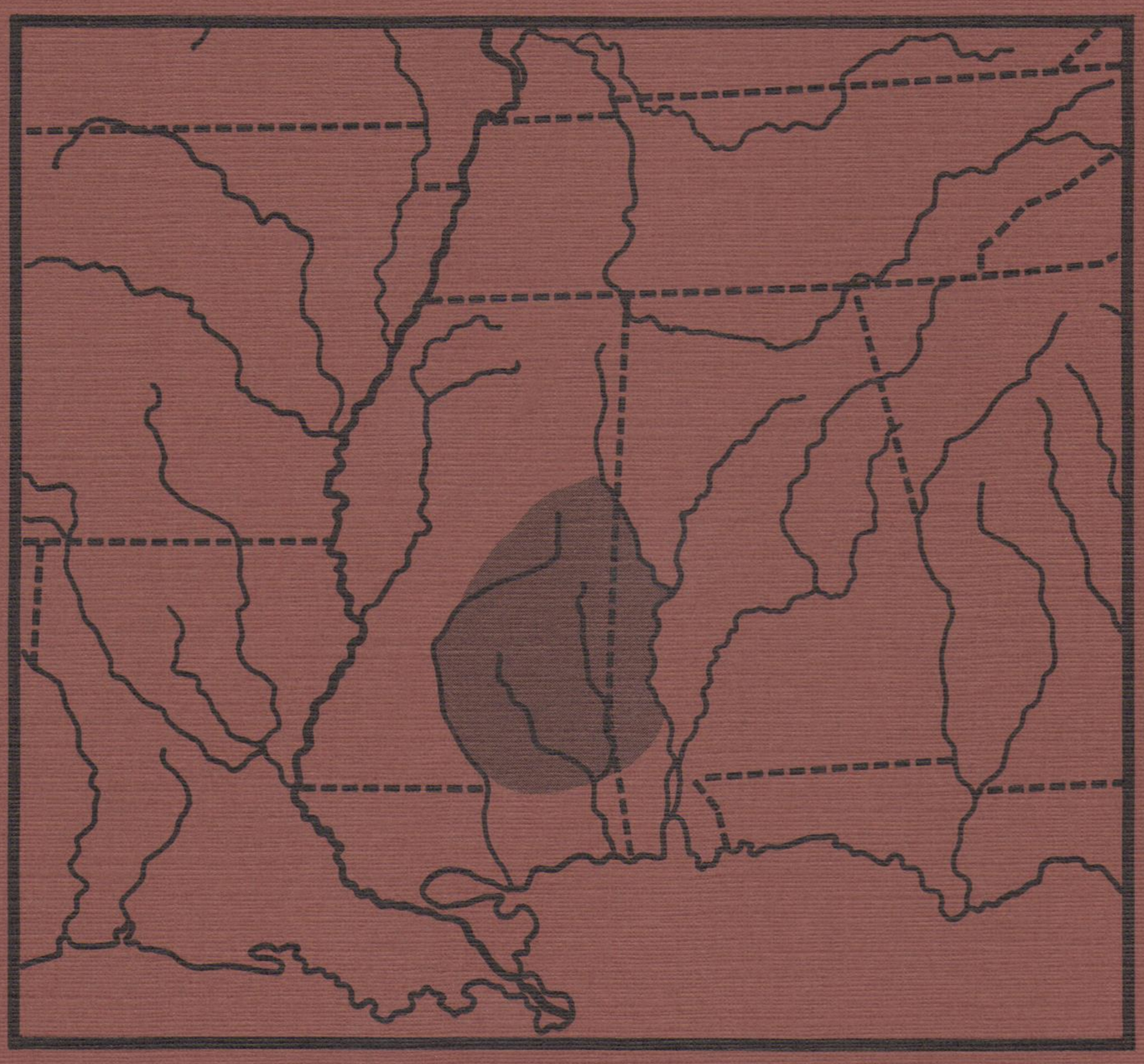
Archaeological Report No. 16

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE MISSISSIPPI CHOCTAW INDIANS

John Howard Blitz



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AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE MISSISSIPPI CHOCTAW INDIANS

CHAPTER I

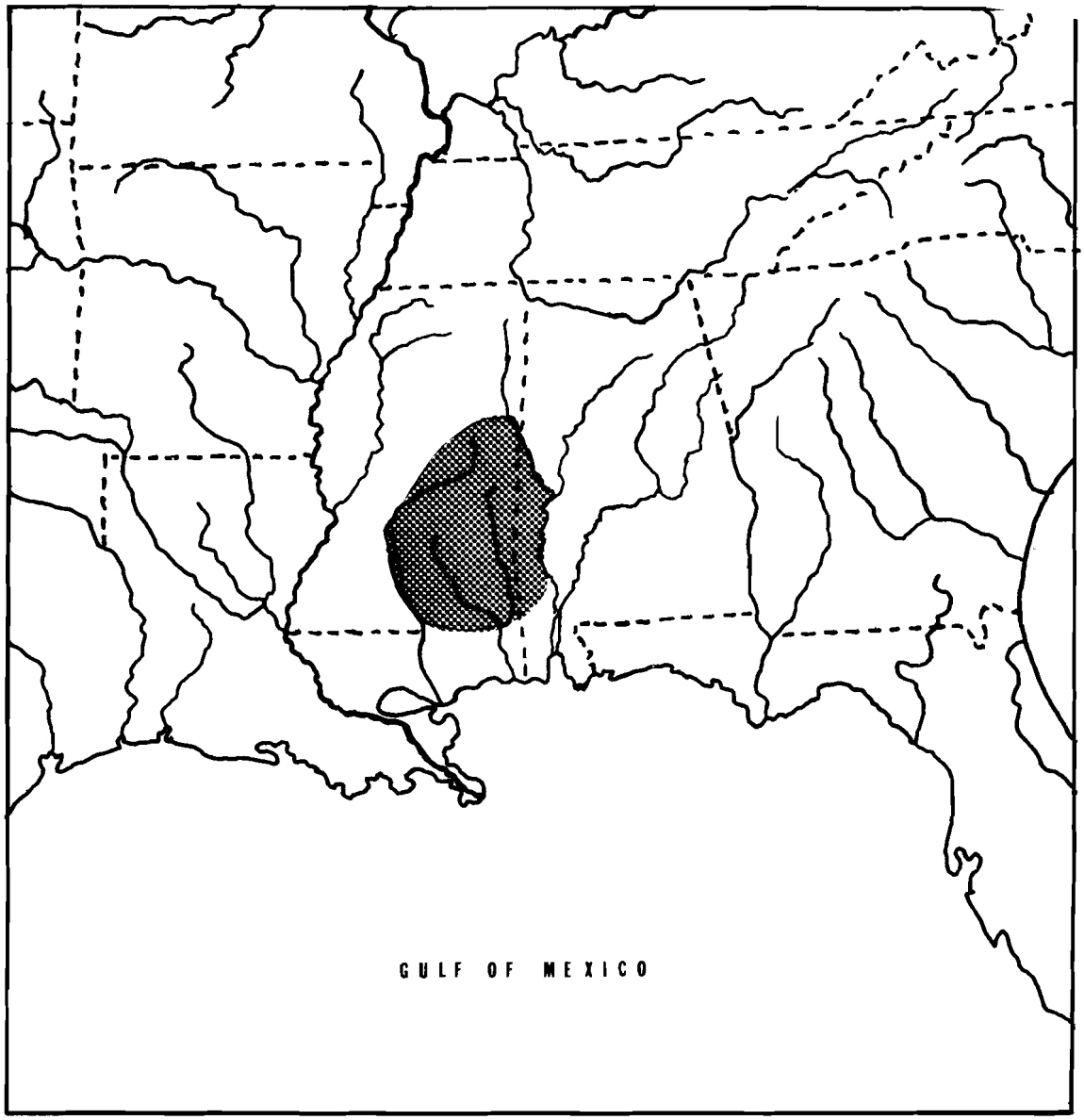
INTRODUCTION

When one examines the indigenous cultural development in the area encompassed by the Southeastern United States, it becomes apparent that the largest gaps in our knowledge, in terms of archaeological data, exist at the polar ends of the cultural sequence. This is understandable for the earliest Paleo-Indian and Archaic hunters and gatherers because the extreme antiquity, the low population densities and the perishable nature of the material culture have resulted in a very limited archaeological profile.

But how are we to explain a lack of archaeologically-generated knowledge about the protohistoric societies and the historically known American Indian societies of the the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? "Protohistoric" is used here to designate the period of time when southeastern Indian societies experienced direct or indirect contact with Europeans, from the Spanish explorations of the sixteenth century until the permanent French and British colonization at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Some historic groups such as the Cherokee and the Natchez have been the subject of intensive archaeological research, and their prehistoric, protohistoric and historic cultural development are relatively well known. Archaeological investigation of other groups such as the Chickasaw and the Creeks has been varied in scope and precision. Still, many other historic southeastern Indian societies have not been investigated archaeologically at all.

There are several possible reasons for this neglect. Archaeological investigation of the southeastern Indians has concentrated on describing and explaining the development of the prehistoric cultural sequence. The study of the historic southeastern Indians has largely been the undertaking of ethnohistorians and cultural anthropologists who work with written descriptions by the early Europeans to reconstruct each society. In the 1920s and 1930s, anthropologists became excited about the possibility of examining developmental relationships between historically known groups and prehistoric societies through the combined use of archaeological techniques and ethnographic data.

Problems with the "Direct Historical Approach" arose because there was not always enough historical documentation to adequately correlate the artifacts of a specific site with a known ethnic group. The difficulty of adequate cultural and chronological control preoccupied the investigations, and rarely was the data base sufficient to turn from time-space systematics to confront questions of cultural change and acculturation, although there were notable exceptions (Steward 1942).



Map 1. Location of the traditional Choctaw Homeland in the Southeastern United States.

Many of the problems involved in establishing an ethnic identity for historic period archaeological components and then tracing this cultural link back into a prehistoric past continue to be formidable. But in recent years there has been a renewed interest in what archaeological studies can reveal about acculturation and cultural change. Because the lifeways of protohistoric and historic southeastern Indian societies are recorded in eyewitness accounts, archaeologists may use direct ethnographic analogies with greater confidence and control than is possible for fully prehistoric studies. In addition, archaeology has the advantage of a diachronic perspective not available to enthnologists except indirectly through historical documents.

For me, the early historic Choctaw were a logical choice for archaeological investigation. They were the largest indigenous society in Mississippi during the colonial period. Today, despite centuries of assault, domination, and acculturation by a larger society, many Choctaw communities remain in their traditional homeland, important contributors to Mississippi's cultural heritage.

I became interested in the archaeological background of the Mississippi Choctaw as the result of an effort to prepare a brief outline of southeastern Mississippi prehistory in order to learn more about the region upon my arrival at the University of Southern Mississippi (Blitz 1982, 1983a). Very little archaeological investigation has taken place in southeastern Mississippi, and any summary of our meager knowledge is quite dependent on broad comparison to better-known areas--an exercise that restricts one to very general statements of limited value.

Because the previous archaeological investigation of the Choctaw was minimal, the research focused on the collection of basic archaeological data. Therefore, the principal goals of the present research were to locate a representative sample of Choctaw sites; use the available historical and archaeological data to confirm the ethnic identity of the sites and associated artifacts as Choctaw; and analyze the site location data for patterns that could be interpreted with historical descriptions of Choctaw settlements. The location of the traditional Choctaw Homeland, the region of their eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century settlements, is illustrated in Map 1.

The study is organized in the following manner. In Chapter 2, an ethnographic profile of early historic Choctaw society is presented. Choctaw political institutions, social organization, and subsistence patterns are summarized, and the effects of Euro-American acculturation are examined.

The third chapter reviews previous archaeological and historical research relevant to Choctaw society and prehistory. The cultural geography of early historic Choctaw settlements in Mississippi is reconstructed, and social, economic, and environmental factors that influenced the early historic Choctaw settlement system are presented. This information becomes the basis for determining how some of these factors would be recognized in archaeological survey.

Chapter 4 presents the results of an archaeological survey in the traditional Choctaw Homeland in east-central Mississippi. The survey

was designed to locate the full range of Choctaw archaeological sites, collect representative samples, and provide a greater insight into the Choctaw settlement system.

In the fifth chapter, a Choctaw ceramic complex for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century is proposed. Problems in the assignment of an ethnic identity for the ceramic complex and the archaeological identification of Choctaw sites are discussed. The Choctaw Phase is proposed to encompass these archaeological sites and their associated artifacts.

In Chapter 6, the research results of the study are summarized and evaluated. Future research orientation, methodology, and problems of interpretation are discussed.

Finally, Appendix A presents descriptions of artifacts associated with Choctaw archaeological sites, and Appendix B presents a copy of Tribal Resolution 141-81 of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, an official request for assistance in the archaeological study and preservation of archaeological sites relevant to the heritage of the Choctaw people.

CHAPTER II

AN ETHNOHISTORICAL PROFILE OF TRADITIONAL CHOCTAW SOCIETY

The Choctaw were the second largest American Indian society in the Southeast, with a population that has fluctuated between 10,000 and 15,000 since Euro-American contact (Swanton 1979:123). They played a central role in the history of the Gulf region for 130 years, and continue today to be a viable, modern society when many other American Indian societies have lost their identity or disappeared entirely. As early as 1702 there are eyewitness descriptions of the Choctaw, their customs and their settlements. These documents have served as invaluable source materials from which ethnohistorians and anthropologists have reconstructed early traditional Choctaw society (Swanton 1931).

There are, however, certain weaknesses inherent in the accounts. French, Spanish, and English observation of the Choctaw was colored by colonial ambitions and ethnocentrism. The narrow scope of the European views is reflected in the various surviving narratives, which are often long on general characterization but short on specific details of Choctaw life. The early colonial observers were most attentive to descriptions of Choctaw population, political leadership, and settlement locations, and only incidentally concerned with social organization and customs. Much of our knowledge of Choctaw social life comes from nineteenth century observers who recorded oral histories about customs that were undergoing change through acculturation.

Choctaw Sociopolitical Organization

During the eighteenth century, traditional Choctaw society was composed of several formal status categories that defined an individual's social position in relation to others. These categories formed a hierarchy based on the age, sex, and personal qualities of an individual. This social structure is outlined in an anonymous French manuscript from the early 1700s:

> This nation is governed by a head chief whose power is absolute only so far as he knows how to make use of his authority, but as disobedience is not punished among them, and they do not usually do what is requested of them, except when they want to, it may be said that it is an ill-disciplined government. In each village, besides the chief and war chief, there are two Tascamingoutchy ["made a war chief"] who are like lieutenants of the war chief, and a Tichou-mingo ["assistant chief"] who is like a major. It is

> he who arranges for all of the ceremonies, the feasts, and the dances. He acts as speaker for the chief, and oversees the warriors and strangers when they smoke. The Tichoumingo usually become village chiefs. They (the people) are divided into four orders, as follows. [The first are] the head chiefs, village chiefs, and war chief; the second are the Atacoulitoupa [Hatak-holitopa] or beloved men (hommes de valleur); the third is composed of those whom they call simply tasca or warriors; the fourth and last is atac emittla [hatak imatahali?]. They are those who have not struck blows or who have killed only a woman or a child (Swanton 1931:90-91).

Women and children were excluded from the male-dominated arena of public affairs. However, it cannot be concluded that women had no important position in society, for their influence is implicit in their dominance over the domestic sphere and their responsibility for agricultural production.

In addition to the age-sex-merit categories of social status, Choctaw social organization was composed of several interrelated institutions based on kinship. Matrilineages, clans, and other kin groups equipped an individual with a classification system that predetermined his social relationships:

> The life of the Southeastern Indian was largely regulated by his kinship system. It provided him with a set of readymade categories that determined who his enemies were, who his allies were, whom he could and could not marry, and to whom he could leave his property and his social prerogatives after he died. The southeastern Indian lived in a world of kinsmen; and a man without kinsmen was like a man without a country (Hudson 1976:184).

Thus a map of the Choctaw social universe would proceed from an individual with a social status determined initially by age, sex, and kin groups. This individual could acquire a formal leadership position by virtue of his talents and achievements. Political institutions, though based on achievement, were infused with kin group partisanship. The individual lived in a village or hamlet composed of both kin and non-kin. The political institutions regulated the relationships between kin groups and villages.

The historic Choctaw were organized into a number of simple chiefdoms, known in Choctaw as okla ("people"). A chiefdom may be structurally simple or complex. It represents a level of social integration ranging from egalitarian tribal or "big man" societies which lack institutionalized positions of leadership to state societies with stratified economic classes and a centralized government with the ability to tax, draft labor or military forces, and enforce laws (Carneiro 1981).

An autonomous political unit consisting of a collection of farmsteads, hamlets, and villages united under a permanent chieftain

is a simple of "minimal" chiefdom (Carneiro 1981:45). Simple chiefdoms may have only one level of political authority, while complex chiefdoms may have two or three levels of political hierarchies. Complex chiefdoms consist of a paramount chieftain who extracts tribute from subordinate chiefs, each of whom appropriates resources from the population in his domain (see Steponaitis 1978:419-421).

The okla's decision-making body was the council of "beloved men," older, distinguished warriors, some of whom could no longer participate in battle. The okla chief (mingo) was a beloved man chosen by the mutual consent of his peers. The duties of the Choctaw okla mingo are not known precisely. Perhaps they were similar to the Cherokee chiefs who supervised the redistribution of surplus foodstuffs not immediately consumed at the household level through the maintenance of a public granary. The "chief's granary" held reserves of corn available to those whose crops had been lost, for presentation to hungry travelers, for communal feasts, or for other times of need (Bartram 1958:321).

The okla mingo presided over the council, directing policy through his powers of persuasion rather than by force, for his decisions were non-binding. Thus important decisions were preceded by the lengthy oratory of council members. A block of political power rested with the chief's lineage, which was very influential in the chiefdom. The assistant chief or tishomingo's role was as "orator for the chief." The tishomingo advocated the chief's policies and coordinated the council protocol. His public, formal allegiance to the chief suggests that these two men were kinsmen.

The political power of the war chief was often equal to, and sometimes surpassed, the influence of the okla mingo. The war chief was the military leader of the okla. He organized and initiated the incessant raids against external enemies and planned for the common defense. He held his position by virtue of his military prowess and the respect of his peers. Two other distinguished warriors served as his aides.

From French comments about the location of influential mingos, it appears that the largest village of the okla was usually the political and ceremonial center. The chief lived in that village, and presumably it was the location of a public granary. It is known that the council convened there and important events such as ball games and calendrical ceremonies took place there. Other villages and hamlets, depending on their size, apparently had village chiefs and a sub-chief leadership system. The exact manner in which farmstead, hamlet, and village were politically integrated is not completely known. Many influential individuals probably had more than one type of leadership role. For example, the leader of a small village might sit on the council of beloved men at the larger center, and the okla mingo might function as the center's village chief as well.

It is not known to what extent the Choctaw participated in the symbolic dualism that pervaded the social and belief systems of the southeastern Indians. Dual organization is best documented for the Creeks and Cherokee, and because many Choctaw social institutions are

similar, dualism in Choctaw society is highly probable (Lankford 1981:53). The dual organization expressed itself in white/red institutions, ideas and symbols. One side of chiefdom organization was "white" and its associated roles of leadership--the okla mingo, tishomingo and beloved men--symbolized peace and domestic affairs. The other side was "red," which symbolized war and affairs outside the okla. "Red" leadership roles were the war chiefs and warriors. This type of dualism permitted leadership roles to shift between the two most influential offices, the okla chief and the war chief. At times of peace, the okla chief presided over the internal affairs of the okla, but in times of war or other external affairs the war chiefs were in the most powerful positions of persuasion and leadership (Hudson 1976:234-235).

George Lankford (1981:53) has provided a detailed analysis of the okla, "the basic political unit, the sine qua non of southeastern tribal life." His definition of the okla recognizes two interrelated ceremonial and political functions: a group of people participating in various rites of intensification (such as the annual Green Corn Ceremony) at a common ceremonial center, and the male political/military system. The okla's political system was a "meritocracy." Personal qualities and achievement were the criteria for advancement and, therefore, the okla system was not despotic. Consensus was emphasized as the decision-making process. Lankford summarizes the okla's characteristics:

> 1) Oklas move their locations, but the okla names stay firm. 2) The settlement pattern may change---e.g., from mound-center town to extended river-line village---but the okla is the same. 3) Larger groupings beyond the okla level are temporary at best. Any okla may remove itself politically or physically from the larger group at will. 4) An okla may be at war with another okla within the larger group. 5) An okla may refuse to go to war when all its neighboring okla's do, whether because of political disagreement or because of special relationship with the new enemy. 6) An okla may conclude a separate peace or a separate war. 7) An okla may not even speak the same language as the larger group. 8) Two oklas may merge in times of dwindling population, but they may later separate again as intact or reconstructed oklas. 9) An okla's importance is dependent on the perceived leadership ability of its current chieftains, both red and white, as well as on its population size; thus one century's "province" name may be the next one's hamlet, obscure and forgotten (Lankford 1981:54).

Interwoven with the political and ceremonial aspects of the okla was the kinship system of Choctaw society. Besides the age, sex, and meritorious political categories, the individual Choctaw's interpersonal relationships were governed by a matrilineal kinship system. In the matrilineal system, an individual's kinship relations are traced

through the mother to those relatives on the mother's side. The kin groups that result from this relationship are matrilineages, kinsmen who trace their descent back to a single individual through the female line. The basic domestic residential group was the extended family, several of which composed a single matrilineage. Thus the matrilineage was confined to a specific locality and held in common the lands its members cultivated. The leader of the matrilineage was the eldest male (Swanton 1931:83).

Each individual was also a member of a matrilineal clan, a unilineal descent group whose members consider themselves related but cannot trace the actual genealogical links that connect them to an ancestor. This apical ancestor was a mythical figure frequently represented by a totem. Although the neighboring Creeks and Chickasaw had totemic clans, it is not known if the Choctaw clans were totemic, for no clear references to totems have survived (Swanton 1931:79). Since clan members were considered to be related, clans enforced rules of exogamy.

Unlike matrilineages, clans were nonlocalized sodalities that did not own property:

> It is important to realize that while lineages were real social groups functioning on a day-to-day basis, clans were not so much social groups as categories of people who believed themselves to be of one "blood". Clans rarely if ever assembled together as a group, though before European contact they may have done so on ceremonial occasions, such as the Green Corn Ceremony...(Hudson 1976:192).

One's membership in a clan automatically created a set of rights and obligations toward other clan members. Clans extended certain legal obligations toward their members, such as offering protection to a member accused of crime or taking vengeance upon those who had killed or wronged a clan member.

Each sizeable settlement would contain several matrilineages. Sometimes the villages were described as consisting of scattered neighborhoods, some of which had names independent of the larger village name (Halbert 1902:431-432). These may correspond to the corporate holdings of individual matrilineages. Within each cluster of village, hamlet, and scattered farmsteads would be found members of each of the clans in Choctaw society.

There was yet another kinship category above the clan level: matrilineal exogamous moieties. The Choctaw moieties were a division of society into two social groups based on matrilineal decent. Like clans, moieties were nonlocalized kinship sodalities, which apparently divided the several clans into two groups. The precise ceremonial function of this division remains obscure, but Swanton found evidence that it somehow corresponded to red/white dual organization:

> The trivial note of a British official in 1772 to the effect that a Choctaw chief named "Concha Oumanstabe" was "of the Immongoulasha or Peace Family of the Town of Chickasawhays",

> casts a flood of light upon the nature of the moieties. Evidently the Imoklasha corresponded to the White or peace party among the Creeks and we are quite safe in assuming that the I holasha had to do with war. Each moiety also discharged the burial offices for members of the opposite moiety (Swanton 1931:78).

It has been suggested that moiety divisions distinguished between older, more dominant groups of lineages (white) and lineages of more recent origin (red), conceived of as more external (Hudson 1976:236).

Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the most comprehensive level of Choctaw political organization consisted of the various chiefdoms joined together in an informal, loosely-structured confederacy. This Choctaw confederacy was apparently not as highly organized as the better known Creek Confederacy. Politically the confederacy was greatly decentralized, because the local autonomy of each okla prevented a unity greater than temporary alliances and conferences. The individual Choctaw's social and political allegiance diminished as one moved from the local, kin-based sphere of matrilineage, neighborhood, and okla to the external non-kin world beyond the okla.

The ethnographic sources discuss the Choctaw confederacy in terms of geographical divisions or districts. The district was a recognized level above the okla, but the term referred to a population aggregate within the Choctaw Homeland and was not a formalized political entity. The district divisions apparently were geographical descriptions by the French, and whether or not this distinction reflected a Choctaw emic order is obscure. Indeed, the names of the districts, as well as various oklas, villages, places, and Choctaw sociopolitical categories have become hopelessly confused with the passing of time.

Four divisions are most often mentioned in the sources: 1) Western Okla falaya, "long people;" 2) Eastern Okla tannap, "people of the other side;" 3) Southern Okla hannali, "Sixtown people;" and 4) Central Okla chito, "big people." Another name for the eastern group was Okla ahepat, "potato-eating people." This may be the name that they used to refer to themselves, because Okla tannap sounds as though it is a name applied by those outside of that okla. Both were also referred to as "Big Party" (Western group) and "Little Party" (Eastern group) (Halbert 1901, 1902; Swanton 1931:56).

