

ARCHEOLOGY OF THE FATHER-
LAND SITE: THE GRAND VIL-
LAGE OF THE NATCHEZ

ROBERT S. NEITZEL

VOLUME 51 : PART 1
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
NEW YORK : 1965

ARCHEOLOGY OF THE FATHERLAND SITE:
THE GRAND VILLAGE OF THE NATCHEZ

ROBERT S. NEITZEL

*Chief Curator, The State Historical Museum
A Division of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History
Jackson, Mississippi*

VOLUME 51 : PART 1
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
NEW YORK : 1965

PREFACE

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE PRESENT STUDY, at its inception, were very modest. The extensive Fatherland Site Collection had been in the possession of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History since Moreau B. Chambers excavated the site in 1930. Most of the collection had been on public display in Jackson, Mississippi, and some specimens had been illustrated or described in cursory fashion, but the impressive cultural content was not known in any detail to archeologists.

During the reorganization of the Mississippi State Historical Museum in 1960, I became very familiar with the Fatherland Site Collection and considered the steps necessary to make the data from this important site available in the literature.

As the cataloguing proceeded, I became conscious of the inadequacy of the supporting information documenting the specimens. A search in storage files in the Department of Archives and History became a minor archeological project, but I was rewarded by finding the original museum register started by Henry B. Collins, Jr., and continued by Chambers and James A. Ford up to the mid-thirties. In addition, I found Chambers' original field catalogue forms, a notebook, and some photographs.

These notes indicated that Mound C was a small burial mound and that the skeletons and grave goods taken from it were believed to be identified with ranking Natchez Indians of the Grand Village of the French colonial period. The need for more information about the specimens, and particularly about the Fatherland Site, which seemed to be an unusually well-documented village of the Natchez Indians, led me to formulate plans for the re-excavation of the locality.

With the cooperation and approval of the Board of Trustees and Miss Charlotte Capers, Director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, a proposal to re-excavate the site was submitted to the National Science Foundation in 1961. A two-year project was approved, the work to begin in the spring of 1962 and to be completed in early 1964.

A preliminary area survey was begun in March, 1962, and actual excavation April 1, 1962. It was necessary to extend the initially

planned two-month field program to four months for reasons explained in the body of this report. Analysis of the materials and the writing of the report were carried out in conjunction with regular museum duties throughout the latter part of 1962 and the first half or more of 1963.

So many individuals provided assistance and services throughout the course of the project that it is difficult to make proper acknowledgment to all who merit it.

Mrs. Grace M. S. MacNeil of Princeton, New Jersey; Mr. Frederick Schuchardt of Nyack, New York; Mr. Arthur C. Scott, Jr., of Columbus, Ohio; and Mrs. Katherine Wheeler of Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, owners of different parts of the site, were extremely cooperative in giving permission to excavate. Mrs. MacNeil, moreover, was instrumental in furnishing a clue, through a literary reference, to the occasion and circumstances of the artificial shortening of St. Catherine Creek.

Miss Pearl Guyton, former teacher and Adams County historian, and Mr. Everette Truly, attorney and member of the Board of Trustees of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, put me in touch with Mr. Francis Geddes of the United States Corps of Engineers office at Vidalia, Louisiana, where the Engineers' reconnaissance map of the Mississippi River which provided valuable data about the St. Catherine Creek cutoff was found. The cooperation of many individuals, civic organizations, and private concerns at Natchez helped to make the work more pleasant and productive. The law firm of Laub, Adams, Forman, and Truly and the engineering firm of Kaiser, Jordan, and Sessions, furnished valuable technical assistance gratis. The Vicksburg office of the United States Corps of Engineers kindly permitted the use of the Natchez area base map of "Ancient Courses of the Mississippi River Meander Belt" (Fisk, 1944) for reproduction as the site area map (Fig. 1). Personally and officially I thank all these individuals and Mr. Robert Honnoll, manager of Fatherland Plantation and Elmscourt.

Dr. James A. Ford, and Messrs. Alden Redfield, James Hulsey, and Vincent Fasano, who conducted an archeological survey of

archaic sites in the Mississippi alluvial valley during the field season, merit special thanks. They spent several days on the engineering chores, established the site grid, and made a topographical map of the site (Fig. 2). Subsequently Ford furnished invaluable critical judgment and advice in the field and throughout the subsequent stages of analysis of the collection and the preparation of the manuscript. Dr. Philip Phillips and Dr. Stephen Williams, who were patient enough to examine the pottery subsequent to its analysis at the museum in Jackson, added immeasurably to my confidence in my determinations.

Dr. A. J. Waring of Savannah, Georgia, served capably as field assistant during the early months of the excavations. He was succeeded by Mr. Max Mangum, a student of anthropology at Harvard University, who also assisted during the initial stages of analysis of the collection.

Miss Elizabeth MacNeil, a graduate student of classical archeology at Bryn Mawr College, assumed the arduous task of surveying archeological sites in Adams County, Mississippi. She spent several weeks in an attempt to find other possible Natchez villages, such as White Apple, Tioux, Griegra, and Hickory. This survey was

undertaken in an unfavorable season. Subsequent tests of locations recommended by her proved inconclusive. Other sites contemporaneous with Fatherland either have not been found or evidence of their existence has disappeared.

Mrs. Laura Harrell, Museum Administrator of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, cheerfully assumed the woes of maintaining fiscal balance in the grant funds. She and other members of the staff of the State Historical Museum also cooperated and demonstrated their forbearance in administering the affairs of the museum while I was preoccupied with field work. Miss Ruth Sykes, staff secretary, patiently typed the numerous versions of this report, including the present one.

Mr. Nicholas Amorosi, of the American Museum, prepared the line drawings from models and data furnished him. Some of the vessels illustrated are scaled drawings from photographs; the vessels themselves have been lost and are no longer available.

Miss Bella Weitzner has done her traditionally competent work in correcting the manuscript.

ROBERT S. NEITZEL

September 11, 1964

CONTENTS

PREFACE	3
INTRODUCTION	7
Historical and Archeological Background Sources	7
Physiography	9
Establishment of Mapping Grid	12
EXCAVATIONS	15
Mound A	15
Mound B	16
Summary of Mound B Excavation	25
Strata Cuts near Mound B	26
Mound C	27
Building Level 2	27
Building Level 1	32
Temple 2	35
Summary	37
BURIALS	40
Mound C	40
Burials Excavated in 1930	41
POTTERY	45
ARTIFACTS	48
Stone Work	48
Projectile Points	48
Miscellaneous Stone Tools	48
Stone Pipes	48
Bone	49
Shell	49
Miscellaneous	49
European Trade Goods	50
HISTORY OF THE NATCHEZ AND FRENCH SETTLEMENTS AT THE GRAND VILLAGE AND FORT ROSALIE	55
SUMMARY OF HISTORICAL AND ARCHEOLOGICAL CORRELATIONS	58
Geographical	58
Mound A	63
The Chief's House and the Mound	64
The Natchez Temple	67
FATHERLAND SITE RADIOCARBON DATES FROM CHARCOAL SAMPLES	86
ARTIFACTS DESCRIBED IN HISTORICAL SOURCES	87
CONCLUSIONS	90
APPENDIX 1. BURIALS AND ASSOCIATIONS	93
APPENDIX 2. ANALYSIS OF THE FAUNAL REMAINS OF THE FATHERLAND SITE. CHARLES E. CLELAND, JR.	96
APPENDIX 3. PLANT REMAINS FROM THE GRAND VILLAGE OF THE NATCHEZ. HUGH C. CUTLER	102
LITERATURE CITED	103
CATALOGUE DATA FOR CERTAIN ILLUSTRATIONS	105

TABLES

1. Occurrence and Frequency of Identified Species by Provenience Unit	97
2. Total Number of Bones and Percentage of All Bones by Provenience Unit	98
3. Per Cent of the Total Identified Bones of Each Species	99
4. Amount of Usable Meat Provided by Each Species	100

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

(AT END)

1. a. View of Mound A toward northeast, from a point between Mounds A and B. b. Mound A, east 80-foot profile, view toward southwest, to Mound B. c. Plan of Fort Rosalie, French concessions of St. Catherine and White Earth, and the Natchez Grand Village about 1725
2. a. View of Mound B, toward south, prior to excavation. b. Uncovering Building Level 3. c. Map of Natchez vicinity and Fatherland Site
3. Mound B. a. Phase IV mantle above Building Level 3. b. Phase IV mantle and underlying floor accumulation and wall trenches of Building Level 3
4. Mound B. a. Southwest corner of house pattern wall trenches, Building Level 3. b. Postholes appearing in the top of wall trenches of house pattern of Building Level 2
5. Mound C. a. Uncovering Building Level 1 at east edge. b. Uncovering Building Level 1 from center to west edge
6. Mound C. a. Empty pits intruding into the floor of Building Level 1. b. Empty pits in the floor of Building Level 1 and portion of the north side of the Phase III mantle and associated ramp
7. Mound C. a. Wall trenches of Temple 1 and Temple 2 on Building Level 1. b. Central hearth of Temple 1, Building Level 1
8. Mound C. a. Burial 1 and Finds 1 to 13 of Chambers' excavation. b. Burial 15 and Finds 91 to 94 of Chambers' excavation
9. Mounds C. a. Burial 6 and Finds 53 to 68 of Chambers' excavation. b. Burial 17 and Finds 108 to 111 of Chambers' excavation
10. Incised, brushed, engraved, plain, and stamped sherds
11. Punctated, unclassified, and engraved sherds
12. Stone, bone, and shell tools
13. Stone and clay tobacco pipes, clay adornos, gunflints, and miscellaneous brass, lead, and iron objects
14. Miscellaneous iron, brass, silver, and ceramic objects
15. Glass wine bottle and trade beads
16. Faience ware, iron and brass artifacts

TEXT FIGURES

1. Map showing Natchez area	8
2. Map of the Fatherland Site, showing Mounds A, B, and C	13
3. Map of Mound B and features of the historic Natchez chief's house, Building Level 4	17
4. West 55-foot profile of Mound B	18
5. Plan of Building Level 3, Phase III, Mound B	19
6. Plan of Building Level 2, Phase II, Mound B	20
7. Plan of Building Level 1, Phase I, Mound B	21
8. Plan of house pattern on original surface beneath Mound B	25
9. South 30-foot profile of Mound B	26
10. Plan of the historic Natchez temple on Building Level 2, and Burials 1-26, Mound C	28
11. South 640-foot profile, Mound C	29
12. Plan of Temples 1 and 2, Building Level 1, Phase III, Mound C	33
13. Histogram of ceramic styles from Mounds A, B, and C	36
14. Histogram of ceramics of the Fatherland Site seriated with the ceramic chronology of the Mouth of Red River Area <i>facing</i>	44
15. Limestone human effigy head	49
16. a. Cut beaver incisor. b. Cut pig incisor	49
17. a. Brass religious medal. b-c. Brass signet rings	50
18. Silver spoon	51
19. Pottery vessels found with burials excavated by Chambers	52
20. Pottery vessels found with burials excavated by Chambers	53
21. Pottery vessels found with burials excavated by Chambers	54

INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL AND ARCHEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND SOURCES

THE HISTORICAL and archeological evidence now available demonstrates convincingly that the Indian village site on Fatherland Plantation near Natchez, Mississippi, marks the locality of the Grand Village of the Natchez Indians. Between 1682 and 1729 this native village was a center of activities during the period of the establishment of the French settlement at their Natchez post. The French colony attained a population of about 500 during this period. There were varying degrees of amity between the French colonists and the approximately 3500 natives; cordiality declined during the final years of contact and in November, 1729, culminated in their massacre by the Indians.

I hope I can demonstrate plausibly that many features and events described in the French documents can be identified with the Fatherland locality and simultaneously estimate the degree of conformity between historical and archeological evidence. Such a detailed comparison of historical information with the archeological findings is made in a later section of this paper, after all available data have been introduced. Specifically, I attempt to identify such features as the chief's house and the temple, their respective mounds, the burial of the Tattooed Serpent and the retainers sacrificed at his funeral in 1725, the burial place of the Great Sun who died in 1728, and numerous minor details.

The historical evidence can be found in the contemporary writings of several French explorers, priests, and officials. The principal visitors to the locality, in the order of their appearance in Natchez history, are La Salle and his lieutenant, Tonti (1682), the priests Dumont de Montigny and Davion (1699-1700); Iberville, St. Cosme, and Gravier (1700); De la Vente and Penicaut (1704), Bienville (1716); Du Pratz (1720), Charlevoix (1721), La Harpe and Hubert (1722); and a Father Philibert (1727). The writer Dumont seems to have been present as early as the establishment of Fort Rosalie, and the priest, Le Petit, about the time of Charlevoix.

Most of the narratives of these individuals are to be found in various subsequently pub-

lished sources and overlap confusingly; some of these accounts appear to have been borrowed from earlier sources. In the present report I have relied on the authoritative records of Iberville, Gravier, Penicaut, Dumont, Du Pratz, Charlevoix, and Le Petit. Du Pratz and Dumont provide the greatest quantity of information; the other sources are also valuable, especially for corroborative evidence or additional details.

These works have been digested and evaluated by recent students, notably Swanton (1911, 1946, 1952), Albrecht (1944, 1946, 1948), and Quimby (1942, 1946, 1957). Swanton (1911) has assembled most of these translated data in a single source. He devoted 207 pages to excerpts, interspersed with editorial comments, to make up a comprehensive description of Natchez communities and culture. These data are used in the present report. Original sources were consulted only when there seemed to be a need to clarify moot points in the translation. Albrecht has examined special aspects of Natchez geography and culture. Quimby has used the ethnological data to define a Natchezan culture type and to illustrate cultural process in the Natchez social structure.

The pertinent historical data are presented in detail in the present report, but I do not attempt to duplicate Swanton's comprehensive studies. The archeological evidence consists of observations and excavations made during the past century in the immediate vicinity of the Fatherland Site or at related sites. These data are discussed below in chronological order.

Barnard Shipp published a description of mounds found throughout the world. Apparently Shipp (1897, 206-207) visited the Lower Mississippi Valley in the early part of the nineteenth century. He described the physiography of the Natchez region accurately. He located the main village of the Natchez 3 miles east of the modern town of that name on St. Catherine Creek. He stated also that the creek had carried away part of the bottomland and half of the main mound of the village. Explicitly he wrote that St. Catherine Creek emptied into the Mississippi at Ellis Cliffs, or about 8 miles below its present outlet, which would place the mouth of the creek on Fisk's Stage-19 Channel

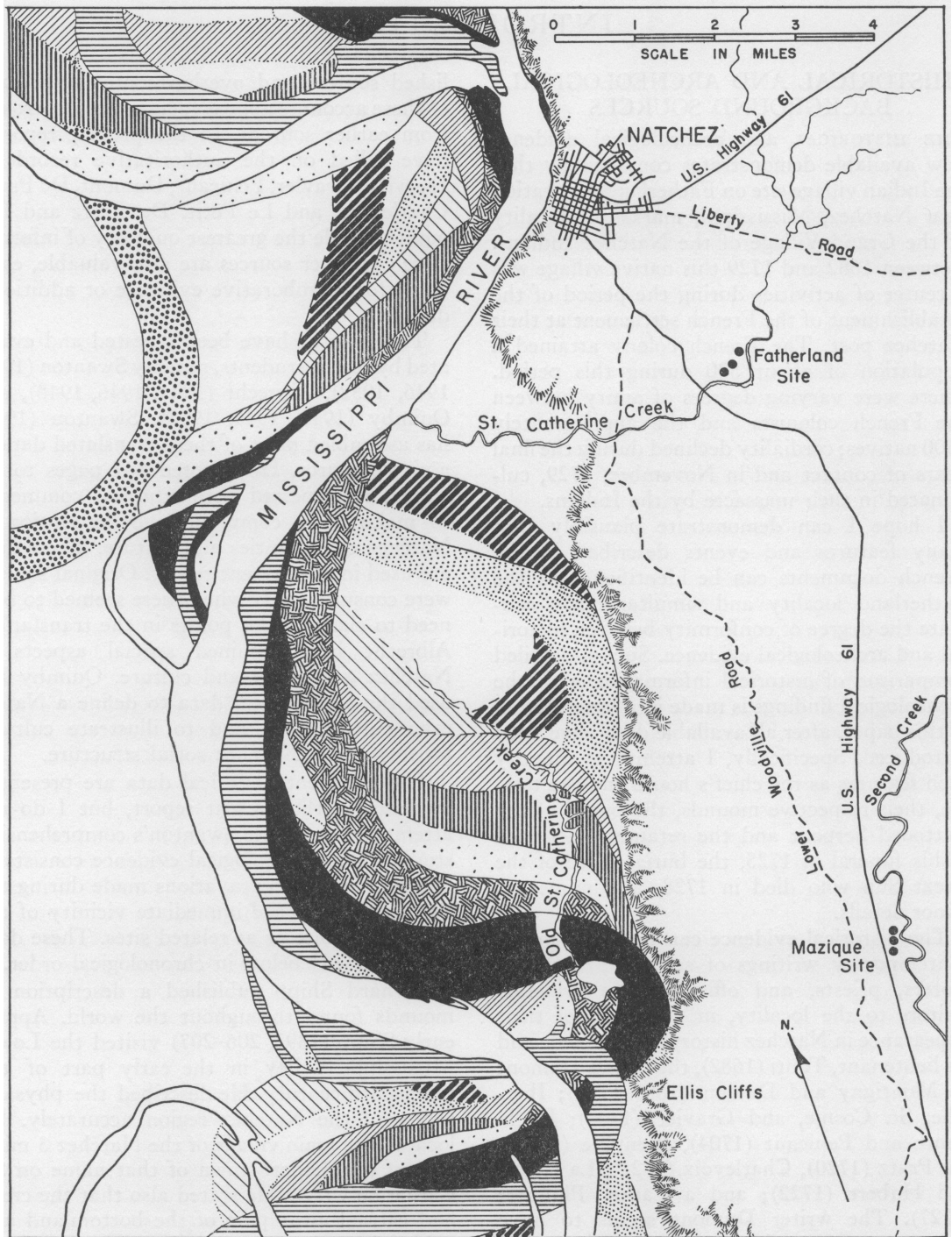


FIG. 1. Map showing Natchez area: Fatherland Site, St. Catherine Creek, Old St. Catherine Creek, the Mazique Site, and Mississippi River Meander Stages 11 to 19 in relation to the modern course (after Fisk). Courtesy of United States Corps of Engineers.

(Fig. 1), or about 2 miles below where it apparently was in 1700, as is detailed in the section on physiography (p. 10).

John R. Swanton (1911, Pl. 5) published a photograph taken near Natchez in about 1910. It shows St. Catherine Creek, together with the information that its course had been shortened by cutting a new short outlet that resulted in the intrenchment of the channel. Apparently he did not visit the Fatherland Site at this time.

Calvin S. Brown (1926, 45) may have been referring to the site when he mentioned mounds on Colonel Adam Bingamon's plantation near Natchez.

In 1924 Warren K. Moorehead (1932, 158-165) spent considerable time investigating sites in Adams County. Eighty-two sites were located and 22 tested. He referred specifically to a site on St. Catherine Creek on the McKittrick and Miner (*sic*) tract which had two mounds, 12 and 15 feet high, respectively. His map erroneously showed two mound symbols to the west and one to the east of the creek in the vicinity of the Fatherland Site. Moorehead dug a wide and deep trench into the center of one of the mounds. He found no burials but noted distinct stratification. He also used an auger at several locations. The present owners of the Fatherland Site are heirs of McKittrick and Minor.

In 1930, Moreau B. Chambers, working for the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, undertook excavations at the site. At that time, Mound C, which was about 3 to 4 feet high, was presumed to be a small burial mound. He excavated an area of about 50 feet in diameter to depths of from a few inches to 2 feet 7 inches. A streak of dark soil on top of a tan-gray stratum led him to believe that he had reached the bottom of the mound. The shallow excavation was very productive. He exposed 25 badly deteriorated burials accompanied by some 60 pottery vessels, a few native artifacts, and a quantity of European trade goods. He also dug trenches into the sides of Mounds A and B. No artifacts were found, but stratified layers were noted. Chambers' field notes list 129 categories of catalogued specimens from Mound C. Some of these, borrowed for a commercial archeological exhibition organized near Natchez in 1940, have been lost. Some other items have also disappeared, but the bulk

of the collection is now in the Mississippi State Historical Museum.

James A. Ford, Chambers, and Henry B. Collins, Jr., visited the mounds and the village site across St. Catherine Creek in 1931. Ford (1936, 59-65), who reported briefly on Chambers' work in the mounds, commented on the sparse native and European material scattered over a 5-acre tract of village site. Occasional patches of midden up to 6 inches thick were observed in protected spots. This village area, which is no longer under cultivation, has been denuded to the point where only an occasional sherd or flint chip can now be found.

The present writer visited the site in 1956, when Ford's observations concerning the dearth of surface material in the vicinity of the mounds were confirmed. A new sewer line had been dug across the area north of the mounds, but no evidence of occupation, not even charcoal flecks, could be found in the fill dirt of the trench.

PHYSIOGRAPHY

The former homeland of the Natchez Indians is on the east bank of the Mississippi River in Adams County, southwest Mississippi. Their principal villages were situated along St. Catherine Creek, a small tributary of the Mississippi River. These villages were about 3 miles east and southeast of modern Natchez, the county seat.

Three physiographic systems are represented in Adams County. Four small land areas below the river bluffs are in the Mississippi Alluvial Plain. More than half of the county is included in the loess or bluff hills that extend northeast to southwest across its length. The hills of long-leaf pine are in the southeastern corner of the county. The highly dissected loess hills and the stream bottoms included in the area are pertinent to the archeology of the Natchez occupation.

The most prominent feature of loess topography is extreme relief. High rounded hills and steep-walled valleys are typical. The stream valleys provide spotty but substantial expanses of level land. The maximum sea level elevation in Adams County exceeds 440 feet; several areas on the divide between the St. Catherine and Coles Creek drainages on the north and Sandy Creek to the south lie between 440 and 460 feet above sea level. The flood plain in the

southwest corner of the county, where the Homochitto River enters the Mississippi, is about 15 to 20 feet above sea level.

The loess formation is of Pleistocene age. It has been determined to be at least 50 feet thick in the vicinity of Natchez, and the deposit feathers out progressively to the east. The width of the belt varies; at the Vicksburg latitude it extends eastward about 30 miles. No well-defined eastern boundary exists.

The regional slope in Adams County is southward and southwesterly, except for small areas in its northern part which have a general northerly slope.

All precipitation runoff and stream drainage flow directly or indirectly into the Mississippi River. Coles Creek, with its tributaries, is the main outlet for the northern part of the county; St. Catherine Creek drains the central part, and the Homochitto River the southern part.

Rainfall is relatively heavy, averaging 50 inches or more each year. The pervious loess formation, supporting an abundant forest growth, readily absorbs a large part of this rainfall. The smaller intermittent tributaries to the main streams carry a large volume of runoff during and following heavy rains. Numerous springs rise where the base of the loess is exposed in contact with the more impervious underlying Pliocene-Miocene sequence.

The origin of loess, whether it is a wind or water deposit, is still a matter of conjecture among geologists. Ford (1963, 7), who has discussed this question in an archeological context, is inclined to agree with Russell (1944) and Fisk (1951) that it is water deposited. Most geologists agree as to the chemical and physical characteristics of the deposit and its Pleistocene age. It is the uppermost rock formation in Adams County.

Loess is a fine, velvety soil, with a narrow range of grain size and a high lime content. It contains many lime concretions and shells of land snails. The upper horizons are leached and the lime redeposited in the lower levels. Once the lime is leached out the soil is extremely susceptible to erosion. As cohesiveness is lost with lime content, old trails and roads become deeply entrenched from the combined effects of traffic and weathering. The standing vertical banks of road cuts are familiar sights in the region. The color of the soil is usually in shades of yellow to brown. At extremes it may run from red or

nearly black to buff and bluish gray. Examples of all these hues were observed in the fill of the mounds. The weathering of the iron and organic content of the loess soil determines the color variations.

Biologists include the Natchez region in the extensive southeastern Austroriparian Faunal area. The range of flora and fauna is typical for upland and swamp terrains, as demonstrated by the analysis of the faunal remains (Appendix 2). Despite superficial changes introduced by modern civilization, the landscape and topography are still recognizable from the early French accounts, as is demonstrated below. Floral and faunal balance has also changed, but an almost complete representation of both is present today.

A man-made outlet for St. Catherine Creek where it crosses the flood plain has had a radical effect on the physiography of the county. This change indirectly complicated the 1962 archeological field work. The shortening of the channel has already been mentioned in connection with Swanton's observations and photographs published in 1911. Albrecht (1944), in a study intended to locate the Natchez villages on the basis of ethno-historical and cartographical data, has shown that the former mouth of St. Catherine Creek was about 6 miles downstream from its present outlet. This fact has a bearing on the interpretation of distances given in French accounts as they relate to the location of the sites of the Grand Village, Fort Rosalie, and other geographical points.

When St. Catherine Creek followed its seventeenth century course, it built up an outwash fan where the creek left the bluff hills and entered the flood plain of the Mississippi River. The fan was built up about 55 feet above the level of the river, and the creek turned southward to flow across the fan and parallel to the river in the channel of what is now called Old St. Catherine Creek. The mouth was 2 or 3 miles above Ellis Cliffs (Fig. 1). As a consequence, the aggrading stream overflowed its narrow valley for several miles upstream from at least the early 1700's to about 1870. The approximate 10-foot blanket of silt covering the Fatherland Site was deposited under the conditions described.

After the new outlet was dug through the outwash fan, cutting off about 6 miles of the lower course, the water traveled only a short

distance from the foot of the bluffs to the Mississippi River. The stream then dropped about 40 feet in 1 mile instead of over a distance of 6 miles.

The increased velocity of discharge caused the stream to cut into its alluvial bed, and the main stream and its tributaries began to degrade their courses throughout the north-central part of the county. Severe erosional problems developed in a wide area, and these persist to the present time.

The exact date when the course of St. Catherine Creek was shortened is not known. Albrecht (1944, 78) wrote of a manuscript map discovered by the Survey of Federal Archives of Louisiana in the files of the Mississippi River Commission (1774, 91) shortly prior to 1944. The cartographer William Wilton, a British surveyor and engineer, prepared the British land grants along the Mississippi in 1774 for Peter Chester, then the governor of British West Florida. At that time St. Catherine Creek followed the long course through Old St. Catherine Creek and entered the Mississippi River just above the Ellis Cliffs. Albrecht (1944, 79) also pointed out that the bank line of Wilton's map agrees fairly well with the 1765 meander line of the river (Mississippi River Commission, 1938). This, for practical purposes, is equivalent to Fisk's Stage-17 Channel (Fig. 1) which is mapped on the basis of the historical data. The modern mouth of Old St. Catherine Creek is at least 2 miles below the Ellis Cliffs escarpment.

As Albrecht (1944, 78) has pointed out, the distance between the mouth of St. Catherine Creek above the Ellis Cliffs and Natchez, the site of Fort Rosalie in the seventeenth century, is about the same as that specified by Du Pratz. Du Pratz (1947, 298) wrote that the villages were 2 leagues (6 miles) above where the Creek joined the Mississippi River, and Fort Rosalie 4 leagues (12 miles) above. Presumably the distance to the village was measured up the creek; to the fort, by way of the river.

Five maps (Pinley, 1824; Illman, 1835; Tanner, *ca.* 1835; Mitchell, 1846; Desilver, 1856) show roads and distances and the growth of political subdivisions in Mississippi for the first half of the nineteenth century. Though not labeled, St. Catherine Creek is clearly drawn on each. It is shown entering the Mississippi River meander near Ellis Cliffs. The cartographical detail is inadequate for one to deter-

mine whether the mouth is above or below the cliffs, but the long course is distinctly indicated.

Major General W. T. Sherman (1865) ordered engineers to prepare a military map tracing his campaigns from 1863 to 1865. Though small-stream detail was neglected at that time, a stream course parallel to the foot of the bluffs below Natchez is clearly shown. The upper reaches of the creek east of Natchez are omitted. Various editions of state and county maps that appeared as recently as 1910 show the long course. Most of these maps are concerned with political subdivisions. Apparently they were not kept up to date with sufficient accuracy to show the minor local drainage project involved in the shortening of the channel of St. Catherine Creek. The general obscurity of the operation is reflected in the local unawareness of the history of the change.

A graphic account of the effects of the change in the course of the creek is contained in a volume of family memoirs (Butler, 1948, 73-74) which states specifically that its course was shortened after the Civil War and is eyewitness testimony to the radical changes that took place in the regional physiography:

It might be well to explain how New Era came into being. The property of Laurel Hill and Ellis Cliffs extended to the river and originally even the bluffs at the edge of Laurel Hill were right over the river. But the Mississippi is an unpredictable stream and in the course of the fifty years or so between 1830 and 1880 it had changed its course so that the bluffs of Laurel Hill were no longer on the river, but an immense batture covered with willow and cottonwood lay at the foot of the cliffs. It was quite high land and of course very fertile, but St. Catherine's Creek ran through it, and this creek in its long course was subject to freshets from the abundant rainfall, so that the land was flooded at uncertain intervals. Then a curious thing happened, which shows how unpredictable sometimes are the results of our attempts to modify nature. St. Catherine's Creek ran a long, winding course from slightly above Natchez, curving around behind the town and then flowing about fifteen miles through the batture to empty at Hutchins Landing. At one point some three or four miles from Natchez the river was not more than half a mile from a bend in the creek. The landholders in that territory suffered from its inundations, and Mr. Surget and Mr. Minor combined to cut a canal or ditch at this narrow point, thus giving a new outlet to St. Catherine's Creek, and allowing, of course, the same fall in this short distance that had formerly been distributed over the long winding course of the

creek. The creek cut its way through rapidly. The old mouth became only a small stream fed by the brooks from the hills, and the danger of inundation from rains was ended. This meant that there was available a very fine plantation which my father determined to clear and put in service. This was New Era. Old-timers like myself will also note that there was another totally unexpected result, for St. Catherine's Creek with the now swift current began rapidly to scour out. Where we used to be able to ford the creek except at times of freshet, across a stream that was perhaps thirty yards wide, there is now a stream that is completely unfordable and a bridge which has to be made longer and longer as the banks cave away at each end. Moreover all the nearby tributary bayous have scoured out, so that now on the lower Woodville Road between Laurel Hill and Natchez there are three long bridges over streams that we used to ford.

It was in the early eighties that the first clearings on New Era began.

A United States Corps of Engineers reconnaissance map of the Lower Mississippi Valley for 1874 (no. 23) shows the short course. The best estimates deduced from the work of engineers and local historians suggest that the cut was made in 1871. The Fatherland Site and the surrounding lowlands were being flooded during the Indian occupation and up to the time the short cut was dug in approximately 1871. If 1729, the year of the Natchez Massacre, be used as a minimum date, silt has been deposited on the site for a period of at least 142 years. Alluvial fill over the bottom portions of the final mound mantles was observed in several profiles. An excerpt (Phelps, 1945, 4) from the official French correspondence of the 1720-period mentioned the hardships experienced as a result of localized flooding of the crops of the early French settlers. Presumably, this referred to the plantings at the St. Catherine and White Earth concessions which also bordered the creek.

The low-water elevation of the creek at the Fatherland Site is now about 40 feet above sea level. This is approximately 65 feet below the general elevation of the surface around the mounds. The site is no longer flooded by the stream and presumably has not been since the early 1870's.

A 3-acre fragment of this old St. Catherine terrace formation is on the east side of the creek opposite the mounds. The present surface is at very nearly the same level as that around the

mounds. Bore holes were put down here, and fragments of charcoal and burned clay were discovered beneath 5 to 10 feet of alluvium. Eastward from this area the hills rise to an elevation of 200 feet above sea level, where sheet erosion has been severe. Farmhouses and outbuildings stand on mounds 2 feet high, in contrast to the surrounding unprotected surface which has been and is being washed away. A few weathered sherds of Natchez types and flint chips were found at various localities.

Black, peaty soil several inches thick formed most of the old surface beneath each mound. The same layer was occasionally found in cores from bore holes put down in the surrounding area. Most of the area between the three mounds appeared to be clean. At depths ranging from 5 to 10 feet the old surface was distinguished with difficulty. The black color was not always caused by cultural staining. For the most part the layer was culturally sterile and resembled muck deposits like those in shallow sloughs or swampy spots. The lower part of this layer was leached and graded into the underlying dun-colored silt. It has been pointed out that under certain natural conditions loess-derived soils are dark or black.

The tops of Mounds A, B, and C projected 14 feet, 7 feet, and 2 feet, respectively, above the alluvial blanket. The exposed surfaces of all three mounds have been damaged severely both by erosion and by cultivation and in spots by holes dug by the curious. Laminated deposits of mound wash alternating with stream-deposited silt at the margins show that the mound surfaces were deteriorating at the same time that the surrounding area was being covered with silt.

A French engineering report of 1733 (Rowland and Sanders, 1932, 592) commented on the constant repair required to maintain the new earthworks at Fort Rosalie. It is to be expected that aboriginal structures were similarly affected by weathering while in use and afterward.

ESTABLISHMENT OF MAPPING GRID

An extremely dense tangle of second-growth trees, bushes, old treetops, and intertwining briars and vines covered the entire area, except for an old field and a small garden plot between Mounds B and C. Four days' work with a D6 bulldozer were required to clear about 4 acres,



FIG. 2. Map of the Fatherland Site, showing Mounds A, B, and C on the alluvial terrace deposit of St. Catherine Creek.

concentrating on what was thought to be the plaza between Mounds A and B described by the French (Fig. 2). Mound C, which was scarcely 2 feet high, would have escaped notice, except for previous knowledge of its presence and irregularities stemming from Chambers' work in 1930. The mounds were cleared by hand, as it was believed that the weight of the bulldozer might damage shallow archeological features.

A permanent brass-capped bench mark was set in concrete halfway between Mounds A and B, and a base grid of 100-foot squares was established. It extended 900 feet from north to south and 500 feet in the opposite direction. A line was run 286.5 feet northeastward across St. Catherine Creek for setting a reference point for the village area. An elevation was run in from a nearby established bench mark and extended to the grid stakes. The average reading over the level plaza area was about 105 feet above mean sea level. The solid contour lines (Fig. 2) mark the present terrace surface; and the broken lines, the aboriginal surface as reconstructed from bore holes and test trenches.

After Mounds A and B were cleared, it was obvious that they retained some suggestion of rectangular shape that did not correspond with the cardinal directions of the grid. Accordingly, special grids were surveyed for each mound so that test trenches would enter at right angles to the sides of the mounds.

The east-to-west base line south of Mound A was oriented 75 degrees east of north. It pivoted on the N200, E100 stake of the main grid. A base line, from southeast to northwest, north of Mound B was oriented 35 degrees west

of north and pivoted on the S250, W0 stake. No special grid seemed necessary for Mound C. Ten-foot squares were laid off at each mound, and special numbering systems were assigned to each special grid.

As developed later, these special grids were not necessary and were even a hindrance. Mound B was rectangular, but what at first appeared to be straight sides were actually corners trimmed by cultivation and erosion. No rectangularity, and therefore no such orientation, could be discovered in the small remnant of Mound A. Mound C, to anticipate slightly, proved to be a surprise. As tests there proceeded, it was soon learned that it was a rectangular house mound, which covered more area than Mound B. Its long axis was turned a few degrees east of north.

The first test trenches into Mound B gave a clear picture of the depth of alluvium deposited by St. Catherine Creek; the surface on which mound construction began was an average of 7 feet beneath the present surface of the terrace.

Originally, I had intended to excavate the remnants of the mounds and dig an extensive network of trenches in order to uncover other buildings around the square, particularly the house of the Tattooed Serpent, which was burned at his death. However, the unexpected thickness of silt over the 1700-1729 surface made it impossible to undertake any extensive work in the plaza area with the funds available. It was necessary that work be confined to the mounds. As they were actually several times larger than had been anticipated, the work in these was perhaps more limited than I should have liked.

EXCAVATIONS

MOUND A

ARCHEOLOGISTS WHO WERE FAMILIAR with the Fatherland Site believed that the remnant of Mound A was the foundation of the House of the Great Sun and Mound B the site of the temple, so well described in the early sources. Mound C was believed to be an inconspicuous burial mound which had escaped the notice of the French. As is demonstrated below, such a belief was in error, but the excavation was begun in Mound B on the basis of it. As excavation progressed, it became evident that Mound B was probably the Mound of the Great Sun and that Mound C was the site of the temple. It is Mound A that does not appear in the French accounts. Consequently, the remnant of Mound A was dug at the end of the field season and was given only minor attention; the work on it is described first.

Mound A was tested by Chambers in 1930. His notes state that Moorehead had also tested it in 1924. Apparently, it had been a fairly large mound; the remnant that escaped destruction by St. Catherine Creek was several feet higher than Mound B. Presumably it had been a house mound, although excavation neither confirmed nor denied this notion.

The mound fragment stands on the extreme northeast edge of the level creek terrace, 65 feet above the modern intrenched creek bed (Pl. 2c; Fig. 2). The precise date of the destruction of the mound by St. Catherine Creek is unknown, but several people, including the writer, remember the segment as being somewhat larger in the recent past. Shipp (1897, 207) reported that half of the mound was cut away in the early nineteenth century. In 1956 I observed burned floors in the eroded eastern face of the remnant. I removed a fragment of one floor and placed it in the State Parks Museum at Marksville, Louisiana. Nothing remained of these floors in 1962, although separate mantles were detected. The creek now flows 200 feet to the east of the mound.

The special grid established for Mound A conformed to the long axis of the remnant, being 15 degrees east of true north, and turned on the N200, E100 stake of the site grid. The pivot was designated as zero, and squares were

numbered north and east from this point.

It was decided to take advantage of the steep eroded face on the east side of the mound. This was trimmed into a vertical profile by digging a trench in the E80-90 section from the N15-foot to the N60-foot line. A 3-foot standing wall was left at this point, and the E80-90 trench was continued north from the N63-foot to the N100-foot line. The first trench was dug to the base of the mound furnishing a 16-foot-high profile along the E80-foot line. Mound mantles were detected, and profiles were recorded. The N63-100 trench was dug down to from 5 to 8 feet below the mound surface and did not reach mound base. This uncompleted short trench yielded virtually no artifacts or structural information and was the terminal excavation of the 1962 season.

A trench dug at the west margin of the mound in the N30-40, W40-60 section was cut down through the 2 feet or more of surface alluvium, recent mound outwash, and 3 feet of dark midden grading into the old surface. The total depth was about 7 feet.

Pottery and artifacts were scanty in the excavations; European articles were found in the outwash beneath the surface silt, indicating some living activity in the area during the French contact period.

The profile on the E80-foot line disclosed three indistinct mantles on the west mound slope. The upper two were each about 6 feet thick and could be distinguished during the process of digging the test trench. Pottery and artifacts were saved separately from each mantle. The separation between the middle and bottom mantles was not distinct. It was not possible to divide cultural materials from them with any accuracy, although in profile they could be distinguished as separate deposits. The earliest mantle averaged about 2 feet in thickness. It lay directly on the old black occupation surface which contained potsherds and other refuse and was about 1 foot thick.

The bottom mantle, where distinguishable, contained a large proportion of darker soils deposited horizontally over the old surface. The middle mantle contained a smaller quantity of darker soils, and the lenses slanted up toward the north. The fill of the upper mantle consisted

of gray and tan slightly leached soils deposited in horizontal lenses.

A depression in the E80-foot profile at the N40-foot line probably represented digging by Chambers or possibly Moorehead. Two post-holes about 0.4 foot in diameter and two auger holes 0.8 foot in diameter were found in Square E80-90, N50-60. The auger holes had unusually sharp outlines and were observed at all excavation levels as the trench was being dug. The postholes were in the old surface beneath the mound. So little structural information was obtained that no diagrams illustrating this work are presented.

MOUND B

The base line of the special grid for Mound B pivoted on the S250, W0 stake of the site grid and ran 35 degrees west of north. The pivot was designated as zero, and 10-foot squares were numbered south and west from it. Coordinate trenches, 5 feet wide, were cut into the sides of the mound to reveal building levels so that they might be systematically "peeled." From the north a trench was cut between W55 and W60; later this was extended entirely across the mound. The east trench lay between S30 and S35; the west trench, between S55 and S60. On the southern side of the mound a large looter's pit between the W70 and W80 lines was cleaned out to make possible observation of the mound structure (Fig. 3).

These trenches revealed that Mound B had been constructed in four stages and that each stage was capped with the remains of a building (Fig. 4). These stages of mound construction are referred to from bottom to top as Phases I, II, III, and IV. The surfaces of these construction stages are similarly referred to as Building Levels 1, 2, 3, and 4. The sequence of description is from the most recent to the earliest.

The initial cuts made it clear that only a small island of fill from the fourth and last mound phase was still extant. This was disappointing in that it lessened the chances of finding evidence of a building associated with the French period. The irregular remnant was about 50 feet in diameter and 1 to 2 feet thick at most. Nine superficial pits, several large trees, and extensive small root disturbances in addition to erosion combined to make investigation difficult and unsatisfactory.

This leached, relatively sterile mantle was

designated as Phase IV. The sod was peeled away over the entire summit in an effort to discover the remains of the final building level, though no evidence of a floor remained. A segment of the lower part of a wall trench was exposed in Square W80-90, S40-50. It was approximately 15 feet long (Fig. 3) and 0.7 foot deep. No postholes were found. On the north the trench was obliterated by a pit and on the south by a tree. Its orientation and that of other trenches from deeper levels demonstrated that the special grid was not aligned with the aboriginal structures.

The trench could not be seen clearly in the leached, tan loam fill of the final mantle which was nearly 2 feet thick. It was, however, traced readily in an underlying midden accumulation which was referable to Phase III, Building Level 3. Two slightly fired areas, 2 feet to the west, and 5 feet to the east (Fig. 3), were apparently associated with the trench. They were 0.3 to 0.6 foot beneath the sod zone. The fire stains had probably either penetrated downward from a higher level or were in undetected pits. A fragment of an incised bowl (Pl. 11q), a Plaquemine Brushed jar fragment (Pl. 10e), and an iron knife blade (Pl. 13z), lay together at 0.3 foot beneath the surface in Square S30-40, W70-80. These objects were either in an undetectable pit or had been rather deeply embedded in the Phase IV mantle.

Sherds, stone scrap, and some bone were found in the Phase IV fill, though it was relatively sterile compared to underlying layers. It is the only level in Mound B that contained European trade items. Two pistol barrels were found just below the sod line (Pl. 16b). One (Find 33) was lodged vertically in Square S40-50, W80-90 (Pl. 3a). Its muzzle was battered and appeared just beneath the sod. It had either been driven, butt down, into the mound fill or had been placed in this position when the mound fill was added. An almost identical specimen (Find 32) was found in Square S40-50, W40-50 lying flat beneath the sod.

A bowl fragment of an elbow-shaped catlinite pipe (Pl. 13k) was lodged in the sod beneath the roots of a tree in Square S50-60, W80-90. While these distinctive pipes were manufactured by Indians of the southwestern Minnesota catlinite quarry region, their distribution over the Southeast is virtually as good a time marker of the contact period as are glass beads.

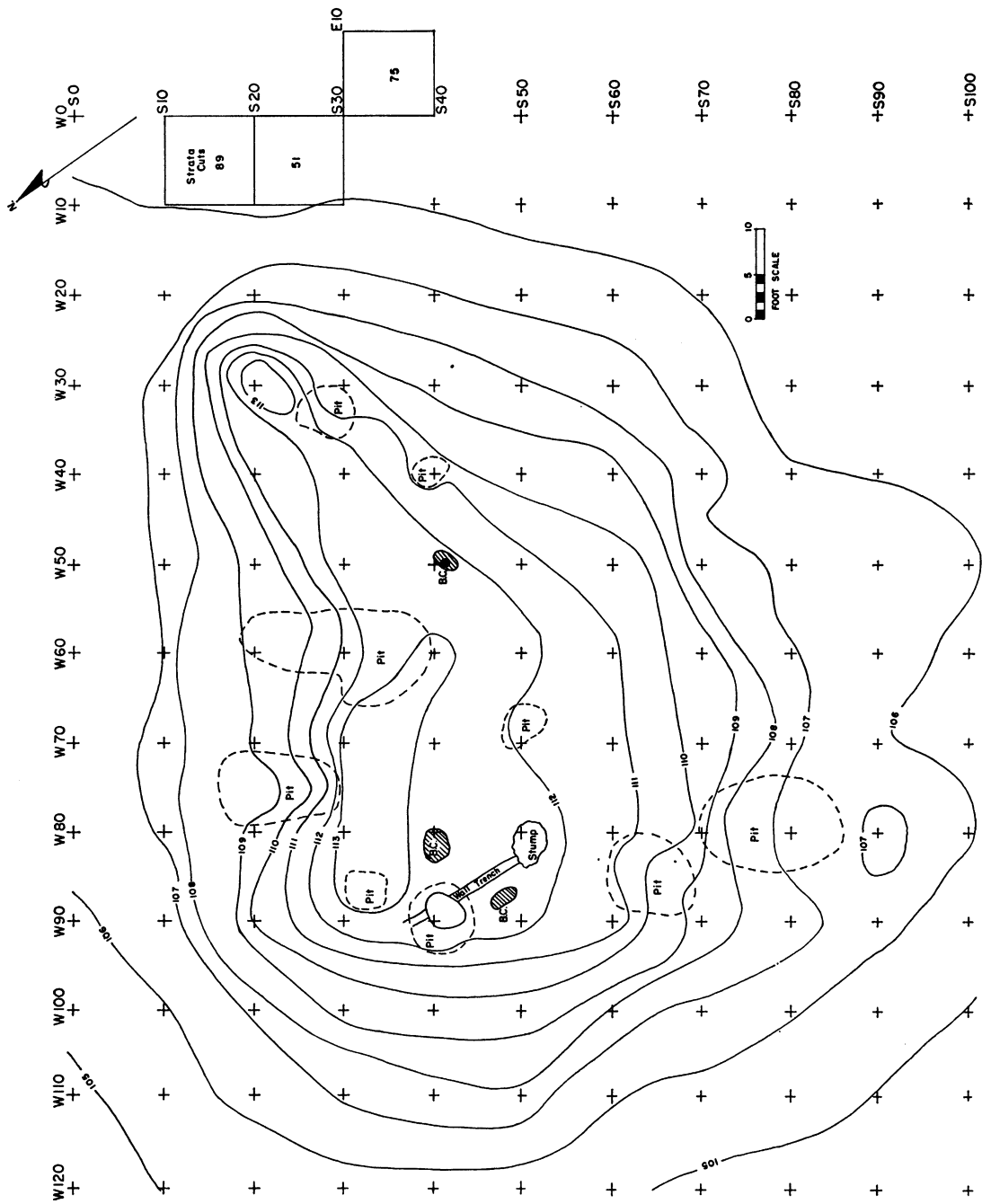


Fig. 3. Map of Mound B and features of the historic Natchez chief's house, Building Level 4.

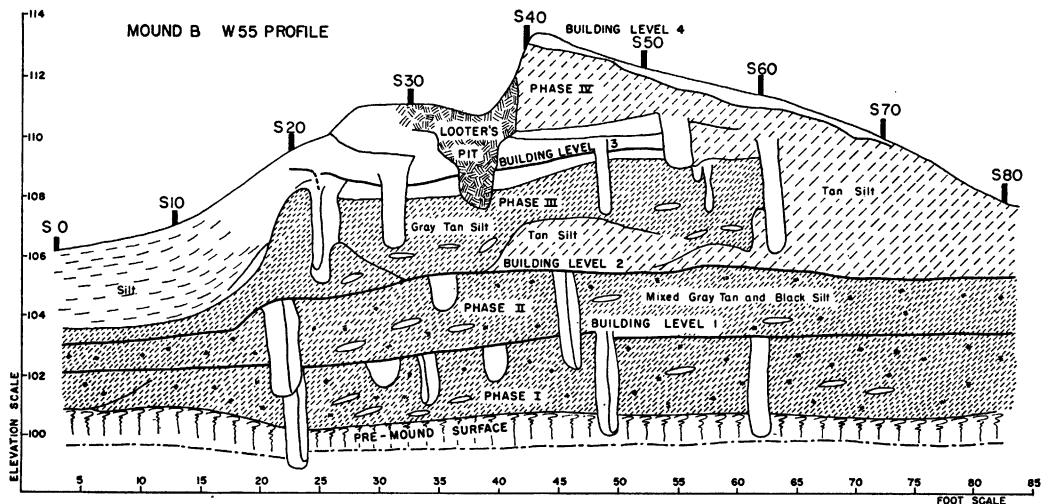


FIG. 4. West 55-foot profile of Mound B.

The removal of the tan loam mantle exposed the more complicated surface of Phase III. The bottom of the segment of wall trench of Building Level 4, previously mentioned, was traced in a ridge of midden soil 7 feet wide by about 15 feet long. The crest of this ridge was 2 feet to the east of the trench and parallel to its north-to-south course. The ends of the midden strip merged with the dark sod layer on top of the mound. A similar ridge of midden soil was found parallel to the first 32 feet to the east. It too was about 15 feet long and 1 foot thick along its crest, feathering out laterally. Neither wall trench nor postholes were found in it. A posthole, 1 foot in diameter, appeared in a fire-stained patch of soil 5 feet to the west of the western edge of this ridge.

The midden ridges which seem to have been a part of the rather complicated floor deposits characterizing the surface of Phase III were designated as Building Level 3 (Figs. 4, 5; Pl. 3b), the trench segment of Building Level 4 being intrusive to the westernmost ridge. Similar localized patching and filling have been described for a Quapaw house excavated by Ford (1961, 152). Evidently these midden ridges were built up by accumulations of refuse against the walls of buildings.

It was hoped that Building Level 3 would supply structural details that had been obliterated in the destruction of the final mound mantle. It was reasonable to expect that any pattern exposed would be a counterpart of the structure

that had formerly occupied the top of the mound. It was soon discovered that the complex floor deposits probably resulted from the construction of two successive buildings on the same general floor level (Fig. 5). The severe marginal erosion of Phase III, and to some degree Phase II, was demonstrated by the loss of the north walls of the nested, wall-trench patterns. The mound surface was 75 feet long from east to west and an undetermined width from north to south at this level.

