



WALTON

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Clockwise from top left:

1. Darlington, Florida, early 1900s, Courtesy of Baker Block Museum, photographer unknown. Edited by Sam Carnley.
2. *View of a turpentine still in Glendale or Gaskin*. 1904. Black & white photoprint, 4 x 6 in. State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory. <<https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/42107>>, accessed 28 June 2017 by Sam Carnley.
3. William Lewis (Luke) Hurst Family, Fleming Creek/Clear Springs area, north Walton County, ca 1894, from “The Heritage of Walton County, Florida,” p. 190.
4. Old Paxton High School, “1961-62 Paxtonian” Year Book, photographer unknown. Edited by Sam Carnley
5. Walton County Heritage Museum, photo and editing by Sam Carnley.
6. Gladys D. Milton (1924-1999), Midwife, Flowersview/Paxton, photo by her daughter, Maria Milton. Also in “The Heritage of Walton County, Florida,” p. 249, and the September 2018 Newsletter at <http://www.waltoncountyheritage.org/GenSoc/NL2018Sep.pdf> Edited by Sam Carnley.
7. Lake Jackson, South Side, in Paxton City Limits, photo and editing by Sam Carnley.
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9. Old Freeport School, constructed ca 1908, burned 1943. Photo from “The Heritage of Walton County, Florida,” p. 45. Photographer unknown. Edited by Sam Carnley.
10. *Floralia Saw Mill Company's engine number 3 - Paxton, Florida*. 1907. Black & white photonegative, 4 x 5 in. State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory. Photographer unknown. <<https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/146972>>, accessed 7 September 2019 and edited by Sam Carnley. [Built in 1873 and Originally owned by New York, Ontario and Western Railroad Company as engine number 60; then owned by Southern Iron and Equipment Company as engine number 568 in 1907; then owned by Florala Saw Mill Company as engine number 3 on March 3, 1907; returned to Southern Iron and Equipment Company and number changed to 915 on March 13, 1913; then owned by Louisiana Saw Mill Company as engine 50 in May, 1913.]

The **Walton County Heritage Association, Inc.** is an 501 (C) 3 Florida Not for Profit Corporation Recognized by the IRS as a Public Charity Organization for Tax Deductible Donations.

The Walton County Heritage Association was organized for four main purposes:

- To promote the preservation and restoration of buildings and other landmarks of historical interest within Walton County;
- To maintain the Walton County Heritage Museum to preserve the heritage of Walton County for the education and enjoyment of current and future generations by collecting, preserving, and exhibiting artifacts and information from the time of its original inhabitants to the present;
- To foster and enhance the development, education, and sense of history which is unique to Walton County; and
- To secure cooperation and unity of action between individual citizens, businesses, and other groups as may be necessary to fulfill these purposes.

The Association depends upon the support of its members and the business community to accomplish its goals. Annual dues are \$25 for individuals, \$40 for families and \$100 for corporate memberships.

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Member Benefits:

- **Automatic** membership in the **Walton County Heritage Museum** and the **Walton County Genealogy Society**.
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- **Discounts** on Special Events
- **The Museum Research Center:** Members get free copies of documents and use of the Genealogy Society computer when the Museum is open.
- **The Museum Gift Shop:** Members receive discounts on books, special publications, postcards, photographs, CDs, DVDs, videos, and gift items.
- **Free subscriptions** to the WCHA Newsletter and Journal.

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Walton County's Native American Heritage

By Sam Carnley

General knowledge of Native Americans in Walton County began with the Euchee Indians who invited the first white settlers to make their homes near their village in that part of the County now known as Euchee Valley. An account of the first meeting between the natives and European Americans and their subsequent settlement comes from John L. McKinnon's "History of Walton County."¹ An even earlier but less well known history of the County's Indian residents is found in records of the Spaniards during their Florida territorial period of the 1600s. In their effort to bring civilization to inhabitants of the new world, the Spaniards placed great emphasis on the use of religion to make the savages over in the image of the white man as a means of enhancing their malleability to white rule. Those in the forefront of this Christianization of the natives were Friars of the Franciscan Order of the Catholic Church, then the dominant religion of Spain.

By the mid-1670s, the friars had a well-established mission in the Apalachee Indian village of Anhayca located in the vicinity of today's Tallahassee. Known originally as San Luis De Talimali, and later, San Luis de Apalachee as it is called today, it was the western most mission from St. Augustine before 1674.² In the early part of that year, two friars from San Luis ventured further west across the Chipola River in today's Jackson County where they established the missions of San Nicolas de Tolentino and San Carlos in villages of the Chacato Indians.³ Though encouraged early on by their success in converting many of the Chacatos, the friars ultimately failed in their efforts at bringing the entirety of the two villages into the Christian faith due to a rebellious old half-Chisca, half-Chacato chief named Diocsali. Becoming enraged at the Friars' insistence that he divest himself of three of his four wives because as a Christian he was allowed only one, he conspired with others of the tribe to murder Fray Rodrigo de la Barrera, priest of the village of San Carlos.⁴

The conspirators attempted the murder but failed, and Friar Barrera lived to see justice brought against his attackers.⁵ The incident caused a rift between the Chacato friends and enemies of the priest such that they could no longer live together in peace and abandoned their villages, ending the friars' effort to convert them to Christianity. The ring leader of the revolt, Diocsali, was arrested and tried at San Luis in October 1675 for complicity in plotting the murder. On being convicted, the Spanish Lt. Governor sentenced him to permanent exile from his home village and ordered his imprisonment in St. Augustine.⁶ In 1776 while still in prison, he faced new charges stemming from night attacks by unknown raiders on San Luis and surrounding villages. In October 1776 Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar ordered an inquiry at St. Augustine into allegations that Diocsali was behind the attacks. At the inquiry it came out that while in prison he was permitted visitors. Among them were his Chisca kinsmen who carried back to their tribe his surreptitious exhortations to make war on the Christian Apalachees and Spaniards. At his urging they had indeed carried out the raids

A Chacato witness at the inquiry not only confirmed the Chiscas as guilty of the raids, but also where they could be found. They had moved from their former village on the River of Sabacola (the

¹ John L. McKinnon, *History of Walton County*, (Originally published by The Byrd Printing Co. Atlanta, Ga. 1911, subsequently by Palmetto Books, Gainesville, FL., 1968, with additions © by Kallman Publishing Co. Gainesville, FL. 1968), 14-19. Hereafter, McKinnon, 1968.

² John H. Hann, *Apalachee, The Land between the Rivers*, (University Presses of Florida, 15 NW 15th Street, Gainesville, FL. 1988), 13, 27. Hereafter, Hann, 1988.

³ John H. Hann, *Visitations and Revolts in Florida, 1656-1695*, (Florida Archaeology, Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, Division of Historical Resources, The Capitol, Tallahassee, FL. 32399-0250, 1993), 34-35. Hereafter, Hann, 1993.

⁴ Hann, 1993: 37-38.

⁵ Ibid., 43-44.

⁶ Ibid., 53-56.

Chattahoochee River) above the Florida state line in today's Houston County, Alabama,⁷ to a place two days west of the deserted Chacato villages where they built a new settlement surrounded by a palisade which the witness described in detail.⁸

At the conclusion of the inquiry which established his culpability in those disturbances the Governor pronounced Diocsaile guilty and sentenced him to permanent exile in New Spain (Mexico). The sentencing took place in January of 1677. In carrying it out he was sent to Mexico and being of advanced age he died there within a short time after his arrival.⁹

Armed with the knowledge of who had attacked their villages and from where, head chiefs of San Luis and other villages mounted an expedition against the Chiscas. A militia of slightly less than 200 men consisting mostly of Apalachee and Christian Chacato Indians was assembled to march against the palisade. Lieutenant Governor of Apalachee and commandant of the San Luis garrison of the Spanish territorial military, Captain Juan Fernandez de Florencia, gave the militia his blessings and armed them with 30 harquebuses and ammunition to augment their archery and other weapons. He did not, however, offer to lead the expedition or send any soldiers under his command with the militia. It was exclusively an Indian undertaking, conceived and executed entirely without Spaniard involvement.¹⁰

On 2 September, 1677, the militia set out and after a march of 18 days, found the palisade and succeeded in defeating its defenders and burning the structure and houses within to the ground with a loss of 5 dead and 40 wounded. After remaining at the site a few days to replenish their provisions and attend their wounded they began the return trip to San Luis where they arrived on 5 October, 1677, some 33 days after leaving it. Shortly after their arrival they gave a detailed verbal report of the expedition to Captain de Florencia on which he prepared a written narrative. But its date of 30th August 1678 left an unexplained gap of 11 months between the time of its preparation and the expedition's return.¹¹ Landmarks described along the expedition's path in the narrative suggest the palisade's possible location was on the east bank of Big Alaqua Creek in the vicinity of its confluence with Little Alaqua Creek a short distance north-west of Freeport. Confirming that as the site though may be difficult or impossible as it is now in a restricted area of Eglin Air Force Base and off limits to the public.¹²

According to the narrative the palisade stood within walking distance of the settlement of the Pensacola tribe who "lived by the sea." The distance from the confluence of the two creeks to the head of Alaqua Bayou, the nearest place connecting to the sea (Choctawhatchee Bay), is about four miles. In the 1940s Archaeologist Gordon Willey, made an extensive survey of archaeological sites along the Florida Gulf Coast. On the east side of Alaqua Bayou he identified three sites lined up from the head of the Bayou to its mouth on the Bay. Indian artifacts he identified from the sites consisted of flaked stone items and pottery sherds, as well as midden deposits of oyster and clam shells. He dated the items to the Weeden Island and Fort Walton cultures, the time periods of which were 100-1,000 AD and 1,000 to European Contact, respectively. As the attack on the palisade occurred well within the European Contact period, the Indians involved were of the Fort Walton Culture except the Pensacolas who represented their own culture.¹³ Archaeologists have identified the Chiscas (Eucheas), Chacatos and Pensacolas as early inhabitants of Walton County.¹⁴

⁷ Dale Cox, *The History of Jackson County Florida, Volume One*, (Privately published, Dale Cox, 2008), 26.