Just as the moiety divisions may have been conceived as a part of the red/white dualism, individual oklas may have been so classified. Again, specific details for the Choctaw are lacking, but among the Creeks, who had many similar social institutions, some chiefdoms were "white" and some were "red." Hudson has suggested that this duality was the result of older chiefdoms--established, old, pure, and thus symbolically "white"--that formed alliances with outlying chiefdoms perhaps dislocated in the early historic period as a result of European intrusion. These more recent chiefdoms were then thought of as "red," the symbol for things hostile, external and alien. Therefore, dual organization expressed certain interrelationships of kinship and political systems:

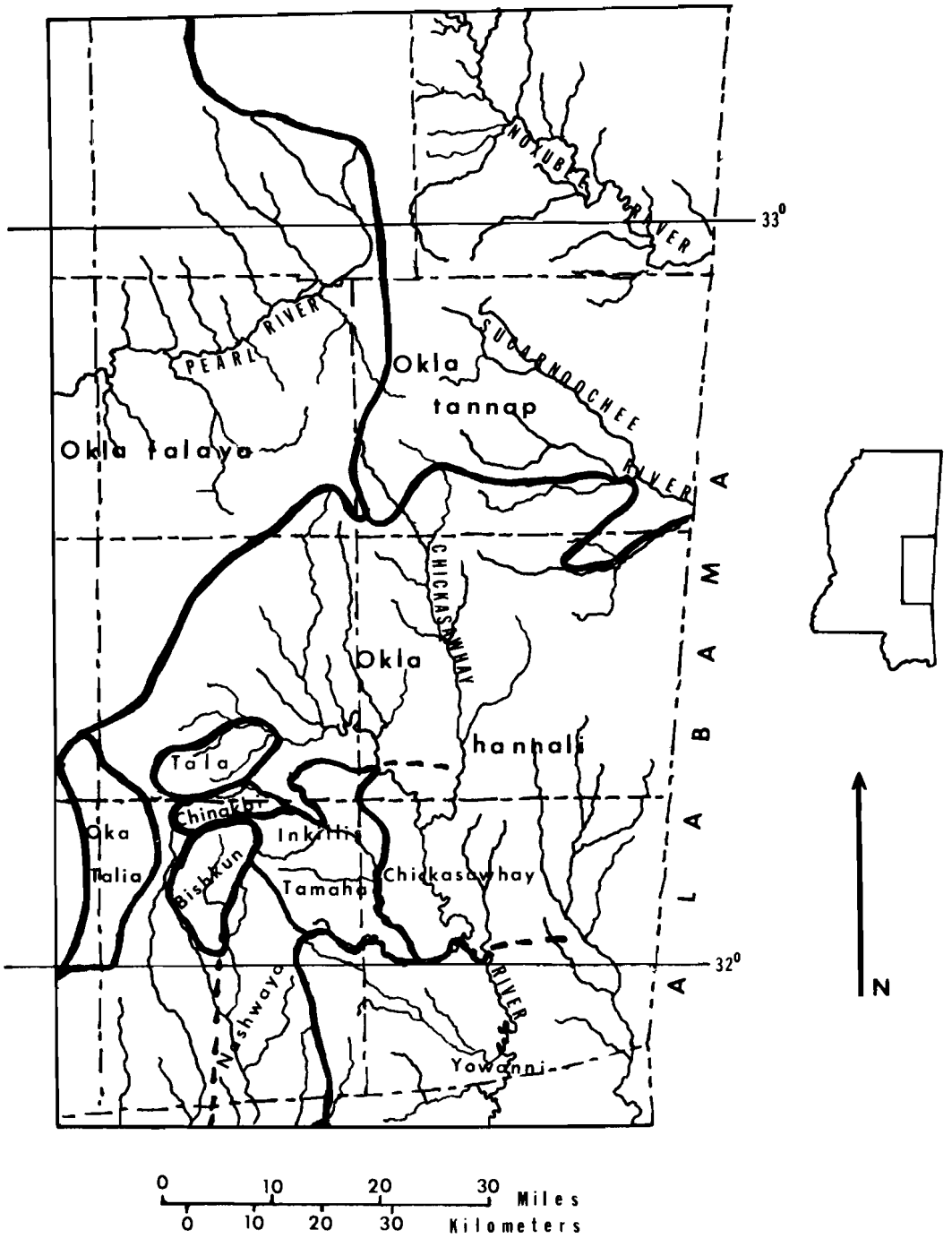
> It is likely that in its oldest form it was the division of clans within chiefdoms into dual divisions. Then, as a way of organizing themselves into larger political entities to withstand European colonists, the Southeastern Indians used this same pattern as a means or organizing chiefdoms with respect to each other. Thus it may be that dual organization is an old pattern which was used to meet new conditions in historic times and perhaps as early as in the Mississippian tradition (Hudson 1976:237).

While the Eastern, Western, Southern, and Central divisions identified by Halbert and Swanton probably correspond to political conditions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, these categories encompassed more than one okla:

> This district, [Southern] as it existed in the nineteenth century, was evidently formed by the consolidation of several districts, the old original Okla hannali, or Six Towns people, the Chickasahay district, the Yowanni people, the Coosha towns, and perhaps some small divisions of which we have no knowledge. In some manner, it seems that the Okla hannali gained the ascendancy or sovereignty over all these divisions, so that, in course of time, the name Okla hannali was practically extended and accepted as the name of the consolidated district (Halbert 1901:379).

Halbert was able to record oral traditions on the actual geographical boundaries for many of the oklas to the extent that these may be delineated on a modern map (Map 2).

The ethnic unity of the confederacy of oklas collectively referred to as "the Choctaw" was not absolute, and there are many indications in the historic accounts of okla differences in dialect, dress, and perhaps other types of social behavior. These differences were particularly pronounced between the Six Town groups and the other Choctaw. Halbert suggests that the dialect difference was due to the influx of Siouan words from coastal groups such as the Biloxi (Halbert 1901:384). With the passage of time, the dialect of the Western division came to be recognized as "standard" Choctaw (Swanton 1931:56-57). The Six Town people were also distinguished from other Choctaw by their practice of mouth tattooing (Swanton 1931:57). Early observers such as Father Beaudouin seem to restrict their reference to "the Choctaw" to the Eastern and Western divisions, which were divided by a "large stream not at all deep," probably a reference to the upper reaches of the Chickasawhay River. The other groups--the Conchas (Kusha or "Canes"), the Yowanni, and the Chickasawahay--must have been distinct enough to warrant careful identification. Whether this differentiation corresponds to significant ethnic differences, individual oklas, or was merely used to identify geographic and other ethnic entities is not clear. The cultural similarities must have been greater than the differences, for through time all these groups came to be identified as "the Choctaw."



Map 2. Choctaw political boundaries in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Not all boundaries were contemporaneous nor are all boundaries known. (Source: Halbert 1901, 1902).

We may never know the precise nature of the historic Choctaw chiefdoms nor the methods in which kinship institutions functioned within the political system. We have briefly examined the manner in which alliances between oklas were conceptualized, and it seems possible that the mechanisms to form confederacies of oklas may have been in existence in the pre-contact southeast. Prehistoric Mississippian societies, with truly complex chiefdoms ruled by an elite hierarchy with ascribed status, may only have characterized the most densely populated regions and the largest regional centers. A confederacy of simple chiefdoms not unlike the basic form for the historic southeast may have been a prerequisite stage to the development of complex chiefdoms and the institutionalization of ascribed status.

If one of the important factors that influenced the development of ranked societies was the need for a hierarchy of decision-making to process an acceleration of system-maintaining information (Peebles and Kus 1977), then why did the Choctaw fail to form a more centralized, complex chiefdom in the face of the European threat? Perhaps reasons can be found in the conservative inertia created by the economic and political autonomy of the oklas. European contact initiated the rapid erosion of the traditional kinship system. An imposed European market economy caused the transformation of male economic functions as the result of the deer hide trade and the influx of European trade items.

Several of the early French accounts mention a "great chief of the Choctaw nation," a position acquired by inheritence (Regis du Roullet, cited in Rowland and Sanders 1927:153). This head chief of the "nation" was supposed to reside at Koweh chito, and this village is identified on D'Anville's 1732 map as "the village of the head (grand) chief" (Swanton 1931:91). The initial impression one gains is that a complex chiefdom, marked by an elite lineage of ascribed status similar to those of the prehistoric Mississippian period and the early historic Natchez, existed among the Choctaw in the early eighteenth century (Blitz and Voss 1982). This prospect was briefly addressed by Swanton, who noted that the various shifts in the location of the head chief related in the French narratives indicated that this office was not confined to a single town. He concluded that leadership was achieved rather than ascribed (Swanton 1931:92).

In a more comprehensive examination of this question, George Lankford (1981:56-60) concluded that the great chieftainship was a political construct of the French colonial administration. The French found it difficult to deal with the Choctaw because of their lack of a centralized government. They attempted to impose a hierarchical structure on a native political system that they did not fully comprehend. The French selected existing pro-French okla leaders as recipients of large silver medals: "Big medal chiefs" apparently corresponded to okla chiefs and "little medal chiefs" to war leaders (Swanton 1931:94). The leadership status of these individuals was further reinforced by the French practice of awarding them trade goods and presents for redistribution. This practice of co-opting native leaders was initiated in lieu of an attempt to subjugate the Choctaw

political system entirely, for the French were not capable of doing this.

The most explicit source of documentary evidence that the great chieftainship was a French imposition and not the remnants of an older paramount chiefdom is found in a letter from Father Beaudouin, a Jesuit priest, to Commissaire Ordonnateur Salmon, informing the new official of conditions among the Choctaw during the 1720s:

> As regards the authority of the Great Chief of the Choctaws it is not one of the most absolute and his power is far from being despotic in his nation. All the villages are so many little republics in which each one does as he likes. Besides, this dignity of the Great Chief of the Choctaws is not very ancient. It has been established only twenty to twenty-five years, and in order to give credit to the one who was invested with it he was given a very considerable annual present which he shared with the principal chiefs of the different Choctaw villages which he attached to himself and thereby maintained in his interest, but since the French have multiplied the presents those who receive them directly from the French concern themselves very little about the Great Chief of their nation whose power they do not fear (Rowland and Sanders 1927:156).

It should be noted that the office of the Great Chief did not last beyond the 1740s. For various reasons, the French were generally unsuccessful in forcing the Choctaw to act in unison. The French failed to consistently provide the Choctaw with adequate trade goods and to check the influence of the English, but their inability to understand the autonomous and decentralized nature of the okla system was perhaps their greatest weakness.

Subsistence

Historic accounts of traditional Choctaw subsistence activities have been comprehensively presented by Swanton (1931:37-55), with valuable additional clarification provided by Campbell (1959), and Lankford (1981:66-75). These works have been consulted in order to construct a brief outline of Choctaw subsistence patterns so that archaeological correlates of these activities may be postulated.

The Choctaw were dependent upon both wild foods and horticulture for their sustenance. Women were primarily responsible for horticulture and gathering floral resources, while hunting and fishing was the work of men, but this division of labor was not so rigid that it precluded cooperation on specific tasks. Men and women, young and old, worked together during periods of intensive effort such as the preparation of the field for planting and the harvest of the maize crop.

The Choctaw were renowned for their horticultural productivity, which in the 1760s so impressed Bernard Romans: "The Choctaws may more properly be called a nation of farmers than any savages I have

met with; they are the most considerable people in Florida ...." (Romans 1771, cited in Swanton 1931:46). The Choctaw traded surplus corn to the Chickasaw and to the French colonists at Mobile (Woods 1980:9-10). Fields of corn, intermixed with beans and other vegetables, were planted on the periodically renewed, loamy soils of the stream and river floodplains. These large plots were communal holdings, probably belonging to members of a particular matrilineage. Smaller gardens of beans, squash, pumpkins, sunflowers, and gourds were located away from the floodplain, adjacent to the households of each family that tended them.

Wild food resources were hunted and gathered throughout the year. The most important large game animals were deer, turkey, and bear, which were hunted intensively in the fall and winter months. Small game animals--squirrel, quail, and raccoon--were hunted year around. Rabbits were hunted only after cold weather had rid them of parasites (Swanton 1931:54). Certain species such as passenger pigeons, waterfowl, and bison were available only at specific times of the year and in specific locations. Fish and turtles were caught in the warm season by hook, traps, bow and arrow, and poison (Campbell 1959:13-14). Large game was originally hunted with the bow, then almost exclusively with the musket after about 1730. Small game was taken by young men and boys with a cane blowgun or by snares.

As each wild plant food ripened during the warm months, small groups of women would disperse to the most productive gathering locations. The significance of these natural harvests is evident from the Choctaw names for summer months: hash bihi, "mulberry month;" hash bissa, "blackberry month;" and hash kafi, "sassafras month" (Swanton 1931:45). Other important foods were grape and berry species, plums, persimmons, and crabapples. Various roots and tubers collected during the year were wild onions (Allium species), "wild sweet potatoes" (Ipomoea pandurata), arrowhead (Sagittaria species), Jerusalem artichoke (Helianthus tuberosus), and China brier (Smilax species) (Swanton 1946:288). Fruit was sun-dried and meat was smoke-dried for preservation (Campbell 1959:12; Hudson 1976:300).

An extremely valuable resource gathered in the late summer and fall was the nut harvest. Chestnuts, chinquapins, acorns, and hickory nuts were collected. Women pounded the nut meats into a meal for breads and soups. Hickory nuts were parched, pounded, and boiled to extract a rich cooking oil (Swanton 1931:48; Campbell 1959:15).

From the historical accounts one gains the impression that most resources were available within a short distance of the villages. More distant hunting territories (one or more days' journey) on the Black Prairie and the Tombigbee River Valley were utilized for winter large game hunts (Swanton 1931:54). At certain times in the summer and fall the local population may have been relatively dispersed, camping briefly in small groups at favorite collecting areas. However, there is no indication that at any time during the year were the villages completely abandoned in pursuit of wild foods. This is because crops had to be protected throughout the long growing season, the traditional time for warfare (Hudson 1976:1240).

Consistent with the southeastern Indian's classification of the

natural and social world into a system of oppositions and dualities, the Choctaw divided the year into parts: the warm season and the cold season. The warm season commenced around the time of the vernal equinox (March 21) and continued until the autumnal equinox (September 23), the beginning of the cold season (Swanton 1931:45). Choctaw subsistence activities throughout the year are summarized in Figure 1.

Few details are available concerning the traditional Choctaw version of the Green Corn Ceremony, the annual agricultural ceremonial widespread in the Eastern Woodlands. If the Choctaw were like the Chickasaw, their closest neighbors, the ceremonies were held when the ears of the second corn crop began to enlarge about the time of the summer solstice (Hudson 1976:367). Food was plentiful and the population congregated in the villages for ritual feasts, dances, games, and religious activities, the details of which are now lost. Typical male activities in the warm season involved playing "chunky" and the ball game, hunting small game, fishing, and participation in raids against an enemy. In the cold months, men hunted large game (either individually or on extended trips with a group) and met in the council houses to discuss current events. In the warm season, women divided their time between the cultivation of crops and the wild fruit harvests; and always there were the perennial tasks of child rearing, food preparation, hauling firewood, and making clothes and utensils for every day use.

Effects of Acculturation

The preceding descriptions of Choctaw society and economy have attempted to present conditions as they existed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Changes in traditional Choctaw society rapidly escalated as a result of European colonial influence, so much so that Choctaw life in 1820 was quite different than it had been 100 years before. Thus the various accounts must be read and compared with the realization that the Choctaws were a people undergoing rapid cultural change and that any presentation of social and economic institutions is a temporally sensitive framework.

It has already been mentioned how the French colonial administration apparently influenced the development of a Choctaw political order above the okla level. But Choctaw social organization also underwent a dramatic change. One of the basic causes of this change was participation in a market economy through the deer hide trade. In exchange for hides the Choctaw gained access to trade goods upon which they became increasingly dependent. Many aspects of the traditional material culture were discarded. The musket was adopted so rapidly that after one generation the young men no longer knew how to hunt with the bow (Woods 1980:153).

Hunting became a highly individualistic enterprise conducted primarily to acquire guns, powder, shot, cloth, iron tools, and other Euro-American products. The enormous amounts of deer skins traded at Mobile and Charleston in the first quarter of the eighteenth century possibly contributed to a widespread depopulation of game (Hudson 1976:436-437). Hunting became a long distance and year around

activity. It has been suggested that a depopulation of game led to increased warfare in the Southeast. As game declined, prowess in warfare may have become emphasized over prowess at hunting as a status-building activity (Lankford 1981:168).

Whether or not warfare significantly increased over earlier periods, the nature of this conflict changed as a result of the European presence. The traditional seasonal pattern of individual and small group raiding gradually gave away to larger-scale military assaults. To secure advantageous access to trade items, the Choctaw and other groups acted in a mercenary capacity during the French-English struggle for the frontier. Okla leaders played the colonial powers one against the other with threats to align their people with the other side should the supply of trade materials prove inadequate. From this situation rivalries and competition between oklas developed. This power struggle split the Choctaw into pro-French and pro-English factions. In the 1740s a civil war ensued that decimated the pro-English group, resulted in much loss of life, and further eroded traditional Choctaw society.

European contact caused severe stress in the native population in other ways. Depopulation had begun perhaps as early as the sixteenth century with the Spanish explorations into the Gulf region. Introduced diseases have often been suggested as a principal cause of the disappearance of the complex chiefdoms encountered by De Soto. The Choctaw were affected periodically by disastrous epidemics, particularly smallpox, up to and during the removal period of the 1830s. Rum and other distilled spirits further dissipated their society.

The introduction of European domesticated plants and animals also altered the Choctaw lifeway. They began to raise products for market exchanges as early as the 1760s:

> ... they have carried the spirit of husbandry so far as to cultivate leeks, garlic, cabbage and some other garden plants, of which they make no use in order to make profit of them to the traders; they also used to carry poultry to market at Mobile, although it lays at the distance of a hundred and twenty miles from the nearest town; dunghill fowls, and a very few ducks with some hogs, are the only esculent animals raised in the nation. ... of their fowls and hogs they seldom eat any as they keep them for profit (Romans 1771, cited in Swanton 1931:47).

The traditional Choctaw kinship structure underwent change as their society was first assaulted and dominated by the Euro-Americans. Through the influence of missionaries, traders, and the tide of settlers that invaded their lands after the War of 1812, Choctaw kinship structure changed from matrilineal to patrilineal (Eggan 1937:42). The moiety and clan system disappeared; moieties went first, but for a while clan exogamy continued to be practiced (Swanton 1931:81). By the early twentieth century, when anthropologists attempted to record further details, the original kinship structure

was only a dim memory. With the passage of time, the various names of clans, moieties, matrilineages, districts, oklas, and place names have become hopelessly confused with each other. Choctaw social change after the forced seizure of their lands in the nineteenth century has been examined by Peterson (1975).

		Horticulture	Hunting/ Fishing	Gathering
	April	Plant gardens and fields	Small game (Yeararound)	Tubers, roots
	May		Catfish, turtles, etc.	
WARM SEASON	June	Begin harvest cultigens		Begin intensive fruit harvest
	July			Mulberries, blackberries
	August			Plums
	September	Harvest late corn crop		
	October	Pumpkins	Deer, turkey bear (intensive)	Nuts, late fruit
	November	Gardens and fields fallow	Bison	
COLD SEASON	December			
	January			
	February			
	March	Prepare gardens and fields		

Figure 1. A Calendar of Traditional Choctaw Subsistence Activities.

CHAPTER III

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CORRELATES OF CHOCTAW SOCIETY

Now that a general overview of traditional Choctaw society has been presented, the material evidence of that society which can be discovered archaeologically will be considered. To do this, the previous archaeological work that enables us to identify Choctaw artifacts will be examined and research into Choctaw settlement location will be discussed. Finally, we will isolate those social and economic factors that influenced Choctaw settlement patterns and postulate how these factors may be recognized through archaeological survey.

A Brief History of Choctaw Archaeology

It is surprising to learn that very little archaeological investigation of Choctaw society has taken place. Other American Indian groups in the Southeast, such as the Cherokee, Creeks, Chickasaw, Natchez, Tunica, Caddo and Seminole, are all better known archaeologically than are the Choctaw. There are several possible reasons for this neglect. The Choctaw Homeland area has until recently been relatively isolated, located away from major river or road building projects that have precipitated archaeological research on other areas. Furthermore, the region remains today predominantly rural, and the landscape is heavily forested. Archaeological research in Mississippi has mainly focused on the spectacular prehistoric mound sites concentrated in the Mississippi River alluvial valley in the western portion of the state. In contrast, the historic Choctaw archaeological sites do not have the dramatic monumental qualities of the late prehistoric sites.

The single exception, and for many years the only archaeological remains discussed in reference to the Choctaw, is the famous site of Nanih Waiya, located at the headwaters of the Pearl River on the periphery of the historic Choctaw Homeland in Winston County, Mississippi. The site consists of one rectangular platform mound, a conical burial mound, and at least two other smaller mounds enclosed in a circular earthen rampart approximately a mile and a half in circumference. Today, only the large platform mound is prominent. This mound is the focus of the traditional Choctaw origin legends. In one version, the Choctaw (and in some variations the Chickasaw, Creeks, and Cherokee as well) emerged fully formed from the center of the mound. Another traditional version tells of the Choctaw arriving from the west, constructing the mounds and fortifications, and then dispersing to settle their historic homeland. Swanton (1931) has published the most extensive commentary on the site, compiled of descriptions from Adair (1775) to Halbert (1899).

The first archaeologist to visit the site and publish a description was Calvin S. Brown, who measured the large mound in 1917 and urged that it be protected (Brown 1926:24). Later, James Ford briefly described a collection of pottery from the fields surrounding the mound. At least two components are indicated by combed and incised Choctaw pottery types and Woodland cordmarked, stamped, and incised sherds (Ford 1936:46-47). Just when the mounds and earthen embankments were constructed has not been determined. There have been no other published investigations at Nanih Waiya, and the possible cultural relationship between the pre-Choctaw components and the historic Choctaw materials remains unknown.

In the summer of 1925, Henry B. Collins of the Bureau of American Ethnology investigated a number of archaeological sites in east-central and southeastern Mississippi. He was particularly interested in the relationship between the historic Choctaw and the late prehistoric cultures of the area. Collins' survey strategy was to visit specific Choctaw village locations pinpointed by the nineteenth-century research of Henry Halbert. Assisted by Hermes H. Knoblock of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Collins visited the locations that Halbert identified as Holitasha, Yanabi, Yashu Iskitini, Shomo Takali, and Ibetap Okla Iskitini in Kemper County; Halunlawasha and Kashtasha in Neshoba County; Kusha in Lauderdale County; Chickasawhay in Clarke County; and Yowanni in Wayne County (Collins 1926:89). The only sites from which Collins specifically mentions making surface collections are Kusha, Chickasawhay, Halunlawasha, Okhata Talaywa, and Yowanni. At these sites Collins found a distinctive ceramic type characterized by bands of combed incisions. He concluded that this recurring pottery type was produced by the historic Choctaw.

In Clarke County, Collins excavated eight small mounds containing numerous disarticulated burials and evidence of cremation. A similar group of mounds was examined in Wayne County near the possible site of Yowanni, an eighteenth-century Choctaw village that is frequently included in early French documents and maps. Excavations at the McRae Mound in Clarke County revealed various construction stages, copper and chipped stone artifacts, but no human interments. The final site investigated by Collins was the historic Choctaw village of Kusha (also referred to by Collins as Ponta), where several graves dating possibly as late as the 1840s were located. These sites were interpreted as representative of three different time periods in the cultural development of the Choctaw; the McRae Mound as prehistoric proto-Choctaw, the small burial mounds as early eighteenth-century, and the Kusha cemetery as middle nineteenth-century Choctaw (Collins 1926). Collins accomplished a great deal without benefit of the general chronological framework presently available in the southeast. A recent reexamination of the artifacts from the McRae Mound indicates that it is of Middle Woodland origin (Blitz 1983b).

Ford (1936:40-49) relied primarily on Collins' work to define a historic Choctaw pottery "complex" which consisted solely of Collins' combed type. This type was named Chickachae Combed by Quimby (1942), who found similar sherds at early eighteenth-century Indian sites in

eastern Louisiana. Later, Chickachae Combed was formally described by Haag (1953). Thus for several decades after Collins' pioneering work, archaeological research on the Choctaw was confined to comments on a single pottery type. There was no further archaeological investigation in the Choctaw Homeland until the 1970s, when survey in the proposed Tallahalla Reservoir in Jasper County revealed two small Choctaw sites identified by a few sherds of Chickachae Combed (Atkinson and Blakeman 1975:111).

Also at this time archaeologists with the Mississippi Department of Archives and History found a number of historic Choctaw sites in Newton, Jasper, and Clarke counties (Penman 1977). Several of these sites closely correlated with the locations of specific villages suggested by Swanton and the early maps. Swanton's locations for these sites are quite vague. Nevertheless, Penman makes a good case for the identity of three sites: Bishkun (22-Js-585) and Oktakchinakbi (22-Js-534) in Jasper County and Boktoloksi (22-Ck-509) in Clarke County. He has also proposed an alternate site (22-Js-505) for the Chickasawhay village because it is larger than the site visited by Collins (22-Ck-502).

Choctaw Settlement Locations

In 1540, the De Soto expedition transversed the Tombigbee region of present day Alabama. There the expedition encountered late Mississippian societies living in fortified villages. Recognizably Choctaw words are mentioned in the narratives. In particular, one native group is referred to Paffallaya or Apafalaya, a corruption of "long hair" in Choctaw. The Choctaw were referred to by this name as late as the 1720s because the custom of wearing their hair long distinguished them from other groups (Swanton 1931:4, 57). Over the next one hundred and fifty years, the complex Mississippian chiefdoms collapsed and formed the more egalitarian social systems of historically known groups such as the Choctaw. Only among the Natchez and a few of their neighbors in the lower Mississippi Valley did hereditary social hierachies persist. Most explanations of this case of "de-evolution" stress the introduction of European diseases, which precipitated a drastic decline in native populations. This may have been the catalyst that aggravated destabilizing weaknesses inherent in complex chiefdoms and forced a shift in the economic system upon which the society was based.

It is from this shadowy Mississippian heritage that the Choctaw gradually emerge into the light of history. Iberville first heard of the Choctaw while exploring the Gulf Coast in 1700. In March he met with some "Chaquita" chiefs brought to the Mobile colony by Henri de Tonty and learned that theirs was a large tribe of about fifty villages several days' journey to the north-northwest, which Iberville estimated to be at 33 degrees 30 minutes north (McWilliams 1981:174). From this early date until the forced removal in the 1830s, the Choctaw remained concentrated in this same seven county area of east-central and southeastern Mississippi. The names of many well known villages were recorded on eighteenth-century maps of the region.

However, the placement of streams and creeks, the only means of topographic orientation, is often inaccurate and thus these maps are usually distorted in scale. A number of scholars have compared the cartographic evidence with the historical descriptions of the settlements in an effort to locate individual Choctaw towns accurately.

Patricia Galloway of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History has examined travel narratives and maps from the early French period (1729-1732) in an attempt to construct a two-dimensional map of the data. One of the earliest maps that presents fairly accurate locations is the De Crenay map of 1733, drawn from information supplied by Regis du Roullet and De Lusser. These two French officers traveled extensively throughout the Choctaw towns with the expressed purpose of estimating the population and delineating their territory to facilitate trade and military preparedness. Their journals provided De Crenay with village names, estimates of distances traveled and compass bearings from which he constructed his map (See Cumming 1958:198).

Galloway used a computer-assisted, multidimensional scaling technique for constructing a graphic model of the data from the two narrative sources and the De Crenay map. Because square matrices representing the number of graph edges between villages were used instead of actual distances related in the narratives, the computer model was not useful in pinpointing specific Choctaw village locations. Nevertheless, Galloway maintains that with the inclusion of actual distances and other refinements, this method can assist archaeological survey (Galloway 1981:166-167). As the maps became more accurate throughout the eighteenth century it is evident that the loci of Choctaw settlement remained unchanged.

Presently the most valuable source of historic Choctaw settlement geography is the research of Henry S. Halbert (1837-1916), a teacher, linguist, and historian. While involved with educational work among the Choctaw between 1884 and 1899, he became deeply interested in their history and culture. His writings are an invaluable primary source on traditional Choctaw marriage and funeral customs, oral traditions, and the geographical distribution of Choctaw settlements. He was well-qualified in his task for several reasons. As a long-time resident he had an intimate knowledge of east-central Mississippi geography. Fluent in Choctaw, he interpreted and corrected the garbled phonetic spelling of Choctaw settlements and geographical features that appear on the early documents. The most significant aspect of his research into village locations was the information he gained through oral history interviews with elderly Choctaws: "It was by long and persistent inquiry among Choctaw best informed on their old traditions that the writer was enabled to identify these ancient town-sites" (Halbert 1900:371).

Halbert apparently did not have access to most of the early French narratives or maps, but he did write an interesting commentary on D'Anville's map of east-central Mississippi circa 1732. He discusses errors in the depiction of the streams of the region, gives the correct Choctaw spelling of various names, and shows how these

names have been corrupted by English pronunciation over time. He also correlates trails depicted on the map with the routes known to have been in use in the early nineteenth century (Halbert 1900).

In Halbert's interpretation of Bernand Romans' map of 1772, he again corrects both geographic and linguistic errors. He examines Romans' list of Choctaw settlements and provides detailed commentary on their known history. Many of the topographic settings are described in such detail that it is clear Halbert visited some of the locations himself. Most valuable of all is his concern with the precise settlement location, which he sometimes pinpoints down to township, range, and quarter section. On the regional level, he delineates the boundaries of the traditional divisions within the Choctaw Homeland and traces the routes of the most important trails. Halbert's data formed the basis for Rowland and Sanders' commentaries on the location of specific villages mentioned in their translation of the French Provincial Archives (Rowland and Sanders 1927) and for Swanton's map of Choctaw villages and district boundaries (Swanton 1931:54).