If the buildings were originally square, at least 10 to 14 feet of the north half of each, together with a corresponding portion of mound fill, had washed away. This missing fill was originally at least 3 feet thick, the average interior depth of most of the wall trenches in both Mounds B and C. By the application of this proportion to the wall-trench remnant attributed to Building Level 4, it is possible to estimate that approximately 2 feet of the upper part of the trench and mound fill have been washed from the summit.

Since the two trench patterns of Building Level 3 did not intersect satisfactorily at any point, there was no direct evidence to prove which one was earlier. In profile, there appeared to be two irregular but fairly consistent principal floor surfaces. The smaller inside pattern generally originated at a higher absolute level and in some instances seemed to intrude through an indistinct loaded or accumulated band of fill associated with the lower, outer-trench pattern.

Thus it may be presumed that the smaller pattern was more recent. The trenches and included postholes of both patterns were not visible until the confusing cross-bedded floor deposits were sliced away. Sherds lying flat, ash beds, and burned areas suggested gradually accumulating floor surfaces. Reference to the W55-foot profile between the S20 and the S30 stakes provides one example of the kind of evidence used to determine the order of construction of the two buildings (Fig. 4).

The larger and earlier trench pattern was about 51 feet from east to west (Fig. 5). At the time of excavation, the north-to-south dimension was 35 feet; an indeterminate portion of the floor and the north side of the building plan had disappeared. The postholes in the trenches, consistently 0.3 to 0.4 foot in diameter, were spaced approximately 1 foot apart and were situated against the outer side of the trenches. The posts penetrated to the bottoms of the 3-foot-deep trenches. Occasionally there were

impressions in the bottoms of the trench, which suggested that the posts had been dropped in with some force.

Two short rows of small postholes occurred just outside the eastern wall of the larger trench pattern. These were 0.2 to 0.3 foot in diameter and slightly more than 1 foot deep. The lines ran north to south and were parallel to the east walls of the houses (Fig. 5). Specific association with the inner or outer trench patterns was not clear, but the rows of postholes were arranged in the same position relative to the southeast corners of the wall patterns. The arrangement suggested a screen or windbreak. Perhaps the gap between wall trenches at the corner served as a doorway. Unaligned exterior postholes were found at the same corner of the underlying structure of Building Level 2, but not in Building Level 1 (Figs. 6, 7). The latter two, it will be seen, had hearths just inside the same corner opening.

Another short row of small postholes extended

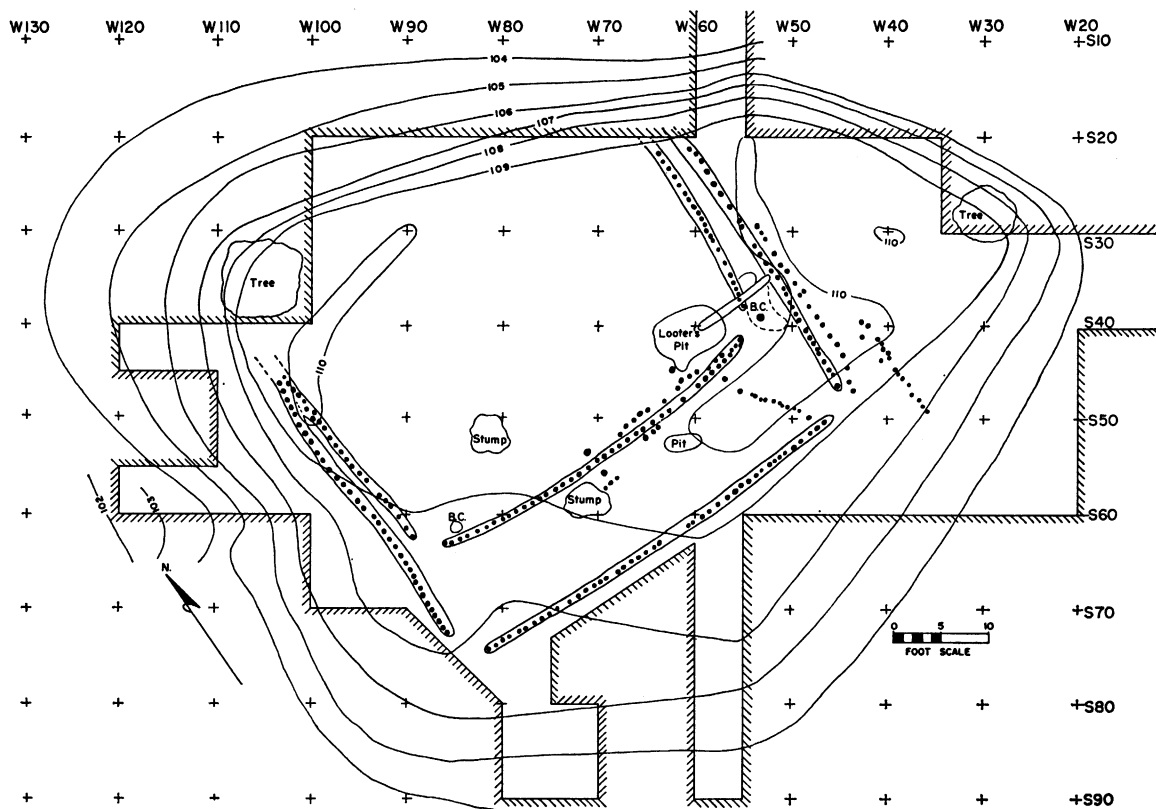


FIG. 5. Plan of Building Level 3, Phase III, Mound B.

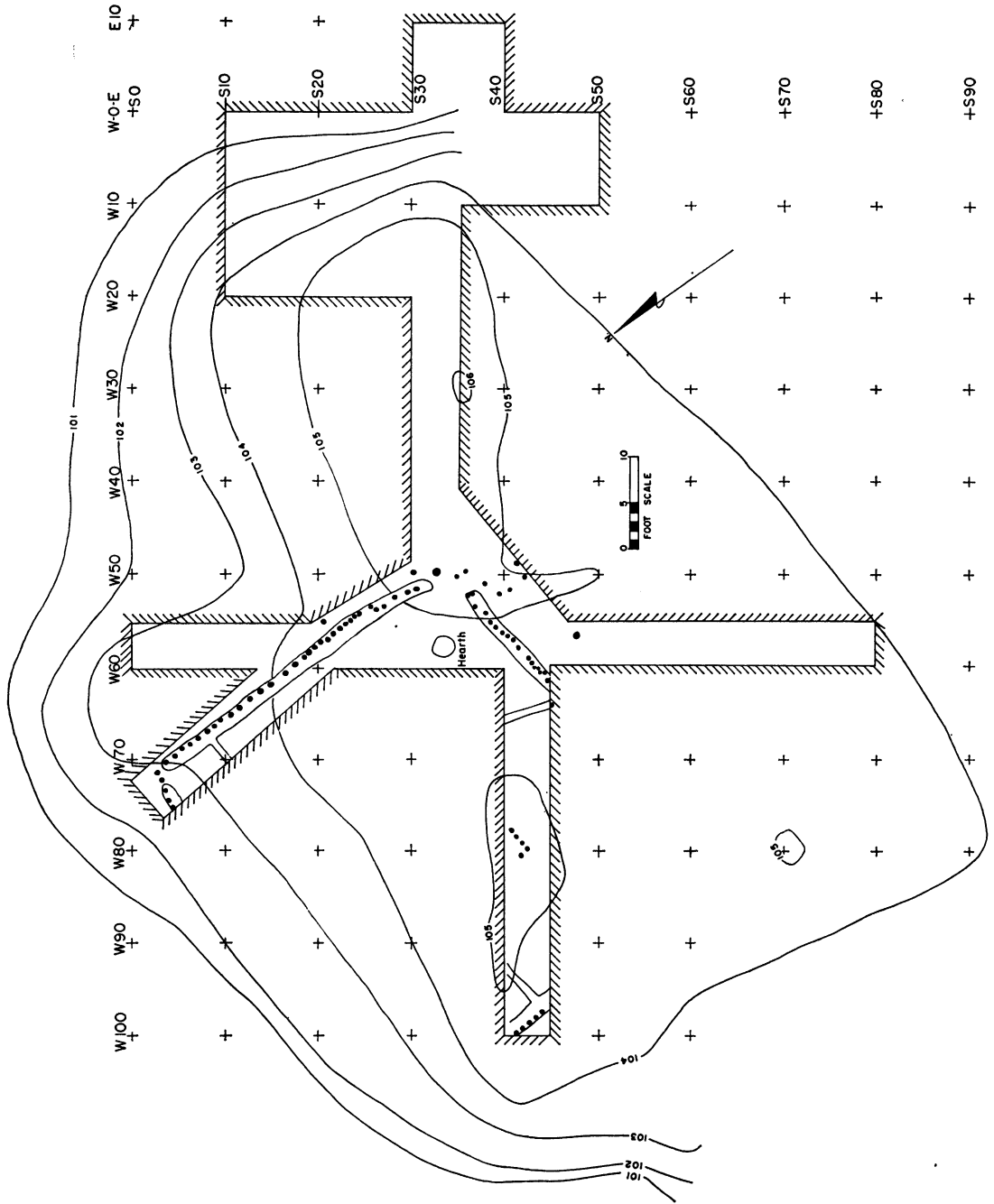


FIG. 6. Plan of Building Level 2, Phase II, Mound B.

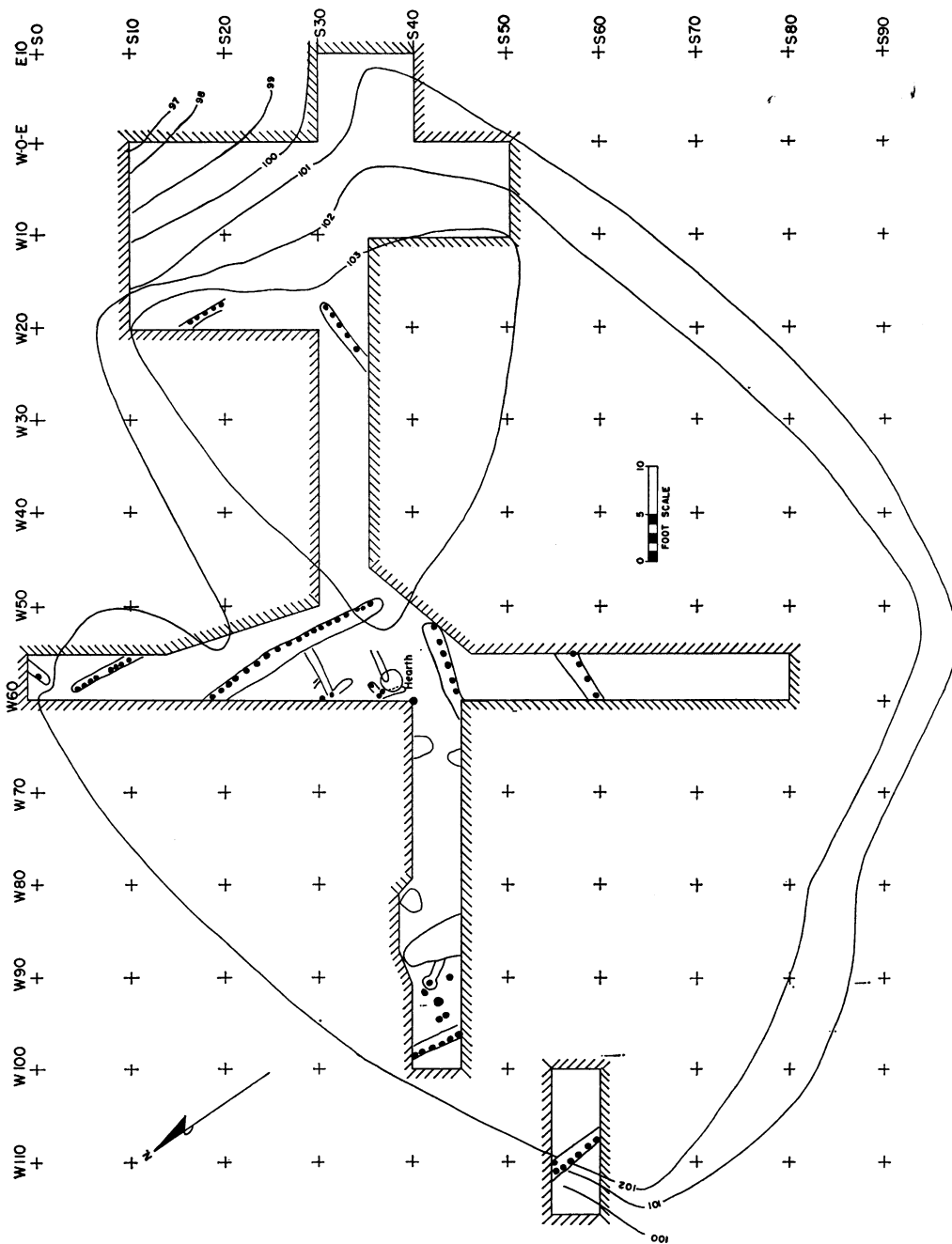


FIG. 7. Plan of Building Level 1, Phase I, Mound B.

diagonally between the south walls of the two buildings near this corner. It could have been an exterior screen for the inner pattern or an interior partition for the larger, outer structure.

A 10-foot section of wall trench cut across the east walls of both houses near the southeast corners of each. The wall trench was 1 foot deep, contained no postholes, and was intrusive to both main walls.

An irregular area of fired clay between the two walls was 5 feet long by 3 feet wide. The 10-foot segment of wall trench and a small pit in the north edge cut through it. A single large post, 0.7 foot in diameter and 1 foot deep, was exposed near the center of the area as the burned clay was sliced away. This feature, presumably a hearth, was just within the corner of the larger trench pattern. If such a hearth had been situated in the corner of the smaller, inner structure, it was probably destroyed by the modern pit that had been dug there. A second small hearth, 1 foot in diameter, was found inside the southwest corner of the smaller trench pattern.

Packed, bedded floor deposits recurring at the east corners of all the successive house patterns suggest extra foot traffic that did not occur on other sections of the floor. The impression persists that these corners were used not only as entrances but also for the household fires. It is assumed that door openings could have served as outlets for the smoke.

The original rectangular shape of the mound, despite erosion, is suggested by the contour lines that were plotted from profile data (Fig. 5). The bulge on the south side (facing Mound C) probably represents a ramp. The configuration of the 110-foot contour reflects portions of the midden strips described above. The significance of these deposits is not clear. The fairly well-defined floor surfaces of the two structures lay under the midden accumulations. Postholes and wall trenches were not visible until the midden and the floor were scraped away. This midden was probably an accumulation of floor sweepings; less likely, an element of the ensuing Phase IV fill. The average elevation of the more or less level laminated floor deposit ranged between the 108 and 109 contours.

One small oval pit found about the middle of and between the trenches of the south walls of the structures was 4 feet long by 1.7 feet wide

and 1 foot deep. The fill consisted of mixed soil that contained no cultural material.

At this point it is well to recall that, according to French accounts, primary burials in pits in the floor of the temple were customary. The bodies were supposed to be removed later for bone cleaning and storing in containers. Archeologically, such pits, empty or not, should be distinguishing features of the former temple site. The absence of pits in the final mantle of Mound B can probably be attributed to the effects of various disturbances. If it be assumed that this earlier stage had served the same purpose as the final historic mound level, pits should have been found in the better-preserved parts of Phase III and Building Level 3.

The north side of Mound B, extensively destroyed, faced the presumed chief's mound (Mound A) to the north, from which the funeral ceremonies of the Tattooed Serpent were witnessed in 1725. If the positions of burials as described were to be taken literally, they could have been made in the destroyed north flank of Mound B. This, of course, is not absolutely plausible, as the presence of pits could be anticipated anywhere within or beyond the structures. This absence of evidence of burial activity led me to doubt that Mound B was actually the site of the temple where Du Pratz and Dumont reported the burial of the Tattooed Serpent. For this reason I halted work temporarily on Mound B and excavated Mound C, where Chambers had found numerous burials. Mound C offered convincing evidence that it was indeed the temple mound; work was resumed later in Mound B with the following results.

After the features of Building Level 3 of Mound B were cleared and mapped, the W55-60 trench was deepened across the mound until the surface of Phase II was reached. Simultaneously, the S30-35 trench was deepened on the east, and a cut in the S40-45 section was begun from the west side. Excavation was stopped in the S55-60 trench on the west side because a mass of charred cane and thatch was exposed on the surface of Building Level 1.

As exposed in these cuts, the loading of Phase III varied in color and content from place to place in the mound. Gray to tan loads predominated, with occasional lenses of dark midden soils. The loaded zones were irregular and contorted through the central section of the mound (Fig. 5). The marginal portions were

apparently deposited in orderly, level loads. The two successive floor levels cap the uneven central portion of fill. Phase III averaged 4 to 5 feet in thickness in the core area of the mound. The worst erosion was on the north side, but the other three flanks had also washed badly.

A segment of a wall trench and the postholes included in it appeared at the surface of Phase II beneath a thin, stained floor deposit in the S20-25 section of the W55-60 trench (Fig. 6). When the excavation in the immediate area was widened, the corner of a house pattern similar to the patterns on Building Level 3 was revealed (Pl. 4b). The other two coordinate trenches were deepened to the surface of Building Level 2 to trace out other parts of this wall-trench pattern.

The profile of Building Level 2 was distinctive over all parts of the mound, but, except for its northwest quadrant, no building activity and very little occupational debris were visible on this surface. In this area one segment of wall trench first discovered ran north to south, forming the east side of a building. As it was cleaned northward, it became obvious that erosion had also carried away a substantial portion of the surface of Phase II. In following this feature northward, it was necessary to peel downhill from the general elevation of Building Level 2 before trench and posthole outlines were uncovered. The contours at this level indicate a drop of about 2 feet over a distance of 30 feet (Fig. 6). An open corner of this trench pattern was found at the extreme north end of the exploratory trench in the S0-10 section of the W70-foot line.

The postholes in the main wall trenches of this building were not filled as were those of other structures. Apparently the wall poles had been pulled up when the building was razed. Caps of fill formed over the tops of nearly all the holes, leaving most of the bottoms hollow.

When the S40-45 trench between the line at W60 feet and that at W100 feet was deepened, another segment of wall trench was exposed, presumably the west wall of the rectangular building that stood on this surface. It was 47 feet across from north to south and 40 feet from east to west. Short intersecting portions of shallow wall trenches connect with the main wall trenches at three points. These were about 1 foot deep and contained no postholes. Similar partitions or foundations for interior furnishings

were found in connection with the earlier Temple 1 and 2 patterns at Mound C.

The surface irregularity of Phase II is indicated by the contour pattern in Fig. 6. At first glance the contours seem to mark a ramp on the north side, but the condition of the deposits suggests that two gullies had developed here in addition to sheet erosion, which left the north flank very irregular at this level. Admittedly, because of the limited excavation on the south side of the mound mantle, surface details are scant. The contours are inferred from profile data. The Phase II surface was about 4 feet above the old occupational level of the plaza or about 1 foot beneath the present surface. The average elevation was about 104 feet.

Scattered postholes at the southeastern open corner may represent some sort of exterior screen or door structure, if the corner opening was an entrance. A hearth 2 feet in diameter, partially surrounded by a packed ash bed, was situated about 7 feet inside the open corner.

Two postholes were found between the ends of the two wall trenches forming the northeast corner of the structure. This is the first and only instance of the presence of corner posts at either Mound B or Mound C.

An alignment of five small postholes, nearly 1 foot deep, was found near the center of the house. These were presumably part of a partition or interior furnishing. French observers describe bed platforms supported on upright posts arranged next to the walls of the chief's house.

The groundplan of the house on Building Level 2 is fairly clear, although all parts of the wall trenches were not traced out in complete detail. At this point the control trenches had been carried down to an average depth of 5 to 7 feet below the top of the mound. It was apparent that it would be necessary to dig an additional 4 to 5 feet or a total of 9 feet over the entire mound in order to expose completely both Building Level 1 and the old surface beneath Phase I. At this point it became obvious that some compromise with the original excavation plan would have to be made in order to adjust to time and budget limits. The need to move unforeseen quantities of alluvium and mound fill in addition to the obligation ultimately to restore Mound B to its original condition, as required by contract with the landowner, imposed limitations on the original

intention to excavate the mound completely.

Consequently, it was decided to expose the surface of Building Level 1 and the pre-mound surface only in the areas of the existing control trenches. Thus, the mound quadrants were not excavated below the surface of Building Level 3. The features of Building Level 2 were mapped as they appeared piecemeal in the limited exploration trench areas (Fig. 6).

Again the control trenches were deepened approximately 2 feet through Phase II to expose Building Level 1. The fill of the latter phase was evenly laid and consisted of the normal gray and tan loam interspersed with a larger proportion of black soils than had occurred in Phase III. The primary mound, Phase I, had the largest summit area of any of the succeeding additions. It extended 20 feet beyond the margins of the mound projecting above the present surface. The top of Phase I was slightly more than 4 feet beneath this surface at an average elevation of 102 feet.

Nine segments of deep wall trenches were traced out on Building Level 1 (Fig. 7). Their relations are based largely on conjecture. At one time or another there seem to have been two or three major structures on this surface. The substructure was a large oblong platform raised about 2.5 feet above the old ground surface. It was approximately 90 feet long from east to west and 80 feet from north to south. The eastern flank of the platform, though inadequately exposed, seems to have suffered damage similar to that on the overlying level. Strata cuts made subsequently to the northeast of the mound showed that a substantial gully that developed in the plaza surface in this quarter was later filled by mound and surface wash. This fill was probably washed from the sides of the first three phases of the mound. Above this, approximately 5 feet of midden deposit had accumulated during the subsequent occupation of the mound. After 1730 the sterile upper 5 feet of silts was deposited over the entire area. The present surface shows a slight depression extending northeastward from mound B to the bluff along St. Catherine Creek (Fig. 2). Perhaps it is a surface manifestation of the buried gully.

Three sections of wall trench, two sides and a corner in the W55-60 trench, and a diagonal stretch in the west end of the S40-45 probably belong to the same house plan (Fig. 7). It lies

almost directly under the partially uncovered plan on Building Level 2. Although the excavation did not extend to the north wall of this house, it appears to be of about the same size as the superimposed structure. East to west it measured 46 feet.

This house plan on Building Level 1 also has a rather wide gap between the ends of the wall trenches at the southeast corner. A hearth 2.5 feet in diameter was situated 5 feet inside the opening. Another hearth of the same size was found in the S40-45 trench, 14 feet east of the west wall. When the thin, stained floor level was scraped through, several short stretches of narrow, shallow wall trenches were found. These would seem to indicate that partitions or other furnishings had been placed in the interior.

Sections of three deep, empty pits were found in the S40-45 trench within the wall limits of this house groundplan. The absence of pits has been noted for the final three stages of Mound B. The pits were filled only with mixed dirt. This situation is similar to that at Mound C, where empty pits in the temple floors were a consistent feature.

Though this structure had occupied only the northwest quadrant of the mound, there apparently were at least two other buildings on this surface. Whether these were contemporaneous with the above more complete trench pattern could not be determined. The short stretch in the S55-60 trench at W100-115 was covered with a mass of burned split cane and thatch (Fig. 7). As previously noted, the removal of an additional 10 feet from each quadrant would have been necessary to uncover the complete building plan suggested by the exposed corners of wall trench. The customary placement of postholes close to the outside wall of each trench segment gives a clue to the interior and exterior sides of the houses represented.

Though it can never be demonstrated positively, the function of the primary phase of Mound B seems to have differed from that of the succeeding three building levels. It is possible that the temple and the chief's dwelling occupied the same mound at this early period of site occupancy, possibly before Mound C was raised to serve as a temple foundation. Certainly, sherds and other cultural refuse were found on the old surface under Mound C, where few or none were found on the same surface under Mound B, suggesting that the Mound C

pre-mound surface was exposed to use while the first stage of Mound B sealed off the old surface beneath. Attempts to seriate the pottery from the three mounds to demonstrate relative ages were not convincing. This is probably to be expected, as the samples from all three mounds represent sherds picked up in loads of dirt from the surrounding area in the course of mound construction.

After the surface of Building Level 1 was mapped, the control trenches were deepened approximately 2 feet through the fill of Phase I to the old surface beneath the mound. The loading contained a greater quantity of black organic soils than were visible in the upper layers of mound fill. It is not clear whether this was the result of less leaching of the lower level soil or whether more dark organic dirt was available during the initial period of mound building.

A special effort was made to save sherds from the old surface beneath the mound fill. Few were obtained from any of the trenches as they were sliced through to the leached underlying subsoil. The lower parts of the wall trenches from Building Level 1 that penetrated through the old surface could be seen clearly in subsoil.

Portions of four wall trenches originating at the old surface were traced in subsoil (Fig. 8). Three of these obviously belonged to a single structure. The pattern is slightly skewed, but basically rectangular. It measured 22 feet from the east to the west walls. No hearth, floor, or cultural material was found. The posts were the same size as those in the larger and later buildings and were spaced at the same intervals and pressed against the outside edge of the trench. However, these trenches were only 1.5 feet in interior depth in contrast to the 3-foot depth of the superimposed buildings in the mound proper. A trench segment west of this seems to be part of another such small house.

Similar trench arrangements have been described by Cotter (1952, Fig. 53) in the surface under Mound B at the Gordon site. Quimby (1957, Fig. 34) also found similar structures at the Bayou Goula Site.

SUMMARY OF MOUND B EXCAVATION

Five physical levels of occupation were found at Mound B. The first of these was the old surface on which the mound was built. Evidence

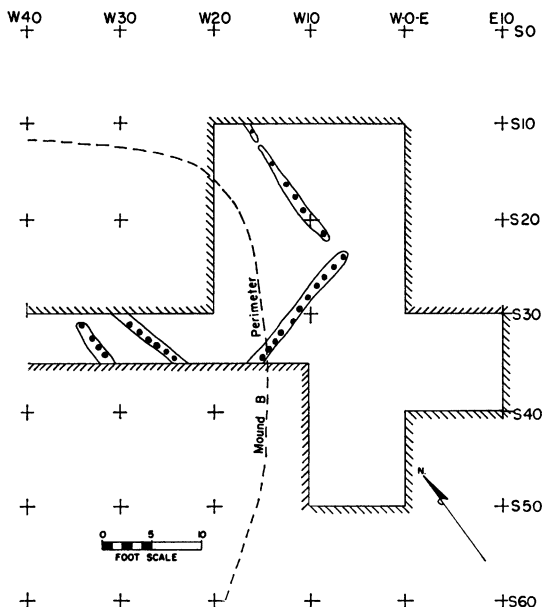


FIG. 8. Plan of house pattern on original surface beneath Mound B.

of two small dwellings was found here but virtually no cultural refuse.

Phase I consisted of gray, tan, and black soils piled evenly in about equal proportions over the area to form a low rectangular platform about 2 to 2½ feet high, and 80 by 90 feet, with the long axis from east to west. Two or three large buildings, two hearths, three empty pits, averaging 3 feet in depth, thin ash beds, and ordinary living refuse were found on this surface.

Phase II was an addition to the primary mound of 2 to 2½ feet of mostly gray and tan soils. The dimensions of the level top were about 70 by 80 feet or about 10 feet less than the lower phase. A building 46 feet long, from east to west, and 40 feet from north to south, was constructed on the northwest quadrant of the surface. Evidences of building activity include shallow wall trenches, a row of postholes, a hearth 5 feet inside the southeast corner of the house, and scattered postholes just outside the house.

Phase III consisted of about 4 feet of mixed gray and tan loads interspersed with an occasional lens of black dirt. The platform was 75 feet long from east to west; the original north-to-south dimension could not be determined. Two almost identical rectangular structures had

been built on this surface at different times. One was slightly larger than the other, and the trench patterns were nested. The earlier outer structure was 51 feet from east to west and the smaller 45 feet from east to west. Surface erosion had washed away the north edges of the houses.

Rows of small posts found near the open southeast corners of both structures were probably screens associated with the openings. A hearth and bed of packed ashes were situated near the east wall of the outer structure, about 10 feet from the southeast corner. A small hearth was found just inside the southwest corner of the inner pattern. One small shallow pit was traced between the south walls of both structures.

Phase IV consisted of well-leached, uniform tan soil. Compared with that of the preceding three mound stages, lensing was indistinct. Most of the upper portion of the zone had been removed by erosion, so that the original thickness of the deposit could not be determined. A short shallow section of wall trench on the better-preserved western side provided some evidence that at least 2 feet of fill had been removed from the top of the mound and that a building had stood there.

Two small areas of fire staining, pieces of native pots, and European trade articles were found in this final mound fill. European goods

were not found below the Phase IV level.

STRATA CUTS NEAR MOUND B

The S30-35 coordinate trench into the east side of Mound B yielded a significant quantity of scraps of European trade objects. Although some of this probably washed down off the most recent mound surface, profiles showed that a nearly level, undisturbed midden had accumulated on the easterly sloping old surface immediately to the east and north of the mound (Fig. 9). The four to five-foot-thick deposit consisted of three indistinct layers resting on the old plaza surface. These could be separated only in profile, so collections were made in 3-inch arbitrary levels from six selected 10-foot squares. Sifting was unsuccessful, because the soil was too wet. Small objects were recovered as effectively by careful slicing as by using a screen.

Profiles were drawn after each cut was carried to the bottom of the deposits. Paper shells of the percentages of typed sherds collected from the 3-inch strata cuts were superimposed on the natural profiles. It was necessary to discard the analysis of three of the cuts, because they included marginal mound fill and cultural material of Phases I and II. Cuts 51, 75, and 89 were dug into natural deposits and were selected as comparable analysis units. The significance of the ceramic stratification is discussed in the section on Pottery.

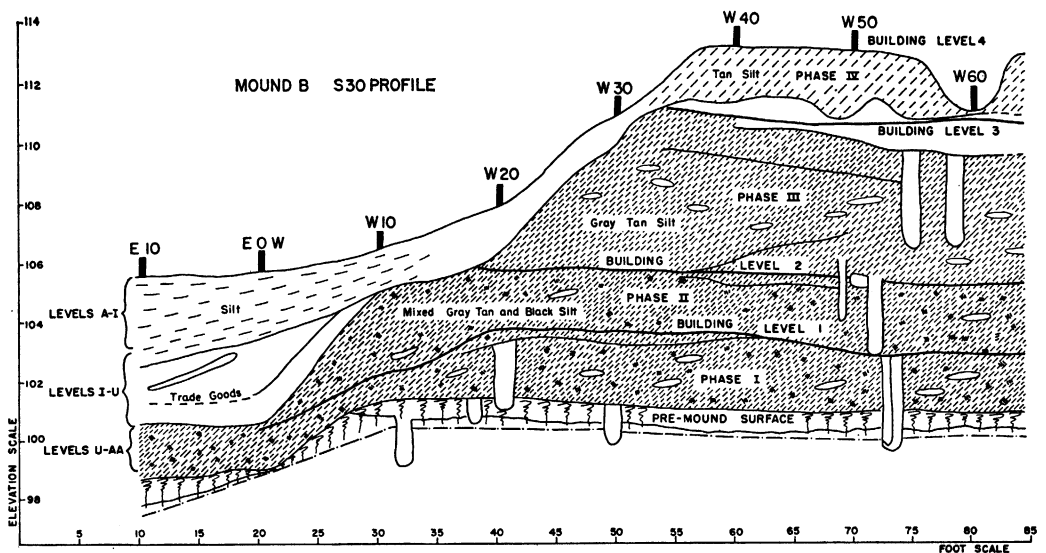


FIG. 9. South 30-foot profile of Mound B, showing relation of historic midden deposits to mound stratigraphy.

MOUND C

BUILDING LEVEL 2

One of the bore holes drilled at the beginning of my work at the Fatherland Site was near the S600, W260 stake on the northeast edge of Mound C. At least 8 feet of mixed soil containing charcoal and wattle was contained in the core from this location. The depth of the contents of the core was puzzling when considered in terms of the shallow excavations carried out by Chambers and the negligible size of the mound visible on the surface. He recorded a small burial mound with a maximum height of 3 feet. At the latter depth of the mound he noted a stained surface and one or two burned areas in its central portion. He concluded that this was the bottom of the mound and that the underlying tan to gray soil was the characteristic subsoil of the locality.

He found numerous burials and a quantity of associated grave goods which, for the most part, lay only a few inches below the surface. From the descriptions of French eyewitnesses it is known that burials were made in the temple mound of the Natchez. Pits or other evidence of such burials were not found in the first few weeks of excavation at Mound B. Accordingly, to clarify this situation, it was decided to test Mound C.

A 10-foot test trench was put down in the S600-610, W250-260 square (Fig. 10; Pl. 5a). The bore-hole test was in the W260-foot profile of this cut. The trench was begun in 6-inch levels, but at about 2 feet below the surface distinct mound loading was observed. The 10-foot-wide test trench was extended southward along the east edge of the mound to the S640-foot line. From this point a 5-foot-wide trench was extended southward to the S660-foot line. This narrower trench was in a shallow gully which drained the surrounding level land. A short distance to the south there is an escarpment, an abrupt drop to the creek bottom some 25 feet below (Fig. 2).

Eventually this trench was extended northward to the S580-foot line. A profile 80 feet long was cut along the W260-foot line. When the W260-foot profile was compared with the shorter W250-foot profile, it was obvious that the trench had been cut across the corner of a pyramidal platform mound. The highest point of the surface was between the S630-foot and S640-foot lines. Part of this height was an

accumulation of dirt from Chambers' excavation. The surface soil graded downward into a bluish gray fill with indistinct lenses. North and south of the central section this fill graded into banded outwash layers. This uppermost layer was from 1 to 3 feet thick, thinning out from the central high point.

A fairly even dark-stained floor surface averaging 0.5 foot thick lay immediately below the top layer. Postholes and wall trenches originated at the bottom of this floor and penetrated into the three underlying mound phases. These trenches were traced out horizontally as the test trench was sliced down. They extended diagonally across the test trench to a point 5 feet west of the W250-foot profile. The borders of the mound stages, as seen in profile, widened between the W250-foot and W260-foot lines, indicating that the core of the mound lay to the west of the test area.

At the S645-foot line the mound flank dropped off almost perpendicularly from its summit. It was overlain to within a foot of the ground surface with 7 feet of sloping, laminated bands of sandy silt. The shallow gully crossed this area. The profile was 9 feet high at the S635-foot line. To the north of this point the mound stages sloped off gradually in normal fashion.

A 10-foot-wide trench was dug westward across the mound in the S630-640 section from the W260-foot to the W310-foot line (Fig. 11). This trench was excavated in thin horizontal slices. Six-inch walls were left standing between each adjoining square. The trench crossed areas where Chambers had dug and piled his spoil dirt. Beneath his excavations, and subsequently elsewhere, traces of wall trenches were observed at a foot beneath the surface. Occasional sherds, glass fragments, and numerous pieces of human bone, small and large, were found throughout this trench. Once a sufficient area had been cleared the outlines of several aboriginal pits became distinguishable amid the wall trench outlines.

The top layer of mound fill was designated as Phase IV. The wall trench segments that were traced in it with some difficulty had originated on a now non-existent higher floor level. Only the bottom parts of the original trenches remained. Later, it was found that these trenches penetrated the next floor level some 2 feet below, where they were very distinct. The characteristic bluish gray fill helped to distinguish

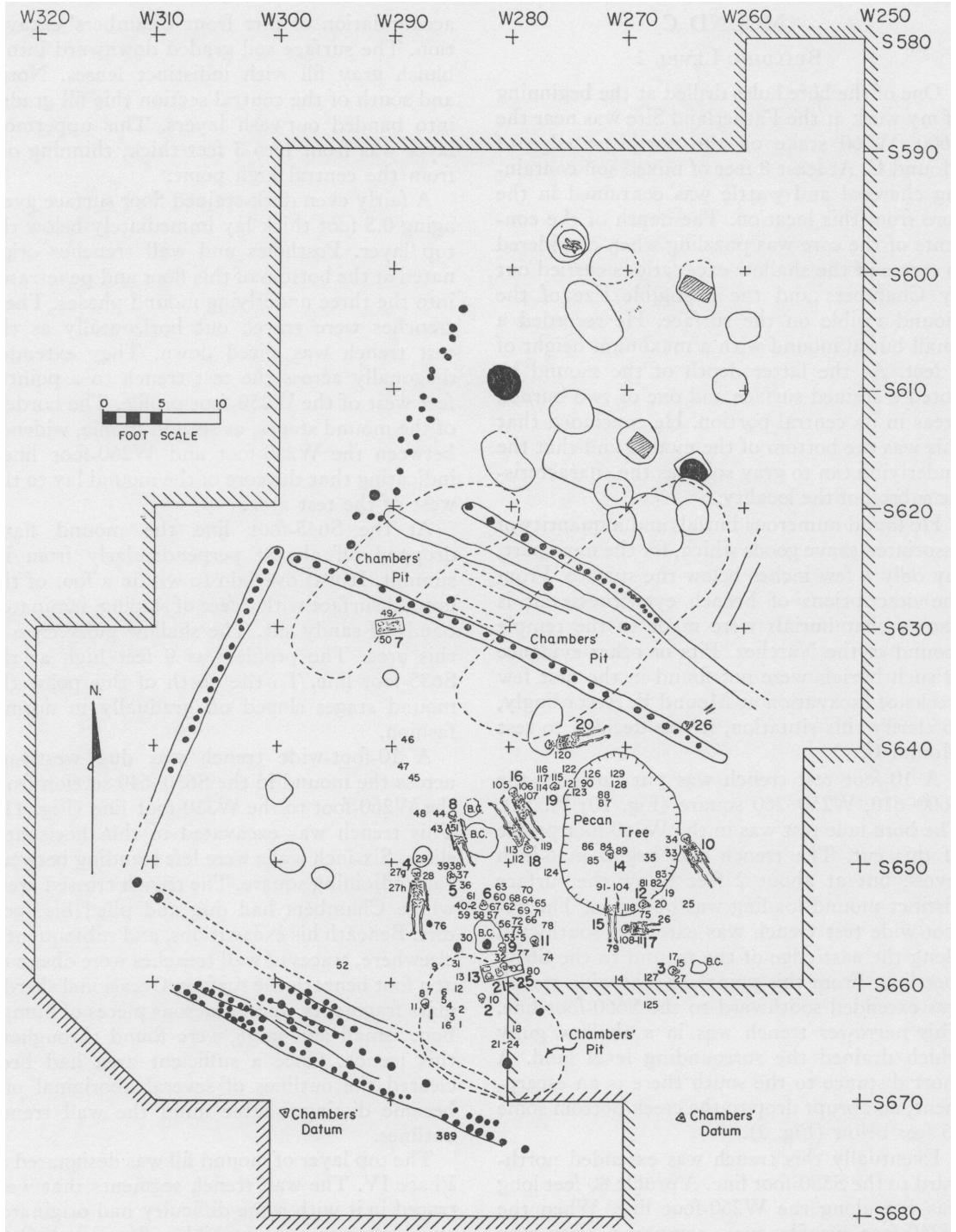


FIG. 10. Plan of the historic Natchez temple on Building Level 2, and Burials 1-26, Mound C.

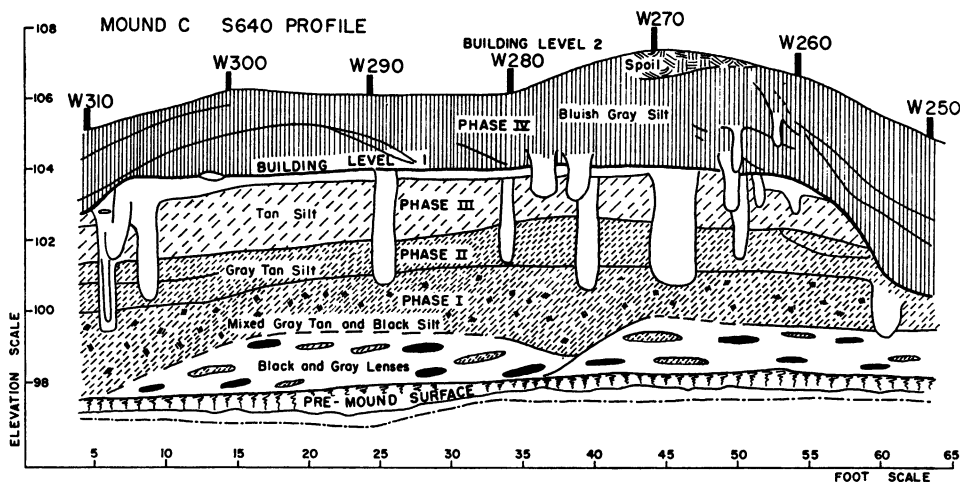


FIG. 11. South 640-foot profile, Mound C.

them from other trench patterns originating in the lower floor level. Leaching had dimmed the lensing of the remaining fill of Phase IV, but the bluish color characterized the stratum throughout its undisturbed areas. An irregular film of limonite that lined the bottoms and lower parts of these trenches in many places aided in the tracing of their outlines.

To explore underlying construction, Square S630-640, W260-270, was sliced down to the base of the mound. During this process wall trenches from both building levels that appeared in the floor of the excavation presented a very confusing problem of interpretation. These segments were plotted before the 10-foot square was deepened until it cut through two lower phases and the original surface below the mound. Four stages of mound construction were clearly defined. No evidence of occupation was found on the surfaces of the two lower mantles. Their even, packed surfaces were spotted with pockets of water-laid sand, suggesting that they had been exposed to rain before they were covered. A similar condition was observed during excavation when peeled surfaces were exposed to heavy overnight showers.

This preliminary surmise that the surfaces of the two bottom phases of the mound had not been used to any extent was proved correct as digging progressed. They were nevertheless distinguished and numbered as Phases I and II, respectively. Building Level 1 was assigned to the top of Phase III; the vestiges of Building Level 2, to the top of Phase IV (Fig. 11). For

convenience, these designations are used when the structural features are described.

A combination vertical and horizontal digging and recording procedure was followed to explore the length of the S630-640 trench and subsequently other areas of the mound. The 6-inch standing walls were retained wherever they did not interfere with operations (Pl. 5b), and dirt was carried off in wheelbarrows. Later, as various squares were dug down to and through the original ground surface upon which the mound was built, dirt from neighboring squares was disposed of in the completed sections. This system avoided double handling of dirt but prevented exposure of any great portion of a house plan at one time. Stretches of 20 to 30 feet were the most that could be observed in any given working space. Profiles were drawn for each north-to-south and east-to-west coordinate line in the mound area. These were especially helpful not only when sections of standing wall were removed for some reason but aided materially in maintaining engineering control as excavation progressed. As the S630-640 trench was completed and the data derived from the excavation were recorded, adjoining tiers of squares were begun. Excavation of the 0.3 to 0.6-foot-thick, old occupation layer at the bottom of the mound in the W250-260 and S630-640 trenches yielded a sample of sherds, animal bone, and rock scraps, but no postholes or other structural features. Accordingly, it was decided to excavate completely only those features related to Phases III and IV and to

dig a 10-foot-wide strip of fill on the front or northeast side of the mound to explore the old plaza surface and a ramp ascending that side of the mound.

Phase IV was traced in every direction where it could be separated and recognized. It merged laterally with stained surface outwash deposits and the underlying floor and mantle of Phase III and was from a few inches to 2 feet thick. Chambers' digging was confined entirely to Phase IV. He did not penetrate the underlying Building Level 1 at any point.

The bottoms of remaining wall trenches, posts, and pits found in Phase IV were charted as they were traced from square to square until a more or less complete plan of the features of the destroyed Building Level 2 was developed (Fig. 10). The trenches ranged from a depth of a few inches to as much as 2 feet. It was possible to trace the various pits in profile almost to the ground surface, demonstrating that they had originated as high as Building Level 2. The outlines of both trenches and pits were very clear where they cut through the next lower floor into the tan soil of Phase III.

On the assumption that the wall trenches of Building Level 2 had been 3 feet deep, as they were in other instances in Mounds B and C, it was presumed that from 1 to 2 feet of the final mantle had disappeared.

There is evidence that a ramp similar to that observed in Phase III led from this level down to the plaza on the north. However, the area north of the S580-foot lines was not excavated. Consequently, details are not shown on the ground-plan. The profiles cut along the S610-foot, S600-foot, and S590-foot lines reveal the zones of loading piled over the Phase III ramp. This situation suggests subsequent ramp construction associated with the final building stage of Building Level 2.

The following descriptive details of wall trenches, postholes, and pits, so far as they were traceable, refer to the destroyed mound surface of Building Level 2 and the temple structure that was in use during the French occupation at Natchez (Fig. 10).

The mound was about 80 feet long, measured from a few degrees east of north to south and 50 feet wide. A compound building, 60 by 42 feet, had been constructed by the digging of deep wall trenches in which saplings were embedded about 1 foot apart. The posts, where

they could be detected, were 0.3 to 0.4 foot in diameter, their butts positioned close against the outer wall of each wall trench. The south area of the building consisted of a rectangular room enclosed on four sides. Its east wall was missing; it had probably washed away into the now filled gully that drains the plaza on the east side of the mound. The bottom of one post-hole with bluish gray fill was found about midway of the east side, but there was no trace of a wall trench. The end of the adjoining wall trench at the northeast corner was clearly defined and complete, indicating that the mound surface had been eroded away from this point on the east side, removing all of the east wall trench.

The south or rear room was 42 feet long from east to west and from 32 to 38 feet from north to south, dependent upon which of the wall trench remnants are determined to be contemporaneous. It is assumed that either the temple had been rebuilt more than once or individual walls had been extensively repaired at different times. Three extra wall segments on the north side and four on the south reinforce this assumption (Fig. 10).

The north or front room of the temple is poorly defined. The well-preserved patterns found on the next lower level were similar to the vestiges on the more recent level. Therefore, this front room may be assumed to have been a sort of portico or porch attached to the north wall of the rectangular rear room. Two walls, one a trench and the other a line of scattered postholes, were inset about 5 feet from the corners of the north wall of the rear room. These walls, 30 feet apart, extend in a northerly direction about 28 feet toward the north border of the mound. No evidence of a north wall to this room was observable in this level or the better-preserved Building Level 1 below it. Almost identical groundplans were found in Unit 37 at Hiwassee Island, Tennessee (Lewis and Kneberg, 1946, Pls. 18, 21, and 22).

A conspicuous archeological feature of Building Level 2, absent at Mound B, is the number of pits found. These vary in size; some are probably large postholes. Two, certainly so, shown in Fig. 10 in solid black, were spaced 5 feet inward from the east and west side walls of the portico, being about 12 feet apart. They were 2.5 and 3 feet in diameter. Both pits originated high in Phase IV. The pit on the

east side of the portico, at about 1 foot below the surface, was square in outline; a foot deeper it was circular. Both large postholes were 3.5 feet deep and the lower parts of their perimeters bore evidence of fire.

These pits may have contained large supporting posts, but the general architecture of the portico is not clear. Nor is it clear what kind of wall structure, if any, extended across the front of the portico. The absence of evidence in the ground may be due to extreme surface erosion in this section of the mound. It is also possible that some sort of less permanent screen, possibly of mats, which left no traces in the ground, was used across the front of the portico.

Burial 26 (Fig. 10), the only burial found during the 1962 work, is described below (p. 40). A number of fragments of human bone were scattered through the area where Chambers had dug and piled spoil dirt in the S620-640, W260-280 area together with sherds, iron scrap, and glass. Apparently he had discarded these artifacts.

In the approximate center of the rectangular rear room of the temple were two small, fire-stained areas each about 1 foot in diameter. They were well below the former floor level and seemed to have been caused by intense or prolonged heat that had penetrated from above.

Seven small pits, ranging from 1.5 to 2.5 feet in diameter, were scattered over the interior area of the rectangular rear room. Some of these may have been large postholes. They did not show clearly until the thin, mixed upper soil of the zone was peeled away. Most of these pits were about 1 foot deep. Those that penetrated 2 to 3 feet and into the floor of Building Level 1 were plainly visible. All of them contained mixed soils, but no cultural material. The larger oval pit near the north wall of the room in Square S630-640, W270-280, almost 1.5 feet deep, was traced below the base of Chambers' excavation.

The area within and to the front of the portico contained 17 pits of various sizes and shapes (Fig. 10; Pl. 6a). These were difficult to trace in horizontal section but could be discerned in profile from a few inches to 1 foot below the surface. Ten of these pits were circular and averaged about 2.5 feet in diameter; four were oval and ranged from 5 to 6 feet in length. The large pit in the center of the portico was 6 feet square. Three of the circular pits

intruded into three of its corners and partially obscured its outline. The outlines of all the pits were clearly visible where they cut through the floor into Phase III tan soil. Their interior depths ranged from 1 foot to nearly 3 feet. The fill of each of the pits was removed separately. Except for an occasional sherd or scrap of bone or stone, the pits, with two exceptions, contained only mixed, bluish soil.

A cluster of iron wire rings was found just below the sod line in the top of a circular pit on the W260-foot line, midway between the S600 and S610 stakes. Each ring was about 1½ inches in diameter and had a short gap on one side resembling C-bracelets. The pit was 3 feet in diameter and 1.6 feet deep. Its outline was clear at about 1 foot below the surface. No other cultural material was included in the fill.

Another circular pit, 3.5 feet in diameter, appeared beneath outwash soil in Square S590-600, W270-280. The bottom was about 1.5 feet beneath the surface. A mass of rotted wood strips lay on the bottom of the pit. The wood had been reduced to thin shells and could not be removed. It was impossible to determine whether or not these were the remains of wooden artifacts.

An irregular pit in Square S600-610, W260-270, was traced at 1.5 feet beneath overlying outwash soils. The flat bottom was 2 feet beneath the surface. The pit was in almost the exact center of the eroded ramp surface that joined the mound at this point. The outline of an oblong box, 3.5 feet long and nearly 2.5 feet wide, was defined by a thin, rust-colored film in the bluish gray fill. One corner of the box outline coincided with an angular projection in the oval pit outline on the west side. The box had been removed, leaving only the brownish stain.

A circular pit on the W270-foot line, midway between the S610 and S620 stakes, was discovered at about 1.5 feet beneath the surface outwash deposits. It was 3.5 feet in diameter and intruded into the east corner of the large square pit in the same section. In the bottom, nearly 3.5 feet beneath the surface, was the outline of another oblong box, 2 feet long by 1.5 feet wide. Both boxes had obviously been removed intact before they had deteriorated to any extent.

