

AN ANALYSIS OF HISTORIC CREEK AND SEMINOLE SETTLEMENT PATTERNS,
TOWN DESIGN, AND ARCHITECTURE:
THE PAYNES TOWN SEMINOLE SITE (8AL366), A CASE STUDY

By

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To Brendon and Izzy

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Following the arrival of Spanish exploring expeditions in the sixteenth century, disease, warfare, and political unrest spread across many of the aboriginal populations in the present-day southeastern United States. Severe population losses, resulting primarily from European-introduced diseases and warfare, led many surviving groups to flee their homelands. These populations sometimes joined with different cultural or ethnic groups, resulting in “coalescent societies” The Creek and Seminole Indian groups were examples of “coalescent societies.”

Throughout the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, inhabitants of Lower Creek towns, from the Lower Chattahoochee River and Flint River valleys and, later, “Upper Creek” settlements from the Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Alabama River drainages, migrated to areas of present-day Florida. Occasionally, members of the indigenous Florida populations that had been decimated by European disease and warfare, including Apalachee, Timucua, and Calusa groups joined the Creek migrants. Escaped and free Black groups also aligned with these Florida communities, which were collectively referred to as “Seminoles.” This study focuses on the culture history and archaeology of a particular Seminole group, those Seminoles who inhabited the Paynes Prairie region of north-central Florida. Recent archaeological investigations of the

Paynes Town site, a Seminole settlement occupied between approximately 1790 and 1812, yielded a rich source of data on some of the earliest permanent Creek migrants to Florida. To date, this study is the only in-depth archaeological investigation of an early Seminole town site.

In this study, I consider how settlement and civic and domestic architecture offer a springboard from which to explore the impact of European colonization on indigenous societies in the Southeast. More specifically, data from the Paynes Town site are used to address a series of exploratory hypotheses examining whether Creek migrants replicated a “traditional” Creek settlement in Florida, or whether they made modifications to meet the economic, political, and social demands that they encountered in their new homeland. The impact and integration of the fur trade economy on Creek and Seminole groups are particularly relevant to this study. The theoretical significance of the use of the idea of “traditions” and other anthropological terms that denote inter-generational inheritance of past social beliefs and customs, are explored within the context of post-Columbian indigenous culture change.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Following the arrival of Spanish exploring expeditions in the sixteenth century, disease, warfare, and political unrest spread across many of the aboriginal populations in the present-day southeastern United States. Severe population losses, resulting primarily from European-introduced diseases and warfare, led many surviving groups to flee their homelands. These populations sometimes joined with different cultural or ethnic groups, resulting in “coalescent societies” (Ethridge 2003:23; Ethridge and Hudson 1998:40-41; Kowalewski 2006), groups that became politically united, blended traditions, and together adjusted to a world that was forever changed by European colonization.

The *Provencia de Apalachicoli*, as it was known by the Spaniards (Hann 1996), was an example of a seventeenth-century “coalescent society” in the Lower Chattahoochee River Valley of southern Alabama and Georgia. The ancestors of the *Apalachicoli* had been inhabitants of the chiefdom societies that were found in the Gulf Coastal Plain region in the centuries leading up to European contact. The ancestral histories and traditions of these people were blended to form a semi-cohesive political group, although many of the sub-groups retained their own unique social traditions, as well (Knight 1994a:373). While there were some *Apalachicoli* towns that were recognized as important political centers (Hann 1996), the political and economic networks of coalescent societies were much less centralized than the chiefdoms of their ancestors (King 2002; 2006).

By the eighteenth century, the inhabitants of the indigenous settlements along the Chattahoochee, and later, Flint River valleys, were more commonly referred to by their English moniker: the “Lower Creeks,” rather than the *Apalachicoli*. Throughout the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, portions of Lower Creek towns and, later, “Upper Creek” settlements from

the Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Alabama River drainages, migrated to areas of present-day Florida. Occasionally, members of indigenous Florida populations, such as the Apalachees, Timucuas, and Calusas—groups whose ancestors had also belonged to complex chiefdom societies—joined the Creek migrants (Swanton 1998:398-414). Escaped and free Black groups also aligned with these Florida communities, which were collectively referred to as “Seminole.” Thus, the multi-ethnic “coalescence” that had begun in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries continued well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Eventually, many of the diverse ethnic components of early “Seminole” groups may have become socially and politically unified. Brent Weisman (1989:82-123; 2000) believes that this may have been the result of a common cause, such as resistance towards expansionism and military aggression of the American government. Weisman argues that a strong sense of Seminole social identity emerged around the onset of the Second Seminole War (1835-1842), one of a series of drawn-out conflicts between the United States government and the Seminoles in Florida during the nineteenth century.

For decades, the process of social and ethnic fusion, or “genesis,” has been at the forefront of anthropological studies of the Seminoles (Fairbanks 1978; Sattler 1996; Sturtevant 1971; Weisman 1989; 1999; 2000) and the “Black Seminoles” (Weik 2002). Ultimately, these studies may have been seeking a process of cultural homogenization that simply did not occur, perhaps, in part, because of the existence of an ideological apparatus that allowed for cultural diversity and change. I examine how many of the late-eighteenth/early-nineteenth century settlements of Seminole and Lower Creek groups reflected both the ancient beliefs and practices of their ancestors and the unique adaptations to and experiences on the modern colonial landscape, dichotomy that I argue corresponds to the interplay between social structure and practice.

Scope of Research: Change and Continuity in Settlement Characteristics

In this study, I explore certain cultural similarities between pre-Columbian Southeastern chiefdom societies and eighteenth and nineteenth-century Seminole and Creek societies. At the same time, I acknowledge the dramatic cultural changes that occurred across indigenous societies in the Southeast around the time of the arrival of the first Europeans in the region and in the ensuing decades. Some of the most obvious indicators of changes can be seen in the shifts in (1) settlement patterns, (2) town design, and (3) domestic and public architecture (Smith 1987:60-75, 89-98). In the earlier centuries of European colonization, these changes appeared to be the result of the sudden and catastrophic epidemics and political instability, both brought on by the early European exploring expeditions (Ramenofsky 1987; Smith 1987). Among eighteenth and nineteenth-century indigenous societies, not all changes that occurred were unidirectional, that is, the result of external European forces and influences. Rather, many changes represented internal responses to these forces and reflected both the careful deliberation of individual actions and the cumulative effect of unconscious and mundane practices by all of the members of society.

Despite the complexity of these processes, many which were likely unique to individual settlements, archaeological and ethnohistoric data demonstrate that three trends were fairly common across the region inhabited by the Creeks and the Seminoles during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These were (1) a shift from nucleated to dispersed settlements, (2) the transformation or abandonment of certain forms of civic and ceremonial architecture, and (3) changes in the construction techniques and styles of domestic structures, including the adoption of European-style buildings. The rate in which these changes occurred and the way in which each was manifested at individual settlements are key to understanding the unique historical experiences of the separate villages and towns that made up the coalescent societies, such as the

Paynes Town Seminole settlement, the focus of this study. By concentrating on an individual case study, I hope to make a small step towards untangling the complex web of cultural interactions that are too often obscured by stressing the unification and homogenization of the Creek and Seminole peoples.

Research Questions

The history of the Seminole peoples of the Alachua Prairie region (present-day Paynes Prairie) of north-central Florida has long been tied to the historic emergence of the Florida Seminoles, in general (e.g. Cline 1974; Fairbanks 1978; Swanton 1998). This is because, despite the several separate “Seminole” groups that inhabited Florida, those Seminoles who lived in the Alachua Prairie were particularly successful in the colonial economy and had a political longevity that was not experienced by the other groups (Porter 1952; Sattler 1996). However, the archaeological data relating to this important group is very limited, a fact that makes findings from recent investigations of the Paynes Town site (8AL366), the location of a Seminole settlement (ca. 1790-1812) in Paynes Prairie, all the more exciting. In addition to providing important descriptions of the site and artifacts, I explore how the Paynes Town settlement conforms with or differs from the current understanding of general trends in Creek and Seminole settlements. Specifically, I address the following research questions:

1. Was the Paynes Town settlement nucleated or dispersed?
2. Did the Paynes Town settlement include civic or ceremonial architecture such as a square ground, a chunkey yard, and a council house?
3. What kinds of construction techniques did the Paynes Town Seminoles use when building their houses and other structures?

Although I propose a series of exploratory hypotheses in subsequent chapters, these hypotheses are not meant to “pigeonhole” the Paynes Town Seminoles into a particular cultural

model. Rather, they are intended to be used as a springboard from which to examine the unique experiences and adaptations of the Paynes Town Seminoles.

Theoretical Approach: Structure and Agency

The Paynes Town Seminole settlement provides a case study for the examination of how the late-eighteenth/early-nineteenth century settlements inhabited by the Seminoles and Lower Creeks reflected both the ancient beliefs and practices of their ancestors and the groups' unique adaptations to and experiences on the modern colonial landscape, a dichotomy that I argue mimics the interplay between social structure and agency. Traditionally, anthropologists have characterized social structure as a relatively stable set of social relationships and societal expectations that holds up to the test of time and circumstances (Layton 1997). Depending on one's perspective, the persistence of social structures may be influenced by many factors, such as environmental constraints, economic networks, or deeply embedded cultural ideologies, among others.

Juxtaposed against the idea of structure is "agency," or the ability of individuals to influence or alter their social or physical surroundings. The relationship between structure and agency is the basis of agency-oriented approaches to culture change, approaches that were first popularized in the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and Anthony Giddens (1979; 1984). Emphasis on agency has helped to transform contemporary archaeological interpretations of "traditions," an issue that I will explore in greater depth in the following chapter.

Settlement patterns (e.g. Barker 1995; Bintliff, Lock, and Sanders 1996; Fletcher 1995), the arrangement of civic architecture, or town designs (e.g. Knight 1981; Lewis and Stout 1998; Siegel 1996; Wesson 1998), and domestic architecture (Kent and Raharijaona 1993; Knight 1981; Lightfoot et al. 1998) have been shown to be reflective of group ideologies, or social structure. Therefore, one might assume that changes in these characteristics, such as those that

occurred across Southeastern indigenous settlements during the colonial period, marked significant changes in, or a replacement of, the ideological structures of a given group. *However*, it can be argued, from an agency-oriented approach, that ideological structures, which can be “materialized” in many ways that are identifiable by archaeologists, are not permanently fixed in time, space, or psyche. Instead, these structures can be molded and transformed by individuals (Pauketat 2001a; 2001b) and demonstrate the unique influences and problems encountered by different generations of a particular group. While, from an outsider’s perspective, some changes may appear to represent a cultural rupture of some kind, these transformations may, in fact, be consistent with or legitimized by the underlying indigenous system (Sahlins 1985). I explore this possibility in Chapter 2, where I discuss how ancestral rites of purification may have provided an ideological basis from which to legitimize some of the changes that occurred across Creek and Seminole settlements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Organization of Study

From an organizational standpoint, this study can be grouped into four broad divisions. The first division provides the problem orientation of the study and the perspectives that will be used to evaluate the problems. This includes the present chapter and Chapter 2, which is devoted to a more thorough discussion of agency theory and its relevance to the study of archaeological patterns associated with Creek and Seminole settlements.

The second part of the study, which is composed of Chapters 3 through 5, are cultural historical in nature. In Chapter 3, I summarize the cultural phases of the Lower Chattahoochee Valley, the homeland of the Lower Creek Indians, beginning with the Late Mississippian Stewart Phase (A.D. 1475-1550) and ending with the Lawson Field Phase (A.D. 1715-1836). This chapter provides relevant background information for considering the subtle and dramatic changes that took place among the Lower Chattahoochee Valley and Florida towns over the

course of nearly 350 years. Chapter 4 addresses the history of the earliest Creek migrants into north-central Florida, and Chapter 5 summarizes the history of the Paynes Town Seminole settlement.

The third portion of the study is devoted to setting the stage for a series of hypotheses. Chapter 6 provides background information pertaining to commonly cited characteristics of Creek and Seminole settlements. These characteristics are derived from both historical and archaeological sources. Three exploratory hypotheses, based on the current sources, are proposed in Chapter 7.

Finally, in the fourth part of the study, which consists of Chapters 8 through 12, the results of the hypotheses testing and how these results relate to the three research questions are addressed. Chapter 8 provides a summary of previous archaeological investigations at the Paynes Town site, along with a summary of the field and lab methods of the 2003-2004 investigations. Chapter 9 provides a synopsis of the artifacts that were recovered from the recent archaeological work at the Paynes Town site. In Chapter 10, the stratigraphy and cultural features observed during the test unit excavations at the site are summarized. In Chapter 11, the archaeological findings of the Paynes Town site are compared against the test hypotheses. In Chapter 12, I review the significance of the findings from the Paynes Town investigations and consider and offer some concluding remarks on how this study relates to existing bodies of knowledge pertaining to Creek and Seminole culture history and history.

CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL APPROACH

As a number of syntheses of agency theory have shown (Dornan 2002; Knauff 1996; Ortner 1984), several ideas, such as tradition, structure, and agency, have been melded into agency-oriented explanations of culture change, often with no primacy given to one particular factor. Instead, external and internal forces *and* group ideologies and individual motivations are understood to contribute to the complexity of both long-term and short-term processes of change. Current archaeological approaches to culture change, including studies addressing post-Columbian indigenous societies, differ dramatically from earlier ones. My brief discussion of the history of the archaeological applications of “tradition” in this chapter provides a case in point.

The evolution of archaeological theories and methodologies, including the incorporation of ideas such as tradition and agency, is indicative of the continued attempts of archaeologists to construct “accurate” culture histories. Increasingly, culture histories go beyond merely providing a chronological ordering of the emergence of particular characteristics. Today, many culture histories address the underlying cultural systems, or structures, in an effort to illuminate the cultural “logic” behind the different characteristics, interactions, continuities, and changes that occur in individual cultures. In this chapter, I propose that examining the ideological systems of Creek and Seminole groups is important for understanding some of the changes in settlement patterns that occurred in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Specifically, I propose that some of the changes in the settlements may not have been perceived by the inhabitants as dramatic departures from the settlements of preceding generations. In a later section of this chapter, I explore some of the ritual practices involved in the Green Corn Ceremony and how they may have been invoked by Creek and Seminole individuals when making modifications to their settlements and houses. I address how, during

the Green Corn Ceremony, the modifications in the physical arrangement of civic architecture were believed to render a town “pure” of the physical and spiritual impurities that had accumulated over the course of a year (Knight 1981; 1989). I also examine how this practice may have been extended to include other changes that occurred in the historic period settlements. Finally, I consider how, while there may have been an ideological component to changes in Creek and Seminole settlements (e.g. shifting to dispersed settlements, changes in civic architecture, and adoption of certain elements of European households), the impetus for these changes may have actually been the desire of individuals to better compete and succeed in the colonial economy.

I argue that ideological structure and individual agency do not have to represent polar oppositions. Instead, they often work tangentially, unifying phenomena that might otherwise seem contradictory to past beliefs and practices. This is an approach that has been used increasingly by scholars examining the changes that occurred during periods of “culture contact” between indigenous and European populations (e.g. Knight 1985; Lightfoot 1995; 2001; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Miller and Hammell 1986; Rogers 1990; Rogers and Wilson 1993; Sahlins 1985; Turnbaugh 1993; Wesson 2002). I hope that this study will contribute to this growing body of research and that it will illuminate the particular cultural processes underlying continuity and change in settlement, town design, and household architecture of the Paynes Town Seminoles.

Tradition

The concept of “tradition” has been at the forefront of archaeological method and theory for several generations (Lightfoot 2001:238-241). One of the most significant contributions to twentieth-century American archaeology was the development of the type-variety artifact classification system (e.g. Ford 1954; Gifford 1960; Rouse 1960; Spaulding 1953). By defining and using these classifications, archaeologists were able to identify patterns in material culture

for various periods of time. These patterns were defined as “traditions” and were serially ordered to construct “culture histories.” For example, styles in material culture, such as pottery, could be illustrated through bell curves that depicted the growing and subsequent diminishment in popularity of certain decorative styles through time. With the arrival of European colonists and their foreign materials, some changes in material culture were very sudden and dramatic, a process that was quite different from the more fluid transitions in the material culture of pre-Columbian cultures. To some, the sudden appearance of European artifacts and other foreign elements into indigenous societies confirmed earlier theories that stressed that certain material and cultural attributes corresponded with hierarchical levels of “civilization” (e.g. Morgan 1965), wherein Western societies were situated at the apex of the summit of civilization and, thus, were demonstrably politically, economically, and culturally superior.

American archaeologists developed theories of “acculturation” in an attempt to explain what the presence of European artifacts at indigenous sites indicated about changes in indigenous ways of life. For many, European objects indicated a uni-directional incorporation of European materials, ideas, and ways of life (e.g. Broom et al. 1954; Linton 1940; Spicer 1961), a process that would be expected if a hierarchical model of civilization did, in fact, exist. Since these early studies, archaeologists have learned that the cultural processes that occurred during the colonial period were much more complex than could have been predicted by these early acculturation models. Each group brought its own cultural beliefs and practices to the multi-ethnic table that was the colonial landscape. Today, archaeologists understand that the adoption of foreign material culture did not necessarily reflect dramatic change in pre-existing social structure. Rather, it may have reflected a blending of new materials, ideas, and ways of life into pre-

existing ones (e.g. Knight 1985; Lightfoot 1995; Miller and Hammell 1986; Rogers 1990; Rogers and Wilson 1993; Wesson 2002).

Although the fluidity in the transition of material “traditions” was disrupted with the arrival of Europeans, the archaeology of the “contact period” has proven to have contributed a great deal to the refinement of archaeological method and theory. Archaeologists have been forced to acknowledge that cultural evolution does not follow a single, predictable trajectory. Therefore, while cultural histories are again a valid archaeological pursuit, the processes underlying them, and not necessarily the material culture that were produced, have become the focus of investigations (Nassaney 2001; Pauketat 2001a, 2001b; Rees 2001:122). Importantly, modern applications of “process” are different from the materialist or economic-oriented “systems” approaches that were popularized by New Archaeologists. For example, agency-oriented approaches examine the manner in which the histories, beliefs, and experiences of individual social groups influenced their daily practices, and how, in turn, these daily practices served to reinterpret the past histories, beliefs, and experiences (Pauketat 2001b:2-3). This understanding of process has influenced recent definitions of “tradition,” such as the following by Sullivan and Rodning (2001:107), “those cultural practices and perspectives that are passed from generation to generation, always with some revision or conscious manipulation, but commonly with references to the perceived past of a people.” Considering the dialectical relationship between the past and the present, the concepts of tradition and history have become much more fluid and subjective than they were in earlier decades of archaeological research.

Structure

Despite the important position that social structure has occupied in anthropological research over the past several decades, there are still widely divergent definitions of social structure and “structuralism,” as a theoretical paradigm. One common denominator in

“structuralist” approaches has been the attempt to uncover the order, organization, or logic behind the behaviors and beliefs of different cultures, phenomena that might be perceived as irrational or illogical to outside observers (Layton 1997:93). Scholars influenced by the works of Claude Lévi-Strauss (e.g. Lévi-Strauss 1963), believe that this logic can be explained through the identification of the interrelatedness (in some cases oppositions) of various social categories. From a structuralist-functionalist perspective (e.g. Malinowski 1922; Radcliffe-Brown 1952), the maintenance of specific relationships protects the integrity of the social group, as a whole. The relationship between the parts and the whole invokes the organic principle of negative feedback, in which changes in the chemicals and/or the functionality of one particular part of an organism results in subtle modifications in other parts, thus ensuring its likelihood of survival (Layton 1997:85).

Two of the most persistent criticisms of structuralist theory are (1) it presents social structures as being fixed in time and space; and (2) social phenomena, of any scale, are believed to be derived from the social structure, with individuals holding virtually no power to influence long-term social trajectories (Layton 1997). In response to the first criticism, most anthropologists agree that that no culture or, by default, social structure, exists within an isolated and self-contained environment (Wolf 1982:6). It is important to remember that “culture contact,” including that associated with colonialism and colonization, has been a part of the human experience for millennia (see Terrell 1998, for example, for an analysis of “30,000 years of culture contact in the southwest Pacific”). Other forms of culture contact, which were much less violent and disruptive than those occurring within colonial settings, also occurred through the slow transmission, or diffusion, of ideas and materials throughout time and across space.

Agency theories originated, in part, as a result of the second criticism. From structurally deterministic perspectives, such as those advocated by Lévi-Strauss and a generation of structural-functionalists (e.g. Malinowski 1922; Radcliffe-Brown 1952), the individuals that composed a particular social group ultimately complied with pre-existing societal expectations. These expectations were understood to be external manifestations of an internal, or underlying, social structure, which was treated almost as if it was an innate, and sometimes oppressive, social regime. The particular sets of relationships that composed social structures were credited for the unique characteristics of a culture, characteristics that were perpetuated through individuals' continued acquiescence to group expectations. Socialization practices were largely responsible for this phenomenon of conformity.

Importantly, much of the structuralist paradigm that was popular in the first half of the twentieth century was based on social anthropological observations of contemporary societies. With the focus on societies living in the present, long-term history was relegated to a, more or less, anecdotal role in the cultural phenomena that were being examined. Recent archaeological applications of agency theory have helped to resolve the role that history, or time, plays in the maintenance (and transformation) of social structures.

Structure and Time

The relationship between structure and time is one that scholars inspired by the French Annales School of History, and especially the works of Fernand Braudel, have explored in great depth. Relevant to the present study is other research focused on reconciling what appear to be massive cultural changes, such as those that occurred across indigenous societies in the Americas during the colonial period, with persistence of certain ancient cultural practices and beliefs. One way to understand the relationship of persistence and change is by invoking Braudel's concept of scalar histories. Braudel (1972; 1980) argued that social history could be arbitrarily ordered into

a series of “scales,” or *durées*. These scales represented both the rate of cultural change in a particular society, and, perhaps most importantly, the types of cultural change that occurred. According to Braudel, the *longue durée* was the ecological history, or the subtle modifications in human-environment interactions in a region through time. The *moyenne durée* referred to that period of time framing social trends, especially trends that had a, more or less, identifiable beginning and ending, such as an economic cycle. Finally, the *histoire événementielle*, or the history of the event, represented battles, treaties, and land secessions, and presumably, events that were less anticipated, such as earthquakes, or the arrival of exotic exploring expeditions in the Southeast and elsewhere. According to Braudel, the *longue durée* was the most culturally-defining of the three scales (Braudel 1972:16). The human-environment relationship that composed the *longue durée* was responsible for engendering the particular social relationships of a given culture. Therefore, to Braudel, the *longue durée* was equivalent to structure (Braudel 1993:28).

Although Braudel has been criticized for his ecologically-deterministic perspective on history, a number of archaeologists have found his conception of scalar history to be very useful, and the idea of *longue durée* has been employed to explain the resilience of particular cultural characteristics through time (e.g. Barker 1995; Bintliff et al. 1996; Cobb 1998; Duke 1996; Knapp 1992; Last 1995; Peebles 1998; Smith 1992). Today, in contrast to Braudel, many scholars inspired by the Annaliste philosophy believe that social factors, including belief systems, or ideologies, are more influential than environment in perpetuating certain cultural patterns. Braudel, however, was not oblivious to the role that social factors played in the persistence of certain cultural patterns through time. In fact, Braudel frequently alluded to differing cultural *mentalités* (e.g. Braudel 1993:22), or worldviews, an idea that was introduced

by earlier Annaliste scholars who were notably less materialistic in orientation (Bintliff 1991:10-13; Chartier 1988:25-26). Braudel, however, failed to satisfactorily explain whether mentalités contributed to the deterministic quality of the *longue durée*.

Agency

In this section, I address how the emergence of agency theories, including practice theories, was a response to earlier structuralist paradigms that rendered the individual more or less incapable of influencing long-term cultural change. In agency theory, the individual is not an obsolete cellular component of an organic structure, but a key apparatus in the health of the social group. Ideally, each individual would be able to align ideologically with one another, forming a cohesive, or “collective,” social body. However, as Bruce Knauft (1996:106) explains, in reality, constant tension exists between the individual and the social group:

In general terms, practice emerges at the intersection between individual and collective processes, and between symbolic force and material or economic power. On the one hand, individual practices are seen as constrained and orchestrated by collective structures of cultural logic or organization. But individuals are also seen as agents who reinforce or resist the larger structures that encompass them.

Practice theory acknowledges that individuals tend to behave in ways that are consistent with the expectations and beliefs of the social group to which he or she belongs. However, these expectations and beliefs can be strengthened or weakened by each individual’s advocacy or practice of them, or lack thereof. Societal expectations and beliefs ebb and flow in response to the input of individuals (Ortner 1984:148). I believe that this dynamic cultural process represents the ideological structure of a culture. From an archaeological perspective, this dynamism can be observed in pattern in material culture and site formation processes.

Agency theorists stress that despite socialization processes, in which the norms and expectations of a society are reified from one generation to the next, cultural practices and beliefs change. This change is the result of both unique circumstances and inter-generational

interpretations of these practices and beliefs. Invoking the theoretical contributions of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1977) and Anthony Giddens (Giddens 1979, 1984), John Scarry writes:

Practice is much more than the simple, mindless following of tradition or the *reproduction* of culture. It is through practice that people (actors) *produce* culture and its structures. The constant, ongoing creation of cultural patterns (such as social structures or identities) through practice allows (if not mandates) innovation and change. Individuals innovate when faced with choices among possible alternative actions. They innovate when faced with conflicting demands or expectations. They innovate in novel circumstances and in situations that lie outside past practice. [Scarry 2001:35]

To indigenous societies, European colonization would have almost certainly qualified as resulting in both “novel circumstances” and “situations that lied outside of the past practice” of the indigenous peoples.

A culture’s ideologies can be “materialized” in a number of ways, including ceremonial events, symbolic objects, and public monuments, to name a few (Blanton et al. 1996:16). Settlement patterns (e.g. Barker 1995; Bintliff et al. 1996; Fletcher 1995), civic architecture, such as Mississippian platform mounds and Creek and Seminole square grounds (e.g. Knight 1981; Lewis and Stout 1998; Siegel 1996; Wesson 1998), and household structures are examples of the materializations of ideologies (Kent and Raharijaona 1993; Knight 1981; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Sahlins 1977). I argue that settlement patterns, town design, and domestic architecture of the Creek and the Seminole peoples likely reflected both past practices and novel innovations, including practices and innovations relating to the ideological spheres of these societies.

Settlement Patterns, Town Design, and Domestic Architecture as Materializations of Ideological Structures

Numerous scholars have noted the similarities (continuities) in the cosmological, or ideological, spheres of the Mississippian cultures and the historic period tribes, such as the Creeks and the Seminoles (e.g. Hudson 1976; Knight 1981; 1986; 1989; Wesson 1998; Waring 1968; Wickman 1999). In theory, the persistence of certain ideologies is evident by the presence

of similar materials, decorative and stylistic themes, and cosmological symbols, especially motifs and material forms associated with what has been referred to as the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (SECC), or Southern Cult (see Galloway et al. 1989 for a compilation of more modern interpretations of the SECC). This same theory can be used to explain the continuities in settlement and architecture that existed between these two groups. Of course, when using the term “continuities” I am not implying that the symbolic motifs and forms or the social and cosmological meanings behind them were identical. Rather, through careful metaphorical and metonymical analyses, a kind of structural history can be revealed. I argue that the above observations are consistent with the approaches of both *Annaliste* scholars who emphasize the structural integrity of *la mentalité* and agency theorists who stress that culture change can reflect both a historical context and the unique experiences of groups and individuals. Importantly, it has been shown that even unprecedented events could be cleverly incorporated into the pre-existing worldviews of a culture (e.g. Sahlins 1985).

It is interesting to consider how the involvement of the Creeks and the Seminoles in the colonial economy may have impacted their settlements and architecture. It can be argued that changes in the ideological structures of a group can be identified when changes in the physical materializations of these ideologies are identified (Blanton et al. 1996; DeMarrais et al. 1996; Renfrew 1982). Accordingly, the changes that occurred in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Creek and Seminole settlements, including: (1) a shift from nucleated to dispersed settlements, (2) a transformation or abandonment of certain forms of civic and ceremonial architecture, and (3) a changes in the construction techniques and styles of civic and domestic structures, including the adoption of European-style buildings, could provide evidence of transformations in the ideological structures.

In the remainder of this chapter, I explore an alternative possibility. This is that, while the materials and forms used in some Creek and Seminole settlements changed, the meanings behind them may have been consistent with pre-existing social structures and ideologies. This possibility has been explored by other scholars studying post-Columbian indigenous culture change. Particularly relevant to this investigation are studies that examine how societies incorporated foreign materials and behaviors into their indigenous culture, and in doing, actually kept the indigenous social structures and associated ideologies intact (e.g. Knight 1985; Lightfoot 1995; Miller and Hammell 1986; Rogers 1990; Rogers and Wilson 1993; Wesson 2002). In other words, while the materializations of certain ideologies may have changed, the ideologies themselves may have remained much more stable.

In the following section, I discuss the role that the Green Corn Ceremony, an annual ceremony conducted by the Creeks and the Seminoles (and many other Southeastern groups and their pre-Columbian ancestors), played in conveying important cultural ideologies. I explore certain purification rituals that were conducted during the ceremony, rituals that involved mound construction and modifications to certain civic structures. Ironically, the persistence of certain ideologies may actually help to explain how changes in Creek and Seminole settlement patterns and architecture were not more socially and politically disruptive. In short, the ideology behind the rites of purification may have been invoked to legitimize changes made in settlement patterns, town designs, and domestic architecture, making them more palatable to the society as a whole. The adaptive nature of this ideology may have also eased the social tensions that occurred throughout the process of multi-ethnic coalescence, the mergers of previously distinct separate social groups, which occurred from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries.

The Green Corn Ceremony and Modifications to Public and Domestic Architecture

For some time, scholars have examined the significance of the similarities between elements of Mississippian platform mounds and Creek and Seminole square grounds (Howard 1968; Knight 1981, 1989; Swanton 1928; Waring 1968; Wesson 1998). These similarities will be addressed in greater detail in later chapters. Archaeologists have speculated that Creek and Seminole square grounds may have evolved from the square or rectangular buildings found on the top of Mississippian platform mounds and/or were derived from the shape of the mound summit itself (Hudson 1976:221; Knight 1981:46-47; 1986:679). Some Creek square grounds were built upon a small (e.g. a few feet in height) earthen mound (Knight 1981:9-10, 153-154), a detail that further supports the likelihood that square grounds evolved from platform mounds.

Of course, the general shapes and the earthen component of the Mississippian platform mounds and the historic period square grounds were not the only similarities between these important town features. Both the platform mounds and square grounds provided the venues for civic and ceremonial activities, the most important of which was the Green Corn Ceremony. The Green Corn Ceremony coincided with the commencement of the corn harvesting season (Waselkov and Braund 1995:125-136) and was conducted, in part, to ensure the success of the harvest and that of the community as a whole. Some of the most critical rituals performed during the Green Corn Ceremony were rites of purification. In his analysis of Mississippian ritualism, Jim Knight (Knight 1981) explores how certain ritual activities were performed in order to symbolically “bury” the material and spiritual “impurities” that had accumulated over the course of the preceding year, or several years in the case of Mississippian cultures.

According to Knight, many of the “polar oppositions” that composed Creek social structures were reflected in platform mound symbolism, purification rites, and origin myths. For example, the “impure: pure” dichotomy expressed during rites of purification invoked the “earth:

society” opposition that is reiterated throughout Creek origin myths, most notably the “Chekilli Legend” (Knight 1981:24-30). The Chekilli Legend describes the emergence of the mythical “First People” and the encounters that they had with violent earthly forces. According to the legend, the First People had to conquer these forces along their journey to find what would become the homeland of the Creek society.

Knight believes that the conquering of these earthly forces was symbolized in the forms of periodic ritual deposits of earthen mantles on Mississippian platform mounds, the latter of which were symbols of Earth and the earthly forces encountered by their mythical ancestors. To defend this hypothesis, Knight describes why platform mounds were suitable Earth symbols:

First of all, they are with few exceptions quadrilateral in form and flat on top. The four sides, then, correspond to the four-world-quarters concept in Southeastern Indian cosmology, a concept which finds prehistoric expression as the cross symbol in the Mississippian Southeastern Ceremonial Complex. And as the surface of the earth is flat, so is the surface of the platform mound. [Knight 1981:46]

Knight goes on to explain that, “given that the platform is a symbol for Earth” the construction of platform mantles represents “a symbolic defeat of Earth” (Knight 1981:48). The soil that was used in the construction of mantles was also significant, because it was extracted from the town middens, which were deposits formed through the accumulation of debris discarded by town occupants. Knight believes that burying the existing mound surface with midden soil deepened the symbolism of the impure: pure/ earth: society opposition. This ritual act was literally and spiritually cleansing because it removed waste from the town’s surroundings while also symbolically purifying the previous mantle of earth by covering it with a surface that was composed of human debris accumulated over the course of the previous year(s). This deposit also represented the metaphorical conquering of the earthly elements by the ancestral and present societies (Knight 1981:51-54).

William Bartram may have been the first European observer to point out that arrangement of the structures that composed individual Seminole households resembled the arrangement of the civic architecture around the square ground (Waselkov and Braund 1995:180). Interestingly, during the Green Corn Ceremony, each household would perform its own cleansing activities that mirrored those taking place in the public square ground space. For some Creeks and Seminoles, an important element of this ritual was the extinguishing of the town fire, the covering of the square ground surface with new sand, and the igniting of a new fire in the center of the square (Waselkov and Braund 1995:124-127). At this time, refuse or broken or unusable objects were discarded and the house and surrounding areas were swept clean of debris. The fires in the hearths were put out at the same time that the sacred fire in the square ground was extinguished. When the town fire was relit, women from each household would gather the embers from the town fire to use in the relighting of their own hearths (Waselkov and Braund 1995:125-126).

Knight suggests that the removal of the cultural debris from the midden areas during the Mississippian ceremony was analogous to the ritual sweeping of Creek and Seminole square grounds and domestic areas during the Green Corn Ceremony. This cleansing ritual was described by William Bartram:

‘When a town celebrates the busk, having previously provided themselves with new clothes, new pots, pans and other household utensils and furniture, they collect all their worn out clothes and other despicable things, sweep and cleanse their houses, squares, and whole town, of their filth, which with all the remaining grain and other provisions, they cast together in one common heap, and consume it with fire.’ [Waselkov and Braund 1995:125-126]

If analogous to the Mississippian rites of purification, then the activities described by Bartram reflected the Creek and the Seminole beliefs that the residues of former earthly actions

(middens) were innately impure (Knight 1981:16, 48-55, 82; Waring 1968:16), and that for the societies to be rendered pure again it was necessary to purge the areas of the waste.

In addition to the construction of new mantles, Knight argues that ridding society of impurity may have also been achieved by ritually modifying, replacing, or rearranging the pre-existing ceremonial structures on the summit of platform mounds. According to Knight, this possibility helps to explain the complex construction episodes that have been identified in archaeological excavations of Mississippian platform mounds (Knight 1981:71-81). Knight suggests that the various alterations to the structures on the mounds may imply that there was “a sort of taboo on all past configurations including structural design, materials, orientation, and style” (Knight 1981:81).

In light of the parallels between town and household purification rituals, it is possible that the inhabitants of the town also used the Green Corn Ceremony, or perhaps other occasions, as a time to alter, repair, or rearrange the structures that made up their household. The changes to the existing structures may have been symbolically purifying, while also legitimizing changes that would enable individual families to succeed in the colonial world of “free enterprise” (Weisman 1989:31). Examples might include leaving a nucleated village in search of better cattle grazing areas, building animal pens, or constructing new elements of civic architecture that would convey to European colonists that the Indians were powerful participants in the colonial economy. The potential negative impact of these changes, which, for example, could have been viewed as a rejection of a particular town or social identity, may have been mollified by invoking the pre-existing ideology in which change in town and domestic structures was perceived as a kind of literal and spiritual “house cleaning.”

Conclusion

Understanding the indigenous cultural changes that took place within a “post-Contact” landscape is complex. The changes that occurred in the wake of European exploration, colonization, and expansion may have been more radical and more rapid than in preceding centuries (Daniels and Wilson 1993:5-6). However, scholars have cautioned against perceiving post-Contact indigenous change as chaotic, irrational, self-destructive, or leading to an inevitable European advantage (Sahlins 1985:vii-xi; Wickman 1999:153). Of course, in many cases, the impact of European colonization on New World societies was unquestionably catastrophic to indigenous societies. As a result, some archaeologists argue that the scale of change and the types of indigenous change that occurred because of colonization and the incorporation of indigenous societies into the capitalist world system requires that archaeological investigations of this period have objectives that are distinct from the archaeological studies of pre-Columbian societies (Crowell 1997:1-7; Leone and Potter 1998; Paynter 1988; Orser and Fagan 1995:8-22).

While there are many characteristics, events, and cultural changes that were unique to the post-Columbian period, scholars have learned that individuals and groups are capable of reacting to even profound or catastrophic events with their own social tool kit. Because of this many “introductions” are melded into pre-existing systems. One dramatic example was the merging of the arrival of Captain James Cook to the Hawaiian Islands with that of the mythological return of the Hawaiian god Lono (Sahlins 1985). More commonly cited examples are the incorporation of European trade goods into a pre-existing prestige goods economy (Rogers 1990; 1993; Knight 1985; Turnbaugh 1993; Wesson 2002).

A similar process of incorporation may have occurred when the Creeks and the Seminoles began to alter their settlements to better serve their commercial ventures. In subsequent chapters I address how commercial hunting, farming, and ranching were not always compatible with the

pre-existing settlement systems and other aspects of indigenous life. The transition that occurred as Creeks and Seminoles adapted to the commercial economy may have been smoothed by the belief that balance must be maintained between the impure: pure/ old: new opposition. By viewing old styles and architectures as old and impure their alteration or replacement would have been legitimized.

CHAPTER 3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE LOWER CHATTAHOOCHEE RIVER VALLEY

In this chapter, I provide an overview of some of the key late prehistoric and historic indigenous cultural developments in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley. Because the Oconee Creeks and many other Lower Creek migrants to Florida originated in this area, its culture history is directly related to that of Florida Seminoles, so much so that John Swanton observed, “The history of the Seminoles is to a considerable extent a continuous history of the Oconee” (Swanton 1922:181). Because I address cultural continuities and discontinuities between pre-Columbian and post-Columbian indigenous societies throughout this study, especially as they relate to rituals, settlements, and architecture, I include discussions about the socio-political characteristics of Mississippian chiefdom societies, especially those whose inhabitants were the direct ancestors of the historic Creek and Seminole peoples.

Environment

The Chattahoochee River begins in the Georgia Blue Ridge Province and drains into the Gulf Coastal Plain, where it eventually joins the Flint River in southwestern Georgia. The river slows as it approaches the undulating landscape to the south and west, referred to as the Lower Chattahoochee Valley. Included in this area is a fall zone that marks the junction of the low plains to the south and the high plains to the north. The fall line is not as dramatic as it is elsewhere in the region, with rolling hills continuing approximately 100 km to the south of the fall line. The hilly terrain and associated flora and fauna are more reminiscent of the geography and wildlife of the Piedmont than most areas of the Gulf Coastal Plain (Knight and Mistovich 1984:6-7). The mild climate, fertile soils, and access to fresh water and diverse upland and lowland resources have attracted humans to the Lower Chattahoochee River Valley for millennia.

Chiefdom Societies

Like many historic Indian groups in the Southeast, the historic Lower Creeks were an example of a “coalescent society” or a merger of different cultural groups that occurred following the sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions through the region and the cultural and demographic aftermath of these events (Ethridge 2003:23; Ethridge and Hudson 1998:40-41). Coalescence was not a uniquely historic phenomenon, and both Lower Creek ceramic traditions and origin myths suggest that some mergers (or conquests) may have occurred prior to the sixteenth century (Knight 1994a:374). That the Lower Creeks exhibited many material culture attributes of the “Western Lamar” cultures, prehistoric societies that were a blend of Appalachian Mississippian and more western (non-Lamar) Mississippian components (Knight 1994a:379) may be evidence of an earlier cultural merger.

From approximately A.D. 800 to 1550, chiefdoms flourished across much of the Southeast. Chiefdom societies in the Southeast were characterized by centralized governments, a hierarchical distribution of settlements across the landscape, extensive agriculture, and a shared cosmology, which emphasized warfare, ancestor veneration, and fertility. In the broadest sense, Mississippian people were a part of one of two classes—the elites and commoners. The position of chief was transferred primarily through matrilineal descent, whereby the son of the chief’s sister inherited political power. Because power was inherited, there was little room for societal advancement for people born outside of elite families. A chief’s position was legitimized in many ways, including through his ability to persuade members of society to pay tribute in the form of labor, food, and other societal staples, as well as through his own display of exotic prestige items and the hosting of public ceremonies and feasts.

The Coosa chiefdom is one of the most thoroughly studied and well-documented Mississippian chiefdom societies in the Southeast, made so in large part because of the

availability of written descriptions of the chiefdom by chroniclers of the early Spanish expeditions (Hudson et al. 1985; Smith 2000:34-49). The main towns of Coosa were found along the Upper Coosa and Tennessee Rivers and their drainages. Subsidiary settlements extended into portions of eastern Alabama, northwestern Georgia, and eastern Tennessee. Based on the presence of single-mound sites within the Coosa Province, it appears that at least seven small, or “simple,” chiefdoms composed the Coosa paramountcy (Hally 1994:241).

Numerous settlements within the Coosa province, including the town of Coosa itself, were visited by members of the Hernando de Soto expedition in 1540 and the Tristán de Luna expedition in 1560. The Spaniards’ arrival in the region resulted in massive epidemics and warfare. Based on the written accounts of the Luna expedition, the Coosa chiefdom was in rapid decline by 1560. The total number of settlements affiliated with the chiefdom and the size of these settlements were much smaller than those described in the de Soto narratives written 20 years earlier (Smith 2000:42-43) and archaeological sites dating to this period are fewer in number and spaced further apart than settlements dating to the preceding periods (Smith 1987:60-75, 89-98).

The cyclical nature of chiefdom societies, resulting in part from the alternating phases of attrition and erosion of political power by chiefly elites (Anderson 1994:61; Blitz 1999; Blitz and Lorenz 2006:122-135), may partly explain the demise of the Coosa chiefdom. However, archaeologists believe that the European invasion wreaked such havoc in the form of disease, warfare, and political instability that it was largely responsible for the demise of Coosa and possibly other late Mississippian chiefdoms in the Southeast (Smith 1987:54-60).

Late Mississippian Culture, Stewart Phase (A.D. 1475-1550)

In comparison to Coosa, much less is known about Mississippian societies located in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley of present-day southeastern Alabama and southwestern Georgia,

especially those cultural transformations that resulted in the emergence of the Lower Creeks on the historic landscape. There is little archaeological evidence to suggest that there was the same kind of intense political centralization in the Lower Chattahoochee River Valley as there was in the sixteenth-century Coosa paramountcy (Blitz and Lorenz 133-135; Knight 1994a:380).

However, recent research by John Blitz and Karl Lorenz indicates that indigenous groups in the region became more politically centralized as a result of western “Mississippian” groups—who themselves were members of chiefdom societies—entering the region prior to the sixteenth century (Blitz and Lorenz 2006:136-139).

In the Lower Chattahoochee River Valley, late Mississippian period sites are representative of the Stewart Phase (A.D. 1475 to 1550). Based on continuities in material culture, especially pottery traditions, the Stewart Phase people appear to be directly related to the Lower Creeks (Worth 2000:274). The Stewart Phase people probably spoke Hitchiti (Blitz and Lorenz 2006:193-194; Knight 1994b:186), one of the two languages (the other being Muscogee) spoken by different Lower Creek settlements.

Archaeological sites dating to the Stewart Phase have been identified throughout an area stretching approximately 160 km (Knight 1994a:381). The central portion of the Lower Chattahoochee Valley contains the densest concentration of Stewart Phase sites (Schnell and Wright 1993:14-15), including at least 12 mound sites. Based on the limited excavations at Stewart Phase sites, certain patterns in ceramic types have been identified. According to Schnell, slightly more than half of all pottery from Stewart Phase components is non-decorated (plain). Complicated stamped, incised, and punctuated types each make up a notable portion of the assemblages. During the Stewart Phase, distinctly non-Lamar ceramic attributes, including shell-tempered paste, appeared in the ceramic assemblages. Incised and cord-marked types, as well as

noded vessel forms and shell temper, are present in moderate quantities and are probably examples of influences from the Dallas and McKee Island cultures of eastern Tennessee and northeastern Alabama. Punctuated designs identical to ceramics of the Fort Walton people to the south also show up at Stewart Phase sites (Knight 1994b:185; Knight and Mistovich 1984:224; Worth 2000:268).

Abercrombie Phase (A.D. 1550-1650)

Although there is no evidence that any of the sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions traveled through the Lower Chattahoochee Valley, the region's inhabitants may have still suffered from the effects of Old World diseases. This is suggested by the dramatic change in archaeological site patterns during the Abercrombie Phase (Knight 1994a:383-384; Knight and Mistovich 1984:225; Worth 2000:269). The geographical range of Abercrombie Phase sites (A.D. 1550-1650) is notably smaller than that of Stewart Phase sites. This fact and a decrease in the overall size of the sites suggest that severe depopulation may have occurred.

The Abercrombie site (1RU61), the type site for the Abercrombie Phase, is the best documented archaeological site pertaining to this time period. The site is the location of a mound and associated village (Kurjack 1975:154). In 1947, Wesley Hurt identified a ridge of earth associated with household refuse at the village site. Human burials, a number of which contained early European trade items dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were also unearthed (Kurjack 1975:158-1962; Schnell 1990:68).

Most of the ceramic types associated with the Abercrombie Phase are similar to Stewart Phase ceramic traditions. A reduced firing atmosphere and heavy burnishing resulted in many of the Abercrombie ceramics having a distinct lustrous, black appearance. Plain pottery—particularly shell-tempered plain types—continue to dominate the ceramic assemblage of the Abercrombie Phase. Elements from Lamar pottery types, as well as increasing amounts of

pottery similar to McKee Island, Dallas, and Alabama River Phase types, are also present. Ceramic patterns indicate that complicated stamped decorations continued to decrease in number and were being replaced by incised designs (Knight 1994b:188; Schnell 1990:68). External influences are particularly noticeable in these new incised motifs (Knight 1994b:188; Knight and Mistovich 1984:224). Notably, a new type of decorative technique described as “brushed” or “roughened” appears during the Abercrombie phase. This decorative style has long been considered a hallmark of historic Creek and Seminole pottery assemblages (Bullen 1950; Fairbanks 1952; Fairbanks 1955; Goggin 1958; Sears 1955).

John Worth provides a summary of two explanations for the changes in ceramic traditions and archaeological site patterns that occurred during the Abercrombie Phase (Worth 2000:268-271). These explanations were put forth by Jim Knight (Knight 1994a) and Chad Braley (Braley 1998). Both scholars agree that population decline resulting from European-introduced epidemics may explain the reduction in the territorial distribution of Abercrombie Phase settlements and the decrease in individual site size. However, they differ in how they explain the appearance of new pottery traditions.

Knight suggests that the people who survived epidemics and remained in the region simply borrowed designs and motifs from foreign pottery traditions. Braley observes that the decline in Lamar-type ceramic traditions at Abercrombie Phase sites, most notably the decrease in Lamar Complicated Stamped, coincides with the increase of these types in the Florida Panhandle region, suggesting that some people indigenous to the Lower Chattahoochee Valley may have relocated to northwest Florida. Braley also argues that foreign people, such as groups from the McKee Island, Alabama, or Dallas cultures, may have migrated to recently vacated or depopulated towns sites in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley, where they began to produce their

own pottery, explaining the appearance of these foreign pottery types in the region (Worth 2000:268-271).

Blackmon Phase (A.D. 1650-1715)

Whether as a result of the migration of new groups into the area or the natural recovery in population following the initial devastation of Old World diseases, aboriginal populations in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley had increased by the beginning of the Blackmon Phase (Worth 2000:275). Knight suggests that the population recovery was made possible by the long-term stability of certain towns in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley, as well as the Middle Coosa and Lower Tallapoosa valleys (Knight 1994a:385). These areas became the heartland of the Creek Confederacy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

By the mid-seventeenth century, the towns in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley were known to the Spaniards as the *Provincia de Apalachicoli*, or Apalachicola Province. The Province was composed of 12 towns, which, with the exception of the northernmost settlements, were Hitchiti-speaking (Hann 1996:66). According to seventeenth-century Spanish accounts, the town of Apalachicola (also known as Coweta) was the political center of the Lower Chattahoochee Valley settlements. According to Creek origin myths, Apalachicola and Kasita were the original “foundation towns” of the Lower Creeks. The myths describe foreign people migrating into the region where they conquered the indigenous Hitchiti-speaking population and supplanted the town of Apalachicola as the capital (Hann 1996:70). The exact nature of the political network of the Apalachicola Province is ambiguous, although it appears to have retained some form of political centralization at this time, with numerous towns serving as political centers (Knight 1994a:384-386).

Although the Lower Chattahoochee Valley had been ignored by the Spaniards for the first century of Spanish colonization, the development of the Apalachee mission system in present-

day northwest Florida increased the proximity of the Spaniards to the Chattahoochee settlements. The first official Spanish visit to the Apalachicola Province—referring to the settlements affiliated with the political center of Apalachicola—occurred sometime in the 1640s, and regular trade between the Spanish and its inhabitants was taking place by the 1650s (Hann 1996:68). However, Spaniards were never able to establish a strong foothold among the settlements, and neither missions nor trading posts were successful in this region.

The first major contact between the English and the Chattahoochee settlements was in 1685. At this time, a trade expedition led by Henry Woodward appears to have been well-received by the Chattahoochee towns. English presence in Spanish territory infuriated the Spaniards who responded to the Creek elicit participation in the British fur trade with violence towards the Chattahoochee settlements, burning four of the towns in the Province and eventually constructing Fort Apalachicola in an attempt to deter further contact with the English. Most of the inhabitants of the Chattahoochee settlements fled the region, migrating over one 100 miles to the Ocmulgee River, on Georgia's Macon Plateau (Kurjack and Pearson 1975:200-203; Mason 2005:10).

The site of the Spanish Fort Apalachicola (1RU101) is located in Russell County, Alabama. According to Spanish accounts, 100 Indians, most of them brought from the Apalachee missions, provided the labor required to construct the fort (Kurjack and Pearson 1975:200-203). The fort was not occupied by the Spanish for long. In 1691, Governor Quiroga alerted the soldiers that St. Augustine was under threat of attack by the French. The fort's soldiers were ordered to return to St. Augustine to help defend the town.

Ceramics from the Blackmon Phase are described as “typologically intermediate” (Knight and Mistovich 1984:226) to the preceding Abercrombie Phase and subsequent Lawson Field

Phase. Both shell and grit temper persist in Blackmon Phase ceramic assemblages. Lamar decorative traditions, such as incising and complicated stamping, continued to be produced (Kurjack 1975:175) during this phase, but in lesser amounts. There is also a notable decrease in reduction firing.

