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SOCIAL INEQUALITY IN POST-REMOVAL SOUTHEASTERN OKLAHOMA

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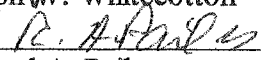
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HISTORIC CHOCTAW ARCHAEOLOGY:
SOCIAL INEQUALITY IN POST-REMOVAL SOUTHEASTERN OKLAHOMA

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY


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Chapter One

Historic Choctaw Archaeology: Social Inequality in Post-Removal Southeastern Oklahoma

Introduction

Oklahoma is identified as “Native America” in a recent television advertising campaign designed to attract tourist dollars to bolster a lagging state economy. Advertisements portray the state as a place where people can enjoy a relatively unspoiled natural setting, visit museums or places of local interest, gamble, and participate at some level in the cultural heritage of frontier America. Most commercials follow a simple format. Scenes of the natural environment begin the sequence, followed by clips illustrating the historical development of Oklahoma’s multi-cultural heritage. One segment shows the contemporary Choctaw Nation capital complex south of Durant, Oklahoma. Visual images depict the complex as a nexus for bingo style gambling. This image is surprising, given the historic development of Oklahoma and Choctaw participation in that development.

Why is the Choctaw capital identified as a center for gaming instead of the political and economic hub of a federally recognized Native American group - the group whose language provided the name for this state? Was the choice of imagery agreed upon in collaboration with Choctaw Nation? Are Choctaw perspectives integrated into the commercials or do they reflect the views of the dominant portion of American society? Clearly, these questions draw attention to the complex nature of social and political interaction, especially processes related to the creation and maintenance of social

inequality. The question remains: who are the Choctaw and why were they chosen for this research?

Contemporary Oklahoma Choctaws descend from those individuals relocated to Indian Territory during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Choctaws interact within the larger society, but maintain what are considered traditional aspects of their society. Social forms include language, dances, songs, and games. Traditional medicinal and healing arts are still evident in Choctaw communities in southeastern Oklahoma; Jena, Louisiana; and central Mississippi. Although most Choctaws participate in some form of Christian religion, most churches are organized along pre-Christian religious lines (Schultz 1999). Like many other Native American groups, the members of the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma submitted to reorganization under federal direction in 1935 (Neal et al. 1991:59). Their present political organization, consisting of a popularly elected principal chief, subchief, and district representatives, mirrors many aspects of the United States government. Participation in the current market-based economy affords a measure of self-determination and self-reliance.

Oklahoma Choctaws comprise one of several separate enclaves of Choctaw. Major population clusters are in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. The Jena Band of Choctaw from Louisiana, along with the Mississippi and Oklahoma Choctaw, are federally recognized. Groups from Clifton and Ebarb, Louisiana, have begun the recognition petitioning process, while those Choctaw in Texas have not organized formally.

Recently, the Mobile-Washington (Mowa) Band of Choctaw residing in Alabama submitted a petition for federal recognition to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. After

evaluating the petition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs concluded that the Mowa Band did not contain the required minimal number of documented Choctaw lineal descendants. Moreover, Bureau of Indian Affairs research indicates that a segment of the Mowa Band was classified historically as African-American rather than Choctaw (Federal Register 1997 [62]:67398-67400).

Some question the federal recognition process, believing it favors a Euroamerican historical and cultural perspective at the expense of indigenous viewpoints (Starna 1991:493, 497, 499). The validity of historical documents and censuses containing racial and/or ethnic classifications is also questionable. Numerous cases have been documented where ethnic and/or racial categories have been incorrectly enumerated. In addition to misidentification, ethnic and racial categories have been manipulated in order to extend the power of the dominant sector of American society and maintain unequal relations (Forbes 1990:5, 28, 49).

Anthropologists as well as historians have offered interpretations of the historic development of the Choctaw. Interpretations by early researchers were derived primarily from acculturation theory. These earlier interpretations have either been supplanted or reinterpreted within neo-evolutionary and world systems perspectives. Most current contemporary Choctaw research is based on the ethnohistorical interpretation of primary source historical documentation and limited archaeological data. While utilizing many of the same historical documents, ethnohistorical interpretations of Choctaw society still diverge greatly.

The vast majority of Choctaw archaeological sites in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Oklahoma are characterized by only small surface artifact collections. Data derived from systematically excavated Choctaw site remains are virtually non-existent. Little has been based on substantive data for any of the Choctaw enclaves. Most information is derived from the Mississippi parent population. Thus, the research presented in this dissertation will focus upon unequal relations among the historic Choctaw. Both archaeological and ethnohistorical approaches will be taken since they offer different sources of information necessary to document social inequality.

A modernist approach, constrained by some information presented by postmodernists, will be utilized in this research. I feel an approach using social inequality as a general context for inquiry has the potential to broaden our current perspectives of the historic Choctaw. My goal is twofold. First, I believe a re-evaluation of ethnohistorical data will support the position that the historic Choctaw were organized as a complex chiefdom and clarify some of the conflicts concerning titular officeholders. Newly published data from Oklahoma (Olsen 1990) suggest that most traditional leadership categories documented for the eighteenth century Mississippi Choctaw did not break down, but instead continued in Oklahoma after removal.

Secondly, four post-removal Oklahoma Choctaw site assemblages will be described. Intrasite and intersite comparisons will be completed for these four sites and the results compared to other excavated Choctaw sites in the region. These comparisons are made in order to determine if differences can be demonstrated that might indicate the existence of unequal relations.

Choctaw Ethnohistory

Most notable in late nineteenth Choctaw research are the published works of non-Choctaw observers such as Cyrus Byington (1915), Horatio B. Cushman (1999), Henry S. Halbert (1896, 1898, 1900), John W. Wade (1904), and John A. Watkins (1894).

Byington (1915) provided the scholarly community with an extensive dictionary and grammar of the Choctaw language, while Halbert and Wade produced extensive, first-hand, detailed accounts of the Mississippi Choctaw. Watkins's observations on a post-removal, Oklahoma community offers an excellent counterpoint to Mississippi research.

Anthropological studies conducted during the first three decades of the twentieth century include nascent works in physical anthropology and archaeology, as well as endeavors in linguistics and ethnology (Bushnell 1909; Collins 1926, 1927, 1928; Ford 1936; Read 1940). John R. Swanton's (1931) noticeably short monograph exploring the social and ceremonial life of the Choctaw Indians has been accepted as a standard point of departure for contemporary research. His interpretations went virtually unchallenged for almost half a century

Swanton's (1931:90-102) research identified elements in historic Choctaw political structure that are often associated with complex chiefdoms (Earle 1989:85; Pauketat 1994:9; Scarry 1996:12-24; Steponaitis 1978:420). Four division chiefs and possibly four national chiefs shared many prerogatives of office, but their respective lines of authority were not well defined. Division chiefs governed somewhat independent of their national leaders. However, the national chiefs clearly outranked, and received deference from,

their subordinates in the decision making process (Swanton 1931:55-76, 91-92). In contemporary parlance, the four division chiefs would represent the first administrative level above the local group, while the two national leaders would reflect the apex of the second administrative level above the local group.

National leadership seems to have included at least four chiefs. Two were civil chiefs and two were war chiefs (Swanton 1931:92). This arrangement may either reflect the offices of head and second chiefs mentioned in colonial documents (Rowland and Sanders 1927, hereinafter MPA FD I:153), or four chiefs with different responsibilities. Since the town where the Great Chief resided moved periodically, Swanton (1931:91) inferred that status was achieved rather than ascribed. Apparently, the office of head or national civil chief was abolished during the early nineteenth century and re-instituted after the Choctaw removed to Oklahoma (Swanton 1931:97).

The two ranking males were the head peace or civil chief and the head war chief. Peace or civil chiefs were responsible for maintaining internal relations and mediating any threat to internal harmony. Civil chiefs were given annual tribute and were responsible for its redistribution when the occasion required. Civil chiefs were noted for their generosity, giving away material goods to any Choctaw in need. Their "humility" was noticeable in their speech patterns and was somewhat commensurate with their generosity. Choctaw civil chiefs held higher status or rank than their red/war counterparts. Red or war chiefs were responsible for actions taken against other non-Choctaw groups. These chiefs were noted for their inspirational or charismatic qualities. Often bold in their manner and speech, Choctaw war chiefs were obeyed without question during forays (Swanton

1931:101-102, 162-170; see also Dye 1995:298; Feiler 1962:164; Galloway 1985:126).

The head civil and war chiefs were among the highest class of males in Choctaw society. The primary evidence of male social ranking used by Swanton and subsequent scholars is contained within the "Anonymous Relation."

In each village, besides the chief and war chief, there are two tascamingoutchy who are like lieutenants of the war chief, and a Tichou-mingo 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 makes the warriors and strangers smoke. These Tichou-mingo usually become village chiefs. They [the people] are divided into four orders, as follows. [The first are] the grand chiefs, village chiefs, and war chief; the second are the Atacoulitups or beloved men; the third is composed of those whom they simply call tasca or warriors; the fourth and last is atac emittla. They are those who have not struck blows or who have killed only a woman or a child (Swanton 1918:54).

This description garbles at least two types of ranking (Galloway 1989:260-261), but possibly indicates horizontal and vertical separation of males. It also supports a position that two levels of administration above the local level existed during the eighteenth century. This type of structural organization is exactly what one would suspect in a complex chiefdom. The only problem with interpreting the Choctaw as representing a complex chiefdom is Swanton's inference that status is achieved rather than ascribed.

Angie Debo's (1934, 1967) work introduces a new element into the growing body of Choctaw research - a "native" point of view. Like Swanton, she suggested that the Choctaw originated in central Mississippi where they remained until their removal. The relocated Choctaw never fully recovered culturally or ideologically from removal. Incorporation into American society effectively ended the history of the Choctaw as a separate group.

Clara Sue Kidwell (1995:ix) and John H. Peterson (1985:xi, xv) lament the fact that Choctaw oriented research was virtually nonexistent in Mississippi after the publication of Swanton's and Debo's works in the early 1930s. Except for a few kinship and linguistic publications in the interim, academic interest in the Mississippi and other Choctaw groups did not resurface until almost 40 years later (Eggan 1937, 1966; Haas 1941, 1946; Read 1940; Spoehr 1947).

New ethnographic studies completed during the 1970s described the effects of long term contact, the retrenchment of identity after migration, and efforts at internal economic development (Blanchard 1976; Kenaston 1972; Kim 1977; Peterson 1972, 1978; Thompson and Peterson 1975). Ethnohistorical research (De Rosier 1970; Holmes 1968) furnished different interpretations of Choctaw social and economic structure during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Also, early historical primary source material was assessed and found to be scarce and contradictory (Galloway 1982a:289-290, 1982b:147-148; Swanton 1931:2-3).

Richard White's (1983:36-43) interpretation of ethnohistoric information organizes the eighteenth century Mississippi Choctaw into several simple chiefdoms. In White's model, towns - actually dispersed settlements - were organized into chiefdoms. Chiefdoms were organized into district divisions, while divisions were organized into a confederacy. Two exogamous moieties, *iksas*, governed marriage and burial rites. These moieties were divided into non-totemic clans or local groups. Below the local group was the extended family.

Men were ranked in a social hierarchy composed of four groups. Two levels of

chiefs constituted the highest ranked group. Next in order were holy or beloved men. Following the holy men were seasoned warriors. The lowest class of males was comprised of inexperienced warriors. Male social ranking was also manifest in hereditary chiefs who ruled by right of birth, the office passing from uncle to nephew through the female line. An overall chief, or Great Chief, of the Choctaw existed, but was presumed to be an office created by Europeans (White 1983:39-43).

Choctaws gave a portion of their annual agricultural production to their Great Chief. Moreover, wild fauna and flora were presented to their overlord. These staples were placed in special warehouses reserved for this chief and utilized during ceremonial feasts. Additionally, this produce was used for ceremonies involving ranking individuals from other groups (White 1983:41).

Choctaw political economy involved a kinship mode of production based upon a mixed strategy of agriculture and hunting/gathering (White 1983:16-31). The kin mode of production is often ascribed to societies classified as simple chiefdoms; however, ranked, hereditary chiefs, two administrative levels above the local group, and redistribution are normally associated with complex chiefdoms instead of the simple ones suggested by White (DePratter 1983:207-210; Earle 1987:288, 1989:85; Steponaitis 1978:420, 1983:169-174, 1986:404; Thornton et al. 1992:187-188). The description of Choctaw political economy provided by White certainly suggests that a tributary mode of production was in operation among the Choctaw.

Synthesizing historical source material, Blitz (1985:12, 1993a:12-13; see also Lankford 1981:56-60) equates the numerous *oklas* (or *oglas*) to simple chiefdoms, even

though historical sources give the impression that the Choctaw were organized as a complex chiefdom (Blitz 1985:15). The simple chiefdoms were organized as a decentralized, loosely articulated, confederacy. The autonomy of the constituent chiefdoms inhibited the formation of more inclusive political structures other than temporary alliances (e.g. confederacies). The district was a level above the *okla*, but refers to a population group rather than to a political arrangement. Districts were apparently geographically based groups derived from the French and did not reflect emic perspectives (Blitz 1985:8-13).

The *okla mingo* governed through persuasive powers rather than direct force and was a beloved man [second highest male class] chosen by mutual consent. His duties were not precisely defined, but probably involved a managerial aspect such as supervising the redistribution of surplus staples. The *tishu mingo* was the second or assistant chief, as well as speaker for the *okla mingo*. The war chief's political power and influence was equal to, and in some cases surpassed, that of the *okla mingo*. The war chief's position was held by military prowess and through the respect of his peers. Two warriors assisted the war chief as aides (Blitz 1985:9, 1993a:11-12). Blitz (1985:15) suggests that the office of the Great Chief was abolished sometime during the mid-eighteenth century.

Okla level decisions were invested in the council of beloved/honored men. Older, distinguished warriors comprised the council. Eighteenth century French sources suggest that the largest village in the *okla* served as the political and ceremonial center. Some villages and hamlets had a political system that included a chief and subchiefs (Blitz 1985:9).

Membership in one of two exogamous moieties, or *iksa*, was governed by birth. Moieties are non-localized kinship groupings divided into the *Immoklasha* or peace group and the *Inholahtha*, war group (Blitz 1985:10). The two moieties exhibited an asymmetrical relationship with the white or peace moiety ranked higher than the red or war moiety. The white/red dualism was a social construct in which political competition occurred (Blitz 1993a:13-14). Similarly, clans were non-localized groups that did not own property and were divided between the two moieties. The scattered components of a village corresponded to the corporate holdings of individual matrilineages, while several of these lineages would be present in larger settlements (Blitz 1985:10-11)

Patricia Galloway utilizes an ethnohistorical approach to frame most of her colonial era research in Mississippi. She suggests that the historic group known as the Choctaw was a recently coalesced population made up of four remnant prehistoric Plaquemine and Mississippian groups. The recently coalesced or confederated group was characterized as a multi-ethnic tribal society with a political economy based on a “big-man” oriented, loosely organized, kin mode of production (Galloway 1995:67-74, see also Friedman 1975:168; Sahlins 1968:29-44). Processes contributing to the formation of the confederation included post-contact population loss, geographic shifts, sociopolitical organizational change, and change in interpolity relations (Galloway 1995:4-6).

Galloway (1989:262, 1994:414-415, 1995:2) also asserts that the office of Choctaw “Great Chief” was a French derived institution, that Choctaw males were divided into four classes, and that the village political arrangement described in the “Anonymous Relation” (Swanton 1918:54) was replicated at the division level. She also takes the

position that Choctaw society had changed radically by the late eighteenth century.

However, her research upon and interpretation of the Choctaw moieties suggests that the use of *Immoklasha* and *Inholahta* should be reversed. *Inholahta* would be the preferred term for the peace or white moiety, while *Immoklasha* would designate the war or red moiety (Galloway 1982a:293-294).

By sustained contact, the geographical divisions noted in earlier research (Blitz 1985:8-13; Swanton 1931:55-76) among the Choctaw had evolved into political entities. Towns comprising the divisions changed through time. A chief with his functionaries and council of older men governed the division. The division chief was usually a village chief, but this was not the case in all instances. Whether governing at the village or division level, the chief's functionaries were the same group of individuals. However, the makeup of the division level council differed from that in the village. Village chiefs and older men representing different lineages were the counselors at the division level (Galloway 1989:260, 1995:2).

Mortuary customs described during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries indicate that little social differentiation existed among the Choctaw (Galloway 1995:50-54, 358-359). Apparently all Choctaw received the same postmortem treatment of being placed on a scaffold with subsequent ritual defleshing and placement in a charnel house. Later, all the bundles of bones were removed from the mortuary structure for burial in a low mound. Primary interments replaced secondary processing of the deceased during the early nineteenth century.

Clara S. Kidwell (1995) and James T. Carson (1999) provide the latest historical

research focusing on the Mississippi Choctaw. Both authors suggest and follow Galloway's interpretation that the Choctaw were an amalgam of different groups that coalesced into their historic counterparts (Carson 1999:11, Figure 1; Kidwell 1995:3). Both also concur with earlier interpretations that males were divided into four groups, that hereditary chiefs governed the Choctaw; that there were specialized titular office holders; and that the Choctaw Great Chief was an institution created by the French. In contrast to other studies, Kidwell (1995:50-115) and Carson (1999:86-102) break down the stereotypical dichotomy of "mixed blood progressives" and "full blood traditionalists."

Kidwell (1995:9) indicates that the Choctaw had a stratified system of leadership. Both national and village leaders were identified as *mingo(es)*. It should be noted that Kidwell's national chiefs correspond to leaders placed at the division level in other research (Blitz 1985:12-13; Galloway 1994:408, 1995:353-355; Swanton 1931:90-92).

Carson (1999:27) describes "the Western Imoklasha, the eastern Inholahatas and the southern Conchas, Chickasawhays, and Sixtowns" as autonomous, intermediate chiefdoms. The intermediate chiefdoms posited by Carson pursued their own interests, in the absence of an overarching political organization, using the same principles of reciprocal exchange and chiefly authority that had characterized Mississippian chiefdoms. Carson (1999:49, 97) suggests that a complex chiefdom formed when the eastern and western divisions united in 1828, and a paramount chiefdom followed when Greenwood LeFlore was voted head chief.

Academic investigations of the Oklahoma Choctaw were constant throughout the twentieth century, although they may be described as unsystematic and not confined to

one discipline (Baird 1972; Brooks 1991; Burton 1971; Coleman 1985; Edwards 1932; Foreman 1972; Gettys 1989; Graebner 1945a, 1945b; Hofman 1974; Hudson 1932; Neal et al. 1991; Neal and Rees 1993; Perino 1979; Schmitt and Bell 1954; Wright 1951). Some historic research (Kidwell 1995:xvi, 200; Swanton 1931:5) suggests that the Oklahoma population should have maintained practices considered traditional by most scholars, but the literature indicates the opposite. Differences in the use of kinship terms between the Mississippi and Oklahoma groups suggest a shift to a patrilineal kinship pattern in Oklahoma (Edwards 1932:400; Eggan 1937:34-35, 39; Galloway 1989:255; Kidwell 1995:163, 230; Spoehr 1947:201; Swanton 1931:85-90). Additional changes in Choctaw society within a generation after removal to Oklahoma, are exemplified by the presence of educational complexes, transportation facilities, homesteads, government buildings, Christian churches and mission stations, and commercial centers modeled on their Euroamerican counterparts (Baird 1989:7). These changes and others seemingly support the position that the Oklahoma group may be considered to be less traditional than their relatives in Mississippi (Kidwell 1995:163, 200-201; Swanton 1931:2), despite descriptions that assert they were resisting incorporation into American society (Kidwell 1995:xvi; White 1983:xv).

Sandra Faiman-Silva (1997) attempts to understand Choctaw change and persistence from a global perspective, integrating dependency, neo-Marxism, and world-systems theory. Faiman-Silva proposes that the Choctaw responded in diverse ways to incorporation. These responses probably represented survival strategies that were at once resistive and accommodative. At contact, the Choctaw were a culturally, racially, and

ethnically homogenous “nation” with decentralized kin-based production units, headed by numerous categories of leadership. Chiefs had substantial power over resource distribution and over other group members (Faiman-Silva 1997:25). Internal political divisions were brought about both by Choctaw factional interests and European and American interests.

Choctaw leadership was apparently fluid and flexible and based primarily upon merit and moiety affiliation. Subchiefs, headmen, or clan elders governed village and neighborhood settlements, while chiefs drawn from the senior matrilineal *iksa* governed districts. Choctaw males were ranked according to war and civil honors into *mingoes*, beloved men or leading warriors, common warriors, and those who had not struck a blow or had killed only women and children (Faiman-Silva 1997:10). Districts are believed to represent the “by-products” of the two Choctaw matrilineal moieties. Both moieties were subdivided into non-totemic, exogamous, matrilineal, “kindred” clans (*iksa*) (Faiman-Silva 1997:8).

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, intermarriage and participation in the market economy began to transform the Choctaw into an internal colony (Faiman-Silva 1997:58-75). This brought increased cultural heterogeneity as indigenous and Euroamerican cultural patterns intersected and three socially and racially stratified classes emerged (Faiman-Silva 1997:22-25). The contemporary Oklahoma Choctaw are described as an ethnic minority participating in the capitalist world economy as a marginalized, rural labor force. However, some Choctaw families, especially in McCurtain and Pushmataha counties, continue to practice older social forms (Faiman-

Silva 1997:25).

The major synthetic works suggest interpretations of Choctaw society are very diverse. There is no consensus as to what level of political complexity the Choctaw represented during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Interpretations run the classificatory gamut from tribal level to paramount chieftaincy. These contradictory views surface in that the tribal, fairly egalitarian Choctaw had hereditary, ranked chiefs; a political economy based in part upon redistribution; and possibly two administrative levels above the local (town) level.

The interpretation of first and second chiefs has not been challenged, but there are different interpretations as to who filled these offices. Moreover, there are differing opinions concerning who actually governed smaller population enclaves such as villages and hamlets. Most scholars agree that some form of social differentiation existed among Choctaw males. Presently, there is agreement that males were divided into four classes; status was achieved rather than ascribed and was based primarily on age, merit, and personal qualities; and that titular office holders existed at the local (town), first administrative (division), and possibly second administrative (national) levels. Apparently the pattern of titular officials found at the local level replicates that found in the administrative levels. However, the functional interpretations of some titular offices are still debated, while others have received only cursory examination. There is disagreement on the exact number of divisions and their origins. Choctaw political economy has been characterized as decentralized and kin-based, even though eighteenth and nineteenth century sources describe tribute and special warehouses. A re-evaluation of settlement

pattern, political organization, and chiefly power may provide insight into why so many conflicting viewpoints on Choctaw sociopolitical organization exist.

Choctaw Archaeology

Intensive, systematic archaeological investigations of Choctaw affiliated sites began in the 1970s and continue at present (Atkinson 1976, 1979; Atkinson and Blakeman 1975; Blitz 1985; Collins 1975; Hofman 1974; Neal et al. 1991; Neal and Rees 1993; Perino 1979, 1980; Rohrbaugh et al. 1971; Tesar 1974; Vehik and Vehik 1991; Voss and Blitz 1988; Ward 1983, 1986). Most sites are known only from surface collections obtained at the time of survey. A few sites have been investigated to determine if intact subsurface deposits exist (Blitz 1985:40-46; Hofman 1974:237; Lee and Bailey 1992:21-28; Rohrbaugh et al. 1971:140-142; Voss and Blitz 1988:129-130). Fewer still have been partially or completely excavated (Lee 1992:1; Lee et al. 1994; McGuff et al. 1993:71-151; Neal and Rees 1993:19-27; Perino 1979:2-4). The bulk of our present site domain represents occupations from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and rarely, if ever, those from the protohistoric and early historic Choctaw (Blitz 1985:89, 1993a:50-52; Collins 1927:262-263; Ford 1936:42-49; Galloway 1995:10-13; Hunter et al. 1994:17; Neal et al. 1991:13-16; Neal and Rees 1993:19-29; Voss and Blitz 1988:125-126).

Excavations conducted during the early twentieth century in Mississippi (Collins 1927) and Louisiana (Ford 1936:42-49; Hunter et al. 1994:17) provided the first samples of Choctaw material cultural from burial and residential contexts. Several Choctaw burials were discovered in a small mound located 1 km southeast of Marksville, Louisiana. Re-

analysis of artifacts placed with the burials suggests that four Choctaw males and one female were placed in the mound sometime between 1795-1815 (Hunter et al. 1994:72). Two males and the lone female represent primary, semi-flexed interments placed in wooden coffins for burial. The remaining two males received secondary processing, but their skeletal bundles were placed in the same "coffin-like box" for burial (Hunter et al. 1994:35, Figure 6).

Several burials were excavated, but were not fully described, from a cemetery associated with the Choctaw town of Coosa located in Lauderdale County, Mississippi. Limited amounts of material culture found in the cemetery suggest that the Coosa town inhabitants were interred between 1800-1830 (Collins 1926:93; Hunter et al. 1994:74). Sparse descriptions of the material culture remains found in the interments suggest little difference between the Choctaw and their European and American counterparts (Collins 1926:93). This lack of difference has prompted some to suggest that the Coosa Town interments probably represent primary, extended supine, coffin burials (Hunter et al. 1994:74).

Choctaw ceramics found in Louisiana and Mississippi shared many attributes. The primary difference between the two samples was the type of temper found in the ceramic fabric. Sand was not utilized as a tempering agent in Louisiana, while sand was found in most sherds from Mississippi. No formal description of the distinctive combed ceramics found on Choctaw sites existed anywhere until the 1950s (Haag 1953:25-27). The small ceramic assemblage defined as Choctaw contained Chickachae Combed as well as Fatherland Incised, and a plain ware known now as Addis Plain.

Chickachae Combed ceramics have been noted in surface collections obtained from several sites in northwestern Louisiana. A few sherds of Chickachae Combed were found among Spanish, French, and English ceramics excavated at the Spanish Colonial site of Los Adaes [1721-1774] in Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana (Gregory et al. 1985:23-26). Numerous examples of Choctaw ceramics have been found along the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain in southeastern Louisiana (Bushnell 1909:4-6). Although small, the Louisiana site sample indicates that archaeological remains exist in all areas into which the Choctaw began to migrate during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Green 1982:45-48, Figure 5).

Archaeological surveys of small watersheds and water reservoirs in Mississippi during the 1970s collected limited data from historic Choctaw sites (Atkinson and Blakeman 1975:12-14, 111; Penman 1977:23, 238, 285-286; Tesar 1974:114). Ceramics obtained from these sites were a mixture of Choctaw, European, and American types. Most of the ceramic sherds interpreted as Choctaw were small, about the size of "a half dollar" (Atkinson and Blakeman 1975:111).

The first large scale, systematic investigation of historic Choctaw settlements in Mississippi occurred between 1982-1984. During this interval, 75 archaeological sites were discovered or revisited. Thirty-nine of these sites contained historic Choctaw components, while 20 more sites were listed as probable Choctaw occupations. Those sites categorized as probable Choctaw occupations were described as low density surface ceramic sherd scatters, covering an area 20-40 m in diameter, and discovered in cultivated fields or other disturbed contexts (Blitz 1985:40-41; Voss and Blitz 1988:133).

Sites located during archaeological survey suggest the Choctaw utilized a dispersed settlement pattern and preferred to occupy low ridges just above the active floodplain. Three site and/or settlement types could be distinguished. The first included extremely small sites characterized by a few ceramic sherds that are believed to represent family residences with associated structures and work areas. A cluster of several small sites is believed to indicate a hamlet, while the third settlement type consists of multiple hamlet sites in non-nucleated clusters on low ridges (Voss and Blitz 1988:138-140).

Data obtained from 46 site surface collections clearly indicate that plain ceramics dominated decorated types in the respective site assemblages by over a 3:1 ratio. These data also indicate that an average of 25 sherds were collected from each site (Blitz 1985:Table 3). Vessel forms produced by Choctaw potters were restricted to simple bowls, carinated bowls, and globular jars (Blitz 1985:Table 2).

Ceramics collected during field investigations indicate the Choctaw produced a limited range of plain and decorated pottery. Plain or non-decorated ceramics include Bell Plain, Mississippi Plain, Addis Plain, and an unnamed type distinguished by fine sand temper. Chickachae Combed, Kemper Combed, and Fatherland Incised are the only decorated types definitively associated with the Choctaw. However, Nick Rim Incised may be included in the Choctaw ceramic assemblage once its exact status has been determined (Blitz 1985:48-52, 63-81, Tables 2-3).

This small ceramic complex is morphologically and stylistically similar to the Natchez phase ceramic complex [1682-1729] usually associated with the historic Natchez Indians of southwestern Mississippi, as well as the Bayou Goula and other Native

American groups residing in lower southeastern Louisiana (Blitz 1985:51; Voss and Blitz 1988:137). Atkinson and Blakeman (1975:12-14) suggest that the ceramic type Chickachae Combed predates 1700 and seems to be related to ceramic types occurring west of the Choctaw. Voss and Blitz (1988:137) defined the Choctaw phase based on the extant site sample and suggest it lasted approximately one century.

