

Chapter 7. EAST AND CENTRAL FLORIDA, 3200 B.P.-A.D. 1565

The east and central Florida area encompasses a large region that stretches from the Florida border with eastern Georgia to the northern terminus of the wetlands of the Kissimmee River drainage and west to within thirty miles of Tampa Bay. That the region in prehistory represented a unified and distinct cultural entity throughout its geographical extent is more of a convention adopted by archaeologists than a true picture of social, political, and cultural uniformity. In reality, at least seven distinct culture regions border east and central Florida, creating a number of "transitional" archaeological assemblages characterized by mixtures of St. Johns cultural traits with those of adjacent cultures.

The primary trait that is common throughout the area, both within its heartland and along its varied borders, is the distinctive St. Johns pottery. Outside the heartland, however, along the borders, the distribution of St. Johns pottery decreases, and it often becomes a minority ware or changes in technological attributes. Other traits such as mound building, modes of subsistence, and seasonal movements also differ along the regional borders.

The St. Johns periods are distinguished from the Late Archaic by the adoption of mound construction for burial, increased sedentism, increased agricultural production including corn, and a more stable environment from which to exploit resources. However, due to the faunal and floral abundance of the St. Johns River and the estuaries of the Atlantic coast, the northern St. Johns region remained largely unaffected by the dramatic social and economic changes sweeping the rest of the Southeast during Hopewellian and Mississippian times. Full-fledged agricultural production probably never occurred in most of the region and the hunting/fishing/gathering way of life that characterized 5000 years of Archaic occupation was sufficient to support viable populations during the 2000 years of the St. Johns cultures (Milanich and Fairbanks 1980).

A number of southeastern and Hopewellian traits are found in the St. Johns area in the early periods. The adoption of burial mounds, placement of Yent complex trade items with burials, and the use of charnel structures all point to mainstream southeastern influence in the realm of ceremonial activities. This influence continued throughout Mississippian times as the adoption of Weeden Island check stamping became the dominant motif on St. Johns II pottery; as large ceremonial truncated, pyramidal mounds with ramps and mound complexes were developed along the St. Johns River; and as exotic trade items were included in burials (Goggin 1952b). Outside these limited ceremonial contexts, however, the influence from the rest of the Southeast was minor.

Based largely upon the results of archaeologists working in the area from the 1950s through the 1970s, Milanich and Fairbanks (1980) have offered the clearest chronology of the St. Johns cultures. The St. Johns cultures evolved from the Transitional period (3200-2500 B.P.) to the St. Johns I period (2500 B.P.-A.D. 800) to the St. Johns II period (A.D. 800-1565). Check stamped St. Johns chalky ware provides a *terminus ante quem* for the St. Johns II period. The period ends with the arrival of the Spanish in St. Augustine in 1565, although large areas of the region may have remained essentially unaffected by the Spanish arrival for an indeterminate period of time. The St. Johns I and II periods are further subdivided into smaller periods demarcated chiefly by changes in ceramics, including the adoption and abandonment of incising, red-filming, and a variety of trade wares.

St. Johns Heartland

The St. Johns heartland is what Goggin (1952b) called the northern St. Johns area. Amended slightly here, this subregion stretches from the mouth of the St. Johns River south along the river and the Atlantic coast to Lake Harney and the north end of the Indian River. The St. Johns cultures arose out of the Late Archaic Orange period cultures of the region. Continuities in incised design motifs exist in the fiber-

tempered ceramics from the Orange period into the chalky and incised wares of the Transitional and, perhaps, the early St. Johns periods (Bullen 1972; Rouse 1951).

Material culture. In all St. Johns periods from the Transitional to St. Johns II, the distinctive St. Johns plain chalky ware is the dominant pottery type. Incised linear motifs characterize many early Transitional and St. Johns II design motifs. In addition to these types, there is some suggestion that the earliest chalky wares may have occasional inclusions of fiber-tempering, suggesting a direct development of St. Johns wares out of the Late Archaic Orange fiber-tempered wares. The incised design motifs typical of the Orange period have also been recognized on Transitional ceramics, providing additional evidence for the development of St. Johns types from Orange types (Bullen 1972; Rouse 1951; Cordell 1985).

Other St. Johns period ceramics include Dunn's Creek Red, which is limited to the St. Johns I period. Exotic ceramics, copies of exotic ceramics, or locally made types indistinguishable from exotics are also common in the region, especially in ceremonial contexts. These include Deptford, Glades, Belle Glade, Swift Creek Complicated Stamped, Weeden Island, Savannah Cord Marked, Safety Harbor, and Fort Walton types.

