Ridge extends southwestward between two branches of Caney Fork. Judaculla Mountain lies between the Southern Railroad and the public highway, extending from near Balsam Gap to near Willets.

Judaculla Rock is located on the north bank of Caney Fork some three and one-half miles up from its mouth. This is probably the best known and most interesting of the points bearing the name 'Judaculla.' I do not believe, however, that there is any actual connection between the rock and the legendary Judaculla except by association. It is my belief that the so-called Judaculla Rock is a picture-map of a notable battle fought by the Cherokee against their enemies, the Creeks, in the year 1755. At that time the Creeks were badly defeated and driven from the field and from lands claimed by the Cherokee. Judaculla Rock has a roadside historical marker authorized and erected by the North

Carolina Historical Commission.
Waynesville
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A FLUTED POINT FROM THE OZARKS

MARVIN E. TONG, JR.

As archaeological research investigations continue in the southeastern section of the United States, there is an increasing awareness of the wide-spread distribution of the type of projectile point now termed generally as Clovis Fluted.

The artifact illustrating this article generally fits into the Clovis Fluted type. It was found in the Spring of 1948 by Mrs. Lucy E. Tong while surveying an area on the upper portion of Little North Fork River in Ozark County, Missouri, that was to be inundated by construction of Bull Shoals Dam across White River some thirty miles to the south. The site on which this interesting projectile point was found is located on the east bank of Little North Fork River and almost within the boundaries of the little village of Hammond.

The site is small in size (approximately one-half acre) and is located on a terrace that rises some thirty feet above the present river channel. Evidence of prehistoric habitation of the site was most abundant, consisting of great numbers of chips, flakes, battered flint hammerstones, sandstone pestles, and numerous complete and broken projectile points of the types commonly associated with an Early to Middle Woodland horizon. The artifact illustrated was the only one of its type found on the site, and there was no other evidence of an early lithic industry that would fit in with the manufacturing of a Clovis Fluted projectile point.

This specimen is 11.5 cm. in length (est.), 3 cm. wide and only 5 mm. in thickness. The base is markedly concave and pronounced basal grinding extends throughout the concavity of the base and up the sides of the specimen for a distance of 4 cm. Fluting is pronounced on both faces of the artifact, but extend only 3 cm. from the apex of the base concavity. Workmanship of this projectile point shows the highest skill. Material is a grey-white flint that has a waxy feel. The writer has examined other types of projectile points from Ozark County that are made of similar material, and it is believed that this flint is possibly of local origin.

It is felt that one of the basic needs in the study of Early Man in North America is more published information about the distribution of the types of projectile points associated with

these early lithic cultures. Additional descriptions in archaeological literature of early type projectile points would be generous steps toward this aim.

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