The large square pit in this section was 6.5 feet square at the top, a few inches below the surface, and tapered to about 6 feet square at

the bottom, 4 feet below. Three circular pits intruded into three of its corners and partially obliterated the line of the southeast edge. The bottom of the pit penetrated 1 foot into Phase III fill. The pit was located near the center of the front room or portico area. The fill consisted of mixed soils and was devoid of artifacts.

There were two large oval pits to the west of the center line of the portico. One at the front of this structure was 6.0 by 3.5 feet; the other, at the rear of the portico, was slightly smaller. They were 2 feet and 1 foot deep, respectively. A third slightly irregular oval pit on the east side of the vestibule was surrounded by several of the smaller circular pits. It was 3.6 feet deep, 5.5 feet long, and 3.6 feet wide. A circular pit, 1 foot deep, containing charcoal and burned clay fragments, cut into the top of the west side of the larger oval pit. All these pits originated high in Phase IV and penetrated into the next underlying mound mantle. Probably Chambers' discoveries in 1930 were also made in pits, but they were not so recorded, so they cannot be included with the pits described.

The six or more extra sections of wall trench that had their origin in the uppermost floor level of the mound indicate that the temple was rebuilt or was extensively repaired at least four times. All the floor surfaces associated with these structures have disappeared, but Chambers mentions that he encountered thin midden streaks and fired spots while he was unearthing burials in 1930. These streaks may have represented the thinly separated floor surfaces accumulated during the use and refurbishing of the temple structure or else were the bottoms of pits which Chambers failed to recognize as such.

To obtain clear outlines of some of the trench segments associated with Building Level 2, it was often necessary to cut through Building Level 1. This was fairly even and consisted of a midden-stained stratum of soil from 0.2 to 0.6 foot thick. Considerable cultural debris in the form of sherds, bone, stone scrap, and wattle were embedded in Building Level 1 deposit. The upper part of the tan mound fill beneath it was relatively sterile. Outlines of trenches and pits originating in the two building levels showed plainly in this tan loading. These were worked out piecemeal as the area of excavation was widened and deepened. As the intrusions

from Building Level 2 were gradually peeled away, it was possible to concentrate on the details of the structures of Building Level 1.

BUILDING LEVEL 1

It soon became evident that two separate but identical buildings had occupied the surface of Phase III (Fig. 12; Pl. 7a). The floor accumulation or staining was substantial, but there was no indication that floor surfaces separated by loading existed. The intrusion of portions of trenches of one structure into the other established the sequence of the two buildings (Fig. 12). The more detailed lineaments of Building Level 1 are an almost exact duplicate of the remnants of the damaged upper level.

Most of the parts of the buildings on this level had been protected from erosional and other destructive factors that had damaged the upper structure. Again, the eastern walls of both rear rooms had been cut away by the deep gully on that side of the mound. Lesser effacement of the walls was noticeable at the extreme southwest and northwest corners.

For convenience, the two structures on Building Level 1 have been labeled Temples 1 and 2 in the order of their construction. Separate hearths in the centers of each rear room were labeled in the same sequence. Accessory hearths in the northwest corners of both buildings have the same sequence and were labeled Hearths 1A and 2A. Several additional minor structural details were associated with these two buildings. If the damaged building on the upper mound level had counterparts to these structures, they have disappeared. Clear evidence of the time sequence of the two house plans was manifest where their trenches intersected each other (Fig. 12). Temple 1 (Fig. 12, unstippled), the first building erected on the surface of Phase III, was a compound structure consisting of a nearly square enclosed rear compartment, 40 feet long by 38 feet wide. A portico or open-ended structure, 30 feet wide by 27 feet long, extended northward from the rear room. The over-all length of the building was about 65 feet. It has been suggested above that this portico may also have been closed on the front facing the plaza, but no wall trench or posthole alignment indicated whether the front had been open or perhaps so screened as to leave no lasting traces in the soil.

The structure was built on a rectangular

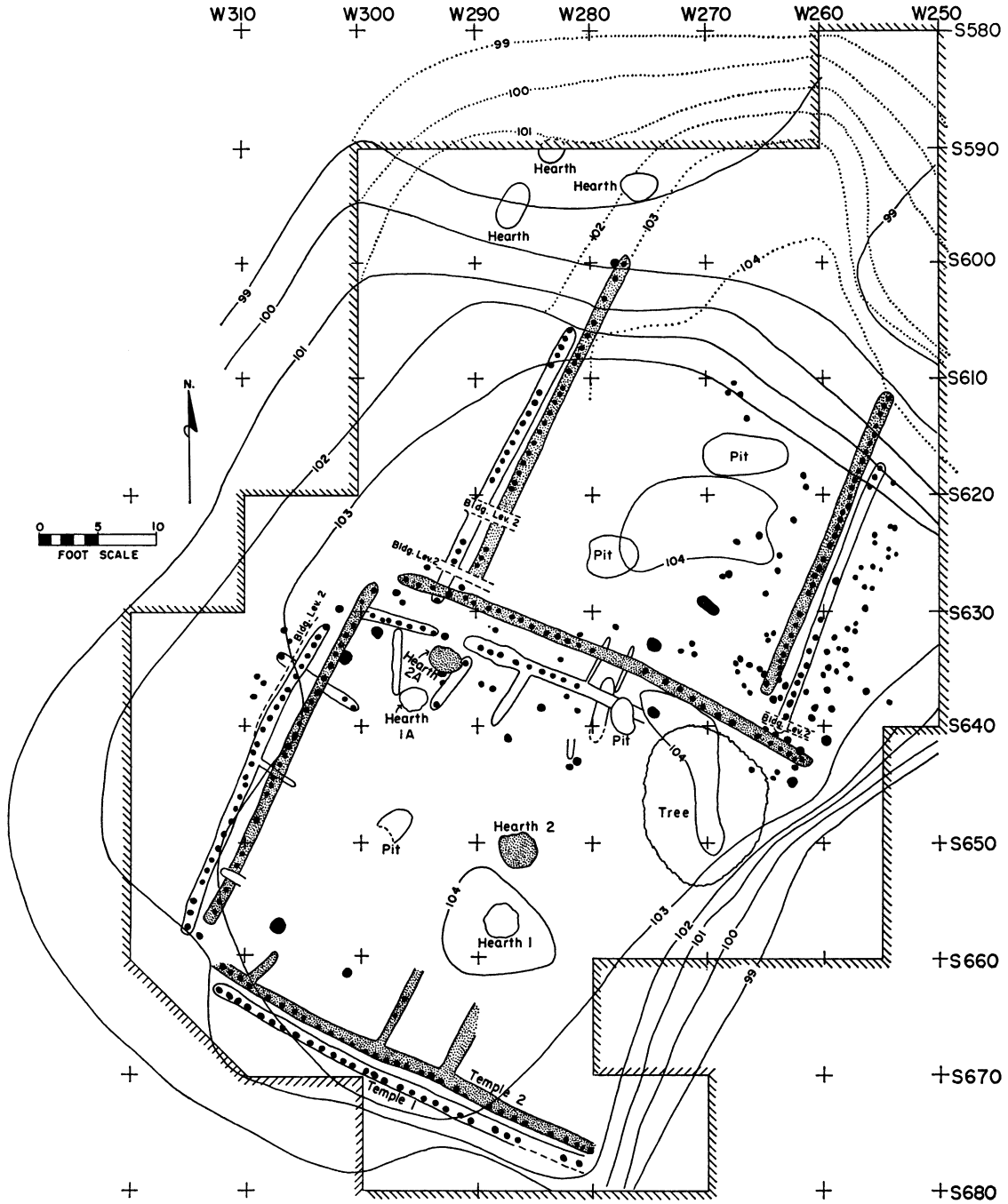


FIG. 12. Plan of Temples 1 and 2, Building Level 1, Phase III, Mound C.

mound 75 feet long from north to south, and 50 feet wide. The fairly flat summit was between the 102 and 103-foot contours. Hearth 1 (Fig. 12) in the center of the rear room was on a raised area about 1 foot high. A 1-foot elevation in the northeast corner of this room seems to represent local floor patching or fill, possibly connected with the construction of the more recent Temple 2. Details were obscured by the disturbance from the root system of a large pecan tree. Another small elevated area occurred in the center of the portico. The uniform tan fill of Phase III, surmounted by the dark-stained floor accumulation, contrasted with the bottom of the overlying bluish gray mantle that made such determinations possible.

The side walls of the portico of Temple 1 were inset about 5 feet from the corners of the north wall of the rear room. This resembled the overlying temple floor plan of Building Level 2.

A scattered assemblage of postholes was adjacent and parallel to the east wall trench of the portico. It was possible to associate these with either Temple 1 or Temple 2; some of these postholes may even be intrusions from Building Level 2. Levels of origin could not be defined in this area.

The major wall trenches averaged 3 feet deep and about 1 foot wide. The postholes, 0.3 to 0.4 foot in diameter, were spaced about 1 foot apart, close to the outer edges of the wall trenches. The gaps at the corners of the structure were 3 to 5 feet wide. There were numerous short sections of wall trenches at several points inside the building. Several of these wall trenches were connected with and were apparently contemporaneous with the major trenches. These short sections were probably furnishings or small partitions of some sort (Fig. 12).

A pair of narrow, parallel trenches projected 4 feet into the portico from the middle of the north wall of the rear room of Temple 1. These were 2.5 feet apart, 0.2 foot wide, and 0.5 foot deep. The end of the westerly trench joined the edge of the main wall trench. The corresponding end of the second trench was a few inches short of this wall, though an earlier pit or trench segment dug at this point obscured the details. The north wall trench of the rear room of Temple 2 cut across both smaller trenches.

There were no postholes in the main wall trenches of both Temples 1 and 2 between these

small trenches. An opening of some sort or a doorway between the back and front parts of Temple 1 seems a plausible surmise. Two remnants of trenches were uncovered near the north wall of the rear room of Temple 1. One was 0.8 foot deep and 6 feet long. It was bisected by the main wall in the edge of the presumed doorway. The other trench lay 5 feet inside the room and opposite the doorway. It was 2 feet long and 0.2 foot deep. An oval pit from the Phase IV level cut through the main wall trench at this point also. The eastern portion of the main wall trench extended under the roots of the large pecan tree mentioned above and could not be traced to its end.

A 5-foot segment of wall trench connected with the main north wall and projected at right angles into the interior of the back room some 5 feet to the northwest of the assumed doorway. It was 3 feet deep, contained no postholes, and probably represented a partition. About 8 feet to the northwest of this trench was a 2-foot-wide gap in the major wall trench, with a posthole in its approximate center. On each side of the break in the wall trench two more 5-foot-long wall trenches about 5 feet apart projected into the interior of the room. These trenches were not at exact right angles to the main wall. The easternmost 5-foot trench had a posthole in each end.

Two hearths were designated 1A and 2A. Presumably Hearth 1A was associated with Temple 1 and the two 5-foot wall trench sections. Hearth 2A, intrusive in one edge of one of the trenches, was presumed to be associated with the more recent Temple 2.

Near the northwest corner of the room, where a wall trench of Temple 2 cut across that of Temple 1, was a small circular pit, 1 foot in diameter and 1 foot deep. A quantity of charred corncobs overlain by a thin sheet of charcoal lay in the bottom of the pit.

Three segments of shallow wall trenches may have been associated with the contiguous west walls of both Temples 1 and 2. The 8.5-foot-long section of wall nearest the northwest corner of the room area preceded both house wall trenches. A part of its outline was obscured by digging the trenches on Building Level 1 and the intrusion of the bottom of a wall trench from Building Level 2. The small trench was 1 foot deep and contained three postholes.

A second narrow trench segment, 0.5 foot

deep, extended 3.5 feet into the interior of the rear room at right angles to the west wall of Temple 1 with which it intersected. The wall of Temple 2 cut through the trench segment. Another incomplete trench segment near the southwest corner of the back room was about 2 feet long, a few inches deep, and was intrusive to the west wall of Temple 2. Altars or platforms similar to those reported to have been seen inside the historic Natchez temple by French observers may account for some of these features. Various other interior furnishings or dividers may be construed also. The wall trench pattern in the northwest corner flanking the fire hearths suggested some kind of cubicle or enclosure.

Hearth 1 (Pl. 7b) occupied a 1-foot-high area in the center of the rear room. It was 3 feet in diameter and burned to a depth of 0.3 foot. Some fire staining was noticeable for several inches below the hearth. A thin stained floor accumulation covered the hearth. A posthole, 1 foot in diameter, was found below the upper burned surface of the hearth.

Hearths 1 and 1A, because of their positions in relation to the walls of Temple 1 and the covering deposit of floor accumulation presumably attributable to Temple 2, are believed to have been associated with Temple 1. Their positions relative to Temple 1 corresponded to the positions of Hearths 2 and 2A in relation to the walls of Temple 2 (Fig. 12).

Five pits were uncovered in the floor of Building Level 1. It was impossible to determine with which temple structure they were associated. Two oval pits, one large and one small, were found in the portico area. The largest pit was 7.5 feet long by 3.5 feet wide and 2 feet deep. The smaller oval pit was 2 feet long by 1 foot wide and 3 feet deep; the latter may originally have been two adjoining postholes. A roughly circular pit in the same area was approximately 4 feet in diameter and 2 feet deep. A fourth pit was near the center of the rear room; a circular pit 1 foot deep from Building Level 2 above had cut into one end of it; apparently, its original oval form was altered by the intrusion. The fifth pit has been described as cutting through the northeast wall of Temple 1. None of the pits contained any significant cultural material. They probably were counterparts of the empty, presumably temporary, burial pits found on Building Level 2.

A narrow, steep-sided ramp led down about 6 feet from the level of the temples to the plaza on the north. It was 30 feet long by 12 feet wide at the bottom, narrowing to a 4-foot-wide walkway on top. The contrasting dark loaded soil that covered this surface made it possible to peel it satisfactorily.

TEMPLE 2

Temple 2 was an almost exact replica of Temple 1. The latter apparently had been dismantled, not burned, and the succeeding building, Temple 2, had been erected in almost the same location. The trench patterns were dug from 1 to 2 feet to the north and east of the first temple location. The same general floor level, except for some local patches, served for both structures.

Prior to the construction of Temple 2, an addition or apron was built on the northeast mound flank. This covered part of the top of the ramp. The addition to the mound and existing ramp structure extended the mound flank some 10 feet to the northeast of its previous limits. The predominantly dark-lensed fill, spotted with tan and gray loads, tapered into the summit surface of Building Level 1. The fill also merged into the east and west flanks of the original Phase III mound so the apron was as wide as the core to which it was added. Its contours on the northeast flank are shown by dotted lines in Fig. 12. The stippled trench pattern in Fig. 12 shows the relationship of Temple 2 to Temple 1. The wall trenches of the portico of Temple 2 extended 6 to 7 feet beyond their counterparts of Temple 1. The apron was a necessary addition to accommodate the increased length of the vestibule. Otherwise both temples had approximately the same size and proportions.

The over-all length of Temple 2 was 67 feet from northeast to southwest. The rear room was 40 feet from side to side and 37 feet from front to rear. The portico was 30 feet from front to rear and 28 feet wide. The wall trench on the east side, like that for Temple 1, had been washed away by the gully erosion on that side.

Two hearths, one 3 feet in diameter near the center of the rear room, and a smaller one, 5 feet from the north wall in the northwest corner, were associated with Temple 2. The

central hearth was on top of the stained floor surface which extended over the hearth associated with Temple 1. Since there was virtually no cultural refuse in the floor deposit within a radius of 10 feet of either hearth, we may surmise that this central space was swept frequently. Beyond the limits of this central space there was a normal occurrence of sherds, stone scrap, and animal bones.

Three short segments of shallow wall trench connected with the rear or south wall of the back room. A few feet from the southwest corner a trench 3.5 feet long and 0.5 foot deep projected into the interior. A large posthole 2 feet from it was slightly more than 1 foot in diameter and 1 foot deep.

Near the center of the rear wall two incomplete trench sections, about 5 feet apart, extended at right angles to the wall into the interior of the building. Two small posts appeared in the western segment. This structure was directly behind the central hearth and opposite the assumed doorway in the middle of the north or front wall of the room. The significance of these hearths, short trench sections, and other archeological features is discussed in greater detail below in connection with historical correlations.

After the entire observable expanse of Building Level 1 was exposed, key squares in the S630-640 trench and areas to the south, west, and north of the mound core were dug deeper for an examination of the surface of Phase II. As assumed on the basis of preliminary tests, no noticeable evidence of occupation was found on this surface. Apparently, the surface had been exposed for only a short period before the fairly uniform 2-foot-thick tan fill of Phase III was added. Spotty accumulations of sandy silt indicated that the surface had been exposed to moderate rainfall.

The test areas were dug deeper to expose the surface of Phase I. The fill of Phase II consisted of a more variegated assortment of black, tan, and gray soils than was observed in Phase III. The lensing was very distinct, and the mantle ranged from 0.5 to 1 foot in thickness.

The surface of Phase I resembled that of the overlying phase. It had also been exposed to moderate rainfall. Evidence of occupation was negligible.

The S630-640 cut was deepened through the 3-foot-thick fill of Phase I until the old black, peaty surface was exposed at the base of the mound. The very clear lensing was composed of quantities of black, greasy-appearing soils,

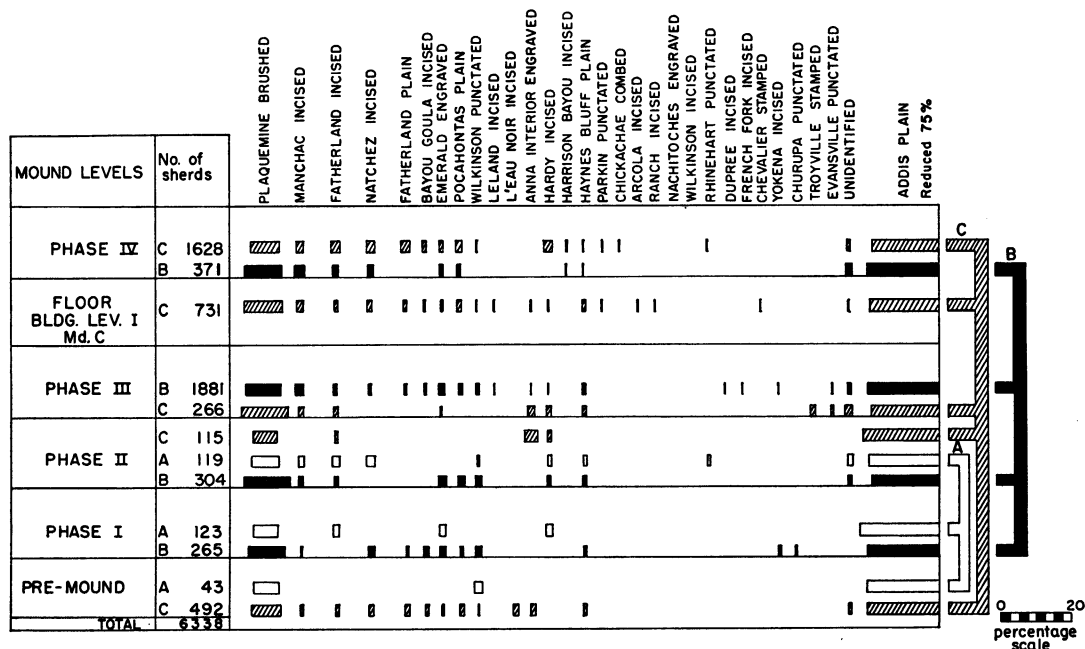


FIG. 13. Histogram of ceramic styles from Mounds A, B, and C.

with only local additions of lighter-colored loads. Here, as in Mound B, the readily available topsoil was probably used in the first construction stage.

The old surface humus averaged 0.6 foot in thickness and graded out below into a grayish, leached subsoil. Some of the deep test areas were nearly sterile culturally; others contained an abundance of sherds, stone, and bone scrap. This material was kept separate from that of the mound mantles. The material from Phases I and II which was also very scanty compared to that from Phases I and II of Mound B was also kept as separate units. No sherds were found in Phase I. The relative sherd counts and percentages are given in the histogram (Fig. 13). The old surface beneath the mound was fairly level, and no postholes or other disturbances were found in the test areas.

Because there was no evidence of building or other cultural activity below Phase III, it was decided to discontinue explorations of the deeper mound sections, except to the northeast in the area fronting the plaza.

A 10-foot trench, S590-600, was begun across the north edge of the mound from the W250-foot to the W300-foot lines. This trench cut through the layers of the ramp, the toe of the north side of the mound, and its northwest corner. The strata indicated that the trench was cut slightly diagonally to the orientation of the mound (Fig. 12). In order to uncover the ramps associated with Building Level 1, an extension of the W250-260 trench was made to the N580-foot line. When the apron was added to Phase III on this side of the mound, the earlier ramp was partially covered, and a new inclined approach with approximately the same 18 per cent gradient was constructed over the old one. Its margins extended beyond the limits of excavation.

Apparently another course of fill was added to the ramp when Phase IV was built, but proximity to the surface and consequent erosion had altered the lines of the upper part of the profiles.

The northeast flank of the mound and the earlier ramp of Phase III were peeled and exposed (Pl. 6b), made possible by the contrasting black soils over the tan fill of the ramp and adjoining mound flanks. The character of the fill changed to the west, and it was impossible to peel the overburden accurately from the

northwest corner of the mound.

A considerable area representing the old plaza surface adjacent to the Phase III mound was exposed in the S590-600 trench. This surface was a small portion of the plaza as it existed during the period when Temple 1 was in use. Later, this surface was covered by the secondary fill of the ramp and apron that existed during the Temple 2 occupation. Phase IV, in turn, covered all these surfaces and structures.

Three deeply burned hearths (Fig. 12; Pl. 6b), exposed on this Temple 1 plaza surface, were situated in the corner where the west side of the ramp intersected the northwest flank of the mound. The hearths were 2 to 4 feet in diameter and about 0.4 foot thick. Some ash, sherds, and stone scrap were embedded in this section (S590-600, W270-290). The old surface deposit averaged about 0.6 foot thick here.

SUMMARY

Mound C was built on a level occupation surface approximately 450 feet south and slightly west of Mound B. Cultural refuse indicated that there had been living activity in this vicinity before the construction of Mound C. This situation was in contrast to the conditions found under Mound B, where there were no scraps of pottery, bone, and stone on the old surface.

Phase I was a 3-foot-high, flat-topped, rectangular mound. In building, the mound dirt was apparently first dumped in two low rounded piles on the east and west sides of the area, after which similar dark, organically stained soils interspersed with tan and gray lenses were added, until a level fill about 3 feet thick was achieved. The mound had been exposed to the elements long enough to show the effects of moderate rainfall. Neither significant living refuse nor signs of building activity were found on the surface. No sherds and only a few scraps of stone occurred in the fill of the mantle.

Approximately 1 foot of variegated fill was added to this structure to comprise Phase II. Again, the surface was exposed to moderate rainfall before it was covered by the subsequent mantle and showed no evidence of occupation or buildings. Some sherds, animal bone, and broken pebbles were scattered through the fill.

One to 2 feet of uniformly tan fill was added

to Phase II, extending beyond the limits of the lower platform. The flanks sloped off to form a leveled, flat-topped pyramid, approximately 70 feet long and 45 feet wide. The long axis, a few degrees east of north, pointed toward Mound B. On this side a narrow, steep-sided ramp extended down the 6-foot-high mound to the aboriginal plaza. The present terrace surface is, by chance, at approximately the same elevation as the top of this buried mound.

Two compound buildings had been constructed sequentially on this Building Level 1. These buildings were almost identical in structural details and occupied almost the same position on the mound summit. Both buildings consisted of nearly square enclosed rooms, defined by deep wall trenches on the southern half of the mound summit. At the front of each building was a portico bounded by wall trenches on the sides. The approximate over-all dimensions were 65 feet long by 40 feet wide. The front extension was several feet shorter and narrower than the rear room. Three burned areas testify to the presence of fires on the plaza surface in front of the mound.

Apparently Temple 1 had been used and then razed. No evidence of fire was detected. An apron or extension added to its northeast flank lengthened the surface about 10 feet and covered the upper part of the earlier ramp. Dirt was also added to the ramp, widening it and extending it nearly 30 feet to the northeast. The trenches of the portico of Temple 2 were about 6 feet longer than those of Temple 1; the enlargement was necessary to accommodate the second building. The foundations of Temple 2 were laid down a few feet to the north and east of its predecessor. The height of the mound was not increased before Temple 2 was built. A rather thick stained zone at the top of Phase III seemed to represent a floor level for both structures.

Each building had a fire hearth in the center and a smaller one in the northwest corner. Smaller trench segments around the secondary hearths may mean that they were enclosed by short walls. Five pits were identified within the limits of both wall patterns. These were filled with midden-stained soils, but contained no artifacts.

A gully adjacent to the east side of the mound had eroded all traces of the wall trenches of the rear room on this side.

An indeterminate amount of bluish gray fill was added to Building Level 1 after Temples 1 and 2 had fallen into disuse and were dismantled. The lensing of Phase III and the final Phase IV was indistinct, presumably because of heavier leaching action in these two pervious upper zones.

The attrition caused by plowing, erosion, and Chambers' previous excavation left only fragmentary details of the final mantle and Building Level 2. The depth of the wall trenches offset some of the results of surface erosion so that details of the final temple structure were fairly clear. This building seems to have been almost identical with Temples 1 and 2. Rebuilding or extensive repairs to its north and south sides were manifest in the extra segments of wall trenches found at these points. As in the earlier temples, the east wall of the rear room had been washed away.

By projecting measurements from the bottoms of the wall trench remnants it was possible to estimate that approximately 2 feet or more of the mantle had been dislodged. Deeper erosion and consequent greater disturbance affected the margins of the final mound. The west wall of the portico of Building Level 2 was not set in a wall trench. A scattered alignment of the bottoms of postholes defined this side of the portico. Only a short shallow segment of the wall trench on the opposite or east side remained.

Twenty-four large and small pits originated in Building Level 2. Most of these penetrated down through Building Level 1, where they were clearly seen. Their average depth was 3 feet; some were oval and circular in outline; one large one was square. Their diameters ranged from 3 to 6 feet. One contained a cluster of iron wire rings; another, strips of rotted wood which may represent some sort of artifacts. Two of the pits had contained oblong wooden boxes. The outlines of their bottoms remained, but the boxes had been removed. None of the other pits contained any significant cultural material.

One small patch of partially burned dirt was found in the approximate center of the rear room. Apparently this represented the lower part of a hearth that had occupied this spot on the floor of Building Level 2.

This burned clay, the large pecan tree in the northeast corner of the rear room, and an ap-

proximate identification of the position of one of Chambers' triangulation points were clues that made it possible to achieve an acceptable degree of correlation between the burial distribution recorded by Chambers and the present survey and attendant structural pattern of the Building Level 2 temple (Fig. 10).

Additions to the existing ramp, made during

the building of Phase IV, extended into the unexcavated plaza area north of the S580-foot line. Building Level 2 was at least 8 feet above the average level of the old plaza surface or at an elevation of about 108 feet.

The only European artifacts or scraps found at Mound C were associated with the Phase IV level. None occurred on or beneath Building Level 1.

BURIALS

MOUND C

THE SINGLE BURIAL (No. 26) found during the 1962 excavations is referred to above (p. 31). It lay a few inches below the surface in the S630-640, W260-270 square between two traces of wall trench which at different times had formed the north side of the rear room of the Building Level 2 temple. An iron tack and a pebble lay between the fragments of skull and femur which comprised the burial. Apparently, it had not been disturbed by Chambers' work.

A stone elbow pipe was found just beneath the surface in Square S670-680, W280-290 (Pl. 13a). Fragments of a long bone and possible teeth caps lay nearby. These may represent a burial.

Ford (1936, 61-64) has reported briefly on Chambers' work. He states:

Mound C, the southernmost of the Fatherland group, was entirely excavated by Chambers. It proved to be a burial mound. Fifty-nine skeletons were found lying on the mound base. They were orientated in various directions and were extended, flexed, or bundled after removal of the flesh. Two children were buried in wooden chests, outlined by iron nails, hinges, and hasps with locks. Although the skeletal material was in very poor condition, a few skull fragments showed that some of the heads had been flattened.

Large quantities of European material accompanied these bodies: glass and porcelain beads which were white, blue, or striped, glass bottles, crockery, pocket knives, C-shaped iron bracelets, brass turkey bells, metal buttons, a flint lock pistol, and short sections of coil spring about one inch in diameter . . .

A large amount of material of native manufacture was also deposited with these burials. It consisted mostly of pottery.

The engineering data from Chambers' notes and diagrams were reworked, and the mapping scale was adjusted to that of the present excavation grid system (Fig. 10). The two triangulation points used by Chambers were not identifiable at the site. Apparently he drove nails into two selected trees south of Mound C and recorded measurements of the position of skulls and other finds by using a tape measure. This practice was followed by the Mississippi Department of Archives and History field parties at the time. Levels were measured by

sighting along a carpenter's level mounted on a homemade tripod. Occasionally a depth below the surface was recorded. According to Chambers' notes, one of the points was "on the opposite side of the adjoining ravine." By referring to an unscaled diagram in his notes and checking measurements on some of the burials, this point was determined to be near the S670, W270 stake of the 1962 grid. The second point was 33 feet to the west of this position.

Other clues in the field notes narrowed the range of possible combinations of the burial distribution system and the Building Level 2 temple pattern. The most likely correlation plotted according to 1962 survey coordinates is shown in Fig. 10. The assumed location of Chambers' triangulation points south of the mound is believed to be accurate within about 2 feet. His notes mention a burned clay hearth near the middle of Burial 8 in Square W270-280, S640-650. It is in this square that traces of burned clay, not wattle, were found while the temple pattern was excavated. As mentioned above (p. 31), it is believed to indicate a central fireplace in the structure on Building Level 2. The notes also describe some difficulties with the roots of a large pecan tree while Burial 16 was cleared. Further, one photograph shows the roots of presumably the same tree arching over the head of Burial 15 and a group of identifiable associated artifacts (Pl. 8b). The very large pecan tree at Mound C now occupies an area nearly 10 feet in diameter on the eastern edge of the mound. Dirt surrounding the roots was cleared during the 1962 excavation, but the tree was not removed (Fig. 10). The root system now extends far beyond the area shown and undoubtedly was extensive enough some 30 years ago to have reached the burials. It is at present the only pecan tree in the vicinity.

In Chambers' description, the burned clay patch beneath Burial 8 corresponds in size and character to the two hearths found about 2 feet beneath the mound surface on the temple floor of Building Level 1. Since he had difficulty in recognizing its nature, it is possible that a pit for the adjoining Burial 18 had cut through the burned clay. About 10 feet south of the first burned areas he also found a similar

burned area penetrated by a posthole. He noted a streak of stained dirt at the bottom of some of his cuts and concluded that these marked the base of the mound. Probably this stain was left by some perishable material used to line grave pits. It is certain that Chambers failed to penetrate to the depth of Building Level 1 in the central part of the mound and consequently did not find the hearths on Building Level 1.

The areas of disturbance attributable to Chambers' digging were not clearly defined. Apparently his shallow cuts have disappeared with the upper parts of Phase IV. The detectable disturbances evidently represent those spots where he dug the deepest. These are shown by the broken-line areas in Fig. 10.

BURIALS EXCAVATED IN 1930

The artifacts and pottery associated with burials are detailed here under burial descriptions. A check list in the order of find numbers and burial numbers will be found in Appendix 1. A number of the specimens borrowed by a commercial museum project near Natchez in 1940 disappeared when the project failed, so that the catalogue description must be relied upon for the 15 categories listed. A recent inventory discloses that other items have been lost in the course of time. The original field catalogue listed 129 categories of objects. Appendix 1 also contains a list of the missing specimens.

Chambers' notes account for 25 burials, not 59 as published by Ford (1936, 61). The skeletal material has not been preserved. There are no data on sex, and only estimates as to age of some of the individuals. Eight of 25 burials were primary extended interments. Eight individuals were contained in two wooden chests, two in one were assigned a single number, and six in the other. The remaining 10 burials seem to have been isolated skull burials. The long bones and others had either disintegrated or had not been included with the skulls. One, Burial 5, may have accompanied a primary burial.

BURIAL 1, SQUARE S660-670, W280-290: This was a skull burial; blue glass beads (Find 11) were arranged beneath the lower jaw. A Fatherland Plain bottle (Find 7; Fig. 21m) and a Natchez Incised bowl (Find 8; Fig. 19h) were placed 1 foot to the north. The beads have

been lost. Chambers' notes mention that some of these burials and associated finds were found within 6 inches of the surface.

BURIAL 2, SQUARE S660-670, W280-290: This was another skull deposited with a Fatherland Incised bowl (Finds 10 and 16, parts of the same vessel; Fig. 19b) 6 inches beneath the surface.

BURIAL 3, SQUARE S650-660, W260-270: This was an adult skull resting on its base, facing east. A shell ear pin (Find 27; Pl. 12ll) and 18 brass hawk bells (Find 27; Pl. 14f) were at the right ear. A Fatherland Incised bowl (Find 15, Fig. 19a) was north of the skull. A strand of blue glass beads (Find 27a) extended east from under the bells, then looped back to the chin. Another strand (Find 27b, c) lay under the chin, and a brass button and earplug rested nearby. Some of the beads, the button, and earplug have been lost. This burial may have been a female, since Du Pratz and Dumont (Swanton, 1911, 55) wrote that women wore shell ear pins. However, Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 127) also said that warriors wore hawk bells.

BURIAL 4, SQUARE S650-660, W280-290: An adult was extended on the back, head to the north. Five strings of blue and a few white beads (Find 28b, c, e), a thimble (Find 28; Pl. 14h), and two brass medallions (Find 28g, h; Fig. 17a; Pl. 14g) lay in the neck region. A Fatherland Incised bottle (Find 76; Fig. 20e) was near the lower left leg. A red-painted incised bowl (Find 29) had been placed at the top of the skull 6 inches below the surface. The red-painted bowl and some of the beads have disappeared.

BURIAL 5, SQUARE S650-660, W280-290: This burial consisted of an adult skull that lay between Burial 4 and Burial 8. Some of the objects found with it may be associated with Burial 8. The burials lay about 6 inches below the surface. A circular copper gorget (Find 39), two discoidals (Finds 37 and 38), and an iron hatchet (Find 36) lay northeast of the skull. All these objects have been lost.

BURIAL 6, SQUARE S650-660, W280-290: A poorly preserved child's skull lay 0.3 foot below the surface. Eleven pottery vessels were grouped about it: a plain black bottle (Find 41), an Addis Plain bowl (Find 42; Fig. 21f), a Plaquemine Brushed jar (Find 57), a Fatherland Incised beaker (Find 58; Fig. 20l), a

Fatherland Incised jar (Find 59; Fig. 20a), a Natchez Incised bowl (Find 60; Fig. 20n), a Plaquemine Brushed jar (Find 61), a plain jar (Find 62), a plain jar (Find 63), a plain bowl (Find 67), and a Fatherland Incised bowl (Find 40; Fig. 19i). Six of these vessels (Finds 41, 57, 61, 62, 63, and 67) have been lost.

BURIAL 7, SQUARE S620-630, W290-300: Two crushed skulls of mature adults and fragments of long bones had been placed in a box 2.5 feet long by 1.25 feet wide. Its long axis was east to west. A hinge, iron hasp, and lock (Finds 49 and 50) were attached to the box fragments. Four coils of iron wire (Find 49c) were among the bone fragments, 13 iron and copper C-bracelets (Find 49a) were on one arm, and two brass finger rings (Find 49b; Pl. 14c) were on a phalanx among the bones. The depth below surface was not recorded. The dentition showed considerable wear, indicating that the skulls belonged to mature individuals. Cranial fragments had belonged to a deformed skull. All the artifacts except the brass rings have been lost. One or both of these may have been males. Since Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 55) reported that the men wore wire coils, 1 inch in diameter, in their ears, it can be assumed that the iron coils and the skulls belonged to males.

BURIAL 8, SQUARE S640-650, W280-290: An adult, extended on the back, was placed with the head to the north. The burial was 8 inches below the surface. Four strands of medium to small blue beads, five purple beads, and one blue-striped white tubular bead were around the neck (Find 51; Pl. 15d). Some of these beads are missing from the collection. A Hardy Incised jar (Find 43; Fig. 21a), a Natchez Incised bowl (Find 48; Fig. 19c), and a fragment of a Fatherland Plain bowl (Find 44; Fig. 21i) were 2 to 3 feet west of the skull. A patch of burned clay, 3 feet in diameter, extended under the middle of the skeleton. This probably was the remains of a hearth. As stated previously, burned clay, which was found here in 1962, probably represented vestiges of Building Level 2. The burial was about 8 inches below the surface. Some of the beads are missing from the collections.

BURIAL 9, SQUARE S650-660, W280-290: This burial of an adult skull was 1.5 feet beneath the surface. The edge of a patch of burned clay 3 feet in diameter lay beneath it. A Fatherland Incised red painted bowl (Find

55; Fig. 19g), a Fatherland Incised bowl (Find 54; Fig. 19f), a Fatherland Incised jar (Find 53), and a Fatherland Incised bottle (Find 56; Fig. 20i) lay to the east of the skull. A few raspberry and black beads (Find 73; Pl. 15j) were near these vessels. Strings of alternating, medium-sized blue beads and large dark blue beads with spiral white stripes were beneath the jaw (Find 77). The jar and some of the beads have been lost.

BURIAL 10, SQUARE S640-650, W260-270: A poorly preserved adult was extended on the back, with the head to the north. Fragments of a bowl and bottle of Fatherland Incised (Find 33; Fig. 19o) and (Find 34; Fig. 20d) lay to the right of the skull. The depth below surface was not given.

BURIAL 11, SQUARE S650-660, W270-280: This burial consisted of skull fragments. White glass beads (Find 78a, b; Pl. 15c, f) and an iron rod with a ringed end (Find 74; Pl. 16h) lay nearby.

BURIAL 12, SQUARE S650-660, W260-270: This was represented by a deposit of enamel crowns of the teeth of a child together with a quantity of medium-sized blue beads (Find 75). The depth was not stated, and the beads have been lost.

BURIAL 13, SQUARE S650-660, W280 line: This is one of six skulls buried in the southwest corner of a wooden chest oriented east to west. The outlines were traced by the nail pattern left in the soil. The chest was 3.4 feet long and 1.2 feet wide. Scraps of long bones were also grouped with this skull. The associated skull burials were 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25. No mandibles were found. Nails, brads, tacks, a lock, a piece of a buckle (Find 80), and two hinges (Find 32) were found with the chest. A photograph suggests that the depth below the surface was slightly less than 1 foot. The finds have been lost.

BURIAL 14, SQUARE S650-660, W270-280: This burial was under the pecan tree. The enamel crowns of the teeth of a child were near a small Fatherland Incised bottle (Find 86; Fig. 20k), a Fatherland Incised bowl (Find 84; Fig. 20m), an incised jar (Find 85), some small blue and white beads (Find 89a, b), and 20 brass hawk bells (Find 89c). A fur-like material and matting had been preserved by salts from the bells. The depth is unknown. It has been noted that Du Pratz recorded that

warriors wore bells when they were obtainable. The jar and some of the beads and bells have been lost.

BURIAL 15, SQUARE S650-660, W270-280: This burial was an adult extended on its back, head to the north. Judged from the quantity and quality of the associated grave offerings, the burial was easily the most important individual buried in the mound. The below-surface depth was not stated but apparently was slightly more than 1 foot as gauged from a photograph. Tree roots extending over the upper part of the skeleton were probably from the same large pecan tree now on the east side of the mound (Fig. 10; Pl. 8b). The presence of four coiled wire springs and an iron ax suggests that this may have been a male skeleton. Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 127) wrote that warriors sometimes carried trade axes in lieu of clubs.

A wooden box 1 foot square (Find 100), resting over the thorax, contained many of the smaller items listed below. A row of buttons covered in wool spaced about 3 inches apart in a line 3 feet long was part of a coat worn by or laid over the individual interred. For convenience, the burial accompaniments are listed. Asterisks indicate items that have been lost. Unless otherwise noted the associations are with the upper half of the body.

- Find 91 Brass dutch oven (Pl. 16g)
- Find 92 Faience pitcher (Pl. 16d)
- Find 93 Tinned brass pan (Pl. 16c)
- Find 94 Three-legged iron pot (Pl. 16f)
- Find 95 Manchac Incised jar (Fig. 21c)
- Find 96 Faience bowl (Pl. 16a)
- Find 97 Iron ring*
- Find 98 Fatherland Plain bottle (Fig. 21k)
- Find 99 Flintlock pistol*
- Find 101 Small mica-plated box*
- Find 102 Iron hoe (Pl. 14w)
- Find 100a Three small penknives (Pl. 13bb)
- Find 100b Brass dressing pins in holder*
- Find 100c Four iron buckles—two* (Pl. 13jj)
- Find 100d Three iron and one brass coil springs—three* (Pl. 14a)
- Find 100e Two brass wires with end loops*
- Find 100f Three stone discoids—one* (Pl. 12i, n)
- Find 100g Two lumps of galena*
- Find 100h Triangular projectile point*
- Find 100i Two chipped flints (gunflints?)*
- Find 100j Curved iron plate (Pl. 13cc)
- Find 100k Iron hatchet (Pl. 14y)
- Find 100l Two copper projectile points*
- Find 100m Brass tinklers (Pl. 14n)

- Find 100n White glass beads
- Find 100o Brass buttons (Pl. 14i)
- Find 100p Iron tool
- Find 79 Kaolin pipe bowl (at feet) (Pl. 13j)
- Find 118 Red pigment (Left femur)*
- Find 104a White oval beads, blue striped (Pl. 15h)
- Find 104b Black beads (Pl. 15i)

BURIAL 16, SQUARE S640-650, W270-280: This was an adult, extended on the back, head to the northwest. Another extended adult, Burial 18, lay alongside and 2 feet to the southwest, with its head to the southeast. The two individuals may have been buried together. No pit lines were mentioned in Chambers' notes. A strand of blue glass beads and an iron knife blade (Find 107) lay near the jaw. A Natchez Incised bottle (Find 105) and a Fatherland Plain bowl (Find 106; Fig. 21h) lay near the top of the skull. No depth was given. The bottle, beads, and knife blade have been lost.

BURIAL 17, SQUARE S650-660, W260-270: This burial consisted of a poorly preserved skull and very fragmentary skeletal remains of an adult extended on the back. The sketch in Chambers' notes is not clear, but the head probably lay to the east and near the lower left leg of Burial 15. A silver spoon (Find 108; Fig. 18; Pl. 14p) with a name carved on the back of the bowl was near the right jaw. Two silver and two brass bells (Find 109; Pl. 14d, e) lay between the spoon and the skull. Fragments of matting beneath the burial had been preserved by the copper. A string of blue glass beads (Find 110) lay near the mandible. A knot of string had also been preserved on one of the beads. A fragment of a decorated bowl (Find 111) was nearby. Both the bowl fragment and the beads have been lost, as have been a hinge and a nail (Find 26). The depth of the burial was less than 1 foot below the surface.

BURIAL 18, SQUARE S640-650, W270-280: This interment lay adjacent and parallel to Burial 16. The skeleton was extended on the back, head southeast. The possibility that two individuals were buried together has been mentioned. A Fatherland Incised jar (Find 113; Fig. 20b) lay at the right shoulder. An unusual interior and exterior incised saucer (Find 112; Fig. 21b) and an Emerald Incised bowl (Find 119) lay to the left of the skull. The latter vessel has been lost.

BURIAL 19, SQUARE S640-650, W270-280: A variety of objects surrounded an adult

skull facing upward. Four seal rings (Find 114; Fig. 17b, c; Pl. 14b) rested near the skull; three others lay at a distance of about 1 foot; the latter have been lost. A pebble (Find 114g), a whetstone (Find 114c; Pl. 12o), a piece of a carved stone palette (Find 115; Pl. 12d), a Fatherland Incised bowl (Find 116; Fig. 19d), a Fatherland Plain teapot (Find 117; Fig. 21o), a Natchez Incised bowl (Find 122; Fig. 19j), a Fatherland Plain bottle (Find 123; Fig. 21l), two strings of white glass beads and one of white, pink, and blue striped glass beads (Find 121; Pl. 15l), and a plain cup (Find 90) were scattered around the skull. The cup, pebble, and varicolored beads have been lost. The depth of the burial was not recorded.

BURIAL 20, S640 LINE, W270-280: This burial contained the best-preserved skeleton found. It was extended on the back, head to the west. A string of greenish glass beads (Find 120; Pl. 15e) was over the neck. The depth of the interment was not given.

The five burials numbered 21 to 25 and Burial 13 were contained in a wooden chest in Square S650-660 on the W280 line a little less than a foot beneath the surface. The oblong chest was oriented east to west. Skull 21 lay in the northwest corner. Skull 22 was in the west center; Skull 23, in the east center; Skull 24, in the northeast center; and Skull 25, in the southeast corner. Fragments of long bones were scattered between the skulls, all within the confines of the outline of the chest. Two hinges (Find 32a), brads, a lock, nails, a piece of a buckle, and tacks (Find 80), all parts of the chest, have been lost.

A variety of native and European articles were scattered through the mound, with no clear-cut association with any of the burials. Unless lost, these are mentioned or illustrated elsewhere; missing items are listed in Appendix 1. These artifacts may have accompanied burials, the bones of which have disappeared.

As stated above, of the 25 original burials, eight were primary interments, which had not been removed, cleaned, or stored in baskets, according to the recorded Natchez practice. The most recent field party found one presumably extended primary burial (Burial 26), bringing the total to nine. Most of these primary burials were accompanied by European

goods, indicating that interment had occurred during the French period.

Ten of the burials consisted of skulls associated with both European and aboriginal artifacts. In some cases these skulls lay near enough to the primary burials to suggest that they may have been associated with them as trophies. Some of the skulls were those of children.

The eight individuals found in the two chests are reminiscent of the custom of storing cleaned bones in containers inside the temple, as recorded by French observers.

The occurrence of these three classes of burials, primary, secondary bundle, and skull burials, in the fill of a mound or under the floor of a temple is not unusual in such structures. Similar interments have been recorded at numerous archeological sites throughout the Southeast.

However, the historical records pertaining to the Natchez describe burial customs somewhat at odds with this general Southeastern pattern as well as with the burials found at the Fatherland Site. The French recorders emphasized that primary interment in the temple was a temporary phase of the burial procedure. After an appropriate interval the bones were removed, cleaned, and stored in baskets or chests on altars in the temple, as mentioned above; possibly single skulls were treated in the same way.

The details are discussed below, but it is evident that there is some discrepancy between the historical and the archeological data. In this connection the contrast between the archeological findings in Building Level 1 and those in Building Level 2 should be recalled. Five empty pits that could have been dug for primary burials were traced on the surface of Building Level 1. There was no evidence of the occurrence of skeletal remains or grave goods in relation to this level. However, Building Level 2 contained evidence of 24 empty pits that may have been dug for primary burials, in addition to the 26 burials and grave goods previously described. This would indicate that mortuary function and usage as represented in historic times by Building Level 2 had undergone a distinct change or difference of emphasis from that represented by the evidence from the pre-French Building Level 1.

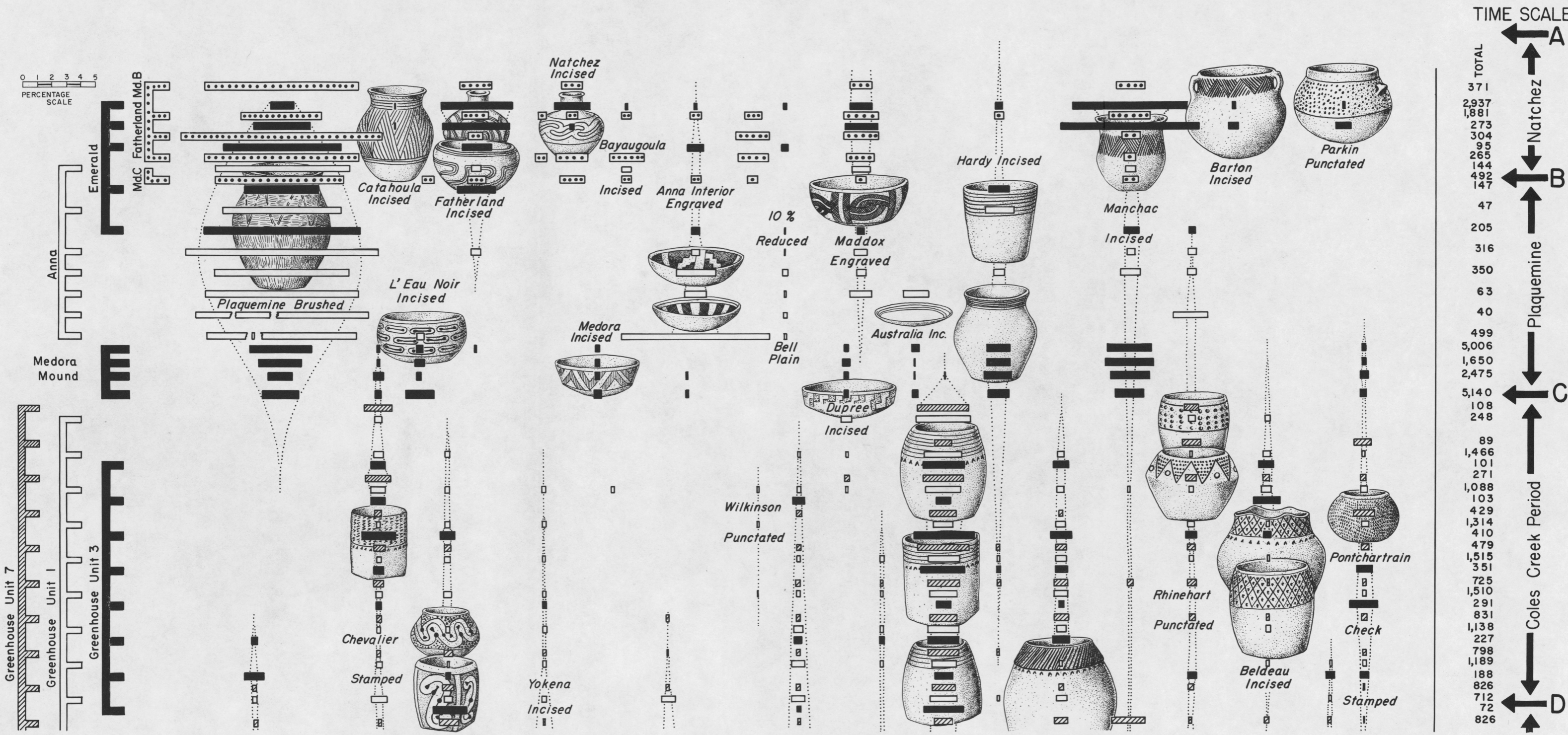


FIG. 14. Histogram of ceramics of the Fatherland Site seriated with the ceramic chronology of the Mouth of Red River Area. Courtesy of James A. Ford.