Rufus Ward (1986:33-41) suggests that, just prior to removal, poorer Choctaws lived in log cabins, while the wealthier tribal members lived in frame houses. However, no structures were located during his survey. A typical farmstead would consist of dwellings on the first or highest terrace above a stream course, cow pens on the lower terrace(s), and cultivated land in the stream bottom or active floodplain. Ward also suggests a deterioration of pottery-making skills as more Euroamerican ceramics became available; but he indicates that most Choctaw of the time were on an equal basis with their Euroamerican neighbors.

Archaeological survey and excavation of Choctaw-affiliated sites in Oklahoma indicate the continuation of patterns established in Mississippi prior to removal. Site data collected from two large scale surveys clearly indicate that the Choctaw still preferred low ridges or terraces above the active floodplain for their settlements (Neal et al. 1991:62-65; Neal and Rees 1993:46-47). The Choctaw also maintained a dispersed settlement pattern until the Dawes Act went into effect during the late nineteenth century. Moreover, artifacts collected from sites surveyed were a mixture of Choctaw, European, and American types (Neal et al. 1991:142-152, 154, 160-161, 165-168, 170-174; Neal and Rees 1993:154-163).

Excavation of houses, ancillary cultural features, and refuse middens in Oklahoma provide data not found in the Louisiana and Mississippi samples. Data obtained from excavations at seven sites suggest the log cabin continued to be the primary residential structure used by the Choctaw throughout the nineteenth century (Lee 1992:1; Lee and Bailey 1992:11-18; Lee and Neal 1992:1; Lee et al. 1994; McGuff et al. 1993:71-151; Rohrbaugh et al. 1971:141-142). Evidence obtained from some of these sites also indicates that these cabins burned more often than not (Lee 1992:4; Lee and Neal 1992:1-2; Perino 1979:2-3). It has not been determined if the burning documented at these sites is the result of catastrophic chimney fires common to this type of architecture or the result of some as yet undocumented ritualistic behavior.

Large, multi-purpose pits beneath house floors have been securely documented at the Choctaw Cabin (34MC485) and George Hudson House (34MC544) sites (Lee 1992:3; Lee and Neal 1992:1-2) and possibly the Pate-Roden site (Rohrbaugh et al. 1971:140). The pits are rectangular in plan and are oriented in the same direction as the house walls. Functionally, these features were initially used for storage before being converted to trash receptacles. Subfloor pits similar to those in Oklahoma have been discovered along the eastern seaboard of the United States and are believed by some to be indicative of nineteenth century African American cultural practices (Kimmel 1994:103-105).

Artifacts obtained from both surface and excavated contexts demonstrate the overwhelming preponderance of European and American derived material culture in Oklahoma Choctaw sites. European and American ceramics are by far the most common

artifact types noted in site assemblages. However, excavations conducted in the McGee Creek reservoir suggest that Oklahoma Choctaws continued to produce pottery until at least 1890 in spite of the availability and superior quality of non-native pottery (McGuff et al. 1993:71-151). Furthermore, most, if not all, of the ceramic types produced in Mississippi prior to removal are found at Oklahoma Choctaw sites.

The most recent advent in Choctaw archaeology is the reclassification of ceramics according to Phillips's (1958, 1970) type-variety format. The expanded ceramic assemblage now includes the following types: Chickachae Combed, Chickachae Incised, Fatherland Incised, Nick Rim Incised, Chickachae Plain Red Filmed, Chickachae Plain, and Mississippi Plain. Varieties of each type have been established but are not repeated at this juncture. Investigations at the Biloxi Village site (16RA60) in Rapides Parish, Louisiana, recovered many of the types noted above for the Choctaw (Hunter 1994:27-37). Choctaw-affiliated ceramics were also recovered from a second Biloxi village, the Neitzel site (16AV48), in Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana (Hunter 1994:38-39). The occurrence of several ceramic types presumably associated with the Choctaw at contemporaneous Biloxi sites suggests that Choctaw identity may not be reflected in archaeological site ceramic assemblages (cf. Galloway 1995:264-304).

The Choctaw ethnohistory and archaeology overviews presented above clearly demonstrate that our knowledge of the historic Choctaw remains limited despite almost 100 years of academic research. Many of the conflicting viewpoints noted in previous research may be explained by the uneven nature of investigations undertaken in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Oklahoma. On the other hand, I believe the problem of defining what

type of political structure was in operation among the Choctaw is the result of some investigators basing their interpretations on material contained in historical documents *prima fascia* without fully exploring contexts. Furthermore, I believe the problem is compounded in at least one instance when criteria utilized to distinguish tribes and the various forms of chiefdoms is either misapplied or misinterpreted (Carson 1999:49, 97).

In a similar vein, our present archaeologically derived interpretations of the Choctaw are based primarily on small site surface collections. The extremely limited nature of the archaeological sample has not even allowed the formulation of a daily “in-use” ceramic assemblage for Choctaw households (Pauketat 1989:299. Figure 23, 1994:58-60). Thus, one of the first tasks for archaeologists is to document household level material culture assemblages in order to begin intrasite and intersite comparisons.

Theoretical Overview

Earlier interpretations of Choctaw society and identity mirror the progression of anthropological and historical theory. The Choctaw are no longer viewed as a discreet, bounded, cultural group changing in response to dominant Euroamerican ideology. Contemporary research now views the Choctaw as an ethnic group. This form of identity is defined internally, but is continually negotiated with external groups (Kidwell 1995:xvi). Individual action and the diverse expression of social inequality inherent in ethnic studies are main topics of research, rather than earlier discussions focusing on the merits of cultural historical typologies.

Although anthropology has progressed theoretically, a major division exists between its contemporary practitioners. Theoretical divisions of this sort are nothing new to the discipline. The upshot of the current debate between modernists and postmodernists is simply that there are multiple avenues and ways to approach the past.

Most opinions voiced over the last two decades may be conveniently grouped as either modernist or postmodernist (Binford 1962:217-219; Brumfield and Earle 1987:3; Earle 1987:283-284, 1989:87; Hodder 1979:452-454, 1982:7-11, 1991:37-40; Preucel 1991:19-25; Saitta 1991:55-56; Van Pool and Van Pool 1999:33-34). Both groups exhibit diversity of thought in and between them, belying the homogenizing, reductionist labels. One perspective (Preucel and Earle 1987:513) even suggests that differences are primarily methodological rather than theoretical. Others insist that postmodernists do not reject all modernist tenets, but suggest their opposites acknowledge the position that symbolic actions expressing cultural and/or other identities are embedded in material forms, and that future research requires a more wide ranging exploration of process mediated through historical context (Conkey 1990:12; Hodder 1982:11, 1986:75, 95, 1991:35; Preucel 1991:18-21).

Inequality is co-joined with complexity in most sociocultural (modernist) models. Equality is found in simple societies that have achieved integration without much social differentiation. Inequality is found in more complex social formations and is based on vertical and horizontal social integration (Sahlins 1968:24-44, 1983:520-532; Service 1962:144, 166, 1975:285-303). Equality is found in band and tribal level societies, whereas inequality is characteristic of chiefdom and state level societies. Unequal

relations may be manifest in health differences among groups; differential treatment of the dead; size and placement of houses, and differences in settlement pattern (Bender 1989:86-87; Ferguson 1992:140-142; McGuire 1992:180; Miller 1989:65-66; Paynter and McGuire 1991:7; Trigger 1990:141-144).

Ian Hodder (1982:197) questions the modernist position that equates inequality to levels of complexity. Specifically, he questions whether the amount of material items (wealth) discovered in mortuary contexts reflects social differentiation and inequality. He argues that in some instances egalitarian mortuary practices may reflect a simplistic ideology not seen in actual practice, a concern for hygiene, or a form of competition for social status (Brown 1971:92; Hodder 1982:197; O'Shea 1984:1-6; Shackel and Little 1992:5-6; Trigger 1989:27-28). In other words, using mortuary behavior as an example, egalitarian burial practices may reflect a social ideal rather than a social reality (Trigger 1989:28).

Social inequality is often discussed in terms of "power relations" (Paynter and McGuire 1991:1-4). Power, in some recent studies, is described in terms of dominance and resistance relations. We are investigating "the means people use to exercise power over one another and concomitantly resist and succumb to these entreaties and pressures" (Paynter and McGuire 1991:4). Most inequality research focuses on elite tactics and strategies and their social reproduction (Paynter and McGuire 1991:14). Construction of monumental architecture, the manipulation of landscapes and mortuary practices, the use of coercive force, and the control and manipulation of production involve processes of domination (Brown 1971:92-97, 1990:1-2; Deetz and Dethlefsen 1966:30; Dye

1995:290; Leone 1972:14-19; Miller 1980:2-3; Otto 1977:91-97, 1984:59-69; Peebles and Kus 1977:431-432; Rogers 1996:61-68; Spencer-Wood 1987:321-324). Resistance studies usually focus upon overt forms such as revolutions, strikes, and sabotage (Paynter 1989:380-386; Paynter and McGuire 1991:11, 15; Wolf 1982:389), but covert forms of resistance are beginning to be investigated (Ferguson 1991:29, 1992:118; Mehrer 1995:236; Orser 1991:40-42; Paynter and McGuire 1991:12).

Current political models hold that elites employ strategies that create and maintain social inequality, strengthen political obligations, and fund new institutions of control. The ability to transform relations between producers and goods by elites in order to sustain and extend their power is one major factor of political development. Moreover, this transformational power allows elites to create new structures to consolidate their political base, while concurrently extending their control economically by patronizing certain classes of goods associated with social prestige or wealth (Brumfield and Earle 1987:3; Pauketat 1994:11-12; Wolf 1982:97).

In structurally complex societies, members of different social classes put forth competing ideologies, centered around what they perceive to be their own interests. Class relationships consist of the negotiation of these ideologies. Symbols may be adopted and manipulated by different interest groups attempting to create an ideological justification for unequal relations. Acceptance and/or negotiation of this ideological justification by the competing social classes contributes to the establishment of cultural hegemony within the society (Beaudry et al. 1996:280; Bennett et al. 1986:1-6; Pauketat 1994:31-33).

To maintain cultural hegemony, the controlling social classes or elites utilize different types of specialists to control and manipulate ideological symbols, past and present. Anthropology and archaeology, when viewed as products of the dominant or controlling social class, may well contribute to the continuation of unequal relations in our contemporary capitalistic society (Gero 1985:342). It is highly unlikely, however, that all of our current methodologies are little more than "technologies of truth" and the total deconstruction of archaeology is unwarranted (Bapty and Yates 1990:267). One of the keys, it seems, to avoiding an ethnocentric and/or Eurocentric perspective in constructing a view of the past is to employ a number of independent data sets that together are unlikely to possess identical biases (Preucel 1991:26). Now that the manner in which some forms of social inequality are created and maintained has been described, the nature of unequal relations within tribal and chiefdom level societies should be discussed.

Tribal societies are comparatively simpler entities structurally than chiefdoms; leadership is achieved rather than ascribed and temporary at best; and little or no social differentiation is concurrent with a more egalitarian social structure. Chiefdoms have been categorized as simple, intermediate or complex, and paramount complex in North American archaeology. Simple chiefdoms are distinguished by one administrative level above the local group; a single hereditary status category; a kin ordered mode of production; and a settlement pattern consisting of a sociopolitical center with small subsidiary sites. Intermediate/complex chiefdoms contain two administrative levels above the local group; two ranked, hereditary status categories; ranked hereditary chiefs; a tributary mode of production in some cases; and a settlement pattern containing a major

sociopolitical center, several minor sociopolitical centers, villages/towns, and hamlets. Paramount complex chiefdoms integrate two or more simple and/or complex chiefdoms into a single entity and exhibit most characteristics associated with complex chiefdoms (Pauketat 1994:8-9; Rees 1997:113; Scarry 1996:19-22; Steponaitis 1978:420-421; Widmer 1994:139).

Consolidation or centralization of chiefdoms is characterized “as a fragile, negotiated institution” (Earle 1991a:13). Dynamic intra-regional competition creates two opposing forces, centralizing and fragmenting, as local elites resist their overlords in efforts to establish independent authority. Chiefdoms, structurally, appear to cycle from simple to complex and then collapse into a simpler form. Regional cycling is influenced to some degree by external relations. These relationships bind elites to each other rather than to their local group. Recent projections suggest this cycle occurs about once per century. Political cycling has been expanded to include tribal level societies (Anderson 1990:188-189, 1994:362-377, 1996:242; Blitz 1999:578-580; Hally 1993:148, 1996:112; Rees 1997:114; Scarry 1990:177).

Recent research concentrating upon prehistoric Mississippian polities suggests that some polities do not conform to the cyclical model. These chiefdoms differ since they are characterized by episodes of long term development and collapse. Regardless of the model, chiefly authority is based on the mobilization of resources and labor in the form of tribute; coercive force, whether actual or implied; and legitimizing inequalities by co-opting non-elite ideologies, effectively creating cultural hegemony (Milner 1990:26-27,

1996:40-41; Pauketat 1994:182-184; Pebbles 1986:26; Rees 1997:114; Rogers 1996:55-59).

Chiefly power and authority is exercised through consumption of tribute during feasts and other ceremonial occasions (Blitz 1993b:80-81). Some of this surplus was used to support the chiefs' external alliances, therefore, providing the chiefs symbols of elite rank (Dye 1995:292). Since no economic capital (e.g. money) exists as an exchange medium in kin-ordered and tributary modes of production, symbolic capital serves as the medium of exchange. Symbolic capital, and the accumulation thereof, is central to the emergence of political authority. Raw materials, craft items, food items, and items imbued with ideological meaning or action may be regarded as capital (Bourdieu 1990:118; Rees 1997:114; Wolf 1982:73-100). Maize agriculture, especially in polities with tributary modes of production, was symbolically important to the legitimization of chiefly authority. One comparative study suggests that other food sources were utilized in the same manner as corn (Rees 1997:118-125).

Most archaeologists agree that some form of kin-ordered political economy was in operation in tribes and simple chiefdoms, while the tributary mode of production is normally associated with complex chiefdoms (Earle 1987:292-293). In complex chiefdoms with a tributary mode of production, the development of a second tier or level of chiefs has little effect on the non-elite political economy in terms of production (Earle 1991a:8-12; Pauketat 1994:9-10; Peebles and Kus 1977:427). This new level of chiefs or "incipient class" (Pauketat 1994:22-25, 31-36; Wolf 1982:97; Wright 1984:49-50) extracts tribute in the form of surplus labor or staples, but the kin-based mode of

production associated with non-elites continues (Earle 1991a:11; Pauketat 1994:74-76).

In simple terms, the mode of production stays relatively intact, but the relations of production are transformed. The non-elite economies are counterposed with elite strategies. Elites co-opt non-elite labor through politically and ritually sanctioned actions, creating a hegemonic relationship. In complex chiefdoms, hegemonic relationships may involve women resisting men, non-elites (men and women) resisting chiefs, and competition between ranked chiefly lineages.

Summary

The Native American group we know as the Choctaw has been thought to be a recent creation and the result of interaction that began after contact with European colonists (Carson 1999:11; Galloway 1989:257-258, 1994:393-394, 1995:4-6, 67-74; Kidwell 1995:3). I suggest this interpretation of Choctaw sociopolitical development reflects a Euroamerican perspective at the expense of the Native American viewpoint. I contend that the historic Choctaw were organized as a complex chiefdom rather than several simple chiefdoms organized as a confederacy and that unequal relations were present among the Choctaw. I also take the position that traditional Choctaw leadership categories did not collapse, but continued after removal to Oklahoma because the Choctaw were organized as a complex chiefdom and, as such, were able to better resist Euroamerican domination. Archaeological and ethnohistorical data will be used to support different aspects of my argument.

Ethnohistorical data will be used to reevaluate Choctaw mortuary customs, settlement pattern, male social ranking, and leadership categories. Information derived from the historic Mississippi Choctaw will be compared to the post-removal Oklahoma Choctaw population in order to document unequal relations among the Choctaw. These data should also document changes within Choctaw society as a result of interaction with Euroamericans.

In order to examine social inequality among the Choctaw archaeologically, assemblages from four Oklahoma Choctaw sites will be analyzed. The material culture assemblages and depositional contexts from these sites must be described since these data are lacking for the most part. Intra- and intersite comparisons will be conducted to document the material manifestations of social inequality in the Oklahoma Choctaw sites.

Chapter Two

Choctaw Ethnohistory

Introduction

Ethnohistorical data have been used to construct interpretive models of contact period Native American societies in the southeastern United States. The interpretative value of these data has been a source of contention between anthropologists and historians since the early twentieth century (Axtell 1979:3-4; Tilley 1984:363-364). Issues raised in these debates range from simply defining ethnohistory to the application of general social theories. Clearly, adherence to discipline-driven positions has fragmented research efforts rather than advanced them (Axtell 1988:12-19; Cohn 1981:242-245; Trigger 1982:3-4). Nonetheless, this dialogue has produced a corpus of work that minimally serves to identify potential problems with an ethnohistorical approach (Fogelson 1989:138-140; Sahlins 1983:521-524; Tilley 1984:375, 394-395; Whitecotton and Whitecotton 1982:121).

Ethnohistory is a multi-disciplinary approach combining the four subdisciplines of anthropology with a refined critical analysis of documentary sources. The flexibility of the approach has allowed it to be fruitfully applied within both anthropological and historical theoretical frameworks (Lee 1998:15; Whitecotton and Whitecotton 1982:121).

Ethnocentric (Axtell 1979:1-7; Cohn 1981:229-233) as well as Eurocentric (Amin 1989:1-11; Burley et al. 1992:1-13) perspectives were symptomatic of early interpretive frameworks. Oral and documentary data of indigenous peoples have been rejected outright (Lowie 1915:597; Mason 2000:241), ridiculed (Trevor-Roper 1965:9), and

subjected to the process of legitimization (White 1983:xvi). On the other hand, documents produced by non-native individuals are often used *prima facie* without close examination or critical evaluation (e.g. Schilz 1994; cf. Binnema 1994). Integration of indigenous cultural systems and the manner in which they order information into future research has been suggested as a way to expand the narrower European perspective (Axtell 1988:125-143; Echo-Hawk 2000:268).

Problems using Euroamerican documents to build models of Native American ethnohistory have been recognized for over 50 years (Griffith 1954:44; Lee 1998:114). One way to overcome these problems is the “careful and critical analysis of the validity of each document used” (Wedel 1981:2). Translation also presents a problem, since one can render either a literal or a figurative context to the document. Whatever the form, the translation must “make sense in context and yet adhere closely enough to the original wording to avoid intrusion of unwarranted interpretation” (Wedel 1981:3).

Since it is apparent that the Choctaw have been the subject of numerous ethnohistorical and historical works, why, then, is additional ethnohistorical research necessary? The answer can be simply stated with one word: perspective. As described above, some perspectives may be the result of relying too heavily upon information derived from only one or two historical resources. In other instances, differences in interpretation may reflect the inability to detect biases and other “blind spots” associated with the creators of the documentary sources (Galloway 1986:19; Lorenz 1997:99). Although most documentary sources used in Choctaw research have been scrutinized by many scholars at different time periods, they may provide additional insights when coupled

with newly published data and critical historical analysis. Two such examples are presented in order to demonstrate the need for additional ethnohistorical research.

The first example involves the particulars of an elderly woman's death among the Choctaw and will serve as an example of how perspectives change through time, especially when different sources are used to explore the event or interpretations derived from it. The death occurred near the Elliot Missionary School in 1819. The school was located near the Yalobusha River in present day Mississippi and was run by Protestant missionaries. An elderly woman was accused of being a witch after a visitor at the mission school died. The deceased's father and several other Choctaw males confronted this woman and accused her of witchcraft. Ignoring her admonitions and statement of innocence, the Choctaw men killed this woman (Cushman 1999:74-76; Kidwell 1995:32, fn14).

From the perspective of the missionaries living among the Choctaw, this event lent credence to their efforts to convert the Choctaw (Cushman 1999:76; Kidwell 1995:32). Cushman (1999:74-75) provided a fairly detailed account of the killing, including statements from the woman, despite the fact that the event occurred three years before his birth. The elder woman was identified as *Illichih* (Cushman 1999:74). Swanton (1931:195, 239-240) used the event and others to document witchcraft among the Choctaw and modified Cushman's (1999:260-261) statement that the Choctaw never accused anyone of being a witch except old and decrepit women. Apparently, men had also been identified as witches since the early eighteenth century (Swanton 1931:239).

Swanton's information concerning cross-gender witchcraft is supported by ethnographic information from the contemporary Jena Band of Choctaw community in La Salle Parish, Louisiana. In the 1980s to 1990s, two prominent Jena Choctaw, one male and one female, were believed by community members to be either medicine people or witches. Perspective as to witch/medicine person was dependent upon family and faction. A series of misfortunes in both families was attributed to bad medicine or witchcraft activities taking place between the two individuals. At the time of the purported witchcraft occurrences, the community as a whole was under considerable stress associated with the Federal recognition process.

A recent historical study of the Choctaw suggests that the accusation of witchcraft was not random. The Choctaw, like other Native American societies, searched for sources of instability in order to remove them. Witches were the most often identified source of unpredicted illness, accidents, and bad luck. Therefore, the Choctaw singled out "anomalous women" and killed them in order to remove the source of instability. This behavior was interpreted as part of a long-standing process of managing change and disorder rather than a response to the missionaries and their religion (Carson 1999:104-105). Killing female witches may also be interpreted as aggression played out along gender lines.

Re-examination of the Elliot Mission School material confirms most of what has been published with one exception. The woman identified as *Illichih* was not Choctaw, but was an inter-married Chickasaw woman (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Journal of Elliot Mission. Microfilm Reel 759, 1819, Oklahoma

Historical Society, Oklahoma City). Thus, the choice of this particular woman as a witch and agent of the young Choctaw woman's death places the blame on an outside source. This shift in blame from inside to outside the Choctaw may seem insignificant except for the fact that the woman could be killed without fear of igniting a moiety-based blood feud (Blitz 1985:11; Carson 1999:15; Galloway 1982a:289; Kidwell 1995:4; Swanton 1931:104-105).

In a second example, the English translation of the Journal of Beauchamp (Rowland et al. 1984, hereinafter MPA FD:IV:269-297) describes a meeting between the Choctaw and *Tamatlemingo*, war chief of the Alabama. The Alabama war chief was accompanied by his son who was described as "a Choctaw settled among them and the nephew of the Red Shoe mentioned above" (MPA FD:IV:287). The identification of the Alabama chief's son as Choctaw and not Alabama was interpreted as the result of matrilineal descent practiced by the Choctaw. "The Alabama chief's son must have been a Choctaw matrilineally because his mother, sister to the Soulouche Houma of Yanabe, was a Choctaw" (MPA FD:IV:296, fn 49).

This interpretation seems plausible given the established facts that most, if not all, historic southeastern Native American groups practiced matrilineal descent, and intermarriage between the Choctaw and other Native American groups is documented. However, the Choctaw's overly cautious reaction to the words of the Alabama chief did not seem logical, especially if he had married a Choctaw woman.

The Alabama chief's son was described as Choctaw in another passage. "On the twelfth, Tamatlemingo of the Alabamas, [with] his son, a Choctaw of the Yanabe settled

among them, arrived, accompanied by the Red Shoe of Tombecbe and by Assétaoumastabe of the Conchas..." (MPA FD:IV:288).

The microfilmed copy of Beauchamp's journal housed at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History was consulted to see if additional information could be discovered. The microfilmed copy of the French version of the above passage above is: "Le 12: Tamatlémíngo des Allibamonts, son fils, et un Tchactaa des yanabé, étably chez eux, sons arrivés, accompagnés du soulier rouge des Tombekbe, et D'assétaoumastabe des Conchaa..." (The Journal of Beauchamp, 1748, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Research group 24, reel 37, fol. 236-237, Jackson [hereinafter cited as MDAH RG 24 Reel 37]). This passage is translated as "The 12th: Tamatlémíngo of the Alabamas, his son, *and* a Choctaw of the Yanabe, settled among them, arrived, accompanied by Red Shoe of the Tombekbe, and by Assétaoumastabe of the Conchas..." [Translated by D. Lee; emphasis added].

Clearly, editorial changes have altered the meaning of this passage. The MPA version adds "with" his son, and omits "and" between the Chief's son and the Choctaw male, a substitution that changes the context of the passage and calls the identity of certain individuals into question. The translation error has been compounded since the English version was used to develop interpretations of inter-group relations and ethnic affiliation (Galloway 1994:393-420). Galloway (1994:408) suggested, based on the English translation, that inter-group relations were cemented by high level marriages between the Choctaw and other tribes like the Alabama. The movement of Choctaw women to other groups was noted as unusual because Choctaw males married into the wife's family's

household. However, this unusual occurrence created a situation in which a child retained its mother's ethnic identity while gaining rank in the outside group (Galloway 1994:408). The new translation of this passage suggests that the Yanabe male was accorded respect because he was Choctaw - not because he was the issue of an Alabama-Choctaw marriage - and was the actual nephew of a chief. In addition, the projected relationship of ethnic identity, intergroup marriages, and attained rank is moot. Now that the need for additional ethnohistorical analysis is firmly established, specific problems need to be addressed.

The first of these problems is an evaluation of Patricia Galloway's (1995:4-7, 67-74) model of Choctaw development. This model is the most comprehensive presented thus far for the Choctaw. Examination of archaeological and ethnohistorical data presented in this research suggests, contrary to the model, that occupation of the region was continuous from the Woodland through Historic periods rather than a virtually empty area that was settled after De Soto's expedition. Ethnohistorical data suggest that many of the groups believed to form the historic Choctaw did not, in fact, immigrate into the Choctaw Homeland but were settled elsewhere in their respective territories. Archaeological data do not support the position that differences noted in Choctaw ceramics are related to different ethnic backgrounds. Thus, it seems that the historic Choctaw are the result of long term *in situ* development rather than a recently coalesced group of disparate immigrants.

Secondly, extant perspectives of historic Choctaw sociopolitical organization will be challenged with the argument that the historic Choctaw represent a chiefdom level

organization rather than a segmentary tribe (Sahlins 1968:29-32). Further, this research will also demonstrate that some previous interpretations of Choctaw male classification are in error and a new model will be presented. Finally, this research will document the fact that Choctaw sociopolitical organization was modified, in some instances along traditional lines, by sustained contact with Euroamericans, but did not collapse as others have suggested (Faiman-Silva 1997:58-75; White 1983:78-81) and continued after removal to Oklahoma (Carson 1999:133). Therefore, unequal relations should be present in Oklahoma and manifest in the material culture associated with Choctaw house sites.

Choctaw Genesis

The basic framework of Galloway's (1995:67-74) model of Choctaw development is based upon the concepts of sociopolitical devolution and what is commonly referred to in recent archaeological literature as chiefdom cycling (Friedman 1975:186, Figure 9; see also Anderson 1990:188-189, 1994:362-377, 1996:242; Blitz 1999:578-580; Hally 1993:148, 1996:112; Rees 1997:113; Scarry 1990:177). Simply, less complex societies such as tribes evolve into more complex societies such as chiefdoms. If chiefdoms do not become states, they devolve back into simpler tribal societies. This process is cyclical and may occur repeatedly. Galloway extends the concept to consider the question of what happens to the non-elite population when chiefdoms devolve. The "answer," or more appropriately, the model, she presents for the Choctaw is that several different late prehistoric populations migrated into what has been historically labeled the Choctaw Homeland, beginning the tribe-to-chiefdom cycle anew. This homeland (Figure 2.1) in

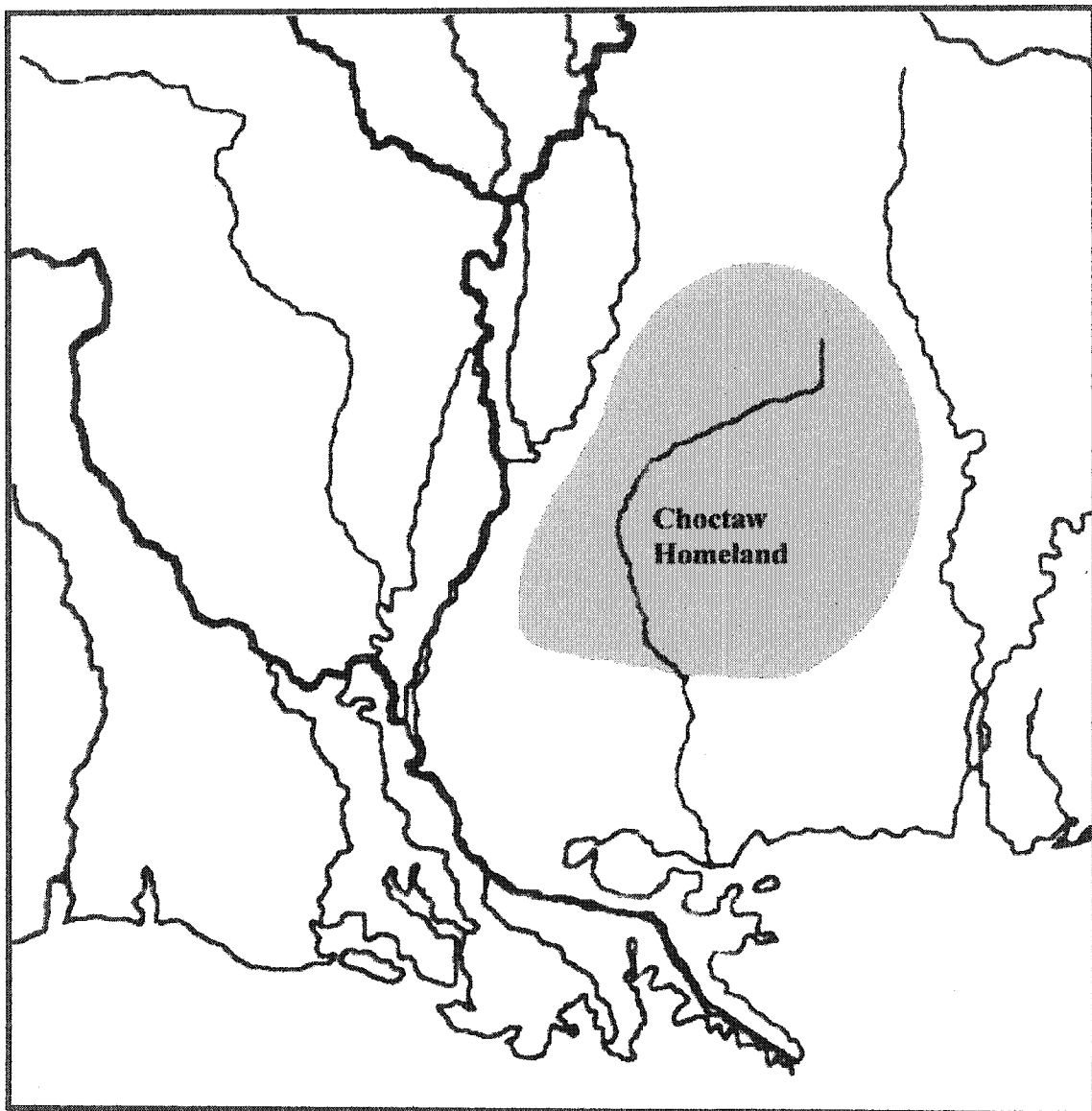


Figure 2.1. Choctaw Homeland (Adapted from Blitz 1985, map 1; Carson 1999, Fig. 1; Galloway 1994, Fig. 1; Swanton 1931, Plate 3)

east-central Mississippi is characterized as an “empty quarter” (Brown 1985:4-6), devoid of any Mississippian occupation (Galloway 1995:28, 122-127, Figure 3.3).