⁸ Hann, 1993: 60-61.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 69-70.

¹⁰ Hann, 1998: 186.

¹¹ John Reed Swanton, *Early History Of The Creek Indians And Their Neighbors*, (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 73, Washington D. C., 1918), 300-304. Hereafter, Swanton, 1918.

¹² Dale Cox, personal correspondence, 27 July 2014.

¹³ Swanton, 1918: 302.

¹⁴ Hann, 1993: Maps, cover and p. 2

Throughout recorded history the Chiscas have been known by several names; among them were Chichimeco, Yuchi, Uche and Euchee.¹⁵ John Reed Swanton made references to Yuchi being associated with Ogolaughoo, aka Hogologe in 1717. He mentions a “Rio de los Chiscas (River of the Chiscas), 5 leagues from Pensacola,” in 1718; and “Choctaw Hatchee Eucheas,” with the Tukebahchee, Upper Creeks (in Alabama), in 1761.¹⁶ He further states that Yuchi was synonymous with Chiska or Chisca.¹⁷ In reference to migrations of the Yuchis, Swanton writes:

. . . Yuchi once inhabited some territory in the neighborhood of the southern Appalachian Mountains, from which a large part of them moved during the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries, invading the low countries to the south of them and settling in several different places. Two or three such waves of migration can be made out with certainty, the first resulting in a settlement on the Choctawhatchee River, in the western part of the State of Florida; a second giving birth to the Yuchi settlement on Savannah River above Augusta that later moved to the Chattahoochee River . . .¹⁸

The Chiscas (Yuchi, Uche, or Euchee) on the Chattahoochee (Chata Uche) River (Sabacola) may well have been the same tribe, or its forebears, of the palisaded village previously mentioned. The survivors from the village seem to have moved back to their former home on the Chattahoochee River and assimilated with the Creeks. The Yuchis he references as being on the Choctawhatchee River may have been ancestors of the Sam Story tribe of Eucheas encountered by Walton County’s first white settlers and is alleged as such by McKinnon, who writes that Chief Sam Story of the Eucheas claimed tribal branches similar to those mentioned by Swanton above. In a speech the Chief made prior to his band leaving Walton County, he supposedly said that Eucheas from the same line of his tribe settled on the Savannah River in Georgia, and some of them came as near as the Apalachicola River (of which the Chattahoochee is a tributary).¹⁹

During the County’s prehistoric era, ancestors of the above tribes, or of other tribes they may have replaced, are thought by archaeologists to have arrived in north Florida and possibly the county as early as a few centuries short of 15 thousand years ago. Archaeologists previously placed humans in Florida no earlier than 12 thousand BC,²⁰ but recently found evidence indicating their presence 2 and a half millennia longer than that.

This revelation comes with the discovery of artifacts from the Page-Ladson site, a sink hole in the Aucilla River east of Tallahassee dating to 14,550 years ago. The age of the artifacts found in context with extinct animal remains bearing evidence of butchering, confirmed a contemporaneous human presence that dethrones the Clovis people as the earliest humans to live in the state’s prehistoric environs.²¹

The Clovis were Paleoindians, thought before this more recent discovery, to be Florida’s first human residents. The period of their culture spanned 13,000 to 8,000 BCE (Before Common Era, same as

¹⁵ Hann, 1988: 185n6.

¹⁶ Swanton, 1918: 301.

¹⁷ Swanton, 1918: 288.

¹⁸ Ibid, 289.

¹⁹ McKinnon, 1968: 75-76, also Wikipedia contributors, "Yuchi Town Site," *Wikipedia, The Free*

Encyclopedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Yuchi_Town_Site&oldid=896298431 (accessed December 9, 2019). Also Yuchi Town, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Yuchi_Town_Site#/media/File:Yuchi_Town.jpg, accessed 12/16/2019.

²⁰ Jerald T. Milanich, *FLORIDA'S INDIANS, from Ancient Times to the Present*, (University Press of Florida, 15 Northwest 15th Street, Gainesville, FL, 32611, 1998), 1. Hereafter, Milanich, 1998..

²¹ Halligan, et al., *Pre-Clovis occupation 14,550 years ago at the Page-Ladson site, Florida and the peopling of the Americas*, (Science Magazine, 13 May 2016), <https://advances.sciencemag.org/content/advances/2/5/e1600375.full.pdf>

BC).²² They lived during the time the megafauna, meaning extra-large animals that once roamed Florida became extinct about 12 thousand years ago, which evidence from the Page-Ladson site closely confirmed.

Climate driven environmental change occurring faster than the animals could adapt are theorized as partly responsible for their die off. It is also speculated that their overhunting by Paleoindians who were highly proficient at dispatching them contributed to their disappearance. Among the over-sized game the Paleoindians hunted was the Columbian mammoth, closely resembling but larger than modern day elephants now found nowhere else in the wild but Africa and Asia. These prehistoric ancestors of the elephant are known to have inhabited Walton County because one of them left a jaw tooth at Morrison Springs in the eastern part of the county.



Figure 1. The fossilized lower left jaw molar of a Columbian Mammoth found at Morrison Springs. It was donated to the Walton County Heritage Museum by James A. & Jo Ann Graves and Family in 2012. (Photo by the Author)

In the early 1960s divers retrieved the tooth from the spring along with other ancient artifacts. Owners of the spring at the time were the Graves family who had the item identified by the Smithsonian Institution. In 2012 they donated it to the Walton County Heritage Museum where it is now on display. How the animal died is unknown. Paleoindian hunters may have killed it, or one of the many mega-sized predators, of which there were many who shared the territory with the mammoths.

Old age or some disease could also have been the cause, as could the loss of its food source from sudden changes in weather patterns which wiped out the browse and grass crucial to its survival. The climate now is incomparable to that of the late Pliocene era, or Ice Age as it was also known, during which the mammoths lived. Glaciers covering the upper half of the North American continent extended to the north polar cap and locked up so much water in the ice that sea levels were more than 300 feet lower than now, raising the County and state's elevation to a height far surpassing its present highest point of 345 feet above sea level at Britton Hill in Lakewood.²³ The distance from Britton Hill to the Gulf of Mexico is 50 miles. Due to lower sea levels, the distance 12 thousand years ago was twice that.

The county's modern average annual temperature is about 67-70 degrees Fahrenheit,²⁴ possibly 10 or more degrees higher than during the early Paleo era. At those lower temperatures atmospheric conditions were less conducive of inland rain. That, combined with a low groundwater table resulted in a semi-arid landscape with a deficit of surface water. The streams and standing water now so prevalent throughout the county were then unknown. In picturing the places where Paleo people and animals went to drink as described by archaeologists, the image coming to mind is that of an oasis, not in the stricter sense of being in a desert, but as in a place scarce of water as then existed. They typically occurred as depressions in lime rock supplied by either rain or artesian aquifer flows,²⁵ of which Morrison, or any of the many other springs in the county may have been examples. Although

²² Judith A. Bense, *ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES, PALEOINDIAN TO WORLD WAR I*, (Academic Press, Inc., 525 B Street, Suite 1900, San Diego, Cal. 1994), 42. Hereafter, Bense, 1994.

²³ List of Florida's highest points, Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Florida%27s_highest_points, downloaded by Sam Carnley, 11/6/2019.

²⁴ Weather Atlas, Florida U.S.A., The Climate of Florida, https://www.weather-us.com/en/florida-usa-climate#climate_text_1, downloaded by Sam Carnley, 11/30/2019. Also, U. S. Climate data, Pensacola, Florida, <https://www.usclimatedata.com/climate/pensacola/florida/united-states/usfl0715>, downloaded 11/30/2019.

²⁵ Milanich, 1998: 3-4.

the drinking places were sparse and widely dispersed, it is certain foraging animals knew where they were and ended their day's feeding at the closest ones.