POTTERY

APPROXIMATELY 15,000 sherds were collected during the excavation of the Fatherland Site. Thirty standard pottery types and some unidentified sherds are represented in the 11,370 sherds classified and analyzed. Omitted from the analysis were sherds of uncertain provenience. These sherds were sorted according to types for use in study and exchange collections. Chambers' pottery collection, consisting of about 60 complete or nearly complete vessels, was also omitted from the analysis. No types of pottery were found that have not been previously described in the literature.

Addis Plain (Quimby, 1951, 107 ff.)
Plaquemine Brushed (Quimby, 1951, 109 ff.)
Manchac Incised (Quimby, 1951, 111 ff.)
Fatherland Incised (Quimby, 1957, 123)
Natchez Incised (Quimby, 1957, 127 ff.)
Fatherland Plain (Quimby, 1957, 125)
Bayou Goula Incised (Quimby, 1957, 126 ff.)
Emerald Engraved (Maddox Engraved), (Suhm and Krieger, 1954, 320 ff.)
Pocahontas Plain (Quimby, 1942, 266)
Wilkinson Punctated (Ford and Willey, 1940, 50)
Leland Incised (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 137 ff.)
L'Eau Noir Incised (Quimby, 1951, 119 ff.)
Anna Interior Engraved (Ford and Willey, 1940, 55)
Hardy Incised (Ford, 1951, 87 ff.)
Harrison Bayou Incised (Quimby, 1951, 115 ff.)
Haynes Bluff Plain (Ford and Willey, 1940, 48 ff.)
Wilkinson Incised (Ford, 1936, Fig. 27b, c)
Parkin Punctated (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 110 ff.)
Chickachae Combed (Collins, 1927, 260 ff.; Quimby, 1942, 265)
Arcola Incised (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 140)
Ranch Incised (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 119)
Nachitoches Engraved (Suhm and Krieger, 1954, 334 ff.)
Rhinehart Punctated (Ford, 1951, 83 ff.)
Dupree Incised (Quimby, 1951, 122 ff.)
French Fork Incised (Ford, 1951, 62 ff.)
Chevalier Stamped (Ford, 1951, 81)
Yokena Incised (Ford, 1951, 50 ff.)
Churupa Punctated (Ford, 1951, 52 ff.)
Troyville Stamped (Ford, 1951, 49 ff.)
Evansville Punctated (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 90 ff.)
Unclassified (Pl. 11k-gg)

All the sherd collections were bagged and

catalogued according to provenience in the field. Later, the sherds were washed and marked individually at the Mississippi State Historical Museum at Jackson, preparatory to sorting. Samples of sherds were selected for analysis from the undisturbed portions of the strata of each mound and from the carefully controlled Cuts 51, 75, and 89 in the midden deposit east of Mound B. Sherd series taken from other cuts in this midden deposit were discarded because they included material from the Phase I fill of Mound B. The sherds gathered from the natural mound strata and those from the arbitrary 3-inch levels of the accumulated midden deposit thus constituted two kinds of samples of the pottery styles that prevailed throughout the occupation of the site.

The presence of isolated sherds of known earlier types, such as Evansville Punctated, Yokena Incised, Churupa Punctated, Troyville Stamped, and Chevalier Stamped, in mound loading merely signifies that these sherds were included in dirt carried in for mound construction. If it were possible to explore the old surface beneath the alluvial cover thoroughly, older occupations of the site and their pottery complexes would probably be found.

The percentages of pottery types from the strata of each mound were calculated separately and seriated (Fig. 13). These seriations produced evidence for very little stylistic change. The proportions of the major types do not vary a great deal from the earliest to the latest levels. Nor are the relative ages of the mounds or the individual strata brought out clearly. These data lead to the conclusion that we are dealing with a short homogeneous span of occupation at the site.

The sherds from the three cuts in the midden deposits were classified, and percentages were calculated by 3-inch arbitrary levels and plotted on a scaled chart. These were laid over shells drawn from the natural profiles of each cut. This presentation served as a graph of the provenience, quantities, and proportions of sherds handled and little else. The cuts (Fig. 3) adjoined one another, and the analysis of each produced similar results. The relation of midden

strata to Mound B strata from which sherds were collected is shown in Fig. 9.

The series from the old surface beneath Mound C and the four phases of Mound B were selected to seriate with Ford's (1952, Fig. 2) Mouth of Red River Area Chronology (Fig. 14). The position of the Fatherland Site as the most recent site in this chronology is obvious. The order of percentage bars indicates that the Fatherland occupation began toward the close of the Anna span, overlapped the last three levels of, and persisted later than, the Emerald series. The Emerald site produced no European trade material but is considered to date slightly earlier than historic Natchezan times.

Sherd proportions and type ranges from the Bayou Goula Site (Quimby, 1957) are similar to those from Fatherland; the two sites are known to be contemporaneous on historical grounds. One Chevalier Stamped sherd is the only representative of Coles Creek period occupation at the site. Coles Creek types are usually found at other sites in this region where multiple occupations have occurred. One sherd is dubiously classified as French Fork Incised; it was too small for accurate classification. One or two sherds (Pl. 11w), classified as unidentified as to type, resemble those illustrated by Quimby (1957, Fig. 37) who considers them to be similar to French Fork Incised.

The name Emerald Engraved is applied to a ware which has previously been included in Maddox Engraved (Suhm and Krieger, 1954, 320, Pl. 44) in the Caddoan Area. The present terminology follows the nomenclature of type variety used by Phillips and Williams (personal communication) recently in their Lower Mississippi Valley studies. Cotter has called it Maddox Incised in an illustration (1951, Fig. 17) and Maddox Engraved in a seriation table (1951, Fig. 14). In a summary of Natchezan culture type markers, Quimby (1942, 266) referred to it as Maddox Incised. By present agreement with workers in the Caddoan Area, Emerald Engraved will apply to the curvilinear-band variant of this area, Maddox Engraved to the rectilinear-band variant prevalent in northern Louisiana and Arkansas.

The zoned, fine cross-hatched decoration is nearly always cut into a leather-hard or dried surface and is, therefore, distinctive. Its relation to Caddoan ceramics is obvious, but until more is known about vessel shapes and design

motifs of the Caddoan Area, it seems best to consider it as a minor local variety that occurs not only fairly consistently in the Lower Mississippi Valley but also throughout all levels at Fatherland.

It does not occur in the bottom level of the Anna Site, but was found in more recent levels there, as well as at Emerald Mound, Angola Farm (Ford, 1936, Fig. 26), and the Menard Site (Ford, 1961, Figs. 7, 8; Pl. 24y-gg). Other related Caddoan types were also found at the latter two sites.

In general, the representation of major late pottery types at Fatherland agrees with that at other late sites. Plaquemine Brushed, Natchez Incised, Bayou Goula Incised, Wilkinson Punctated, and Emerald Engraved are numerically more dominant at Fatherland than at Emerald. The representation of Fatherland Incised and Manchac Incised is considerably weaker. Natchez Incised and Fatherland Plain seem to have been stronger earlier than Fatherland Incised and to have persisted in this strength to the most recent levels. It should be understood that such distinctions are rather finely drawn, when the probability of a short period of Natchez occupation of the site is considered.

Rim sherds with a deep groove or step on the interior of the lip, formerly referred to as "Tunica rims," were sorted separately to discover, if possible, any distributional significance in their occurrence in the midden deposits east of Mound B. The results were inconclusive, though there was a stronger representation from the levels in the lower one-third of Cuts 51 and 89. However, shallow bowl or plate forms were more frequent in the deepest levels; this kind of rim, when it does occur, is nearly always found on such shapes. All such sherds are included in the type Addis Plain. The Haynes Bluff Plain rim sherds often have both the groove and the scalloped lip and are the same ware.

The fairly common red-slipped pottery found at Natchezan sites was also sorted according to levels in the strata cuts, regardless of any other surface decorations, so that Fatherland Plain, Fatherland Incised, Natchez Incised, and Bayou Goula Incised were separated only on the basis of the red slip. The greatest number of these sherds were found in the middle midden levels and graded out through the upper

midden layer. Except for two sherds found in Cut 89 no red-slipped ware was found in the lowest one-third of the midden deposits. The total sherd counts are also greater in the middle midden layer, decreasing above and below. The distribution of red-slipped sherds by arbitrary levels parallels the frequency of occurrence of European objects in the midden deposits. No significance can be attached to this except that specimens of both categories were deposited contemporaneously in the latter part of the occupation period of the site.

Vessel shapes, so far as they were determined from sherds found in the midden deposit, were compared with those of the complete vessels associated with burials in Phase IV of Mound C. Undecorated saucers, beakers, and plate or shallow bowl forms, usually of Addis Plain, seldom accompanied burials. Such forms, as well as Fatherland Incised and Natchez Incised round and flat-bottomed bowls, Manchac Incised jars, and Plaquemine Brushed jars, were abundant in the midden deposits. Fatherland and Natchez Incised bowls occurred in approximately equal strength with burials. Only a few Addis Plain and Manchac Incised and Plaquemine Brushed vessels were with the burials in Mound C. Saucers and bottles occurred almost exclusively with burials. Beakers were rare in both the midden and burial deposits. Fatherland Plain was the dominant plainware found with burials, including the teapot form (Fig. 21o) found by Chambers. No recognizable parts of any other such vessels were found at Fatherland.

Some of the unclassified shell-tempered sherds illustrated (Pl. 11u, x, aa) are very similar to Belzoni Incised which has been found in the late levels of sites in the Yazoo River delta north of Vicksburg, Mississippi. Sherds bearing incised designs similar to Ranch Incised (Pl. 11r-t, bb) are clay or clay and grit-

tempered; this type, by definition, has shell-tempered Neeley's Ferry Plain paste.

The almost complete absence of sherds traded from the Caddoan and Choctaw areas is unexpected. Quimby (1942, 265) considered Chickachae Combed to be a minority ware at the Fatherland Site. One or two sherds from the last occupation stage of Mound C were hesitantly assigned to this type. Portions of three vessels from Mound B deposits were of the type Nachitoches Engraved and probably were trade pieces (Pl. 11a). In view of the frequent mention of Natchez historic connections with the Choctaw, Caddo, and Chickasaw areas, the absence of ceramic evidence of such contact is puzzling.

Aside from pottery vessels, few articles of clay were found during excavation. A small, tapered, cone-shaped object (Pl. 13f) resembling a conventionalized leg of a human figurine was found about 4 feet deep in Level P of Cut 75. This was the middle midden zone in the deposits east of Mound B. A small clay ball was found in floor deposits of Building Level 1 of Mound C. A pottery disk, probably an earplug (Pl. 13g), came from the lowest midden zone of Cut 89.

Portions of two clay pipes (Pl. 13c, d) came from shallow outwash deposits of Mounds A and C. The bowl and portion of the stem of the pipe (Pl. 13d) from Mound A resemble forms found in the Wilbanks and Cherokee levels in the southern Piedmont Area.

The seated torso of a human figurine (Pl. 13e) with the head broken off was found in the loading of Phase III of Mound C. Stylized, slender arms are partly crossed over the chest, and rudiments of legs merge with the broken edge where the figurine had apparently been attached to some sort of base, possibly to a bowl. If so, the figurine may have been a large adorno on a vessel rim, facing inward.

ARTIFACTS

STONE WORK

CHAMBERS FOUND VERY FEW stone tools with burials at Mound C. During the 1962 investigation quantities of pebbles and broken stone scrap were collected from nearly all levels in the mounds and midden deposits. Few, if any, of these were fire cracked; some would pass for small boulders. The supply undoubtedly came from the bed of St. Catherine Creek, where they are most abundant in the channel and on the sandbars. A few fragments of Catahoula sandstone and of a soft limestone are known to occur in outcrops in the lower valley.

PROJECTILE POINTS

Ten complete projectile points and parts of three others were found during the 1962 excavations (Pl. 12s-ee). A triangular point, found by Chambers associated with Burial 15 at Mound C, has been lost. Eight triangular points (two fragmentary) with slightly excurvate sides similar to Fresno points (Suhm and Krieger, 1954, 498) came from the upper levels of the strata cuts and the fill of the final stage of Mound C (Pl. 12w-dd).

A Hayes Point type (Pl. 12ee) was in the outwash deposit of Mound B, and a similar point with serrated edges (Pl. 12v) was in Mound C outwash. A small point of Gary type (Pl. 12u) came from the upper level of Cut 51 in the Mound B midden, and a large, straight-stemmed, Carrollton type of point (Pl. 12s) was in the old surface deposit beneath Mound C. A broken stemmed point (Pl. 12t) came from the surface of the former village site across St. Catherine Creek, southeast of the plaza.

Notably absent were the fish-shaped points described by Quimby (1957, Fig. 42, 128) for the Bayou Goula Site and thought by him to be characteristic of the Natchezan Culture type (1942, Pl. 16, 269).

MISCELLANEOUS STONE TOOLS

A thin, spatulate-shaped scraper (Pl. 12k), retouched on one side of the convex blade edge, was found in the upper outwash zone from Mound A.

A small, thinly chipped, celt-shaped scraper (Pl. 12g) was in the middle midden level of Cut 51, east of Mound B. A fragment of a sand-

stone hammerstone, three whetstones, and a smooth, beveled, limestone fragment with its edge notched (Pl. 12a-c, f, e) were all found in the midden levels east of Mound B.

A fragment of a hammerstone, a chipped, keel-shaped core or scraper, a thin, polished tool or gorget fragment, and a quartz crystal (Pl. 12j, r, h, l) were found in the outwash deposits of Mound C. A small blunt boatstone with convex sides (Pl. 12p) was included in the fill of Phase III of Mound C.

A small chipped celt and part of a small polished celt (Pl. 12m, q) were found on the village site southeast of the creek.

Chambers' excavation at Mound C yielded a whetstone, a fragment of a paint palette of carved stone, and a small flattened pebble (Pl. 12o, d) with Burial 19. Three discoidals (Pl. 12i, n), two lumps of galena, and a mass of red ocher were also with Burial 15. All but two discoidals have been lost.

STONE PIPES

A polished, fine sandstone pipe, blocked out in elbow form, was found in the outwash of Mound C in Square S660-670, W280-290 (Pl. 13a). It has already been mentioned as a possible burial accompaniment (p. 40). Chambers found a large, partly carved block of limestone drilled for and used as an elbow type of pipe (Pl. 13b). It was in Square S660-670, W260-270. The rudimentary carving in relief on one side suggests an animal figure. A three-lined scroll is included in the design. The top and opposite side have been broken away or left rough and unfinished.

Especially interesting is the carved limestone human head (Fig. 15) illustrated by Ford (1936, Fig. 11) and Griffin (1952, Fig. 144k) found in Square S670-680, W260-270. It rested about 5 feet southwest of Burial 3. Approximately 3 inches high, the head has been broken off at the neck, leaving both jaws defined. Its upper right parietal portion has been broken away, but the left side is intact. The details of face and hair are expertly and realistically executed; the back of the head is more conventionalized. Two parallel ridges that descend the flattened occipital region probably represent braids of hair, since they connect with

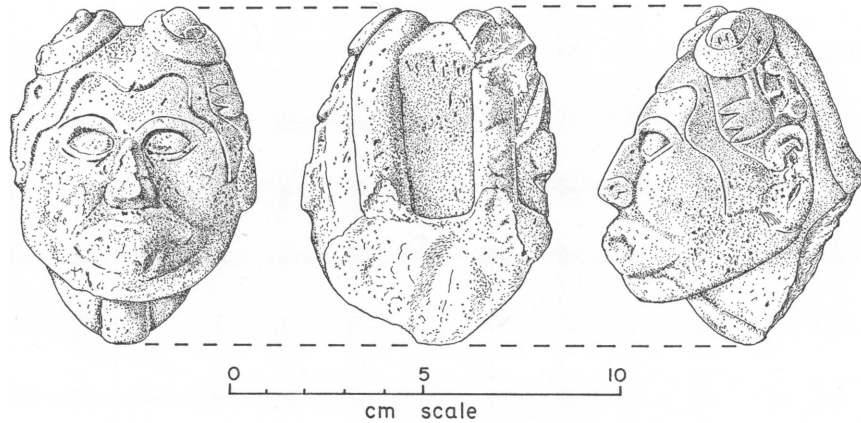


FIG. 15. Limestone human effigy head.

the two coils on each side of the top of the head. A short ridge between the left coil and the left ear may represent a short braid or tress. Both Dumont and Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 51, Pl. 2a) have described this as one of several male hair styles. A three-pronged outline in the hair above the left ear probably represents a copper hair ornament.

Fronto-occipital compression of the skull is obvious. Considerable prognathism is indicated by the projecting lips and mouth. Whether this head is from a pipe or stone figure is not determinable. The quality and other aspects of its execution are reminiscent of the stone figures from the Etowah Site in Georgia.

A fragment of the bowl of a catlinite elbow pipe (Pl. 13k) is mentioned above (p. 16). It

was found under tree roots, close to the surface in Square S40-50, W40-50 at Mound B.

BONE

Worked bone fragments or tools were exceptionally scarce at the Fatherland Site. Three ulna awls (Pl. 12ff, hh, ii), were found. The first came from the old surface under Mound C; the others, from the middle and bottom levels of the midden east of Mound B.

Two fragments of cut antler were also parts of tools. One (Pl. 12gg), a shallow groove encircling it, was from the middle midden levels of Cut 75. The second piece of antler (Pl. 12jj), cut at each end, was hollow; apparently it had been the handle of an implement. It was found in outwash from Mound C.

A bird-bone tube (Pl. 12kk), cut at one end and broken at the opposite end, was found in the fill of Phase III of Mound B.

A beaver incisor (Fig. 16a) from Mound B and a pig incisor (Fig. 16b) from the outwash of Mound C seem to have been cut out of their sockets.

SHELL

A knobbed shell ear pin (Pl. 12 ll) was found at the right ear of Burial 3. The only other shell artifact recovered was a perforated mussel shell (Pl. 12mm) from the fill of Phase I, Mound B.

MISCELLANEOUS

A circular fragment of plaited matting of split cane (Find 317) was found in disturbed surface soil under the roots of the pecan tree in



FIG. 16. a. Cut beaver incisor. b. Cut pig incisor.

Mound C. It adhered to a pad of organic material and was stained green, suggesting that it probably had been in contact with copper. The plaiting was three under and three over.

EUROPEAN TRADE GOODS

The inventory of European items included both the mortuary offerings found by Chambers in 1930 and the random specimens recovered by the 1962 field party. As stated above (p. 41), some of the earlier finds have been lost. All the finds, both native and foreign, with their field catalogue numbers and burial association are listed in Appendix 1. A second list records all specimens that have been lost from the 1930 excavation. The specific association of individual artifacts, where they accompany burials, is given in the section on burials (pp. 41-45).

CROCKERY AND PORCELAIN

Faience bowl, blue and white (Pl. 16a)
Faience pitcher, blue and white (Pl. 16d)
Two sherds of white porcelain (Pl. 14u, v)
Two sherds of unglazed green crockery (Pl. 14q, r)
One sherd, possibly from an olive jar (Pl. 14s)
One blue and white faience sherd (Pl. 14t)

KAOLIN PIPES

One pipe bowl, blunt spur, 5/64-inch stem aperture (Pl. 13j)
Six pipestems (Pl. 13i). The formula described by Binford (1962, 19-21) was applied to the average diameter of these items. The mean date computed was 1721.

IRON

Twelve square-cut nails from outwash, probably late nineteenth century
Ten square nails, hand forged (Pl. 14o)
Three tacks, hand forged (Pl. 14o)
Five clasp knives, one from Mound A (Pl. 13y), two from Mound B (Pl. 13z, aa), two from Mound C (Pl. 13w, x)
Three penknives, Mound C (Pl. 13bb)
Iron ring, C-shaped, Mound B (Pl. 13ll)
Iron ring and staple, Mound B (Pl. 13kk)
Iron needle, Mound B (Pl. 13ff)
Iron hook, Mound C (Pl. 13dd)
Wire circlets, C-shaped, Mound C (Pl. 14k)
Iron coil spring, Mound C (Pl. 14a)
Two iron fragments (Pl. 13m, o), possibly gun parts, from Mound B
One iron tumbler from a flintlock (Pl. 13n), Mound C
Two buckles, Mound C (Pl. 13jj)

One key, Mound C (Pl. 13hh)
Tip of sword or knife scabbard, Mound A (Pl. 13l)
Five miscellaneous pieces of iron scrap from Mound B
Three miscellaneous pieces of iron scrap, Mound C (Pl. 14z)
One hoe, Mound C (Pl. 14w)
One ax, Mound C (Pl. 14x)
One hatchet, Mound C (Pl. 14y)
Two pistol barrels, Mound B (Pl. 16b)
One gun-barrel fragment, Mound C (Pl. 14aa)
One iron rod, Mound C (Pl. 16h)

FLINTS

Five gun flints, plano-convex, Mound B (Pl. 13p-s, u)
Two gun flints, triangular cross section, Mound C (Pl. 13t, v)

LEAD

Eight musket balls, approximately 0.50 caliber, one from Mound A, three from Mound B, and four from Mound C (Pl. 13h)
Two buckshot, Mound B (Pl. 13h)
Three scraps of lead waste, one from Mound B, two from Mound C (Pl. 13h)
One piece of lead bar, Mound B (Pl. 13h)
One lead ring, C-shaped (Pl. 13ii)

BRASS AND COPPER

Thirteen tinklers, Mound C (Pl. 14n)
Two religious pendants, Mound C (Fig. 17a; Pl. 14g)
Four signet rings, Mound C (Fig. 17b, c; Pl. 14b)
Two brass ring bands, Mound C (Pl. 14c)
One thimble, Mound C (Pl. 14h)

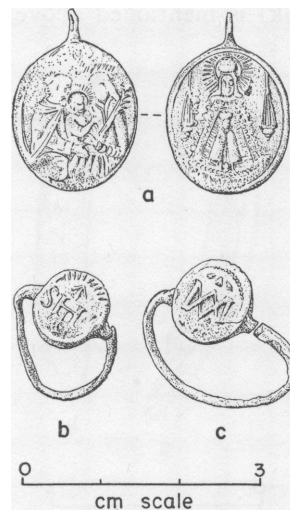


FIG. 17. a. Brass religious medal.
b-c. Brass signet rings.

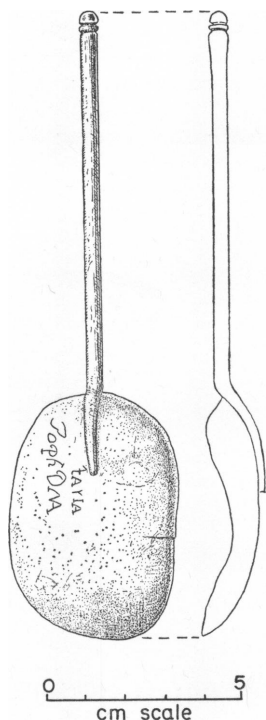


FIG. 18. Silver spoon.

Two brass buttons, ringed, Mound C (Pl. 14i)
 Thirty-three small to medium hawk bells, Mound C
 (Pl. 14f, j)
 Two large sleigh bells, Mound C (Pl. 14e)
 Four brass spatulas, Mound B (Pl. 14 l, m)
 Nine¹ pieces of brass scrap, Mound B (Pl. 13gg)
 Brass pot (Pl. 16e)

SILVER

One silver spoon, first and second name engraved,
 Mound C (Fig. 18; Pl. 14p)
 Two silver sleigh bells, Mound C. One is engraved
 and bears letters W and I (Pl. 14d, e)

GLASS

Fifteen glass sherds, most having been burned in a
 fire
 One wine bottle Mound C (Pl. 15a)¹

¹ This bottle was embedded under 5 feet of water-laid silt
 in the gully on the east flank of Mound C. George I.

BEADS

Seventeen assorted spheroid and oval monochrome
 blue, white, and green beads, medium size,
 Mound B
 Two beads, polychrome blue and white stripes,
 medium size, Mound B
 Four seed beads, three blue, one white, Mound B
 One bead, blue, white, and red layers, large size,
 Mound C (Pl. 15k)
 One short string of dark amber to black, flattened,
 spheroidal beads, small, Mound C (Pl. 15i)
 Two short strings of colorless glazed or porcelain
 beads, medium size, Mound C (Pl. 15c)
 One short string of blue spheroidal beads, containing
 one faceted translucent and one red opaque, me-
 dium size, Mound C (Pl. 15b)
 One long string of small, colorless, flattened beads,
 Mound C (Pl. 15f)
 One short string of mixed blue and black spheroidal
 beads and one cane bead, with blue and white
 stripes, Mound C (Pl. 15g)
 One short string of blue spheroidal beads, one white
 oval and one blue-spiral-striped on white oval,
 medium size, Mound C
 One short string of colorless oval beads, with blue
 spiral stripes, large, Mound C (Pl. 15h)
 One short string of blue spheroidal beads, medium
 size, Mound C (Pl. 15e)
 One short string of mixed nodular and black and
 white striped beads, medium size, Mound C
 (Pl. 15j)
 One short string of medium-sized, colorless, spher-
 oidal beads, Mound C (Pl. 15l)
 One long string of medium-sized, blue, spheroidal
 beads, Mound C
 Two short strings of medium-sized blue spheroidal
 beads, Mound C
 One long string of medium-sized blue spheroidal
 beads, Mound C
 One long string of small colorless spheroidal beads,
 Mound C
 Three short strings of small blue spheroidal beads,
 Mound C
 One long string of small blue beads, Mound C

Quimby dates the type at about 1760. I. Noel Hume ex-
 amined it and compared it with a dated series and places
 it at no earlier than 1810-1860. Charles H. Fairbanks con-
 curs with Hume's estimate (1963, personal communica-
 tions).

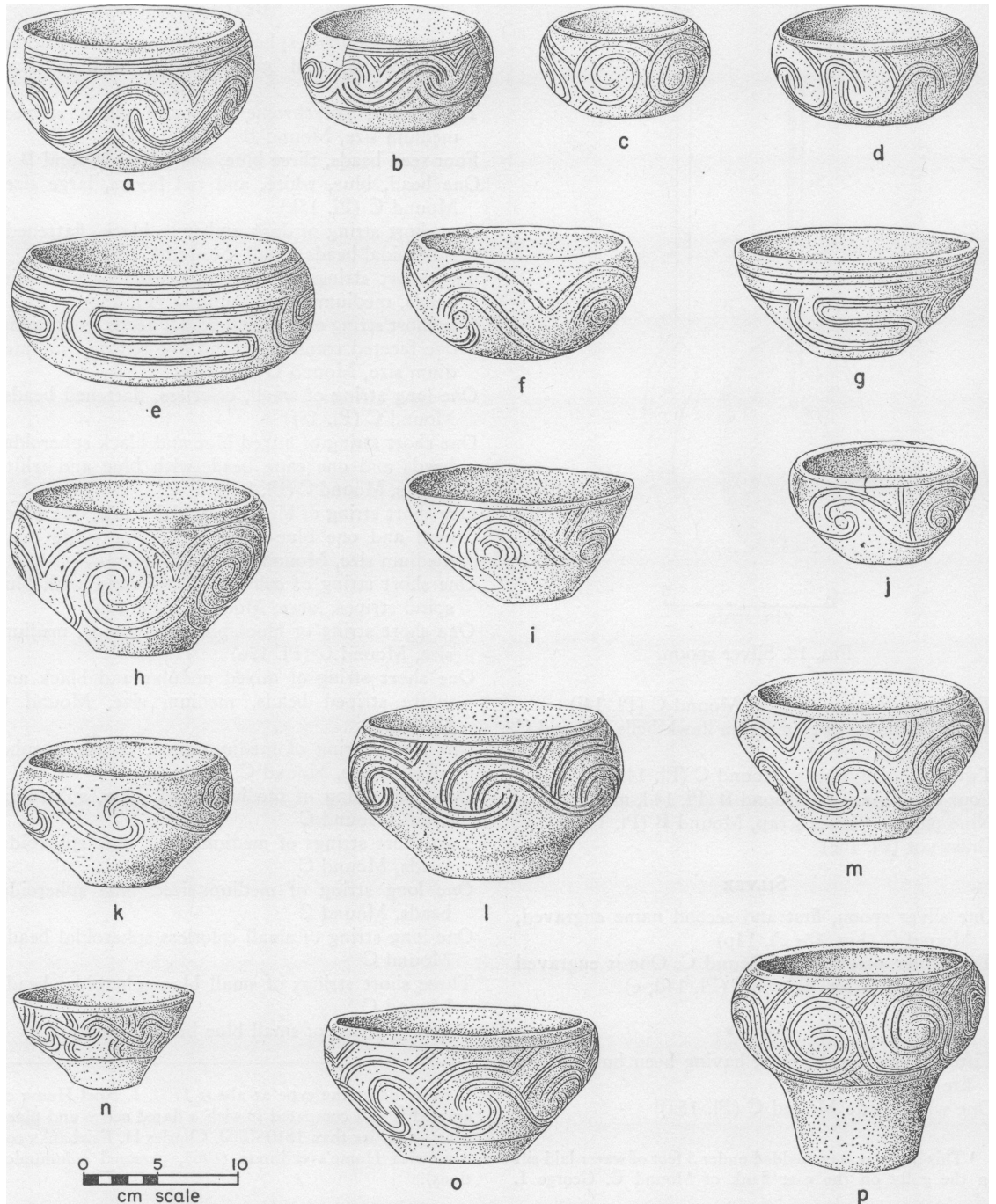


FIG. 19. Pottery vessels found with burials excavated by Chambers. a-b, d-g, i, k-p. Fatherland Incised bowls. c, j. Notched Incised bowls. h. Natchez Incised bowl.



FIG. 20. Pottery vessels found with burials excavated by Chambers. a-c. Fatherland Incised jars. d-k. Fatherland Incised bottles. l. Fatherland Incised jar or beaker. m. Fatherland Incised bowl. n. Natchez Incised bowl, red-filmed between incisions.

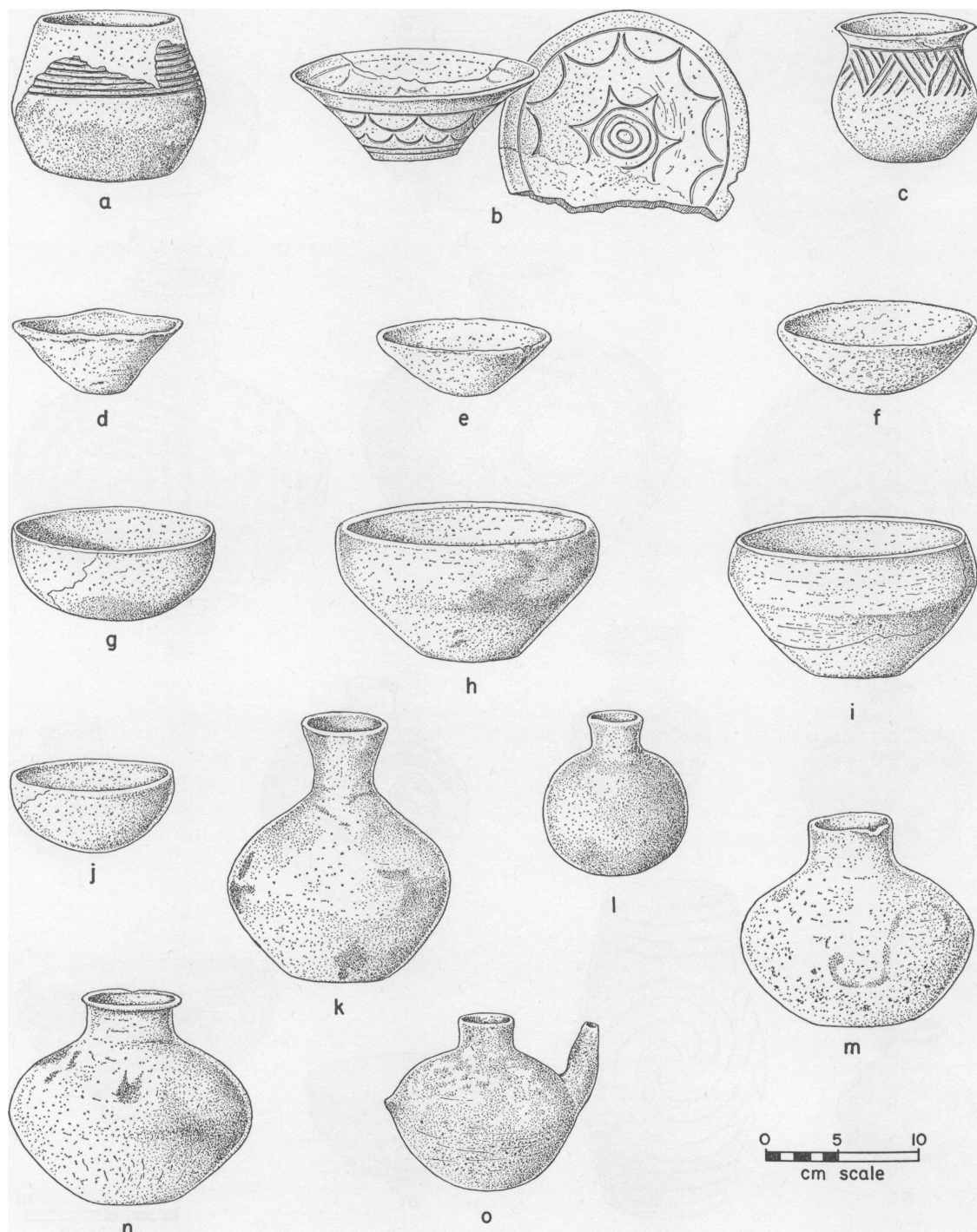


FIG. 21. Pottery vessels found with burials excavated by Chambers. a. Hardy Incised jar. b. Unidentified interior-exterior incised bowl. c. Manchac Incised jar. d-g. Addis Plain bowls. h-j. Fatherland Plain bowls. k-n. Fatherland Plain bottles. o. Fatherland Plain, red-slipped teapot.

HISTORY OF THE NATCHEZ AND FRENCH SETTLEMENTS AT THE GRAND VILLAGE AND FORT ROSALIE

As a PREREQUISITE to undertaking a systematic correlation of historical and archeological data, a detailed knowledge of the Natchez area for the years 1682-1730 is necessary. The positive identification of the Fatherland Site as the former Grand Village of the Natchez is demonstrated below in this exposition; in the present context, it stands as a premise, incidental to the following sketch.

Albrecht (1946, 321-354) has reviewed the developing affairs of the French and the Natchez for the 48-year period from 1682 to 1730. He elected to review this span of cultural contact against a useful framework of changing classes of relationships.

Period I is characterized by the first sporadic encounters with explorers, beginning with La Salle in 1682. Conceivably, some exchange of trade goods occurred during this initial period.

Period II, starting about 1700, marked an intensification of this earlier contact, with an increased emphasis on missionaries and their particular influence on the cultural interaction. Though this group contributed a great deal of significance to the historical literature, its official efforts were in the main unsuccessful. They failed to influence the stabilized, theocratic Natchez social system (Albrecht, 1948, 570).

Period III, from about 1714 to 1722, may be characterized by a broadening base of various kinds of social interchange. Women and children, artisans, and slaves were moved into the area, and land was acquired by the French government, though European concepts of property were alien to the Indians. Many misunderstandings arose from these and other sources, as friction between the groups accelerated. By 1714 Bienville had established Fort Rosalie and garrisoned it with a small body of troops. The three minor Natchez "wars" broke out between this date and 1723.

Finally, Period IV is marked by the increased dominance and demands of the French military while supervising and protecting the expanding agricultural and trade concessions. This era ended with the massacre at Fort

Rosalie in November, 1729, and the departure of the Indians in the early part of 1730.

Swanton (1911, 43) estimated the Natchez population in 1698 to have been approximately 3500, with 1000 warriors and 400 cabins. Iberville was told there were nine villages, and De Montigny said that there were 10 or 12 during Period I; after this time only five were mentioned and named (Swanton, 1911, 45-47). These were the Flour, Hickory, White Apple, Griegra, and Grand Villages. The settlements were of the hamlet type. Dwellings were scattered over wide areas, with no particular concentration, except perhaps at the Grand Village. St. Cosme (Swanton, 1911, 46) asserted that the Natchez and Arkansas cabins were often a quarter of a league apart.

A pervasive idea of their former greatness runs through most of the historical literature dealing with the Natchez and neighboring groups of the early eighteenth century. It seems probable that these small, remnant tribes had shared formerly in a larger cultural hegemony and had actually boasted greater unit populations. Quimby (1957, 165) in his conclusions concerning various splinter groups of the Lower Mississippi Valley has suggested this likelihood. Such groups as the Tunica, Yazoo, Koroa, Ofo, Taensa, Bayougoula, Acolapissa, and the Houma show evidence of general cultural similarity, though some linguistic diversity. Some of these tribal units even migrated and moved into the villages of other tribes for short periods, as evidenced when the Tunica moved to the Houma settlement and the Taensa settled among the Bayougoula. The population as recorded in the De Soto chronicles for the sixteenth century, together with the number and size of late Mississippi and Plaquemine Period archeological sites in the lower valley, certainly lends strength to this conjecture that individual tribal organizations were breaking down.

De Soto's army had little more than indirect contact with the Natchez, who should probably be identified with the province of Quigaltam or Quigaltanqui mentioned in the narratives. The

Natchez undoubtedly participated in the harassment that accompanied the Spanish army as it made its final flight in boats down the Mississippi River in 1543.

Following La Salle and De Tonti, who visited the Grand Village in 1682, Iberville in 1700 was the next caller of any historical consequence. It is uncertain whether in the interim there were any other even casual contacts with the French or other Europeans. Iberville was conducted to the chief's cabin. He described the cabin and the temple, the mounds upon which they were built, and the plaza.

Temporary visitors and more permanent settlers increased over the next few years. The first Natchez war in 1714 marks the tensions and conflicts that arose between the Indians and the growing European population. After this outbreak the French authorities headed by Bienville decided to establish and garrison Fort Rosalie, which was built near the river, somewhere within what is now the business district of Natchez. Le Page du Pratz, an important historical authority, arrived in 1720. He bought the concession of St. Catherine to the north of the Grand Village and the White Earth Concession downstream and southwest of the Indian town. Numerous smaller European holdings were established in the vicinity, so that it is probable that at least 200 to 300 Frenchmen had settled near Fort Rosalie by 1720. A second Natchez war occurred in 1722; a third uprising, the ensuing year.

The Natchez nation, occupying at least five villages or extended settlements along St. Catherine Creek, was divided into two factions, based on their attitudes and opinions toward the French. The family of the Great Sun and his almost equally powerful brother, the Tattooed Serpent, lived at the Grand Village and ruled the outlying settlements. The Flour Village seems to have been allied with these chiefs and the Grand Village in most disputes that arose. For the most part these two individuals were successful in maintaining friendly, though often devious, relations with the French command. The more distant White Apple, Griegra, and Hickory towns seemed to be at the root of the dissent in each of the three minor uprisings or skirmishes that took place. The influence of English traders in the Chickasaw settlements was partially responsible for the deviation of

these communities. Doubtless the natives had just cause for their complaints about their grievances, but the French authorities, reluctant to concede disputed points to any great extent, continued to expand and infringe on native property rights.

In June, 1725, the Tattooed Serpent, war chief and brother of the Great Sun, died. He was buried with appropriate ceremonies in the floor of the temple. The Great Sun died in 1728. The young Sun who succeeded him succumbed to a new political alignment subject to the influence of the chief of the White Apple Village. Only his mother, Tattooed Arm, continued as a friend of any consequence to the French. Although her influence was considerable, it was inadequate to forestall the imminent rebellion.

The early accounts are factually vague, but there seems to have been a conspiracy to enlist Chickasaw and Choctaw assistance for a concerted uprising against the French. The cooperative effort failed to materialize either because of a misunderstanding or reluctance on the part of the supposed allies. The Natchez under the young Sun struck precipitately, and alone. They were possibly goaded into hasty action by the unreasonable impatience of Chepart, the French manager, to force them to yield him more land from one of their village plots.

The Natchez, pretending to prepare for a collective hunt, armed themselves, and upon a prearranged signal they trapped the French in their forts and houses. The records vary, but at least 200 of the French were killed and about 150, including women, children, and slaves, were taken prisoner. The attack occurred in the latter part of November, 1729. A few survivors reached New Orleans with the news several days later. For several weeks frontier alarms concerning all Indians were rampant throughout the Louisiana colony.

The French immediately undertook to strengthen friendly relations with the Choctaw and Tunica. With their rather unreliable assistance they launched a siege against the Natchez. During this time the Choctaw are credited with negotiating for the release of some of the French captives.

Late in 1729, or early in 1730, the Natchez built two forts some distance, probably north, from the Grand Village on both the east and west sides of St. Catherine Creek. Apparently

the occupants of all the Natchez villages took refuge in these forts; the Grand Village itself was evidently abandoned at this time.

The French forces, with their Choctaw allies, brought up artillery and began an ineffectual siege of the Natchez positions. The Natchez also had availed themselves of three French cannon taken from Fort Rosalie, but were unable to use them with any success.

Because of French negligence and failing ammunition supplies, the entire Natchez group escaped across the river into Louisiana after first releasing the remaining prisoners to the Choctaw. A year later the fortified Louisiana position (Green, 1936, 547-577) was found and attacked by the French under Governor Perrier. Following rather treacherous negotiations, he imprisoned the Natchez leaders and several

hundred tribesmen. They were taken to New Orleans as captives and subsequently sold as slaves in Santo Domingo. The remainder escaped from the French siege and were scattered into small refugee groups.

One small harassed band that remained in the lower Ouachita River region was responsible for an attack on the French near their post of Nachitoches on Red River. A few Caddo and Spanish allies of the French helped to defeat them, after which history loses trace of them.

A substantial band took refuge among the Chickasaw near the present town of Tupelo, Mississippi (Jennings, 1941, 155-226). A remnant of this band seems to have wandered among the Creek and Cherokee settlements until they were finally lost to history.

SUMMARY OF HISTORICAL AND ARCHEOLOGICAL CORRELATIONS

GEOGRAPHICAL

THE OBJECTIVE OF THIS SECTION is to compare historical and archeological data, where possible, to determine not only the degree of conformity between the two lines of evidence but the degree of probability that the Fatherland Site was actually the Grand Village of the Natchez. The information available in the French colonial records and the data from Chambers' excavation and my own must provide the principal evidence.

The comparison of these two varieties of evidence (history versus archeology) is limited and complicated by the difference in content. The archeological evidence is presented above. We here examine the historical data in a similar fashion, evaluating correspondences wherever possible.

First, it should be mentioned that the survey of 1962 was disappointing in that it did not lead to the location of other principal villages of the Natchez. Historical leads suggested by Albrecht also proved useless, mainly because of destructive erosion. The same physiographical factors prevented us from obtaining information about everyday Natchez culture other than that associated with the mounds.

Only the Mazique, Anna, Gordon, Foster, Ring, Glass, and Emerald sites are extant as potential locations of outlying Natchez settlements. None of these, from what is known of them, seems to be on as late a time level as the Fatherland Site. For the most part they contain Plaquemine material. The Mazique Site even extends into Coles Creek times.

Historical information, which consists of written descriptions and maps pertaining to the general location and physical features of the Grand Village of the Natchez, are presented first. Swanton (1911) and Albrecht (1944) have used and quoted the primary sources very effectively, so their inferences are included in this discussion.

Albrecht (1944, 69) began with the narratives of Tonti and Father Membre, members of the 1682 La Salle expedition. Both placed the Grand Village three leagues inland from the river, but furnished neither starting place nor

cardinal direction by which to orient or measure this distance. Several large area maps resulted from the La Salle expedition. One made by La Salle himself was lost, but a French engineer, Minet, who had access to it drew a similar one in 1685. Although both the river system and geography were distorted on this map, it does show the position of the Natchez nation on the east side of the Mississippi, also its general location in relation to neighboring tribes and the mouth of the Red River (Albrecht, 1944, 70).

Swanton (1911, 187-188) cited Tonti's words from Margry and the "Relation" of Nicolas de la Salle. In the first he merely said that La Salle went to the village; in the second that it was "3 leagues distant from the river on rising ground." Tonti's "Memoir" (Swanton, 1911, 188) says: "I made the chief men among them cross over to M. de la Salle, who accompanied them to their village, 3 leagues inland." Tonti stopped at the landing four years later in 1686, but gave no additional locational evidence.

These accounts, in their entirety, are somewhat contradictory and introduce confusing information pertaining to a Koroa village which later seems to have disappeared.

Albrecht (1944, 70) mentioned other maps made between 1685 and 1700, all of which are more accurate. They continue to place the Natchez in the same general location as did the earlier maps.

Iberville (Swanton, 1911, 190-191) arrived in 1700 and contributed more specific locational data and a recognizable description of the physical features of the area and the village:

I reached the landing place of the Natchez . . . The brother of the chief . . . invited me to go to the village . . . which is a league from the edge of the water . . . Half way there I met the chief . . .

We repaired to his cabin, which is raised to a height of 10 feet on earth brought thither, and is 25 feet wide and 45 long. Nearby are 8 cabins. Before that of the chief is the temple mound, which forms a round, a little oval, and bounds an open space about 250 paces wide and 300 long. A stream passes near . . . From the landing place on the river one ascends a very steep hillside about 150 fathoms high covered

completely with woods. Being on top of the hill one finds a country of plains and prairies filled with little hills, in some places groves of trees, many oaks, and many roads cut through, going from one hamlet to another or to cabins. Those who traveled 3 or 4 leagues about say they find everywhere the same country, from the edge of the hill to the village of the chief. What I have seen is a country of yellow earth, mixed with a few little stones, until within a cannon shot of his [the chief's] house, where begins the gray earth, which appears to me better.

Albrecht (1944, 72) quoted Du Ru, a Jesuit priest who accompanied Iberville:

We arrived at the landing place of the Natchez about nine o'clock in the morning . . . We set out at two in the afternoon to climb the hill on which the Great Chief's cabin is situated. It is about a league from here.

As will be seen, subsequent descriptions also specify the distance as a league, which at that time approximated 3 miles.

De Montigny (Swanton, 1911, 190) arrived in 1700. He baptized 185 infants and estimated that there were about 400 huts within a radius of eight leagues. Du Ru's (Albrecht, 1944, 72-73) statement agrees and adds that all the huts were on hills in the open plain.

Penicaut (Swanton, 1911, 46) was stationed among the Natchez several times from 1704 onward. His descriptions agree with the preceding.

The village of the Natchez . . . is situated 1 league from the shore of the Mississippi . . . There are prairies around it . . . Many little rivulets . . . come from under a mountain, which appears at 2 leagues from these prairies . . . they unite into two great rivulets, which pass around the village, at the end of which they join, to form a little river [St. Catherines], which runs over a fine gravel and passes through three villages, which are half a league apart, and finally 2 leagues from there it falls into the Mississippi.

Further along he (Swanton, 1911, 195) added these details:

we parted three hours after midday in order to arrive at the landing of the Natchez village one hour before sunset, in order to be able to go by day to the village, because it was one league distant from the bank of the river . . . M. de la Loire conducted me to the edge of the prairie; . . .

When I was in the middle of the prairie, in sight of the village . . .

Albrecht (1944, 76) further confirmed this distance by quoting Dumont:

. . . the savages of this district . . . were established one and a quarter of a league from the shore of the Mississippi, where they had five villages a half a league apart from each other.

These authorities thus established the interval between the village and the landing place both in terms of distance and the time necessary to walk it. One hour is a normal time in which to cover 3 miles. This agrees with the present distance from the Natchez waterfront eastward to the Fatherland Site.

The quotations do not specify directions, but other factors indicate a position on the east side of the Mississippi. Certainly the descriptions do not refer to the Louisiana lowland on its west bank. Penicaut also introduced new evidence stating that the mouth of St. Catherine Creek is 6 miles below the villages. However, the earlier observations of Tonti gave the distance as 3 leagues, but gave no starting point. Possibly Tonti landed at or near the eighteenth-century mouth of the creek (Fig. 1).

The landscape as described by Iberville, Du Ru, and Penicaut agrees with that of the loess hills. Additional details about the little river and its tributaries are recognizable in the course and position of St. Catherine Creek. Nowhere in the general region can a similar physiography be found.

Iberville's observations on terrain and soils are interesting in that they describe the color and content of the loess soil as observable in cutbanks of the hills between the river and the Fatherland Site. The small stones may well be the fossil land snails and lime concretions contained in the loess. More significantly, as he neared the village, Iberville noted the change from brown to gray soils in the prairie. This was undoubtedly the level creek bottom on which the mounds are situated. The alluvial soils of the present creek terrace are grayish white, as Iberville noted.

Charlevoix's (Albrecht, 1944, 77) 1722 description contained supporting locational evidence and related the village to the St. Catherine and White Earth concessions and Fort Rosalie:

Among a great number of particular grants . . . there are two of the first magnitude; . . . These grants are so situated that they make an exact triangle with the fort, and the distance of one angle from the other is a league. Half between the two grants is the village of

the Natchez . . . The same river waters both, and afterwards discharges itself into the Mississippi.

Du Pratz' (1774, 312) convincing account should be added to this:

When I arrived in 1720 among the Natchez, that nation was situated upon a small river of the same name; the chief village where the Great Sun resided was built along the banks of the river and the other villages were planted around it. They were two leagues above the confluence of the river which joins the Mississippi at the foot of the great precipices of the Natchez. From thence are four leagues to its source, and as many to Fort Rosalie, and they were situated within a league of the fort.

