

Archaeological Report No. 27

MANY CHOCTAW STANDING
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF CULTURE
CHANGE IN THE EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD

Timothy Paul Mooney

Mississippi Department of Archives and History

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Patricia Galloway
Series Editor

Elbert R. Hilliard
Director

Typeset by Julie Bullock

ISBN: 0-938896-77-6

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Foreword

Southeastern archaeology lost a rising star when Timothy Paul Mooney was killed in an automobile accident near Chapel Hill, North Carolina, on January 30, 1995, one day short of his forty-fourth birthday.

Tim's career was unusual in its breadth. After graduating from the University of Arizona in 1972 with a Bachelor's degree in history, Tim enlisted in the U.S. Navy, where he acquired his considerable skills as a computer programmer. He then went on to attend the University of Arizona School of Law, which awarded him a JD in 1981. Soon thereafter, he took a job with the U.S. Justice Department in Washington, D.C. While working as a lawyer, he became involved with the Archeological Society of Virginia and began volunteering on digs in the Fairfax County area. He found the experience so interesting that he decided to leave the legal profession and to become an archaeologist. He was admitted to the graduate program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and began his studies in the Fall of 1989.

Tim took to his new profession like a fish to water. He read voraciously and learned the essentials of the discipline in record time. By 1991, he had formulated an ambitious and important dissertation project, an archaeological investigation relating to the origins of the eighteenth-century Choctaw Nation. In 1992, he conducted an archaeological reconnaissance along the central Pearl River in Mississippi. In 1992 and 1993, he and I conducted two seasons of excavation at Mississippian mound sites along the Pearl, gathering valuable information on the late prehistory of this region. He was in the midst of analyzing the data we had recovered, and was preparing to write his dissertation, when his career was so tragically cut short.

Tim's overall research focus, and this monograph in particular, sprang in large part from his friendship with John O'Hear, who happened to be in Chapel Hill during the 1989–90 academic year taking courses for his doctorate. It was John who suggested that Tim undertake the analysis of the collections described herein, and who loaned the necessary materials to the Research Laboratories of Anthropology where Tim could have easy access. John also provided invaluable support and advice throughout the project.

The first incarnation of this work was presented to the Anthropology faculty at UNC-Chapel Hill as a "fourth-semester paper" in the spring of 1991. It was later substantially revised and submitted as a Master's thesis in 1994. This book is derived from the latter, with some minor editing that Tim himself completed just a few months before he died.

Tim was a wonderful human being. Kind and generous to a fault, he was always cheerful and ready to lend a hand. I miss him greatly as a student and a friend. I also mourn the loss to our discipline. But I do take some small comfort in seeing *Many Choctaw Standing* go to press, for I know that it will be a useful and lasting contribution—just the kind of legacy that Tim would have wanted.

Vincas P. Steponaitis
Chapel Hill
May 7, 1997

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Tim Mooney in the lab, 1994. Photograph courtesy of Sigma Xi.

Abstract

The rapid cultural change experienced by the Choctaw of Mississippi between the early eighteenth century and early nineteenth century is reflected in the acquisition of Euro-American goods, particularly ceramics. Analysis of collections from seven Choctaw sites which span this period reveal that Euro-American ceramics accounted for about one-half of the ceramic assemblages of the sites associated primarily with the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. Greater procurement of Euro-American merchandise occurred at town sites than at rural sites. Even in the face of this swift change in material culture, aspects of traditional Choctaw practice, particularly in the maintenance of ceramic traditions, remained robust.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Mr. John O’Hear of the Cobb Institute of Archaeology, Mississippi State University, for granting me access to the artifact collections, for timely and abundant advice, and for continued support. I am equally indebted to the following individuals for assistance on this project in the form of insightful advice, text review, and offers of encouragement and enthusiasm: Dr. Patricia Galloway, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Dr. John Blitz, Bowdoin College, Mr. Kenneth Carleton, Archaeologist for the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, and Ms. Linda Carnes-McNaughton, Historic Sites, State of North Carolina. My special thanks are given to the members of my Committee for their time and consideration: Dr. Vincas Steponaitis, Dr. Richard Yarnell, Dr. Donald Brockington, and Dr. Robert Daniels.

MANY CHOCTAW STANDING

**AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF CULTURE CHANGE IN THE
EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD**

1 Introduction

The Choctaw were the second largest tribe in the Southeast, with a population that fluctuated between 15,000 and 20,000 in the years after initial contact with Europeans (Voss and Blitz 1988:127). Because of the size, political and military prowess, and geographical location of the Choctaw, the tribe's role in the history of the Southeast was pivotal. The survival of the French colony of Louisiana lay to a large extent in the successful maintenance of Choctaw-French amity. The Choctaw remained a major force in the area until the Removal of the 1830s, when the tribe ceded the last of its communally-held traditional lands in present-day Mississippi to the American government.

Little archaeological work has been done in the traditional Choctaw Homeland in east-central Mississippi, however. Important questions regarding the Choctaw remain unaddressed by archaeology; chief among these questions is the depth of culture change experienced by the Choctaw of the Early Historic Period (A.D. 1682–1830) due to contact with Europeans. To address this question, I have analyzed artifact collections from seven Choctaw sites within the Choctaw Homeland. Six sites lie in Lauderdale County (Lauderdale Group): Frederickson/Coosa (22-Ld-512); Oklahoma (22-Ld-532); Wild Horse (22-Ld-533); Deeryard (22-Ld-534); Bill Brown #1 (22-Ld-517); and Bill Brown #2 (22-Ld-535). The seventh site, Chickasawhay (22-Ck-502), lies in Clark County directly to the south of Lauderdale County (Figure 1.1).

Assessing the Nature of the Contact

Jeffrey Brain, based on his study of the relations between the Tunica Indians of the lower Mississippi River Valley and the French during the eighteenth century, recognizes three general episodes in the history of Native American and Euro-American contact. Each episode is characterized by a distinctive sort of contact as well as a similarly distinctive kind of aboriginal response. Brain's first stage, placed generally before A.D. 1700 and entitled "Exploration," covers the initially sporadic but increasingly prolonged contact between Native people and European populations who viewed the Indians as "portable wealth" and "instruments of rapid riches" (Brain 1979:256). The next stage, "Exploitation," was marked by close, even intimate, continuous contact and fell roughly between A.D. 1700 and A.D. 1800. During this period European populations exploited Indians to meet a variety of political, economic, and religious objectives. Brain's final stage, "Expropriation," occurred primarily after A.D. 1800 when Euro-American populations overwhelmed the Native Americans, a process which resulted in cultural destruction, physical removal from ancestral lands, and, finally, some degree of assimilation.

The Choctaw passed through each of Brain's episodes and eventually, under United States suzerainty, lost their legal corporate status in Mississippi after the Removal in the early 1830s. Individual Choctaws nevertheless remained in the Mississippi Homeland. Eventually the Choctaws re-established their corporate, legal status as a tribe in the Mississippi Homeland. While radical change occurred, I choose to characterize it as compromise rather than abject surrender. Patricia Galloway, a scholar of the Choctaw, puts it best: we must view the Choctaw as active agents in the interchange between themselves and Europeans and Americans rather than as passive recipients who stand "on the fixed formal stage [of European manufacture] upon which they writhe in the throes of their tribal passions" (Galloway 1989:255). The portrayal of Native American groups in this passive role reflects a common notion that aboriginal peoples "writhed" so completely that their indigenous culture fragmented from the outset of contact with non-Native populations, disappeared, and had to be re-invented for them. In this view, Indians ceased to be contemporary peoples and became frozen in time. While some groups did not survive, the Choctaw at this writing are heirs to the success of their ancestors, who, by active participation in the transformation

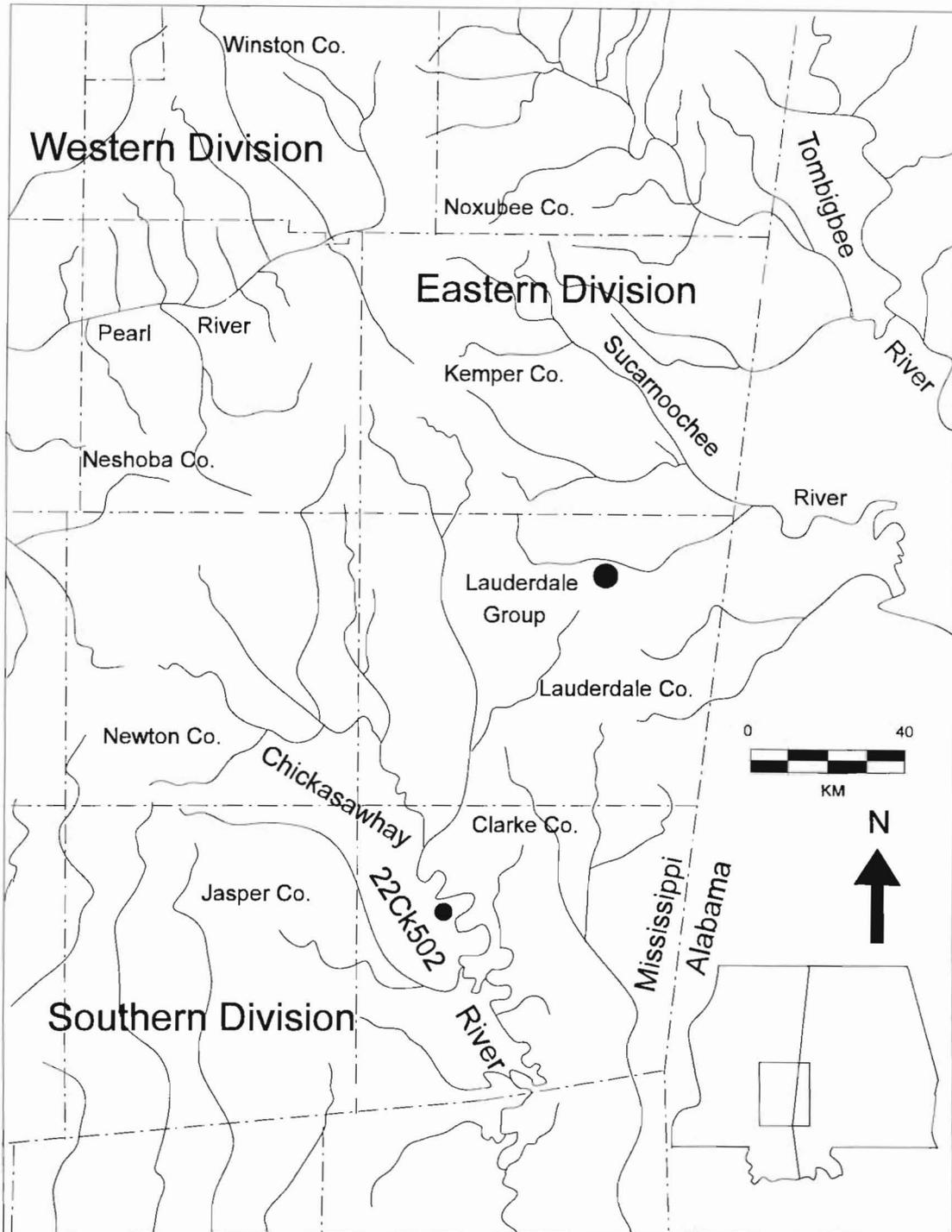


Figure 1.1. Location of sites in Homeland (after Blitz 1985).

of their own culture, were able to remain a contemporary people throughout the nearly three hundred years of change.

We need to investigate the roles played by Native Americans in changing their culture as conscientiously as we investigate the avenues and expressions of the culture change itself. A necessary first step in examining the active roles played by the Choctaw in changing their culture during the Early Historic period is to understand the depth of culture change from an archaeological perspective. This is the goal of the present study.

Overview

The ethnographic and historical record of this period, while robust, would benefit enormously from the insights of archaeology. Chapter II provides a physiographic, ethnographic, and historical context for the sites evaluated. Chapter III provides an overview of archaeological work concerned with the Choctaw. A detailed discussion of the work performed at the seven sites and an analysis of the collections retrieved are given in Chapter IV. Chapter V provides an interpretation of the collections, which addresses the question of the depth of Choctaw culture change during the Early Historic period. While the collections reveal an increased integration of the Choctaw in the wider society of the period, the integration precipitated neither an immediate nor a complete destruction of all Choctaw traditional culture and behavior.

2 Physiographic, Ethnographic, and Historical Background

This chapter provides the discussion of Choctaw culture change in the Early Historic period with a physiographic, ethnographic, and historical context. A knowledge of the physiography of the Choctaw Homeland aids in understanding Choctaw subsistence and settlement patterns. In addition, the geographic placement of the Choctaw defined some aspects of their economic and political history.

Physiography of the Choctaw Homeland

The geographic focus of the traditional Choctaw Homeland is the convergence of the headwaters of three drainages in east-central Mississippi: the Pearl River, the Sucarnoochee River, and the Chickasawhay-Leaf-Pascagoula River network. This area embraces Neshoba, Kemper, and Lauderdale counties. Beyond this focal area, Homeland settlement varied over time but encompassed, in whole or in part, the present-day Clarke, Winston, Jasper, Newton, and Wayne counties (Voss and Blitz 1988:125).

The Homeland lies in the Gulf Coastal Plain physiographic zone, a region covered predominantly with low elevations, fertile bottomlands, and meandering rivers (Voss and Blitz 1988:127). Longleaf pine forest, hardwood river bottoms and swamps, mixed upland oak-pine stands, and grass prairies presented a “game-rich” environment to the Choctaw (Blitz 1985:33; Voss and Blitz 1988:127).

Five subdivisions of the Gulf Coastal Plain touch the Homeland (Figure 2.1). The Black Prairie, reflecting in its name the dark, rich soil of the region, is a flat to rolling grassland which intrudes into the Homeland in northeast Kemper County. Bordering on the west, the Flatwoods region contains poorly drained soils of low fertility, making it unsuitable for agriculture and, most likely, horticulture as well. No historic Choctaw settlements have been found in this area.

The North Central Hills, with its numerous streams and a rolling to steep grade topography, comprises most of the Homeland. On its southern edge is the Buhrstone Cuesta or Tallahatta Formation, a “ridge line of hills that form the most rugged terrain on the Gulf Coastal Plain” (Blitz 1985:34). Aboriginal residents mined the quartzite outcrops of the cuesta formation for centuries. The majority of known Choctaw archaeological sites in fact lie in the North Central Hills. All the sites considered in this study are located in this region.

South of the North Central Hills, the Jackson Prairie winds as a narrow belt of rolling grasslands. Choctaw settlements are known to have existed on the border of the Jackson Prairie, but have not been found to date inside its confines. The Jackson Prairie, however, may have been used as a corridor for groups such as the Chickasawhays to enter the Homeland (Mooney 1992).

The Longleaf Pine Hills spread to the south of the Jackson Prairie. High ridges divide many threaded streams. Floodplains of rivers flowing from the North Central Hills broaden into swamps and oxbow lakes as well as bayous. The resulting wealth of flora and fauna in these complex ecosystems place it among the richest in the Gulf Coastal Plain (Blitz 1985:35). To date, no Choctaw settlement has been found in this last zone.

Ethnographic Background

Two subjects in Choctaw ethnography are presented here: subsistence and social organization. Both underwent radical change during the Early Historic period. As Europeans drew the Choctaw deeper into the world market system, subsistence patterns strained to meet both traditional and new purposes.

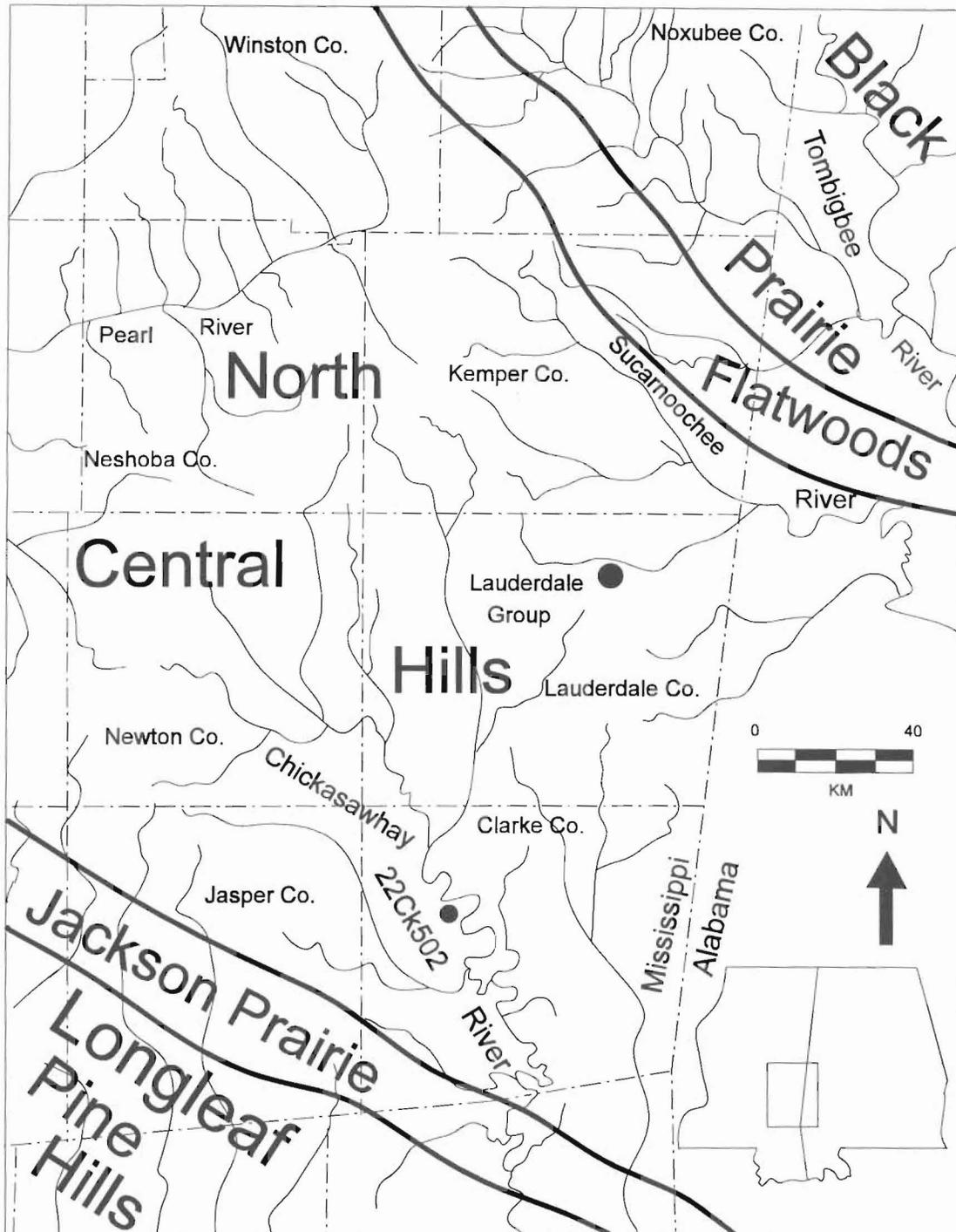


Figure 2.1. Physiographic zones in the Homeland (after Blitz 1985).

Likewise, new strains in the fabric of the Choctaw society appeared which not only altered their social universe forever but which still echo among the Choctaw today.

Subsistence

Traditional Choctaw subsistence struck a balance between small-scale agriculture and procuring wild foods. To understand Choctaw subsistence is to appreciate the regions of Choctaw lands and the interplay among them: settlements; agricultural fields and borderlands; and hunting areas (White 1985:17).

Settlements often occurred on the terraces of the upland streams that flowed into the rivers of the Homeland rather than along the rivers themselves (White 1985:13). A settlement pattern characterized by small, dispersed settlements which clustered along low ridges is reflected in both the historical and archaeological record (Blitz 1985:41–46). The characterization of “prodigious straggling towns of cabins and cornfields extending for miles along a creek or stream ridge mixed with second-growth forests, prairies and old fields” describes the Early Historic period Choctaw settlements (White 1985:25).

Terrace soils contained concentrations of loam soils particularly suited to Choctaw hoe and digging-stick cultivation as well as the intercropping techniques employed in planting squash, pumpkins, and sunflowers between the small hillocks in which the staple, corn, was planted (White 1985:13, 20). The Choctaw may have practiced an early form of the modern practice of “crop trapping.” In the modern practice, early maturing plants are placed together with slower maturing plants. Bugs attack the early maturing plants and are killed at this time so that the later maturing plants have a better chance of surviving with a smaller pest population. The Choctaw also planted together plants with differential maturing rates, which may have been done for the same reason as the modern practice (Searcy 1985:45). After European contact, the Choctaw adopted the sweet potato, hyacinth beans, two varieties of guinea corn, leeks, garlic, cabbage, and the peach. None of these adoptions would rival the native plants already in use (White 1985:19–20).

During the planting and harvesting seasons, almost the entire town population would mobilize for planting or harvesting, though women had primary responsibility for the crops (Swanton 1931:50–55; White 1985:20). The Choctaw planted in at least two types of fields: small gardens close to cabins and the main fields in large communal tracts surrounding the town or hamlet (White 1985:19–20; Wolfe 1987:16). In addition, the Choctaw planted a third type of field which contained only pumpkins (White 1985:20). The Homeland’s climate is temperate and humid. The area experiences approximately 230 frost-free days per year; average annual temperature is 64° F (17.8° C). The average rainfall is 140 cm; July is the month of highest accumulation (Voss and Blitz 1988:127). The long growing season for maize and other cultigens enjoyed by the Choctaw resulted from these conditions.

The Choctaw made systematic use of wild plant foods as well. They extracted the oil from hickory nuts to use as seasoning in corn dishes or added the crushed nuts directly to prepared dishes. Persimmons, chestnuts, chinquapins, and acorns were also collected. Walnuts were little used. Mulberries, blackberries, and sassafras were collected in the fall. Wild onions, wild sweet potatoes, arrowhead, and Jerusalem artichokes were also collected. Bernard Romans, an eighteenth-century traveler among the Choctaw, mentions these berries, legumes, and starchy plants among the starvation foods of the Choctaw (Romans 1771, reported in Swanton 1931:47–48). It is estimated, however, that one-third of the Choctaws’ diet came from hunting, fishing, and gathering (White 1985:26); these activities formed a secondary food cycle just as critical to Choctaw survival as the primary cycle of crop cultivation.

The major big game (mostly white-tailed deer) hunting season began in fall and lasted through the late winter; the hunt schedule roughly coincided with the rutting season (December in northern Mississippi and January in southern Mississippi), a time in which bucks were more vulnerable and fawns were old enough to survive without the presence of does (White 1985:27). Deer hunting ranged into the borderland areas of the Homeland. After initial contact with Europeans, the flintlock replaced the bow and arrow as the weapon of choice in hunting. The Choctaw hunted almost exclusively with guns within a generation

of their introduction in 1702 (Blitz 1985:18, 82). Game hunting for trade expanded so rapidly and deer populations in the Homeland declined so quickly that by the early years of the nineteenth century, hunting forays were organized to places as far away as present-day Oklahoma.