It is certain that the Paleoindians also knew where the waterholes were and camped by them for the same reason the animals sought them out. Another motive different from that of the animals though, except possibly for the carnivores, prompted the Paleoindians' visits to the watering places, and that was to hunt animals found there for food. They likely set up camp only after a successful kill which they needed to process before moving on to the next waterhole. Their leaving the site afterwards would be necessary because as long as they remained no animals would approach it for the reason that, then as now, wild animals had learned to fear humans. Bringing down the animal required the hunters to employ some strategy, unknown today, that enabled them to approach it close enough to bring their hand-held weapons to bear while minimizing the risk of injury or death to themselves. As previously noted, mammoths were larger than modern elephants and every bit as dangerous.

The Paleoindians on the other hand, who had evolved as predators themselves, proved equally dangerous to the mammoths as they are credited in part at least, as contributing to the animals' extinction. Among Paleoindians artifacts archaeologist have discovered is a spear component called a foreshaft. This is a short length of ivory, about 6 or 8 inches long and as big around as a man's finger to which a stone spear point was affixed. The back end of the piece was inserted into a shallow socket bored into the end of a long wooden shaft to form a mounted spear. In use, the hunter wielding it rushed toward the animal and plunged the spear into a vital organ. He then pulled the spear handle free of the foreshaft, leaving it lodged in the animal. The hunter rearmed his spear by inserting another foreshaft into the socket, making it ready for a second round of action which he deployed again if the animal failed to go down on the first try.²⁶ The hunter may also have thrown his spear at animals beyond arms reach and used a long tether attaching the shaft to his wrist to retrieve it.

These "socket spears" were more technologically advanced than those lacking the separating foreshaft for several reasons. First, the foreshaft mounted point featured a long, slim profile making it easier to pierce an animal's tough skin and penetrate deeply into its chest cavity, making it more likely to strike a vital organ. Second, the ability to separate the weapon's wooden handle from the foreshaft after impaling the prey enabled the hunter to retain possession of his weapon and use it repeatedly as necessary. By contrast, the bulk of the thong wrapping and pitch fixative permanently binding the point of a spear without a foreshaft to its wooden handle impeded its ability to easily penetrate an animal's skin. It also limited its penetration to the few inches of depth equaling the blade's length from the end of the shaft, which might be insufficient to reach a vital organ. And third, if the spear point penetrated deep enough to become lodged, violent actions of the animal could wrench the shaft from the hunter's hands, depriving him of his weapon.

The efficiency of these weapons certainly could have been key in the Paleoindians' role of driving the mammoth and other large animals of the ice age to extinction, if in fact, they did. The foreshafts have been found in several Florida locations and at Paleoindian sites in other states. None of however, have been reported in Walton County.

In fact, very little evidence of Paleoindians has been found in the county. The few of its artifacts known from these ancient people came mostly from around Choctawhatchee Bay and River, where archaeological sites have been identified and extensively investigated. Others may be submerged near those prehistoric oases which later became large flowing streams or bodies of water as inland water levels rose. Still more may lie undiscovered in sites beneath the Gulf of Mexico in the 50 mile wide area between the present and prehistoric coast lines that was dry land until about 7000 years ago.

²⁶ Bense, 1994: 45.

Although evidence of them is scarce, they were present in counties around Walton, and in every neighboring state. The animals they hunted were in the county, as the Morrison Springs tooth proves. In view of evidence they were all around the county, it would be counter intuitive not to believe they were also within the county.

They descended from the first people to arrive in North America from Asia who crossed over a land bridge between today's Russia and Alaska, likely thousands of years before evidence of their presence in Florida. Archaeological evidence from Florida and other states indicates successive phases or cultures of human habitation evolved from the prehistoric to the historic period, the latter of which began with the earliest records of European contact with Native Americans.

Archaeologists define specific prehistoric cultures by artifacts unique to each of them. Those unique to the Paleoindian Clovis culture were expertly crafted spear points named for the place of their discovery in Clovis, New Mexico. Other artifacts associated with this culture include "tool kits," of stone and bone items used by the Clovis people in fashioning their spear points and for other purposes in their day-to-day lives. Those artifacts are limited to objects of stone, bone and ivory which have endured for millennia. As previously noted, the Clovis culture spanned the period of ca 13,000 to 8,000 BCE. Archaeologists have inferred from these artifacts and animal fossils associated with them, that the Paleoindians were nomadic hunters consisting of small family bands who followed the seasonal migrations of the animals they relied on for food, until those of the megafauna became extinct. Near the end of the stage however, these people had migrated into the southeast including Florida and probably Walton County. They still relied heavily on animals such as deer, turkey and others which remain today for food, and supplemented their diet with fish and plants but were less mobile due to more plentiful food resources in specific locations. Distinctly different Paleo type points appearing mid-stage of this culture, and more widely distributed in Florida are the Suwannee and Simpson. The last Paleoindian subculture was the Dalton from about 8,500 to 8,000 BCE. Artifacts unique to it are the Dalton point and adz.²⁷ No pottery (ceramics) has been found in association with this culture from which is presumed that the art remained unknown.

The next culture is called the Archaic period or stage, spanning the millennia of 8,000 to 1,000, BCE. It is further subdivided into the early, middle and late stages, the last of which is dated 3,000 to 1,000 BCE.²⁸ The stone points and associated artifacts of this stage differ enough from those of the Paleo-Clovis-Dalton to warrant classification as a new culture.

It spanned the longest time of any North American culture, and its seemingly interminable unfolding brought changes of an epic scale in the climate and geography. Gulf waters rose with glacier melt, and between 4-5 thousand years ago had encroached inland to form the new coast line now only half its former distance from Britton Hill.²⁹ Aquifers fully charged by abundant rainfall and glacial runoff burst through to the surface. The rising water pushed up through prehistoric inland water holes, transforming them into aquatic sinkholes, ponds, lakes, marshes and wetlands. Their spill over carved the many stream beds now present through which the water drained back into the Gulf.³⁰ A more temperate climate influenced changes in plant life from those palatable to the Paleo-herbivores to those unpalatable, contributing to their extinction. Those supplanting species, consisting of

²⁷ Bense, 1994: 54-55, 58-59.

²⁸ Jerald T. Milanich, *ARCHAEOLOGY of Precolumbian Florida*, (University Press of Florida, 15 Northwest 15th Street, Gainesville, Fl, 3261, 1994), 63, 75-76, 85. Hereafter Milanich, 1994.

²⁹ Thomas Rupert, *Sea-Level Rise in Florida-the Facts and Science*, (University of Florida, 2013), 1 https://www.flseagrant.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/SLR-Fact-Sheet_dual-column-letterhead_8.2.13_pdf.pdf downloaded by Sam Carnley, 11/29/2019.

³⁰ Milanich, 1998: 12

hardwoods and conifers with associated shrubs, grasses and others were the same as those commonly seen throughout the county today.³¹

People of the Archaic period followed the customs of their Paleoindian ancestors as hunter - gatherers, and like them, their post megafauna subsistence came from hunting the same animals, supplemented by gathering of fruit, nuts, berries, roots and shellfish. These food sources tended to be more stable, in more narrowly defined areas, and were where the Indians increasingly settled over longer periods, typically, along the coast and inland river valleys.³² During the 2,500 years of the late Archaic period, the weather became wetter and milder, to about where it is now. Increasing shellfish populations due to a more favorable climate became a staple of people living near the water.³³ The many shell middens they left along the coast are evidence of the extent to which they relied on shellfish as food. Near the end of the late Archaic stage, pottery began to appear. Owing to its unique plant fiber tempering, it is readily distinguished from pottery of later cultures.³⁴

Somewhat more generous than their Paleoindian forebears in the artifacts they left, the Archaic people bestowed posterity not only with examples of their unique projectile points, but also sherds of their fiber tempered pottery, and shell middens. A number of their sites have been documented in the county. Deena Woodward, a University of South Florida archaeology graduate student, published a thesis in 2012 in which she identified eight of them. One is at Piney Point on the east side of the mouth of Alaquá Bayou, one is at Grayton Beach on the Gulf and one is at Four Mile Village, also on the Gulf. The other five are on the south shore of Choctawhatchee Bay and are located at Hogtown Bayou/Pickens; east of Alligator Point; Shoreline, near Miramar Beach; Eden Park, and Huett Bayou, East. In the aggregate, the sites represent all three phases of the Archaic period.³⁵

At the end of the Archaic period around 1,000 B. C., the life styles of the people had changed to such an extent that their culture was no longer identifiable to that period. Their pottery became so distinctive and easily recognizable that archaeologists viewed it as evidence of a new culture, which they named Deptford, after a site of that name in the Savannah River estuary in Georgia.³⁶ Even though their culture had evolved, their hereditary lineage remained unchanged. They were just the latest in an unbroken chain of people descended directly from the Paleoindians. Their newly christened Deptford culture, a variant of the early Woodland stage, lasted from about 1000 B. C., to 200 A. D. in the Choctawhatchee Bay area.³⁷

Woodward identified nine Deptford sites in Walton County. Some duplicate the Archaic sites previously listed because artifacts from multiple cultures were found in several of the same sites. Those with Deptford artifacts include Pickens at Hogtown Bayou, Alligator Point, Shoreline near Miramar Beach, Ft. Walton Cemetery at Point Washington Mounds Cemetery Site, Four Mile Village on the Gulf, Eden Park, Grayton Beach, Huett Bayou East and Huett Bayou Mound.³⁸ Characteristics of this culture included a transition from fiber tempered pottery to that tempered with sand or grog, making it stronger and more suitable for decorating. The diet relied heavily on sea food, not unusual for people living mostly along the coast and they practiced the custom of burying their dead in mounds.