This quotation confirms and consolidates most of the stray observations of earlier writers. The new specific evidence is that it was 4 leagues down the Mississippi from the fort to the mouth of the creek. The discussion on physiography (p. 10) demonstrates that the mouth of St. Catherine Creek formerly was near the Ellis Cliffs or Du Pratz' "great precipices." As Penicaut has noted, the village was 2 leagues above this mouth.

Dumont is the only writer who published any early maps of the Natchez vicinity. His map (1753, Vol. 2, 94) and a modern one of the Natchez quadrangle, reproduced by Ford (1936, Figs. 7, 10), are shown in this study (Pls. 2c, 1c). The locations of the main plantations, the village on both sides of the Creek, and Fort Rosalie all agree with the modern map on which the Fatherland Site is shown. The *Batture de Sable* is emphasized on the Dumont map. Logically, it is a favorable feature for the Natchez landing place referred to by several of the early writers. This sand batture is undoubtedly the same embankment upon which notorious Natchez-under-the-Hill was later situated. The path ascending the bluff (broken lines leading from the ship) might possibly be identified as the beginning of Silver Street in modern Natchez, the principal thoroughfare that leads to the waterfront and the former Natchez-under-the-Hill. Moreover, Catherine Alley and the road to the Grand Village agree with the course of Pine and Homochitto streets in Natchez.

The road shown leading eastward from Catherine Alley to the northern or St. Catherine Concession is probably a close approximation of the modern Liberty Road in Natchez.

The road to the Grand Village follows the present-day route of United States Highway 84 to its junction with United States 61 southeast of Natchez. The branch leading to the White Earth Concession is probably the present Lower Woodville Road.

Prefatory to a comparison of its detailed physical features with the Fatherland Site, some general internal features of the Grand Village should be noted here.

On Dumont's map the road from the fort enters a field or cleared ground (prairie or plain) where three buildings stand opposite a single building to the south or right of the road. The latter is labeled "temple." In his memoirs (Swanton, 1911, 161) Dumont described the scene:

Besides, it is certain that this pretended temple, situated in a corner of the plain to the right in going from the French post to the village.

The huddle of buildings east of St. Catherine Creek on Dumont's map apparently represents more ordinary dwellings.

Up to this point the correlation between history and geography is very satisfactory. The Grand Village can be identified specifically with the Fatherland Site, and other historic locations in the Natchez Area are identifiable with a degree of certainty. In a pioneer study of archeological complexes of the Lower Mississippi Valley, Ford (1936, 50-55) contributed a succinct summary of the history and archeology of the Natchez. From the evidence then available he concluded that the Grand Village was situated at the Fatherland Site.

Albrecht (1944, 67-88), who studied the primary documentary and cartographic sources, confirmed Ford's conclusion. Albrecht also attempted to discover ethnographic leads to the locations of other principal villages mentioned in the French accounts. A corollary to this study was his repudiation of the identification of a site 10 miles south of Natchez on Second Creek as the Natchez White Apple Village of the French Period. This is the Mazique Site of Coles Creek and Plaquemine times. In 1940 it was developed commercially as a tourist attraction but was abandoned soon afterward. Albrecht's conclusions (1944, 87-88) are quoted in their entirety for the information they convey:

Brief as the foregoing analysis of the ethno-

historical, geographical, and archaeological evidence has been, a few points have become substantially clear and may be summarized as follows.

Firstly, the bulk of the early documentary evidence points definitely to a location of the historic Natchez villages on the banks of the present St. Catherine Creek, about three miles southeast of the town of Natchez, Adams County, Mississippi.

Secondly, specific locational references reveal a close proximity of these villages to one another, with the Grand village as the center and the southernmost settlement about six miles above the mouth of the original St. Catherine Creek.

Thirdly, a manuscript map of British land grants along the Mississippi in 1774 shows the former oneness of the two creeks now known as the St. Catherine and the Old St. Catherine, and brings the basic ethnological findings in accordance with the then existing geographical situation.

Fourthly, ethno-historical data pertaining to the Three Natchez Wars suggest the probability that the White Apple village and the two other hostile settlements lay to the north of the Grand village.

Fifthly, early cartographical evidence reveals a middlemost position of the Grand village between two large French concessions, the White Earth plantation and the St. Catherine concession.

Finally, the combined ethno-historical, geographical and archaeological data make Mr. Ford's identification of the present Fatherland plantation site with that of the Grand village highly probable, if not certain. On the other hand, the identification of the White Apple Mounds with the historic village of the same name becomes more dubious than ever. The latter can indeed easily be traced back to an unproved story told by an early English settler.

From the foregoing it is evident, then, that the problem of locating the historic Natchez villages still remains unsolved. It has become more clear, however, and should now provide a special incentive for archaeologists. Its final solution will have to depend upon further archaeological findings.

Having established the identity and position of the Fatherland Site with reference to historical geography, we may proceed to examine, in the same way, specific internal features of the site with more emphasis on archeological facts as they relate to historical details. The plan of the native village, the mounds, houses, and precise details of architecture and mortuary features are discussed in sequence.

Iberville's visit in 1700 has been mentioned and his description of salient details summarized. We learn from him that the chief's cabin was 25 feet wide by 45 feet long, resting on a mound 10 feet high. Eight other cabins stood

nearby. In front of the chief's mound, but separated from it by an open space about 250 paces wide and 300 long, was a slightly oval temple mound. Swanton's (1911, 191) quotation included no cardinal directions, but he noted elsewhere that, according to Margry (Swanton, 1911, 163), Iberville reported that the temple was on the west side of the square. Dumont's map (Pl. 1c) shows three buildings grouped in the center of a field. Some distance south-southwest of them, across an open field, is the building labeled "temple." Its orientation agrees almost exactly with the alignment of the mounds at the Fatherland Site (Fig. 2). The distance between each mound is about 400 feet.

The number of cabins on the square, other than the temple, apparently varied from time to time. Iberville, for example, reported the chief's cabin and eight others; Gravier (Swanton, 1911, 158), four; and Dumont's map shows three. It is also known that the cabin of the Tattooed Serpent, at the time of his death in 1725 (Swanton, 1911, 148) was on the square.

We have observed that the orientation of Dumont's map agrees with the general geography of the area and the site plan. Iberville by his statement that the temple lay west of the square, contrary to the general north-to-south alignment indicated, introduces an element of doubt. But we may refer to another authority to support the Dumont plan.

Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 112) described ceremonies held on the square in the month of the Deer. He told how the Sun emerged from his cabin at a stated time and "took the road" to the temple:

He stops in the middle of the open space opposite the temple, before which he makes a kind of obeisance, bending very low, and without bending his knees he takes up a little dirt which he throws on his head, and then turns successively toward the four quarters of the earth, doing the same thing in each direction. Then without changing his position, he looks fixedly at the temple, which he has to the south of him.

This description seems to place the temple on a line to the south of the chief's house, an important point in an interpretation of the historical and archeological data.

It is certain that Iberville was far less familiar with the general geography and the settlement pattern of the village than either Dumont or Du Pratz. Thus it seems justifiable to accept their approximately north-to-south orientation

which coincides with the mound alignment of the site map (Fig. 2).

Green (1936, Pl. 3) has reproduced an early map from the French archives (*Bibliothèque Nationale des Estampes*, Vol. 22). The directions are not certain, but it is possible to recognize the approximate course of St. Catherine Creek and the adjacent bottomlands and hills. If it be assumed that the top of the map is north, this sketch is a fair approximation of the general geography and site orientation. The map records French siege fortifications in 1730, following the massacre, and includes the abandoned Grand Village and the two Indian forts opposite each other on St. Catherine Creek. Apparently the bend in the creek that encompasses the Fatherland plaza is represented. However, no occupation is marked on the west side within the bend; two mounds oriented northeast to southwest, supporting rectangular structures, are shown on a low terrace east of the creek at the place where Dumont's map shows the huddle of cabins. Interestingly enough, the northernmost mound is labeled in French "old abandoned temple" and the southernmost "temple of the Natchez."

The situation of the mounds east of the creek with no structure to the west is, of course, disconcerting. Albrecht (1944, 76) has, however, commented that two maps made at different times by Dumont have similar contradictions. The older one that accompanied his original manuscript places the village east of the creek. The map published in 1753 and used in the present study places the village on both sides of the creek. By way of an explanation of this discrepancy, Albrecht suggested that perhaps the drawing of the second map was entrusted to another person. This kind of inaccuracy or confusion might also result either from changes in the settlement pattern of the natives from time to time or simply from inattention to details that are important to modern students. Similar vacillation is apparent in the location of the two main concessions. Green (1936, Pl. 1) has reproduced a manuscript sketch of Natchez about 1729 (*Archives Service Hydrographique*, C4044-48) which includes a remarkable amount of detail relating to the plan of the Fort Rosalie settlement. The road ascending the bluff from the river (modern Silver Street?) is clearly shown, together with individual residences, the church, the warehouse, and Fort Rosalie. As in

the Dumont map the creek is drawn too straight. However, the relative locations of the two principal concessions are shown, with the Grand Village halfway between them, and, according to the sketch scale, slightly more than 1 league from the river. St. Catherine Concession and the Grand Village lie entirely to the west of the creek, and the White Earth Concession is to the east. Moreover, the native village, unlike all earlier descriptions, is laid out in a rectangular pattern of small cabins partially surrounding a large building; a rectangular palisaded fort stands to the south of the cabins. Dumont (Swanton, 1911, 217) says that de Tisnet, who commanded at the settlement after 1723, taught the Indians to build palisaded forts after the French fashion.

Because these early maps furnish little needed data, they are not reproduced in this study. Their subject matter has merely been introduced to illustrate the uncertain quality of early cartographic sources when specific information is needed.

As pointed out in the section on physiography, St. Catherine Creek during the French period was probably a rather shallow stream in-trenchment; consequently, it received little attention. Now, it forms a rather formidable physical barrier dividing the site.

Seemingly up to this point we have sufficient historical data to provide a fairly adequate picture of the general physical plan of the Grand Village. Two mounds faced each other several hundred feet apart across a plaza on a line slightly east of north. The chief's house was on the northernmost mound and the temple on the southernmost; both buildings were similar in appearance. A varying number of cabins were situated nearby, apparently the dwellings of people of upper rank. The houses of the common folk were scattered along the banks of St. Catherine Creek, with a probable concentration to the east of the creek.

The plaza and village were situated halfway between the concessions of St. Catherine to the north and White Earth to the southwest and on the road to the fort which was some 3 miles to the west.

The Fatherland Site appears to have been just such a mound-plaza and village, except for one disturbing factor. There are three mounds at the site and not two, as reported by the French observers.

MOUND A

Before the evidence developed in 1962, the size and relative positions of Mounds A and B implied that they were reasonable choices for the chief's mound and temple mound on the plaza, as the French described them. As a result of Chambers' work, Mound C had previously been considered to be a burial mound which had somehow escaped notice and mention by the French. As work progressed and the true nature of Mound C was discovered, it became necessary to alter this prevailing concept of the mounds and their positions on the plaza. As will be demonstrated, convincing new archeological evidence made it clear that Mound C and not Mound B was the temple mound of record. The archeological evidence derived from the latter indicated that it was a typical house mound that had been built up in successive stages over a period of time. There was no serious objection to its identification as the chief's mound, a contemporary of Mound C.

This view left Mound A unexplained on historical grounds, and, as stated above in the excavation discussion, archeology likewise fails to explain this remnant. Its anomalous status forms a serious hindrance toward reconciling historical and archeological lines of evidence. To continue an orderly evaluation of the site, it becomes necessary to disregard Mound A, but it may be profitable here to speculate briefly about its significance.

Dumont's map (Pl. 1c), which has been used with some confidence in locational matters, is invoked here. As has been noted, it shows a group of three buildings separated by a field from a single building labeled "temple." Two of the three buildings and the temple are depicted above bands of shading which may be a symbol for low mounds. Admittedly, the details are obscure and on a very small scale. However, nearly all natural hilltops and lesser eminences are designated on the map by similar shading at their crests. The cartographer may have intended to indicate four important buildings, three on mounds, in a line across the field. Double plazas are known to have existed in the lower Mississippi Valley, but the historical evidence for such plazas is not borne out for the grand village. The principal objection to this inference is to be found in the statements of Iberville and Du Pratz, both of whom mention only two mounds. In describing the temple, Dumont

(Swanton, 1911, 161) did not mention a substructure, and in relating the account of an eyewitness of the Tattooed Serpent's funeral, he mentioned only the chief's mound, and then several times in the narrative. The same witness drank brandy with the second war chief of the Flour Village in his cabin near the temple and visited in the Tattooed Serpent's house while the latter lay in state. Mounds that might have borne some relation to these important people are not mentioned. If Dumont's map indicates a third mound, which is doubtful, nothing in the records explains its purpose.

Another line of inference involves speculation in connection with temples and a possible decline in Natchez social organization which would imply abandonment or a reduction in the number of important public buildings on the square.

Natchez mythology and tradition were discussed by Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 170-171). His informant was a temple guardian. The mythological ancestor of the Natchez was said to be descended from the sun and, among many other things, taught the people how to build temples:

... a temple should be built into which only princes and princesses (male and female Suns) should have a right to enter . . . ; that in this temple should be preserved eternally a fire which he would make descend from the Sun, . . . He then wished that at the other extremity of the country which we should inhabit (and our nation was then much more extensive than it is now) a second temple would be built, where in like manner fire should be kept which had been taken from the first, . . . Then he had the temples built, established guardians of the temple, 8 for each, and for each temple a chief of the guardians.

Although native myths and traditions are notoriously unreliable in terms of the solution of archeological problems, it is necessary to resort to desperate measures to eliminate Mound A. The tradition of two temples is interesting in relation to the map reproduced by Green (1936, Pl. 3) discussed previously (p. 62). It will be recalled that two mounds surmounted by rectangular structures were shown. The northernmost was labeled "old abandoned temple of the Natchez" and the southernmost "temple of the Natchez." If one of these is assumed to be an abandoned temple mound (Mound A) and the other the temple in use (Mound C), one

wonders why the chief's mound and house were not shown by the map maker, since they were prominent enough to have been noted by others. Perhaps the term "abandoned temple" might refer to the house of the Great Sun who died in 1728, and his successor, known to be under the influence of the White Apple chief, had not taken up residence on the traditional chief's mound. Early observers often confused temples and chiefs' houses. We have already pointed out various contradictions in this map.

These awkward data might be used to deduce that Mound A had once supported a second temple or even another chief's dwelling that had been abandoned by the time the French arrived. If so, the French, logically, could have failed to notice the mound or recognize it as an artificial structure, since no identifying building stood upon it. My own experience with undergrowth at the Fatherland Site demonstrated the rapidity with which weeds, bushes, and even trees could develop and completely obscure the mounds.

The idea of a declining Natchez hierarchy and a corresponding decrease in ceremonial structures is entirely plausible in view of the general deterioration of social processes among the various tribal communities of the lower valley during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Quimby has discussed this point (1957, 165) in his conclusions drawn from ethno-historical data. Intertribal warfare at the time may have been an agency destructive enough to account for radical, regressive changes, but disruptive European influence and diseases were probably the most active factors in the general decadence of social systems and of population declines.

Another explanation, so simple as to be uninteresting, comes to mind. Mound A may have been in process of washing away by St. Catherine Creek in aboriginal times, possibly immediately prior to the period of French contact. Consequently, the mound may have been abandoned for this very practical reason and therefore escaped further notice by the French. It has already been mentioned (p. 7) that Shipp (1897) reported the mound as half washed away, apparently early in the nineteenth century.

On archeological grounds, the evidence from Mound A is not very helpful in comparisons with the equally unsatisfactory historical ma-

terial. Furthermore the estimated short span of occupation at the site does not permit any firm conclusions, based on seriation about the sequence of mound building within the site. For all practical purposes the pottery and artifacts from Mound A indicated that it was contemporaneous with the other mounds and was in existence after European trade goods were introduced.

With the elimination of Mound A in this peremptory fashion, it becomes possible to proceed with the comparison of the more tractable historical and archeological data relevant to Mounds B and C.

THE CHIEF'S HOUSE AND THE MOUND

The various French observers did not write in such detail about the chief's house and mound as they did about the temple. The house was stated by the French, who were received there on several occasions, to have been similar to the temple. The more general statements and absence of details make for fewer contradictions between the word of the authorities and the archeological evidence.

Iberville (Swanton, 1911, 191), who first described the village, reached the Natchez landing in March, 1700. Dumont de Montigny (Swanton, 1911, 190) visited the settlements the same spring. He estimated that there were 400 cabins within a circumference of 8 leagues. Iberville's account is quoted above to the effect that the chief's cabin was raised on an artificial mound 10 feet high and that the cabin was 25 feet wide and 45 feet long. Eight other cabins were situated nearby. He estimated the plaza between the chief's mound and the temple to be 300 paces long and 250 wide. During this visit the chief was presented with a gun, powder, lead, a covering, a cloak, some axes, knives, beads, and a calumet.

Charlevoix (Swanton, 1911, 59) contributed some important additional details:

The cabins of the great village of the Natchez, the only one I saw, are in the shape of a square pavilion, very low, and without windows. The top is rounded much like an oven. The majority are covered with the leaves and stalks of corn; some are built of clay mixed with cut straw, which seemed to me to be tolerably strong, and which were covered within and without with very thin mats. That of the great chief is very neatly plastered on the inside. It is also larger

and higher than the rest, placed on a somewhat elevated spot, and stands alone, no other building adjoining it on any side. It fronts the north and has a large open space in front, not of the most regular outline.

Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 59) gives an exceptionally complete and detailed description of house construction. Since the chief's house was a larger and more elaborate version of the ordinary houses, we may assume that the description applies also to it. Swanton (1911, 59) appended a footnote to the effect that Du Pratz said elsewhere that the great chief's house was 30 feet square and 20 feet high.

The cabins of the natives are all perfectly square. There is not one which measures less than 15 feet each way, but there are some more than 30. This is their method of constructing them:

The natives go into the young woods in search of poles of young walnut (hickory) trees 4 inches in diameter by 18 to 20 feet long. They plant the largest at the four corners to determine the dimensions and the size of the dome. But before planting the others they prepare the scaffold (rafters). This is composed of four poles fastened together above, the ends below resting at the four corners. On these four poles they fasten others crosswise 1 foot apart, all making a four-sided ladder or four ladders joined together.

That done they plant the other poles in the earth in straight lines between those at the corners. When they are thus planted they are bound firmly to a cross pole on the inside of each face [or side]. For this purpose they use great cane splints to bind them, at the height of 5 or 6 feet, according to the size of the cabin. This is what forms the walls. These erect poles are not more than about 15 inches apart. A young man then mounts to the top of a corner post with a cord between his teeth. He fastens the cord to the pole, and as he mounts inward the pole bends because those who are below draw the cord to make the pole bend as much as is needed. At the same time another young man does the same to the pole forming the angle opposite. Then the two poles bent to a suitable height, are firmly and smoothly bound together. The same is done to the poles of the two remaining corners which are made to cross the first. Finally all the other poles are joined at the top, giving the whole the appearance of a bower in a greenhouse such as we have in France. After this work canes are fastened to the lower sides or walls crosswise about 8 inches apart, as high up as the pole which I have spoken of as determining the height of the walls.

These canes being fastened in this manner, they make mud walls of earth mortar (*mortier de terre*) in which they put a certain amount of Spanish beard.

These walls are not more than 4 inches thick. No opening is left except the door, which is but 2 feet wide at most by 4 in height, and some are very much smaller. Finally they cover the framework I have just described with cane mats, placing the smoothest on the inside of the cabin, and they fasten them to each other carefully so that they join well.

After this they make many bundles of grass, of the tallest they can find in the low grounds, which are 4 or 5 feet long. It is laid down in the same manner as the straw with which cottages are covered. They fasten this grass by means of the large canes and splints also made of cane. After the cabin has been covered with grass they cover all with cane mats well bound together, and below they make a circle of lianas all the way around the cabin. Then the grass is clipped uniformly, and in this way, however high the wind may be, it can do nothing against the cabin. These coverings last twenty years without repairing.

Penicaut (Swanton, 1911, 100-101) contributed some doubtful information on the size of the chief's house and a brief description of furnishings:

... His house is very large; it can hold as many as 4000 [!] persons. . . . His bed is at the right on entering the cabin; there are [under it] four wooden posts, 2 feet in height, 10 feet apart one way and 8 the other. There are crossbars going from one post to another, on which the planks are placed which form a kind of table, which is very smooth, of the same length and breadth as that of the bed, which is reddened all over. . . ."

Le Petit (Swanton, 1911, 102-103), in discussing the relationship of the chief to the Sun, provided a few details about the chief's mound, house, and bed:

... It is for the same reason that the great chief of this nation, who knows nothing on the earth more dignified than himself, takes the title of brother of the sun, and the credulity of the people maintains him in the despotic authority which he claims. To enable them better to converse together, they raise a mound of artificial soil, on which they build his cabin, which is the same construction as the temple. The door fronts the east, . . .

There are in this cabin a number of beds on the left hand at entering; but on the right is only the bed of the great chief, ornamented with different painted figures. . . . In the middle of the cabin is seen a small stone . . .

When the great chief dies they demolish his cabin and then raise a new mound, on which they build the cabin of him who is to replace him in this dignity, for he never lodges in that of his predecessor.

Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 148) furnished very little specific information about the chief's abode:

I have said elsewhere that the temple, the house of the great chief, and that of the Tattooed Serpent were on the square; that that of the great Sun was built on a mound of earth carried to a height of about 8 feet. It was on this mound that we placed ourselves at the side of the dwelling of the great Sun, who had shut himself in.

When these statements are compared with the archeological findings at Mound B, it must be remembered that little remained either of the last mantle or evidence of the structure that crowned it. One short segment of wall trench, two burned clay areas, an iron knife blade associated with fragments of two native vessels, two pistol barrels, and the fragment of the bowl of a catlinite pipe were the only significant remains of the historic chief's house. It has been pointed out that three, possibly four, house patterns on older building levels were remarkably similar, so it seems safe to assume that the final building was of the same kind. Comparisons must necessarily be made on this basis. Most of the archeological evidence stems from the earlier houses.

Archeological features of Mound B may be compared with the foregoing information. Iberville (Swanton, 1911, 190-191) described the chief's mound as 10 feet high and his cabin as 25 feet wide by 45 feet long. Du Pratz reported that the mound was 8 feet high and that the house was 30 feet square and 20 feet high. The W55 profile (Fig. 4), as well as others not included in this report, indicates that Mound B is 12.5 feet high, measuring from the original surface beneath the mound. This does not include perhaps 2 feet of fill that has been washed from the top. Mound B probably rose 14 or 15 feet from the original base. There is evidence that by the time the French arrived an undetermined amount of silt had been deposited on the surface around the mound. Obviously, the visible height would have appeared less to observers. Many people, including myself, have made greater errors in offhand estimates of the height of Indian mounds. It is also probable that judgment would have been affected by a large building on the mound summit. Iberville was something of a navigator and an engineer, and probably we should place more reliance on

his estimates than on those of Du Pratz. Under other circumstances, it will be observed that some of Du Pratz' guesses about dimensions were poor.

Charlevoix and Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 59) agreed in writing that native houses were square rather than oblong, as Iberville stated. The four house patterns on pre-French mound stages average about 45 feet square; one was about 50 feet (Figs. 5-7). Du Pratz is the only observer to give the height as 20 feet. This does not seem to be unreasonable, since the poles used for the walls of smaller cabins were 18 to 20 feet long.

Apparently Du Pratz saw such houses being built, and his description of the details of construction (Swanton, 1911, 59) affords a very comforting opportunity to make specific archeological comparisons. The average diameter of postholes in the walls of houses on Mound B are the prescribed 4 inches, spaced about 1 foot apart. The postholes near the corners in the ends of the trenches were not noticeably larger, according to his record. As is stated above (p. 23), there was only one dubious instance of separate or special corner posts. Apparently the four rafter poles were attached to the endmost posts in the trenches, which, in turn, were the initial poles to be bent inward to begin the roof construction.

Although Du Pratz failed to mention the digging of wall trenches, their use is the most logical way to line up a row of loose poles between corners in preparation for fastening them to the rafter frame. The position of the postholes close to the outside edge of each trench seems to indicate that the tension applied to the bent tops of the poles crowded the butts against the outer edge of the trench, and would also imply that the trench was not filled and packed until after the tops were secured.

The building up of the mound and the construction of new houses as one chief succeeded another is mentioned. Apparently the house of the old chief was demolished or burned. A considerable quantity of charred thatch and cane was found over a wall pattern on Building Level 1. Wattle and charred cane were found on all floor levels and on the flanks, but evidence of burning was not extensive. The structure on Building Level 2 was apparently razed by pulling up the wall posts prior to adding new fill. Nearly all the postholes were topped by thin

caps; the lower parts of the holes were hollow. Extra rows of postholes and shallow wall trenches associated with the various wall patterns may mark the positions of beds and other furnishings of the interior of the houses.

Charlevoix (Swanton, 1911, 59) wrote that the chief's cabin fronted north, implying that its door was on that side. Le Petit (Swanton, 1911, 102-103) said that the door fronted east. If the doorways were situated at the corners, there could have been more than one. Subjective evidence suggests that the doors for the four early house patterns occupied the southeast corners, where fireplaces were placed a few feet inside the corner gap.

Iberville mentioned presenting European articles to the chief on his visit in 1700. An iron knife blade, two pistol barrels, glass beads, pieces of kaolin pipestems, a fragment of a catlinite pipe bowl, musket balls, and scraps of lead and brass were found in the uppermost mantle, the midden and outwash zones to the east of Mound B. However, such trade items were in regular circulation to most of the Indian population, especially in the latter part of the French period, so specific significance or association of such finds with Iberville's gifts cannot be claimed.

The foregoing comparisons do not in themselves comprise an absolute conclusion that Mound B was the great chief's mound. However, there is no serious disagreement in the details discussed. The more positive identification of Mound C which follows strengthens the plausible contention that we are correct in assuming Mound B to be the Great Sun's domicile.

THE NATCHEZ TEMPLE

The esoteric aspects of Natchez religion and the temple probably stimulated more people to write about it than about the chief's house, with the result that the varying points of view produce more contradictions between authorities. These contradictions are of about the same kind as the discrepancies between the historical and archeological data. They do not always involve minor or inconspicuous features which may have escaped careful observation but do include some major elements of architecture. It is an unsolved puzzle how it was possible for interested and literate observers to have failed to record more accurately than they did. Com-

pared with the character of the archeological data, the quality of the historical information leaves much to be desired. Perhaps it is because the needs and interests of the archeologist are too exacting to be supplied by casual historical observers.

Iberville's (Swanton, 1911, 190-191) statements have been cited above to establish the plan of the village square, its size, and the relative positions of the mounds. Elsewhere Swanton (1911, 163) referred to Iberville's statement in Margry that the temple was on the west side of the square. Dumont's (1753) map (Pl. 1c) agrees in part, except that he places the temple southwest of other buildings on the square. Other observers were confused by the exact cardinal directions but this confusion is not serious in this instance. Iberville recorded no details of construction except the size of the chief's house. He said the temple mound was slightly oval.

Gravier's (Swanton, 1911, 158) description contained a number of concrete details and a suggestion of the significance of the temple to the people:

... There are only four cabins in [the village] in which is the temple. It is very spacious and covered with cane mats, which they renew every year with great ceremonies, which it would be prolix to insert here. They begin by a four days' fast with emetics till blood comes. There is no window, no chimney, in this temple, and it is only by the light of the fire that you can see a little, and then the door, which is very low and narrow, must be open. I imagine that the obscurity of the place inspires them with respect. The old man who is the keeper keeps the fire up and takes care not to let it go out. It is in the center of the temple in front of a sort of mausoleum after the Indian fashion. There are three about 8 or 9 feet long, 6 feet broad, and 9 or 10 feet high. They are supported by four large posts covered with cane mats in quite neat columns and surmounted by a platform of plaited canes. This would be rather graceful were it not all blackened with smoke and covered with soot. There is a large mat which serves as a curtain to cover a large table, covered with five or six cane mats on which stands a large basket that it is unlawful to open, as the spirit of each nation of those quarters reposes there, they say, with that of the Natchez. I am provoked at myself for not opening the basket, although I would have offended the old man if I had opened the curtain and touched the basket. There are others in the other two mausoleums, where the bones of their chiefs are, they say, which they revere as divinities. All that I saw some-

what rare was a piece of rock crystal, which I found in a little basket. I saw a number of little earthen pots, platters, and cups, and little cane baskets, all well made. This is to serve up food to the spirits of the deceased chiefs, and the temple keeper finds his profit in it.

After examining all that there is in this temple, I saw neither there nor elsewhere the gold, silver, or precious stones, or riches, or 9 fathoms of fine pearls mentioned by the author of a relation printed in the name of Mr. de Tonti, and which he has disavowed to one (M. d'Iberville), who reproached him with all the falsehoods with which it is stuffed. It is also a fable, what that writer ventures to mention as having been seen by Mr. Tonti in the little closet set in the mud-covered wall, where I neither saw nor tasted the exquisite liquors of which he speaks. These things are all invented by the same writer to set off his account. It is a fact that the chief's wife has some small pearls, which are neither round nor well pierced, but about seven or eight of which are as large as small peas, which were bought for more than their value after a good deal of seeking. There are none of the riches or rarities which they pretended were to be found in the temple and village.

Penicaut (Swanton, 1911, 159) covered some of these points and introduced a little new information. His units of measurement are suspect, being translated as fathoms (*toises*) which give excessive dimensions:

There is in this village a temple very much esteemed among the savages on account of its grandeur. It may be 30 feet high and 30 fathoms square within. It is round on the outside; the walls are perhaps 3 fathoms thick; it is built of walnut (hickory) trees, as thick through as the thigh below, all of the same height. They are bent above in a semicircle, the ends being joined together; then they attach canes, made and shaped like our laths, from half foot to half foot from bottom to top. They wall in and fill up the empty spaces between the laths with heavy earth and cover it with straw; then they set in place still other laths which they bind together like the first at the ends above in a circle to hold in place the straw which is beneath; then they cover all with mats made of canes split into four pieces. These mats are 10 feet long and 6 broad; they are almost like the wattles with which they cover the temple; every year they renew the covering. In this temple they have a fire which is preserved continually; it is the sun which they say this fire represents and which they adore. That is why every morning, at sunrise, they make a fire before the door of the temple, and in the evening at sunset. The wood to preserve the continual fire within the temple must be of oak or walnut (probably hickory), from which the bark has been re-

moved; the logs must not be shorter than 8 feet, cut at the beginning of each moon. There are four temple guards who sleep there each during a quarter and who keep the perpetual fire. If, by any mischance, they should let it go out, their heads would be broken with wooden mallets which always rest in the temple for this excellent purpose. Every new moon presents of bread and meal are made at the temple, which are profitable to its guardians. In this temple are interred the three first families of nobles. There is in the temple the figure of a snake which they call the rattlesnake. Similar are to be seen in the country, which carry a kind of rattle toward the tail, and the bite of which is mortal. They also have in this temple a quantity of little stone figures inclosed in a coffer. They have similarly a necklace of the pearls, which they received from their ancestors; but they are all spoiled, because they have pierced them by means of a hot fire. Two or three are placed around the necks of the infant nobles when they come into the world; they wear them to the age of 10 and then they are replaced in the temple. At all the audiences of the female chiefs this necklace is placed around their necks until the ceremony is finished. Then they take it back to the temple. It is kept in a coffer as a very precious relic. Evening and morning the grand chief and his wife, who alone have a right to enter the temple, come there to worship their idols, and when they come out they recount to the people who await them before the door a thousand lies—whatever they happen to think of.

“The Luxembourg Mémoire sur la Louisiane on le Mississippi” (Swanton, 1911, 159), an anonymous document published in 1752, disclosed a little information concerning temple usage in about 1718:

The Natchez, besides the general belief in metempsychosis, have had among them from time immemorial a kind of temple, where they preserve a perpetual fire, which a man appointed to the guardianship of the temple takes care to maintain. This temple is dedicated to the sun, from which they pretend that the family of their chief is descended. In it they inclose the bones of these chiefs with great care and with much ceremony.

Charlevoix (Swanton, 1911, 159–161) in about 1722 furnished considerable information which aids in understanding archeological findings:

... The temple is very near the great chief's cabin, turned toward the east, and at the end of the square. It is composed of the same materials as the cabins, but its shape is different; it is a long square, about 40 feet by 20 wide, with a common roof, in shape like ours. At the two ends there are what ap-

pear to be two weathercocks of wood, which represent very indifferently two eagles.

The door is in the midst of the length of the building, which has no other opening. On each side there are benches of stone. The inside perfectly corresponds to this rustic outside. Three pieces of wood, which touch at the ends and which are placed in a triangle, or rather equally distant from each other, take up almost all the middle of the temple. These pieces are on fire and burn slowly. A savage, whom they call the keeper of the temple, is obliged to tend the fire and prevent its going out. If it is cold he may have his fire apart, but he is not allowed to warm himself at that which burns in honor of the sun. This keeper was also at the feast, at least I saw him not; and his brands made such a smoke that it blinded us.

As to ornaments, I saw none, nor absolutely anything that could make me know that I was in a temple. I saw only three or four chests placed irregularly, in which there were some dry bones, and upon the ground some wooden heads, a little better wrought than the two eagles on the roof. In short, if I had not found a fire here I should have thought that this temple had been a long time abandoned or that it had been plundered. Those cones wrapped up in skins, which some relations speak of; those bodies of the chiefs ranged in a circle in a round temple, terminating in a kind of dome; that altar, etc.; I saw nothing of all this. If things were thus in times past, they are very much changed since.

Perhaps also, for we ought to condemn nobody, but when there is no way to excuse them; perhaps, I say, that the neighborhood of the French made the Natchez fear that the bodies of their chiefs and everything that was most precious in their temple were in some danger if they did not convey them to another place, and that the little attention they have at present to guard this temple proceeds from its being deprived of what it contained most sacred in the opinion of these people. It is true, notwithstanding that against the wall, over against the door, there was a table, the dimensions of which I did not take the pains to measure, because I did not suspect it to be an altar. I have been assured since that it is 3 feet high, 5 long, and 4 wide.

I have been further informed that they make a little fire on it with the bark of oak, and that it never goes out; which is false, for there was no fire on it, nor any appearance of there ever having been any made. They say also that four old men lie by turns in the temple, to keep in this fire; that he who is on duty must not go out for the eight days of his watch; that they carefully take the burning ashes of the pieces that burn in the midst of the temple, to put upon the altar; that twelve men are kept to furnish the bark; that there are marmosets of wood, and a figure of a rattlesnake likewise of wood, which they set upon the altar, and to which they pay great honors. That

when the chief dies, they bury him directly; that when they judge his flesh is consumed, the keeper of the temple takes the bones up, washes them clean, wraps them in whatever they have most valuable, and puts them in great baskets made of canes, which shut very close; that he covers these baskets very neatly with skins of roebucks, and places them before the altar, where they remain till the death of the reigning chief; that then he incloses these bones in the altar itself, to make room for the last dead.

I can say nothing on this last article, only that I saw some bones in one or two chests, but they made not half a human body; that they appeared to be very old, and that they were not on the table which they say is the altar. As to the other article, first, as I was in the temple only by day, I know not what passes in it at night; second, there was no keeper in the temple when I visited it. I very well saw, as I said before, that there were some marmosets or grotesque figures; but I observed no figure of a serpent.

As to what I have seen in some relations—that this temple is hung with tapestry and the floor covered with cane mats; that they put in it whatever they have that is handsomest, and that they bring every year hither the first fruits of their harvest—we must certainly abate a great deal of all this. I never saw anything more slovenly and dirty, nor more in disorder. The billets burnt upon the bare ground; and I saw no mats on it, no more than the walls. M. le Noir, who was with me, only told me that every day they put a new billet on the fire, and that at the beginning of every moon they made a provision for the whole month. But he knew this only by report; for it was the first time he had seen this temple, as well as myself.

Dumont's (Swanton, 1911, 161) account is somewhat disappointing in its details; however, he disavowed another account, saying that the temple was not surrounded by a palisade or any other distinguishing adornment. He may have been referring to Le Petit who is quoted also:

The Natchez also had a temple; that is to say, a good-sized cabin, to which it has pleased our Europeans to give this name; but it was never ornamented in the manner described by a certain author who says that this pretended temple was covered with gold. If he has taken for gold the cane mats which covered this cabin, well and good. I will not oppose him at all. But I have difficulty in excusing what he adds, that this temple was surrounded by a palisade of pointed stakes on which these savages planted the heads of their enemies taken or killed in war, since it is a well-known fact that the savages do not amuse themselves in cutting off the head of their

enemy, and that they content themselves with taking his scalp. Besides, it is certain that this pretended temple, situated in a corner of the plain to the right in going from the French post to the village of the savages, was not surrounded with any palisade, and that there was no other ornament which distinguished it from ordinary cabins. It is also false that in this temple, as the same writer dares to state, there were 100 or 200 persons appointed as guard of the perpetual fire. I admit that fire was always preserved here without any savage ever being able to explain on what this ceremony was founded. Besides, it is certain that there were in all only four guardians destined to the service of the temple, who relieved each other by turns every eight days (*tour-a-tour tous les huit jours*), and who were charged with the duty of bringing wood to preserve the fire. If by their negligence it became extinguished, it is a fact that not only would it cost them their lives, but also those of their wives and their children. But as only the great chief of the nation as well as some Honored men and the female chief ever entered the temple, as they did not go there every day but only when the fancy seized them, it may be imagined that the guardians were the entire masters of this fire, that if it happened by any chance to be extinguished they were not obliged to boast of it and could relight it at once. It was in this temple that the Natchez interred their chiefs and preserved the bones of their ancestors.

Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 161-163) furnished the most significant and also the most frustrating account of comparative features:

Of all the temples of these people [of Louisiana] that of the Natchez, which it was easy for me to examine, is also that of which I am going to give the most exact description that I can. None of the people of the nation enter this temple except the Suns and those who are attached to the temple service by their employments, whatever they are. Ordinarily, strangers never enter there, but being a particular friend of the sovereign he has allowed me to see it.

This temple, the front of which looks toward the rising sun, is placed on a mound of earth brought thither which rises about 8 feet above the natural level of the ground on the bank of a little river. This mound loses itself in an insensible slope on the side toward the square. On the other sides the slope is more marked and on the side toward the river it is very steep. This temple measures about 30 feet each way. The four angle or corner posts are of the inner part of the cypress, which is incorruptible. These trees in their actual condition appear to have a diameter of a foot and a half. They rise 10 feet out of the earth and extend to the beginning of the roof. The Natchez state that they are as much in the earth as above it, a fact which must make it secure against

the winds. The other posts are a foot in diameter and are of the same wood, having the same length in the earth as above it. The wall is a rough mud wall entirely smooth outside and a little sunken between every (two) posts inside in such a way that it is not more than 9 inches thick in the middle.

The interior of this temple is divided into two unequal parts by a little wall which cuts it from the rising to the setting sun. The part into which one enters may be 20 feet wide and the other may be 10, but in this second part it is extremely gloomy, because there is only one opening, which is the door of the temple itself, which is to the north, and because the little communicating door is not capable of lighting the second part.

There is nothing remarkable in the inside of the temple except a table or altar about 4 feet high and 6 long by 2 broad. On this table is a coffer made of cane splints very well worked, in which are the bones of the last great Sun. The eternal fire is in this first part of the temple. In the other and more secluded part nothing can be distinguished except two planks worked by hand on which are many minute carvings (*plusieurs minuties*) which one is unable to make out, owing to the insufficient light.

The roof of this temple is a long vault, the ridge pole of which is not more than 6 feet long, on which are placed representations of three great birds (carved) on flat pieces of wood. They are twice as large as a goose. They have no feet. The neck is not long as that of a goose, and the head does not resemble it. The wing feathers are large and very distinct. The ground color is white mingled with feathers of a beautiful red color. These birds look toward the east. The roof is very neat outside and in. In fact, the structure and roof appear of a perfect solidity.

Many persons who certainly had intelligence have seen this temple outside and all have said that it was very neatly patterned and very well constructed. Those to whom I have related the manner in which it was built have told me that it was very substantial. But no one has seemed to me concerned to understand how they had been able to bring from a good league where the cypress swamp is and without vehicle trees of such a size, how they could have dug out the earth to such a depth without tools, how finally they had succeeded in planting and dressing these trees without any machine. The reader may perhaps do as I have done. Not being able to do anything else I am forced to guess.

It is in this temple that two men tend the perpetual fire during each quarter of the moon. There are eight guardians for the four quarters, and a superior who is called chief of the guardians of the fire to command them and to see that they do their duty, and to have the wood brought for this fire. This wood must be clear wood. They employ for it only clear

white walnut (or hickory) without bark. The logs are 7 to 8 inches in diameter by 8 feet long. They are placed near the temple about the trunk of a tree with a rather short stem. This tree is covered with thorns from the earth to the top. I have given a description of it in the natural history under the name of passion thorn. I have never been able to find out why they have respect for this tree wherever they find it, unless it be on account of the employment to which it is destined. These guardians are interested in preserving the fire, for it costs their lives to let it go out. There is besides, for the service of the temple, a master of ceremonies, who is also the master of the mysteries, since, according to them, he speaks very familiarly to the spirit. In the great ceremonies he wears a crown which has feathers only in front and is thus a half crown. He also has in his hand a red baton ornamented with red or white feathers according to the requirements of the feast. Above all these persons is the great Sun, who is at the same time high priest and sovereign of the nation.

About temples in general Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 167) contributed these details:

All the peoples of Louisiana have temples, which are more or less well cared for according to the ability of the nation, and all, as I have said, put their dead in the earth, or in tombs within the temples or very near them, or in the neighborhood. Many of these nations have only very simple temples, which one would often take for private cabins. However, when one comes to know he distinguishes them by means of two wooden posts at the door made like boundary posts with a human head, which hold the swinging door with a fragment of wood planted in the earth at each end, so that the children may not be able to open the door and go into the temple to play. In this way the door can be raised only above these posts, which are at least 3 feet high, and it requires a strong man to lift it. These are the little nations which have these temples that one would confound with cabins. The latter have in truth posts and a similar door, but the posts are smooth, and these doors open sideways, because there is no fragment of wood at the end. A woman or a child is able to open these doors from the outside or inside, and at night one closes them and fastens them inside to keep the dogs from coming into the cabins. The cabins of the Natchez Suns have, in truth, posts like those of the temples, but their temple was very easy to recognize in accordance with the description I have given of it. Besides, near these little temples some distinctive marks are always to be seen, which are either small elevations of earth or some little dishes which announce that in this place there are bodies interred, or one perceives some raised tombs, if the nation has this custom.

Swanton (1911, 164) also gave Dumont de Montigny's statement about temples in general:

There is almost nothing in these temples; there are, however, some figurines of men and beasts carved quite rudely and many chests of the bones of the most honored who have died.

Mention of the Taensa temple invariably appears in the early literature. The cultural similarity of the Natchez and Taensa was noted by most observers. Their temples seem to have been similar, except that the Taensa structure was surrounded by a palisade, and trophy skulls were hung on the palisade stakes. Le Petit and some others, according to Swanton (1911, 161, 269), confused this temple with that of the Natchez in describing the latter. We may be correct in assuming that no palisade surrounded the Natchez temple, since Dumont has said categorically that no such palisade existed at the Grand Village, and none of the other earlier writers mention such a structure. The exhibition of trophy skulls could well have been a sporadic procedure, followed by the Natchez, but not recorded for them. The Taensa temple burned and their village was abandoned early in the French period; later writers could reasonably have confounded the two structures.

Although Le Petit (Swanton, 1911, 269) may have been a victim of this confusion over the palisade, since some of the structural details appear to be applicable to the archeology of the structures on Mound C, as revealed by the excavations, we quote his description:

They have a temple filled with idols, which are different figures of men and of animals, and for which they have the most profound veneration. Their temple in shape resembles an earthen oven, 100 feet in circumference. They enter it by a little door about 4 feet high and not more than 3 in breadth. No window is to be seen there. The arched roof of the edifice is covered with three rows of mats, placed one upon the other, to prevent the rain from injuring the masonry. Above on the outside are three figures of eagles made of wood, and painted red, yellow, and white. Before the door is a kind of shed with folding doors, where the guardian of the temple is lodged; all around it runs a circle of palisades, on which are seen exposed the skulls of all the heads which their warriors had brought back from the battles in which they had been engaged with the enemies of their nation.

In the interior of the temple are some shelves arranged at a certain distance from each other, on

which are placed cane baskets of an oval shape, and in these are inclosed the bones of their ancient chiefs, while by their side are those of their victims, who had caused themselves to be strangled to follow their masters into the other world. Another separate shelf supports many flat baskets very gorgeously painted, in which they preserve their idols. These are figures of men and women made of stone or baked clay, the heads and the tails of extraordinary serpents, some stuffed owls, some pieces of crystal, and some jaw-bones of large fish. In the year 1699 they had there a bottle and the foot of a glass, which they guarded as very precious.

In this temple they take care to keep up a perpetual fire, and they are very particular to prevent it ever blazing; they do not use anything for it but dry wood of the walnut (hickory) or oak. The old men are obliged to carry, each one in his turn, a large log of wood into the inclosure of the palisade. The number of the guardians of the temple is fixed, and they serve by the quarter. He who is on duty is placed like a sentinel under the shed, from whence he examines whether the fire is not in danger of going out. He feeds it with two or three large logs, which do not burn except at the extremity, and which they never place one on the other for fear of their getting into a blaze.

Of the women, the sisters of the great chief alone have liberty to enter within the temple. The entrance is forbidden to all the others, as well as to the common people, even when they carry something there to feast to the memory of their relatives, whose bones repose in the temple. They give the dishes to the guardian, who carries them to the side of the basket in which are the bones of the dead; this ceremony lasts only during one moon. The dishes are afterward placed on the palisades which surround the temple and are abandoned to the fallow deer.

Swanton (1911, 163-164) has reviewed the foregoing historical information in detail, but his evaluation of the source material is not included here. He seems quite satisfied with the degree of accord among all the recorded accounts and the results of his historical reconstruction based upon them. Any optimism we are inclined to share with him in this respect is soon dispelled when we compare the same historical information with the archeological details discovered at Mound C.

At first glance Du Pratz' detailed description of the temple, included in Swanton's review, seems to provide several very specific points by which to link the historic temple and mound with Mound C. He placed the mound near the creek bank and stated that its flanks are very steep on that side, but that they slope downward almost imperceptibly on the side toward

the square. He also said that the mound is 8 feet high and that the temple faces the rising sun.

It has been explained in the section on physiography (p. 10) that the mounds now occupy a terrace or second bottom of St. Catherine Creek, which was a bottom or flood plain of the creek prior to the cutoff in the late nineteenth century. Mound C stands close to the south edge of this terrace. In aboriginal times the creek probably flowed close by this point before it migrated southward and intrenched itself in its present bed. During or subsequent to Indian occupation and before the protective layer of silt filled the plaza and nearly covered the mound, this steep southeast side of the mound eroded badly. Such erosion was easily determined from profiles. A ramp extended downward from the top of the mound on the side facing the plaza. The open ends of the porticos found on the mound were on this side and faced north-northeast.

The profile (Fig. 11) shows that Mound C was 8 to 9 feet high, measured from the old surface. We judge that 2 more feet of fill have washed from the top, so that it is assumed that the mound was originally about 10 or 11 feet high. The flooding stream had probably deposited some silt around the base of the mound by French times so that its original height would have been diminished. If our assumptions are correct, Du Pratz' estimate is fairly close. All the considerations mentioned above seem to agree well with Du Pratz' description of the temple site, except in the matter of the temple facing the rising sun. It would be interesting to know in which season of the year Du Pratz fixed his directions, because we noted, during the summer of 1962, that the sun rose almost opposite the open fronts of the porticos.

When the form and dimensions of the temple are judged, considerable disagreement arises. Penicaut said it was 30 feet high, which seems reasonable, but no archeological data available confirm this statement. His units of measurement have been questioned previously; his estimates of dimensions are so excessive as to be meaningless. Charlevoix and Du Pratz disagree not only on the shape of the building but as to its size. Only Du Pratz stated that it was a compound structure with two compartments, though Le Petit mentioned a shed at the front. Whether this description refers to the Natchez or Taensa temple remains in doubt. The aver-

age over-all length of the three compound trench patterns on Mound C was about 60 feet, and the large rooms were about 40 feet square. The porticos were several feet narrower than the walled rooms.

Swanton (1911, Pl. 4b) has reproduced a Du Pratz sketch of the temple as it figured in the funeral of the Tattooed Serpent. It seems to stand on a low mound, but does not resemble any building that could be reconstructed from the Mound C groundplans. Perhaps the drawing is unreliable because it is too crude or conventionalized. Interestingly enough, another building shown on the same plate (Swanton, 1911, Pl. 4c) does conform to the groundplans. Here, a Chitimacha calumet ceremony is represented, with French participants sitting under a shed or portico which seems to be attached to a building behind it. The site of this scene is in doubt, though Du Pratz described it as occurring at Bienville's cabin at New Orleans, in which case the building illustrated probably is not one of native origin.

A careful reading of Du Pratz' description reveals serious inconsistencies between his own statements of fact. We first attempt to understand his description of the temple in terms of form and size before considering and comparing minor architectural details with those revealed by excavation. Analyzing his descriptions is not a simple task. His depiction of the temple is a familiar item in the literature and has been accepted by students over the years as definitive and informative; however, the first three paragraphs become hopelessly ambiguous once we try to put them to practical use in a comparison with the Mound C groundplans.

Point by point Du Pratz seems to have said the following:

1. The front "looks" toward the rising sun.
2. The temple is 30 feet on each side.
3. The interior is divided into two unequal parts by a little wall which cuts it from the rising to the setting sun. (Literally then the wall ran from the front—east—to the rear).
4. The part that one enters (front?) is 20 feet wide.
5. The second (rear?) part is 10 feet wide.
6. The second part is gloomy, because there is only one opening (outside).
7. The opening is the main door of the temple (front?).
8. The communicating door (in the partition wall?) is small and does not let in enough light

to illuminate the second part.

9. The main door is to the north (though the front is to the rising sun—east).

10. A table or altar and the eternal fire are in the first part.

11. Nothing is in the secluded darker room but two carved planks.

Two quotations from Du Pratz and Dumont related to the funeral of the Tattooed Serpent are needed here, since they bear on some of the terms used above. Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 148) wrote about his position on the chief's mound:

From this place, without disturbing the ceremony, we were able to see everything, even into the interior of the temple, the door of which faced us.