This dilution of the borderlands during the eighteenth century diminished their effectiveness as security zones. The borderlands, maintained by warfare and usually used only for large game hunting, became zones of refuge during periods of crop failure. During these periods, large game ceased to be primarily a winter food and were hunted more often, resulting in a heavy environmental cost (White 1985:28–33). Big game hunts persisted throughout the nineteenth century; after 1830, the Choctaw continued to hunt large game where it could be found in Mississippi, but concentrated their efforts in the Yazoo Delta of northwestern Mississippi until that area was developed by cotton planters and railroads in the 1880s. The development of the Yazoo Delta region not only ended permanently a traditional subsistence strategy, but also eliminated the last vestige of the traditional male role as hunter and resulted in the final abandonment of traditional theological precepts that were geared to hunting (Wolfe 1987: 17–24).

Social Organization

Choctaw social organization was an amalgam of geopolitical entities and kinship entities. Of the former, two are prominent: the simple chiefdom, often rendered in Choctaw as *okla* (usually translated as “people”), and the division, an aggregation of *okla* with cultural overtones that reflected distinctive regions within the Homeland. Intertwined with these geopolitical units were the kinship entities: the matrilineages and the moieties. The matrilineages were severely restricted in geographic range, while the moiety affiliations geographically cross-cut the entire Choctaw Homeland. In the Early Historic period, the most inclusive expression of this amalgam was the Choctaw Confederacy, which was loosely structured, informal, and less highly organized than other better-known confederacies in the Southeast, such as the Creek Confederacy. Indeed, the key to understanding the origins of the Choctaw may lie in the recognition that these two sociopolitical structural units of the Choctaw Confederacy, the *okla* and the division, arose from the aggregation in the Homeland of ancestral peoples from various locales outside the Homeland prior to the Early Historic period (Galloway 1993; Blitz 1991:1; Voss and Blitz 1988:128).

Within the confederacy, the autonomous unit was the *okla*, which may have consisted of a single town, or a large town and its associated dependencies, or an association of towns which constituted a division. The autonomous towns had a civil chief (*mingo*), selected for talent probably from the leading matrilineage (Blitz 1985:9). In addition, several associated offices often existed. The *tichou mingo* (“waiter to the chief”) acted as an assistant to the chief, often as a “master of ceremonies.” The *taskanangouchi*, “chief’s speaker,” carried the burden of oration for the *mingo*, a crucial duty within the *okla*’s council and in negotiations with groups beyond the *okla*. The war chief, *soulouche oumastabe* or *mingo ouma*, led the warriors into battle and overshadowed the *mingo* during periods of conflict. His two lieutenants were called *taskaminkochi* (White 1985:40). The *hopaaii mingo* or prophet chief was presumably the war prophet. The final office, the *fanimingo* or “squirrel chief” may have acted as a secretary of state who managed foreign relations between the *okla* and diverse outsiders (Swanton 1931:90–96; Galloway 1985:123; Galloway 1989:270). An early French report (Swanton 1931:91) mentions two other groupings: “beloved men” and “principal warriors.” The “beloved men” probably were proven warriors, distinguished older men who probably formed a council of elders for the chiefdom; the “principal warriors” were probably younger men, prominent among the war chief’s cohorts. The precise placement of these two groupings in the sociopolitical universe of the Choctaw is not absolutely clear (Galloway 1985:124).

The divisions were not only of geopolitical significance but cultural significance as well. These sociopolitical units were also the most resilient entities that comprised the Choctaw social universe, which lasted well into the nineteenth century and which survived even the Removal. After the Removal, the division distinction was transplanted to Oklahoma and there survived until the dissolution of the Choctaw

Republic. When the Chickasaw arrived in Oklahoma, they were subsumed into a fourth division until 1855, when they formed a separate republic (Swanton 1931:97).

Three divisions were dominant during the Early Historic period. These divisions were distributed among the three drainages of the Homeland (Voss and Blitz 1988:128): the Western Division (*Okla Falaya* or “Long People”) was associated with the Pearl River drainage; the Eastern Division (*Okla Tannap* or “People of the Other Side or Party”) was associated with the Sucarnoochee and other tributaries of the Tombigbee River; and the Southern Division (*Okla Hannali*) centered on the Chickasawhay-Leaf-Pascagoula River system in the southern part of the Homeland. The specific town composition of the three divisions varied through time (Galloway 1985:124).

Distinctions among the divisions may give us a clue to the origin of the Choctaw. The members of the divisions apparently spoke different dialects; the Western Division tongue eventually became Standard Choctaw. *Okla Hannali* apparently spoke a very different dialect from the other divisional *okla*. Likewise, the Southern Division people sported a distinct apparel and hair style which sometimes was the object of amusement to the other Choctaw (Swanton 1931:56–57). External alliances with non-Choctaw groups ran along divisional lines: the Western Division with the Chakchiuma and Chickasaw; the Eastern Division with the Alabama; and the Southern Division, including Chickasawhay and Yowani, with various coastal groups and tribes of the Mobile River area (Galloway 1985:124; Mooney 1992:30).

Richard White classifies the early eighteenth-century Chickasawhay and Kunshak (Coosa) and their respective dependencies as separate divisions during the early eighteenth century (White 1985:37). Swanton mentions a fourth division, the Central (*Okla Chitto* or “Big People”). This division may have been an artifact of the French attempt to impose a hierarchical structure on the loose confederacy through a series of preferential gifts and status events to create a paramount chieftaincy among the Choctaw (Voss and Blitz 1988:128). The Jesuit missionary, Father Baudouin, who worked among the Choctaw in the first part of the eighteenth century, reported that the paramount chief was a recent institution, being at the time only some 20 or 25 years old (Swanton 1931:91; Voss and Blitz 1988:128).

While some sources may enumerate more than the three dominant divisions, evidence for the autonomy of these three divisions and the existence of divisional leaders comes from the earliest record of direct French contact with the Choctaw (Galloway 1982:163). The political role of these divisions cannot be overstressed. Their role was significant in the Choctaw Civil War (1746–50) since the opposing parties fissioned roughly along division boundaries (Swanton 1931:57; Galloway 1985).

In the early years of the eighteenth century, and presumably in prior years, the Choctaw were organized into localized matrilineages. These matrilineages owned the property of the society (Voss and Blitz 1988:127). Matrilineages undoubtedly enjoyed a ranking based on prestige. Swanton links matrilineages in a clan network; the clans, which cross-cut locales, did not own property as a unit (Swanton 1931:79–83). Swanton’s nontotemic clans among the Choctaw, however, may have been a late development, which appeared only in the nineteenth century, and was not extant in the eighteenth century (Galloway 1993:27–28).

The exogamous *Inhulata* and *Imoklasha* moieties were the prominent kinship relationship among the Choctaw which cross-cut the society. The moieties may have been identified with the White/Red duality common in Southeastern tribal societies. Membership in the moiety regulated behavior other than marriage; members of one moiety buried the members of the opposite moiety, for example. While the link between moiety membership and political loyalty is vague, moiety affiliation may have influenced the creation of the factions active in the Choctaw Civil War from 1746 to 1750 (Galloway 1985:125). The moiety distinction appears to have merged into a clan exogamy by the early years of the nineteenth century (Swanton 1931:80); the clan exogamy apparently arose with the decline of the moiety distinction.

Historical Background

The Choctaw entered written history with European contact. It is uncertain if Spanish explorers encountered any Native group that can be called Choctaw. Contact with the French, English, and Americans during the Early Historic period, however, did form the fundamental historical framework in which traditional Choctaw culture changed.

The De Soto Entrada (1539–1543)

Smarting from his battle with *Tascaluza* at *Mavilla* (*Mabila*) in October of 1540, Hernando De Soto and his remnant forces traveled north through the province identified in the chronicles as *Pafalaya* under the control of a chief called *Apafalaya*. By December 1540, the expedition was out of the province (Swanton 1985 [1939]:214). Place names cited in the various chronicles of the expedition attest to the area inhabited by Western Muskogean-speaking peoples. Names such as *Tali apakana* (*Plenty of Rocks*), *Moshuli asha* (Place Where Fire Has Gone Out) and *Cabusto/Zabusta* (Place of Burr-Oaks) mentioned in the chronicles for this leg of De Soto's excursion appear in various chronicles of the expedition (Swanton 1985 [1939]:218). The question is: since Choctaw, Chickasaw, Mobilian, and other Western Muskogean tongues are linguistically very similar, did the De Soto expedition penetrate or at least skirt lands occupied by the Choctaw? Early Spanish cartography which included the region reflect such confused notions of both hydrography and topography that they shed little of value on the question; the Alonso de Santa Cruz map reflects no interior place names since the author himself felt too little was known of that area (Galloway 1993:19–21). Since the term "Choctaw" does not surface in the early documents until 1675 (Galloway 1993:23), the paucity of the early documentary record also lends little light.

The actual locations of *Mavilla* and *Pafalaya* are the subject of controversy. Charles Hudson and his associates believe that the town of *Mavilla* lay in the vicinity of the Lower Cahaba River in central Alabama (Hudson *et al.* 1987:1). Caleb Curren and Keith Little locate the town farther to the southwest near the confluence of the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers (Little and Curren 1990:175, 183). The location of *Pafalaya* is believed by Hudson and his colleagues to be in the vicinity of the site of Moundville, about 19 km (12 mi) southwest of present-day Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in the Black Warrior Valley (Hudson *et al.* 1987:3–10). They associate the Moundville site with the town named *Moshuli asha* (*Moculixa*) (Hudson *et al.* 1987:8). Curren, on the other hand, places the province closer to present-day Demopolis, Alabama, near the confluence of the Tombigbee and Black Warrior Rivers (Little and Curren 1990:175, 184–85). Both areas appear to be beyond the boundaries of the traditional Homeland. Future archaeological investigations hopefully will clarify this matter.

Only with the establishment of a French presence in the Lower Mississippi Valley toward the end of the seventeenth century did European reports firmly place the Choctaw in the Homeland. With Henri de Tonti's voyage to the Choctaw in 1702 the principal European–Choctaw relation of the Early Historic Period began to take hold (Galloway 1985).

The French Contact Period (1700–1763)

Pierre LeMoyné, Sieur d'Iberville, governor of what would become the royal French colony of Louisiana, had learned of the Choctaw by April 1700 (Woods 1980:1). Situated on the northern and eastern boundary of the colony, populous and militarily potent, the Choctaws' geopolitical importance required French policy to bend to the task of maintaining amicable relations and dependable ties with the Choctaw. Overall the French were successful; clientage, however, was not the lot of the Choctaw. Both parties made gains and suffered losses.

French imperial policy in Louisiana attempted to maintain a fruitful relationship with native populations through a variety of approaches, but principally three: missionary work, military/political alliance, and commerce. Ecclesiastical rivalry, bureaucratic subterfuge, commercial weakness, imperial ambiva-

lence, martial intransigence, and Continental arrogance conspired to deny complete success to the French in their Gulf possessions.

The French missionary effect in the Louisiana colony was minimal due to the savage internecine struggle between the Jesuits and the Recollets. Because of this battle, any benefit the Church may have offered to the colony to maintain amity with native peoples was lost.

Politically, authority was divided along blurred lines between the governor in charge of defense and general administration and the *intendant* or *commissaire* with jurisdiction over finances and justice. Trade and commerce often fell under defense, but both trade and commerce were usually disputed territory. The strength of personalities often dictated their course.

Commercially, the colony led a tenuous existence. Never able to exploit the deerskin trade fully because of uncertain supplies of trade goods of uneven quality, the Louisiana French never approached the level of exploitation achieved by the English on the Atlantic coast (Woods 1980:97). The colony waffled between royal colonial status and something akin to a privatized commercial zone. In 1713, Antoine Crozat assumed complete financial and commercial control of the colony and attempted (despite single minded interference of the then governor Cadillac) to run the colony at a profit. French industrial weakness, political foot-dragging, and bureaucratic myopia limited any success. Continental French fiscal disasters led the central government to turn over all financial matters of the colony to the Scotsman John Law and his Company of the West. Through "galloping corruption" and wild, unsecured speculation, the Company created a financial bubble which burst in 1720 and which plunged the colony into near ruin. Iberville's attempt to anchor the colony in Indian trade lay in ruins (Brain 1979:262–63). Other jolts followed. The Natchez Revolt in 1729–30 and the Choctaw Civil War of 1746–50 are two major events that helped diminish the French hold on the colony. Both not only consumed resources but strained Indian ties, breaking them for at least half of the Choctaw towns during the attenuated Civil War. French control weakened continuously after the Natchez Revolt.

The space here is inadequate to describe the full complexity of the Choctaw-French relationship. The French, nonetheless, expended every effort to maintain communication with the interior tribes, as reflected in policies like the establishment of a corps of interpreters, cadets and cabin boys as well as adults, who served not only as translators between Natives and the French officialdom but also as "cultural brokers" between the two groups (Galloway 1987:109–111, 127). The persistence of vision and hard political toil of Iberville and his brother, Jean Baptiste LeMoynes, Sieur de Bienville, who served as governor of the colony several times, sustained sufficient bonds of mutual advantage to both Choctaw and French during most of the sixty-four-year existence of French Louisiana. Nevertheless, the convergence of the kinship-based Choctaw society and the absolutist French regime spawned misreadings and probably colored the course of the relationship (Galloway 1989). For their part, the French, as noted above, attempted to organize the Choctaw into a hierarchical system through which French suzerainty could operate. Status presents, medal distributions, and status recognition events were all used with varying degrees of success. This approach was followed by both the English and the early American administrations in the area to ever-escalating cost and frustration on the part of the imperial parties (DeRosier 1970:16).

The Choctaw did participate in the deerskin trade with the French, to whom they adhered initially because of the slave raids initiated by the English of the south Atlantic colonies. They played the frontier bulwark against the English to advantage; for example, they persuaded the French to reduce their commercial debt with threats of defection (Woods 1980:89); they became consumers of French production, particularly guns, powder and shot; and they learned to maneuver as a small-scale society among contending arms of a large-scale society. With adeptness, the Choctaw played the British and French imperial powers off against each other and thereby maintained a working independence. This process was abetted by their loosely structured confederacy (White 1985:64–65). The slide into the European market economy, with the attendant friction with the traditional Choctaw reciprocity exchange system, would,

however, ultimately undermine the native way of life (White 1985:91), but the movement was neither immediate nor unresisted.

Although they were not mercenaries or clients of the French, the Choctaw were in a chronic state of war during the French Contact period in large part because of their relationship with the French. Typically, the Choctaw battled either with the British surrogates, the Chickasaw, or with the Creeks during this period. The most destructive event of the period, the Choctaw Civil War (1746–50), is viewed by Galloway as a direct consequence of the Choctaw entanglement with the French. Under this view, the Choctaw Civil War was the result of the convergence of two processes: the French use of the Choctaw to enforce the French notion of juridical “blood revenge” and an attempt by factions within the Choctaw Confederacy to break free from French imperial influence. In the first process, the French insisted the Choctaw execute members of the tribe who had killed a Frenchman. Under traditional Choctaw practice, intra-tribal revenge for murder was carried out by family members of the victim and satisfied either by the death of the perpetrator or a relative substituted for the guilty party. The death of a Choctaw caused by an outsider was avenged by tribal members against members of the outside group. The French wanted the Choctaw to avenge the death of an outsider (a Frenchman) by executing another Choctaw, a process unknown to their traditional practice. The Choctaw, therefore, ideologically, sociopolitically, and procedurally were completely incapable of enforcing the Gallic formulation. The vigorous and persistent French insistence contributed to the factional antagonisms which characterized the civil war (Galloway 1985). In the second process, the ambitions of individual Choctaws to improve personal positions of power exploited the rifts that had grown between the war chief and the civil chief within the body politic of the Choctaw Confederacy (White 1985:64–65). Rout by European imperial rivalry, not failed Choctaw-French relations, however, finally forced the French from the area.

Peace of Paris to the Removal (1763-1830)

Control of the colony passed to the British and the Spanish at the end of the Seven Year’s War in 1763. No longer situated between contending imperial powers, the Choctaw were increasingly subjected to Anglo-Saxon commercial pressures; while the English continued to try to curry favor with status gifts and awards, they increasingly viewed the Choctaw strictly as consumers, subject to all the advantages and disadvantages of that status (White 1985:71). Among the greatest disadvantages were burgeoning commercial debt and liquor (DeRosier 1970:16–20; White 1985:84–85).

The American Revolution affected the Choctaw slightly. Choctaw scouts worked for Washington and Anthony Wayne during the war. In 1783, the Choctaw signed their first treaty with the American government, the Treaty of Hopewell, which defined boundaries as well as rights and duties between the government and the Choctaw.

By the time the Treaty of Hopewell was signed, Choctaw society had three-quarters of a century of experience dealing with the European. The Choctaw took what they desired and actively participated in relations with the Europeans not as passive recipients but as a small-scale society maintaining its integrity in the changing social and cultural environment. With the French, the Choctaw had been able to maintain a distance and control that distance. The Choctaw, unlike the Natchez, did not have to contend with French acquisition of their land. Americans did acquire Choctaw land in the years before the Removal. The Choctaws attempted, however, to continue to use a “play-off” strategy with the Americans and Spanish at the very end of the eighteenth century, as they had with the English and the French earlier in that century (White 1985:91).

Scholars divide the period of Choctaw-American relations prior to Removal (1830) into Accommodation (1780–1800) and Land Cession (1800–1830). Three views have been postulated to explain why policy changed around 1800 from Accommodation to Land Cession. The first explanation is that land-crazed Whites slaving for money, cotton, and statehood forced the U.S. government into acquiring land for them (Wells 1985:181–183). The second is that Jeffersonian paternalism toward Indian tribes

became the cornerstone of government policy during his first administration; the road to Removal was dictated solely by concern to preserve these groups from certain annihilation (Wells 1985:182). A third view holds that, while Jefferson was indeed paternalistic in his views on White-Indian relations, the change that occurred during his administration was prompted more by concerns for borderland defense against the Spanish than any other consideration. The first two land cession treaties, Ft. Adams and Hoe Buckintooa, are understandable from this last perspective. A mix of the foregoing explanations also may have been the case. What seems more important to me is the use of the Jeffersonian innovation in the hands of other men.

As some had with the French, some Choctaws identified with the policies of the American government. The very prominent chief, Pushmataha, for example, was incensed at the Creek insurrection against the Americans, feeling that it would only turn all Whites against all Indians (DeRosier 1970:34). Choctaw troops marched with Andrew Jackson both at Pensacola and New Orleans. After the War of 1812, however, American security interests waned in the area. Cession became part of the armature of both paternalism and land greed. As with any human endeavor, the history of the years immediately prior to the Removal was strewn with large dollops of compassion, avarice, invention, ignorance, confusion, and resistance. Not all these dollops fell on the plates one might expect.

In 1817, John C. Calhoun became Secretary of War and was therefore responsible for the formulation and administration of policy toward Indian groups. Central to his policy were three items: ending the legal status of Indian groups as corporate nations, protecting the Indian groups from annihilation, and inculcating the idea of individual land ownership as part of the "civilizing" movement. Calhoun never had the notion of forcing Indian acceptance of cession; Indians could remain on the land, but as citizens of individual states with no special legal status beyond that accorded any other free citizen (DeRosier 1970:43). The Choctaw were selected as the first recipients of the cession policy because they were considered by Calhoun and others to have traveled the greatest distance from "barbarism" toward "civilization."

His ally in these policies was Thomas L. McKenney, a Quaker businessman who started an education project among the Choctaw in 1816, served as Superintendent of Indian Trade from 1816 to 1820, and became the first Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1824. While McKenney led the movement to protect the Choctaw from unscrupulous White traders, and, along with Calhoun, developed a trader-licensing procedure and ejected undesirable Indian agents, he also led the eviction campaign with the stated purpose of preserving the tribes (Wells 1985:191-95). Education was the key; several missionary groups were enlisted in the task. The Civilization Fund Act of 1819 provided \$10,000 annually for Indian education.

Andrew Jackson became the champion of Removal in defense of Western interests. In 1820, Jackson was one of the commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Doak's Stand. This land cession treaty was a watershed for two reasons. First, the mechanism for Removal, exchange of Homeland territory for lands in Arkansas and farther west, first appeared in this treaty. Second, Jackson's suggestion, made during treaty negotiations, that the Choctaw warriors should elect chiefs whenever they desired a change of leadership, would have dramatic effect on subsequent intra-Choctaw debate on future treaties.

Problems arose in the execution of the swap of Homeland territory for land in the Arkansas Territory. White squatters began to encroach on lands set aside in Arkansas for the exchange envisioned in the Doak's Stand treaty. These White Arkansas interests began to agitate for modification of the exchange land boundary to push it farther west. While the boundary eventually was pushed west, this episode vastly complicated Choctaw-American relations. Future land-swap arrangements always had this example in the background, and it was used by the American government as a stick to goad the Choctaw. Any future cession required immediate removal and occupation of the exchange land in the West; otherwise, the government could not guarantee protection of the exchange lands from encroaching White settlement.

Within Choctaw society, political fissures developed between Choctaws of White and Indian ancestry and those of Choctaw ancestry only. The ascendancy of the warriors over the civil chiefs, begun during the Choctaw Civil War, now dominated Choctaw political life; occasionally warriors even threatened civil

chiefs (White 1985:111). Additionally, with the erosion of the authority of the towns' civil chiefs, the political potency of the towns themselves waned, and the three divisions now became the preeminent nodes of power in the Choctaw confederacy (White 1985:111). Two Choctaws of mixed ancestry, David Folsom and Greenwood LeFlore, while they agreed that less acculturated Choctaws might benefit from Removal, vehemently opposed further land cessions (Wells 1985:202; DeRosier 1970:92). They succeeded in becoming chiefs of the Eastern and Western Divisions, respectively, ousting the traditionalists, who tended toward accommodation with general removal. The basis of the new political power of the mixed-bloods became opposition to Removal (White 1985:125). The new-found authority was manifested in programs to overturn traditional behaviors. LeFlore banned traditional burial ceremonies and simultaneously strove to extend self-sufficiency when he encouraged cotton cultivation and weaving ventures (White 1985:127).

Jackson was President when the Indian Removal Act, which called for the removal of eastern Indian populations west of the Mississippi, was passed by Congress in May 1830. Earlier in the same year, the state of Mississippi passed a law which extended state jurisdiction over all tribes in Mississippi. These legislative initiatives stunned the Choctaw. The two actions led directly to the last cession treaty, the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek of 1830. Although mixed-bloods (predominantly Folsom, LeFlore, and Pitchlynn) founded their early political power on opposition to Removal, these legislative measures and the machinations of intra-Choctaw politics led, by August 1830, to the evaporation of opposition to negotiation with the American government over Removal. Any Choctaws opposed to Removal found themselves leaderless; opposition to Removal became a political irrelevancy (White 1985:142).