³¹ Bense, 1994: 105-106, 212-24,

³² Milanich, 1994, p. 63-64

³³ Ibid., 85.

³⁴ Ibid., 86.

³⁵ Woodward, Deena, "Paleo-Indian to Spanish Occupation around Choctawhatchee Bay, Northwest Florida, as Documented in a Private Artifact Collection" (2012). *Graduate Theses and Dissertations*, 15-19. Hereafter, Woodward, 2012. <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/4259> , downloaded by Sam Carnley, 6/18/2017.

³⁶ Milanich, 1994: 111-112.

³⁷ Ibid., 114.

³⁸ Woodward, 2012: 13.

About 200 A. D., the Deptford culture morphed into the Swift Creek and Santa Rosa Swift Creek cultures, again, due primarily to changes in pottery. Only one Walton County site representative of the Santa Rosa-Swift Creek culture was reported by Woodward, and it was at Grayton Beach.³⁹

Unique aspects of this culture included an increase in the building of mounds and more complex pottery decorations. Other ceramic items they made included clay pipes and human figurines. Culturally, this period was Late Woodland in chronology. Even before the Swift Creek cultures ended ca. 700 A. D., another generation of new and distinct pottery began appearing. Its uniqueness warranted the definition of yet another new culture. J. Walter Fewkes of the Smithsonian Institution named it in 1923 for pottery excavated from a burial mound on Weeden Island near Tampa Bay in Pinellas County.⁴⁰ The Weeden Island period corresponded with the Late Woodland period between the end of the Santa Rosa-Swift Creek of about 700 AD and the terminus of the Late Woodland about 900 AD. Woodward found a total of 15 Weeden Island sites around Choctawhatchee Bay. Nine however were located in Okaloosa County with only 6 found in Walton at Shoreline, Point Washington Mounds, Eden Park, Grayton Beach, Huett Bayou East and Huett Bayou Mound.⁴¹

Archaeologists designated the stage following the Woodland as the Mississippian. This culture spread from the lower Mississippi Valley to Illinois and covered the entire east and southeast of today's U. S. all the way to the Atlantic Ocean during the period of about 800 to 1600 AD, with regional variations.⁴² Its preeminent city was Cahokia, a town covering roughly 9 square miles featuring a central mound 100 feet high and resting on a base of 14 acres. The central mound was surrounded by lesser mounds which served ceremonial and burial purposes. A wooden palisade encircled the core complex within which ranking members of the society resided while those of lower rank lived in clustered houses outside the enclosure. Their houses were small one-room structures with thatched roofs and mats of woven fiber covering the walls. The city held 10 to 20 thousand people at its most populous point which rivaled that of London. Its residents farmed small plots, traded with other Native Americans, both inside and outside the city and hunted wild game. It was ruled by a chief and a cadre of elites, such as priests and others, who were of a higher rank than the common people. Sacrificial rituals were practiced in which dozens of people were slain. By about 1350, the people vanished and the city was deserted for reasons which remain a mystery.⁴³

Walton County's Mississippian culture lasted from about 1,000 to 1700 AD and consisted of two sub-cultures: the Pensacola and the Fort Walton. The differences between them were how they made their pottery and the extent of their agriculture practices. The Fort Walton group lived much the same as the Cahokians except on a much smaller scale and as far as is known, did not practice sacrificial rituals. The Pensacolas relied more on sea food due to their proximity to the Gulf and did little or no farming compared to the Fort Walton group.

During his 1940 archaeological survey of the Gulf Coast, Gordon Willey, who named the Fort Walton culture, evaluated and classified previous work done by others on archaeological sites around Choctawhatchee Bay and River.⁴⁴ A major amount of the earlier work came from Clarence B. Moore (1852-1936). The son of a wealthy Philadelphia businessman, Moore received a degree from Harvard

³⁹ Ibid., 22.

⁴⁰ Milanich, 1994: 156-157

⁴¹ Woodward, 2012: 24.

⁴² Mississippian Culture, Wikipedia,

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mississippian_culture#:~:targetText=The%20Mississippian%20culture%20was%20a,800%20to%201600%2C%20varying%20regionally.

⁴³ Cahokia, Wikipedia, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cahokia>, downloaded by Sam Carnley, 11/10/2019.

⁴⁴ Gordon R. Willey, *Archaeology of the Florida Gulf Coast*, (First published in 1949 by the Smithsonian Institution, second publishing by University Press of Florida, Gainesville, Fl., 1998), 1. Hereafter, Willey, 1998.

University. After traveling extensively throughout the world, he returned home to run the family business following his father's death. By the late 1880s, motivated by his desire to pursue a career in which he had long been interested, he turned management of the business over to others, and set out to become an archaeologist. He was not trained in that discipline, but he approached the work no less earnestly and diligently as someone so trained would have. He worked his way around the peninsula of Florida, and during 1901-02, visited the panhandle, where he located and excavated numerous sites in the area. He documented site locations, and photographed and described excavations down to the minutest details. His illustrations and descriptions were so exacting that forty years later, Willey used them to identify the artifacts as cultural types not even named when Moore excavated them.⁴⁵

While conducting his survey of Walton County sites, Willey revisited a number of those excavated by Moore in 1901. He referenced, but did not visit, or could not locate, several of Moore's sites, and he visited or excavated several sites Moore did not. Of the 22 sites reported, 1 was from the Deptford Culture, 11 were from Weeden Island, 11 were of the Fort Walton culture, 1 was Santa Rosa-Swift Creek, and 1 was of an undetermined culture. The aggregate total of site counts by individual cultures exceeds 22 because some sites yielded artifacts from multiple cultures. (Willey, 1998, p. 215-227)

The 22nd site was not actually a site per se. Categorizing it as "Other sites in Walton County," Willey wrote:

Inland from a location known as 'Euchee Valley,' Walton County, there is a site collection now in the Florida State Museum at Gainesville (72822-72831), consisting of about 40 sherds, this collection is predominantly of the Fort Walton Complex.

During the research preparatory to writing this history, an inquiry was made to the Florida Museum of Natural History, formerly the Florida State Museum Willey mentioned above, regarding any additional information on the "Euchee Valley" collection. Their response indicated that they still have the collection, but could add nothing to the information provided by Willey. It is unknown whether this collection was associated with the Sam Story Euchee band from John L. McKinnon's "History of Walton County."

The sites Willey describes as pure Weeden Island, or Weeden Island mixed with other cultures are: Villa Tasso, (WL-2): a clam shell midden. Periods are Weeden Island and Fort Walton. Not excavated by Moore. Big Hammock, (WL-3): an oyster and clam shell midden. Moore excavated burial mounds in the same area but Willy did not locate them in the 1940 survey. Fort Walton and Weeden Island are the cultures. Hick's Site, (WL-6): Hick's mound and village site, near the head of Alaqua Bayou on the east bank. Not excavated by Moore. Weeden Island is the culture. This is one of the three sites mentioned earlier in connection with the Apalachee attack on the Chisca Palisade in 1677.

Mack Bayou midden site, (WL-8): oyster and clam shell middens, not excavated by Moore. Site is mixed Fort Walton and Weeden Island cultures. Site west of Point Washington, (WL-11): shell midden and burial mounds. Willey surveyed the shell midden in 1940. Moore did not excavate it, but did excavate a burial mound on the site, which Willey did not find when he was there. Several burials were evidenced. Funerary pottery and strewn sherds of other pottery were present along with flaked chert points, and badly corroded copper relics. Site categorized as Weeden Island culture. Pippen's Lake, (WL-12): a sand burial mound by a small lake east of the Okaloosa-Walton County line. Moore excavated it. No burials present. Ceremonial ceramics and miscellaneous other artifacts found.

⁴⁵ David S. Brose and Nancy M. White, Editors, *The Northwest Florida Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore*, (University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1999), 42-123, 451-473. Hereafter Brose and White, 1999.

Willey did not find it in 1940. Site is Weeden Island culture. Basin Bayou, west, (WL-13): a burial mound excavated by Moore, but Willey did not visit it during his survey. Culture is Weeden Island complex.