How accurate are Halbert's proposed site locations? While there seems to be little reason to doubt the validity of Halbert's site locations for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, how far back into time is this information applicable? It has been suggested that his site locations may not be useful for the French colonial period because of the possible movements of villages:

> ... attempts to connect archaeological remains with the evidence of colonial maps, and therefore to put names to the sites, have been dependent upon relatively modern local tradition or late British accounts (Brown 1902; Halbert 1902), and if Choctaw villages have been subject to movement as pronounced as the eighteenth-century evidence suggests, these identifications are bound to be distorted for earlier periods. Further, the closely datable European artifacts from Choctaw sites so far known are predominantly British and American, and date from the 1770s on. We as yet know of no Choctaw village site with a significant concentration of French trade goods, perhaps because as yet no Choctaw site has been excavated. ... The later Romans and De Brahm (?1774, 1776) maps, whatever the accuracy of their observation, were made after a major upheaval in the Choctaw nation, the civil war of 1746-1751, and thus cannot give reliable representation of the situation in earlier periods (Galloway 1981:160).

But there is also evidence which suggests that stability, rather than movement, was the rule for many eighteenth-century Choctaw villages. For instance, the majority of Choctaw village names refer to some physiographic feature or food resource characteristic of a specific location: "blackberry place," "crooked prairie," "round cane brake," "big bayou," "where there are wild onions," "little two streams," "moss hanging," "white earth," are examples. Many of these

names appeared with the earliest French accounts and continued to be used throughout the century. It seems unlikely that these place names would be retained if the settlements moved. Halbert noted that trails between towns showed signs of erosion so extensive that they must have been of considerable antiquity (Halbert 1902:421).

The "towns" were actually clusters of huts that were often widely separated from each other. Crops were placed in the floodplain where soils were renewed by periodic alluvial deposition. Individual houses and fields were undoubtedly abandoned due to various circumstances, but it is not known if environmental factors prevented the approximate village locations from remaining the same.

Warfare and disease were the two most likely causes of the movement or abandonment of settlements. During the Choctaw civil war several of the western division settlements were burned and the extensive loss of life caused some of these sites to be abandoned. More than ten years later Romans saw several of these abandoned sites and recorded their names and locations on his map.

The lack of French trade goods from the site collections may not result from our inability to find French period Choctaw sites but rather, as Galloway suggests, reflects the fact that the total sample of trade items associated with Choctaw sites is very small. It is indeed true that the Euro-American ceramics from the sites are no earlier than the late eighteenth century. Lists of materials being traded to the Choctaw by both the French and the English refer to various metal tools, guns, cooking utensils, and perishable clothing, but ceramics do not seem to have been a priority item (Woods 1980:84,149). Therefore, it is probable that early eighteenth-century French ceramics were not at all common among the Choctaw, and we would not expect this material to be evident in our small samples from surface collections. It may well be that Euro-American ceramics did not become commonplace in Choctaw society until the late eighteenth century.

Most of the glass and metal artifacts from the various collections are so fragmented that they cannot be adequately dated. However, there are a few early to middle eighteenth-century artifacts. Fragments of French gun parts have been recovered from the site of Kusha, and an early type of bead and gunflint from two sites in Kemper County are reported in Appendix A. Although there is no doubt that some villages moved or were abandoned because of war or changing subsistence patterns, the degree of change between early and late eighteenth-century site locations remains unknown. After an examination of the D'Anville map, Halbert was of the opinion that the major village locations had remained stable: "... at least four Choctaw towns, Yannubee, Kusha bolukta, Chicasahay and Yowanni; occupied the same sites in 1732 as they did in 1832, showing a full century's continuity of historic existence" (Halbert 1900:371).

Whatever the degree of village movement, a direct method of testing the age of the villages and the validity of Halbert's site information is simply to visit the proposed location. If the site locations are confirmed, the temporal range of their occupation can be

established if an adequate artifact sample can be obtained by surface collection or test excavations.

However, there are some serious problems with using the historical maps and narratives for such a scheme. The earlier maps of the French period are less detailed and more spatially distorted than the later maps. Another problem involves the travel distances provided in the documents. The distances were, of course, merely the narrator's best estimate, so that some village locations may be within an area of several square miles rather than a point on a map.

Attempts to construct a hypothetical model of Choctaw settlement based on the grossly distorted early eighteenth-century maps, without the benefit of any but the most general physiographic points of reference, would be a highly inefficient method for locating specific Choctaw settlement sites. An advantage of the Halbert data is that it provides an exact location of a named Choctaw village that can be confirmed archaeologically. However, even with Halbert's evidence, much of the information lacks the detail necessary to develop a comprehensive model of Choctaw settlement based on the historical materials alone.

In summary, the historic Choctaw settlements remained in the same region of Mississippi for at least 130 years. Despite certain limitations, there is sufficient historical, cartographic, and archaeological evidence available to correlate archaeological site locations and their associated artifact assemblages with specific, historically-documented Choctaw settlements.

Archaeological Correlates of Choctaw Settlement Patterns

Our knowledge of Choctaw social organization, subsistence, historical geography, and previous archaeological research can be used to identify the material aspects of Choctaw culture--artifacts, sites, and their context--and to form predictions of what Choctaw archaeological remains will be like. It is desirable to make a systematic examination of the ethnographic record in order to construct models that can be tested by archaeological fieldwork. One advantage is that this approach may help identify what portions of the archaeological record will be inadequate to supply the information necessary to reconstruct past activities. Hopefully, this systematic procedure will prove more accurate than a haphazard ex post facto use of inductive inferences.

Prior to the excavation of a Choctaw archaeological site, a descriptive compedium of different types of artifacts, features, and cultural remains should be derived from the ethnohistorical materials. Such an exercise would force the archaeologist to ask certain questions. For instance, what postmold configurations, features, and artifacts would correspond to winter and summer houses, granaries, storage facilities, and fortifications? What evidence would we expect to indicate food preparation, pottery making, the "chunky" game, nut harvesting, and other special activities? What floral and faunal remains would indicate seasonality of cultural features? This approach would also demand a greater awareness of interpretation

problems that arise from the circumstances of archaeological deposition and preservation.

A full compendium of Choctaw material culture is beyond the scope of this study. Instead, we will investigate the social and economic factors that influenced the location of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Choctaw sites, in order to hypothesize how these conditions might be recognized by archaeological survey.

Early historical descriptions of Choctaw settlements often lack detail, but we gain certain impressions about the physiographic setting and community pattern. Boundaries between Choctaw divisions (and perhaps chiefdoms) were "dividing ridges or watersheds, watercourses, and sometimes a trail connecting two well-known towns" (Halbert 1901:375). This statement suggests that drainages are logical boundaries for intensive archaeological survey. As would be expected, most villages are described as located in close proximity to a permanent stream, often at the confluence of a small stream with a larger one (Halbert 1902). Regis du Roullet described several Choctaw settlements as they appeared in 1732:

> The village of Castachas [Kashtasha, "Fleas are there"]... is situated in a large plain, in the middle of which there is a small hill from the top of which one can see all the Indian huts placed on the plain.
>
> The village of Jachou [Yazoo] is situated in a great plain which lies on a height; the savages have their fields in this plain and a large part of their huts are around the plain. The plain of Jachou is not so vast as that of Castachas, but it is about two leagues circumference at the least.
>
> The village of Crouctchitou [Koweh chitto, "Big Panther"] or the Great Village is situated on a small plain surrounded by very high hills where nearly all the huts of the savages are built and their fields are in the plain...
>
> Sapatchitou [Osapa chitto, "Big Cornfield"] ... is a small hamlet of the village of Boukfouka, which lies in a small plain where the savages have built a little stockaded fort, into which they retreat with their families every night on account of the frequent incursions of the Chickachas who cross the river near this hamlet when they come in a band upon the Choctaws (Rowland and Sanders 1927:136-149, bracketed names added).

The topography described above is ambiguous. By "plain" du Roullet presumably means a level, cleared area. At Kashtasha it would seem that the huts are among the fields on the plain, but at Yazoo and Koweh chitto the fields are on the plain (alluvial bottomland?) and the huts are at a higher elevation separate from the fields. Both Halbert's and du Roullet's information is consistent with the expected pattern of locations near where alluvial bottomland is available for crops and adjacent lands above the flood level are available for residential areas. But garden plots were not limited to the

floodplain: "The town [Hanka aiola, "Crying Goose"] consisted of numerous hamlets scattered over the ridge, with corn and vegetable patches and peach and plum orchards intervening" (Halbert 1901:420, bracketed names added). Several of Halbert's proposed town locations are on "flat-topped ridges," and du Roullet's "plain which lies on a height" could correspond to a similar topographic situation.

The type of community layout that emerges from the accounts is a dispersed pattern of households widely scattered over a large area. This pattern is more like a series of hamlets or neighborhoods than a nucleated town:

> ... The village of ... [Yakni achukma, "good land"] is situated on a little elevation or height. The huts are well separated from one another. I will say that the village of Boukfouka is one of those of the Choctaw nation whose Huts are the most separated one from the other; this village is divided into three hamlets, each hamlet at a quarter of a league from the others, and all three surrounded by bayous: lastly this village is at least twenty leagues in circumference... (Regis du Roullet, cited in Rowland and Sanders 1927:145, bracketed names added).

The statement that Boukfouka is twenty leagues in circumference cannot be correct. Swanton suggested in a footnote that this figure must refer to the village lands. In other words, the chiefdom was twenty leagues in circumference.

Both Adair and Halbert indicate that this dispersed pattern varied throughout the Choctaw Homeland due to the threat of warfare:

> The barrier towns, which are next to the Muskohge and Chickasah countries, are compactly settled for social defense, according to the general method of other savage nations; but the rest, both in the center, and toward the Mississippi, are only scattered plantations, as best suits a separate easy way of living. A stranger might be in the middle of one of their populous extensive towns, without seeing half a dozen of their houses in the direct course of his path (Adair 1775, cited in Swanton 1931:166).

> In the western parts of their country, the Choctaws live generally in scattered settlements, thus forming a striking contrast with the people of the eastern parts, who as has been seen, were massed in numerous towns, and some forts, the latter built as barriers against the ever aggressive and hostile movements of the Creeks (Halbert 1901:438).

From the available information, a hypothetical site typology is proposed:

1. Farmstead--a single household and associated structures that housed a nuclear or extended family of ten people or less.
2. Hamlet--a cluster of several households and associated structures. This type may represent a single matrilineage of 20 to 50 people.
3. Village--a community of several matrilineages and their corporate landholdings. It may consist of a cluster of hamlets dispersed over a large area or a community relatively nucleated in response to social and environmental constraints. Larger villages may have had square grounds, "chunky" yards, cemeteries, council houses, and stockades; and functioned as local ceremonial and political centers.
4. Specialized Hunting/Gathering Site--a campsite or activity area temporarily occupied for food or other resource extraction.

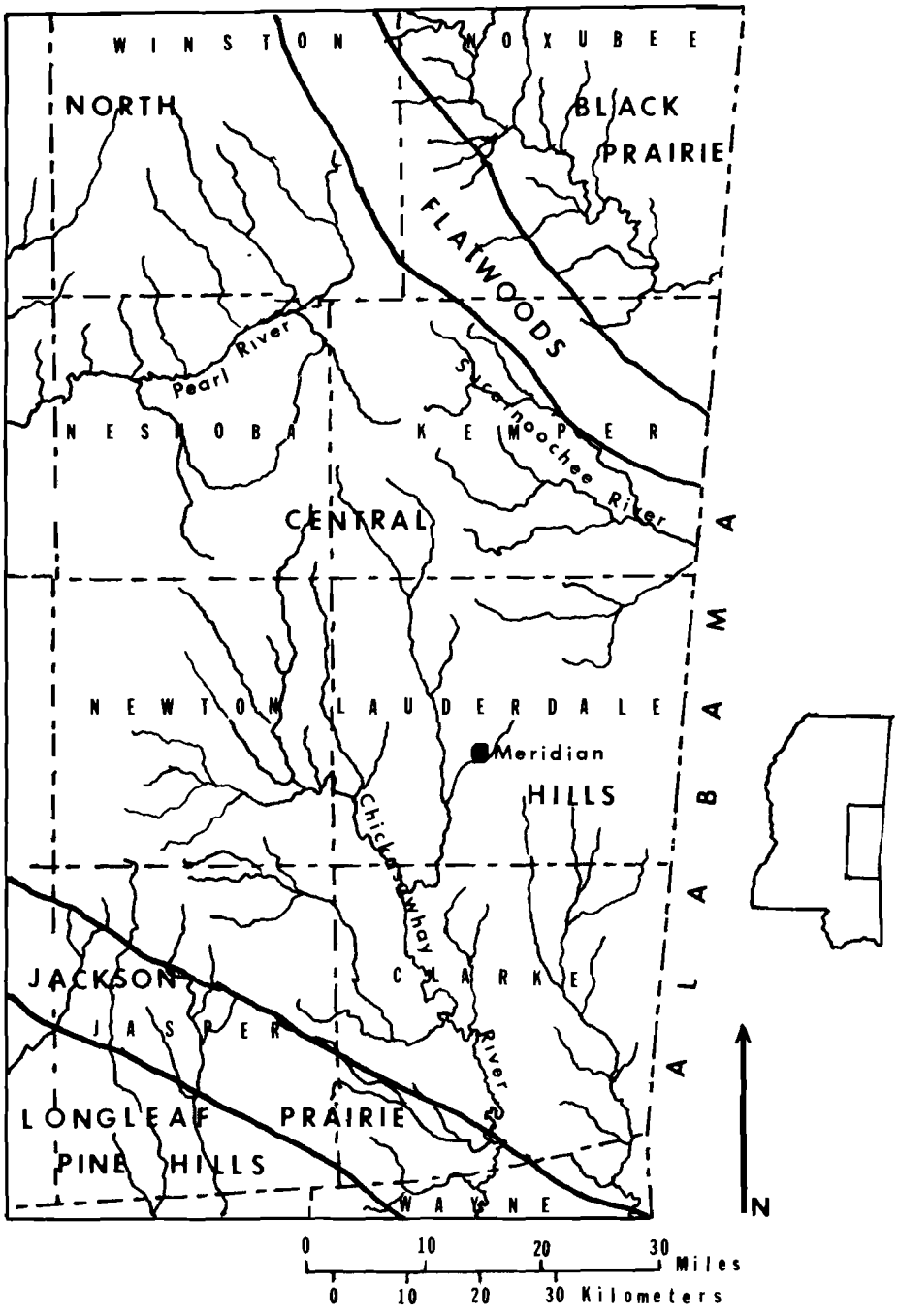
Our ability to identify these types of sites from surface scatters of artifacts is dependent on a variety of interrelated factors. First of all, we would want an adequate survey sampling of all topographic situations so that no type of site was inadvertently excluded. Accurate interpretation of a site's function would be dependent upon securing an adequate artifact sample. Low ground visibility and rugged terrain adversely affect artifact recovery. We would expect a range of artifacts to correlate with the activities known through the ethnographic record as occurring on each type of site. But evidence of various activities survives differentially in the archaeological record.

Much of the traditional Choctaw material culture was composed of wood, bone, and other highly perishable materials. Presently, pottery is the only artifact class that we can definitely associate with the Choctaw and expect to recover in surface collections. We know that the Choctaw used some stone tools in early historic times (Swanton 1931:49-50), but we currently cannot identify these artifacts. Choctaw sites with Euro-American artifacts cannot be differentiated from Euro-American or Afro-American sites unless Choctaw pottery is also present, and even this association in surface collections is problematical. Most specialized hunting and gathering activities would leave little tangible evidence and undoubtedly many tools were carefully retained rather than discarded at such sites. Further, these types of sites would be almost impossible to find in wooded terrain except under very fortuitous circumstances.

Our inability to recognize Choctaw sites without pottery and the perishable nature of the material culture severely limit our ability to find and interpret the full range of Choctaw sites. If a site can be identified as Choctaw, site size and topographic context will be the greatest interpretive aid for surface survey. We would expect a farmstead to be visible as a single scatter of cultural debris over a relatively small area. Excavated Mississippian farmsteads have been 20 meters or less in diameter (Smith 1978:Figure 10).

A concentration of individual scatters would indicate a hamlet or large villages depending upon site size and density. We can logically assume that villages will have greater variety and density of artifacts than hamlets. The extent to which the community pattern was concentrated might be evident in the degree of artifact continuity between artifact scatters. But, as a cautionary note, the attempt to correlate site size with site type by surface survey can be difficult and potentially misleading. It is the variety of site activities, not site size, that should be the primary criterion for determining site type, and these activities will be most successfully demonstrated by excavation.

The topographic situation will be a further clue to the type of site. Alluvial floodplains, the locus of field crops and specialized hunting and gathering activities, will contain few visible Choctaw sites. Evidence of a few farmsteads might be found under conditions of optimum ground visibility. The scattered references to huts on ridges and hills indicate the possibility of hamlets and villages in an upland environment. The threat of warfare may have influenced the selection of high prominences for fortifications. However, a greater distance from water, absence of fertile soils, and a high degree of slope suggest that steep uplands were largely unoccupied by the Choctaw except for specialized hunting and gathering sites. Extensive erosion, poor surface visibility, and their ephemeral nature will make upland sites very difficult to detect. Therefore, we would expect to find the majority of farmsteads, hamlets, and villages confined to high, level land in close proximity to a permanent water supply and alluvial soils.



Map 3. A physiographic map of the traditional Choctaw Homeland.

CHAPTER IV

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY IN THE CHOCTAW HOMELAND

The objectives of the archaeological survey in the traditional Choctaw Homeland were to locate both prehistoric and historic archaeological sites, collect representative artifact samples, and gain a greater insight into Choctaw settlement patterns. These goals necessitated the development of a sampling design that would provide statistically significant land area coverage within a selected portion of the region. Data generated by this sampling scheme were used to form a predictive model for the probable distribution of archaeological sites.

Because site densities often vary for different cultural periods, one could argue that different sample sizes might be required for different cultural periods. Although this survey was primarily intended to determine historic Choctaw settlement patterns, archaeologists have a responsibility to record all archaeological sites encountered. Also there was a possibility that data on late prehistoric sites in the area might provide important clues about Choctaw prehistory. Therefore, the sampling design was constructed to ensure that representative results were obtained and that the maximum qualitative and quantitative information could be generated.

The research design had to be reasonable in terms of time and financial constraints. It had to be flexible and pragmatic enough to accomplish the basic goals. It was decided to sample two areas in Kemper County, Mississippi. The following discussion describes the survey area, the rationale and method of the sampling design, and the survey results.

Physiographic and Environmental Characteristics of the Choctaw Homeland

The earliest French colonial manuscripts and maps, dating from the early 1700s, indicate that the Choctaw lived in scattered villages, hamlets, and farmsteads in what is now east-central Mississippi. In the eighteenth century the population center of this society was in present day Kemper and Neshoba counties. South of this core area, Choctaw settlements were located in Newton, Lauderdale, Jasper, Clarke, and Wayne counties. Collectively referred to as the Choctaw Homeland, this seven county area lies entirely within the Gulf Coastal Plain, a physiographic province characterized by low elevations and sedimentary soils of the Cretaceous, Tertiary, and Quaternary geologic periods. To the casual observer, the area exhibits few dramatic vistas or landscapes. Yet subtle changes in elevation and topography presented the native inhabitants with the resources of a variety of ecosystems: longleaf pine forest, hardwood river bottoms and swamps, mixed oak-pine uplands, and natural grass prairies. Within the Choctaw Homeland, the Gulf Coastal Plain may be further divided into five physiographic zones: the Black Prairie,

Flatwoods, North Central Hills, Jackson Prairie, and Longleaf Pine Hills (Kelley 1974:4-7). A physiographic map of the Choctaw Homeland is provided in Map 3.

The Black Prairie zone is the famous "Black Belt" region of Alabama and Mississippi, so called because of its dark, fertile soils. This flat to gently rolling grassland belt enters the Homeland area only in northeast Kemper County, then forms an arc 20 to 25 miles wide northwest to the Tennessee-Tombigbee Hills zone. The soils overlie Selma Chalk, which is frequently exposed on the surface. Important Black Prairie flora include the ubiquitous red cedar, as well as big bluestem grass, prairie sunflower, clover, milkweed, nutmeg, hickory, laurel oak, and Durand oak. The Black Prairie zone was an important hunting ground for the Choctaw and provided special resources, such as salt at Blue Licks and a passenger pigeon roost near Macon, both in Noxubee County (Halbert 1901:379; Swanton 1931:55). A few historic Choctaw villages or hamlets were located in the Black Prairie near Fort Tombecbe in Sumter County, Alabama (Harris 1977:5-6,25). The exact location of these and a few other scattered settlements in Alabama has not been confirmed by archaeological survey.

The Flatwoods zone parallels the Black Prairie along its western edge. The Flatwoods zone is a belt of poorly drained, heavy clay soils of low fertility. These qualities make the zone unsuitable for agriculture. Presently in Kemper County this zone is almost entirely unpopulated land under paper company ownership. Under natural conditions this zone supports an Oak-Pine-Hickory forest. There are no known historic Choctaw settlements in this zone.

The North Central Hills is the largest physiographic zone in the seven county area. This same region is known as the Red Hills where it enters Alabama. The topography is rolling to steep, and elevations range from 200 to 600 feet above sea level. Along the southern edge of this elevated zone is a ridge line of hills that forms the most rugged terrain on the Gulf Coastal Plain. This ridge is known as the Buhrstone Cuesta or the Tallahatta Formation. Outcrops of this formation yield Tallahatta quartzite, one of the most important lithic resources for stone tools in southeastern Mississippi and adjacent southwestern Alabama (Dunning 1964).

The vast majority of the known historic Choctaw settlements are in the North Central Hills. These settlements cluster at the headwaters of three major drainages: to the east flows the Sucarnoochee River, a major tributary of the Tombigbee River; to the west, the Pearl River; and to the south, the Chickasawhay-Leaf-Pascagoula River system. Within the North Central Hills zone, these streams are small and relatively fast-flowing with narrow but fertile floodplains. The variation in terrain creates a variety of small ecotones supporting a diversity of species. The most common tree species are oak, pine, hickory, sweet gum, and poplar.

The Jackson Prairie lies along the southern boundary of the North Central Hills. This zone forms a narrow band 8 to 10 miles wide from the Chickasawhay River in the southern portion of Clarke County west through the middle of Jasper County to the Loess or Bluff Hills of western Mississippi. The prairie is a gently rolling belt of

grassland and scattered groves of trees. This type of vegetation is apparently a natural adaptation to calcareous soils of weathered limestone, marls, and clays. The soils are fertile and well-suited for agriculture. Several known Choctaw settlements border the Jackson Prairie but none have been located within this zone.

The Longleaf Pine Hills is a physiographic zone that extends from the Jackson Prairie south to the Coastal Meadows. The surface relief consists of high ridges forming relatively steep divides between numerous streams. The high ridge tops are composed of Pleistocene Citronelle sediments and the soils of the lower elevations are sands and clays of low fertility. Elevations above the hardwood river bottoms were originally covered by a climax forest of longleaf pine. As the major rivers flow south from their headwaters in the North Central Hills, across the Jackson Prairie, and into the Longleaf Pine Hills, the alluvial floodplains broaden into swamps, oxbow lakes, and bayous. These hardwood floodplain forests are complex ecosystems considered one of the most diverse faunal and floral habitats on the Gulf Coastal Plain (Shelford 1963:56-120). The predominant tree species are oak, gum and cypress.

The traditional Choctaw Homeland has a temperate, humid climate. Average annual rainfall is 56 inches, with the highest monthly rainfall in July. Average annual temperature is 64 degrees Fahrenheit. The region has an average of 230 days with temperatures above freezing. The mean annual percentage of possible sunshine is 64% (Saltsman and Cross 1974:12-15). These climatic conditions create a long growing season for maize and other cultigens which were planted by the Choctaw. Currently, more than 60% of the landscape is forested.

In early historic times, all the major kinds of faunal species found on the Gulf Coastal Plain were present, and even today most species still occur. The larger predators of the region are black bear, panther, red wolf, alligator, and bobcat. Common small animals are raccoon, oppossum, otter, beaver, rabbit, and fox. Deer and turkey found ideal habitats in early historic times and are common in the area today. The Gulf Coastal Plain swamps, canebrakes, and forest support abundant and unique bird, reptile, and fish life.

The Sampling Universe

The major goal of the archeological survey was to locate Choctaw sites, collect artifact samples, and gain a greater understanding of historic Choctaw settlement patterns. The survey focused on central Kemper County because colonial French and English documents and the investigations of Halbert and Swanton indicate that Kemper County and the Sucarnoochee River drainage were focal areas of historic Choctaw settlement in the eighteenth century. Drainage divides are logical boundaries for archaeological survey because they have corresponded to Choctaw political boundaries in the past (Halbert 1901:375).

For the purposes of this initial investigation, two survey areas were selected in the Sucarnoochee River drainage in Kemper County. Each survey area was a 5 mile by 7 mile rectangle containing at least

one documented (but not archaeologically verified) historic Choctaw village. Furthermore, each area contained the full range of environmental, topographic, and drainage diversity present within the North Central Hills area of known Choctaw settlement in Kemper County. Area 1 is located in Township 10 and 11 north, and Range 16 and 17 east of USGS 7.5' maps, Lauderdale NW and Oak Grove, Mississippi 1963. Area 2 is located in Township 11 north and Range 15 and 16 east on USGS 7.5' maps DeKalb and Townsend, Mississippi 1961. These two areas contain a total of 70 square miles or 44,800 acres.

The sampling unit selected for the survey was the 160 acre quarter section quadrat. The quarter section is large enough to be easily located, to afford convenient access, and to allow efficient coverage by a small survey crew. However, quarter sections are small enough that it was possible to survey a large number of quadrats spread over the two survey areas.

Sampling transects were rejected because of similar time saving considerations. Although it has been demonstrated that transects have a slight statistical advantage as a sampling unit (Judge, Ebert, and Hitchcock 1975:82-123), this procedure is most often used when access to private land is not a consideration. In a rural area of small landowners such as Kemper County, long transects would involve crossing the property of several landowners. This would require the prior consent of several people, which is often surprisingly difficult to obtain during the planning stages of a survey. More often than not, the archaeologist must ask permission at the time of actually entering the property. The fewer the landowners of a sampling unit, the less time one wastes in locating the owner and asking permission.

Stratification of the Sample

Stratification of the sample involved the evaluation of several possible dimensions of environmental influence on settlement within the sampling universe. Human behavior is nonrandom because it is influenced by, among other things, various environmental and physical constraints. Archaeological evidence of human activities should usually be distributed in a nonrandom pattern across the landscape. However, despite the nonrandom nature of human settlement, it was initially necessary to select survey units randomly. This procedure was necessary because our knowledge of Choctaw settlement in the area was very limited, as there has been very little previous archaeological investigation. Therefore, it was necessary for the sample to be drawn in a manner that assured that any unit of the sampling universe had a chance to be selected for inspection.

Given the absence of any prior systematic archaeological survey in the region, the initial information-gathering strategy was based upon general anthropological knowledge of human settlement. For example, environmental and topographic features such as vegetation, soils, relief, and drainage are typically critical factors in a settlement system. Therefore, it was decided to initially stratify the sample of quarter sections selected for survey according to environmental variables.

Kemper County is divided into three physiographic zones: the Black Prairie, the Flatwoods, and the North Central Hills. However, the 332 square mile Sucarnoochee River drainage lies almost totally within the North Central Hills zone, and none of the Black Prairie or Flatwoods is in the sampling universe. Stratification by these large physiographic zones alone would have been inadequate.