Archaeological investigations focusing upon prehistoric southeastern North America suggest the tribe-simple chiefdom-complex chiefdom cycling model is too simple to account for the variation observed in Mississippian social organization (Blitz 1999:578-580). Along with this realization is the acknowledgment that older definitions of Mississippian should be refined, as should research upon these pre-state entities (Pauketat 1994:2-6). Studies of the rise of elites and their interaction with commoners are best approached at the regional rather than the pan-regional level (Barker and Pauketat 1992:1; Maxham 2000:337-350). This is not to say that inter-regional comparisons are not fruitful; however, studies have demonstrated that regional databases differ significantly enough to warrant close consideration of any interpretations derived from them (e.g. Moundville vs. Big Black River).

In her comparison of archaeological data from the Late Woodland (A.D. 400-1000), Mississippian (A.D. 1000-1500), and Protohistoric (A.D. 1500-1700) periods, Galloway (1995:27-204) suggests that two or three groups migrated into the Choctaw Homeland from the Natchez Bluff region to the west, from the Moundville region to the east, and from the Mobile Bay area to the south. These groups amalgamated with a resident population from the lower Pearl River during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to form the historic Choctaw (Galloway 1995:303). Apparently; this was not a migration *en masse*, but a continuous process throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Galloway 1995:142-143). Differences in speech, material culture, and mortuary

behavior among the historic Choctaw were attributed to the separate ethnic origins of each group (Galloway 1995:342-346). Secondary processing of the dead was seemingly performed for all the Choctaw. This “egalitarian” practice served as a leveling mechanism among the constituent groups and may have been one method of creating solidarity (Galloway 1995:301, 359)

Galloway (1995:124) states that archaeological surveys have demonstrated that the Choctaw Homeland was not occupied during the late prehistoric Mississippian period. Much of the evidence used to support this “empty quarter” thesis is derived from a settlement study conducted primarily in Clay County, Mississippi, to the north of the Choctaw Homeland (Galloway:1994:399, 1995:57, 124). This study suggests a settlement pattern shift occurred between the late Mississippian and Protohistoric periods (Johnson and Sparks 1986). Sites from both periods were tabulated for five physiographic zones as well as six different stream orders in the study area. In addition, soil analyses were completed in order to determine the specific soil characteristics found in each type of stream order (Johnson and Sparks 1986:Tables 5.2-5.4).

Site density indicates broad terraces along major streams were the most common Mississippian site setting, contrasting significantly with the low ridges and bluffs seemingly favored during the Protohistoric (Johnson and Sparks 1986:66-68). Most Protohistoric sites are single component, while Mississippian sites are overwhelmingly multi-component (Johnson and Sparks 1986:65, Table 5.1). The agriculturally marginal site setting noted for the Protohistoric is believed to be an optimal location to take advantage of bottomland hardwood and prairie resources, most notably white-tailed deer. In sum, the Protohistoric

pattern indicates a de-emphasis on intensive, large-scale agriculture and a re-emphasis on hunting. Decentralization of the Protohistoric population is concurrent with a de-emphasis on agriculture and is reflected by smaller site sizes, cessation of mound building, and no strong indicators of socioeconomic centralization (Johnson and Sparks 1986:75-77).

Inspection of site data presented and more recent investigations in the Clay County, Mississippi, area provide a different interpretation of Mississippian and Protohistoric settlement patterns. The site domain utilized in the Clay County study consisted of 334 sites discovered during three separate archaeological surveys. "Except for a small number of test pits excavated during the Line Creek survey, the sample is represented entirely by surface collections" (Johnson and Sparks 1986:65). Eighty-four components were identified as either Mississippian or Protohistoric. Distinguishing Mississippian and Protohistoric components in the sample was problematic since material culture varied little between the two periods. Protohistoric components were separated from the others using a distinctive set of ceramic rim decorative modes. However, these rim modes were not always present, even on sites that were Protohistoric. In some cases, location alone was the only criterion used to classify the sites (Peacock and Rafferty 1996:249-250; Rafferty 1996:239-241).

New site data and ceramic interpretation indicate that Mississippian and Protohistoric sites occurred in the same ecological settings rather than mutually exclusive ones. These data also suggest that single component sites were as common in the Mississippian period as they were in the Protohistoric. As an aside, site data also indicates

settlement continuity between Woodland and Mississippian period sites (Hogue and Peacock 1995:40-41; Peacock 1995:18-19; Rafferty 1996:237-238). Finally, there is evidence of a settlement pattern shift, but it occurred during the Historic period rather than the preceding Protohistoric period (Peacock and Rafferty 1996:249).

Some archaeological surveys conducted within the Choctaw Homeland have interpreted the relative paucity or complete lack of Late Prehistoric sites as not being the result of a sampling error (Blitz 1985:40-46; Galloway 1995:124). One assessment of the Pearl River basin presents data to the contrary. Site data were sufficient to state that "the fact that Mississippian sites have been located virtually the entire length of the Pearl River suggests that the entire Pearl River basin may have been utilized by Mississippian populations" (D. Price 1982:[8]-4). In addition, two studies of the Tallahala Reservoir in the Choctaw Homeland found clear evidence of Mississippian occupations (Atkinson and Blakeman 1975:22; Tesar 1974:114). Mississippian sites accounted for nearly one-third of the total number of sites discovered during one survey (Atkinson and Blakeman 1975:22, Table 2). These data lead one to conclude that the Choctaw Homeland was occupied during the Late Prehistoric period.

A strong argument may be made for European diseases impacting historic Native American populations in certain portions of the Southeast (Dobyns 1983:1-11; Smith 1986:54-58). However, controversy exists over the effect of virgin soil pandemics during the time between A.D. 1500-1700 (Dobyns 1983:11-16, 205, 254-270, 290; Dunnell 1992:361-364; Perttula 1992:502; Ramenofsky 1987:1 cf. Henige 1986:293-294; Lee 1998:15-24; Snow and Lamphear 1987:30-31; Thornton 1987; Thornton et al. 1992:190-

193; Ubelaker 1992:169). Galloway (1995:123-143) is fairly certain these epidemics had little or no affect in the Choctaw Homeland since most of the European expeditions did not enter this area (Galloway 1995:134-143). On the other hand, populations from the Natchez Bluff, Mobile Bay, and Moundville areas may have been affected by these diseases, prompting them to migrate into the Choctaw Homeland.

The evidence suggesting migration from the Natchez Bluff region may be disputed (Galloway 1995:353-358, Figure 9.1). Archaeological investigations have recovered data associated with mound and non-mound sites dating from the late Mississippian through Historic periods in the Natchez Bluff region (Brown 1982:188, 1985:188-189; Ford 1936:59-64; Neitzel 1965:90-92; Steponaitis 1981:327-328). The lack of protohistoric and historic materials, especially at the Anna and Emerald mound sites, has been viewed as the result of population loss from migration (Galloway 1995:353-358). A recent study of the area suggests that the paucity of protohistoric and historic materials may reflect the fact that plowing has definitely destroyed the upper portions of these mounds (Lorenz 1997:102, fn12). Ian Brown (1985:4-6, Figure 3) indicates that the low density of non-mound sites in the northern Natchez Bluff region is likely the result of most of this population shifting south rather than west. Little evidence of this population shift to the south has been discovered in the southern bluff region. Brown (1985:6) suggests this lack of evidence does not mean that these people did not move south, only that the sites have not been located. Ethnic affiliation was difficult to determine for some of the historic sites in the southern bluff region since they were occupied by Native Americans as well as French colonial settlers (Brown 1985:189).

Similarly, there is evidence indicating that some of the Moundville and Mobile Bay area populations may have settled together on the Alabama River rather than migrating into the Choctaw Homeland. Native American groups contacted by the De Soto and de Luna expeditions during the sixteenth century suggest that at least the Mogluasha (Moculixa) and Pakana (Talipacana) were settled in the region at this time. At least a portion of the Koasati (Conachiqui) moved south after the De Soto expedition, while the Alabama moved east (Booker et al. 1992:411, 427-428, 435; Galloway 1995:Tables 3.6-3.7; Smith 1987:Table 2.2). Galloway's (1995:329-330) statement that the Choctaw claimed a portion of the old Moundville chiefdom is correct. However, the Creek also claimed this area. Both claims occurred after the area had been abandoned by the Alabama and three other groups ca.1763 (Green 1982:48-54, Map 6; Hunter et al. 1997:41-92). This suggests that the Choctaw claim was a response to events after 1763, rather than an attempt to reclaim territory occupied in the past by one of the groups presumed to form the historic Choctaw.

Evidence of different ethnic backgrounds, as reflected in material culture assemblages for the Choctaw, is weak or non-existent. Galloway (1995:273-276) takes this position in her assessment of historic Choctaw material culture. Comparison of assemblages from three Choctaw divisions indicate differences existed, but it could not be determined with any certainty if these differences were temporal or ethnic (Galloway 1995:273). Material culture recovered from Choctaw sites thus far could place them temporally in either the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. European creamware and pearlware have been recovered from Choctaw sites, suggesting they may date to the late

eighteenth century. However, both of these European ceramic types are found in contexts dating between 1800-1830. Since most Choctaw sites are represented by small surface collections, it is virtually impossible to accurately determine the occupational span of most Choctaw sites because no concrete stratigraphic relationships have been established for European and Choctaw material culture (cf. Galloway 1995:276).

This evaluation of Galloway's model suggests that archaeological data are ambiguous enough to support both her position and those to the contrary. Review of site data has revealed that the Choctaw Homeland was probably occupied during the Late Prehistoric instead of being devoid of any significant population. Also, these data support the position that populations from the Natchez Bluff and Moundville areas did not migrate into this homeland, but shifted elsewhere within their "home" territories. Evidence of ethnic differences as expressed in material culture among the Choctaw is not well supported by the present Choctaw site sample. As a matter of fact, archaeologists have no clear picture of what eighteenth and nineteenth century Choctaw material culture assemblages contain. Thus, Galloway's position should be viewed still as a testable hypothesis rather than a statement of fact (Mitchem 1997:121).

Ethnohistorical data presented thus far suggests that a model of *in situ* development of the historic Choctaw can be supported. I suggest that this development trajectory began after the demise of the Moundville chiefdom, ca. 1400 A.D. The decline of the Moundville chiefdom likely created a power vacuum (Galloway 1995:348) that allowed the simple chiefdoms present in the Choctaw Homeland to become a complex chiefdom. The development trajectory does not seem to be interrupted by virgin soil

epidemics since most of the early European expeditions did not venture into the Choctaw Homeland. Thus, by sustained contact, Choctaw sociopolitical organization reflected a fully developed complex chiefdom. In order to support this argument, Choctaw sociopolitical organization, mortuary rituals, male classification, and chiefly power will be investigated to demonstrate that the Choctaw were structurally organized as a complex chiefdom.

Choctaw Sociopolitical Organization

One of the factors indicating the development or presence of a complex chiefdom is a hierarchical settlement pattern. Settlements, based on prehistoric examples, include a primary or dominant sociopolitical center containing ranking elites as well as secondary centers ruled by lower ranked elites. Towns and/or villages are around the primary and secondary centers. Groups of individual farmsteads comprise the towns or villages and constitute the non-elite members of the chiefdom. This type of settlement pattern must be documented among the Choctaw since they are believed to represent a complex chiefdom.

Farmsteads were the smallest unit of organization among the historic Choctaw. A single, minimally extended family inhabited each farmstead (Blitz 1985:30; Carson 1999:52; Rogers 1996:60-64). Several different types of structures were present and included a rectangular house, an open walled ramada, a corn crib, and in some instances a small circular "sweat lodge" (Swanton 1918:57; Romans 1999 [1775]:127, 137 cf. Carson 1999:52). Hamlets contained two or more farmsteads and are believed to represent the households of a single lineage, since the Choctaw were matrilineal and followed matrilineal

residency rules. Villages were comprised of two or more hamlets and represent two or more matrilineages. Towns may represent either the integration of several villages (two or more hamlets), or a very large village that is considered a town.

In Blitz's model, the farmstead would be identified archaeologically as a scatter of material culture covering an area approximately 40-60 m in diameter (Blitz 1985:31). Leadership at the farmstead level would be restricted to the eldest maternal uncle. Several discreet scatters of artifacts would indicate the presence of a hamlet (Blitz 1985:31). Leadership at the hamlet level would be invested in a senior ranking lineage male. Villages were governed by either a subchief or moiety head. The material culture assemblages found in villages would display a wider range of artifacts in relatively higher densities than assemblages associated with either farmsteads or villages (Blitz 1985:31). Larger villages or towns were ruled by *mingos* and would be differentiated from smaller settlements by the quantity and quality of artifacts.

Several towns, villages, and hamlets would be integrated politically and ceremonially into an *okla*. *Oklas* have been interpreted as simple chiefdoms (Blitz 1985:8; White 1983:37). The largest town in the *okla* would serve as the chief's residence and contain a ceremonial precinct, the chief's warehouse, chunky or stickball field, cemeteries, and a council structure. Two or more simple chiefdoms or *oklas* would be included within divisions. Similar to simple chiefdoms, the largest town in the division would serve as the political and ceremonial center under leadership of a *mingo* (Blitz 1985:30). Finally, divisions were loosely organized as a confederation.

Okla is somewhat difficult to isolate structurally. The term has been used as the

equivalent of simple chiefdom (Blitz 1985:8, 1993a:11-12; White 1983:37). "In a sense chiefdom, town, and people were all synonymous" (White 1983:37). People, tribe, nation, citizen, folks, persons, community, town, party, and region are a few of the many English correlates for *okla* (Byington 1915:297). *Okla* as chiefdom, then, is a purely etic interpretation that warrants further examination.

Regis du Roullet produced a list in 1732 that separated towns or villages into those with chiefs and those without (MPA FD I:150-154). Joseph de Lusser's 1730 list contains more detailed information and enumerates towns with dependencies and those without (MPA FD I:116-117). A comparison of the two lists indicates that all towns had chiefs, but some dependencies did not. Any town that had a chief has been designated a simple chiefdom or *okla* (White 1983:37, fn 6).

Tala was a town that contained either 30 or 60 men thought capable of bearing arms by the French, and had one dependent village with 30 men and no chief (MPA FD I:44, 117, 150). The chief of Tala has been identified as either *Tchikacha oulakta* or *Oulakta benia* (MPA FD I:43, 150). Territorially, Tala contained all the area between Tarlow and Bogue Felamma creeks (Blitz 1985:14, Map 2; Halbert 1901; MPA FD I:43). Couenchito was seemingly not much larger, with a population of between 40 and 80 males capable of bearing arms. Four dependant villages with chiefs and a population of 180 males were listed under the direction of Couenchito (MPA FD I:116). The chief of Couenchito was *mingo chito*, head chief of all the Choctaw. Seven other chiefs were listed in addition to the head chief (MPA FD I:41). Couenchito was the leading town of the *Okla Chito* division (MPA FD I:152-153), in addition to serving as the political center

for all Choctaw.

Besides differences like the number of dependencies, there were qualitative differences between Tala and Couenchito. Tala was a constituent town of the Sixtowns Division while Couenchito was the leading town in its division. Two different men have been identified as chief of Tala. Both individuals' titles contained *inholahta* (*oulakta*), suggesting they were ranking moiety headmen (Galloway 1982a:292-293). No other chiefs or functionaries were listed for the town. Couenchito, on the other hand, not only had *Mingo chito* (Choctaw Great Chief), but also had seven other *mingoes* and functionaries. Couenchito's dependencies were led by men who also had *mingo* as part of their title, but there was a distinction worth noting between the two sets of chiefs. *Mingo* was used as a noun in the case of *Mingo chito*, but was used as an adjective for dependency chiefs such as *Tashkamingo*. This nominalization of the adjective was replicated throughout du Roullet's list. Men such as *Tashkamingo* who governed dependencies were probably subchiefs who formed part of the Great Chief's council (Galloway 1982a:293, 1989:260-261).

Tala and Couenchito seemed to be about the same size, but as the leading town/village, Couenchito would contain a ceremonial precinct, chunky ground, and other indicators of site hierarchy, whereas Tala would not. Governed by a moiety head with a single chiefless dependency, Tala conforms more closely to the description of a small town or village rather than chiefdom. Couenchito's four dependencies also fit the same parameters for a small town or village. Couenchito, on the other hand, corresponds well with Blitz's (1985:7-16) model of a large town with some or all of its constituent smaller

towns and villages listed. Comparison of the two towns suggests that White (1983:37) erred in classifying any town with a chief as a simple chiefdom. This error occurred, in part, by not recognizing different levels of chiefs.

There are two interpretations of how many divisions existed among the Choctaw after sustained contact. Confusion also exists concerning the nature of these divisions - whether they represent actual geographic subdivisions or culturally defined spaces. Swanton (1931:55-56) suggested there were four divisions that were geographical in nature. Eight documents were utilized in his research spanning the French and Spanish colonial periods. Based on data contained within these documents, the Choctaw were separated into the east, west, south, and central divisions (Swanton 1931:55-76). In his discussions of the Choctaw Civil War, Bernard Romans identified the *okla tannap* (eastern division), the *okla falaya* (western division), the *okla hannali* (Sixtowns division), and the Chickasawhays. Henry Halbert (1901:379) separated the Choctaw into three geographical divisions, but stated that at least two divisions were consolidated during the nineteenth century. A more recent interpretation suggests that four divisions may have existed, but were political rather than geographical in nature (Blitz 1985:112-115).

The presence of four divisions is supported by the fact that sociopolitical situations were dealt with by, or structured around, the number four. Four principle chiefs from the Conchas town went to Mobile to negotiate with the French in 1729 (MPA FD I:26-27). The Choctaw Great Chief was accompanied by three principle chiefs when they met in 1729 with Regis du Roullet, a French officer and trader (MPA FD I:27-28, 172). Four men carried du Roullet into a council, while four men held a canopy above his head (MPA

FD I:28, 172). Choctaw and French emissaries met in an open space enclosed by four large trees (Carson 1999:57). Four "medicine men" were judges during stickball games (Catlin 1913:140-141; Kidwell 1995:9; Swanton 1931:143).

The number four is demonstrated to be a symbolic expression of Choctaw culture, as with many other Native American people. This symbolism is evident in social situations that range from birth to death, and seems to support a structure of four divisions. A maternal uncle named a child shortly after its birth. Only four people knew this name - the child, both parents, and the maternal uncle. Marriage rules prohibited marriage within four generations (Swanton 1931:135). At the end of Choctaw funerals, two moiety heads assisted by pole pullers sang a song that was structured as a call and response. The call had four parts, as did the response. The call/response was repeated four times (Halbert 1900:364).

The number four is also linked symbolically with the cardinal directions. During national councils, the Choctaw head chief or his speaker stood on top of the mound, Nanih Waya, and faced the four cardinal directions before starting council deliberations (Swanton 1931:101). One class of Choctaw religious specialists drew a cross denoting the four directions in the ground before beginning a ceremony to create rain (Carson 1999:22).

Despite Swanton's evidence of four divisions, several scholars infer that there were only three divisions among the Choctaw (Carson 1999:27; Halbert 1901:379; Galloway 1982b:163; Kidwell 1995:17), based upon statements made by Henri de Tonti. Tonti's actual letters have been lost, or at the very least, have not been located at this time. The

information attributed to de Tonti is contained in extracts made by Claude Delisle from two of Tonti's letters (Galloway 1982b:166). Four Choctaw men and two Choctaw women accompanied de Tonti on his 1702 peace expedition to the Chickasaw. The letter extracts indicate that only three of the men were chiefs, and no mention was made of the women's role in this affair. One Choctaw male stated that he spoke only for his people. This fact prompted de Tonti to state that only three men were chiefs, which has been subsequently interpreted to indicate that only three divisions existed (Galloway 1982b:163).

Tonti's opinion on the number of chiefs who accompanied him on the expedition must be called into question. It is clear from statements found later in the letter extracts that de Tonti and his Choctaw interpreter had trouble understanding one another. This problem seemed to continue until the Choctaw and de Tonti reached the Chickasaw villages, where they found a man who could speak Illinois (Galloway 1982b:169). The Illinois speaker was able to translate de Tonti's wishes that the Choctaw and Chickasaw journey to Mobile to conclude a peace agreement, which they agreed to do. It is clear from this information that Tonti's interpretation of Choctaw social structure should not be accepted as definitive.

In 1732, French officer and trader, Regis du Roullet, divided the Choctaw into three divisions (MPA FD I:150-154). These divisions correspond to the west (*okla falaya*), center (*okla chito*), and east (*okla tannap*) divisions. These divisions also coincide with the headwaters of the Chickasaw, Pearl, and Tombigbee rivers. This coincidence may not be as fortuitous as it seems. Regis du Roullet's mission in 1732 was

to create accurate maps of the Pearl River and the main road to the Choctaw villages in order to ascertain their fitness as potential invasion routes into Chickasaw country (MPA FD I:150). The geographic orientation of the divisions and associated population aggregates suggests that du Roulet's divisions were a prime example of a European interpretation co-opting or obscuring native arrangements (Blitz 1985:12).

Additional evidence for three divisions is found in the "Anonymous Relation," dated tentatively to the middle-eighteenth century (Swanton 1918:53-72). The author of the document states definitively that, "The French divide them into three cantons (Swanton 1918:54). *Okla annali* was the name given to the eastern division, while *okla tanampa* corresponded to the western division. The southern division was labeled *Taboka* (Swanton 1918:54, fn 3). The author of this work does provide evidence on the origin of three divisions: they were definitely French.

Three divisions were utilized in the Spanish Colonial period as well. Spanish censuses divided the Choctaw into the Large Sector, Small Sector, and Six Villages. These divisions roughly correlate with *Ahepat Okla*, *Okla Falaya*, and *Okla Hannali* (Holmes 1968:33). Americans continued to use three divisions that included the Western, Northeastern, and Southeastern. *Okla Falaya* and *Ahepat Okla* were correlates for the first two American divisions, but there is no complementary Choctaw name for the American Southeastern division (Halbert 1901)

The three divisions identified by non-Choctaw observers were not consistent in name or geographical location. The Western, or *Okla Falaya*, division is the only group that maintained its identity during the French and Spanish colonial eras and the American

period. Linguistic incompetence may account for some of the discrepancies noted between the various sources. Also, non-Choctaw observers described conditions specific to their time period that might account for differences in division nomenclature.

Reviewing the various historical information, it becomes evident that the three division arrangement was a reflection of European and American perspectives, while a four division system would more likely conform to Choctaw social organization. As stated earlier, Swanton (1931:58) labeled the four divisions as east, west, south, and central based on European colonial perspectives. I suggest that the central division be changed to north based on the fact that the four cardinal directions were symbolically important to the Choctaw (Carson 1992:22). I suggest that the use of three divisions in models of Choctaw society should be discontinued since they reinforce and extend a non-native perspective.

This examination of Choctaw sociopolitical organization confirmed the presence of a hierarchal settlement pattern containing a primary center ruled by a small group of elites and secondary centers ruled by lower ranked elites. Towns and their constituent villages and hamlets were distinguished and their leaders identified. Choctaw political divisions reflected and reinforced two important symbolic elements: the number four and the four cardinal directions. Four, as a symbol, seems to be very important to the Choctaw since it appears in marriage rules, mortuary rituals, naming ceremonies, national council, political divisions, and religious ceremonies.

Ethnohistorical data clearly demonstrates that the Choctaw have all the structural elements of a complex chiefdom. These data also suggest that many aspects of Choctaw

society are centered around or structured by the number four and/or the four cardinal directions. The pervasiveness of these symbols suggests the possibility that they may form part of an ideology as they did in one late prehistoric chiefdom. The late prehistoric use of the number four and/or the cardinal directions was to support and reinforce an elite ideology (Pauketat 1992:38, 1994:100-101; Pauketat and Emerson 1997:271). This suggests that these symbols may have functioned in a similar manner among the Choctaw. If so, this elite ideology would legitimize Choctaw chief's elite status and therefore unequal relations in the complex chiefdom.

Choctaw Mortuary Program

The Choctaw method of secondary processing of the deceased has been characterized as an egalitarian form of burial ritual used as a leveling device among the diverse groups forming the Choctaw confederacy. This form of burial was also instrumental in creating solidarity among the groups (Galloway 1995:301, 359). Reexamination of historical sources indicates that chiefs were afforded deferential treatment that separated them from the rest of Choctaw society throughout the eighteenth century. I argue that secondary processing is only one aspect of Choctaw mortuary ritual and evidence of unequal relations may be found in other aspects of this ritual.

The primary method of burial preparation described for the Choctaw was secondary processing of the dead for eventual interment (Romans 1999 [1775]:140-143; Swanton 1918:64-65, 1931:170-194). Extended burials were reserved for enemies and those who committed suicide (Galloway 1995:303). Immediately after death, the

deceased was placed on a scaffold. Material goods, food, and water were placed with the corpse and all were covered. In some instances a man's belongings were given away . In others, the belongings were left with the house and the house burned (Swanton 1931:172).

After the corpse had decomposed for approximately six months, family members gathered and a ritualistic defleshing of the corpse was conducted. The corpse was removed from the scaffold and de-fleshed by a specialist commonly noted as the "bone picker" by the French. A feast was held after the defleshing ceremony. Subsequently, the skeletal remains were put in a hamper and placed in a charnel house. Rituals were held yearly until the charnel house was full. When full, the contents (hampers) were removed, interred together, and covered by a low earthen mound. All rituals associated with the Choctaw mortuary program were conducted under the aegis of the two Choctaw moieties. Members of the opposite moiety performed the rituals associated with death (Swanton 1931:170-194).

Eighteenth century descriptions of Choctaw mortuary preparation vary on the particulars of the rituals involved (Galloway 1995:299-301). The scaffold may or may not have been burned after its ritual use ended. Containers for the deceased were noted as either cane hampers or locking boxes (Romans 1999 [1775]:142; Swanton 1931:171). The skull of the deceased was covered with red pigment in one description (Romans 1999 [1775]:142), while other documents do not note the use of pigment (Swanton 1931:171, 175, 178). I agree with the position that these differences are not idiosyncratic (Galloway 1995:300). I also agree that material goods denoting status may not be represented archaeologically since no document describes them being placed with the individual during

final earth interment. I do not agree, however, that mortuary differences reflect different ethnic origins. I suggest that differences are related to the time period during which the documents describing the rituals were created and to status differences.

Romans (1999 [1775]:140-142) states in the late eighteenth century that Choctaw chiefs' scaffolds were decorated and stained with red pigment while other males' scaffolds were not. Children's scaffolds were different, at least from adult males, in that the scaffold support posts were crossed rather than vertical. Romans (1999 [1775]:142 cf. Carson 1999:16) also states that chiefs' skulls and containers were covered with red pigment before placement in the charnel house. Apparently, there were charnel houses used only for deceased chiefs while other males were deposited in separate charnel houses (Swanton 1931:171). Apparently, the charnel houses for other males reflected moiety affiliation (Swanton 1931:172). The chiefs' skulls and containers were again covered with red pigment (Romans 1999 [1775]:142) before the containers were removed from the charnel house, stacked, and covered with a low earthen mound (Swanton 1931:177). These data suggest that Choctaw mortuary practices may not reflect egalitarian practices. The use of red pigment to denote only deceased chiefs continues the status differences between Choctaw chiefs and other males during life. The segregation of chiefs and males in separate charnel houses also indicates status differences. In addition, differences between adults and children are reinforced in an obvious manner by different scaffold construction methods. Ritualistic mortuary behavior particular to females cannot be addressed since documentary sources do not describe female specific rites or ceremonies.