Red-filmed pottery—known as Kasita Red-Filmed among Creek scholars and Mission Red-Filmed among archaeologists studying Apalachee mission sites—has been found at Blackmon Phase sites (Worth 2000:275). Apalachee women may have been among the resident Indian population at the Spanish fort site. If this were the case, the women almost certainly manufactured pottery at the fort. This could explain the presence of the red-filmed pottery at the Blackmon Phase sites. Creek raids on Apalachee sites or inter-marriage between the two groups (Pluckhahn and Braley 1999) may also explain the persistence of this type as a minority ware.

Ocmulgee Fields Phase (A.D. 1680-1715)

Following the Spanish construction of Fort Apalachicola and the burning of four Indian towns, most of the inhabitants of the Apalachicola Province migrated to north-central Georgia, where they settled along the banks of the Ocmulgee River. A few settlements, including the town of Oconee, were relocated along the Oconee River. The towns were occupied from around 1790 until shortly after the Yamasee War in 1715. The inhabitants of the Ocmulgee River settlements were soon called “Creeks” by the English in reference to their settlements on Ochese Creek, known today as the Ocmulgee River (Mason 2005:10).

Their new locations brought the Creek towns much closer to the English fur trade centers at Charles Town and Savannah, and the ambitions of the Creeks quickly became intertwined with those of the British. Many of the Creek settlements allied themselves with the British and served as warriors alongside British troops in conflicts against Spanish armies and other Indian groups (Mason 2005:10-11; Pluckhahn and Braley 1999). To the chagrin of the Creeks, by the

early-eighteenth century, the British were actively seeking trade with more western Indian groups, including those in French Louisiana (Mason 2005:11). This newfound competition compounded the dissatisfaction of the Yamasees, Creeks, and other Indian groups in the region, who were becoming weary of the notoriously dishonest English traders. In April of 1715, the Yamasee War erupted. The war, which was initiated by the Coweta Creeks, resulted in the coordinated attacks on British settlements. Trading posts were the primary targets and over 100 traders were killed in the attacks (Mason 2005:11-12). Eventually, Yamasee and Creek attacks were suppressed by the English and Cherokees. Fearing retaliation, most of the Indian settlements on the Ocmulgee and Oconee Rivers returned to the Lower Chattahoochee Valley.

The best known Creek site of the Ocmulgee Fields Phase is Ocmulgee Town (1B11), the remains of a historic Creek town and trading post that are a part of the Macon Plateau site. The site offers the greatest amount of data pertaining to the pottery traditions of the Ocmulgee Fields Phase. Walnut Roughened—a shell-tempered, “brushed” pottery type—is the most abundant type found at the site. Ocmulgee Fields Incised pottery, notable for its thin and often smoothed-over incising, is also common. Finally, plain pottery and minimal amounts of check-stamped and Kasita Red-filmed types, the latter of which is commonly found on broad-rimmed plate forms, are also present (Mason 2005:107, 188).

Oconee Old Town (A.D. 1680-1715)

The town of Oconee appears intermittently in historic references to the Apalachicola Province and Lower Creek towns (Hann 1996:68), and it was one of many towns that was moved to north-central Georgia around 1690. While the majority of towns were relocated to the Ocmulgee River, the Oconee inhabitants resettled approximately 30 miles to the northeast along the banks of the Oconee River. The Oconee Old Town site (9BL16), located near Milledgeville, Georgia, is the likely location of the Oconee settlement during the Ocmulgee Fields Phase.

The first investigations of the Oconee Old Town site were directed by A.R. Kelly and Gordon Willey in the 1930s. In 1940, Charles Fairbanks visited the site and evaluated its significance and whether, like the Macon Plateau site, it should be considered for designation as a National Landmark. However, much less data was recovered from the investigations at the Oconee Old Town site and no special designation for the site was pursued.

Unfortunately, little is known about the specifics of Kelly's and Willey's excavations. Mark Williams (1996) provides a synthesis of the available historic and archaeological information of the site, including his own more recent investigations. Although the locations of the earlier excavations of the site are not known, Williams surmises that the Creek component may be in the more northern section of the site, where his own shovel-testing and test unit excavations produced the greatest amount of historic materials. Numerous Walnut Roughened and Ocmulgee Fields Incised pottery sherds, as well as limited amounts of European trade materials, were recovered during Williams' brief work at the site (Williams 1996:49).

Lawson Field Phase (A.D. 1715-1830)

Fearing English retaliation after the failed Yamasee War, most of the inhabitants of the Creek settlements along the Ocmulgee and Oconee rivers had returned to the Chattahoochee Valley by 1716. Although the Yamasee War hindered Creek participation in the English fur trade for a time, trade between the English and Lower Creeks resumed with the same intensity a few years after the end of the conflict. The reestablishment of Creek and English trade during the Lawson Field Phase (A.D. 1715-1830) is evident in the abundance of European trade items recovered from archaeological sites dating to this period.

Lawson Field Phase pottery assemblages are made up of many of the same types found at Blackmon Phase sites. These include Chattahoochee Brushed, Ocmulgee Fields Incised, Lamar Complicated Stamped, Kasita Red-Filmed and various shell-tempered types, although the

distribution of shell-tempered pottery may be restricted to Hitchiti-speaking settlements (Foster 2004). One of the most descriptive studies of Lawson Field pottery types and vessel forms examines the pottery assemblage recovered from the Victory Drive site (9Me50), located in Muscogee County, Georgia (Ledbetter 1997). The most common pottery types represented are non-shell tempered plain and burnished plain, Chattahoochee Roughened, Ocmulgee Fields Incised, and Kasita Red-Filmed. Vessel forms include flaring rim jars, bottles, large shallow bowls, open bowls, cazuelas, and cups and goblets, with the latter two likely having been inspired by European vessel forms (Ledbetter 1997:211-224).

Archaeologists have successfully identified specific Lower Creek towns occupied during the Lawson Field Phase by comparing historic accounts and maps depicting the location of Creek settlements with known archaeological sites in the area (Foster 2007 44-71; Worth 2000:273-288). In addition to some of the major Creek towns, dozens of smaller sites have been found throughout the Lower Chattahoochee Valley. Knight and Mistovich believe that the high number of Lawson Field Phase sites exemplifies a characteristic social inclusiveness in the Creek sociopolitical system (Knight and Mistovich 1984:228). Although they were primarily Hitchiti-speakers, “refugee groups,” such as Yuchis, Yamasees, Shawnees, and Alabamas, became aligned with various Lower Creek settlements. The high volume of small sites likely also represents the shift from fewer large nucleated settlements to greater numbers of small dispersed hamlets (Knight and Mistovich 1984: 228).

By the middle of the Lawson Field Phase, the trade in skins and furs, which had been a driving force of the English colonial economy in the previous century, was becoming less lucrative for all involved. Since the English and American economies were now focused on

commercial agriculture, and to a lesser degree ranching, the Lower Creeks soon found themselves engaged in these pursuits, as well.

Commercial farming and ranching affected the traditional settlement patterns of the Creeks. Individual families needed private fields to grow their crops and to provide grazing lands for their cattle (Ethridge 2003:144-145,157,164-165; Saunt 1999:159; Waselkov and Smith 2000:252). The Creeks soon found themselves in direct competition for land with the Americans, and both groups complained that the other's livestock was grazing on their land (Ethridge 2003:222). As Creek and White farming and ranching endeavors intensified, competition for land and tensions between the two groups inevitably mounted. The Creek Confederacy was one mechanism by which the Creeks attempted to resolve these tensions.

The Creek Confederacy

The term "confederacy" was commonly used by American and European governments when referring to historic period tribes in North America. Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, "Creek Confederacy" was used in reference to the loose political organization of Upper and Lower Creek settlements along the Coosa, Tallapoosa, Alabama and Chattahoochee Rivers. When describing the settlements of the Creek Confederacy, Jim Knight states,

At the time the Creeks became important to the Europeans, they were neither an ethnic group nor a linguistic community. Instead they were a territorial assemblage of many small groups. These were groups with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Some were more or less long established in the Georgia-East Alabama area, particularly those who spoke the Muskogee and Hitchiti languages. Others were relative newcomers to this area, and these included Yuchis, Alibamos, Shawnees, Natchez, and Chickasaws, representing a hodgepodge of southeastern language groups. [Knight 1994a:373]

Despite the diversity of the groups that composed it, the Creek Confederacy held some semblance of a unified government. This was evident through the annual meeting of the Creek National Council. The Council appears to have been a uniquely historic phenomenon that was largely a response to new demands and stresses brought on by Euroamerican colonization and

territorial expansion. Discussions regarding mounting debts owed by the Creeks and the boundary lines between the Creek and colonial territories were especially intense (Ethridge 2003:106-107). A Speaker of the Nation was elected based on his ability to represent widely held beliefs and opinions, as well as his diplomatic skills, particularly in dealing with colonial governments.

The Creeks outwardly presented a united front through the representative government of the Creek National Council, especially in the letters by the Creek *mestizo* leader Alexander McGillvray written on behalf of the Creeks to the United States government (Saunt 1999:189). However, as Robbie Ethridge explains, “decrees made by the National Council were binding only insofar as each town or individual was willing to comply” (Ethridge 2003:107). The Creeks were composed of many social divisions, among them: extended families, clans, moieties, major towns, and satellite settlements; and each of these divisions inspired loyalty to some extent. Pursuits and desires that were antithetical to a larger Creek agenda, and the factionalism between those who wished to negotiate with Whites and those who did not, ultimately destroyed any possibility of effective resistance to colonial encroachment. Tensions among the Creeks eventually resulted in the Red Stick War (1813-1814), which pitted those who opposed American encroachment and culture (the Red Sticks) against those who were willing to make compromises with the U.S. government. This war greatly destabilized the Creek Confederacy and resulted in land cessions between the Creeks and Americans, leading to the first of many Creek deportations to the West.

Conclusion

The end of the Lawson Field Phase was the end of a long history of aboriginal occupation of the Lower Chattahoochee Valley. The history was characterized by a series of multi-ethnic interactions, which are evident in the diversity of pottery traditions, the existence of two major

Lower Creek language divisions, and the incorporation of “foreign” or “refugee” groups during the historic period. In the end, a culture that seems to have thrived by maintaining an ethos of “different-but the same” deteriorated under the pressure of colonial, particularly American, encroachment. Elsewhere, Creek groups who had migrated to Florida, where they became known as the Seminoles, were just beginning to brace themselves for decades of violent conflict with the United States and threats to their own way of life.

CHAPTER 4 THE ALACHUA SEMINOLES

Although some Lower Creek populations migrated to the Apalachicola River Valley and other areas of northwestern Florida that were not dramatic geographical departures from their Lower Chattahoochee River Valley headlands, others, such as a group of Oconee Creeks, migrated to the Paynes Prairie region of north-central Florida, an area that was geographically and culturally quite distinctive. Payne's Prairie is a 16,000-acre freshwater marsh and wet prairie that lies between the towns of Micanopy and Gainesville in north-central Florida (Figure 4-1). The basin is flanked by low rises to its north and south and surrounded by many nearby lakes and wetlands that characterize the Alachua Lake-Cross Valley physiographic region (Schmidt 1997:7). The basin fluctuates between a lake and a wet prairie, depending on the condition of the major drainage of the prairie—the Alachua Sink, which is located along the northeastern rim of the basin.

The Payne's Prairie ecosystem has attracted humans to the region for millennia. Throughout the historic period, the uplands surrounding the basin were by inhabited by both aboriginal and European populations. This chapter summarizes important Spanish and historic period Indian occupations of the area, especially those which were responsible for creating an ideal setting in which the newly arrived Oconee Creeks would succeed as colonial entrepreneurs.

Throughout this study, I will use both the terms "Paynes Prairie" and "Alachua Prairie" when addressing this unique region. In general, I use Paynes Prairie when referring to the area or events related to modern times. This is to be consistent with how the region and the state park that is currently protecting it are known by the current population. However, prior to the twentieth century, the area was better known as Alachua Prairie and, sometimes, the Alachua Savanna. Thus, when referring to the Seminole occupation of the area, I use the term Alachua

Prairie. The derivation of this terminology will be made clearer in the subsequent discussion of La Chua Ranch.

La Chua Ranch

Although most Europeans in seventeenth-century Spanish Florida lived in and around St. Augustine, numerous Spanish families established cattle ranches and plantations in Florida's interior. In the 1630s, Francisco Menéndez Marquez, a descendant of the founder of St. Augustine, established "La Chua" ranch along the ridge line that formed the northern rim of the Payne's Prairie basin, near Alachua Sink. La Chua—the largest colonial Spanish ranch—encompassed 87-square miles (Milanich 1999:154) and, for nearly 70 years, served as the principal supplier of beef for the colonists of St. Augustine and Cuba (Baker 1993:82).

La Chua ranch's isolated location, abundance of cattle and supplies, and access to freshwater made the ranch vulnerable to numerous Indian and European raids. The ranch and nearby Franciscan missions became targets during the Carolinian and Creek raids led by Colonel James Moore in the first years of the eighteenth century. Following these raids, La Chua ranch was abandoned, leaving many hundreds of unclaimed cattle to forage the prairie (Andersen 2001:44; Baker 1993:82).

Repopulating Northern Florida

Prior to the raids, the Indian occupants of the interior mission towns and Spanish ranches had provided a human buffer zone between the British and Spanish colonists (Fairbanks 1978:165). With the destruction of the missions and ranches and the substantial population losses suffered by the local Potano Indians, the Spanish government in St. Augustine feared that its colony would be defenseless against another Carolinian invasion. Despite decades of Spanish-Creek conflicts (Braund 1993:29; Mason 2005:10), the Spanish government sought to establish a mutually beneficial relationship with the Lower Creeks, who had recently abandoned their

settlements on the Macon Plateau, fearing Carolinian reprisals for their involvement in the Yamasee War. In 1716, Governor Don Pedro de Oliver y Fullana sent Lieutenant Diego Peña to the Lower Chattahoochee Valley to entice the Creek inhabitants to migrate to northern Florida (Boyd 1949:24; Fairbanks 1978:165; Hann 1996:68-69).

Several of the Lower Creek towns agreed to move parts or entire towns to Florida, where abandoned agricultural fields and ranch lands could be exploited. Many of the Lower Creek towns moved to areas in northwestern Florida, including along the Apalachicola River, near Lake Miccosukee, and near present-day Tallahassee (Fairbanks 1978:167). Sometime during the 1730s and 1740s, inhabitants of the Lower Creek town of Oconee migrated to the Alachua Prairie region, where they knew that both feral cattle, remnants of herds from the seventeenth-century La Chua ranch, and abandoned agricultural fields were particularly abundant (Fairbanks 1978:167).

By 1770, several other groups of Lower Creeks Yamasees, and Yuchis had established communities in the Alachua Prairie (Sattler 1996:48; Simmons 1822:57). Apalachee survivors of the destruction of the missions in their homelands may have also been incorporated into the immigrant settlements. A number of Lower Creek/Seminole chiefs are reported to have had Apalachee wives (Fairbanks 1978:164), although it is also a possibility that these “wives” were captured in earlier British-Creek raids.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the term “Seminole” began to be used in reference to Creek populations living in Florida, specifically those living in the Alachua prairie area. The name Seminole is believed to be a British derivation of the Spanish word *Cimarrone*, which was used to describe both escaped slaves and Indians who had separated from their original communities (Fairbanks 1978:171). Alternatively, the word could be derived from the Muskogee term *ishti*

semoli, which has a similar connotation, meaning “wild men” (Saunt 1999:35). Regardless of the word’s origins, by the 1770s, Creeks living elsewhere in Florida, such as those settled along the Flint River, were also frequently referred to as Seminoles (Cline 1974:211-213; Sturtevant 1971:105), and soon, many Europeans used “Seminole” as a “catch-all” term for a number of Indian groups living in Florida (Weisman 1989:37; Wickman 1999:197-198).

Despite the ubiquitous use of the word Seminole, the relationships between the Oconee Creeks and contemporary Creek settlements in Alabama and Georgia, as well as Creeks living in other parts of Florida, indicate that the Oconees and the other Creeks were not politically united. In 1757, the Governor of Georgia held a special council to receive the Oconee chief Cowkeeper and 50 accompanying Indians. When questioned about issues involving the Lower Creeks, Cowkeeper made it clear that he had not been in the Creek Nation in over four years and, thus, could not speak on behalf of the Creeks (Cline 1974:85). The relationship between the Oconees and Creeks who had settled in the Florida panhandle area and along the Flint River also seems to have been strained. The settlements in northwestern Florida were formed by people affiliated with the Creek town of Coweta. The Cowetas were “pro-Spanish” and did not approve of Cowkeeper’s “cooperation” with the British colonial officials, including their participation in continued British raids on Spanish settlements (Cline 1974:101).

The Oconees

The Oconees, led by Chief “Cowkeeper,” first settled permanently in Florida in the late 1730s somewhere near the abandoned Spanish ranch headquarters at La Chua Sink (Waselkov and Braund 1995:52). Here, their town became known to European colonists as Lotch-o-way, Alachua, or other derivations of “La Chua.” The first few years of the Oconee occupation of the region were marred by attacks by remnant Florida Indian groups who were allied with the

Spanish (Cline 1974:82). These attacks undoubtedly resulted in the strengthening of pre-existing alliances between the British government and the Oconees.

Between the late 1760s and early 1770s, the Oconees were forced to abandon Latch-o-way when a drop in water levels, probably from the unclogging of Alachua Sink (an event that occurred more than once in recorded history [Andersen 2001:110-111]) resulted in thousands of fish dying on the banks of “Alachua Lake,” the previously flooded “wet prairie” land. According to Bartram, the stench of the fish combined with swarms of mosquitoes made life in this location unbearable (van Doren 1928:123). Thus, the town was moved a few miles to the south, somewhere in the vicinity of present-day Micanopy. This new town was sometimes referred to as “Cuscowilla,” although the inhabitants of the town and those of nearby Seminole towns continued to be referred to as “Alachuas” in the several decades that ensued.

Initially, only some of the inhabitants of the original Oconee settlement on the Lower Chattahoochee River migrated to Florida. However, most or all of the inhabitants of Oconee either migrated to Florida or joined other Creeks towns on the Chattahoochee River (Boyd 1952:9). One source indicates that a group of Oconees may have relocated to northwest Alachua County near the former site of the Potano mission, *San Tomás de Santa Fe* (Cline 1974:83). This may have been the settlement where the Seminole leader “Long Warrior” lived (Seminole Nation 2002).

Long Warrior was another leader among the Alachua Seminoles. In 1765 Long Warrior signed the Treaty of Picolata on Cowkeeper’s behalf, as “a representative of the Alachua bands” (Fairbanks 1978:171). John Stuart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, referred to Long Warrior as Cowkeeper’s “lieutenant” (Fairbanks 1978:170).

William Bartram and his traveling party encountered Long Warrior near Spaldings Lower Store on the St. Johns River (Waselkov and Braund 1995:65-69). Long Warrior and around 40 other warriors were preparing to go to war against the Choctaws and were in need of supplies from the trading post (Waselkov and Braund 1995:65-69). The trader was hesitant to supply them because of the substantial credit that would have to be extended to the warriors. Long Warrior clearly made an impression on Bartram, probably because of his claim to supernatural powers. According to Bartram, Long Warrior reacted to the trader's reluctance to supply the war party by saying:

'Do you presume to refuse me credit; certainly you know who I am and what power I have; but perhaps you do not know that if the matter required it, and I pleased, that I could command and cause the terrible thunder now rolling in the skies above, to descend upon your head, in rapid fiery shafts, and lay you prostrate at my feet, and consume your stores, turning them instantly into dust and ashes.' [Waselkov and Braund 1995:69]

Weisman believes that Long Warrior's angry reaction, along with his highly decorated clothing that he is shown wearing in a sketch by William Bartram, was consistent with the behavior of a "Red" chief, or war chief (Weisman 1989:41). The Red/White designations were associated with the town moiety system, in which each town and their leader were designated as either Red or White. Red chiefs were regarded as fearless leaders and warriors, while White chiefs strove to maintain peaceful relations and were known to be skilled negotiators by both the Seminoles and European colonists. In contrast to Long Warrior's characterization, Bartram wrote that Cowkeeper was "very affable and cheerful...his countenance manly and placid" (Waselkov and Braund 1995:51). Thus, Weisman believes that Cowkeeper's actions and mannerisms were more typical of a "White" chief (Weisman 1989:41). However, the Red/White division did not always prevent Red and White leaders from behaving in ways that were seemingly inconsistent with their symbolic titles. For example, despite his likely status as a White chief, Cowkeeper was known to detest the Spanish government and was not opposed to going to war against it

(Calloway 1995:265). In 1740 Cowkeeper and a group of Creek warriors under his command joined British General James Oglethorpe in a siege against Spanish St. Augustine (Cline 1974:79).

The first written account of the Oconees in Florida was a product of the Oconee alliance with the British. In a letter penned by a subordinate of Colonel James Oglethorpe in 1740, the author writes that Cowkeeper and a group of 45 Creek Indians were waiting for “presents” that they had requested in advance of their arrival (Cline 1974:78). It was probably the Oconees interest in the British fur trade that spurred them to join the British in raids across the Georgia border (Calloway 1995:249). The Oconees may have also been enticed by the spoils of the war, as Cowkeeper insisted that he and his warriors would keep any slaves and livestock that they captured in raids on Spanish settlements (Calloway 1995:260).

Although a major source of divisiveness between the Oconees and other Lower Creeks was their differing pro-Spanish and pro-British positions, the adoption of cattle ranching by the Oconees may have fueled even greater tension. Claudio Saunt explains that, although cattle ranching was common practice among late-eighteenth-century Lower Creeks, it was met with some resistance during the first half of the century (Saunt 1999:46-50). This may have been a response to the negative impact of cattle foraging on the surrounding environment. The cattle were often free-roaming and their grazing habits quickly damaged Creek agricultural and hunting lands. In 1763, the Creek chief “Okchoy King” described his homeland as:

‘settled all over the Woods with People Cattle and Horses, which has prevented them for some Time from being able to supply their Women and Children with Provisions as they could do formerly, their Buffalo, Deer and Bear being drove off the Land and killed.’
[Saunt 1999:48]

Fortunately for the Oconees, the abandoned ranch-lands around the Alachua Prairie offered ample grazing areas, seemingly endless hunting and agricultural opportunities, and few

other human inhabitants. Still, the Creeks living elsewhere may have looked upon their southern relatives with disdain for adopting cattle ranching, a practice that not only had negative environmental consequences, but that may also have been associated with the increasingly contested lifestyle of European colonists.

The 1765 Congress of Picolata, hosted by the British, may have marked a monumental political separation between the Creeks and the Alachua Seminoles (Fairbanks 1978:171; Sturtevant 1971:104) and other allied Indian settlements (Sattler 1996:48). At the congress, a land cession involving territory east of the St. Johns River was negotiated between British officials and Upper and Lower Creek leaders. However, Cowkeeper, who would have presumably had more vested interest in this region than many other Creek leaders, did not attend the meeting (Cline 1974:144). His absence has been viewed by some as a symbolic action on the part of the Oconee chief to fully separate himself and the Alachua Seminoles from the politics of the Creek Nation (Fairbanks 1978:171; Sturtevant 1971:104). Several days after the Congress, Cowkeeper arrived at Picolata and signed the Treaty of Picolata:

[Cowkeeper] turned up in St. Augustine, with 60 followers, on December 23, and stayed eight days. Governor Grant made him a Great Medal Chief, and loaded him with presents and provisions. In return he assured Grant of his friendship and good intentions. [Cline 1974:144]

If Cowkeeper were separating himself and the Alachua Seminoles from the Creek political network, what kind of native political system had been created by Cowkeeper and the other Alachua Seminole leaders in Florida? Brent Weisman characterizes the Seminole political system as “decentralized” (Weisman 1989:9). Although each Seminole town was governed by a chief, the authority and influence of the town chiefs and other elders had been severely eroded. This was true among the Creeks as well (Saunt 1999:22-33), but it seems that the Seminole

chiefs had particular difficulty maintaining order, especially among young, impulsive warriors who frequently raided Spanish and British settlements (Saunt 1999:206).

Weisman argues that the undermining of chiefly authority and the trend towards political decentralization and geographic dispersal was both an inevitable outcome of the cyclical nature of chiefdom societies and a result of the current political atmosphere in Florida, which according to Weisman was imbued with a “free enterprise” philosophy (Weisman 1989:31). Seminole leaders may have also become attuned to the potential benefits of free agency to individuals, as is evident by Cowkeeper’s independent dealings with various colonial officials and limited contact with leaders in the Creek Confederacy (Weisman 1989:30).

Although for decades the Alachua Seminoles had been British allies, the British recognized that the Seminoles were becoming astute players in the game of colonial politics. Therefore, in 1763 when Britain gained control of Florida, its government instituted specific policies for dealing with the resident Seminole populations (Cline 1974:199-203). A part of the British strategy of maintaining control of potentially disruptive Indian groups was hosting Indian “congresses.” During these meetings lavish gifts were distributed to the Indian attendees (Covington 1960; 1961). This tactic was undoubtedly used by the British to both quell any tensions and further the desires of the Indians to participate in the fur trade in which similar items were exchanged for highly prized furs, pelts, and skins supplied by the Indians. The British also awarded medals to various Creek and Seminole leaders, declaring them “Great Medal Chiefs” (Cline 1974:86). These medals were used to acknowledge the importance of the Indian leaders by the British and may also have been used as a part of Britain’s “divide and conquer” strategy, pitting “Great Medal” leaders against leaders who had not been appointed such titles by the British (Calloway 1995).

Congresses and gifts were not enough to convince the British that the Seminoles would continue to be friendly towards them, as is evident by a letter written by Patrick Tonyn in 1774. In the letter, Tonyn warned that although the relationship between the Seminoles and the British was currently peaceful, he was fearful that the situation was becoming tenuous:

‘They are settled amongst our Plantations, they have daily intercourse with them, and are as it were a People interwoven with us.’ But warned, ‘with these Indians, my Lord, the string may be stretched too tight? If they be drove to despair, they may commit a violence? One hostile act, or a scalp taken, wou’d throw a confusion, into this Province, little short of destruction.’ Tonyn felt it was necessary ‘to draw a line of difference, between this People, and the Creek Nation.’ [Calloway 1995:255]

Presumably, Tonyn feared that although the Seminoles appeared to be physically and politically separated from their Creek relatives, the Seminoles would protect Creek interests over Britain’s. Thus, Tonyn believed it would be to the advantage of the British government to whittle away at any loyalties the Seminoles held towards the Creeks.

For a few more years the Seminoles held some allegiance to the Creeks, or perhaps the Seminoles were merely weighing the pros and cons of various alliances. This is suggested by Cowkeeper’s reluctance to assist British loyalists in the Revolutionary War, until he heard word from Creek leaders on the position that they would take. Yet, when the Creeks declared neutrality, the Oconees did not follow the course of their Creek counterparts and allied with the British against the rebels (Calloway 1995:248).

British Trading Posts

As is evident by the above discussion, the Oconees proved to be unpredictable to both Creeks and Europeans and were clear proponents of their own best interests. The leaders of the Oconees and other Alachua settlements were not alone in strategizing on the personal benefits of alliances and economic prospects. Weisman argues that the decentralized nature of the Seminole political system and increasing access to personal wealth undermined the authority of town

chiefs, enabling individuals and nuclear families to become masters of their own fate (Weisman 1989:82).

By the mid-eighteenth century, individual families were interacting directly with the British traders. Weisman points out that in the past trade negotiations would have been between the town chiefs and the traders:

Bartram recalled meeting a Talahasochte man on the trail with his wife and children, leading a string of fine packhorses laden with barbecued meat, hides, and honey. On another occasion, he visited the 'White Captain' and his family in their encampment near the store of a St. Johns River trader. Ten years earlier along the St. Johns, the Indian Philoki, with his wife and two sons, repeatedly visited the traders Rolle and Spalding, seeking their favor [Weisman 1989:47].

For over 150 years, the British held a monopoly over the Indian fur trade in the Southeast. In Florida, the British trading firm of Panton and Leslie was the dominant trading company. This was true even after Spain regained control of Florida, between 1783 and 1821, during which time Spain granted licenses to British traders, mostly to keep the peace between the Spanish government and Indian inhabitants of its colony (Coker and Watson 1986:8-14). Despite the British monopoly, the Seminoles conducted limited trade with Spaniards via a trading post on the St. Marks River and Spanish fishermen on the Gulf Coast of peninsular Florida. A few Seminoles also canoed to the Bahamas and Cuba to obtain "spiritous liquors, Coffee, Sugar and Tobacco" (Waselkov and Braund 1995:60).

Two of the earliest British trading posts in Florida, Spalding's Lower Store and Spalding's Upper Store, were located on the St. Johns River. The posts were purchased by the Panton and Leslie firm in the 1770s. Spalding's Lower Store was located south of present-day Palatka and the Upper Store was located about 5 miles south of Lake George (Coker and Watson 1986:33-34; Goggin 1940; Lewis 1969). According to William Bartram who visited the area in 1774, the Lower Store was designed to serve as a distribution depot for three subsidiary trading posts:

Spalding's Upper Store, a post in the Alachua prairie, and a post at the Seminole town of Talahasochte on the lower Suwannee River (Cline 1974:150).

British trade with the Alachua Seminoles preceded Panton and Leslie's involvement. By at least the 1750s, British traders were illicitly caravanning into Spanish Florida to establish trade relations with the Alachua Seminoles (Cline 1974:87). In the 1760s, Denys Rolle noted that there was regular trade with "Latchaway" through a store operated by the Dutch trader "Andrew Barnet" (Rolle 1977:48-49). A subsequent "trading hut" operated by a trader named Job Wiggins is believed to have been located somewhere on the southern side of Alachua Prairie and might be linked to the archaeological site 8AL362. A surface scatter consisting of British creamware, kaolin pipestems, and Seminole pottery has been identified at the site (Watkins 1991:10; Weisman 1989:63).

British trading houses in Florida set up posts along major waterways, such as the St. Marys, St. Johns, St. Marks, and Suwannee rivers. Pack trains also occasionally came through Indian settlements, although individual families frequently traveled some distance to conduct business themselves. The entire populations of some Indian towns moved to new locations with better access to trade routes. For example, the Seminole town of Talahasochte relocated to the opposite bank of the Suwannee River so that traders would not dismiss the town as a lucrative source of business because of the danger of losing their goods while canoeing across the river to reach the town (Weisman 1989:62). Villages moved much greater distances to be close to traders, as well. No Seminole settlements were located along the St. Johns River, prior to the establishment of Spalding's Lower Store. However, by 1770, at least three Seminole towns had moved close to the store (Weisman 1989:65).

Brent Weisman refers to the time between 1767 and 1821 as the “Enterprise Period” (Weisman 1989:59). This period of time was characterized by the erosion of chiefly authority, emphasis on the individual, and the acquisition of wealth by engaging in the colonial economy, through commercial hunting, ranching, and agriculture (Fairbanks 1978). According to Weisman, the archaeological record points to the “ostentatious” consumption of many types of European goods by the Seminoles (Weisman 1989:69-70).

Weisman cites the Nicholson Grove site (8PA114) in Pasco County as an example of the type of domestic consumption that characterized the Seminole life during the Enterprise period (Weisman 1989:69). In particular, Weisman makes note of the high quantity of beads (over 50) recovered at the site, which he states “dramatically contrasts with domestic assemblages from earlier and later periods of Seminole history and is only equaled by collections made from Seminole living sites” of the twentieth century (Weisman 1989:70). Importantly, new data from the Paynes Town site presented in this dissertation, point to even grander patterns of consumption by the town’s Seminole occupants.

Conclusion

The migration of the Oconee Creeks in the first half of the eighteenth century began the process of repopulating north-central Florida following the Carolinian-Creek raids on indigenous and Spanish settlements in the early 1700s. In time, other Creeks and allied groups joined the Oconees, forming the nucleus of the “Alachua Seminoles.” Originally, the Alachua Seminoles migrated to north-central Florida to exploit the abandoned Spanish cattle and ranch lands. However, upon their arrival in the region, the Oconees pursued trade with the British, with whom they allied in various attacks against the Spanish.

Even with the retrocession of Florida to Spain, the British and Seminoles maintained their trade relationships, although duplicity characterized the strategies and actions of both sides.

Many of the British-Indian tensions rose from the highly inflated “prices” of the British trade goods and the insurmountable debt that the Seminoles owed, ultimately resulting in numerous land cessions and setting the stage for even more losses of land and encroachment by American settlers. In the following chapter, a brief history of the Paynes Town Seminoles exemplifies how the interests of the many international and indigenous parties could not be peacefully accommodated in a land that was bounded not only by political boundaries but also by vast oceans. American soldiers and settlers were coveting the same land that had been offering refuge and promising livelihoods for Creeks and other Indian groups, as well as Black enslaved and freemen.

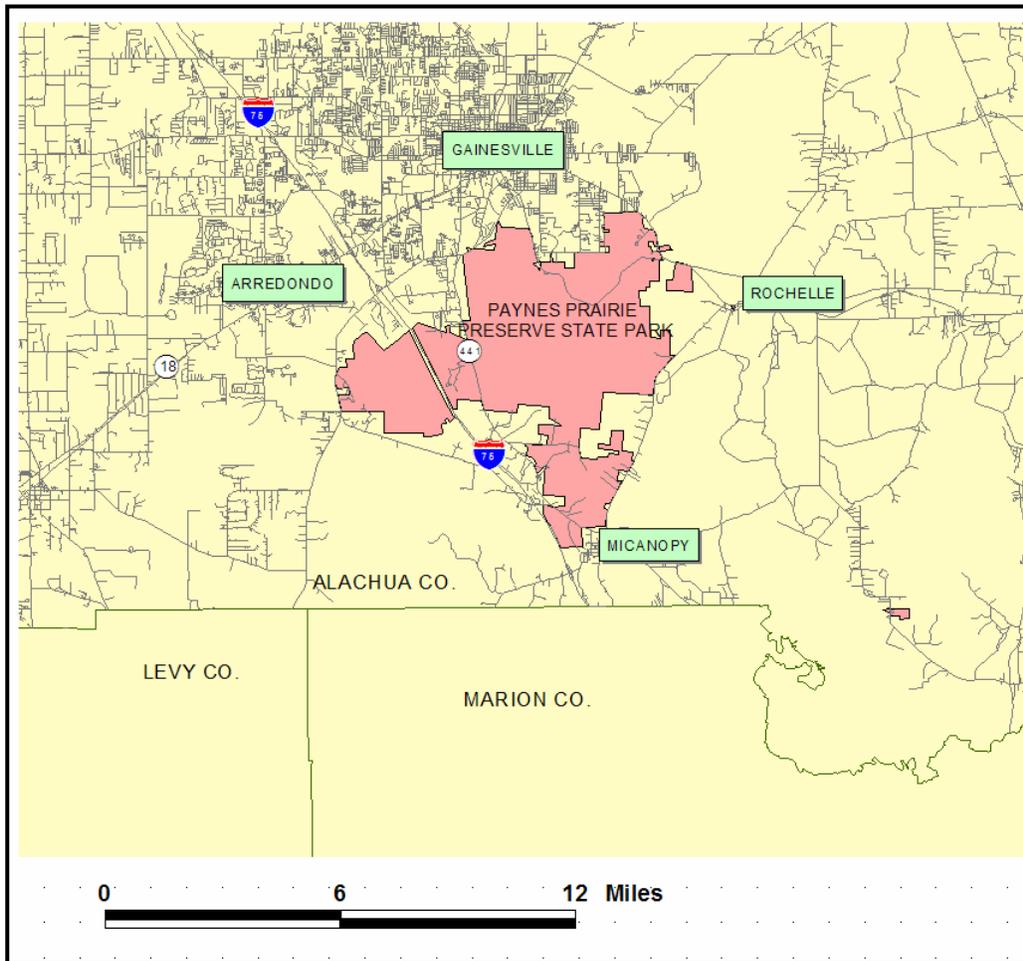


Figure 4-1 Location of Paynes Prairie Preserve State Park

CHAPTER 5 THE PAYNES TOWN SEMINOLES

In the first few decades after the Oconee Creek leader Cowkeeper established a new settlement in the Alachua Prairie hundreds of miles away from other Lower Creek groups, the potential of the new Florida homeland to produce agricultural, ranching, and hunting surpluses must have seemed endless. Indeed, the Alachua Seminoles became known for the wealth that they accumulated after their arrival in the Alachua Prairie. In this chapter, I summarize what is known from primary and secondary sources about the subsequent generation of Alachua Seminoles who were led by King Payne. This generation was defined by increasing confrontations with American settlers and soldiers and, ultimately, the abandonment of the Alachua Prairie as the political seat of the Seminoles.

Alachua Seminole Leadership

In comparison to that of their Mississippian ancestors, historic Creek and Seminole political economies were much less centralized. They also lacked the institutionalized social and economic divisions between elite and commoner classes that characterized Mississippian political systems. However, there were understood “rankings” between some social groups, such as clans and moieties. Although Creek and Seminole clans and moieties were egalitarian with respect to their own members, they were ranked in relation to other clans and moieties (King 2002:222). These rankings sometimes endured over the course of more than one generation, but they were not fixed and shifted as individual clans experienced changes in wealth, prestige, or as the number of people born into them changed.

Clan and moiety rankings were relevant to the selection of chiefs and other leaders. Chiefs were often selected by town or provincial councils from one of the highly ranked clans (King 2002:222; Knight 1986:682). Although in many cases this may have produced a transfer of

chiefly power reminiscent of Mississippian times—if, for example, a chief’s maternal nephew succeeded him—unlike their predecessors, the Creeks and the Seminoles were not bound by a tradition or cosmology of divine inheritance. Thus, many factors would have been considered when selecting a chief.

The nature of the transfer of chiefly authority from Cowkeeper to King Payne is muddled by various historic accounts and scholarly interpretations. In 1784, after approximately 50 years as chief of the Alachua Seminoles, the original Oconee leader, Cowkeeper, died. Upon his death, the position of chief was inherited by “King Payne” (Cline 1974:88-89). According to a common mode of chiefly descent in many Southeastern indigenous societies, the new chief would have been Cowkeeper’s maternal nephew (Boyd 1958:83). However, William Simmons, who documented his observations of the cultures and natural environments of Florida in the early-nineteenth century, believed that Payne was the biological son of Cowkeeper and one of his Yamasee wives, a fact that he argued was evident through “the darkness of [Payne’s] complexion, an unequivocal mark of his Yemese [sic] descent” (in Porter 1952: 341). Payne’s potential Yamasee heritage is not mentioned in other sources, although intermarriages between Yamasees and Creeks and Seminoles were probably fairly common considering Yamasees were often integrated into Creek and Seminole settlements (Sattler 1996:92).

It was also not unheard of for a son to inherit his father’s chiefly position, as William Simmons believed was the case for Payne (Braund 1993:20). Some scholars believe that inheritance through the paternal line may have increased during historic times, especially if an unusual amount of wealth and property was at stake (Saunt 1999:170; Weisman 1989:80). However, Jim Knight (1986) argues that this form of chiefly descent may have had more ancient roots. Knight believes that among the Southeastern pre-Columbian and protohistoric chiefdoms

the position of chief was inherited through the paternal rather than the maternal line (Knight 1986:12-13). This prevented a chiefly descendant from marrying outside of the clan and relocating—a process that was inherent in the exogamous clan system. If an exception was made for the noble clans and a son rather than a nephew inherited the power and prestige of the chief then the centralized political economy of the chiefdom would have been more easily maintained. A similar strategy may have been applied by the Creeks and the Seminoles when a matrilineal descent of the chiefly position was not in the best interest of a clan or individual family.

Although it is reasonable to believe that Payne may have been the son of Cowkeeper, the possibility that he was his nephew is supported by the name “Payne.” It was common for British traders to take Indian “wives,” and, in fact, many important Creek and Seminole chiefs were *mestizos* who were often referred to by Anglo names (Tanner 1975:28-31). There are no known historic documents that mention that King Payne was the son of a British trader and Seminole woman. However, recent communications between me and members of the “Payne” family who live in various parts of the Southeast have revealed compelling evidence to support this possibility.

I was contacted by a person conducting genealogical research of his Payne family ancestors. Through this person I learned that the family’s common ancestor was Thomas Payne (ca. 1735-bef. 1811), who was referred to as a “Trader Payne” in some documents. I was told that at some point Thomas Paynes lived in Franklin County, Georgia. Oral history maintains that he had been once been “married” to a Native American woman (Patrick Payne 2004, personal communication). It is conceivable that “Trader Payne” may have traded with the Creeks and Seminoles at during his life as a trader and had a son with a Creek or Seminole woman. Chris Monaco writes that “King Payne” was sometimes referred to as “William Pain” (Monaco

2000:7). Monaco adds that Payne's name, along, with "his western-style abode...suggest that he may have been the son of an English trader" (Monaco 2000:7). In the future, additional information may help to elucidate Payne's heritage and biological relationship with Cowkeeper.

Relocating Cuscowilla

After becoming chief, Payne continued to live in Cuscowilla until as late as 1788 (Mullins 1977:78). Sometime after this date, Payne established a new town approximately two miles to the north of Cuscowilla. Sue Mullins (Mullins 1977:78) surmises that because the first known mentioning of King Payne in European documents was in 1793, it is likely that Payne moved the town sometime around that time. The reasons for moving the town are not known although frequent town relocation was common among the historic Creeks (Foster 2007:24). Patricia Wickman writes that among the *Maskókî* people, which included the Creeks, Seminoles, and Miccosukees (Wickman 1999:8-9), "The death of a particularly powerful practitioner of medicine, natural deaths in a family camp, or the destruction of a camp or town by lightning and fire would cause inhabitants to desert the site and reestablish themselves at another location" (Wickman 1999:57).

Thus, it seems that any number of dramatic events, including the death of Cowkeeper (albeit a few years earlier), could have resulted in the relocation of the town. This is an important possibility considering the "impure: pure"/ "old: new" opposition that Knight believes was represented through platform mound symbolism, Mississippian and Creek purification rites, and Creek origin myths. According to Knight, a number of modifications to civic structures were sometimes carried out during the Green Corn Ceremony in order to cleanse the town of the "old" and "impure" (Knight 1981).

Another explanation is offered by comparison with Creek towns. The average duration for occupying a particular locale among the Creeks was between 15 and 20 years (Ethridge

2003:145). The impetuses for town relocation were often practical, as may have been the case for the Seminoles. Decades of using the land surrounding Cuscowilla for ranching and agriculture may have stripped it of its ability to yield abundant crops and adequate grazing land and may have contributed to Payne's decision to relocate. However, it would have been likely that the land even beyond Paynes Town would have suffered from these same problems, as it was common for agricultural lands to be located a few miles from Creek town centers (Ethridge 2003:57-66) and the free-range cattle would likely have grazed some miles from the town, as well.

Economy of the Paynes Town Seminoles

Although in the previous century, Spain had prohibited the Indians living in its Florida colony from engaging in trade with the British (Mason 2005:10-110), Spain granted licenses to British traders of Panton, Leslie, and Company to conduct their business in Florida, when Spain reclaimed the colony in 1783 (Coker and Watson 1986:8-14). Between 1783 and 1830, at least 10 major Panton and Leslie trading houses were in operation in Florida, and many minor "posts" and "camps" were distributed among Indian towns and villages (Coker and Watson 1986:365). The British traders had seemingly perfected the art of meeting "Indian needs on Indian terms" (Braund 1993:26), while at the same time shrewdly extending huge lines of credit and binding the Indians to their individual British trade houses. Although a specific hut or post in Alachua Prairie is not mentioned in written documents pertaining to the Paynes Town settlement (ca. 1793-1812), artifacts recovered from the site clearly indicate that either traders frequently visited the area or that the Paynes Town Seminoles regularly traveled to the posts themselves (Weisman 1989:46).

The over-hunting of deer and other animals in northern Florida and elsewhere in the Southeast required most Indian men to leave their homes for months at a time in order to travel

to south Florida to hunt (Braund 1993:67; Covington 1993:26-27). In addition to the decline in animal populations, by around 1790 there was a dramatic decrease in the European demand for skins, furs, and pelts (Waselkov 1997:185). These factors eventually made the fur trade a less lucrative financial enterprise for Seminole men. Thus, the Seminoles sought alternative pursuits, although they remained inextricably tied to the colonial economy.

For decades cattle ranching had been an important source of wealth for the inhabitants of the Alachua Prairie. Like his predecessor Cowkeeper, King Payne, along with his brother, “Bowlegs,” possessed extensive herds of cattle and other livestock. In 1793, the two men are reported to have owned 1,500 head of cattle, 400 horses, and an unspecified number of small livestock, such as goats, sheep, and pigs (Covington 1993:29). William Simmons wrote:

[The Seminoles] were considered the most wealthy of the American tribes, possessing immense herds of cattle, as their country afforded an uncommon fine range for stock. Bowlegs, one of their Chiefs, sold, annually, a thousand head of steers, and was in the habit of killing, daily, a portion of the cattle for the use of his people. [Simmons 1822:75]

To the Paynes Town Seminoles, business was usually separate from politics, and livestock was sold to Spanish, English, and American colonists, or any other person who would want to do business. In addition to ranching, the Seminoles produced agricultural crops for export. Rice was a particularly common commercial crop, as were smaller amounts of non-native orchard crops and plants. These crops, along with honey, beeswax, and bear oil, were frequently harvested, shipped, and traded by Seminole women, while the men focused their efforts on hunting and ranching (Boyd 1958:93; Weisman 1989:46, 69).

King Payne, the Peacekeeper

Payne’s rise to chief of the Alachua Seminoles roughly coincided with a major change in colonial politics. In 1783, Britain ceded Florida back to Spain, ending a long and relatively peaceful relationship between the Seminoles and the English government. Upon learning of the

impending transfer of power, Payne's predecessor Cowkeeper, who had always held anti-Spanish sentiments, is said to have been distraught that the Spanish would once again control Florida and appealed to the British to let him and other Seminoles join British colonists who were evacuating Florida for the Bahamas and Cuba (Calloway 1995: 265). Although Cowkeeper remained in Florida, his loyalty to Britain did not waver, and upon his deathbed he is said to have ordered Payne and Bowlegs to:

'put to death fourteen Spaniards, which number, added to the eighty-six slain by his own hand, aided by kindred, would make one hundred, which had been revealed to him by the Great Spirit as requisite to secure the peace and happiness of his soul in a future state.'
[Porter 1949:384]

Nearly 30 years after Payne's death, John T. Sprague, an American soldier who fought in the Second Seminole War, described Payne as being quite different from Cowkeeper, stating that he was, "not to be led astray and blinded by absurd revelations and traditions" (in Porter 1952:341). It does seem that Payne was not intent on fulfilling Cowkeeper's last request. In fact, historic accounts suggest that Payne was determined to maintain order among the Seminoles and peace between the Indians and colonists (Fairbanks 1978:180; Covington 1993:29; 31). As I discussed in the previous chapter, Payne's position may have been an attempt to conform to the expected behavior of a White chief.

In May of 1783, just prior to Payne's ascent to chief, James Seagrove, an Indian agent living at the St. Marys' River agency, invited "Mr. Payne" to his headquarters. Seagrove discussed the increasing number of conflicts between the Creeks and Seminoles and American settlers, particularly those conflicts which, in Seagrove's opinion, had been initiated by the Indians. Seagrove described Payne as "a very sensible, discreet Indian, and well informed" (in Porter 1952:343). In an effort to avoid confrontation with the Americans, Payne told Seagrove that he planned "to remove the whole of his people down to Cape Florida...until the present

troubles...are over” (in Porter 1952:343). There is no information pertaining to any such move having occurred, although some of the occupants of Paynes Town did relocate to the area after Payne’s death in 1812 (Boyd 1958:82).

During the late 1790s a number of incidents between the Seminoles and colonists occurred along the Florida-Georgia border. Frequently, these involved cattle owned by Georgia planters crossing the Florida boundary into the increasingly depauperate hunting grounds of the Seminoles. Grazing cattle and their destructive impact on the surrounding environment had been an issue for decades (Saunt 1999:46-50) and became particularly heated as the number of Americans settling near the border increased. In March 1793, in response to the failure of Americans to prevent the cattle from grazing on Seminole lands, a group of “Seminoles” from northwestern Florida broke into a Georgia trading post and killed two white men. In retaliation, Creek Indians who were allied with the United States invaded Seminole settlements, stealing many cattle, horses, and slaves (Covington 1993:22). Mistakenly believing that the Seminoles who attacked the trading post were members of the Alachua bands, James Seagrove wrote to King Payne, requesting that the murderers be punished. Although the killers did not come from Paynes Town, Payne assured Seagrove that he would keep Seminole “troublemakers” under control (Covington 1993:22).

Payne may not have been as passive as the above accounts suggest. In 1794, Payne reportedly told the governor of East Florida, Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, “White settlers were birds ‘going to build a nest in some sequestered point of land, where nobody is likely to find them,’” but that the Seminoles were prepared to “dispossess them” (in Saunt 1999:248). Unfortunately, the ability of the Seminoles to “dispossess” the Americans would prove to be more difficult than Payne had imagined.

King Payne, the Warrior

In the writings of his travel through Florida in the 1770s, William Bartram wrote that the Seminoles had “no cruel enemy to dread; nothing to give them disquietude, but the gradual encroachments of the white people” (in van Doren 1928:182). In just a few short decades life for the Seminoles would change dramatically. The increasing movement of White settlers to Florida and neighboring Georgia, along with the mounting debt and spurious treaties between the Indians and colonists, resulted in conflicts that even Payne was not able to resolve.

In April 1810, Payne was one of the several Creek and Seminole Indian leaders who signed the Forbes Purchase (Boyd 1952:11), a land “purchase” in which Forbes Company, the successor to Pantan, Leslie and Company, allowed the Seminoles to eliminate debt by ceding a huge swath of land to its firm. The company then enticed white colonists to settle the land (Saunt 1999:226). Prior to the Forbes Purchase, a slow, but steady stream of white settlers trickled across the Georgia border into Florida. Most of the settlers occupied areas of northeastern Florida, especially along the St. Johns River. In 1810, Spain ceded West Florida to the United States, resulting in American settlements in the panhandle region. American land speculators began to look to the fertile prairie lands of north-central Florida, which were still under the control of Spain. From this point onwards, King Payne figured more prominently in written documents, most notably those produced by United States military.

The period of Payne’s leadership of the Alachua Seminoles (1784-1812) falls within the first half of what Charles Fairbanks referred to as the “resistance and removal phase” (between 1790 and 1840) of Seminole history (Fairbanks 1978:177-187). According to Fairbanks, the beginning of this phase was marked by “rising tensions created by the proximity of the United States in former Creek territory to the immediate north of the Seminole settlements in Florida,

the impotence of Spanish authority, and the rising fervor of land expansion” (Fairbanks 1978:177). Eventually, these tensions culminated in the “Patriot War” discussed below.