The Mississippi law extending state jurisdiction was the club that persuaded the Choctaw to agree to the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. At the time, the state claim to jurisdiction was backed up with a Federal threat to use arms to enforce the state mandate. Under the treaty, the U.S. Government would pay for removal expenses of people and essentials only, would provide western lands in exchange for Homeland territory, and would establish various annuities and land reservations in Mississippi to identified individuals and to a class of Choctaws who had improved their land and registered it within six months of treaty ratification. William Ward, one of two Choctaw agents, was assigned to register Choctaws for reservation land under the treaty. Ward is one of the more unsavory personalities in this history, because he spent most of his time trying to avoid registering anyone. Some did register after great effort.

By 1834, some 12,500 Choctaws had emigrated to the Indian Territory (the present state of Oklahoma) west of the Mississippi River. Three large treks took place. Despite the excruciatingly conscientious endeavors of George Gaines, who was assigned to coordinate the first removal of several thousand in 1831, bureaucratic confusion and infighting, horrendous weather, and entrepreneurial greed made the first trek a disaster. The second trek in 1832 was beset by a cholera epidemic and bad weather. Despite a good supply system, many Choctaws died of exposure. The final trek of only a few hundred individuals was accomplished without incident. Sadly, it was the Choctaw who actually covered the expenses of the Removal. The Removal expenses incurred by the U.S. Government were paid out of the proceeds of the sale of the Dancing Rabbit Creek lands to White settlers (DeRosier 1970:163).

After Removal

Some Choctaws remained in Mississippi, either to pursue land claims made under the treaty or because no persuasion existed to induce them to leave. For 20 years after Dancing Rabbit Creek, a labyrinthine series of land dispute and settlement tactics were used. By 1845, the Board of Choctaw Commissioners had heard 1,349 claims and allowed 1,023; the Secretary of Interior had approved 1,009. This number represented only part of the claims filed (Kidwell 1986:76–77). Pressure to emigrate continued. From 1845 to 1849, 5,120 left; between 1853 and 1854, 600 more left (Kidwell 1986:78). In 1860, an estimated 1,000 Choctaws remained in Mississippi. By 1900, most remaining Choctaws lived as sharecroppers or squatters on public and private land.

Most of the missions had shut down with the Removal. By 1893, however, some churches had been reestablished and became focal points of society and politics. Between 1892 and 1893, the state opened five Choctaw schools. Instruction was in English and Choctaw, although the “school year” lasted only 80 days.

The Mississippi Choctaw also survived a second removal attempt in the early years of the twentieth century. By 1918, Congress had passed legislation which created a Mississippi Choctaw agency in Philadelphia. This amounted to a *de facto* recognition of a Choctaw tribal entity in Mississippi (Kidwell 1986:89). Land purchases were authorized and began in 1921. Small “reservations” grew up around Choctaw communities (McKee and Murray 1986:122).

Between the Wars, schools were established in seven Choctaw communities by the state. The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians formed in 1945, established a tribal council, and adopted the present constitution. In the face of the Termination Act of 1953, an attempt to abolish the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) and to extinguish the legal corporate status of Indian tribes yet again, the Choctaw still made strides in health, education, and housing in the 1950s and 1960s. During the Kennedy years, the government deemphasized termination and stressed development. In 1968, the Indian Civil Rights Act buried the policy of termination. By the mid-seventies, the tribal administration was a full participant in all the social welfare programs sponsored by the Federal government. The tribal council established priorities and goals (McKee and Murray 1986:129). In 1974, the Philadelphia agency was run by its first Choctaw superintendent. Population grew rapidly in the seven communities. From 1960 to 1970 the population progressed from 2,594 to 3,116. In 1982, the population stood at 4,398. Economic growth, expanding household income, and education all are on the rise.*

This short history of the Choctaw in Mississippi since European contact is a necessary backdrop to discussing the material retrieved from the sites analyzed in this study. The archaeological work that resulted in these collections, however, needs first to be placed in the larger context of archaeological work in Mississippi on the Choctaw.

* This work was completed before the implications of casino gambling for the Choctaws were known. Today, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians is the 10th largest employer in the state of Mississippi
—Editor

3 Archaeological Background

Despite the importance of the Choctaw in the history of the Southeast, little archaeological work was pursued in the Choctaw Homeland. That situation is changing. Efforts to study the Choctaw past fall under four interrelated activities: the study of ethnohistorical material, including maps, journals, treaties, and courthouse records, to locate historic Choctaw towns and other settlements; the excavation and surface-collection activities at the sites found through the study of the ethnographic record; the survey of expanses of land in certain drainages to locate new sites and to determine the settlement patterns and land usage of the Choctaw; and the analysis of Choctaw ceramics to improve chronological control.

Early Work

Work with the ethnohistorical material, particularly use of historical maps, began with Henry S. Halbert (1837–1916), who became closely acquainted with the Choctaw during his educational work with Choctaw schools in the nineteenth century. A teacher, linguist, and historian, Halbert left the most comprehensive ethnographic account of the Choctaw prior to the work of John Swanton in the 1930s. Halbert's correction of the confused spelling of settlement names and locations enhanced the work that followed. Others were able to build on his work because of his concern with the exact location of the settlements by Township, Range, and quarter section. While Halbert lacked access to many of the early French writings and maps, he established an approach that today is the centerpiece of work by the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH) as well as archaeologists and others interested in the Choctaw (Blitz 1985:24–25; Millhouser 1988).

Henry B. Collins, who conducted the earliest systematic archaeological investigation of the Choctaw Homeland, used the work of Halbert with the 1772 map of Bernard Romans in the reconnaissance of east-central Mississippi in the summers of 1925 and 1926. In 1925, in the company of Hermes Knoblock of the MDAH, he visited the putative historic sites of Holihtasha, Yanabi, Yashu Iskitini (East Yazoo), Shomo Takali, and Ibetap Okla Iskitini in Kemper County; Halunlawasha and Kastasha in Neshoba County; Croatow in Newton County; Coosha (referred to by Collins also as Ponta) in Lauderdale County; and Yowanni in Wayne County. He also visited several mound sites, including Nanih Waiya, the mound associated with the Choctaw Origin Myth (Collins 1926:89, 1927:260). In the subsequent year he visited the Chickasawhay (Chickachae) site, where he made a surface collection that included sherds of a combed pottery type that later formed the sole basis of Ford's historic Choctaw pottery "complex" and would be named Chickachae Combed by Quimby in 1942. William Haag formally described the type (Haag 1953; Blitz 1985:22–23). Work on the historic Choctaw from Collins until the 1970s centered mostly on writing about this single pottery type.

Work Since 1970

In 1975 the MDAH conducted survey work in the upper Souinlovey Creek and upper Chickasawhay River drainages. The survey sought to relocate the historic towns of Oktakchinakbi, Bishkun, Chickasawhay, Okhatatalaia, Croatow, Tala, and Chunky Chitto. Using both Swanton's work, based on Halbert's interpretation of Romans's map, and early French maps, the survey identified the Wilson Pasture site (22-Js-534) in Jasper County as the village of Oktakchinakbi. The Hero site (22-Js-585), also in Jasper County on the upper reaches of the Souinlovey, was most likely Bishkun. Romans listed both towns as villages belonging to the Six Towns. Likewise, the 1975 survey team relocated Collins's candidate for the town of Chickasawhay (22-Ck-502). A site directly north, however, the Hall site (22-Ck-505), was believed by the team to cover about four times the area of 22-Ck-502 and led Penman to postulate the Hall

site to be Chickasawhay town (Penman 1978:133–37). In 1985 a Mississippi State University survey team rewalked the Hall site during their work at 22-Ck-502 and found little on the surface (J. O’Hear, personal communication). Penman, in his paper on the Choctaw Removal, encompassed both 22-Ck-502 and 22-Ck-505 under the town name of Chickasawhay (Penman 1983:286).

Penman followed the 1975 survey with a reconnaissance in 1976 to relocate the Southern division towns not located the year before. Penman made a surface collection at the Little Laura site (22-Nw-513) in Newton County east of Conehatta, Mississippi. While the site correlates precisely with Swanton’s location for Okhatatalaia (Okkatalaya), Penman believed the site to be only one of the satellite villages of this town (Penman 1978:138).

In the early 1980s several projects were undertaken at the urging of the MDAH to survey, surface collect, and excavate in the Choctaw Homeland. In 1982, under the aegis of the University of Southern Mississippi (USM), a large scale survey of the upper Sucarnoochee River drainage, primarily around the Pawticfaw Creek and its tributary area in Kemper County, was undertaken. As a result, 75 sites were discovered, of which 59 had “definite or probable Choctaw components” (Blitz and Voss 1988:125). Archaeologists from the USM returned to Kemper County in 1984 to survey and conduct test excavations in a proposed industrial park site. This work led Voss and Blitz to propose a three-tiered settlement pattern and a ceramic complex for the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Choctaw period.

The first level of settlement they described encompasses very small sites, characterized by a handful of sherds and found in “all topographic settings...probably reflecting either specialized resource procurement or post-deposition disturbance.” The next tier, the household/hamlet settlement, is characterized by “relatively dense artifact concentrations often 20 to 40 m in diameter” and usually lies on “low, flat ridges above a permanent water source.” The final settlement type is the community made up of several household/hamlet sites “in nonnucleated clusters on low ridges” (Blitz and Voss 1988:140).

Voss and Blitz suggested a Choctaw Phase ceramic complex which consisted of the following types: Fatherland Incised; Chickachae Combed; Kemper Combed; Nicked Rim Incised (a provisional type tempered with fine grog, sand, and shell); Bell Plain; Mississippi Plain; an unclassified plain ware tempered with a mix of fine grog, sand, and shell; and an unclassified plain ware tempered with fine sand only (Voss and Blitz 1988:134). Known vessel forms for the complex included simple bowls and jars, globular jars, and carinated bowls. So defined, the phase lasted about a century from the latter half of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century (Ibid:137). Evidence from the state of Oklahoma indicates that the Choctaw continued the combing decoration tradition after Removal, perhaps as late as 1860, after which date few combed sherds are found in Oklahoma sites (Gettys 1989:416). In the early twentieth century, Choctaws of the Bayou Lacombe community in Louisiana still produced ceramic smoking pipes, but ceramic vessel production lay only in the childhood memories of elderly residents (Bushnell 1909:12).

Voss and Blitz perceived the complex they defined to be most similar in style and form to the Natchez phase ceramic complex (A.D.1682–1729) in the Natchez Bluffs region of Mississippi. These similarities, along with those seen in materials from Louisiana sites (e.g., Nick Plantation), “reflect either a common developmental relation, widespread sharing of ceramic styles by historic groups or both” (Voss and Blitz 1988:137). The ceramic collection made from sealed contexts at the western Alabama site of Fort Tombecbé, a French garrison established on the Tombigbee River in 1736, suggested to Blitz that the combed varieties of ceramics, which were absent from the Tombecbé collection, had a time depth no earlier than 1760 (Blitz 1991:5). Part of the work in the 1980s involved the recovery of some of the collections analyzed in this study. I now turn to the analysis of all the collections from the seven sites which comprise this study.

4 Collections Analysis

The collections analyzed in this study come from seven sites within the Choctaw Homeland. Six sites lie in Lauderdale County and comprise the Lauderdale Group: Frederickson/Coosa (22-Ld-512), Oklahoma (22-Ld-532), Wild Horse (22-Ld-533), Deeryard (22-Ld-534), Bill Brown #1 (22-Ld-517), and Bill Brown #2 (22-Ld-535). These sites are associated with the Eastern Division of the Homeland. The seventh site, Chickasawhay (22-Ck-502), lies in Clarke County and is associated with the Southern Division.

Chickasawhay (22-Ck-502)

Chickasawhay (Chickachae) lies in the southwest quarter of Section 18, Township 3 North, Range 15 East, approximately 1.8 km southeast of Wautubee, Mississippi. Collins, based on the map and ethnographic analysis of Halbert as well as his own visit to the site, considered 22-Ck-502 to be the location of the historic Choctaw town of Chickasawhay, one of the leading towns in the Southern Division of the Choctaw confederacy (Collins 1927).

Located in west-central Clarke County, the site sits directly west of a series of meander loops of the Chickasawhay River at an elevation of 75.5 m above sea level. Two uncontrolled surface collections were made in the spring of 1985: an avocational archaeologist, Terry Sisson, made one collection (Sisson) and a team from Mississippi State University (MSU) made a second collection. At this time, the landowner had installed across the site a series of pine-tree windrows at irregular intervals which began on the south side of the site near the county road and continued north (Figure 4.1). The site sloped gently downhill from the first windrow toward the back of the plantings. The site investigated measured approximately 130 m by 180 m.

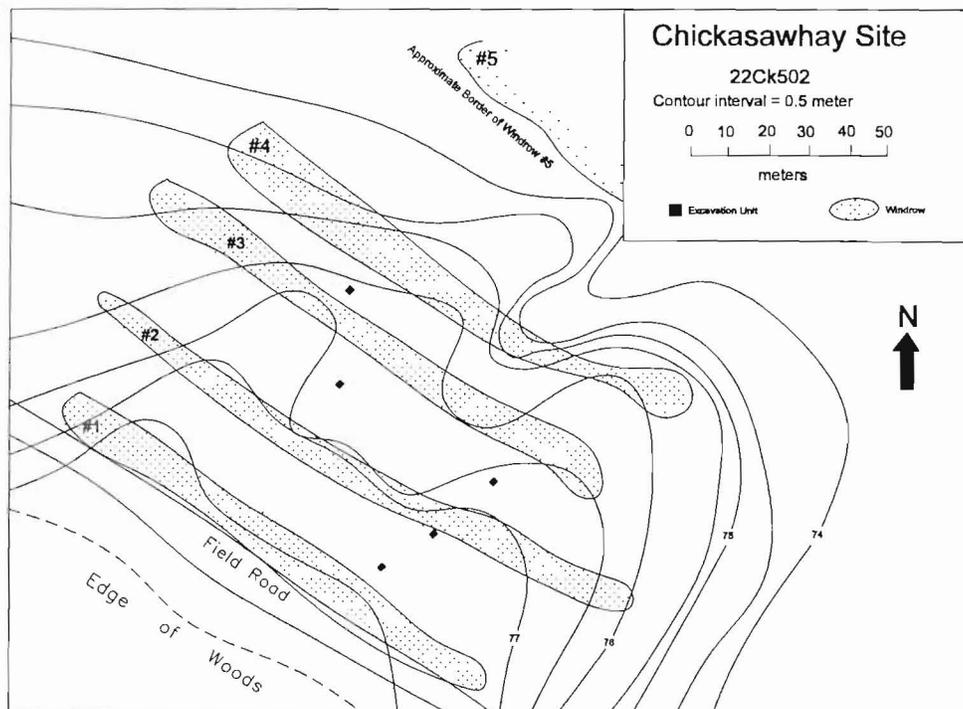


Figure 4.1. Chickasawhay site (22-Ck-502).

During the summer of the same year, a second MSU team made a controlled surface collection. The controlled surface collection was conducted in the clear areas to the south of each of the windrows. The grid consisted of the five windrows from south to north (numbered 1–5) and 10-m intervals (labeled by letter) which began from the baseline on the east side of the site and proceeded toward the west. At the end of the excavation season, the team had the clearing between Windrow 1 and Windrow 2 scraped with a grader down to the top of subsoil. This grader cut was identified as Unit 2, which contained the only probable cultural feature, Feature 28. The feature was either a small pit or a large post mold, measuring 33 cm by 32 cm and 21 cm deep. It contained two sherds (Addis Plain and Fatherland Incised), fragments of glass, and fragments of chert, Tallahatta quartzite, and sandstone. The team also dug six 1-m² units by arbitrary 10-cm levels. The soil was dry-screened through 6 mm mesh.

Aboriginal Ceramics

Of all the aboriginal ceramics recovered at the site, 56% are classified as Mississippi Plain (Table 4.1). Of these sherds, 80% are *var. Como*, unburnished plain sherds with medium to fine shell inclusions (Blitz 1985:66). Other varieties of Mississippi Plain include *var. Wilson Pasture* and *var. Enterprise*. Other shell-tempered ceramics include McKee Island Brushed, red slipped wares, and unclassified incised wares. Three of the shell-tempered unclassified incised sherds bear unique rectilinear and curvilinear designs (Figure 4.2: k–m and Appendix A).

Sand-tempered ceramics include Chickachae Combed, Baldwin Plain, and Doctor Lake Incised. The fine sand-tempered Doctor Lake Incised, associated with the confluence basin of the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers which forms the upper Mobile River area, bear notches or punctations on top or on the face of the rims with diverse decorations near the rim, including parallel incised lines descending from the lip, nested rectilinear designs or chevrons, and zoned triangles (Fuller *et al.* 1984). Similar decoration on Addis-paste wares also appears in these collections; these ceramics are designated grog-tempered Unclassified Incised, Treatments A–D (Table 4.1, Figure 4.2, and Appendix A). The apparent connection to the upper Mobile River area may confirm the claim that the Chickasawhays came from that region between 1690 and 1700 (Mooney 1992). Minority types include Baldwin Plain *vars. Blubber* and *Lubbub*.

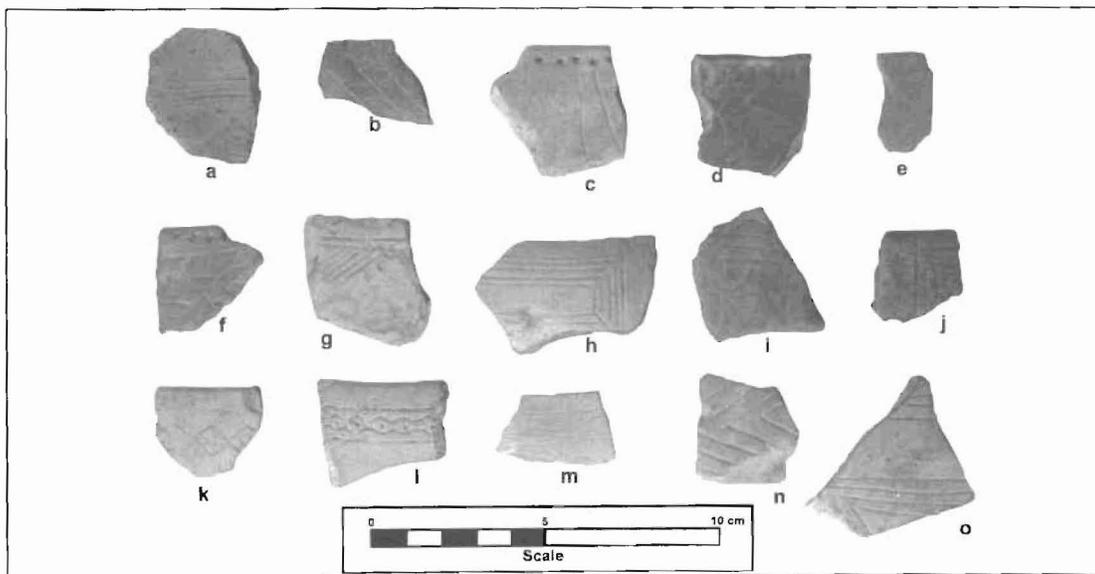


Figure 4.2. Aboriginal ceramics from Chickasawhay: a, limestone-tempered unclassified incised; b–j, grog-tempered unclassified incised (Treatments A–D); k–m, shell-tempered unclassified incised; n–o, grog-tempered unclassified incised.

Table 4.1. Aboriginal Ceramics.

Temper	Type	Ck-502	Ld-512	Ld-532	Ld-517	Ld-533	Ld-534	Ld-535
Limestone	Unclassified Incised	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bone	Turkey Paw Plain	—	7	—	—	—	—	—
Shell	McKee Island Brushed	38	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Old Town Red	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Unclassified Incised	37	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Mississippi Plain	1007	76	19	—	—	—	—
	<i>v. Wilson Pasture</i>	190	20	14	—	—	—	—
	<i>v. Como</i>	796	54	5	—	—	—	—
	<i>v. Enterprise</i>	21	2	—	—	—	—	—
	Bell Plain	—	—	9	—	—	—	—
	Sand	Chickachae Combed	30	4	1	—	—	1
Doctor Lake Incised		24	—	—	—	—	—	—
Unclassified Incised		45	1	—	—	—	—	—
Unclassified Pinched		2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Baldwin Plain		30	4	—	—	—	—	—
Unclassified Plain		17	3	8	—	—	—	—
Adorno		1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Podal Fragment		—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Sand/Grog		Unclassified Incised	19	3	—	—	—	—
Grog	Fatherland Incised	297	1	5	—	—	—	—
	<i>v. Fatherland</i>	83	—	4	—	—	—	—
	<i>v. Nancy</i>	11	—	—	—	—	—	—
	<i>v. Bayou Goula</i>	69	—	—	—	—	—	—
	<i>v. Unspecified</i>	134	1	1	—	—	—	—
	Kemper Combed	27	28	37	—	—	—	—
	Red Slip	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
	No Slip	22	28	37	—	—	3	—
	Chicot Red	42	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Mulberry Creek Cordmarked	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Leland Incised	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Unclassified Brushed	—	—	14	—	—	—	—
	Unclassified Punctated	1	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 4.1, Continued.

Temper	Type	Ck-502	Ld-512	Ld-532	Ld-517	Ld-533	Ld-534	Ld-535
Grog	Unclassified Punctated/Incised	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Unclassified Incised	31	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Treatment A	16	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Treatment B	7	1	—	—	—	—	—
	Treatment C	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Treatment D	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Baytown Plain	—	19	27	—	—	—	—
	Addis Plain	131	85	268	—	—	—	—
	w/shell	24	32	141	—	—	11	—
	w/o shell	113	53	127	—	—	3	—
	Pinched Rim	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Pipe Fragment	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Handle Fragment	2	—	—	—	—	—	—

Of the grog-tempered ceramics recovered, varieties of Fatherland Incised comprise 56% (Figure 4.3). Minority types include Kemper Combed, Chicot Red, and Mulberry Creek Cordmarked.