Except along the western boundary, the heartland region lacks significant deposits of lithic materials. Chert projectile points are fairly common in the region, but not common enough that a formal typology of St. Johns tool types has been developed. The area seems to have borrowed or continued to use point types from other areas and times of Florida prehistory. In St. Johns contexts, point types typical of the same period elsewhere in Florida include Pinellas, Ichetucknee, and Tampa types. Archaic stemmed points are also common in St. Johns contexts. Although the presence of these latter types has been suggested to represent salvaged or heirloomed points not typical of the period (Bullen 1975), their widespread distribution in St. Johns contexts combined with evidence for a lifestyle not unlike that of the Archaic suggests an alternative interpretation for their use and manufacture during the St. Johns periods.

Other lithic tools found in St. Johns contexts include coquina rock and sandstone abraders. Both of these soft rock types represent the only abundant lithic resources naturally occurring along the east coast of Florida. Numerous artifacts manufactured from exotic stone sources include steatite potsherds, ground stone celts, hammers, net weights, pendants, pipes, and plummetts. Other "stone" and metal artifacts include hematite often found interspersed throughout burial mounds, gold and silver artifacts most often in protohistoric contexts, and copper artifacts including pendants and rolled beads.

Bone and shell implements are the most common artifacts found in St. Johns contexts. The use of these raw materials for tool manufacture can be linked to the paucity of natural stone and mineral deposits in the region and represents a long continuity of shell and bone use dating back to at least the early Archaic. Bone ornaments and tools include tubular beads, fish vertebra beads, incised decorated pins thought to be used for ornamentation and leather and clothing manufacture, plummet shaped pendants, turtle shell rattles, whistles, spatulas, bipointed pins, simple points, socketed points, awls, chisels, needles, fish hooks, and hammers. Many of these same artifacts were also manufactured from a variety of shellfish species. Cups, dippers, celts, adzes, gouges, picks, rings, and columella pendants were also made from whelks, conch, clams, and other marine and freshwater shellfish.

Wooden artifacts in the region have been found in submerged sites due to the preservation provided by the anaerobic deposits. The examination of St. Johns period inundated sites at this time is minimal, but a few artifact types are known. These include dugout canoes made chiefly from cypress and pine, possible atlatl handles, wooden carvings of animals, and a variety of timbers possibly associated with house or other structure construction, brush clearing, collecting firewood, or other unknown activities. These latter can be distinguished from naturally deposited woods by the presence of shell adze marks and other manufacturing marks.

Textiles are known in the area for the Archaic period, but have yet to be found in well documented St. Johns contexts. One possible exception is a number of St. Johns sherds that are impressed with the

markings of twined reed mats. When the clay was still wet, the impressions were probably made accidentally when newly constructed vessels were placed on mats during pottery manufacture.

Settlement patterns. Small scatters of pottery and lithic debitage occur in the western uplands, among the piney flatwoods between the St. Johns River and the Atlantic coast, and in and near bottomland marshes, swamps, and cypress domes. What role these sites played in St. Johns settlement patterns is difficult to determine, and thus they often are conveniently termed temporary hunting, collection, or extraction sites, or less descriptively, they are called artifact scatters.

Larger shell middens are the best known St. Johns sites. Sites such as Turtle Mound (8VO109) on the Atlantic coast near New Smyrna rise as much as thirty feet above the surrounding sea level. Other "sheet" middens extend for up to a half mile along the St. Johns River. Numbers of large mounded St. Johns middens occur in clusters at the confluence of streams and channels within coastal and riverine estuaries. They may represent long occupied stratified sites dating back to the Archaic, or single component sites representing different St. Johns periods. Thus some clusters may be temporally unrelated. Nonetheless, large middens and midden clusters are often viewed as "villages." These villages may or may not be associated with burial or ceremonial, truncated pyramidal mounds. When they are, they are often termed base camps, village centers, ceremonial centers or some other name indicative of a range of maintenance, subsistence, and ceremonial activities wider and more permanent than those associated with other site types.