During the War of 1812, the United States began to strategize on how to seize Florida from Spain. Spain’s signing of a peace treaty with England legitimized the danger of a Spanish-controlled Florida, and the United States’ will to seize East Florida became more fervent (Cusick 2003; Patrick 1954). Learning that the Americans wanted to acquire Spanish Florida as a U.S. territory, the Seminoles and escaped Black slaves—who had found refuge from their American and British owners in Florida—became more antagonistic to Americans living across the Florida border, as well as those living on plantations on the St. Johns River (Amos 2006:2). To the U.S., Seminole aggression towards its settlers further justified American military campaigns into Florida. These campaigns were designed to fulfill several purposes: to seize Spanish land for the United States; to suppress future Indian attacks; and to find and return escaped slaves to their American owners (Covington 1993:28-31).

In March of 1812, a group of 150 men known as the “Patriot Army” crossed the St. Marys River into Florida, inciting a “revolution” for control of the Spanish territory. The Seminoles, particularly those of the Alachua and Lake Mikasuki settlements, reacted with a series of attacks on the soldiers. However, the troops were able to continue their march eastward, eventually taking the Spanish Fort Picolata on the St. Johns River and the settlement of Fernandina (Saunt 1999:236-237).

Anticipating that these events would cause unrest among the Seminoles, the United States sent an Indian agent to the Alachua settlements to negotiate peace. U.S. Indian Agent George Mathews captured an escaped slave, known as “Tony,” to use as a translator between the Americans and Seminoles. Mathews and Tony traveled to Paynes Town, where Tony is said to

have surprised Agent Mathews by informing Payne that Mathews' talks were meant to "amuse and deceive" him and that the American's real intent was to "take [Payne's] country beyond St. John's" (in Saunt 1999:237). Tony further warned of the future impact of the American encroachment into Florida, reportedly saying, "The old people will be put to sweep the yards of the white people, the young men to work for them and the young females to spin and weave for them" (in Saunt 1999:237).

Following Tony's report to Payne, the Alachua Seminoles and allied Blacks debated on whether or not to go to war against the Americans. Although Payne was reportedly against it (Covington 1993:29), the group consensus was to go to war. Soon after, the Seminoles and Black Seminoles began a series of guerilla attacks against U.S. soldiers encamped in Florida (Saunt 1999:238-239). The Creek National Council, who would soon become involved in their own disputes with the Americans, urged the Seminoles to resist engaging in armed conflicts with the Americans. However, the speaker of the Creek National Council complained that "[the Seminoles] do not follow our rules and don't go by our orders. They will not be governed by us" (in Saunt 1999:241).

In response to attacks by the Seminoles, the U.S. sent another wave of soldiers, under the direction of Colonel Daniel Newnan to destroy Indian settlements in Florida. Newnan and his soldiers were particularly intent on reaching Paynes Town, believing that many of the men involved in the assaults against the Patriots had come from this and other Alachua towns. Newnan had planned a quick, surprise attack on Paynes Town. However, on a trail just a few miles away from the town, Newnan and his troops encountered Payne himself, accompanied by approximately 70 men (Davis 1931a:148-151). A battle quickly ensued and many additional Seminole and Black allies rushed to provide reinforcements to Payne and his men.

Letters written by military officials help paint a picture—from the perspective of the American soldiers—of what this conflict was like. In a letter written on October 19, 1812, Colonel Daniel Newnan wrote to Georgia’s Governor Mitchell about the battle between his troops of Georgia Volunteers and Alachua Seminoles:

‘On the morning of the fourth day of our march, when within six or seven miles of the Lotchaway towns, our advanced party discovered a party of Indians marching along the path meeting us, and at the same moment they appeared to have discovered us.....The action, including the skirmishing upon the flanks, lasted two hours and a half, the Indians frequently attempting to outflank us and get in our rear, but were repulsed by the companies extending to the right and left. We had one man killed and nine wounded, two of which have since died of their wounds. The loss of the enemy must have been considerable. I saw seven fall to the ground with my own eyes, among whom was their king, Payne; two of them fell near the swamp, the rest of our men had the curiosity to scalp. The rifle company on the right and Broadnax’s on the left, speak of killing several near the swamp, who were borne off by their comrades, it being the principle among the savages to carry off their dead at the risk of their lives.’ [Davis 1931a:148-150]

As the passage explains, the U.S. soldiers scalped some of the Seminoles who had been wounded or killed by American gunfire, a defiant gesture, in which the soldiers appropriated a Seminole warfare ritual in order to project the victory and superiority of American soldiers over their Seminole enemies. Whereas the Seminoles displayed enemy scalps on poles in their towns, the U.S. soldiers took the scalps to Zephaniah Kingsley, an owner of a plantation on the St. Johns River who had been plagued by Seminole raids and who “displayed” the scalps in some fashion. Upon hearing about this affront, the Seminoles “besieged” the plantation, “causing great damage there” (Davis 1931a:150).

Although in his letter recounting the fighting between the Alachua Seminoles and Americans, Newnan claims it was an American victory, the writings of other military personnel suggest the contrary. According to these accounts, the Americans found themselves outnumbered by the Seminoles and became trapped in a swampy hammock, virtually defenseless, for over a week. Accounts of the battle report that the soldiers nearly starved to death and were

forced to eat their own horses. These conditions led to a number of soldiers threatening mutiny (Davis 1931a:151-152).

Having lost many more men than the Seminoles and receiving no reinforcements from additional American troops, Newnan and his troops eventually retreated. While retreating, the Americans were attacked again by a group of Seminoles, and a few men from both sides were killed (Davis 1931a:153). Although the Americans had, by certain accounts, lost their fight against the Alachua Seminoles, newspapers reported that the U.S. soldiers were victorious and Daniel Newnan was heralded as an American hero (Saunt 1999:240).

King Payne must have realized that despite the Seminoles' ability to withstand the attack by Newnan's army, the Americans would continue to mount war against them. When Payne had recovered somewhat from the injury that he received in the fight against Newnan's army, Rembert Patrick writes that, in contrast to his usual position, Payne attempted to persuade all Seminole and Creek settlements in Florida to go to war against the United States (Patrick 1954:209). However, Payne was not successful in his efforts, and finally relented to the requests of the other Seminole warriors to admit defeat and seek peace with the Americans. Seminole emissaries were sent to the Creek Indian Agent Benjamin Hawkins, who they hoped would speak on their behalf to the Americans. Not long after their arrival at the agency, the men learned that Payne had died (Patrick 1954:209).

The Demise of Paynes Town

Any attempts by the Seminoles to initiate peace were not reciprocated by the Americans. In a letter written in November 1812 by Georgia Governor David Byrdie Mitchell to Colonel Thomas Smith, Mitchell warned that planned attacks on Seminole settlements must be kept secret.

'The intention of going against these Indians from any quarter ought to be kept if possible a profound secret, until the expedition is prepared to be put into immediate operation, for the moment they know it, they will carry off all their women and children, destroy all the provisions they cannot secret, and take shelter in the Spanish Garrisons or prowl about the woods like wolves.' [Davis 1931b:264]

The Americans had evidently learned that the Seminoles, despite the distances between their settlements, maintained an excellent communication network. Both Indian and Black allies acted as spies and messengers and were able to quickly warn settlements of imminent attacks. The effectiveness of this network would soon be evident in the subsequent in the attempts by the Americans to attack Paynes Town and Bowleg's Town.

When Americans in Tennessee learned of the Seminole attacks on both the Patriot army and Newnan's army and retaliatory attacks and raids on settlements in Georgia, a volunteer army was organized to march into Florida. Its aim was to destroy Paynes Town and other Seminole settlements that had been openly hostile to the Americans. When U.S. soldiers arrived at Paynes Town on February 8, 1813, they found the town abandoned. Apparently, the Seminoles had caught word of the approaching army and fled. After camping at the town for several days, the soldiers torched the town and took many provisions and livestock that had been hastily left behind (Covington 1993:32; Davis 1931b: 273).

After burning Paynes Town, U.S. soldiers set out to destroy the settlement established by Payne's brother, Bowlegs. Rembert Patrick writes:

Colonel Williams' volunteers rode down an Indian trail which they hoped might lead to Bowleg's town...and ran into a small camp of Indians. Without investigating or calling for surrender, the Tennesseans fired with rapidity killing two women and an old man and capturing seven. The prisoners gave Williams disappointing news. They belonged to different tribes from the Alligator and Alachua clans who had left the area three weeks ago. [Patrick 1954:232]

However, as had been the case with Paynes Town, when the soldiers reached Bowleg's settlement, they found it abandoned. Neither did its abandonment prevent the soldiers from

razing the Indian town. The U.S. army reported that the burning of Paynes Town and Bowleg's Town (and probably smaller satellite communities considering the number of dwellings that they claimed to have burned), resulted in the destruction of 386 dwellings. In addition, between 1500 and 2000 bushels of corn, around 2000 deerskins, and hundreds of horses and cattle were confiscated (Covington 1993:32; Davis 1931b:273). The destruction on Seminole settlements might have been much greater had harsh conditions and sick horses not prevented the soldiers from traveling further south to the Tampa Bay area where they had planned to attack more communities (Davis 1931b: 273).

Black Seminoles

The types of relationships that existed between Indians and Blacks were quite varied. By the 1760s, some Creeks and Seminoles, particularly those who had established large, commercial agricultural fields, were using slaves as chattel (Saunt 1999:51; Simmons 1822:75). By the 1820s, a number of rich Seminole planters kept as many as 60 slaves (Weisman 1989:67-68). Elsewhere in Florida, many escaped slaves formed autonomous groups and were allowed to have their own communities some distance from the Seminole settlements (Saunt 1993:134). Black "slaves" are reported to have lived at Paynes Town (Simmons 1822:75), and at least one autonomous Black settlement was located in the area (Davis 1931b: 271-272; Simmons 1822:44).

"Black Seminole" communities were frequently as engaged in the colonial economy as their Indian neighbors. King Payne is said to have allowed his "slaves" to possess their own land and livestock, and historical documents describe Spanish agent John Hambly purchasing horses from "Payne's Joe" and "Paynes negroe Pompey" (Saunt 1999:134). Claudio Saunt suggests that Black Seminoles associated with Paynes Town may have acted as "cowboys" over the extensive herds of cattle owned by Payne and his brother Bowlegs (Saunt 1999:134). Blacks also worked

as translators between the Seminoles and European and Americans. “Harry” and “Esten” were reported to be Black interpreters who worked for King Payne (Saunt 1999:207).

The relationship between any Black occupants of the Paynes Town settlement and King Payne and the other Seminole inhabitants was not necessarily a subordinate one. As early as the 1690s, escaped African slaves had found asylum from their British masters in the remote lands of Spanish Florida (Riordan 1996:25). These individuals sometimes established separate settlements, but other times were adopted as full members of the Seminole society. The latter condition was always the case if a Black married Seminole (Saunt 1999:51-54).

William Simmons wrote the following anecdote provided by a Black Seminole describing his relationship with King Payne:

When, a very intelligent black interpreter, who had been one of the slaves of King Payne, on my questioning him upon this subject, assured me, that his old master, as he called him, had always treated him with the utmost humanity and kindness... This Negro mentioned to me, as a proof of his kindly feelings of his master, that the latter, on announcing his will, a short time before his death, particularly directed, that his favourite horse should not be shot, (for it is custom with the Indians, to destroy all the personal property of the dead), but be well taken care of by his surviving daughter. [Simmons 1822:77]

Evidently, this request impressed the Black man and exemplified to him the exceptional character of Payne. His feelings towards Payne also suggest that the man had not been a slave in the “traditional” sense.

What happened to the Paynes Town Seminoles?

After the death of Payne, Solachoppo, believed to be the eldest son of Payne’s sister, briefly acted as chief of the Alachua Seminoles. However, Solachoppo died “of a debauch” (Boyd 1952:11) shortly after assuming his position and was succeeded by his younger brother Micanopy (Boyd 1952:11; Fairbanks 1978:180). Some of the former Paynes Town inhabitants accompanied Micanopy to Okahumpka, a settlement near present-day Dade City in Pasco County (Weisman 1989:78). Nearby, a community composed entirely of Black Seminoles was

established (Weik 2002). Other Paynes Town Seminoles joined Payne's brother Bowlegs at a settlement on the Suwannee River. All three of these towns were eventually burned by U.S. soldiers and the inhabitants fled to locations throughout Florida.

In 1823 Horatio Dexter recorded a small settlement of Alachua Seminoles near Cape Florida in south Florida. The settlement consisted of around 20 occupants said to be "part of the chief Payne's family retired from Alachua on the destruction of their property in 1812" (Boyd 1958:82). Another group of approximately 200 Seminoles formed a village called Thonotosassa. This settlement was located approximately 12 miles to the west of present-day Tampa and was occupied by Seminoles from Paynes Town and other Alachua settlements (Covington 1993:58; Porter 1960:116).

According to Kenneth Porter, Payne's brother, Bowlegs, sought revenge against the Americans for the destruction of the Alachua towns and his brother's death and joined the British in their attack on New Orleans at the end of the War of 1812. Bowlegs is said to have later returned to the Suwannee River area where he was, once again, forced to flee from U.S. forces, this time led by General Andrew Jackson. In April of 1818, General Jackson and his American troops illegally crossed the Spanish border and marched into Florida, where they burned any Indian villages and camps that they encountered, including Bowleg's Town (Porter 1952:345). Jackson's campaign against the Seminoles, and the military engagements that ensued, became known as the First Seminole War. Although it is not clear when or how Bowlegs died, it is believed he died some time between 1818 and 1821 (Porter 1952:345).

The fate of the Alachua Seminoles mirrored that of Seminoles living elsewhere in Florida. Florida was ceded to the United States in 1819 and became a U.S. Territory in 1822. This officially opened the door for Americans to settle all of Florida. In the subsequent decades,

through a series of highly questionable treaties, the Seminoles lost most of their lands and were sequestered into reservations. In 1823, the Treaty of Moultrie Creek, which contained the signatures, or “marks,” of 32 Seminole leaders, relinquished approximately 24 million acres of land to the U.S. government (Covington 1993:52) and restricted most of the Seminole population (which is believed to have exceeded 5,000 due to the steady influx of Red Stick Creeks) to reservation land.

The reservation land proved to be a terrible location for the Seminoles. Poor soil fertility, combined with a late rainy season in 1824, resulted in food shortages and starvation among many families. The U.S. government provided some food, but many Seminoles began to search for food that was available outside of the reservation, sometimes relocating their families beyond its boundaries. White settlers in the area grew angry at the killing of their livestock by the Seminoles and urged the government to move the Seminoles west of the Mississippi River (Covington 1993:59-61).

In 1830 Andrew Jackson, the newly-elected president of the United States, persuaded Congress to pass the Indian Removal Act. The Treaty of Paynes Landing in 1832 and the Treaty of Fort Gibson in 1834 resulted in the cession of all Seminole lands to the United States (Covington 1993:72-76). However, many Seminole leaders interpreted the discussions held at the meetings very differently than their U.S. counterparts. The Seminole leaders believed that the treaties were contingent on their visiting and approving land designated for them in Oklahoma, while the U.S. insisted that the agreement was final and no provisional visits to Oklahoma were required. Although some of the Seminoles agreed to peacefully relocate to Oklahoma, others argued that the leaders had not represented their interests in the treaties and, thus, they could not be forced to leave.

As a result of these contentious treaties and continued aggression by both the Seminoles and Americans, the Second Seminole War broke out in 1835. This war was the most sustained and costly war between the Seminoles and the United States (Covington 1993:72). The determination of the Seminoles, along with their guerilla-style warfare tactics, proved to be an enormous challenge to the Americans. Commenting on the costs of the war to the U.S. government, James Covington writes:

Of all the tribes living east of the Mississippi River, the Seminoles put up the most determined resistance to removal to the West. They forced the federal authorities to wage a seven-year war that cost the white settlers and their government an estimated \$30 million to \$40 million and, counting deaths from battle, disease, and accident, the lives of 1,466 regulars, 55 militiamen, and nearly 100 civilians. [Covington 1993:72]

To protect themselves from U.S. military attacks during the wars, the Seminoles had become adept at hiding in small, scattered hamlets on the edges of hammocks within swamps. Many Seminoles moved southward, with some groups fleeing as far south as the Everglades, where, in time, almost all Seminoles would eventually migrate. One Seminole group, led by Billy Bowlegs, lived in a settlement just to the southwest of Lake Okeechobee. Billy Bowlegs was “born to the Seminole ‘royal line’ which lived in the vicinity of the Alachua Prairie in northern Florida” (Kersey 1975:4).

In 1842, after years of sustained conflict with the Seminoles, the United States opted for a policy of pacifying the remaining Seminoles living in south Florida. No treaty was signed to end the war or acknowledge the defeat or victory of either side. After the end of the Second Seminole War, the remaining Seminoles slipped farther into the swampy region of south Florida, away from contact with White settlers and soldiers.

Even in south Florida the Seminoles were eventually to come in more frequent contact with the Whites. This was especially true after the federal Swamp Lands Act of 1850, which enabled the state to reclaim the land for “improvement” (Kersey 1975). Hostilities between white

settlers and the Seminoles eventually culminated in the Third Seminole War (1855-1858).

During this time, the U.S. military was able to slowly undermine the livelihood of the Seminoles in southern Florida by systematically destroying their livestock and crops. Eventually, the band led by Billy Bowlegs agreed to abandon their Florida home for Oklahoma. However, around 200 Seminoles still remained, eluding the military and sinking further into the Everglades. By the end of the war, the United States had resolved to end attempts of complete removal of the Florida Seminoles (Covington 1993:145).

Today, the descendants of the Seminoles who were able to avoid deportation make up the members of two federally recognized tribes in Florida. The Seminole Tribe of Florida, with a population of approximately 2,500, owns reservation lands in Hollywood, Brighton, Big Cypress, Immokalee, Tampa, and Fort Pierce. The Miccosukee Tribe of Indians, composed of around 600 people, maintains a reservation on the Tamiami Trail, west of Miami (Weisman 2000:300). Those Seminoles who were deported to Oklahoma became a part of the Seminole Tribe of Oklahoma.

CHAPTER 6 SETTLEMENT, TOWN DESIGN, AND ARCHITECTURE

In the previous chapters, I presented historical synopses of the Alachua Seminoles, supplementing, when necessary, with generalizations about a broader Creek/Seminole culture. Because the availability of detailed archaeological and historical data for specific Seminole and Creek towns vary, scholars tend to rely on “pan-Creek” inferences on certain subjects when they are not available for specific archaeological sites. This chapter is intended to provide background information pertaining to commonly cited characteristics of Creek and Seminole settlements and architecture in order to buttress the inferences that I draw in later chapters using the archaeological and historical data about the Paynes Town settlement.

Political Organization

Whereas the fundamental political economic unit of Mississippian societies was the chiefdom, the individual township, or *talwa*, was the most significant unit for the Creeks and the Seminoles (Ethridge 2003:94-96; King 2002:221; Knight 1985:29). Strong inter-town alliances and social relations did exist, especially considering that the clan system cross-cut the settlements. As a uniquely historic institution, the Creek National Council was responsible for attempting to draw consensus between the towns on how to address Creek-American relations. However, individual Creek *talwas* retained their own autonomy in all matters making consensus on many matters, including inter-Creek issues, difficult to reach (Ethridge 2003:107).

The term “*talwa*” is most frequently used by scholars when referring to the civic, ceremonial, and population centers of a group of Creek or Seminole settlements. However, to the historic Creeks and Seminoles, a reference to one’s *talwa* included not only the physical setting of the town center, but also affiliated settlements, such as smaller towns, or *talofas* that did not

contain ceremonial architectural features, as well as individual familial settlements that could be located many miles from the larger concentrations of people. For the sake of consistency, in this study, the term *talwa* refers to the head town—such as Paynes Town—of a group of affiliated settlements.

Because *talofas* and farmsteads could be located as far as a two-day walking distance from the central town, daily interactions between inhabitants of a *talwa* and its outlying settlements were often limited (Ethridge 2003:96). Ceremonial events, such as the annual Green Corn Ceremony, helped to integrate people from surrounding settlements. An important element of this ceremony was the extinguishing of the old fire and the igniting of a new fire in the center of the town square. When the sacred fire was relit, the wives from each household would gather the embers for use in the relighting of their own hearths that had been put out at the beginning of the ceremony. The Green Corn Ceremony was a fundamental part of the maintenance of a *talwa*'s group identity, as is indicated by the etymology of the word *talwa*, “people of one fire” (Swanton 1928:459).

The number of people living in a *talwa* could vary from between a few hundred to over 2000 (Swanton 1946:82, 126), and its population could dramatically expand or shrink over time. Over-population, inadequate firewood, insufficient agricultural fields, and internal factionalism sometimes led to the splintering off of a group of people to form a *talofa*. However, as Robbie Ethridge explains, “one of the deepest and most abiding affiliations and loyalties for a Creek lay with one's [*talwa*],” (Ethridge 2003:93), and even in the case of internal factionalism, a *talofa* rarely severed all ties with its *talwa*. Instead, whenever possible, the inhabitants of a *talofa* continued to participate in the political life of the *talwa*, as well as the more mundane aspects of

its social and economic life (Ethridge 2003:95-96). Thus, the ideology of cohesiveness and inclusiveness served to keep the impact of political fissioning to a minimum.

Talwa leadership was composed of several divisions, the most important of which was the office of the head chief, or *mico*. *Micos* were served by several advisors, including a war chief and a few “Beloved Old Men,” who were chosen by the chief and the greater town body to serve as leaders (Hudson 1976:225). Together, the head chief and his advisors formed a kind of executive council, although as Marvin Smith points out, the *mico* (and his advisors) “led their people more than they commanded them” (Smith 2000:58). The chief and advisors, along with all of the adult men from a town, met regularly at the “town council” that took place in the town’s square ground or council house. The concerns were aired and issues were resolved through consensus-building, a process that could sometimes take days (Hudson 1976:224-225).

Embedded within the political structures of Creek and Seminole societies were familial networks, the most fundamental of which was the *huti*, an extended network of families connected through the matrilineage. The members of a *huti* formed the basic economic unit of the Creeks and the Seminoles, and its members pooled land, labor, and resources, and lived near one another in house clusters. In 1790, Caleb Swan wrote that the houses were arranged “in clusters of four, five, six, seven, and eight together, irregularly distributed up and down the banks of rivers or small streams; each cluster of houses contains a clan, or family of relations, who eat and live in common” (in Weisman 1989:28).

The close proximity to family members facilitated the orchestrating of common goals and the sharing of tasks, which were typically divided along gender lines. Women were responsible for domestic activities, including raising children, cooking, and pottery and basket manufacturing, as well as tending agricultural fields. The men, in turn, were responsible for

warring, hunting, maintaining tools, guns, and other equipment and the construction and up-keep of structures, canoes, and ritual objects (Braund 1993:14). The inhabitants of a *huti* were also united by the shared clan membership of the female occupants. Loyalties and alliances between clan members integrated settlements that could be located many days walking distance from each other.

Nucleated Towns

Throughout the late prehistoric period, the preferred settlement type of most Southeastern groups was the nucleated town. Writings from members of sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions through the region describe many of these towns. For example, among the towns of the paramount chiefdom of Coosa, whose inhabitants were the ancestors of the Upper Creeks, most towns contained between 40 and 60 households and contained populations averaging 500 people (Smith 2000:16).

The years between the mid-sixteenth century and the late-seventeenth century have been referred to as “the lost years” (Smith 2000) and the “forgotten centuries” (Hudson and Tesser 1994). These descriptors refer to a time for which there is virtually no written information pertaining to indigenous settlements in the interior Southeast. It was also a time when population collapse and migration resulted in a very disjointed archaeological record. Based on the paucity of archaeological sites representing towns dating to this time, it appears that much of the population abandoned the nucleated town settlement type and dispersed into family hamlets or villages (Smith 1987:72-75; Worth 2000:269). However, by the end of the seventeenth century, populations had rebounded and people had begun to return to a more centralized form of settlement. Nucleated towns dominated the Creek landscape throughout most of the eighteenth century, although many of these towns were small by Mississippian standards. In addition to

smaller populations, most towns did not regain the degree of density, in terms of the close distance between individual households, of their Mississippian predecessors.

Design of Town Centers

Mississippian political centers across the Southeast exhibited certain “culturally prescribed” town designs (Wesson 1998:108), including earthen embankments and mounds, plazas, temples and council houses. Although there was some variation between them, Creek and Seminole *talwas* were similarly characterized by the presence of civic and ceremonial architectural features that made them “instantly recognizable” to anyone who entered them (Ethridge 2003:96). Among these were a square ground, a council house, and a chunky yard. A commonly cited arrangement of these civic structures is a sketch drawn by William Bartram, which depicts the town design of a circa 1770s Upper Creek town (Figure 6-1).

Square Ground

Town councils were held everyday, and on most days, at least during periods of mild weather, they were held in the square ground. A common arrangement of Creek square grounds consisted of a cleared area that was surrounded on four sides—usually in the cardinal directions—by rectangular structures, or cabins. Each cabin had between one and three tiers of benches for occupants to sit in with some tiers separated by a low clay partition (Hudson 1976:218-219). The square ground was sometimes enclosed by an earthen embankment and was kept swept clean. In the center of the square, a “sacred fire” was kept burning until the annual commencement of the Green Corn Ceremony (Ethridge 2003: 99; Smith 2000:52). On average, the square ground expanded over approximately half-of-an-acre (Waselkov and Braund 1995:104). Each of the four cabins was around 30 feet long and was enclosed on three sides. The fourth side, which faced the square ground, remained open, allowing the occupants to view the activities taking place in the center.

There were some significant variations in square grounds. Observing the differences between Lower Creek and Seminole settlements, William Bartram wrote, “[The Seminoles] have neither the Chunky-yard nor Rotunda, and the Public Square is an imperfect one, having but two or three houses at furtherest...(in Waselkov and Braund 1995:183). Elsewhere, however, Bartram mentions these very features at certain Seminole towns. It may have been that they were diminished in size or so visibly different from the examples that he had seen among the Creeks that he felt that they did not serve the same functions. Jim Knight presents another explanation for the variability found in Creek and Seminole settlements and architecture. According to Knight, variations between settlements could be explained by differing ethnic identities, while changes through time at settlements affiliated with specific groups could be attributed to deliberate attempts to ceremonially “bury” the old and impure, achieving the same effects of distinct earthen mantles on Mississippian platform mounds (Knight 1981:81-82).

An unusual aspect of some square grounds was a type of canopy, composed of skins, poles, or thatch, over the grounds. Caleb Swan wrote, “Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the house” (in Weisman 1989:178). Bartram described a similar square ground at a Seminole settlement on the St. Johns River:

‘A grand, airy pavilion in the center of the village. It was four square; a range of pillars or posts on each side supporting a canopy composed of Palmetto leaves, woven or thatched together, which shaded a level platform in the center, that was ascended to from each side by two steps or flights, each almost twelve inches high, and seven or eight feet in breadth, all covered with carpets, curiously woven, of split canes dyed of various colors.’
[Waselkov and Braund 1995:72]

At the Alachua Seminole town of Cuscowilla, each member of the town council sat in the structure, or cabin, on an assigned side of the square ground. Bartram observed that the *mico* and his advisors in the western cabin, the war chief and warriors in the southern cabin, and visitors

and other town men in the cabins located to the north and east (in Waselkov and Braund 1995:62). There was some variation in the number of cabins that surrounded Creek and Seminole square grounds, with some only containing two or three structures (Swanton 1931; Weisman 1989:42), an interesting derivation considering the significance of the four cardinal directions in Creek myths and the analogous relationship of the square ground to the Mississippian platform mound (Hudson 1976:221; Knight 1981:153-154). The relationship between Mississippian platform mounds and Creek square grounds is made even more evident by the fact that some square grounds were built upon small (e.g. a few feet in height) earthen platforms (Knight 1981:9-10, 153-154).

Less significant ceremonies also took place in the square grounds. For example, William Simmons wrote that a few weeks after the birth of their child, Seminole mothers would take the baby to the public square for a naming ceremony (Simmons 1822:79). In addition to ceremonies and town councils, the square ground was used as a daily venue for more mundane activities, such as repairing tools, gaming and gambling, drinking, and other forms of socializing (Ethridge 2003:99;104), as well as daily dances (Gatschet 1884:386).

Council House

In many Creek towns, the council house, sometimes referred to as the rotunda or “hot house,” was located near the square ground, often at its northwest corner (Braund 1993:16). During the winter months and during inclement weather, this large, enclosed building was used in much the same way that the square ground was used. Like the square ground, a hearth was located in the center of the structure and quickly and efficiently warmed up the building, with the smoke exiting the vent in the center of the roof. Women and children were forbidden from entering the council house during town councils and at most times, although town-wide feasts and dances were sometimes held there. For example, Bartram wrote of “a grand festival” with

“music and dancing” that was held in a rotunda (van Doren 1928: 369). The council house was also used as sleeping quarters for visitors and members of the town who did not join the hunting expeditions during the fall and winter months (Ethridge 2003:97).

Among the Seminoles a separate council house may not have always existed or been distinct from a square ground. Bartram wrote, “Upon our arrival [into Cuscowilla] we repaired to the public square or councilhouse, where the chiefs and senators were already convened” (van Doren 1928:167). Here, Bartram blurs the division between the two types of structures and their different purposes, perhaps indicating that the two formerly distinct structures had collapsed into one. However, when referring to his arrival into the Seminole town of Talahasochte, he writes that it had a “more spacious and neat council-house [then Cuscowilla]” (in Waselkov and Braund 1995:60), indicating that the latter did have some kind of enclosed civic structure.

Like the relationship between the Mississippian platform mound and the historic squareground, archaeologists have identified a link, at least physical similarities, between ancient “earth lodges” and historic Creek and Seminole council houses (Waring 1968; Knight 1981:17-19). However, the symbolic and physical similarities have yet to be fully defined.

Chunkey Yard

A large, cleared area, known as the *chunkey* yard or *chunkey* field was located on the opposite side of the square ground as the council house (Waselkov and Braund 1995: 174-183). Although it was used for a number of activities, the *chunkey* yard has its namesake in the game of *chunkey* that was played in the field. A common version of *chunkey* was played by two players. One player rolled a stone disc and both players simultaneously threw a spear in an effort to see whose spear would land closest to the location where the disc would eventually stop.

In the center of the ball yard was a large “*chunkey* pole” set within a small earthen mound (Waselkov and Braund 1995:154). There are several historic accounts of a “single pole game”

(Weisman 1989:153-156). Most of these involve a game between men and women that took place during the Green Corn Ceremony. To score, a player had to strike a designated area of the pole with a deer skin ball (Swanton 1946:681-682).

The “ball game,” a version of which was played by many prehistoric and historic Southeastern Indians was also played on the *chunkey* yard. This game involved two groups of opponents, usually representing two towns/moieties. In the 1760s, the trader Denys Rolle was informed that young Seminole warriors at Cuscowilla were playing the “ball game” against warriors from the town of Talahoschte, a Seminole settlement on the Suwannee River (Weisman 1999:39). The aim of this contact game was to get the ball between the two posts at the end of the ball field. During the earlier historic period, these posts were also sometimes used for the more sinister acts of torturing war captives (Waselkov and Braund 1995:154).

Changes in Settlement Patterns

By the late eighteenth-century a gradual shift from nucleated towns to a more dispersed type of settlement had begun to take effect among the Creeks and Seminoles. Charles Fairbanks (Fairbanks 1978:275) was one of the first scholars to point out that the new settlement pattern among the Alachua Seminoles appeared to be a response to colonialism, and specifically, their involvement in commercial ranching. The amount of time that Creek and Seminole men dedicated to the commercial hunting of animals extended beyond the traditional fall hunting season. Constant hunting by almost every Southeastern Indian man resulted in the near extinction of deer in many regions, including Florida (Coker and Watson 1986:8; Hudson 1981). Thus, not only were the men gone for much of the year, but they were also forced to travel great distances in search of diminishing herds. It became increasingly preferable for some families to simply move with the men as they hunted, rather than the family settling permanently in any one location (Simmons 1822:78; Swanton 1946:263).

The adoption of ranching and commercial agriculture also contributed to the shift away from nucleated settlements (Ethridge 2003; Fairbanks 1978:171; Knight 1985:62-63; Saunt 1999; Waselkov 1997; Waselkov and Smith 2000:252-253). A single cow required between 15 and 20 acres of grazing land (Saunt 1999:159). Thus, Creek and Seminole families who raised cattle often found it necessary to distance themselves from town centers, as well as the households of other *huti* members, in order to provide adequate grazing land for their livestock. Creek and Seminole commercial farmers found themselves in a similar situation, needing large tracts of fertile land and often moving many miles away to obtain.

During the Seminole Wars, the Seminole settlement pattern became even more dispersed, but for different reasons. The Seminoles and the Upper Creek migrants, or “Red Sticks,” who joined them sought locations that would be difficult for United States troops to penetrate. Consequently they settled in remote, swampy regions. In the Cove of the Withlacoochee region, for example, houses were built on the small hammock islands and inhabitants canoed between islands to communicate with one another (Prince 1998:92). Seminole dwellings located near the mouth of the Suwannee River during this time were similarly hidden in swampy hammocks and connected only by very narrow foot-trails (Craig and Peebles 1974:88).

Seminole Square Grounds

There is some question as to whether or not square grounds were widespread across Seminole *talwas* (Craig and Peebles 1974; Dickinson and Wayne 1985; Weisman 1989:9, 77). Brent Weisman (1989:9) suggests that the increasingly decentralized political system, the pastoral lifestyle, the lack of strong leaders, and the developing entrepreneurial and individualistic economic mindset of the Florida Seminoles led to the demise of square grounds at Seminole towns. However, information gleaned from historic writings indicates that some

groups of Seminoles continued to construct them, in one form or another, from the time of their first migration to Florida through the Second Seminole War, and after.

As previously discussed, in the 1770s, William Bartram wrote of the presence of a square ground/council house at Cuscowilla (van Doren 1928:167). Bartram also alluded to a square ground at Talahasochte, when he wrote, “A fire was now kindled in the area of the public square,” and referred to a feast being held there, “where only the chiefs and warriors were admitted, with the white people” (van Doren 1928:200). According to Bartram, after eating and sharing tobacco and black drink, “the young people began their music and dancing” (van Doren 1928:200). There is also at least one historic reference to a “square” at Paynes Town. In December of 1812, the Governor of St. Augustine wrote a letter to the Governor of Georgia saying, “General Mathews told Payne, in the square of [Latch-o-way], that he intended to drive him from his lands” (Wright 1945:17-18).

Alain Craig and Christopher Peebles (1974) correctly point out that by the onset of the Second Seminole War major changes were taking place across most Seminole settlements. Threatened by the U.S. militia, Seminole settlements became increasingly remote and certain traditional town features may not have been constructed at all settlements, likely because of their temporary nature. However, some Seminole groups continued to construct square grounds during this time. Lieutenant Henry Prince, a soldier in the Second Seminole War, wrote of seeing a square at Powell’s Town, a Seminole settlement in the Withlacoochee Region, where the famous Chief Osceola was believed to live. Prince writes that his guide “pointed out the field, the square, gave situation of the river and everything” (Prince 1998:92).

Domestic Structures

The archaeological remains of Creek and Seminole domestic structures are notoriously difficult to identify at archaeological sites (Foster 2007:111-129; Knight 1985:113). Fortunately, historic documents provide good descriptions of some Creek and Seminole houses. Below, some of the most widespread characteristics of Creek and Seminole houses are discussed.

Multiple Structures

As discussed previously, Creek and Seminole households were characterized by multiple structures. Houses of individual families frequently included more than one structure, and often as many as four (van Doren 1928:168-169). These structures were arranged around a yard area measuring approximately one quarter-of-an-acre. Bartram noted the similarity in the arrangement of the house structures around the yard to that of the public square ground. Like the square ground, the yard area was swept clean and sometimes surrounded by a low earthen embankment built from the soil swept from the yard (van Doren 1928:168-169).

Bartram observed that, although not every household had the wealth, ability, or need to construct four structures, over time many succeeded in doing so. Bartram described the uses of the four different structures present in many Creek households:

‘Wealthy citizens, having large Families, generally have Four Houses; and they have particular use for each of these buildings – One serves for a Cook Room & Winter Lodging House – another for Summer Lodging House & Hall for Receiving Visitors- and a 3d for a Granary, or Provision House, &c:--This is commonly two Stories high and divided into two apartments transversely—the lower story of one end being a potatoe house & for keeping such other roots & fruits as require to be kept close or defended from cold in Winter – The chamber over it is the Corn Crib – The lower story serves for a shed for their saddles, packsaddles, & geers & other Lumber; the loft over it is a very spacious airy pleasant pavilion – where the Chief of the Family reposes in the hot seasons & receives his Guests, &ca.- And the Fourth House (which compleats the Square) is a Skin House or Ware-house, if the proprietor is a wealthy man, and engaged in Trade or Traffick – where he keeps his Deer Skins, Furs & merchandize & treats with his Customers.’ [Waselkov and Braund 1995:180]

The Seminole house compound often consisted of only two structures. Bartram's descriptions of the uses of these structures are recounted below:

'Their Private Habitations generally consist of two buildings –One a large oblong house, which serves for Cook-Room, eating house & lodging rooms, in 3 apartments under one roof—the other's not quite so long, which is situated 8 or 10 yards distance, one end opposite the front door of the principal house, thus. This is two stories high, and just like & serves the same purpose of the Granary or Provision House and Loft of the Upper Creeks.' [Waselkov and Braund 1995:108]

Bartram provided even more details about the households in Cuscowilla:

'The town of Cuscowilla, which is the capital of the Alachua tribe, contains about thirty habitations, each of which consists of two houses nearly the same size, about thirty feet in length, twelve feet wide, and about the same in height. The door is placed midway on one side or in the front. This house is divided equally, across, into two apartments, one of which is the cook room and common hall, and the other a lodging room. The other house is nearly of the same dimensions, standing about twenty yards from the dwelling house, its end fronting the door. The building is two stories high, and constructed in a different manner. It is divided transversely, as the other, but the end next the dwelling house is open on three sides, supported by posts or pillars. It has an open loft or platform, the ascent of which is by a portable stair or ladder: this is a pleasant, cool, airy situation, and here the master or chief of the family retires to repose in the hot seasons, and receives his guests or visitors. The other half of this building is closed on all sides by notched logs; the lowest or ground part is a potatoe house, and the upper story over it a granary for corn and other provisions.' [van Doren 1928:168]

The most obvious difference between the Creek and Seminole domestic compounds (as they were presented by Bartram) is the fewer number of structures that were constructed by the Seminoles. Notably absent is a "winter house," likely made obsolete by the warmer Florida climate. It is surprising that Bartram does not mention a "warehouse" for animal skins. Like the Creeks, Seminoles were involved in the fur trade. Perhaps skins were stored within the two structures described by Bartram and separate warehouses were not constructed at the time of Bartram's visit. The accounts of the burning of Paynes Town and other Alachua Seminole towns by U.S. troops mention the confiscation of thousands of skins (Covington 1993:32; Davis 1931b: 273), suggesting that skins were stored in distinct structures.

The Seminoles may have had fewer structures in their house compounds than the Creeks, although the ones they had may have been larger to compensate for the fewer numbers. Bartram estimated each of the two structures present in the Cuscowilla households to be thirty feet long, twelve feet wide, and twelve feet tall (van Doren 1928:168). In comparison, Caleb Swan's estimation of the size of Creek structures was significantly smaller. "The houses they occupy are but pitiful small huts, commonly from twelve to eighteen or twenty feet long, and from ten to fifteen feet wide; the floors are of earth; the walls, six, seven, and eight feet high" (Swanton 1946:394).

Apparently, Seminole houses were impressive structures adapted from Creek forms to better meet their needs. In addition to being bigger, they may have also had larger open-air pavilion portions that would have been better suited to the warm Florida climate. The fewer number of house structures associated with Seminole "compounds" may reflect a decrease in the amount of time spent at home and the increased time spent hunting for the fur trade; hence, less effort would be expended on house construction and maintenance (Waselkov and Smith 2000:247; Waselkov 1990).

Vertical Post Structures

Creek and Seminole building methods varied depending on the type of structure that was being constructed. According to Caleb Swan, Creek lodging structures were "supported by poles driven into the ground, and lathed across with canes tied slightly on, and filled in with clay, which they always dig for, and find near the spot, whereon they build" (Swanton 1946:394).

Bartram referred to a similar type of construction technique used among the Seminoles:

'Their houses are constructed of a kind of frame. In the first place, strong corner pillars are fixed in the ground, with others somewhat less, ranging on a line between; these are strengthened by cross pieces of timber, and the whole with the roof is covered close with the bark of Cypress tree.' [van Doren 1928:168-169]

Inside dwelling structures, some type of smokehole, or “chimney” made of “poles and clay” was usually present at one end. Small cane racks covered with skins might have served as beds, although many inhabitants preferred to sleep on the floor (Swanton 1946:394).

William Simmons wrote that similar structures were present at a Black settlement affiliated with an Alachua Seminole town in the early-nineteenth century. Simmons described spending the night in a newly constructed communal building that had been built to “dance in on Christmas” (Simmons 1822:44). The structure that Simmons described bears a resemblance to a Creek council house that was sometimes used as a lodging place for visitors. Commenting on the building style, Simmons wrote that it was “without nails—the boards and shingles being lashed to the posts and rafters, by strips of oak, which last a long time” (Simmons 1822:44).

Neither Bartram nor Simmons mention the use of daub in Seminole building techniques, and little evidence has been found of its use from Seminole archaeological sites (Weisman 1986a:217). This may have been an adaptation to the warmer Florida climate since the plaster would have significantly reduced ventilation. However, daub appears to have been inconsistently used on Lower Creek structures, as well, with its presence or absence possibly being used as one type of material distinction representing different ethnic groups that comprised Creek and Seminole coalescent societies (Foster 2007:106-110). This appears to have been the case for structures at Yuchi Town, a Yuchi settlement that was a part of the Creek Confederacy. Bartram described the houses as being quite distinctive because of the “reddish well tempered clay or mortar, which gives them the appearance of red brick walls” (in Waselkov and Braund 1995:90).

Log Houses

By the turn of the nineteenth century, some of construction techniques and house forms found in Creek and Seminole settlements were changing. One important change was the addition of European-style log cabins to the Indian communities (Ethridge 2003:77; Swanton 1946:394).

The log cabins were a mix of European and aboriginal construction methods and forms. This is visible in Basil Hall's sketch of a circa 1830s Creek dwelling (Ethridge 2003:77). The sketch depicts a rectangular structure composed of horizontal, unhewn and corner-notched logs. A window or door is visible towards the middle of the long side of the enclosed portion of the building. Slightly less than half of the structure consists of an open-air pavilion supported by several vertical posts. The roof of the structure is pitched. However, the roof material is not distinguishable.

Several yards away from the log cabin is a small four-sided structure constructed of horizontally placed limbs or poles. The structure is raised a few feet above the ground and supported by poles. Based on the man that is sitting nearby, the structure is estimated to be six feet long and six feet wide. The small structure was probably used as a granary or storage area. In between the granary and house is a small cleared area, similar to the square house yards described by Bartram (van Doren 1928:168-169).

Although a number of scholars have pointed to the increasing adoption of European-style log cabins by Creeks and Seminoles (Ethridge 2003; Saunt 1999; Swanton 1946; Waselkov and Smith 2000), Thomas Foster (Foster 2007:112) believes they were fairly rare, at least among the Creeks. This form may have been more common among Creek and Seminole leaders and *mestizos*, particularly those who openly adopted other elements of the Euroamerican lifestyle. For example, the Creek leader, Alexander McGillivray—a *mestizo* Indian of Scottish and Creek ancestry and advocate of the adoption of an Anglo- American lifestyle—oversaw the construction of his typical American-style farmhouse, complete with dormer windows and a stone chimney (Saunt 1999:71).

However, based on the description of an American soldier who was conducting reconnaissance in the Cove of the Withlacoochee region in 1841, some Seminole homes of this era resembled earlier, indigenous forms:

‘We entered a town, consisting of huts made by planting four forks in a quadrangular form, over these poles were laid a roof of the bark [Pinus mitis and P. strobus, the P. rigida is also found] or boards split from the Pine or Castanea vesca, or American Chestnut. The walls were formed by bark or boards tied with splits or poles leaned against the evebeares.’ (Weisman 1986a:217)

Chiefly Residences

Although Creek and Seminole chiefs are typically described as being indistinct from the common population, in dress, houses, and possessions, in several passages, William Bartram points out the distinction of the chiefly residences in Creek and Seminole towns. For example, Bartram describes the household of the Creek chief “Bosten:”

‘It was composed of three oblong uniform frame buildings, and a fourth, four-square, fronting the principal house or common hall, after this manner encompassing one area. The hall was his lodginghouse, large and commodious; the two wings were, one a cook-house, the other a skin or ware-house; and the large square one was a vast open pavilion, supporting a canopy of cedar roof by two rows of columns or pillars, one within the other. Between each range of pillars was a platform, or what the traders call cabins, a sort of sofa raised about two feet from the common ground, and ascended by two steps; this was covered with checkered mats of curious manufacture, woven of splints and canes dyed of different colors.’ [Waselkov and Braund 1995:156]

Although the basic Creek house form and arrangement of the “compound” were intact, Bartram seems to imply that Bosten’s house structures were especially large. The most distinctive feature described, however, is the covered, raised pavilion that was found in the square yard area of his home. Both of these features may have reflected his role as the main host of visitors to the town. Bosten was also a very successful trader and would have had many White and Indian “clients” visiting his home to engage in trade and discuss business (Braund 1993:79). As previously discussed, similar types of canopied structures were part of Creek and Seminole

square grounds. Therefore, it is possible that the Bosten's domestic square yard and the town square ground were being used for many of the same purposes.

Bartram observed that the Seminole chief Cowkeeper also had a home that was easily distinguishable from the homes of the town's other inhabitants. Bartram wrote, "We were welcomed to the town, and conducted by the young men and maidens to the chief's house, which stood on an eminence, and was distinguished from the rest by its superior magnitude, a large flag being hoisted on a high staff at one corner" (van Doren 1928:163). Bartram does not explain whether or not the "eminence" was natural or man-made. Clearly, however, the home was easily recognized as "the house of the chief."

To confuse matters, however, Bartram wrote elsewhere that there were no visible differences between the home of the micos and those of other occupants. Bartram wrote "a stranger could not distinguish the king's habitation from that of any other citizen, by any sort of splendour or magnificence" (in van Doren 1928:389). In this particular passage, however, Bartram may have been simply trying to emphasize the lack of over-bearing chiefly authority and demeanor on the part of Creek and Seminole chiefs.

In the 1820s, Horatio Dexter visited Oponney's Town, a Seminole settlement located near Lake Hancock in Polk County. Dexter described several European-style structures at the settlement, where the wealthy Seminole leader Opponey lived: "The settlement included a two-story home made of wood cut at a saw mill, a dairy building, corn storage bins, stables, and sheds—all evidence that Oponney tried to live in Florida in a fashion similar to his former style in Georgia" (Covington 1993:58). The Alachua leader, King Payne, is said to have lived in a "European-style plantation house" (Covington 1993:29), as well. If this is true, several of the structures associated with Opponey's plantation may have also been present at Payne's Town.

Conclusion

Although there are many commonalities in settlement types, town design, and public and domestic architecture that have been recorded for eighteenth and nineteenth-century Creek and Seminole towns, one of the most consistent aspects of these descriptions is, in fact, the variability among them. Again, while this variability may be a product of the different ethnic groups that composed these coalescent societies, I believe they also reflect the periodical purification of towns and homes as they attempted to rid themselves of the old and impure. I do not believe this was an attempt to reject the old traditions, rather it was a tradition to renew, as was evident in the acts of ritual purification that took place during the Green Corn Ceremony. In disposing of old materials or architecture, which can be likened to the burying of old square ground and platform mound surfaces, they were in fact displaying their accordance with past traditions.

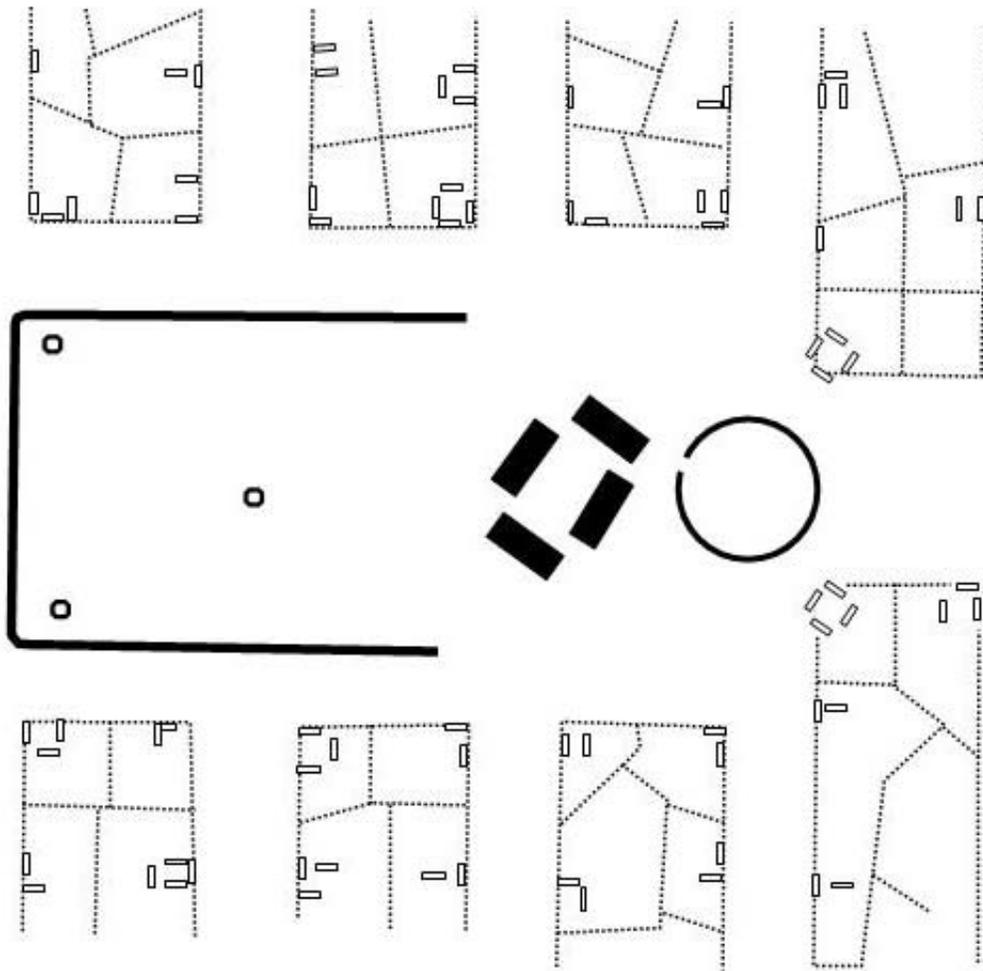


Figure 6-1 Adaptation from William Bartram's Sketch of Upper Creek Town. Structures in center are civic and ceremonial structures (from left to right), Chunkey yard, Square Ground, and Council House. House compounds are represented by dotted lines (Figure adapted from Smith 2000:53)

CHAPTER 7 HYPOTHESES AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Settlement patterns and data relating to town and household architecture are much better understood for the Lower and Upper Creeks than for the Seminoles. In this chapter, I propose three research hypotheses and their archaeological test implications. In doing so, I hope to refine our understanding of settlement and architecture among the Seminoles, specifically the inhabitants of Paynes Town.