Aboriginal Pipe

The Sisson collection includes two aboriginal pipe fragments, a mouthpiece fragment and a bowl fragment, made of fine grog ware. The fragment from the mouthpiece is decorated with small punctations

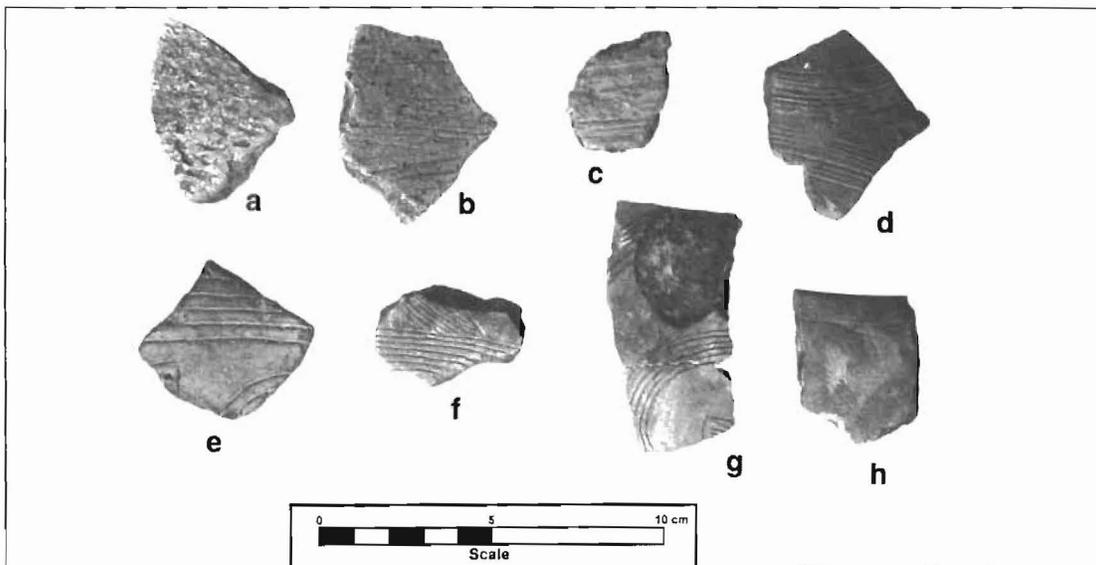


Figure 4.3. Aboriginal ceramics from Chickasawhay: a, Mulberry Creek Cordmarked; b-c McKee Island Brushed; d-h, Fatherland Incised.

around the vent hole entrance. The diameter of this fragment is 15 mm. The bowl fragment, broken longitudinally, is 10 mm in diameter at the bottom and about 20 mm at the opening of the bowl.

Aboriginal Lithics

Five Tallahatta quartzite whole projectile points and four fragments appear in the collections. All the whole points are stemmed. A definitive typing of Tallahatta points has not yet been achieved (J. O'Hear, personal communication). These specimens are most likely all Middle Woodland in age (Ensor 1981). Miscellaneous stone includes chunks of unmodified Tallahatta quartzite, unmodified sandstone, ground sandstone, a nutting stone hewn of sandstone, sandstone with abrasion grooves, Tallahatta quartzite bifaces, biface fragments and flakes, chunks of Kosciusko quartzite, unmodified chert pebbles, and a heated modified chert flake. Included also are chunks of daub, petrified wood, and fired clay (Table 4.2).

Aboriginal Gunflints

Three gunflints of Indian manufacture were recovered (Table 4.3). One was discovered on the surface close to Windrow 4. The gunflint recovered there is manila-colored chert with a dull finish. Square in form, the gunflint is carefully flaked over its entire surface. A second gunflint, found in the CSC, is made of Coastal Plain agate, is rectangular in form, and is carefully flaked over most of its surface. The third gunflint is made of Tallahatta quartzite and was found on the surface of Unit 2. It is nearly square and finely flaked (Figure 4.4).

European Gunflints

A total of 12 whole spall gunflints and one spall fragment belong to the collections (Table 4.3 and Figure 4.4). They range in color from honey-white through honey to light gray to dark gray to a rich brown. These gunflints appear to be French in source and manufacture (Appendix B).

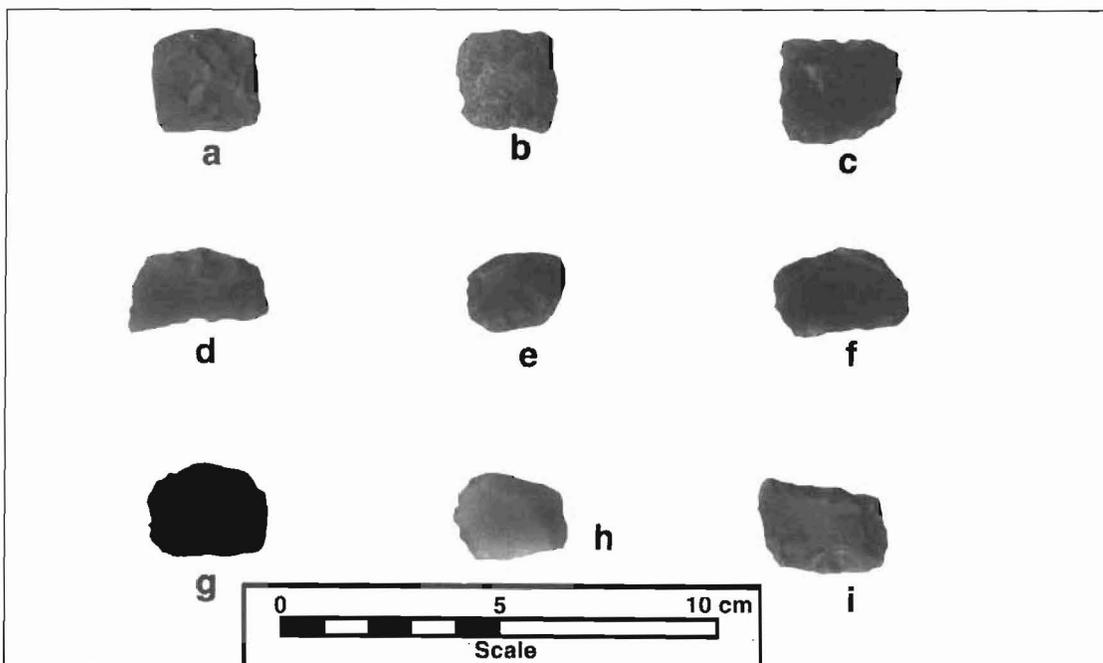


Figure 4.4. Gunflints from Chickasawhay: a, aboriginal (chert), b, aboriginal (Tallahatta quartzite); c, aboriginal (Coastal Plain agate); d-i, European spalls.

Table 4.2. *Aboriginal Lithics and Other Artifacts.*

Material		Ck-502	Ld-512	Ld-532	Ld-517	Ld-533	Ld-534	Ld-535
Tallahata Quartzite	Points (whole)	5	1	—	—	—	—	—
	Points (fragments)	4	11	—	—	—	—	—
	Biface	11	11	—	1	—	9	—
	Uniface	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
	Flake	33	37	5	2	16	34	1
	Debitage	28	30	6	—	10	—	—
	Abrasion Grooved	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
	Ground	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Unmodified Chunk	25	34	—	1	23	29	5
Kosciusko Quartzite	CSPP	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
	Unmodified Chunk	2	—	—	—	—	1	—
Chert	Biface	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
	Flake	1	12	1	—	—	7	—
	Pebble	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Sandstone	Abrasion Grooved	1	—	—	—	—	16	—
	Nutting Stone	1	1	—	1	—	2	—
	Pitted	1	—	—	—	2	—	—
	Ground	2	—	—	—	2	1	—
	Unmodified Chunk	124	79	995	4	24	232	11
Miscellaneous Lithic	Hematite	—	—	2	—	—	21	—
	Ocher	—	36	2	3	—	—	—
	Petrified Wood	1	42	21	—	6	59	3
	Limestone Ground	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
	Limestone Chunk	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
	Quartz Pebble	—	4	—	—	—	2	1
	Limonite Chunk	—	10	—	—	—	—	—
	Fire Cracked Rock	—	4	—	—	—	—	—
Miscellaneous Other	Brick Fragments	26	18	—	—	1	11	—
	Daub	25	—	1	—	—	—	—
	Mortar Fragments	8	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Fossilized Shell	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
	Charcoal	34	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 4.3. Gunflints.

Origin	Type	Ck-502	Ld-512	Ld-532	Ld-517	Ld-533	Ld-534	Ld-535
Aboriginal	Blade-like	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
European	Spall	12	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Spall Fragments	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Blade	—	1	1	—	—	1	—
	Blade Fragments	—	—	1	—	—	—	—

Euro-American Ceramics

Fragments of Scratch Blue stoneware, tin-enameled earthenware, creamware, pearlware, and white-ware constitute the non-aboriginal ceramics collection (Table 4.4). Tin-enameled earthenware is called delftware in England, faience in France, and maiolica in Spain and Italy, where it had been used from the fourteenth century onward (Noël Hume 1970:106). Faience often has a blue glossy tint with decoration outlined in dark blue to black. This type occurs on French sites before 1755 (Noël Hume 1970:141). The fragments here are bits of faience.

Included is a fragment from the lip of a green, lead-glazed earthenware vessel; the paste is light red in color with a white underslip. This description conforms to the Type A group in the classification of earthenware from the Trudeau site and dates to approximately 1760 (Steponaitis 1979:45).

Table 4.4. Euro-American Ceramics.

Ware/Type	Decoration	Vessel	Area	Ck502	Ld512	Ld532	Ld517	Ld533	Ld534	Ld535
Porcelain										
Porcelain	Stenciled	Plate	Body	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Stoneware										
Brown	Plain	Unknown	Body	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
			Base	—	1	—	—	—	—	
	Wheel-turned	Unknown	Body	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
			Base	—	—	1	—	—	1	—
	Mold-made	Unknown	Body	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
			Base	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Scratch Blue		Plate	Body	1	—	—	—	—	—	
Earthenware										
Astbury Ware		Jar	Top	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Faience	Plain	Plate	Body	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Bowl	Body	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Green-glazed	White Slip	Bowl	Lip	1	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 4.4, Continued.

Ware/Type	Decoration	Vessel	Area	Ck502	Ld512	Ld532	Ld517	Ld533	Ld534	Ld535	
Creamware											
	Plain	Plate	Rim	2	4	—	—	—	—	—	
			Body	1	26	—	—	—	—	—	
			Base	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		Bowl	Rim	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	
		Unknown			—	2	—	—	—	—	
Pearlware											
Annular	Banded	Bowl	Rim	—	3	3	—	—	—	—	
			Body	—	9	11	—	—	1	1	
			Base	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	
	Wormtrail	Bowl	Body	—	1	8	—	—	—	—	
			Base	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	
	Mocha	Bowl	Body	—	2	6	—	—	—	—	
Transfer Print		Plate	Rim	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	
			Body	—	17	3	—	—	2	1	
			Base	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	
		Bowl	Rim	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	
			Body	—	4	1	—	—	1	—	
	Unknown			—	2	3	—	—	—		
Handpainted	Blue	Plate	Rim	1	4	—	—	—	1	—	
			Body	—	15	6	—	—	2	2	
			Base	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	
		Bowl	Rim	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	
		Cup	Body	—	5	3	—	—	1	—	
		Cup Handle			—	—	—	—	—	1	—
		Unknown			—	3	11	—	—	—	—
Polychrome		Plate	Rim	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
			Body	—	3	5	—	—	1	—	
			Base	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	
		Bowl	Rim	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	
		Cup	Body	1	1	7	—	—	—	—	
Polychrome		Cup	Base	—	—	4	—	—	—		

Table 4.4, Continued.

Ware/Type	Decoration	Vessel	Area	Ck502	Ld512	Ld532	Ld517	Ld533	Ld534	Ld535
		Unknown		—	—	8	—	—	—	—
Edged	Blue-Embossed	Plate	Rim	—	6	16	—	—	1	2
	Blue-Plain	Plate	Rim	—	9	9	—	—	—	—
	Blue-Embossed	Bowl	Rim	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
	Green-Embossed	Plate	Rim	—	6	4	—	—	—	—
	Green-Hatched	Plate	Rim	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
	Green-Embossed	Bowl	Rim	—	1	2	—	—	—	—
	Green-Hatched	Bowl	Rim	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
	Green-Plain	Plate	Rim	—	3	2	—	—	—	—
Plain		Plate	Rim	1	6	4	—	—	—	—
			Body	3	64	5	—	—	—	—
			Base	—	15	24	—	—	—	—
		Embossed Plate	Rim	—	2	1	—	—	—	—
		Bowl	Rim	—	4	5	—	—	—	—
			Body	1	22	6	—	—	—	—
			Base	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
		Pot	Spout	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
		Unknown		—	13	60	1	7	—	—
	Whiteware									
Plain		Plate	Rim	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
			Body	1	16	4	—	—	—	—
			Base	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
		Bowl	Rim	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
			Body	—	8	1	—	—	—	—
			Base	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
		Unknown		—	4	11	—	—	—	—
Other										
		Planter	Rim	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Unknown Paste		Unknown		—	33	—	—	—	—	—
Clay Pipes										
Kaolin			Stem	—	1	—	—	—	—	—

Metal

Several flintlock fragments were recovered. The most dramatic is a section of a serpentine side plate found in the surface scrap of Unit 2. The associated flintlock dates from 1725 to 1770. The specimen here matches a section on an English Type G gun (Hamilton 1980:68–71) (Table 4.5 and Figure 4.5). The end section of the buttplate of an English Type G gun is part of the Sisson surface collection. The Sisson collection also contains a tine from the buttplate of a French Type D flintlock (Figure 4.5). The French D flintlock dates to 1730–1760 (Brain 1979:212–213). Two gunflint vise caps number among the metal artifacts.

Unclassified knife blade fragments, clasp knife blade fragments, and a fragment from the handle of a clasp knife are included in the collections. A clasp knife looks much like a pocket knife. The clasp knife handle fragment resembles the Class I, Series B, Type 3 knives found at Fort Michilimackinac (Stone 1974:267). These were dated by an association with a feature which dated to after 1740–1745, but other evidence may put the knives as late as after 1760 (Stone 1974:267–268). One iron harness buckle from Chickasawhay (Figure 4.5) appears to match one found at Ft. Michilimackinac, which was occupied from approximately 1715–17 to 1780–81 (Stone 1974:8–12, 299).

A brass kettle bail attachment is included in the Sisson collection (Figure 4.5). The bail is a Type A, variety 1 bail attachment and dates to about 1760 (Brain 1979:165–166). A brass matchstick box engraved with horseshoes and a jockey's cap was also found on the surface. Similar tin match boxes date to the American Civil War period (Lord 1975:115).

One iron fragment appears to be part of a scissors-like candle snuffer (L. Carnes-McNaughton, personal communication). The fragment is the bowl of the snuffer and part of one of the scissor blades (Lindsey 1964:281). Other metal artifacts include wrought iron nails, a spatula-tipped spike, and a fragment of an iron Dutch oven leg.

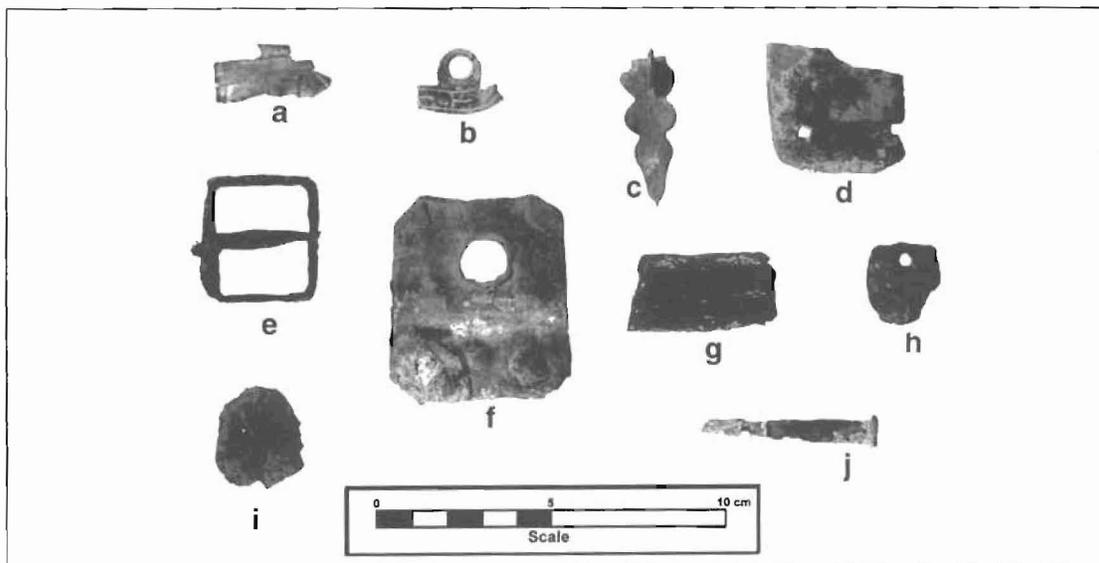


Figure 4.5. Metal artifacts from Chickasawhay: a, ramrod fusil; b, serpentine side plate (English Type G), c, tine (French Type D); d, buttplate; e, harness buckle; f, kettle bail; g, knife blade; h, flintlock vise cap; i, pot leg fragment; j, square head nail

Table 4.5. Metal.

Category	Item	Ck-502	Ld-512	Ld-532	Ld-517	Ld-533	Ld-534	Ld-535
Firearm	Flintlock Vise Cap	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Flintlock Cock ("Brown Bess")	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
	Serpentine Side Plate	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Ramrod Ferrule	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Buttplate Tine (French "D")	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Buttplate Fragment (English "G")	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lead Shot	1	6	4	—	—	—	—
Nails	Wrought (Whole)	18	6	7	—	—	1	—
	Wrought (Fragments)	13	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Machine Cut	—	—	4	—	—	—	—
	Spike	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
Knives	Pocket Knife Blade	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Clasp Blade Fragment	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Clasp Handle Fragment	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Unclassified Blade Fragment	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Clothing	Button (Brass)	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
Buckles	Harness	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Belt Fragments	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
	Unclassified Brass (Whole)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
	Unclassified Iron (Whole)	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
Utensils	Spoon Fragments (Brass)	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
	Spoon Fragments (Pewter)	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
Cooking	Kettle Bail Attachment (Brass)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Dutch Oven Leg (Iron)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Pot Fragment (Iron)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
	Skillet Fragments (Iron)	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
Other	Bridle Bit (Silver)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
	Hoe Blades (Modern)	1	3	—	—	—	—	—
	Possible Candle Snuffer	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Chest Hinge	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Tack (Modern)	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
	Screw (Modern)	—	—	1	—	—	—	—

Table 4.5, Continued.

Category	Item	Ck-502	Ld-512	Ld-532	Ld-517	Ld-533	Ld-534	Ld-535
Other	Match Box Fragment	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Filigree Fragment	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
	Lead Sprue	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Lead Slag	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
	Lead Clasp	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Possible Lead Seal	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
	Barbed Wire Fragments	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Railway Spike	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Agricultural Miscellany	10	9	1	—	—	—	—
	Unidentified	13	3	—	—	—	—	—

Glass Beads

A hundred twenty whole beads were found. Several bead fragments also are part of the collections. Ninety-five percent of the beads are drawn; the balance are wound.

Table 4.6. Glass Beads.

	Classification ¹	Ck-502	Ld-512	Ld-532	Ld-517	Ld-533	Ld-534	Ld-535
Drawn	IA (Whole)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	IA1 (Whole)	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
	IIA1 (Whole)	80	—	—	—	—	—	—
	IIA1 (Fragment)	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
	IIA3 (Whole)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	IIA5 (Whole)	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
	IIA6 (Whole)	23	—	—	—	—	—	—
	IIA7 (Fragment)	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	IIA8 (Whole)	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	IIA10 (Whole)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	IIB7 (Fragment)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	If (Fragment)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	IVbb9	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
	Wound	WIA1 (Fragment)	1	—	—	—	—	—
WID (Whole)		4	—	—	—	—	—	—
WIIB2 (Fragment)		1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Unclassified Rose Brown		—	—	1	—	—	—	—

¹All of the categories used here are defined in the study of the Trudeau site (Brain 1979:98–113) except for If and IVbb9, which are defined in the Kidd and Kidd guide to glass beads (Kidd and Kidd 1983).

Vessel Glass

Olive green fragments, probably from wine or other alcoholic beverage bottles, dominate. Two olive green bottle kick pieces with remnants of a pontil mark are included. A pontil is a long rod used to hold the still glowing but shaped bottle at the base while the lip is severed from the blowpipe. One pontil mark appears to be made by a blowpipe pontil. The French preferred using blowpipe and glass tipped pontils until the middle of the eighteenth century; the English had switched to using a sand/glass tipped pontil by 1720 (Brain 1979:85). The second pontil mark, which may be from a sand-tipped pontil, is on a base fragment with a sizeable part of the body of the vessel intact. The dimensions of the base, the depth of the kick, and the remnant of the straight body wall indicate that the fragment may be from a cylindrical bottle which dates to circa 1730s (Brain 1979:87). Flask fragments were also located. The glass fragments constitute the bulk of the non-aboriginal artifacts retrieved.

Table 4.7. Vessel Glass and Other Glass Artifacts.

Form	Fragment Location	Color	Ck-502	Ld-512	Ld-532	Ld-517	Ld-533	Ld-534	Ld-535
Pane		Clear	4	3	1	—	—	—	—
Bottle	Rim & Neck	Olive Green	4	—	1	—	—	1	—
		Light Green	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
		Cobalt Blue	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
	Neck Only	Clear	2	2	1	—	—	1	—
		Olive Green	2	3	—	—	—	1	—
		Light Green	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Amber	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Amethyst	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
	Shoulder	Clear	2	—	—	—	—	1	—
		Olive Green	4	—	5	—	—	4	—
		Light Green	—	—	4	—	—	1	—
		Cobalt Blue	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Amethyst	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Body	Clear	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
		Olive Green	41	22	18	—	—	17	1
		Light Green	7	—	17	—	—	3	—
		Amber	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
		Amethyst	12	6	—	—	—	1	—
		Aqua	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Base	Clear	5	1	2	—	—	—	—
Olive Green		11	3	1	—	—	3	—	
Light Green		—	1	—	—	—	—	—	

Table 4.7, *Continued.*

Form	Fragment Location	Color	Ck-502	Ld-512	Ld-532	Ld-517	Ld-533	Ld-534	Ld-535	
Bottle	Base	Amethyst	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	
		Clear	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	
	w/Pontil	Olive Green	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	
	w/o Pontil	Olive Green	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	
		Aqua	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		Cobalt Blue	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	
Tumbler	Body	Lead Glaze	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Base	Lead Glaze	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
Medicine Bottle	Body	Clear	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
Flask	Lip	Cobalt Blue	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	
	Neck	Lime Green	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Body	Olive Green	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—
		Light Green	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—
		Amber	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
		Amethyst	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Lime Green	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Clear	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Other	Candy Bowl	Clear	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Dish/Bowl	Clear	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Bowl Body	Amethyst	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Unknown	Amber	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	
	Unknown	Olive Green	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	
	Unknown	Light Green	5	—	5	—	—	—	—	
	Unknown	Clear	4	10	13	—	—	—	—	
	Unknown	Milk White	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Unknown	Smoked Rose	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	

Animal and Plant Remains

A small number of animal remains appears in the site collections. Other than a single hickory nut shell fragment, no other plant remains appear in any other site collections (Table 4.8).

Summary

The site appears to have been occupied for much of the eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth century. The Midpoint Method (Appendix C) generates an occupation span 1700–1860 (Figure 4.6).

Table 4.8. Animal and Plant Remains.