Wise Bluff, (WL-17): a burial mound several miles up the Choctawhatchee River. Moore excavated it, finding burials, and pottery deposits. Culture is Weeden Island. Dead River, north mound, (WL-18): A burial mound 33 miles up the Choctawhatchee River. Moore's excavations revealed burials, and a pottery deposit. Site is Weeden Island. Dead River, south mound, (WL-19): a burial mound on the south side of the preceding site. Moore found burials and artifacts. Culture is Weeden Island. Douglas Bluff, (WL-20): a burial mound 54 miles up the Choctawhatchee River. Excavated by Moore, it contained burials, pottery, and other miscellanea. Site is Weeden Island culture.⁴⁶

Willey divided the Weeden Island culture into phases I and II based on pottery types. Woodward lumped Willey's two phases of Weeden Island culture into the middle and late Woodland period. But she used his terminology by identifying, as Weeden Island, sites at Shoreline near Miramar Beach; Ft. Walton Cemetery at Point Washington Mounds Cemetery Site; Eden Park; Grayton Beach; Huett Bayou East and Huett Bayou Mound.

The Fort Walton variant of the Mississippian culture previously noted spread across areas of the northwest Florida panhandle and seems to have evolved in-place from earlier resident Weeden Island cultures rather than supplementation by migrants into the region from other Mississippian areas to the west and north. In his 1940 survey, Willey identified 10 Fort Walton sites in Walton County. The first two, Villa Tasso and Big Hammock, were noted above in connection with the Weeden Island culture, which shared items of the Fort Walton period. Those that follow are exclusively Fort Walton: (3) McBee's Mound, (WL-4): on the property of Alton McBee, the site is northeast of Piney Point, inland from the shore of Alaqua Bayou. It is a sand mound Moore did not excavate, but unknown parties had. There was no evidence of any burials. It is another of the three sites noted in connection with the Apalachee attack on the Chisca Palisade in 1677; (4) Piney Point on Alaqua Bayou, (WL-5): an oyster and clam shell midden, not excavated by Moore. Sherds found by Willey. This is the last of the sites previously mentioned in reference to the Apalachee attack of 1677; (5) G. F. Forrest Site, (WL-7): two shell middens on the Hogtown Bayou property of G. F. Forrest. The site has never been excavated.

(6) Mack Bayou midden site, (WL-8): this site was also included among the Weeden Island sites above as sharing Fort Walton period artifacts. (7) Cemetery on Hogtown Bayou, (WL-9): in the vicinity of the Mack Bayou midden, Moore excavated an Indian burial ground, finding over 100 interments, including skulls beneath upturned Pots. Also found were flaked lithics and other miscellanea including personal adornment artifacts and a number of European objects. (8) Jolly Bay, (WL-15): a mound a short distance inland of Jolly Bay in which Moore found 27 burials. Skulls covered by up-turned pots were found along with other grave artifacts and stone and shell tools. (9) Cemetery near Point Washington, (WL-16): a cemetery Moore excavated, unearthing numerous interments, with associated funerary ceramics and other artifacts. Willey searched for, but did not find the site at the time of his survey. Willey states that pottery specimens Moore took from the site are at the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, and the Museum of the R. S. Peabody Foundation, Andover. (10) Bunker Cut-off, (WL-21): a burial mound about 3 miles upstream from the mouth of the Choctawhatchee River excavated by Moore. Among the six interments he excavated was one containing a clay pipe. Other items included a hammer stone used in flaking points, sherds, a metal spike, and flint tools.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Willey, 1998: 215-223.

⁴⁷ Willey, 1998: 215-227.

The Fort Walton sites Willey found in Walton County represent only a sprinkling of the larger number of those spread across the northwest coast region.⁴⁸ The area of its prevalence ranges from a few miles east of Tallahassee, runs along the panhandle to Mobile Bay, up the Apalachicola River and its headwaters, and north into lower Georgia and Alabama.⁴⁹ Willey had no knowledge of the Fort Walton culture when he began his survey. He discovered it when he found unfamiliar specimens in pottery Moore excavated from the Temple Mound at Fort Walton Beach. Recognizing it as an unidentified culture, he named it after the city where the mound was located. It was the latest, and arguably, the most significant northwest Florida culture to be identified.⁵⁰ It was also the last prehistoric cultural stage of Native Americans in the panhandle, as was the greater Mississippian cultural stage for all Native Americans.⁵¹

As the historic age dawned in the early 1500s, people of the Fort Walton culture lived on farmsteads clustered in villages. Generally, villages were located inland along rivers and along bays and the coast, which is true of the Walton County sites identified by Willey. The one exception was the earlier mentioned Euchee Valley site, southeast of DeFuniak Springs, which was the only inland site he identified.

The Fort Walton culture shared many characteristics of the greater Mississippian cultures. Chiefs ruled villages at all levels, villagers engaged in diverse ritualistic traditions, and they built mounds for ceremonial activities, chiefs' residences and burials. They grew a variety of crops which included maize (corn), squash, pumpkins, beans, and sunflowers.⁵² They also grew gourds primarily for use as containers. Another purpose they served was as nesting places for the migratory Purple Martin. The Cherokees put them to that use before Europeans arrived in North America and other tribes likely practiced the same custom.⁵³ Even today tall poles with Martin gourds hanging from them are found in back yards throughout the southeastern U. S. The birds were, and remain popular due to the large quantities of flying insect pests they consume. A multitude of wild plants supplemented the foods the Fort Walton people grew. Among them were pecan, hickory, chinkapin, and walnuts; plums, black berries, blue berries, muscadine grapes, mulberries, and persimmons; wild onion, garlic, and greenbriar tubers. They ate several plants, or their products, now considered as weeds. Examples are pigweed, lambs quarter, Poke weed, and marsh elder.⁵⁴ These are just a few of those that are known. Undoubtedly, there were many others of which knowledge has been lost. As their ancestors had, the Fort Walton people continued to supplement the plant based part of their diets with wild game, fish and shellfish. The Pensacola people who sometimes lived among or near the Fort Walton people as noted of the occupants of the Chisca palisade, subsisted more heavily on hunting and fishing, and less so on agriculture than did their Fort Walton counterparts.

Subsequent to Willey's naming the Fort Walton culture based on pottery from the Fort Walton Temple Mound, other archaeologists formed the consensus that he erred in the name he gave it because the pottery was of the type more closely associated to the Pensacola culture for which it should more appropriately have been named. The range of the culture extended from near the west end of Choctawhatchee bay in Walton County towards Biloxi, Mississippi and northward into Alabama. Most of its sites are located in the vicinity of Mobile Bay, with the center and largest site of the culture found at the Bottle Creek Mound Complex north of the Bay.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ Ibid., 453

⁴⁹ Milanich, 1994: 358

⁵⁰ Willey, 1998: 453-470

⁵¹ Bense, 1994: 251

⁵² Milanich, 1994: 364.

⁵³ Purple Martin, Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Purple_martin, downloaded by Sam Carnley, 11/11/19.

⁵⁴ Milanich, 1994: 364-365.

⁵⁵ Pensacola Culture, Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pensacola_culture, downloaded by Sam Carnley, 11/11/19.

Because sites of both cultures occur together between Choctawhatchee Bay and Pensacola, the area is considered by archaeologists as a merging zone of the two and it is sometimes difficult to clearly distinguish between their artifacts found within those confines.⁵⁶

The Fort Walton Mound located in the eastern edge of the zone is the most substantial of those built by the Pensacola culture in Florida. Although claimed by Okaloosa County after its creation in 1915, the mound was originally in Walton County and is mentioned by John L. McKinnon in his 1911 history. McKinnon, who entered the Civil War as a sergeant, but was paroled at its end as a 2nd Lieutenant, was in the Walton Guards stationed at Camp Walton when the war began. He writes of the many skeletons of large warriors he and his fellow soldiers dug up from the mound and put on display in a building on the site. As McKinnon tells it, the building and all its contents went up in flames when shells of Union artillery deployed from Fort Pickens bombarded the camp at dawn on April Fool's day in 1862.⁵⁷

McKinnon blamed the Union artillery for starting the fire, but his fellow Confederate, Lt. Henry W. Reddick writes in his memoirs that Captain Neil McPherson, commander of the Walton Guards, ordered his troops to burn the buildings following the shelling to deny the Yankees' use of them in the event they overran the camp. Reddick mentions the mound twice. Once, during the Union barrage when the soldiers ran behind it to shield themselves from the cannon fire, and second when he writes that the Walton Guards mounted one of their two cannons on the mound while encamped at the site. Curiously though, he makes no reference to the skeletons McKinnon wrote about.⁵⁸

The men of the Walton Guards appear to have been the first European Americans to discover the mound and McKinnon guessed it to be of ancient age due to the large trees growing on it.⁵⁹ Archaeologists later excavating it confirmed McKinnon's guess, placing its period of construction between 800 and 1650 AD.⁶⁰ The latter date was suggested by Archaeologist, Charles H. Fairbanks, who excavated it in 1960. Other archaeologists believe however, it was already abandoned by about 1500, which an event occurring in 1528 seems to validate. In the fall of that year, survivors of the ship-wrecked and disaster-ridden Panfilo de Narvaez expedition boated along the panhandle Gulf coast on make-shift barges en route to Mexico. Hugging the shore line in search of desperately needed drinking water they navigated through today's Santa Rosa Sound, eventually reaching Pensacola Bay where Indians in canoes paddled out from their village to greet them.⁶¹ In traversing the Sound, the Pensacolas were the first Indians they encountered along its entire length.⁶² Before arriving at Pensacola Bay, they almost certainly skirted the Fort Walton Mound sitting literally at water's edge in passing but gave no indication of seeing it, or any evidence of human activity near it, even though it should have supported a larger population than the smaller Pensacola Bay village and would have been hard to miss if inhabited at the time. It therefore seems likely to have been abandoned by the 1500 or earlier time frame.