Differences in the type of burial containers used by the Choctaw during the

eighteenth century may also indicate unequal relations. Burial hampers for chiefs and other Choctaw males were made from cane and possibly bark before sustained European contact. The only difference noted in the ritual use of the hampers was that the chief's hamper was painted red. By the middle eighteenth century, chiefs' skeletal elements were placed in chests that locked with keys while other male bones were still placed in cane hampers (Swanton 1918:64-65; Swanton 1931:171). The chests that locked with keys were obviously obtained through trade with European colonials. During the latter part of the eighteenth century chiefs' containers were still described as locking chests, while other Choctaw males' containers were described as wooden and chest-like. A wooden board was used to close the open end of the chest-like container (Swanton 1931:173-175). The chest-like container associated with non-elite males seems to be a Choctaw manufactured version of the European chests.

It is clearly evident that containers used in the Choctaw mortuary ritual changed fairly rapidly during the eighteenth century. It is also evident that chiefs were differentiated from non-elite males either through the use of pigment or the use of non-Choctaw items for burial. Locking chests for burial purposes may be indicative of the fact that trade and trade relations were controlled by the chiefs. These chests may also symbolize the chiefs' access to foreign or "esoteric" knowledge and therefore, continue to legitimize the chiefs' hereditary higher status and social differentiation from other males. Thus, these boxes were constant reminders of their relationship with the Europeans (Helms 1992:186-188).

A major change occurred in Choctaw mortuary ritual just before the turn of the

nineteenth century. Secondary processing was apparently abandoned in favor of burial underground (Swanton 1931:177). The individuals responsible for defleshing the corpse became responsible for setting wooden poles around the grave at the beginning of the burial process and pulling them up to signal the end of the ritual (Swanton 1931:177-178). The first underground burial was conducted for an elderly chief (Swanton 1931:176).

This short discussion of Choctaw burial practices indicates these rites were not egalitarian in nature. Although secondary processing was performed for all Choctaw, albeit without female specific information, social distinctions are evident in the different methods of scaffold construction and decoration, separate charnel houses for chiefs and other males, and the use of red pigment and special containers for chiefs. The archaeological manifestation of Choctaw secondary processing, bundle burials, may seem to reflect egalitarian practices since the material items placed with the deceased on the scaffold were not interred with the dead. The social distinctions denoted by differences in scaffold construction and decoration will also not be evident archaeologically. In addition, material remains of cane hampers and boxes are rarely discovered archaeologically (Hunter et al. 1994:35). The only evidence of status differences that may be manifest archaeologically is the red pigment, since it seems to withstand degradation better than other perishable materials. Thus, differences in rank and social status among the historic Choctaw may not be reflected in their mortuary program, supporting Hodder's (1982:199) position.

Evidence concerning the Choctaw mortuary program clearly indicates that chiefs

were given preferential treatment after death. Evidence is also clear that even when changes occurred in mortuary rituals and associated material items, the chiefs instituted these changes. Therefore, rather than egalitarian, the Choctaw mortuary program reflected and reinforced social distinctions between chiefs and other males as would be expected in a complex chiefdom.

Choctaw Male Classification

Clarifying the numerous leadership categories and their capacity within Choctaw society is imperative for any discussion of sociopolitical organization. The manner in which these leadership categories were organized will affect interpretations of cultural complexity and sociopolitical integration. Previous research concentrating on Choctaw sociopolitical organization has not been consistent in determining the level of political complexity, the types of chiefs present among the Choctaw, the capacity that the numerous titular officeholders actually served, or vertical and horizontal ranking categories. This research will demonstrate that most of these inconsistencies are the result of three interrelated factors. The most important is the linguistic competency, or rather incompetency, of colonial observers, since their documents form the basic raw data for research. Secondly, but no less important, is the inconsistent manner in which modern scholars translate Choctaw titles. Finally, there is a propensity for some scholars to ignore Choctaw derived information in favor of data obtained from contemporaneous historic Native American groups, as well as other non-Choctaw observers. Therefore, reexamination of commonly used primary and secondary resources is necessary to clarify

the inconsistencies noted above. A new model of Choctaw male organization is developed from the discussion of male classes and their titular leaders. These male classes form a ranked vertical tier in the Choctaw complex chiefdom.

Choctaw males were generally separated into four “orders” or classes by the French. The first class contained the Great Chiefs, village chiefs, and the war chief (Swanton 1918:54, 1931:84, 91). The second class, or *atac oulitoupa*, have been described as either beloved men and leading warriors (Swanton 1918:54-55, 1931:84, 91), or as beloved men who were older and respected for wisdom (Kidwell 1995:9). Those known simply as *Tasca*, or common warriors, comprised the third class, while the *atac emittla* were the fourth class (Swanton 1918:55, 1931:84, 91). Galloway (1989:260-261) suggests that these groupings mixed different levels of classification. In addition, inspection of the French language version of some documents indicates that some mixing was the result of erroneous translations (Swanton 1918:54-55, 1931:243-244; MDAH RG 24 Reel 37).

Males of the first class were distinguished by the title “*Mingo*” plus an adjective descriptor. *Mingo chito* usually denoted only those individuals serving as either division or head national civil chief (Table 2.1). *Mingo homma chito*, *Mingo homma mastabe*, and *Shulush homma mastabe* were Choctaw titles used interchangeably by Europeans for the national or head war chief. French observers often corrupted these titles to forms such as *Mingo ouma*, *Mingo ou matarde*, and *Souloute ou martabe*. The Spanish *Kapanta* or *Capatana homma* and its English version, Red Captain, also denoted the office of head war chief. These various titles for the head war chief were also used to signify a town war

Table 2.1. Choctaw Titles Mentioned in Chapter 2 (from Byington 1915)

Choctaw Title	Closest English Correlate	Byington 1915
Mingo Chito	Chief + Great	pp. 260, 106
Mingo Chito Ushi	Chief + Great + Son (diminutive)	pp. 260, 106, 360
Mingo Puskus	Chief + Baby	pp. 260, 321
Mingo Puskus Ushi	Chief + Baby + Son (diminutive)	pp. 260, 321, 360
Mingo Humma Chito	Chief + Red + Great	pp. 260, 170, 106
Mingo Humma Puskus	Chief + Red + Baby	pp. 260, 170, 321
Mingo Hopaii	Chief + Prophet	pp. 260, 165
Mingo Hopaii Ushi	Chief + Prophet + Son (diminutive)	pp. 260, 165, 360
Mingo Himmata	Chief + Young	pp. 260, 152
Mingo Himmata Ushi	Chief + Young + Son (diminutive)	pp. 260, 152, 360
Mingo Taboka	Chief + Meridian	pp. 260, 336
Mingo Taboka Ushi	Chief + Meridian + Son (diminutive)	pp. 260, 336, 360
Shulush Humma Mastabi	Shoe + Red + Killer	pp. 335, 170, 5
Tishu Mingo	Servant + Chief	pp. 352, 260
Tishu Humma	Servant + Red	pp. 352, 170
Tishu Himmata	Servant + Young	pp. 352, 152
Tishu Abi	Servant + Killer	pp. 352, 5
Tishu Inholatha	Servant + moiety label	pp. 352, 138
Tishu Hopaii	Servant + Prophet	pp. 352, 165
Fani Mingo	Squirrel + Chief	pp. 120, 260
Fani Humma	Squirrel + Red	pp. 120, 170
Hatak Holitopa	Man + Prophet/Priest (male class)	pp. 136, 164
Hopaii Mingo	Prophet/Priest + Chief	pp. 165, 260
Hopaii Humma	Prophet/Priest + Red	pp. 165, 170
Hopaii Himmata	Prophet/Priest + Young	pp. 165, 152
Hopaii Abi	Prophet/Priest + Killer	pp. 165, 5
Hopaii Inholatha	Prophet/Priest + moiety label	pp. 165, 138
Tashka	Warrior (male class)	pp. 347
Tashka Mingo	Warrior + Chief	pp. 347, 260
Tashka Mingo Ushi	Warrior + Chief + Son	pp. 347, 260, 360
Tashka Nanukachi	Warrior + Advisor	pp. 347, 276
Tashka Nanukachi Humma	Warrior + Advisor + Red	pp. 347, 276, 170
Tashka Nanukachi Inholatha	Warrior + Advisor + moiety label	pp. 347, 276, 138
Tashka Nanukachi Taboka	Warrior + Advisor + Meridian	pp. 347, 276, 336
Tashka Hopaii	Warrior + Prophet/Priest	pp. 347, 165
Tashka Himmata	Warrior + Young	pp. 347, 152
Tashka Abi	Warrior + Killer	pp. 347, 5
Hatak Himmata	Man + Young (class label)	pp. 136, 152
Himmata Mingo	Young + Chief	pp. 152, 260
Himmata Puskus	Young + Baby	pp. 152, 321
Himmata Humma	Young + Red	pp. 152, 170
Himmata Tashka	Young + Warrior	pp. 152, 347
Himmata Abi	Young + Killer	pp. 152, 5
Himmata Inholatha	Young + moiety label	pp. 152, 138
Hatak Abi	Man + Killer (class label)	pp. 136, 5
Hatak Abi Mingo	Man + Killer + Chief	pp. 136, 5, 260
Hatak Abi Himmata	Man + Killer + Young	pp. 136, 5, 152
Hatak Abi Inholatha	Man + Killer + moiety label	pp. 136, 5, 138

chief, as well as a division war chief.

Several other individuals were enumerated in historical sources with titles beginning with chief. These include *Mingo puskus*, *Mingo emitta* [*himmeta*], and *Mingo taboka*. *Mingo puskus* and *Mingo himmeta* are very close when translated to the nearest English correlates. *Puskus* can be translated as baby, babe, or infant (Byington 1915:321), although the French usually translated the title as either “Child King” or “Little King” (Galloway 1982a:213; Swanton 1931:122). *Himmeta*, although similar, may translate as young, youth, the flower, and youngster (Byington 1915:152). Evidence suggests that *Mingo puskus* served as a second or assistant civil chief (MPA FD IV:270-294 cf. Blitz 1985:9). This assignment is congruent with the French appellation Little King, as opposed to the Great King (*Mingo chito*) (MPA FD IV:295, fn27). Similarly, there is evidence suggesting *Mingo himmeta* was the third chief (MPA FD I:40). Based on these data, it is suggested that *Mingo puskus* fulfilled the role of second chief, while *Mingo himmeta* was the third chief. The duties and/or function of the third chief have not been identified at this time.

Mingo taboka was identified as one of three chiefs in the village of the Great Chief. Two of these men were “great war chiefs,” while *Mingo taboka* distributed or gave employment. Most recent research does not discuss the function of *Mingo taboka*, but this individual was described as the right-hand man of the Great Chief in power during the late eighteenth century (Carson 1999:39). These data are not sufficient to provide a reasonably sound interpretation of the functional aspects of this office. They do suggest, to a limited degree, that this individual was responsible for assigning tasks to individuals or

groups.

Village or actual town chiefs were also included as members of the first class. These men, when identified as such, had titles that began with the town name plus the adjective descriptor *mingo* (e.g. *Conchak mingo*). The shift of *mingo* from noun to adjective is extremely important in the Choctaw language (Swanton 1931:121-122). Choctaw, like some western European languages, utilizes a syntax that places the adjective and adverb modifiers after the noun. Thus, there is a qualitative difference between *Mingo chito* (Chief Great) and *Conchak mingo* (Cane Chief), since chief is modified in the first example and cane is modified in the second. Consequently, national and division chiefs should be separated from village chiefs. The village chiefs should not be included as members of the first class of males, but viewed as a different, lower level of chiefs.

Swanton (1918:54-55, 1931:91-102) posits that the second through fourth class of males represent different grades of warriors. He translates *atac oulitoupa*, the second class, as *Hatak holitopa*. The notion that these men were warriors may come from the anonymous French author of the relation who also called these males *hommes de valleur* [*sic*], meaning men of merit (Collins Robert 1988:743). However, of the 24 possible meanings listed for *holitopa* as a noun and 20 possible meanings for its use as a personal pronoun, warrior is not one of them. Over half of these meanings listed for the Choctaw term are holy, sacred, blessed or some conceptual derivative thereof (Byington 1915:164). There is also the distinct possibility that *oulitoupa* is a French corruption of the Choctaw word *holitomp*a that also translates to holy when used as an adjective and priest when

used as a noun (Byington 1915:164, 472). The overall context generated by both of these Choctaw words suggests the members of this class were probably holy men or priests valued for their wisdom (Kidwell 1995:9) rather than their skills in war (Swanton 1918:54-55, 1931:84, 91). Therefore, *Hatak holitopa*, or possibly *holitompa*, denotes a class of holy men or priests that are distinct from the warrior classes.

The titular leader of the third class of males, *Tasca*, or warriors, was the *Tashka mingo*. Other prominent members of this class noted in early and mid-eighteenth century documentary sources include the *Tascamingoutchy* or *Tashka mingo ushi*. These men served as lieutenants to the war chief. The frequent appearance of this title in journals documenting meetings between the French and Choctaw prompted Galloway (1982a:293, fn 13) to suggest that these men also served as speaker for the chief. Swanton (1931:91) was obviously correct in stating that these men represented a distinct class of warriors.

Swanton (1931:91) rendered the title of the fourth class as *atak emittla* and supplied a revised form of “*Hatak imatahali?*” with a tenuous translation of *imatahali* as “supporting.” Members of this class were described as young men who had not killed or had killed only women or children. The French version of the document used for this translation rendered the title as *atac emitta*, indicating that the actual title was *Hatak himmeta* and that the earlier translation was incorrect (Swanton 1931:244). This mistake was compounded since Swanton (1931:92-94, 121-124) continued to translate *emitta* as *imatahali*, or more commonly as *imataha*, whenever it occurred. Comparison of documents from French, Spanish, and American sources could not establish if there was a “correct” usage. The two words are almost identical phonetically, but *imataha* is not

listed as an actual Choctaw word (Byington 1915:190). *Himmeta* does mean “young” when used as an adjective - it was the form used in the French version - and reflects accurately the class members stated to be young men. *Imataha*, then, seems to be a more highly phonetic form of the Choctaw *himmeta*. Therefore, the title of this class will be considered *Hatak himmeta*. Members would be identified by titles with *hatak himmeta* or *himmeta* in the noun position. The titular leader of this class is more than likely the *Mingo himmeta* discussed earlier.

This evaluation of the four previously defined male classes supports the position that leadership levels were mixed (Galloway 1989:260-261). Choctaw leadership seems to be much more complex than the simple chief and warrior interpretation suggests. In addition, this evaluation has also determined with a high degree of certainty that earlier interpretations of two of these classes were incorrect. Instead of chiefs and warriors, there were at least two levels of chiefs, a group of holy men or priests with a titular leader, and two groups of warriors that may be ranked. Even though revised, this classification is evidently incomplete. Primary and secondary sources identify other titular offices and groupings that have not been considered at length in most research. Determining the nature of these officials and groups may expand the limited perspective gained thus far on Choctaw male classification.

The *Mingo hopaii*, or in some instances the *Hopaii mingo*, has been designated the chief war prophet, apparently based on the use of the title by the Creek and Chickasaw (Galloway 1982a:293; Swanton 1931:94). *Hopaii* may be translated as prophet, priest, military leader or captain, captain-general, war chief, war prophet, seer, or augur

(Byington 1915:165). Captain and captain-general represent titles derived from French, Spanish, and American interaction, while war chief and probably war prophet derive from the Creek and Chickasaw (Swanton 1931:94). The remaining meanings seem to be solely Choctaw. Cross-referencing the English prophet, priest, seer, and augur, *hopaii* is the first reference for prophet and seer, the first single word used for priest, while augur is not listed (Byington 1915:527, 525, 550). Cushman (1999:258) used seer as the equivalent of *hopaii* when describing a meeting between the Choctaw and Tecumseh. The seer was determining, through a two day ritual, if the Choctaw were going to join other Native American groups fighting the Americans (Cushman 1999:244-260). The ritual performed by the seer was obviously warfare related and suggests that Swanton's interpretation of the title was correct.

The *Mingo hopaii* was probably assisted by several individuals, including the *Hopaii humma*, *Hopaii himmeta*, *Hopaii abi*, and *Hopaii inholahtha*, when performing rituals. I suggest these officials and others formed another, distinct group of holy men or priests that presided over warfare related rituals. As such, they would probably represent the structural opposite of the *Hatak holitopa* and thereby reflect the dual opposition exemplified by the offices of peace and war chief (Blitz 1993a:11-12, 125; Carson 1999:15; Dye 1995:295-298; Galloway 1982a:292-294).

Swanton (1931:119-124) identified several rough groups of warriors distinguished by the use of *humma*, *holahta*, *imastabi*, *imataha*, and *hacho* at the ends of titles and/or names. *Imataha* was determined to be a mistranslation by Swanton (1931:244) and will not be reconsidered. *Hacho* is apparently borrowed from the Creek and derived from

hadjo (Swanton 1931:119-124). It is found rarely, if ever, in French documents. Its use is more common in Spanish documents (Holmes 1968:34-46), but drops significantly in the early American period (Olsen 1990). *Hacho* may not represent a warrior class, per se, but males maintaining relations with non Choctaw groups. Galloway (1994:408) suggests males with titles like *Alabama mingo* may represent individuals that are designated to interact with other historic Native American groups. Titles such as *Mongolasha mingo*, *Pakana inholahta*, *Pakana humma*, *Chickasa inholahta*, *Chickasa humma*, and *Chickasa mastabi* clearly refer to contemporary Native American groups that interacted with the Choctaw (Galloway 1995:305-312, Figure 8.2). The adjective modifiers in these titles are repetitive, suggesting membership was “standardized” in some fashion. Since *hacho* is borrowed from the Creeks, I suggest that titles with it as an adjective descriptor may originate from the interaction of certain Choctaw males with the lowest ranked group of Creek warriors, the *hadjo*.

Imastabi, or more commonly *abi*, roughly translates as “killers” (Byington 1915:5; Swanton 1931:120). The *Hatak abi mingo* was noted in documents throughout the eighteenth century and is the likely titular head of the *abi* group. In addition, *Hatak abi holahta* seems to be an official of some sort, since this title is noted for two different towns in an early eighteenth century listing (MPA FD I:41-44; Swanton 1931:92-94).

Holahta or *inholahta* is the term consistently applied to one Choctaw moiety (Blitz 1993a:11-12; Carson 1999:15-16; Galloway 1982a:292-294, 1989:255-256, 1995:355; Kidwell 1995:4). Names or titles discovered thus far that may refer to the group are *Okla Inholahta* and *Hatak Inholahta* (Byington 1915:138; Kidwell 1995:4);

but, these uses referred only to the moiety and not a warrior group. However, Choctaw males with the titles *Inholahta himmeta*, *Inholahta hopaii*, *Inholahta humma*, and *Inholahta tashka* are listed in various documents, suggesting that a moiety based group existed and their titles were patterned like other male classes (Holmes 1968:34-42; MPA FD I:151-154; Swanton 1931:122).

No class title was discovered in the historical documents for the *humma* group of warriors, although Swanton (1931:119-120) and Byington (1915:170, 266, 534) noted a group of males known collectively as the *na humma* or red warriors. These men could not run or turn back from the battlefield (Byington 1915:170). A search of Byington's dictionary revealed the title *Hatak humma mingo*. Since this title follows the orthography utilized for other male classes, I suggest, then, that the class title was *Hatak humma* and the titular leader was the *Hatak humma mingo*.

Although not considered by Swanton (1931:121-124), members of the other Choctaw moiety known either as *Kashapa okla* or *imoklasha* (Galloway 1982a:293-294; Kidwell 1995:4; Swanton 1931:76-79; White 1983:38) are listed in different documents. *Imoklasha mingo*, *Imoklasha inholahta*, *Imoklasha humma*, and *Imoklasha hopaii* are titles discovered thus far in documents from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Holmes 1968:37; MPA FD I:41, 154; Olsen 1990:253-254). The titular leader of this group or class is likely the *Imoklasha mingo*. The group or class title would more than likely be the *Hatak Imoklasha* rather than *Hatak Kashapa okla*, since all titles begin with *Imoklasha* and follow the same adjective descriptor pattern noted in other male classes. As noted earlier, historical documentation and some interpretations derived from them

suggested that the warrior classes were ranked in some fashion (Swanton 1918:54-55, 1931:91-95). I agree that these classes were ranked, but not with the previously established order. I suggest that the *Hatak humma* was the highest ranked warrior class since the leader was *Humma mingo*, a war chief and one of the highest ranked war related individuals. The *Tashka* class is ranked second since members of this class assisted the war chief with rituals and formed part of his council (Dye 1995:298). Also, they are the only group that does not have *Hatak* as part of their class title, probably indicating their special relationship with the principle war chief. The *Hatak himmeta* is placed third. I put them in this position since their titular chief, the *Mingo himmeta*, was stated to be the third chief. The *Hatak abi* are placed in fourth position since the “killer” appellation seems to refer to the most numerous of the warrior classes (Swanton 1931:120).

Recurring titles in French, Spanish, and American documents indicate that male classes were also differentiated internally (Holmes 1968:33-49; MPA FD I:21-53, 81-115, 136-148; Olsen 1990). The *Tashka* class of warriors will be used to illustrate this pattern. Several members of the *Tashka* class were consistently enumerated in eighteenth and nineteenth century documents. These individuals include *Taskanangouchi*, *Tashka nangouchi houmma*, *Taska nangouchi holahta*, *Taskanangouchi taboka*, *Tashka himmeta*, *Tashka hopaii*, and *Tashka abi* (Table 2.2). In addition, David Dye (1995:298) identified the *tashka nan aiyachi*, or warrior mediator. Swanton (1931:92-94) translated *nangouchi* as *nanukachi*, possibly meaning: to say things, to advise, to council, and to rail (Byington 1915:276). The four individuals with *nanukachi* as part of their titles seem to be advisors or counselors of some sort.

Table 2.2. Choctaw Male Classes and Officials

Moieties		<i>Hatak Inholahtha</i>	<i>Hatak Imoklasha</i>	
Leaders		Inholahtha mingo	Imoklasha mingo	
Representatives		Inholahtha humma	Imoklasha humma	
		Inholahtha tashka		
		Inholahtha himmeta		
		Inholahtha hopaii	Imoklasha inholahtha Imoklasha hopaii	
Priests		<i>Hatak holiopa</i>	<i>Hatak hopaii</i>	
Leaders		Holitopa mingo	Hopaii mingo	
Representatives			Hopaii humma	
			Hopaii himmeta	
			Hopaii abi	
			Hopaii Inholahtha	
Functionaries				
Leaders		Tishu mingo	Fani mingo	
Representatives		Tishu humma	Fani humma	
		Tishu himmeta		
		Tishu abi		
		Tishu inholahtha		
Warriors	<i>Hatak humma</i>	<i>Tashka</i>	<i>Hatak himmeta</i>	<i>Hatak abi</i>
Leaders	Humma mingo	Tashka mingo	Himmeta mingo	Abi mingo
Representatives		Tashka humma	Himmeta puskus	
		Tashka himmeta	Himmeta humma	
		Tashka abi	Himmeta tashka	Abi tashka
		Tashka toboka	Himmeta abi	
		Tashka Inholahtha	Himmeta Inholahtha	Abi Inholahtha
		Tashka hopaii		

Dye (1995:298) indicates the principal war chief had assistants who coordinated ritual activities. Also, the warrior mediator was one of several lesser officials selected from among the other warriors to form a war council. Since their titles suggest they advise or council, the *Tashka nanukachi*, *Tashka nanukachi homma*, *Tashka nanukachi inholatha*, and *Tashka nanukachi taboka* were probably other members of the war council. The *Tashka nan aiyachi* “traveled to other polities and in the context of the calumet ceremony negotiated alliances, resolved disputes, and terminated warfare on behalf of either the war chief or the war council” (Dye 1995:298). *Tashka nanukachi* was most often noted in large meetings considering offers of war by outside groups. His presence suggests he was the individual responsible for conveying the council’s opinion to others. The *Tashka nanukachi taboka* served as the council member responsible for assigning and/or coordinating tasks based on the projected/presumed role of the *Mingo taboka*. The *Tashka nanukachi humma* and *Tashka nanukachi inholatha* were class members designated to represent the ranking male class and moiety interests during councils.

The *Tashka hopaii*, *Tashka himmeta*, *Tashka humma*, and *Tashka abi* are likely candidates as those class members responsible for coordinating rituals. Their titles include the names of the other male classes. The *Hatak himmeta*, *Hatak abi*, and the *Hatak humma* as warrior classes, would necessarily be involved in war-related rituals. The priests would be required to solemnize the occasion. Therefore, specific members of the *Tashka* class were likely designated to coordinate the efforts of other classes required for the ritual.

Two groups with different responsibilities have been identified in the *Tashka* class. These responsibilities reflect two different behavioral contexts. Internal relations are reflected in those serving as war council members, while external group relationships are reflected in ritual coordinators. This internal/external opposition may be the impetus for the war chief having two assistants. One would assist the chief with internal class affairs while the other assisted the chief with external affairs. The pattern described for the warrior classes is also evident among the priests, moiety representatives, and the functionaries (Table 2.2).

Choctaw male classification is obviously more complex than first described. Determining the vertical position of the moiety representatives, priests, warrior classes, and functionaries is somewhat difficult. White (1983:40) placed clan leaders just below the chiefs at the local or town level. I suggest if the leaders of clans comprising the moieties are placed just under the chiefs, then the moiety groups should be placed on this level also. The priests or holy men seem to be responsible for performing rituals in specific contexts, while the moiety groups controlled all marriages and property in addition to being the final authority in settling unresolved conflicts. These differences also suggest the moieties should be placed at a higher vertical level than the priests. The functionaries also performed their duties in specific contexts much like the priests. Unlike the priests, the functionaries' duties are restricted to either speaking for the chief (*Tishu mingo*) during councils or representing non-Choctaw groups in councils (*Fani mingo*). Since their duties are more restricted than the priests, I suggest that the functionaries be placed below the priests in the hierarchy. I place the four warrior classes below the

functionaries since they encompass most of the Choctaw male population and seem to be the most generalized groups of males in Choctaw society (Table 2.2).

This reevaluation of Choctaw male classes has clarified many of the inconsistencies noted in previous research. It has been demonstrated that national and division chiefs were clearly differentiated from town or local level chiefs by orthographic differences. This research has also demonstrated that there was a group of males designated to interact with non-Choctaw groups, two groups of priests that reflect the dual division exemplified by the colors white and red, two sets of moiety representatives that also reflect the dual division, two groups of functionaries that reflect an internal/external dichotomy, and four warrior classes that reflect only the red/war/external division. This research also suggests that the moiety representatives, priests, functionaries, and warrior classes were ranked. Moreover, the warrior classes were also internally ranked. The moiety representatives, priests, functionaries, and warrior classes comprise part of a ranked, vertical hierarchy within Choctaw society that is necessary if the Choctaw were organized as a complex chiefdom.

The Great Chiefs

It is necessary for this research to determine that the Choctaw Great Chiefs were hereditary native institutions rather than French colonial creations. Hereditary offices are one of the salient characteristics of complex chiefdoms and must be documented among the Choctaw. It is also necessary to document the fact that these Great Chiefs represent the apex of a vertically ranked sociopolitical system that contains two administrative levels

above the local (town) level. The division chiefs form one of these administrative levels. Historical documentation will provide data sufficient to document that the Great Chiefs were a native institution and formed the apex of a vertical hierarchy.

Carson (1999:20), Faiman-Silva (1997:7-8), Galloway (1982a:299-300, 1982b:163, 1989:265), Kidwell (1995:10), and White (1983:49), all infer that the Choctaw "Great and/or Grand Medal Chief" was a French colonial creation with no apparent pre-contact antecedent. The office was supposedly created as part of a centralized system for the redistribution of French trade goods among the Choctaw. French officials gave the Choctaw chiefs medals and other material items in recognition of their agreement.

The inference that the Great/Grand Medal Chief was a French creation appears to be based primarily on a letter written by a French priest, Reverend Father Michael Baudouin. Father Baudouin wrote to Edmé Gatien de Salmon, Commissaire Ordonnateur, on November 23, 1732:

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 in the villages are so many little republics in which each 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 principle chiefs of the different Choctaw villages which he attached to himself (MPA FD I:156).

Baudouin's statements suggests that he had an intimate knowledge of Choctaw sociopolitical organization despite the fact that he had been assigned to the Choctaw only two years earlier (Giraud 1987:117, 368). His predecessor, Father Le Petit, tried to compile a census of the Choctaw for over a year and was unsuccessful, a failure attributed

to the fact that “the French knew only what the Choctaw told them” (MPA FD I:115). It must also be noted that Baudouin’s interaction with the Choctaw was less than amicable. In one instance he was called a woman by one of the Choctaw men, one of the worst insults possible for one man to call another among the Choctaw (Romans 1999 [1775]:133). Baudouin and other Jesuits were eventually expelled from French colonial Louisiana due to their constant attempts to manipulate political situations. Therefore, this priest’s statements concerning the Choctaw seem to reflect his religious/political agenda rather than an accurate assessment of sociopolitical organization (Steckley 1992:481, 496-497).