Burial mounds of the St. Johns period are marked by a variety of construction techniques and interment traits. Due either to poor preservation, builders' intentions, or accident, many St. Johns sand "burial" mounds have no trace of burials in them, only ceramic sherds to indicate the period of construction. Early St. Johns I mounds often have few burial goods and few burials (Rouse 1951). Burial goods, size of the mound, and number of burials generally increase by the St. Johns II period, but mostly after European contact (Goggin 1952b:55). Interments of groups of people are common and indicate that burials occurred within the mounds over an extended period of time. Burials in all St. Johns periods can be either extended, flexed, or bundled. In some mounds, burials were placed in a spoke fashion around the center of the mound and then capped with sand, while others were placed head to toe in a circle in the center of the mound (Jennings et al. 1957; Rouse 1951:253). Loose human bone is common in mound fill and may represent cleanings from charnel activity or disturbance of old burials when new burials were interred. A number of burial mounds are capped with sand containing hematite.

Subsistence and seasonality. There is some debate about the role that agriculture played in the subsistence economies of St. Johns peoples. Milanich and Fairbanks (1980) suggest that corn and other agricultural products were grown along the St. Johns River during warm weather months, and during the cold weather months coastal marine resources were relied upon. This is a pattern characteristic of the Spanish period Indians of the region (Deagan 1978). There is some question whether this hypothesized contact period pattern can be extended to prehistoric contexts. As of yet, no direct evidence of corn agriculture in prehistoric St. Johns periods has been recovered, although corn was undoubtedly grown at the time in cultures to the west and north. It is also known that gourds were grown within the region from the Archaic through the St. Johns periods, although it is doubtful that these contributed significantly to the subsistence regime.

One line of evidence against large scale or continued agricultural production in the region is the location of all significant sites within or near wet environments such as swamps, marshes, estuaries, rivers, and beaches. None of these environments are conducive to intensive or extensive agricultural techniques. It is obvious that this settlement pattern was designed to take advantage of wetland resources. Ultimately, we may discover that agriculture played a significant role in the St. Johns economies only in part of the archaeological area and for a restricted period of time (cf. Larson 1980; Russo 1988a).

Along the Atlantic coast many St. Johns middens are known, but few have been investigated in the realm of subsistence economies. Beyond the fact that St. Johns people exploited oysters, hard clams, and other

estuarine and marine shellfish, little is known. At the Palmer and Fletcher sites, the beach clam, coquina, was exploited by St. Johns II period people during the fall months (Miller 1980). Freshwater fish and turtles, marine fish, and deer were also exploited.

Piney Point (8NA31) on Amelia Island, another St. Johns II small, short-term midden yielded a large number of small estuarine fish and shrimp remains, indicating a warm weather occupation of the site. In addition, biometric analysis of hard clam remains and oyster indicate that these species were collected in the fall and winter. Thus, based on its size, this small "seasonal" short-term site may not have been permanently occupied, but based on the faunal remains, it may have been repeatedly returned to throughout the year (Hardin and Russo 1987).

The subsistence remains from larger coastal St. Johns II sites have not been as thoroughly investigated as these seasonal encampments. At the Walker Point site (8NA28), an early St. Johns II village site near Piney Point, Hemmings and Deagan (1978) suggested that a large variety of species and sizes of estuarine fish were exploited. Excavations at Green Mound (8VO90) (Bullen and Sleight 1960), Castle Windy (8VO112) (Bullen and Sleight 1959), and Crescent Beach Midden (Bond 1988) have yielded data on the relative importance of shellfish contents, but no detailed analyses were undertaken. Most information on the subsistence contents of coastal middens comes from brief notes in survey and site reports suggesting, for example, that specific sites are primarily oyster middens, or that unusual lenses of hard clams occur in a midden, or that a large number of shark vertebra were found.

Our understanding of subsistence and seasonal movements of St. Johns people along the St. Johns River is based on limited data similarly presented as that data obtained from the coast. That is, it is mostly derived from incidental notes in survey and site reports. A few detailed faunal reports for the freshwater portions of the St. Johns River do exist. Wing and McKean (1987) suggested that freshwater mystery snail, fish, and turtles provided most of the edible meat at Hontoon Island (8VO202), and that based on the seasonal behavior of captured fauna, the site was probably occupied throughout the year. At the Rollestown Midden (8PU64C), shell and vertebrate faunal species are listed and a seasonal occupation of the site is suggested though not tested (Chance 1982). Bubba Midden (8CL84), located on the banks of Black Creek, a tributary of the St. Johns River in Clay County, was a very small, short-term collection station in which freshwater mussel, snail, and variety of fish and terrestrial animals were exploited (Hardin et al. 1988). The Alderman site in Volusia County has been interpreted as a sporadically occupied St. Johns period camp with an associated midden. A number of midden samples have been analyzed, but the interpretations of subsistence economy have been equivocal, some suggesting the site represents a hunting camp while others think it was a fishing camp (cf. Stewart 1979; Fradkin 1979).