A group abandoning their tribal grounds in a later time frame were the Walton County Euchees. Within a decade of welcoming the white men as their neighbors, they exited the county en mass, after

⁵⁶ Milanich, 1994: 358.

⁵⁷ McKinnon, 1968: 68-71.

⁵⁸ Henry William Reddick, *Seventy-Seven Years in Dixie, The Boys in Gray of 61-65*, (Coastal Heritage Preservation Foundation, Santa Rosa Beach, Florida, 1999), 15-16. Hereafter, Reddick, 1999.

⁵⁹ McKinnon, 1968: 68.

⁶⁰ Fort Walton Mound, Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fort_Walton_Mound, downloaded by Sam Carnley, 11/24/2019.

⁶¹ The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza De Vaca, (1542), Translated by Fanny Bandelier (1905), 42-45, <http://www.americanjourneys.org/pdf/AJ-070.pdf>, downloaded by Sam Carnley, 11/24/2019.

⁶² Robert S. Weddle, *Spanish Sea: The Gulf of Mexico in North American Discovery 1500-1685*, (Texas A&M University Press, College Station, 1985), 193. Hereafter, Weddle, 1985.

Chief Sam Story returned from a six month trip to the Everglades and east coast in search of a new home for the tribe. McKinnon gives the time of their departure as 1832. That was the year of the Treaty of Cusseta with the Creeks, purportedly to secure them in their land, but ended up in their being cheated out of it by dishonest white settlers and speculators, aided by corrupt government officials. Being too great an injustice to bear, the Creeks retaliated by attacking the white settlers.⁶³

Among the Creeks' allies in those attacks was the Chattahoochee River band of Yuchis, aka Chiscas, although of a later generation, mentioned earlier. Quite possibly, members of these Yuchis were relatives of the Walton County Euchees as Sam Story allegedly claimed, and communicated with them regarding the unrest in Alabama. Those disturbances portended unhappy times to come in Walton County which would be proven out when intense pressure from Alabama militias waging all-out war against the Creeks drove them to seek refuge in the county which lies adjacent to Florida's state line with Alabama. The conflict between the Creeks and white residents of the county would bring strife to both, but more so the Indians.

Although those events had not yet occurred when the Euchees left, it is unknown whether fears of their coming to pass played a role in their deserting the land they and their ancestors had known as home for generations and possibly centuries. If it was a worry to them, it was not among the reasons they gave for leaving, which according to McKinnon, were the growing number of whites crowding in on the Indians and their irresponsible behavior in destroying wildlife and burning the woodlands.⁶⁴ Another event impacting all Indians at the time was the Indian Removal Act of 1830.⁶⁵ It passed two years before the Euchees left, and of the two U. S. government anti-Indians measures then in play, it had more time to filter down to the Walton County Indians before they left than did the Treaty of Cusseta, but again, it is unknown if it entered into their reasons for going. Whether or not it did, their decision to migrate to the Everglades where Sam Story scouted was the better one in the short run. The reason being that it took them further away from the place west of the Mississippi River where the government intended to send them and the Seminoles, among whom they settled, were the only Native Americans of which a considerable number succeeded in defying relocation efforts. McKinnon does not specifically mention the Removal Act or Cusseta Treaty in relation to the Euchees but may have alluded to them in connection with two instances when Indians captured during the Creek War of 1837 were sent to Pensacola, destined thereafter for removal to Mobile Point, Alabama, and finally to Oklahoma.⁶⁶

Shortly before the Euchees departed, the elderly Sam Story died and was buried at their embarkation point near the confluence of Bruce Creek and the Choctawhatchee River. A monument honoring him was later erected on the site and is still there. Some of his descendants remain in Walton and neighboring counties today. Many Euchees were caught up in the removals and sent west to Indian Territory in Oklahoma where their descendants were visited by present-day Florida panhandle Indians, perhaps as recently as 2011.⁶⁷

In April 1837 the inevitability of hostile Creeks moving into the county materialized when one of their roving bands from Alabama attacked a party of white men hunting for cows on a tributary of Shoal River, leaving several of them dead. An armed and mounted party of settlers swiftly retaliated,

⁶³ Treaty of Cusseta of 1832, Encyclopedia of Alabama, <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-3083>, and Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Cusseta. See also the Second Creek War, Encyclopedia of Alabama, <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-3866?printable=true>

⁶⁴ McKinnon, 1968: 72-77.

⁶⁵ Library of Congress, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=IlsI&fileName=004/IlsI004.db&recNum=458>, downloaded by Sam Carnley, 11/26/2019.

⁶⁶ McKinnon, 1968: 116, 119.

⁶⁷ Christopher Scott Sewell and S. Pony Hill, *The Indians of North Florida From Carolina to Florida, the Story of the Survival of a Distinct American Indian Community*, (Backintyme Publishing, 30 Medford Drive, Palm Coast FL 32137-2504, 2011), 138-142

running the renegades to ground on Battle Branch where they killed some of them and captured the survivors who were sent to Pensacola, presumably the first Florida stop along the Creeks' infamous "Trail of Tears."

The incident signified the opening act of the Walton County Indian War which consumed most of 1837.⁶⁸ By that time the Creeks were in full flight from Alabama militia units who had maneuvered them into the head waters of the Choctawhatchee River down which large numbers of them fled into Walton County. The hysterical behavior of the white populace under threat from the hostile Creeks proved the wisdom of the Euchees' leaving when they did. Reports began surfacing of assumed hostile Indians spotted in the county. In early May, a drunken mob murdered a friendly Indian named Jim, simply because of his race.⁶⁹ Many settlers became so incensed against the invading Creeks that no Indian found in the county could be assured of his safety, even if not hostile.

Regarding their view of the Indians at the time, likely a majority of Walton Countians would have agreed with the phrase, "The only Good Indian is a Dead Indian," as Civil War Union General Philip Sheridan would declare some 32 years later in addressing an old Comanche Chief at Fort Cobb, Indian Territory in today's Oklahoma.⁷⁰ The editor of the Pensacola Gazette may have added to the anti-Indian hysteria when, in an article published on 11 May, he painted the Indians as such cold-blooded killers that their women murdered their own children so as to fight beside the men.

The danger this attitude posed to the Indians manifested itself when members of a militia who had captured a party of Indians were accused of murdering about a dozen women and children included among the captives. The incident involved men under the command of Colonel Leven Brown of the Jackson County militia while searching for Indians on Alaqu Creek on or about 23 May 1837. In Col. Brown's letter to Governor Richard K. Call regarding his movements during which the incident occurred, he wrote:

We returned to the river about one hour after sunrise. Captain Daniel's company having [had] charge of the prisoners in the rear, when Captain Daniel and nearly all his companions fired on the Indian prisoner who had led us through so many difficulties during the night. The women and children taking fright at this, started to run, when they were all shot down and left on the ground.⁷¹

U. S. Marine Lt. John G. Reynolds, Military Agent and Acting Superintendent of Creek Removal,⁷² in the area to facilitate removal of the Indians, passed the place of the killings a day or so later, and apparently found the victims still lying where they fell. He wrote a letter to the Pensacola Gazette describing the scene, which the paper published on 10 June 1837:

Your surmise in relation to the murder of the 12 women and children proves to be correct. On my route westward I was necessarily obliged to pass the place where the murderous scene was enacted. The spot was not more than fifteen feet in diameter. I minutely examined the place and I am firmly of the opinion that the poor devils were penned up and slaughtered like cattle and such was the opinion of the friendly Indians in company. The shrieks of the poor children

⁶⁸ Sam Carnley and Bruce Cosson, *The Walton County Indian War*, (Walton Relations & History, Vol. 10, Issue 4, April 2019, Walton County Heritage Association, <http://www.waltoncountyheritage.org/GenSoc/NL2019Apr.pdf>), 2.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 6.

⁷⁰ Wolfgang Meider, *The Only Good Indian is a Dead Indian*, <http://www.dickshovel.com/ind.html>, accessed 12/10/2019.

⁷¹ Sam Carnley and Bruce Cosson, *The Walton County Indian War*, (Walton Relations & History, Vol. 10, Issue 4, April 2019, Walton County Heritage Association, <http://www.waltoncountyheritage.org/GenSoc/NL2019Apr.pdf>), 12.