Testing Hypothesis 1 (H1)

H1: Spatial data from recent archaeological investigations conducted at the Paynes Town site will show evidence of a dispersed pattern of settlement.

As I have reiterated throughout this study, scholars have noted that by the late eighteenth century, many Creek and Seminole settlements had become more “dispersed,” a trend that became increasingly common throughout the nineteenth century. However, the specific archaeological correlates for “nucleated” versus “dispersed” settlement types have not been made explicit. Below, I propose three lines of archaeological evidence that can be used to determine the type of settlement that is represented at a particular site. These include: (1) the length-width ratio of the site; (2) the distance between individual households; and (3) the number of house areas that are identified at the site. I include a discussion of attributes, other than architectural remains, that can be used to infer the potential locations of houses. While I propose specific parameters for these criteria, they are only a first step towards facilitating intersite comparisons. I expect that future research may modify or expand the specifics of the archaeological correlates that I propose. While there were likely many manifestations of the dispersed settlement type, I proposed three “minimum requirements.”

Because the existing data sets relevant to the questions that I am addressing for the Paynes Town site are limited for other Creek and Seminole sites, the hypotheses that I present below fall short of being thoroughly data-driven. While I have gleaned what information is available for other sites, the hypotheses are, in reality “exploratory” in nature and, for this reason, fairly simplistic. Hopefully, in the future, more refined measurements will be available.

H1 Implication 1: Length-Width Ratio

In his analysis of indigenous population movement in the early historic period, Marvin Smith emphasizes that by the late sixteenth century, many compact towns that characterized the Mississippian period had become more dispersed, as a result of massive epidemics, warfare, and political instability (Smith 1987:67-75). As one method of demonstrating this shift in the settlement pattern, Smith compares the length-width ratios of early sixteenth-century Lamar sites with those dating to the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth-centuries (Smith 1987:89-97). According to Smith, the length and width of nucleated town sites dating to the earlier periods would have been roughly the same. This is because, in the earlier towns, individual households typically surrounded the public architecture, such as the mound-plaza complex, and were often restricted in where they could be built or re-built by a protective palisade or moat that surrounded the town (Smith 1987:89-97).

By the late-sixteenth century, the constructions of mounds, palisades, and moats had ceased in most town (Smith 1987:93), a change which appears to have coincided with the abandonment of the nucleated town setting. By the late-seventeenth century, much of the remaining indigenous populations had reorganized into “coalescent societies,” such as the Lower and Upper Creeks, and were once again living in nucleated towns (Knight 1994a:384), although few, if any, ever regained the degree of nucleation of Mississippian towns.

In the 1770s, William Bartram drew a sketch of a nucleated Upper Creek town (Figure 6-1). In the sketch, a chunky-yard, square ground, and council house are located in the center of the town and groupings of individual households surround these public features, in the much the same way that Mississippian households surrounded the mound-plaza complex. Like the Lower Creeks, Upper Creek towns were typically located along rivers; thus, the fourth side of the town in Bartram's sketch, where no dwellings are shown, may have faced a river bank or bluff. Like the compact towns of the Mississippian period, the shape of the Upper Creek town in Bartram's drawing appears to have been either square or round. In either case, the length and width of the town would have been very similar.

According to Smith, the shift towards dispersed settlements in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries was evident through an increasing site length (Smith 1987:96), evident by a length: width ratio that was greater than one. In contrast, earlier settlements, had a length-width ratio closer to one. Neither Smith nor I argue that the ratio of a nucleated town should be exactly one, but rather, that the ratios of numerous sites should be compared to gain an understanding of broader shifts in nucleation and dispersal, with one being an arbitrary, or prototypical, length-width ratio of a nucleated town.

I became aware of the relevance of Marvin Smith's site dimension analysis to patterns in Seminole settlements by reading Terry Weik's dissertation, which focuses on Pilaklikaha, a Black Seminole settlement in central Florida (Weik 2002). In his study, Weik does *not* use length-width ratios to distinguish between dispersed or nucleated settlement types, but rather as a way to determine the over-all shape of the town. Weik evaluates whether the Pilaklikaha site shape is more typical of an aboriginal, African, or plantation community site pattern. My own application of the length-width ratio is consistent with Marvin Smith's (Smith 1987:89-97),

although I borrow some of Weik's data on other Seminole site dimensions (Weik 2002:97) for comparative purposes.

Both Smith (1987) and Weik (2002) use the length-width ratio of one as the ideal, or prototypical, ratio of a nucleated settlement. Although this is a rather simplistic formula, it provides a platform for which future analyses of other sites' sizes may be compared and more precise ratios for nucleated and dispersed settlements determined. Thus, following Smith (1987) and Weik (2002), I propose that *if the length-to-width ratio of the Paynes Town site is greater than one, then the Paynes Town site is representative of a dispersed settlement type. If the ratio is closer to one, then the Paynes Town site represents a more nucleated settlement type.* The boundaries of the Paynes Town site will be determined by the presence of artifacts or features associated with the Seminole occupation. Following Weik,

A central axis defined by two perpendicular lines drawn over the site is the core data feature from which length and width are calculated. Length values are derived from the line with the larger distance value, if lines are defined by the farthest bounds of structures, activity areas, artifacts, and features. Width values are derived from the largest line covering archaeological finds along the central axis line. [Weik 2002:95]

H1 Implication 2: Distance between Households

I propose that another measure of the degree of town nucleation or dispersion is the distance between households. There is limited information relating to household distribution at historic Creek sites, mostly because house areas are not generally depicted on site maps, unless specific architectural features, such as post holes, have been identified (I will return to this problem momentarily). Spatial information from protohistoric sites provide baseline data for nucleated town sites, although, later historic towns did not obtain the same degree of nucleation as their predecessors. This is probably due in part because of the abandonment of defensive architectural features, such as palisades and moats (Smith 1987:89-97).

Archaeological evidence from the sixteenth-century King site, a town affiliated with the Coosa paramount chiefdom, provides spatial data relating to a compact, or nucleated, village. This is evident through the remains of the palisades and the distribution of numerous closely-spaced houses (Hally 1988). In the area of the site that has been excavated, twenty-five dwellings were identified through distinct posthole patterns. David Hally estimates that, assuming that the size of the houses and the spacing between houses was consistent across the unexcavated portions of the site—an additional twenty-four households would have been present at one time (Hally 1988:10). Marvin Smith estimates that the households at the King site would have been spaced no more than 11 m apart from each other (Smith 2000:113).

Archaeological and historical data pertaining to the Upper Creek town of Tukabatchee shed light on the distribution of households at this eighteenth and nineteenth-century nucleated town site. The writings of European and American visitors to the town indicate that it contained public architecture typically found at Creek and early Seminole sites, including a square ground (Knight 1985:25). While these public structures have not been identified archaeologically, archaeologists do believe that they have located the “center” of the town, where concentrations of refuse believed to be associated with individual households are particularly dense (Knight 1985:39). Based on the distribution of these artifact concentrations in the town center, Knight (1985:63) surmises that households in this area of the settlement were spaced between fifty and one hundred meters apart from one another (Knight 1985: 39-41). Knight notes that, as archaeologists surveyed the area farther away from the center, they encountered a series of more widely spaced household deposits that were situated, on average, two hundred meters apart from one another.

Thus, the town of Tukabatchee appears to have represented a combination of the nucleated and dispersed settlement types, with households more tightly spaced towards the center of the town and becoming more dispersed towards the outskirts of the town. Knight notes that this trend is consistent with Benjamin Hawkins' observation that "[Creeks] have begun to settle out in villages for the conveniency [sic] of stock raising, and having firewood" (Hawkins 1848:30 [in Knight 1985:59]). Hawkins observed that it was not uncommon for Creek settlements to extend along the river banks for more than two miles (Swanton 1946:633).

The only archaeological data relating to the distribution of households at Seminole towns come from two Second Seminole War-era sites in the Cove of the Withlacoochee region. Together, the Zellner Grove site and the Newman's Garden site appear to represent the remains of five individual households within a particular settlement, with the latter site separated from the former by a creek (Weisman 1986b:18). Although no house architecture was definitively identified, discrete clusters of artifacts believed to be associated with individual households indicate that the house areas were separated from each other by approximately one hundred meters (Weisman 1985:8).

The complicating factor in the Zellner Grove-Newman's Garden example is that, although the distance between houses is similar to those found in the Tukabatchee town center (where houses were separated by between fifty and one hundred meters), the Zellner Grove-Newman's Garden settlement could still be considered *consistent* with that of a "dispersed" settlement type. This is because the settlement appears to have been inhabited by only a few families, not an entire town.

Thus, just as important as the distance between houses in determining whether a settlement was nucleated or dispersed was the number of households that were present in a settlement.

Presumably, an extended family, or no more than five nuclear families, occupied the Newman's Garden-Zellner Grove settlement. Regardless of the familial make-up, the settlement was not consistent with a well-populated, or nucleated, town site that was typical of early Creek and Seminole settlements. For example, Bartram wrote that there were "thirty habitations" at the town of Cuscowilla (Waselkov and Braund 1995:53) and "near thirty" at Talahaschte (Waselkov and Braund 1995:60). Archaeologists identified approximately twenty-three house sites at the Tukabatchee site (Knight 1985:42). This number represents only those house sites identified within the designated project area and many others likely extend outside of it.

If the number of people living within a household is *very conservatively* estimated to have been three (a husband-wife and one child), then the number of people affiliated with the Cuscowilla, Talahaschte, and Tukabatchee town sites would have been between seventy and ninety. These numbers could have easily been doubled or tripled, if we are to take eighteenth and nineteenth-century censuses at face value (see censuses incorporated throughout discussions in Swanton 1946; 1998).

Using the information relating to the distance between households and the number of households represented, I propose that *if twenty or more individual households are identified, and these households are spaced one hundred meters or less from one another, then a nucleated settlement type is represented. If less than twenty households are identified and/or the households are separated by more than one hundred meters, then a dispersed settlement type is represented.*

Testing the above hypotheses relies on successfully identifying the locations of households in the archaeological record. The descriptions of the Creek and Seminole households portrayed by William Bartram, Caleb Swan, and others, discussed in the previous chapter, paint a picture

of physically impressive structures that would seemingly leave distinct archaeological evidence. Unfortunately, the structural remains are often difficult to locate at Creek and Seminole sites. Below, I discuss several archaeological attributes that could point to the potential location of households, in the absence of clear structural remains, although the first attribute I discuss—post holes—are arguably structural remains. Aligned post holes, however, are notoriously hard to locate at Creek and Seminole sites (Foster 2007:111-129; Knight 1985:113).

Post holes. Extensive archaeological research and mitigation has been conducted in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley over the past sixty years, resulting in hundreds of archaeological site reports pertaining to historic Lower Creek sites. Surprisingly, only twenty-five structures have been identified at Lower Creek sites (Foster 2007: 112). Of these twenty-five structures, three types of house forms were observed: circular vertical-post structures, rectangular vertical-post structures, and log-cabins. The circular structures probably represented winter houses, and were identified on the basis of sunken floors, or vertical posts that formed a circular shape. Because this form was abandoned by most Creek towns by the early-eighteenth century (Foster 2007:133; Hally 2000:107-108:), and is not included in any historical or archaeological references describing Seminole houses, this form will not be further discussed here.

Rectangular, vertical-post structures are the most common form found at Lower Creek and Seminole sites, although historic accounts of these structures indicate that there was variety among them. For example, whether or not the ground floor was elevated, how many floors were present, how much of the structure was open or enclosed, the number of structures that composed a “house compound,” and how large the individual structures were, were some of the characteristics that varied from house to house or town to town. Two of the most well-defined rectangular structures were identified at the Buzzard Roost site (9TR41), a late eighteenth-

century Lower Creek site in the Lower Chattahoochee River Valley. The outlines of the structures were approximately three by five meters and five to seven posts composed each wall (Foster 2007:114). Unfortunately, most of the other structures discussed by Foster were only identifiable by the presence of a few aligned post holes.

Because log cabin-style structures were built from horizontally-placed logs, post holes would not be as pervasive in these structures, although vertical posts may have still been used within the structure itself for partitioning rooms, constructing beds, or any number of purposes. Ideally, a horizontally-laid log cabin could leave stained outlines of the structure. Unfortunately, clear archaeological evidence of Creek or Seminole log cabins is scarce.

Structural evidence from Seminole archaeological sites is even more obscure than those from Lower Creek sites, and even fewer have been identified. The best example of a Seminole structure was identified by William Sears at site 8AL296, near Paynes Prairie in Alachua County (Sears 1959). Sears identified a series of six post holes associated with a small scatter of artifacts. The post holes were placed approximately one foot apart from one another, with the exception of two that were spaced roughly five feet apart (possibly representing an entrance to the structure). A cluster of much smaller, randomly placed post holes were found a few feet away (Sears 1959:26). The post holes, along with the small artifact scatter, led Sears to infer that the site was the location of a “small temporary structure occupied by a few people for a short period of time” (Sears 1959:28).

At the Newman’s Garden Seminole site, several areas of charred wood were identified in association with a few randomly distributed post holes. Brent Weisman considers the possibility that the charred remains were associated with a log-cabin style Seminole dwelling:

There does, however, remain the possibility that the support posts and ‘rafters’ were made of the oak recovered in our excavation. Because there were no substantial postholes found,

we can reason also that the structure was of the board cabin type, as was noted for the Creeks and early Seminoles...The recovery of several small pieces of daub supports the cabin idea, because the Seminoles were known to chink such cabins to keep out insects and vermin [King 1978:14], as well as rain and cold weather. [Weisman 1986a:217]

Similar features to those depicted in the Newman's Garden site plan were observed in Paynes Town site test units, and will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Like Paynes Town, the historically documented Seminole village that is believed to have been located at Newman's Garden was burned down by U.S. soldiers in military campaigns, although in the latter case this event took place during the Second Seminole War (Weisman 1986a:210-212).

As stated, structural evidence in the most obvious forms (e.g. clearly aligned post holes) at Lower Creek and Seminole sites is rare. Therefore, archaeologists have begun to consider what other methods could be used to identify the location of houses in the absence of building materials or post holes. These include identifying dense artifact clusters, distinguishing activity areas based on the presence of certain artifact types, and locating other cultural features, such as hearths, storage pits, and refuse pits. A few of these characteristics will be addressed below.

Human burials. Like other Southeastern Indian groups, many Creek and Seminole mortuary rituals included burying the dead under the deceased person's home (Hudson 1976:335; Sullivan and Rodning 2001). Bartram described this practice among the Seminoles:

'They dig a four-square deep pit under the cabin or couch which the deceased lay on, in his house, lining the grave with cypress bark, where they place the corpse in a sitting posture, as if it were alive; depositing with him his gun, tomahawk, pipe, and such other matters as he had the greatest value for in his life-time.' [van Doren 1928:403]

Similar practices were observed among some Seminole groups as late as the early-nineteenth century (Young 1934-35:89-95). However, Mary Beth Fitts (2001:142-143) points out that other mortuary practices existed among the Seminoles, as well, including placing the dead in scaffolds or small, above-ground structures. Although human burials are not definitively

associated with houses, in the absence of structural remains they could be used as potential indicators of house locations (Waselkov 1990:39).

Pit features. Archaeologists refer to numerous kinds of cultural features found at archaeological sites as “pits,” referring to areas of earth that were intentionally excavated by a site’s occupants for any number of purposes. Pit features identified from Yuchi Town, the location of the nucleated town of a group of Yuchi Indians who were affiliated with the Creek Confederacy, exhibit the variety of forms that these features can take. Lengths range from twenty-five to one hundred-and-fifty-five centimeters, widths range from twenty-two to one hundred-and-thirty centimeters, and depths varied from between three and thirty-two centimeters (Hargrave and McGimsey 1998:32). The plan views of the features were rectangular, oval, or irregular. Their profiles were equally as diverse, with nearly two-thirds of the pit features being described as “insloping,” while the others are described as “vertical/insloping,” “insloping/belled,” or “lens-shaped”(Hargrave and McGimsey 1998:32).

In many cases, the intended primary function of a pit is never known. Because these pits were often used secondarily as areas to deposit trash, they are usually identified as “refuse pits” in archaeological site reports. However, pits were used for other purposes, as well, including cooking, storage, and clay extraction. These different pit functions and their archaeological correlates are discussed below.

Hearths. Hearths were typically basin-shaped pits and sometimes lined or rimmed in baked clay (DeJarnette 1975:115; Holland 1974:34; Knight 1985:77) and filled with charcoal and fire-cracked rocks (DeJarnette 1975:115). A hearth uncovered at Yuchi Town excavations is described as follows: “A well defined prepared hearth was identified at the level of the structure

floor. The hearth was large (110 by 107 cm), circular, shallow basin. In profile, three distinct strata suggested a similar number of episodes of use” (Hargrave and McGimsey 1998:36).

Storage pits. The Creeks and Seminoles used underground pits for storing grains and other perishable foods and items. In describing a Seminole house compound, William Bartram referred to a “potatoe house” that was located below the structure that was jointly used as a granary and provision house. Bartram wrote that the Seminoles stored “roots & fruits as require to be kept close or defended from cold in Winter” in the potato house (Waselkov and Braund 1995:180).

Underground storage pits may have increased during the historic period because of the growing absenteeism in Seminole and Creek towns, as entire families left on hunting expeditions (Waselkov and Smith 2000:246; 255). Trawick Ward observes that eighteenth-century Upper Creek sites along the Coosa River Drainage contain many more storage pits than previous phases. Ward suggests that this was caused by the increased hunting activity, resulting in much of the population leaving the towns in the winter and *caching* food and other belongings in underground pits (Ward 1985:99). Knight (1985:151), however, notes the virtual absence of storage pits in the historic documents pertaining to Creek and Seminole towns. Thus, Knight concludes that above-ground granaries were more commonly used.

Clay extraction pits. Some round pit features that have been identified at Lower Creek archaeological sites have been interpreted as “clay extraction pits” (Foster 2007:118). In the late eighteenth-century, Caleb Swan wrote of pits that were used to extract clay for the construction of wattle-and-daub houses. According to Swan, the pits were located adjacent to the houses (Foster 2007:118). However, because these pits were later filled with trash, there are not necessarily any characteristics that would distinguish them from other types of pits, unless the soil is non-clayey and the clay lining of the pit can be distinguished (Knight 1985:151), although

in some cases an abundance of disturbed clay may indicate its use as an extraction pit. Daub is not commonly found at Seminole archaeological sites and is not mentioned in historic writings describing Seminole towns. However, several small pieces of daub were recovered from the Newman's Garden site. Weisman suggests that these may have been used to "chink" log cabin structures to keep out pests and protect against rain and cool weather (Weisman 1986a:217). Therefore, it is possible that clay extraction pits could have been used by the Seminoles, as well.

Activity areas/artifact clustering. Not all archaeological sites render defined cultural features, such as post holes, hearths, or storage pits. Even if they do, the locations of households may not easily be determined. The distribution of artifacts at archaeological sites can aid in determining house locations. For example, Knight explains that at the Tukabatchee site, archaeologists "noticed almost immediately that artifacts tended to be distributed nonrandomly" across the individual sites (later identified as probable household sites) in the project area (Knight 1985:116). Archaeologists observed areas of discrete concentrations of artifacts surrounding an area that was comparatively devoid of artifacts at several of these sites (Knight 1985:116-117).

Two of the Tukabatchee sites exhibited this pattern particularly well. In these examples, three dense concentrations of artifacts, averaging between ten and twelve meters in length, surrounded an area that had significantly fewer artifacts, measuring approximately ten to twenty meters. Knight speculates that the dense concentrations of artifacts could reflect individual structures making up a Creek house compound, whereas the area with few artifacts could be evidence of the square yard that William Bartram described as being "swept clean" by the occupants of the household (van Doren 1928:168-169).

Foster discusses a similar pattern at the Ochille Creek site, a Lower Creek settlement in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley:

Four concentrations of artifacts were encountered; they were oriented roughly with the cardinal directions. Furthermore, the area of low artifact density between the four high density areas was approximately 1/4 acre (0.1 hectare). One-fourth of an acre is the same size that Bartram mentioned when describing the size of an individual's household compound. [Foster 2007:117]

Excavation pits in two of the areas of artifact concentrations confirmed the presence of structures (Foster 2007:117-118). Furthermore, the eastern concentration of artifacts which were associated with remains of a wattle-and-daub structure revealed the greatest number of "kitchen-related artifacts," such as faunal and botanical materials. Thus, Foster surmises that this may have been the structure where cooking and meal preparation took place (Foster 2007:119).

Testing Hypothesis 2 (H2)

Hypothesis 2: The spatial arrangement of structures and the distribution of artifact concentrations at the Paynes Town site will point to the presence of a square ground and, potentially, other civic features associated with a traditional town center.

In most instances, identifying the structural remains of Creek and Seminole public architecture would require extensive subsurface testing, of the sort best gleaned from the removal of hundreds of meters of topsoil by heavy machinery. For example, the removal of the plowzone at the Upper Creek town site of Fusihatchee revealed exceptional architectural details. Four open-sided structures surrounding a square space (the square ground) and six "sequentially occupied" rotundas were identified (Sheldon 1990; Waselkov and Smith 2000:253). This kind of testing, however, is not typically conducted by archaeologists unless a site is being mitigated. Other information, such as artifact distribution and subsoil features, however, could potentially shed light on the location of public architecture. This seems to be especially true in the case of the town square ground.

H2 Implication 1: Evidence of Square Ground

Like the square yards associated with individual households, Creek and Seminole town square grounds were typically swept clean of refuse (Sears 1955:145). Brent Weisman suggests that at the Powell's Town site, a Second Seminole War period site in the Cove of the Withlacoochee, a portion of the site with comparably few artifacts and covering an area measuring approximately 96-square meters may be the location of the square ground of a small settlement where Osceola lived for a brief time (Weisman 1989:142-143). However, the measurements of this area are dramatically smaller than those described by William Bartram, who stated that the town square was, on average, around half-of-an-acre in size (Waselkov and Braund 1995:104). The smaller size could have been due to the "make-shift" nature of the small and isolated settlements that the Seminoles occupied during the Second Seminole War.

At the nearby Flying Eagle Ranch site, Weisman believes that he may have identified an area where ceremonies, possibly even the Green Corn Ceremony, was conducted (Weisman 1986b:7-8). Although traditionally the Green Corn Ceremony took place in the square ground of a talwa, greater seclusion may have been sought when conducting this sacred ritual during the years of the Seminole Wars (Weisman 1989:111). Therefore, Weisman hypothesizes that the ceremony may have been conducted outside of the Powell's Town settlement.

A deposit of white sand, containing charred wood and over two hundred pottery sherds was identified at the site. Many of the sherds were used to reconstruct a large globular vessel. Weisman hypothesizes that the sand cap may have provided "an elevated focal point for the Green Corn Dance ceremony" (Weisman 1986b:8). The sand deposit may have also been related to the ritual deposition of sand before the commencement of the ceremony, an act that Knight argues was analogous to the ritual acts of adding mantles to platform mounds during the Mississippian period (Knight 1986:683). Weisman speculates that the presence of charred wood

in the deposit could have been related to the burning of the sacred fire in the Green Corn ceremony, and that the reconstructed sherds of the globular vessel could be the remains of a “black-drink vessel, fashioned especially for the occasion” and left behind at the end of the ceremony (Weisman 1986b:8).

Based on the above discussion, *the archaeological correlates of a town square ground could consist of the following: a large area (e.g. from one hundred to several hundred square-meters) that is comparatively devoid of artifacts, and/or “clean” deposits of sand containing charred wood and ritual paraphernalia, such as distinctive pottery vessels.*

H2 Implication 2: Evidence of a Council House

The only Creek council houses that have been identified archaeologically were found at the Upper Creek sites of Fusihatchee and Okfuskee (Ethridge 2003:97). At these two sites, post hole patterns revealed the presence of a large, circular structure, composed of an outer wall constructed of closely spaced posts and four to five larger support posts in the center. The floor of the council houses were “sunken,” and were often built a meter or more below the ground surface (Sheldon 1990). At Fusihatchee, the remains of six council houses, measuring between fifteen and twenty meters in diameter, were identified. At Okfuskee, the structure measured approximately 50 in diameter (Ethridge 2003:97). Like the public square, a fire was kept burning in the center of the square. *The presence of a sunken floor, a large hearth feature, along with evidence (e.g. post holes) of a large circular structure could indicate the presence of a council house.*

H2 Implication 3: Evidence of *Chunkey* Yard

Architectural features that could be indicative of a *chunkey* yard are linear earthen embankments and unusually large post holes. William Bartram’s sketches of historic *chunkey* yards depict an earthen embankment surrounding portions of the yard, as well as a raised area

where the chunky pole was implanted towards the center of the yard. A pair of large “slave posts” are also depicted towards one end of the yard (Waselkov and Braund 1995:174-183).

Archaeologists believe they have identified post holes associated with the chunky yard of the sixteenth-century King site:

Feature 45 is a circular pit measuring 3.5 meters in diameter and 5 feet in depth. It is located almost exactly in the center of the site. Feature 11 is narrower but equally deep circular pit. Both features are no doubt post holes. Given their size and location, it is possible that the posts they held can be identified as the “chunky” and “slave” posts that have been described for late eighteenth-century Creek towns. [Hally 1988:14]

Based on the dimensions of the post holes, Hally estimates that the poles were between 30 and 40 feet tall and measured between 2 and 3 feet at their base (Hally 1988:14). The presumed area of the chunky yard at the King site also contained significantly fewer numbers of artifacts and post holes (Hally 1988:14).

In summary, *the potential archaeological correlates of a chunky yard include: linear earthen embankments; large, isolated single or paired post holes; a large area containing notably fewer artifacts (this would also be consistent with a town square); and an area containing a comparably fewer number of post holes.*

Testing Hypothesis 3 (H3)

Hypothesis 2: Archaeological data from the Paynes Town site will show evidence of multiple types of building construction.

H3 Test Implication 1: Evidence of Vertical Post Structures

Clear archaeological evidence of vertical post structures is straightforward. *Evidence of vertical post structures will consist of subterranean post holes.* Vertical post structures, however, are not necessarily indicative of dwellings, but could represent any number of structures included in eighteenth and nineteenth-century descriptions of Creek and Seminole towns. These could

include granaries, warehouses, stables, or fences. Artifacts associated with the post holes will help elucidate the structure's primary use.

H3 Test Implication 2: Evidence of Log Cabins

Archaeological evidence of log cabins is rare (Foster 2007:112). Historic writings and illustrations of Creek and Seminole log cabins suggest that the walls, which were composed of unhewn, notched logs, were set directly upon the earth (Ethridge 2003:77), and there is no historic or archaeological evidence to suggest that wall trenches were used. The structures may have been partially covered with plaster, which could leave traces in the archaeological record (Weisman 1986a:217). It is also possible that if the logs were left in place when the house was abandoned and were not reused by the occupants or scavenged by other opportunists, then rotting logs could have left stains on the earth.

Thomas Foster argues that large, rectangular pits (approximately 2 meters by 2.5 meters) found at the Buzzard Roost site and Upatoi sites may have been used as "cellars" for above ground log cabins (Foster 2007:114-115). These distinctive pits were located in areas devoid of post holes, leading Foster to infer that log cabins were located in these areas. In summary, *potential archaeological correlates of log cabin structures may include: linear or rectangular-shape stains, daub, and rectangular pits.*

H3 Test Implication 3: Other Construction Materials

Based on descriptions of nineteenth-century Seminole domestic structures (Simmons 1822:44; Weisman 1986a:217), the Seminoles did not typically adopt the use of nails in the construction of either vertical post structures or log cabins. Furthermore, hardware such as nails are notably absent from examples of British trading good lists (see Braund 1993:128; Covington 1960), indicating they were not in high demand by the Indian groups with whom they were

engaging in trade. However, more elaborate homes constructed in the likeness of those of wealthy White planters likely did contain European hardware and construction materials.

The *mestizo* (Scottish-Creek) leader Alexander McGillivray constructed a house that had a shingled roof, a chimney, and dormer windows. Claudio Saunt writes that “the construction of the house, including laying the floor, casing the window, making the doorway, and purchasing the hinges and nails” is believed to have cost McGillivray around 650 dollars (Saunt 1999:71). The Seminole Opauney may have lived in a similar type of house (although probably not as ostentatious), as he is said to have lived in a “two-story frame house” (Weisman 1989:69). These plantation-style houses were much more than a simple log cabins and European materials were common throughout them. *Evidence of a European plantation-style home will include metal construction hardware, bricks, and window glass.*

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have proposed three hypotheses relating to the Paynes Town settlement type and the domestic and public architecture present at the town. The archaeological correlates, or test implications, for these hypotheses are not always precise, and require multiple lines of evidence to support them. When tested against archaeological evidence from the Paynes Town site, the three hypotheses will help paint a picture of the design of the Seminole town and its structures. Information from Paynes Town will help build a base line for which data obtained from future work at other Seminole sites can be compared.

CHAPTER 8 ENVIRONMENTAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PAYNES TOWN SITE

In this chapter, the environmental and archaeological background relating to the Paynes Town site is presented. This includes a summary of two previous archaeological investigations at Paynes Town, which were conducted in the 1960s and 1970s by students from the University of Florida. Those investigations paved the way for recent archaeological fieldwork at the Paynes Town site, which I directed between November of 2003 and August of 2004. In the second half of the chapter, I discuss the recent shovel test and test unit excavations and findings relating to the Paynes Town site boundaries and stratigraphy.

Site Environment

The Paynes Town site is situated on the southeastern rim of the prairie on one of the most elevated points within a two-mile radius. The site elevation ranges from between 29 and 32 m above mean sea level. The site and its immediate vicinity are composed of scrubby flatwoods. Dominant tree species of this area include live oak, water oak, longleaf pine, and slash pine. The understory is characterized by stagger bush, saw palmetto, and gallberry. In the cleared area in the central portion of the project area, persimmon, and black cherry are also present. The soil at the Paynes Town site is dominated by the moderately well-drained Millhopper sand (0-5 percent slopes). Water from the site drains to the west towards a pond, located roughly .16 km from the western edge of the project area. Intermittent depressional wetlands are common for a several-mile radius.

In the 1960s portions of the project area were mined for sand and a temporary asphalt plant was set up at the site for use in the construction of local roads and highways. Nancy Mykel (1962) noted that a temporary asphalt plant was also set up in the vicinity of the site sometime prior to 1962. Based on findings from the 2003 shovel-test survey, asphalt production probably

occurred in the western portion of Project Area A. In this area, asphalt and tar were encountered in several shovel tests. In some areas, the asphalt and gravel merely formed a thin cap over otherwise intact cultural deposits. In other areas, asphalt was found as far down as 70 cmbs and screens were repeatedly filled up with gravel.

The most visible impacts to the site from the sand mining are the extensive borrow pits that flank the western and northern boundaries of the site. Any artifacts that were originally present in these areas of the site would have been removed along with the sand. Based on the distribution of the artifacts recovered during the shovel-test survey, the northeastern sand pit would have had the greatest impact on the site since historic artifacts were consistently found in the area immediately to its south.

Previous Investigations at Paynes Town

In the early 1960s, Nancy Mykel, an undergraduate student enrolled in one of John Goggin's anthropology courses at the University of Florida, attempted to locate several historically documented Seminole towns, including Paynes Town (Mykel 1962a). The 1846 General Land Office Survey plat produced by Henry Washington was particularly helpful in determining the potential site location of Paynes Town (Figure 8-1). The Washington map depicts the "site of Paynes Old House" near Micanopy, in the fork of two military roads, one leading to Picolata and the other to Fort Drane. After comparing historic landmarks and geophysical features, Mykel focused her attention on an area west of County Road 234. Through limited surface collections and subsurface testing of the area, Mykel located the archaeological site of Paynes Town.

Unfortunately, no detailed information about the proveniences of Mykel's excavations is included in the manuscript describing her findings at Paynes Town (Mykel 1962a). However, Mykel does sketch the vicinities of three artifact concentrations, which she refers to as: "Hogan's

house,” “Paynes House,” and “Paynes Town Proper.” Mykel’s sketch of the site is depicted in Figure 8-2. The “Hogan’s House” concentration is depicted within the vicinity of the present-day private property out-parcel to the south of the site. Mykel notes that the artifacts associated with “Hogan’s House” dated to between 1820 and 1840, coinciding with “Hogan’s 1835 or 1838” occupation (Mykel 1962a). However, there is no explanation of the historic relevance of the name “Hogan,” or any mention of it in other references discussing the site.

Mykel’s map depicts the “Paynes House” concentration near the northwest corner of a private property out-parcel. According to Mykel, artifacts associated with “Paynes House” dated to the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Mykel does not explain why she believes that this concentration was associated with a house, or more specifically, Payne’s house, unless she felt that it was especially consistent with the location of “Paynes Old House” on the 1846 plat.

According to Mykel, “Paynes Town Proper” fell within a portion of a recently-excavated sand mining pit. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, portions of the site area continued to be mined for sand, and a temporary asphalt “factory” was created for use in the construction of nearby roadways (Mullins 1977:74). Mykel observed that pottery sherds were recovered from all four edges of the sand pit, leading her to believe that the mining had destroyed a particularly rich portion of the site (Mykel 1962a:13).

Fifteen years after Mykel’s investigation of the Paynes Town site, Sue Ann Mullins, a Master’s student in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Florida, conducted archaeological testing of the area as a part of a larger survey designed to test numerous “high potential” areas within Paynes Prairie Preserve State Park (Mullins 1977). Mullins’s work at the site confirmed the location of Paynes Town, although Mullins observed that the recent addition

of two more sand mining pits likely destroyed a great deal of the site. Mullins also noted that asphalt production had resulted in a dense gravel or asphalt cap across certain areas of the site, such as the open area immediately to the east of the southwestern sandpit (Mullins 1977:74).

Mullins was unsuccessful in locating large concentrations of artifacts until tests were made in the area of an “old fence.” This “old fence” probably refers to the same fence line of today’s private property out-parcel, which would place it close to the areas that Mykel designated as “Hogan’s House” and “Paynes House.” Unlike Mykel, Mullins does not mention artifacts associated with a post-Paynes Town occupation or homestead. She does, however, suggest that the abundance of European ceramics in the area could be indicative of “the house of a higher status individual, such as Chief Payne” (Mullins 1977:77).

2003 Shovel Test Survey

In 1998, archaeologists at the Bureau of Archaeological Research established a tentative boundary for the Paynes Town site (1998 Florida Master Site Files, 8AL366), based on earlier descriptions provided in the reports produced by Nancy Mykel and Sue Ann Mullins. This boundary provided a framework for the 2003 shovel test survey of the Paynes Town site area. To facilitate discussion of the survey results, the survey area is arbitrarily divided into two parts. Project Area A refers to the largest area of land, located to the east side of the southernmost sand pit. Project Area B is made up of the narrow, irregular tract of land on the west side of this pit (Figure 8-3).

The northwestern corner of the private property out-parcel served as the site datum. A Trimble Pathfinder Pro XR was used to record the position of the datum and each shovel test. Following a systematic random sample model, shovel tests were placed every 10 m along a north-south axis. Every other transect was offset by 5 m along the north-south axis, producing a “staggered” grid. Four hundred-and-ten shovel tests were excavated. All shovel tests measured

50 cm by 50 cm in width and varied to between 50 and 100 cm in depth, depending on where, or if, historic artifacts were recovered. Soil was screened through a 0.64 cm² (.26 inch) screen.

Boundaries of the Seminole Component

The Paynes Town site is a multi-component site and almost every shovel test that was excavated produced one or more prehistoric and/or historic artifact. Thus, the boundary for the Seminole component of the site was based on the distribution of shovel tests that produced one or more historic artifact. As I discussed in previous chapters, I did not include lithic artifacts (stone tools and debitage). With the exception of the southern boundary of the site, which almost certainly continues into the private property area, the boundaries of the Seminole component of the Paynes Town site were well-defined.

Figure 8-4 depicts the locations of all shovel tests that produced one or more historic artifact. I excluded seven of the shovel tests from the Seminole site boundary because they were distinct outliers from the site's main Seminole occupation. Furthermore, most of these test units showed no indication that they were related to the Seminole occupation. Shovel Test 130W-145N produced a single piece of clear glass. Shovel test 130W-55N produced a single artifact resembling a ring-shaped iron pipe sleeve or joint that was probably modern. Shovel test 100W-70N, which was located on a finger of land that jutted into the quarry pit and that not been destroyed during the sand mining, produced a single Chattahoochee Brushed sherd. Three corroded nail fragments were recovered from shovel test 50W-5N. Finally, three shovel tests on the northern portion of Transect 130W (145N, 165N, and 185N) produced a few sherds of very friable sand-tempered, plain pottery that were very different in paste and composition from plain pottery found in the site's main Seminole component.

Test Unit Excavations

Test units were opened up in areas where shovel tests revealed the densest concentrations of historic artifacts and/or potential Seminole cultural features. The test units were located adjacent to or directly on top of these shovel tests, with the exception of two test units that were placed in between two shovel tests. Twenty test units, measuring 1 m x 1 m, 1 m x 2 m, or 2 m x 2 m were excavated (Figure 8-5). In two areas of the site, small excavation blocks were established, when a single test unit revealed an abundance of artifacts or cultural features, and opening up a larger excavation area would provide more information on the cultural context of these finds. These two areas are referred to as North Block, which is composed of TU3, 5, 6, 9, 10, and 14 and the South Block, made up of TU15, 17, 19, and 20.

An arbitrary datum was established in the southwest corner of each test unit. Levels were excavated according to natural and/or cultural stratigraphic characteristics. All units were excavated using hand trowels and the soil was sieved through 0.32-cm (1/8-inch) screen. Before excavating a level or feature, a plan view of its surface was drawn and a photograph was taken. A standardized form was used to record data such as elevations, soil characteristics, and artifacts recovered. Half of all feature soil was collected for water flotation, which was conducted upon completion of the excavations. A stratigraphic profile of the unit's western wall was mapped and photographed, as were other walls, if they demonstrated important stratigraphic or feature characteristics.

Stratigraphy

Excavations of the test units and the shovel tests revealed that several areas of the site, specifically those that fell within the boundaries of the main Seminole component shared similar stratigraphies (Figure 8-6). The first level was typically composed of a thin layer of vegetation, usually grass, or humus. This was followed by a thicker deposit of gravel, clay, asphalt, or other

modern debris related to twentieth-century sand quarrying and asphalt production. Occasionally, a thin layer of pea-gravel or silt that had leached out of the gravel was found below the main gravel deposit.

The Seminole cultural stratum was usually found immediately below the thin topsoil or modern deposits, indicating that a thicker surface soil that would have accumulated after the Seminole town was abandoned had been scoured off by heavy machinery traffic and, in some cases, replaced by industrial debris. Seminole midden deposits were difficult to distinguish from a buried A Horizon (Ab). The wall profiles of Test Units 1, 2, 5, and 12 and many shovel test units revealed that portions of the A horizon (and Seminole cultural stratum) had been removed in some areas of the site.

In many test units, the Seminole cultural stratum was composed of two levels. In these cases, the upper level contained very dark grey (10YR3/1) sands along with dense deposits of charred wood and scatters of modern, historic, and prehistoric artifacts. The charred wood concentrations were sometimes surrounded by brittle, brown (7.5YR 5/4) soil, which were probably discolored by the intense heat of the burning event. The main cultural level associated with the Seminole occupation, which was a midden deposit of variable thickness, was found immediately below the level of charred wood. Its soil was composed of a dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) or very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) medium-grain sand that was notably more compact than the levels below it. Both charred and non-charred wood were often present in this level. Fluvial and alluvial erosion was sometimes visible in this level.

The bottom of the Seminole cultural stratum and/or Ab horizon was usually marked by an abrupt color change, in which light brown and grey soils (10YR 5/2-7/2) of the buried B horizon (Bb) replaced the dark grey soils of the Seminole stratum. In most cases, lithic scatters were

found throughout the sandy (occasionally clayey-sands) of the Bb horizon. Historic artifacts were frequently present in the first several centimeters of the B Horizon, as well, as a result of trampling or the migration of the artifacts over time. Pottery from a prehistoric cultural occupation was also occasionally present in this horizon. Shovel test revealed several sub-horizons within the Bb horizon, which could only be distinguished by their colors, as their composition was identical. Occasionally, an impenetrable deposit of clay was found at a shallow depth. For example, a dark grey clay was found at 40 cmbs in 70E-5N. These deposits were likely remnants of the Wicomico terrace (21-30 m above msl), which is characterized by clay, marl, and sandy clay that varies from between .3 and 14 m in thickness (State of Florida 2002:1)

Significance of Charred Wood Deposit

Even with the availability of written documents, successfully isolating a single event in the stratigraphy of an archaeological site is usually impossible, as sites are most often formed by the incremental accumulation of debris over time. The exception is when a fire or other catastrophic event leaves a distinct archaeological signature. In the case of the Paynes Town site, I believe that the charred deposits found within many areas of the site where the Seminole cultural stratum was present can be linked to a specific date, February 17, 1813. This was the date when the Seminole town was burned by U.S. soldiers. Three main factors support this interpretation:

1. It is historically documented that, after briefly camping at the Seminole town, U.S. soldiers set fire to Paynes Town and other Alachua Seminole towns, as a part of a greater campaign of retaliation against Seminole attacks, and specifically, for the Seminoles' defeat of Daniel Newman and his troops (Davis 1931b: 273).
2. Test unit excavations revealed that no matrix between the charred wood deposits (first level) and the main Seminole habitation level (second level), was present. This would be

expected if the burning event that left the charred wood deposits took place much later than the date of the town's abandonment.

3. Charred wood deposits were much scarcer in areas of the site that did not contain a Seminole midden deposit, or evidence of a historic Seminole component, suggesting that the fire was limited to areas where the Seminole structures were located, although surrounding trees and vegetation would have likely caught fire, as well (Figure 8-7).

Laboratory Methods

I identified the majority of the artifacts recovered from the shovel test and test unit excavations, although I did supervise a few volunteers who assisted with the lithic debitage analysis. For each artifact class (e.g. pottery, lithics, glass, metal), specific data were recorded onto standardized forms. The data were then entered into Microsoft Excel spreadsheets. Upon completion of lab analysis, the artifacts, the field specimen (FS) log, and a final report (Blakney-Bailey 2005) were sent to the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research (BAR) for permanent curation.

Throughout the test unit excavation phase at the Paynes Town site, soil samples from features (as well as a few subjective samples from levels) were collected for water flotation. Once the excavations were complete, volunteers conducted most of the water flotation using a Flote-Tech water flotation machine in the Southeastern Archaeology Lab in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Florida. A total of 1129 l of soil was collected. All of the soil was allowed to air-dry prior to being filtered through the machine to prevent saturation of light-fraction remains. A 0.5-mm aperture mesh was used to recover the heavy-fraction, and a 0.17-mm aperture cloth was used to collect the light-fraction. The light-fraction and heavy-fraction residues were bagged and labeled, but were not analyzed. They are curated at BAR, along with the other Paynes Town materials.

Spatial Analysis

In order to gain a better understanding of where the greatest concentrations of historic artifacts were located in the Paynes Town site, spatial analysis was conducted using data recovered during the shovel test survey. ArcMap Spatial Analyst extension was used to interpolate the historic artifacts to a raster grid, which was based on the locations of each shovel test. The Inverse Distance Weighting method was used to interpolate the data, or the number of historic artifacts per shovel test. The result was a raster surface of historic artifact distribution that was “contoured,” showing where various classes of shovel tests were located.

Conclusion

Searching for the archaeological location of a historically documented settlement can be like finding the proverbial “needle in a haystack.” Fortunately, Nancy Mykel and Sue Mullins confirmed the location of the site and located areas that yielded particularly rich cultural materials, laying the groundwork for the 2003-2004 investigations at the Paynes Town site. My findings were consistent with many of those discussed by Mykel (1962a) and Mullins (1977). I did, however, identify a characteristic of the site that was not addressed by the previous researchers. This was the pervasiveness of charred deposits associated with the Seminole cultural level and related artifacts. This deposit, along with other cultural features and artifacts that were recovered during the recent fieldwork at Paynes Town, are discussed in subsequent chapters.