Northeast Coastal Florida

Northeast coastal Florida lies just outside the heartland area, from the mouth of the St. Johns River north along the Atlantic coast to the Georgia border and beyond. This is an area in which St. Johns period cultures are abundant but in which non-St. Johns cultures are also present. The chronological and geographical relation of these cultures to the St. Johns cultures in the area is unclear, but apparently the different cultures alternately occupied similar environments. Single and multicomponent Deptford, Swift Creek, and Savannah sites have been found in this region in direct or nearby association with St. Johns sites (Goggin 1952b; Lee et al. 1984; Bullen and Griffin 1952; Saunders 1987; Hardin and Russo 1987; Wilson 1965; Sears 1959b).

The Savannah presence from coastal Georgia is very strong in the area and may supersede early St. Johns II period cultures in late prehistory. Savannah sites are well-known on Amelia Island and extend as far south as Jacksonville. These sites probably represent a southern limit of Savannah culture in north Florida rather than the borrowing of trade items by St. Johns cultures, since St. Johns wares are minority wares or absent at many of these sites. At sites where St. Johns and Savannah ceramics are mixed,

however, interpretation of site function and cultural association is often difficult. In these areas Savannah sites can be distinguished from St. Johns sites by different dominant pottery types, which include sand- and grit-tempered plain, burnished, cord marked, and check stamped wares. Villages are often distinguishable from what have been called St. Johns villages, in that discontinuous individual subterranean house middens intrude into sterile sand areas or beneath sheet middens, unlike the mounded and continuous sheet middens common to St. Johns villages (Larson 1958). It is unclear how the subsistence and seasonality schedules differ between the cultures since little work has been done, but there are a great many similarities in the modelled subsistence patterns, including an hypothesized winter occupation of the coast for Savannah cultures and the production of maize.

The Indian River Area

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, a number of archaeologists suggested that the area beginning at the northern headwaters of the coastal Indian River lagoon and extending to its southern opening at the St. Lucie Inlet differed significantly from the heartland St. Johns culture area to the north in a number of ways (Rouse 1951; Goggin 1952b). These included the apparent absence of corn production (noted in Spanish accounts), the unrelatedness of languages, and differences in religion and social make-up during the Spanish periods of contact. Archaeologically, however, the only observable differences existed in the inclusion of significant amounts of sand-tempered wares in the ceramic assemblages in the Indian River area. Nonetheless, Rouse (1951) considered the region a distinct archaeological area and suggested the cultural periods be classified as Malabar I and II with minor subdivisions. These periods roughly paralleled those of the St. Johns periods, with St. Johns Check Stamped pottery likewise serving as the *terminus ante quem* for the Malabar II period. Since there were so few discernible differences between the two regions, however, the Indian River area concept was not widely adopted by later archaeologists.

It was not until the late 1970s and 1980s that interest in the area by professional archaeologists forced a reappraisal of the region. A series of contract and research reports questioned the inclusion of the region within the larger east and central Florida archaeological culture area. Some associated the sand-tempered plain ceramics with the Glades and Belle Glade cultures to the south of the region and felt the area should be linked to the Glades culture area (Chance 1980). Like Rouse, others, seeing the predominance of sand-tempered ceramics in the southern portion of the region and the predominance of St. Johns ceramics in the northern portion of the region, viewed the Indian River area as a transitional zone between the Glades and St. Johns areas (Campbell et al. 1984; Levy 1984). Others included it by default in the St. Johns region (cf. Milanich and Fairbanks 1980).

A few ceramic studies have taken another tack. Instead of linking the ceramics of the region to those of surrounding cultural areas, they have started from ground zero and attempted to establish precisely what kinds of ceramics are found in the area. For example, there is some confusion and much subjectivity in separating sand-tempered plain pottery from Glades pottery. A sherd should not be called Glades ware simply because it is found close to the Glades region and exhibits coarse to medium-grain temper in its paste. Because nearly every region in Florida has its own sand-tempered wares, it should be expected that the Indian River region would have its own distinctive plain sand-tempered potteries also. Technological analyses have been designed to separate paste categories and the coarseness of sand tempering on plain sherds in the area, in order to overcome the presumptions of cultural affiliation that arise when plain pottery is compared to what has previously been described as Glades and Belle Glade pottery. In addition, these studies have been employed to determine if the ceramics were made locally or had to have been traded in. So far analyses suggest that both St. Johns and sand-tempered wares of the region could have come from indigenous clay sources. In addition, base technological studies of Indian River ceramics have been established for future comparison to the St. Johns region ceramics and Glades areas ceramics (Cordell 1985; Espenshade 1983).