Type	Item	Ck502	Ld512	Ld532	Ld517	Ld533	Ld534	Ld535
Deer	First Phalange	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Astragalus	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Humerus Fragment	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
	Long Bone Fragments	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Possible Right Metacarpus	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Molar (Adult)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Mandible (Adult)	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cow	Astragalus	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Right Tibia (Immature)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Right Proxial Radius (Immature)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Miscellaneous	Mammal							
	Distal End of Long Bone	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Femur of Large Mammal	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Unidentified Mammal	4	6	—	—	—	—	—
	Miscellaneous Fragments	9	6	—	—	—	—	—
	Miscellaneous Burned Fragments	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Turtle Carapace Fragment	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
Hickory Nut	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	

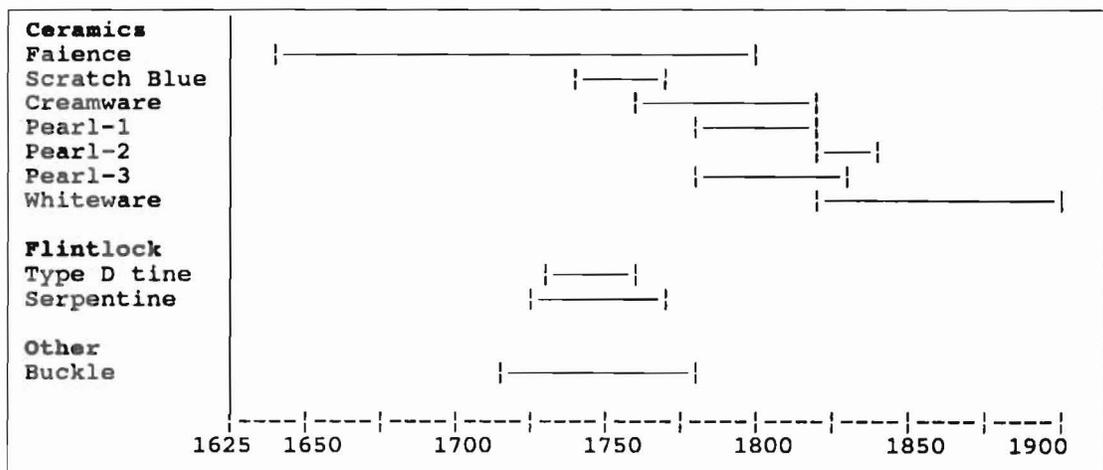


Figure 4.6. Approximate time spans for selected Euro-American artifacts from Chickasawhay (22-Ck-502). (Key: Pearl-1, blue handpainted; Pearl-2, polychrome; and Pearl-3, plain ware.)

Figure 4.7 shows the composite ceramic distribution using the Steponaitis-Kintigh Percentile Method (Appendix C). Based only on the Euro-American ceramic artifacts, the Percentile Method is used in this figure to generate two occupation spans: 1750–1840 using the 12.5–87.5 percentile boundaries and 1780–1840 using the 35–90 percentile boundaries (Appendix C). The mean ceramic date for the site is 1801. Other dated artifacts which cannot meet the criteria required for use in the two methods above, however, also indicate an occupation associated with most of the eighteenth century. The clasp knife fragments, the kettle bail, the green, lead-glazed earthenware fragment, and the bottle kick fragment are all associated with the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century.

In overview, the artifact collection is overwhelmingly aboriginal in nature. The three aboriginal gunflints retrieved are unique; no other site collection analyzed for this paper included aboriginal gunflints. Euro-American ceramic and glass fragments are few. The European materials are dominated by spall gunflints of probable French manufacture (Hamilton 1980:210; Hamilton and Emery 1988:13), glass trade beads, and vessel glass. No architectural features were uncovered. While there is evidence of occupation other than by historic Choctaws, the artifact collection does reflect a strong historic Indian occupation which began in the early part of the eighteenth century and lasted at least into the early nineteenth century.

Frederickson/Coosa (22-Ld-512)

Frederickson/Coosa (22-Ld-512) lies in the northeast quarter of Section 25, Township 8 North, Range 16 East. The site is situated near the junction of Lost Horse Creek and Wildhorse Creek in the northeast quarter of Section 25. Lost Horse Creek continues east to join Ponta Creek. These watercourses are part of the Sucarnoochee River drainage. Northeast of the junction of the two creeks lies the cemetery investigated by Collins in the 1920s. The town of Coosa extended along the bluff beginning at the junction and extending upstream (Goldman n.d.:41–46). The Frederickson/Coosa site (22-Ld-512) is encompassed in this dispersed settlement arrangement (Figure 4.8).

The town of Coosa appears in the ethnographic and ethnohistorical material in several transliterated forms: Kunshak, Concha, Conchats or Conchas (Swanton 1931:61). The town was a major center in the Eastern Division. Swanton enumerates Coosa with his Central Division, although the town more properly

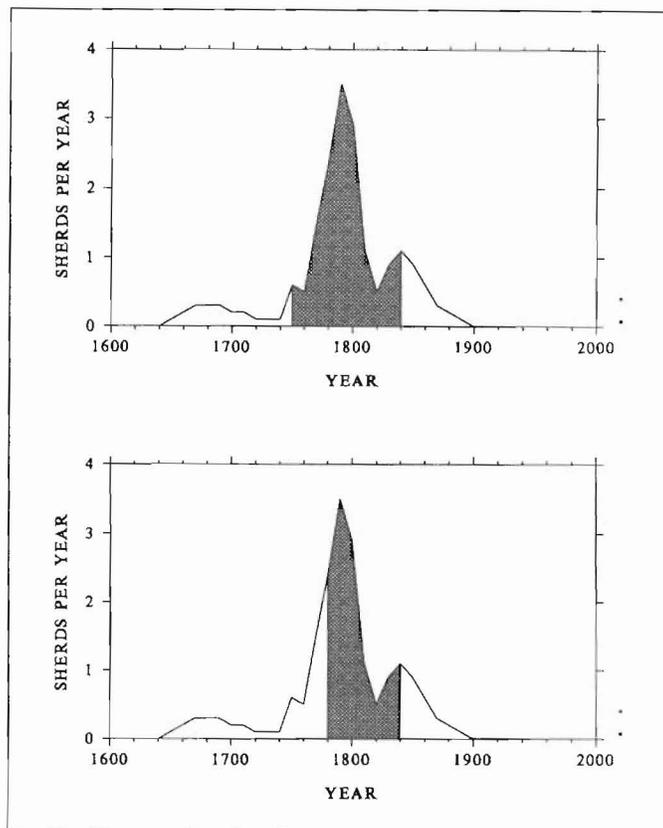


Figure 4.7. Composite ceramic distribution for Chickasawhay. Shaded areas are defined by 12.5–87.5 percentile boundaries (top) and 35–90 percentile boundaries (bottom).

belongs to the Eastern. As mentioned above, the Central Division appears to be an artifact of French contact rather than a meaningful indigenous Choctaw grouping.

Aboriginal Ceramics

Addis Plain sherds constitute 36% of the aboriginal ceramics retrieved; Mississippi Plain constitutes 33% (Table 4.1). Minority types include Kemper Combed, Chickachae Combed, Baldwin Plain, Turkey Paw Plain, and Baytown Plain (Figure 4.9). A single sherd designated as grog-tempered Unclassified Incised, Treatment B (Appendix A), appears in the collections. A sand-tempered podal support fragment also appears (Figure 4.9).

Aboriginal Lithics

One complete projectile point made from Kosciusko quartzite was recovered. The point, apparently reduced by resharpening, is probably a Bakers Creek point, a Middle Woodland stemmed point. A complete stemmed point of Tallahatta quartzite (probably a McIntire dating to the Archaic), several Tallahatta quartzite point fragments, Tallahatta quartzite biface fragments, flakes, and debitage are part of the collection. A nutting stone of sandstone, heat treated chert flakes, chunks of unmodified sandstone, unmodified Tallahatta quartzite, ocher, petrified wood, fire cracked rock, and limonite also appear in the collection (Table 4.2).

European Gunflints

In the collection is one light gray chert blade (prismatic) gunflint (Figure 4.10). The gunflint is

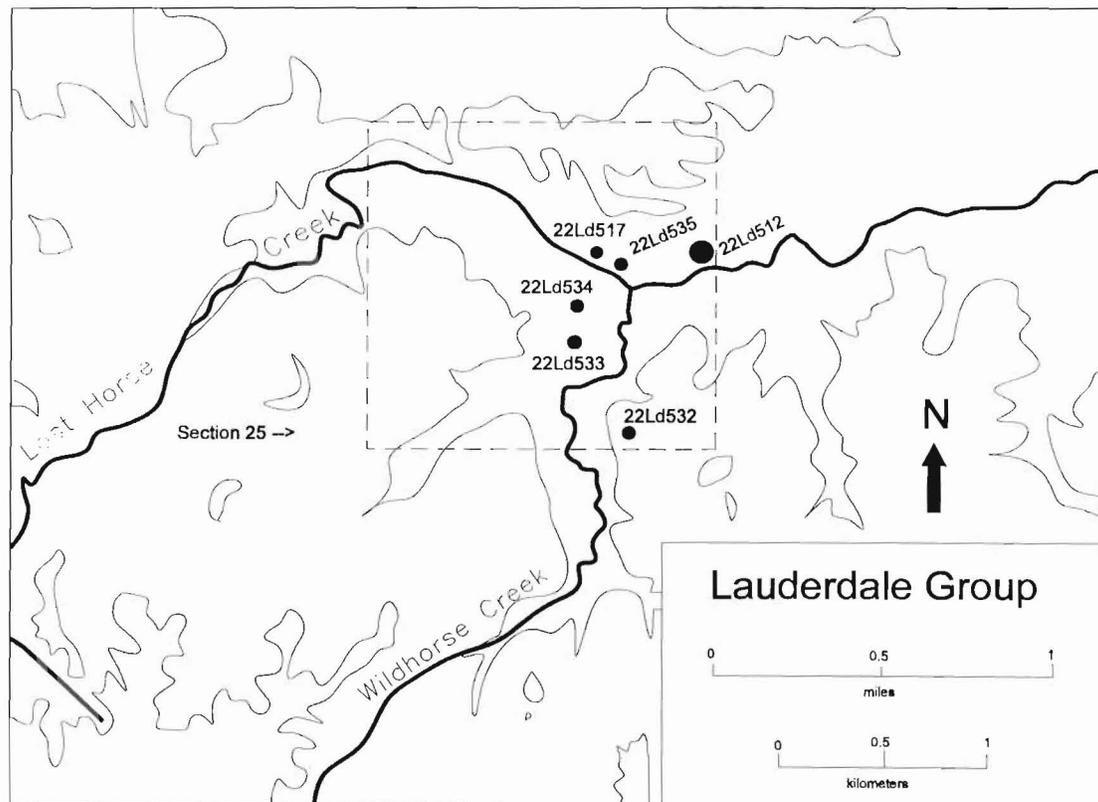


Figure 4.8. Location of sites in the Lauderdale Group.

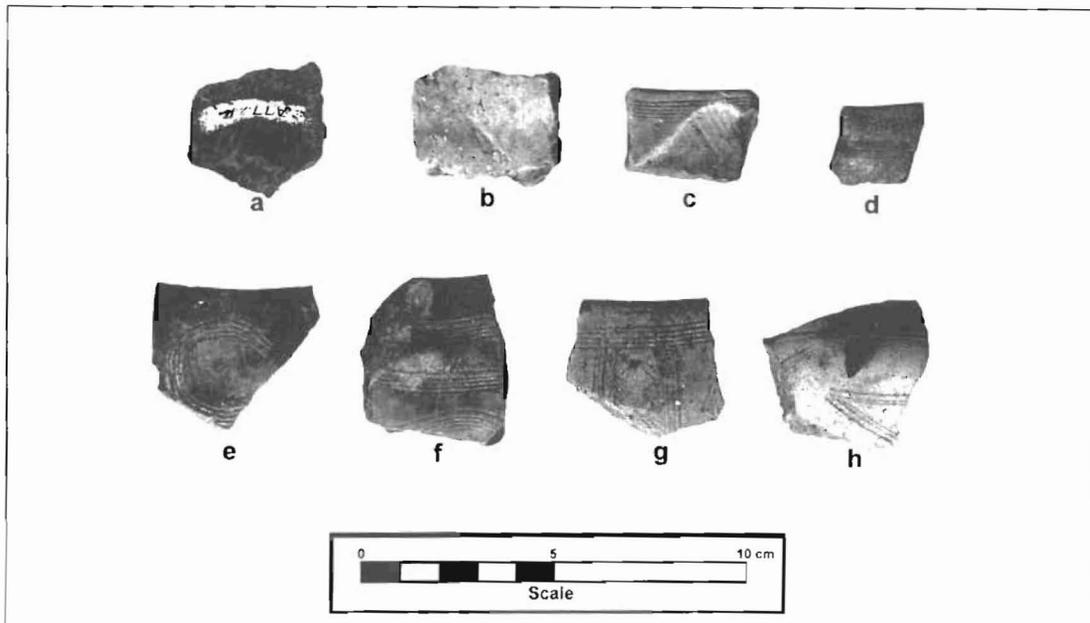


Figure 4.9. Aboriginal ceramics from Frederickson/Coosa: a, sand-tempered podal support; b, Turkey Paw Plain, c-f, Kemper Combed; g, grog-tempered unclassified combed and incised; h, grog-tempered unclassified incised.

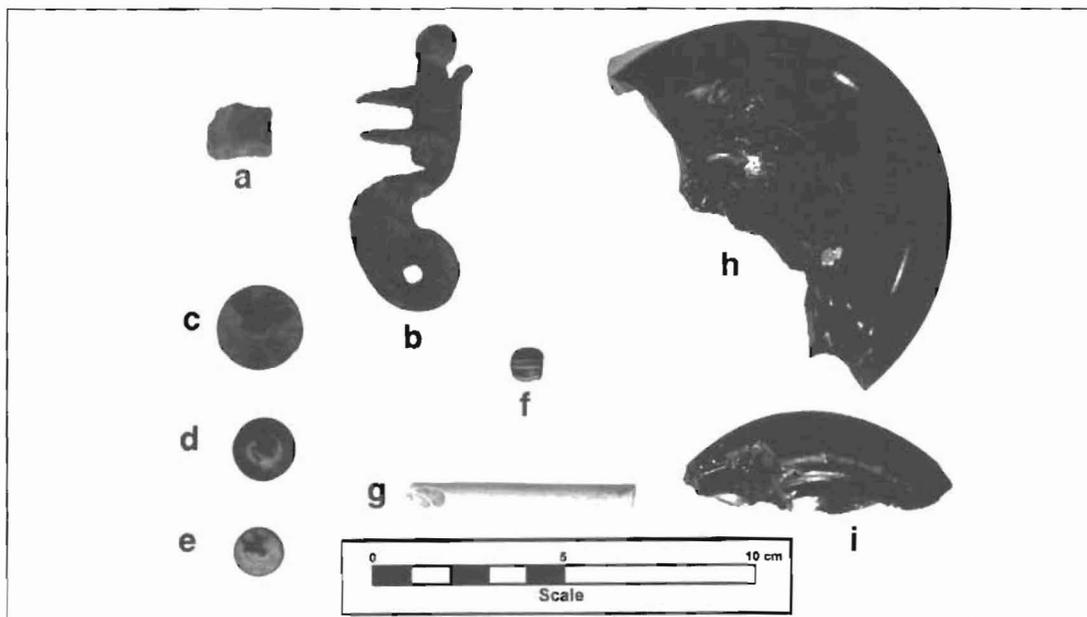


Figure 4.10. Euro-American artifacts from Frederickson/Coosa; a, European gunflint; b, "Brown Bess" flintlock gun cock; c-e, buttons; f, glass bead; g, kaolin pipe stem fragment; h, bottle base fragment with sand pontil mark; i, bottle base fragment.

probably of French manufacture because of the presence of small pressure flaking on the heel and sides (Hamilton 1980:210; Hamilton and Emery 1988:13).

Euro-American Ceramics

The majority of fragments are pearlware. The largest percentage of the pearlware fragments are plain. A small portion of the fragments are from stoneware, creamware, and whiteware vessels. At a minimum, two plain creamware plates or platters and one saucer are represented. Of the pearlware, two banded annular bowls, one annular wormtrail bowl, one transfer printed plate, one polychrome handpainted plate, two polychrome handpainted bowls or cups, several blue-edged plates, two green-edged plates, one plain plate and two plain bowls or cups are represented. Three fragments of mocha annular-ware occur. At least one whiteware plate and one bowl or cup are also represented. A single fragment of early-twentieth-century stenciled porcelain occurs (L. Carnes-McNaughton, personal communication) (Table 4.4).

Metal

Of the metal artifacts present, two groups are most useful for dating purposes: three brass buttons and a throat-hole gun cock, possibly from a "Brown Bess" flintlock gun lock (Figure 4.10). The brass buttons span 1726–76 and include one Type 8 and two Type 9 buttons (Noël Hume 1970:90–91). The throat-hole cock occurs on several English muskets from the first quarter of the eighteenth century, but did not become popular again on English-made firearms until the early nineteenth century. The throat-hole gun cock was popular during the Revolutionary War period on French firearms, many of which were used by the American Continental Army. These gun cocks were also used on American-made Springfield and Harpers Ferry locks in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Noël Hume 1970:214–215). Several pewter fragments, most likely from spoons, appear in the collections (Table 4.5).

Glass Bead

A single drawn bead, round in shape, bright navy blue in core and surface color with a surface decoration of redwood stripes on white is part of the collection (Figure 4.9). The bead is classified as IVbb9 (Kidd and Kidd 1983:231, 249).

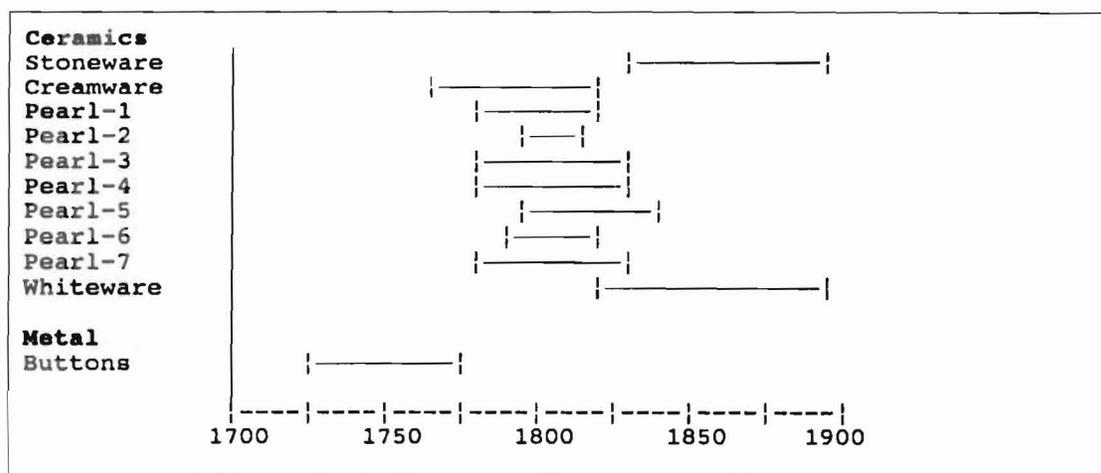


Figure 4.11. Approximate time spans for selected Euro-American artifacts from Frederickson/Coosa (22-Ld-512). (Key: Pearl-1, blue handpainted; Pearl-2, polychrome; Pearl-3, blue-edged; Pearl-4, green-edged; Pearl-5, transfer print; Pearl-6, annular; Pearl-7, plain.)

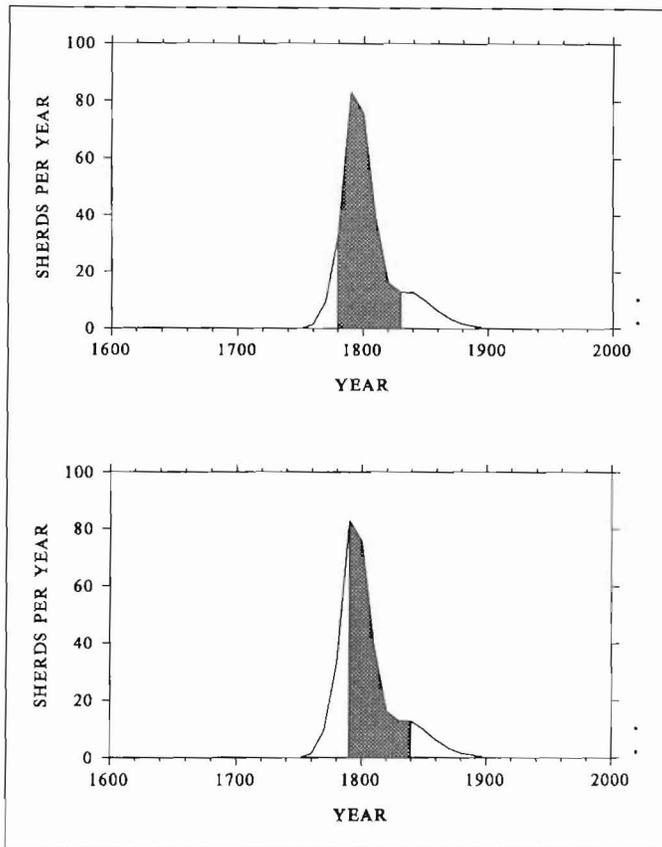


Figure 4.12. Composite ceramic distribution for Frederickson/Coosa. Shaded areas are defined by 12.5–87.5 percentile boundaries (top) and 35–90 percentile boundaries (bottom).

mid-eighteenth century and lasted into the early nineteenth century. The Midpoint Method (Appendix C) generates an occupation span of 1751–1865 (Figure 4.11). Figure 4.12 shows the composite ceramic distribution using the Steponaitis-Kintigh Percentile Method (Appendix C). Two occupation spans based only on the Euro-American ceramic artifacts are generated: 1780–1825 using the 12.5–87.5 percentile boundaries and 1790–1840 using the 35–90 percentile boundaries (Appendix C). The mean ceramic date is 1812. The collections reflect an historic Indian occupation which began about the middle of the eighteenth century and lasted at least into the early nineteenth century.

Oklahoma (22-Ld-532)

Oklahoma (22-Ld-532) lies in north-central Lauderdale County in the southeast quarter of Section 25, Township 8 North and Range 16 East, situated on an upland ridge above Wildhorse Creek. The site corresponds to a portion of a tract recorded in the 1830 Armstrong census. The tract straddled the center of the border between Sections 25 and 36, Township 8 North, Range 16 East. According to the census, “Ok. la homa”, a Choctaw, cultivated 6 acres, which supported a 13-member family. The farm was located on the Lost Horse Creek’s south side. “Ok. la homa” (Oklahoma) was a sometime chief for Coosa Town, a nephew of Pushmataha, and the father-in-law of Pierre Juzan, a prominent trader. Oklahoma had succeeded Pushmataha as chief of the Southern Division but was replaced for his “dissipated habits”; the successor, Nittakechie (Nutackachie) was the Southern Division chief at the time of the Treaty of Dancing

Kaolin Pipe

Included is a section from the pipe stem of a kaolin pipe (Figure 4.10). The fragment is 45 mm long and the orifice of the bore hole is 2.4 mm (3/32 inch).