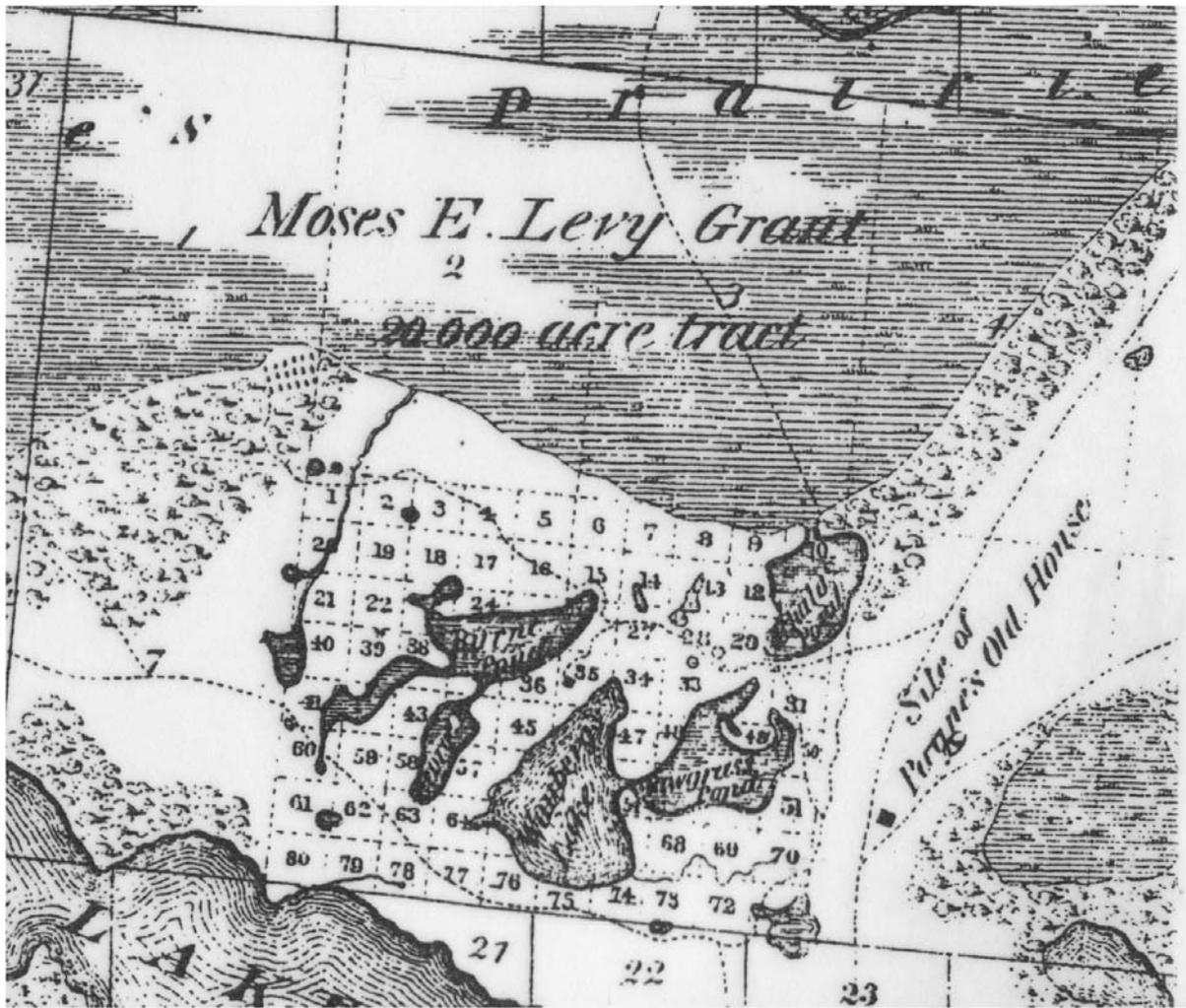


Figure 8-1 Portion of Henry Washington Map, Depicting "Site of Paynes Old House"

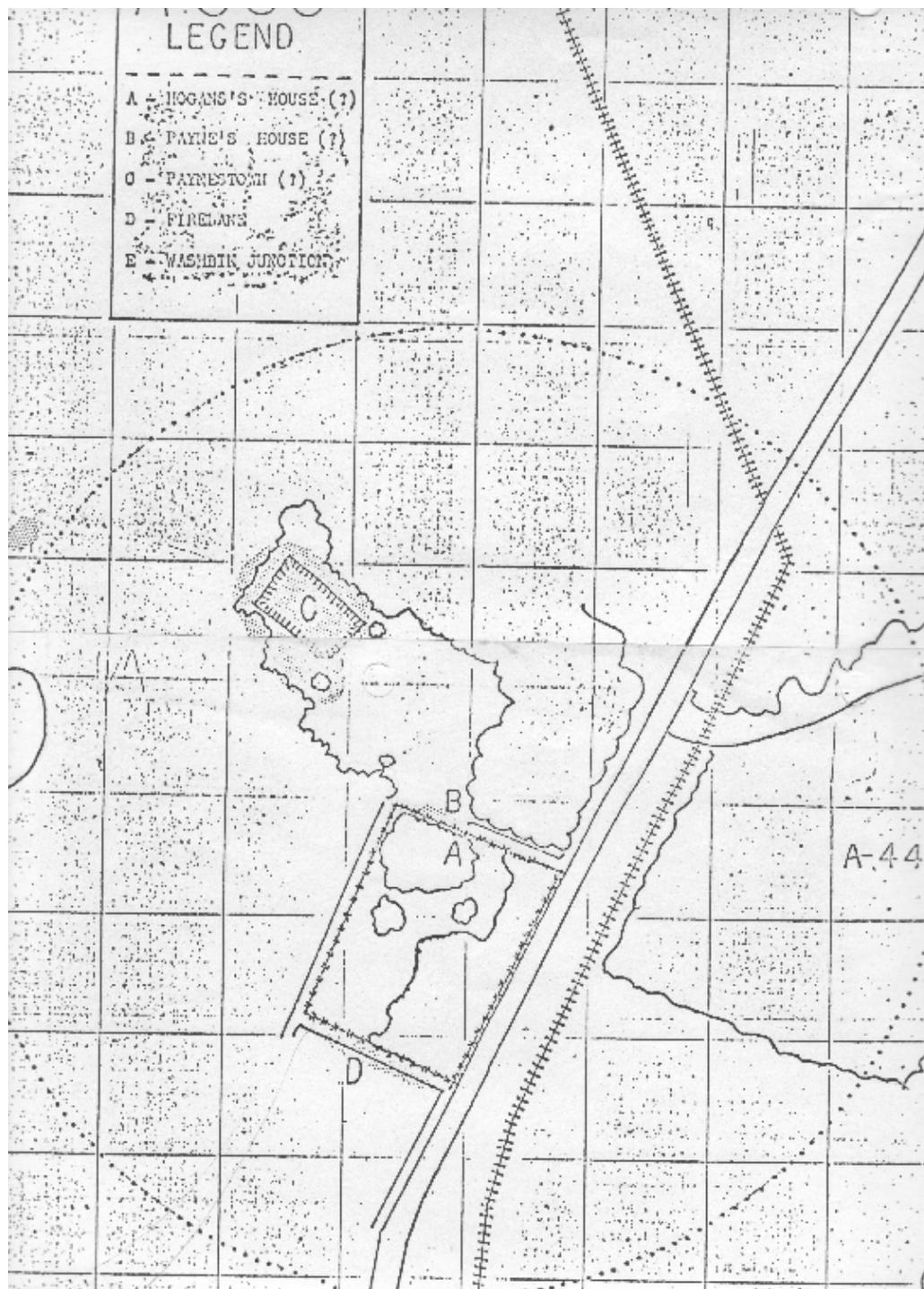


Figure 8-2 1962 Map of Paynes Town Site

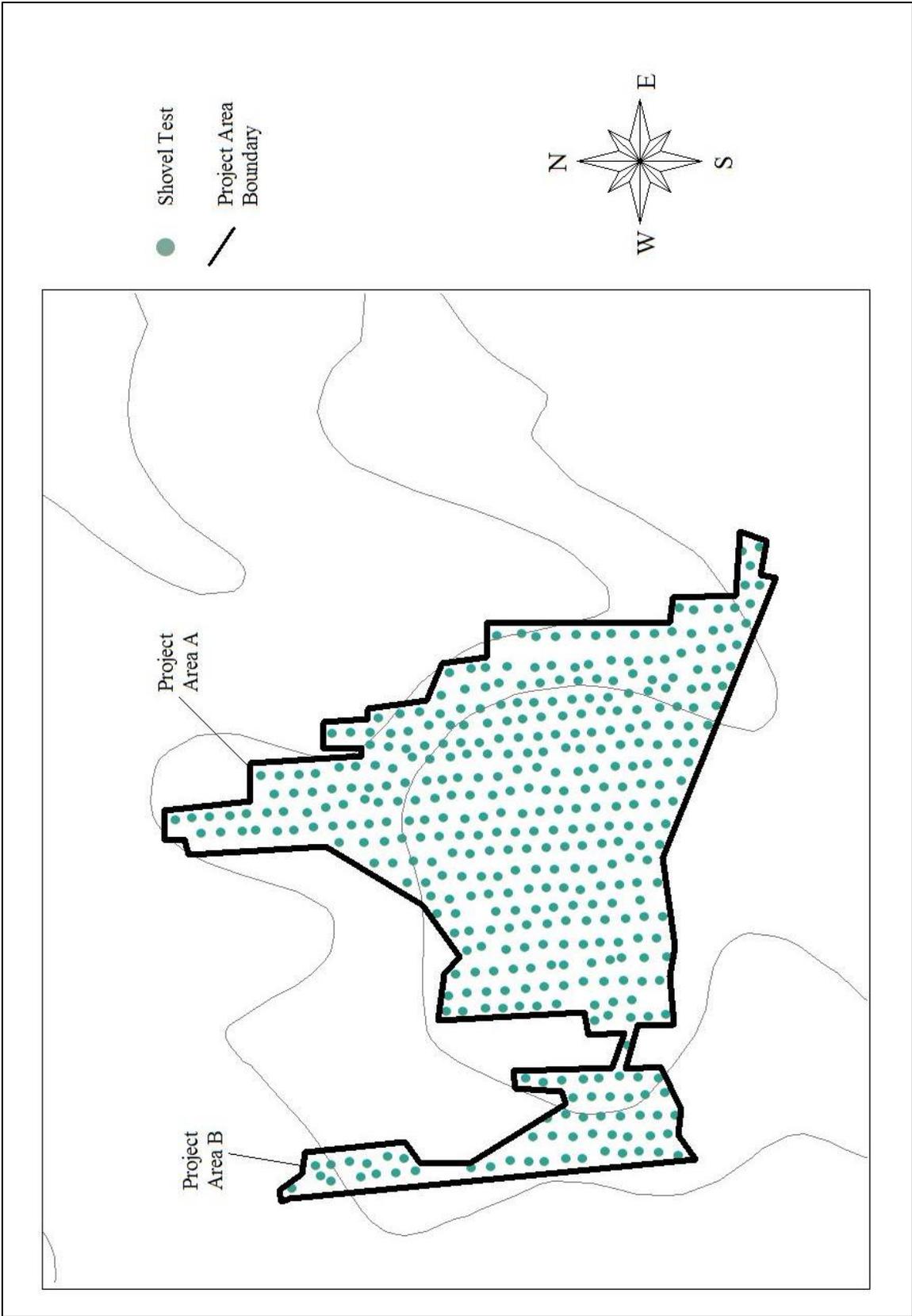


Figure 8-3 Paynes Town site, Project Areas A and B

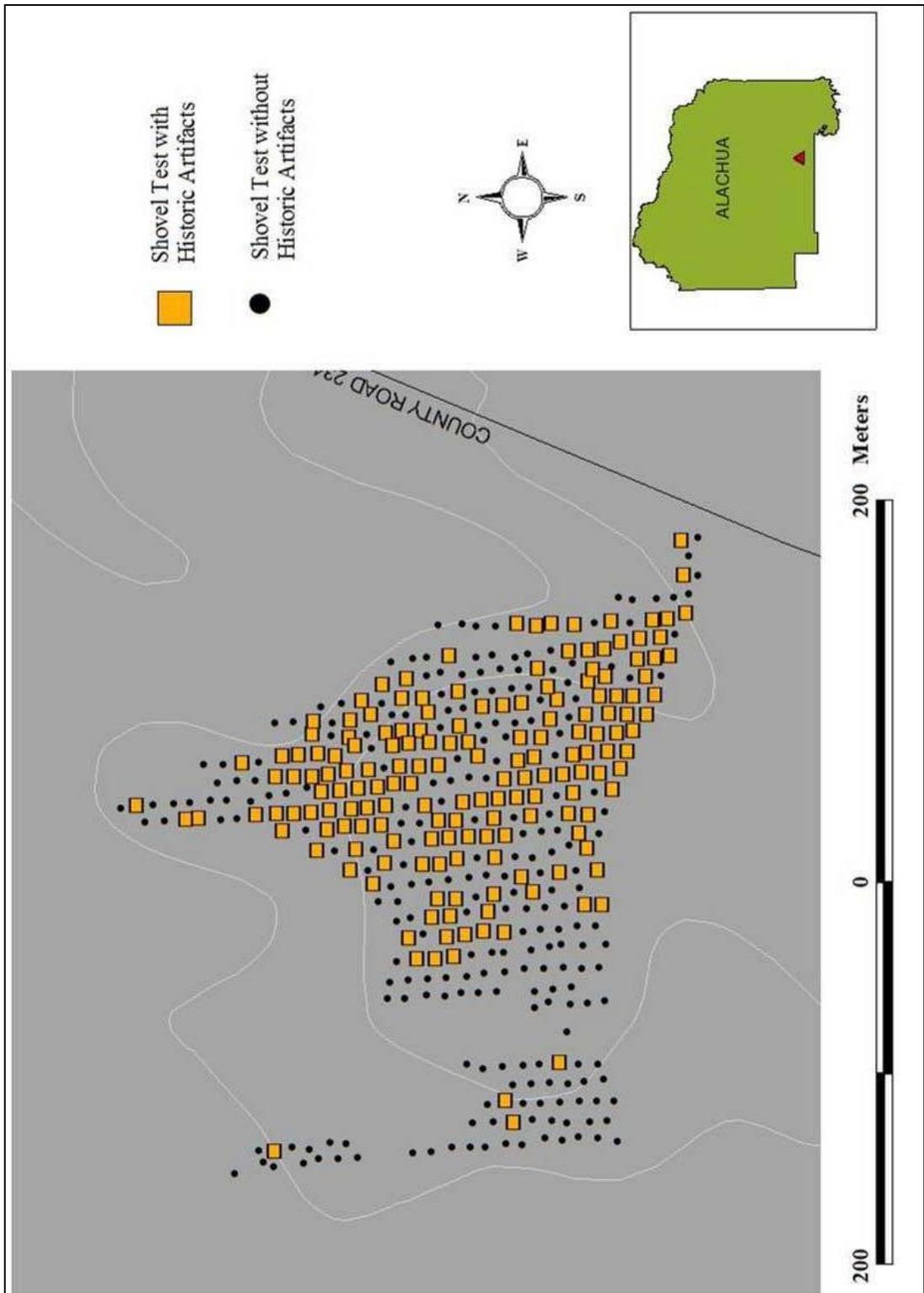


Figure 8-4 Shovel Tests with Historic Artifacts at Paynes Town Site

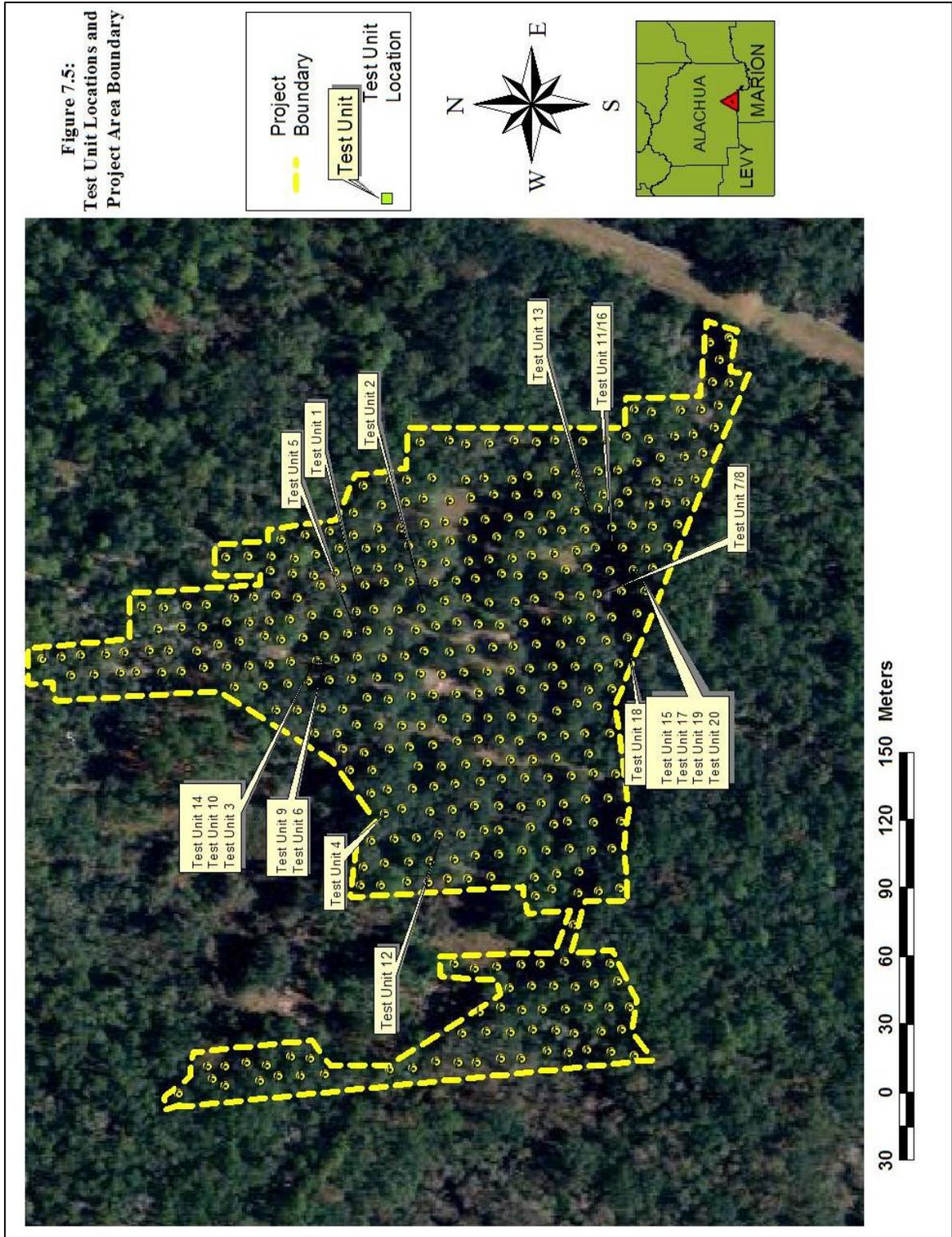


Figure 8-5 Locations of Test Unit Excavations



Shovel Test 100E-100N
Humic material, grass rootlets, some gravel
Modern gravel deposit
Silt, leached out from gravel
Charcoal-stained soil, associated with burning of Seminole town in 1813, 10YR 3/1-3/3, minor gravel
A horizon, fine- medium sand, 10YR 3/2-4/2, historic artifacts
B Horizon, loose medium sand, some clayey-sands, 10YR 5/2-7/2
100 cmbs

Figure 8-6 Example of Paynes Town Stratigraphy

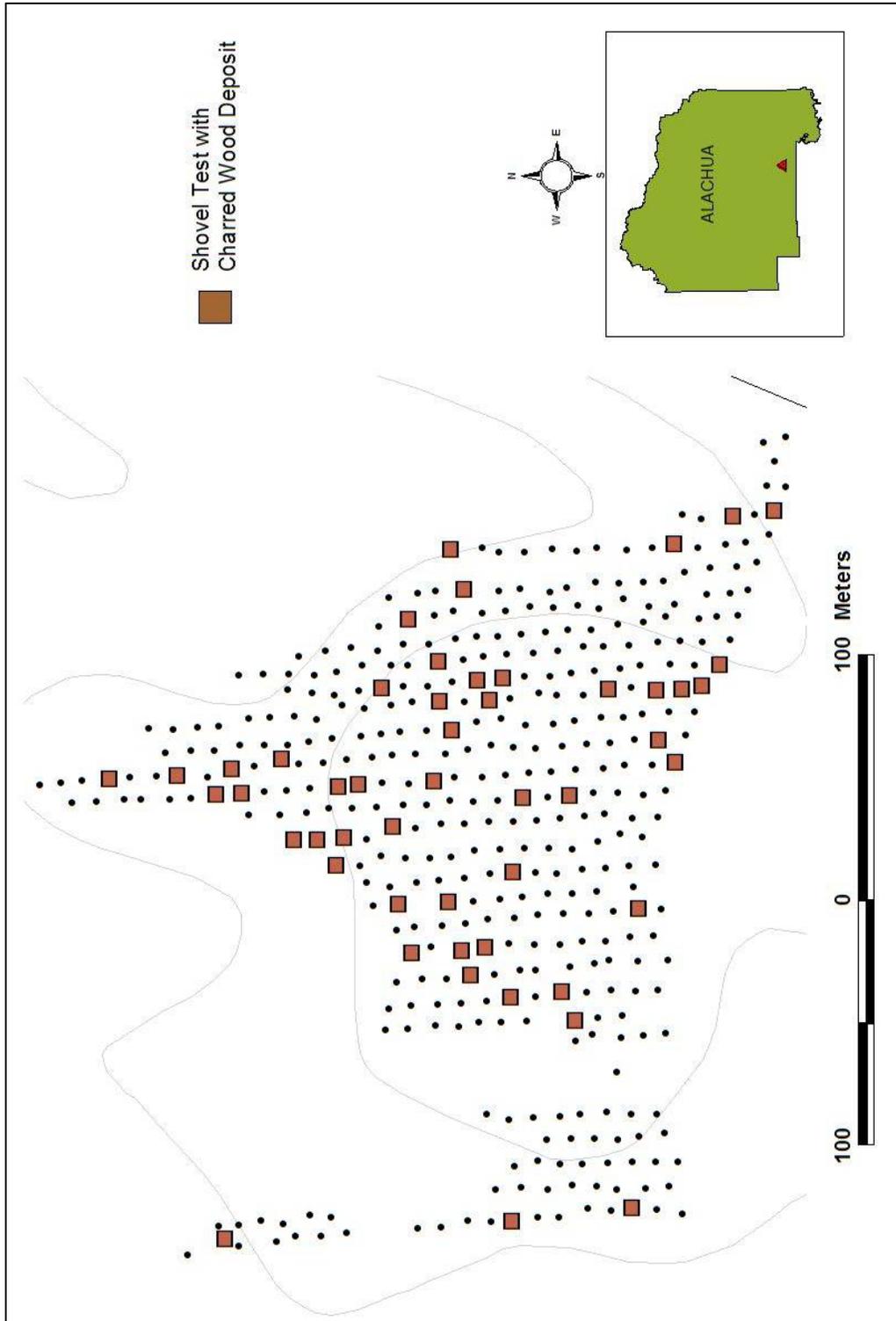


Figure 8-7 Locations of Shovel Tests with Charred Wood Deposit

CHAPTER 9 PAYNES TOWN MATERIAL CULTURE

In this chapter, I address the artifacts recovered during the 2003-2004 archaeological investigations at the Paynes Town site. Humans have occupied the Paynes Prairie region since the Paleoindian period and the artifacts recovered from the Paynes Town site reflect the long human occupation of the area. Several lithic projectile points, dating from various times from the late Paleoindian period to the late prehistoric period were found at the site, along with pottery associated with Cades Pond (A.D. 200-1000) and Alachua culture (A.D. 1250-1585) groups. Even with the extensive sand mining, gravel, and asphalt deposits present at the site, relatively little twentieth-century refuse was found, although a few mid-twentieth century bottle dumps were observed during the shovel test survey. Because I have presented a summary of the region's prehistoric and early historic cultures elsewhere (Blakney-Bailey 2005), I will focus on the historic Seminole occupation of the site in this chapter.

The British Fur Trade and the Seminole “Prestige Goods” Economy

By the 1790s, the Panton & Leslie Company had held a monopoly on the British fur trade in Florida for decades. The company had several warehouses and outposts throughout northern Florida. To the Alachua Seminoles, two of the most important posts were Spalding's Upper Store and Lower Store, both on the St. Johns River, as well as a larger warehouse located in St. Augustine (Stacy 1967:40). A number of the artifacts found at the Paynes Town site are identical to those recovered from the archaeological site of Spalding's Lower Store (Lewis 1969) and the site of a trade outpost site on the Wakulla River (Stacy 1967). The similarity in these materials is evidence of the mass-production and standardization of trade items, which can also be seen in the numerous examples of eighteenth and nineteenth-century British trade inventories that were

designed specifically for trade with the Southeastern Indians (Braund 1993: 128; Covington 1960).

Some of the items on the trade inventories include: gun and horse-related equipment, kettles, knives, axes, and hoes. However, most of the items on the lists relate to clothing or jewelry. Vernon Knight points out that the disproportionate numbers of cloth goods, beads, and other jewelry on the trade lists versus items relating to subsistence or more basic needs elucidate the driving force behind Indian participation in the British fur trade. Knight critiques earlier studies that depict the Creeks and other Indian groups as becoming “dependent” on the fur trade for technologically superior (e.g. European) materials (Knight 1985:169-172). According to Knight, the archaeological record shows that most of the trade goods acquired by the Indians were “luxuries,” and not “necessities” that profoundly altered techniques used in domestic or subsistence activities (Knight 1985:72).

Knight emphasizes that many European materials did not transform or “acculturate” societies, but rather were incorporated into pre-existing indigenous worldviews and activities. For Knight, the rapidity of the acquisition of non-native goods via the fur trade can be explained by the existence of a “prestige goods economy,” which predated the arrival of Europeans by thousands of years. The major difference in the historic manifestation of this economy was that anyone could garner prestige through the display of exotic materials, whereas in the past only the elite sectors of society had access to these materials (Knight 1985:174-175).

Knight’s argument helps to explain the abundance of metal artifacts that were found at the Paynes Town site, especially those made of silver and brass sheet metal. The Seminoles’ Mississippian ancestors had also valued metal objects, particularly “hammered” and elaborately fashioned objects (Knight 1985:172-174). According to Knight, the British may have appealed to

the ancient association between metals and social and political prestige by giving silver medals as gifts to Creek and Seminole leaders and designating certain Indian leaders (including Cowkeeper [Cline 1974:86]) as “Medal Chiefs:”

Like the metal symbols of legitimacy borne by their Mississippian predecessors, these medals connoted a highly prestigious access to largely esoteric knowledge of the cosmologically conceived world. On each medal were symbols of remote power: a bust, perhaps of King George, along with a communication, in written language, conferring on the owner the unconditional benefits of this association. [Knight 1985:179]

While the chiefs may have had the exclusive ownership of “medals,” other metal objects were available to any Indian who provided the appropriate number of skins or furs to British traders, a factor that Waselkov (1993) believes may have precipitated a disruption of the existing political hierarchy of Creek societies during the early historic period.

As the British trade inventories indicate, the Seminoles also had a need for trade goods that would increase their hunting, ranching, and farming outputs, and were no different from those used by White settlers engaged in the same economic pursuits. Many of the Paynes Town artifacts, such knife blades, an iron file, nails, horse tack, and gun-related artifacts are common at many types of North American colonial sites, while others, such as certain types of pottery, point to the presence of its Seminole occupants.

Lithic Tools and Debitage

Over 1,000 pieces of artifacts related to lithic reduction and tool manufacture, including five projectile points, were recovered from the Paynes Town site. Most of these artifacts were found during the shovel test phase, although almost each Seminole occupation level also produced at least one lithic reduction flake. Stone projectile points continued to be produced by the ancestors of the Creeks during the late-seventeenth century (Worth 2000:268-271). Stone projectile points are not known to have been produced by eighteenth and nineteenth-century Seminoles and Creeks, although “expedient tools” probably continued to be made by the

Seminoles (Neill 1977). Still, it is likely that most of the lithic debitage found at the Paynes Town site was related to earlier cultural occupations. Therefore, the lithic tools and debitage found at the Paynes Town site are summarized in Table 9-1 and will not be further discussed.

River Pebbles

Several river pebbles were found within a single test unit (Test Unit 13) at the Paynes Town site. Although the area surrounding the test unit had been disturbed and the context of the pebbles cannot be certain, they were found in association with other historic artifacts. The pebbles were distinct from those related to modern gravel deposits. They were flat, round or oval in shape, and worn very smooth. They measured between 3 and 4 cm in width and were approximately 1 cm in thickness. Similar pebbles were found with the Seminole burials at the Zetrouer site, located a few miles away from Paynes Town. John Goggin suggested that the pebbles were “polishing stones,” which could have been used to smooth or burnish semi-dry pottery, to process hides, or even to smooth gun barrels (Fitts 2001:122).

Aboriginal Pottery

More than 1,800 aboriginal pottery sherds were recovered from the Paynes Town site (Table 9-2). Over 30 percent of the Seminole sherds measured less than 1 cm in length and width and would not have been recovered if a larger screen size had been used (a .32-cm [1/8-in] screen size was used during the test unit excavation). The lack of larger pottery sherds is surprising, considering the relatively good preservation in many areas of the site and the identification of numerous sub-surface cultural features, including at least two refuse pits.

Hargrave and McGimpsey argue that historic plowing diminished the size of the pottery sherds in the upper levels of the Yuchi Town site (Hargrave and McGimsey 1998:30). They noted that the sherd sizes were much larger in midden deposits that were found at lower depths

and not impacted by plowing. However, pottery sherds recovered from all contexts at the Paynes Town site, including sherds found at much lower depths in features, were small.

Plain Pottery

As Table 9-2 indicates, approximately 84 percent of the pottery sherds found at the Paynes Town site are “sand-tempered plain.” Sand-tempered plain sherds often cannot be assigned to a specific cultural occupation because many prehistoric and historic populations produced plain pottery, along with their more diagnostic decorative types. However, the majority of the plain pottery found at the Paynes Town site was clearly within the Seminole cultural levels and associated with other historic materials. Furthermore, these sherds were remarkably similar in paste (compact; sand composed between 10 and 20 percent of matrix), thickness (.7 cm on average), and surface treatment (very smoothed). The plain sherds from the Paynes Town site resembled the plain pottery from the Oven Hill Seminole site (Blakney-Bailey 2004), and fit the descriptions of the plain sherds recovered from Seminole sites on the St. Johns and Apalachicola Rivers (Goggin 1958).

Chattahoochee Brushed Pottery

Less than 10 percent of the Paynes Town aboriginal pottery assemblage was composed of the Chattahoochee Brushed type. This type is grit or sand-tempered and easily identifiable by the presence of “brushing” or “scoring” on a vessel’s exterior. It is surprising that Chattahoochee Brushed sherds made up such a minor component of the Paynes Town pottery assemblage considering its significance as a diagnostic component of Creek and Seminole material culture (Bullen 1950; Fairbanks 1958; Sears 1955; Goggin 1958; Willey and Sears 1952).

Kasita Red-Filmed Pottery

Five Kasita Red-Filmed pottery sherds were found at the Paynes Town site. This type is distinguished by its burnished surfaces and deep red or orange-red paint designs that are typically

found on the interior of the vessels. A shallow bowl with a very wide flaring rim and, often, a ringed base is the most common vessel form (Haag 1939). The similarity between the Kasita Red-Filmed form and many Spanish *majolica* forms has been noted. Thus, the Kasita Red-Filmed type is sometimes referred to as a “colono-ware” (Fairbanks 1958:57).

The Kasita Red-Filmed pottery type is identical to the Mission Red-Filmed type found at historic Apalachee (Williams 1990:24) and Yamasee mission settlements (White 2005:6). Knight points out that the presence of this pottery type at Creek and Seminole sites is evidence of a yet undefined Spanish mission connection (Williams 1990:24). It is possible, however, that the connection can be explained by the marriage of Seminole men to Apalachee or Yamasee women.

“Emperor Brim,” the chief of the Lower Creek town of Apalachicola, and his son Secoffee, a leader of a “Seminole” town in northwestern Florida, were married to Apalachee women (Fairbanks 1978:164). William Bartram also observed several Yamasee Indians at the town of Cuscowilla, writing that the Seminole chief Cowkeeper was attended by “many Yamasee captives, taken by himself when young” (van Doren 1928:185). William Simmons even believed that King Payne was the son of Cowkeeper and one of his Yamasee wives (Porter 1952:341), rather than his nephew. Perhaps an interethnic marriage also explains the presence of a single red-filmed sherd at the Sears-Lasnick Seminole site (Sears 1959:27). It is also possible that red-filmed vessels were heirloom pieces, possibly booty from early eighteenth-century Creek raids on Spanish mission settlements.

Other Pottery Types

Small samples of Alachua Tradition and Cades Pond pottery were also recovered from the Paynes Town site. Sherds that exhibited unidentifiable markings on their exteriors were classified as “roughened.” All of the roughened sherds were sand and/or grit-tempered.

European Ceramics

In the following section, I present the European ceramic sherds that were recovered from the Paynes Town site in five broad categories (Table 9-3), which are based on paste and surface treatment. These include: (1) unglazed earthenware; (2) lead-glazed earthenware; (3) refined earthenware; (4) salt-glazed stoneware; and (5) porcelain. Specific “types” are discussed within these categories.

Unglazed Earthenware

Unglazed earthenware sherds were the most common ceramic type found at the Paynes Town site. Earthenware refers to vessels that were fired at a relatively low temperature, resulting in a paste that is more porous than those fired at higher temperatures. Most of the sherds exhibited a chalky, medium-grain orange paste, similar to that of the Jackfield-type sherds that will be addressed momentarily. Thus, it is likely that many of the unglazed earthenware sherds were originally part of this ceramic type and that the paint and glaze had simply eroded away from the paste.

Other earthenware sherds had painted surfaces but no glaze. Two sherds were painted brown; two were pale yellow; and one was cream. In addition, three Greyware sherds were identified. This ceramic type, which has a distinctive dark grey “wash,” was produced in Spain between 1750 and 1850 (Florida Museum of Natural History Ceramic Type Collection [FLMNH] 2004).

Eighteen olive jar fragments were also found at the Paynes Town site. Unfortunately, they lacked diagnostic features that would have allowed them to be assigned to Early (A.D. 1500-1570), Middle (A.D. 1560-1800), or Late (A.D. 1800-1900) types (FLMNH 2004). The paste color of the Paynes Town olive jar sherds included shades of tan, yellow, and terracotta. Some of

the sherds were covered with a pale yellow slip and exhibited “throw rings,” the latter a characteristic of Late olive jar types.

Lead-Glazed Earthenware

Many earthenware ceramics were treated with different types of “glazes” for both functional and aesthetic purposes. Glazes, which were applied to vessels before or during firing, helped to protect vessels and make them impermeable to water. They also created a distinctive sheen.

A variety of ceramic types common to eighteenth and nineteenth-century archaeological sites have lead glazes. Most of the lead-glaze earthenware sherds at the Paynes Town site were representative of the “Jackfield-type” ceramic tradition. The term “Jackfield-type” was used because similar wares were produced in the same period (ca. 1740-1790) by manufacturers in several English towns. The most well-known was the manufacturer in Jackfield, England (FLMNH 2004). Small amounts may have also been produced as late as the first decade of the nineteenth century (Maryland Archaeological Conservation Lab [MACL] 2002). Several jug, bottle, or jar lips were identified among the Jackfield-type sherds found at Paynes Town.

Reyware made up another group of lead-glaze earthenware sherds from Paynes Town. These sherds had an orange paste, a dark orange slip, and a very lustrous lead glaze. Reyware was produced between 1725 and 1825 and is found at many late Spanish colonial sites. However, the manufacturers’ geographical origins remain unknown (FLMNH 2004).

Six lead-glazed sherds could not be assigned to a specific type. Two were painted yellow; one was painted cream; and one was painted brown, with the last also exhibiting a single raised yellow dot on its exterior. Another sherd was a brilliant, teal-green color with a distinct “ribbed” exterior.

Refined Earthenware

Refined earthenware refers to the various types of thin-walled, lead-glaze earthenwares with a cream or white paste. Two of the most common types of refined earthenwares are pearlwares and creamwares, both of which were produced by numerous English manufacturers throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Creamwares were produced in England between 1762 and 1820, while pearlwares have a slightly later date range of between 1770 and 1840 (FLMNH 2004). Each of these ceramic types has numerous sub-traditions that can sometimes help narrow the range of their production dates.

Seventeen pearlware sherds were recovered from the Paynes Town site. Additional identification was possible for some of the sherds. One sherd of each of the following types was found in the Paynes Town assemblage: Early Hand-Painted Polychrome, also known as “Gaudy Dutch” (ca. 1795-1820), Banded Annular ware (ca. 1785-1840), and Blue Transfer-Printed (ca. 1785-1840). Three “feather-edge” rim sherds (ca. 1795-1845) were also identified.

Twenty-three unidentified sherds are included within the refined earthenware category. Because of their small size or because of deterioration of the ceramic, particularly corrosion underneath the glaze, it was not possible to determine whether these 23 sherds were creamware, pearlware, or possibly whiteware. The last type, which is distinguished from creamware and pearlware by its slightly whiter paste and glaze, was first produced in the 1830s and its presence would point to a later occupation at the site.

At least one whiteware sherd was found at the Paynes Town site. The sherd was decorated with a polychrome, floral decal. Decals, design templates that were applied over glazes, were first introduced in the 1890s and peaked in popularity in the 1930s (Stelle 2001). As mentioned, some isolated “bottle dumps” dating to the mid-twentieth century were observed during the

shovel test survey, including an area within the private property out-parcel, not far from where this whiteware sherd was found.

Salt-Glazed Stoneware

Most of the stoneware sherds from the Paynes Town site were identified as the “English Brown” type. This ceramic type is generally associated with manufacturers located in Fulham, England, although nearly identical vessels were also being produced in Southwark and Bristol at the same time (Noël Hume 1970:113). English Brown stonewares are most often found at colonial sites dating to between 1690 and 1775 (FLMNH 2004), but have also been found at sites occupied by the British during the Revolutionary War (MACL 2002). The ten English Brown sherds from Paynes Town had a medium brown exterior and a slightly lighter brown or gray, unglazed interior, some of which exhibited horizontal ribbing.

Six of the stoneware sherds resembled Derbyshire wares, which were produced in England between 1800 and 1875 (St. Mary’s University [SMU] 2007). Derbyshire exteriors were various shades of tan or light brown and most had grey interiors. Bottles, mugs, and tankards were the most common forms of both the English Brown and Derbyshire stonewares (Noël Hume 1970:113-114), which probably explains the ribbed interiors found on some of the Paynes Town sherds.

Three remaining salt-glazed stoneware sherds could not be identified. Both the interiors and exteriors of the sherds were various shades of grey. English Brown varieties were sometimes two-toned, with brown upper portions and grey or cream-colored lower portions (MACL 2002). Thus, it is possible that these unidentified stoneware sherds also belonged to the English Brown ceramic type.

Porcelain

Finally, two porcelain sherds were found at the Paynes Town site. Both sherds were very small and exhibited no diagnostic features.

Mean Ceramic Date

1783 is the mean ceramic date (MCD) of the European ceramic assemblage for the Seminole occupation of Paynes Town site. Table 9-4 depicts the ceramic types, manufacture date ranges, and frequencies of the sherds that were used to calculate the MCD. The ceramics that were included within the formula were selected because of their well-established and tight production date ranges. Therefore, because of the 400-year time span during which time olive jars were manufactured, these ceramics were excluded from the formula. The whiteware decal sherd was also excluded because its earliest period of production (ca. 1890), post-dated the Paynes Town Seminole occupation by nearly 100 years.

The Paynes Town site is believed to have been occupied from sometime in the 1790s to 1812. The early MCD of 1783 can be explained, in part, by the disproportionately high number (N=43) of Jackfield-type ceramics (1740-1805) that were included in the formula. The early MCD may also be explained by the presence of heirloom pieces within the ceramic assemblages of individual households. However, the manufacturing date ranges of each of the ceramic types used to determine the MCD fall comfortably within the time that Paynes Town was occupied.

Knight points out that European tablewares were not included on British trade inventories or in supply shipments during the later period of the American “factory system” (Knight 1985:181). Their presence at Paynes Town and other Seminole and Creek sites suggests that they may have been acquired through special requests to the traders or that they may have been received by the Seminoles as gifts at official British-Indian conferences. In either case, the difficulty in acquiring them suggests that they were particularly exotic items in the Seminole

material culture. The high number of European ceramic sherds and the variety of types recovered from the Paynes Town site confirms that the Alachua Seminoles were a wealthy group (Simmons 1822:75).

The European ceramics identified at the Paynes Town site came from both British and Spanish manufacturers. Although the British were the major traders with the Seminoles, certain groups had ties with Spanish traders as well. For example, William Bartram reported hearing of a group of Talahasochte Seminoles having just returned from a trip to Cuba where they acquired numerous types of Spanish goods and materials (van Doren 1928:228). The Spanish presence in St. Augustine may have also been the source of the Spanish ceramics at Paynes Town. Although the Alachua Seminoles had a history of anti-Spanish sentiments (Calloway 1995:249; Cline 1974:101), due their mutual interest in preventing American expansion into Florida, the Spanish government and a number of Seminole groups eventually became allies.

Nails/Hardware

Nearly 200 nail fragments or whole nails were found at the Paynes Town site. Most of the artifacts were too corroded to determine the type, and thus, the date of manufacture. However, when possible, the nails were identified as hand-wrought, machine-cut, or modern wire nails.

Hand-wrought nails are generally found at sites predating 1800, although they continued to be used as late as 1840 (Noël Hume 1970:253). They are distinctive in that that all four sides of the nail's shaft taper towards the point. The heads of hand-wrought nails were hammered into different shapes, of which the two most common were the "T-head" and the "rosehead" forms (Noël Hume 1970: 253). By the turn of the nineteenth century, some nails were being made from machines, which produced a more regular square or rectangular shaft, in which only two sides of the shaft tapered to a point (Noël Hume 1970:252-253).

Eleven hand-wrought nails were identified from the Paynes Town site. Of these the head form of seven nails could be determined. Four of the wrought nails were “roseheads;” one was a “T”-head; one was an “L” head;” and one had a flat, flared head, sometimes referred to as a “butterfly head” (Visser 1996). Thomas Visser notes that the “L”-head nail type was commonly used for “finish work, trim boards, and flooring” (Visser 1996). The other nails tended to be “multi-purpose” types.

Seventy-five of the nails or nail fragments could only be described as “hand-wrought/machine-cut.” This means that they were not “wire nails,” a nail type with a round shaft that was produced after 1850, and which continues to be the most common nail type used today (Noël Hume 1970: 254). Based on their observed lengths and shaft diameters, most of the seventy-five nails mentioned above were probably used in building construction. Eighteen wire nails were found in various locations at the site, mostly in the upper two levels of the test units. Nearly 100 nail artifacts were simply too corroded and fragmented to glean any additional data.

The number of hand wrought and/or machine cut nails (N=86) found at the Paynes Town site sets its artifact assemblage apart from other Seminole sites, where nails occur in lower frequencies or are absent (Weisman 1989:115). The number of nails is also remarkable when considering the numbers found at three of the most intensively studied Creek archaeological sites. For example, less than 15 complete nails or nail fragments were found at the Tukabatchee site (Knight 1985:130-132, 166), the Yuchi Town site (Wagner 1998:146), and the Victory Drive site (Ledbetter 1998:46, 131). The significance of the frequency of nails at the Paynes Town site will be addressed in subsequent chapters.

Miscellaneous Iron Artifacts

Due to corrosion and fragmentation, it was not possible to determine how hundreds of the iron artifacts found at the Paynes Town site were used. Therefore, many of the artifacts were

simply described as “iron scrap.” Several of the scrap pieces were in the shape of flattened (less than 2 mm) rectangular bands. These bands were similar to artifacts found at other Seminole and British trading post sites and which are described as “barrel hoops” (Fitts 2001:48-50; Lewis 1969:77-78; Stacy 1967:113). Some of the Paynes Town iron artifacts also had either a small perforated hole or a rivet that would have enabled the separate hoop pieces to wrap around the barrel and attach to each other (Figure A-1).

Some of the flat iron pieces may have been fragments of knife blades. At least one iron knife blade was found at Paynes Town. It had a perforated hole at one end, where it would have attached to a rivet enabling it to fold in and out of a wooden or bone handle.

Another iron fragment may have been part of a hinge, such as the kind used to attach a lid to the main body of a trunk (Figure A-2). Other flat iron fragments exhibited edges that had been crimped or soldered and may have been parts of kettles or other flat-bottom containers. A portion of a kettle “ear,” a small rectangular plate that attached the handle to the body of the kettle, was also identified.

A nearly complete “round file,” measuring 50 cm in length and roughly 3 cm in diameter, was found at the Paynes Town site. Several examples of iron files were found with the Seminole burials at the Zetrouer site (Fitts 2001:68-73) and with a Creek Indian burial at the Kasita site (Willey and Sears 1952:9). Mary Beth Fitts suggests that the mortuary items included with the Zetrouer burials represented some of the individuals’ most prized tools. Fitts (2001:68-73) speculates that the iron files could have been used for any number of purposes, including woodworking, manicuring horse hooves, and gun maintenance.

Also found at the Paynes Town site was a corroded, spike-like object measuring approximately 7 cm in length and 1 cm in width, and exhibiting what appeared to be a hand-

wrought head. A similar artifact found at the Kasita site was described as a chisel (Willey and Sears 1952:9, 13). “Wrought-iron spikes” were also found at Spalding’s Lower Store (Lewis 1969:76). These objects could have been used in many of the same ways that the iron files were used. They may have also been used to adjoin large lumber pieces (Lewis 1969:76).

Two of the Paynes Town artifacts suggest that European-style doors may have been present on some of the Paynes Town structures. Doors on traditional domestic structures were simple rectangular openings that may have been covered by cloth, hide, or basketry, when privacy was needed or during cold weather. One of the Paynes Town objects was made of iron wire that was bent at one end to form a small loop (Figure A-3). These artifacts could have been attached to a door frame and looped over a corresponding hook mounted on the door (Good 1974:235). Another object was bent in the shape of a narrow “U” and was identical to artifacts found at Fort Michilimackinac and described as “keepers of door latch bolts” (Stone 1974:235).

Horses were important to managing the extensive herds of cattle that roamed the Alachua prairie. Both saddles and bridles were included in the British trading lists (Covington 1960), indicating that there was a demand for the items by the Seminoles. An iron ring that measured approximately 7 cm by 6 cm was probably part of a “loose ring” snaffle. Another small iron buckle was likely a part of horse tack (Figure A-4).

One artifact resembles the leg or body “rib” of an andiron, although it is quite small and could have been a part of any number of types of equipment. Another distinctive artifact has yet to be identified. This was an iron (possibly steel) metallic disc, measuring 6 cm in diameter, with two elliptical apertures positioned opposite to each other (Figure A-5). A slightly raised round hole was located in the center of the disc. One side of the disc was formed into a handle-like extension.

Finally, a small grommet, measuring 8 mm x 8 mm, may have been part of a shirt, shoe, or other item of clothing.

Miscellaneous Brass and Copper Artifacts

Numerous brass and copper artifacts were found at the Paynes Town site. Twenty-nine of the brass artifacts were fragments of “sheet brass,” flat or hammered metal that may have originally been a part of another object such as a kettle. Brass or copper kettles, which were common British trade items (Covington 1960), were used for a number of purposes, including cooking, carrying, and storing. These kettles were especially valuable, because after they became unusable for their original purpose, they provided raw material for the construction of new objects, such as tinkling cones, knives, and projectile points.

Several of the Paynes Town sheet brass fragments were quite small (sometimes measuring less than 1 cm in length and width). These rectangular objects were very similar to artifacts found at Fort Mesquakie, an early-eighteenth century fort in eastern Illinois (Stelle 2001). Stelle believes that the proximity of the sheet brass fragments found at the fort to brass tinkling cones and brass projectile points suggests that the fragments may have been debris associated with the manufacturing of these items (Stelle 2001). Two brass tinkling cones and a brass projectile point were found at the Paynes Town site, indicating that the Seminoles were indeed using sheet brass for the manufacturing of these items.

Both tinkling cones and projectile points were rolled into conical shapes. However, the objects are quite easy to distinguish from one another. Projectile points were rolled so tightly that the seam was virtually flush with the cone and their apexes had no apertures. In contrast, tinkling cones were much more loosely rolled and sometimes resembled a cylinder more than a cone. Tinkling cones also had holes at both ends, through which strips of leather or thread could be strung (Wagner 1998:137-138).

The brass projectile point found at Paynes Town is referred to as a Kaskaskia projectile point type (Figure A-6). By 1680 the Creeks were producing these conical brass projectile points, and they have been found at Creek and Seminoles in Oklahoma that date to as late as 1900 (Dunbar 1981:166). Three Kaskaskia projectile points were found at a late-eighteenth century Seminole site near St. Augustine. The “hart pine arrow shafts” had been preserved with two of the points (Dunbar 1981:166). This suggests that the brass projectile points had replaced stone points for use in bow-and-arrow hunting.

Another brass object was bent in the shape of a shallow scoop or spoon (Figure A-7). A similar object was found in a mid-nineteenth century Seminole burial in Dade County (Laxson 1954). This object was described as being “too crudely curved around the rim to be used for eating” and was interpreted as a tool “used to pour lead into the bullet mold” (Laxson 1954:115). One end of the Paynes Town artifact was rolled to form a tube, which would have enabled it to be slipped onto a stick or another type of a handle. The presence of molten lead artifacts at the Paynes Town site indicates that lead bullets and other objects were probably being manufactured on site.

Two pieces of sheet brass had particularly fine edges, and one tapered to a sharp point (Figure A-8). These artifacts were probably used as knives. One of these fragments was similar to an object found at the Fort Mesquakie site in that it had a crude notch punched out of one of its margins (Stelle 2001). This may have been an attempt to “serrate” the edge, making it more effective for cutting or sawing.

A small brass or copper coil measuring less than 1 cm in length and width was found at Paynes Town. Similar objects have been found at other Creek (Knight 1985:133; Willey and Sears 1952:9) and Seminole (Fitts 2001:62-63) sites, as well as at Spalding’s Lower Store (Lewis

1969:104). It has been suggested that they may have been worn as hair ornaments or beads (Fitts 2001:62-63). As will be discussed momentarily, silver sheet metal was also rolled into bead-like forms.

Three other brass or copper artifacts from the Paynes Town site may have been part of horse tack. A dome-shaped head of a brass tack, a brass ring that measured approximately 12 mm in diameter, and a rectangular buckle were similar to objects commonly associated with saddle and bridle equipment (Flowerdew Hundred Foundation 1997; Weisman 1986a:215).

Finally, a piece of copper tubing was found. The artifact is 21 cm long and 1.5 cm in diameter. One end of the tube is flattened or clamped. Its intended and actual uses have yet to be determined.

Silver Metal

According to a U.S. soldier in the First Seminole War, Payne's nephew, Micanopy, possessed a "crown" that had been given to Cowkeeper by the British government (Porter 1949:364). Eighteenth and nineteenth-century sketches and paintings of Creek and Seminole chiefs portray them as lavishly ornamented with silver jewelry and "turbans" or "crowns," (Fundaburk 1958). The abundance of jewelry pieces recovered from the Paynes Town site may demonstrate the "domestic acquisition of foreign exotica" in which eighteenth and nineteenth-century Creeks participated (Knight 1985:174).

Fifteen silver metal artifacts were recovered from the Paynes Town site (Figure A-9). Different types of silver jewelry were included in eighteenth and nineteenth-century British fur trade lists (Covington 1960). They reached their peak in popularity in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries (Knight 1985:180). In most cases, the "silver" was probably an alloy made of copper, zinc, and nickel. Pre-fabricated pieces, such as silver gorgets, earrings, C-

shaped bracelets, “turbans” or “crowns,” and earrings were commonly traded to the Creeks and Seminoles (Covington 1960:72).

In the north block of test units, several unique silver artifacts were recovered. Among these was a fragment of an earring, made of a thin silver wire on which a small, hollow ball was attached. This type of earring has been found at other Seminole sites (Piper and Piper 1982:178; Weisman 1989: 61). An identical earring was also found at Spalding’s Lower Store (Lewis 1969:107-108). A silver heart broche, with a moveable pin-like attachment, was found in the same area as the silver earring. Again, an identical specimen was found at Spalding’s Lower Store (Lewis 1969:105-107), and one came from the Panton and Leslie store on the Wakulla River (Stacy 1967:120). A hollow drop-shaped pendant that may have been part of the earring was found near the other two silver jewelry pieces. Two pieces of silver wire, one bent at a 150-degree angle and with a collared attachment on which an ornament of some kind would have been attached, were probably parts of earrings.

The other eight silver metal artifacts were very small rectangular fragments. Most of these pieces measured less than 1 cm in length and width. Two of the pieces had very small circular impressions that may have been made by the Seminole occupants by hammering a sharp instrument or nail. Broken jewelry may have been pounded down and reworked as new ornaments, resulting in small, rectangular by-products.

Finally, two strips of silver were wrapped in a loose coil and may have been worn as beads or other forms of adornment. Longer silver spirals were found with the Seminole burials at the Zetrouer site (Fitts 2001:119).

Trade Beads

Over 200 beads were found at the Paynes Town site (Figure A-10). With the exception of beads from Seminole mortuary contexts and late nineteenth-century Seminole sites in south

Florida, the number of beads found at Paynes Town exceeds the amount found at other Seminole sites by a wide margin. This may be a result of using a small screen size (.32-cms [1/8-in]) during the test unit excavations. However, Payne and his brother Bowlegs were wealthy, by both Seminole and European standards, owning over 1,000 head of cattle and many other livestock (Simmons 1822:75). The high number of beads found at the Paynes Town site may reflect the general wealth of Alachua Seminoles.

Trade beads are often categorized on the basis of two major characteristics, the method of their manufacture and their size. European glass workers used two main types of techniques when making beads. One involved drawing a long tube or “cane” of glass and then cutting cylinder-shaped beads from the tube. The second involved wrapping or “winding” strings of glass around a metal rod to form individual beads. This latter technique left a faint coil mark where the glass was looped around to an adjoining side. “Drawn” beads made up the majority of the Paynes Town specimens, composing 68 percent (N=141), while “wound” beads made up 27 percent (N=58). The method of manufacture could not be determined for eight of the glass beads. Finally, one bead was made from shell and had faint incisions on its exterior.

Glass beads fall into one of three size categories—seed beads, pony beads, or necklace beads. Seed beads refer to beads less than 4 mm in diameter; pony beads are between 4 and 5 mm in diameter; and necklace beads are over 5 mm in diameter (State of Florida 2007). Seed beads and pony beads are thought to have been used for decorative designs on pouches, leggings and other types of clothing. As the name implies, necklace beads, were most commonly strung on necklaces.

Among the beads that could be measured (N=199), just over 40 percent were seed beads; 34 percent were necklace beads; and 26 percent were pony beads. Based on the distribution of

sizes (Table 9.5), most of the Paynes Town beads were probably sewn onto clothing, sashes, and pouches. Seminole sashes and pouches were typically made from the thick, coarse wool acquired from British traders. Seminole women meticulously sewed hundreds of tiny beads into patterns of crosses, diamonds, and other geometric forms that may have been related to ancient Mississippian motifs (Goggin 1964).

The date of production could not be determined for most of the Paynes Town beads since similar forms and colors of glass beads have been produced in Venice and Amsterdam for centuries (Noël Hume 1970:53). Two types that were identified at the Paynes Town site were Cornalline d’Aleppo beads and a related variety, sometimes called “red hearts.” Cornalline d’Aleppo beads are characterized by an outer opaque red layer and a translucent, dark green or light green inner layer, while “red hearts” have a red exterior and a darker red interior layer. These types of beads are most abundant at colonial sites dating to the late-seventeenth through eighteenth centuries (Deagan 1987:168). They are also occasionally found on late-sixteenth century Spanish colonial sites. Thus, their approximate production date range is between 1575 and 1825. The later varieties are generally quite small (Deagan 1987:172, 179), as was the case for the Paynes Town examples.

Gun Flints and Gun Spalls

Two types of modified flint flakes were produced by European manufacturers for flint-lock firearms. Gun *spalls* were struck from flint cores, producing a smaller, wedge-shaped final product. Gun *flints* began as long “prismatic blades” that were subsequently reduced in size, although their dorsal surface and profile maintained an angular shape (Hamilton 1980:138-147; Noël Hume 1970:219-221). Both types were used in “trade guns,” cheaply-made and light-weight muskets. England and France were the primary producers of gun flints and gun spalls

found in colonial North America. The French spall was the most common type used prior to 1775, when English gun flints and spalls began to rise in popularity.

English and French gun spalls and gun flints are not always easy to distinguish from one another. The color of the flint has been used as one method to determine origins. Honey and tan colors are commonly associated with French examples, whereas lustrous, dark brown and black flints are linked to England, in particular the hill region surrounding the town of Brandon (Hamilton 1980:138-147; Noël Hume 1970:219-221). However, the color of the flint may be misleading since similar colors can be found in flint bands in both English and French quarries, and both regions produced flint in various shades of grey. Determining the shape of the specimen is usually a more reliable method than the color of the flint. French examples are typically more rounded in the heel portion and have finer flake scars, whereas the English examples tend to be more angular at the heel and have larger flake scars (Fitts 2001:92).

There are four general size categories of gunflints and spalls, which are based on the width (side to side) of the flint. These sizes reflect the types of guns in which they were used. Flints with widths measuring less than 20 mm were used in pistols, small trade guns, or rifles. Those measuring between 20 and 28 mm were used in “trade guns.” Flints measuring between 28 and 34 mm were used in “small arms,” such as fowling pieces or carbines. Finally, flints measuring more than 34 mm were used in more powerful muskets, commonly used for military purposes (Fitts 2001:92).