Bienville stated that he gave the medal to the Great Chief of the Choctaw for a service he rendered (Rowland and Sanders 1932, hereinafter MPA FD III:156). The Great Chief killed a village chief for breaking part of an agreement with the French. Bienville did not indicate that he created the office, only that the medal was bestowed in recognition of the execution performed on behalf of the French (Galloway 1982a:298; MPA FD I:207-208).

Other, less direct, colonial correspondence has been utilized to support the interpretation that this office was a French-derived institution. During a council held between Choctaw chiefs and the Frenchman Beauchamp in 1746, the trader reiterated the French colonial governor’s request that the Great Chief order his men to attack the Chickasaw. The Great Chief responded that he could not command his men to go to war. His inability to direct Choctaw warriors in this manner was interpreted as an inherent weakness in the office because it was a French creation (Galloway 1982a:296; MPA FD

IV:269-283). Furthermore, public speeches made by Great Chiefs in the presence of French visitors were neither forceful nor vociferous (White 1983:79). "The apologetic tone taken by these chiefs in many of their public statements reported by the French suggests that they knew themselves to be a powerless anomaly" (Galloway 1982a:296).

The relationship between the Great Chiefs and other, subordinate chiefs has also been used to suggest that the office may have been French-derived. An unknown French observer noted that village chiefs who received a French medal "concern themselves very little about the Great Chief of their nation" (Kidwell 1995:10; Swanton 1918:54-55, 1931:91). By introducing this system of awarding medals, the French attempted to create an "elite" group through which relations could be established and manipulated (Galloway 1982a:296-297, 1989:254-278; Kidwell 1995:10).

The inference that the "medal chiefs" were part of a French created system is based on the interpretation that the medals given to certain Choctaw were not congruent with the native political structure. Examination of du Roullet's lists of 1729 and 1732 (MPA FD I:41-44, 150-154) indicates that five Choctaw males held large medals. These males included the Choctaw Great Chief and four other men noted as division chiefs. Being the five ranking civil or peace chiefs, these men represented the apex of the dominant political force among the Historic Choctaw. The medal chiefs asserted their right to leadership in Choctaw terms, declaring their right to determine their titles (White 1983:73). Numerous other Choctaw chiefs also received gifts from the French at this time, but the Choctaw decided the distribution of these gifts (MPA FD I:41-44). Later, small medals were also given to certain Choctaw chiefs. The smaller medals were most commonly awarded to the

Mingo puskus or the assistant Great Chief (Holmes 1968:34, 39-40). Thus, the distribution of the large and small medals was actually congruent with the Choctaw political structure. If there was a breach of political structure, it happened when the French awarded a large medal to Red shoes (*Mingo humma chito* or *Shulush humma*) which the ranking civil chiefs protested (Galloway 1982a:303-306).

Swanton (1931:91-92) reviewed the same eighteenth century documents and was not fully convinced that the office of the Choctaw Great Chief was a French creation. Swanton's skepticism may be justified. The mannerisms attributed to the Great Chief may be examined to support the position that the Great Chief was not a French-derived institution. Certainly the French recognized an overall chief of the Choctaw, but this should not be taken to mean that the office was a French introduction. The office of the Great Chief of which Father Baudouin spoke may be interpreted as pertaining specifically to French recognition of and efforts to maintain an alliance with an indigenous sovereign (McWilliams 1981:37-41).

Alternative explanations may account for the Choctaw Great Chief not being able to order his men to war. As the leading civil chief, his primary responsibility was to maintain internal group peace. Since war was an external affair, it fell outside the parameters set for the Great Chief. Furthermore, as stated above, promoting and initiating warfare was the prerogative of the red/war chiefs (Dye 1995:298; Galloway 1982a:293-294). Therefore, it would seem logical, in terms of Choctaw social organization, that the Great Chief could not and should not order Choctaw men to go to war.

Another, literal reason that the Great Chief could not command his men may be

found in the structure of Choctaw language itself. Linguistic research indicates that no command structure exists in Choctaw. In Choctaw, one can merely suggest that a person should do something, with a non-verbal implication that unpleasant consequences might befall that person if the action is not carried out (Haag and Willis 1994:13-15). This lack of a command structure indicates that the Choctaw Great Chief could command neither his warriors nor anyone else to carry out an action. However, the lack of an imperative form in the Choctaw language does not indicate that the Great Chief was a powerless French puppet.

That the Great Chief possessed significant authority over his men becomes evident upon examination of the records. It is also clear that, even if the Great Chief should not promote war, his chiefs and warriors waited for his permission to go to war. During the war between the French and the Natchez, both Red Shoes and *Mingo Taboka* were ready to attack the Natchez but waited for the consent of the Great Chief (MPA FD I:176-177). A leader of *Okahusa* town waited for the consent of the Great Chief before he left to attack the Chickasaw in 1731 (Swanton 1931:92). Additional instances of chiefs and warriors waiting for the Great Chief's consent are recorded in colonial documents (Swanton 1931:122-124).

The power of the Choctaw Great Chief was also demonstrated by other actions recorded by the French. The first recorded Choctaw Great Chief, *Chickasa Oulata*, personally killed *Conchak Emiko* for breaking the newly established alliance with the French by inviting the English to trade in Choctaw territory. It is important to note that this execution did not ignite a Choctaw civil war similar to that which occurred during the

middle eighteenth century. One interpretation of this event suggests that the war did not occur because the two chiefs belonged to the same moiety (White 1983:48-49, fn 36), a relationship suggested by a non-Choctaw observer who described the two chiefs as “brothers.” There is no clear-cut evidence that the use of the term “brother” indicated moiety affiliation. “Brother” was used variously in the documents to indicate fictive kinship, close association, or residence in the same town, in addition to moiety affiliation (Galloway 1989:266, 269, 273). It seems more likely that no retribution occurred because the most powerful individual among the Choctaw committed the act personally.

The Great Chief’s power was also evident in threats made by the second holder of this title recorded by the French. When the Great Chief was informed by his uncle that he was going to the Chickasaw to trade with the English, the Great Chief replied that his uncle should only “. . . continue this journey if he wished to be burnt. . . .” (MPA FD I:184). The Great Chief also threatened to burn English traders and their goods should they enter his domain (MPA FD I:184). Several Sixtown chiefs and officials insulted French officer Beauchamp before a council held in 1746 (MPA FD IV:280-281). Upon learning of these insults, emissaries sent by the Choctaw Great Chief ordered these men to return to the council to apologize to the Frenchman for their offensive behavior. The Sixtown leading men returned to the council and publicly apologized to Beauchamp (MPA FD IV:283-284).

The Choctaw Great Chief also denied a French request to kill the head war chief, Red Shoes, for trying to establish an alliance with the English during the mid-eighteenth century (MPA FD IV:282-283). Additionally, the Great Chief made certain that chiefs

sympathetic to the French did not kill Red Shoes. Subsequently, Red Shoes was killed, and the well-documented Choctaw Civil War occurred (Galloway 1982a:291). This war was precipitated by the fact that the lower ranking chiefs killed Red Shoes. Had the Great Chief performed the murder, it is likely that no war would have occurred.

Entries in the journals of du Roullet and other French traders and emissaries lead one to believe the French were powerful enough to create change within Choctaw society, but examples demonstrate that the Choctaw were not as easily manipulated into carrying out French wishes as the journals imply. These instances suggest that the deeds described in these documents were included more to impress French superior officers than to chronicle actual circumstances and events (Galloway 1986:17-20).

Although documentary sources describe some aspects of Choctaw councils, the French were never allowed direct participation in Choctaw political affairs. The journals of de Lusser (MPA FD I:81-115), du Roullet (MPA FD I:21-54), and Beauchamp (MPA FD IV:32) all stated that Frenchmen were held outside the villages until the Choctaw were through deliberating. These men were then escorted into the settlements and informed of the decisions reached by the council. If the French had the type of power over Choctaw affairs suggested in their writings, it seems logical that they would have been included in the councils where important decisions were made.

The French tried to convince the Choctaw to return African slaves taken during Natchez War. They also contrived to have the Choctaw attack the Chickasaw for harboring Natchez survivors. The "little chief of the Yellow Canes" told du Roullet that the African slaves would not be returned and added that the French did not have enough

courage to take them from the hands of their enemies. When he petitioned the uncle of the Great Chief to attack the Chickasaw, the Frenchman Duche was told "that if he spoke about this measure, he would be regarded not as a Frenchman but as a dog" (MPA FD I:187).

Regis du Roullet's journal entries suggest that he had enough personal authority to change the opinions of the Great Chief and other Choctaw leading men. In one instance, he records that he pressed his hand into the chest of one Choctaw chief during a heated discussion, whereupon the chief immediately changed his mind. However, it is ironic that one so powerful feared the Choctaw so much that he had a stockade built around his domicile for protection (MPA FD I:179-180).

One additional aspect of the office of the Choctaw Great Chief that needs to be addressed concerns status. Swanton (1931:91-92) suggested that this office was achieved rather than ascribed, based upon the fact that various Great Chiefs lived in different villages through time. This interpretation contradicts observations that the Great Chiefs came from one particular village, and that the office was hereditary (Carson 1999:10-16; Kidwell 1995:9; White 1983:39-40). In a sense, both views may be correct. The Choctaw were not only organized matrilineally, but followed matrilocal residency rules. Matrilocality requires a man to move into the domicile of his wife's lineage. Since the Great Chief was apparently not exempt from this requirement, he would likely have to move into a town different from that of his birth. When viewed in this manner, the movements of the Great Chiefs may reflect residency rules rather than achieved status. Swanton's extrapolation, then, is probably not correct.

Matrilocality may have served to decrease or ameliorate competition within chiefly lineages. Upon marriage, the chief's successor(s), his nephew(s), would move to a different town. This would create a two-fold effect. First, the chief's political competition would be isolated since his nephew would reside with the opposite moiety. Secondly, the nephew would be a constant reminder of the chief and his political power, thereby decreasing the possibility of an usurpation of power by chiefly lineages from the opposite moiety. By reducing political competition among and between chiefly lineages, matrilineal residence rules seem to promote stability in the existing hierarchy, but not to the point that political competition is completely stifled.

Evidence presented in this research supports the perspective that the office of the Choctaw Great Chief was a native institution and that status was ascribed rather than achieved. The Choctaw Great Chief and others inherited their offices. These offices passed from uncle to nephew following the Choctaw pattern of inheritance. The primary historical data used as evidence that the office was created by the French was produced by an individual with very limited knowledge of the Choctaw. It is also apparent that the French were not strong enough politically to create and institute a system of medal chiefs among the Choctaw. It is also evident that the medals were given to the five highest ranking civil chiefs and therefore congruent with the Choctaw political system. Thus, the final piece of evidence necessary to determine that the Choctaw were organized as a complex chiefdom had been presented.

Model of Choctaw Sociopolitical Organization

A new model of Choctaw sociopolitical organization is presented in Table 2.3.

The Great Chiefs, both civil and war, represent the first chiefly level or apex of Choctaw sociopolitical organization and are assisted by the second chief (e.g. *Mingo chito puskus*). The division chiefs represent the second chiefly level and have the same titles as the civil and war Great Chiefs. Town chiefs form the lowest ranked tier of chiefs. Town chiefs are distinguished from the upper two tiers of chiefs by the manner in which their titles are formed.

The council of the civil Great Chief is comprised of the four civil division chiefs, the chief responsible for assigning tasks (*Mingo taboka*), the ranking peace moiety representative (*Mingo Inholahtha*), and the ranking civil or peace priest (*Mingo holitopa*). Functionaries are restricted to the *Tishu mingo* and *Fani mingo*. The war or red Great Chief's council is similar to that of his civil counterpart, except the highest ranking individuals from the warrior classes are included while no functionaries are present.

The council arrangement described for the first chiefly level is present at the second chiefly or division level. Members of the division level council are drawn from the constituent towns of the division and are distinguished from those in the first chiefly level by the orthography of their titles, *mingo* becomes the adjective modifier. Similar to the first chiefly level, only two functionaries are present at the division level.

The local or town level council is comprised of village and hamlet headmen in addition to the chief that assigns tasks, a ranking moiety representative, and a civil or peace priest. The town chief has the same two functionaries noted at the first and second

Table 2.3. Model of Choctaw Sociopolitical Organization

		Civil/Peace (White)	War (Red)
First Chiefly Level	Apex	Mingo chito Mingo chito puskus	Mingo humma chito Mingo humma chito puskus
	Council	Mingo chito (4) Mingo taboka Mingo inholakta Mingo holitopa	Mingo humma (4) Mingo tashka Mingo himmeta Mingo abi Mingo imoklasha Mingo hopaii
	Functionaries	Tishu mingo Fani mingo	
Second Chiefly Level	Division Level	Mingo chito Mingo chito puskus	Mingo humma Mingo humma puskus
	Council	Town civil chiefs Taboka mingo Inholakta mingo Holitopa mingo	Town war chiefs Hatak humma mingo Tashka mingo Hatak himmeta mingo Hatak abi mingo Imoklasha mingo Hopaii mingo
	Functionaries	Tishu mingo Fani mingo	
Local Level	Town Level	Town civil chief	Town war chief
	Council	Village/hamlet chiefs Taboka mingo Inholakta mingo Holitopa mingo	village/hamlet war chiefs Hatak humma mingo Tashka mingo Hatak himmeta mingo Hatak abi mingo Imoklasha mingo Hopaii mingo
	Functionaries	Tishu mingo Fani mingo	

chiefly levels. Again, the war or red town chief's council mimics that of his civil counterpart. The men forming the council and those that are functionaries are the subchiefs noted earlier in this research who govern villages and hamlets.

Choctaw Sociopolitical Change

Pressures of the market economy and increasing social and political dominance of the Choctaw by Euroamericans are believed to be manifest in the disruption of existing Choctaw sociopolitical organization (Faiman-Silva 1997:38-57; White 1983:81). According to White (1983:116-145), further degradation of the earlier Choctaw sociopolitical order was facilitated by new "mixed-blood" leaders during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Sociopolitical transformations are indicated by the changing nature of the relationship between chiefs and the rest of the male Choctaws. One interpretation suggests that common warriors denouncing chiefs during councils signaled a shift from the extant hereditary, kin-based, hierarchy to one based on competition for foreign favor and recognition. Speeches at councils held between the Choctaw and English emissaries are cited as evidence of the change (White 1983:81).

Portions of a conference held in 1778 were recorded by the English representatives. In one speech, *Mingo Ouma Chito* (*Mingo humma chito*) described as a warrior, soundly chastised the gathered chiefs for not keeping order and protecting English traders (White 1983:81, fn 32). It is obvious that this red chief did chastise the peace chiefs, but he was also obviously not an ordinary warrior. In addition to *Mingo humma chito*, several other chiefs from the warrior classes also berated the civil chiefs for

not performing their duties. Again, titular leaders of the warrior classes are not ordinary warriors in the context used by White (1983:81). The red or war chiefs were simply doing their duty by urging their civil or peace counterparts to maintain internal peace.

Additional evidence suggesting that the Choctaw sociopolitical system did not break down comes from Louisiana. Several groups of Choctaws had migrated into Louisiana during the late eighteenth century. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, tensions between the Caddo and migrant Choctaw bands threatened war. A council was held between the Caddo and Louisiana Choctaw chiefs in an attempt to stop the pending war. During the council, the Louisiana Choctaw chiefs stated that they would have to send a representative to the "Great Nation across the river" to apprise them of the situation. This representative was also charged to obtain advice from the Great Nation on how to avoid war (Abel 1922:65). The deference shown by the Louisiana Choctaw chiefs to their Mississippi counterparts suggest that political hierarchy in Mississippi was still intact.

Muster rolls of Choctaw removed to Oklahoma document the presence of traditional division leaders, other *mingos*, functionaries, and members of the warrior classes (Table 2.4). The post-removal Choctaw title holders were segregated by the location where the rolls were taken. The Horse Prairie Depot and Fort Towson records were combined since they both enumerated Sixtown Division Choctaws. Choctaws were enumerated in two ways. First, the entire family was listed along with respective sex, height, and age of each member. A second type of listing noted only the head of each household. The entire family listing was used only at the Fort Towson, Horse Prairie

Table 2.4. Post-Removal Choctaw Titleholders in Indian Territory

Fort Towson	Miller Court House	Mountain Fork	Arkansas Agency	Cavinole
Nittucachee (chief)			Mushulatubbe (Chief) Oklanowa (Acting Chief)	
Mingo ma hattuka				
	Mingo	Mingo Mingo himmeta	Mingo	Mingo
Shulush humma			Shulush humma	
Mingo humma			Mingo humma	
Mingo taboka	Mingo taboka	Mingo taboka		
Mingo hopaii	Mingo Hopaii	Mingo hopaii		
Fani mingo	Fani mingo			
Tashka humma	Tashka humma	Tashka humma	Tashka humma	
Tashka himmeta		Tashka himmeta		Tashka himmeta
Tashka abi		Tashka abi		
Tashka taboka				
			Tashka hopaii	
Tashka Inholahtha				
Tashka nan aiyachi		Tashka nan aiyachi Tishu mingo	Tashka nan aiyachi	
				Tishu mingo
Tishu humma				
Tishu abi				
Tishu Inholahtha		Tishu Inholahtha		
Tishu nan aiyachi		Tishu nan aiyachi		

All titles abstracted from Olsen 1990:1-265.

Depot, and Mountain Fork locations, while only heads of families were listed for the Miller Court House, Arkansas Agency, and Cavinole locations. Spaces were left in this table to denote the absence of a title holder at each location. The lack of title holders in specific locations is usually the result of the simple listing of household heads. Also, it must be noted that Choctaw removal continued after the muster rolls were closed, suggesting some of the missing title holders may have remained in Mississippi.

Table 2.4 demonstrates the presence of four males identified simply as *Mingo*. These chiefs are more than likely division chiefs since there are four noted. Nittuachee and Mushulatubbe are also designated as chiefs in the muster rolls, but they are medal holders discussed below. *Oklanowa* was noted as acting chief, probably instead of Mushulatubbe. The *Mingo ma hattuka* was not identified in Mississippi. The literal translation of this title is "Chief-expressing past time-those which were" (Byington 1915:260, 255) indicating this individual was a chief in the past. There is no indication of what type or level of chief this title denotes.

Also enumerated were the *Shulush humma*, *Mingo humma*, *Mingo himmeta*, *Mingo hopaii*, *Mingo tabok*, *Tishu mingo*, and *Fani mingo*. The presence of these men indicates most levels of civil and war chiefs, as well as council members and functionaries, were still operating. Numerous members of the *Tashka* class were also listed, suggesting the warrior classes were also still functioning at this time and their internal organization was intact. This is also true of the *Tishu mingo* and members of this group of males. The only Choctaw male of importance not listed was the *Mingo chito*, or Choctaw Great Chief.

The presence of four division chiefs and two of the three known medal chiefs in Oklahoma presents a conundrum of sorts, since the medal chiefs were also supposed to be division chiefs. This problem may be resolved by the fact that division chiefs and medal chiefs may represent two different methods of acquiring these offices. The Choctaw instituted Euroamerican style elections during the nineteenth century for chiefs and council members. Both men noted as medal holders and chiefs in the muster rolls (Figure 2.4) were elected to their offices (Kidwell 1995:118, 132, 136). These elected chiefs and others represent a new form leadership that was developing among the Choctaw and structured along Euroamerican conventions. The four division chiefs represent the form of leadership present before sustained European contact. The presence of both types of chiefs in Oklahoma demonstrates that both forms of leadership coexisted and continued after removal.

Summary

A closer examination of ethnohistorical evidence, as well as a better understanding of Choctaw lineage and language, does not appear to support the contention that the early contact Choctaw represent a confederacy of simple chiefdoms. There is also very little data supporting the position that the Choctaw were comprised of ethnically diverse people. Review of ethnohistorical evidence also does not support the position that the office of Great Chief was a French-derived office instead of a native form of traditional leadership. This review of Choctaw ethnohistory does provide sufficient evidence that there were two administrative levels above the local level, hereditary chiefs with ascribed

status, a hierarchical settlement pattern, clear differences in mortuary ritual between chiefs and other Choctaw males, religious specialists, and possibly an elite ideology that legitimized and reinforced chiefly status. In others words, all elements of a complex chiefdom are present.

This research has documented the fact that most forms of traditional leadership were maintained after Choctaw removal to Indian Territory. This examination also indicates that a transformation in Choctaw leadership did occur. The office of the Choctaw Great Chief seems to have been abandoned or discontinued before removal. In addition, a new form of leadership represented by elected official began. These two forms of leadership coexisted in Oklahoma but the length of this coexistence has not yet been determined.

Evidence of social inequality should be manifest in material culture assemblages from Oklahoma Choctaw sites since most leadership categories continued. This evidence may take different forms since two very different types of leadership are present. Four domestic sites from Oklahoma will be examined for evidence of social inequality. The excavation methods and analytical techniques used to determine if social inequality is present must be carefully considered so that valid comparisons are conducted.

Chapter Three

Analytical Methods and Techniques

Introduction

Four Choctaw affiliated sites will be examined in the following chapters. The occupants of two sites, 34MC399 and 34MC485, cannot be identified; however, they were Choctaw. George Hudson, an elected principle chief of the Choctaw, is believed to have occupied 34MC544. Site 34BR225 was first occupied by the Pate family. Bryant Pate was Euroamerican, while his wife Melinda was Choctaw and Euroamerican. Since unequal relations among the Choctaw are believed to have persisted after the Choctaw removal to Oklahoma, differences in the material culture assemblages from these sites should be discernible. Since George Hudson was a principle chief, it is expected that the assemblage from 34MC544 should reflect a higher socioeconomic level than the other sites. The analytical methods and techniques used in this research, therefore, will focus upon the material manifestations of unequal relations.

Based on the discussion of social inequality presented in Chapter 1 of this research, unequal relations may be manifest in the material culture assemblages associated with post-removal Choctaw sites. Social inequality may be displayed in the type and size of the houses discovered at these sites. Chief's houses should be larger and possibly more elaborate in terms of construction. Social inequality may also be indicated at chiefly residences by the presence of high status ceramics, such as expensive Euroamerican wares, as well as highly decorated Choctaw manufactured types. The types of glass containers, as well as the presence of window glass, may also suggest that unequal relations are present in the site material culture assemblages. Metal artifacts may also indicate social

inequality, especially if they were manufactured from expensive metal. Preferential cuts of wild fauna, expensive cuts of domesticated mammals, and differences in floral remains at chiefly residences may also indicate that unequal relations exist.

Pattern recognition and interpretation are fundamental concerns in archaeological research. Archaeologists organize data in various ways, dependant upon scale and research design. Comparison of data usually expands from small scale venues to ever widening and more generalized formats. Field methods and analytical techniques must be carefully considered in order to avoid conflating subsequent interpretation. The different types of depositional contexts must be recognized and accounted for during analyses to avoid comparing apples and oranges (Binford 1983:224-236; Lees 1988:5-17; Moir 1982:139-141, 1987a:98-101; Moore 1985:141-142; Schiffer 1972:156, 1977:14; Singleton 1985:291). The failure to identify specific attributes such as age of the remains, ethnicity of the occupants, socioeconomic status, and the range of activities conducted at the site leaves one with broad generalizations and little information on the various cultural and natural processes involved with site formation (Moir 1987b:73-81). Therefore, this chapter will provide the rationale for those methods and techniques chosen to excavate, analyze, and organize site data utilized in this research.

The methodological goals of this research are varied due to the nature of the samples derived from Choctaw affiliated sites. One of the most important goals of this research is to determine the types of contexts occurring on Choctaw domestic sites. These data sets are entirely lacking in Mississippi and have been minimally explored in Louisiana. Therefore, the Oklahoma sites used in this research will provide a sorely needed baseline for subsequent research. Almost as important is the recovery and analysis of samples large enough to determine an "in-use" ceramic assemblage. No domestic site

ceramic assemblage has been defined or firmly dated in Louisiana and Mississippi. Also, it was the opinion of at least one scholar that Choctaw ceramic production would deteriorate as more Euroamerican ceramics became available (Ward 1986:41). The assemblages described for the post-removal Choctaw sites used in this research will be a starting point to address questions related to Choctaw ceramic use and manufacture. Defining the in-use assemblage(s) involves the classification of Choctaw manufactured ceramics as well as Euroamerican manufactured types. Two different classificatory schemes, one for the Choctaw and the other for Euroamerican ceramics, are used and both are problematic. New analytical techniques, such as ultraviolet light florescence, are tested for their efficacy in solving classificatory problems.

Temporal parameters must be established for each site, since analytical techniques used to investigate social inequality require these data. Comparing sites from different time spans may lead to spurious interpretations if temporally related differences are not taken into account. Determining the occupation span of each site will be accomplished using several artifact classes. Euroamerican ceramic sherds are used to determine the Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) for each site. This technique will be supported by a Mean Glass Date (MGD) derived from the analysis of flat, or window, glass. This research will utilize a formula modified for the regional context of this research. Finally, nails provide some chronological data, but the temporal range provided by this artifact type is even more general than ceramics or glass. Research has more than adequately demonstrated that regional variation exists in all of the artifact-based chronologies. Therefore, discussion of these techniques will necessarily include research conducted within the regional contexts of this study, as well as outside the region.

Socioeconomic differences among the Choctaw sites are explored to determine if there are any material manifestations of social inequality. Mean ceramic indices (MCI) will be determined using minimal vessel estimates for Euroamerican manufactured wares. The MCI will provide a cost index and relative economic scale for each site (Miller 1980, 1991). Comparison of the MCI should indicate economic differences among the Choctaw sites if they are present. Economic differences may also be indicated by the presence of, and conversely, the lack of sets of Euroamerican ceramics. Individually purchased ceramics (e.g. one plate) are believed to represent a lower socioeconomic status, while complete and partial sets of dishes represent higher socioeconomic levels. Also, the type of decoration found on sets of vessels may be used to subdivide or distinguish between higher socioeconomic levels. Vessel form may also be used in distinguishing different socioeconomic levels (Adams and Boling 1989:69, 74, 80-81; Otto 1977:98, 1984:167; Spencer-Wood 1987:322-330; Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987:79).

Faunal remains are also useful in determining socioeconomic differences among sites. It is important to determine what types of animals are present, but it is equally important to determine what portion of the animal(s) is represented. Skeletal remains representing cuts from the lower legs, neck, belly, and lower ribs are normally associated with lower socioeconomic levels, while cuts from the upper legs, loin, and upper ribs are believed to represent higher socioeconomic groups (Maxham 2000:341).

Excavation Methodology

A series of primary mapping data were established to maintain horizontal and vertical control during field investigations. Each primary site datum was given an arbitrary

elevation of 100 m. Site mapping was accomplished with a Leitz transit containing a 0-360° compass plate that was divided into half-degree increments and a sighting rod divided into meters and centimeters. Secondary or temporary mapping data were established as needed and tied to the primary data. These data facilitated the production of detailed site maps. Site maps were oriented to magnetic north with no correction for regional differences in declination. All visible natural and cultural surface features were mapped before excavations commenced. Local excavation unit datums were established for individual units or clusters of units.

Excavation units were normally 1 m² and were excavated in 10 cm arbitrary levels. Arbitrary levels were utilized in order to obtain detailed chronological information. Hand excavated trenches measuring 1 m wide were used in one instance at 34BR225 to explore a dugout structure. Cultural features like cooking pits, trash pits, privies, and wells were excavated utilizing the deposits within them as “natural” levels or strata. Appropriate unit and level forms were completed for each excavation unit. Scale plan views, profiles, and cross-sections were drafted for excavation units to document stratigraphy and features in order to depict internal site organization. Excavation units received numeric codes, while features were given an alphabetic designation. This procedure was followed to ensure these two contexts were easily separated during post-excavation processing and analysis.

Before beginning excavation at the Choctaw Cabin site (34MC485), George Hudson House (34MC545), and 34BR225, a hand held metal detector scan was completed within the site boundaries. All “hits” were flagged, mapped, removed, and added to the site base maps. Metal artifacts remained *in situ* until depth, composition, soil horizon, and orientation were determined, then they were removed. This procedure was followed for each arbitrary level removed from the excavation units.

All artifacts discovered during excavation were collected with two exceptions. Forge clinkers found at 34BR225 were counted, weighed, a representative sample of 15 pieces collected, and the remainder discarded at the site. This method was also followed with windowpane or lite fragments recovered from 34BR225, with a slight difference. The pane fragments were counted, thickness recorded, a representative sample of 30 fragments obtained, and the remainder discarded. Pane fragments were counted and measured in the field in order to prevent additional breakage and inflated counts from transportation to the laboratory. The clinkers were discarded, obviously, due to their weight.

Field investigations were documented with black and white photographs and color slides. A photographic log denoting site, unit, level/stratum, depth below datum, and date was maintained for each roll of film. Subsequent to excavation, all recovered artifacts were washed, catalogued, and re-bagged for analysis.