Soils and vegetation were considered too impractical for the initial sample stratification. There were too many individual soil types to be handled efficiently. Furthermore, there are no modern soil maps of Kemper County available for planning. Stratification of the sample on the basis of vegetation zones was also considered impractical. It cannot be assumed that modern conditions are representative of pristine plant communities because of extensive lumbering and agricultural modification of the landscape in the twentieth century. Reconstruction of the original communities would have required an elaborate investigation based on limited information from early historic land surveys.

It was decided to stratify the sample initially on the basis of topography. Our review of the historic descriptions of Choctaw settlement supports the use of landform as a stratifying variable. The three topographic strata used in drawing the initial sample were:

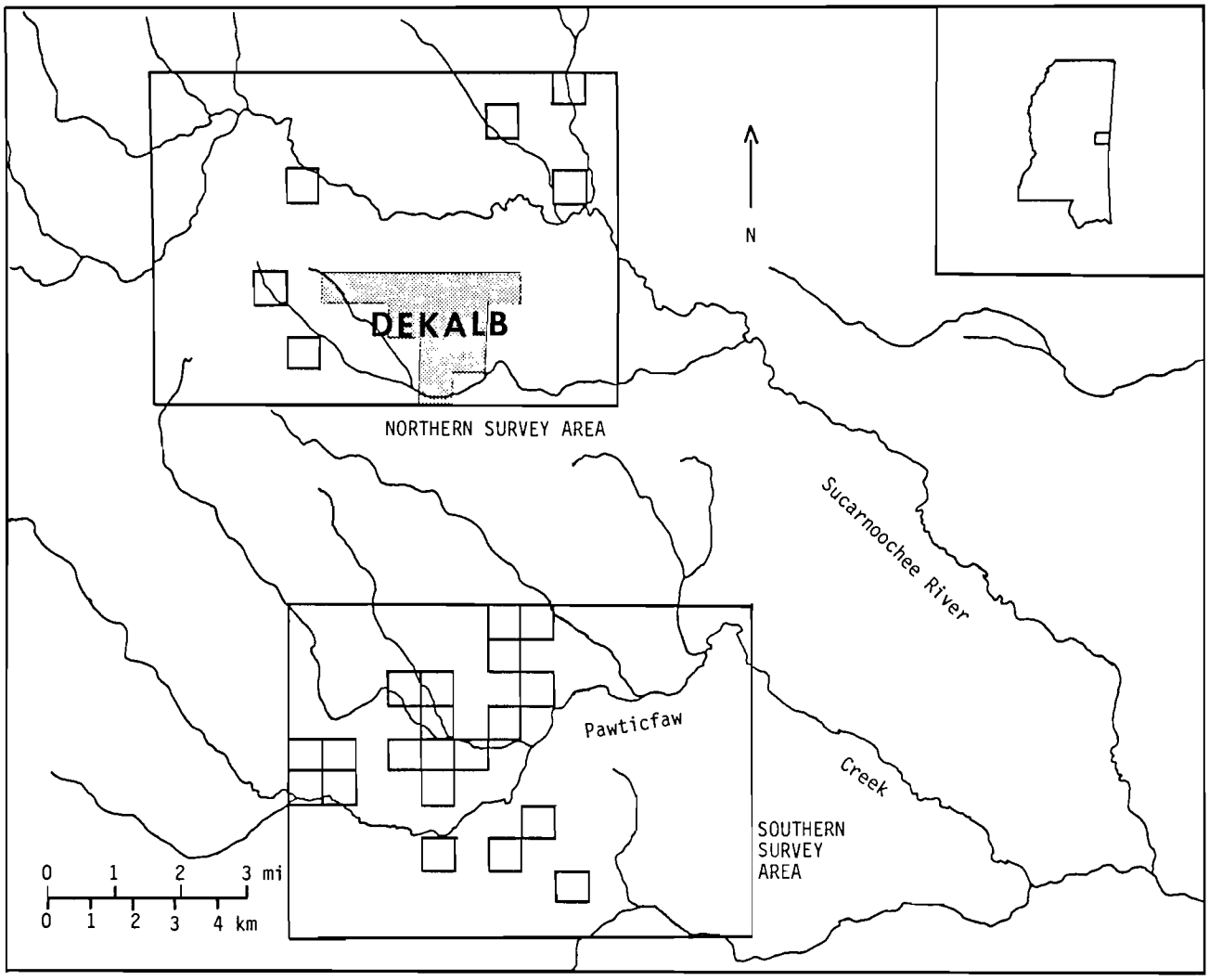
1. Bottomland: Low, flat alluvial floodplains and low terraces adjacent to permanent streams.
2. Rolling Uplands: low, flat-to-rolling uplands and terraces, defined as having a general slope of under 16 degrees.
3. Steep Uplands: rolling-to-steep areas which typically formed the divides between drainages, defined as having a slope of more than 16 degrees.

A slope of 16 degrees was chosen to divide Rolling Uplands from Steep Uplands because this degree of slope effectively partitioned the two landforms, and this was a slope easily estimated from topographic maps using a slope indicator template.

Each quadrat sampling unit was assigned to one topographic stratum. In an area as large as 160 acres some combination of these three strata often occurs. Each quadrat was classified by the stratum that characterized more than 50% of the total quadrat area. Other environmental variables that possibly affect site location, such as elevation and distance to water, will be considered later in the survey analysis.

Procedure for Drawing the Sample

After defining the sampling universe and selecting the method for stratification, the next step involved plotting each quarter section quadrat onto the USGS maps. The two survey areas were divided into a total of 280 quarter section quadrats using a 160 acre locator template. An individual number was assigned to each quadrat. The numbering began in the northwest corner of the survey block and



Map 4. Location of survey areas and units, central Kemper County.

progressed south in a sequence that ran from west to east. Given the absence of previous survey results which could be used to estimate the sample size required for reliable information about Choctaw settlement, it was decided to plan for approximately a 10% sample of the two survey areas. The percentages of Steep Upland, Rolling Upland, and Bottomland quadrats were calculated for both areas 1 and 2. The sampling procedure was divided into two stages. The first stage (Sample 1) consisted of a 3% sample of the survey areas, with the different topographic strata represented in proportion to their occurrence within the survey areas.

Since our previous knowledge of settlement location was minimal, it was reasoned that Sample 1 would provide some information concerning environmental and topographic influences upon the locations of villages, farmsteads, and other areas of activity. The percentages of sites discovered in each stratum would be calculated and then this information used as a basis for selecting a second sample (Sample 2). Since one of the basic survey goals was locating sites, Sample 2 would be weighted toward the selection of those strata that Sample 1 demonstrated are most likely to have archaeological sites. The samples were drawn from a table of random numbers (Blalock 1960).

Before Sample 1 was completed, it became very apparent, as expected, that Steep Upland locations were poorly suited for archaeological sites and that the majority of sites were in Rolling Upland terrain. However, not all Rolling Upland units had Choctaw sites. Thus, Sample 2 was drawn in a manner which reflected the fact that there was greater variation in site numbers between Rolling Upland units and that relatively more such units would have to be surveyed.

A total of 26 quarter sections was surveyed--9.3% of the combined survey areas (Map 4). The preponderance of survey quadrats in the western portion of the southern survey area reflects the greater density of Rolling Upland units in that area.

Survey Methods

Once landowners were located and permission to enter their property obtained, parallel survey transects were walked at 100 yard intervals within each survey quadrat. In cultivated fields or other exposed locations, sites were identified by surface debris and artifacts, typically lithic flakes and pottery sherds. In areas of poor surface visibility, small shovel tests were dug at 100 yard intervals (cf. Lovis 1976). When sites were located, an effort was made to collect all visible artifacts and to estimate site size. Because sites were located in a wide variety of situations including plowed fields, pastures, wooded areas, and eroded areas, it was impossible to be completely consistent in site survey methods. Often the search pattern was restricted and intensified to take advantage of areas with good ground visibility. While in theory the spacing of shovel tests and the focus of ground inspection should be rigidly standardized to minimize bias, in practice such standardization is not always possible. In actuality, survey inefficiency increases in

proportion to the ruggedness of the terrain and poor ground visibility.

The spacing of tests, the size of various kinds of sites, and other factors will have a direct effect on the efficiency of this method. Widely-spaced shovel tests in wooded terrain, although necessary and practical for covering extensive areas, are biased toward the discovery of larger sites. While a number of important strategies have been recommended to increase the effectiveness of transect shovel testing (Krakker, Shott, and Welch 1983), the number of sites found with shovel tests is usually low. Despite these problems, shovel testing remains the most practical and cost-effective technique for locating sites in areas of poor surface visibility. In the Kemper County survey, only 3 of 49 sites were located in this manner. Therefore, it must be assumed that the survey crew failed to find some of the sites in wooded areas.

The same surface and terrain conditions that adversely affect the archaeologist's ability to locate sites also determine the representativeness of the artifact sample from each site. The variation in surface conditions makes it difficult to determine if an artifact sample is representative. If by representative we mean a sample that shows the full range of artifacts and their behavioral implications for each site, then many artifact samples are not representative. However, if by representative we mean a sample that allows the sites to be assigned a very general cultural provenience, then the majority of the artifact samples are adequate for this purpose.

Survey Results and Factors of Settlement Location

The survey was conducted with three crew members in 34 working days during June and July 1982. A total of 49 sites was located in the two survey areas. Of these, 29 were single component Choctaw occupations, 8 were multicomponent sites with a Choctaw occupation, and 12 were either prehistoric (usually Late Archaic) or late historic Euro-American or Afro-American occupations with no Choctaw component. Of the 37 Choctaw sites, 31 were actually found in survey units, while six others were located outside the survey units but within the two survey areas. Several of these latter six sites were brought to our attention by residents of Kemper County.

The Choctaw sites were anything but spectacular. Identified mainly by the presence of pottery types to be discussed later in this study, the Choctaw settlements were typically low density sherd scatters found in plowed fields and eroded pastures. No mounds, earthworks, or other evidence of large scale public architecture were discovered. The cultural deposits are quite shallow on all sites and none have evidence of any true midden development. Consequently, we assume that erosion and modern land use practices have destroyed the structural integrity of many sites. Test excavations at three sites showed only one (22-Ke-510) that had undisturbed features below the plow zone.

There were no sites that seemed to indicate a concentrated village arrangement. Instead, the sites were small, discrete artifact scatters. The artifact scatters usually covered an area of 40-60 meters in diameter, with most artifacts concentrated in a core area of approximately 15 meters in diameter. A few sites (included in this analysis) were hardly sites at all, consisting of just a few sherds. Given the present uncertainty concerning the chronological relationship between sites, each distinct artifact cluster was considered as a separate site, even when such clusters were found within a few hundred meters of each other.

Within the sample survey area, there is a clear tendency for Choctaw sites to be located in Rolling Upland terrain, typically on low, flat ridges or terraces above permanent water sources. Within the quarter sections surveyed, approximately 20% of the terrain was Bottomland, 65% Rolling Upland, and 15% Steep Upland. Table 1 gives the locations for 31 sites actually found within survey units and gives the expected locations if settlement were independent of terrain. The significant relationship between Choctaw settlement and Rolling Uplands is reinforced by the fact that 94% of the sites were in Rolling Upland terrain, whereas only approximately 65% of the total terrain surveyed was Rolling Upland. The two definite Steep Upland sites found consisted of only one and two sherds respectively. It should also be noted that, outside of the survey units, one site (22-Ke-510) was located in a definite bottomland setting.

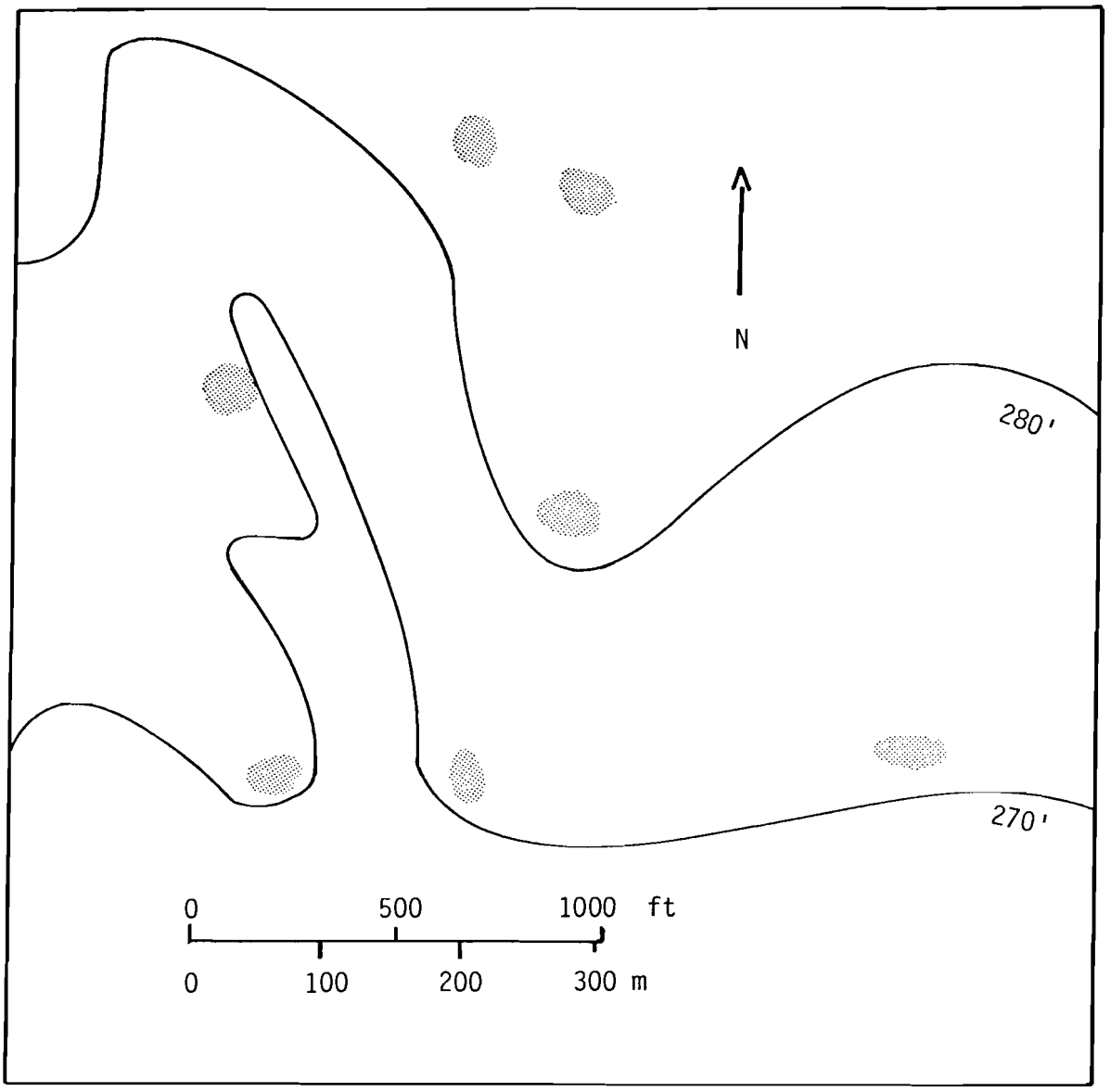
However, site dispersal was not uniform even within Rolling Upland terrain. The sites tended to cluster together instead of being scattered continuously across the landscape. Several Rolling Upland units that had all the apparently appropriate characteristics had no sites.

Therefore, within the survey area, it appears that the Choctaw settlement pattern was characterized by small, dispersed settlements clustered along low ridges. Map 5 provides a clear illustration of

TABLE 1
CHOCTAW SITE LOCATIONS AND LANDFORM*

Landform Category	%Landform Types in Survey Units	Predicted Site Numbers**	Actual Site Numbers
Bottom land	20	6.3	0
Rolling Upland	65	19.8	29
Steep Upland	15	4.9	2

* ^{2}=12.9, 2 d.f., p<.005
**Number of sites predicted if site location was independent of landform



Map 5. Survey Unit 80: Locations of Choctaw sites.

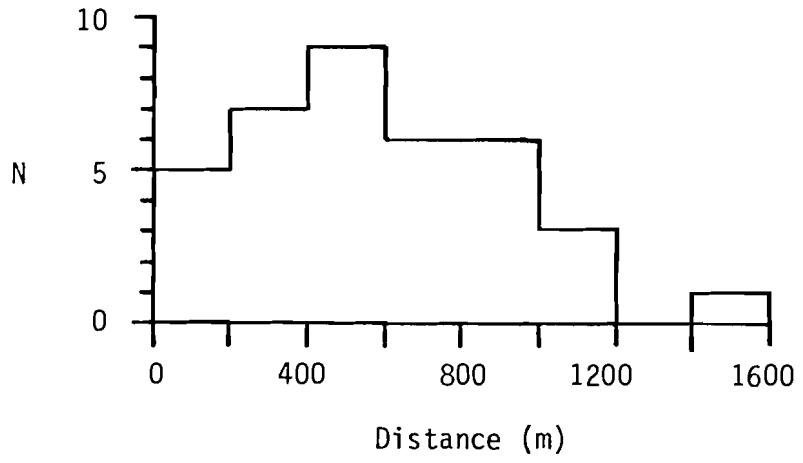


Figure 2. Distance, in meters, of Choctaw sites from permanent streams.

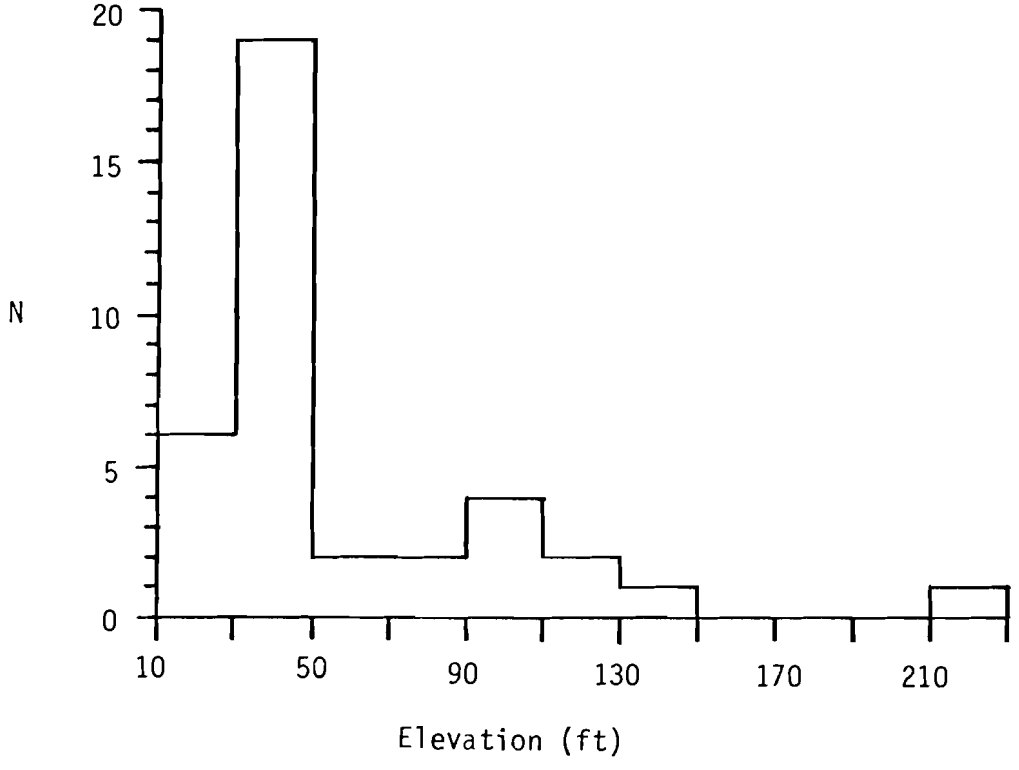
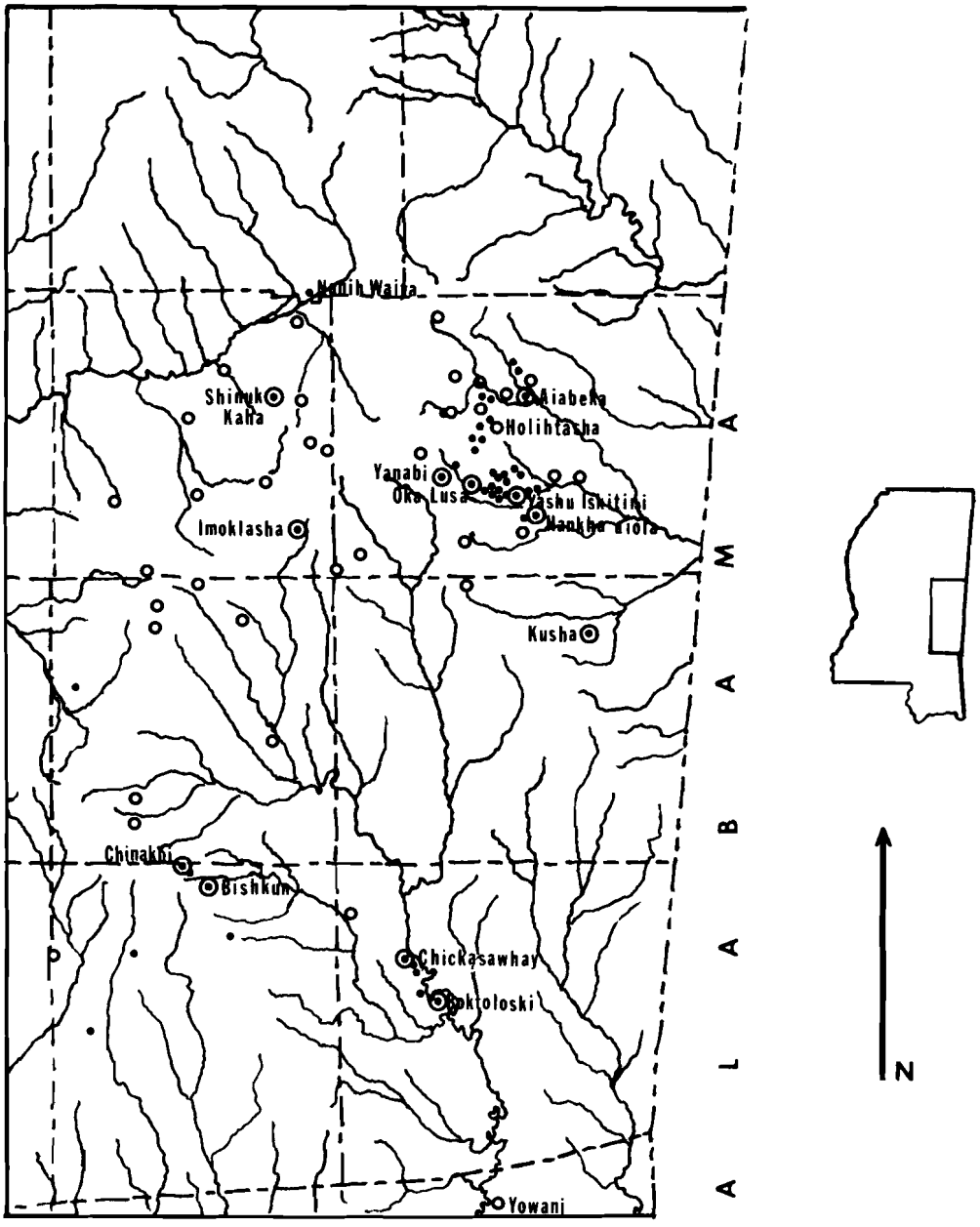


Figure 3. Elevation, in feet, of Choctaw sites above permanent streams.

such settlement patterns. Within one survey unit, seven small artifact scatters were found, each on a very slight rise in what was generally flat terrain. These survey results confirm the settlement pattern predicted from the review of the historical accounts. It is proposed that the individual pottery scatters correspond to family residential units, associated structures and work areas. When found in an isolated context, the single residential unit probably constitutes a farmstead. Eight such sites were located. More common was a cluster of several such sites, separated one from another. It was suggested in Chapter 3 that the extent to which the community pattern was concentrated might be evident in the degree of artifact continuity between artifact scatters. In actuality, various field conditions made it difficult to measure this objectively, and to attempt to categorize the site clusters on the basis of this limited information as either hamlet or village would be an arbitrary exercise. Suffice it to say that these configurations ranged from three scatters within a two acre area to seven scatters over a fifty acre area.

This dispersed settlement pattern probably represents an appropriate adaption to the demands of maize horticulture in this particular region, yet one would not expect the settlement system to be unidimensional. Mention has already been made of two very small Steep Upland sites. Historical sources indicate that some seasonal Choctaw hunting lodges were maintained in hilly areas (Halbert 1902:421-422). We may speculate that the presence of a few isolated pieces of pottery in a rugged place far from water was the result of bringing drinking water to a temporary activity area or small camp, for a more permanent residential structure in this steep location is unlikely. An indication of some variation in settlement patterns is suggested in Figures 2 and 3. Histograms of site distance from permanent streams and elevation above permanent streams show that virtually all of the 37 Choctaw sites in the survey areas fall within a relatively normal distributional range of distances and elevations. The average site is approximately 550-600 meters from a permanent stream and 40-50 feet above such water sources.

Obviously, variations in such measures would primarily be explained by local terrain differences. However, in both histograms, there is a clear exception, and it is the same site in both cases. This site (22-Ke-501) is presently located over 1500 meters from a permanent stream and at least 220 feet above it. Pottary sherds were scattered over about four acres but, unfortunately, much of the site has been destroyed by the construction of a school, road, and electrical power substation. Several explanations for this unusual site location are plausible. First, it is possible that there have been drainage changes and what are now only intermittent water sources were once permanent streams. Given the cutting of timber in this region and the often significant erosion which followed, the silting of streams is possible. It is also a distinct possibility that this site location may be explained by social rather than environmental factors. It is known from historical accounts that the Choctaw frequently built small, stockaded forts in which to retreat when



• Archaeological site

o Proposed historic village site

⊙ Archaeological site correlation with proposed historic village

Map 6. Choctaw phase archaeological sites in east-central Mississippi. (Sources: Halbert 1901, 1902; Swanton 1931; Penman 1977).

threatened by an enemy raid and the high, prominent location of 22-Ke-501 would have been well suited for this purpose.

Although the results of this analysis are suggestive, any consideration of long-term changes in settlement locations must await the establishment of a more sensitive site chronology. While it is reasonable to expect that the sample survey results are representative of Choctaw settlement patterns in the North Central Hills zone, these patterns might be quite different in other physiographic zones or in an ecotone formed by more than one micro-environmental zone. Surveys in Clarke, Newton, and Jasper counties have discovered Choctaw sites on what the investigators termed bottomland, first and second river terraces, and ridge tops, but because these topographic entities are not clearly defined by them, it is difficult to make any meaningful comparisons to the the Kemper County data (Penman 1977).

As a result of the sample survey in Kemper County, several Choctaw archaeological sites were found that correspond with specific historic village locations identified by Halbert (Voss and Blitz 1982). These sites are Aiabeka, "unhealthy place" (22-Ke-510); Yashu Iskitini, "Little Yazoo" (22-Ke-525, 526); Hanka aiola, "Crying Goose" (22-Ke-547); and Oka Lusa, "Black Water" (22-Ke-532). A large village, Holitasha ("Fort is there") was located on the site of present day De Kalb, Mississippi (Halbert 1902:426; Rowland and Sanders 1927:90; Swanton 1931:65). The large ridge top site discussed above is situated one and one-half miles northwest of De Kalb and may be a portion of Holitasha. Collins had visited Halbert's proposed location for Yanabi and he photographed trade goods and other artifacts plowed up by the land owner. We returned to this place (22-Ke-561), and although conditions for surface collection were very poor, Choctaw pottery was recovered. Choctaw archaeological sites in east-central Mississippi are illustrated in Map 6. Outside the survey area, in Neshoba County, two other settlements were found through Halbert's information. Choctaw pottery was collected from Shinuk Kaha, "Sand Town" (22-Ne-542); and Imoklasha, "their people are there" (22-Ne-543).