Dumont (Swanton, 1911, 157) furnished the account of an unknown French eyewitness who was also on the chief's mound:

. . . until they had reached the temple. There all of those who were going to die ranged themselves in a half circle on their mats before the door . . .

These seemingly confused terms and directions should be organized into some sort of order before information from other historical sources is added.

Mainly, the problem seems to involve the meaning of the terms "door" and "front" and possibly some error of fact about cardinal directions. If the points are interpreted literally, the door was at the north of the temple and the front of the temple faced to the east. Admittedly, such an arrangement is not the conventional relation of a main door to the front of a building, though it might well apply to many modern split-level homes. The front of the temple would then be on the eastern steep face of the mound, and the door on the gradually sloping side toward the square would face the chief's mound, from which one could actually see into the temple. Charlevoix also described the temple (oblong by his dimensions) as standing at the end of the square, "turned toward" the east, but did not mention the position of the door. Dumont did not mention the front of the temple, but wrote that the victims were "before" the door (north) and thus would be visible from the chief's mound to the north. Charlevoix also said that the door was in the "midst of the length" of the building which had no other opening. If "length" means "end" the door could have been in the north end, but the

statement is so vague as to be almost meaningless.

Du Pratz' crude sketch also shows a small door in the wall of the temple, but provides no orientation, except that the procession in the foreground is crossing the square toward the sacrifice victims who are in front of the door of the temple. According to the foregoing information, the victims are on the north side of the temple and the procession is moving south toward it.

If we can accept the idea that the door is on the north side of the temple and that the east side, not facing the square, is the front, then most of the historical information falls into place. Moreover, this orientation corresponds fairly well with the archeological groundplans.

To compare with the archeology of the mound, we are justified in using the data from both the prehistoric and historic levels (Building Levels 1 and 2), not only because they correspond in nearly every respect but because some of the evidence from the historic level has been destroyed. For general correlations we use the archeological data from the three temple plans in a collective sense for convenience in presenting the argument. Specific points can always be referred to appropriate building plans when necessary.

We have seen that the groundplans of Mound C (Figs. 10 and 12) represent a two-compartment building about 60 feet long and 40 feet wide. The long axis is approximately north-northeast in a line with Mound B, some 450 feet to the north. The north compartment, bounded by east and west walls, abuts on the larger, almost square, enclosed compartment to the south. The open end of the northern compartment apparently had no fixed wall, but whether completely open or screened in some way it faces the ramp on the north side of Mound C, which leads to the plaza and Mound B beyond. In the excavation section these are referred to as front and rear rooms (p. 30).

If we accept the definitions inferred above, that the east side of the building comprises the front, then the rooms are side by side, which is compatible with the Du Pratz description, since he never referred to them as front and back rooms, but as first and second parts. One enters the first part through a north doorway which lights up the interior and furnishes some light which filters through a small communicating

door into the second chamber. Furthermore, this conforms to Du Pratz' description of the dividing wall of the two chambers, which ran from about east to west. In both structures on Building Level 1 (Fig. 12) in the dividing wall there is a gap midway in the line of postholes. There seems also to have been some sort of flanking screen or apparatus in connection with Temple 1. The narrow wall trenches at right angles to the north wall of the rectangular rear room may represent a narrow doorway leading to the second or south chamber. The situation as described agrees with Du Pratz's statements, and the semantic liberties taken seem justified.

His final statement concerned with form, size, and, to some extent, use is not so satisfactory. According to his account, the first room was about twice the size of the second and housed the eternal fire and an altar or table 4 feet high and 6 feet long, by 2 feet wide. A cane splint coffer on the altar contained the bones of the previous great Sun. The second room contained only a pair of carved planks; their decorations were not discernible because of the dim light.

The archeological evidence for Mound C is not compatible with this description. Reference to excavation descriptions and the floor plans (Figs. 10 and 12) shows that the northernmost first room or portico is considerably smaller than the second room, and the latter contained the only remains of hearths attributable to the eternal fire. Moreover, the better-preserved temples of Building Level 1 contained evidence of interior structures in the second or south room which might have been tables or raised altars. If we follow Du Pratz, we should expect the evidence of sacred temple activities to be found in the portico, or the north room, which he said was larger than the south room. The archeological implication leads us to the opposite conclusion. Even the impressive burial assemblage came from the larger south room.

This discrepancy is a very damaging development to the cause of historical and archeological accord so far achieved. It seems impossible to effect a reconciliation, but it should be attempted in order, if nothing else, to evaluate the records of all the other observers who reported that the temple consisted of only one room.

Though Du Pratz was probably more familiar with the Natchez temple than the other ob-

servers, their views must necessarily carry some weight because they also were on the scene and were interested enough to record many details. It is obvious that Du Pratz' account is either in serious disagreement with himself on several factual points, or he was curiously vague. Further, he disagreed with all other authorities, especially so on one important, presumably easily observable point. He wrote that the temple was divided into two parts by a "little wall." Curiously enough, none of the other narrators recorded such a feature, though they saw and described other interior fixtures similar to those mentioned by Du Pratz.

We have conjectured that the portico of the archeological groundplan might be the first room mentioned by Du Pratz and the larger enclosed room, the second chamber, since they were separated by the north wall of the second chamber, in which there is some evidence of a narrow doorway. This was by no means a little wall; it was built with some 30 posts, 3 to 4 inches thick, each sunk 3 feet into the mound surface. It was in no sense smaller than the other main walls of the building and would certainly have been obvious to any observer entering the portico area. It conformed to Du Pratz' specifications only in that it runs east to west.

According to Du Pratz, the first room he entered contained the sacred fire and a table or altar. The other observers also noted these features upon entering, according to them, the first and only room of the temple. From this point only Du Pratz leads us farther, through a small communicating door into a second smaller chamber, poorly lighted and containing only two carved planks. None of the others described this second chamber and its carved planks.

So far, Du Pratz' information agrees with the results of excavation only in that a compound building was involved, that the partition extended east to west, and that the door was probably to the north. None of this corresponds to any extent to the statements of the other authorities. Such historical and archeological features as building walls, the sacred fire, partitions or furnishings, and probably the entrance, are present and recognizable, but it seems impossible to reconcile all the lines of evidence to produce a basic complete form for the temple.

It would almost seem that the historical

authorities, for some obscure psychological reason, failed to recognize or be concerned with the shed or portico as an integral part of the temple. It would be necessary to regard Du Pratz' second small room as a temporary screened-off area, which was there only when he visited the temple and was beneath comment from the others even if they saw it. On archeological grounds the portico can hardly be discounted or rationalized away by resorting to the subconscious. It was apparently a very substantial part of the building with an important function. Most of the empty, presumably burial pits were in the portico area.

Almost parenthetically, it should, however, be emphasized that compound buildings such as were found in Mound C are not common historically or archeologically. Le Petit reported one, but it is uncertain whether he was describing the Natchez or Taensa temple, or both. Iberville (Swanton, 1911, 275) definitely saw such structures in the Bayougoula village. Ordinary cabins and the temple had attached sheds. A shed 8 feet wide and 12 feet long at the entrance of the temple was held up by two great pillars with a crosspiece for a girder. The temple proper was circular, 30 feet in diameter. Its door was 2.5 feet wide and 8 feet high and could be opened or closed. Except for size, this is similar to the Mound C portico, which had two large, deep postholes spaced several feet apart near its north end.

Aside from Le Petit's questionable description, there is no definite evidence that the Natchez temple had a shed which could be ignored psychologically. Dumont's and Du Pratz's comments can be interpreted to mean that it did not have a shed. According to Dumont, the temple could not be distinguished from ordinary buildings, but, according to Du Pratz, temples were distinguishable from ordinary buildings by large carved door posts. Again we become confused as were our informants, since both have neglected to mention the distinguishing carved birds on the roof.

In the section on excavation it is noted that rectangular buildings fronted by a portico were found in Unit 37 at Hiwassee Island, Tennessee. Quimby (1957, 108) reported a similar arrangement at the Bayou Goula Site.

The foregoing attempt to correlate historical and archeological information pertinent to the general form and size of the temple is dis-

appointing in several respects. There are interesting and detailed ethnological data which appear to be very informative until examined closely. A trial judge in a court of law would probably not be unfamiliar with the character and substance of the testimony of the historical witnesses.

A few individual elements of architecture and arrangement merit discussion, because historical information is available. Du Pratz has described the construction of ordinary houses in detail. The correspondence to the wall construction of Mound B houses has also been pointed out. The attendant told Du Pratz how the temple was built. The method of construction disagrees completely with Du Pratz' description and the results of the excavation at Mound C.

According to what Du Pratz was told, corner posts 1.5 feet in diameter and wall posts 1 foot in diameter were sunk 10 feet into the ground. They projected about 10 feet into the air, where apparently the roof began. He intimated that the mud wall over each post was about 1 foot thick and sunk in to about 9 inches between them. Penicaut also wrote that the temple posts were as thick as a thigh. The wall trenches of all the temple structures resembled those of the houses at Mound B. Poles 3 to 4 inches in diameter were set in 3-foot deep trenches. There were gaps at each of the corners. The postholes were spaced close to the outside edge of the trenches.

Since neither Du Pratz nor Penicaut observed the actual construction, the inaccuracy of their interpretations can be excused on very reasonable grounds. Undoubtedly, they were misled by the thickness of the wattle-and-daub construction over the smaller posts. The finished wall could easily have been a foot or more thick, with the 3- to 4-inch poles effectively concealed beneath the plaster. We call attention, above, to the unusually deep wall trenches of all the buildings at the Fatherland Site. A 3-foot-deep trench dug with primitive tools probably seemed to be 10 feet deep to the native laborer.

The occurrence of hearths in the centers of the main rooms of the three temple structures corresponds with the historical accounts of the central position of the sacred fire. Charlevoix stated that the fire logs lay on the bare ground. The fireplaces found confirm this statement.

There was no attempt to model or shape the hearths. An irregular area about 3 feet in diameter and several inches deep showed the effects of intense or prolonged burning.

Le Petit's questionable account mentioned that the temple attendant was housed in a shed in front of the temple. Charlevoix elaborated further, writing that the attendant was not allowed to warm himself at the sacred fire but had a fire for his own use. Both statements imply the provision of special quarters or accommodations for the attendant.

It has been shown that there were auxiliary fireplaces in the northwest corners of Temples 1 and 2. These seem to have been barred off by some sort of partitions. The hearths 1A and 2A (Fig. 12) were each about 5 feet from their respective north walls, which indicates that this arrangement was consistent during the existence of both buildings. Most of the evidence for the presence of hearths in the Building Level 2 structure has been destroyed, if it ever existed.

Some cooking was probably also done, since Penicaut has said that presents of bread and meal were offered to the temple periodically by which the guardian profited. A quantity of charred corncocks was found in a small pit in the corner near the small fireplaces, and a variety of animal bones were found in mound fill, outwash, and on the floor of Building Level 1.

Penicaut has also said that morning and evening fires were built in front of the temple door daily. It is not clear whether he meant that these fires were on the mound or on the plaza surface in front of it. No archeological evidence of other fires was found on the mound summit, but there were three deeply burned areas on the plaza in the angle west of the ramp and the north edge of the mound. These burned areas related to the Phase III or pre-French mound; the plaza in front of the final mound was not excavated. These fires, of course, could have been used for various ceremonial purposes. It is possible that the burning of prisoners in the cadre took place in front of the temple.

The existence of a door or entrance to the temple is more or less involved with the unfruitful problem already discussed in connection with the portico and the form of the temple.

Gravier said that there was a low narrow door and no other opening to the temple structure and that even with the fire burning the

door must be open in order to provide light for the interior. Charlevoix observed only that the door was in the midst of the longest side of the temple which had no other opening. Du Pratz implied that there were two doors, the main door at the north side and a little communicating door that led to a second room of the temple. Discussing temples in general, he became even more ambiguous and wrote that temples may be distinguished from other structures by two wooden posts at the door, with a human head carved upon each. The door, apparently suspended horizontally between these posts, was heavy, and could be propped open only 3 feet high above the posts. Ordinary cabin doors opened sideways. Le Petit observed that the temple was entered by a door about 4 feet high and not more than 3 feet wide. In front of it was a kind of shed.

The frustrating circumstances involved in the previous discussion of the arrangement of the portico and the entrance have instilled caution in the writer. It seems possible to generalize no further than to say that in the north wall of the temple there was a small aperture which had a mechanical device for opening and closing it as the need arose.

Archeologically, there is evidence of such an opening in the middle of the north walls of both Temples 1 and 2. The portico was either open or screened by some device which left no evidence of its existence in the ground. Presumably this device could be lifted, or there was some other means of entering the portico area. Except for the two postholes previously described (p. 30; Fig. 10) toward the front of the portico area, no evidence of posts of extraordinary size was found on the final building level.

Apparently the contents of the temple, both movable and fixed, varied from time to time. Gravier, who inspected the temple about the beginning of the eighteenth century and saw more of its furnishings than other observers, mentioned three mausoleums constructed of posts and mats. These mausoleums were 8 or 9 feet long, 6 feet broad, and 9 or 10 feet high. One stood behind the sacred fire. A matting curtain also screened a large table which held mats and a basket. The basket contained the spirits of the Natchez and other nations of the region. It was forbidden to open this container. Baskets of bones of chiefs were stored in the "other two mausoleums." In addition a small

basket contained a piece of rock crystal and native pots; platters, cups, and little cane baskets were also nearby. The description does not make clear whether there were three mausoleums and a table or whether the table was included in the inventory of three mausoleums. The description of the construction and appearances of the mausoleums leaves much to be desired.

Penicaut later mentioned a number of little stone idols in a coffer, a necklace of pearls, the figure of a rattlesnake, and some wooden mallets used to "break" the heads of attendants if they permitted the fire to die. The pearl necklace was kept in a coffer when not in use ceremonially.

The "Luxembourg Mémoire" said only that the bones of the family of the chiefs were enclosed in the temple.

Charlevoix described two carved wooden birds on the roof gable and benches of stone inside the temple on each side of the door. Some carved wooden heads lay on the floor, and three or four chests of bones were scattered irregularly on it. The position is not clear, but there was also a table, possibly opposite the door; it was 3 feet high, 5 feet long, and 4 feet wide.

Dumont described the fire and the Natchez custom of burying chiefs and preserving ancestors' bones in the temple.

Du Pratz' account is examined above (p. 73). The points of interest here are concerned with the three wooden birds on the roof, a table or altar 4 feet high, 6 feet long, and 2 feet wide. The bones of the last great Sun were enclosed in a cane-splint coffer resting on the table. Two carved wooden planks were in the small room that has been previously discussed.

Dumont de Montigny wrote that there was almost nothing in the temples, except some carved figurines of men and animals and many chests of bones of the honored dead.

According to Le Petit, the anomalous temple he described was filled with idols of men and animals and had three wooden eagles on the roof. Within the temple, he wrote of shelves that contained baskets of bones and idols that included heads and tails of serpents, stuffed owls, pieces of crystal, jawbones of large fish, a bottle, and the foot of a glass. Presents of dishes placed near appropriate baskets of bones were later relegated to the palisade outside.

Most of the archeological evidence from the

final temple level in which we are particularly interested has disappeared, so that we must resort to the remains of Building Level 1 for possible counterparts of the features mentioned. A few scattered postholes and remnants of shallow wall trenches were associated with both temple floor plans. Some of these could have been the remains of rectangular interior structures similar to the tables or altars described. One especially, in the middle of the south wall of Temple 2, was at least 5 feet square and was directly behind the central fire. Gravier saw at least three similar though considerably larger structures, one of which was situated behind the fire. The construction which seems to have been fairly substantial would probably have left marks in the soil. Charlevoix and Du Pratz saw only one such structure but with different dimensions. All the evidence of other movable and perishable temple features cited above has disappeared, except for the skeletons and offerings found by Chambers. However, these were buried in the temple floor and would not have been found if left on the altars or scattered in the building when the Natchez abandoned the village.

The mortuary functions of the temple, as spelled out in the historical accounts, provide a strong link with the archeology of Mound C. Chambers' finds are of paramount importance for drawing parallels, but some of the less obvious features discovered in 1962 strengthen the bond. The historical information about mortuary practices precedes the comparisons with pertinent archeological features. Most of the historical data relate to ceremonies concerning the Suns and ranking people who were most likely to be connected with temple funeral ceremonies. Very little is known either historically or archeologically about common burials.

Three informants furnish general statements about burials. Charlevoix (Swanton, 1911, 138) wrote:

It seems as if in this nation, where everybody is in some sort the slave of those who command, all the honors of the dead are for those who do so, especially for the great chief and the woman chief.

Le Petit (Swanton, 1911, 138) remarked on burial associations:

Then they array him in his most beautiful dresses, they paint his face and his hair and ornament him

with plumes, after which they carry him to the grave prepared for him, placing by his side his arms, a kettle and some provisions.

Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 143) added a few details, presumably about the tombs of more ordinary persons:

These tombs [referring to "raised tombs" seen near Louisiana temples] are raised about 3 feet above the earth. They rest on four feet, which are forked sticks planted deep enough in the earth and well secured to support the tomb, which, supported and thus borne on these forks, is 8 feet long by a foot and a half wide. They place the body with the head at one end in order that a space remain at the end where the feet are. Above the body they make an arbor of branches curved into a vault. They place straight pieces of wood at the head and at the feet, then they plaster these pieces of wood in order to inclose the body during a space of time sufficient to consume the flesh and dry up the bones. After this time they withdraw them to put them in a basket or coffer of cane covered with the same material and carry them into the temple with the others.

The remainder of the descriptions of burials are concerned specifically with the funerals of an anonymous female Sun, the Tattooed Serpent, a brother of the great Sun, and mention the death of the great Sun himself in 1728, though his funeral was not described. The previous excerpts concerning architecture and temple contents agreed in stating that varying numbers of baskets or coffers of bones were seen in the temple from time to time. These bones were the remains of dead Suns and presumably relatives and sacrificed individuals.

The French were especially intrigued by the custom of retainer sacrifice practiced by the Natchez at the death of a chief or other high ranking person, so that most of the descriptions give the progressive steps in the funeral ceremonies in considerable detail. These ceremonies were usually elaborate and lasted four or five days. Some individuals were sacrificed immediately. Others experienced rehearsals and finally were strangled, when the body of the deceased chief was carried on a litter to the temple for burial.

By custom, family retainers and relatives either volunteered or were selected for sacrifice. Commoners often offered one or more of their children. As a reward they were elevated one stage in social rank. Seven or eight to nearly 30 individuals are specifically mentioned as

having been sacrificed. However, rumor or tradition implies that larger numbers were formerly involved. The French tried to suppress the practice or reduce the numbers to be sacrificed to a minimum, attempts that were strictly contrary to tribal wishes and custom. Sometimes the missionaries were permitted to baptize the infants who were to die.

Penicaut (Swanton, 1911, 141) described the four-day ceremony connected with the burial of a woman noble or chieftainess. While she was being buried in the temple, the sacrifice victims were strangled, after which they were also buried. He did not record where they were buried and implied that only the principal was buried in the temple.

Charlevoix (Swanton, 1911, 142) apparently described the same ceremony, as the number of victims and other features agree with Penicaut's account. Twelve children and the woman's husband were killed first and 14 other people at the time of interment. He wrote:

While they buried the body of the woman chief in the temple, they undressed the 14 persons who were to die. They made them sit on the ground before the door, each having two savages by him, one of whom sat on his knees and the other held his arms behind. Then they put a cord about his neck and covered his head with a roebuck's skin. They made him swallow three pills of tobacco and drink a glass of water, and the relations of the woman chief drew the two ends of the cord, singing till he was strangled, after which they threw all the carcasses into the same pit, which they covered with earth.

Le Petit (Swanton, 1911, 143) added a few general details about procedure at a chief's funeral:

The principal servants of the great chief having been strangled in this way, they strip the flesh off their bones, particularly those of the arms and thighs, and leave them to dry for two months, in a kind of tomb, after which they take them out to be shut up in the baskets which are placed in the temple by the side of the bones of their master. As for the other servants, their relatives carry them home with them and bury them with their arms and clothes.

Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 144-149) was a special friend of the two brothers, the Tattooed Serpent and the great Sun who reigned in 1725, when the former died. Du Pratz visited the houses of the chief and the deceased during the mourning period, when there was considerable fear and consternation over whether or not the

great Sun would kill himself as a sacrifice. He was persuaded not to do so. Later Du Pratz was permitted to view the funeral ceremonies from the chief's mound.

Some of the procedures in the dead man's house as well as the actual funeral are pertinent:

I understood by these words that the sovereign wished to die . . .

He (the Tattooed-serpent) was on his bed of state, dressed in his finest clothing, his face painted with vermilion, moccasined as if to go on a journey, and wearing his crown of white feathers mingled with red. His arms had been tied to his bed. These consisted of a double-barreled gun, a pistol, a bow, a quiver full of arrows, and a war club. Around the bed were all the calumets of peace which he had received during his life, and near by had been planted a large pole, peeled and painted red, from which hung a chain of reddened cane splints, composed of 46 links or rings, to indicate the number of enemies he had killed.

. . . The company in the cabin was composed of the favorite wife of the defunct, of a second wife, whom he kept in another village, to visit when his favorite wife was pregnant, his chancellor, his doctor, his head servant (loue), his pipe bearer, and some old women, all of whom were going to be strangled at his burial.

To the number of the victims there joined herself a Noble woman, whom the friendship that she had for the Tattooed-serpent led to join him in the country of the spirits. The French called her La Glorieuse, because of her majestic bearing and her proud air and because she was intimate only with distinguished Frenchmen.

. . . A few moments afterwards the young Sun came to tell me that orders had been given (as he had promised, although feignedly) to have only those die who were in the cabin of the deceased, because they were his food; that besides there would be put to death a bad woman, if she had not already been killed, and an infant which had already been strangled by its father and mother, a forfeit which purchased their lives at the death of the great Sun, ennobled them, and raised them from the grade of Stinkards.

A few moments later the grand master of ceremonies appeared at the door of the dead man's house with the ornaments which were proper to his rank and which I have described. He uttered two words and the people in the cabin came out. These persons were the favorite wife and his other wife, his chancellor, his doctor, his head servant, his pipe bearer, and some old women. Each of these victims was accompanied by eight male relations, who were going to put him to death. One bore the war club raised as if to strike, and often he seemed to do so, another

carried the mat on which to seat him, a third carried the cord for strangling him, another the skin, the fifth a dish in which were five or six balls of pounded tobacco to make him swallow in order to stupefy him. Another bore a little earthen bottle holding about a pint, in order to make him drink some mouthfuls of water in order to swallow the pellets more easily. Two others followed to aid in drawing the cord at each side.

. . . The generosity of these two women purchased the life of the warrior, Ette-actal, and acquired for him the rank of Honored man. His condition having become much better and his life being thus assured, he became insolent, and profiting by the instructions which he had received from the French, he made use of it to deceive his countrymen.

The third old woman that they had brought had not been able to use her legs for at least fifteen years, without, however, experiencing any other difficulty in any part of the body. Her face was calm and her hair entirely white, a thing which I had never seen among the natives, and in spite of her great age, which surpassed a century, her skin was not too much wrinkled. All of these three old women were dispatched to the evening rehearsal, one to the door of the Tattooed-serpent and the two others to the square. . . .

The day of the funeral procession having arrived, we went to the house of the great Sun.

. . . I have said elsewhere that the temple, the house of the great chief, and that of the Tattooed-serpent were on the square; that that of the great Sun was built on a mound of earth carried to a height of about 8 feet. It was on this mound that we placed ourselves at the side of the dwelling of the great Sun, who had shut himself in in order to see nothing. His wife, who was also there, was able to hear us, but we had no fear that she would reveal what we might say against such a cruel custom. This law did not please her enough for her to find fault with those who spoke ill of it. As for the great Sun, he was on the other side and was not able to hear our remarks. From this place, without disturbing the ceremony, we were able to see everything, even into the interior of the temple, the door of which faced us.

. . . The Tattooed-serpent, having come out of his cabin in his state bed, as I have pictured it, was placed on a litter with two poles, which four men carried. Another pole was placed underneath toward the middle and crosswise, which two other men held, in order to sustain the body. These six men who carried it were guardians of the temple. . . . At each circuit made by the body the man of whom I have spoken threw his child in front of it in order that the body should pass over. He took it up by one foot to do the same at the other circuits.

. . . Finally the body reached the temple, and the victims put themselves in their places as determined

in the rehearsals. The mats were stretched out. They seated themselves there. The death cry was uttered. The pellets of tobacco were given to them and a little water to drink after each one. After they had all been taken [each victim's] head was covered with a skin on which the cord was placed around the neck, two men held it in order that it should not be dragged away [to one side] by the stronger party, and the cord, which had a running knot, was held at each end by three men, who drew with all their strength from the two opposite sides. They are so skillful in this operation that it is impossible to describe it as promptly as it is done.

The body of the Tattooed-serpent was placed in a great trench to the right of the temple in the interior. His two wives were buried in the same trench. La Glorieuse was buried in front of the temple to the right and the chancellor on the left. The others were carried into the temples of their own villages in order to be interred there. After this ceremony the cabin of the deceased was burned, according to custom.

Dumont's (Swanton, 1911, 149-157) account of the same funeral follows. For some unaccountable reason, he confused the great Sun with the war chief, giving the impression that the former was the deceased:

. . . I will make use of the relation which a Frenchman has communicated to me, who in 1725 was a witness of the ceremonies which were observed among them on the death of the Tattooed-serpent, their great chief. This savage, called in the language of the country Olabalkebiche, was the son of a white woman or woman chief and brother of the great chief of war of the Natchez. He was very fond of the French, as will be seen in the course of these memoirs, and warned them many times of the evil design of his nation. . . . The latter was in his cabin, where he had been painted and where his hair had been dressed. He was clothed and provided with shoes. All of the things which had belonged to him, coffers, mats, beds, vessels, etc., had been thrown out of his cabin pellmell. . . . After that I entered the cabin of the dead man, where I saw him laid on a cane bed covered with mats. He had on moccasins and was dressed. In front of him were planted four large canes, to which were fastened all the calumets which had been presented to him, and between these canes were the dishes which had been served to him after he had died. I also saw there his wife, dressed in her most beautiful clothing, with many other women and a man. They said to me, "Those are the ones who are going to die with him." A moment later La Glorieuse entered, also dressed up, and placed herself in the ranks of the others.

. . . In the midst of all this the wife of the head servant (loue) of the deceased arrived, the very one whom I had seen, as I have said, with the women.

This head servant is one of the Honored men who lights the pipe of the great chief and follows him everywhere. He is present at the councils, where he records the votes. It is he also who speaks for the great chief. His wife, seeing him with the others, said to him: "What are you doing there?" "Do not you know," replied he, "that my chief is dead? It is well that I go with him." "That is very well," answered the woman, "You know also that you have never repulsed me; that we have always walked together along the same road; that we have always eaten together. Thus I do not wish to go with your chief, but I wish to go with you." Her husband wished to speak to her to deter her from dying, but she would not listen and went out to prepare herself.

. . . The Tattooed serpent had married another woman, by whom he had had no children. This one was not yet ready when the others went out to dance, a fact which led the great chief of war, the old chief, and the Sun of the Flour village to take her by herself into a cabin near that of the dead man, where without doubt they persuaded her to die. In fact, as soon as she had come out, she went to get ready and returned at once to place herself in the ranks of the others. Then they set out to repair to the open place. Arrived within sight of the temple they uttered the death cry and stopped an instant, after which they continued their march in this order. The two wives of the dead marched first, followed by La Glorieuse, the head servant, the first warrior of the dead man, the mother of La Mizenne, the nurse of the deceased, the wife of the head servant, and two other old women. . . . But it was not difficult for me to make them see that all this account was founded only on a panic terror, which made MM. Dumanoir, Brontin, and Le Page take the determination to go next day to the great village with Louis Sorel, who would serve them as interpreter, to try to save the lives of the two wives of the dead man and to prevent, if it were possible, so many people from perishing. . . . Toward midday Louis Sorel returned and told us that already one woman was strangled, news which made me return to the great village after dinner. I found there some of our French people, of whom I asked if it was true that a woman was already dead. They told me that the evening before after the second dance, one of the two old women who were going to die, on reentering the cabin, had said: "What! is that the Tattooed-serpent, that rare man? He is a Stinkard chief. I do not want to die for him, the more because seven months ago I killed the son of the great chief by means of a medicine I gave him." In fact, she had already taken up again the road to her cabin, when the great war chief, having heard this news, sent for her head, and when it was brought to him he trampled upon it and had the body thrown outside as food for the buzzards, saying, "That is the treatment

which ought to be given to dogs." Her head was then brought to the cabin of the dead man, wrapped in the skin of a deer.

I repaired to the great chief of war, of whom I asked whether many people would die. He answered, "If the French had not spoken the road from my brother's cabin to the temple would have been strewn with the dead. Only the old women will die. I have already sent back more than 30 young people who wished to die. After all, is not my brother precious? Is he a Stinkard? And what will the chief of the spirits say if he sees him come entirely alone? He will say this is not a chief, and he will drive him from before his face. Besides, his two wives have always walked and eaten with him. They must go with him, and when 20 guns and 20 coverings of Limbourg shall be given they will not seek to avoid death.

. . . In the middle of the third dance there was seen to arrive from the Flour village, which was also a village of the Natchez, two women borne on the shoulders of two warriors, and followed by their families and their mats. They went at once to dance alone before the temple. Afterward they were received to dance with the others, after which they seated themselves on their mats. However, the guardian of the temple, having lighted a cane torch at the sacred fire, gave it to one of their relations, after which the two warriors took the two women again on their shoulders and, followed by their families, entered the cabin of the dead man and broke a mat which had been placed over the door. One of the two was strangled on this same mat. The other was carried outside on the mat she had brought, where she seated herself with her legs crossed. There she was made to swallow three little pills of tobacco of about an inch in diameter, with some swallows of water, which she drank at intervals. As soon as it was seen that she was going to vomit, her head was covered with a deerskin, and passing a cord around her neck over this skin they began to draw on it with force from each side. However, one of her relations applied a knee to her stomach strongly from in front, while another grasped her in the same way from behind, so that she was stifled rather than strangled. During all that time her family sang. As soon as it was thought that she was dead the one who was to utter the death cry went around her three times, uttered the cry the same number of times, placed his war club six times over the head of the dead woman without touching it, and made the same cry again. Then her body was carried into the cabin of the deceased. I was told that these two women were near relations of this same Taotal, of whom I have spoken above, and that they were come to offer themselves thus to death in order to repair his honor and to make him a Noble. I do not know how it was. I know only that he was one

of those who did the strangling; that he appeared to draw with very great pleasure, and that since that day I have not seen him in the village. . . the old chief of the Flour village . . . passed three times around the great war chief and howled three times at the end of each circuit, after which he received it in his two hands with orders to part it between four young people, who guarded the temple and were strangled in ten months when the bones of the Tattooed-serpent were taken out of the earth.

. . . The great war chief seeing that I had descended said, "It is good that the Frenchmen remain on my mound and that they do not go down from it." At the same moment some one came to tell M. Dumanoir that the great chief wished to kill himself and that with this object he had concealed a knife in his breechcloth. But M. Dumanoir having had him spoken to, he found that the news was false. The great war chief said to him, "Since I have given my word I will not die. I do not have two tongues, but if the Frenchmen love my brother it is well that they shoot as well as my people when he passes."

Finally the old Flour chief, who up to that point had always performed the functions of master of ceremonies, cried, "It is good that all retire." At this cry all those who were going to die, each one followed by his family and singing, dispersed themselves about the square, and the body was seen to come out of the cabin preceded by the two wives and borne on a litter by four men. The chests of the dead were carried to the temple without ceremony, with the red baton of which I have spoken, from which hung the canes worked into circles which formed a kind of chain composed of 46 links or rings. I was told that each ring stood for a man or woman killed by the deceased. With regard to the litter, after having made on going out three circuits around the cabin, it was carried ceremoniously toward the temple, ordinary place of sepulcher of the chiefs. When the body passed opposite those to whom the infant that had been strangled belonged they threw it on the litter; took it up afterward and threw it down in the same manner, continuing thus until they had reached the temple. There all those who were going to die ranged themselves in a half circle on their mats before the door in order to be strangled. They were eight, as follows: The two wives of the deceased, his first warrior, La Glorieuse, the head servant and his wife, the mother of La Mizenne, and a maker of war clubs, who were executed together. . . This first execution was followed by the ordinary cries, after which five other persons were strangled on the square, as follows: The nurse of the deceased, a doctor of the Apple village, an old woman of the Flour village whose hair was entirely white, and who was so decrepit that during the dances to which she was carried seated on a mat she was hardly able to move her arms in order to keep time, and two

other old women. The two wives of the Tattooed-serpent were buried in the temple, and placed with him in the same trench at the right side of the sanctuary. La Glorieuse was also buried on the right side, but outside of the temple, as well as the head servant and his wife, who were placed on the left. With regard to the others, their families carried them back to their villages on stretchers.

Natchez chiefs, members of their families, and ranking officials were buried in pits in the floor of the temple. Later the remains were dug up and stored in the temple in basketry containers. The common people were also buried in tombs or pits, sometimes near the temple, sometimes near their homes. When some of the bones of the commoners appear to have been dug up and stored in the temple, the social status of the individual was probably misconstrued.

In the case of the Tattooed Serpent, Dumont (Swanton, 1911, 156) clearly stated that the body would be removed in 10 months and the bones cleaned and stored in a basket or chest in the temple. Presumably the bones of the two wives who were placed in his grave, La Glorieuse, and the chief servant and wife who were buried in front of the temple at the time would be treated in a similar manner.

The actual practice of disinterment and storage in the temple was apparently never observed by the French; they seem to have learned the details from informants. Dumont specifies a definite time limit for the primary burial; Du Pratz stated that the period was determined by the deterioration of the flesh and the drying of the skeletal parts. Other observers do not mention the time lapse between primary and secondary burial.

Little is recorded about articles placed in the graves with the dead. Various articles were placed on the Tattooed Serpent's litter and at least one chest of his belongings was sent to the temple. Le Petit, writing rather generally of burials, stated that belongings were placed with the dead. The practice was widespread among Southeastern Indians; there is no reason to doubt that it was also followed by the Natchez.

The archeological evidence from Mound C agrees very well with the historical accounts of this general pattern of burial practices. The evidence for primary flesh interments is available in the 24 empty pits that were found within the limits of the temple wall pattern. Some of these

pits were large enough to accommodate three or more extended adult bodies; others could have held only tightly flexed adults or children. It will be recalled that, except for some iron-wire rings, rotted wood strips, and the outlines of two wooden chests, the pits contained only stained earth fill. This probably indicates that any human remains and grave goods in these pits had been carefully removed for storage above ground in baskets, in the temple. Seventeen of these pits were in the portico area. The pre-French Building Level 1 which had supported two identical successive temple structures had only five empty pits which might at some time have contained primary burials.

Having established an accord between history and archeology on these broad grounds, we turn to more specific aspects of burial procedure. The points developed are necessarily concerned with the funeral rites of the Tattooed Serpent which are described above in such great detail. Evidently there was some indecision and consequent selection of candidates for execution in the four-day period preceding the actual burial. Dumont's account gave the names or occupations of some people who seemed not to have been included in the final execution. His final summary (p. 80) specified eight who were strangled first and five later. This does not account for a woman who had been strangled previously at the war chief's cabin and the infant who was thrown on the litter during the procession. Regardless of these inconsistencies, eight people were strangled in front of the temple door, and six, including the Tattooed-Serpent, were buried in the mound.

Du Pratz, who actually witnessed the ceremony, listed six victims and some old women who were selected at the Tattooed-Serpent's house; later, he stated that there were three additional women victims. His sketch (Swanton, 1911, Pl. 4b) shows eight victims arranged before the temple; he also mentioned the infant which, he wrote, was thrown under the litter during the funeral procession. His account of burial at the temple agrees with that by Dumont, except that he failed to mention the wife of the chancellor or head servant as being buried with her husband. Thus he would have it that only five people, including the war chief, were interred in the mound. It should also be noted that he wrote that there were six litter bearers in the procession, but his sketch shows

eight. These discrepancies might indicate that his account is not so accurate in detail as is Dumont's. Both authorities agree that all the additional bodies, i.e., exceeding the specified five (or six), were returned to their own villages for burial. If we assume that the remains of the individuals were removed about 10 months later and their bones cleaned and stored together in the temple, then we might expect to find a specific burial unit archeologically identifiable.

Burials 13, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25 in Chambers' inventory were the skulls and some assorted long bones of six adults that had been placed in a wooden chest and buried beneath the floor of the final temple. The chest was situated toward the south corner of the large rear room. It is tempting to conclude that Dumont's six primary interments are represented by this multiple secondary burial, Du Pratz' intimation that there were only five to the contrary.

The large square pit (Fig. 10) slightly to the west of the center of the portico could easily have accommodated the bodies of the Tattooed Serpent and his two wives before they were exhumed. A large oval pit immediately to the southeast of it would also have fitted Du Pratz' description of a "great trench." Two large oval pits at the front of the portico are large enough to have contained extended adult bodies, though the pit on the center line had contained a small wooden chest. Four oval pits, two to the west and two to the east in the fore part of the portico, are each large enough to have contained a flexed adult burial, though it is doubtful if two individuals could be placed in either one. Possibly other pits may have existed immediately north of this general area, and their outlines have been destroyed with the mound surface.

From the evidence provided by the rebuilding or extensive repairs to the walls of the temple (Fig. 10) and the numerous pits in the floor, some of which were intrusive to others, we may infer that the final temple was in use for a considerable span of years. If the empty pits were used for temporary burials, these may indicate that many more burials occurred during the period of Building Level 2 than during the prehistoric span of Building Level 1. The death rate may have been higher during the historic period, or there may have been a longer time span in which a greater number of

successive chiefs or people of rank died. There is no way to demonstrate such internal chronology unless the facts are to be found in the burials found by Chambers.

Three types of burials have been recognized in the Mound C excavations. It has already been suggested that one chest burial may be that of the Tattooed Serpent who was buried in 1725. A similar chest burial containing the bundled bones of two adults (Burial 7) probably dates from the same general time period. The presence of wire coils in this chest suggests that one of the individuals was a male, since Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 55) has said that warriors wore such coils in their ears. Some of the skull fragments in this burial also bore evidence of the effects of cranial deformation.

Another type of burial is represented by the 10 isolated skull burials. There is no adequate historical support for such interments, although the "bad woman" executed prior to the Tattooed Serpent's funeral was decapitated and the head presented wrapped in a skin. The body was discarded elsewhere; perhaps the skull was buried or preserved as a sort of trophy. A skull, Burial 3, had a knobbed shell ear pin near the right ear. Du Pratz and Dumont (Swanton, 1911, 55) reported that such ear ornaments were worn by women. Some of the skull burials may have been associated with specific primary burials, but little else can be said about their significance.

Swanton (1911, 220) referred to a note by Du Pratz who stated that the great Sun died three years after his brother, the Tattooed Serpent. The death would have taken place in 1728 after Du Pratz had left the Natchez post, but probably while he was still in the colony. No description of the ceremonies connected with the death of this important person exists, but it is safe to say that elaborate funeral ceremonies and probably sacrifices were carried out on this occasion. Undoubtedly, the Sun, together with retainers, was buried in the temple, if it be assumed that conservative mortuary customs were still being followed.

Burial 15, a primary extended interment, is described above (p. 43) as having associated with it the largest and most varied quantity of grave goods uncovered. The presence of wire ear coils, an iron ax, and a kaolin pipe strongly suggests that it was a male burial. These were among about 30 categories of varied and valu-

able native and European items placed with it. The number of European objects outweighed the native artifacts in both quality and quantity. Such an assortment of trade goods suggests that the burial was that of a special recipient of valuable goods that did not get into circulation until the latter part of the French period.

This especially endowed individual may well have been the great Sun, special friend and arbitrator for the French, who died about a year before the massacre in November, 1729. The other seven primary burials may be contemporary with Burial 15. It is, however, possible that they represent retainers and relatives who were sacrificed at the death of the chief. The group of eight extended individuals represents a style of burial that is separate and distinct from the secondary bundle and isolated skulls.

According to the foregoing descriptions, primary burial is only a phase in the Natchez burial ritual, offering the possibility that the eight articulated skeletons mentioned may have been part of the funeral cortege of the great Sun. The reasons why successive phases of cleaning and bundling were not carried out are cause for speculation. Perhaps some event interrupted the orderly course of custom. Moreover, the presence of a large quantity of native and European grave goods buried in the floor of the temple seems unusual.

Charlevoix (Swanton, 1911, 159-161) visited the temple about the time of the second and third Natchez wars in 1722. His description is quoted above (p. 68). His discussion of the social conditions of the Natchez and their declining relations with the French may offer a clue. Charlevoix saw only three or four baskets of bones in the temple and explained the situation thus:

Perhaps also, for we ought to condemn nobody, but when there is no way to excuse them; perhaps, I say, that the neighborhood of the French made the Natchez fear that the bodies of their chiefs and everything that was most precious in their temple were in some danger if they did not convey them to another place, and that the little attention they have at present to guard this temple proceeds from its being deprived of what it contained most sacred in the opinion of these people.

When the uneasy Natchez-French relations at this time are considered, Charlevoix' sketch

may have merit. Perhaps the Indians buried the temple valuables in its floor. There would be little likelihood that the French would violate such a hiding place while the Natchez were in possession, even if the French knew of the concealment. Moreover, if conditions were as precarious as Charlevoix implied, it could be conjectured that any recent primary burials were not dug up at this time, as was customary, but remained concealed in the temple floor.

Another possible explanation for the presence of the skeletons, if they were those of the Sun and his companions, may lie in the interval between his death in 1728 and the Natchez massacre in November, 1729. Perhaps insufficient time elapsed between these events to permit the practice of the customary funeral procedures. A few months after the massacre the Indians abandoned the village and never returned.

FATHERLAND SITE RADIOCARBON DATES FROM CHARCOAL SAMPLES¹

EIGHT CHARCOAL SAMPLES were recovered from specific mound phases and floor levels in Mounds A, B, and C. These were submitted to the Phoenix Laboratory at the University of Michigan. These samples were run and calculated; the results are as follows:

MOUND A

M-1376 Charred wood, Phase-II mantle, 380 years ± 100 (B.P. 1965), A.D. 1585

MOUND B

M-1377 Charcoal from hearth in Phase-IV mantle, 140 years ± 100 (B.P. 1965), A.D. 1825

M-1378 Charred cane and thatch, Building Level 3, floor of Phase-III mantle, 425 years ± 100 (B.P. 1965), A.D. 1540

M-1379 Charred wood, Building Level 2 of Phase-II mantle, 700 years ± 110 (B.P. 1965), A.D. 1265

M-1380 Charred wood, Phase-I mantle, 770 years ± 110 (B.P. 1965), A.D. 1195

MOUND C

M-1381 Charred corncobs in pit, Building Level 1, floor of Phase-III mantle, 725 years ± 110 (B.P. 1965), A.D. 1240

M-1382 Charred wood, Building Level 1, floor of Phase-III mantle, 680 years ± 110 (B.P. 1965), A.D. 1285

M-1383 Charred corncobs and wood, surface beneath Mound C, 520 years ± 100 (B.P. 1965), A.D. 1445

Very little comment is required concerning the order of these dates. It appears obvious that the date from the original surface beneath Mound C is incorrect, as it is nearly 200 years later than that of succeeding mound deposits. The 45-year interval between the samples from

Building Level 3, Mound C, might well reflect a time factor in the construction and use of the two temples on that surface.

The dates from the lowest two levels of Mound B are much earlier than I would have estimated the span of Natchez occupation to have been. The thirteenth century dates from the prehistoric temple floor of Mound C are also much earlier than expected. Certainly there were very insignificant indications of cultural change in pottery styles or architecture over the span of nearly 500 years at the site indicated by the radiocarbon dates. The one date of 1585 from Phase II of Mound A would indicate that this mound was under construction about 100 years prior to the first French visits to the Grand Village. This would seem ample time for this structure to have been finished and to have fallen into disuse, as suggested previously. The first temples constructed on Building Level 1 at Mound C are approximately contemporaneous with the construction on Building Level 2 at Mound B. It is suggested above that Mound B was probably begun before Mound C. The intervals of nearly 300 years between periods of mound and house construction at Mound B are certainly at odds with historical statements that each chief's house was demolished upon his death, the mound added to, and a new house built for his successor. Plurality of houses on the successive mound surfaces may indicate that new houses were built, but additions to the mound were not necessarily made.

The sample M-1377 from the Phase-IV loading of Mound B is suspect. Since this deposit occurred just below the humus cover of the mound, it could well represent a campfire used during the nineteenth century or later. It is tempting to place value on the plus sigma and arrive at a date of 1725, the year of the Tattooed Serpent's funeral.

¹ The information on radiocarbon dates was not received until the present report was in galley proof. The dates and comments are included here as a supplement to the correlations discussed in the preceding section.

ARTIFACTS DESCRIBED IN HISTORICAL SOURCES

DU PRATZ' DESCRIPTION (Swanton, 1911, 62) of aboriginal pottery making is well known but is repeated here because of the information it contains. Swanton noted that Du Pratz described a process that was current earlier in the history of the Natchez, but altered the translation to the present tense on the grounds that Du Pratz may have actually observed pottery making in process.

They go in search of heavy earth, examine it in the form of dust (i.e., before it had been wet), throwing out whatever grit they find, make a sufficiently firm mortar, and then establish their workshop on a flat board, on which they shape the pottery with their fingers, smoothing it by means of a stone which is preserved with great care for this work. As fast as the earth dries they put on more, assisting with the hand on the other side. After all these operations, it is cooked by means of a great fire.

These women also make pots of an extraordinary size, jugs with a medium-sized opening, bowls, two-pint bottles with long necks, pots or jugs for bear's oil, which hold as many as 40 pints, also dishes and plates like the French. I have had some made out of curiosity on the model of my earthenware. They were of a quite beautiful red.

Swanton (1911, 62) followed this excerpt with the notation that elsewhere Du Pratz said that the red color was due to ocher obtained from veins in a bluff called the White Bluff. This was smeared on the pots before they were hardened and dried over the fire, which undoubtedly is a reference to the red slip found on much Natchez pottery. Other points conform generally to what is known of Fatherland wares, except that vessels or sherds do not indicate such size as a capacity of 40 pints. The description seems acceptable for the distinctive Fatherland Plain and Fatherland and Natchez Incised types. The Addis Plain, Manchac Incised, and Plaquemine Brushed wares contain a conspicuous quantity of coarse grit tempering, which must have been added to the clay, since none of the local clays contain this material.

Many of the numerous stream pebbles found in all levels of the Fatherland excavation may have been used for smoothing the walls of vessels.

Dumont (Swanton, 1911, 62) also described pottery manufacture:

What is more remarkable is that without a potter's

wheel, with their fingers alone and patience, they [the women] make all kinds of earthen vessels, dishes, plates, pots to put on the fire, with others large enough to contain 25 to 30 pots of oil.

Both Du Pratz and Dumont (Swanton, 1911, 63) mentioned the use of swan, duck, and turkey feathers in mantles, swan feathers in the chiefs' crowns, and turkey-tail fans. Wood duck, mallard, crane, goose, and cormorant bones were present among the animal bones found at the site. Turkey bones were not present.

Du Pratz and Dumont (Swanton, 1911, 64) also mentioned the use of bison and opossum hair for the weaving of garters. Bison bones were not found, but opossum bones were present. Deer, bear, and bison were the principal game hunted for food. The skins of the mammals were used extensively. A minimum number of 21 individual deer, one bear, and no bison were represented by refuse bones from the site.

In the chunky game called "of the pole" by Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 90), a round, convexly beveled, stone wheel 3 inches in diameter and 1 inch thick was rolled on the ground, and the poles thrown after it. Two similar discoidals (Pl. 12i, n) were found with Burial 5 and three with Burial 15.

Articles of wood are not usually found in excavating, but two items deserve mention. Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 67) reported that wooden mortars were used for grinding maize. Neither stone mortars nor manos were found at Fatherland. He (Swanton, 1911, 127) mentioned the use of the native-made, cutlass-shaped, wooden war clubs in lieu of which they carried iron trade axes when they could obtain them. Two hatchets and one ax head were deposited with burials in Mound C.

Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 58) also mentioned stone axes. These were made of fine-grained gray stones ground smooth on pieces of sandstone:

These stone axes are fully an inch thick at the head (or butt), and half an inch thick three quarters of the way down. The edge is beveled, but not sharp, and may be 4 inches wide except that the head is only 3 inches wide. This head is pierced with a hole large enough to pass the finger through in order to

be better bound in the cleft at one end of the handle, and this end itself is well bound so as not to split farther.

Swanton has pointed out that such celts are not found in North America. In recent years several perforated celts have been found with burials in Mound C at the Etowah Site in Georgia. A small chipped celt and part of the blade end of a slightly larger polished specimen (Pl. 12m, q) were found on the surface of the Fatherland village site.

For small game the arrows were merely hardened cane. For deer and bison the arrow-shafts were tipped with bone splinters. War arrows were tipped with garfish scales. A sort of bone, barb-tipped arrow was used for large fish. Thirteen chipped projectile points (Pl. 12s-ee) were found during 1962. Chambers found one triangular flint point and two copper points with Burial 15.

Dumont (Swanton, 1911, 136) described the pipe or calumet:

The calumet is a wooden tube pierced throughout its entire length, which is of about 4 feet, painted ordinarily in different colors, and ornamented at intervals with porcupine quills usually dyed red or yellow. From the middle of this tube hangs a bunch of white and red feathers arranged in a tuft, at the end of which are fastened the hairs of a horse killed in war, painted in the same way with vermilion. One of the ends of this tube is provided with a pipe, made sometimes in one fashion, sometimes in another, ordinarily of a red stone which looks like coral; sometimes, however, of a black stone closely resembling marble.