Depositional Contexts

The manner in which an artifact enters the archaeological record and the context from which it is recovered must be recognized as an extremely important portion of any interpretive framework (Lees 1988:2-3). Not only is it important to know when an item shifts from the cultural system that produced it to the archaeological record, it is equally important to recognize that both natural and cultural processes act alone or in concert to alter or modify depositional contexts (Schiffer 1972:156-157, 1976:12; cf. Binford 1983:229-236). Studies of site formation processes have progressed to the point that several types of refuse deposits have been defined. Research completed within the last 20

years demonstrates that these various deposits can be consistently differentiated under certain circumstances (Lees 1988:3-4; Moir 1982:139-141, 1987a:98-101). It is uncertain how far the generalizations derived from these samples can be applied in terms of social inequality. Therefore, the identification and interpretation of the depositional and/or cultural processes or contexts derived from them is crucial to this research since so little is known about Choctaw sites.

Schiffer (1972:160-161) has identified several types of refuse or refuse deposits. The three most common types encountered by archaeologists include *de facto* refuse, primary refuse, and secondary refuse. *De facto* refuse enters the archaeological record without the benefit of intentional discard. Conversely, primary and secondary refuse represent intentional loss or discard. They are distinguished by the relationship between the place of use and the place of discard. Primary refuse is discarded at the location of use, while items deposited away from their use contexts are considered to be secondary refuse (Lees 1988:11).

De facto refuse deposits have been further divided into *in situ-de facto* refuse, primary-*de facto* refuse, and *de facto* refuse (South 1977). *In situ-de facto* refuse deposits occur as the result of non-intentional abandonment stemming from catastrophic events like fire. Primary-*de facto* contexts develop when a site is in active use and non-intentional loss happens at the area of use. South (1977:297) likened it to "pins and beads falling onto a sand floor, or through the cracks of a wooden floor."

Research conducted within the last 20 years demonstrates that site formation processes are patterned. Since they also crosscut many cultural variables, the failure to

recognize and control for these patterns often results in spurious comparative data.

Models have been developed and tested with empirical data for *in situ-de facto*, primary, and secondary formation processes. The results of these tests indicate that these processes can be distinguished when viewed in relation to five variables. These variables include the presence of burned artifacts, diversity among artifact classes, size and condition of artifacts, presence of spatial patterns, and the importance of architectural remains (Lees 1988:Table 50). Therefore, the depositional contexts described later in this work will follow those found in Lees's (1988) work.

Functional Classification Systems

The most common approach utilized in historical archaeology to organize data for comparative purposes is to group items into functional categories (Briscoe 1992:15-34; Castille et al. 1986:[2]6-12; Dawdy 1998:107-110; Garrow 1982:57-68; Lees and Kimery-Lees 1986:14-16; Orser 1988:736-741, 1989:34-37; South 1977:93-99). Functional typologies may be used to examine assemblages at several different levels of analysis. Frequency differences among artifact types comprising a functional category may indicate different cultural activities. Site function may be addressed if the assemblage is large enough. Specific questions concerning status, class, or ethnicity must utilize finer-grained analyses, usually depending upon analysis of individual artifact types rather than classes of artifacts. Socioeconomic variability may be ascertained by the presence or absence of certain artifact types in the recovered assemblage.

Stanley South's (1977) classification demonstrates that artifact assemblages exhibit patterns that are direct correlates of patterned cultural behavior. One of the underlying premises of this classification is that artifacts may be broken into the constituent classes to allow for comparison and isolation of variables on the artifact class level (South 1977:99). Stylistic analysis at this level is expected to reveal answers to questions concerning nationalistic or ethnic origin, trade routes, culture contact, and idiosyncratic behavior, depending on the question asked (South 1977:93-94). Based on the relative percentages of artifacts within functional groups, South (1972:73, 1977:83-164) defined the Brunswick Refuse Disposal pattern as well as the Carolina and Frontier artifact patterns. The Carolina pattern exhibits a higher percentage of kitchen related artifacts and a concurrent drop in architectural items. This pattern commonly occurs in areas that have been settled for an extended period. Conversely, the Frontier pattern contains a higher percentage of architectural items at the expense of kitchen-related artifacts and is indicative of the initial occupation of an area.

Problems noted in later analyses are that South's typology contains a mixture of functional and descriptive criteria; the major functional groups include artifact classes believed to represent several unrelated activities; the cultural and/or ethnic affiliation assigned to some artifacts was questionable; and differences in patterns may stem from poorly developed depositional contexts rather than cultural and/or socioeconomic differences (Castille et al. 1986:[2]6; Franks and Yakubik 1991:200-204; Garrow 1982:57-68; Lees and Kimery-Lees 1986:17-19; Moore 1985:141-160; Orser 1988:376-381, 1989:36-39; Singleton 1980:216).

The reorganization of functional groups, the shifting of artifact types into different functional groups, and the realization that artifacts were manufactured by African slaves rather than Native Americans produced significant alterations in South's existing patterns. In some instances, the differences were so great that new patterns were defined (Garrow 1982:57-68). However, these changes did not alter the fact that the typology still contained a mix of descriptive and functional categories. The mixed nature of the categories is still one of the major problems with grouping artifacts (e.g. Briscoe 1992:13-45).

Although South's as well as other functional classifications are still used (Briscoe 1992:13-45; Castille et al. 1986; Dawdy 1998:107-110; Dawdy and Ibenez 1997:104-113; Franks and Yakubik 1991:200-204), there is some question of the validity of the pattern concept in some areas of historic research. Charles Orser (1989) suggests that South's pattern concept is wholly inappropriate for plantation archaeological research. First, the pattern concept does not provide an effective scale with which to investigate historical change (Orser 1989:28-32). Second, use of this concept relegates plantation research to a synchronic plane (Orser 1989:32-34). Gross scale and synchronicity tend to oversimplify the complex social relations found on plantations. "The limitations of the concept are evident in interpretations suggesting similarities between sites indicate the past owners were from the same 'whole culture;' while pattern differences are functional" (Orser 1989:34; see also Kroeber 1948:320).

The Choctaw sites themselves may also present an analytical problem. Teresa Singleton's (1980) research on four African slave contexts in South Carolina and Georgia

suggests that artifact samples obtained from poorly developed depositional contexts can adversely affect both intra- and intersite comparisons in terms of pattern recognition. The Choctaw sites used in this research were occupied for relatively short periods of time. Therefore, the depositional contexts found on these sites would not be suitable for this type of analysis because of their short development period.

The answer to the problem of using functional categories to define patterns does not lie in modification or adding new categories to compensate for differences. This would make the system just that much more cumbersome to use. I suggest that first grouping artifacts by constituent material (e.g. ceramic, metal), then by presumed function is sufficient until we know more about Choctaw sites. This method has become more common in recent years and will still allow for both intra- and inter-site comparisons (Hahn et al. 1996:45; Hunter et al. 1994:65-78, 178-235; Yakubik et al. 1994:106-147). Therefore, no attempt will be made to define a "Choctaw pattern" in this research.

The artifact class categories that are used in the rest of this research include ceramics, glass, faunal remains, floral remains, and metal. Artifacts that do not fit into these categories will be enumerated in a general group designated as "Other." Choctaw and Euroamerican ceramics will be further subdivided into decorated and non-decorated types. Glass artifacts will be separated into flat and non-flat categories. Faunal and floral remains will be organized by species and genus when possible. Metal artifacts will be grouped first by material (e.g. iron, brass) then by type.

Ceramics are useful in determining socioeconomic differences by comparing the wares and decorative methods by site and ascertaining the cost index of the wares.

Container or vessel glass may also be used to determine socioeconomic differences when function is determined (e.g. wine goblet vs medicinal bottle). Socioeconomic differences may also be indicated by faunal remains recovered from a site. Skeletal elements from an expensive cut of meat from domesticated animals and choice cuts from wild fauna suggest a higher socioeconomic level. Floral remains may also suggest unequal relations if the proportion of domesticated and wild species can be determined. Artifacts manufactured from gold and silver would indicate a higher economic status than those that were plated with these metals.

Historic Choctaw Ceramic Analysis

One of the most persistent problems plaguing archaeologists working with Choctaw material culture is an ill-defined ceramic assemblage. Problems associated with the classification of Choctaw ceramics include small site samples, the diminutive size of the sherds within the site samples, and a typology that separates most ceramics on the basis of temper. The first problem can be easily mitigated by more extensive investigation of Choctaw sites. Sherd size will continue to be a problem since archaeologists cannot control site histories. However, the typological problem can and has been recently addressed by archaeologists working with Choctaw affiliated sites. The new typology will be applied to the site samples used in this research in an attempt to define an in-use ceramic assemblage for the Choctaw.

The typological categories utilized to classify Choctaw manufactured ceramics in this research follows those recently revised and/or established at a meeting held at Hattiesburg, Mississippi, to address problems noted in the classification systems presently

used in Mississippi and surrounding regions (Hunter 1994:35; Hunter et al. 1994:27).

One outcome of the meeting was a consensus that the use of "Chickachae" can denote ceramics that either lack temper or have sand as temper. A second decision was to

eliminate the practice of creating types and/or varieties based on differences in temper.

The latter decision is important typologically since several existing types and varieties are predicated on temper differences. Also, this decision will not apply to those types and/or

varieties previously established for prehistoric and protohistoric sites. The new typology

follows the type-variety system modified by Phillips (1958, 1970) for the historic

southeast, and subsequently refined by others (Williams and Brain 1983). Application of

the type-variety system to late historic Native American ceramic assemblages has met with limited success, since most site assemblages are small (Hunter et al. 1997:45, 66).

Choctaw ceramics are first subdivided into those that have relatively unmodified surfaces (undecorated or plain) and those whose surfaces are modified by different methods of decoration (Table 3.1). Combing, free hand incision, and slipping are the most common methods of decoration noted for the Choctaw (Blitz 1985:48-50, Table 2; Galloway 1984:58-60, 1995:255-276; Neal et al. 1991:67-68, 109-111; Neal and Rees 1993:23-29; Voss and Blitz 1988:133-137). Although less frequent, the typology also contains types that combine at least two distinct methods of decoration. It should also be noted that types, and in some instances, varieties, defined for the Choctaw are also found in site assemblages affiliated with contemporaneous historic Native American groups like the Apalachee and Biloxi (Hunter 1994:1; Hunter et al. 1994:25).

Table 3.1. Choctaw Ceramic Types and Varieties Mentioned in the Text

Type/Variety	Temper	Design	Affiliation	Forms
Bell Plain				jars, bowls, bottles, plates
var. <i>Unspecified</i>	fine shell	N/A	Choctaw	simple
Chickachae Plain				
var. <i>Souinlovey</i>	sand	red film/slip	Choctaw	simple bowl
var. <i>Unspecified</i>	none apparent	N/A	Choctaw/Biloxi	simple and globular bowls
Mississippi Plain				jars, bowls, bottles, plates
var. <i>Wilson Pasture</i>	shell	N/A	Choctaw	simple bowl
var. <i>Como</i>	shell	N/A	Choctaw	simple bowl
var. <i>Enterprise</i>	shell	N/A	Choctaw	simple bowl
Chickachae Combed				
var. <i>Chickachae</i>	none apparent	rectangular	Choctaw/Biloxi	simple bowl
var. <i>Chickasawhay</i>	none apparent	curvilinear	Choctaw	simple bowl
var. <i>Clarke</i>	none apparent	curvilinear	Choctaw	simple bowl
var. <i>Nick</i>	none apparent	all combed	Choctaw	simple bowl
var. <i>Ocobla</i>	grog-fine shell	all combed	Choctaw	simple bowl
var. <i>Souinlovey</i>	none apparent	combed/film	Choctaw/Biloxi	simple bowl
Chickachae Incised				
var. <i>Collins</i>	none apparent	4 incised lines	Choctaw/Biloxi	simple bowl
var. <i>Jasper</i>	none apparent	incised/combed	Choctaw	simple bowl
var. <i>Meeker</i>	none apparent	4 lines/punctates	Choctaw/Biloxi	simple bowl
var. <i>Unspecified</i>	none apparent	2 lines	Biloxi	simple bowl
Chickachae Red				
var. <i>Unspecified</i>	none apparent	red film/slip	Choctaw/Biloxi	simple bowl
Chickachae Red and Black				
var. <i>Unspecified</i>	none apparent	red/black film	Biloxi	simple bowl
Nicked Rim Incised				
var. <i>Unspecified</i>	fine grog-shell-sand	vertical lines	Choctaw	simple bowl
Leland Incised				
var. <i>Fatherland</i>	fine grog-shell-sand	incised lines	Choctaw/Natchez	bowls, bottles, jars

Bell Plain, Chickachae Plain, and Mississippi Plain have been identified in Choctaw site ceramic assemblages. Bell Plain and Mississippi Plain were originally defined for prehistoric and protohistoric sites and do not follow the convention established at Hattiesburg. Chickachae Plain was established using historic Choctaw material only and conforms to the newly established typological criteria. Bell Plain was originally conceived as a prehistoric, polished, shell-tempered ware found in the Lower Mississippi River valley (Phillips 1970:58-59). The polished surface is the primary characteristic distinguishing it from another prevalent type Mississippi Plain (see below). The paste is described as fine-textured with finely pulverized shell, clay, and organic material as temper. The relatively high organic content results in a rather soft paste after firing. Simple, carinated, and complex bowls are the most common vessel forms. Occasionally, short-necked bottles and plates also occur (Williams and Brain 1983:105-108, Figures 5.17-5.20). No historic varieties have been established for Choctaw site collections.

Chickachae Plain refers to undecorated wares that have pastes described as dense and homogeneous, with no apparent tempering agent (Hunter 1994:36). Microscopic inspection of Chickachae Plain sherds revealed the presence of small sand granules throughout the paste and in some instances carbonized remains. However, the presence of sand and carbonized material in the ceramic fabric is believed to reflect the nature of local clay sources rather than indicating a tempering agent. Simple, shallow bowls and globular bowls have been noted in site collections. Surfaces from these vessels may range from hard and well smoothed to examples with a softer, sandier texture. One variety, *Souinlovey*, was used to describe Chickachae Plain vessels/sherds that were covered with

a red film or slip. This variety is no longer recognized since the new type Chickachae Red now includes all plain, red-slipped examples.

Mississippi Plain is characterized by moderate amounts of medium- to coarse-sized, crushed shell temper in the paste. The paste is described as coarse textured and usually contorted. Colors on the exterior vessel surface range from buff to dark gray. Jars and bowls are the most common vessel forms, but plates and bottles have been found on prehistoric sites. Most jars do not have handles. Previous research suggests that the earliest prehistoric jar forms were small globular examples with vertical or slightly excurve rims. Through time, two forms of Bell Plain jars emerged. One was a large globular form with flaring rims and the other was a smaller, subglobular form with a restricted neck and short excurve rims. Although part of the Choctaw ceramic complex, this type originally designated wares recovered from prehistoric sites in the Lower Mississippi River valley (Philips 1970:134-135; Williams and Brain 1983:108-116, Figures 5.19-5.27).

Numerous varieties of Mississippi Plain have been established for regional prehistoric ceramic sequences, but historic counterparts are few. Three varieties have been established for Choctaw affiliated ceramic assemblages including *var. Wilson Pasture* (Atkinson and Blakeman 1975:12; Tesar 1974:114), *var. Como* (Atkinson and Blakeman 1975:14-15), and *var. Enterprise* (Penman 1977:23). Vessel forms are restricted to simple bowls and globular jars (Galloway 1995:271, Table 7.1; Voss and Blitz 1988:Table 1).

Varieties of Mississippi Plain have also been established for other Native American groups that were contemporaries of the historic Choctaw. Donald Hunter (1990:83) established *var. Knight* to denote coarse, shell tempered examples excavated at the Zimmerman Hill site on the Red River in Rapides Parish, Louisiana. This site was occupied by a group of immigrant Apalachee between 1763-1834 (Hunter 1990:1-2). Hunter (1994:37) also recovered sherds similar to those classified as Mississippi Plain from two Biloxi affiliated sites occupied during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in central Louisiana. The entire sample from both sites consisted of 18 sherds. Therefore, the ceramics were classified as Mississippi Plain *var. unspecified* since the sample is obviously inadequate to address regional and/or ethnic differences in ceramic manufacturing.

Chickachae Combed, Chickachae Incised, Chickachae Red, Leland Incised, and Nicked Rim Incised are the decorated types defined for the new typology. As can be seen by their names, the types are separated primarily on the basis of surface modification. Several varieties of Chickachae Combed have been formally described. Philip Phillips (1970:66) utilized *var. Chickachae* to distinguish sandy textured, combed ceramics from those with a noted absence of sand in the paste. John Penman (1977:238) refined *var. Chickachae* to include only those examples that are decorated with angular or rectangular design elements. Vessels decorated with curvilinear combed elements were designated *var. Chickasawhay*. Since the pronunciation of the two varieties is nearly identical, *var. Chickasawhay* was subsequently collapsed into the new *var. Clarke* in order to avoid any linguistic confusion (Hunter 1994:33; Penman 1983:286, Figures 2 and 4). Chickachae

Combed sherds lacking sand were labeled *var. Nick*, following Ford's (1936:40-49) original description. Hunter (1994:33) and others (Hunter et al. 1997:50) have questioned the continued use of *var. Nick* since the primary defining criterion (lack of temper) is no longer considered valid. Similarly, Chickachae Combed *var. Ocobla* is also no longer recognized as a valid type since defining ceramic types based on temper alone has been discontinued in Choctaw research. Combed ceramics that have an additional red film or slip have historically been and will continue to be grouped as *var. Souinlovey* (Penman 1977:238-241). The use of this variety may be somewhat confusing since it formerly referred to all red-filmed vessels, decorated or not.

The utility of separating angular and/or rectangular design elements from curvilinear forms has also been questioned (Hunter et al. 1994:25-27; Hunter et al. 1997:50). This practice began during the 1970s and was utilized on small site surface samples that did not contain enough sherds to reconstruct individual vessels. Inspection of complete and/or partial vessels, as well as large sherds, illustrated in various works clearly demonstrates that angular and curvilinear elements are present in the same design (Galloway 1995:269-270, 272; Gettys 1989:414-425; Neal et al. 1991:110) and supports the position that varieties established under these criteria should be reexamined and discarded if warranted.

Chickachae Incised is a newly defined type and includes all freehand incised sherds with a dense and uniform paste and no apparent temper. Incised sherds with design elements composed of four parallel lines and placed along the upper portion of simple open and/or globular bowls are grouped as *var. Collins* (Hunter et al. 1994:27). A second

variety, *Jasper*, is problematic. Originally, *var. Jasper* (Penman 1983:286) was classified as Chickachae Combed, even though it was incised and did not contain combed design elements (cf. Galloway 1995:268). Since Chickachae Incised has been defined as a type, *var. Jasper*'s original defining characteristic, incision, it is no longer important at the variety level of classification. It is tempting to reuse *var. Jasper* to group all free hand incised sherds other than those classified as *var. Collins*. Instead, Chickachae Incised *var. unspecified* will be utilized to classify those sherds not identified as *Collins*. It is only a matter of time until site collections are analyzed and reanalyzed using the new typology; thus, the creation of new varieties of Chickachae Incised is inevitable. Therefore, the most prudent action at this time is to use a non-specific variety designation until enough formal descriptions exist to justify creating a new category.

Chickachae Red includes all sherds that are red filmed or slipped. Simple bowls are the only vessel type noted in Choctaw assemblages to date. No temper is apparent in the sherds analyzed thus far. No varieties have been established for this type, therefore, sherds from this type will be designated *var. unspecified*.

Nicked Rim Incised is easily identified by a series of nicks or shallow punctations normally placed on the exterior of the vessel, with parallel lines incised vertically from the nicks. Usually the nicks are incised at the junction of the lip and vessel body. However, there are examples where just the nicks or punctates are placed on the interior lip of the vessel. Fine grog is the dominant tempering agent, although some fine sand tempered sherds have been collected. Rim forms may be either slightly excurvate with round, thickened lips or straight with flattened lips. Simple bowls are the only vessel forms

identified with any confidence (Blitz 1985:76; Galloway 1995:271, Table 7.1; Voss and Blitz 1988:Table 1).

Leland Incised *var. Fatherland* (Williams and Brain 1983) was originally conceived as Fatherland Incised (Phillips 1970). Temper noted in bowls, bottles, and jars was a mix of fine grog, shell, and sand. Fatherland Incised was reclassified as a variety of Leland Incised (Williams and Brain 1983). Subsequently, Leland Incised *var. Fatherland* is no longer recognized as part of the Choctaw ceramic repertoire. It was excluded since the vast majority of the sherds placed in this category did not actually conform to the criteria defining the variety (Blitz 1985:73-76; Galloway 1995:271-272).

Historic Euroamerican Ceramic Analysis

Archaeologists have categorized Euroamerican ceramics either on the basis of differences in “wares” or differences in the method of decoration (Lofstrom 1976:3-11; Majewski and O’Brien 1987:105-107; Miller 1991:3-4; Moir 1987a:97-99; Noël Hume 1970:124-131; C. Price 1982:11-14; Samford 1997:1-4; Sussman 1997:105; South 1977:201-236; Worthy 1982:335-337; Yakubik 1990:293-306). It should be noted that the use of ware as a descriptor is not limited to one level of categorization, but is found from the most general level of classification to the most specific. Therefore, the nuances in usage must be made explicit at this point.

Differences in glaze, level of vitrification, and hardness have allowed archaeologists to distinguish three general types of ceramics: stoneware, earthenware, and porcelain. Stoneware is fired until fully vitrified (non-porous) and molded into utilitarian

forms such as crocks, churns, jars, and jugs (Greer 1981:200-204; Hahn et al. 1996:Table 5-1; Noël Hume 1970:408, 413). Earthenware is not fully vitrified and is usually shaped into tableware sets (Collard 1967:105; Miller 1980:15-16, 1991:10-11). Porcelain is also fired until vitrified and differs from the other wares in that it is made from kaolin clay only. Porcelain was also molded into tableware sets, but was much thinner and more expensive than its earthenware counterparts until mass production dropped prices during the late-nineteenth century (Boger 1971:105; Godden 1985:57; Grimshaw 1971:309, 334, 866-871; McNamara 1948:329-330; Miller 1980:17, 1991:11; Rhodes 1973:43, 54). Few technological changes occurred in the production of stoneware and porcelain during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but several changes did occur in earthenware production at this time. Therefore, earthenware can be further subdivided into refined and semi-refined types.

Refined earthenware was first produced in England ca. 1760 and was produced later in the United States. Cream-colored ware or creamware was the first refined earthenware to be produced in England. Vessels exhibit a buff to yellow body after firing. Creamware vessels were covered with a lead glaze that is either clear or tinted yellow or yellowish-green (Godden 1985:38; Hahn et al. 1996:Table 5-1; Hunter et al. 1997:68-69; Majewski and O'Brien 1987:116-118; Miller 1980:3, 1991:5; Noel-Hume 1969:371, 1970:124-131; South 1972:Table 1; Yakubik 1990:293-296). Creamware was produced until ca. 1820, when it was supplanted by a new form of refined earthenware.

Pearlware was developed from continued experimentation with clays and glazes to produce a "whiter" paste and glaze. Pearlware differs from creamware in that Derbyshire

chert and small amounts of kaolin clay were added to the paste. Small amounts of cobalt added to the lead glaze enhanced pearlware's overall lighter appearance. Cobalt added a light-blue cast to the glaze, masking the yellowing of the clear lead glaze as it aged. Pearlware was produced until ca. 1830, when a new, improved, truly white-bodied ware began to dominate the market (Godden 1965:xxii; Hahn et al. 1996:Table 5-1; Hunter et al. 1997:69; Lofstrom 1976:5; Majewski and O'Brien 1987:118-119; Miller 1980:2-3, 1991:5; C. Price 1982:14; South 1972:Table 1; Yakubik 1990:297-301).

Commonly called whiteware, for obvious reasons, this new and improved earthenware lacked the overall bluish caste of its predecessor and was manufactured between 1820-1900. However, very thin bands of bluish-colored glaze are commonly found at handle attachments and around base rings since small amounts of cobalt were still added to the glaze (Hahn et al. 1996:Table 5-1; Hunter et al. 1997:69; Lofstrom 1976:11; Majewski and O'Brien 1987:119-120; Miller 1980:3-4, 1991:5; Moir 1987a:97; C. Price 1982:20; South 1972:Table 1; Yakubik 1990:301-306). A more expensive form of whiteware, known by its trade name Ironstone, went into production ca. 1825 (Ramsey 1947:153). Most Ironstone was produced for domestic English consumption, but some was exported to the United States by 1840 (Miller 1991:10).

Ironstone's paste formula is similar to that for all white ceramic wares and includes flint, feldspar, ball clay, and Kaolin. It is fired until semivitreous. It fractures evenly and smoothly. The surface appearance is hard and smooth, usually with an opaque glaze with a blue-gray cast. It is frequently undecorated except for relief molding on the vessel body. Ironstone tends to become thicker or heavy-bodied after the mid-nineteenth century and

the blue-gray cast of the glaze shifts to one that is either clear or ivory colored.

Technological innovations allowed for higher firing temperatures after the mid-nineteenth century resulting in a fully vitrified form of Ironstone (Collard 1967:125-130; Garrow 1982:25; Godden 1964:231; Hahn et al. 1996:Table 5-1; Hughes 1961:173; Miller 1991:4-5; Moir 1987a:97-98; Yakubik 1990:307-308).

Ceramics described as semi-refined earthenware were produced between 1830-1900. Semi-refined earthenware vessels have pastes that are similar to those used in stoneware. Like stoneware, semi-refined earthenware vessels are normally thicker than their refined counterparts. Unlike stoneware, semi-refined earthenware vessels are not fully vitrified. These relatively robust vessels are usually thrown on a wheel rather than molded like refined earthenware and they are larger. Most semi-refined earthenware is shaped into utilitarian forms, such as mixing bowls of different sizes, jelly-molds, mugs, pitchers, washbasins, and chamber pots. Two types of semi-refined earthenware are usually encountered on nineteenth century archaeological sites. Redware derives its name from its red, semi-vitrified paste after firing. Redware is normally undecorated and covered with a lead glaze. Similarly, yellowware characteristically has a yellow paste after firing and is sealed with a clear lead glaze (Liebowitz 1985:9-13).

Linda Worthy (1982:329-360) suggests that four general types of wares should be used in ceramic analysis. These wares include earthenware, stoneware, porcelainous stoneware, and porcelain and are believed to be distinguishable by paste color and texture, level of vitrification, opaqueness, body and glaze interface, and quality of fracture

(Mathews 1991:3; Worthy 1982:334; Yakubik 1990:118). Critiques of this analytical scheme include problems with overlapping definitions of types; the misidentification of some types of earthenwares as stonewares; and the problems with defining form and function in collections with a high percentage of small sherds (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:106; Mathews 1991:1-2; Yakubik 1990:119).

Others (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:131-138; Samford 1997:4-7) suggest classifying ceramics based on decorative techniques. Most archaeologists acknowledge that decoration-based systems are most effective in research concentrating on early nineteenth century sites. Moreover, it has also been suggested that a "hybrid approach" using both decoration and ware is most appropriate for sites and/or ceramic collections that span the nineteenth century (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:135; Mathews 1991:1-2; Yakubik 1990:120).

A hybrid approach, of sorts, has been used for ceramic analysis in the lower Mississippi River valley since the mid 1970s (Dawdy 1998:89-91; Gregory 1973:Appendix 1; Hahn et al. 1996:Table 5-1; Hunter et al. 1997:70-72; Mathews 1983:64-72; Yakubik 1990:120). Most of these investigations separated ceramics first by ware, then by decoration. This body of research indicates that most decorative techniques occur from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, making them useless for chronological concerns. However, wares do have a relatively more restricted time span obviously making them better candidates for establishing site chronology. Research conducted in the northeastern United States and in the southern Plains region also indicates that a ware-based approach is most effective for chronology (Sussman 1997). However, there are still problems with

separating the different wares and these should be noted and mitigated if possible.

There are two debates focusing upon whiteware and Ironstone that have analytical ramifications. The first problem is determining when the practice of adding cobalt to whiteware glazes ended. The earliest termination date suggested is 1840 (Hahn et al. 1996:Table 5-1; Hunter et al. 1997:73-76), while others support a late 1860s termination (Moir 1987a:102; D. Price 1982:14). Recent research has determined that the cobalt additive in whiteware glazes occurred primarily between 1820-1850 and was virtually non-existent by 1860 (Hahn et al. 1996:5-11; Hunter et al. 1997:69).

The second debate concerns typological differentiation of pearlware, whiteware with cobalt additives in the glaze, and Ironstone. It is a matter of record that it is difficult to separate sherds of pearlware from early production whiteware, since vessel forms are identical and cobalt additives makes them both somewhat blue. This situation has prompted some to type early production whiteware as transitional or early whiteware, and that produced after 1860 as late whiteware. This typology breakdown would not be problematic except that it is also virtually impossible to separate whiteware from Ironstone until after 1860, when Ironstone was noticeably thicker and harder. Therefore, only the terms creamware, pearlware, whiteware, and Ironstone will be utilized in this research with no referents such as early, late, or transitional (cf. Hahn et al. 1996:Table 5-1).