Two of the four specimens from the Paynes Town site were examples of English gunspalls (Figure A-11). The color of the two spalls was consistent with the flint from the Brandon quarries and did not exhibit the more rounded heel of typical French forms. A prismatic English gun flint was also found. The gun flint was a medium, milky grey color. At least two of its edges

had been worked, possibly to make it more suitable for use in a typical trade musket (Fitts 2001:94). A fourth artifact was simply too small to determine whether it had been a part of a gun spall or gun flint. However, the dark black fragment exhibited no angularity, and it is likely that it was another example of an English spall.

Ammunition

Eight lead balls were identified in the Paynes Town artifact assemblage. Each ball was measured to determine its caliber and, thus, the type of gun for which it was designed. Balls can be divided into three broad categories, based on the size of their diameters, which are most commonly presented using English measurements. Buckshot refers to balls measuring less than .36 in. Rifle balls measure between .37 and .54 in. Finally, musket balls range between .55 and .63 in (Pratt 1995).

Each of the lead balls recovered from the Paynes Town site measured .23 in or less in diameter. Although technically classified as “buckshot,” the particularly small size of most of the shot would have been better suited for guns designed for hunting small game or fowl. Thus, the balls may have been used in “fowling pieces,” such as those commonly included in English trade inventories (Covington 1960:73-74). Interestingly, one of the balls had been hammered into a cylindrical “slug.” European and American soldiers sometimes modified their ammunition into “slugs” because they inflicted greater injury than the spherical balls (Sivilich 2005:15). The Seminoles may have modified lead shot in a similar manner for hunting or warring purposes.

A single, un-fired copper percussion cap was also found at the Paynes Town site. These caps were used with percussion firearms, which eventually replaced flintlock guns in popularity. Percussion caps were in production by the first decade of the nineteenth century but did not become widely used until the 1830s (Ferguson 1997).

Other Gun-Related Lead Artifacts

Evidence of possible lead bullet manufacturing was found at the Paynes Town site in the forms of 24 amorphous lead globules. They were probably molten waste or “sprue,” which formed either when excessive lead was cut away from the edge of a bullet mold or when lead dripped as it was poured into the mold. Lead globules have been found at other Seminole (Laxson 1954:115), “Black Seminole” (Weik 2002:127) and Creek (Fairbanks 1962:54) sites. In each case, lead balls or shot were also present at the site.

Two other lead artifacts from the Paynes Town site were flat and elliptical in shape, measuring less than 2 cm in length and width and between 4 and 5 mm in thickness (Figure A-12). These objects were probably used as “gunflint pads” in flintlock firearms. Both lead and leather pads were wrapped around gunflints to hold them in place and absorb the shock of the steel hammer when the gun was fired, thus helping to prevent the gunflint from fracturing (Sivilich 2005:18). The two examples from Paynes Town are similar to those found at Revolutionary War sites (Elliot 2003:102; Pratt 1995; Sivilich 2005:18). Holland refers to a similar type of artifact found at an early-eighteenth century Lower Creek site. Holland describes the lead artifact as “square but folded” and suggests that it “could have been used to seat gun flints in their locks” (Holland 1974:42).

Finally, an elongated bar with four hammered edges, measuring 7.5 cm in length and .5 cm in width was found at the Paynes Town site (second object in Figure A-4). The object was bent into a v-shape and a small groove ran width-wise across one part of the shaft. It is possible that this bar was intended to be used for manufacturing lead ammunition. Lead “bars” were sometimes traded in bulk and later melted down and cast in the ammunition molds (Stelle 2001). This would have allowed individuals to “custom make” their ammunition and other lead objects.

Lead Discs

Two small, perforated lead discs were found at the Paynes Town site (9.13). The larger disc had a diameter of 2.6 cm and was .2 cm thick. The second example was approximately 2 cm in diameter and .6 cm in thickness. Irregularities in shape and thickness and the ragged edges that protruded outward from the perforated holes in the center of the discs, indicated the objects were hand-made. Similar objects have been found at other colonial aboriginal sites in North America and have been interpreted as being noise “whizzers,” fishing sinkers, and beads (Stelle 2001).

Similar lead discs were found at the site of Spalding’s Lower Store. Kenneth Lewis refers to the objects as “buttons,” probably because a few have two holes, which were characteristic of buttons on European coats (Lewis 1969:108-109). Lewis observes an especially fascinating detail of one of the lead buttons found at Spalding’s Lower Store: “Two rows of letters appear on the front side. The top row contains the letter K followed by a period and the bottom row consists of the letters ‘PAYNE.’ It is tempting to speculate that this button bears some connection with the famous Seminole leader” (Lewis 1969:108-109). It is doubtful that the lead discs recovered at Paynes Town and Spalding’s Lower Store were designed specifically for Payne, although I have not come across other references to these objects at other Seminole sites. Historically, the Seminoles and other Florida Indians pierced European coins to wear as necklaces, earrings, and other types of ornamentation (Johnson 1976; MacCauley 2000:488). Clay MacCauley wrote of seeing silver discs worn by Seminole women at late-nineteenth century settlements in southern Florida:

Conspicuous among the other ornaments worn by women are silver disks, suspended in a curve across the shirt fronts, under and below the beads. As many as ten or more are worn by one woman. These disks are made by men, who may be called ‘jewelers to the tribe,’ from silver quarters and half dollars. [MacCauley 2000:488]

It is quite possible that the lead discs found at Paynes Town were worn in a similar manner. The Seminoles may have found them particularly appealing because of their resemblance to the “Great Medals” that had been given as gifts by the British to Seminole leaders.

Glass Artifacts

Over 700 glass fragments were recovered from the Paynes Town site. Six fragments of clear, flat glass may have been window glass, although they were too small to be certain. Another molded fragment may have been “pressed glass,” typically associated with the Depression Era, although more expensive varieties were produced as early as the 1830s (Stelle 2001). Bottle glass made up the remainder of the glass found at the Paynes Town site.

Dark green or olive (n=488) was the most common color of bottle glass found at the Paynes Town site. Dark green (often called “black-glass”) bottles are commonly associated with the storage and transport of wine and spirits (Nöel-Hume 1970:71). Clear bottle glass (n=146) made up the second largest group, followed by aqua (n=27), amber (n=9), and violet (n=5). The color of 23 fragments could not be determined due to a heavy patina or melting.

Unfortunately, the bottle glass at Paynes Town possessed few diagnostic features that would assist with determining the approximate dates and place of manufacture. One aqua bottle neck and lip was similar to pharmaceutical bottle forms produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Martin 1977:26-27). One dark green bottle lip had a “double round” or “stacked ring” finish. This type of finish is characterized by two rings that are equal in diameter and height and are separated by a small groove, where a wire bail was probably used to anchor a cork (Bureau of Land Management and Society for Historical Archaeology [BLMSHA] 2007). This bottle lip is identical to an example found in a Late Tallapoosa Phase (1780-1836) component of the Upper Creek town of Tukabatchee (Knight 1985:163).

Two dark green bottle bases also provided some details about the bottles' contents and dates of manufacture, although only in a general way. One base exhibited a deep "kick-up," or indentation in the center of the base. This pronounced kick-up suggests that the bottle was designed to contain wine, champagne, or brandy (BLMSHA 2007). Another base was oval in shape and exhibited a shallow pontil scar. The use of the pontil rod in bottle manufacture was rarely used after the 1850s (BLMSHA 2007).

Many materials introduced by British traders and other colonists, such as brass, iron, and glass, provided the Seminoles with new sources of raw material for tool manufacturing. For example, bottle glass was used to make implements used for cutting, scraping, and sawing. Glass flakes and scrapers have been found at numerous Seminole sites in central Florida (Neill 1977; Fitts 2001:72-750; Weisman 1989:73), including Paynes Town. One dark green bottle base fragment exhibited numerous knapping scars and may have been used as a scraper (Figure A-14). The remains of 35 glass reduction flakes were found from a single feature in Test Unit 4 (Figure A-15). These flakes were probably debris associated with a single glass working event. Flake scars were observed on glass bottle fragments at several other locations across the Paynes Town site.

Kaolin Pipes

A few fragments of kaolin smoking pipes were recovered from the Paynes Town site, including one pipe stem. The bore diameter of the pipe was 5/64 in. I incorporated this diameter into various formulas designed to correlate the bore diameters of pipe stems found at archaeological sites with a mean production date. Three estimated mean dates of production were calculated: 1740 (Binford 1962); 1731 (Hanson 1971); and 1795 (Omwake 1956). The latter date is consistent with the period of the Seminole occupation of Paynes Town, while the other two predate it by 50 to 60 years.

Brick

Eight large fragments of unmarked and non-diagnostic pressed red brick were found in Shovel Test 10W-65N, located near the eastern edge of the westernmost quarry pit. The bricks were typical of machine-made examples, in that they had very smooth and regular sides, an extremely compact and uniform paste, and a uniform color. Machine-made bricks were not widely available until the late-nineteenth century (Hockensmith 1996:27).

Daub

The use of daub for the building of Seminole structures is not well documented. However, several amorphous pieces of baked clay were found at the Paynes Town site. Here, I use the term “baked” rather than “fired” because the clay’s properties were not consistent with those of “fired” pottery, in that it was much more friable, extremely sandy, and mottled in color, the last characteristic being evidence of uneven exposure to heat or fire.

The baked clay appeared to be far too sandy to have been remnant pottery clay. It is conceivable that the artifacts were associated with experimental pottery clay or clay that was thrown out because of its over-sandy properties. It is also possible that the baked clay artifacts were associated with hearths. The one well-defined hearth feature at Paynes Town contained a concentration of baked clay that resembled the baked clay artifacts found in other areas of the site.

Although they did not contain any “wattle” impressions, the baked clay artifacts were found in Seminole occupation levels that contained an abundance of charred wood. The daub component of wattle-and-daub structure often did not preserve unless the structures had burned. The burning would often “bake” the clay plaster on the structure, making it much more likely to be preserved in the archaeological record. Thus, it is not surprising that the baked clay artifacts from Paynes Town were found among charred wood. However, if the Paynes Town structures

were covered in a clay plaster, I would have expected to have found even greater amounts of daub, considering the extent of the burning.

Faunal Remains

Although all faunal remains were quantified (N=2200), only the fauna recovered from the test unit excavation phase (N=2116) were analyzed using a specific set of criteria, designed to glean information pertaining to minimum number of individuals (MNI) and butchering.

Unfortunately, due to the poor preservation of the faunal assemblage, over half of the specimens (N=1124) were unidentifiable. Nonetheless, the faunal assemblage from Paynes Town offers the greatest amount of information on Seminole animal exploitation than any other Seminole site.

The results of the faunal analysis are summarized in the following sections.

Classes

Of the specimens that were identifiable to class, 97 percent (N=964) were mammal. Bird (N=1), reptile (N=26), and a possible mollusc specimen each made up less than one percent of the total assemblage. Of the mammal remains, 61 percent (N=591) were identified as large mammal; 6 percent (N=62) were medium mammal; and less than 1 percent (N=3) were small mammal. The general size range of the remaining mammal specimens could not be determined. Of the 26 specimens identified as reptile, 10 were further identified as turtle and one was identified as snake.

Genera and Species

Only seven taxa were identified below the level of class. Domestic cow (*Bos Taurus*), white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), opossum (*Didelphis virginianus*), and wild turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*) were identified to the species level. At the genus level, cooter/slider remains (*Pseudemys* spp.) were identified. Additional Bovidae (either domestic cow or bison) were identified. As mentioned, the sub-order Serpentes was identified (one snake vertebra).

The largest number of faunal specimens identified to the species level was opossum, with a minimum number of individuals (MNI) of one. These remains were found within a single feature in Test Unit 10 (Feature 10.2), in which 59 elements from one individual were recovered. These included the cranium, mandible, an ulna, femora, humeri, various thoracic elements, including ribs, and most of the spinal column. A right innominate was found nearby and in the same level as the feature. These elements were unburned, in correct taphonomic position, and showed no evidence of butchering marks. These characteristics suggest an *in situ* natural death of an animal, although it is possible that it was placed there by a human, although for what reason is unknown.

Eighteen domestic cow remains were identified. The MNI for cow was one. With the exception of an occipital and a temporal fragment of the cranium, the remains were from either limbs or feet. These included portions of femora and tibia, as well as parts of a metatarsal, metacarpal, tarsal (cubo-navicular), calcaneum, radio-ulna, and patella. In addition to those elements definitively identified as *Bos taurus*, several elements were assigned to the Bovidae (either cow or bison) family. These included four rib fragments and five fragments of cheek teeth.

Twenty-one deer specimens were identified. A MNI of two was determined based on the presence of two distal portions of left ulnae. Like the cow remains, most of the deer elements represented the limb and feet portions, including a femur, tibia, metatarsal, calcaneum, astralagus, an unidentified tarsal or carpal element, humerus, and radius. Portions of ribs, a scapula, and a mandible were also identified.

The identifiable elements from the Paynes Town faunal assemblage were recovered primarily from three features: a small refuse pit in Test Unit 4, a large refuse pit in Test Units 15 and 17, and a hearth feature in Test Unit 19. The large mammals were overwhelmingly

represented by limb and feet extremities. These elements may represent those parts of the animals that were not used for meat or marrow and were discarded.

Seventy-two teeth fragments were too small to definitively link to deer or bovid. They displayed the characteristic folding and layering of dentin and the hollow crown in the molar teeth that both of these types of grazing animals possess. Nearly half of the teeth fragments (N=34) were burnt suggesting they were discarded and burned along with other refuse.

Butchering

Evidence of butchering, in the form of cut marks, hack marks, or impact fractures, was observed on several cow and deer elements. Cut marks refer to superficial, linear striations on the bone (Reitz 1999:158). These marks are evidence of either carving meat from large portions of the animal or disarticulating parts of the carcass during primary butchering activities. Hack marks, which often result in flake scars, anvil marks, and spiral or stepped fractures (impact fractures) are evidence of attempts to disarticulate the carcass or to extract marrow from the major marrow-bearing bones (Reitz 1999:158).

On cow elements, cut marks were identified on a tibia, metatarsal, radio-ulna, and four femur specimens. Impact fractures were identified on a tibia and two femur specimens. Another possible impact fracture was observed on a tibia and a possible cut mark was observed on a cranial fragment. A rib fragment belonging to a bovid also exhibited a cut mark.

On deer remains, cut marks were observed on two calcanea, a scapula, ulna, femur, and rib. A humerus also revealed an impact fracture and, possibly, a series of small cut marks.

Although my faunal analysis focused on material recovered from the test unit excavations, it is interesting to note that a third metacarpal of an *Equus* spp. (probably horse) was recovered from Shovel Test 30W-45N.

Several eighteenth and nineteenth-century travelers documented the great variety of plants and animals in the Alachua prairie (Bartram in van Doren 1928: 153-211; Romans 1999:97-145; Simmons 1822:34-48). Considering the diversity of animal species available for exploitation by the Alachua Seminoles, it is surprising that so few species were represented in the Paynes Town faunal assemblage. Although part of this may be explained by poor preservation, it may also be evidence of decreasing exploitation of many wild species and increasing reliance on a few domestic species. Apparently, deer continued to play a role in the diet of the Paynes Town Seminoles. The ready availability of large herds of cattle may have also provided enough of a stable protein source to reduce the need for regular hunting and fishing. According to Weisman, “jerked beef” was an especially significant part of the Seminole diet (Weisman 1989:105-106).

Botanical Remains

Charred corn cobs were found in four shovel test units. However, most of the botanical remains (almost all charred) were found in features in test units. Because I did not analyze the samples collected from water flotation, no detailed information on the Paynes Town botanicals is presently available.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the artifacts that were found within the Seminole occupation level at the Paynes Town site. The types of artifacts were generally consistent with other Seminole and Creek sites that were contemporary to Paynes Town. This was especially true for the abundance and diversity of European materials that were recovered from the site.

There were some unusual characteristics about the Paynes Town artifact assemblage. For example, the low number of aboriginal pottery in general and, particularly, the low frequency of Chattahoochee Brushed pottery are surprising. The Sears-Lasnick Seminole site, located on the western margin of Paynes Prairie, appears to have been a small and possibly temporary Seminole

camp. Yet, nearly 700 Chattahoochee Brushed sherds were recovered from the site, making up over 80 percent of its pottery assemblage (Sears 1959:12).

It is possible that the pottery assemblage from the Paynes Town site was just a poor or misrepresentative sample of native pottery production and use. The overall small size of the sherds suggests that many of the test units were located in a “high traffic” area that resulted in the trampling and diminishment of the overall sherd size. Small sherds also dominated the Lower Creek pottery assemblage at the site of Sawokli (Holland 1974:34). Holland also concluded that considering the most of the sherds were in well-preserved contexts below the plow zone, their small size was a result of “a concentrated occupation resulting in much trampling” (Holland 1974:34). Alternatively, perhaps European tablewares were replacing aboriginal vessels more rapidly at Paynes Town than at other Creek and Seminole settlements. More data needs to be gathered from both the Paynes Town site and contemporary Seminole sites to determine if the Paynes Town pottery assemblage really is an anomaly.

It was also interesting that there were relatively few artifacts related to guns. This is surprising considering the frequent conflicts between the Seminoles and the Americans that eventually resulted in the violent demise of Paynes Town. This may reflect the high value placed on guns, gun parts, and ammunition, all of which were becoming increasingly difficult to obtain from traders (Ethridge 2003:131).

The number of complete nails and nail fragments recovered from the Paynes Town site is much higher than other Seminole sites and many contemporary Creek sites. Their distribution across the site suggests that they may have been used in many types of buildings, although not necessarily in the construction of the buildings. Although over 200 fragments were found, one

would expect to find even higher numbers in more discrete clusters if they were an integral component of a structure's framework.

The numbers of glass trade beads, silver jewelry, and brass sheet metal that were recovered from the Paynes Town site exceed those found at any other Seminole archaeological site to date. They also exceed the number of these materials found at the Tukabatchee site, the Upper Creek site on which Vernon Knight developed his discussion regarding "ostentatious" Creek consumerism (Knight 1985:177-183). What does this say about the scale of consumerism among the Paynes Town Seminoles? Clearly, it reflects an avid participation in the colonial economy, regular interactions with British traders, and the wealth of the Paynes Town occupants in general. These "exotic" materials were distributed across the Paynes Town site suggesting that the Seminole occupants of the town had fairly equal access to, or the ability to acquire, these types of goods. In the next chapter, I will address the archaeological contexts from which these and other artifacts were recovered.

Table 9-1. Types of Lithic Artifacts Recovered from Paynes Town Site

Type of Lithic Artifact	Frequency	%
Waste Flakes	976	82.7
Shatter	184	15.6
Dalton (Nuckoll's Variant)	1	<1
Projectile Point "Tallahassee-like"	1	<1
projectile Point		
Bolen Projectile Point	1	<1
Pinellas Projectile Point	2	<1
Utilized Flake	4	<1
Core	1	<1
Unidentified Sandstone objects	2	<1
River Pebbles	6	<1
Phosphate Pebbles	1	<1
Total	1179	

Table 9-2. Types of Aboriginal Pottery Recovered at the Paynes Town Site

Pottery Type	Frequency	%
Sand-Tempered Plain	1551	84.2
Chattahoochee Brushed "Roughened"	178	9.6
Alachua Tradition (Check and Cob-Stamped)	51	2.7
St. Johns (Plain and Check- Stamped)	39	2.1
Kasita Red-Filmed	15	<1
Possible Kasita Red-Filmed	5	<1
Total	3	<1
	1842	

Table 9-3. Types of European Ceramics from the Paynes Town Site

Categories and sub-categories of European ceramics	Frequency
Unglazed Earthenware (N=55)	
Unidentified	29
Olive Jar	18
Greyware	3
Unidentified, brown slip	2
Unidentified, pale yellow slip	2
Unidentified, light cream slip	1

Table 9-3. Continued

Categories and sub-categories of European ceramics	Frequency
Lead-Glazed Earthenware (N=54)	
Jackfield-type	43
Reyware	6
Unidentified, yellow slip	2
Unidentified, cream slip	1
Unidentified brown slip, raised yellow dot	1
Unidentified, green/teal slip	1
Refined Earthenware (N=51)	
Unidentified	23
Pearlware	17
Creamware	10
Whiteware, floral decal	1
Salt-Glazed Stoneware (N=19)	
English Brown	10
Unidentified	9
Porcelain (N=2)	
Unidentified	2
Total Number of European Ceramic Sherds	181

Table 9-4. Manufacturing Dates of European Ceramics

Ceramic Type	Dates of Manufacture	Median Date of Manufacture	Number of Sherds
Edged Pearlware	1785-1840	1812.5	2
Blue Transfer Print (Pearlware)	1784-1840	1812	1
Creamware (no other info. available)	1762-1820	1791	10
Pearlware (no other info. available)	1770-1840	1805	17
Gaudy Dutch (Pearlware)	1795-1820	1807.5	1
Banded Annularware (Pearlware)	1785-1840	1812.5	1
Jackfield-Type	1740-1805	1772.5	43
Reyware	1725-1825	1775	6
Greyware	1750-1850	1800	3
English Brown Stoneware	1690-1795	1732.5	10
Derbyshire Stoneware	1800-1875	1837.5	6
Number of sherds included in formula			100
Mean Ceramic Date		1783	

Table 9.5 Glass Bead Types and Distribution

Seed Beads (<4 mm)*	Number	Pony Beads (4 to 5 mm)*	Number	Necklace Beads (>5 mm)*	Number
Blue	22	Black	13	Black	20
Cornalline d'Aleppo	17	Blue	10	Amber	12
White	11	Clear	5	Aqua	12
Black	10	Pink, Reddish-Pink	4	Blue	7
Aqua	7	Cornalline d'Aleppo	4	Pink	4
Red interior/Red exterior	5	Aqua	4	Green	3
Clear	4	Red	3	Purplish brown	2
Amber	2	Purplish brown	2	Clear	2
Red	1	Amber	2	Brown	1
Shell	1	Black with white/black stripes	1	Cornalline d'Aleppo	1
		White	1	White	1
		NA (heavy patina)	1	Aqua with red/white stripes	1
				White with blue/red stripes	1
				NA	1
Total	80		51		68

* Denotes bead diameter

CHAPTER 10 SUMMARY OF TEST UNIT LEVELS AND FEATURES

In this chapter I summarize the levels and cultural features observed in the individual test units at the Paynes Town site. I begin with a brief discussion of the few test units that yielded little data relating to the Seminole occupation, followed by a longer presentation devoted to the areas of the site that were more informative. These areas include two small-scale block excavations and several test units in the southern portion of the site. Before I begin I briefly address a few issues relating to the data that I present.

First, lithic flakes were encountered in nearly all shovel tests and in most levels (0-100 cmbs) of the Paynes Town site. With the exception of the projectile points, the cultural association of the lithic artifacts could not be determined. Although the Seminoles likely continued to use stone to make expedient tools, such as utilized flakes and scrapers (Neill 1977), Seminole archaeological sites have not produced any evidence of a Seminole stone tool kit, or a semi-standardized collection of weapons and tools. Thus, lithic artifacts are excluded from the historic artifact counts.

Second, the field crew recorded the beginning and ending level depths of each of the four corners of the test units. Because levels were based on natural and/or cultural stratigraphy and several historic and modern events at the site had led to significant alterations in the original site stratigraphy, the level measurements of each corner within a single unit were often quite variable (Tables B-1 through B-18). To simplify the presentation of these data, I include only the level measurements taken for the southwestern corners of the test units. Also, to facilitate presentation of the materials, I have included the tables and figures as Appendix C and D, respectively. The Seminole component was ephemeral, disturbed, or non-existent in the first few test units that

were excavated at the Paynes Town site. Thus, I will only briefly address the findings from Test Units 1, 2, 5, and 12.

Test Unit 1

Test Unit 1 (1.5 m x 1.5 m) was established to determine the significance of a piece of charred wood that was vertically oriented in the soil in Shovel Test 60E-110N (Figure D-2). This feature was designated as Feature 1.1. Tree rings were visible on the surface of the charred wood, which measured 10 cm x 12 cm. The recovery of a plain, sand-tempered pottery sherd near Feature 1.1 suggested that it might have been the burnt post of a Seminole structure.

Excavation of Test Unit 1 revealed a thin Seminole component (10YR 4/2) in Level 3 (Table C-1). A zone of much darker soil (10YR 3/1-3/2) intermixed with large pieces of charred wood appeared at 20 cmbs towards the center of the test unit and was designated as Zone A. Zone A measured 70 cm x 60 cm and encompassed Feature 1.1. Other cohesive pieces of charred wood were located within or near Zone A, although no others were in a vertical position. Parts of Zone A extended below Level 3 and penetrated a prehistoric component.

Lighter bands of soil (10YR5/4) were visible in areas of Level 3. These bands indicated that soil from the lower levels had been churned up probably as a result of heavy machinery used during the sand-mining operations. This also explains the mix of prehistoric and historic artifacts, including a fragment of fired clay, within the upper levels of the test unit. Due to the disturbed deposits and the paucity of historic artifacts recovered from the test unit, the results of testing in this unit are severely limited.

Test Unit 2

Test Unit 2 (1.5 m x 1.5 m) was excavated to determine the significance of the fragments of charred wood that were found throughout Shovel Test 60E-80N, beginning at 20 cmbs. A few pieces of bottle glass and three pottery sherds, including one Chattahoochee Brushed sherd, were

also recovered from the shovel test. In Test Unit 2 the A Horizon (10YR 4/2-3/2) was found at approximately 20 cmbs and terminated at approximately 35 cmbs. The horizon included an ephemeral Seminole component, from which only five historic artifacts were recovered, including a fragment of sheet brass that was probably used as a knife.

An area of burnt soil and charcoal, designated as Feature 2.1, was found in the northwestern corner of Test Unit 2 from at approximately 30 to 90 cmbs (Figure D-3), where other large pieces of charred wood were found. Feature 2.1 measured 35 cm (east-west) x 25 cm (north-south). Its profile, in conjunction with the charred wood found at the base of the unit, suggests that Feature 2.1 represented the remains of a charred tree stump.

Test Unit 5

Test Unit 5 was placed between two shovel test units (50E-115N and 50E-125N) that yielded a high frequency of artifacts (including a Kaskaskia projectile point). In this area of the site, historic artifacts were recovered from much deeper levels, as they were buried beneath unusually dense modern deposits. In Test Unit 5 the buried A Horizon (10YR 4/2-4/4) and an ephemeral Seminole component were uncovered at approximately 50 cmbs. The stratigraphic profile of the test unit suggests that part of the Seminole occupation level had been scoured off and replaced by sands from other parts of the site or quarry pits (Figure D-4). Few historic artifacts and no cultural features were identified in Test Unit 5. The only unusual find was a complete Bolen projectile point recovered from the modern gravel deposit in Level 2.

Test Unit 12

Test Unit 12 (1 m x 1 m) was located on the westernmost edge of the boundary of the site's Seminole component and approximately 15 m to the east of a sand quarry pit. Test Unit 12 was placed just to the northeast of Shovel Test 40W-80N. A mix of lithic artifacts, glass bottle fragments, a few small faunal remains, and several pieces of charred corn cobs were found in

Shovel Test 40W-80N. The test unit was excavated primarily to determine if the charred cobs were associated with a Seminole component. Excavations revealed that this area of the site had been severely disturbed by sand mining, which had removed most of the A Horizon, along with any possibly Seminole component. A single Chattahoochee Brushed sherd, which was found between 13 and 22 cmbs, was the only artifact that could be definitively tied to a Seminole occupation.

Test Unit 4

Test Unit 4 was also placed near the western boundary of the site's Seminole component and approximately 20 m to the south of a quarry pit. Test Unit 4 (2 m x 1 m) was placed directly over Shovel Test 30W-105N where a trash pit containing numerous faunal remains and a few historic artifacts was identified.

A mix of prehistoric and historic artifacts was found within the first two levels of Test Unit 4 (Table C-4). Several nail fragments, including a hand-wrought nail, an iron kettle ear, two glass beads, and several plain and Chattahoochee Brushed pottery sherds were among the historic artifacts found in Test Unit 4. Numerous animal bones and a few historic artifacts were also recovered from Levels 4 and 5, although most appear to have come from the center portion of the test unit where the refuse pit (Feature 4.1) was located.

Feature 4.1 measured 35 cm x 22 cm and extended from 13 to 43 cmbs. It was composed of a loose, dark brown (10YR 3/3) loamy soil. This distinctive soil was probably caused by the decomposition of the faunal material. Nearly 200 artifacts were recovered from Feature 4.1. Most of the artifacts were animal bones, many of which had been burned. Cow and deer were the only identifiable species found among the faunal remains.

Thirty-five very small fragments (less than 1 cm in length and width) of dark green bottle glass were also recovered in Feature 4.1. Many of these pieces exhibited key characteristics of

lithic reduction flakes, including a striking platform, a bulb of percussion, and a feathered edge. These artifacts probably represented debris from the “knapping” of bottle glass, which Seminoles used to make expedient tools for scraping and cutting (Neill 1977).

Although no separate level of charred wood was observed in Test Unit 4, Feature 4.2 may provide evidence of the 1813 burning of Paynes Town. Feature 4.2 was found at the interface of Levels 1 and 2 within what appeared to be a shallow A Horizon lens. The feature consisted of a large piece of charred wood that extended horizontally into the western wall of the test unit. Its visible portion measured 18 cm x 16 cm.

Feature 4.3 was found adjacent to the northern wall of Test Unit 4. It was composed of the same loose, organic matrix (10YR 3/3) as Feature 4.1 and was probably fill that had spilled over from that feature. Feature 4.3 was more superficial than Feature 4.1 and measured less than 10 cm in depth. A fragment of turtle plastron and a few small fragments of animal bone were found at its surface.

The North Block of Test Units (TU3, 6, 9, 10, 14)

The “north block” refers to a group of adjacent test units located towards the northern periphery of the Seminole component of the Paynes Town site. The north block originated from Test Unit 3, which was excavated to learn more about the findings of Shovel Test 40E-130N. A dense deposit of charred wood was identified within the first few levels of the shovel test. Several historic artifacts were recovered from these same levels. Test unit 3 (1.5 m x 1.5 m) revealed that the charred wood deposit, or Level 2, extended into three of its four walls. Therefore, Test Unit 6 (1.5 m x 1.5 m), Test Unit 9 (1.5 m x 1 m), and Test Units 10 and 14 (both 1.5 m x 1 m) were added to learn more about the cultural context of this burnt deposit. A summary of the levels and features found in the north block is found in Table C-5.

Most of Level 2 was composed of fragments or amorphous concentrations of charred wood, several discrete pieces of burnt wood extended across the east-west axis of the southern edges of Test Units 14, 10, and 3 (Figure D-5). Much of the burnt wood in Level 2 was very small, sometimes measuring less than 1 cm in diameter and resembled small sticks or branches. A single piece that measured over 1 m in length and between 3 and 8 cm in width was also observed. Three large pieces of charred wood were also found in the southeastern corner of Test Unit 3. The pieces were positioned horizontally and overlapped portions of each other. Their lengths and widths measured: 38 cm x 10 cm; 58 cm x 12 cm; and 50 cm x 18 cm, and their thicknesses varied between 10 cm and 20 cm.

Level 3 represented the artifact-rich midden deposit that was found, in most areas of the north block, immediately below the charred wood level. Level 3 was a compact, dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2-3/2) sandy soil that was flecked with charcoal. In some areas of Test Units 9 and 14 irregular deposits of lighter color (10YR 6/2), loose sand were found at the interface of Levels 2 and 3 (Figure D-6). These lenses contained greater numbers of lithic flakes than the surrounding Level 3 and appeared to be redeposited B Horizon soils. Across the north block, Level 3 showed evidence of fluvial action, resulting in an irregular and streaky deposit in which individual rivulets were visible. In Test Unit 14, a pit-shaped deposit of Level 3 soils intruded into the Level 4 deposit (Figure D-7). No artifacts were recovered from the deposit and its profile revealed no evidence of fluvial layering. Rodents and gopher tortoises may have contributed to some of the unusual depositional patterns in the north block of test units.

Level 4 marked the end of the Seminole cultural component and the beginning of the B Horizon. It produced a greater number of lithics than the previous levels. Prehistoric Cades Pond pottery was also recovered towards the bottom of this level in some areas of the north block.

Features in the North Block

Over 1,000 historic artifacts were recovered from the north block. Fluvial erosion may explain the absence of accompanying cultural features in the north block of test units as well as the variation in level depths across the north block. The erosive features seen in the north block were likely related to the effects that the 1813 fire had on the surrounding vegetation and/or structures. Soil erosion commonly occurs after a natural fire, especially in the first year following the fire, when surface vegetation has yet to recover (Robichaud and Elliot 2006). Without surface cover, the soil is susceptible to erosion by wind and rain. The harsh downpours that accompany Florida's wet season are especially destructive on exposed topsoils. The soils in the vicinity of the north block may have been protected either by vegetation or Seminole structures. The burning of one or both of these protective barriers would have left the upper soil levels, which would have included a Seminole midden deposit, vulnerable to water erosion. Most of the features identified in the north block appear to be related to natural processes.

Feature 6.1

Feature 6.1 was located in the northeast corner of Test Unit 6. The feature, which was identified at 16 cmbs, was composed of two large pieces of charred wood that were vertically positioned and separated by a deposit of Level 2 soils (10YR 3/1-3/2) (Figure D-8). The east wall of Test Unit 6 showed a dark stain beginning immediately below Level 3 and sloping towards the charred wood. This deposit was similar to Feature 2.1 (Test Unit 2, Figure D-3) and probably represented a charred tree stump. Removing several centimeters of soil in between the two pieces of charred wood revealed loose fragments of spongy (decaying) wood, which extended beyond the base of the test unit. Historic artifacts were intermixed within the charred and non-charred wood in Feature 6.1 and included a glass bead, two Chattahoochee Brushed sherds, and a few pieces of glass, metal, and animal bones.

Feature 10.1

Feature 10.1 was located approximately 1 m to the northwest of Feature 6.1. The surface of Feature 10.1 was composed of ashy and charred wood fragments. It was roughly oval in shape and measured 70 cm x 10 cm. It extended from 20 cmbs to 54 cmbs. After nearly 10 cm of ash and charcoal were removed, the feature was composed entirely of loose, spongy wood and very small amounts of loamy soil. Several historic artifacts were recovered from the wood and soil that made up Feature 10.1, although these may have been redeposited by water. Artifacts included: two glass beads, pottery sherds, and fragments of glass and metal. Like Feature 6.1, Feature 10.1 might have also represented a semi-charred remnant of a tree.

Feature 10.2

Feature 10.2 was located towards the center of Test Unit 10. The surface of the feature, located at 20 cmbs, was much lighter (10YR 5/3) in color and looser in consistency than the surrounding Level 2 soil. The feature surface was roughly elliptical in shape and measured approximately 25 cm x 15 cm. After removing a few centimeters from its surface, a nearly complete skeleton of an opossum was revealed (Figure D-9).

A total of 59 skeletal elements were recovered, including the cranium, mandible, humeri, ulnae, femora, various thoracic bones, and most of the spinal column. These elements were in correct anatomical position, and showed no evidence of burning or butchering, although portions of the cranium, mandible, and maxilla were crushed. The intact arrangement of the skeleton suggests an *in situ* natural death of the animal. The loose matrix within the feature suggests that the opossum skeleton may have been within an O Horizon intrusion.

Feature 9.1

Feature 9.1 was a shallow round-bottom basin located along the northern wall of Test Unit 9. A portion of the feature continued into the north wall of the test unit, where a bulk separated Test Unit 9 from Test Unit 10. Thus, its entire dimensions could not be measured. Where visible, Feature 9.1 measured 25 cm (east-west) x 10 cm (north-south). Its surface was identified at 25 cmbs and its final depth was 38 cmbs. The basin may have been scoured out by water since it was located within a band of soil that had been altered by water flow. A piece of iron scrap and three plain pottery sherds were found in the feature soil.

Discussion: Artifacts from the North Block of Test Units

Over 1,000 artifacts relating to the Paynes Town Seminole occupation were recovered from the north block of test units. In most ways, the artifacts from the north block were consistent with those found in other test units. However, a few aspects of the assemblage deserve special attention.

The most unique characteristic of the artifact assemblage from the north block was the high frequency of artifacts relating to jewelry. Three European-made silver jewelry pieces, including a fragment of an earring, a heart broche, and a drop-shape pendant were recovered from the north block. These were the only “pre-fabricated” (in Europe) silver jewelry pieces found at the site, and it is notable that all three were found in one small area. In addition to the three artifacts, a thin strip of silver that may have been salvaged from another piece of jewelry had been rolled into a cylinder and was probably worn as a bead or other item of adornment. Sixty-nine glass trade beads were also recovered from the north block. The Seminoles and the Creeks wore jewelry as a visual display of status and wealth. Some groups even preferred to be paid solely in beads (Braund 1993:123).

Considering the high number of artifacts relating to personal adornment, it was surprising that so few European ceramic sherds were recovered from the north block. Like beads, Knight believes that European tablewares were acquired for display purposes (Knight 1985:181), and were rarely used for food preparation or eating. Only twelve European ceramic sherds were found in the entire block. Most were non-decorative course earthenwares or stonewares.

Small sheet brass and silver fragments were more numerous in the north block of units than in any other part of the site, possibly indicating that this area was used by a person skilled in working metal to manufacture items such as tinkling cones and other forms of jewelry, projectile points, knives, and other tools. Among the Seminoles, jewelry making was practiced mostly by men (Johnson 1976:94). A few dark green bottle fragments that were recovered from the north block had “worked” edges. These glass artifacts may have been used as expedient tools, similar to the stone scrapers and utilized flakes that their ancestors manufactured. Like jewelry making, making tools from various raw sources was typically a male activity.

A complete gunflint, a lead gunflint pad, and a complete iron file, all of which are associated with male gender roles (Fitts 2001) were found in Test Unit 9.

The head of a brass tack (probably related to horse gear) was also recovered from the north block. Horses would have been especially desirable to the Alachua Seminoles, for whom cattle herding played a major role in their economies. Ethridge writes, “With the deerskin trade of the eighteenth century, horses became indispensable for transportation, trade, hunting, and warfare” (Ethridge 2003:158-159). These, too, were activities mostly pursued by men.

The South Block of Test Units (Test Units 15, 17, 19, 20)

Reports on the previous investigations of the Paynes Town site (Mullins 1977; Mykel 1962) indicate that the densest concentrations of artifacts were found near the private property fenceline that formed the southern boundary of the site. This is also the area that both Mykel and

Mullins referred to as “Paynes House,” although neither supplied any specific data to support this was, in fact, the location of Payne’s house. High concentrations of artifacts were also found in the southern part of the site during the shovel test survey in 2003.

Like the north block, the south block of test units was formed by a gradual expansion of units from a single test unit. The original unit, Test Unit 15 (1.5 m x 1.5 m), was excavated to investigate a possible posthole feature found in Shovel Test 70E-15S. A glass bead, metal artifacts, European ceramics, and aboriginal pottery were also recovered from the shovel test. Eventually, three more units were set up adjacent to Test Unit 15: Test Unit 17 (1.5 m x 1.5 m) to its south; Test Unit 19 (1 m x 2 m) to its west; and Test Unit 20 (1 m x 1 m) to its north. A summary of the levels and features (with the exception of the well feature) found in the south block is found in Table C-6.

There were some notable differences in the depths of levels in the south block of units, with Level 2 being particularly variable. In some areas, Level 2 was a dark (10YR 3/2), compact soil that contained moderate to abundant charred wood, as well as minor amounts of non-charred wood. Some of the charred botanical remains appeared to be tree bark. In other areas, Level 2 was less compact, contained minimal charcoal, and was more mottled in color (10YR 3/2, 4/2, and 5/2).

Level 3 represented the main Seminole occupation level. It was slightly blacker in color (2.5Y 3/1 and 2/1) than the preceding level and produced the greatest quantity of artifacts. In Test Unit 19, Level 3 was quite ashy in color and consistency, especially in the southern half of the unit, which was designated as a separate zone and will be addressed momentarily. Historic artifacts continued to be found in the upper few centimeters of Level 4, which exhibited a mottling of soil colors probably resulting from remnant patches of Level 3. Level 5 was a loose

sandy soil that marked the termination of the Seminole cultural stratum and the beginning of the B horizon.

Features in the Southern Block

Unlike the north block of test units, several intact cultural features were observed. The features are discussed in the following sections.

Feature 15.2

Feature 15.2 appeared to be the remains of a barrel well. Barrel wells are common at colonial period archaeological sites across the Southeast. Their construction techniques varied, although typically one or two barrels were placed at the bottom of the well and the upper portion of the well shaft was lined with bricks or wooden planks (Mallios 1999:22-23).

Feature 15.2 was first identified at approximately 30 cmbs along the southeastern wall of Test Unit 15. Its surface was darker (10YR 3/2-4/2) and ashier than the surrounding Level 4 matrix and contained several large animal bones. Because Feature 15.2 extended into the southern wall of Test Unit 15, Test Unit 17 was set up adjacent to the south wall of Test Unit 15 so that more of the feature could be examined.

Feature 15.2 was roughly circular in shape, measuring 75 cm (east-west) x 68 cm (north-south). Its profile revealed a cylindrical form that continued to a depth of 196 cmbs (Figure D-10). The first level of the feature (29-49 cmbs) was composed of fairly compact very dark grayish brown silty sands (10YR 3/2-4/2) that contained streaks of ash and charcoal. This was consistent with soils from Level 3 and the upper portion of Level 4 and probably represented midden material that had accumulated in the depressed area of the well. From 49 to 109 cmbs, the feature fill was darker (10YR 3/1-3/2) and contained a large amount of charcoal. A much lighter (7.5YR 5/4) and stickier matrix was present in small amounts and probably represented soil that had been discolored from exposure to fire.

From approximately 109 cmbs to 196 cmbs, the feature soil gradually became lighter, although charred wood continued to be abundant. Lesser amounts of faunal and botanical remains continued to be found at the base of the feature, which was terminated when the soil became very moist.

Large fragments of charred wood were found throughout the feature, but were especially abundant along its walls where the wood often appeared to be positioned vertically, possibly the remnants of either wooden barrels or wooden plank lining. No distinct layering of deposits was visible in Feature 15.2, and its fill and artifacts appeared to be related to a single trash-dumping episode. The refuse was subsequently burned.

Four postholes (Postholes 1-4) were identified at the same level as the surface of Feature 15.2 (Figure D-11). The post holes surrounded the feature and were located less than 20 cm from its perimeter. The four posts probably supported a roof or cover of some kind that prevented debris from falling in the well.

The dimensions of Postholes 1 through 4 are provided in Table C-7. Their diameters were roughly the same, ranging between 10 and 13 cm. The depths of the postholes ranged from between 50 cm and 80 cm. Three of the postholes (Post Holes 1, 2, and 4) were placed at an angle into the ground, with the base of the post angled away from Feature 15.2. A few faunal remains were recovered from the post holes. This is not surprising considering their proximity to Feature 15.2. One of the postholes also contained a large fragment of charred wood, presumably the remnants of a post. This and the large amount of charred wood found in the feature suggest that the structure was burned.

The surface of Feature 15.2 was located towards the bottom of the Seminole component at the interface of Levels 3 and 4. This suggests that the well may not have been used for long, if at

all, before it was abandoned, used as a refuse pit, set on fire, and eventually covered with midden material. However, the fact that a four-posted structure was built—presumably, after the well was dug—suggests that it was initially perceived to be a useable well. Based on the topography of the area and a pond located approximately .8 km from the feature, a reasonable depth of the water table aquifer would be around 3 to 3.5 m below land surface in the vicinity of the well feature. During a particularly wet season, it is reasonable to believe that the water table might have been as high as between 2 to 2.5 m below the surface (Brendon Bailey 2007, personal communication). However, the inherent variability—both season and annual—of the surficial water table in this area of Alachua County would have made a well unreliable. This might have contributed to the well being abandoned shortly after it was constructed.

Although wells have been found at Spanish Mission sites and Indian refugee sites near St. Augustine (White 2005) and Santa Elena in South Carolina (South et al. 1988:5), I am not aware of any that have been found at eighteenth and nineteenth-century Florida Indian sites outside of these contexts. No similar structures have been identified at Creek sites (Gregory Waselkov 2007, personal communication) or Seminole sites. However, they may have been present at settlements such as Opaunney Town, where a plantation house, dairy, barns and other structures common at European or American plantations (Weisman 1989:69).

Feature 15.2 Artifacts

Over 1000 artifacts were recovered from Feature 15.2. Charred faunal and botanical remains were the most common artifacts recovered, although the botanical remains were not quantified. Of the quantified artifacts, 87 percent (N=881) were faunal remains. Seven percent (N=68) were aboriginal pottery sherds. Finally, European ceramics, fired clay (possibly daub), glass trade beads, glass bottle fragments, nails, and iron scrap each made up less than two percent of the artifacts.

Large mammal remains composed the vast majority of the fauna recovered from Feature 15.2. Most of the identifiable elements were from white tailed deer (two individual deer were represented) and cow (a single individual was represented). One element of an unidentified turtle and one of a non-viperous snake were also found.

Three Kasita Red-Filmed pottery sherds were recovered from Feature 15.2. This is a minority pottery type at Lower Creek sites and is extremely rare at Seminole sites. The presence of the rare vessel type within what appeared to be a single dumping episode (between 49 and 109 cmbs) dominated by faunal and botanical remains, suggests that the refuse may have been associated with a special feasting event.

Five pieces of charred wood were found along the northern and northwestern edges of the surface of Feature 15.2. These pieces may have been refuse that had spilled out of the pit. The only unusual aspect about the wood was that two of the pieces had clearly been cut with a sharp instrument, exhibiting at least one very smooth, uniform surface (Figure D-12).

Feature 15.4

Feature 15.4 was first identified in Shovel Test 70E-15S as a light-color (10YR 4/3) circular stain (Figure D-13). Test Unit 15 was placed over the shovel test to determine whether or not the stain could be a posthole related to a Seminole structure. The diameter of Feature 15.4 measured approximately 20 cm, and its depth extended from 25 cmbs to 35 cmbs. Several centimeters of the feature were removed during the excavation of the shovel test. It is possible that it was the remnant of a posthole.

Feature 15.3

Feature 15.3 was first identified in the northwestern corner of Test Unit 15 at 30 cmbs. It began as a black, elongated, charcoal-flecked stain (2.5Y 2/1). After approximately 10 cm of soil was removed, the remains of a large piece of charred wood, or log, were visible (Figure D-14).

The surface of the log facing upwards was flat and smooth and appeared to have been cut, or split, along its vertical axis. Its basal surface was irregular, although somewhat rounded. The log measured 45 cm in length and 40 cm in width. It varied in thickness from between 10 to 20 cm. No other wood fragments of this size were recovered from the north block. It is possible that the feature represented structural remains.

Feature 20.4

Feature 20.4 consisted of two elongated bands of small (less than 1 cm in length and width) charred wood fragments. Part of the feature was identified at approximately 30 cmbs. The feature formed a loose “T”-shape across Test Unit 20 (Figure D-15). The widths of the two arms were irregular, ranging from between 12 and 23 cm. The final depths ranged from between 35 to 44 cmbs.

The shape and dimensions of Feature 20.4 resembled features observed at the Newman’s Garden site, the location of a Seminole settlement occupied during the 1830s and 1840s. Only two postholes were identified at Newman’s Garden, indicating to Brent Weisman that the Seminole houses were probably constructed of horizontal logs rather than vertical posts (Weisman 1986a:217). Weisman suggested that the features may have been remnants of roof rafters. The linear features at the Newman’s Garden site were found near a single post hole, as well as a possible hearth feature. This was remarkably similar to the pattern of features uncovered in the south block at the Paynes Town site. However, no characteristic of Feature 20.4 pointed to it being a remnant of a “roof rafter” and not another part of a structure.

Feature 17.1

Feature 17.1, a dark (10YR 3/2), elongated stain, was identified near the western wall of Test Unit 17. Although the volume of charcoal was not as dense as that in Feature 20.4, charcoal flecks were present throughout Feature 17.1. One arm of the feature extended 68 cm to the

northeast of the west wall of Test Unit 17 towards the direction of the barrel well. The width of this arm was approximately 12 cm. It connected to a more irregularly shaped deposit that continued into the southern and western walls of Test Unit 17. The surface of the feature was identified at 28 cm. Its final depth was between 34 and 38 cmbs.

Feature 19.1

Feature 19.1 refers to the ash-filled southern half of Level 3 in Test Unit 19. The ash was related to the hearth (Feature 19.2), which is discussed below. Sixty-three artifacts were recovered from this deposit. The artifacts included: aboriginal pottery, European ceramics, three glass beads, iron scrap, and faunal remains.

Feature 19.2

Feature 19.2 was a basin-shaped hearth feature located along the western wall of Test Unit 19 (Figure D-16). The feature measured 60 cm (north-south) x 40 cm (east-west) and contained an ashy and very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) matrix. It extended from 32 cmbs to 45 cmbs. Large pieces of baked clay were concentrated in the center of the pit, and charred faunal and botanical remains (including several corn cobs) were found throughout the feature.

At Creek archaeological sites, hearth features are commonly lined with clay (DeJarnette 1975:115; Knight 1985:77) and filled with charcoal and fire-cracked rocks (DeJarnette 1975:115). The purposes of clay liners may have been to maintain heat, preserve the integrity of the hearth (preventing it from losing its shape and preventing surrounding earth from falling in), or to facilitate its cleaning by providing a smooth, hard surface. The clumps of baked clay in Feature 19.2 may have served a dual purpose, maintaining heat and providing a support, or “fire dog,” on which to sit cooking vessels.

Part of the fill from the hearth feature overflowed its eastern edge. This area of ash and refuse was referred to as Zone A. Similar “charcoal stains” were found extending from a hearth

at an archaeological site believed to be affiliated with the Lower Creek town of Sawokli (Holland 1974:34). It is possible that these stains reflect the direction from which the ash and debris from the hearths were removed by some type of tool, such as a rake or hoe.

White-tailed deer and cow were the only species identified in deposits associated with the hearth feature. In addition to the concentration of fired clay and the scattered faunal and botanical remains, several glass beads, aboriginal pottery, bottle glass, iron scrap, and a single lead shot were recovered from the hearth feature and Zone A.

Feature 17.5

Feature 17.5 was a small pit located less than 1 m to the south of Feature 15.2 (barrel well). Most of the feature extended into the south wall of Test Unit 17. However, its profile revealed a narrow, vertical pit, that extended from 25 to 58 cmbs, with a slightly flared and rounded base, which measured 30 cm at its widest point (Figure D-17). The base of the feature had at least three separate layers of charred matrix separated by a light (10YR 5/2) sand, indicating several different deposits and/or burning episodes. Five aboriginal pottery sherds, including three Chattahoochee Brushed examples, six animal bones, five pieces of iron scrap, and a fragment of green bottle glass were recovered from the upper portion of the feature.