A fragment of the bowl of a catlinite pipe (Pl. 13k) was found near the surface of Mound B. A large elbow pipe of fine-grained stone and an unfinished effigy pipe of limestone of the same general block shape as well as a plain clay elbow pipe (Pl. 13a-c) were in the upper layer of Mound C. A modeled elbow type (Pl. 13d) similar to pipes from Wilbanks and from historic Cherokee sites in the southern Piedmont was taken from the outwash deposits at Mound A. A kaolin trade pipe (Pl. 13j) lay at the feet of Burial 15. Several kaolin pipestems (Pl. 13i) were found in the midden deposits east of Mound B.

Gravier (Swanton, 1911, 158) saw a piece of rock crystal in a basket in the temple; Swanton noted that the Indians valued this substance. Chambers found a piece of quartz crystal near

the surface of Mound C. Another similar crystal (Pl. 12l) was found in outwash soil in 1962.

Personal ornaments accompanying the burials have been described. The historical sources have little to add. Dumont (Swanton, 1911, 51) said of hair styles:

... These tresses are ordinarily interlaced by way of ornament with strings of blue, white, green, or black beads [made of glass].

Swanton (1911, 55) wrote that the "Luxembourg Mémoire" mentioned beads as ear ornaments:

Their greatest ornament consists of bead necklaces of different colors, with which they load the neck and the ears, where they have holes, as well as the men, large enough to pass an egg through, which the size and weight of what they put there from infancy greatly enlarges.

Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 56) also mentioned beads which seem to have been made of glass:

When they have beads (*rassade*) they make necklaces composed of one or many rows. They make them long enough for the head to pass through. The *rassade* is a bead of the size of the end of the finger of a small infant. Its length is greater than its diameter. Its substance is similar to porcelain. There is a smaller one, ordinarily round and white. They value it more than the other. There is a blue one and one of another style which is banded (*bardelle*) with blue and white. The medium sized and the smallest are strung to ornament skins, garters, etc.

Examples of beads of these sizes, shapes, and colors were found with the burials (Pl. 15b-l).

Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 55) described ear ornaments:

The warriors may also have the lower parts of the ears slit, in order to pass through them iron or brass wire in the form of worm screws, a full inch in diameter.

The women ornament themselves with earrings made of the core of a great shell called "burgo," of which I have spoken. This ear pendant is as large as the little finger and at least as long. They have a hole in the lower part of each ear large enough to insert this ornament. It has a head a little larger than the rest to prevent it from falling out.

Dumont (Swanton, 1911, 55) also described shell ear pins:

There are found besides on the shores of the sea beautiful shells of a spiral shape called "burgau" . . . It is of these burgau that the savage women make their earrings. For this purpose they take the ends

and rub them a long time on hard stones and thus give them the shape of a nail provided with a head, in order that when they put them in their ears they will be stopped by this kind of pivot, for these savage women have their ears laid open very much more than our French women.

Chambers and I found small coils of iron wire and larger wire rings and coils (Pl. 14a, k). The former accompanied burials, and the latter were in an empty pit. Chambers found one knobbed shell ear pin (Pl. 12 ll) with Burial 3.

Du Pratz (Swanton, 1911, 127) described a warrior's dress:

All the attire of a warrior consists in the ear pendants, which I have just described, in a belt ornamented with rattles—and bells when they can get them from the French.

The burials excavated by Chambers contained various sizes of brass hawk bells, silver sleigh bells, and conical brass tinklers (Pl. 14d-f, j, n).

CONCLUSIONS

THE HISTORICAL AND ARCHEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE bearing on the Fatherland Site is reviewed and compared. Conclusions are drawn where possible and suggested where the evidence is uncertain. The feeling of inconclusiveness is not a novel one when historic site identification studies in the Lower Mississippi Valley are concerned. This has been demonstrated in the northern part of the region in connection with the De Soto route and Quapaw Village investigations (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 383-391, 417-419). Quimby (1957, 160) recorded a similar uncertainty for the Bayou Goula Site in the southern part of the region. My responsibility here seems to be to gather up the loose ends as related to the Natchez situation, to determine if our knowledge there advances beyond previous approximations. Little can be added to the factual material already presented, but some theoretical and methodological features should be considered.

The basic geography of the Natchez area, as observed in early 1700, has been shown to be the same as that with which we are concerned in locating the Grand Village at the Fatherland Site today. General descriptions, relative positions of landmarks, and distances are conclusive in marking the location. Negative evidence is equally convincing, because no other archeological site of consequence can be found in the critical area.

Except for the supernumerary Mound A the physical composition of the site agrees quite well with the documentary descriptions. It should be pointed out, however, that the Natchez are the only Indians mentioned in the early literature subsequent to the De Soto date line who were definitely using platform mounds. Such use was noted in the Quapaw study (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin, 1951, 418) in which Cosme and Gravier are credited with two doubtful references to the use of a mound in the northern part of the territory under consideration. They mention having seen what may have been a mound at New Kappa, a Quapaw town. It may have been constructed before the Quapaw settled there and thus date from a time prior to the French entry into the region. Father Gravier visited the Tunica on the Yazoo

River in November, 1700, and reported (Shea, 1902, 132) his landing at the settlement:

I left my canoe four leagues from the river at the foot of a hill, where there are five or six cabins. The road, which is two leagues by land, is quite pretty. . . . They have only one small temple raised on a mound of earth. They never enter it, Mr. Davion told me, except when going to or returning from war, and do not make all the howlings of the Taensa and Natches when they pass in front of their temples, where there is always an old man who maintains a fire.

There was no reference to mounds at the Bayougoula village though the temple, the chief's house, and other dwellings were discussed in some detail. Quimby (1957, 98) reported two mounds at opposite ends of a 600-foot plaza area at the Bayou Goula Site. The cultural material from the mounds included mostly pottery types of Plaquemine Period which were available on the surface of the site before it was sealed by silt from flooding. Each mound represented three phases of construction, the whole resting on the buried old humus surface. The 5 feet of silt that covered the mounds also blanketed their flanks. Intrusive burials into the tertiary phase of Mound 1 contained Natchezan pottery and European artifacts. Other Natchezan pottery and European materials came from pits and houses on the upper surface of the fairly sterile silt. The mounds were originally 8 or 9 feet high so that only 4 or 5 feet projected above the surface during the Bayougoula occupation. Possibly the mounds at the Bayou Goula Site were not in use during the French period and the chief's house and temple were situated elsewhere. The only mention of a plaza is in connection with two ceremonial posts in front of the temple.

The dwelling houses and palisades described by Quimby contain Natchezan pottery types, which indicates that they were probably products of the Bayougoula occupation. The ground-plans of these structures occupied the central plaza between the two mounds which seem to date from Plaquemine times. This suggestion of intrusion may indicate that the mounds were probably not in use, since plazas were always kept clear. If so, it may account for the failure of the French to mention them. This same line

of reasoning has been followed in connection with Mound A at Fatherland.

Mounds, no matter how great their significance to archeologists, were apparently unimportant to historical observers as physical features, unless marked with identifying buildings. In describing the harvest feast of the Natchez, Du Pratz wrote that the chief was transported some distance from the main plaza to the clearing where the maize ceremony was to be held. Temporary cabins were constructed for the Sun and the war chief at the side of the sacred granary. The chief's cabin was on an artificial mound 2 feet high (Swanton, 1911, 114). Dumont (Swanton, 1911, 118-119) mentioned these temporary cabins at the same ceremony, placing them about $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from the village. He said that the chief's cabin was more ornate than the others but mentioned no mound.

In this instance at least one informant noticed an insignificant mound because of its function in a seasonally important ceremony, which also seems to support the thesis that mounds were not in themselves notable to observers, but only when marked by some special case. Even then they were not often recognized.

French opinion that the Natchez had two mounds for the chief's house and temple becomes weighted with more significance, when information from the rest of the Lower Mississippi Valley for the same historic period indicates an absence of mounds. The contrast between historical and archeological data of the French period and those for the De Soto period, when such mounds were in general use by nearly all the Lower Valley tribes, is marked. It also enhances the importance of the two house mounds identified at Fatherland. Under the circumstances the unexplained presence of Mound A seems to be a minimal factor. All three mounds at Fatherland were built within the span of Natchez occupation. Before radio-carbon dates were available (see p. 86) for the various mound strata, it was speculated that the occupation span for the Fatherland Site was probably no longer than 100 years prior to 1682. There is good reason to believe, if it be assumed that the dates are correct, that the Natchez occupation was continuous from at least the early part of the thirteenth century.

The southern position of Mound C within the site proper and its obvious importance in mor-

tuary activities are the main clues that conjoin with history to identify the temple mound. Almost identical floor patterns of a special type of building on each of its two building levels, indicating regularity and duration of the architectural style, provide additional evidence in support of this contention. The position of Mound B on the opposite side of an appropriate plaza area is strong circumstantial evidence that it was the chief's mound. Building patterns different from the pattern of the temple, but consistent throughout the three early phases and probably the final stage, indicate special and important utilization of this structure. They do not contradict what we would expect to find for the chief's house. The fourth and final phases of both mounds represent utilization in historic times. The preceding stages were prehistoric.

If we allow a normal degree of inconsistency in the testimony of the French observers, there can be little doubt that history and archeology are virtually in accord and that the site and mounds have been correctly identified. The analysis and comparison of specific details of building size and form produce troublesome and sometimes unanswerable questions. The discrepancies in estimates of size of the chief's house and the temple are understandable; it is improbable that the observers actually measured the buildings. Why the descriptions of structural form are so diverse is not nearly so clear. Conceivably the various details of architectural form that were described should lend themselves to precise observation and reporting. The variations, especially where the temple is concerned, might be attributed to alterations or additions that were made at intervals between the visits of French observers. However, the similarity of groundplans for the three consecutive structures found on Building Levels 1 and 2 indicates that the architecture of the temple was stable and persisted unchanged for a considerable time from the prehistoric throughout the historic period.

Quimby (1957, 160) has commented on the same general problem relative to the Bayougoula. He concluded that ethno-historical data are valuable on a more abstract level and in a more general context, but were not so useful when searching out certain particulars. In the present study we are forced to agree with him when assessing the degree of conformity be-

tween history and archeology. Caution seems to be imperative when major complex archeological problems revolve around supposedly irrefragable historical data. The usual lament is that both classes of evidence are too meager. One difficulty in the Natchez situation seems to rest with the presence of too many historical cooks. These even fail individually when pressed for particulars.

Conclusions concerning the burial patterns

manifested at Mound C may seem to have been driven to extremes. I am driven to this for want of other more positive determinations. Up to the limit that I think we can say that possibly seven individuals identified in the historical records are probably present among the 26 burials discovered, the ground is fairly solid. Beyond this point I can only plead lack of restraint and coming of age under the influence of the Holmesian tradition.

APPENDIX 1. BURIALS AND ASSOCIATIONS

BURIAL 1

- Find 7. Fatherland Plain bottle, 1.0 foot north of skull (Fig. 21m)
- Find 8. Natchez Incised bowl, 1.0 foot northwest of skull (Fig. 19h)
- Find 11. Blue glass beads

BURIAL 2

- Find 10, 16. Fatherland Incised bowl, 0.5 foot east of skull (Fig. 19b)

BURIAL 3

- Find 15. Fatherland Incised bowl (Fig. 19a)
- Find 17. Scroll-incised water bottle
- Find 27a, b, c. Blue glass beads
- Find 27d. Medium-sized blue glass beads
- Find 27e. Shell pin (Pl. 12 ll)
- Find 27f. 18 brass sleigh bells, brass button, earplug

BURIAL 4

- Find 27g, h. Two medallions (Fig. 17a; Pl. 14g)
- Find 28b, c. Large blue beads at throat
- Find 28e. Small blue and white beads, left ear
- Find 28f. Thimble, left ear (Pl. 14h)
- Find 29. Red incised bowl
- Find 76. Fatherland Incised bottle, east of lower leg (Fig. 20e)

BURIAL 5

- Find 36. Hatchet, right of face
- Find 37. Discoidal, in front of skull
- Find 38. Discoidal, to right of skull
- Find 39. Copper disk gorget

BURIAL 6

- Find 40. Fatherland Incised bowl (Fig. 19i)
- Find 41. Plain black bottle
- Find 42. Addis Plain bowl, above skull (Fig. 21f)
- Find 57. Plaquemine Brushed jar
- Find 58. Fatherland Incised jar (Fig. 20 l)
- Find 59. Fatherland Incised jar, pedestal base (Fig. 20a)
- Find 60. Natchez Incised bowl, pedestal base, red-filmed between incisions (Fig. 20n)
- Find 61. Plaquemine Brushed jar
- Find 62. Plain jar
- Find 63. Plain jar
- Find 67. Plain bowl or plate

BURIAL 7

- Find 50. Hinge, hasp, lock
- Find 49a. Three iron and copper C-bracelets, on forearm bones
- Find 49b. Two wire rings, on phalanx (Pl. 14c)
- Find 49c. Four coils iron wire $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter

BURIAL 8

- Find 43. Hardy Incised jar (Fig. 21a)
- Find 44. Fatherland Plain bowl (Fig. 21i)
- Find 48. Natchez Incised bowl (Fig. 19c)
- Find 51. Four strands of beads
- Find 51d. Beads (Pl. 15d)

BURIAL 9

- Find 53. Fatherland Incised jar
- Find 54. Fatherland Incised bowl (Fig. 19f)
- Find 55. Fatherland Incised bowl, red-painted (Fig. 19g)
- Find 56. Fatherland Incised bottle (Fig. 20i)
- Find 72. Silver sleigh bell
- Find 73. Glass beads (Pl. 15j) near vessels
- Find 77. Beads

BURIAL 10

- Find 33. Fatherland Incised bowl, right of skull (Fig. 19o)
- Find 34. Fatherland Incised water bottle, right of skull (Fig. 20d)

BURIAL 11

- Find 78a, b. White beads (Pl. 15c, f)
- Find 74. Ringed iron rod (Pl. 16h)

BURIAL 12

- Find 75. Medium-sized blue beads

BURIAL 13

- Find 80. Nails, tacks, beads, lock, hinge, piece of buckle

BURIAL 14

- Find 84. Fatherland Incised bowl (Fig. 21 m)
- Find 85. Incised vessel
- Find 86. Fatherland Incised bottle (Fig. 21k)
- Find 89a. White beads
- Find 89b. Small blue beads
- Find 89c. Twenty brass bells

BURIAL 15

- Find 79. Kaolin pipe, at feet (Pl. 13j)
- Find 91. Brass dutch oven (Pl. 16g)
- Find 92. Faience pitcher (Pl. 16d)
- Find 93. Tinned brass pan (Pl. 16c)
- Find 94. Three-legged iron pot Pl.16f)
- Find 95. Manchac Incised jar (Fig. 21c)
- Find 96. Faience bowl (Pl. 16a)
- Find 97. Iron ring
- Find 98. Fatherland Plain bottle (Fig. 21k)
- Find 99. Flintlock pistol
- Find 100. Wooden chest, 1 foot square
- Find 100a. Small penknives (Pl. 13bb)

- Find 100b. Brass dressing pins (package) 15/16 inch long, round heads in rows
 Find 100c. Four iron buckles, two missing (Pl. 13jj)
 Find 100d. Three iron coil springs, one brass spring, three missing (Pl. 14a)
 Find 100e. Two brass wires with loops on end, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long
 Find 100f. Three discoidals, two biconvex, one concave-convex, two present (Pl. 12i, n)
 Find 100g. Two lumps of galena
 Find 100h. Triangular projectile point
 Find 100i. Two chipped flints (gun flints?)
 Find 100j. Curved iron plate (Pl. 13cc)
 Find 100k. Hatchet, four inches long (Pl. 14y)
 Find 100l. Two copper points, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long
 Find 100m. Conical tinklers (Pl. 14n)
 Find 100n. White beads
 Find 100o. Buttons (Pl. 14i)
 Find 100p. Iron scraper
 Find 101. Small box, mica-plated
 Find 102. Iron hoe (Pl. 14w)
 Find 104a. White beads, blue stripes (Pl. 15h)
 Find 104b. Black beads (Pl. 15i)
 Find 118. Red pigment

BURIAL 16

- Find 105. Natchez Incised bottle
 Find 106. Fatherland Plain bowl (Fig. 21h)
 Find 107. Medium blue trade beads and an iron knife blade

BURIAL 17

- Find 26. Hinge and nail
 Find 108. Silver spoon, at right ear (Fig. 18; Pl. 14p)
 Find 109. Two silver and two brass bells, at right ear (Pl. 14e, d)
 Find 110. Blue beads, over throat
 Find 111. Decorated bowl fragment

BURIAL 18

- Find 112. Bowl or saucer, interior and exterior incised, left of head (Fig. 21b)
 Find 113. Fatherland Incised jar on pedestal base, red paint in lines, right of skull (Fig. 20b)
 Find 119. Emerald Engraved pedestal bowl, left of skull

BURIAL 19

- Find 90. Plain cup
 Find 114a. Four seal rings and three more rings, one foot nearby (Fig. 17b, c; Pl. 14b)
 Find 114b. One pebble
 Find 114c. One whetstone (Pl. 12o)
 Find 115. Stone palette (Pl. 12d)
 Find 116. Fatherland Incised bowl (Fig. 19d)
 Find 117. Fatherland Plain teapot, red slip (Fig. 21o)
 Find 121. Beads, white, pink, and blue stripes
 Find 121. Two strings white beads (Pl. 15l)

- Find 122. Natchez Incised bowl (Fig. 19j)
 Find 123. Fatherland Plain bottle (Fig. 21 l)

BURIAL 20

- Find 120. Greenish beads, at neck (Pl. 15e)

BURIALS 21, 22, 23, 24, AND 25 (ASSOCIATED WITH BURIAL 13)

- Find 80. Nails, tacks, beads, lock, piece of buckle (Find 80 and two hinges, Find 32)

BURIAL 26

- Find 311. Iron tack
 Find 311. Pebble

MISSING ARTIFACTS

BURIAL 1

- Find 1. Fatherland incised bottle
 Find 11. Blue beads
 Find 12. Brass band
 Find 13. Lead bullet
 Find 17. Scroll-incised water bottle (Natchez Historical Society)
 Find 19. Iron scraps and spike

BURIAL 10

- Find 25a. Water bottle fragment
 Find 25b. Bowl
 Find 26. Hinge and nail

BURIAL 3

- Find 27a. Glass beads
 Find 27b. Glass beads
 Find 27c. Glass beads

BURIAL 4

- Find 28b. Glass beads
 Find 28c, e. Glass beads (Natchez Historical Society)
 Find 29. Incised bowl, red-painted
 Find 32. Two hinges

BURIAL 5

- Find 36. Iron ax (Natchez Historical Society)
 Find 37. Discoidal
 Find 38. Discoidal
 Find 39. Copper gorget
 Find 41. Plain bottle
 2622-45. Plain bowl (2524-45 is present)
 Find 48. Natchez Incised bowl

BURIAL 7

- Find 49a. Thirteen iron and brass C-bracelets (field form) (12 in old catalogue 2582-49a)
 Find 49b. One finger ring
 Find 49c. Four coils of iron wire ($2\frac{1}{8}$ inches diameter) (two to Natchez Historical Society)
 Find 50. Hasp, hinge, and nails

BURIAL 8

Find 51a, c. Blue, medium-sized, glass beads
(Natchez Historical Society)

BURIAL 6

Find 53. Fatherland Incised jar (Natchez Historical
Society)

Find 57. Plaquemine Brushed jar

Find 61. Plaquemine Brushed jar

Find 62. Plain jar

Find 67. Plain bowl

Find 68. Glass beads (Natchez Historical Society)

BURIAL 9

Find 72. Silver sleigh bell

BURIAL 12

Find 75. Blue glass beads

BURIAL 9

Find 77. Blue glass beads

BURIAL 13

Find 80. Nails, tacks, and hardware

Find 83. Plain bowl (Natchez Historical Society)

Find 85. Incised jar

BURIAL 14

Find 89a. White glazed beads (Natchez Historical
Society)

Find 89c. Copper bells, 20 in field catalogue, 13 in
old catalogue (2596-89c)

BURIAL 19

Find 90. Plain cup

BURIAL 15

Find 97. Iron ring

Find 99. Flintlock pistol

Find 100. Wood chest

Find 100b. Brass dressing pins in folder

Find 100e. Brass wire, loops at end

Find 100g. Two lumps of galena

Find 100h. Triangular projectile point

Find 100i. Two gun flints

Find 100l. Two copper projectile points

Find 101b. Mica from small box

Find 105. Natchez Incised bottle

Find 107. Knife blade and beads

Find 109a. Silver bell

Find 110. Blue glass beads

Find 111. Decorated bowl fragment

Find 118. Red pigment

BURIAL 18

Find 119. Plain jar

BURIAL 19

Find 121. White, pink, and blue beads

Find 126b. Glass beads

Find 2617-B. Quartz crystal

APPENDIX 2. ANALYSIS OF THE FAUNAL REMAINS OF THE FATHERLAND SITE

CHARLES E. CLELAND, JR.

University of Michigan

THE FATHERLAND SITE, a late Mississippian site, was inhabited at the time of white contact in the Lower Mississippi Valley. Recently, this site has been identified with the Grand Village of the Natchez which was described in some detail by Du Pratz and other early French travelers. It has also been suggested that the people who lived on the Fatherland Site may have been in contact with the De Soto expedition which passed down the Mississippi River in the spring of 1543. A possible way to document Spanish contact during this early period would be to demonstrate the presence of European domestic animals, i.e., swine or horses in the archeological remains of the pre-French period. Therefore, one of the principal objectives of this study is to investigate the presence of domestic stock as evidence of European contact. Another excellent opportunity presents itself in the comparison of the ethnographic accounts of Natchez subsistence activities with the animal bones recovered in the archeological excavations. Since these animal bones represent the remains of food animals, they can be compared with the accounts of the animals hunted, the hunting technique, and the preservation and distribution of the food.

Animal bone was recovered from a series of strata cuts through three mounds, here designated as Mounds A, B, and C. While some of the bone was recovered from mound fill, a much larger proportion came from shallow trash deposits encountered at various levels throughout the mounds. Neither large concentrations of refuse debris nor refuse pits were observed. The greatest quantity of bone came from midden deposits marginal to Mound B on which was the residence of the great Sun.

In general, the bone, though largely fragmentary, was well preserved. In view of the total area excavated, animal bones were not present in great quantity. All bone, except for rib and vertebrae fragments, was identified to the lowest possible taxon, which in most cases was to the specific level. Because of the small sample of bone recovered from the three mounds and the lack of variety of species, a level-by-level analy-

sis of the fauna did not seem to be warranted.

The various species recovered from the three mounds at the Fatherland Site are listed in Table 1. Ecologically these species are divisible into two groups, those most closely associated with lightly forested and brushy upland areas and those with a preference for moist bottomlands or aquatic situations. The deer, cottontail rabbit, and fox squirrel are most frequently found in the upland situation, while the swamp rabbit, gray squirrel, gray fox, opossum, and beaver prefer moist bottom areas. The birds, turtles, and, of course, fish are all species that either prefer or are restricted to aquatic or semi-aquatic situations. To be sure, this division is not a strict dichotomy, because the deer, cottontail rabbit, box turtle, gray fox, and black bear are often found in both ecological situations. In most cases, however, they seem to be more common in one environment or in the other. From this type of habitat grouping, it seems quite obvious that this faunal assemblage is strongly associated with a riverine situation. As we have seen, most of the mammals prefer bottomland, and the birds are all aquatic species. Though the box turtle occurs in relatively dry places, it is much more common in damp environments; the cooters or sliders, or both, are aquatic species. Most, if not all, of the fish belong to species that prefer large, slow-moving streams or sloughs. It follows, therefore, that river and river-valley resources were most frequently exploited. The apparent exceptions, the deer, cottontail rabbit, and fox squirrel, though important in the subsistence economy, do not seem to outweigh the ecological preference of the faunal assemblage as a whole.

Except for the presence of the mallard duck and the geese, there is little evidence of seasonality in the faunal remains. Both of these birds would be present only during the winter period; all other species were available throughout the year.

Several species are conspicuous by their absence from this faunal assemblage, particularly so in the light of their presence on other late Mississippian sites. Most notable of these

TABLE 1
 OCCURRENCE AND FREQUENCY OF IDENTIFIED SPECIES BY PROVENIENCE UNIT

Species	Mound B 0-300	Mound C 300-600	Mound A 600+	Unknown Pro- venience	Total Bone Fragments
Deer (<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>)	138	56	10	19	223
Cottontail (<i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i>)	10	—	—	—	10
Swamp rabbit (<i>Sylvilagus aquaticus</i>)	2	—	—	—	2
Fox squirrel (<i>Sciurus niger</i>)	2	—	—	—	2
Gray squirrel (<i>Sciurus carolinensis</i>)	6	1	—	2	9
Beaver (<i>Castor canadensis</i>)	1	—	—	—	1
Gray fox (<i>Urocyon cinereoargenteus</i>)	1	—	—	—	1
Opossum (<i>Didelphis virginiana</i>)	—	3	—	—	3
Black bear (<i>Ursus americanus</i>)	—	—	5	—	5
Dog (<i>Canis familiaris</i>)	—	1	—	—	1
Cow (<i>Bos taurus</i>)	3	1	—	—	4
Pig (<i>Sus scrofa</i>)	—	1	—	—	1
Blue or snow goose (<i>Chen</i> sp.)	16	—	1	1	18
Double-crested cormorant (<i>Phalacrocorax auritus</i>)	4	1	—	1	6
Wood duck (<i>Aix sponsa</i>)	4	—	—	—	4
Mallard duck (<i>Anas platyrhynchos</i>)	4	1	—	—	5
Crane (<i>Grus</i> sp.)	1	—	—	—	1
Cooter or slider (<i>Pseudemys</i> sp.)	5	2	3	—	10
Box turtle (<i>Terrapene carolina</i>)	—	1	—	—	1
Alligator gar (<i>Lepisosteus spatula</i>)	67	16	2	5	90
Long-nosed gar (<i>Lepisosteus osseus</i>)	1	—	—	—	1
Fresh-water drum (<i>Aplodinotus grunniens</i>)	2	1	—	1	4
Black buffalofish (<i>Ictiobus niger</i>)	3	1	—	1	5
Largemouth bass (<i>Micropterus salmoides</i>)	1	—	—	—	1
Shovelnose sturgeon (<i>Scaphirhynchus platorhynchus</i>)	1	—	—	—	1
Flathead catfish (<i>Pylodictis olivaris</i>)	—	1	—	1	2
Totals	272	87	21	31	411
Per cent of total	66.5	20.9	5.1	7.5	

species are the raccoon and turkey, especially the latter, which according to Du Pratz (1758, vol. 1, 220-221) were successfully hunted with dogs. The reasons for the absence of the remains of these species are open to conjecture.

Most of the fish bones recovered from the Fatherland Site are from very large individuals, especially one of the alligator gar which appears to have weighed about 200 pounds. According to Du Pratz (1758, vol. 2, 165), large fish were killed with an arrow which was attached by a cord to a large wooden float thus preventing the fish from diving or becoming lost. Another way in which such large fish may have been caught was to take them from shallow pools left by receding flood waters. In addition to turkeys, Du Pratz (1758, vol. 1, 152) wrote that "among the birds they eat all the aquatic kinds." Judged from the bird remains at this site, this statement can perhaps be taken almost literally,

inasmuch as none other than aquatic birds were recovered.

Another very interesting feature of this site is the peculiar representation of various skeletal elements of the deer in Mound B. Cranial elements, such as skull fragments, teeth, antler fragments, and mandibles, and ribs and vertebrae were absent or very scarce, but the bones of the upper forelimbs and hind limbs were very numerous. The bones of the lower forelimbs and hind limbs of deer were also scarce. A summary of the occurrence of some of the various skeletal elements follows:

	NUMBER OF FRAGMENTS
Mandibles and skull	4
Scapula and pelvis	14
Humerus and femur	34
Ulna-radius and tibia	61
Metacarpals and metatarsals	4
Astragalus-calcaneum	7

The absence of many mandible and metatarsal-metacarpal (cannon bones) fragments is especially noteworthy, since these are usually among the most numerous deer remains found on aboriginal sites. Clearly, the deer remains from Mound B represent a selection of the fore and hind quarters of deer which were not butchered at Mound B. This peculiar distribution may represent at least two different circumstances: that deer were killed at a distance from the site and that, most frequently, only the quarters were brought back to the Mound; that some person or group of persons was consistently receiving the parts of the deer represented by these limb elements. Du Pratz lends some support to both theories. In describing a communal deer hunt, he (1758, vol. 2, 69-73) wrote as follows:

Having seized the deer they present it to the great Sun, if he is present, or to that one he has sent to give him this pleasure. When he has seen it at his feet and has said, "It is good," the hunters cut open the deer and bring it back in quarters to the cabin of the Great Sun who distributes it to the leaders of the band who have gone on this hunt.

Later, in discussing the preservation and cooking of meat he made the following statement (1758, vol. 3, 10-12):

That the meat may keep during the time they are hunting and that it may serve as nourishment for their families for a certain time, the men during the chase have all the flesh of thighs, shoulders, and most of the fleshy parts smoked.

Thus it seems likely that the deer remains from Mound B represent those parts of the deer which had been preserved and which were perhaps presented to the great Sun.

Since these remains come from the ceremonial

edifices, they are difficult to evaluate in terms of the over-all Mississippian or even Natchez subsistence pattern. One can question whether or not these remains are "typical." Would the same remains be recovered from a less prominent structure? Perhaps they represent species consumed during mound construction or by a small number of officials who resided on the mound itself. If the latter supposition can be proved, would these same species be present in the same quantity near the dwellings of people of lower status? Status taboos may account for the absence of bison and turkey in the mounds. According to Du Pratz, these species were frequently hunted. These questions will probably remain unanswered. However, it does not seem likely that there were great differences in the kinds of food consumed by the various status groups of Natchez society. There may, however, have been some differences in the quantity of food used by these groups.

The total amount of both identified and unidentifiable mammal, bird, turtle, and fish bones is listed by provenience unit in Table 2. Here we see that 73 per cent of all bones came from Mound B and that 77 per cent of the total bone is from mammals. Table 3 presents the number of identified bones of each species and the per cent of both the total identified bones and the total identified bones of each class. Thus we see that deer comprise 54 per cent of all identified bones, but 84 per cent of all the identified mammal bones. The only other numerous remains are those of the alligator gar which represents 21 per cent of the total bones and 86 per cent of all the fish. The fact that deer represent only 54 per cent of the total bones does not seem to conform with higher percentages of deer on other Mississippian sites, but

TABLE 2
TOTAL NUMBER OF BONES AND PERCENTAGE OF ALL BONES BY PROVENIENCE UNIT

Provenience Units	Mammal	Per Cent of Mammal	Bird	Per Cent of Bird	Turtle	Per Cent of Turtle	Fish	Per Cent of Fish	Totals	Per Cent of Total Bone of Each Unit
Mound B, 0-300	909	75.02	73	6.01	53	4.36	177	14.59	1212	73.69
Mound C, 300-600	261	84.46	9	2.91	10	3.23	29	9.38	309	18.77
Mound A, 600+	78	92.85	1	1.19	3	3.57	2	2.38	84	5.10
Unknown	21	52.50	2	5.00	—	0	17	42.50	40	2.43
Totals	1270		85		66		225		1646	99.99
Per cent of total Bone of each class	77.15		5.16		4.00		13.66			99.97

TABLE 3
PER CENT OF THE TOTAL IDENTIFIED BONES OF EACH SPECIES

Species	Total Number of Bones	Per Cent of the Total Number Bones	Per Cent of the Total Bones of Each Class
Mammals			
Deer	223	54.12	84.79
Cottontail rabbit	10	2.42	3.80
Swamp rabbit	2	0.48	0.76
Fox squirrel	2	0.48	0.76
Gray squirrel	9	2.18	3.42
Beaver	1	0.24	0.38
Gray fox	1	0.24	0.38
Opossum	3	0.72	1.14
Black bear	5	1.21	1.90
Dog	1	0.24	0.38
Cow	4	1.21	1.90
Pig	1	0.24	0.38
Total, mammal	262	63.78	99.99
Birds			
Blue or snow goose	18	4.36	52.94
Double-crested cormorant	6	1.45	17.64
Wood duck	4	0.97	11.76
Mallard duck	5	1.21	14.70
Crane	1	0.24	2.94
Total, bird	34	8.23	99.98
Amphibians			
Cooter or slider turtle	10	2.42	90.90
Box turtle	1	0.24	9.09
Total, amphibians	11	2.66	99.99
Fish			
Alligator gar	90	21.84	86.53
Long-nosed gar	1	.24	.96
Fresh-water drum	4	.97	3.84
Black buffalofish	5	1.21	4.80
Largemouth bass	1	.24	.96
Shovelnose sturgeon	1	.24	.96
Flathead catfish	2	.48	1.92
Total, fish	104	25.22	99.97
Grand total	411	99.89	

this condition can obviously be attributed to the large number of alligator gar remains. Swanton (1911, 58) wrote that Natchez war arrows were armed with the scales of this fish. Because of intraspecific differences in the size and weight, the relative importance of each species must be assessed in terms of the amount of meat provided by that species. The amount of usable meat of each species, based on figures adapted from White (1953), is presented in Table 4. Of the species recovered, deer provide 68 per cent of the total quantity of meat (1575 pounds). Gar provide 13 per cent, and bear 9

per cent, so that all the other species combined provide only about 10 per cent of the total. We must remember, however, that these figures pertain only to the total quantity of meat, not the total food consumed. Since cultivated plant foods probably constituted about 80 per cent of the diet, the products of the hunt played a minor supplementary role in the over-all subsistence economy.

Only five skeletal elements of European domestic species were recovered. Three of these (a molar, second phalanx, and fragments of a tibia) were from a single cow. These bones were

TABLE 4
AMOUNT OF USABLE MEAT PROVIDED BY EACH SPECIES*

Species	Minimum Number of Individuals	Average Live Weight	Per Cent of Usable Meat	Pounds of Usable Meat per Individual	Total Pounds of Meat of Species	Per Cent of Total Meat
Deer	21	150	50	75	1575.0	67.97
Cottontail rabbit	3	3.5	50	1.75	5.25	0.22
Swamp rabbit	2	4.5	50	2.25	4.50	0.19
Fox squirrel	2	2	75	1.50	3.00	0.12
Gray squirrel	4	1	75	0.75	3.00	0.12
Beaver	1	55	70	38.5	38.50	1.66
Gray fox	1	9	50	4.5	4.50	0.19
Opossum	2	12	70	8.5	17.00	0.73
Black bear	1	300	70	210	210.00	9.06
Dog	1	30	50	20	20.00	0.86
Blue or snow goose	5	5	70	3.5	17.50	0.75
Cormorant	4	4.5	70	3.2	12.80	0.55
Wood duck	2	1.5	70	1	2.00	0.08
Mallard duck	2	2.5	70	1.75	3.50	0.15
Crane	1	?	—	—	—	—
Cooter or slider	5	5 ?	20	1.0	5.0	0.21
Box turtle	1	2.5?	20	0.5	0.5	0.02
Alligator gar	6	100	50	50	300.00	12.94
Long-nosed gar	1	3	50	1.5	1.50	0.06
Fresh-water drum	3	10	80	8	24.00	1.03
Black buffalofish	3	10	80	8	24.00	1.03
Largemouth bass	1	3	80	2.4	2.40	0.10
Shovelnose sturgeon	1	4	80	3.2	3.20	0.14
Flathead catfish	2	25	80	20	40.00	1.72
Totals					2317.15	99.90

* Adapted from White, 1953.

weathered and well bleached, suggesting that they are of very recent origin. The scapula of a cow was embedded in outwash soil from Phase II of Mound C. The other element (344C) was an incisor of a domestic pig. This tooth was recovered from the S640-650, W310-320 section of Mound C at least 2.5 feet beneath its present surface. Materials that have been outwashed from both the third and fourth phases of the construction of Mound C were found in this level. The fourth phase represents the French colonial epoch, while the third phase dates from the pre-French period. Unfortunately, the exact temporal provenience of this incisor will always be in doubt. It was cut from the mandible with three knife strokes in the same manner as that used by other aboriginal peoples to remove beaver incisors (Fig. 16a, b). Except for this single artifact, there is no evidence that the Natchez kept or had access to

any European domestic animals. To the best of my knowledge, the only solid ethnographic account of European domestic animals among the Natchez was that of the chickens described by Dumont (1753, vol. 1, 153). There seems to be little additional evidence for the introduction of European stock, although several species, including pigs, may have been present. It appears, therefore, that there is no overwhelming evidence for placing the incisor in either the Spanish or French periods; it could well belong in either.

SUMMARY

1. Twenty-six animal species were identified from the Fatherland Site. All, except three species, are those that occur most often in moist bottomland or aquatic situations.
2. Upland deer hunting was the most important aspect of the hunting economy, although

bottomland and aquatic species were probably exploited more often.

3. The deer remains from Mound B demonstrate a selection for those parts represented by the fore and hind quarters of the deer. This selection is attributed to preservation technique and perhaps to distribution according to status position within the society.

4. Aside from some recent cow bones the only evidence of European domestic animals was a pig incisor and the scapula of a cow from Mound C. Although the incisor is an artifact of Indian manufacture, it cannot be assigned with any certainty to either the Spanish or the French period.

APPENDIX 3. PLANT REMAINS FROM THE GRAND VILLAGE OF THE NATCHEZ

HUGH C. CUTLER

Missouri Botanical Garden and Washington University

CORN

FIND 372: From old surface beneath Mound C. The 21 measurable fragments from Find 372 are typical for corn from about the 1500's along the Mississippi near the Ohio River and for much of the State of Mississippi. They are similar to specimens from several other sites of nearly the same age in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Arkansas. There is no definite indication of mixture with corn brought in by the French.

Six cobs represent the Eastern Flints, usually eight-rowed, with very little mixture with the older many-rowed, small-cobbed race. Fourteen cobs are Central States intermediate forms, hybrids resulting from a mixture of the older many-rowed corn and the post-1100 eight-rowed race. A single cob fragment represents the older corn which was still being grown, but in smaller amounts, and was modified so that the cob is slightly larger, and very few of the older 14-rowed ears are still to be found.

Studies of corn from a large number of sites in the central and southeastern United States, most of them from north of the Natchez Site, show that prior to about 1100 A.D. most corn in this area, with the possible exception of the east coast, and Georgia and Florida, probably had 12 to 14 rows of rather small grains on small cobs. After about 1100 A.D. a race of large-cobbed, eight-rowed corn came in and hybridized with some of the older corn. This race apparently was present in Georgia, parts of Alabama, and northern Florida long before 1100 A.D. and was present in the southwest before 700 A.D. To the north, on the Rock and Illinois rivers, this eight-rowed race became dominant. Southward it was less dominant, and there are increasing amounts of the older, smaller-cobbed, and more-rowed corn. A complete explanation of the source, path of move-

ment, and time of introduction of eight-rowed corn into the central and eastern United States cannot be made until we have more collections, especially from the south and southeast.

The small-cobbed, small-grained, and 14-rowed ears which were early in the Plains and in many central Mississippi Valley sites may not have spread into the far southeast. Corn with 14 rows of grains and more does not appear to have come into that region until after Europeans arrived, bringing many-rowed corn from the Caribbean or Mexico.

FIND 327: From Building Level 1, Mound C. There are three measurable fragments from Find 327. This sample is so small that valid conclusions cannot be drawn, but it is likely that these three 12-rowed fragments represent a small lot of a special variety of corn similar to the older kinds grown at this site. Out of the 21 cob fragments from Find 372, only a single fragment had 12 rows of grains.

SQUASH

FIND 148: From the top of midden Cut 146 adjacent to Mound B. Peduncle (fruit stem) of *Cucurbita moschata*, squash, with expanded base typical of the species. All prehistoric squashes known so far from the southeast are *C. pepo*, and it is likely that *C. moschata* was brought to the southeast from the Caribbean area or Mexico by Europeans.

WILD PLANTS

FIND 312: From Phase IV, Mound C. Fruit of *Juniperus virginiana*, red cedar.

FIND 317: From Phase IV, Mound C. Cane or rush matting (*Scirpus* sp. or *Juncus* sp.).

FIND 387: From outwash, Phase IV, Mound C. Black walnut (*Juglans nigra*), nut.

FIND 610: From mound loading, final mantle of Mound A. Insect gall.

LITERATURE CITED

- ALBRECHT, ANDREW C.
 1944. The location of the historic Natchez villages. *Jour. Mississippi Hist., Mississippi Hist. Soc., Jackson*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 67-88.
 1946. Indian-French relations at Natchez. *Amer. Anthropol., new ser.*, vol. 48, no. 3, pp. 321-354.
 1948. Ethical precepts among the Natchez Indians. *Louisiana Hist. Quart., New Orleans*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 569-595.
- BINFORD, LEWIS R.
 1962. A new method of calculating dates from kaolin pipe stem samples. *Newsletter, Southeastern Archaeol. Conf.*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 19-21. (Mimeographed.)
- BROWN, CALVIN S.
 1926. *Archeology of Mississippi*. University, Mississippi, Mississippi Geological Survey.
- BUTLER, PIERCE
 1948. The unhurried years, memories of the old Natchez region. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press.
- COLLINS, HENRY B., JR.
 1927. Potsherds from Choctaw village sites in Mississippi. *Jour. Washington Acad. Sci.*, vol. 17, no. 10, pp. 259-263.
- COTTER, JOHN L.
 1951. Stratigraphic and area tests at the Emerald and Anna mound sites. *Amer. Antiquity*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 18-32.
 1952. The Gordon site in southern Mississippi. *Ibid.*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 110-126.
- CUTLER, HUGH C.
 1960. Cultivated plant remains from Waterfall Cave, Chihuahua. *Amer. Antiquity*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 277-279.
- DESILVER, CHARLES
 1856. A new map of Mississippi with its roads and distances. Entered according to Act of Congress in year 1856 by Charles Desilver in the clerk's office of the eastern district of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Mississippi Archives Collection.
- DUMONT DE MONTIGNY, LOUIS FRANCOIS BENJAMIN
 1753. *Mémoires historiques sur la Louisiane*. Le Mascrier (ed.). Paris, 2 vols.
- DU PRATZ, ANTOINE S. LE PAGE
 See Le Page du Pratz, Antoine S.
- FISK, HAROLD N.
 1944. Geological investigation of the alluvial valley of the lower Mississippi River. Vicksburg, Mississippi, Mississippi River Commission, no. 52, War Department, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army.
1951. Loess and Quaternary geology of the lower Mississippi valley. *Jour. Geol.*, vol. 59, no. 4, pp. 333-356.
- FORD, JAMES A.
 1936. Analysis of Indian village site collections from Louisiana and Mississippi. *Anthrop. Study, Dept. of Conservation, Louisiana Geol. Surv.*, no. 2.
 1951. Greenhouse: a Troyville-Coles Creek period site in Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana. *Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, vol. 44, pt. 1.
 1952. Measurements of some prehistoric design developments in the southeastern states. *Ibid.*, vol. 44, pt. 3.
 1961. Menard site: the Quapaw village of Oso-touy on the Arkansas River. *Ibid.*, vol. 48, pt. 2.
 1963. Hopewell culture burial mounds near Helena, Arkansas. *Ibid.*, vol. 50, pt. 1.
- FORD, JAMES A., AND GORDON R. WILLEY
 1940. Crooks site, a Marksville period burial mound in La Salle Parish, Louisiana. *Anthrop. Study, Dept. of Conservation, Louisiana Geol. Surv.*, no. 3.
- GREEN, JOHN A.
 1936. Governor Perier's expedition against the Natchez Indians. *Louisiana Hist. Quart.*, vol. 19, no. 3, pp. 547-577.
- GRIFFIN, JAMES B. (ED.)
 1952. *Archeology of eastern United States*. Chicago.
- ILLMAN, THOMAS
 1835. [Map of] Mississippi. Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1835 in the clerk's office of the district for the southern district of New York. Mississippi Archives Collection.
- JENNINGS, JESSE D.
 1941. Chickasaw and earlier Indian cultures of northeast Mississippi. *Jour. Mississippi Hist., Mississippi Hist. Soc., Jackson*, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 155-226.
- LE PAGE DU PRATZ, ANTOINE S.
 1758. *Histoire de la Louisiane*. Paris, 3 vols.
 1774. *History of Louisiana*. London, 3 vols.
 1947. The history of Louisiana or of the western parts of Virginia and Carolina: containing a description of the countries that lie on both sides of the river Mississippi: with an account of the settlement, inhabitants, soil, climate and products. New Orleans, J. S. W. Harmanson.
- LEWIS, THOMAS, M. N., AND MADELINE KNEBERG
 1946. Hiwassee Island: an archaeological ac-

- count of four Tennessee Indian peoples. Knoxville.
- McWILLIAMS, RICHEBORG GAILLARD
1953. *Fleur de lys and calumet*, Penicaut narrative. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press.
- MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION
1774. British land grants along the Mississippi river in 1774. No. 91. From the William Wilton manuscript map. Vicksburg, Mississippi, Files Mississippi River Commission.
1874. Map of a reconnaissance of the Mississippi river, Cairo to New Orleans, Louisiana. No. 52. Vicksburg, Mississippi, War Department, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army. Vidalia, Louisiana, Files Mississippi River Commission.
1938. Map of early stream channels lower Mississippi river. Prepared in the office of the President of the Mississippi River Commission, Vicksburg, Mississippi.
- MITCHELL, S. AUGUSTUS
1846. A new map of Mississippi with its roads and distances. Philadelphia, Mississippi Archives Collection.
- MOOREHEAD, WARREN K.
1932. Exploration of the Etowah site in Georgia. Etowah Papers, I, Dept. Archaeol. Phillips Acad., Andover, Mass.
- NICKERSON, NORTON H.
1953. Variation in cob morphology among certain archaeological and ethnological races of maize. *Ann. Missouri Bot. Garden*, vol. 40, pp. 79-111.
- PHELPS, DAWSON (TRANSLATOR AND EDITOR)
1945. Narrative of the hostilities committed by the Natchez against the Concession of St. Catherine, 1722. Based on a copy of the document G 1.465 in French Colonial Archives, Paris. *Jour. Mississippi Hist., Mississippi Hist. Soc.*, Jackson, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 3-10.
- PHILLIPS, PHILIP, JAMES A. FORD, AND JAMES B. GRIFFIN
1951. Archaeological survey in the lower Mississippi valley, 1940-1947. *Papers Peabody Mus. Amer. Archaeol. Ethnol.*, Harvard Univ., vol. 25.
- PINLEY, A.
1824. [Map] Mississippi. Philadelphia, Mississippi Archives Collection.
- QUIMBY, GEORGE I., JR.
1939. European trade objects as chronological indicators for the archaeology of the historic period in Michigan. *Papers Acad. Sci. Arts and Letters*, vol. 24, pt. 4 [1938], pp. 25-31.
1942. The Natchezan culture type. *Amer. Antiquity*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 255-318.
1946. Natchez social structure as an instrument of assimilation. *Amer. Anthropol.*, new ser., vol. 48, no. 1, pp. 134-137.
1951. The Medora site, West Baton Rouge Parish Louisiana. *Publ. Field Mus. Nat. Hist.*, anthrop. ser., vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 81-135.
1957. The Bayou Goula site, Iberville Parish, Louisiana. *Fieldiana: Anthropol.*, Chicago Nat. Hist. Mus., vol. 47, no. 2.
[n.d.] European trade objects as chronological indicators for the archaeology of the historic period. (Mimeographed.)
- ROWLAND, DUNBAR, AND ALBERT GODFREY SANDERS (EDITORS AND TRANSLATORS)
1932. *Mississippi Provincial Archives 1704-1743*. Jackson, Mississippi, Department of Archives and History, vol. 3.
- RUSSELL, RICHARD J.
1944. Lower Mississippi valley loess. *Bull. Geol. Soc. Amer.*, vol. 55, pp. 1-40.
- SHEA, JOHN GILMARY
1902. *Early voyages up and down the Mississippi*. McDonough edition. Albany.
- SHERMAN, MAJ. GEN. W. T., U.S.A. (COMP.)
1865. Military map. St. Louis. Mississippi Archives Collection.
- SHIPP, BARNARD
1897. *The Indian and antiquities of America*. Philadelphia.
- SUHM, DEE ANN, AND ALEX D. KRIEGER
1954. An introductory handbook of Texas archeology. *Bull. Texas Archeol. Soc.*, vol. 25.
- SWANTON, JOHN R.
1911. Indian tribes of the lower Mississippi valley and adjacent coast of the gulf of Mexico. *Bull. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, no. 43.
1946. The Indians of the southeastern United States. *Ibid.*, no. 137.
1952. The Indian tribes of North America. *Ibid.*, no. 145.
- TANNER, H. P.
ca. 1835. A new map of Mississippi with its roads and distances. Tanner's Universal Atlas. Mississippi Archives Collection.
- WHITE, THEODORE
1953. A method of calculating the dietary percentage of various food animals utilized by aboriginal peoples. *Amer. Antiquity*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 396-398.

CATALOGUE DATA FOR CERTAIN ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrated specimens have been selected from the Mississippi State Historical Museum, a Division of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History; field numbers and permanent accession numbers are those of that institution.