Vessel Glass

The bulk of glass recovered consists of olive green bottle fragments, but fragments of amethyst and clear glass bottles are also included. Four olive green kick fragments occur, three having sand pontil marks. One base fragment (Figure 4.10) has a large section of the body wall. The dimensions of the base, the depth of the kick, and the remnant of the straight body wall indicate the fragment may be from a cylindrical bottle which dates to circa 1730s (Brain 1979:87). Bottom and body fragments of a lead glazed tumbler were also found. These pieces probably date to the 1740s–50s (South 1977:47). No flask remains occur.

Summary

The collections reflect an historic Indian occupation which began in the

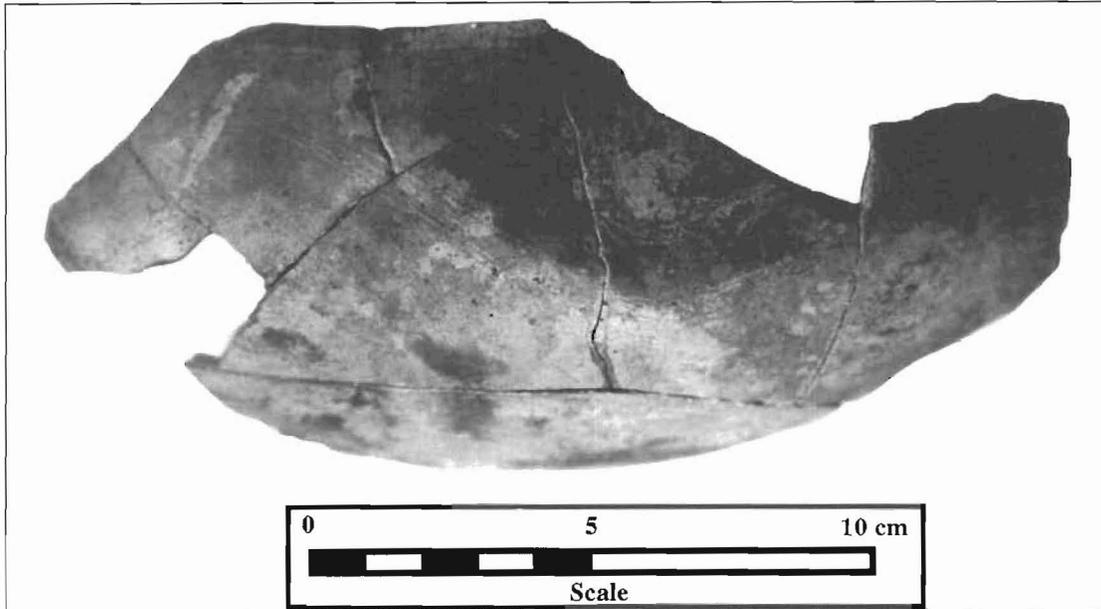


Figure 4.13. Aboriginal unclassified Addis-ware bowl with brushed curvilinear design from Oklahoma site.

Rabbit Creek (Goldman n.d.:42; DeRosier 1970:178). Under the terms of this treaty, however, all of Section 25, Township 8 North, Range 16 East was reserved to Oklahoma (DeRosier 1970:175–78; Goldman n.d.:45). After Oklahoma's death in 1846, the town of Coosa began to be abandoned (Goldman n.d.:43).

Covered primarily with a mixed pine and hardwood forest, the site covers approximately 198 m² at an elevation of 94 m above sea level. A team from MSU excavated the site in October, 1984. Earlier, a small surface collection had been made and the materials recovered then are also part of this analysis. The MSU crew opened seven 1-m² units as well as conducting a general, uncontrolled surface collection and shovel scrape close to the benchmark. They dug five squares in arbitrary 10-cm levels. Soil changes dictated the depths of the excavation levels of the other two units. No significant stratigraphy seems to have been revealed. The team recorded no features.

Aboriginal Ceramics

The most dramatic pottery artifact is an Addis-ware fragmentary bowl decorated with curvilinear bands probably produced with a small brush tool. The shallow bowl is well burnished on the interior and exterior (Figure 4.13). The bands produced are approximately 5 mm wide, though other fragments found in a distant excavation unit and probably not part of this vessel bear a similar design with curvilinear bands 2 mm and 8 mm wide. Akin to the curvilinear incising traditions prevalent in the Lower Mississippi Valley and combing traditions of the Choctaw Homeland, the bowl appears to be part of a common decorative tradition. Of the aboriginal ceramics recovered, 69% are Addis Plain. Minority types include Mississippi Plain, Bell Plain, Fatherland Incised, Kemper Combed, and Baytown Plain (Table 4.1 and Figure 4.14). One sherd of Chickachae Combed appears in the collection.

Aboriginal Lithics

The majority of lithic material recovered is unmodified sandstone chunks. Some Tallahatta quartzite debitage and a small number of Tallahatta quartzite flakes occur. Petrified wood chunks, one chunk of limestone, hematite chunks, and pieces of ocher also occur in the collection.

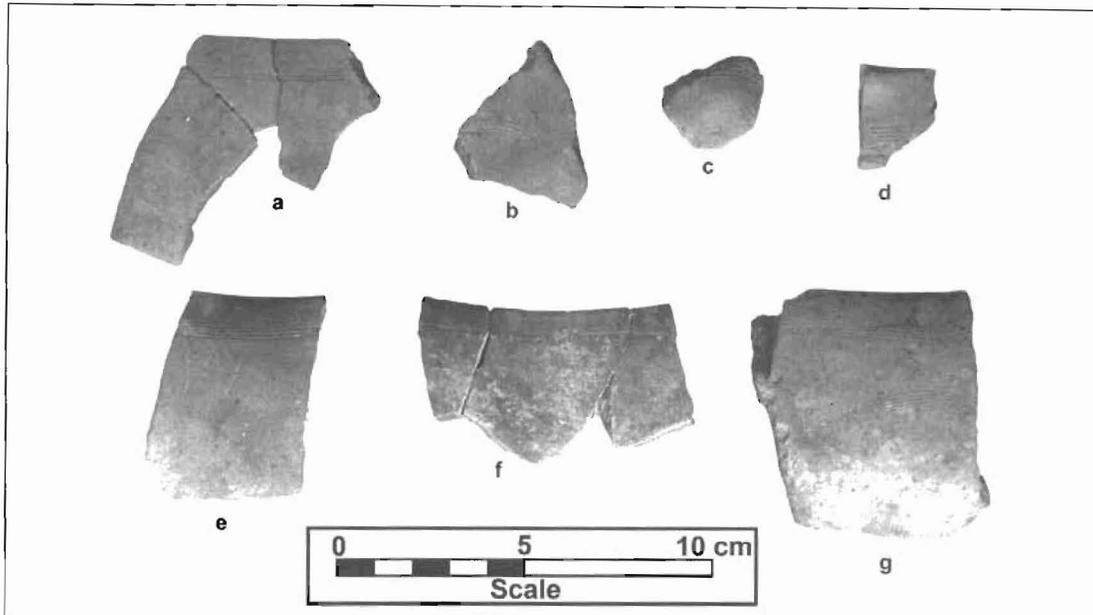


Figure 4.14. Aboriginal ceramics from Oklahoma site: a–e, Kemper Combed; f, grog-tempered unclassified brushed; g, Kemper Combed.

European Gunflints

Two blades or prismatic gunflints, one fragmentary and one complete, were recovered. The complete flint is black chert with dimensions indicating a rifle gunflint. Manufacture and material indicate a gunflint of likely English manufacture (Hamilton and Emery 1988:14, 21).

Euro-American Ceramics

Most fragments are pearlware. Fragments from a brown stoneware bottle; a fragment of Astbury ware (Noël Hume 1970:122–123), probably from a jar top (L. Carnes-McNaughton, personal communication); and several fragments of whiteware are included in the collection.

Metal

Excavation uncovered wrought iron nails and iron machine-cut nails as well as an iron spike. Included in the collection is half of a garment buckle. This specimen is in poor condition and its antiquity is difficult to determine. Several clothing buckles were found at Fort Michilimackinac (Stone 1974:25–44). The Oklahoma specimen most closely resembles Stone's Class I, Series B, Rectangular Frame with Rounded Corners, Type 3 Iron variety (Stone 1974:43). These varieties of garment buckle appear on sites dated ca. 1740–80. The condition of the Oklahoma specimen is so poor that this assignment to Stone's grouping is speculative at best. A small, very thin, curved brass fragment may be from a spoon. Low caliber lead shot as well as several pieces of lead mass occur in the collection. One of the masses is more regular in its disk shape and bears an anterior raised spine; it may be a bale seal (L. Carnes-McNaughton, personal communication), though it bears no markings or other indication of a seal. A small tack with a flat, round head and one piece of miscellaneous iron agricultural equipment completes the inventory of metal artifacts recovered.

Glass Bead

A single, severely patinated wire-wound bead is part of the collection. The body color is possibly dark rose brown. The bore hole is warped and the bead may have been burned (L. Carnes-McNaughton, personal communication). Dating is speculative.

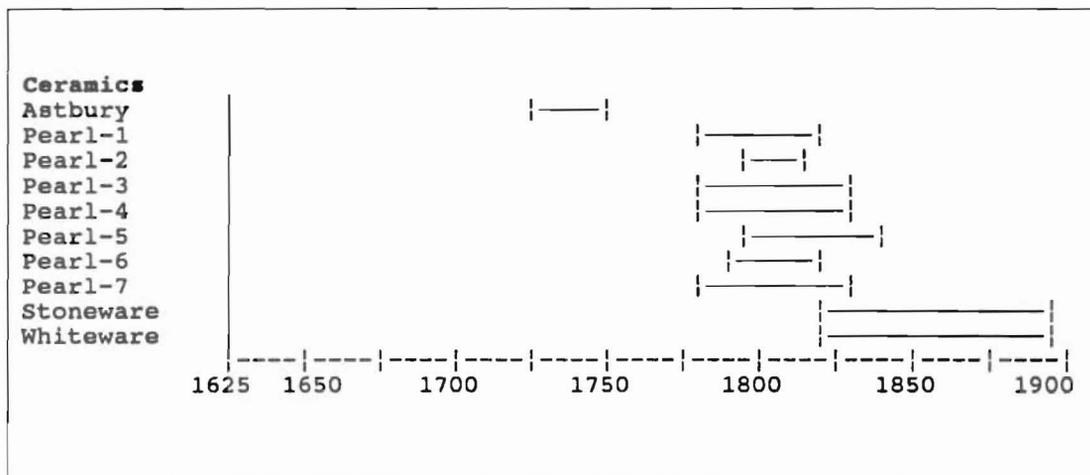


Figure 4.15. Approximate time spans for selected Euro-American artifacts from Oklahoma (22-Ld-532). (Key: Pearl-1, blue handpainted; Pearl-2, polychrome; Pearl-3, blue-edged; Pearl-4, green-edged; Pearl-5, transfer print; Pearl-6, annular; Pearl-7, plain.)

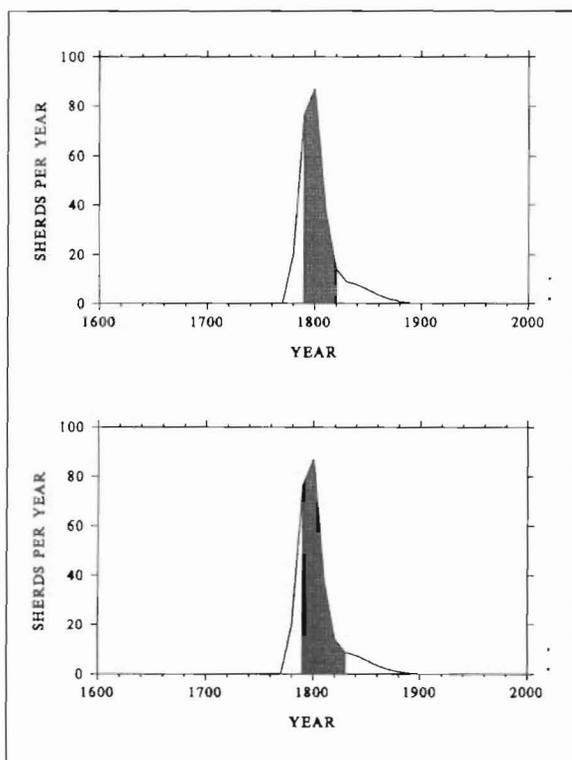


Figure 4.16. Composite ceramic distribution for Oklahoma. Shaded areas are defined by 12.5–87.5 percentile boundaries (top) and 35–90 percentile boundaries (bottom).

Vessel Glass

The glass recovered includes small fragments of olive green (the majority type), light green, cobalt blue, amber, and clear glass. The olive green fragments probably come from one or more bottles. One cobalt blue kick from a bottle base with no discernable pontil mark is in the collection. Fragments from amber, light green, and clear flasks are represented. About 1800, American glassmakers showed increased interest in mold-made flasks. Rum, gin, and whiskey bottles bore a variety of embossed designs, scenes and figures. Hugely popular, their manufacture spanned much of the nineteenth century (Ketchum 1975:58).

Summary

The collections reflect an historic Indian occupation associated with the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. The occupation at Oklahoma appears to have been slightly later than that of Frederickson/Coosa. The Mid-point Method (Appendix C) generates an occupation span of 1770–1860 (Figure 4.15). Figure 4.16 shows the composite ce-

ramic distribution for the Euro-American ceramics using the Steponaitis-Kintigh Percentile Method (Appendix C). Two occupation spans are generated: 1790–1820 using the 12.5–87.5 percentile boundaries and 1790–1825 using the 35–90 percentile boundaries (Appendix C). The mean ceramic date for the site is 1811.

Wild Horse (22-Ld-533)

Wild Horse, located just to the northwest of the Oklahoma site, lies on the first terrace above the Wildhorse Creek some 85 m above sea level. The official site card reveals that the site was disturbed, covered approximately 990 m², and had a light artifact scatter. The site lies within the Oklahoma parcel mentioned in the Armstrong census of 1830.

Other than the single rim fragment from a plain pearlware cup or bowl, the collection contains brick, sandstone, Tallahatta quartzite, and petrified wood chunks as well as Tallahatta quartzite flakes and debitage. A base fragment of a Tallahatta quartzite projectile point was recovered. The stemmed projectile point fragment is probably Middle Woodland. Two of the sandstone chunks are ground; two are pitted.

Deeryard (22-Ld-534)

At 85 m above sea level, Deeryard (22-Ld-534) lies northwest of the Oklahoma site on the first terrace above the Wildhorse Creek. The site area appears to cover approximately 1,350 m². At the time of site survey, the area was under cultivation. The artifact scatter was light. The site was part of the Oklahoma parcel cited in the Armstrong census of 1830.

Aboriginal Ceramics

The majority of the sherds are Addis Plain; most have evidence of fine crushed shell in the paste. Minority types include Chickachae Combed and Kemper Combed.

Aboriginal Lithics

One stemmed projectile point made from Tallahatta quartzite was found. Although no formal study exclusively of Tallahatta projectile points has been done, this point most likely belongs to the Tombigbee Stemmed category, a Middle Woodland variety. The blade edge is straight. The shoulder is straight to tapered, the base and stem sides are straight, and the cross-section is biconvex. The stem is 15 mm long and the base 19.5 mm wide. Two of the sandstone chunks appear to be nutting stones; sixteen others bear abrasion scars. Five Tallahatta quartzite bifaces, very weathered, four biface fragments, and several unmodified chunks belong to the collection. There are miscellaneous chunks of limestone, petrified wood and Kosciusko quartzite.

Euro-American Ceramics

The majority of the fragments are pearlware, although a single plate bottom fragment of creamware and a fragment of brown stoneware are in the collection. Most of pearlware fragments are plain. Several fragments of blue handpainted pearlware probably reflect at a minimum one plate, a bowl, and a cup, indicated by a small fragment of a cup handle. A solitary embossed blue-edged plate rim marks the presence of at least one such vessel. The balance of the ceramics includes transfer printed and banded annular-ware body fragments.

European Gunflints

One blade or prismatic gunflint occurs, probably English in manufacture because no additional retouch is evident.

Metal

One wrought nail was the sole metal artifact recovered.

Vessel Glass

The majority of fragments are olive green, most likely from wine or other beverage bottles. Two ribbed polygonal fragments, probably from a condiment bottle (Ketchum 1975:142–144), embossed olive green and embossed cobalt blue fragments from flasks, and a single sun-treated amethyst fragment from a vessel made sometime around World War I or shortly thereafter (L. Carnes-McNaughton, personal communication) appear in the collection.

Summary

All the materials collected were surface finds in a disturbed cultivated field. The Woodland point and bifaces indicate occupations in the area other than the Historic Choctaw occupation. The historic occupation is compatible with the span of the Oklahoma occupation, ca. 1770–1860.

Bill Brown #1 (22-Ld-517)

On the first terrace above the Lost Horse Creek, elevation 85 m above sea level, the site with its light scatter of artifacts covers an estimated 720 m². The site was under active cultivation when the survey team made the surface collection. The team found a single fragment of handpainted polychrome pearlware and a variety of stone material. Most of the lithics are chunks of unmodified sandstone. Tallahatta quartzite finds include two flakes, a biface, and an unmodified chunk.

Bill Brown #2 (22-Ld-535)

Located on the first terrace above the Lost Horse Creek, north of the Oklahoma and Deer Yard sites, the site was under active cultivation when the survey team made the surface collection. The site lies about 85 m above sea level. The light scatter of artifacts covered a site estimated to be about 190 m².

Aboriginal Ceramics

The survey team recovered a single Chickachae Combed rim.

Euro-American Ceramics

Shell embossed blue-edged pearlware fragments probably belonging to the same plate appear in the collection. The balance of the pearlware includes a single banded annular-ware fragment, blue handpainted fragments, and a single transfer printed fragment. Except for the banded annular-ware fragment, the pearlware fragments are from plates.

Vessel Glass

The collection includes only two glass fragments: a cobalt blue lip fragment from a bottle probably not used for food and an olive green body fragment from a bottle.

Summary

All material collected came from surface finds. The occupation dates to the nineteenth century.

5 Interpretations: Choctaw Culture Change in the Early Historic Period

I wish to concentrate on only three sites: Chickasawhay (22-Ck-502), Frederickson/Coosa (22-Ld-512), and Oklahoma (22-Ld-532). These sites are selected for two reasons: (1) their collections are the largest analyzed and (2) they are separable in time. They are chronologically separable to the extent that Chickasawhay has a much earlier occupation than the two Lauderdale County sites, Frederickson/Coosa and Oklahoma. Although Oklahoma appears to have been occupied slightly later than Frederickson/Coosa, these two sites are very close chronologically and any comparison between them must take into account this close temporal relationship. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 recapitulate the occupation spans determined by the Midpoint Method and Percentile Method, respectively. To address the question of the depth of Choctaw culture change in the Early Historic period, three lines of evidence from these sites are investigated here: (1) relative frequencies of aboriginal ceramics versus Euro-American ceramics; (2) relative frequencies of selected types of aboriginal ceramics; and (3) relative frequencies of different types of the gunflints.

Aboriginal and Euro-American Ceramics

One measure of culture change is the relative abundance of Euro-American ceramic vessels through time. Figure 5.3 shows the percentage of Euro-American sherds in the overall ceramic assemblage, plotted against the chronological arrangement of the sites. To the extent that Chickasawhay represents an early eighteenth-century occupation and the Lauderdale County sites (Frederickson/Coosa and Oklahoma) represent late eighteenth-century occupations, this figure depicts a sharp increase in the presence of Euro-American ceramics by the latter part of the eighteenth century. The increased representation of Euro-American ceramics apparently mirrors the equally swift adoption of firearms in hunting (Woods 1980:153; Blitz 1985:18). Figure 5.3 also shows that even during this period of rapid change in material culture, aboriginal ceramics still accounted for roughly one-half of all the ceramics present at the later sites.

With increased integration into Euro-American society, an increase in participation in that society's material culture should be expected. As the Choctaw became more involved in the Euro-American society, they acquired more of the material goods of that society. The comparison between the representation of aboriginal and Euro-American ceramics among these three sites supports this expectation.

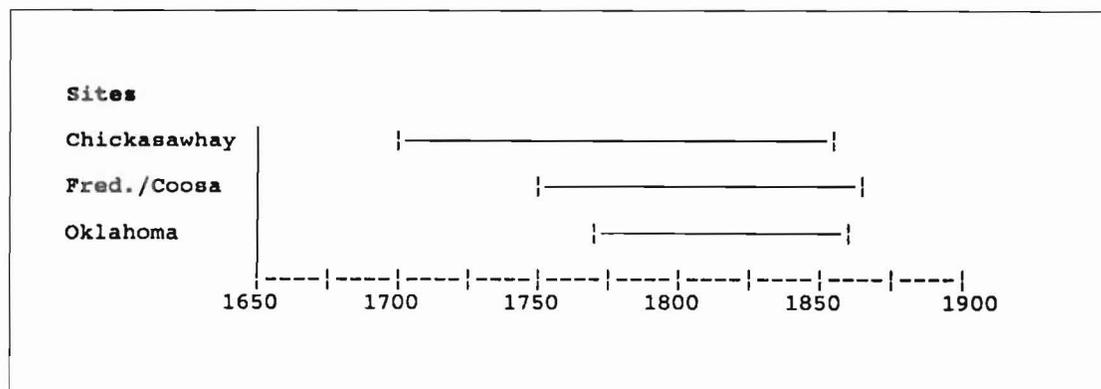


Figure 5.1 Occupation spans for Chickasawhay, Frederickson/Coosa, and Oklahoma using the Steponaitis-Kintigh Midpoint Method.