Burial patterns are not well known but some seem to resemble traits of the St. Johns region—i.e., sand burial mounds with a variety of interment types including the spoke pattern, group burial, individual burial, flexed, extended, and bundled burials with few grave goods in the earlier Malabar I and more in the Malabar II. Unlike the St. Johns area, however, non-mounded cemeteries have been identified at Gauthier (8BR193) and Cemetery Hammock (8BR252) within the upper St. Johns River valley.

Due in part to the changing nature of the river as its headwaters are approached, the Indian River area exhibits site types that differ in structure from those found in the St. Johns heartland. Mounded shell middens are composed principally of freshwater mussel rather than snail. Large "village" shell middens occur less frequently and are replaced to a large extent by non-shell, smaller "household" middens composed primarily of large amounts of bone from aquatic animals. These "household" middens are spread randomly throughout the marsh (rather than linearly along river channels) because recognizable channels disappear within the marsh of the St. Johns headwaters. Dramatic differences in shellfish use, sizes and kinds of exploited fish, and inferred technologies and economic social units occur as the subsistence economy of the freshwater Indian River area becomes one dependent upon marsh resources rather than the riverine, lake, and swamp resources characteristic of the St. Johns people to the north. Unlike the model of the St. Johns area, there is strong evidence of cold weather occupation of the interior portion of the Indian River area (Russo 1986). Dry land, especially in the wetter growing season, is scarce in these interior areas, and no evidence of corn agriculture has been recovered.

The Central Lake District

In many ways the little-studied central lake district (the region from southern Marion, Lake, Seminole, and Orange Counties extending down into Osceola County) is similar to the Indian River area. Since St. Johns ceramics have been recovered at many sites and are most often the dominant ceramic, the area has been included within the east and central Florida region. Also, like the Indian River area, large numbers of Glades and Belle Glade ceramics are typically found at these sites, increasing in number in the most southern portions of the region. Sand burial mounds have been identified but few have been investigated (cf. Sears 1959b). Both large and small freshwater shell and black earth middens have been identified along the Kissimmee River and its associated lakes (Austin and Hansen 1988). Subsistence and seasonality studies have not been undertaken in areas west of the St. Johns River. Evidence of agriculture has not been found in the region. Shorelines of the many lakes and streams most often yield small scatters of St. Johns and other ceramics and lithic debitage (e.g., Austin and Hansen 1988; Hardin et al. 1984).

The current model for the Indian River posits the cultures there, at least in the realm of subsistence, as autonomous and not venturing into the central lake district. The model for the St. Johns heartland area sees parts of the central lake district as being occasionally used by St. Johns peoples for hunting. However, that model views the people along the major streams and lakes as following an evolutionary course similar in terms of ceramic manufacture and subsistence economy to the St. Johns populations along the St. Johns River. The situation is unclear.

To help solve this problem, Austin suggests that the presence of chalky St. Johns ware needs to be examined locally in the central lake district to determine whether chalky and sand-tempered ware manufacture are independent phenomena unconnected with either the St. Johns region or the Okeechobee basin. That is, we must consider whether the ceramic technology, the subsistence pattern, the settlement pattern, and other cultural traits differed sufficiently as to require separate classification from the St. Johns area either for cultural or heuristic archaeological reasons. On the other hand, in terms of ceramics, the central lake area seems roughly to parallel the patterns to the east. That is, purer St. Johns ceramic assemblages are found in the northern portion of the region (Sears 1959b), and that area may be more closely associated with the heartland St. Johns area, whereas in the south, a gradation of Glades type ceramics parallels the developments in the Indian River area. It may be useful to study separate areas of the central lake region in terms of their closest cultural affiliations.