Feature 17.5 may have been constructed for use as a temporary food storage pit and subsequently used as a smudge pit. Creek archaeological sites reveal that “refuse pits” were typically much wider than Feature 17.5, typically between 76 and 300 cm in width (DeJarnette 1975:113; Hargrave and McGimsey 1998:32; Knight 1985:144-149; Ledbetter 1997:127; Mistovich and Knight 1986:8-36). Furthermore, unlike most “refuse pits,” Feature 17.5 contained very few artifacts.

Its narrow, vertical profile suggests that Feature 17.5 might have been useful as a temporary storage for tubers or other perishables. William Bartram wrote that “potatoe houses”

were located on the bottom story of corn cribs (in Waselkov and Braund 1995:180). However, the charred wood, paucity of artifacts, and evidence of several depositional (and burning) episodes, in the form of discrete, very dark (10YR 3/1) bands at the bottom of the feature, suggest that Feature 17.5 might have eventually been used as a smudge pit.” “Smudge pits” were excavated pits of variable dimensions that were filled with wood, corn cobs, and other plant material and subsequently burned, or smoldered, to produce a thick smoke. The smoke was used for a variety of purposes, including hide tanning, darkening pottery surfaces, and insect control. Among Florida Indians, corn cobs were often the preferred fuel for smudge pits (Worth 1998:177). Damp, rotten wood was used among some Southeastern Indian groups to produce a particularly thick smoke for insect control (Hudson 1976:18-19).

Most smudge pits at Lower Creek sites are much wider than Feature 17.5 (DeJarnette 1975:113-115; Hargrave and McGimsey 1998:33). However, one “vertical insloping/belled” corn cob pit, similar to Feature 17.5, was identified at the Yuchi Town site (Hargrave and McGimsey 1998:32). Although no cobs were recovered from Feature 17.5, charred wood was present throughout its matrix.

Feature 17.11

Feature 17.11 was a posthole located near the eastern edge of Test Unit 17 approximately 40 cm to the north of Feature 17.5. It extended from 33 cmbs to 80 cmbs and measured 22 cm x 13 cm. Its proximity to Feature 17.5 (storage/smudge pit) is interesting and may indicate that Feature 17.5 had been located within or under—in the case of a corn crib—a structure of some kind. A single glass bead and one small, burnt animal bone were the only artifacts found in the feature.

Discussion: Artifacts from the South Block of Test Units

Over 1,500 artifacts (excluding the over 1,000 artifacts from the well feature) were recovered from the south block of test units. There were many similarities between the artifact assemblages of the south block and the north block. For example, numerous brass and silver sheet metal fragments, worked glass, and gun-related artifacts, including a lead gunflint pad, two English gun spalls, and a copper percussion cap, suggest that this area of the site may have been used primarily by Seminole men.

The number of lead artifacts from the south block suggests that a specific activity involving manufacturing bullets or other lead objects took place in this area. A piece of sheet brass was shaped into a shallow scoop that may have been used to pour molten lead into bullet molds (Laxson 1954:115). This is supported by the recovery of 19 lead artifacts from the south block, including 6 lead shot, 11 molten lead globules, and the lead gun flint pad mentioned previously. A perforated lead disc, one of two found at the site, was also recovered from the south block. Like the north block, the south block was characterized by an abundance of glass trade beads. In total, 82 glass beads were found, exceeding the number recovered from the north block. However, unlike the units in the north block, no complete silver jewelry pieces were found in the south block, although a fragment of silver wire may have been a part of an earring.

Another difference between the south and north block of test units was the higher number of European ceramic sherds in the south block. Fifty-two European sherds were recovered from the south block, in comparison to the 12 were found in the north block. The south block of units also produced a greater variety of ceramic types, including refined earthenware, stoneware, olive jar, Reyware, and Jackfield-type wares.

Over 500 aboriginal pottery sherds were recovered from the south block of units. The most distinctive aspect of the pottery assemblage was the presence of several pieces of Kasita Red-

Filmed pottery, although most were found within Feature 15.2. As previously discussed, Kasita Red-Filmed pottery is a minority type at Lower Creek sites, and exceptionally rare at Seminole sites. Its association with faunal and botanical remains in a single dumping episode suggests that the deposit might have been related to a special meal or feast.

Two of the three features that provided the greatest source of information relating to the Paynes Town faunal assemblage were found in the south block of test units. These were Feature 15.2, the trash-filled well located in Test Units 15 and 17, and Feature 19.2 (and Zone A), the hearth feature that abutted the western wall of Test Unit 19. The results of the faunal analysis were summarized in Chapter 8. White-tailed deer and cow were the two identifiable species found in the south block (snake and turtle were also observed), and many of the elements showed distinct butchering marks. Numerous fragments of deer or cow teeth were found both in the features and throughout the south block of test units.

Test Units 7 and 8

Test Unit 7 (1 m x 1 m) was placed to the west of shovel test 60E-10N. The shovel test was one of several in the vicinity that produced numerous historic artifacts. Eventually, Test Unit 8, which also measured 1 m x 1 m, was placed adjacent to the south wall of Test Unit 7. The two units were combined to form Test Unit 7/8.

The Seminole cultural stratum in Test Unit 7/8 was made up of Levels 2 and 3 (Table C-8). Although a charred wood deposit was not observed in this unit, several pieces of non-charred wood were present in Level 2. As mentioned earlier, both charred and non-charred (decaying wood), the latter which was consistently very flat, with a distinctive spongy texture, were found in Seminole occupation levels in several test units.

Numerous historic artifacts were recovered from Level 2, including a piece of molten lead, a single glass bead, bottle glass, a kaolin pipe bowl fragment, and several pieces of plain and

Chattahoochee Brushed pottery. Over 160 historic artifacts were recovered from Level 3, a lighter (10YR 4/2-5/2) and more irregular deposit than Level 2. Level 3 produced some of the better examples of Seminole pottery found at the site, bottle glass, 8 glass beads, a small copper coil, European artifacts, and faunal remains.

Only two features were observed in Test Unit 7/8. Both were identified in Level 3. Feature 7.1 was located in the southwestern corner of the original Test Unit 7. It was an irregular, shallow lens that measured 70 cm x 27 cm and contained fragments of charred and non-charred wood. Feature 7.1 extended from 19 cmbs to 23 cmbs. No artifacts were recovered from the feature, and its cultural significance is unknown.

Feature 7.2 was located in the northeastern corner of Test Unit 7. It was distinguished from the surrounding soil by its greater compactness, denser charcoal flecking, and ashy streaks. The feature, which measured 55 cm x 25 cm (and continued into the northern wall) was identified at 24 cmbs to 34 cmbs. A few pieces of animal bones and a yellow-slipped olive jar sherd were recovered from the feature. It is possible that Feature 7.2 was related to a hearth, although it had neither the distinctive basin-shape profile nor the abundance of charred faunal and botanical remains that characterized the hearth feature (Feature 19.2) in Test Unit 19.

Test Units 11 and 16

Test Unit 11 (1 m x 1 m) was placed just to the south of Shovel Test 70E-5S, which had revealed a concentration of charred wood in its upper levels and produced an unusually high number of aboriginal pottery sherds (16 sand-tempered plain), as well as other historic artifacts. Test Unit 16 (1 m x 1 m) was set up adjacent to the west wall of Test Unit 11. When combined, the test units formed Test Unit 11/16.

Historic artifacts were recovered from all levels of Test Unit 11/16 (Table C-9). Artifacts from Level 1, which contained a mix of gravel and charcoal, included: a glass trade bead, a

single lead shot, several pieces of bottle glass, European ceramics, plain and Chattahoochee Brushed pottery sherds, and a piece of iron hardware resembling a doorlatch bolt.

Level 2 was divided into two sub-levels, 2A and 2B (Figure D-18). Level 2A consisted of between 3 and 5 cm of charred wood surrounded by very dark soil (10YR 3/2). Level 2B was similar in color but contained significantly less or no charcoal. Patches of baked earth (7.5YR 5/3-5/4) were found in both levels. Artifacts found in Level 2 included: lead and iron fragments, glass beads, plain and Chattahoochee Brushed pottery sherds, bottle glass, several animal bones, and the only example of a prismatic English gun flint found at the site.

Level 3 was composed of a much lighter (10YR 4/2) soil, although some darker mottling occurred throughout the level. A few glass beads, aboriginal pottery, European ceramics and several animal bones were found. A strip of silver metal that was bent in two places and probably used as a bead was also recovered. A dark green bottle base that exhibited distinct flaking scars was also found. Historic artifacts continued to be recovered from Level 4 and the upper portion of Level 5, located in the B horizon.

Feature 11.2

Feature 11.2 was a dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2), charcoal-flecked band of soil located in the northwestern corner of the original Test Unit 11. The feature began at 22 cmbs and terminated at 34 cmbs. Part of Feature 11.2 continued into the north wall of Test Unit 11. Where visible, it measured 53 cm (east-west) by 35 cm (north-south). Several small bone fragments, a corroded piece of iron, and two pieces of glass were recovered in the feature. Feature 11.2 may simply represent a low-lying area that was filled in with midden material.

Feature 11.3

Although the soil around Feature 11.3 had been darker (10YR3/2) than the surrounding area for several centimeters, it began to take a more regular, oval shape at 25 cmbs. The surface of the oval-shape feature measured 30 cm (east-west) by 18 cm (north-south) and gradually narrowed as it deepened, terminating at 67 cmbs. The feature soil was more mottled and loamy than the surrounding Level 3 soil. A few pieces of animal bone and one piece of plain pottery were found in the feature at 32 cmbs. Another small pottery sherd, which had a faint black line painted over an ivory-colored slip (possibly a variety of Kasita Red-Filmed) was recovered from the feature fill, along with a small piece of iron scrap, and several small animal bones. Feature 11.3 is interpreted as a posthole.

Feature 11.4

Feature 11.4 was located in the northeastern corner of Test Unit 11. Its surface was identified at 20 cmbs, near the bottom of Level 2A, which was deeper in this area of the test unit. The feature terminated at 30 cmbs. It consisted of a small concentration of charcoal from which a series of thin concentric charcoal-flecked rings radiated. The visible portion of Feature 11.4 measured approximately 33 cm (east-west) by 31 cm (north-south). No artifacts were recovered from its matrix. The feature may have been caused by a single burning ember.

Test Unit 13

Test Unit 13 (1.5 m x 1.5 m) was placed directly over Shovel Test 80E-0N. The shovel test produced several aboriginal pottery sherds, including two Chattahoochee Brushed sherds, and fragments of charred corn cobs. The first two levels of Test Unit 13 were disturbed by modern industrial operations. Level 1 had very little topsoil, and a dense concentration of gravel and asphalt made excavating through it difficult. A mix of artifacts, including bottle glass (some modern), bone fragments, and pottery sherds were found in Level 1 (Table C-10).

The eastern and western halves of Level 2 varied dramatically. The western half contained dark grey clay, which ranged from between a few centimeters to 15 cm in thickness. The clay had been deposited during the industrial operations at the site. It may have been brought in from other areas of the site since similar clay was found in several shovel tests at levels below the Seminole component. Remnants of neon-orange paint and cigarette butts were embedded within the clay in Test Unit 13.

Fortunately, the eastern half of Level 2 was an intact cultural deposit. It was composed of the dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) soil that characterized the Seminole cultural stratum elsewhere at the site. Several historic artifacts were recovered from the eastern half, including: iron scrap, a glass bead, green bottle glass, a hand-wrought nail, an “English Brown” ceramic sherd, and several aboriginal pottery sherds, including Chattahoochee Brushed.

Level 3 was homogenous across Test Unit 13. It was composed of very dark (10YR 3/3), loamy soil. The level was thinner on the eastern half of the test unit and deepened as the level sloped dramatically to the west. Not surprisingly, most of the artifacts were found in the western half of the unit where the level was much thicker. Feature 13.1, discussed below, composed the majority of the eastern half of Test Unit 13. Level 4 marked the end of the Seminole cultural occupation and the beginning of the B horizon.

Feature 13.1

The surface of Feature 13.1 was located in the eastern half of Test Unit 13 at the interface of Levels 2 and 3. Feature 13.1 was similar to examples of “smudge pits” observed at numerous Lower Creek archaeological sites (DeJarnette 1975:113-115; Hargrave and McGimsey 1998:33). It was an elongated, shallow lens consisting of charred corn cobs and charred wood fragments (Figures 9.19 and 9.20). It extended across the entire 1.5-m length of the eastern half of the test unit and appeared to continue into both the north and south walls. Its width was approximately

50 cm. The feature sloped from the southern wall of the unit where it was just a few centimeters in depth to the northern wall where it was up to 14 cm in depth. A Chattahoochee Brushed sherd and a plain sand-tempered sherd were found several centimeters below the surface of Feature 13.1. A small bone fragment was the only other artifact, other than botanical remains, recovered from the feature. At least 13 individual cobs were counted. Other unidentified charred wood fragments were found throughout the feature and await future analysis.

The relationship between the sharp slope in the western half of Level 3 and the charred cob feature in the eastern half is interesting (Figure D-21). The slope may have been a part of a refuse pit, whose size would be consistent with those observed at Creek archaeological sites. In this case, Feature 13.1 would have been located slightly outside of the eastern edge of the refuse pit.

There is also the possibility that the dip may have been a remnant of a ridge agricultural field or garden plot. Thomas Riley (1994) has researched the archaeological correlates for ridged fields at several sites across North America, including the Sand Lake site in western Wisconsin. According to Riley, “the [Sand Lake] ridges varied in both height and width, but exhibited a range in height from furrow of 5-26 cm, a ridge width of 23-120 cm and, a furrow width of 47-97 cm” (Riley 1994:100). Figure D-21 depicts a profile view of Level 3 and shows that the slope dimensions of this area were consistent with those from the Sand Lake site. The width of the depression (or furrow) included within the test unit measures approximately 1 m. The difference in depth between the maize feature (ridge) and slope (furrow) was approximately 23 cm.

Although only a few animal bones were recovered from Test Unit 13, it is possible that the charred corn and other botanicals recovered from Test Unit 13 could have been used for compost. Riley reports that at the Sand Lake site,

Some evidence of what might have been field preparation was noted in concentrations of charcoal on the ridges and within the ridge matrix. This suggested to the researchers that the burning had taken place in the fields...Artifacts were sometimes accompanied by midden debris in the form of fish bone, shell, and ash. Charred remains of corn, squash, and beans were also recovered from the ridges. This was suggested by the researchers to represent composting to enhance tilth and further confirms their use as agricultural fields. [Riley 1994:100-101]

The presence of a compost pile might also explain the unusually loamy soil that existed on the east side of the unit in Level 2 immediately above Feature 13.1. The upper portion of Level 2 had clearly been scoured off, thus any the possibility that Feature 13.1 was related to a ridged field or garden is extremely speculative. In an intact deposit, I would expect to see some layering both in the “ridge” or artificially mounded rows where plants were planted and the furrows, the rows which lay in between them. There was subtle layering on the eastern portion or where the ridge or hillock would have been. However, this may have been the result of fluvial action as the irregular rivulet-like streaks suggest.

Perhaps a more likely interpretation of Feature 13.1 is that of a smudge pit. The uses of these pit was discussed previously. Smudge pits came in a variety of sizes, including shallow “lenses” (Hargrave and McGimsey 1998:32).

Test Unit 18

Test Unit 18 (1.5 m x 1.5 m) was set up over Shovel Test 40E-10S. The shovel test produced 17 artifacts including, aboriginal and European ceramics, burnt animal bone, and several iron and lead artifacts. A deep vertical stain was observed on its southern wall (Figure D-22). Test Unit 18 was excavated to determine if the stain observed in the shovel test could be a posthole from a Seminole structure.

In Test Unit 18, Level 1 consisted of a disturbed O horizon. Asphalt clumps were found on the ground surface and in the first several centimeters below the surface. Historic artifacts

recovered in the level included an iron ring, believed to be part of a horse snaffle, and a fragment of a folding knife blade (Table C-11).

Level 2 marked the beginning of the Seminole midden deposit in Test Unit 18. Although charcoal was found in small amounts in this level, a more distinctive characteristic was an oily sheen that was pervasive throughout the first several centimeters of Level 2. This could have resulted from the disposal of oil-based by-products related to the twentieth-century quarrying or asphalt manufacturing. However, hundreds of very small, brittle bones were found throughout this and the subsequent levels. Thus the greasy appearance of the soil may have been the result of the decomposition of animal bones and other organic refuse.

The number of artifacts found in Level 2 (N=243) was very high, although it was somewhat inflated by the abundance of small faunal remains. Numerous aboriginal pottery sherds, including 8 Chattahoochee Brushed sherds, and 12 European ceramic sherds, including two pearlware rim sherds, were found in Level 2. A lead slug and two molten lead globules were also recovered from the level. However, the most distinctive artifact was one of the two perforated lead discs that were found at the site. Two silver fragments (including a wire from an earring) and seven glass beads were also found in Level 2.

Level 3 was composed of a lighter (10YR 4/2) and more mottled soil than Level 2. Many of the darker stains became more defined (round) after a few centimeters of Level 3 soil were removed. Shortly thereafter, the stains were assigned feature (posthole) numbers. Level 3 was also marked by a dramatic reduction in artifacts. Over half of the artifacts consisted of bone fragments. Square nails, a glass bead, and European and aboriginal ceramics were also recovered from Level 3.

Level 4 marked the beginning of the B Horizon and its lighter soils (10YR 5/3-5/4). Levels 4 through 6 produced only two artifacts related to the Seminole occupation (a square nail and a cow tooth fragment).

Feature 18.1

Feature 18.1 was an area of concentrated charcoal in the southwest corner of Test Unit 18 (Figure D-24). The feature lay diagonally across the corner, measuring 50 cm x 35 cm, and it extended from 20 to 28 cmbs. Based on its wall profile, it continued into the southern and western walls of the unit. The profile revealed that it had a basin shape. Its general shape, the concentration of charcoal, and the small bones that were found within it, suggest that Feature 18.1 may have been used as a hearth. This might also explain the many small bone fragments that were found throughout the unit. Very small, friable bone fragments were also found throughout Test Unit 19, which had a well-defined hearth (Feature 19.2).

Post Holes

After removing a few centimeters from Level 3, 18 distinct circular stains were identified and tentatively labeled as postholes (see Figure D-23). The diameters of most of the postholes ranged between 8 and 11 cm (Table C-12). The postholes were close together and seemingly randomly placed, although it is difficult to decipher any kind of structural pattern in a 1.5 m x 1.5 m unit. It is important to note, however, that unattributed postholes may be explained by the rebuilding or remodeling of a structure, a trend that has been noted at other Creek archaeological sites (Waselkov 1990:42). The small diameters of the posts suggest that they supported a light-weight structure of some kind, possibly an open-air structure used as a cooking area during warm months.

Conclusion

In this Chapter, I provided details regarding the stratigraphy and cultural features that characterized the 20 test units at the Paynes Town site. I also offered several preliminary interpretations on the context or significance of the features and their possible relationships to each other. In Chapter 10, I use the data from the test units and shovel tests to address the research questions and the specific hypotheses and test implications, which I laid out in earlier chapters. Specifically, I consider how the findings from the 2003-2004 archaeological investigations at the Paynes Town site can be used to infer the general arrangement of the town (or town design), the locations of households, and the types of building techniques that were used by the Paynes Town Seminoles.

CHAPTER 11 RESULTS

This chapter is devoted to reviewing the results of the testing of the hypotheses presented in Chapter 7. These hypotheses were created to address the three research questions, which are repeated here:

1. Was the Paynes Town settlement nucleated or dispersed?
2. Did the Paynes Town settlement include civic or ceremonial architecture such as a square ground, a chunky yard, and a council house?
3. What kinds of construction techniques did the Paynes Town Seminoles use when building their houses and other structures?

In this chapter, I review artifact, feature, stratigraphic, and spatial data to address intrasite patterns at the Paynes Town site and address how they relate to the type of settlement (nucleated or dispersed) that Paynes Town represented; whether or not traditional public architecture (rotunda, square ground, chunky yard) were present at the town; and the types of houses (vertical post, log cabin, plantation) in which the inhabitants were living.

Testing Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1: Spatial data from the Paynes Town site will show evidence of a dispersed settlement type.

In Chapter 6, I proposed that data from the Paynes Town Seminole site would be consistent with that of a “dispersed” settlement. While there were likely many manifestations of the dispersed and nucleated settlement types, I proposed three “minimum requirements” involving (1) the length-width ratio of the settlements; (2) the number of individual households; and (3) the distance between households.

Length-Width Ratio of Settlement

To review, in “nucleated” settlements, public architectural features, such as the council house, square ground, and chunky yard, were located towards the center of the town, while individual households surrounded these important features in a more or less circular or square arrangement (Waselkov and Braund 1995:181). This arrangement resulted in the lengths and widths of nucleated towns being roughly equivalent, or with a ratio close to 1 (Smith 1987:89-97). As households began to relocate outside of the town center, the dimensions of the settlement changed, and the length-width ratio was typically much greater than 1 (Weik 2002:97).

Data gathered during the shovel test survey of the Paynes Town archaeological site was used to determine the length and width of the Paynes Town Seminole settlement. In Chapter 9, I presented the boundaries of the Seminole component of the Paynes Town site. These boundaries are included in this chapter in Figure 11.1, which also depicts the “axis” that was superimposed over the boundaries to measure the length and width of the settlement.

Theoretically, the central axis should be defined by two perpendicular lines (Weik 2002:95). However, because the historic artifact distribution across the Paynes Town site was not uniform, the two lines that composed the axis did not form perfect right angles. However, they were close enough to provide a good estimate of the maximum length and width of the Seminole component.

Shovel tests 170E-45S and 50E-245N represented the length endpoints. Shovel tests 40W-90N and 90E-145N represented the width endpoints. The resulting length to width ratio of the Seminole component was 326 m to 140 m, or 2.33. This ratio is much greater than 1 and, thus, is consistent with a dispersed settlement.

Number of Individual Households

In Chapter 7, I discussed several potential archaeological correlates of Creek and Seminole house locations. These included: postholes, human burials, pit features, and the distribution of artifact concentrations. A fifth element that offered additional evidence of the locations of households at the Paynes Town site was the charred wood that capped many of the Seminole midden deposits. In this discussion, I use the term “household area” rather than house. This is because little archaeological data were recovered that would point to the remains of a specific house structure. Rather, there were several characteristics that suggested that a house was located within a general area and that the archaeological deposits that were identified were related to the activities and refuse of that household.

Data gathered from the shovel test phase at the Paynes Town site proved to be one of the most useful sources for locating house sites. Using ArcMap’s Inverse Distance Weighting tool, the historic artifact counts from individual shovel tests were used to construct a map depicting the distribution and concentrations of artifacts and their relationship to each other (Figure 11.2). The clusters of shovel tests that produced the highest number of artifacts (5 or more) were particularly important in determining the locations of households at the Paynes Town site.

The spatial analysis revealed two clusters of shovel tests that produced a high frequency of historic artifacts (5 or more). Household Area 1, located in the southern portion of the site, was composed of a cluster of 16 shovel tests, each producing 5 or more historic artifacts. Household Area 2 was made up of 10 shovel tests that produced 5 or more historic artifacts and was located in the northern part of the site. Finally, a third house site, referred to as Household Area 3, was determined on the basis of a single pit feature (Feature 4.1) that was first identified in Shovel Test 30W-105N. Test unit excavations revealed an historic Seminole deposit surrounding the pit feature, indicating that the feature was likely related to a Seminole household.

In Chapter 7, I proposed that the minimum number of households that would have been present at a nucleated settlement was 20. The number of house sites identified during the 2003-2004 archaeological investigations at Paynes Town was far less than the number that would be expected for a nucleated settlement type. Thus, data from the Paynes Town site again point to a dispersed settlement.

As I discussed in Chapter 7, the distance that separated houses within a nucleated settlement ranged between 10 and 100 m, although the latter distance reflected the trend towards dispersal. Nonetheless, I proposed that the maximum distance between households in a nucleated settlement was 100 m.

The distances between household areas at the Paynes Town site were based on the distance between single points located on the periphery of the shovel test clusters (Figure 11.3). The distance between Household Area 1 and Household Area 2 was 93 m. The distance between Household Area 1 and Household Area 3 was 106 m. Finally, the distance between Household Area 2 and Household Area 3 was 46 m.

Two of the distances between household areas at the Paynes Town site are consistent with those of a nucleated settlement. A third exceeds the maximum distance that I proposed by just a few meters. These data suggest that a small population inhabited the central town area of the Paynes Town settlement, while the remainder of the population lived in dispersed settlements within a several mile radius—a trend that was observed at the Tukabatchee site.

Testing Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2: The spatial arrangement of structures and the distribution of artifact concentrations at the Paynes Town site will point to the presence of a square ground and, potentially, other civic features associated with a traditional town center.

The three most fundamental public architectural features of Creek and Seminole *talwas* were the square ground, council house, and chunky yard. As I have discussed in earlier chapters, these structures were analogous to Mississippian public and ceremonial architecture. They also reflected ancient political and social structures that are reiterated in Creek origin myths (Wesson 1998). Thus, maintenance (with modifications) of these structures would be expected if ancient political, social, and cosmological structures persisted in historic Creek and Seminole societies.

For some time, scholars have argued that by the late-eighteenth century, the Seminoles were no longer constructing town architectural features, such as the square ground (Craig and Peebles 1974; Dickinson and Wayne 1985; Mullins 1977; Mykel 1962; Weisman 1989). Brent Weisman argues that the decentralized political system, the pastoral lifestyle, the lack of strong leaders, and the developing entrepreneurial and individualistic ethos of the Florida Seminoles led to the demise of square grounds (Weisman 1989:9). However, information gleaned from historic documents indicates that square grounds were constructed in some Seminole settlements from the time of their first migration to Florida through the period of the Second Seminole War (Prince 1998:92; Simmons 1822:79).

Evidence for public architecture in Creek and Seminole towns is best gathered from large-scale excavations where hundreds of square meters of topsoil can be stripped away. These kinds of methods, which are typically only used when an archaeological site is being mitigated (e.g. Waselkov et al. 1990), make it easier to decipher the spatial design of the town. Although large-scale excavations such as these were not conducted at the Paynes Town site, spatial analyses of artifact distributions revealed patterns that could be evidence of at least one public architectural feature at the Seminole settlement.

Public Architecture at Paynes Town

There is little comparative data on which to base distinct archaeological correlates of a Creek or Seminole square ground. This can be explained by the absence of structures within the square ground itself (the associated cabins were located on the outer boundaries), which was often very large, and by the fact that the squares were kept swept clean. An exception was an area towards the center of the square where a *talwa*'s sacred fire was kept burning. The fire was extinguished and relit during the annual Green Corn ceremony.

Weisman believes that a deposit of sand containing charred wood and the remains of a single globular vessel that were found in the historic Seminole component of the Flying Eagle Ranch site, located in the Cove of the Withlacoochee, may have represented a ritual addition to a busk ground (Weisman 1986b:8). Some Creek groups added new earth to the town square during the annual Green Corn ceremony, an act that Knight believes may have been analogous to the addition of earthen mantles to Mississippian mounds (Knight 1986). With the above data in mind, I proposed that the archaeological correlates of a square ground might include a large area of land (e.g. from one hundred to several hundred m²) that is comparatively devoid of artifacts. This area might also contain evidence of “clean” (e.g. non-midden) deposits of sand or earth. Charred wood and ritual paraphernalia, such as distinctive pottery vessels, might also be present.

The same spatial analysis that produced a map of Household Areas 1 through 3 revealed a large area in the central portion of the Paynes Town site that contained fewer artifacts than the shovel tests clusters (Figure 11.4). William Bartram wrote that a typical square ground covered an area that was approximately a half-of-an-acre in size (in Waselkov and Braund 1995:104), or 2,023 m². However, the area containing fewer artifacts at the Paynes Town site is more than double the size of Bartram's estimation of a square ground, measuring 5611 m². This is not surprising considering the area is flush against the peripheries of the household areas. In Creek

and Seminole settlements, there would have been space in between households and the square ground.

Another explanation for the large size of this area may be that more than one kind of public architecture was present in the area. Square grounds, council houses, and chunky yards were typically constructed adjacent to one another (Waselkov and Braund 1995:169-186). Some Seminole square grounds were also used as ball fields. Bartram reported that one Seminole ball field measured as large as 4000 yds² (in Ethridge 2003:100), or 3344 m².

The distributions of specific types of historic artifacts at the Paynes Town site also support the possibility that this area was used as a square ground. For example, nails, European ceramics, and faunal remains were primarily limited to the household areas. This suggests that few, if any, structures that incorporated nails were located in the central portion of the site and that meals were not typically prepared and eaten in this area. The paucity of European artifacts in the central portion of the site would also be consistent with a square ground, considering that European ceramics were highly valued and were likely kept within the confines of houses where they were displayed as status items (Knight 1985:181). The square ground was used as a daily venue for more mundane activities, such as repairing tools, gaming and gambling, drinking, and other forms of socializing (Ethridge 2003:99;104). The thin scatters of glass, iron, and aboriginal pottery may reflect these activities. The areas where shovel tests revealed charred wood deposits (Figure 11.5) warrant further investigation as they could be the charred remains of public architecture such as the square ground cabins or rotunda.

The central area of the Paynes Town site provided the only evidence for the potential location of public architecture. However, ST Feature 1, located in Shovel Test 70E-5N could potentially meet the appropriate dimensions for a chunky pole. David Hally (1988:14) estimates

that protohistoric chunky poles were between 30 and 40 ft (9-12 m) tall and measured between 2 and 3 ft (60-90 cm) at their base. However, during the later historic period the Creeks and the Seminoles typically used much smaller poles, some of which were constructed from the trunks of pine saplings (Hally 1988:14). The Paynes Town feature measured 35 x 30 cm and penetrated a very compact clay layer, which would have provided a much better support foundation than the surrounding sandy soil. However, its proximity to the main features in Household Area 1 seems out of context. Thus, this interpretation is extremely speculative.

Testing Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3: Archaeological data from the Paynes Town site will show evidence of multiple types of building construction.

Eighteenth and nineteenth-century historic documents allude to traditional vertical-post structures and log cabins at Creek and Seminole settlements. Some Creek and Seminole leaders' homes were built in the likeness of wealthy white planters (Saunt 1999:71; Weisman 1989:69). These homes were multi-storied, had windows, brick chimneys, and the many embellishments that were characteristic of English and American plantations in the Southeast.

In Chapter 7, I proposed several archaeological correlates for the different types of houses that were constructed by the Creeks and the Seminoles. The best archaeological evidence of vertical post structures is the presence of postholes, although very few have been documented at Seminole sites. When present, vertical posts are not necessarily indicative of houses, but could represent many types of structures including granaries, sheds, stables, or fences. Thus the densities and types of artifacts and other features surrounding postholes are important to inferring what type of structure they supported. The potential archaeological correlates of log cabin structures may include: linear or rectangular-shape stains where horizontal logs had been laid, daub chinking, and rectangular pits that were used as underground "cellars" (Foster

2007:114-115). Finally, evidence of a European plantation-style home may include a variety of metal hardware, bricks, and window glass.

Paynes Town Construction Techniques

The greatest amount of data regarding construction techniques used at the Paynes Town settlement was in the form of postholes. In total, 25 postholes were identified. The locations and dimensions of the postholes identified at the Paynes Town site are listed in Table 11.1.

The postholes fall into two size categories. The first category includes postholes measuring between 20 cm and 30 cm in diameter. The second is composed of postholes measuring between 4 and 13 cm in diameter. The majority of the postholes were found within a single test unit, Test Unit 18. All 17 of the postholes identified in Test Unit 18 measured between 4 and 13 cm. The small size of the postholes may indicate that they were used to support a light-weight structure, such as an open-air kitchen or pavilion associated with Household Area 1.

A possible posthole stain, measuring 11 cm x 9 cm was also uncovered in Shovel Test 60E-110N. The shovel test was located 10 m to the south of the boundary of Household Area 2 and may represent a light-weight structure affiliated with this household.

The remainder of the posthole features represented a larger post size. However, with the exception of those that surrounded the well feature, no structural arrangement could be discerned. A single, unattributed posthole was found in Test Units 15, 17, and 11/16. Additional areas need to be excavated to determine what type of structure the postholes were supporting, although the types of artifacts found within the same units suggested that they were related to households and not more utilitarian structures, such as stables or granaries. In any case, their presence confirms that vertical-post construction techniques had not been abandoned by the Paynes Town Seminoles.

One possible piece of evidence of a log cabin structure was Feature 15.3, a large piece of charred wood (45 cm x 40 cm x 10-20 cm) found in the south block of test units (Figure D.14). The upper surface of the log was smooth and flat, possibly indicating that it was hafted. Interestingly, there is evidence of wood-working near the well feature, where several distinct charred wood pieces were identified. The surfaces of two of the pieces were extremely flat and appeared to have been cut with a tool of some kind (Figure D.12). Thus, the log may have been related to cutting timber. However, the log was located below the major midden deposit at the interface between the Seminole occupation level and the B Horizon. Thus, it seems more likely that it was related to a structure that was built early enough in the site's Seminole occupation to be almost completely buried by midden material.

It is interesting to note that a substantial amount of charred bark was found in the second level of the south block of test units. The log poles that were used to construct Creek log cabins were not modified to a great degree (Ethridge 2003:75). Thus the bark on the logs was probably not removed, which could explain the presence of the bark in the south block of test units. In the future, analysis of the charred botanical remains collected from the Paynes Town site may shed light on what type of wood was being used to construct houses and other structures.

Other possible evidence of log cabin structures at Paynes Town was the occasional small piece of fired clay. Daub was sometimes used as chinking material on Seminole log cabins (Weisman 1986a:217). As I discussed in previous chapters, small pieces of very sandy, amorphous clumps of baked clay were found in a few of the test units, including Test Units 1, 3, 6, and 15, as well as Shovel Tests 40E-110N and 60E-110N. No "wattle" impressions, which might have preserved if clay was plastered on the surfaces of traditional structures composed of vertical posts and horizontal lathes were observed on any of the pieces of baked clay. However,

the numbers of baked clay artifacts were so few that it does not suggest that daub was in widespread use across the site, especially considering that the burning event would have likely preserved much of it.

Whereas nails were not necessary for the construction of notched-log cabins, the more elaborate clap-board homes typical of wealthy White planters would have required nails and other types of hardware. Numerous complete nails and nail fragments were found at the Paynes Town site. In order to be consistent with my previous treatment of nail artifacts recovered at the site, I modified the number of artifact counts within this category. Nails, like other iron artifacts, tend to be highly corroded and fragmented, with a single nail often disintegrating into 10 or more pieces. Therefore, although all nail heads were counted as individual artifacts, multiple nail shaft fragments found within a single provenience were counted as one.

In total, 36 nails were recovered from the shovel test and 58 nails were recovered from the test units. While these numbers may not seem consistent with the amount of nails required to build a plantation house, the number of nails (even when collapsed for analytical purposes) found at the Paynes Town site is much larger than the number found at other more intensively investigated Creek archaeological sites. For example, less than 15 complete nails or nail fragments were found at the Tukabatchee site (Knight 1985:130-132, 166); the Yuchi Town site (Wagner 1998:146); and the Victory Drive site (Ledbetter 1997:46, 131).

Table 11.2 lists the number of nails per shovel test or test unit at the site. Numerous nail artifacts were found within or very near the clusters of shovel tests and test units that made up Household Areas 1 and 2. In Household Area 1, 21 nails were recovered from the south block, 10 were found in other test units in the cluster, and 9 were recovered from shovel tests within its boundaries. In Household Area 2, 21 nails were found in the north block and 21 were found in

shovel tests within its perimeters. The high frequencies of nails found in the two clusters of shovel tests that made up the household areas corroborate that these were household locations and also indicate that nails were likely incorporated into the household structures in some way.

Evidence of bricks, glass, and other metal hardware that would have been used in expensive plantation homes were minimal. Although brick remains were found at the site near the western boundary of the Seminole component, these post-dated the Paynes Town occupation. No window glass was identified.

It is possible that hardware and fixtures used in plantation-style homes may have composed the hundreds of corroded iron fragments that were found in the shovel test and test unit excavations. Only a few iron hardware pieces were identified. Two of the Paynes Town artifacts could have been used on European-style doors. One object that was found in Test Unit 17 was made of iron wire bent into a small loop and could have been attached to a door frame and looped over a corresponding hook mounted on the door. The second artifact was found in Shovel Test 70E-175N, near the northernmost part of the site. It was made of iron wire bent in the shape of a narrow “U” with each end shaped into a point. It was very similar to artifacts found at Fort Michilimackinac and described as “keepers of door latch bolts” (Stone 1974:235). It was the only historic artifact found in the shovel test. The absence of brick, window glass, shutter hinges, lock plates, roofing nails, and furniture hardware suggests that if new construction techniques had been incorporated, they were not consistent with those of elaborate plantation homes.

In summary, evidence for multiple types of building construction was found at the Paynes Town site. Postholes indicate that at least some buildings were constructed by implanting vertical posts into the ground. The abundance of nails, in comparison to other sites suggests that the

Paynes Town inhabitants were also incorporating European construction hardware into their building methods.

Conclusion

Although additional fieldwork at the site would be beneficial, the 2003-2004 excavations at the Paynes Town site recovered enough data to test the three hypotheses that I proposed in Chapter 6. These data showed that the Paynes Town settlement was more consistent with that of a dispersed settlement, although a small population, perhaps consisting of three families, continued to live within close proximity to each other. Shovel test excavations in the central portion of the site revealed a large area with comparatively fewer artifacts than were found the household areas. This area may have been the location of the square ground and/or chunky field. Charred deposits in this area could potentially be related to the cabins that typically surrounded two or more sides of Creek and Seminole square grounds. The homes of the Paynes Town occupants may have incorporated a mix of building techniques, as is evident by the identification of numerous postholes and nails.

Table 11-1 Postholes Identified at the Paynes Town Site

Test Unit	Feature ID	Surface Dimensions	Depths
11/16	Feature 11.3	30 cm x 18 cm	25-67 cmbs
15	Feature 15.4	21 cm x 20 cm	25-35 cmbs
15	PH3 (around well)	10 x 8 cm	29-81 cmbs
17	PH1 (around well)	10 cm x 10 cm	31-91 cmbs
17	PH2 (around well)	13 cm x 11 cm	30-110 cmbs
17	PH4 (around well)	13 cm x 10 cm	31-82 cmbs
18	PH1	10 cm x 8 cm	26-57 cmbs
18	PH2	8 cm x 7 cm	26-56 cmbs
18	PH3	10 cm x 9 cm	27-49 cmbs
18	PH4	9 cm x 8 cm	25-51 cmbs
18	PH5	10 cm x 10 cm	25-61 cmbs
18	PH6	6 cm x 5 cm	25-61 cmbs
18	PH7	8 cm x 8 cm	24-45 cmbs
18	PH8	4 cm x 4 cm	24-34 cmbs
18	PH9	11 cm x 10 cm	27-62 cmbs
18	PH10	9 cm x 9 cm	25-69 cmbs
18	PH11	7 cm x 7 cm	26-67 cmbs
18	PH12	9 cm x 8 cm	24-60 cmbs
18	PH13	8 cm x 7 cm	23-62 cmbs
18	PH14	11 cm x 10 cm	24-64 cmbs
18	PH15	11 cm x 8 cm	24-68 cmbs
18	PH16	NA	35-80 cmbs
18	PH17	7 cm x 5 cm	26-70 cmbs
70E-5N*	ST Feature 1	35 cm x 30 cm	25-39 cmbs
60E-110N*		11 cm x 9 cm	NA

* denotes shovel test

Table 11-2 Locations where Nails were Recovered at the Paynes Town Site

Shovel Test	Nail Count	Test Unit	Nail Count
40e-110n (HA 2)		11 North Block (HA 2)	21
20e-130n (HA 2)		1 TU 18 (HA 1)	6
40e-140n (HA 2)		1 TU 4 (HA1)	3
50e-125n (HA 2)		1 TU 5	2
60e-0n (HA 1)		3 TU 16(HA 1)	2
50e-5s (HA 1)		2 TU 1	1
70e-5n (HA 1)		1 TU 13(HA 1)	1
50w-5n		3 TU 7/8(HA 1)	1
20e-80n		2 South Block (HA 1)	21
90w-15n		2	
10e-85n		1	
10w-55n		1	
120e-70n		1	
20e-150n		1	
30w-85n		1	
40e-120n		1	
60e-80n		1	
70e-85n		1	
80e-30s		1	
Total		36	58

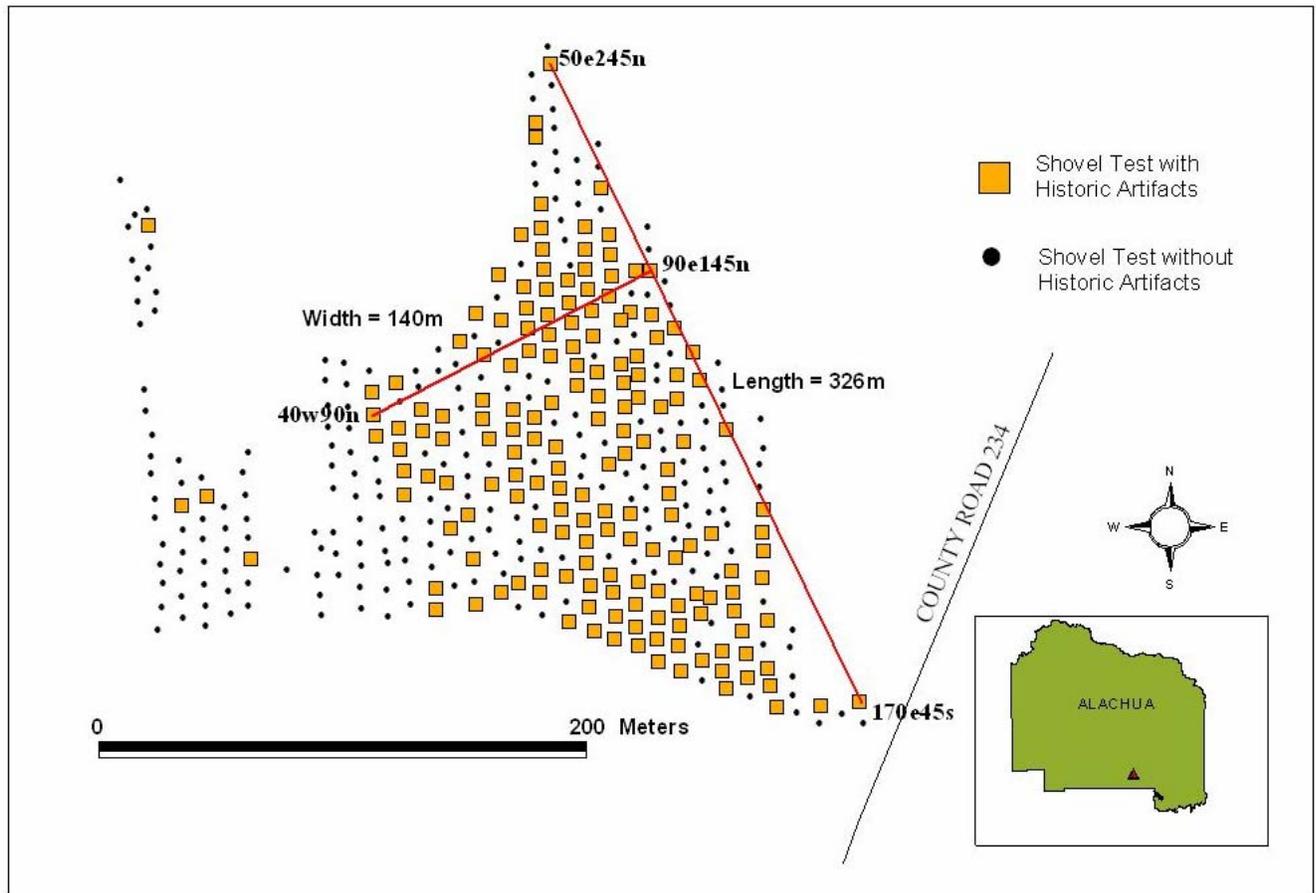


Figure 11-1. Site axis

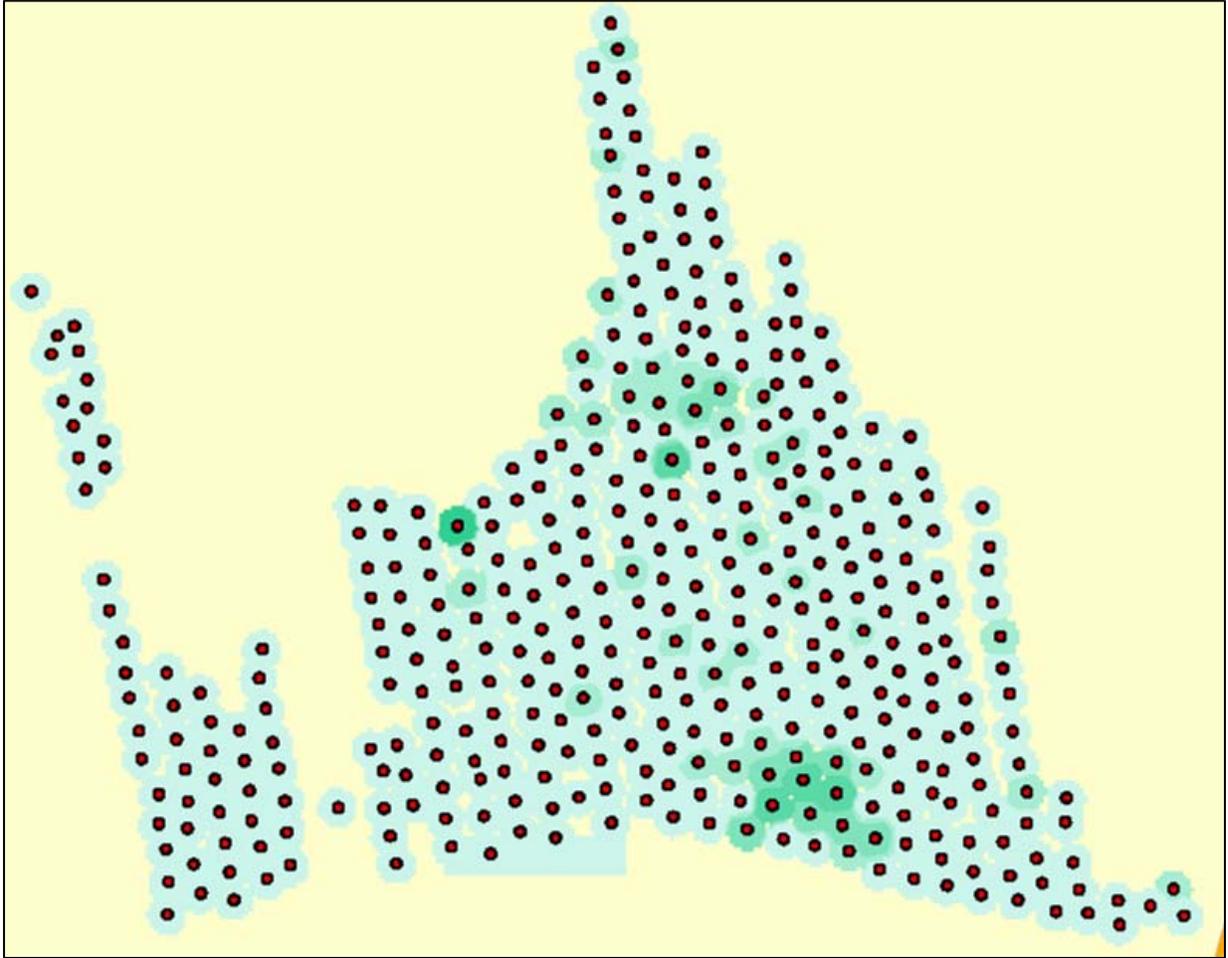


Figure 11-2. Results of inverse distance weighting analysis

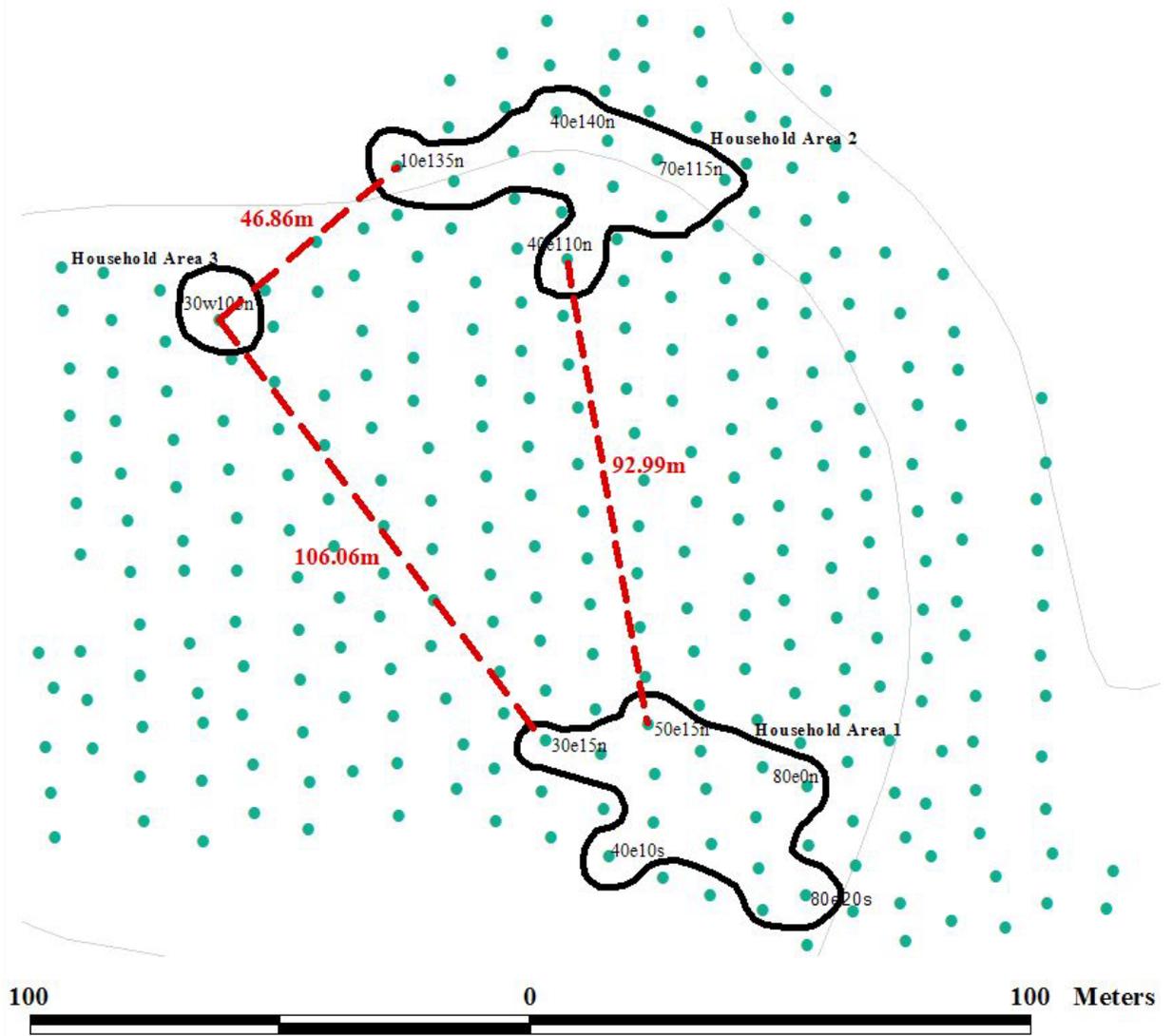


Figure 11.3. Distance between household areas

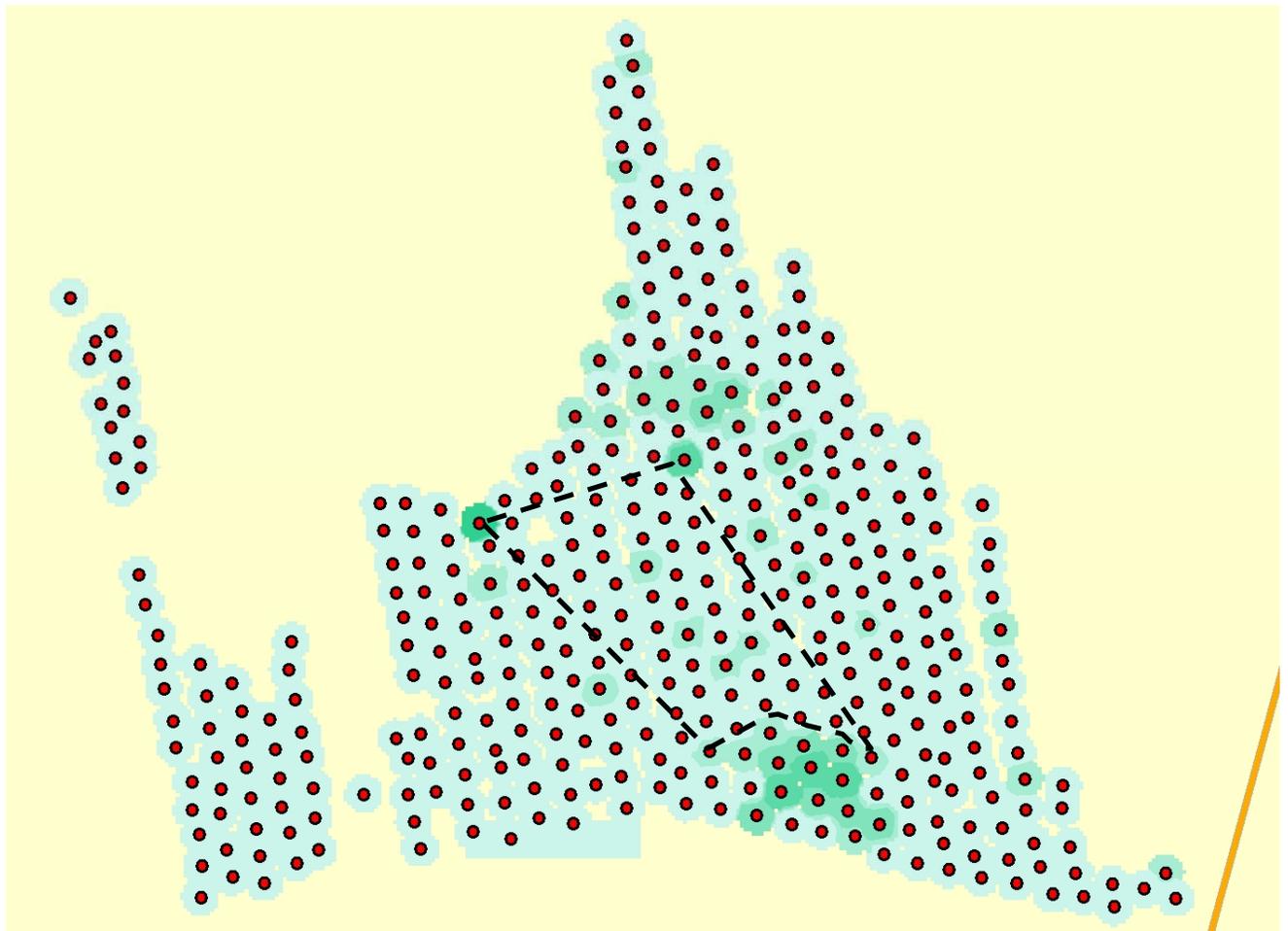


Figure 11-4. Potential square ground area in hatched line, encompassing over 5600m²; will