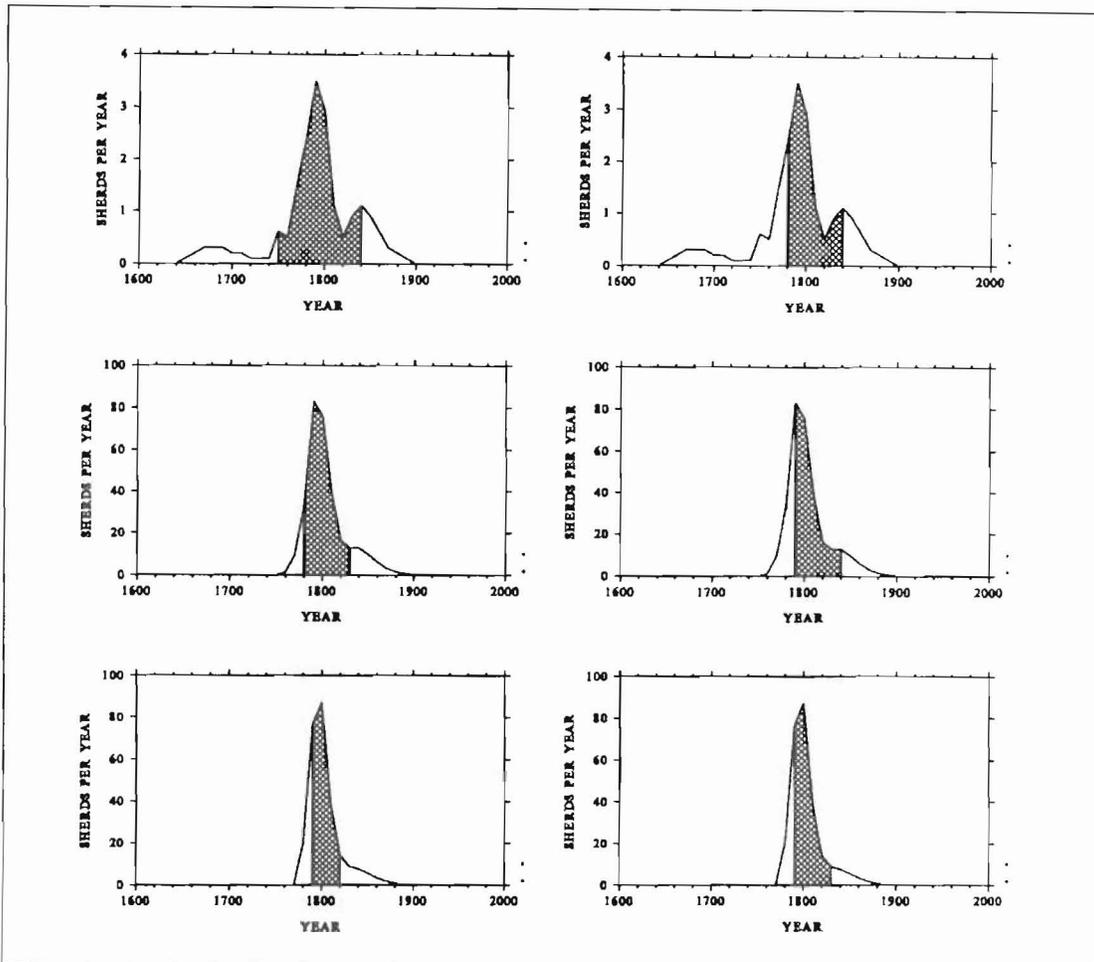


Figure 5.2. Percentile Method distributions for Chickasawhay (top), Frederickson/Coosa (middle), and Oklahoma (bottom); the 12.5–87.5 percentile boundaries and the 35–90 percentile boundaries are on the left and right, respectively.

An interesting comparison is between the percentages of aboriginal ceramics and Euro-American ceramics for both of the Lauderdale County sites, Oklahoma and Frederickson/Coosa. The percentage of Euro-American ceramics is 20% higher at Frederickson/Coosa than at Oklahoma, a site apparently occupied slightly later than that of Frederickson/Coosa. The higher representation of Euro-American ceramics probably reflects the larger “town” occupation at Frederickson/Coosa versus a smaller “rural” occupation at Oklahoma rather than any difference based on time. If this is the case, then the percentage differences may reflect differential access to the supply of Euro-American ceramics based on proximity to the market. Physical proximity to the supply assumed to be attracted to the town does not adequately explain the pattern of ceramic representation between the two sites, however, since the Oklahoma site is only about one kilometer from the Frederickson/Coosa site.

If mere proximity to the market supply is not satisfying as an explanation, difference in wealth between the two populations may underlie the variation between the two sites. If so, does Oklahoma demonstrate a decline in the acquisition of Euro-American ceramics as a function of a decline in overall Choctaw wealth over time, or is the variance simply that between town and rural sites? Since the occupations of both sites are very close in time, variation in wealth based on the type of occupation, town versus rural, rather than

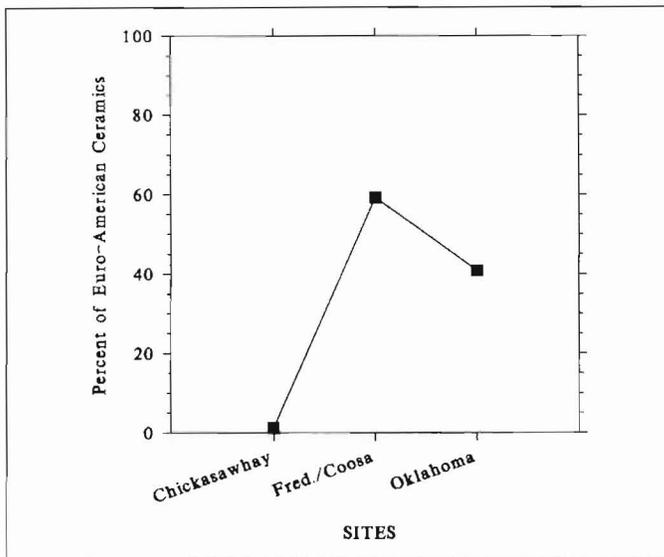


Figure 5.3. Percentage of all ceramics which are Euro-American by site.

on chronological position seems the more satisfactory explanation for the percentage of Euro-American ceramics.

Whichever of the foregoing explanations is more plausible, clearly the Choctaw during this period did not abandon their ceramic traditions wholesale. The aboriginal and Euro-American ceramics at Frederickson/Coosa and Oklahoma are represented in roughly equivalent amounts. While increased integration of the Choctaw into the wider society apparently decreased the habit of creating their own ceramics, this integration did not destroy it during the time encompassed by the sites considered here. Indeed, as pointed out above, the Choctaw carried on their ceramic tradition after the Removal to Indian Territory (the state of Oklahoma) in the 1830s (Gettys 1989). Longevity can be seen in the aboriginal ceramics from both the Frederickson/Coosa and Oklahoma sites. The longevity of the aboriginal traditions needs to be emphasized (Williams 1981).

Selected Aboriginal Ceramics

As a percentage of all ceramics, the abundance of aboriginal types declined over the course of the eighteenth century. Was there differential decline in specific types of aboriginal ceramics as well? The following discussion takes into account not only the abundance of selected aboriginal types in the collections of the present study, but compares them with earlier collections made in the Choctaw Homeland (Blitz 1985). The types considered here are those which the Choctaw reasonably could have created during the time span addressed in this analysis, and they constitute the majority of aboriginal ceramics represented in the collections. These types are Chickachae Combed, Kemper Combed, Fatherland Incised, Addis Plain, and Mississippi Plain.

Figure 5.4 compares the percentages of types in the present study alone among the three sites. The sites are arranged in chronological order from earliest occupation (Chickasawhay) to latest occupation (Oklahoma). Comparing the three sites, percentages of Mississippi Plain and Fatherland Incised declined markedly between Chickasawhay and Oklahoma; percentages of Addis Plain and Kemper Combed increased substantially; and percentages of Fatherland Incised dropped dramatically. Chickachae Combed was poorly represented at all three sites.

Do the variations in percentages among these sites reflect a chronological separation among the sites or a regional variation between the Southern Division (Chickasawhay) and the Eastern Division (Frederickson/Coosa and Oklahoma) independent of time? To attempt to answer this question, the results of the 1985 Blitz study are juxtaposed with the results of the present study. Two small collections from Chickasawhay and Frederickson/Coosa were included in the Blitz study. While he did not label the undecorated fine grog-tempered ware analyzed for his study as Addis Plain outright, he found strong similarities between the fine ware in his study and the Natchez Bluffs type (Blitz 1985:69–71). For purposes of the comparison here, the undecorated fine grog-tempered ware in the Blitz study is designated

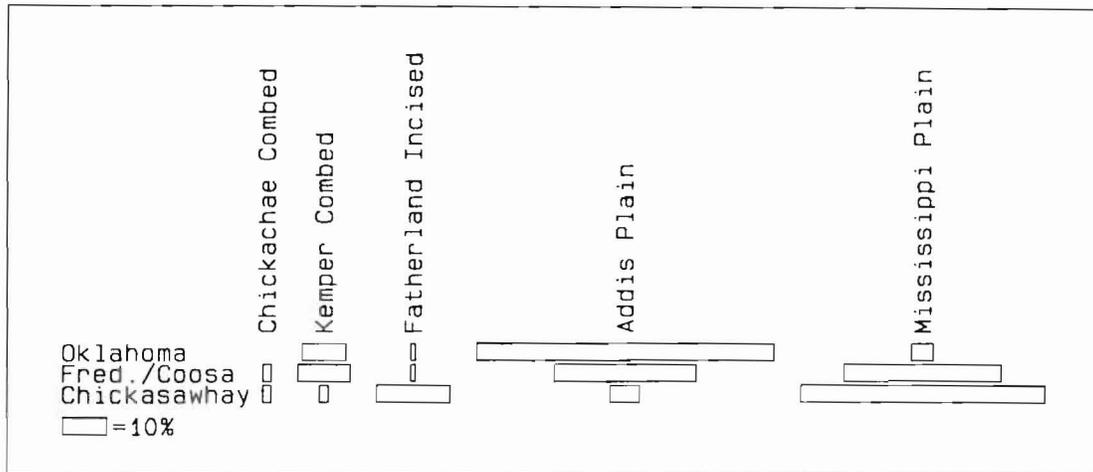


Figure 5.4. Percentages of selected aboriginal ceramics by site (present study only).

Addis Plain. The results from the Blitz study are combined with the results of the present study in Figures 5.5 and 5.6.

Figure 5.5 incorporates the Blitz collection from Chickasawhay only. For the ceramic types considered here, 34% of the selected aboriginal ceramics from the Blitz collection are the comb-decorated types (Chickachae Combed and Kemper Combed). Since the comb-decorated types probably made their appearance after 1763 (Blitz 1991:5), the Blitz collection for Chickasawhay is probably best understood as a later collection than that from the present study. For this reason, the Blitz collection for this site is marked "Late"; the collection from the present study is marked "Early."

Figure 5.6 incorporates the Blitz collections for both Chickasawhay and Frederickson/Coosa. Since the occupation span determined for Frederickson/Coosa can be associated with the presumed post-1763 date for the appearance of comb-decorated types in the Homeland, the percentages of the present study and the Blitz study for this site are combined into a single collection and represented in Figure 5.6 as "Fred./Coosa (C)."

Figures 5.5 and 5.6 reflect probable divisional rather than chronological differences. The chronological placement of the combed types is the key to the argument upon which this result is based. Since no

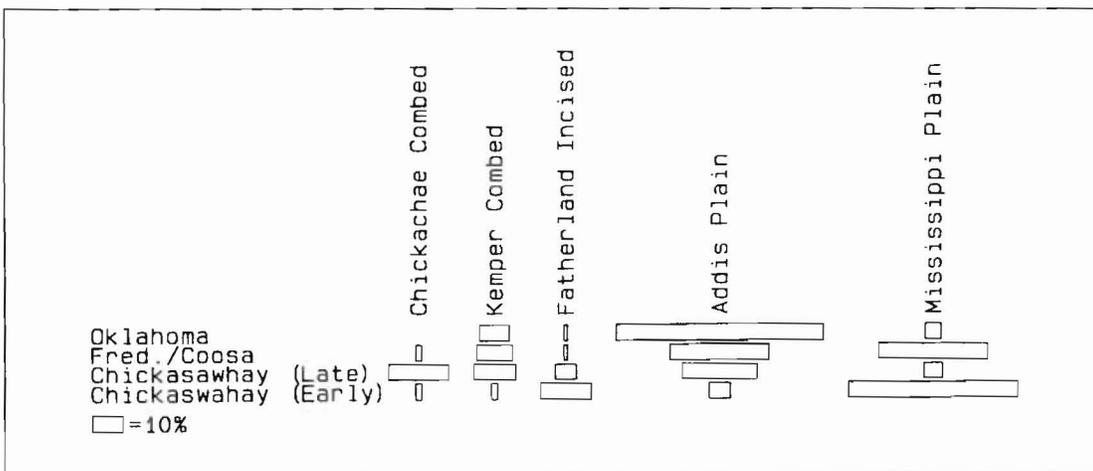


Figure 5.5. Percentages of selected aboriginal ceramics by site (present study and Blitz study for Chickasawhay).

combed types appear in the sealed contexts excavated at Fort Tombecké, this decorative technique has a time depth *no earlier than 1763*, the terminal occupation date for the fort under the French regime. Blitz, therefore, suggests that the combing technique appeared in the late eighteenth century (Blitz 1991:8–10).

For the Southern Division, Chickachae Combed is well represented but is marginal or nonexistent in the collections from Lauderdale County. In addition, while small collections from both Chickasawhay and Frederickson/Coosa were included in the Blitz study, the bulk of the collections for the Blitz study came from survey work in Kemper County, the county directly to the north of Lauderdale County. Kemper County lies within the area encompassed by the Eastern Division of the Homeland (Figure 1.1). No Chickachae Combed was recovered from the 41 sites recorded in the ceramics inventory for the Blitz study. Penman also made a small collection of 102 sherds from Chickasawhay. Chickachae Combed constituted 24% of this collection; Mississippi Plain accounted for 10%. No grog-tempered wares appear in the Penman collection (Penman 1977:238–241). Penman also made surface collections at two sites in Jasper County, which is directly west of Clarke County (Figure 1.1). Penman associated these sites, Wilson Pasture (22-Js-534) and Hero (22-Js-585), with the Historic period Choctaw towns of Oktakchinakbi and Bishkun, respectively. Both towns were part of the Sixtowns area of the Southern Division (Penman 1977:245–271, 1978:137). Of the 187 aboriginal ceramic sherds recovered at Wilson Pasture, 35% were Chickachae Combed and 19% were Mississippi Plain. No grog-tempered sherds are represented. At the Hero site, 177 sherds were collected; Chickachae Combed represented 33% and Mississippi Plain 10%. Again, no grog-tempered sherds were retrieved.

If the differences seen in the representation of Chickachae Combed were based on chronology, a greater representation would be expected at the later sites, Frederickson/Coosa and Oklahoma. In addition, while the collections from Kemper County have no fine-grained chronological associations, they do fall within the Historic Choctaw period. If chronology rather than geographic location explained the differential representations of Chickachae Combed, some ceramics of this type would be expected to have been retrieved in Kemper County. Arguably, therefore, Chickachae Combed is associated more closely with the Southern Division site of Chickasawhay with the Eastern Division sites and the variations seen in Figures 5.4 through 5.5 represent a divisional rather than a chronological separation.

The comparisons for Mississippi Plain and Addis Plain are more problematical. Mississippi Plain dominates the Early collection from Chickasawhay and is well represented in the collections from Frederickson/Coosa. The type is marginal in the Late collection from Chickasawhay and the collection

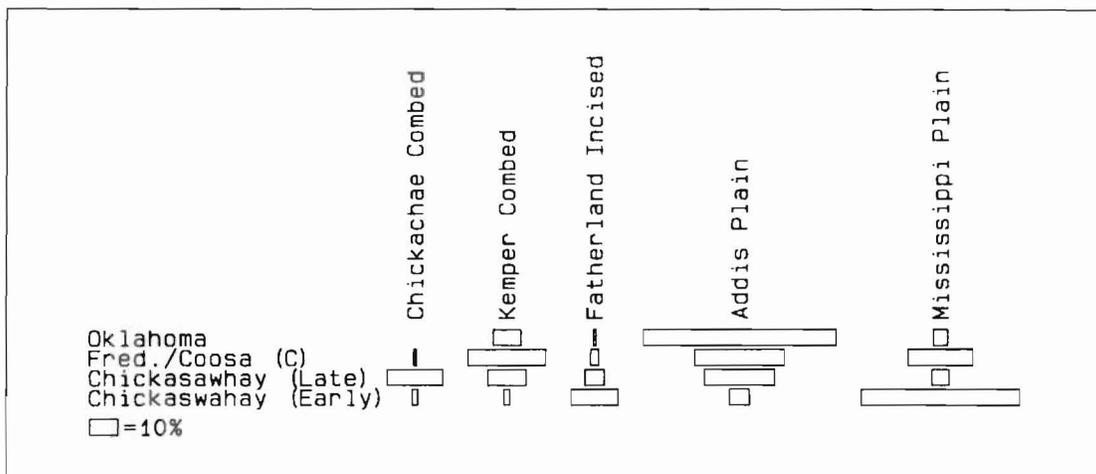


Figure 5.6. Percentages of selected aboriginal ceramics (present study and Blitz study for Chickasawhay and Frederickson/Coosa).

from Oklahoma. In the Blitz study, Mississippi Plain accounted for 17% of the ceramics collected in Kemper County. The difficulty with a straightforward chronological explanation for the percentages of Mississippi Plain represented in Figures 5.5 and 5.6 is the Late collection (post-1763) at Chickasawhay. If this collection is placed in the same general time frame as Frederickson/Coosa and Oklahoma, then a strictly chronological explanation would anticipate the smaller percentage of Mississippi Plain reflected in the Late collection at the later sites of Frederickson/Coosa and Oklahoma also.

For the Addis wares (Kemper Combed, Fatherland Incised, and Addis Plain), all three sites record their presence, although they dominate the collections from the Lauderdale County sites. These Addis ware types represented 49% of the aboriginal ceramics retrieved in Kemper County in the Blitz study. Figures 5.5 and 5.6 on their face appear to represent a clear case for increased use of Addis Plain and decreased use of Kemper Combed and Fatherland Incised through time. However, as with the argument made above with the representation of Mississippi Plain, if the Late collection at Chickasawhay is considered roughly contemporaneous with the collections of Frederickson/Coosa and Oklahoma, then the percentages of Addis ware types are better understood as reflecting regional rather than chronological separation. It is interesting to note that of the 41 sites included in the Blitz study, all of which were assigned to the Historic Choctaw period, Kemper Combed was present in only about 20% of the collections; most of these sites yielded a single Kemper Combed sherd. If a strict chronological explanation were applied to these collections, then 80% of the sites pre-dated 1763. In addition, of the 970 aboriginal ceramic sherds collected at these 41 sites, Kemper Combed accounted for just 2% of the total aboriginal ceramic assemblage. Under an explanation based on regional variation, Fatherland Incised ceramics are associated with the Southern Division and Kemper Combed cannot be readily assigned to a particular division. There appears to be a robust association of Addis Plain with the Eastern Division, particularly since this type constituted 47% of the Kemper County sample.

Figure 5.7 represents the regional variation for the all the collections included in Figure 5.6 except the Early collection from Chickasawhay. Figure 5.7 reflects a strong association between the sand-tempered Chickachae Combed and the Southern Division. The abundance of Mississippi Plain in the Eastern

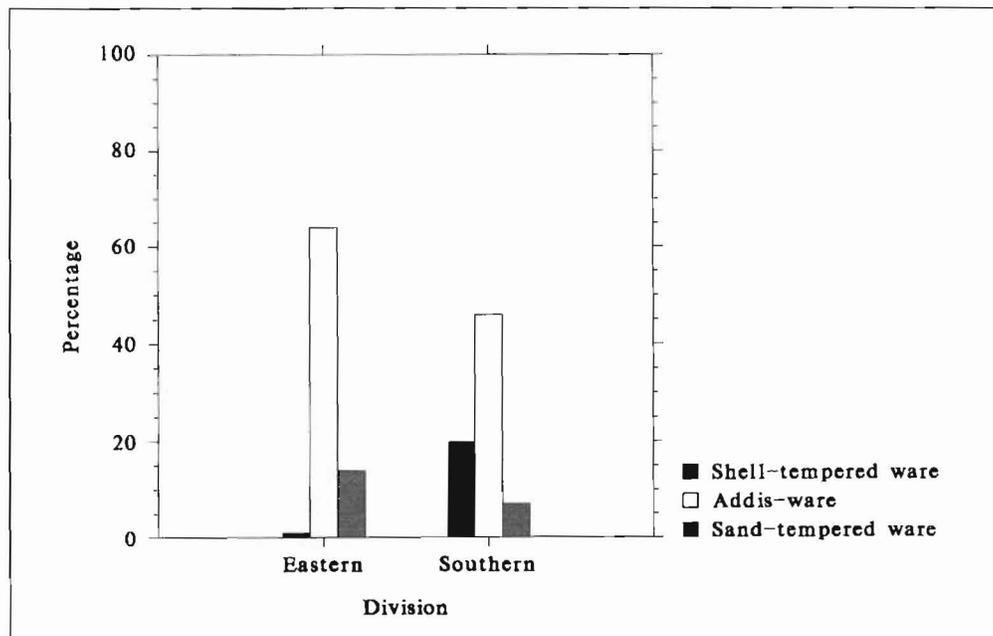


Figure 5.7. Percentages of selected wares by division.

Division is almost twice that in the Southern Division. For Addis ware types, the percentage in the Eastern Division is about 20% higher than in the Southern Division.

Gunflints

Table 5.1 summarizes number of gunflints retrieved at the three sites. Of the gunflints retrieved at Chickasawhay, 21% were of aboriginal manufacture; the balance were European spalls. At both Frederickson/Coosa and Oklahoma no aboriginal gunflints occurred. All of the European gunflints from these last two sites were blade (prismatic) gunflints (Table 5.1, Figure 5.8).

The Choctaw were hunting almost exclusively with guns within a generation of their introduction at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Choctaw were involved in the French skin trade, which demanded a higher deer kill than what was necessary for simple food acquisition. The number of European spalls at

Table 5.1. Gunflints from Chickasawhay, Frederickson/Coosa, and Oklahoma.

Origin	Type	Ck-502	Ld-512	Ld-532
Aboriginal	Blade-like	3	—	—
European	Spall	12	—	—
	Spall fragment	2	—	—
	Blade	—	1	1
	Blade fragment	—	—	1

Chickasawhay may reflect this phenomenon. As a major town in the Southern Division, close to French supply sources at Mobile and the coast generally, we should expect to see a higher concentration of trade goods here. The French had initially selected Chickasawhay as a location for a trading warehouse, but year round access that far up the Chickasawhay River proved impossible, and Yowanni, another major town in the Southern Division farther south on the river, was ultimately chosen. Choctaw participation in the skin trade, however, did not require them to be completely at the mercy of the French supply system. Apart from powder and shot, the part of the flintlock assembly most subject to renewal was the gunflint. Choctaws actively used their knowledge of stone working to produce this one item where their traditional skills applied.