In order to separate pearlware from whiteware with cobalt additives, the methodology developed by James Mathews (1991) was employed in evaluating samples included in this study. Preliminary research conducted by Mathews suggested that different wares exhibit specific colors when subjected to ultraviolet light. Creamware

appeared dull yellowish brown when subjected to ultraviolet light, whereas pearlware was dark violet. Whiteware exhibited a brilliant white color, while porcelain fluoresced similarly to pearlware. A hardness test was performed on all sherds in the test groups in order to determine if the color differences were linked to vitrification. This involved "scratching" the paste of the sherd(s) with an implement calibrated to five on the Moh Hardness Scale. A common steel nail was used to make the scratches. When pearlwares were tested, the nail left a noticeable groove in the paste, but no metallic streak. The results from whitewares were somewhat erratic. Some sherds exhibited a groove and a metallic streak, while others exhibited only a metallic streak. Ironstone sherds exhibited only a metallic streak.

Hunter and others (Hunter et al. 1997:70-72) applied Mathews's technique to the sample obtained from the David Wilson Homeplace (16RA433) near Alexandria, Louisiana. They found the technique was useful not only in separating sherds categorized as early whiteware from pearlwares, but it also allowed the researchers to distinguish between sherds of different vessels within categories. However, there were problems separating creamware from pearlware and pearlware from porcelain using UV light alone. This problem was circumvented by comparison to existing type collections (Hunter et al. 1997:72).

The hardness test indicated that hard ceramic fabrics (65.65%) dominated the sample, followed by medium paste examples (29.23%). Soft fabric sherds comprised only 5.12 % of the site sample (Hunter et al. 1997:266). The overwhelming dominance of hard fabric ceramics in this sample may be attributed to two factors. First, the bulk of the

historic occupation at this site was relegated to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This was the time period when changes in ceramic manufacture allowed for higher firing temperatures resulting in harder ceramics. Also, Ironstone was categorized as whiteware for these analyses. It has been noted earlier in this chapter that most Ironstone was fully vitrified at this time, while whiteware was relatively softer. Therefore, the relative percentages for this site may be skewed by lumping the two wares into a single category.

The following procedure was implemented for ultraviolet (UV) light assessment of sherds in this analysis. All sherds were separated into pearlware, whiteware, Ironstone, and porcelain using only the naked eye. Two other individuals independently assessed these groupings. After any differences, if they occurred, had been settled, the groups were then observed under UV light. A Rayteck Model LS 88 was used as the light source and set for 2.500 angstroms. The ceramics were placed 15.24 cm away from the light source. Again, two other individuals assessed the results of the UV light survey and any differences or problems were noted for future reference. A scratch test was used in conjunction with the ultraviolet light. The scratch test was performed as a check for the data gathered during the UV light analysis.

Stanley South's (1972:73-74, 1977:201-236) mean ceramic dating technique is commonly used to establish site chronology in historical archaeology. The technique is based on the premise that the midpoint of the manufacture date range for documented ceramic types is very close to the midpoint of popularity. An estimated age of an archaeological assemblage can be determined by averaging out the median dates of the

ceramic types present in the assemblage. Mathematically, this formula is rendered as:

$$Y = \sum Xi * fi / n$$

where Y equals the mean ceramic date, Xi equals the median date for manufacture of each ceramic type, fi equals the frequency of each ceramic type, and n equals the number of ceramic types in the sample represented by raw sherd counts. The wares, method of decoration, and date ranges used for this technique are presented in Table 3.2.

Creamware is not listed on this table since none was found on the sites used in this research.

George Miller (1980) classified ceramics first by form and then decoration in order to create his ceramic price indices. These indices are normally used to determine the relative social and/or economic status of site occupant(s). Four groups were created based on the relative cost of the decoration. Undecorated, minimally decorated, hand-painted, and transfer-printed ceramics comprise the four groups ranked least costly to most costly to produce (Miller 1980:3-4). Cost indices were created for each group at irregularly spaced temporal intervals. Miller (1991:Table 1) modified his original classification to expand the temporal parameters to include those years between 1787-1880. This expansion provided additional data on new semi-vitreous ceramic wares introduced into the market around 1850 (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:133; Yakubik 1990:118). The modified classification also contained recalculated economic indices to reflect discount prices for plain and transfer-printed groups (Miller 1991:4-5, Table 1). One problem still not addressed by Miller is the lack of data for stonewares, yellowwares, and porcelains (Yakubik 1990:118).

Table 3.2. Ceramic Wares and Decorative Types with Temporal Data for Sites Used in this Research Project

	Pearlware		Whiteware		Ironstone	
	Date Range	Median	Date Range	Median	Date Range	Median
Blue shell edge	1775-1830	1802	1828-1860	1844	1875-1930	1905
Green shell edge	1775-1830	1802	1828-1860	1844	1875-1930	1905
Blue willow transfer	1780-1820	1800	-	-	-	-
Blue transfer	1780-1830	1805	1828-1860	1844	1875-1925	1900
Blue transfer/hdpt	-	-	1840-1860	1850	-	-
Black transfer	1780-1830	1805	1828-1860	1844	-	-
Brown transfer	1780-1830	1805	1828-1850	1839	1875-1925	1900
Green transfer	-	-	1828-1850	1839	1875-1925	1900
Green transfer/hdpt	-	-	1840-1850	1845	-	-
Mulberry transfer	-	-	1828-1850	1839	-	-
Polychrome transfer	-	-	1840-1860	1850	-	-
Purple transfer	-	-	1828-1860	1844	-	-
Purple transfer/hdpt	-	-	1840-1860	1850	-	-
Red transfer	-	-	1828-1850	1839	1875-1925	1900
Red transfer/hdpt	-	-	1840-1850	1845	-	-
Monochrome hdpt	1780-1830	1805	1828-1860	1844	-	-
Monochrome Chinese	1780-1805	1792	-	-	-	-
Monochrome fine floral	1780-1830	1805	1828-1860	1844	-	-
Monochrome wide floral	1810-1830	1820	1828-1860	1844	-	-
Polychrome hdpt	1780-1830	1805	1840-1860	1850	-	-
Polychrome fine floral	1780-1830	1805	1840-1860	1850	-	-
Polychrome wide floral	1810-1830	1820	1840-1860	1850	-	-
Annular	1790-1830	1810	1828-1860	1844	1860-1925	1892
"Flown" monochrome	-	-	1825-1870	1847	1880-1920	1900
Sponge	-	-	1840-1860	1850	-	-
Luster	-	-	1840-1860	1850	-	-
Sprig	-	-	1840-1870	1855	-	-
Berry	-	-	1840-1860	1845	-	-
Decaled	-	-	-	-	1890-1930	1910
Gilted	-	-	-	-	1890-1930	1910
Blue-tint plain	-	-	-	-	1850-1900	1875
Clear-tint plain	-	-	-	-	1890-1920	1905
Ivory-tint plain	-	-	-	-	1900-1930	1915

In order to properly apply this technique to ceramic assemblages in the present study, raw sherd counts should be converted to a minimal number of individuals for each sample. Generally, the ceramic assemblage should represent an occupation spanning no more than 20 years (Miller 1991:4; Dawdy 1998:102-103). Also recommended is restricting this technique to stratigraphically distinct units with explicitly stated date ranges (Dawdy 1998:103). The method used to calculate the MCI is presented below:

<i>Type</i>	<i>CC index value</i>	<i>Number(MNI)</i>	<i>Value</i>
CC	1.00	5	5.00

average value: 5.00 (value) divided by 5 (MNI) = 1.00

The *Type* in the methodological example has been determined to be *CC* or cream colored with no decoration. The *Type CC* has an *index value* of 1.00 based on Miller's (1991:12-22) calculations. The *Number* is expressed in terms of *MNI* or Minimal Number of Individual vessels recovered from the archaeological context under investigation. The *Value* is derived by multiplying the *index value* by the *Number*. The context's *average value* is determined by dividing the *index value* by the *Number*.

Glass Analysis

Glass artifacts were subdivided into two general categories for analysis. All glass from windowpanes, mirrors, and picture frames was placed into a flat glass category. Bottles, insulators, jars, lamps and lamp globes, glass plates, glass bowls, and glass vases were categorized as non-flat or container glass. Container glass was initially sorted by color, and then subsequently grouped by presumed use. Where possible, bottles were described and use categories noted.

Bottles were useful in some instances in establishing site chronologies due to several technological changes and/or improvements between 1850-1940 (Jones 1971:69-70; Ketchum 1975:119; Lorrain 1968:43-44; Munsey 1970:31-32, 47, 301-302). The bottle manufacturing and/or retailer marks were described and analyzed to help place specific archaeological events within a temporal framework. Bottle color was useful only in providing general supporting evidence for more specific data derived from manufacturing or retailer marks (Hunter et al. 1997:Table 4)

Flat glass dating is another technique under development in historical archaeology to support mean occupation dates derived from ceramic artifacts (Ball 1983:133; Castille et al. 1986:Appendix C; Dawdy 1998:94; Hahn et al. 1996:Table 5-2; Orser et al. 1987; Roenke 1978:43; Rothman 1980, 1981). Historical documentation and artifact analyses suggest that a shift in glass manufacturing methods during the mid-eighteenth century corresponds with the production of a more regular, if not wavy, pane. These studies also suggest pane thickness increased at a somewhat steady rate throughout the nineteenth century and became standardized after 1916 (Diamond 1953:1-20; Hahn et al. 1996:Table 5-2; Scoville 1948:15).

Flat glass-derived occupation dates have not been readily accepted due to some reservations. Overlap between manufacturing techniques suggests the method is more reliable for nineteenth and early twentieth century contexts (Dawdy 1998:94). Comparative studies indicate that glass-based chronologies differ significantly in assigning date ranges to various thicknesses of glass (Castille et al. 1986:Appendix C; Moir 1987b:77, Figure 5-3). Most of the differences are the result of regional variation and adjustments can be made (Table 3.3). Divergent opinions are also reflected in the conflicting stances on when flat glass standardization appeared (Diamond 1953:1-10;

Table 3.3. Mean Glass Date Formula Differences (Adapted from Dawdy 1998 and Hahn et al. 1996)

Rothman 1980				Orser 1987			Moir 1987		
Thickness (mm)	min.	max.	mean	min.	max.	mean	min.	max.	mean
0.65	1790	1799	1794	1843	1852	1848	1767	1784	1775
0.85	1798	1806	1802	1852	1860	1856	1784	1801	1792
1.05	1806	1815	1810	1860	1868	1864	1801	1817	1809
1.25	1815	1823	1819	1868	1877	1872	1817	1834	1826
1.45	1823	1831	1827	1877	1885	1881	1834	1851	1843
1.65	1831	1839	1835	1885	1893	1889	1851	1868	1860
1.85	1839	1848	1844	1893	1901	1897	1868	1885	1876
2.05	1848	1856	1852	1902	1910	1906	1885	1902	1893
2.25	1856	1864	1860	1910	1918	1914	1902	1918	1910
2.45	1864	1873	1868	1918	1926	1922	1919	1935	1927
2.65	1873	1881	1877	1926	1935	1931	1935	1952	1944
2.85	1881	1889	1885	1935	1943	1939	1952	1969	1961
3.05	1889	1897	1893	1943	1951	1947	1969	1986	1977
3.25	1898	1906	1902	1951	1960	1955	1986	2003	1994
Castille 1986				Dawdy 1998					
Thickness (mm)	min.	max.	mean	min.	max.	mean			
0.75			1819			1819			
0.95			1830			1830			
1.15			1840			1840			
1.35			1850			1850			
1.55			1860			1860			
1.75			1870			1870			
1.95			1880			1880			
2.15			1891			1891			
2.35			1901			1901			
2.55			1911			1911			

Scoville 1948:15 cf. Ball 1983:133). Finally, there is a question of just what the method dates, the occupation or the window (Moir 1987b:75-77).

The success/validity of flat-glass dating is dependent primarily upon sample size. Date ranges derived from small samples are fairly erratic, whereas larger samples tend to depict a less erratic temporal progression. No standard sample size has been suggested for this method, although a recent study used 30 fragments as a minimum sample (Dawdy 1998:95). Recent research also indicates that the best samples of window glass were obtained from excavation units placed within four meters of the structure (Moir 1987b:73). However, overall strength of this technique is better when used in conjunction with other dating techniques and within the whole assemblage context.

This study will utilize a 30-fragment minimum for each context. Glass data derived from all the sites will be analyzed using a formula developed by Charles Orser for the southeastern United States and modified by Castille et al. (1986:Appendix C; Dawdy 1998:95, Table 5-3) for the New Orleans area. The flat glass chronologies derived from Choctaw affiliated sites in Oklahoma should be closer to the New Orleans chronology than the generalized southeastern United States formula. Archaeological and historic investigations indicate that ceramics and other goods entered Oklahoma via New Orleans (Neal et al. 1991:151; Neal and Rees 1993:123-125). Therefore, the date of acquisition and use of material goods would be very close, and any time lag between the two areas would be insignificant. The data required to determine the Mean Flat Glass Date and the Standard Deviation is graphically represented in Table 3.4.

The Mean Flat Glass Date is represented by the mathematical equation:

$$Ef(x)/Ef + 1800$$

where E equals the sum of, f equals the frequency expressed in number of fragments, and

Table 3.4. Mean Flat Glass Formula (Adapted from Castille et al 1986:Table C-6; Dawdy 1998:Table 5-3)

t	d	x	x_i	x_i^2	f	$f(x)$	$f(x_i^2)$	$f(x_i)$
.75	1819.61	19.61	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00
.95	1830.49	30.49	10.88	118.37		0.00	0.00	0.00
1.15	1840.44	40.44	20.83	433.89		0.00	0.00	0.00
1.35	1850.45	50.45	30.84	951.11		0.00	0.00	0.00
1.55	1860.50	60.50	40.89	1671.99		0.00	0.00	0.00
1.75	1870.61	70.61	51.00	2601.00		0.00	0.00	0.00
1.95	1880.78	80.78	61.17	3741.77		0.00	0.00	0.00
2.15	1891.00	91.00	71.39	5096.53		0.00	0.00	0.00
2.35	1901.08	101.08	81.47	6637.36		0.00	0.00	0.00
2.55	1911.61	111.61	92.00	8464.00		0.00	0.00	0.00
				Totals	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mean Flat Glass Date								
Standard Deviation								

t = flat glass thickness in mm

d = manufacture date derived from the natural antilog of $\ln y = .0271 (t) + 1783.97$

x = $d - 1800$

x_i = $x_j - x$ (the x of the first thickness class is subtracted from each succeeding thickness class.

The variable x is derived by dividing the result of the natural antilog equation in half)

f = frequency or number of flat glass fragments

t , d , and x are required to determine the Mean Flat Glass Date

f , x , x_i and x_i^2 are required to determine the Standard Deviation

x equals the median date minus 1800. The Standard Deviation is determined by finding the square root of the mathematical equation:

$$Ef(x_i^2)/Ef - [Ef(x_i)/Ef]^2$$

where E equals the sum of, f equals the frequency expressed in number of fragments, x_i^2 equals the result of subtracting x of the first thickness class (.75 mm) from all other thickness classes and squaring the result of the subtraction. The Standard Deviation result is then added to, as well as subtracted from, the Mean Flat Glass Date to establish the full date range represented by the flat glass sample.

Metal Analysis

These artifacts will first be separated by metal type. The most common types of metal encountered on nineteenth and early twentieth century sites are brass, copper, iron, and lead. Brass and copper items are difficult to separate in some circumstances, especially when the artifact is small or fragmentary. In these instances, the artifact in question will be categorized as *cuprous*, denoting that either metal may have been used in the manufacturing process. Iron artifacts may be either hand wrought or cast. An attempt will be made to determine the method of manufacture for all iron artifacts. In addition to items fashioned from a single metal, alloys or combinations of different metals also occur, but are more common during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Metal objects with a baked-on enamel coating began to enter the archaeological record during the late nineteenth century and are common constituents of site assemblages dating to the early twentieth century. Most metal artifacts are not very useful in determining the temporal parameters of a given site. Nails are one of the few exceptions.

Nails will first be divided into those manufactured by hand (hand wrought) and

those made by machine. Square, completely hand wrought nails were produced throughout the eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth century. Nails made by machines were in production by ca. 1790. These nails were also square and cut from rolled sheets of iron. The nails were cut across the grain of the metal sheets and subsequently headed by hand. Machine headed nails began to be manufactured by ca. 1797, but the heads were noticeably irregular. By 1828, technology had advanced to the point that irregularities in nail head manufacture disappeared. Also, nails that were cut across the grain were in the process of being replaced by those that were cut parallel to the grain. Machine cut nails with regular heads, commonly called modern machine cut nails, were used in all types of construction until wire drawn, round nails were developed during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Even though machine cut nails were clearly superior in clinching ability to round nails, they are virtually non-existent in construction after ca. 1900 (Hahn et al. 1996:Table 5-4; Hunter et al. 1997:75-76, Table 6; Nelson 1968:2-10; Noël Hume 1969:253; Wells 1998).

Modern machine cut nails can be more precisely dated when inspected for manufacturing characteristics. Most of these characteristics are not important temporally when viewed alone. However, when these attributes are considered *in toto*, temporal differences do emerge (Wells 1998:78-99). Nail analysis in this research will follow the analytical conventions established by Tom Wells (1998:94-96) and will attempt to place nails within his twelve types.

Since the sites examined in this research date after 1830, it is expected that not all of Wells's (1998:Figure 8) nail types will be present. The nails in the site sample should be restricted to Types 7-8 and 10-12. Types 7, 8, and 10 have rectangular or square shafts, while Types 11-12 have round shafts. Type 7 was produced between 1834-1837

and is distinguished from Types 8 and 10 by the presence of manufacturing marks on the side of the nail. Type 8 was produced between 1820-1891 and has manufacturing marks on the nail face (front). Type 10 was produced between 1891-1893 and is easily separated from the other two square types since it is made from steel rather than iron. In addition, no grain is present in Type 10, while the grain is oriented parallel to the shafts in Types 7 and 8. Type 11 was produced only in 1879 and is made from steel, while Type 12 was produced from 1891 onward and was made from iron.

Faunal Remains

Vertebrate faunal remains were analyzed in order to determine which taxa were present in the respective site assemblages. Individual skeletal elements were identified to the lowest taxonomic category possible. In most cases, the elements were only identifiable to a general category, such as large or small mammal. In addition, each bone was inspected for evidence of post-mortem modification such as butchering marks, burning, and canid or rodent gnawing. These data provided evidence of the type of object utilized to butcher animals, how the bones were disposed, and if the skeletal elements entered the archaeological record quickly or if they were exposed to natural processes for a period time.

Skeletal elements were quantified by two techniques when possible. The Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) denotes the number of bones identified in a specific taxonomic category (e.g. pig or cattle bones). The Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) establishes minimal number of a single taxonomic group in the skeletal assemblage. The MNI was calculated based on either paired elements or the identification of elements

that occur only once in an animal. Inferences based on MNI must be carefully considered, since larger animals tend to be over-represented in faunal assemblages due to better preservation than smaller, lighter boned species (Hunter et al. 1997:78; Jackson and Scott 1995:183-184; Jurney 1992:80-82).

Summary

The excavation methods, artifact classifications, and analytical techniques described in this chapter will allow this research to fulfill most of the goals stated at the beginning of this chapter. General and specific depositional contexts discovered at the different Choctaw affiliated sites can be classified with a high degree of confidence. The Historic Choctaw and Euroamerican ceramic typologies will allow the formulation of "in-use" assemblages that can be subsequently compared for socioeconomic similarities and differences. Ceramics, glass, and metal artifact types will be used to establish relatively dated site chronologies. Ceramic and subsistence data will be used to support the position that unequal relations continued among the Choctaw after removal. The nails and other items exhibiting technological advances could be used to see who was using relatively new technology and that relates to social inequality. Finally, this information will provide the archaeological community with household specific data from Choctaw affiliated sites that are totally absent at this point.

Chapter Four

The Research Sample

This chapter describes the excavations and the material culture obtained from four Choctaw affiliated sites in southern Oklahoma (Figure 4.1). The archaeological excavations conducted at the Choctaw Cabin site (34MC485) have not heretofore been formally presented. Therefore, detailed discussion of the excavations and material culture assemblage from this site is presented. Data from 34MC399 has been partially described in three publications (Neal et al. 1991:50-52; Neal and Rees 1993:27-29, Figure 6; Perino 1979). These data were combined with a re-analysis of materials from the site for this research. Larry Neal of the Oklahoma Archeological Survey analyzed all the material from the George Hudson House site (34MC544) and provided these data for the present research. The contexts and material culture obtained from 34BR225 have been published (Lee and Bailey 1992; Lee et al. 1994), so only pertinent data from this site will be presented.

The Choctaw Cabin Site (34MC485)

The Choctaw Cabin site was one of five sites on a dissected terrace along the west side of the Glover River, approximately 8.5 km north of Wright City. These sites were initially discovered during a pedestrian survey of clear-cut areas in southeastern Oklahoma. Investigations conducted at the time 34MC485 was discovered consisted of a regimen of systematically excavated posthole tests across the site area. In addition, a narrow, hand-excavated trench was placed across the center of a rectangular depression. These investigations indicated that cultural deposits associated with Archaic, Mississippian

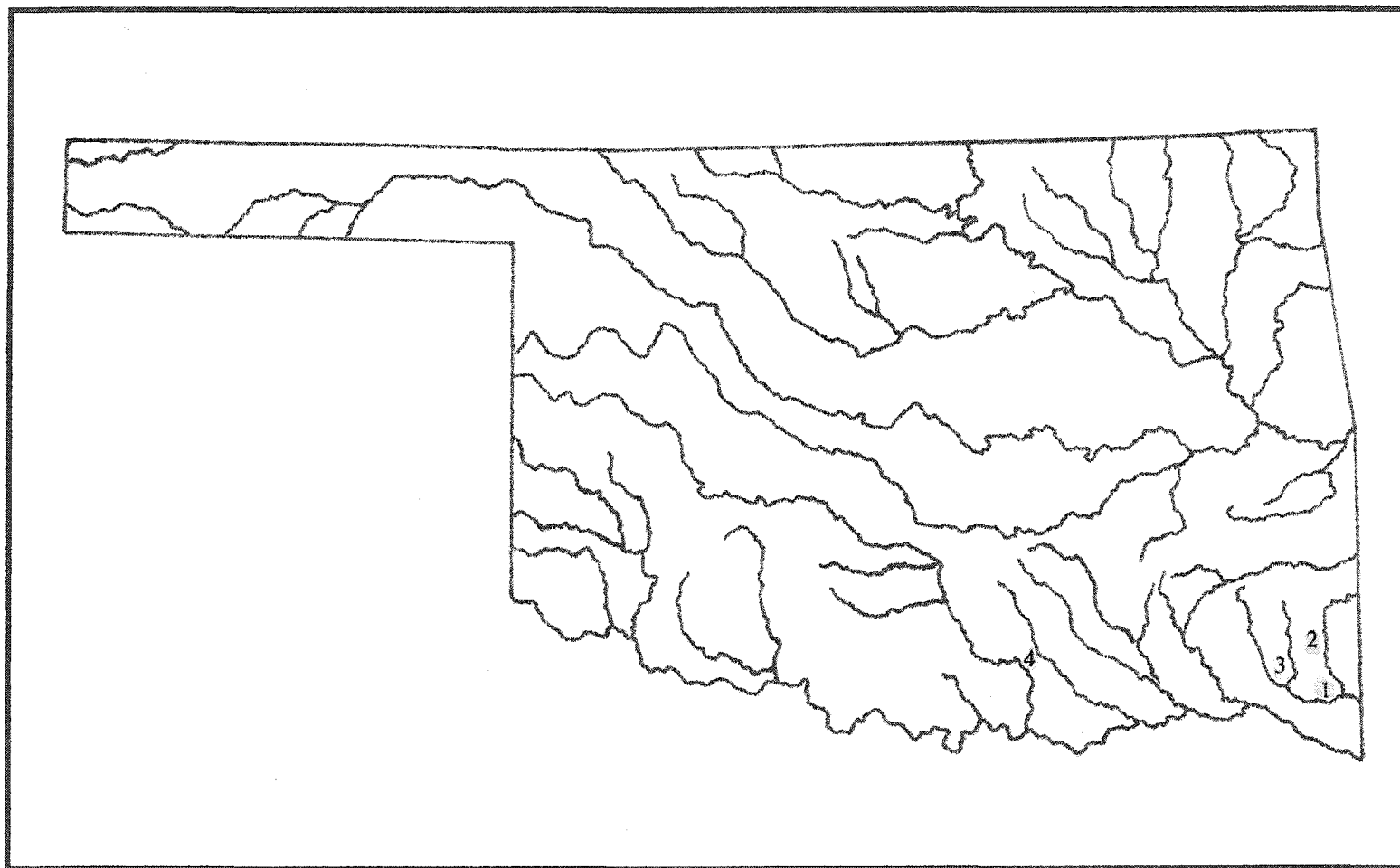


Figure 4.1. Oklahoma Map Showing the Locations of Sites 34MC399 (1), 34MC544 (2), 34MC485 (3), and 34BR225 (4)

(Caddoan), and Historic Choctaw occupations were present and intact. Historic material culture collected from the posthole tests and trench suggested that a structure, probably a house, was located at 34MC485 (Neal 1988:54-55, 128-130). Data collected from the preliminary investigation of the Choctaw Cabin site were sufficient to warrant more intensive excavations.

The initial testing program designed for 34MC485 was modified after vandals disturbed a portion of the suspected structural remains. Instead of limited testing, the entire area containing the suspected structural remains was investigated. A permanent site datum was established along the southern edge of the terrace and a grid of 1 x 1 m excavation units were laid out. The southeast corner stake of this grid was designated N0 W0.

A metal detector scan was conducted immediately adjacent to the grid to clear areas for screening. The scan produced 57 readings that were flagged, mapped, and excavated (Figure 4.2). A total of 76 artifacts was collected from 53 readings; no artifacts were associated with the remaining readings. Machine cut nails (n=56), either whole or fragmentary, were the most common metal artifacts recovered from the exercise. The remainder of the sample contained two axes, a broken horseshoe, a bucket bail, abraded metal plate, a partial curry comb, a flat-head screwdriver bit, a small strap hinge, a partial utensil handle, several links from a trace chain, and a wagon wheel retaining band. Non-metallic artifacts included six lithic flakes, one Mississippi Plain *var. unspecified* sherd, and two hand-painted, polychrome floral whiteware sherds (Table 4.1). A large piece of tabular sandstone was east of the grid between readings 28 and 32 (Neal 1988:54).

Five artifact clusters were identified when the metal detector readings were plotted (Figure 4.2). The first cluster (Readings 1-11) formed an elongated oval pattern adjacent

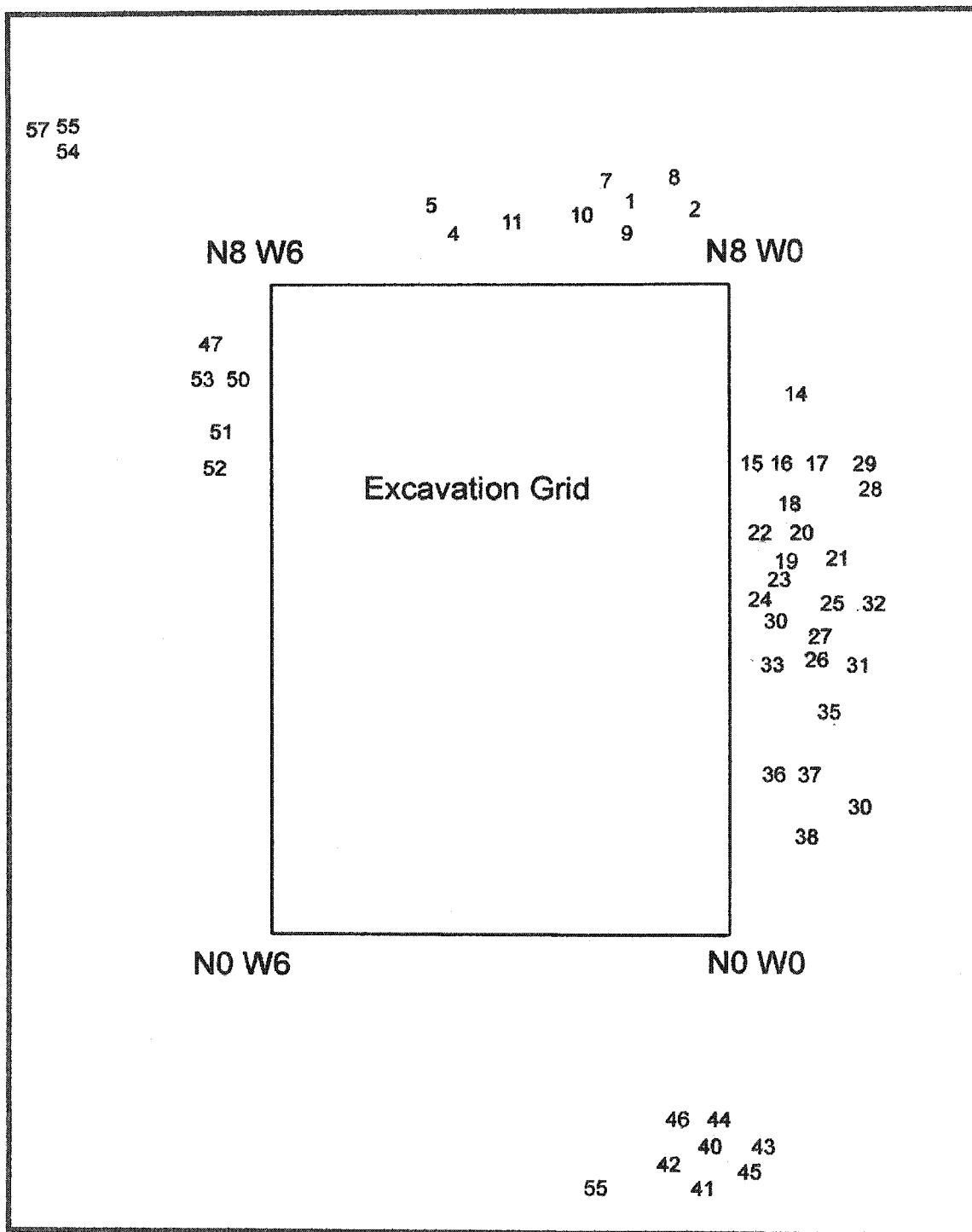


Figure 4.2. 34MC485 Metal Scan Anomalies (Adapted from Lee 1992:Figure 5).