⁷² *John G. Reynolds Journal*, (Princeton University Library, Special Collections), <https://library.princeton.edu/special-collections/collections/john-g-reynolds-journal>, accessed 12/11/2019. See also, Col. John George Reynolds, Find a Grave, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/94351733/john-george-reynolds>, accessed 12/11/2019.

were distinctly heard at a house distant, I should think, one-quarter of a mile. Several were scalped, and all who had earrings had their ear slit with knives in order to possess themselves of the silver. I do think this one of the most outrageous acts civilized men could be guilty of.⁷³

Further evidence of the settlers' enmity toward the Indians became unmistakable when no clamor arose from the populace to hold the perpetrators of the heinous act accountable. Public officials apparently viewed the incident similarly, because as far as is known, none of the men implicated in the killings were ever prosecuted.

The Indians themselves, however, played no small role in the settlers' view toward them. Leaving behind a trail of murdered settlers and burned homesteads in Alabama, they continued those hostile acts as they moved south. Along the way they murdered members of the Alberson family living near the Choctawhatchee River on the Alabama and Florida line in February.⁷⁴ They later killed eight members of the Joseph Hart family who lived near Pea River in South Alabama.⁷⁵ Their next victims seem to have been members of the party of cow hunters they struck down and scalped near Shoal River in April. The number reported as killed in the party was three in one account and five in another. The characterization of the killing of these few white individuals as a massacre, whereas not so the slaughter of the dozen Indian captives further illustrated the prejudiced views toward the Indians.⁷⁶ On 20 May, a Mrs. Lawrence fell victim to Indians at Cowford, located in the vicinity of today's highway 20 bridge across the Choctawhatchee River.⁷⁷

As the victim count mounted, so did the panicked pleas reaching Tallahassee for help. In response, Governor Richard K. Call ordered 100 Jackson County militiamen into the county to aid in repulsing the hostile Indians, although the actual number of militia amounted to only 73 per a letter from its commander, Col. Leven Brown, dated LaGrange, West Florida, 24 May 1837.⁷⁸ Walton County fielded its own militia, as did Franklin, and Washington, all of which were ordered into service along with that of Jackson County under the Eighth Regiment, First Brigade of Florida Militia commanded by Col. Brown. Captain Lauchlin L. McKinnon, brother of John L. McKinnon, Sr., commanded two companies in his own name, one mounted and the other infantry, in Col. Brown's Brigade.

In his "History of Walton County," author John L. McKinnon, Jr., first mentions his father, John L. Sr. as a colonel who "stood for the military and civil trend . . ."⁷⁹ It is inferred from this that the Senior McKinnon brought the title with him at the time he migrated from North Carolina to Florida, which occurred ca. 1821 according to McKinnon, Jr.⁸⁰ His age then was about 31 years. McKinnon Jr. further writes that his ancestors arrived from Scotland about 1810,⁸¹ when his father would have been around 20 years old, based on his birth year of 1790 in Scotland.⁸²

There were several U. S. wars between 1810 and 1821 in which McKinnon Sr. could have served, so in the absence of proof to the contrary, he conceivably received his rank from service in one of those wars. He was not, however, a colonel in the 1837 war with the Indians, despite claims by McKinnon

⁷³ Sam Carnley and Bruce Cosson, *The Walton County Indian War*, (Walton Relations & History, Vol. 10, Issue 4, April 2019, Walton County Heritage Association, <http://www.waltoncountyheritage.org/GenSoc/NL2019Apr.pdf>), 8.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 3.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 6.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 5.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 7.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 11.

⁷⁹ McKinnon, 1968: 12.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 23.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, 11.

⁸² Col. John Love McKinnon, Find A Grave, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/33328238/john-love-mckinnon>, accessed 12/15/2019.

Jr. and others that he was. Evidence of this comes from the muster roll of Cap. Lauchlin L. McKinnon in which the Sr. John L. McKinnon is listed as a private, who was appointed quartermaster at Lagrange on 12 May 1837.⁸³

A letter dated Uchee Valley, 1 May 1837, published by the Gazette on the 13th, painted a somewhat embarrassing picture of McKinnon Sr. In reference to the skirmish between the settlers and the Indians who killed the cow hunters near Shoal River, it was reported that:

John L. McKinnon was along – he took the squaw [they captured] in charge and carried her home with him, and two days later she got away from him. She is able to give the Indians much information concerning the situation of our settlement, she having passed directly through it, will be to the Indians an efficient guide.⁸⁴

This act of poor judgement on the part of McKinnon Sr. may have prompted his brother and commander, Cap. Lauchlin McKinnon to appoint him as quartermaster at Lagrange, near today's Freeport, as a way of removing him from the battle field in the interest of winning the war against the Indians.

On 27 May, the Gazette published a letter to the editor dated La Grange, May 21, 1837, reporting that three days earlier Captain McKinnon's Company had engaged a number of Indians on Black Creek, also known as the "Battle of Cowpens," about 16 miles from Lagrange. Following a brief exchange in which five Indians were killed and a child was captured, the Indians fled. No militiamen were killed and only one was injured.⁸⁵ He was Enos Evans, whom McKinnon Jr. wrote that his father bore out of the swamp on his shoulders.⁸⁶ That was unlikely however, as McKinnon Sr. had been occupying himself 16 miles away at the Lagrange quartermaster depot since 12 May. What is more plausible is that Evan's rescuer was Captain McKinnon, at the head of his company during the skirmish.

It was from the foregoing letter that news was received of the murder of Mrs. Lawrence by the Indians at Cowford and that a party of men had left Lagrange for the purpose of burying her.

A second letter also published in the Gazette on 27 May reported the incident involving the killing of the 12 Indian women and children on Alaqua Creek by the Jackson County militia. The article further told of Governor Call's assignment of Leven Brown as commander of the militias raised against the Indians.

In the previously mentioned Gazette article of 10 June, which included Lt. John G. Reynold's letter regarding the murders of the 12 Indian prisoners, editor Benjamin Drake Wright, probably in reference to the murders, appeared to soften his view toward the Indians:

The fugitive Creeks in our neighborhood are, like the Seminoles, 'Slowly swarming in.' This phrase, used in this sense on this subject, conveys more meaning than would be usually attached to it. It embraces whole volumes of wrong and outrage and tragedy which the Indian has suffered and which the white man has inflicted insomuch that the wretched Indian knows not who may be trusted or where to fly.

⁸³ McKinnon, John L., private, Muster Roll, Lauchlin L. McKinnon, (Florida militia muster rolls, Seminole Indian Wars), 19-20, <https://archive.org/details/floridamilitiamu07morr>, accessed 12/15/2019.

⁸⁴ Sam Carnley and Bruce Cosson, *The Walton County Indian War*, (Walton Relations & History, Vol. 10, Issue 4, April 2019, Walton County Heritage Association), 5, <http://www.waltoncountyheritage.org/GenSoc/NL2019Apr.pdf>.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 7.

⁸⁶ McKinnon, 1968: 119.

Continuing in the article, he added that:

Mr. [Lt.] Reynolds returned to this place on Wednesday last and has gone with his runners to Escrivan's Point, where he is to take the woods and endeavor to find the lurking place of the Indians. Nothing can now be done with them except in the way proposed by Lieutenant R. They are so frightened by this worse than severe cruelty and tragedy which they have met with from the whites that they will be sure either to fight or flee whenever they are approached by the whites in numbers.⁸⁷

In July the militia campaign against the Indians intensified, as reported by three Gazette articles during the month. The first, published July 8th quoting a letter dated La Grange, July 7th, recounted that three days previously, Col. Brown's troops had scrimmaged with Indians on Shoal River, about 12 miles north of the old courthouse at Alaqua (built by Judge Henry M. Brackenridge about 1830). The Indians, totaling a hundred or more, were repulsed with losses to the militia of three wounded, but only one seriously. The number of Indian losses was unknown, although they left much blood in the path of their retreat.

The second article published July 15th, included a letter dated Camp Independence, July 5, which reported on the same engagement as that in the first article above, although the date of the second one preceded that of the first and offered greater detail on the affair. It stated that the Indian fatalities numbered eight or ten but as their comrades threw some of them into the river the instant they fell, an exact count of their losses could not be determined. Due to the militia's ferocious charge against them, during which shots of only a few feet in distance were exchanged, the Indians, at the height of the melee and in their haste to flee dropped the bags they carried. On examination after the rout, the bags were found to contain assorted articles of many kinds, including a gold watch and almost \$300.00 in cash.

The three militiamen reported as wounded but not named in the first article were identified in the second article as Alfred Lockey of Captain Potter's Company, Jackson County, and Lieutenant McIver and Mr. Harrelson, both of Captain McKinnon's Company, Walton County militia.

The third and last Gazette article on armed conflict between the whites and Indians published July 22nd reported on a letter from La Grange dated 20th July. It recounted that in a brief contest Col. Brown and his troops had with the Indians seven miles below the old courthouse [by Alaqua Creek] on the 19th, the Indians again fled the field, leaving 5 of their own lying dead. Losses to the militia included one killed, and five wounded. The fatality was a Mr. Clark from Franklin County. The other casualties included Captain Hawkins and Mr. Myers with the remaining three unidentified.