Important Sites

Five St. Johns sites are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. These are the Grand site (8DU1) in the northeast coast area and the Ross Hammock Midden and Mound (8VO130-131), Mount Royal (8PU35), Nocoroco (8VO82), and Turtle Mound sites in the St. Johns heartland. In the St. Johns heartland, other important sites include the Palmer, Fletcher, Hontoon Island, Rollestown Midden, Edgewater Landing (8VO115, 8VO1705), Green Mound, Castle Windy, Crescent Beach (8SJ43), and Cotten (8VO83) sites. Important sites in the Indian River area are the Alderman, Gauthier, Cemetery Hammock (8BR252), South Indian Field (8BR23), Middle Indian Field (8BR21), Mulberry Midden (8OR9), Moccasin Island (8BR16), Fort Taylor (8OS3-4), and Dead Bird Island (8BR47) sites. The other two areas are less well-known, but a few important sites can be listed: the Santa Maria de Guale (8NA41), Liana (8DU136), Chapelle Midden (8DU1542), Fort George Island Midden (8DU5) sites, 8DU634 and 8DU669 in the northeast area, and the Reedy Creek Mound (8OS51), Mound near Brown's Landing (8OS21), Fischer (8PO1044), Walker Mound (8OS102), Black Snake Mound (8PO1046), Zellwood (8OR17), and MacKenzie Mound sites in the central lake district.

Research Questions

Gaps in the database. Much archaeological work on the St. Johns region of east and central Florida was done in the 1960s and earlier. That work, plus a limited number of ethnohistoric accounts, has provided today's archaeologists with a working hypothesis for testing the seasonal movements, subsistence strategies, and social complexities for peoples of the St. Johns region. Unfortunately, much archaeology currently undertaken in the region have been short term cultural resource assessments. The political and economic necessities of such work often results in minimalist, formulaic descriptions which plug into the hypothesized model without testing its accuracy. With better recovery and new archaeometric techniques available today, we should expect our predictions and assumptions about St. Johns behavior and settlement to be challenged.

Material culture and chronology. We need to develop technological attribute lists for chalky and sand-tempered plain ceramics across the regions in order to compare intra-regional differences in ceramic manufacture. This will help determine cultural boundaries more precisely. In addition, formal chronologies of ceramic, lithic, and other tool types need to be developed for each of the four sub-regions to determine whether the rate and kinds of artifact change are uniform throughout the region.

Subsistence and seasonality. Despite the great commonality of cultural traits throughout the area, we need to treat the specific sub-regions outlined above as separate and autonomous units of study in order to illuminate specific regional adaptations. Seasonal, subsistence, and settlement patterns are not uniform throughout the region. Apparently corn was not produced in large parts of the region, and we need to search for evidence of agricultural production throughout the region in order to determine its extent and importance. We do not know the seasonal movements within or across environmental zones and we need to develop and use biometric techniques to determine seasonality. We do not have a clear picture of what resources were exploited at different site types. Since all cultures in the area relied upon aquatic resources, we need to employ fine-grained recovery techniques in determining subsistence patterns so as not to overlook the contribution of shrimp, nursery fishes, and other small but numerous animals common to aquatic environments.

Settlement patterns and social organization. We need to investigate changes in burial patterns and settlement structure between the early and late St. Johns periods. As it stands now, few differences—aside from the adoption of check stamping on pottery and the inclusion of different trade items—separate St. Johns I from St. Johns II. We need to examine the extent to which the dramatic social changes occurring in the Southeast affected cultural development in east and central Florida. In order to accomplish this we need to determine site structure from all St. Johns periods.

What constitutes a village?

How do we separate a midden visited seasonally over a number of years from one occupied year-round?

Do differences in burial patterns reflect social complexity?

Is the paucity of grave goods in early St. Johns burial mounds an indicator of a more egalitarian society than later St. Johns cultures? What does it reflect?

Border regions. Border regions in archaeology are extremely difficult to deal with. When traits from two or more cultures are present at a site and are apparently unstratified or otherwise non-patterned in their distribution, the nature of the relationship among the cultures is hard to determine.

Do the border zones and mixed deposition of artifacts represent a fluctuating border between cultures, each alternately advancing and retreating geographically in synchronization to the influence of the other culture? If so, then the border areas may belong simultaneously (at least in archaeological time) to two or more culture areas and may be rightfully termed "transitional" areas.

Or are the border zones separate culture regions with real social and political groups distinct from bordering cultures, but exhibiting traits commonly associated with their neighbors?

Preservation Goals

Locate unrecorded St. Johns sites, especially in areas endangered by development or erosion and in the central lake district.

Excavate sites of various types, e.g., small artifact scatters, shell middens, shell mounds, burial mounds, and pyramidal mounds.

Evaluate sites of various types to determine their National Register eligibility.

Nominate to the National Register sites representing various types. Because some sites are quite large and extensive and include mounds and middens, some sites may be grouped in archaeological districts.