A Choctaw archaeological site has been discovered at every one of Halbert's proposed village locations that have been visited by archaeologists. This fact gives us confidence in the validity of Halbert's research and a unique and valuable opportunity for ethnohistorical archaeology presents itself. Not only is the site location process aided, but archaeological sites can be identified by name and related to specific processes, events, and individuals mentioned in the historical documents. Archaeological investigation of Choctaw history, society, and cultural change may then proceed from an explicit set of information that is rarely available in the archaeological study of Southeastern Indian societies.

CHAPTER V

THE CHOCTAW CERAMIC COMPLEX

The analysis of American Indian ceramics presented in Appendix A reveals that a majority of the ceramic sample is composed of a few distinct types that consistently occur together in the surface collections. In this chapter, a Choctaw ceramic complex is defined and compared to other historic American Indian ceramic complexes in adjacent areas. An artifact complex is a useful heuristic concept with which to isolate a set of artifact types into a culturally and historically meaningful category:

> The ideal unit of archaeological study is the assemblage of artifacts produced and used by a single society over a period of time short enough to preclude any marked changes through cultural innovations or shifts in relative popularity of attributes or attribute combinations (Spaulding 1960:61).

Focusing exclusively on pottery, Phillips defines a ceramic complex "as the sum total of types, varieties and modes of an archaeological phase" (Phillips 1970:30). When artifacts are collected from the surface of archaeological sites or excavated from unstratified middens, the mixing of more than one complex may occur. For this reason it becomes necessary to distinguish between a ceramic complex and a ceramic assemblage: "The ceramic assemblage is the sum total of types, varieties, and modes associated together in an archaeological context" (Phillips 1970:30). Therefore, a ceramic assemblage may be composed of more than one ceramic complex, a mixture of artifacts from more than one social group, but by definition a mixed ceramic complex does not exist.

In Table 2, a ceramic complex for the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Choctaw is proposed. Decoration is by incising or combing exclusively. The ratio of plain to decorated sherds in the sample is 3 to 1. The Unclassified Nicked Rim Incised type found on Choctaw sites is not included in this complex because no similar specimens in museum collections are documented as Choctaw. The sand tempered Unclassified Plain type is included because whole vessels attributed to the Choctaw exist, but there are currently no means to separate plain sand tempered Choctaw sherds from morphologically similar prehistoric sherds that may occur together in the surface collections.

Comparison of Choctaw Complex to Other Archaeological Complexes

The Choctaw ceramic complex bears little resemblance to late prehistoric ceramic complexes in areas just to the east and north. The Summerville IV phase of the central Tombigbee River, Alabama, and the Sorrells phase of Oktibbeha and Clay counties, Mississippi, are roughly contemporaneous with each other and date from approximately 1450 to 1650 A.D. (Peebles and Mann 1981:69; Marshall 1977:54; Solis and Walling 1982:170). The ceramic complexes of these phases are

TABLE 2
THE CHOCTAW PHASE CERAMIC COMPLEX

Type*	Temper	Known Vessel Forms
Mississippi Plain	Coarse shell	Simple bowl, globular jar
Bell Plain	Fine shell	Simple bowl
Unclassified Plain (Addis Plain)	Fine grog with fine sand/shell	Simple bowl
Kemper Combed	Fine grog with fine sand/shell	Simple bowl
Fatherland Incised	Fine grog with fine sand/shell	Simple bowl, jar forms
Unclassified Plain	Fine sand	Simple bowl, carinated bowl
Chickachae Combed	Fine sand	Simple bowl

*Varieties are unspecified

generally similar and reflect a long developmental continuum of Middle Mississippian tradition pottery. These complexes are characterized by shell tempered plain and incised wares that incorporate motifs similar to Moundville III, rim area incision, applique and punctation on large jars, and interior-incised flared-rim bowls. The character of the Sorrells phase ceramic complex and, in a broader sense, the archaeological status of the late prehistoric occupation in east-central Mississippi has recently been summarized:

> The cultural placement and extra-regional relationships of the Sorrells phase component of the Yarborough site seem relatively clear and unambiguous, as long as it is realized that the various archaeological constructs in neighboring regions to which it may be compared tend to arbitrarily fossilize what are in reality continuous, broad trends in space and time. Thus, if we say that the ceramic assemblage at Yarborough resembles a mixture of Moundville III, Alabama River phase, and Late Walls, we mean nothing more than that we have isolated in space and time a regional ceramic constellation which reflects spatial clines and changing ceramic repertoires relevant to a large, interconnected area of the late prehistoric southeast (Solis and Walling 1982:176-177).

In a tentative developmental sequence outlined at the Lyon's Bluff site (22-Ok-520), immediately following the Sorrells phase, is the poorly known Mhoon phase (Marshall 1977:57). The ceramics of this phase change from the shell tempered wares of the Sorrells phase complex to variable tempered pastes of crushed fossil shell, sand and clay. A minority type is described as clay or clay-sand tempered "Natchezan-like," decorated with incised multiple curvilinear lines. Marshall notes that the ceramic material most closely resembles the historic Chickasaw complex but that some pottery is similar to the identified historic Choctaw material. The Mhoon phase represents the final cultural configuration at the Lyon's Bluff site. The later of two radiocarbon samples from the site produced a corrected date of 1557 A.D., although the occupation may have extended into the 1600s (Marshall 1977:54).

An artifact complex that very closely resembles the Sorrells and Mhoon phase ceramics has been described in the vicinity of Starkville, Oktibbeha County, Mississippi (Atkinson 1979). This unnamed complex is characterized by plain and incised large globular jars, various bowl forms, and plate-like vessels with interior rim incision. Zig-zags, scrolls, and concentric circles were incised on a dry paste. The sandy paste is tempered with either live or fossil shell, although live shell is apparently predominant. Also present in the Starkville material is an unnamed type with vertical incisions from nicks, notches or punctations on the rim that is similar to the Unclassified Nicked Rim Incised types frequently found on Choctaw sites (Atkinson 1979:63, Figure 2 f-g). While no Euro-American artifacts have been found with the Lyon's Bluff components, several burials with European trade items have been uncovered at the Starkville sites. Disarticulated bundle burials, infant urn burials, and similar ceramic complexes are some of the cultural traits that the late prehistoric and protohistoric east-central Mississippi phases share with roughly contemporaneous "Burial Urn" phases in west and central Alabama. The Starkville settlements are believed to date to the seventeenth century.

Atkinson suggests two possible tribal or ethnic identifications for the Starkville sites. Several historical documents and maps from

the early eighteenth century indicate that the Chakchiuma lived between the Choctaw and the Chickasaw in the Oktibbeha County area. The other possible tribal affiliation is with the Alabama. De Soto's army encountered a group called the Alimamu in northern Mississippi. It is not known if this is the same group as the Alabama, who in the eighteenth century lived in central Alabama and were closely affiliated with, but ethnically distinct from, the Creeks (Swanton 1922:198-201). Both socially and linguistically the Alabama were more like the Chickasaw (Lankford 1978:20). Atkinson bases this possible connection on the broad similarities of the Starkville material to the protohistoric phases of central Alabama (Atkinson 1979:68-69).

The ceramic complexes of these late prehistoric and protohistoric phases do not resemble the Choctaw ceramics. The only type they seem to share is plain, shell tempered pottery and the Unclassified Nicked Rim type. Perhaps it is significant that these complexes from the north and east of the Choctaw Homeland do not seem to be represented in the surface samples from the Choctaw sites. This absence suggests that the Choctaw sites were primarily occupied later in time and correspond to the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century time span proposed for the Choctaw ceramic complex. Another possibility is that the absence of late prehistoric and protohistoric assemblages like those discussed above reflects a significant spatial or developmental discontinuity. More research is required for an adequate understanding of the possible cultural or historical relationship between the late prehistoric/protohistoric phases described above and the historic Choctaw.

It is more enlightening to compare the Choctaw ceramic complex with the ceramic complexes of other contemporary historic Indian societies. To the north of the Choctaw live the Chickasaw, whose main settlements centered around the modern city of Tupelo in Lee County, Mississippi. The Chickasaw are far better known archaeologically than are the Choctaw. Jennings (1941) presented the first formal descriptions of Chickasaw ceramics, and additional refinement of the classification is currently under study (Stubbs 1982). Crushed fossil shell and sand are the two primary tempering agents used. Surface treatment consists of incising, rough brushing, and cordmarking. The majority of the complex is plain (Stubbs 1982:51).

The Chickasaw pottery and the Choctaw ceramic complex have few morphological similarities. Rim area punctation and incising, characteristic of the Unclassified Nicked Rim type often found on Choctaw sites, is an attribute that also occurs on pottery from historic Chickasaw sites (Stubbs 1982:54). Incising is more common in the Choctaw complex, but rough brushing and cordmarking are not present.

To the east of the historic Choctaw Homeland, a confederation of Muskogean language speakers, collectively referred to as Creeks, lived in central Alabama and adjacent Georgia. The historic Creek Ocmulgee Fields complex bears only a slight resemblance to the Choctaw ceramic complex. Sand is the primary tempering agent. Surface treatment consists of incising and brushing. Notched or nicked rims and notched fillets applied just below the rim are common attributes (Fairbanks

1952; Dickens and Chapman 1978). The historic native ceramics from the region occupied by Muskogean groups are quite diverse but seem to share certain broad similarities with the Choctaw material.

The Choctaw ceramic complex has its closest morphological and stylistic similarities to the Natchez phase ceramic complex (A.D. 1682-1729) of southwestern Mississippi. Both complexes share the type Fatherland Incised and there is a close resemblance between Bayou Goula Incised and Chickachae Combed. Quimby (1942:265) noted this similarity when he wrote the first formal descriptions of these types in his report on excavations at historic period American Indian sites in Louisiana. He described Fatherland Incised and particularly Bayou Goula Incised as frequently decorated by combing. The criteria for separating Chickachae Combed from the other two types was the sand content of the paste, the thinness of the band and the smaller number of lines. He concluded that the similarity between Chickachae Combed and Bayou Goula Incised implied a cultural relationship between the two types (Quimby 1942:264-265).

It is clear that Bayou Goula Incised and the combed Choctaw types are stylistically related. The historic ceramic assemblage at the Bayou Goula site dates from the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries. To judge from the published descriptions, this historic Louisiana component is very similar to the historic Natchez phase ceramic complex known to have been used by the Natchez society in the lower Mississippi Valley (Duhe 1983). Bayou Goula Incised has since been reclassified as Fatherland Incised var. Bayou Goula (Brown 1978). Researchers have established that varieties of Fatherland Incised were developed from Leland Incised, with a general trend toward smaller line width through time (Steponaitis 1981:9).

A large sample of American Indian ceramics was recovered in western Alabama at Fort Tombecbe, a French colonial garrison established on the Tombigbee River in 1736. The fort was built to ensure the continued allegiance of the Choctaw to the French cause by providing them with easy access to trade goods, and to prevent further incursions into the area by the English and their Indian allies. The context of the American Indian assemblage suggested to the excavators that it postdated the construction of the fort. The ceramic assemblage is characterized by a fine grog and shell tempered pottery with individually made (not combed) dry paste incisions of curvilinear and rectilinear motifs (Parker 1982:70-72). This type, an unspecified variety of Fatherland Incised, is found on the Choctaw sites described in this report. Although it is possible that the Fort Tombecbe assemblage represents pottery of more than one ethnic group, there is a high probability that it is Choctaw.

Perhaps significantly, there is no combed pottery in the assemblage at Fort Tombecbe. The only chronological context for the combed Choctaw types is vessels known to have been taken to Oklahoma in the 1830s (Schmitt and Bell 1954), two sites in Oklahoma occupied after the Choctaw exile to the West circa 1840 (Perino 1978; Williams 1981:116), the historic burials at the Nick Planatation, Louisiana (Ford 1936:48-49), and the presence of this type on late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century sites in Mississippi. Although the data

base is limited, the implication is that combing is a late decorative innovation that was stylistically derived from the individually incised lines of Fatherland Incised. The similarities between the Natchez phase ceramic complex, the historic ceramic complex at Bayou Goula and other sites of that time period in eastern Louisiana, and the Choctaw ceramic complex reflect either a common developmental relationship, widespread sharing of ceramic styles by historic social groups, or both.

In the Natchez area and in the lower Mississippi River delta region of eastern Louisiana, materials used to temper pottery became quite variable in the late prehistoric and historic periods. This variability has been interpreted as one result of a prehistoric culture contact situation (Brain 1978). Indigenous pottery makers with a long tradition of grog tempering became acculturated by Middle Mississippian societies who possessed a different ceramic technology that utilized shell as a tempering agent. Throughout the later prehistoric and historic phases in the Natchez region, there is a clear increase of shell tempering through time (Steponaitis 1981:11). A similar increase of shell tempering occurs during the same time span in the delta region of eastern Louisiana (Davis 1981:68). There is an even greater diversity of tempering agents utilized in the historic Choctaw ceramic complex. Shell, sand, and fine grog temper are all known to have been used contemporaneously in the 1800s by the Choctaw in Oklahoma.

It would seem that these tempering differences are the result of various factors such as exposure of pottery makers to different ceramic techniques and the awareness of differing technological properties of each temper type (Steponaitis 1983:33-44). In the proposed Choctaw complex, one indication that the temper may be independent of a particular surface design is that identical combed motifs can be found on sand tempered Chickachae Combed and grog tempered Kemper Combed. All Chickachae Combed sherds in the present sample are from three sites in Clarke and Jasper counties, the area of the Southern or Six Towns division. None are from sites in Kemper, Neshoba, or Lauderdale counties, the area of the Eastern and Central division of the Choctaw Homeland, where grog tempered Kemper Combed is predominant. Apparent spatial temper differences in the Choctaw ceramic complex probably reflect local variation but there may be some temporal variation as well.

The Case for a Choctaw Association with the Ceramic Complex

The assignment of a Choctaw ethnic identity for the ceramic complex is based on three sets of circumstantial evidence. First the majority of the ceramic sample, 84% of the sum total, is composed of types in the proposed Choctaw complex. Some of the other 16% represent earlier cultural periods, but most are plain types that cannot be given a specific temporal provenience. If the pottery makers had been exposed to diffused ceramic styles intermittently or if there had been no historic or cultural relationship between those

who occupied the sites, then we would expect that there would be no consistency in type frequencies between sites. However, if the pottery makers of these sites shared the same social and stylistic traditions over several generations, then we would expect relative type frequencies to be reasonably similar on each site and between sites.

Unfortunately, the size and nature of the ceramic sample is not amenable to an objective measure of inter-site relatedness. Because the size of the sherd sample varies considerably from site to site as a result of different survey conditions, a direct correlation of type frequencies is inappropriate. Therefore, the surface collections cannot be viewed as representative of the ratios of pottery types in use during the time of occupation. Nevertheless, the fact that a strong majority of the sample is composed of a few types that consistently occur together, regardless of frequencies, on the same sites tends to support the contention that they represent a ceramic complex.

The identification of separate ceramic complexes from a potientially mixed assemblage usually requires the comparison of stratified components and seriation techniques, and such data for the Choctaw have yet to be collected. However, historical documentation is another source of information that we can utilize to help us accomplish this objective. Unfortunately for the archaeological problem presented in this study, the early observers were not inclined to record details of Choctaw pottery making. It was not until the efforts of Holmes (1903:102) and Bushnell (1909:12-13) that information on Choctaw pottery was recorded, and this was done at a time when the traditional material culture was fast disappearing. Apparently the Choctaw ceased making pottery in the middle nineteenth century, but some artists revived the craft sometime in this century to produce non-utilitarian wares for the handicraft market.

Information about earlier Choctaw pottery was not entirely lost because various museums acquired examples of early nineteenth-century Choctaw vessels. Some of the specimens from Oklahoma have been described (Bell and Baerreis 1951:92; Goggin 1953; Schmitt and Bell 1954) and have been referenced in the ceramic descriptions in Appendix I. Some of these pottery types have been excavated from two sites occupied by the Choctaw in Oklahoma after their exile there in the 1830s (Perino 1978; Williams 1981:116-118). On the basis of the published descriptions and assuming that the museum specimens are correctly attributed to a Choctaw origin, then this identification can be extended to the proposed Choctaw ceramic complex, for all of these types from Mississippi sites are present in the museum collections. Thus contemporaneous use of these types by the Choctaw is confirmed.

The final set of evidence for a Choctaw association with the ceramic complex is derived from the site location data. Ten sites correspond to locations of known Choctaw towns. Other sites cannot be specifically documented but are located in the core area of historic Choctaw settlement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Historical documentation summarized in Chapter 3 demonstrates that the

populous Choctaw occupied the area continuously from at least as early as 1700 until the forced move to Oklahoma in the 1830s.

In summary, evidence has been presented that links the historic Choctaw to a distinct set of pottery types and documents the presence of this ceramic complex on sites known to have been occupied by this society. Therefore, the Choctaw phase is proposed as a provisional designation for this archaeological manifestation. The term phase is used here in the manner defined by Willey and Phillips:

> ... an archaeological unit possessing traits sufficiently characteristic to distinguish it from all other units similarly conceived, whether of the same or other cultures or civilizations, spatially limited to the order of magnitude of a locality or region and chronologically limited to a relatively brief interval of time (Willey and Phillips 1958:22).

The Choctaw phase must be considered provisional. Although we have a limited amount of information about the artifacts characteristic of this society, specific locational data, and abundant ethnohistorical information with which to interpret archaeological features upon excavation, we have very little specific chronological data established by archaeological techniques. At present the Choctaw phase can be roughly assigned to a time interval of about one hundred years, from the latter half of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. This time period brackets the dated Euro-American artifacts from the sites and the most accurate cartographic and historic evidence of Choctaw site location. The full temporal range of the Choctaw pottery types, some of which undoubtedly extend back earlier than the Choctaw phase time span, is not known.

Although this group of pottery types appears to have been used contemporaneously by the Choctaw, it has already been pointed out that some types were shared by other ethnic groups such as the Nachez, and quite likely the Bayougoula, Mugulasha, Houma, and Acolapissa as well. These last four groups are linguistically and culturally so nearly identical to the Choctaw that we could reasonably expect their ceramic complexes to show only minor differences in pottery type frequencies that reflect local variation of a widely shared ceramic tradition.

Because of this potentially widespread sharing of styles, and because our knowledge of the ceramic complexes of these southern Mississippi groups is very poor, the artifact complexes alone are currently insufficient criteria on which to base an ethnic identity. The disruptive effects of European contact and the fact that different ethnic groups sometimes reoccupied the abandoned villages of their neighbors has frustrated the ability to make ethnic correlations with artifact assemblages in such areas as the lower Mississippi Valley, the central Great Lakes region, and the Mobile Bay Delta, despite the availability of historical documentation (Quimby 1957:160-165; Brose 1971; Brose, Jenkins, and Weisman 1982:356). The burden of correctly assigning a particular ethnic identity will require historical documentation of the occupation of sites exclusively by a single group

over an extended period of time. This criterion has been met with the Choctaw phase sites examined in this study.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND FUTURE RESEARCH ORIENTATION

This archaeological study of the Mississippi Choctaw Indians began with a brief outline of traditional Choctaw society. Choctaw social and political institutions were presented, subsistence patterns were summarized, and the effects of Euro-American acculturation were considered. Proceeding from the conviction that a clear understanding of available information on Choctaw society and history was a prerequisite step to a fruitful archaeological investigation, previous archaeological work was examined that enabled us to identify one aspect of Choctaw material culture--pottery. The cultural geography of early Choctaw villages in Mississippi was summarized and those social, environmental, and economic factors that influenced Choctaw settlement patterns were discussed.

The next step was to postulate how some of these factors would be recognized through archaeological survey. The ethnohistorical documentary materials were examined for descriptions of Choctaw settlements and a hypothetical site typology was constructed. Since limitations on the interpretation of Choctaw sites exist as a result of the nature of the material culture remains, degree of preservation and circumstances of deposition were discussed.

The archaeological survey in the traditional Choctaw Homeland was designed to locate both historic and prehistoric sites, collect representative artifact samples, and provide a greater insight into the Choctaw settlement system. The survey design involved a random sample, stratified by topographic variables, of a drainage area in east-central Mississippi known from historical, archival, and cartographic materials to have been the locus of eighteenth-century Choctaw settlement. The results of the survey confirmed the settlement pattern predicted from a review of the ethnohistorical accounts. Sites were typically small scatters of pottery that correspond to locations interpreted as a single residential units. These units tended to cluster in Rolling Upland terrain adjacent to alluvially renewed, fertile soils. Patterns in locational data such as elevation of sites above water and distance to permanent water sources were noted. Four historically documented Choctaw villages were located in the survey area and another four were found in surrounding areas.

In Chapter 5, a ceramic complex for the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Choctaw was proposed. The assignment of a Choctaw ethnic identity for the ceramic complex, and therefore the archaeological identification of Choctaw sites, was accomplished by considering several sorts of evidence:

1. The majority of the sample is composed of types that consistently occur together on the same sites.

2. These types are morphologically and stylistically identical to whole vessels in museum collections that are documented as nineteenth-century Choctaw.

3. The survey area in general, and several sites specifically, have been historically documented as occupied by the Choctaw continuously over an extended period of time.

A Choctaw phase was proposed to encompass this archaeological manifestation. The phase is provisional in the sense that this is very much a ceramic designation, and although other material and social aspects of the Choctaw are known historically, only one of these factors, the settlement system, has been explored archaeologically.

In Appendix A, American Indian ceramics and Euro-American artifacts are analyzed from 41 sites visited in the survey area, plus five Choctaw sites recorded by the Mississippi Department of Archives and History and the Bureau of American Ethnology. Formal descriptions of morphological types are presented to facilitate recognition of Choctaw sites by other researchers. It is anticipated that both type-variety and attribute analysis of Choctaw ceramics will expand the Choctaw ceramic complex presented here, and hopefully the data are presented in a manner conducive to incorporation into future research.

Future Research Orientation

The goals of this study have been realized and the initial steps toward an archaeology of the Mississippi Choctaw have been taken. Previous research has been synthesized and archaeological survey conducted in order to define the sites and their associated artifacts in terms of simple archaeological constructs: the artifact complex and the cultural phase.

We have gained an insight into the environmental situations in which Choctaw sites are to be found. We have demonstrated how sites may be recognized as Choctaw. We have located numerous sites, some of which can be identified as specific historic villages. But adequate knowledge of the temporal and spatial variation in the Choctaw archaeological pattern has not yet been obtained.

Further research will most likely consist of continued archaeological reconnaissance and excavation of individual sites. Let us consider the potential contribution of each. Additional stratified random sample survey in other areas of the Choctaw Homeland would allow a valuable comparison to the results reported here. Random sample survey, stratified by environmental variables, is undoubtedly the most practical means to obtain a representative sample of sites in a poorly known region. It is repeated here that the wide spacing of shovel tests in wooded terrain, while necessary and practical for covering the extensive areas in this survey, is biased toward the

discovery of large sites. This problem is not a minor one when we consider that Choctaw sites are aggregates of small artifact clusters, often characterized by low artifact density. For future surveys in low ground visibility conditions, shorter transect intervals and a more efficient pattern of shovel tests will be necessary to increase the probability of discovering the smaller artifact scatters. Of course adopting this procedure would mean that more time and energy will have to be expended for the same extent of spatial coverage.

Most of the Choctaw sites were found in situations of good ground visibility (eroded areas and plowed fields in Rolling Upland terrain), and transects conducted under these conditions have a high probability of discovering smaller artifact scatters. If the survey goal were merely to find many Choctaw sites, then the survey could be confined to cleared areas in Rolling Upland terrain. However, if the survey goal is to find a representative range of site types, then no topographic areas can be excluded. Future investigations, depending on their research goals, will have to determine if the time and energy required to survey wooded areas is worth the additional information to be gained.

One complementary survey methodology that can supplement the stratified random sample technique would make use of Halbert's and other early researchers' locational data for historic Choctaw settlements. There are at least sixteen villages in five counties for which Halbert provides precise locations that can be field checked with a minimum of time and financial expenditure. This would be a rapid method of documenting the extent of historic Choctaw settlement on the regional level. Yet it is clear that these data are limited, because we found many sites not mentioned by Halbert.

We might predict that the Choctaw settlement pattern would exhibit marked variation in accordance with the variation in environment in other areas of the Choctaw Homeland. But would a discovery of these variations reveal significant new information about how the Choctaw lived? Perhaps, but I do not think the energy expended in more stratified sample surveys would significantly increase the kind of information needed at the present time. This is because we cannot now discriminate whether settlement differences are due to short-term chronological differences in occupation; social factors such as trade, exchange, warfare, or political centralization; or the techno-environmental needs of the society. We may be able to imply that one or more of these factors is in operation by resorting to ethnographic analogy, but we cannot fully judge the validity of one possibility over the other without testing the analogies with a large body of explicitly archaeological data. This kind of data can only be generated by carefully selecting and excavating a Choctaw settlement, or ideally a sample of sites.

First of all, we need to establish greater chronological controls for Choctaw components at various sites. Adequate samples from an *in situ* context will provide a better definition of a Choctaw ceramic complex through quantification of type frequency composition and will determine if a ceramic complex is the most useful concept for intersite comparison. Euro-American artifacts found in Choctaw

cultural features will also help date the component. Once some knowledge of the temporal variation of the Choctaw ceramic complex is accomplished, the groundwork is laid for studies of stylistic variability and the consideration of the important anthropological implications these studies address (Voss 1980; Braun and Plog 1982).

Through careful examination of excavated cultural features--their context, interrelationship, and artifact association--we can reconstruct the past lifeways of the early Choctaw. Excavation of household units, hearths, storage areas, and trash middens can lead to evidence of household composition, diet, and seasonality of use. Activity areas might be isolated and interpreted as the loci for food preparation, pottery and tool making, ritual games, and other uses. An analysis of the spatial interrelationships between these cultural features at a site may reveal patterns with implications for the ways in which the community was socially organized, and the critical use of direct ethnographic analogies would greatly enhance the interpretive process. These are goals that can be realistically achieved with careful planning and a modest amount of funding and fieldwork.

There are even more complex questions that archaeological research at Choctaw sites can help answer. Specifically, the two most important long-term research goals of a fully anthropological archaeology of the Choctaw people involve questions about acculturation and culture change. The first problem addresses the nature and process of acculturation among the Choctaw as a direct result of European influence. This would entail the archaeological documentation of various stages of Choctaw acculturation at several different points in time. Measurements of the impact of Euro-American goods on native material culture and changes in the traditional, older patterns of cultural features and artifact configurations can provide the basis for a case study of the social dynamics of acculturation. Anthropological documentation of the acculturation and assimilation process provides a rich theoretical basis for archaeological studies. Acculturation and assimilation conform to many of the same general processes whenever a technologically simple ethnic group is dominated, exploited, and assimilated by a technologically more advanced society (Bodley 1975). Archaeology has the advantage of a diachronic depth not available to ethnologists except indirectly through historical materials. This kind of archaeological research in the southeastern United States is exemplified by the work of Brain (1979, 1981).