PLATES

10. Incised, brushed, engraved, plain and stamped sherds
 - a. Manchac Incised, Field No. 400 (63.27.70.29)
 - b. Manchac Incised, Field No. 1 (63.27.59.1)
 - c. Manchac Incised, Field No. 623 (63.27.70.31)
 - d. Manchac Incised, Field No. 145D (63.27.70.9)
 - e. Plaquemine Brushed, Field No. 21 (73.27.58)
 - f. Plaquemine Brushed, Field No. 341 (63.27.59.31)
 - g. Plaquemine Brushed, Field No. 405G (63.27.59.39)
 - h. Plaquemine Brushed, Field No. 29 (63.27.59.14)
 - i. Hardy Incised, Field No. 146H (63.27.64.3)
 - j. Hardy Incised, Field No. 29 (63.27.64.14)
 - k. Hardy Incised, Field No. 400 (63.27.61.8)
 - l. Haynes Bluff Plain, Field No. 6A (63.27.60.2)
 - m. Haynes Bluff Plain, Field No. 76 (63.27.62.5)
 - n. Anna Interior Engraved, Field No. 341 (63.27.78.3)
 - o. L'Eau Noir Incised, Field No. 145A (63.27.69.7)
 - p. Harrison Bayou Incised, not recorded
 - q. Dupree Incised, Field No. 384B (63.27.75.2)
 - r. Dupree Incised (63.27.75.1)
 - s. Chevalier Stamped (63.27.76)
 - t. Natchez Incised, Field No. 623 (63.27.72.26)
 - u. Natchez Incised, Field No. 51K (63.27.72.7)
 - v. Natchez Incised, Field No. 750 (63.27.72.8)
 - w. Fatherland Incised, Field No. 146C (63.27.69.9)
 - x. Natchez Incised, Field No. 320A (63.27.72.14)
 - y. Fatherland Incised, Field No. 335A (63.27.69.22)
 - z. Natchez Incised, Field No. 89T (63.27.72.10)
 - aa. Fatherland Incised, Field No. 146B (63.27.69.8)
 - bb. Fatherland Incised, Field No. 602 (63.27.69.27)
 - cc. Fatherland Incised, Field No. 146C (63.27.69.9)
 - dd. Bayou Goula Incised, Field No. 349A (63.27.64.9)
 - ee. Bayou Goula Incised, Field No. 144 (63.27.69.1)
 - ff. Bayou Goula Incised, Field No. 51K (63.27.64.4)
 - gg. Bayou Goula Incised, Field No. 623 (63.27.64.8)
 - hh. Unclassified, Field No. 320B (63.27.67.30)
 - ii. Bayou Goula Incised, Field No. 892 (63.27.64.2)
 - jj. Bayou Goula Incised, Field No. 332A (63.27.64.7)
 - kk. Bayou Goula Incised, Field No. 76 (63.27.67.14)
11. Punctated, unclassified, and engraved sherds
 - a. Nachitoches Engraved, Field No. 51H (63.27.80)
 - b. Wilkinson Punctated, not recorded
 - c. Wilkinson Punctated (63.27.66.9)
 - d. Wilkinson Punctated, Field No. 301C (63.27.66.4)
 - e. Wilkinson Punctated, Field No. 410 (63.27.66.13)
 - f. Wilkinson Punctated, Field No. 326B (63.27.66.5)
 - g. Wilkinson Punctated, Field No. 307E (63.27.66.3)
 - h. Wilkinson Punctated, Field No. 364B (63.27.66.10)
 - i. Wilkinson Punctated, Field No. 399 (63.27.66.11)
 - j. Wilkinson Punctated, Field No. 89V (63.27.67.16)
 - k. Unclassified, Field No. 344 (63.27.67.36)
 - l. Unclassified, Field No. 146H (63.27.67.25)
 - m. Unclassified, Field No. 890 (63.27.61.2)
 - n. Unclassified, Field No. 341 (63.27.67.33)
 - o. Unclassified, Field No. 146D (63.27.67.24)
 - p. Unclassified, Field No. 349A (63.27.64.9)
 - q. Unclassified, Field No. 20 (63.27.70)
 - r. Unclassified, Field No. 89W (63.27.67.17)
 - s. Unclassified, Field No. 89Z (63.27.67.18)
 - t. Unclassified, Field No. 51N (63.27.67.8)
 - u. Unclassified, Field No. 89AA (63.27.67.19)
 - v. Unclassified, Field No. 24 (63.27.67.5)
 - w. Unclassified, Field No. 145C (63.27.70.10)
 - x. Unclassified, Field No. 50A (63.27.67.7)
 - y. Unclassified, Field No. 307B (63.27.67.27)

- z. Unclassified, Field No. 75Q (63.27.67.12)
 - aa. Unclassified, Field No. 89BB (63.27.67.20)
 - bb. Unclassified, Field No. 2 (63.27.67.1)
 - cc. Unclassified, Field No. 3G (63.27.67.3)
 - dd. Unclassified, Field No. 324A (63.27.64.10)
 - ee. Unclassified, Field No. 326B (63.27.64.11)
 - ff. Unclassified, Field No. 334B (63.27.65.53)
 - gg. Unclassified, Field No. 341 (63.27.65.55)
 - hh. Emerald Engraved, Field No. 145K-L (63.27.65.36)
 - ii. Emerald Engraved, Field No. 329 (63.27.65.49)
 - jj. Emerald Engraved, Field No. 169 (63.27.65.42)
 - kk. Emerald Engraved, Field No. 161 (63.27.65.41)
 - ll. Emerald Engraved, Field No. 6F (63.27.65.4)
 - mm. Emerald Engraved, Field No. 161 (63.27.65.41)
 - nn. Emerald Engraved, Field No. 172 (63.27.65.43)
12. Stone, bone, and shell tools
- a. Hammerstone, Field No. 75V (63.27.40.2)
 - b. Whetstone, Field No. 146B (63.27.40.4)
 - c. Whetstone, Field No. 101A (61.753.14)
 - d. Paint palette fragment, Field No. 115-6 (61.753.32)
 - e. Polished stone fragment, Field No. 16A (63.27.40.1)
 - f. Whetstone, Field No. 91 (63.27.37)
 - g. Chipped scraper, Field No. 62 (63.27.8.1)
 - h. Fragment of polished stone blade, Field No. 310 (63.27.40.5)
 - i. Stone concretion, Field No. 100F (61.753.76)
 - j. Whetstone, Field No. 351 (63.27.46.7)
 - k. Chipped scraper, Field No. 614 (63.27.8.2)
 - l. Quartz crystal, Field No. 400 (63.27.12.1)
 - m. Chipped celt (62.176.1)
 - n. Concave-convex discoidal (61.753.76)
 - o. Whetstone, Field No. 115A (61.753.15)
 - p. Polished stone bar (63.27.40.6)
 - q. Fragment of polished stone celt (62.176.2)
 - r. Chipped side scraper, Field No. 386 (63.27.40.8)
 - s. Stemmed projectile point, Field No. 406 (63.27.7.7)
 - t. Stemmed projectile point (62.178)
 - u. Stemmed projectile point, Field No. 60 (63.27.7.6)
 - v. Stemmed projectile point, Field No. 152 (63.27.7.9)
 - w. Triangular projectile point, Field No. 90 (63.27.7.2)
 - x. Triangular projectile point, Field No. 55 (63.27.7.3)
 - y. Triangular projectile point, Field No. 93 (63.27.7.1)
 - z. Triangular projectile point, Field No. 56 (63.27.7.5)
 - aa. Triangular projectile point, Field No. 98 (63.27.7.4)
 - bb. Triangular projectile point, Field No. 163 (63.27.7.10)
 - cc. Triangular projectile point, Field No. 94 (63.27.7.11)
 - dd. Triangular projectile point, Field No. 88 (63.27.11.1)
 - ee. Stemmed projectile point, Field No. 393 (63.27.7.8)
 - ff. Ulna awl, Field No. 331 (63.27.39.2)
 - gg. Grooved antler fragment, Field No. 106 (63.27.10.2)
 - hh. Ulna awl, Field No. 166 (63.27.39.1)
 - ii. Questionable ulna awl, Field No. 75Y (63.27.40.3)
 - jj. Antler handle, Field No. 382 (63.27.41)
 - kk. Bird bone tube, Field No. 147 (63.27.10.1)
 - ll. Shell ear pin (61.753.31)
 - mm. Perforated mussel shell, Field No. 176 (63.27.38)
13. Stone and clay tobacco pipes, clay adornos, gunflints, and miscellaneous brass, lead, and iron objects
- a. Sandstone pipe, Field No. 389 (63.27.26.1)
 - b. Limestone pipe, Field No. 14 (61.753.28)
 - c. Clay pipe, Field No. 366 (63.27.26.3)
 - d. Clay pipe, Field No. 600 (63.27.26.2)
 - e. Clay adorno, Field No. 376 (63.27.88)
 - f. Clay adorno, Field No. 122 (63.27.18.1)
 - g. Clay ear plug, Field No. 125 (63.27.17.1)
 - h. Lead bar, Field No. 121 (63.27.16.1)
 - Lead musket ball, Field No. 54 (63.27.9.1)
 - Lead buckshot, Field No. 140 (63.27.9.9)
 - Lead musket ball, Field No. 365 (63.27.9.7)
 - Lead waste, Field No. 367 (63.27.16.4)
 - Lead musket ball, Field No. 309 (63.27.9.4)
 - Lead musket ball, Field No. 372 (63.27.9.8)
 - i. Kaolin pipe stem, Field No. 119 (63.27.35.3)
 - Kaolin pipe stem, Field No. 73 (63.27.35.2)
 - j. Kaolin pipe bowl, Field No. 79 (61.753.72)
 - k. Catlinite pipe bowl fragment, Field No. 39 (63.27.35.1)
 - l. Iron scabbard tip, Field No. 620 (63.27.27)
 - m. Gunlock part, Field No. 357 (63.27.32.15)
 - n. Gunlock tumbler, Field No. 58 (63.27.32.12)
 - o. Gunlock part, Field No. 129 (63.27.32.14)
 - p. Gunfint, Field No. 110 (63.27.13.1)
 - q. Gunfint, Field No. 129 (63.27.13.5)
 - r. Gunfint, Field No. 96 (63.27.13.2)
 - s. Gunfint, Field No. 61 (63.27.13.3)
 - t. Gunfint, Field No. 83 (63.27.13.4)

- u. Gunflint, Field No. 394 (63.27.13.6)
- v. Gunflint, Field No. 359 (63.27.13.7)
- w. Iron knife blade, Field No. 23 (61.753.33)
- x. Iron knife blade, Field No. 24 (61.753.25)
- y. Iron knife blade, Field No. 613 (63.27.25.3)
- z. Iron knife blade, Field No. 22 (63.27.25.1)
- aa. Iron knife blade, Field No. 164 (63.27.25.2)
- bb. Bone-handled penknives (61.753.59)
- cc. Iron object (61.753.58)
- dd. Iron object, Field No. 325 (63.27.32.10)
- ee. Iron object, Field No. 306D (63.27.32.8)
- ff. Iron needle, Field No. 8B (63.27.32.11)
- gg. Brass waste, Field No. 72 (63.27.33.6)
Brass waste, Field No. 59 (63.27.33.9)
Brass waste, Field No. 128 (63.27.33.2)
Brass waste, Field No. 129 (63.27.33.3)
Brass waste, Field No. 109 (63.27.32.3)
- hh. Iron key (61.753.73)
- ii. Lead ring, Field No. 44 (63.27.36.1)
- jj. Iron buckles (61.753.82)
- kk. Iron ring, Field No. 77 (63.27.36.3)
- ll. Iron ring, Field No. 79 (63.27.36.2)
- 14. Miscellaneous iron, brass, silver, and ceramic objects
 - a. Iron spring, Field No. 100D (61.753.74)
 - b. Brass signet rings (61.753.69)
 - c. Plain brass ring (61.753.26)
 - d. Silver bell (61.753.67)
 - e. Brass bell (61.753.40)
Silver bell (61.753.90)
 - f. Brass bells (61.753.47)
 - g. Brass medal, Field No. 28H-G (61.753.30)
 - h. Brass thimble (61.753.89)
 - i. Brass button (61.753.83)
 - j. Brass bell, Field No. 109D (61.753.67)
 - k. Iron wire circlets, Field No. 4C (63.27.6)
 - l. Brass spatulate strip, Field No. 45 (63.27.20.1)
 - m. Brass spatulate strip, Field No. 87 (63.27.32.6)
Brass spatulate strip, Field No. 49 (63.27.20.2)
Brass spatulate strip, Field No. 111 (63.27.20.2)
 - n. Brass tinklers (61.753.85)
 - o. Square hand-forged nail, Field No. 67 (63.27.34.3)
Square hand-forged nail, Field No. 108 (63.27.34.5)
Tack, Field No. 363 (63.27.34.7)
Square hand-forged nail, Field No. 403 (63.27.34.6)
Square hand-forged nail, Field No. 65 (63.27.34.1)
Square hand-forged nail, Field No. 97 (63.27.34.2)
Square hand-forged nail (63.27.34.8)
 - p. Silver spoon (61.753.91)
 - q. Green crockery, Field No. 124 (63.27.23.4)
 - r. Green crockery, Field No. 178 (63.27.23.6)
 - s. Olive-jar sherd, Field No. 133 (63.27.23.5)
 - t. Blue chinaware, Field No. 107 (63.27.23.1)
 - u. Chinaware, Field No. 90 (63.27.23.2)
 - v. Chinaware, Field No. 100 (63.27.23.3)
 - w. Iron hoe (61.753.70)
 - x. Iron ax, Field No. 22 (61.753.35)
 - y. Iron hatchet, Field No. 100 (61.753.64)
 - z. Iron fragment, not recorded
 - aa. Gun-barrel fragment, Field No. 401 (63.27.28)
- 15. Glass wine bottle and trade beads
 - a. Green glass wine bottle, Find No. 304 (63.27.56)
 - b. Blue glass beads, Find No. 28D (61.753.23)
 - c. White opaque glass beads, Find No. 78A (61.753.77)
White opaque glass beads, Find No. 68B (61.753.78)
 - d. Blue glass beads, Find No. 51D (61.753.27)
 - e. Blue glass beads, Find No. 120 (61.753.62)
 - f. White opaque glass beads, Find No. 78B (61.753.65)
 - g. Blue glass beads mixed with black, striped, and clear white (61.753.27)
 - h. White glass beads with blue spiral stripes, Find No. 104A (61.753.63)
 - i. Black glass beads, Find No. 104B (61.753.75)
 - j. Mixed noded and blue-and-white-striped glass beads, Find No. 73 (61.753.71)
 - k. Multicolored striped glass bead, Find No. 46 (61.753.29)
 - l. Opaque white glass beads, Find No. 121B (61.753.79)
- 16. Faience ware, iron, and brass artifacts
 - a. Blue-and-white faience bowl, Find No. 96 (61.753.48)
 - b. Pistol barrel, Find No. 32 (63.27.24.1)
Pistol barrel, Find No. 33 (63.27.24.2)
 - c. Tinned brass pan, Find No. 93 (61.753.57)
 - d. Blue-and-white faience pitcher, Find No. 92 (61.753.49)
 - e. Brass kettle, Find No. 128 (61.753.60)
 - f. Three-legged iron kettle, Find No. 94 (61.753.81)
 - g. Long-handled brass pan, Find No. 91 (60.98)
 - h. Iron rod (61.753.61)

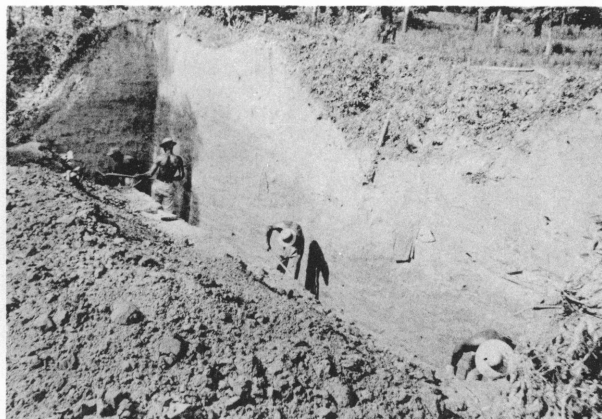
TEXT FIGURES

- 15. Limestone human effigy head, Field No. 125 (60.89)
- 16. a. Beaver incisor, not recorded
- b. Pig incisor, Field No. 334C (63.27.14.1)
- 17. a. Brass religious medal, Field No. 28G (61.753.30)

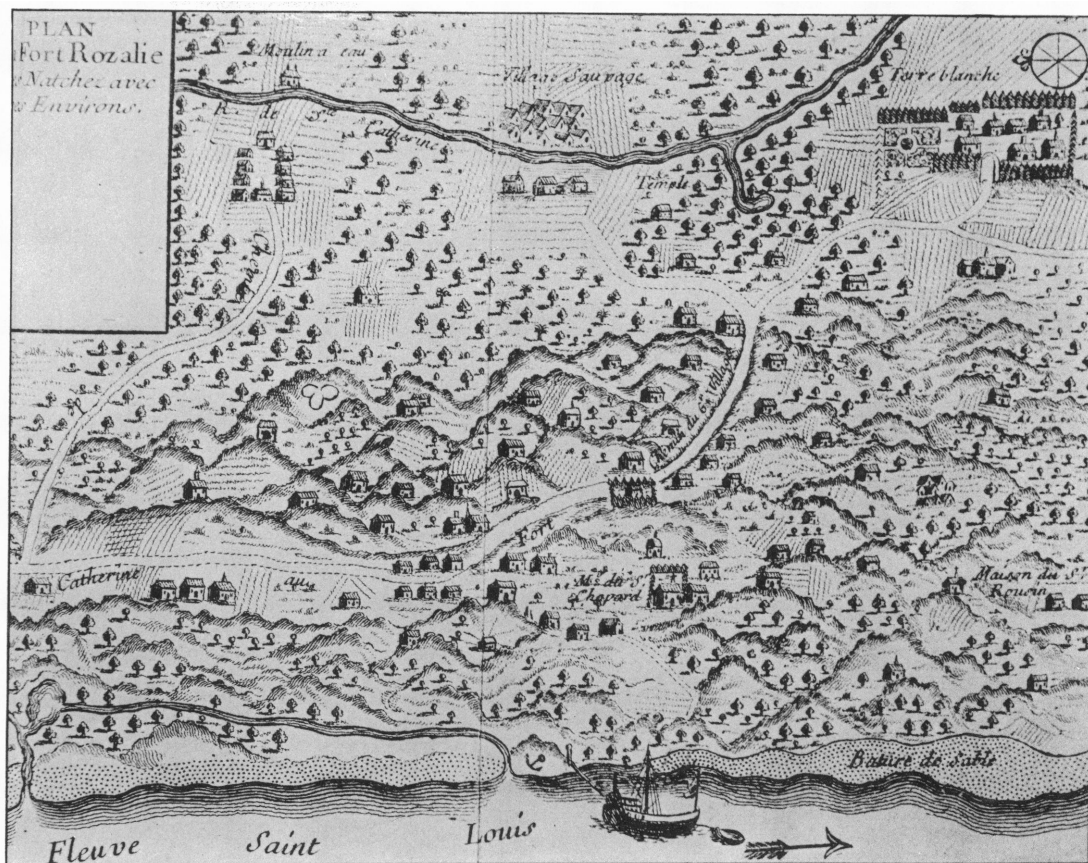
- b. Brass signet ring, Field No. 114A (61.753.69)
- c. Brass signet ring, Field No. 114A (61.753.69)
- 18. Silver spoon, Field No. 108 (61.753.91)
- 19. Pottery vessels found with burials excavated by Chambers
 - a. Fatherland Incised bowl, Field No. 15 (61.753.20)
 - b. Fatherland Incised bowl, Field No. 16 (61.753.12)
 - c. Natchez Incised bowl, Field No. 48 (missing)
 - d. Fatherland Incised bowl, Field No. 116 (61.753.51)
 - e. Fatherland Incised bowl, Field No. 81 (61.753.39)
 - f. Fatherland Incised bowl, Field No. 54 (61.753.41)
 - g. Fatherland Incised bowl, Field No. 55 (60.106)
 - h. Natchez Incised bowl, Field No. 8 (61.753.5)
 - i. Fatherland Incised bowl, Field No. 40 (61.753.19)
 - j. Natchez Incised bowl, Field No. 122 (61.753.52)
 - k. Fatherland Incised bowl, Field No. 6 (61.753.1)
 - l. Fatherland Incised bowl, Field No. 70 (61.753.9)
 - m. Fatherland Incised bowl, Field No. 5 (61.753.3)
 - n. Fatherland Incised bowl, Field No. 2546 (61.753.13)
 - o. Fatherland Incised bowl, Field No. 33 (61.753.36)
 - p. Fatherland Incised bowl, Field No. 88 (60.109)
- 20. Pottery vessels found with burials excavated by Chambers
 - a. Fatherland Incised jar, Field No. 59 (missing)
 - b. Fatherland Incised jar, Field No. 113 (61.753.50)
 - c. Fatherland Incised jar, Field No. 21 (60.102)
 - d. Fatherland Incised bottle, Field No. 54 (61.753.41)
 - e. Fatherland Incised bottle, Field No. 76 (61.753.42)
 - f. Fatherland Incised bottle, Field No. 17 (missing)
 - g. Fatherland Incised bottle, Field No. 129 (61.753.53)
 - h. Fatherland Incised bottle, Field No. 30 (61.753.37)
 - i. Fatherland Incised bottle, Field No. 56 (61.753.44)
 - j. Fatherland Incised bottle, Field No. 82 (61.753.43)
 - k. Fatherland Incised bottle, Field No. 86 (61.753.8)
 - l. Fatherland Incised jar or beaker, Field No. 58 (61.753.86)
 - m. Fatherland Incised bowl, Field No. 84 (61.753.11)
 - n. Natchez Incised bowl, red-filmed between incisions, Field No. 60 (61.753.88)
- 21. Pottery vessels found with burials excavated by Chambers
 - a. Hardy Incised jar, Field No. 43 (61.753.68)
 - b. Interior-exterior engraved bowl, Field No. 112 (61.753.66)
 - c. Manchac Incised jar, Field No. 95 (61.753.10)
 - d. Addis Plain bowl, Field No. 64 (61.753.38)
 - e. Addis Plain bowl, Field No. 9 (61.753.4)
 - f. Addis Plain bowl, Field No. 42 (61.753.18)
 - g. Addis Plain bowl, Field No. 3 (61.753.6)
 - h. Fatherland Plain bowl, Field No. 106 (61.753.55)
 - i. Fatherland Plain bowl, Field No. 44 (61.753.17)
 - j. Fatherland Plain bowl, Field No. 45 (61.753.16)
 - k. Fatherland Plain bottle, Field No. 98 (61.753.46)
 - l. Fatherland Plain bottle, Field No. 123 (61.753.56)
 - m. Fatherland Plain bottle, Field No. 7 (61.753.7)
 - n. Fatherland Plain bottle, Field No. 2 (61.753.2)
 - o. Fatherland Plain, red-slipped teapot, Field No. 117 (61.753.54)



A



B



C

a. View of Mound A toward northeast, from a point between Mounds A and B. b. Mound A, east 80-foot profile, view toward southwest to Mound B. c. Plan of Fort Rosalie, French concessions of St. Catherine and White Earth, and the Natchez Grand Village about 1725, from Dumont (1753, vol. 2, 94), courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology



A

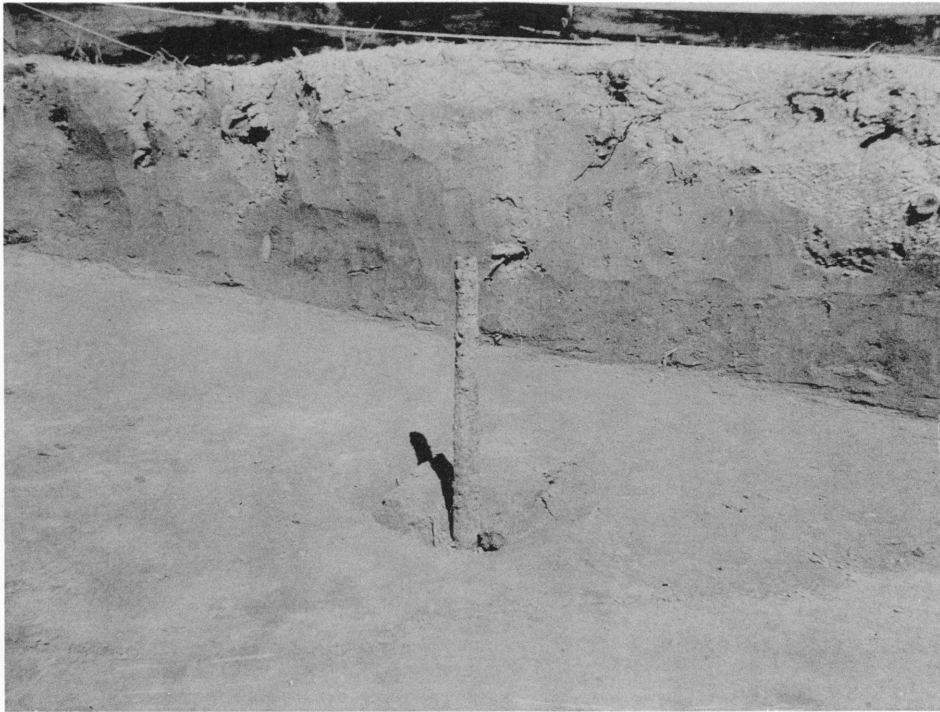


B



C

a. View of Mound B, toward south, prior to excavation. b. Uncovering Building Level 3, west 55-60-foot coordinate trench into northeast side in foreground. c. Map of Natchez vicinity and Fatherland Site, reproduced from the United States Geological Survey Quadrangle (after Ford)



A



B

Mound B. a. Phase IV mantle above Building Level 3. Pistol barrel (Find 33) was embedded in this layer. b. Phase IV mantle and underlying floor accumulation and wall trenches of Building Level 3



A



B

Mound B. a. Southwest corner of house pattern wall trenches, Building Level 3. b. Post-holes appearing in the top of wall trenches of house pattern of Building Level 2



A



B

Mound C. a. Uncovering Building Level 1 at east edge. b. Uncovering Building Level 1 from center to west edge



A



B

Mound C. a. Empty pits intruding into the floor of Building Level 1. b. Empty pits in the floor of Building Level 1 and portion of the north side of the Phase III mantle and associated ramp

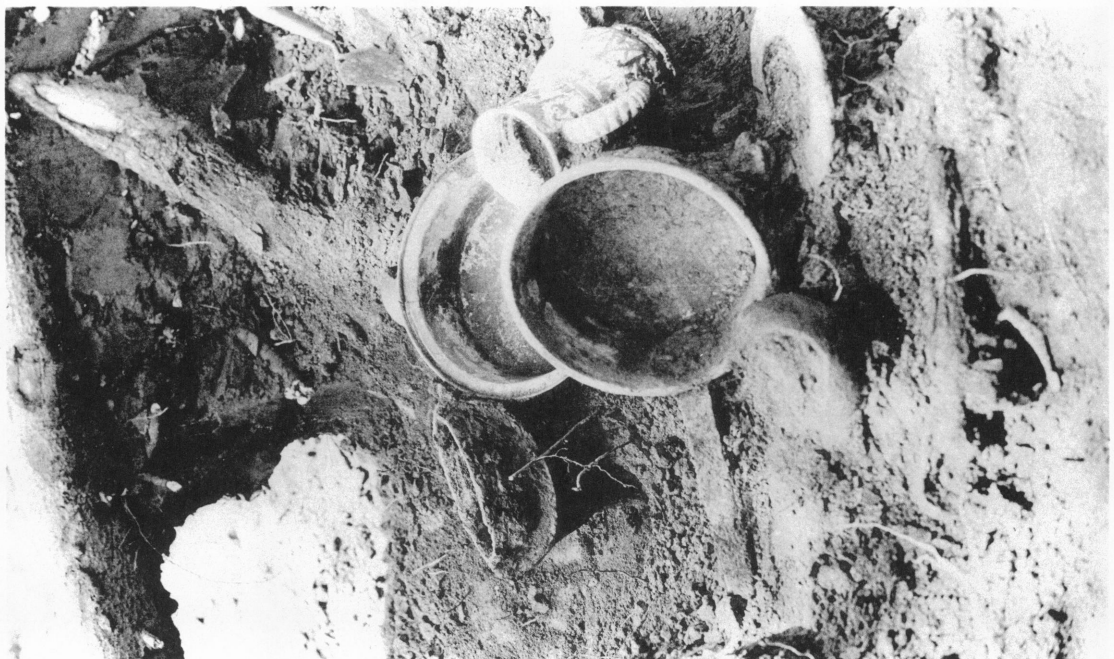


A



B

Mound C. a. Wall trenches of Temple 1 (right) and Temple 2 (left) on Building Level 1.
b. Central hearth of Temple 1, Building Level 1



B



A

Mound C. a. Burial 1 and Finds 1 to 13 of Chambers' excavation. b. Burial 15 and Finds 91 to 94 of Chambers' excavation

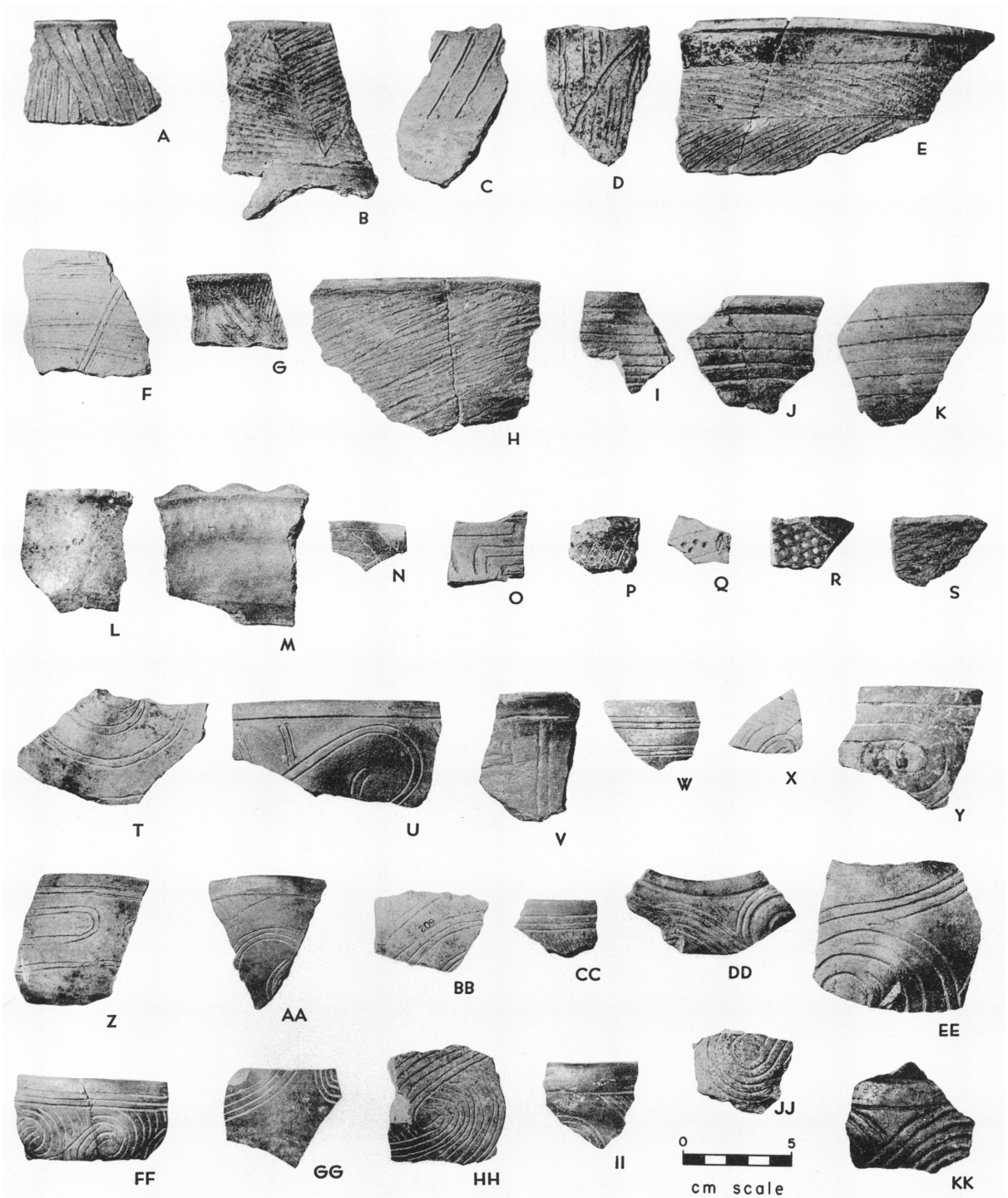


A

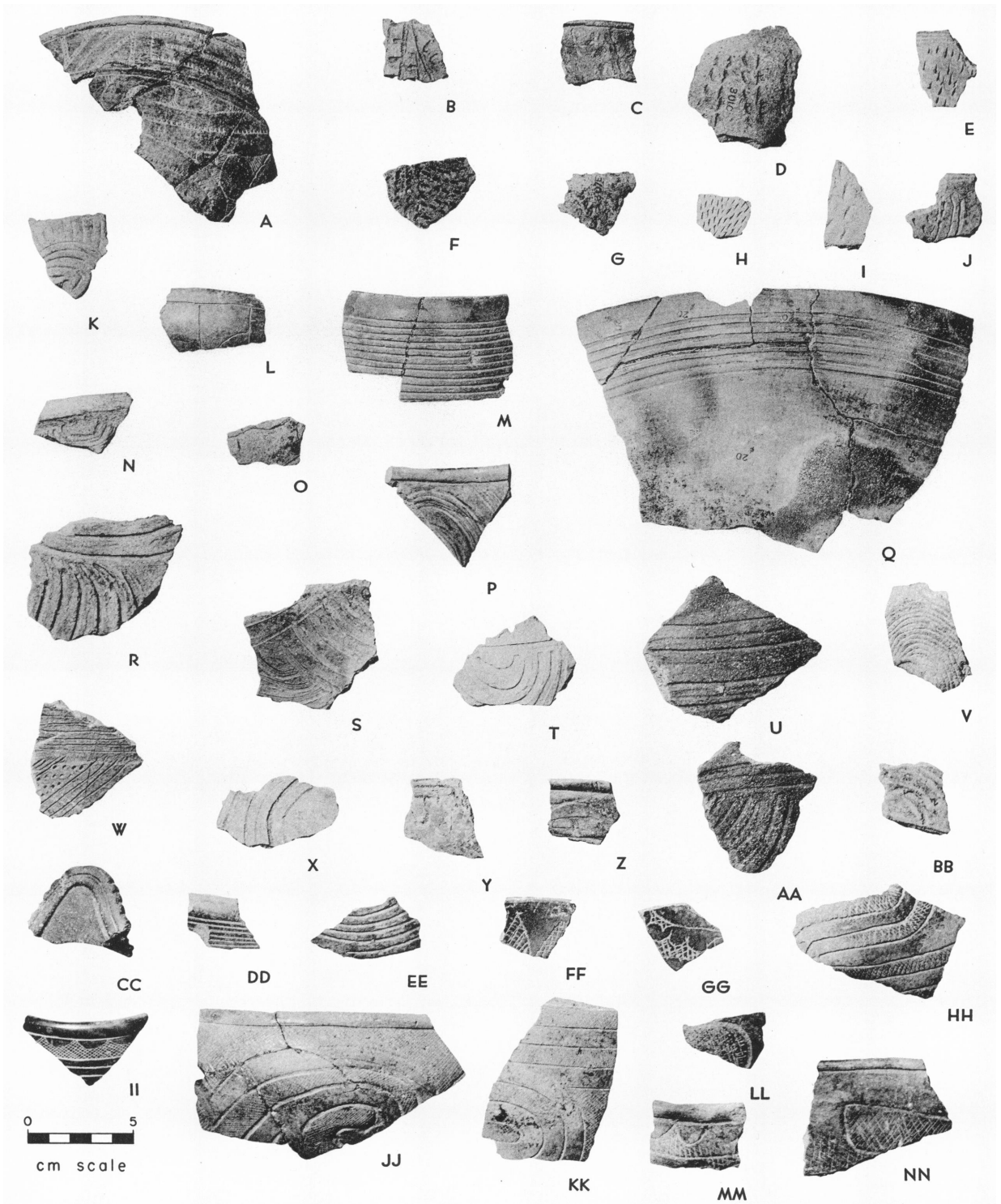


B

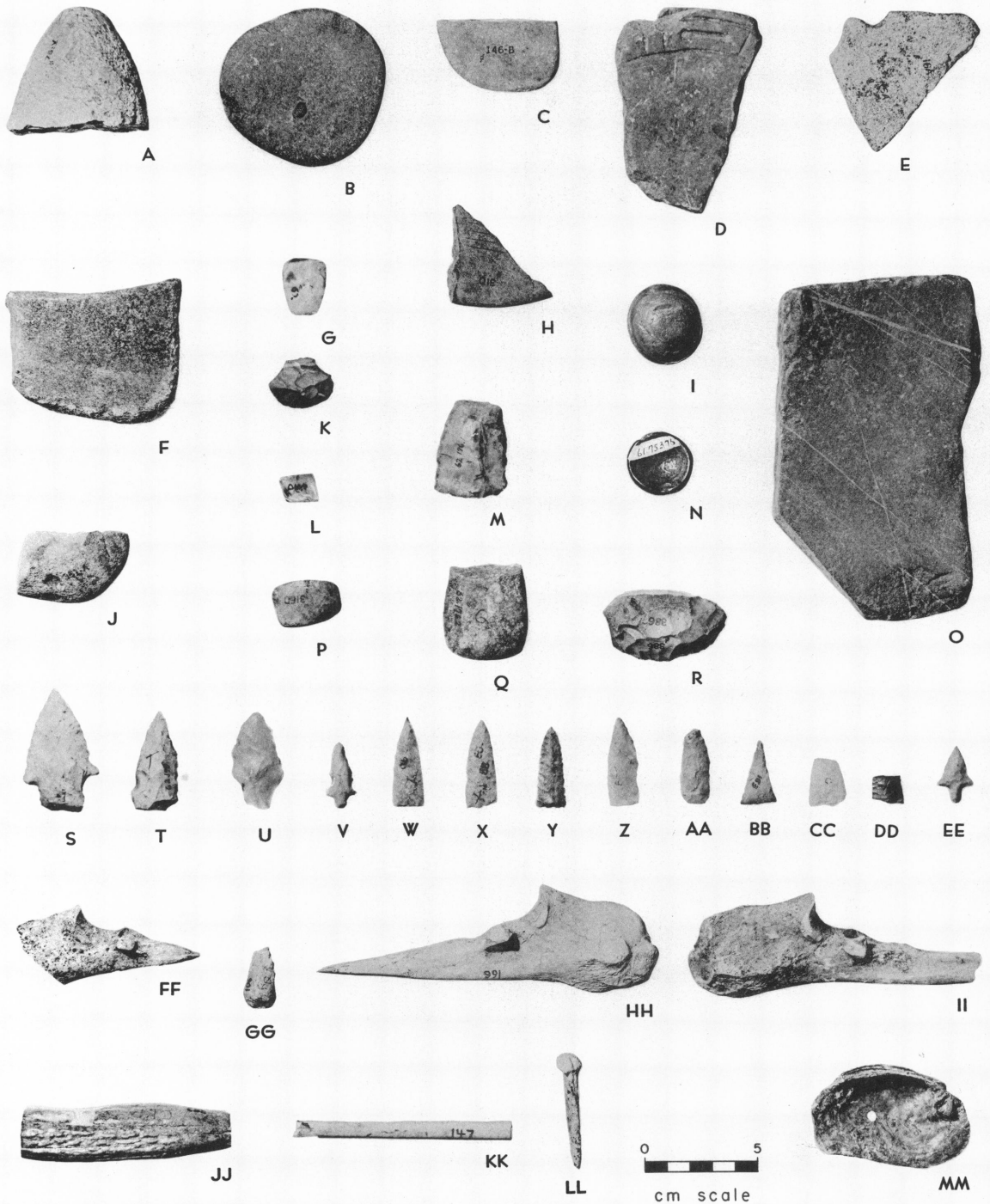
Mound C. a. Burial 6 and Finds 53 to 68 of Chambers' excavation. b. Burial 17 and Finds 108 to 111 of Chambers' excavation



Incised, brushed, engraved, plain, and stamped sherds. a-d. Manchac Incised. e-h. Plaquemine Brushed. i-k. Hardy Incised. l-m. Haynes Bluff Plain. n. Anna Interior Engraved. o. L'Eau Noir Incised. p. Harrison Bayou Incised. q-r. Dupree Incised. s. Chevalier Stamped. t-v, x, z. Natchez Incised. w, y, aa-cc. Fatherland Incised. dd-gg, ii-kk. Bayou Goula Incised. hh. Unclassified



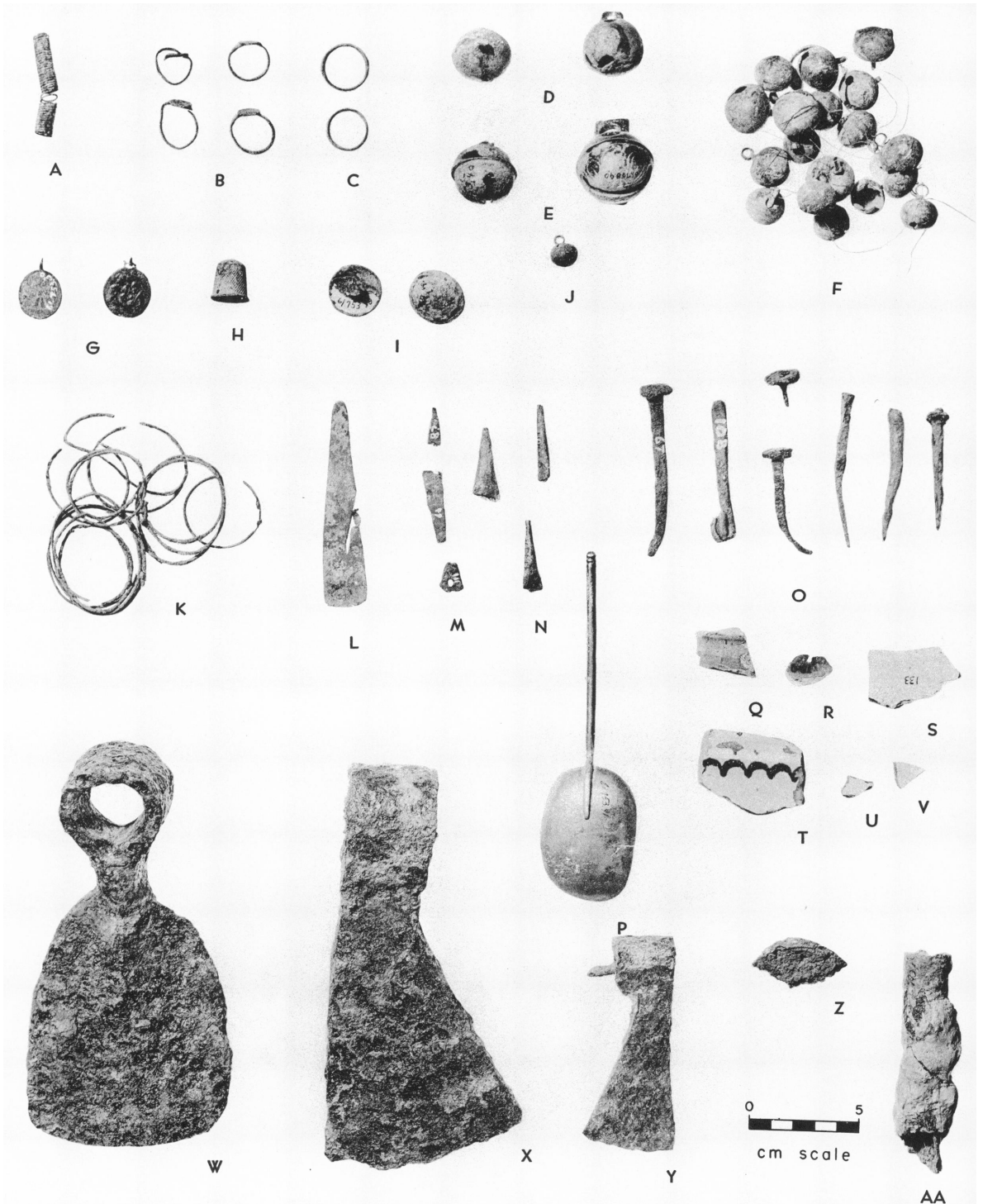
Punctated, unclassified, and engraved sherds. a. Nachitoches Engraved. b-j. Wilkinson Punctated. k-gg. Unclassified. hh-nn. Emerald Engraved



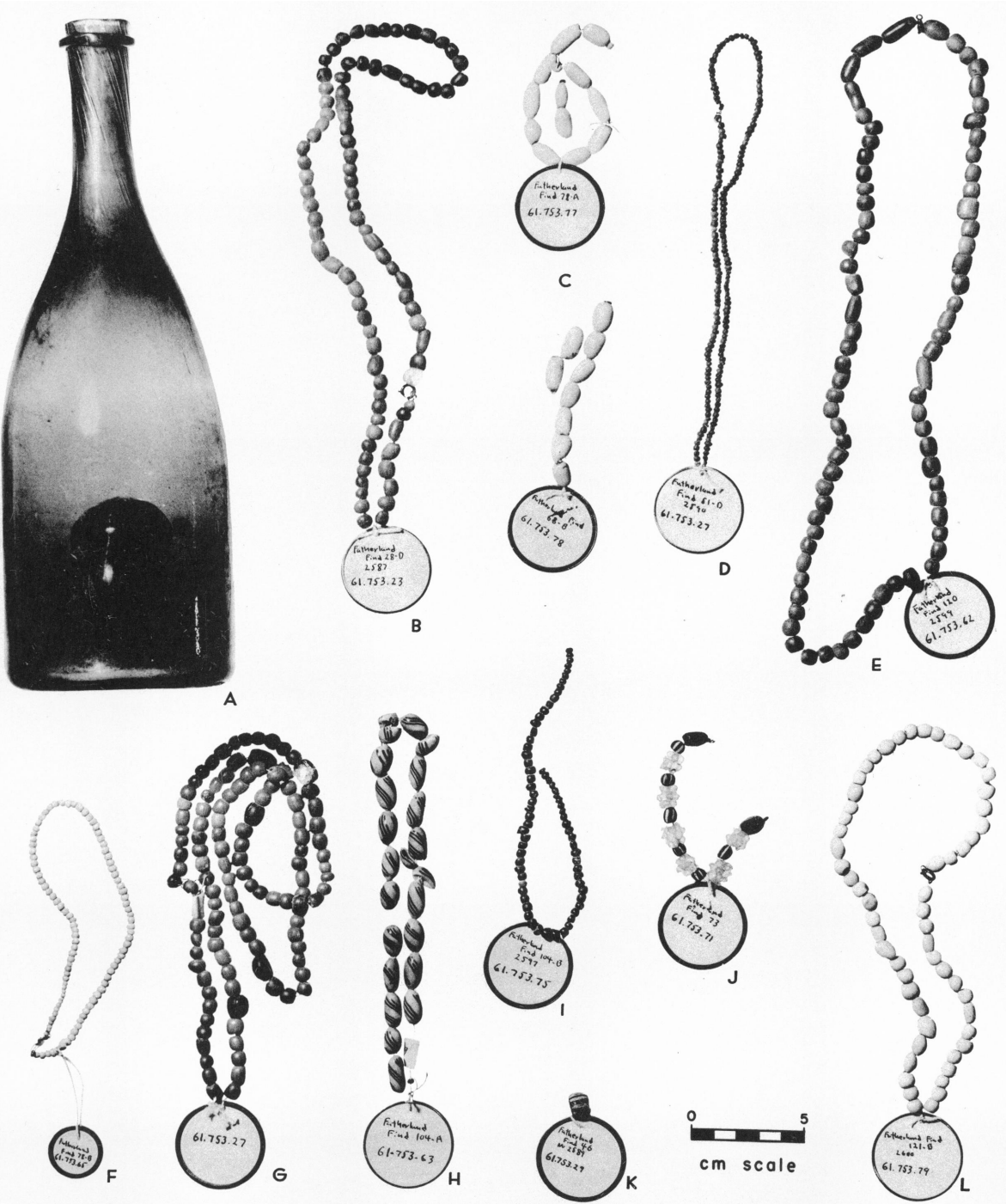
Stone, bone, and shell tools. a, j. Hammerstones. b-c, f, o. Whetstones. d. Paint palette fragment. e, h. Polished stone fragments. g, k, r. Chipped scrapers. i. Stone concretion. l. Quartz crystal. m. Chipped celt. n. Concavo-convex discoidal. p. Polished stone bar. q. Polished stone celt fragment. s-v, ee. Stemmed projectile points. w-dd. Triangular projectile points. ff, hh-ii. Ulna awls. gg. Grooved bone fragment. jj. Antler handle. kk. Birdbone tube. ll. Shell ear pin. mm. Perforated mussel shell



Stone and clay tobacco pipes, clay adorns, gunflints, and miscellaneous brass, lead, and iron objects. a-b, k. Stone pipes. c-d, i-j. Clay pipes. e, f. Clay adorns. g. Clay earplug. h. Lead bar, musket balls, buckshot, and waste. l. Iron scabbard tip. m-o. Gunlock parts. p-v. Gunflints. w-aa. Iron knife blades. bb. Bone-handled penknives. cc-ee. Iron objects. ff. Iron needle. gg. Brass waste. hh. Iron key. ii. Lead ring. jj. Iron buckles. kk. Iron ring. ll. Iron C-bracelet.



Miscellaneous iron, brass, silver, and ceramic objects. a. Iron wire coil. b. Brass signet rings. c. Plain brass rings. d, e. Silver bells. f, j. Brass bells. g. Brass medallions. h. Brass thimble. i. Brass button. k. Iron wire circlets. l-m. Brass spatulate strips. n. Brass tinklers. o. Square hand-forged nails and a tack. p. Silver spoon. q-r. Green crockery. s. Olive jar sherd. t-v. China ware. w. Iron hoe. x. Iron ax. y. Iron hatchet. z. Iron fragment. aa. Gun barrel fragment



Glass wine bottle and trade beads. a. Green glass bottle. b, d, e, g. Blue glass beads. c, f, l. Colorless opaque glass beads. h. Colorless opaque glass beads with a blue spiral stripe. i. Black glass beads. j. Clear noded and blue and white striped glass beads. k. Polychrome glass bead



Faience ware, iron and brass artifacts. a. Blue-on-white faience bowl. b. Iron pistol barrels. c. Tinned brass pan. d. Blue-on-white faience pitcher. e, g. Brass kettles. f. Iron kettle. h. Iron rod

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
OF THE
AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

Volume 51

Part 1. Archeology of the Fatherland Site: the Grand Village of the Natchez. By Robert S. Neitzel. Pages 1-108, plates 1-16, 21 text figures, 4 tables. 1965. Price, \$4.00.

Walter J. Johnson, Inc., has been designated sole distributor of certain scientific publications of the American Museum of Natural History.

For information about the availability and cost of papers appearing in volumes 1-45 of "Anthropological Papers," write to: Walter J. Johnson, Inc., 111 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10003. For information about later volumes in this series, write to: The Librarian, the American Museum of Natural History, Central Park West at 79th Street, New York, New York 10024.