The Gazette reported on July 29th that it had received no other communications from Colonel Brown and that Captain Hawkins and Lt. Myers wounded on the 19th were brought to Pensacola for surgery, following which their conditions were improving.⁸⁸

Walton County's Indian troubles were substantially over by the end of 1837, but infrequent, isolated attacks by small groups continued in the panhandle as late as 1850.⁸⁹ Afterwards, those few Creeks remaining in the county ceased their hostilities and adopting the ways of the whites, including intermarriage, rendered themselves inconspicuous to anyone biased against Indians. Over time, the

⁸⁷ Sam Carnley and Bruce Cosson, *The Walton County Indian War*, (Walton Relations & History, Vol. 10, Issue 4, April 2019, Walton County Heritage Association), 9, <http://www.waltoncountyheritage.org/GenSoc/NL2019Apr.pdf>.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 13-14.

⁸⁹ Brian R. Rucker, *West Florida's Creek Indian Crisis of 1837* (The Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 69, No. 3 (Jan., 1991), 333, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30147524>, accessed 12/1/2019.

sad history of their ancestors was lost to memory, except that those of the inhumane “Trail of Tears,” linger to the present day. That event for the Creeks took place during 1834-1837, in which approximately 19,600 of them marched to Oklahoma. Losses along the way totaled some 3,500, with only a few hundred able to avoid removal and remain in or near their ancestral homes.⁹⁰ Among the latter were ancestors of members of the Muscogee Nation of Florida who make their home in Walton County’s present day community of Bruce. Although coming to fruition only after many generations distant from the troubles of 1837, the Bruce Tribe of Creeks are now living the dream of their persecuted ancestors who were denied the haven they sought in the remote areas of the county where they could live in peace unmolested.⁹¹

The Tribe trace their history through Spanish records as far back as 1787 to ancestors living with the Euchees in south Alabama. The close association of these two tribes has been documented throughout the historical period as previously noted. At the time of the 1837 Walton County Indian War, 200 ancestors of the Tribe were reported as living in a village on the banks of the Choctawhatchee River in Dale County, Alabama. The same year, federal officials reported the presence of the village, but before they could act to remove them, the Tribe vacated the spot and canoed down the Choctawhatchee to Walton County where they resolved to avoid removal to the west by any means possible other than open conflict with the whites. Central to their strategy of avoiding removal was to live incognito as white people. This required total immersion into the white culture by adopting all the customs they followed as typical settlers of the era and astutely shunning any and everything that might even remotely suggest their true ethnic identity.

In the Tribe’s historical narrative, it is intimated that their survival ruse of passing themselves off as whites had begun by 1850. But if they arrived in the county at the height of the Indian troubles in 1837, as their narrative suggests, the transformation, on the surface at least, would necessarily have been well underway in order to avoid outing themselves long before 1850. Whatever that involved it succeeded resoundingly because they remain in the county today.

During their 182 year residence in the county they have weathered many setbacks, including war, removal, white prejudice and distrust, and discriminatory laws at all levels of government. They were denied the right to publicly proclaim their true ethnicity and forced to live their lives in disguise. As they had to pretend they did not exist as tribe, very few official records are available to prove that they are. But they have since overcome most challenges that denied their constitutional rights as American citizens and now enjoy the freedoms to which they are entitled.

The Tribe emerged from its dissimulation sometime before 1890, presumably the point at which they felt safe in revealing their true heritage. Discriminatory laws still existed then, but they lived their lives in ways to avoid running afoul of them as best they could. They established their first school, Pine Level, about 1888, and M. B. Roughton, was paid \$40.00 for teaching that year.⁹² Later renamed Bruce School, it continued in operation until closing in 1954 due to the declining population of Indian school children in the area. The teachers were mostly Indian as well. After closing, the school house was converted to other uses and now serves as the tribal council office.

⁹⁰ Trail of Tears, Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trail_of_Tears

⁹¹ Sam Carnley and Bruce Cosson, *The Walton County Indian War*, (Walton Relations & History, Vol. 10, Issue 4, April 2019, Walton County Heritage Association),15, <http://www.waltoncountyheritage.org/GenSoc/NL2019Apr.pdf>.

⁹² Minutes of the Walton County Board of Public Instruction, 19 November 1888, Minutes Book 1, p. 26-27, District School Board Office, DeFuniak Springs, Florida. See also, Sam Carnley, *Early Schools of Walton County, Florida*, (Walton Relations & History, Vol. 11, Issue 1, October 2019, Walton County Heritage Association), 10-11, <http://www.waltoncountyheritage.org/GenSoc/NL2019Oct.pdf>

In 1913 they founded Bruce Chapel Methodist Episcopal Church South in the school house where services were held until 1921. Its first pastor was Reverend D. A. Sellers who served from 1912 to 1913. The first building serving exclusively as a church was erected in 1921 and dedicated in 1922. It was an unpainted rectangular structure with a bell steeple. Inscribed on its cornerstone was "Bruce Chapel, March 23, 1922," followed by the names: Jasper Ward, G. C. Ward, C. E. Huett, and Rev. J. W. Mathison. Its membership was identified as white and of the English language. The pastor in 1939 was Rev. A. M. Sherah of St. Andrews Bay, Florida. He was educated at Mississippi A & M College in Starksville, Miss.

Records of the Church consisted of 3 types: (1) Church Conference Records, for the years 1925-1927 and 1932. Those prior to 1925 had been destroyed by fire in the home of Mr. Henry Jernigan of Portland, Fla. in 1927. The ones for 1929-1931 were unaccounted for. They were located in the home of Rev. J. F. Watchobe, Freeport, Florida. (2) Church Register, dating from 1913 to 1939, showing baptisms, deaths, pastors and marriages. Not regularly kept, they were located in the home of church secretary, Dan Burk of Bruce, Fla. (3) Complete Sunday school Records, for 1937. Those before that had been destroyed. They were kept in the home of Sunday school secretary, Mrs. H. E. Weathers, of Bruce, Fla.⁹³

With a school and church in the community, Bruce, from outward appearances, probably seemed a typical southern rural neighborhood where people lived ordinary lives. Other than the occasional individual with strong Native American features, very few outsiders likely noticed anything about them to suspect they were Indians. With the passage of time, even whites aware of their history came to think nothing of it. By then, they had become more or less assimilated and free to look forward to their hopes and dreams like the average person anywhere else.

But one hurdle remained for them to overcome. That was to gain recognition from the Federal government as a sovereign Indian tribe. Many benefits would come to them under that designation, the most significant of which could be a self-governing reservation. To accomplish that will require undoing all they had done to make themselves invisible for half a century and undoing it could prove no less difficult and protracted than doing it was. They began the process in 1978 with a petition to the Bureau of Indian Affairs which was returned due to changes in regulations. The petition was revised and resubmitted several times but due to constantly changing regulations has yet to be finalized and approved.

In 1986 while Federal petition approval remained pending, the state of Florida recognized the Tribe as the governing agent for Creeks in the State of Florida. That represented a major step forward, but Federal recognition, their most desired prize, remains beyond their grasp due to the difficulty in complying with the last of seven criteria, six of which have already passed muster. That criterion requires their identification as a tribe by external sources during a specified period of time, to which Ann Tucker, Tribal Council Chairwoman replies:

There are no documents written by observers from outside Muscogee Nation of Florida to list the Nation as an Indian community. No anthropologists visited the remote community of Bruce, which was best located by following the Choctawhatchee River or poor logging roads. Outsiders were not welcomed to stay in the area. Logging camps had to remain away from the Tribal Community. In essence, Muscogee Nation of Florida was a closed community system. While Muscogee Nation can easily document 6 of 7 mandatory criteria for federal recognition,

⁹³ Bruce Chapel, WPA Church Records, Florida Memory, <https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/252229?id=1>, accessed 12/17/2019.

it cannot meet the current interpretation of 25 CFR Part 8~1. 7 (a) which requires “identification by an external sources” until after the Civil Rights Act was passed.⁹⁴

Regardless of the outcome of the Muscogee Nation of Florida’s effort to obtain Federal recognition as a sovereign tribe, their presence in the county continues its 12 thousand year-long Native American occupation noted by archaeologist Deena Woodward. The Nation’s Ann Tucker writes that the tribe saw an increase in population early in the 20th century and estimates her latest member count as 408, most of who live within 50 miles or less of Bruce. To ensure their continued existence will require a robust growth in membership to replace losses from mortality and out migration. If they fail Walton County’s Native American heritage may well end with them.

⁹⁴ Sam Carnley and Bruce Cosson, *The Walton County Indian War*, (Walton Relations & History, Vol. 10, Issue 4, April 2019, Walton County Heritage Association), 16, <http://www.waltoncountyheritage.org/GenSoc/NL2019Apr.pdf>.