This problem of Euro-American acculturation is related to the examination of even longer-term processes of cultural change. If the cultural development of the historic Choctaw could be better defined and examined archaeologically, then it might be possible to work back into the past to secure a cultural-historical link to the late prehistoric societies of the region. This "Direct Historical Approach" has been advocated for a long time in North American archaeology and has enjoyed varying degrees of success (Sterling 1940; Strong 1940; Steward 1942; Hally 1971). Usually this strategy has been used only for the purpose of completing archaeological culture history sequences rather than taking the next step of analyzing the processes of culture change.

In the southeast, one of the pertinent questions is why did the late prehistoric complex chiefdoms change over the span of 150 years into simpler chiefdoms such as the Choctaw? Archaeologists have only recently accumulated the data necessary to begin to learn the reasons for this dramatic decline from highly ranked to more egalitarian societies. A series of testable hypotheses can be formed through the critical use of theoretical writings on chiefdom social development and organization (see Friedman 1975; Ford 1977; Peebles and Kus 1977; Peebles 1978, 1979; Carniero 1981). Archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence can be used to construct a causal model for the decline in sociopolitical complexity in the southeast soon after European contact. More problem-oriented research on protohistoric and historic chiefdoms is necessary to answer this question. Archaeological investigation of the Choctaw can help fill this gap in our knowledge.

There are established archaeological cultural sequences both to the east and to the west of the Choctaw Homeland where the basic structure of late prehistoric society is relatively well known. While it seems reasonable to assume that historic Choctaw society is a product of this late prehistoric heritage, the establishment of a direct developmental link to prehistoric societies in east-central and southeastern Mississippi is little closer to reality than in the days of Henry Collins' pioneering efforts nearly 60 years ago.

The prehistory of southeastern Mississippi will remain very poorly known until scientific excavations define the artifact complexes of past cultures and arrange them in a well-dated chronological sequence of development. There is no shortcut to more complex anthropological questions that can avoid this basic task of establishing the prehistoric cultural chronology in the area, although it can be accelerated by a coordinated, long-term regional research design (Binford 1964; Struever 1969).

In the case of Choctaw archaeology, there is a certain urgency in the need for more research. There seem to be few sites in a good state of preservation. While Choctaw sites have not been subjected to the intensive vandalism that many prehistoric sites have suffered, the processes of modern land alteration, erosion, and cultivation have destroyed many Choctaw sites just as irrevocably as the looter's spade.

A final consideration for future Choctaw archaeological research concerns the importance of archaeology to the contemporary Choctaw. Potentially, archaeology can provide new insights into a society's cultural heritage. Prior to an extensive research program, there needs to be communication between archaeologists and interested Choctaws on questions of concern to the Choctaw people so that these concerns are included in the research orientation (See Appendix B). Plans for disseminating the results of the research to the Choctaw and the public-at-large, written in layman's terms with a minimum of archaeological jargon, are also necessary prior to extensive work.

While the research potential is very promising, there is little chance that archaeology can reveal significant new insights into the lifeways of the early historic Choctaw until the steps outlined above

are taken. Only then can archaeology realize its unique contribution toward understanding Choctaw society rather than merely confirming or supplementing the known historical record.

APPENDIX A

ARTIFACT ANALYSIS

One of the primary problems with which all archaeologists must struggle is the classification of artifacts into culturally and historically meaningful categories. The methods used should be consistent with the archaeological problem to be addressed and appropriate to the explanatory capacity of the sample under consideration.

The major classes of artifacts examined in this study are American Indian ceramics and Euro-American artifacts, primarily ceramics and glass. While several sites yielded lithic tools and flakes, these materials were not plentiful in the survey area. All the lithic tools which were recovered, even the few at historic Choctaw sites, could be assigned to known types of the earlier Late Archaic and Woodland cultural traditions. Therefore, lithic artifacts will not be discussed in this study.

The American Indian ceramics from sites in the traditional Choctaw Homeland were analyzed initially for two primary purposes: to isolate and recognize historic Choctaw pottery and to confirm the association of a recurring set of types with sites that can be historically documented as occupied by the Choctaw people. Toward this purpose a ceramic typology based on technological and stylistic similarities was utilized as a sorting criterion. Before the ceramic classification methodology is presented, however, some discussion of the nature of the ceramics and the appropriateness of analytical methods must be addressed.

First, the artifacts are all from surface collections. As a result of continuous cultivation on many of the sites, individual sherd size tended to be quite small. Sherds larger than 3.0 inches were rare. Erosion had affected some sherds but in most cases the original surface treatment could be determined. Temper was used as the initial sorting criterion because it is a recurring, recognizable characteristic which all sherds share. Furthermore, temper has proven to be invaluable in assigning ceramics to culturally and temporally meaningful categories from those stratigraphic excavations closest to the study area (Atkinson, Phillips, and Walling 1980; Jenkins 1981, 1982; Mann 1981).

Sherds that conform to an established type were identified. Those sherds that could not be assigned to a previously established type have been designated as "unclassified". In most cases inferences are made about the temporal or cultural association of the pottery types. These inferences are based on the discussion of morphologically similar artifacts from established sequences in the

lower Mississippi River Valley and the central Tombigbee River Valley. The assignment of an ethnic identity would be quite tenuous except for the consistent association of certain types with sites that have been historically documented as Choctaw settlements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The small sherd size, variation in sample size from site to site, lack of an excavated context, the effect of erosion on the individual sherds, and the lack of information on vessel form are factors that contribute to the appropriateness of assigning variety names to the sample. The type-variety system of ceramic classification has proven quite valuable in adjacent regions, but the detailed use of this method in east-central Mississippi must await a large, well-controlled excavated sample. In the interim, this analysis has attempted to make all categories explicit, with all perceived differences noted, with the conviction that these characteristics may prove to be chronologically sensitive or culturally significant as more data is generated. Hopefully, this format will promote an integration of this study into future research.

The sample is composed of collections from sites located during the sample survey of Kemper County; Mississippi Department of Archives and History Collections from 22-Ck-502, 22-Ck-505 in Clarke County and 22-Js-534, 22-Js-585 in Jasper County; and the Smithsonian Institution collections from 22-Ld-512 in Lauderdale County and 22-Ck-502 in Clarke County. The total sample consists of 1380 sherds.

In the laboratory all sherds were carefully washed and then sorted by size. Those sherds that could not pass through a 0.5 inch screen are the subject of this analysis. Those sherds smaller than 0.5 inch were counted but excluded from further examination.

Sherds from each site collection were initially sorted by temper. Each temper category was further segregated on the basis of decorative attributes. All artifacts received an individual catalogue number. If the morphological types were identified as previously described types and varieties in the literature, then these were utilized and referenced in the analysis.

Because the color of the pottery can change due to post-depositional factors, it is included in the analysis merely as a descriptive aid and is not intended as a sorting criterion. Similarly, measurements of sherd thickness were not standardized and are presented only to provide a general means of assessing the utilitarian nature of the type. Descriptive terminology for vessel size and morphological attributes conforms to definitions presented in Jenkins (1981) and Mann (1981).

Shell Tempered Ceramics

Crushed shell as a tempering agent is characteristic of a ceramic tradition that appears over a wide area of the southeast around 900 A.D. Shell tempered pottery, in association with other aspects of a distinctive "Middle Mississippian" horticultural lifestyle, first appeared in the central Tombigbee River Valley between 900 and 1000

A.D. (Jenkins 1981:59). These societies had skillful potters who produced shell tempered ceramics in an astounding variety of forms. Half of the 41 sites in the Kemper County survey area had at least one shell tempered sherd.

MISSISSIPPI PLAIN. The majority of the shell tempered sherds recovered from the survey area were a local variety of the undecorated type, Mississippi Plain. The few previous archaeological surveys within the historic Choctaw Homeland have all recovered plain shell tempered sherds from surface collections. All investigations have noted considerable variation within this type.

In a survey of the Tallahalla Reservoir area in Jasper County, Mississippi, undecorated shell tempered sherds were classified as Mississippi Plain, var. Wilson Pasture. This variety was defined as a smooth paste with small to medium particles of live shell. The investigations also defined another variety, Mississippi Plain, var. Como. This variety was defined as a smooth paste with small particles of live shell (Atkinson and Blakeman 1975:13-14). Another variation of Mississippi Plain, var. Enterprise, was recognized by Penman from sherds collected in Newton, Jasper, and Clarke counties, Mississippi. Variety Enterprise was defined solely on the presence of a "sandy paste" (Penman 1977:285-286). All of these variety designations were based on very small surface collections.

Although it is not known when Mississippi Plain was first utilized in southeastern Mississippi, the Choctaw manufactured vessels of Mississippi Plain until the middle of the nineteenth century (Williams 1981:116-118). Primary references for the type Mississippi Plain in this region are Phillips 1970:130-135; Jenkins 1981:70-72; Mann 1981:50-67; and Steponaitis 1983:312-314.

In the present sample three unnamed varieties of Mississippi Plain are recognized.

Variety A: Unburnished plain sherds tempered with coarse shell particles (N=112).
Paste: The majority of shell particles are from 1mm to 2mm in size. The measurement of shell particle size was not precise because in most sherds the shell has leached from the matrix. A very few sherds seem to have some sand in the paste.
Surface Finish: Smoothed, unburnished exterior and interior surfaces pitted with shallow angular cavities from which the shell has leached.
Color: The exterior surfaces are buff, brown to light grey; interior surfaces are brown to dark grey.
Thickness: The range is from a maximum of 12mm to a minimum of 4mm and an average of 7mm.
Rim and Vessel Form: A few sherds indicate large, simple bowls but the data are insufficient due to the small sherd size. Two rims from 22-Ck-502 had been scalloped by pinching the moist clay between the fingers. Each pinched scallop design is 12mm wide.
Comments: Variety A generally conforms to Atkinson and

Blakeman's var. Wilson Pasture.

Variety B: Burnished and unburnished plain sherds tempered with medium to fine shell particles (N=79).

Paste: The shell particles are less than 1mm. Frequently, the shell has leached from the paste and left the sherds quite porous in cross section.

Surface Finish: Both exterior and interior surfaces are well-smoothed, either burnished or unburnished, and usually lightly pitted from erosion. There are indications that the burnished finish can be removed by post-depositional weathering.

Color: Exterior surfaces are light brown to grey. The interior surfaces are usually darker than the exterior surfaces.

Thickness: The range is from a maximum of 7mm to a minimum of 3mm and an average of 5mm.

Rim and Vessel Form: There are insufficient data.

Comments: Unburnished variety B is similar to descriptions of var. Como. Burnished specimens generally conform to Bell Plain. Bell Plain is distinguished from Mississippi Plain on the basis of a polished or burnished surface treatment and finely crushed shell temper particles (Phillips 1970:58-61; Jenkins 1981:63-66; Mann 1981:41-43; Steponaitis 1983:305-307). Varieties of Bell Plain were produced from the Mississippi period until the nineteenth century (Schmitt and Bell 1954:Plate 9,N; Williams 1981:116-117).

Variety C: Unburnished plain sherds tempered with medium to fine shell particles (N=23).

Paste: A compact, well-fired paste with significant amounts of micaceous sand and hematite particles. The sand is very fine and silty but the hematite particles may be as large as 2mm.

Surface Finish: Exterior surfaces are rough, unburnished, and pitted with angular cavities from which the shell has leached. Interior surfaces are smoothed put pitted by erosion.

Color: All sherds are reddish-brown throughout. This color is perhaps a reaction of the high hematitic content of the clay to the method of firing the vessel.

Thickness: The range is from a maximum of 10mm to a minimum of 7mm.

Rim and Vessel Form: A rim sherd from 22-Ke-501 is plain except for a series of fine nicks on a rounded lip. The nicks are 1mm long and placed at 2mm intervals.

Comments: This variety is quite distinctive and easy to sort. Penman's description of var. Enterprise is too vague to determine if it is similar to variety C. As previously noted, some variety A sherds have a sandy texture but it is not micaceous sand nor are hematite particles present. Although the amount of sand or other physical properties in these varieties may not have been intentionally selected, subtle differences such as these may prove chronologically useful or spatially significant.

ALABAMA RIVER APPLIQUE (N=1). This type is decorated with strips of clay, nodes, or ornamental handles placed between the rim and shoulder portion of the vessel. In decorative treatment this type is similar to Campbell Applique of the lower Mississippi Valley (Phillips 1970:61), which is associated with the protohistoric Armorel Phase (Williams 1980:105-109).

In Alabama, Alabama River Applique first appears in the Late Mississippian and Protohistoric periods. This type is identified with the Alabama River phase in central Alabama (Cottier 1970; Sheldon 1974), and is also associated with a roughly contemporaneous, unnamed phase in the Black Warrior River Valley (Curren 1982). In the central Tombigbee Valey, this type is associated with two very similar phases: the Summerville IV phase (Mann 1981:30-35) and the Sorrells phase (Marshall 1977:57; Solis and Walling 1982:176-178). Both phases date from approximately A.D. 1450 to 1650.

Only one sherd of this type was found during the Kemper County Survey, at 22-Ke-561, the apparent site of the historic Choctaw village of Yanabi. On this sherd, applique strips 4mm wide were placed at 7mm intervals just below an excurvate rim. Vessel form could not be determined.

UNCLASSIFIED INCISED (N=3). Two sherds from 22-Ke-514 have a broad shallow line incised on a leather-hard, unpolished surface. One sherd from 22-Ke-510 has a single fine line incised on a hard, unpolished paste.

UNCLASSIFIED BRUSHED (N=2). Two sherds from 22-Ke-551 have an irregular, brushed surface finish. The sherds average 9mm thick and are tempered with coarse shell particles. Brushed shell tempered ceramics are rare in the central Tombigbee drainage. These sherds are morphologically similar to Grace Brushed (Brown 1978), a type formerly classified as a variety of Plaquemine Brushed (Phillips 1970:153).

Mixed Shell and Grog Tempered Ceramics

The ceramics placed in this category are tempered with crushed mussel shell and ground particles of potsherds in approximately equal amounts. In Jenkins' comprehensive ceramic chronology of the central Tombigbee River area based on a sample of 138,000 sherds, fewer than 100 were identified as mixed shell and grog tempered (Jenkins 1981:81). Therefore it was somewhat unexpected to find that 13 of 41 sites in the Kemper County survey yielded small amounts of mixed shell and grog tempered pottery (N=47).

At the Yarborough site (22-Cl-814) located in the Tombigbee drainage in Clay County, Mississippi, investigators recovered small amounts of unclassified mixed shell and grog tempered ceramics (Solis and Walling 1982:116). Man (1981:41-43, 51) reports mixed shell and grog tempered pottery from the Lubbub Creek Archaeological Locality on the Tombigbee River in Pickens County, Alabama. At both sites, this type comprises no more than a very small percentage of the total

ceramic assemblages.

The chronological position of the mixed shell and grog tempered ceramics is obscure but presumably postdates the appearance of the Mississippian cultural tradition in the region around A.D. 1000 and perhaps represents the acculturational influence of Mississippian ceramic technology on local Late Woodland groups.

UNCLASSIFIED MIXED SHELL AND GROG TEMPERED PLAIN (N=44).
Paste: The primary sorting criterion is the presence of both shell and grog temper in abundant quantities. There is considerable variation in temper size. One variation has coarse shell and grog particles up to 2mm in size. The other variation has a compact paste with large amounts of small shell and grog particles no larger than 1mm.
Surface Finish: Both variations have an unpolished, poorly smoothed surface. Some specimens exhibit tooling or scaping marks. Shallow cavities from which shell has leached are present on both surfaces.
Color: The exterior surfaces are light brown to dark grey. Interior surfaces are darker.
Thickness: The range is from a maximum of 11mm to a minimum of 8 mm.
Rim and Vessel Form: There are insufficient data. The thickness of the sherds suggest large utilitarian vessels.
Comments: This material looks like Mississippi Plain with an addition of abundant grog temper.

UNCLASSIFIED INCISED (N=3). Three mixed shell and grog tempered sherds are similar to the category described above except for a single fine line incised on the exterior surface when the paste was almost dry.

Clay/Grog Tempered Ceramics

Pottery tempered with prepared clay or crushed potsherds (grog) comprises the predominant temper group in the survey ceramic sample. Grog tempered ceramics first appeared in the central Tombigbee River Valley during the Miller II phase around A.D. 300. Grog tempering increased in frequency over sand tempering until it comprised as much as 70% of the pottery in some Miller III phase components between A.D. 700 to 900 (Jenkins 1981:26).

In the lower Mississippi Valley, grog tempering has a much longer history of use. Prepared clay or grog was first utilized in the Tchefuncte ceramic series perhaps as early as the middle of the first millenium B.C. The use of such temper continued through later prehistoric times and into the historic period, as seen in the pottery of the Choctaw, Natchez, and other historic American Indian societies.

Plain pottery, because it lacks distinguishing decorative attributes, is quite difficult to sort into meaningful categories without a large, well-controlled sample. Rather than attempt to

assign type names to the sherds considered here, plain grog tempered sherds have been separated into two unclassified morphological types on the basis of grog particle size. Although there is some variation within these two categories, particle size was the one attribute that permitted the creation of mutually exclusive types. If future research indicates that particle size is not useful for chronological ordering nor culturally significant, then it may be disregarded without any information loss.

UNCLASSIFIED COARSE GROG TEMPERED PLAIN (N=11).
Paste: Grog temper particles are very abundantly distributed throughout the matrix and range from 1mm to 3mm in size. Several sherds have a small amount of sand in the paste.
Surface Finish: Surfaces are unburnished and lumpy. Grog particles are visible on both surfaces.
Color: The sherds are a uniform brown, dark brown, or black.
Thickness: The maximum is 9mm and the minimum is 5mm.
Rim and Vessel Form: There are insufficient data.
Comments: These sherds are probably a local variety of Baytown Plain (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin 1951:76-82; Phillips 1970:47-61). Although the sand content in some of these sherds may be due to environmental rather than social factors, the changing ratio of sand to grog temper has proven to be chronologically significant in defining local phases of the Woodland Miller sequence in the central Tombigbee Valley (Jenkins 1981:87-91). The sample considered here is morphologically most similar to Baytown Plain, var. Roper. This variety was established by Jenkins to separate plain body sherds with dense grog and a small amount of sand from plain body sherds with sparse grog but large quantities of sand in the paste (var. Tishomingo). These varieties of Baytown Plain were previously defined as Tishomingo Plain (Jennings 1941:201).

The few previous archaeological investigations in the Pascagoula River drainage of southeastern Mississippi have all noted the considerable local variation in Baytown Plain (Atkinson and Blakeman 1975:15; Marshall 1982:30-32).

UNCLASSIFIED FINE GROG TEMPERED PLAIN (N=591). Classification of this type is complicated by the difficulty in sorting plain body sherds of the late prehistoric and early historic periods in southern Mississippi. The fine grog tempered pottery recovered by the survey could be assigned to several existing types such as Addis Plain (formerly Baytown Plain var. Addis), Bell Plain var. Holly Bluff, or var. St. Catherine. One reason for the sorting difficulty is the variability of the tempering agents within each of these types and within the sample considered here. For instance, Phillips describes Bell Plain var. Holly Bluff as:

> ... normally tempered with finely pulverized shell, but other inclusions (?) may also be present...often the shell appears to have leached (or burned?) out completely, leaving a vesicular laminated paste structure easy to identify. But there are still other cases in which you can see neither shell or cells left by its leaching; the general character of the paste then becomes very similar to that of the Addis variety of Baytown Plain (Phillips 1970:60).

The description of Baytown Plain var. Addis, a ware first associated with the historic Natchez by Quimby (1942:265-266), implies that it cannot be separated from Bell Plain var. Holly Bluff on the basis of paste alone because "... there are no reliable criteria for sorting this variety" (Phillips 1970:49). Descriptions of Bell Plain var. St. Catherine, the type-variety designation of Quimby's Fatherland Plain, indicate an identical paste morphology to the types and varieties mentioned above (Phillips 1970:61).

However, these similarities do not imply that the types and varieties mentioned above cannot be sorted. During the past ten years archaeologists have refined the Plaquemine ceramic chronology in the Natchez area and have resolved some of these ambiguities (Brain, Brown, and Steponaitis n.d.). Recently Ian Brown has designated variable tempered paste as "...heterogenous organic tempered (Addis Plain). A lot of different materials (charcoal, bone, sand, etc.) were thrown into the latter pottery as temper and this variable paste is typical of the Plaquemine culture" (Brown 1978).

The fine grog tempered pottery is described below.

> Paste: The primary sorting criterion is a hard, compact, well-fired paste with finely crushed grog temper less than 1mm in size. Fine grog is predominant and always present. However, a large percentage of the sample has some micaceous sand in the paste. In perhaps 30% of the sample there is evidence of small amounts of finely pulverized shell in the paste. Tiny flecks of carbonized material are often visible in cross-section. The variable temper is equivalent to Brown's "heterogenous organic tempered".
>
> Surface Finish: There are three variations in surface finish. One variation has well-smoothed but unburnished exterior and interior surfaces. The second variation is a well-smoothed, polished or burnished surface. Ten sherds were recovered that are red-slipped. It is evident from examining the sherds that slipped or burnished finishes are subject to removal by post-depositional weathering. The surface texture ranges from midly abrasive to smooth depending on the sand content.
>
> Color: The colors range from reddish-tan, light brown, dark brown to dark grey or nearly black. Tan and grey-brown are predominate. Sherds are usually a dark grey in cross-section.
>
> Thickness: The maximum is 9mm, the minimum is 4mm and the average is 7mm.

Rim and Vessel Form: Modern agricultural practices have reduced most of the sherds to small fragments and thus it is difficult to reconstruct vessel shape or size. Despite the large sample size, only ten plain rim sherds were recovered. This suggests the possibility that a percentage of the sample comes from the plain portion of decorated vessels.
Comments Although there is considerable variation within this unclassified plain ware, morphologically it is closest to varieties of Addis Plain (Steoponaitis 1981:7-9).

UNCLASSIFIED BLACK PAINTED (N=1). One black painted sherd was recovered from site 22-Ke-527. The paste is well-fired, compact, and tempered with very fine grog and a small amount of shell. The sherd is 4mm thick, smoothed on both surfaces, but weathering has removed some of the pigment.

KEMPER COMBED (N=107). This provisional type is a grog tempered version of sand tempered Chickachae Combed.

Paste: A very hard, compact, well-fired paste tempered with very finely crushed grog, but small amounts of micaceous sand, finely crushed shell, and flecks of carbonized material are frequently present. The paste is equivalent to Unclassified Fine Grog Plain (Addis Plain).
Surface Finish: Both exterior and interior surfaces are carefully smoothed. A burnished or polished exterior surface is common but it is evident that weathering has removed this finish from some sherds. The primary sorting criterion is multiple, parallel fine lines applied with a comb-like implement when the surface is nearly dry. The lines are applied in bands of 3 to 10 lines each. The bands range from 3 to 15mm wide. Decorative motifs are identical to Chickachae Combed, a sand tempered ceramic type to be described later.
Color: Colors range from reddish-brown to dark brown, light grey to black. Sherds are usually dark grey in cross-section.
Thickness: The maximum is 10mm, the minimum is 3.5mm, and the average is 6mm.
Rim and Vessel Form: The predominant rim form is an everted exterior surface. A beveled lip meeting a straight-sided exterior surface and a flattened, thickened rim also occur. Two rims have a series of fine nicks incised on the lip. The only known vessel shape is a simple bowl form as described for Chickachae Combed. There are no handles or appendages indicated in the sample.
Comments: Kemper Combed must be considered a provisional type because the small sample size prevents an adequate description of vessel form or an accurate definition of its full temporal and spatial range. The small size of most sherds makes it difficult to reconstruct decorative motifs. Attempts to separate sherds

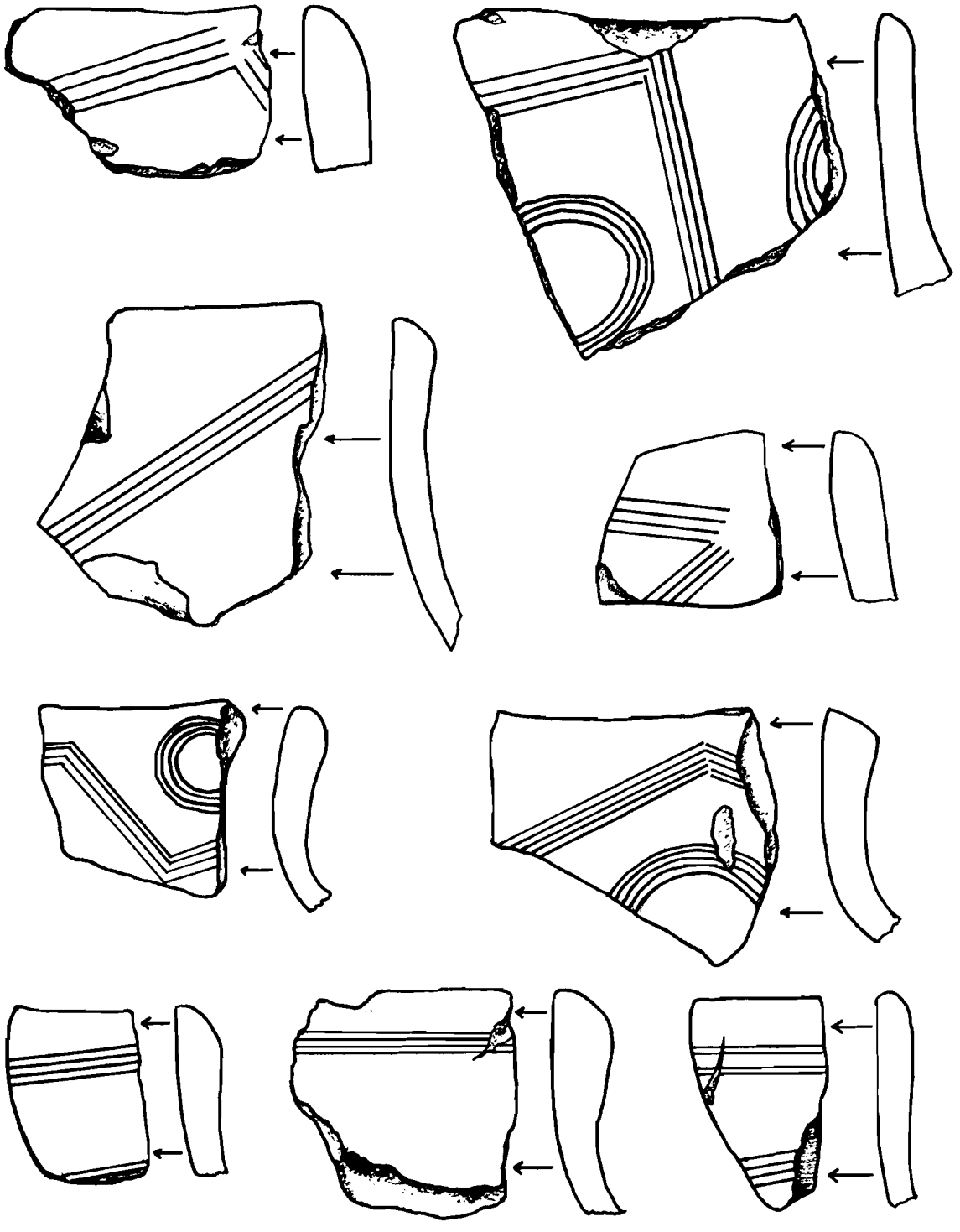


Figure 4. Examples of Kemper Combed (actual size).

into rectilinear or curvilinear varieties could be affected by sherd size since none are large enough to show the entire motif.