At the two later sites, no aboriginal gunflints appear. Although the number of gunflints recovered at all three sites, particularly Frederickson/Coosa and Oklahoma, is quite small, it is still interesting to note that the lack of native-made gunflints may reflect the success of the market in providing supplies of this

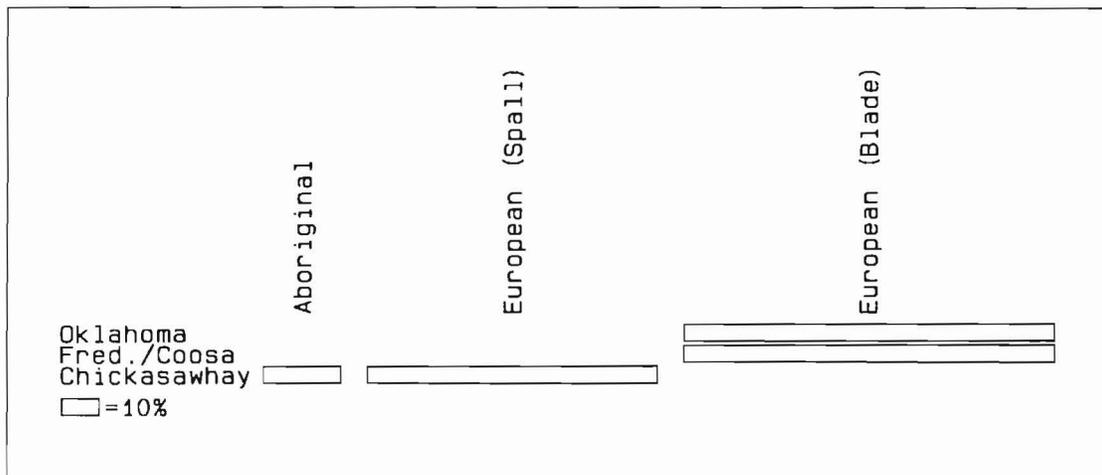


Figure 5.8. Percentages of gunflints by type by site.

necessary good. If gunflint supplies were assured, the Choctaw may not have required maintenance of their earlier knapping skill as applied earlier. Thus this skill may have been discontinued for very pragmatic reasons. Decline in the representation of gunflints as a percentage of all artifacts recovered also may reflect a decline in the level of hunting in the immediate Homeland from former periods. The deerskin trade of the eighteenth century had ended by this time. As mentioned above, deer populations had declined significantly enough in the Homeland so that by the beginning of the nineteenth century Choctaw hunting ranged as far as present-day Oklahoma. In addition, at this time Choctaws in increasing numbers adopted a lifeway closer to that of surrounding Whites. As cited above, it was the advanced state of "civilization" that made the Choctaw early candidates for the policy of Removal.

Conclusion

As represented by the Euro-American ceramics at the sites of Chickasawhay, Frederickson/Coosa, and Oklahoma, about half of the ceramics used by the Choctaw were of non-native manufacture by approximately the end of the eighteenth century. While the abundance of gunflints retrieved at all sites was low, nearly a quarter of the gunflints at Chickasawhay were native-made. Aboriginal gunflints were absent at the later sites of Frederickson/Coosa and Oklahoma; European gunflints were also very few at these later sites. Finally, variations in the percentages of certain aboriginal ceramic types among the sites suggest a divisional rather than a chronological separation of these types. This apparent regional distribution may prove useful in answering other questions about the Choctaw, such as those regarding their origin.

The Choctaw encountered in the French and other European and American peoples the extension of a larger system, extremely complex, and tied to events halfway around the world. We must recall, however, that the encounter between small-scale societies and larger, more expansive social systems has a long history, ranging from Akkadian city-states which extended control over the tribal uplands of their hinterland to the events of our own century. Culture change ensued in every instance. Beyond the intriguing question of how to measure the degree of active participation displayed by the small-scale society in the process of change is the more fundamental question of how to measure the depth of culture change in each case.

The evidence from the Choctaw sites considered here demonstrates that, in the face of increased availability of Euro-American goods, the Choctaw were robust in maintaining their own ceramic tradition. The Choctaw had used their knowledge of stone work to create their own gunflints early in the eighteenth century. By the end of the century, the market system may have been able to supply the Choctaw with sufficient gunflints and they may have abandoned the manufacture of their own for very pragmatic reasons. The incorporation of the Euro-American goods thus augmented rather than extinguished Choctaw material culture during the period under consideration in this study.

Where choice and compromise could be exercised, whether in producing a gunflint or establishing a political alliance, the Choctaw appear to have been as able as any other small-scale society to exercise these abilities, and more so than many in the Southeast. Without these abilities they could not have maintained themselves to reestablish their presence in the Homeland. Without them, in the words of the eminent scholar of the Choctaw, Carolyn Reeves (1985:i), there could not be today in Mississippi *Chata Ahaya Moma*. There could not be Many Choctaw Standing.

Appendix A

Summary Descriptions of Aboriginal Ceramic Types and Varieties Mentioned in the Text

Addis Plain

The paste of this type is described as “heterogeneous...containing inorganic and organic matter” (Brown 1985:288; Neitzel 1983:81–84). The inorganic material is mostly fine to medium grog, and the organic material includes bone, charcoal, and, occasionally, shell. Surfaces are typically smoothed but not polished. Paste colors range from gray-brown to black (Williams and Brain 1983:92). Originally classified as a variety of Baytown Plain (Phillips 1970:48), this type was a common plain ware in the Natchez Bluffs region of the lower Mississippi Valley from about A.D. 1000 through the early 18th century (Steponaitis 1981:13).

Baldwin Plain

This designation applies to all pre-Mississippian sand-tempered plain ware in the Tombigbee River drainage (Jenkins 1981:123–127; Steponaitis 1983:303). Two varieties, *var. Blubber* and *var. Lubbub*, are noted here; fine sand particles of 1.2 mm or less distinguish the former from the coarser grained particles of the latter. Paste colors for *var. Blubber* range from yellowish red to dark reddish brown to very dark gray. Paste colors for *var. Lubbub* range from reddish yellow to a pale brown to a very dark gray (Jenkins 1981:124–125). The first variety is associated with the late Miller II and early Miller III phase of the Woodland period (A.D. 600–800). The second variety dates to the Henson Springs phase of the Gulf Formational (600–100 B.C.) (Jenkins 1981:124, 126).

Baytown Plain

This type is a catchall for grog-tempered plain ware in the Mississippi Valley other than grog-tempered plain ware having the heterogeneous paste of Addis Plain (Phillips 1970:47–48; Brown 1985:290).

Bell Plain

This plain ware is tempered with particles of pulverized shell. Surfaces are well smoothed or polished (Phillips 1970:58–59; Brown 1985:290).

Chickachae Combed

The ceramic hallmark of the historic Choctaw period, this sand-tempered ware, usually highly polished, is decorated with rectilinear and curvilinear designs made with a comb or comb-like tool. The multiple, fine lines are incised by the tool in bands which can range from 3 to 12 mm in width. The paste is typically hard, compact, and well-fired. A burnished exterior is common. Colors include buff, reddish-brown to dark-brown, and light gray to black. As noted above, combed ceramics probably first appeared late in the eighteenth century in the Homeland region (Collins 1927; Haag 1953; Blitz 1985:79–83; Blitz 1991).

Chicot Red

This type encompasses red slipped ware with a paste equivalent to that of Addis Plain (Neitzel 1983:85; Brown 1985:291).

Doctor Lake Incised

The paste is tempered with fine sand and occasionally with fine shell inclusions. Sets of narrow incised lines run perpendicular or diagonal to the rim and occasionally form nested-step motifs or nested chevrons. Small circular punctations are occasionally placed at the end of lines. The lip often has widely spaced notches on the exterior. Surfaces are very hard and smooth. Colors range from medium to dark gray to charcoal gray. This ware is associated with the confluence basin of the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers which form the upper Mobile River region and dates, tentatively, to the Late Protohistoric/Early Historic Period (A.D. 1600–1750?) (Fuller *et al.* 1984).

Fatherland Incised

Decorated with carefully incised curvilinear designs of narrow parallel lines in scroll or meander patterns on an Addis Plain ware, this type has several varieties notable in this study. *Var. Fatherland*, formerly classified as Leland Incised *var. Fatherland* (Phillips 1970:106), is distinguished by two or three narrow parallel lines; *var. Nancy* consists of four line curvilinear bands; and *var. Bayou Goula* consists of five or more narrow parallel lines (Brown 1985:293; Neitzel 1983:89–90). The varieties are temporally sensitive; in the Natchez Bluffs region, *var. Fatherland* dates to after A.D. 1500, *var. Nancy* dates after A.D. 1682, and *var. Bayou Goula* dates to after A.D. 1500 (Steponaitis 1981:14).

Kemper Combed

This provisional type encompasses ceramics decorated with curvilinear bands produced by a comb or comb-like tool on a paste equivalent to Addis Plain. Exterior and interior surfaces are well smoothed; a burnished exterior is common. Bands of fine lines range from 3 to 15 mm in width and form motifs identical to those seen on Chickachae Combed sherds. Colors range from reddish-brown to dark brown and light gray to black (Blitz 1985:71–73).

Leland Incised

This type encompasses ceramics with a paste equivalent to Addis Plain decorated with curvilinear scroll designs of broad, trailed incised lines (Phillips 1970:104; Brown 1985:295). The incised lines are shallow and can measure 1–2 mm in width (Williams and Brain 1983:173).

McKee Island Brushed

A shell-tempered ware decorated with “fine brush roughed or twig marking,” this type dates after A.D. 1500 (Heimlich 1952:68).

Mississippi Plain

Shell-tempered and undecorated, this coarse-textured ware is primarily associated with the Mississippian Period in the Southeast (approximately A.D. 1000 to Contact) (Phillips 1970:130–131; Brown 1985:298). The Choctaw, however, manufactured Mississippi Plain vessels until the middle of the nineteenth century (Williams 1981:116–118). Three varieties are notable for this study: *var. Wilson Pasture* defined as a “smooth paste with small to medium particles of live shell”; *var. Como* defined as

“smooth paste with small particles of live shell” (Blitz 1985:65; Atkinson and Blakeman 1975:13–14); and *var. Enterprise* defined as possessing a “sandy paste” (Penman 1977:285–286; Blitz 1985:65). As in the sherds described by Blitz, the shell had leached from the sherds in the present study. Blitz generally places unburnished sherds with shell particles between 1 mm and 2 mm in *var. Wilson Pasture*; he places unburnished sherds with shell particles less than 1 mm in *var. Como* (Blitz 1985:65–66). The same distinction and nomenclature were followed in the present study.

Mulberry Creek Cordmarked

A grog-tempered ware decorated with a paddle or other tool wrapped with cord, this type is associated with the Woodland Period late Miller II through Miller III phases in the Tombigbee River Valley (Phillips 1970:136; Jenkins and Krause 1986:70–76).

Old Town Red

This type encompasses red slipped shell-tempered ware ceramics (Phillips 1970:144–145).

Turkey Paw Plain

Tempered with bone particles, the interior and exterior of Turkey Paw Plain vessels were typically burnished. In the Tombigbee River Valley, this type appeared prominently in Late Miller II and Early Miller III phases (A.D. 600–800) (Jenkins 1981:161–162).

Unclassified Limestone-tempered Incised

A single body sherd with five incised lines which are roughly parallel was retrieved at Chickasawhay (22-Ck-502) (Figure 4.2*a*).

Unclassified Shell-tempered Incised

This category includes sherds incised with a single or several lines, which cannot be reliably placed in an established type. Three sherds bear unique surface treatments near the rim. The first sherd has a row of contiguous incised diamonds, each with a small circle inscribed in the center; the design runs parallel to the rim. The paste of this sherd is similar to that of Mississippi Plain, *var. Como* sherds (Figure 4.2*k*). The second sherd bears a curvilinear design parallel to the rim, reminiscent of a bicycle chain. This design is bordered above and below by a single incised line. The paste is similar to that of ceramics of Mississippi Plain *var. Como* (Figure 4.2*l*). The third sherd has a zone bordered by double incised lines running parallel to the rim; inside the zone is a curvilinear double incised line. The paste is equivalent to that of Bell Plain ceramics (Figure 4.2*m*).

Unclassified Sand-tempered Incised and Pinched

Sherds bearing single or multiple incised lines without discernible designs are included here. Two small sherds with a fingernail-pinched punctuation, which may or may not be fragments of Alexander series ceramics, are also included.

Unclassified Sand and grog-tempered Incised

This category encompasses coarse sand and coarse grog-tempered sherds incised with a single or several lines roughly parallel to each other. All the sherds are fairly small and well-compacted.

Unclassified Grog-tempered Brushed

The sherds included here are well-compacted and fine-textured, with a paste equivalent to Addis Plain and well-burnished on both the exterior and the interior. Decorated with curvilinear designs created with a brush-like tool of closely wrapped bristles, the ceramics in this category appear only at the Oklahoma site (22-Ld-532). The bands of brushed lines range in width from 2.5 to 8 mm. The sherds range in color from orange-brown to dark brown (Figures 4.13 and 4.14).

Unclassified Grog-tempered Punctated and Punctated-Incised

Sherds within this category have an Addis-ware paste and are decorated either with a single row of circular to square punctations or an arc of this type of punctations beneath an arc of roughly parallel incised lines. All the sherds included here are buff-colored.

Unclassified Grog-tempered Incised

Several sherds bearing distinctive decorations near the rims appear in the collections from Chickasawhay (22-Ck-502) and Frederickson/Coosa (22-Ld-512). In order to organize these materials, I assigned treatment designations based on the decorations.

Treatment A

The sherds are decorated with bands of parallel incised lines which begin near the rim and descend either perpendicular or at an oblique angle to the lip. Several sherds have bands that descend from a single or double incised line running parallel to the lip edge (Figure 4.2 *b–e, g*). These designs are accompanied by nick or punctation modifications on the top or on the face of the lip. All the sherds assigned to this group have a paste equivalent to Addis Plain ware and typically are well compacted. Colors range from orange-brown to dark brown.

Treatment B

Decorations near the rim include nested rectilinear designs and nested step designs (Figure 4.2 *h–j*). The designs are accompanied by nick or punctation modifications on the top or on the face of the lip. All the sherds have a paste equivalent to Addis Plain. Colors range from orange-brown to dark brown.

Treatment C

The decorative motif of this category is nested chevrons. The designs are accompanied by nick or punctation modifications on the top or on the face of the lip. All sherds in this group have a paste equivalent to Addis Plain. Colors range from orange-brown to dark brown and from gray to charcoal black.

Treatment D

The decorative motifs near the rim are zoned triangles filled with parallel lines (Figure 4.2 *f*). As with the other designations above, all the sherds assigned to this group have a paste equivalent to Addis Plain ware. Several sherds, however, are very coarse-textured while others are well compacted. Colors range from orange-brown to dark brown.

Appendix B

Gunflints

The Choctaw first acquired flintlocks from the French in 1702 (Blitz 1985:82). The acquisition may be linked to the depredations suffered by the Choctaw at the hands of the Chickasaw, who at the prompting of the Carolina English, sought Choctaw captives to sell as slaves to the English (Hudson 1976:437). The European gunflints represented in the collections analyzed for this study include both spalls and blade or prismatic forms. Spalls are considered ancestral to the blade or prismatic form.

Gunflints originally appeared with the snaphance guns invented about A.D. 1600. True flintlocks appeared by 1650 and changed little in mechanical design over the next two centuries (Kenmoutu 1990:93). Eighteenth-century flints originated primarily from English and French quarries; the French dominated the market until 1790, when the English ceased importing from France and started saturating the market with their own products (*ibid*:95).

English and French gunflints can be separated by the physical qualities of the source material and the techniques of manufacture. In England, the flint quarries around Brandon in Suffolk County are best known. Quarried from the Neolithic to the modern era, the color of these flints grades from very dark, nearly black, fine grained flint to a gray, opaque flint studded with inclusions.

French gunflints are typically honey-yellow or “blond” in color. Frequently, they contain white inclusions. Blond flints have dated as early as 1675 and were the most commonly used gunflints in France, England, and the North American colonies until about 1800 (*ibid*:96). French spalls can also range from brown to yellow-brown to gray (Emery 1980:147).

To create the spall, craftsmen used direct percussion on nodules or prepared cores. French spalls, however, bear on the heel the marks of finishing reduction by pressure flaking to produce a balanced “D” form gunflint (Kenmoutu 1990:98).

The date for the introduction of the blade or prismatic flints produced from long blades struck from prepared cores is unclear. The technique may have begun as early as the mid-seventeenth century, but became perfected only around 1740, when they became an “ordinary article of commerce” (Witthoft 1966:28). While both the British and the French manufactured blade or prismatic gunflints, the French craftsman took the extra time to trim the sides and heel by removing small flakes (Hamilton 1980:38). The blade gunflint did not replace the spall in North America, however, until the last quarter of the eighteenth century (Hamilton 1979:210).

Appendix C

Estimating Site Occupation Using the Steponaitis-Kintigh Midpoint and Percentile Methods

Steponaitis and Kintigh (1985) have offered a new model for estimating site occupation based on dated artifact types. The model generated two algorithms: (1) the Midpoint Method using type presence and (2) the Percentile Method using type frequency. The model posits three assumptions:

- (1) artifacts are deposited at the site continuously over its occupation
- (2) artifacts deposited at any one time are a sample representative of those in use
- (3) the period of use of each artifact is known

These assumptions present the optimum conditions for calculating the occupation span of a site under the model. In the application of this model to the present study, only those artifacts with use spans expressed in specific years were used to calculate the occupation. An artifact whose use span was expressed in the documentation only as a general period—for example, the Revolutionary War period—was not used in the calculation of the occupation span. In addition, I pose one caveat for using this model in the present study. Steponaitis and Kintigh applied this model in their article to historic Euro-American sites located in the Natchez, Mississippi, region and in the Carolinas. The sites in the present study are historic Indian sites. While the utility of the model to historic Indian sites cannot be doubted, use of the model should be tempered by the difference between the occupations of historic Euro-American sites and historic Indian sites which number dated Euro-American artifacts in their assemblages.

Midpoint Method

In the first step, four dates are determined:

- (1) the Earliest Starting Date (ESD), the earliest initial date of any type present
- (2) the Latest Starting Date (LSD), the earliest terminal date of any type present
- (3) the Earliest Ending Date (EED), the latest initial date of any type present
- (4) the Latest Ending Date (LED), the latest terminal date for any type present

This method calculates a midpoint date between each of these bracket dates; the occupation span, therefore, is the period between the calculated beginning (the Estimated Starting Date) midpoint date and ending (the Estimated Ending Date) midpoint date. For example, consider the production dates for selected Euro-American ceramics, and the use dates of selected metal artifacts from Chickasawhay (22-Ck-502). Diagrammatically, the individual span of each artifact type is summarized in Figure C.1 on the following page.

Using these production and use dates, and keeping in mind the assumptions of the model, the model generates the following dates: an ESD of A.D. 1640; a LSD of A.D. 1760; an EED of A.D. 1820; and a LED of A.D. 1900. The Estimated Starting Date is: $(1640+1760)/2=1700$. The Estimated Ending Date is: $(1820+1900)/2=1860$. Therefore the occupation span for the site using the Midpoint Method is A.D. 1700 through 1860. Although the average error of this estimation method is on the upper range of other methods available (Stanley South's Bracketing Method and the Steponaitis-Kintigh Percentile Method), it compares favorably with these other methods (Steponaitis and Kintigh 1985:354).

Percentile Method

In this method, not only the presence but the relative frequency of an artifact type is taken into account in generating the occupation span. An explicit algorithm is used to determine the probability that an artifact

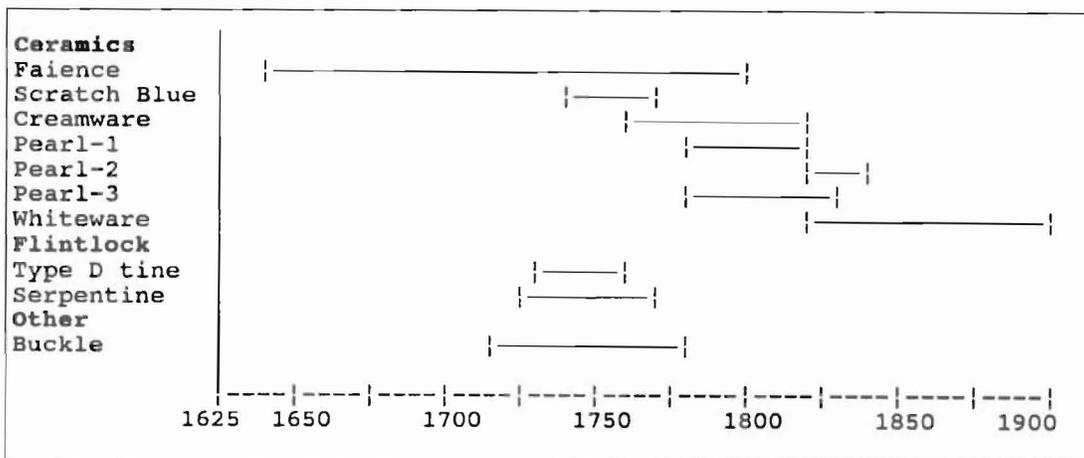


Figure C.1. Approximate time spans for dated historic artifacts from Chickasawhay (22-Ck-502) (Key: Pearl-1, blue handpainted; Pearl-2, polychrome handpainted; Pearl-3, plain).

of a given type, a ceramic sherd, for example, was deposited in a particular year; this calculation depends on the frequency of that type's distribution through time. With this probabilistic approach, the area under the curve of the frequency distribution generated for the artifact type through time then can generally be transformed into an area equal to the number of sherds of this type recovered at a specific site; the vertical axis of this graph represents the deposition rate for the type through time at the site, and the area between any two points along the horizontal axis reflects the probabilistic calculation of the number of sherds of this type which were deposited during the given time period. The higher part of this curve is interpreted as reflecting the period of denser occupation.

The estimated starting date and the estimated ending date for the occupation is determined by selection of two points along the curve to represent these dates. There are several ways to do this. First, in the absence of any other information, Steponaitis and Kintigh suggest the selection of two points on the curve such that 75% of the area under the curve is contained between these two points. This is similar to determining a 75% confidence interval around the distribution's mean. The two points along the curve that reflect the boundaries of this interval are the 12.5 percentile (the estimated starting date) and the 87.5 percentile (estimated ending date). These authors, however, also suggest that other information may be marshalled to determine the boundary percentiles employed at a particular site. For example, historical records for the site in question, or the precise archaeological dating of sites in the vicinity of the site under investigation with similar artifact assemblages, may provide a heuristic device to determine the percentile boundaries applied to the site under inquiry. In their application of the percentile method to sites in both the Carolinas and the Natchez area, Steponaitis and Kintigh determined that using 35–90 percentile boundaries more closely matched both the known historic dates of sites investigated in the Carolinas and in the Natchez region. These authors suggest that the application of the 35–90 percentile boundaries would be beneficial in dating other eighteenth-century sites in the Southeast. In the present study, I have provided occupation spans determined with both percentile boundaries. In the cases here, however, I would be conservative and rely more on the occupation spans which use the 12.5–87.5 percentile boundaries because of the dearth of other information which may be employed to determine more appropriate boundaries.

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Tim Mooney in the field, 1991 Photograph courtesy of Vincas P. Steponaitis.