include legend

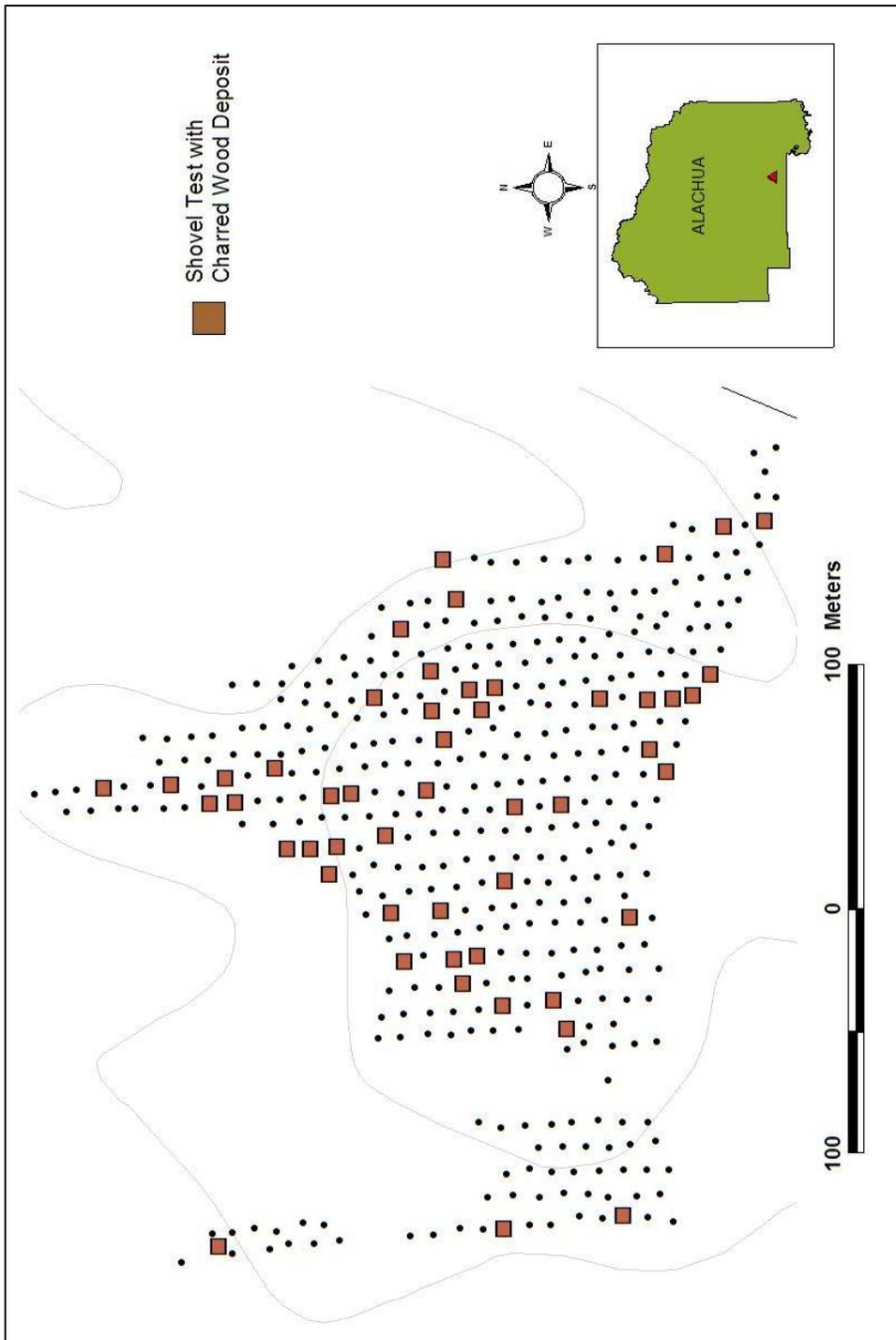


Figure 11-5. Shovel tests containing a deposit of charred wood

CHAPTER 12 CONCLUSION

The archaeological data from the Paynes Town site indicate that some of the experiences of the Paynes Town Seminoles were similar to those of other eighteenth and nineteenth-century Creek and Seminole peoples. For example, the limited number of household areas that were is consistent with the correlates of a dispersed settlement. This type of settlement arrangement suggests that, for many of the Seminoles affiliated with the Paynes Town *talwa*, the economic success of the individual households was a higher priority than that of the town as a whole (Weisman 1989:82). This perspective was likely shared by many other Indian and non-Indian groups in Florida who, like the Oconees and other Creek groups, had migrated to Florida to reap the commercial benefits of the then-sparsely-populated colony, which was characterized by a spirit of “free enterprise” (Weisman 1989:31). Participation in commercial ranching, agriculture, and hunting required a type of lifestyle that did not necessarily compliment the pre-existing social, political, and economic networks of the indigenous peoples, and some non-Indian practices, ideas, and materials were adopted to better meet the demands of the colonial economy. The strategies of the Paynes Town Seminoles were successful, as is evident by the fact that they became widely known for the wealth that they accrued through raising expansive herds of cattle and other livestock and other commercial ventures, such as agriculture and hunting (Covington 1993:29; Simmons 1822:75).

The participation in the colonial economy and the adoption of foreign practices and material culture were not, however, signs of a desire to “acculturate” to European or American societies or to become citizens of them. Even while the cohesion of individual *talwas*, such as Paynes Town, may have been threatened by the increasing dispersal of their populations, the Paynes Town Seminoles and other Seminole and Black Seminole groups intended to retain their

political independence and “resist” the attempts by the United States government to seize their lands and control their people (Fairbanks 1978). This autonomy was challenged repeatedly throughout the decades of conflicts known as the Seminole Wars. Although the political and military strength of individual *talwas* may have been eroded in the years leading up to the Second Seminole War (Weisman 1989:59), the conflicts between the Americans and the Seminoles may have resulted in a pan-Seminole unification, a unification that would have strengthened both their offensive and defensive capabilities that may not have otherwise occurred (Weisman 1989:82-123; 2000). Although this social cohesion may have been spurred by a desire to defeat a common foe, several scholars have alluded to a unique characteristics of the Creek and the Seminole societies, that the cultural histories of these groups shows patterns of “inclusiveness” (Knight and Mistovich 1984:224), “flexibility” and “conditionality” (Saunt 1999:36) and “fluidity” (Wickman 1999:16).

These characteristic may help to explain the trends that were observed in Creek and Seminole settlements during the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Again, these were (1) a shift from nucleated to dispersed settlements, (2) the transformation or abandonment of certain forms of civic and ceremonial architecture, and (3) changes in the construction techniques and styles of domestic structures, including the adoption of European-style buildings. These trends have been explained, in part, as resulting from the Creek and Seminole participation in the colonial economy, specifically the demands of commercial ranching, agriculture, and hunting (Ethridge 2003; Fairbanks 1978:171; Knight 1985:62-63; Saunt 1999; Waselkov 1997: Waselkov and Smith 2000:252-253). However, because settlement patterns, civic and ceremonial architecture, and domestic structures have each been shown to be representative of underlying cultural ideologies, it would be logical to conclude that dramatic changes in these aspects of a

culture would be indicative of significant ideological change, as well. I have argued that the contrary may have, in fact, been the case. I suggested that the ideological structures underlying cultures may have an innate ability to incorporate foreign ideas and materials and rationalize unanticipated experiences or events, a characteristic that may help to explain the observations of other scholars that were previously, observations that depict the Creeks and the Seminoles inclusive, flexible, .

Relying heavily on Knight's analysis of Mississippian ritualism (Knight 1981) and his and other scholars' observations of the similarities between certain Mississippian and historic Creek and Seminole town features (e.g. Hudson 1976; Knight 1981; 1986; 1989; Wesson 1998; Waring 1968; Wickman 1999), I argued that the changes that occurred in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Creek and Seminole settlements may not have been perceived as dramatic departures from earlier settlements. In the remainder of this chapter, I address how a persistent and highly adaptive ideology that incorporated rites of purification may have laid the groundwork for the legitimizing of changes that, from an outsider's perspective, would appear to be inconsistent with the towns and settlements of the Creeks and the Seminoles' Mississippian ancestors.

Dispersed Settlement

An intensive shovel test survey and subsequent test unit excavations revealed the presence of three household areas at the Paynes Town Seminole settlement. This suggests that the area was permanently occupied by only a few families. However, at least two of these families lived within a distance that was consistent with the distance of household areas in a nucleated settlement type (e.g. 100 m or less). In short, the Paynes Town settlement was clearly not an "urban" center. However, as I discuss below, it may have maintained its status as a ceremonial center, like other Creek and Seminole *talwa* centers that maintained a small, semi-nucleated population. For example, at the Upper Creek town of Tukabatchee, a small number of

households were constructed around the civic architectural features such as the square ground and council house (Knight 1985:42).

As I have discussed throughout this study, there were advantages to abandoning the nucleated town form. Specifically, a dispersed settlement allowed families to find suitable grazing and agricultural lands and, thus, to have a better chance at succeeding in the colonial economy. Commercialized ranching and agriculture required extensive amounts of land, both for short-term and long-term purposes. As lands became depleted of their vegetation and soil nutrients, Seminole families were forced to relocate their herds and crops to areas that would support them. In short, living in a nucleated setting with minimal, if any, adequate grazing and/or agricultural lands would have been antithetical to their commercial success.

The increasing physical distance between town members had the potential to be socially and politically disruptive, and, indeed, it was likely related to the demise in the importance of clan ties and other familial networks (Ethridge 2003:289). However, the social stress brought on by the distances between town members may have been diminished by the belief that this distancing represented a shift away from an old way of life, a change that was understood as being necessary to the maintenance of society. This is consistent with the ideology behind the rites of purification conducted during the historic and Mississippian period Green Corn Ceremonies (Knight 1981). Accordingly, in time, all materials, including civic and domestic structures, were expected to become impure and could be purified through their physical alteration and/or removal of these materials.

Thus, throughout this study, I have proposed that changes, such as the dramatic shifts observed in historic Creek and Seminole settlement patterns, may have been beneficial in more than one way. On the one hand, the dispersed settlement pattern helped Creek and Seminole

families meet the demands of the colonial economy. On the other hand, by manipulating the ancient ideology relating to the pure: impure/ society: earth dichotomies, the former mode of living (in a nucleated setting) may have been designated as “old” and “impure.” By abandoning that type of living arrangement, the society may have conveniently been rendered pure again.

Evidence of a Square Ground

As is true of the history of any group or town, an important part of the history of Paynes Town was its “founding.” After becoming chief, Payne and other families, continued to live in Cuscowilla, the town founded by the Oconee Creek leader Cowkeeper until as late as 1788 (Mullins 1977:78). Sometime after this date, Payne established a new town approximately two miles to the north of Cuscowilla. Wickman notes that the death of important Creek and Seminole leaders provided the impetus behind other town relocations (Wickman 1999:57). It is tempting to view these relocations within the framework of the “impure: pure”/ “old: new” opposition that I examined in earlier chapters. This opposition was an important part of Creek social structure and was perpetuated through rites of purification conducted during the Green Corn Ceremony (Knight 1981). To review, during the Green Corn ceremony, civic structures were altered, destroyed, or relocated in an effort to cleanse the town of the old, and inherently, impure elements of society. Thus, it is possible that new leaders, such as King Payne, drew from this ideological practice of ritual cleansing when they moved their towns to “new” locations.

This ideology would have been further invoked if the inhabitants of the new settlement did not construct their town, public architecture, or households in the same manner as those found in the former location. There has been some confusion as to whether or not square grounds were widespread across Seminole *talwas* (Craig and Peebles 1974; Dickinson and Wayne 1985; Weisman 1989:9, 77). The absence of square grounds in some towns may have reflected a deliberate alteration of the town features. However, as I demonstrated in an earlier chapter,

historic documents do allude to the presence of square grounds in numerous locations, including Alachua Seminole towns. For example, William Bartram referred to the presence of a square ground at Cuscowilla (van Doren 1928:167) and at least one historic source mentions the presence of a “square” at the Paynes Town settlement (Wright 1945:17-18). However, earlier archaeological investigations at the Paynes Town site (Mullins 1977; Mykel 1962) did not uncover any evidence of a square ground. However, as indicated in the previous chapter, the 2003-2004 archaeological investigations revealed an area towards the central portion of the site that was comparatively devoid of artifacts and may have been used as a square ground. There was simply not enough information to determine whether there were other civic structures, such as a council house, present at the Paynes Town settlement. However, its large size suggests that part of the area could have been used as a *chunkey* yard. It was not uncommon at historic Creek settlements for square grounds, council houses, and *chunkey yards* to be constructed adjacent to one another (Waselkov and Braund 1995:169-186).

The invoking the ideologies behind the ancient rites of purification may have helped to quell the social and political tension that may have emerged when nucleated towns were abandoned. The presence of small ceremonial/civic centers and resident population, such as the one at Tukabatchee, and presumably Paynes Town, may have served a similar purpose, by symbolically and physically (during the Green Corn Ceremony and other events) integrating an ever-dispersing population. This area would have provided a space for town councils and ceremonies and other types of group meetings. It would have also provided a physical reminder of the social and political integrity of the *talwa* and a further reminder of the ancient symbolism that linked the ancient and the contemporary peoples to one another.

It may have been very fortunate that some *talwas*, such as Paynes Town, continued to construct civic and ceremonial architecture in some form or another. During the Second Seminole Wars, Brent Weisman believes that the Green Corn Ceremony and perhaps other types of ceremonialism intensified and united not only the members of one *talwa* but those from several *talwas* (Weisman 2000). This may have contributed to the emergence of a pan-*talwa* sense of social identity, which has continued into modernity. While this hypothesis extends beyond the scope of this study, it is interesting to consider the impact that maintaining civic and ceremonial centers, no matter how diminutive, may have had in the long-term success of the Seminole and Creek peoples.

House Construction

Numerous parallels can be drawn between the domestic architecture used everyday by the members of a particular household and the public architecture of a town. Both conform to a set of societal expectations, while at the same time reflecting the immediate needs and historical nuances of a group, or in this case, an individual family. Like town features, domestic architecture can also reflect the maintenance or alteration of various ideological, social, or economic components of a society (Burley 2000; Deetz 1977; Hally and Kelly 1998; Knight 1981; Lightfoot et al. 1998). Among the Green Corn Ceremonies conducted by the historic period Creeks and Seminoles the households of individual town members were privy to the same process of purification as that of the town square (Waselkov and Braund 1995:180).

Perhaps because of the frequent allusions to the European-style homes of various Creek and Seminole leaders (e.g. Ethridge 2003:75; Weisman 1986:217) and because King Payne was said to have lived in a log cabin-style structure (Covington 1993:29), the high number of post-holes that were observed within the fairly limited test unit excavations at the Paynes Town site was surprising. Although no specific structural arrangement was identified, most of the postholes

were fairly small in diameter (4-13 cm) suggesting that they may have been used to support light-weight structures. However, the presence of a few larger posts (20-30 cm) indicates that more substantial structures were also being supported, at least partially, by posts. Thus, vertical-pole construction continued to be used by some inhabitants of the Paynes Town settlement. These findings further support the observations that log cabin-style structures were, in fact, fairly rare (Foster 2007:112).

Although evidence of vertical-pole construction was found at the Paynes Town site, the number of iron nails recovered from Paynes Town indicated that alternative methods were also being used. However, it is possible that nails were incorporated into the native construction methods. Andrea White (2005) believes that this explains the high number of nails found at the early-eighteenth century Yamasee mission community of *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* near St. Augustine. Evidence of wattle-and-daub structures is present at the site, along with nearly 200 nails. Andrea White (2005:2) suggests that the Yamasee Indians were incorporating nails into their otherwise indigenous construction techniques by using nails and cordage to attach the wooden framing before covering it with daub. Whether or not the final products constructed at the Paynes Town site were log cabins or other European-inspired structures can not be determined. However, the presence of a European-style well suggests that a European-style home may have been associated with what I refer to as “Household Area.” That this area may have been the location of King Payne’s house is also intriguing.

Conclusion

The period of Payne’s leadership of the Alachua Seminoles (1784-1812) falls within the first half of what Charles Fairbanks referred to as the “resistance and removal phase” (between 1790 and 1840) of Seminole history (Fairbanks 1978:177-187). According to Fairbanks, the beginning of this phase was marked by “rising tensions created by the proximity of the United

States in former Creek territory to the immediate north of the Seminole settlements in Florida, the impotence of Spanish authority, and the rising fervor of land expansion” (Fairbanks 1978:177). While inhabitants of other settlements may not have believed that there would be a particular social or political benefit in the upkeep of a town center and its associated civic structures, because Paynes Town was the political center of the Alachua Seminoles, a group that had a political longevity that few other Seminole groups did (Porter 1952), King Payne and the people of Paynes Town may have felt these structures were critical to their cohesiveness and autonomy.

In one sense, the abandonment of Paynes Town following the conflict between King Payne and Colonel Daniel Newnan was an end of an era, because it was the last permanent settlement of the Alachua Seminoles. Interestingly, a revitalization movement may have swept through Seminole settlements during the Seminole Wars, as is evident of what appears to be a rejection of European material culture at Seminole sites post-dating Paynes Town (Weisman 1989; 2000). Brent Weisman believes that this movement was characteristic of an underlying trend in Seminole culture history, which is the Seminoles’ “ability to transform the antecedent cultural configurations of their own past into new and vital forms” (Weisman 1989:83). Although the Paynes Town settlement was burned down and the square was abandoned, the immaterial components of the culture were not destroyed. Rather they were configured and manipulated in a way that allowed the Seminoles to maintain social cohesiveness. Ironically, this was through a rejection of the “new” (European materials and economies) and a call for a return to the “old,” reversing the order that had in the past been required for spiritual cleansing.

APPENDIX A
PHOTOGRAPHS OF PAYNES TOWN ARTIFACTS



Figure A-1. Barrel hoop fragment (ruler in centimeters)



Figure A-2. Iron hinge (ruler in centimeters)



Figure A-3. Unidentified iron object, door closure, door latch bolt (L to R)



Figure A-4. Kaolin pipe stem, lead bar, iron buckle (top), copper ring (L to R)



Figure A-5. Unidentified iron artifact



Figure A-6. Kaskaskia projectile point



Figure A-7. Brass spoon-shaped object



Figure A-8. Brass artifacts, possible knife edges (bottom row)



Figure A-9. Silver artifacts



Figure A-10. Examples of some of the glass beads

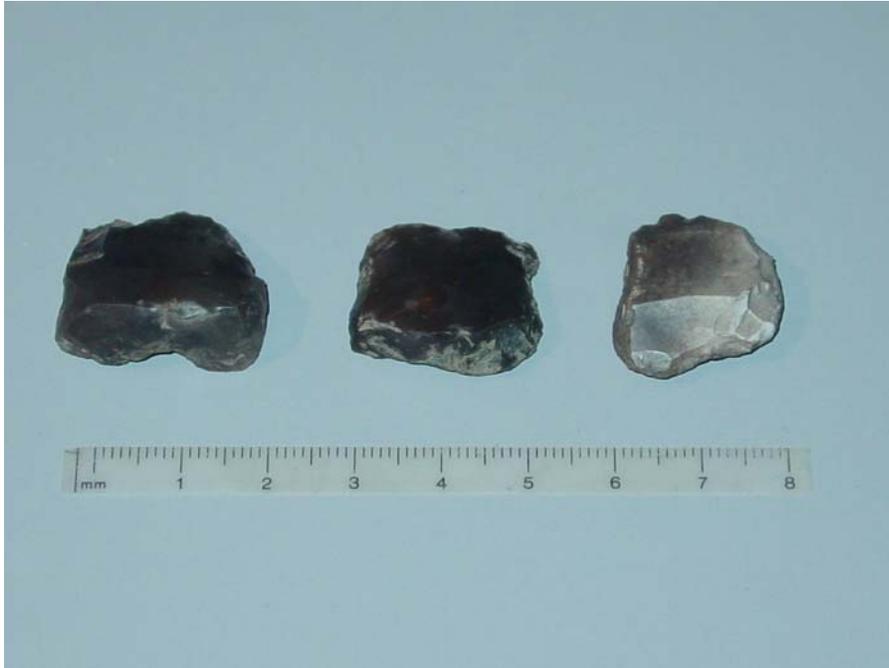


Figure A-11. Gun spalls (left and center) and prismatic gun flint (right)



Figure A-12. Lead gunflint pads on far left and far right



Figure A-13. Perforated lead discs



Figure A-14. Glass bottle base with worked edge



Figure A-15. Glass bottle "flake

APPENDIX B
TEST UNIT LEVEL MEASUREMENTS

The level depth measurements were taken for each corner of the test unit.* The level depths reflect centimeters below the surface. *SW=southwest corner; SE=southeast corner; NW=northwest corner; NE=northeast corner

Table B-1. Test Unit 1

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-13.5	0-11.5	0-10.5	0-8
2	13.5-15.5	11.5-16.5	10.5-17.5	8-12
3	15.5-21	16.5-19.5	17.5-18	12-19.5
4	21-40	19.5-40	18-40	19.5-40

Table B-2. Test Unit 2

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-20	0-13.5	0-16	0-15.5
2	20-24	13.5-21.5	16-19	15.5-22.5
3	24-33.5	21.5-24.5	19-23.5	22.5-24.5
4	33.5-35.5	24.5-34	23.5-27.5	24.5-26.5
5	35.5-41.5	34-37.5	27.5-32.5	26.5-31.5
6	41.5-52	37.5-47.5	32.5-42.5	31.5-41
7	52-70	47.5-70	48.5-70	41-70
8	70-97	70-91.5	70-93	70-87.5

Table B-3. Test Unit 3

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-11.5	0-12.5	0-6.5	0-14
2	11.5-14	12.5-15.5	6.5-13.5	14-18.5
3	14-25	15.5-27.5	13.5-23.5	18.5-28
4	25-37	27.5-37.5	23.5-32.5	28-37.5
5	37-43	37.5	32.4-43	37.5-45

Table B-4. Test Unit 4

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-16	0-16	0-16	0-10
2	16-23	16-21.5	16-19	10-21.5
3	23-38	21.5-37	19-34	21.5-35
4	38-59	37-52	34-56	35-52

Table B-5. Test Unit 5

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-10	0-21.5	0-18.5	0-25.5
2	10-27	21.5-38	18.5- 40.5	25.5- 42.5
3	27-37.5	38-53	40.5- 53.5	42.5- 54.5
4	37.5- 53.5	53-60	53.5-61	54.5-60
5	53.5- 59.5	60-70	61-71	61-71
6	59.5- 69.5	70-77	71-80	71-80

Table B-6. Test Unit 6

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-17	0-14	0-16	0-16
2	17-27	14-22	16-27	16-26
3	27-37	22-35.5	27-37	26-34
4	37-47	35.5- 47.5	37-47	34-44

Table B-7. Test Unit 7/8

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-14.5	0-15	0-14	0-9.5
2	14.5- 15.5	15-23.5	14-24	9.5- 18.5
3	15.5- 26.5	23.5-29	24-35.5	18.5-30
4	26.5-33	29-38	25.5- 44.5	30-36
5	33-43	38-49.5	33.5-53	36-46
6	43-56	49.5-61	53-67	46-58
7	56-65	61-65	67-70	58-65

Table B-8. Levels of Test Unit 9

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-13	0-12	0-8	0-14
2	13-19	12-18.5	8-23.5	8-22
3	19-34.5	18.5-28.5	23.5-36	22-34.5
4	34.5-44	28.5-39.5	36-49.5	34.5-45
5	44-48	39.5-44	49.5-53.5	45-54

Table B-9. Test Unit 10

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-17	0-19	0-15	0-19.5
2	17-32	19-31	15-23	19.5-25
3	32-41	31-43	23-38	25-36
4	41-47	43-48	38-44	36-46

Table B-10. Test Unit 11/16

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-7.5	0-14	0-6.5	0-15.5
2	7.5-11	14-19	6.5-9.5	15.5-18
2B	11-16	NA	9.5-16.5	NA
3	16-24	19-27	16.5-26.5	18-20
4	24-31.5	27-37	26.5-35.5	20-33
5	31.5-46	37-48	38.5-45	33-49

Table B-11. Test Unit 12

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-13	0-13	0-16	0-13.5
2	13-22	13-22	16-24	13.5-24
3	22-31	22-29	24-35	24-35
4	31-40	29-40	35-40	35-42
5	40-50	40-47	40-51	42-51
6	50-59	47-54	51-61	51-62
7	59-68	54-61	61-69	62-70
8	68-77	61-72	69-80	70-79

Table B-12. Test Unit 13

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-14.5	0-11.5	0-14	0-17.5
2	14.5-23.5	11.5-18.5	14-24	17.5-24
3	23.5-27	18.5-25.5	24-31	24-29.5
4	27-40.5	25.5-31.5	31-45	29.5-33
5	40.5-49	31.5-47.5	45-54	33-48

Table B-13. Test Unit 14

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-18	0-16	0-17.5	0-17
2	18-29	16-28	17.5-27.5	17-27.5
3	29-44	28-38	27.5-32.5	27.5-34
4	44-47	38-45	32.5-43	34-44

Table B-14. Test Unit 15

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-16	0-15.5	0-7	0-6
2	16-18.5	15.5-21	7-11	6-15.5
3	18.5-26	21-29	11-26	15.5-25
4	26-30.5	29-30.5	26-30.5	25-30
5	30.5-44	30.5-45	30.5-44	30-44

Table B-15. Test Unit 17

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-8	0-2	0-12.5	0-3.5
2	8-15.5	2-17	12.5-17.5	3.5-15.5
3	15.5-28	17-25	17.5-31	15.5-28.5
4	28-40	25-40	31-40	28.5-40
5	40-50	40-50	40-50	40-50
6	50-60	50-60	50-60	50-60

Table B-16. Test Unit 18

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-12	0-15	0-11	0-15
2	12-25	15-23.5	11-24	15-26
3	25-35	23.5-34	24-35	26-33
4	25-45	34-45	35-44	33-45

Table B-17. Test Unit 19

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-10	0-7.5	0-5.5	0-4
2	10-15	7.5- 14.5	5.5- 10.5	4-13
3	15-28	14.5- 22.5	10.5- 26.5	13-30
4	28-39	22.5-38	26.5-35	30-37
5	39-48	38-49	35-45	37-44

Table B-18. Test Unit 20

Level	SW	SE	NW	NE
1	0-8	0-6	0-10	0-12
2	8-17	6-17	10-20.5	12-22
3	17-28	17-26	20.5-34	22-30
4	28-40	26-45	34-45	30-42

APPENDIX C
 DESCRIPTIONS OF LEVELS* AND FEATURES

Table C-1. Test Unit 1

Level	Level depth	Level description	Historic artifacts
1	0-13.5	Topsoil	0
2	13.5-15.5	Disturbed, pea-gravel	5
3	15.5-21	Seminole occupation 10YR 3/2-4/2	21
4	21-40	Prehistoric occupation 10YR 5/4	0

Table C-2. Test Unit 2

Level	Level depth	Level description	Historic artifacts
1	0-20	Topsoil	3
2	20-24	Gravel, disturbed	1
3	24-33.5	Redeposited sand 10YR 7/2	2
4	33.5-35.5	Possible Seminole occupation 10YR 5/2	0
5	35.5-41.5	Sterile 2.5Y 5/2-10YR7/4	0
6	41.5-52	Prehistoric 10YR 7/4	1
7	52-70	Prehistoric 10YR 7/4	0
8	70-97	Prehistoric 10YT 7/4	1

Table C-3. Test Unit 5

Level	Level depth	Level description	Historic artifacts
1	0-10	Topsoil	1
2	10-27	Gravel, disturbed	2
3	27-37.5	Disturbed	1
4	37.5-53.5	Disturbed	0
5	53.5-59.5	Buried Seminole occupation 104/2-4/4	11
6	59.5-69.5	Sterile 10YR 5/2-7/2	0

Table C-4. Test Unit 4

Level	Level depths	Level description	Historic artifacts
1	0-16	Disturbed/Seminole occupation	14
2	16-23	Seminole occupation 10YR 4/2	3
3	23-38	Seminole occupation 10YR 5/2-6/3	78
4	38-49	Prehistoric 10YR 6/4	10
5	49-58	Prehistoric 10YR 6/4	11

Table C-5. Test Units 3 and 6 (North Block of test units)

Level	Level description	TU3 Level depths	TU3 Historic artifacts	TU6 Level depths	TU6 Historic artifacts
1	Disturbed	0-11.5	4	0-17	17
2	Charred Wood 10YR 3/1-3/1, areas of 7.5YR 5/4	11.5-14	24	17-27	77
3	Seminole Occupation 10YR4/2	14-25	89	27-37	204
4	Remnant Seminole/Pre historic Occupation 10YR 5/2-4/2	25-37	69	37-47	0
	Wall fall/clean-up matrix				9

Table C-6. Test Units 9, 10, 14 (remainder of North Block of test units)

Level	Level description	TU9 Level depths	TU9 Historic artifacts	TU10 Level depths	TU10 Historic artifacts	TU14 Level depths	TU14 Historic artifacts
1	Disturbed	0-13	9	0-17	9	0-18	17
2	Charred Wood	13-19	29	17-32	14	18-29	19
	10YR 3/1-3/1, areas of 7.5YR 5/4						
3	Seminole Occupation	19-34.5	61	32-41	53	29-44	57
	10YR4/2						
4	Remnant Seminole/ Prehistoric Occupation	34.5-44	44	41-47	31	44-47	75
	10YR 5/2-4/2						
	Wall fall/ clean-up matrix				3		

Table C-7. South Block of test units

Level	Level description	TU15 Level depths	TU15 Historic artifacts	TU17 Level depths	TU17 Historic artifacts	TU19 Level depths	TU19 Historic artifacts	TU20 Level depths	TU20 Historic artifacts
1	Topsoil	0-16	40	0-8	22	0-10	18	0-8	8
2	Charred wood 10YR 3/2, some mottled areas (10YR 3/2-4/2-5/2)	16-18.5	48	8-15.5	31	10-15	44	8-17	84
3	Seminole occupation 2.5Y 3/1-2/1	18.5-26	128	15.5-28	256	15-28	135	17-28	152
4	Remnant Seminole/ prehistoric occupation 10YR 3/2-4/2	26-30.5	129	28-40	30	28-39	159	28-40	12
5	Prehistoric occupation 10YR 5/4	30.5-44	0	40-50	12	39-48	0		
	Wall fall/ clean-up matrix			Wall	8	Wall	5	Wall	1

Table C-8. Test Unit 7/8

Level	Level depths	Level description	Historic artifacts
1	0-14.5	Topsoil	39
2	14.5-15.5	Seminole 10YR3/2	28
3	15.5-26.5	Seminole 10YR 4/2, 4/3, and 5/3	167
4	26.5-33	Remnant Seminole/prehistoric 10YR 5/4-6/4	15
5	33-43	Prehistoric 10YR 6/4-7/4	5
6	43-56	Prehistoric 10YR 6/4-7/4	0
7	56-65	Prehistoric 10YR 6/4-7/4	0
Wall			1

Table C-9. Test Unit 11/16

Level	Level depths	Cultural occupation	Historic artifacts
1	0-7.5	Disturbed/Seminole	35
2A	7.5-11	Charred wood deposit 10YR 3/2	36
2B	11-16	Seminole 10YR3/2-3/3; and baked soil (7.5YR 5/3-5/4)	30
3	16-24	Seminole 10YR 4/3-4/2, some 10YR 3/2	70
4	24-31.5	10YR 4/2-5/2	77
5	31.5-46	10YR 5/3-5/4	9

Table C-10. Test Unit 13

Level	Level depths	Cultural occupation	# of Historic artifacts
1	0-14.5	Disturbed	19
2	14.5-23.5	Artificial clay deposit in western half of unit, Seminole occupation level (10YR 4/2) in eastern half	17
3		Seminole occupation 2.5Y 3/1-3/2	38
4	27-40.5	Remnant Seminole 10YR 5/4, with 10RY 4/2	2
5	40.5-49	Prehistoric occupation 10YR 5/4	0

Table C-11. Test Unit 18

Level	Level depths	Cultural occupation	# of Historic artifacts
1	0-12	Topsoil, disturbed	9
2	12-25	Seminole occupation 10YR 3/1-2/1; 7.5YR 3/1	243
3	25-35	Seminole occupation 10YR 4/2	32
4	35-45	Remnant Seminole 10YR 5/4	3
5	45-55	Remnant Seminole 10YR 5/4	1
6	55-65	Remnant Seminole 10YR 5/4	1

* Depths refer to centimeters below the surface

APPENDIX D
PHOTOGRAPHS OF TEST UNIT EXCAVATIONS

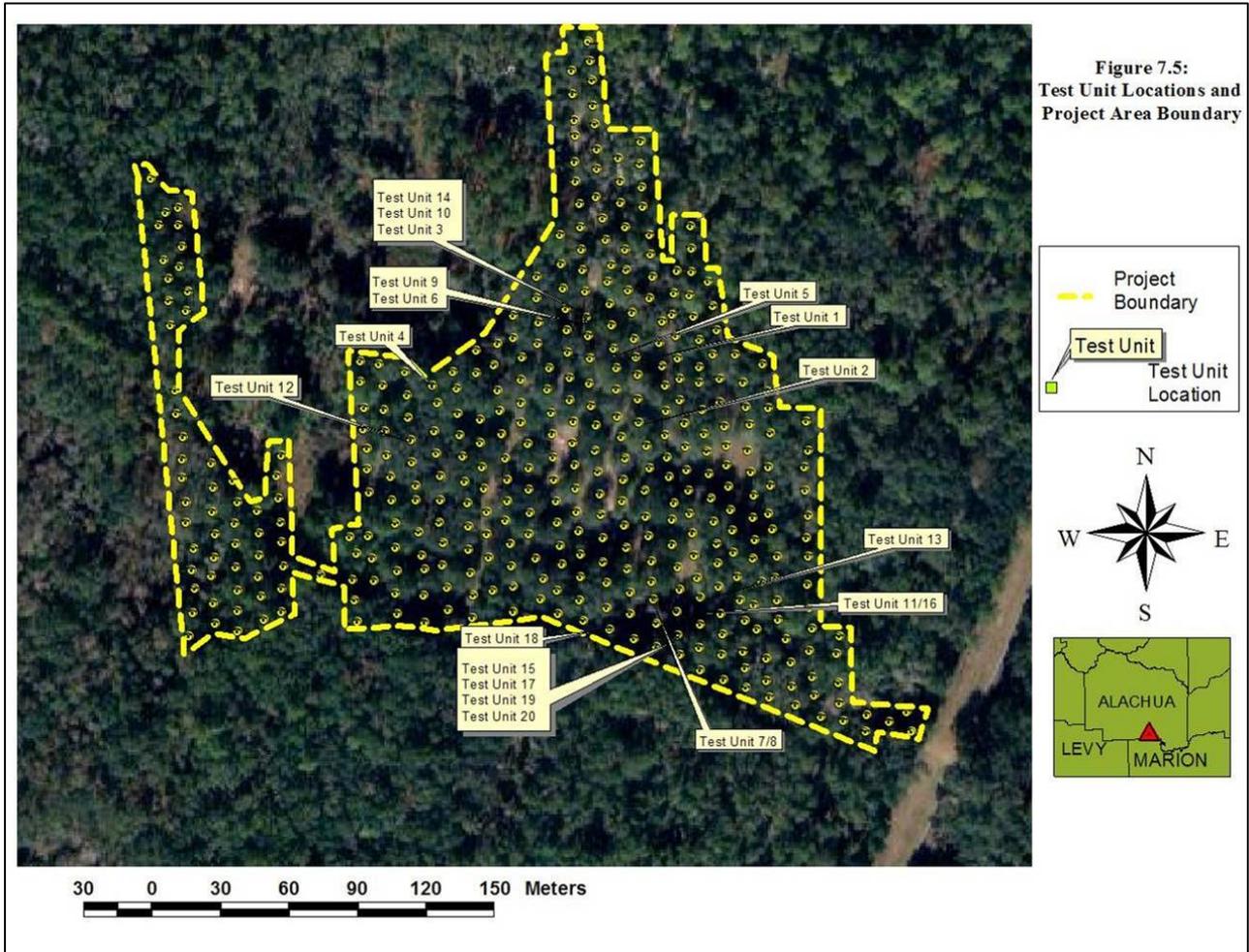


Figure D-1. Locations of test units at Paynes Town



Figure D-2. Test Unit 1, Feature 1.1, possible charred post



Figure D-3. Test Unit 2, Feature 2.1, charred stump in northwest corner



Figure D-4. Test Unit 5, buried A Horizon and Seminole component



Figure D-5. (Front to back) Test Units 14, 10, and 3, burnt wood found along east-west axis



Figure D-6. Intrusive sandy lens in Test Unit 9



Figure D-7. Test Unit 14, Feature 14.1, possible water scouring, pit



Figure D-8. Test Unit 6, Feature 6.1, probable charred tree stump in north and east walls



Figure D-9. Test Unit 10, Feature 10.1, opossum skeleton

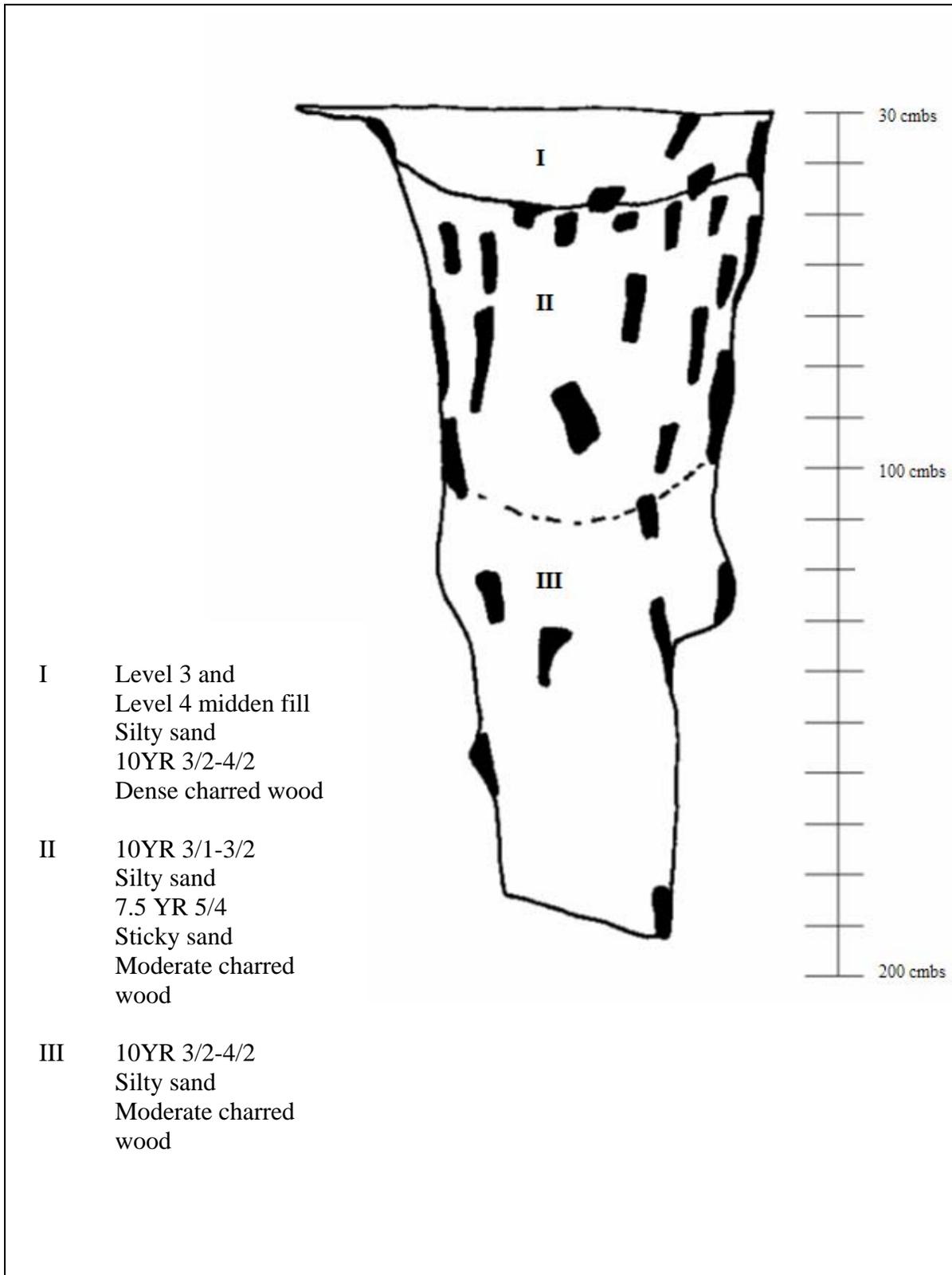


Figure D-10. Profile of well feature

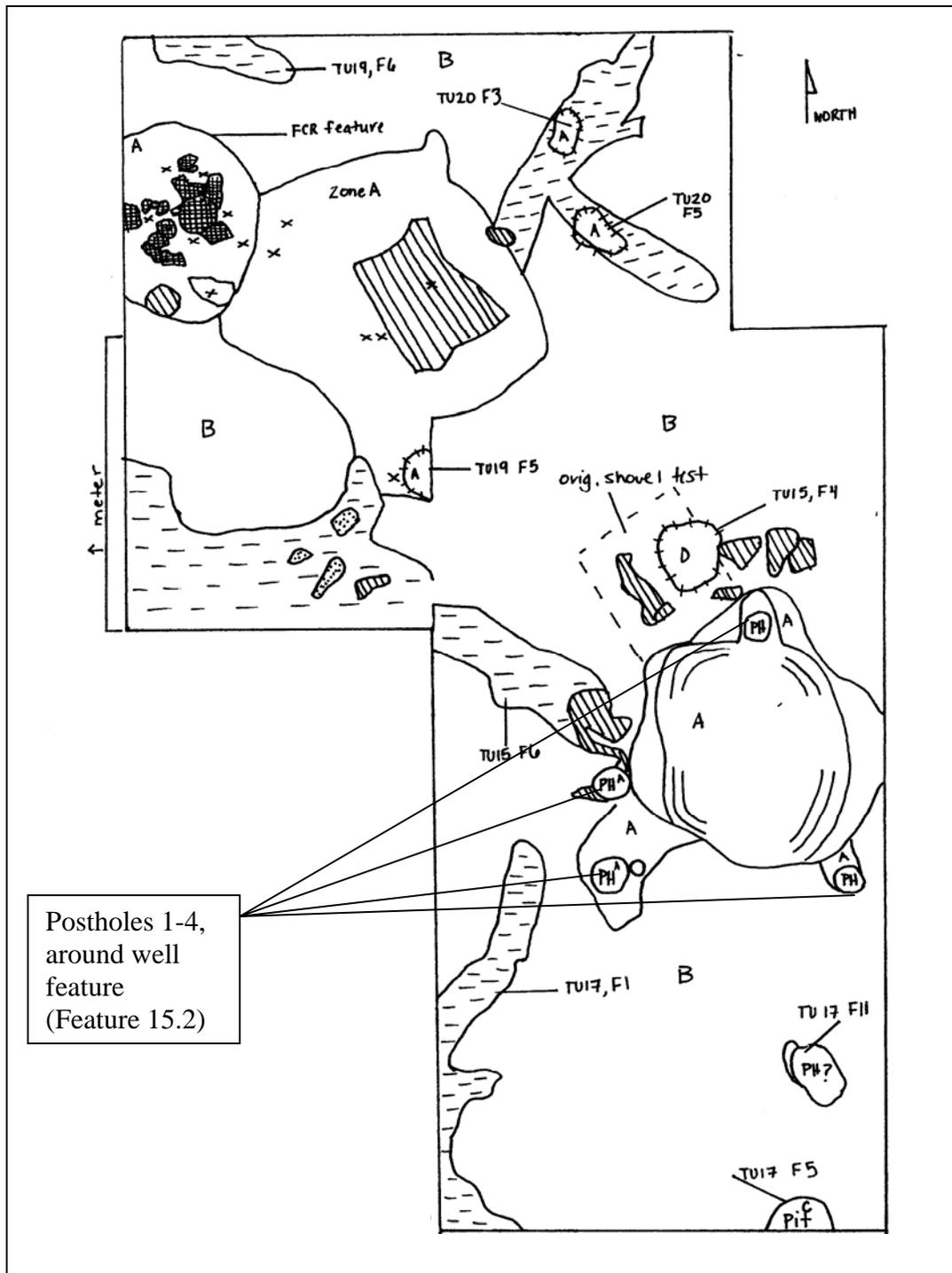


Figure D-11. Aerial view, postholes and barrel well feature



Figure D-12. Charred wood (hafted) to south of Feature 15.2



Figure D-13. Shovel Test 70E-15S, Feature 15.4, probable posthole towards top of picture



Figure D-14. Test Unit 15, Feature 15.3, Charred log



Figure D-15. Test Unit 20, Feature 20.4



Figure D-16. Test Unit 19, Feature 19.1, hearth



Figure D-17. Test Unit 17, Feature 17.5, storage/smudge pit



Figure D-18. Test Unit 11/16, west profile showing charred level



Figure D-19. Test Unit 13, Feature 13.1, deposit of charred cobs

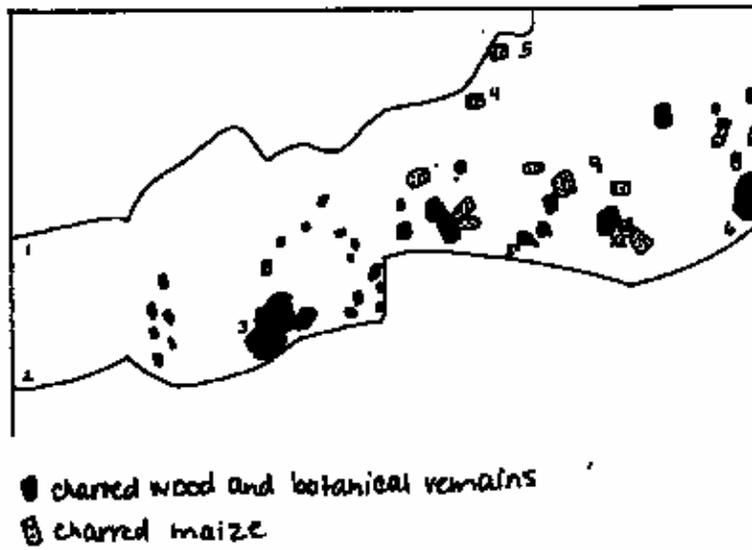


Figure D-20. Test Unit 13, Feature 13.1, sketch of plan view of Feature 13.1



Figure D-21. Test Unit 13, North Profile



Figure D-22. Shovel Test 40E-10S, posthole feature



Figure D-23. Test Unit 18, posthole features



Figure D-24. Test Unit 18, Feature 18.1 (right), posthole (left)

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