Kemper Combed is identical to Chickachae Combed in surface treatment and decoration. It cannot be classified as Chickachae Combed because it is grog tempered, while Chickachae Combed has long been defined as sand tempered (Haag 1953:25). Kemper Combed morphologically overlaps with the original published descriptions of Bayou Goula Incised (Quimby 1942:264-265; 1957:126). This type has recently been reclassified as Fatherland Incised var. Bayou Goula (Brown 1978). As it is presently defined, the incised lines of Bayou Goula are not combed, so it would be inappropriate to classify Kemper Combed as this type.

The combed ceramics from the Nick Plantation in Louisiana discussed by Ford (1936:48-49) and Haag (1953:27) and designated as Chickachae Combed var. Nick by Phillips (1970:66) conform to Kemper Combed. The Nick Plantation material is associated with historic period burials that Ford believed were Choctaws who moved to the area from Mississippi after 1820. Phillips separated var. Nick from var. Chickachae because the former has no sand in the paste. However, to follow Phillips' own rule of sortability, differences in temper should be a major sorting criterion when dealing with the same decorative motif on more than one type. This is a rule he admittedly found difficult to follow (Phillips 1970:26-27). Considering the strong possibility that the Nick Plantation artifacts represent a nineteenth-century site unit intrusion from the Choctaw Homeland, and in view of the fact that Kemper Combed is a commonly occurring type on historic Choctaw sites in Mississippi, Chickachae Combed var. Nick is no longer an appropriate designation and is now encompassed by Kemper Combed. Examples of Kemper Combed are illustrated in Figure 4.

FATHERLAND INCISED (N=127). Fatherland Incised was one of serveral types first described by Quimby as associated with late prehistoric and early historic "Natchezan" sites in Mississippi and Louisiana (Quimby 1942:263-264). Phillips subsumed Quimby's Fatherland Incised, Natchez Incised, and Bayou Goula Incised into varieties of Leland Incised (Phillips 1970:104-107). In the 1970s, intensive fieldwork by Harvard University archaeologists necessitated further refinement of the ceramic chronology (Brown 1978; Brain, Brown, and Steponaitis n.d.). Fatherland Incised and Leland Incised were divided on stylistic criteria:

> Fatherland Incised...was very closely related to, and stylistically an outgrowth of, Leland Incised. The two exhibit generally similar decorative motifs, yet differ in the attribute of line width: 2mm or less in Fatherland Incised, and greater than 2mm in Leland Incised (Steponaitis 1981:9).

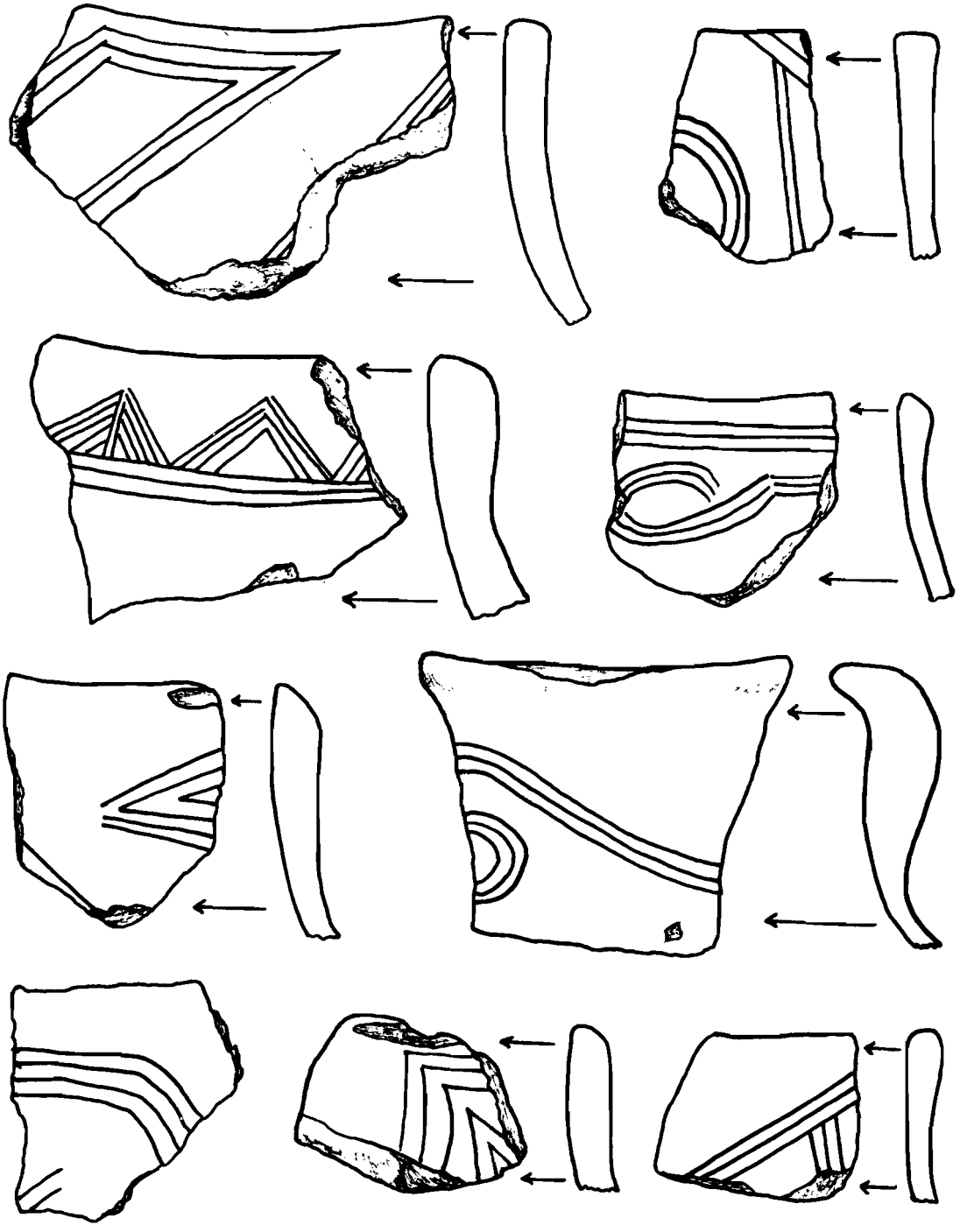


Figure 5. Examples of Fatherland Incised (actual size).

Through the years, the attribute of individually incised lines has slowly become incorporated into the definition of Chickachae Combed. But on the basis of the fieldwork reported here and the examination of other relevant collections, the grog tempered sherds with individually incised lines are interpreted in this study as a variety of Fatherland Incised. The sample is described below.

Paste: Predominantly a fine grog temper as described for Unclassified Fine Grog Tempered Plain (Addis Plain).
Surface Finish: Both exterior and interior surfaces are well smoothed. Approximately 20% of the sherds have burnished or polished exterior surfaces and erosion has probably removed this finish from many other specimens. The decorative technique is a fine line incision less than 1mm in width, individually applied with a sharp pointed tool when the paste was almost dry. Both curvilinear and rectilinear designs occur. The most common motif is two or three parallel lines incised parallel to and just below the rim. From this upper band, a series of two to five lines are incised diagonally at intervals across the upper two-thirds of the vessel in meander or scroll patterns. Another variation consists of a band of parallel lines incised in a zigzag pattern. Occasionally small chevrons or line-filled triangles were applied below a band of lines beneath the rim. Two sherds seem to have a dark pigment rubbed into the incised lines. Several of the designs on whole Fatherland Incised bowls recovered at the Fatherland site are indicated in this sample (Neitzel 1965:Figure 19).
Color: The range is from tan, reddish-brown to dark brown, light grey to black. Sherds are usually dark grey in cross-section.
Thickness: The maximum is 10mm, the minimum is 4mm and the average is 6mm.
Rim and Vessel Form: This type has a greater range of rim and vessel forms than Kemper Combed or Chickachae Combed. An everted lip meeting a straight-sided or slightly incurvate exterior, the common rim form for both combed types, occurs frequently on this type. A flattened or slightly rounded lip is also present. Simple, shallow bowls and cylindrical bowls are the vessel forms implied from the larger rim sherds. One large sherd is from a shallow, flaring-rim bowl. Several sherds also suggest some kind of jar form. There is no indication of handles or appendages in the sample. Comments: The same decorative motifs that are individually incised on Fatherland Incised are present on Chickachae Combed and Kemper Combed. The type Fatherland Incised is expanded in this description to include rectilinear motifs (bands of lines in zigazg or chevron patterns). The association of Fatherland Incised with historic American Indian sites in the lower Mississippi Valley is well established (Neitzel 1965:45-47). It is an important type in the Emerald phase (A.D. 1500-1682) and the Natchez phase (A.D. 1682-1729) in the Natchez region (Steoponaitis 1981:7). South of Natchez, Fatherland

Incised occurs on seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century sites in southeastern Louisiana (Quimby 1957:123; Davis 1981:87). In southeastern Mississippi, small excavations in Clarke and Jackson counties have recovered ceramics reported as Leland Incised that appear similar to the sample described in this study as Fatherland Incised (Marshall 1982a:37; 1982b:33). Examples of Fatherland Incised are illustrated in Figure 5.

UNCLASSIFIED NICKED RIM INCISED (N=47).
Paste: The temper consists of fine grog particles but some sherds have particles greater than 1mm.
Surface Treatment: This morphological type has two distinctive attributes: (1) a series of nicks or shallow punctations 1mm to 3mm wide, placed on the exterior lip edge of the vessel; (2) multiple parallel lines incised vertically from the rim nicks. The lines are fine, less than 1mm wide, and widely-spaced.
Color: The color ranges form tan to grey to black.
Thickness: The sherds averaged 6mm thick.
Rim and Vessel Form: Rim forms are either slightly excurvate with rounded, thickened lips or straight with flattened lips. Several sherds also have interior rim nicks but no interior incised lines. Vessel form could not be determined.
Comments: There are several sherds described under Unclassified Fine Sand Tempered Incised that exhibit identical surface treatment. Both grog tempered and sand tempered sherds with these attributes occur as a consistent minority in surface collections from historic Choctaw sites. Examples are illustrated in Figure 7. Rim area punctations and lines incised vertically from the rim are common ceramic attributes in the Protohistoric period across the central Gulf Costal Plain.

UNCLASSIFIED ENGRAVED (N=4). Three sherds are equivalent to Fatherland Incised in every way except that the fine line decoration was engraved into a completely dry or post-fired surface. One other rim sherd from 22-Ke-556 has an excurvate lip meeting a straight-sided exterior surface. The decoration consists of a series of engraved checks or rectangles applied in a band immediately below the rim. Three fine parallel lines intersect this band and extend diagonally down the side of the vessel. The surfaces of all four sherds have a lustrous, burnished finish.

UNCLASSIFIED RECTILINEAR INCISED (N=2). One large rim sherd is from 22-Ke-525, the suspected site of Yashu Iskatini, an eighteenth-century Choctaw settlement. The vessel form is a small, shallow bowl. The temper is predominantly grog, but a small amount of finely crushed shell was added to the paste. A series of thin nicks are placed at 3mm intervals along the edge of a flattened, incurvate rim. Immediately below the rim are a series of nested, stepped

rectangles composed of fine incised lines. Another sherd has a smooth paste that was deeply incised with four parallel lines in a wet paste.

UNCLASSIFIED ZONED INCISED (N=4). Two sherds are lightly decorated within an area zoned by a single trailed incision. Because of erosion, it is difficult to tell if the decoration is brushing or stamping. One sherd from 22-Ld-512 is decorated with a fine, line-filled crescent and a finely nicked rim.

MULBERRY CREEK CORDMARKED (N=4). All of these sherds are tempered with sparse grog or clay particles in a sandy paste. The sherds average 4mm thick. Cord impressions average 2mm wide and were deeply impressed into the damp paste. The color is a reddish-brown throughout.

This type is defined as a cordmarked decoration on grog or clay tempered pottery (Haag 1939:17; Phillips, Ford, and Griffin 1951:82-87; Phillips 1970:136-139). It has considerable temporal and spatial distribution in Mississippi and adjacent areas. In the central Tombigbee River drainage, Mulberry Creek Cordmarked evolved from the sand tempered Furrs Cordmarked between 600 and 700 A.D. to become the dominant type of the Late Woodland Miller III ceramic complex (Jenkins 1981;99-102; Mann 1981:110-111). On the lower Tombigbee River this temper change apparently did not occur, and the cordmarked pottery remained sand tempered (Jenkins 1982:268).

The small sample size of Late Woodland ceramics can possibly be explained by environmental factors that influenced Late Woodland settlement patterns. The survey area is located away from the larger river floodplains that provided Late Woodland populations with diverse and concentrated food resources (Jenkins 1982:105-111).

Previous research indicates a considerable variation in Mulberry Creek Cordmarked pottery in southeastern Mississippi (Conn 1978:30; Marshall 1982a:40-41; 1982b:32). A distinctive, lightly cordmarked pottery, var. Tallahalla, has been recovered from several sites within the Pascagoula River drainage (Atkinson and Blakeman 1975:16).

Sand Tempered Ceramics

Sand was one of the earliest materials used to temper pottery on the Gulf Coastal Plain. In southeastern Mississippi, the earliest known sand tempered ceramics are the Bayou La Batre series (Wimberly 1960:64-68; Marshall 1982:32-33); and the Alexander series (Haag 1939:7; Ford and Quimby 1945:64; Phillips 1970:37-38; Jenkins 1981:114-119). Both of these ceramic series represent indigenous ceramic traditions that began in the middle of the first millennium B.C. during the Gulf Formational Stage, an intermediate cultural development between the Late Archaic and Middle Woodland periods (Walthall and Jenkins 1976).

The archaeology of southeastern Mississippi is too poorly known to determine the full temporal span of sand tempered pottery within the region. In northeastern Mississippi, sand was an important

tempering agent until late prehistoric times when grog tempered and shell tempered wares were favored. After a brief hiatus in the Mississippian Period, sand tempering again became important during protohistoric/early historic times (Jennings 1941;176-178; Stubbs 1982). Whether a similar pattern occurred in southeastern Mississippi is not known, but by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Choctaw were making sand tempered plain and Chickachae Combed vessels as an important part of their ceramic complex.

No type names were assigned to plain sand tempered sherds from the survey area because plain body sherds provide few reliable morphological criteria for placement into established types, particularly when the sample is from multicomponent surface collections. This sample has been divided on the basis of sand grain size into two general categories: fine sand temper and coarse sand/grit temper. Particle size was an attribute that permitted the creation of mutually exclusive types. Whether or not this attribute is chronologically or spatially significant is not known.

UNCLASSIFIED COARSE SAND/GRIT TEMPERED PLAIN (N=17).

Paste: The primary sorting criterion is a hard paste tempered with sand and angular quartz grit up to 1mm in size. Hematite particle inclusions occur in the clay. Surface Finish: Both surfaces are smoothed, unburnished and very rough to the touch.
Color: The sherds are a uniform reddish-tan.
Thickness: The average thickness is 8mm.
Rim and Vessel Form: There are no data.
Comments: This kind of pottery is limited to three sites in the survey area, characterized by lithic scatters and stemmed projectile points. One the basis of this indirect association, it is suspected that this pottery dates to the Late Gulf Formational period.

UNCLASSIFIED COARSE SAND/GRIT TEMPERED INCISED (N=1). One sherd from 22-Ke-509 was similar to the above category except for three incised parallel lines, each 1mm wide.

UNCLASSIFIED FINE SAND TEMPERED PLAIN (N=87).

Paste: The primary sorting criterion is a dense, compact paste tempered with very fine sand less than 1mm in size.
Surface Finish: Both exterior and interior surfaces are smoothed but not burnished. The texture ranges from smooth to the touch to the consistancy of fine sandpaper. Three red-slipped sherds are included in the sample.
Color: The colors range from light brown to grey to black.
Thickness: The maximum is 9mm, the minimum 5mm, and the average is 7mm.
Rim and Vessel Form: Two rim sherds have a series of nicks 2mm long closely spaced on both inner and outer lip edges. One rim has a flattened lip on a slightly incurvate rim. One sherd from

22-Ck-502 has a series of nodes or bosses just beneath the rim, a common attribute of the Alexander series. Vessel shapes could not be determined.

Comments: These sherds could probably be classified into several existing types including O'Neal Plain (Haag 1939), Baldwin Plain (Jennings 1941:200), McLeod Plain (Wimberly 1960:134-135), and therefore could span a very long period of time from ca. 600 B.C. to A.D. 1850 in the case of plain, sand tempered Choctaw vessels (Schmitt and Bell 1954: Plate 9, o,q).

CHICKACHAE COMBED (N=41). In 1925, Henry B. Collins of the Bureau of American Ethnology investigated a number of sites in southeastern Mississippi (Collins 1926). He was particularly interested in the relationship between the historic Choctaw and prehistoric cultures of the area. During visits to several historic Choctaw sites located with the aid of eighteenth century documents and the research of Henry S. Halbert (1901, 1902), Collins found a recurring ceramic type. Collins described this pottery as:

> ... of a hard uniform texture and ... usually tempered with sand so fine that it can hardly be detected by the unaided eye. Both inner and outer surfaces are smooth and sometimes rather highly polished ... the decoration was largely confined to the upper part of the vessel ... this decoration, which is the most important and characteristic feature of the pottery, consists of straight or curved bands made of finely incised parallel lines. These bands, formed usually by five or six lines, range in width from about 5 to 10 millimeters. The uniform distance between the lines, as well as their uniform depth, shows that they were made by trailing a fine comb-like implement across the surface of the vessel while it was still soft [Collins 1927:262].

Collins concluded that the "banded type" was manufactured by the historic Choctaw. He noted the presence of other kinds of pottery, including pottery decorated by individually incised lines.

Nine years later, James Ford (1936:40-49) relied primarily on Collins' work to define a Choctaw pottery "complex" that consisted of only one type. He described and compared Collins' sample from the historic villages of Chicachae (Chickasawhay) and Ponta (Coosha or Kusha) with material from Nanih Waiya, Mississippi, and from Nick Plantation, Louisiana. Ford's description of the type matched Collins' except that Ford incorporated the individually incised line material into the type description. This pottery type was first named Chickachae Combed by Quimby in his report on excavations at early historic American Indian sites in Louisiana. He defined two similar types, Fatherland Incised and Bayou Goula Incised, which was associated with the historic "Natchez culture type." He noted that Fatherland Incised and particularly Bayou Goula Incised were

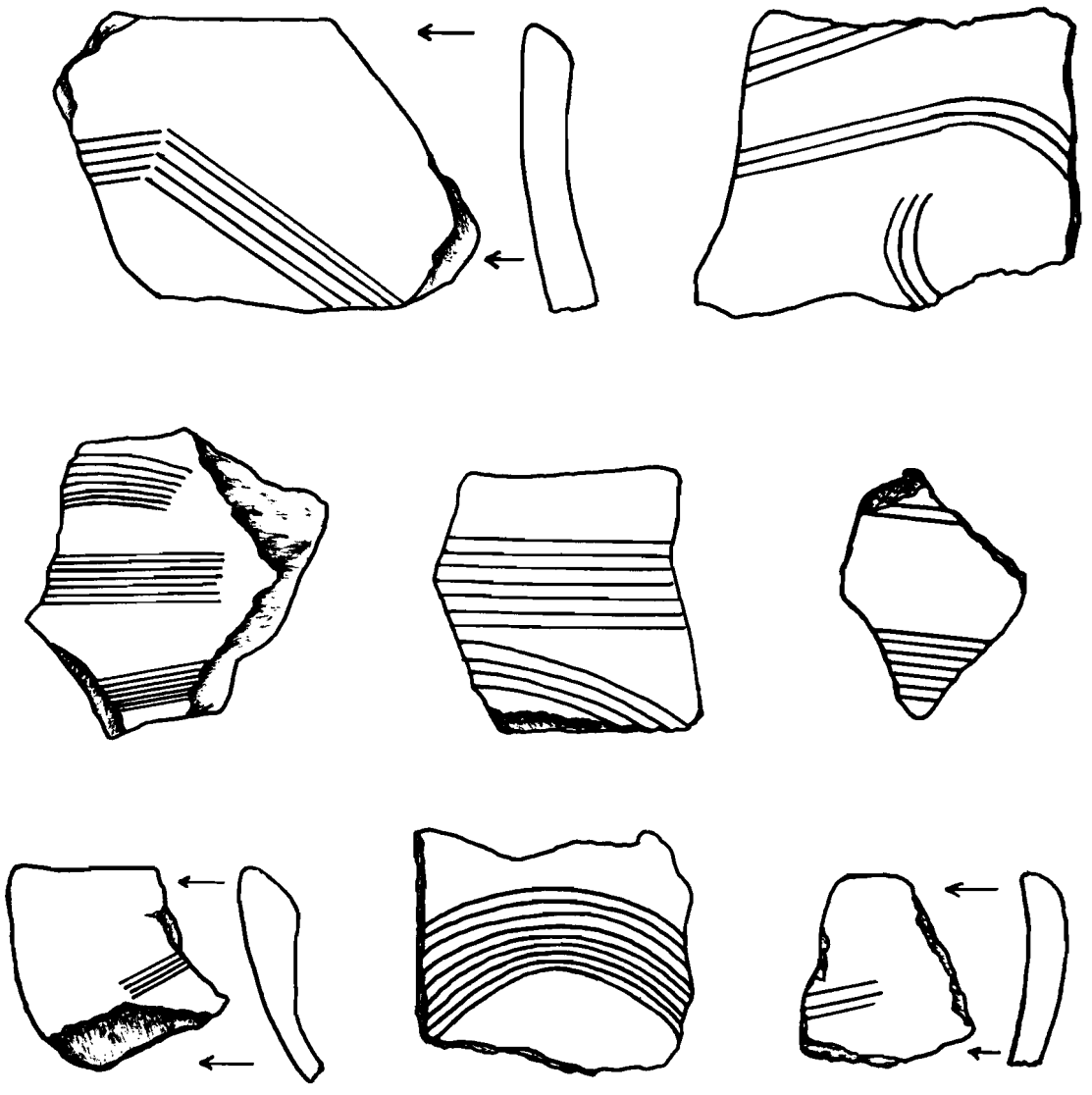


Figure 6. Examples of Chickachae Combed (actual size).

frequently decorated by combing (Quimby 1942:264). Quimby's criterion for separating Chickachae Combed from the other two types was the greater sand content of the paste and the number and thinness of the lines. He also included individually incised lines as an attribute of Chickachae Combed. He concluded that the similarity between Chickachae Combed and Bayou Goula Incised implied a cultural relationship between the two types (Quimby 1942:264-265).

Haag (1953) published the first formal description of Chickachae Combed, which he defined as sand tempered. He too includes individually incised lines as a minor decorative technique. Later, Chickachae Combed was incorporated into the type-variety system by Phillips (1970:65-66). He established var. Chickachae for the combed and incised sandy textured ware from southeastern Mississippi. Chickachae Combed sherds from the historic burials at the Nick Plantation in Louisiana do not have a sandy paste and so were designated var. Nick.

In the mid-1970s, John Penman of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History located several historic Choctaw settlements in Newton, Clarke, and Jasper counties, Mississippi. From this sample, Penman established new varieties of Chickachae Combed. He reserved Phillips' var. Chickachae for "simple angular or rectilinear designs" exclusively; var. Chickasaswhay was established for curvilinear designs; and var. Jasper designated incising or combing in combination or exclusively incising (Penman 1977:238). Penman referred to Chickachae Combed as a sandy paste type.

It has been necessary to present this short history of the concept of Chickachae Combed not only to relate the pottery in the present study to previous work but also to point out several problems with the typology as it now exists. There is no need to continue the practice of lumping pottery with individually incised lines under a variety of Chickachae Combed. Individually incised sand tempered sherds should be placed into an unclassified type status until sufficient information is available to establish a new formal type. Pottery with individually incised lines on a paste equivalent to Addis Plain is just as prevalent as combed ceramics on historic Choctaw sites, and it is properly classified as Fatherland Incised. To classify pottery as Chickachae Combed when it is incised will only obscure a perceived relationship between the early historic Plaquemine types (Natchez phase) and the historic Choctaw ceramics. Sand tempered Chickachae Combed is identical to fine grog tempered Kemper Combed except for the tempering material. The sample from this study is described below.

Paste: A very hard, compact, well-fired paste tempered with very fine, frequently micaceous sand. Sometimes flecks of carbonized material are visible in cross-section.
Surface Finish: Both exterior and interior surfaces are carefully smoothed. A burnished or polished exterior surface is common but it is evident that weathering has removed this luster from some sherds. Five sherds from 22-Ck-502 are red-slipped.

Neither the stonewares nor the porcelain sherds are temporally or spatially diagnostic. The fine decorated earthenwares can be assigned to a period from about 1790 to 1850 (South 1972).

Glass

A total of 23 glass sherds, ranging in color from light green to dark olive green, were recovered by surface collection. Unfortunately, the only vessel fragments large enough to be identified are one neck and three base portions of dark olive green bottles. The neck portion has a broad, v-shaped string rim 3mm below the lip. The three base sherds are all from round-sectioned bottles with deep, concave kicks. These traits are typical of British wine or spirit bottles of the middle to late eighteenth century (Hume 1970:62-68; Brown 1971:105-106 Figure 5 d,e). Glass artifacts from Choctaw sites in Mississippi are illustrated in Figure 8.

GLASS SCRAPERS. Three glass bottle sherds had been knapped along one edge for use as scrapers. A series of flakes were removed by pressure applied to the interior edge. The resulting tool would have been excellent for scraping deer skins, an item which the Choctaw and other American Indian groups traded to the French in enormous quantities during the 1700s (Hudson 1976:435-437). Glass scrapers are relatively common on historic American Indian sites (Griffin 1949; Fairbanks 1952:299; Quimby 1966).

BEAD. Among the earliest and most common items of trade that the Indians received from the European colonists were glass beads for personal adornment. Several Kemper County residents remembered finding beads while plowing the sites on their land and some people still retain these in their possession.

Only one bead was found during the survey. It is a dark blue, drawn bead 1.3cm long and .8cm in diameter; oval with rounded ends and of simple construction. This bead corresponds to variety 11A6 in the recent typology from burials at a Tunica village in Louisiana. This bead type is most frequently associated with early to middle eighteenth-century sites (Brain 1979:102).

Gunflints

The Choctaw first acquired flintlock firearms from the French about 1702, after they had suffered several attacks from the Chickasaw who had been armed by the British (Woods 1980:37). Although flintlock firearms were in common use on the frontier until the middle 1800s, the three gunflints recovered during the survey exhibit characteristics that have chronological significance (Figure 8).

The earliest gunflint is a yellowish-brown, wedge-shaped spall struck from a core and knapped by the "Clactonian" technique (Witthoft 1966:25-28). These wedge-shaped spall gunflints have been labeled

The primary sorting criterion is multiple, parallel fine lines applied with a comb-like implement when the surface was nearly dry. The lines were applied in bands of 3 to 7 lines each. The bands range from 3 to 12mm wide and appear to be confined to the upper two-thirds of the vessel. Because sherd sizes are small, it is difficult to interpret decorative motifs. The most common motif consists of two or more parallel bands that form curvilinear scrolls or meanders; or bands that meet to form a rectilinear pattern or a combination of curvilinear and rectilinear patterns. Individually incised line-filled triangles sometimes occur immediately above or below a straight band of combed lines. This motif is placed just below the rim of the vessel.

Color: The colors range from buff, reddish-brown to dark brown, light grey to black. Sherds are usually dark grey in cross-section.

Thickness: The maximum is 10mm, the minimum is 4mm, and the average is 6mm.

Rim and Vessel Form: The predominant rim form is an everted lip meeting a straight-sided exterior surface. The only vessel form that can be inferred is a simple, straight-sided to slightly incurvate rim bowl without handles or appendages.

Comments: Admittedly, it is not always easy to tell if the decorative treatment is combing or individual lines incised with a single pointed implement. However, the uniform spacing of the lines is the primary indication of combed designs. Previous variety names that divided Chickachae Combed into rectilinear or curvilinear varieties have not been used. Unless very large sherds or whole vessels are available one cannot tell if rectilinear or curvilinear designs were used exclusively or in combination. Combinations of rectilinear and curvilinear designs are quite common and are found on whole Chickachae Combed vessels taken to Oklahoma from Mississippi by the Choctaw in the 1830s (Schmitt and Bell 2954: Plate 9, J-M). Examples of Chicachae Combed are illustrated in Figure 6.

UNCLASSIFIED FINE SAND TEMPERED INCISED (N=53). Undoubtedly a number of types from several cultural traditions have been lumped together into this category. This is because most sherds are too small to permit type identification. Two general morphological variations are present in the sample. One variation has interior and exterior lip nicks and multiple, parallel lines incised vertically down the exterior surface. These lines are spaced an average of 10mm apart. These are sand tempered versions of the fine grog tempered Unclassified Nicked Rim Incised type previously described. The second category consists of fourteen sherds with multiple, parallel fine lines incised closely together on an almost dry paste. The sherds are too small to identify the decorative motif. These two variations are probably the same type as represented by sherds from different parts of the vessel. No rim sherds were found for this variation.

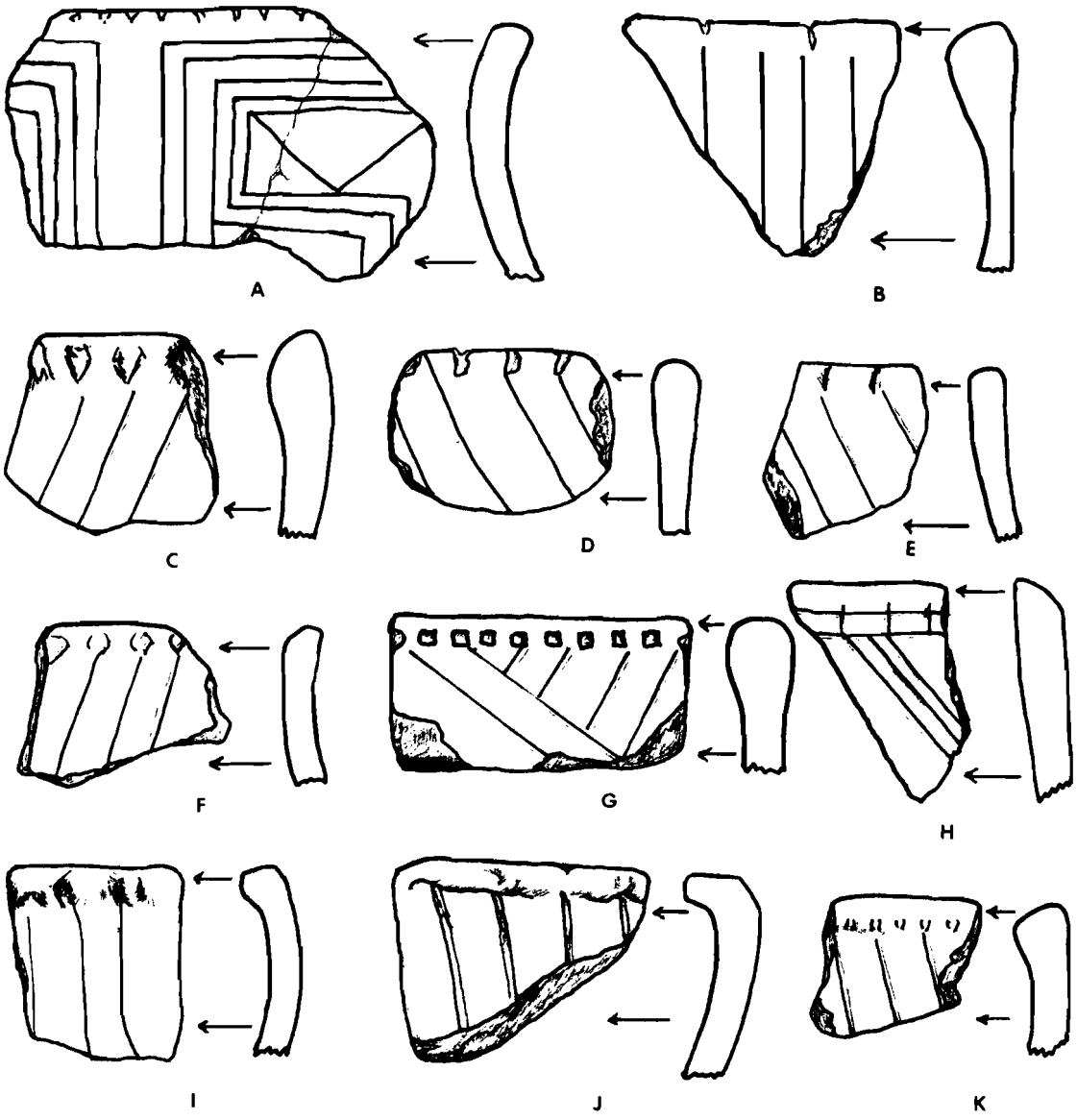


Figure 7. Miscellaneous ceramics from Kemper County sites: A-H grog tempered; I-K sand tempered.

One specimen from 22-Ke-514 has a right angle everted lip with fine nicks on the inner and outer edges. A broad trailed line was incised beneath and parallel to the rim. Two sherds from 22-Ck-502 have nested rectilinear designs suggestive of Alexander Incised.

UNCLASSIFIED FINE SAND TEMPERED PUNCTATED (N=2). One sherd from 22-Ke-512 was decorated with a single line of punctations made with a blunt instrument in a wet paste. The instrument was applied at an angle to the exterior surface, which caused the clay to fold over on one side of each punctation.

FURRS CORDMARKED (N=1). This type is defined as sand tempered pottery with a cordmarked surface treatment (Jennings 1941:199-200). In the central Tombigbee River drainage, it is a major type of the Middle Woodland Miller I and II phases, but declines in frequency during the Late Woodland Miller III phase when Mulberry Creek Cordmarked becomes dominant (Jenkins 1981:132). On the lower Tombigbee River this transition to a dominance of grog temper did not take place and Furrs Cormarked continued to be an important Late Woodland type (Jenkins 1982:268). Small amounts of sand tempered cordmarked pottery have been found further west in the Pascagoula River drainage of southeastern Mississippi (Conn 1978:36).

Fiber Tempered Ceramics

One sherd of plain fiber tempered pottery was collected from 22-Ke-509. Fiber tempered ceramics are the earliest known pottery to be produced on the Gulf Coastal Plain (ca. 1000 B.C. to 500 B.C.) and are characteristic of the Middle Gulf Formational period (Jenkins 1982:49-60). The fiber tempered Wheeler series has been radiocarbon dated at 1150±110 B.C. at the Claiborne site on the Mississippi Gulf Coast (Gagliano 1963). Previous surveys in southeastern Mississippi suggest that fiber tempered ceramics are widely distributed throughout the region.

Miscellaneous Ceramics

In the Tombigbee River Drainage, pottery tempered with particles of petrified wood have been reported from two sites, both located in Clay County, Mississippi. Petrified wood inclusions were found in a few bone and grog tempered sherds at the Kellogg Village site in what was assumed to be a Woodland Miller II phase context (Atkinson et al. 1980:129). Fifteen petrified wood tempered sherds were recovered at the Yarborough site (Solis and Walling 1982:96-97). One sherd collected from 22-Ke-555 has moderate amounts of petrified wood particles up to 3mm long in a sandy paste. No other tempering agent is visible. Petrified wood is commonly exposed on eroded slopes of the North Central Hills region, and it is doubtful that petrified wood particles were ever more than incidental inclusions into the pastes of Woodland pottery.

The exact nature of the tempering agent could not be determined for ten sherds from various sites in the survey area. The paste shows no evidence of any temper except for minute round cavities in cross-section. These sherds were probably tempered with prepared clay that has eroded or percolated from the matrix.

A small ceramic smoking pipe was recovered from the surface of the proposed location of Imoklasha, an historic Choctaw village in Neshoba County.

Euro-American Artifacts

As in other historic American Indian societies, one of the most powerful factors that stimulated the acculturation of the Choctaw was their ardent adoption of Euro-American trade goods. The establishment of the colonial deer hide trade unleashed a continuous flow of manufactured items that replaced the native material culture. During the early eighteenth century the Choctaw became completely dependent on European items. This dependency was exploited by the French and English in their machinations to control the continent.

In 1729, a list of items the Chickasaw (and the Choctaw) had received from the British was drawn up by the French so that they might provide similar goods. On the list were guns, powder, shot, gunflints, swords, blankets, cloth, shirts, coats, ribbons, beads, bells; iron tools such as knives, awls, pickaxes, axes, hoes, tomahawks; and small items such as mirrors, vermillion, combs, buckles, bracelets, and earrings (Rowland and Sanders 1927:45). A list of French trade items from 1744 contains essentially the same array of goods (Woods 1980:149).

Ceramics

The small amount of Euro-American ceramics in the sample was assigned to three general morphological categories: earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain. The identification of each type was based on a test for hardness. Sherds that could be scratched with tempered steel were classified as earthenware. Those sherds that could not be scratched with tempered steel were classified as stoneware or porcelain (Noel Hume 1969). Sherds were further divided into fine or coarse ware on the basis of sherd thickness and glaze treatment. Examples are illustrated in Figure 8.

EARTHENWARE. Earthenwares have a porous, gritty paste that was fixed at a low temperature. Coarse earthenwares served as heavy utilitarian containers such as pots, basins, jugs, pitchers, and churns. Usually they are not useful chronological markers because the same uniform morphological characteristics span a long period of time. Coarse earthenware sherds found during the survey include the following:

1 black glaze
1 brown glaze, red paste
1 clear glaze, stenciled black letters
1 clear glaze, stenciled black letters
1 white glaze, stenciled black letters
1 yellow glaze
2 unglazed, pinkish white paste

The fine earthenwares all have a fine-grained, soft white paste. Because they represent cups, dishes, and other dining implements, they are thinner than the coarse earthenwares. Fine earthenwares are fairly useful chronological indicators because of rapid stylistic changes over time. All fine earthenwares are either pearlware or whiteware and date from the early to middle nineteenth century. Fine earthenware sherds recovered during the survey include:

6 blue edge-decorated
3 blue transfer print
4 plain white
1 light blue glaze
1 sponge-decorated

STONEWARE. Stoneware has a very dense, non-porous paste that has been fired at a higher temperature than have the earthenwares. Stoneware represented a technological improvement over earthenwares when they first began to be manufactured in the fifteenth century (Brain 1979:74), and it continues to be used today. Fine wares were usually earthenware until the middle nineteenth century, when fine stonewares became more common (Hume 1969:131-132). Coarse stoneware sherds include the following:

2 brown glaze
1 brown salt glaze
1 greenish-grey salt glaze
1 light blue glaze
1 light aquamarine glaze
1 grey glaze with stenciled British coat of arms
1 yellow glaze
1 grey salt glaze

Fine stoneware sherds include the following:

12 plain white (Ironstone" or "stone china")
1 white with transfer print
1 white with cobalt blue slip

PORCELAIN. Porcelain has a vitrified, translucent paste and is fired at a very high temperature. Only one piece of porcelain was recovered. It is a glazed, hollow portion of an undetermined object, perhaps a doll fragment.

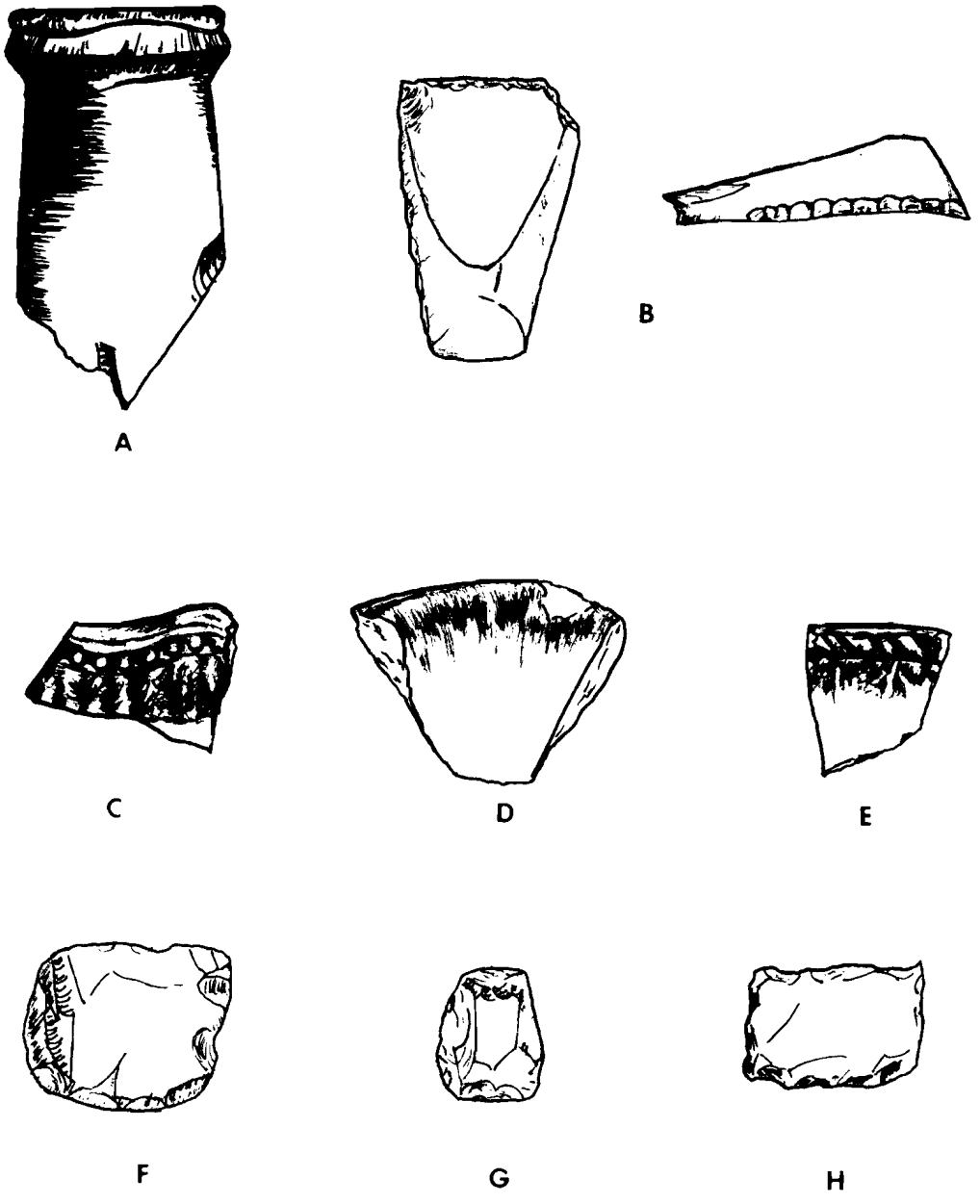


Figure 8. Euro-American artifacts from Choctaw sites in Mississippi: A. dark olive green spirit bottle neck with string rim, B. green glass sherd utilized as a scraper, C-E blue edge-decorated fine earthenware, F-H gunflints. All artifacts shown actual size.

"Dutch," but recent research shows them to be of early to middle eighteenth-century French origin (Brain 1979:210).

A second gunflint is light tan, wedge-shaped in cross-section, and translucent around the edges. The side to side length (25mm) is much greater than the heel to edge width (15mm). Rectangular flints with these characteristics are middle to late eighteenth-century French (Witthoft 1966:28-32; Brain 1979:210-211).

A third specimen is a grey-black gunflint small enough to have been used in a pistol. It is a prismatic, double-edged type typical of British gunflints after 1800 (Witthoft 1966:34-39).

Summary

Several characteristics of the artifact sample need to be addressed. First, while the temporal span of the American Indian pottery represented in the sample is quite broad, it is not a particularly diverse assortment of types. Known Woodland types are not well represented, nor are known Mississippian types frequent except for variations of plain shell tempered ceramics known to have been produced well into the nineteenth century. The lack of decorated shell tempered types may reflect the small sample size from many of the sites. During late prehistoric times in the Tombigbee River drainage, up to 90% of the ceramic assemblages are plain (Jenkins 1982:124). Even so, it would appear that Woodland and Mississippian occupation of the survey area in Kemper County was quite low in terms of population density. The majority of the ceramics recovered can be assigned to a few distinct types that consistently occur together. In chapter 5, this ceramic complex was defined and the case for a historic Choctaw association with the complex was presented. The American Indian ceramics analyzed in this study are presented in Table 3.

Most of the Euro-American artifacts can be assigned to 100 years between 1750 and 1850. The last quarter of this span was a time of intensive Euro-American appropriation and settlement of Choctaw lands, and it cannot be assumed that post-1820 artifacts were utilized by the Choctaw. On the other hand, it is highly likely that most of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century gunflints, glass, and possibly the fine earthenware reflect use by the Choctaw prior to significant Euro-American settlement. The proposed site of Chickasawhay (22-Ck-502), Kusha (22-Ld-512), and other Choctaw sites have yielded a similar range of Euro-American artifacts, as well as nails, gun parts, smoking pipes, buttons, trade ornaments, oil lamp fragments, and iron cooking pots (Collins 1926:93; Penman 1977:270, 286-287).

TABLE 3

AMERICAN INDIAN CERAMIC ARTIFACTS

BY SITE AND TYPE

TEMPER	CERAMIC TYPE	KEMPER COUNTY												
		501	509	510	512	514	515	518	524	525	526	527	528	529
SHELL	Miss. Pl.													
	Var. A	10		11	1	2		2			2	1		
	Var. B	4	1	33								3		
	Var. C	5		1		11								
	Al. Riv. Appl.													
	Uncl. Inc.			1		2								
	Uncl. Brus.													
MIX. SHELL +GROG	Uncl. Pl.	4		1	1	1				2		9		
	Uncl. Inc.													
	Uncl. C. Pl.		3	6								1		
	Uncl. F. Pl.	68	1	36	1		12	3	2	15	7	14	5	1
	Uncl. Paint.											1		

TABLE 3--CONTINUED

TEMPER	CERAMIC TYPE	KEMPER COUNTY												
		501	509	510	512	514	515	518	524	525	526	527	528	529
CLAY/GROG	Kemp. Comb.									2				
	Fath. Inc.	12	1	2		7				9	2			
	Uncl. Nic. Rim	3		1		8		1		2	5	3		
	Uncl. Engr.										2			
	Uncl. Rec. Inc.									1				
	Uncl. Zoned					1					1			
	Mul. Cr. Cord.		3											
SAND/GRIT	Uncl. C. Pl.		13	3										
	Uncl. C. Inc.		1											
	Uncl. F. Pl.	6	1	17	1	12	1	1	2	1	3			
	Chic. Comb.													
	Uncl. Inc.	2	1	5		5	1	1			2			
	Uncl. Punc.		1		1									
	Fur. Cord.		1											

TABLE 3--CONTINUED

TEMPER	CERAMIC TYPE	KEMPER COUNTY												
		501	509	510	512	514	515	518	524	525	526	527	528	529
MISC.	Fiber Pl.		1											
	Pet. W. Pl.													
	Und. Temp.			4		1						1		
	Sub-Totals	114	28	121	5	50	14	8	4	32	22	35	5	1

TABLE 3--CONTINUED

TEMPER	CERAMIC TYPE	KEMPER COUNTY											
		530	531	532	533	535	536	537	538	539	541	542	544
CLAY/GROG	Fath. Inc.			1					1	1	1		1
	Uncl. Nic. Rim			3	2			1		4			
	Uncl. Engr.												
	Uncl. Rec. Inc.												
	Uncl. Zoned												
	Mul. Cr. Cord.				1								
SAND/GRIT	Uncl. C. Pl.												
	Uncl. C. Inc.												
	Uncl. F. Pl.	2	1							2			
	Chic. Comb.												
	Uncl. Inc.									2	1		
	Uncl. Punc.												
	Fur. Cord.												
	Fiber Pl.												

TABLE 3--CONTINUED

TEMPER	CERAMIC TYPE	KEMPER COUNTY											
		530	531	532	533	535	536	537	538	539	541	542	544
	Miss. Pl.												
	Var. A	1				1			2	3			6
	Var. B								1		1		
SHELL	Var. C												
	Al. Riv. Appl.												
	Uncl. Inc.												
	Uncl. Brus.												2
MIX. SHELL	Uncl. Pl.	1			3								
+GROG	Uncl. Inc.	1											
	Uncl. C. Pl.												
CLAY/GROG	Uncl. F. Pl.	1	1	4	1	5	4	4	7		1	5	9
	Uncl. Paint.												
	Kemp. Comb.								1				

TABLE 3--CONTINUED

TEMPER	CERAMIC TYPE	KEMPER COUNTY											
		530	531	532	533	535	536	537	538	539	541	542	544
MISC.	Pet. W. Pl.												
	Und. Temp.											2	
	Sub-Totals	6	2	8	7	6	4	5	12	12	4	7	18

TABLE 3--CONTINUED

TEMPER	CERAMIC TYPE	KEMPER COUNTY											
		545	546	547	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557
	Miss. Pl.												
	Var. A	2			1		12	3	1	3	9	3	7
	Var. B					2	7	1	3	2	3		2
SHELL	Var. C.												
	Al. Riv. Appl.												
	Uncl. Inc.												
	Uncl. Brus.						1						
MIX. SHELL	Uncl. Pl.						4			7	2	6	3
+GROG	Uncl. Inc.									1			1
	Uncl. C. Pl.						1						
CLAY/GROG	Uncl. F. Pl.	2	2	6		3	89	23	13	46	33	13	23
	Uncl. Paint.												
	Kemp. Comb.						4	4	2		1	1	1

TABLE 3 - CONTINUED

TEMPER	CERAMIC TYPE	KEMPER COUNTY											
		545	546	547	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557
CLAY/GROG	Fath. Inc.						9	5	3	4	5	2	4
	Uncl. Nic. Rim								3	1			7
	Uncl. Engr.						1					1	
	Uncl. Rec. Inc.												
	Uncl. Zoned												
	Mul. Cr. Cord.												
SAND/GRIT	Uncl. C. Pl.									1			
	Uncl. C. Inc.												
	Uncl. F. Pl.												5
	Chic. Comb.												
	Uncl. Inc.					1							
	Uncl. Punc.												
	Fur. Cord.												
	Fiber Pl.												

TABLE 3 - CONTINUED

TEMPER	CERAMIC TYPE	KEMPER COUNTY											
		545	546	547	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557
MISC.	Pet. W. Pl.										1		
	Und. Temp.						2						
	Sub-Totals	4	2	6	1	6	130	36	25	65	54	26	53

TABLE 3--CONTINUED

TEMPER	CERAMIC TYPE	KEMP. CO.				LAUD. CO.	CLAR. CO.		JAS. CO.	
		558	559	560	561	512	502	505	534	585
SHELL	Miss. Pl.									
	Var. A		2			6	7	14		
	Var. B									16
	Var. C	2						4		
	Al. Riv. Appl.				1					
	Uncl. Inc.									
	Uncl. Brus.									
MIX. SHELL +GROG	Uncl. Pl.									
	Uncl. Inc.									
CLAY/GROG	Uncl. C. Pl.									
	Uncl. F. Pl.	8	3		8	32	27	35		18
	Uncl. Paint.									
	Kemp. Comb.					74	15	2		

TABLE 3 - CONTINUED

TEMPER	CERAMIC TYPE	KEMP. CO.				LAUD. CO.	CLAR. CO.		JAS. CO.	
		558	559	560	561	512	502	505	534	585
CLAY/GROG	Fath. Inc.				1	9	7	3	26	11
	Uncl. Nic. Rim			1		2				
	Uncl. Engr.									
	Uncl. Rec. Inc.					1				
	Uncl. Zoned					2				
	Mul. Cr. Cord.									
SAND/GRIT	Uncl. C. Pl.									
	Uncl. C. Inc.									
	Uncl. F. Pl.	3				1	18		2	8
	Chic. Comb.						21		10	10
	Uncl. Inc.	1		1	1	1	11	7	9	1
	Uncl. Punc.									
	Fur. Cord.									

TABLE 3 - CONTINUED

TEMPER	CERAMIC TYPE	KEMP. CO.				LAUD. CO.	CLAR. CO.		JAS. CO.	
		558	559	560	561	512	502	505	534	585
MISC.	Fiber Pl.									
	Pet. W. Pl.									
	Und. Temp.									
	Sub-Totals	14	5	2	11	128	106	65	47	64

SAMPLE TOTAL = 1380 sherds

APPENDIX B

MISSISSIPPI BAND OF CHOCTAW INDIANS RESOLUTION CHO 141-81(B)

A resolution to request assistance in archaeological study and preservation in the face of proposed land alteration projects between the Pearl River and the Alabama state line.

Whereas, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers is planning flood control projects on the banks of the Pearl River in the State of Mississippi, and

Whereas, various mining firms are actively discussing the possibility of stripmining coal and lignite in Mississippi, especially east-central Mississippi, and

Whereas, very little is known at present about the distribution of Choctaw sites in the area between the Pearl River and the Alabama state line, sites which include burial sites, mounds, and village sites, and

Whereas, the Tribal Council believes that the study of the tribe in pre-treaty times is important because we have little information on these times and new information can only be obtained archaeologically, and

Whereas, the Tribal Council is concerned that the sanctity of human burials needs to be protected through non-disturbance or reburial, and

Whereas, the Nanih Waiya Ceremonial Precinct Surrounding Village near the Nanih Waiya Mound is not included in the existing state park, and there is a danger this land, either surface or mineral rights or both, could be sold to a mining company, now therefore be it

Resolved, that the Tribal Council does hereby express its concern with the impact of proposed land-alteration projects in east-central Mississippi on historic and prehistoric Indian sites which bear on the history of the Choctaw Tribe in particular, and be it further

Resolved, that the Tribal Council does hereby request the Mississippi Department of Archives and History to draft a comprehensive archaeological research design for the area from the Pearl River valley east to the Alabama state line, particularly the area threatened by disturbance of the human occupation zones, with adequate emphasis on the archaeology of the Choctaw people, and be it further

Resolved, that the Tribal Council does hereby request the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and mining companies with interest in strip mining in the area hire or provide for qualified archaeologists to handle surveys and excavations in the most thorough manner possible prior to any land-alteration project, and be it further

Resolved, that the Tribal Council does hereby request state legislators from the Nanih Waiya area and others with an interest in human history and prehistory, to consider the state's acquiring the remainder of the Nanih Waiya site for preservation and archaeological study, and be it further

Resolved, that the Tribal Council does hereby authorize the Tribal Chief to contact, among others, the Governor, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History staff and Board members, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Mobile District, area colleges, the Mississippi Historical Society, and appropriate surface mining firms to express the concern of the Tribal Council on the necessity of archaeological study in the areas of possible or impending land alteration projects, and be it further

Resolved, that the information concerning proposed land alteration and historical sites be forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior.

Certification

I, the undersigned as Secretary-Treasurer of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, certify that the Tribal Council of said Band is composed of 14 members of whom 14, constituting a quorum were present at a Regular meeting, thereof duly called, noticed, convened, and held this 15 day of July, 1981, that the foregoing resolution was duly Adopted at such meeting by the vote of 14 members, 0 against, and 0 abstained. Dated this 15 day of July, 1981.

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