Table 4.1. 34MC485 Metal Scan Artifact Descriptions.

Reading Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Total
Cut nail				1			1							1	2				1	1				1	1	1			1	1	12
Nail fragment	1	1				1		1	4	1	1				2	1	3	2		1	1	1	1	1			1	2		1	27
Strap hinge					1																										1
Utensil handle													1																		1
Flat tipped bit												1																			1
Secondary flake																											1				1
Tertiary flake																2				1											3
Total	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	4	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	46
Reading Number	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57				Total
Cut nail	1						1										1					1		1							5
Nail fragment		1	1		1	2		1	1	2	1	1									1										12
Mississippi Plain										1																					1
Hand-painted														1		1															2
Wagon wheel band													1																		1
Axe														1													1				2
Horseshoe															1																1
Bucket bail																				1											1
Curry comb																						1									1
Trace chain																							1								1
Iron fragment																										1					1
Tertiary flakes									1				1																		2
Total	1	1	1		1	2	1	1	2	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				30
Grand Total																															76

to the north edge of the excavation grid. Most of the artifacts in this cluster were machine cut nails, except for a small strap hinge (Reading 5). The second cluster (Readings 12-39) formed a roughly rectangular pattern along the entire eastern periphery of the grid. Most of the artifacts were machine cut nails or flakes, in addition to the flat-head screwdriver bit (Reading 12) and utensil handle fragment (Reading 13). Readings 40-46 approximately 3 m south of N0 W0, form a tight, circular cluster of artifacts. Two artifacts in this cluster were machine cut nails, while the others included one Mississippi Plain sherd, two hand-painted polychrome floral whiteware sherds, a wagon wheel retaining band, one complete axe head, and a partial horseshoe. A fourth cluster (Readings 47-53) was located along the northwest periphery of the grid and contained four machine cut nails, an iron bucket bail, and an iron curry comb minus the handle. The fifth artifact cluster (Readings 54, 55, 57) was very small and was located approximately 5.5 m northwest of grid point N8 W5. Several links of a trace chain with an attached O-ring, a fragment of flat iron with a brad, and an axe were discovered at this location.

Before hand excavations commenced, the disturbed soil left by the site vandals was removed, screened, and artifacts collected. Artifacts from the disturbed area were not used during analysis since their depositional contexts could not be determined with any confidence. Also, backfill soil was removed from the hand-excavated trench completed during pedestrian survey to avoid potential mixing of contexts. Excavation of the 1 m² units began along the W0 grid line and continued west. Thirty units were excavated in the grid, recovering 2,164 artifacts and identifying three features. Units S3 W2, S4 W2, and S8 W2 were excavated along the southern edge of the terrace to obtain a sample believed to represent non-structural contexts. No features were identified and only 25 artifacts were recovered from these units.

Feature A was first believed to represent native stones supporting the large piece of sandstone discovered during the metal scan. However, as excavations expanded, it became apparent that the feature was actually a foundation constructed of unsorted native stone. Feature A consisted of one partial and two complete foundation lines. The first complete alignment was oriented northwest/southeast and was along the eastern portion of the excavation grid. The second complete alignment was oriented northeast/southwest and was along the southern edge of the grid. The partial alignment was along the western portion of the grid and was oriented generally northwest/southeast. The width of the feature ranged between 1.25 and 2.40 m and is likely the result of stones being dislodged from their original contexts by small hickory and oak trees growing at the site. Circular “voids” in the stone foundation observed in units N6 W1, N5 W1, and N2 W0 indicate additional impacts to the foundation by trees that previously stood at 34MC485 (Figure 4.3).

Excavation units N2 W0-N2 W2 and N3 W0-N3 W2 contained a circular mound that reached a maximum height of 40 cm above ground surface. The height of the mound is suspect since a small tree was present in the mound center. Maximum horizontal dimensions of the mound were determined to be 2.63 m north/south and 2.26 m east/west. Investigation revealed the mound was composed primarily of burned silty clay lumps (n=171) within a brown sandy silt matrix. Some examples (n=31) had one side that was roughly flattened, while charcoal filled cracks were noted in eight other pieces. Further exploration determined the burned lumps lay on top of the stones comprising Feature A.

The shape of Feature B is best described as an oval with flattened ends that measured approximately 2 m north/south and 1.5 m east/west. Feature B attained a maximum depth of 40 cm below ground surface (bgs). The fill matrix was a 10YR 2/1

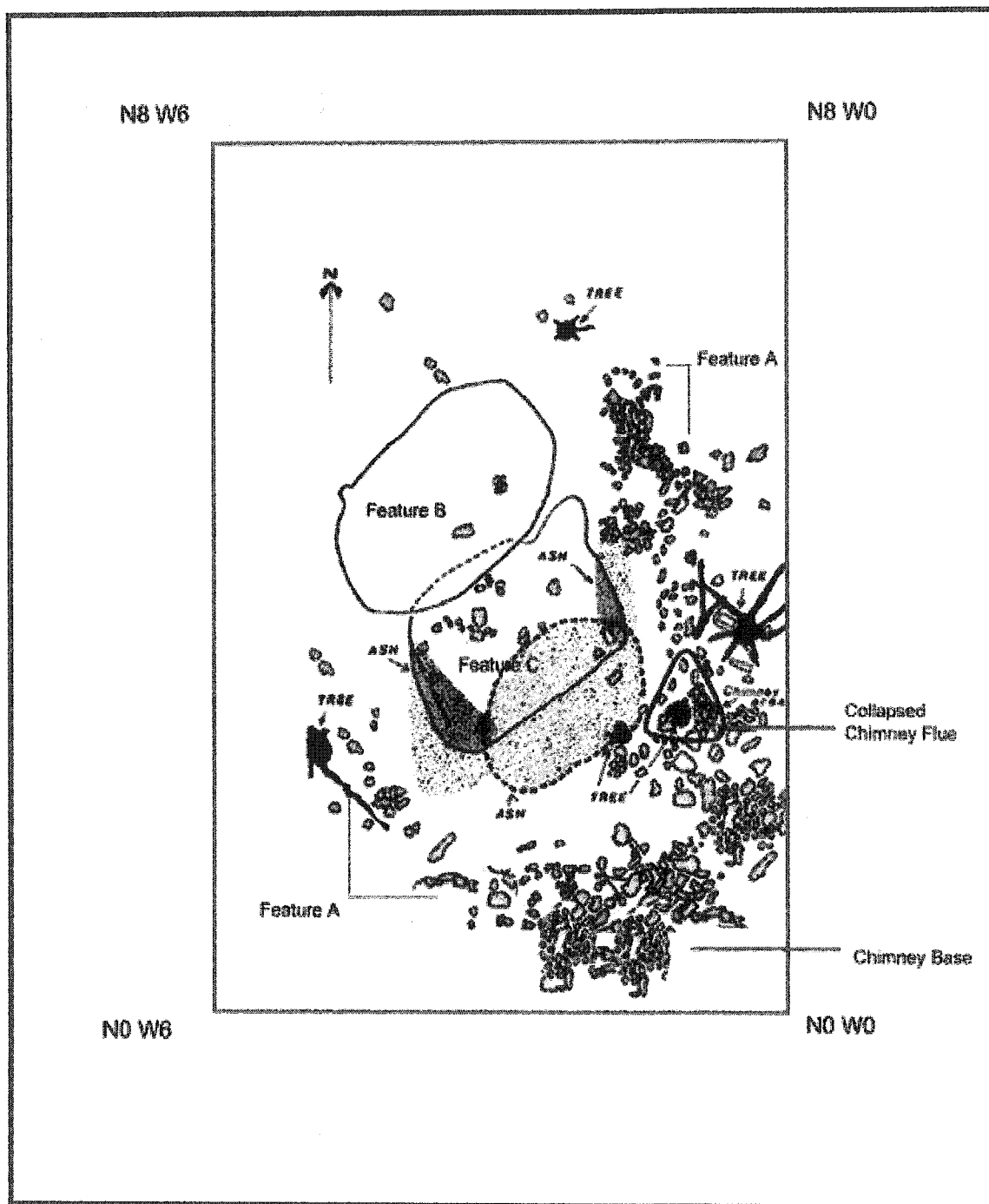


Figure 4.3. 34MC485 Site Plan depicting Excavation Grid. (Adapted from Lee 1992:Figure 5).

(black) sandy silt that was difficult at times to separate from a thin humus accumulation that overlay the feature. The walls of Feature B conform to the orientation of the stone foundations of Feature A. Vandals disturbed a portion of the feature bound by grid points N5.32 W4, N5.74 W4, N5.18 W4.61, and N5.52 W4.42. A concentration of large native stones was located in N5 W3 in the southeast quadrant of Feature B. The dimensions of this stone concentration were determined to be 35 cm north/south, 47 cm east/west, and 27 cm thick. An axe was discovered in the center of the concentration. The axe had been re-sharpened several times along the upper edge of the bit. The steep angle of the re-sharpening episodes rendered the axe useless. Therefore, the inclusion of the axe in the stone concentration seems intentional since it was no longer useful for its original function.

Three mud dauber nests were collected from N4 W4 in the southeast corner of Feature B. Two of these nests lay adjacent to a series of six 5 pennyweight (5d) nails oriented in the same direction and on the same horizontal plane as part of a burned structural element. The nests and nails exhibited evidence of burning. Generally, the lower 2/3 of the nails' shafts were discolored black, while the remaining upper portion was red. The color difference suggests that a portion of the structural element containing the nails burned away creating an oxidizing environment that produced the red discoloration.

Four other mud dauber nests found in association with burned 5d nails were discovered in Feature B during the excavation of N5 W3. The nests and nails were located west of the native stone concentration described above. However, no pattern could be established during excavation. The presence of mud dauber nests in and on top of Feature B suggests deposition occurred over a period of time rather than a single, relatively fast episode.

Feature C was a steep-walled pit that measured just over 2 x 2 m and attained a maximum depth of 70 cm bgs. Most of the south wall of Feature B overlapped and intruded into the north wall of Feature C. Despite this intrusion, a small, U-shaped, bi-level "step-down" was preserved in the northeast corner of the feature. This step-down was apparently created as an integral part of Feature C. Further investigation of this feature revealed that the floor and lower walls were fired, creating a layer of burned earth 3-6 cm thick. A thin layer of white ash 1-2 cm thick covered the burned earth. A native stone concentration similar to that found in Feature B was in N4 W2. The stones had been placed directly on top of the burned earth and ash. However, none of the stones displayed any evidence of burning. A mud dauber's nest was 12 cm above the feature floor immediately adjacent to the west side of the stone concentration. The nest did not exhibit any signs of post-depositional modification. These data suggest that the floor and lower walls of Feature C were fired and then the pit lay open for an undetermined length of time.

Feature C's fill matrix was the same black sandy silt found in Feature B. All cultural material analyzed during this research was collected from this matrix. Feature C was partially overlain by two distinct lenses of ash on its south side. The lower ash lens was actually composed of two separate concentrations, one along the west wall was 5 cm thick and the other along the eastern wall was 9 cm thick. Minor variations in color and consistency suggest both lenses represent repeated dumping episodes. The upper ash lens represents a single depositional episode. Excavation demonstrated that the upper lens was thickest in the middle (17 cm) and thinned almost imperceptibly to 12 cm along its edges. Excavation of the upper ash lens also clearly demonstrated that it extended south of Feature C and ran beneath the burned earth mound but covered part of Feature A.

Inspection of the site plan after all features and native stone concentrations were plotted clearly indicates the presence of a relatively small structure (Figure 4.3). The stones comprising Feature A formed the east, south, and west foundation walls of the structure. No definite evidence of the north wall was discovered in the excavation units located in the northwest quadrant of the grid. In addition to the stones forming Feature A, two parallel alignments of stone concentrations were also evident within the excavation grid. The stone alignments began in the northwest corner of the grid and continued southeast, crossing both Features B and C. The stone concentrations also ran parallel to the foundation walls of the structure, suggesting that they served as floor supports. The northwestern termini of the two parallel stone alignments were utilized to conjecturally identify the north wall of the structure. The strap hinge suggests that a door existed on the east side of the structure.

It is not readily apparent whether Feature A or Feature C was created first. However, it is clear that Feature C predates the stone concentrations serving as interior supports, since one is in the bottom of the feature. The stone supports are necessary for a structure with a floor and would have to be constructed at the same time as the wall foundations. Since Feature C was fired, this activity would have to be completed before the structure was built. Thus, it can be surmised that Features A and C were formed at or very near the same time. Feature C also seems to predate Feature B since one of the walls of the latter feature impinge upon the former. Feature C is certainly a pit, but the exact nature of Feature B is clouded by vandalism and the presence of a stone support. The stone support in Feature B would certainly have to be in place at the same time as the one found in Feature C. This suggests the two features were contemporaneous. However, the axe placed in the center of Feature B's stone footing suggests it was reworked at some

time during the structure's lifetime. Thus, Feature B may have been created to repair the structure. Work space beneath the structure's floor would be extremely limited given the low height of the supports. Therefore, in order to create adequate space to repair the support, soil was removed and work proceeded. The highly uneven nature of the intact portions of Feature B's floor indicates that little care was expended when it was dug, as compared to the well-prepared walls and floor of Feature C. Based on these data, Feature B is not interpreted as a pit, per se, but as a feature related to the refurbishing of the structure.

The mound containing the burned, silty, clay lumps is also difficult to interpret, given its stratigraphic association with Feature A and the upper ash lens covering part of Feature C. When first encountered, the mound was believed to represent the degraded remnants of a catted (mud/stick) hearth and chimney. However, the mound lay inside the east and south walls of the structure instead of outside them. But, the formation of the mound was the last event occurring in this part of the site based on relative stratigraphic position. Therefore, the mound is interpreted to be a collapsed chimney (Figure 4.4).

A second concentration of burned, silty, clay fragments (n=42) was located in N1 W1 and N1 W2. This concentration was associated with a roughly rectangular alignment of native stone immediately adjacent to the south wall of the structure. Ash and charcoal were noted in the soil surrounding the native stone. The burned clay fragments, ash, and charcoal in association with the rectangular native stone alignments suggests this is the location of the chimney base and hearth (see Jurney 1992:65).

Archaeological evidence presented so far suggests, but has not proven conclusively, that the structure at this site burned. If the structure did burn, then the upper ash lens covering part of Feature C more than likely represents part of the structure's floor

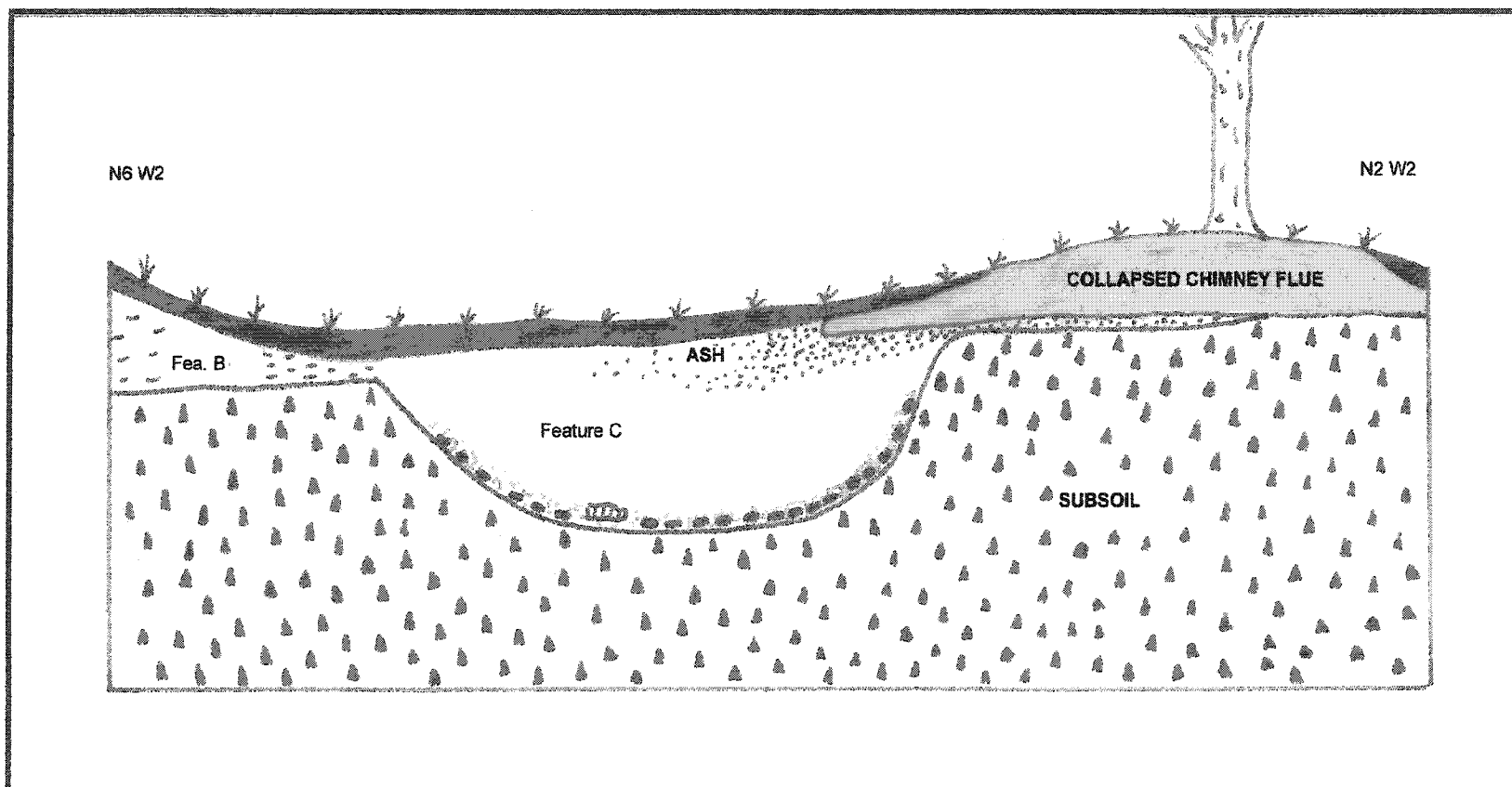


Figure 4.4. 34MC485 Profile Depicting the Stratigraphic Relationship of Feature B, Feature C, and the collapsed chimney. View Facing East. (Adapted from Lee 1992:Figure 6).

that looks to have been totally consumed in this area of the structure. Also, if the structure collapsed inward during its destruction, the chimney would probably have also fallen inward accounting for the mound on the interior of the structure. Inspection and comparison of artifacts collected from midden and feature contexts provide evidence that the structure did in fact burn and collapse inward. These artifacts and contexts also demonstrate that the structure was a house.

Table 4.2 enumerates the 1,432 artifacts recovered from non-feature contexts, first by material, then by specific artifact type. Metal artifacts (n=725) account for just over half (52.5 %) of the sample recovered from these contexts. Artifacts placed in the Other category (n=599 or 41.9%) represent the majority of the remaining sample, followed distantly by glass (n=38 or 2.7%), ceramics (n=36 or 2.5%), and floral remains (n=7 or 0.4%). Floral remains are described separately, but were placed in the Other category for convenience. No faunal remains were recovered from the excavation units.

Modern machine cut nails (n=703) are the dominant artifact type in the metal category and were collected from almost every excavation unit. Despite ubiquity, most of the nails were recovered from excavation units that either contained or were immediately adjacent to Feature A (Table 4.2). This relatively high number of nails falls into only three size categories including 3d (n=10), 5d (n=469), and 8d (n=10). Size could not be determined for 214 nail fragments. Most of the nails contain morphological characteristics that correspond to Wells Nail Type 8 that was manufactured between 1820-1891 while the minority corresponds to Wells Nail Type 7 produced between 1834-1837 (Wells 1998:Figure 8). The majority of the nails (n=533) were burned. Black discoloration was most often found on the lower nail shaft, while red commonly occurred on the nail head and upper shaft. Some measure of the fire's intensity is evident in that many nails either

Table 4.2. 34MC485 Artifacts from Non-Feature Proveniences.

	N0	N1	N1	N1	N2	N2	N2	N2	N2	N3	N3	N3	N3	N4	N4	N4	N4	N4	Total
	W2	W0	W1	W2	W0	W1	W2	W3	W4	W0	W1	W2	W3	W0	W1	W2	W3	W4	
Ceramics																			
Mississippi plain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
<i>Pearlware</i>																			
Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
<i>Whiteware</i>																			
Plain	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	6
Blue transfer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Hand-painted	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	5
Flow Blue	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Metal																			
Cut nails	15	3	7	23	4	0	12	42	32	37	33	67	48	46	45	39	8	0	461
Spike	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Staple	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Bolt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Hinge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Utensil handle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Harness buckle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Butcher knife	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Cinch ring	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Unid.	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	5
Glass																			
Amber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	4
Colorless	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Light Green	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	9
Dark Green	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Plain button	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	5
Impressed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Fragment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Other																			
Lithic point	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
Drill	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Primary flake	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Secondary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	5
Tertiary	1	7	2	4	1	10	11	8	5	1	1	21	2	3	16	3	0	0	95
Sandstone	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Chinking	0	0	31	11	10	103	3	20	7	3	7	45	8	0	12	0	0	0	260
Peach pit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3
Charcoal	2	0	9	4	8	12	4	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	49
Dirt Dauber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Bone handle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	3	7	42	21	20	126	20	34	19	4	10	71	14	11	42	5	0	0	448

Table 4.2 continued

	N5	N5	N5	N5	N5	N6	N6	N6	N6	N7	N7	N7	S3	S4	S8	Total
	W0	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	W2	W3	W4	W2	W2	W2	
Ceramics																
Mississippi plain	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Pearlware</i>																
Plain	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Blue shell edge	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Blue transfer	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Whiteware</i>																
Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Blue transfer	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Hand-painted	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Spatier	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Metal																
Cut nails	34	51	0	0	55	22	23	40	5	10	2	9	1	0	0	242
Forged pin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Bolt	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Staple	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Harness buckle	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Shoe buckle	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Butcher knife	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Table knife	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Scissors	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Fork	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Shoe eyelet	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Pie safe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Unid.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Glass																
Aquamarine	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Amber	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Colorless	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Light Green	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
Plain button	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Fragment	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Other																
Lithic point	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
Secondary	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5
Tertiary	9	5	0	0	3	17	0	5	4	8	4	13	7	2	10	87
Sandstone	0	4	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	8
Chinking	6	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	18
Peach pit	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Black Walnut	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Charcoal	1	1	0	0	1	5	0	3	4	2	0	1	0	0	0	18
Mussel shell	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Bone handle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Snail	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	57	72	0	0	64	62	28	56	15	26	7	29	13	2	10	438

partially or fully split apart. Data derived from non-feature excavation contexts clearly support the position that the structure did burn at some point. The 5d nails were probably used for attaching shingles to the roofline, since most of them occurred in the upper layer noted above. The 8d nails were confined to the lower layer and were likely used to attach boards to the floor joists. The exact use of the 3d nails has not been determined at 34MC485, although they were often used for finishing work in Euroamerican contexts (Lees 1985:123).

Metal artifacts that were also used for architectural purposes include two large iron 16d spikes and three cuprous staples. Both spikes were collected from N4 W0 along the east wall of the structure. Two staples were in N4 W1, while the third was south of the structure in S3 W2. The staples were uniform in size, measuring 5 cm long, 0.5 cm wide, and 0.25 cm thick. Based on their use in Annapolis, Maryland (Shackel 1993:35), the staples were used to clinch or hold two floorboards together.

The remaining metal artifacts include three butcher knife fragments, a table knife blade fragment, a fragmentary two-tined fork, a utensil handle fragment, a punch-decorated copper fragment, one-half of a pair of scissors, a shoe eyelet, two fragmentary carriage bolts, a cinch ring, an iron pin, a small brass hinge, and six iron fragments too small for identification. These artifacts were immediately adjacent to the east and south walls of the structure and showed no evidence of burning (Table 4.2). The butcher knives, table knife, fork, and utensil handle represent kitchen related artifacts. The relatively thin, star-decorated copper fragment may be part of a colander. If this identification is correct, the colander fragment would join other artifacts in kitchen related activities. The scissors and shoe eyelet represent personal use items, while the carriage bolts and cinch ring are related to either agricultural or transportation activities. The small hinge was probably

used on a piece of furniture such as a trunk or lidded box.

Ceramic sherds (n=36) were a small minority of the sample recovered from non-feature contexts. Choctaw produced examples were limited to three small sherds of Mississippi Plain *var. unspecified* recovered from N2 W4, N4 W2, and N5 W1. Euroamerican ceramics were more numerous and consisted of plain and decorated pearlware and whiteware sherds. Six plain pearlware sherds were recovered from N3 W3, N5 W1, and N6 W3, while one blue shell edge sherd and one blue transfer print decorated pearlware sherd were recovered from N5 W1. The blue shell edge sherd rim pattern suggests it was produced between ca. 1820-1860 (Jurney 1992:Figure 26a-b; Moir 1987a:Figure 7-1b). Eight plain whiteware sherds were collected from seven excavation units. Hand-painted sherds (n=9) were the most common decorated type of whiteware. The polychrome floral motifs on these sherds were well executed and represent an early variety of this type. Hand-painted sherds were collected from N2 W3, N3 W2, N3 W3, N4 W0, N5 W0, N6 W1, and N6 W2. Blue transfer decorated whiteware sherds (n=2) were collected from N3 W2 and N5 W0, while the only Flow Blue decorated example was obtained from N1 W2. Two spatter decorated whiteware sherds were noted in the collections from N5 W4 and N6 W1. As with the metal artifacts, most of the ceramics recovered from the site were near the walls of the structure.

Glass artifacts (n=38) include fragments from amber (n=6), aquamarine (n=2), colorless (n=4), light green (n=15), and dark green (n=2) vessels and were collected from 12 excavation units. Excavation units with the highest densities include N2 W2, N4 W0, N4 W1, N5 W1, and N7 W2. The fragments recovered from these five units are not from one color type indicating a single vessel, but are diverse, suggesting that one or two fragments from several vessels were present in each unit. Aquamarine glass has been

recovered from archaeological contexts as early as 1840, while amber glass dates slightly later to ca. 1860 (Jurney 1992:74). Colorless and light green glass are usually recovered from archaeological contexts dating to the late nineteenth century, while dark green glass has been noted from contexts throughout the nineteenth century (Hunter et al. 1997:72-74, Table 4). Although vessel glass was too small to identify specific forms, some inferences may be developed from their respective colors. Light green and dark green vessels are normally used to store various types of liquor or wine, while amber and aquamarine vessels held a range of materials including liquor, soda and mineral water, patent medicines, and beer (Castille et al. 1986:Table B-13; Hunter et al. 1997:Figures 67, 71-72, 78, 82, 95, 99; Jurney 1992:74-77, Figure 28).

Also included in the glass category are plain (n=6), impressed (n=1), and fragmentary (n=2) buttons. The plain buttons came from six different excavation units. Five of these were on the N2 and N3 grid lines between W1-W3. The last button was collected from N5 W1. A button decorated with impressed lines radiating out from the center came from N3 W3, while the two fragmentary buttons were collected from N3 W2 and N6 W1. All the buttons had four mounting holes and were manufactured after 1840 (Castille et al. 1986:Table D-3). Also, the buttons were the same size, suggesting they were from garments such as shirts, blouses, or dresses. No evidence of burning was noted for any of the buttons.

Chinking fragments (278) clearly dominate the Other category. It should be noted that it was virtually impossible to separate chimney fragments from those actually used for chinking. Almost all specimens were collected from units that either contained or were very near the chimney base and collapsed chimney flue. Two fragments and one complete piece that were definitely chinking were recovered from N2 W4. All examples were

wedge-shaped and had been burned. The complete specimen was 11 cm long, 17 cm wide, and 4 cm thick at the base. This example was 2.65 cm thick at the distal end. The Edward Bohanan log cabin north of Durant, Oklahoma, built between 1865-1870, used this type of chinking (Mistletoe Leaves (ML), June 1992:1).

Gary points (n=6) and lithic reduction debris consisting of primary (n=2), secondary (n=10), and tertiary (n=182) flakes were noted in most units from the excavation grid. Gary points are usually recovered from Archaic and Woodland period contexts in Oklahoma and are not considered part of the historic material culture assemblage (Neal 1988:128-130). Since no historic lithic projectile points which may be associated with the reduction debris were recovered from this site, the flakes are also not considered part of the historic assemblage.

Charcoal fragments (n=67) were present in 18 of the 30 units within the grid and were totally absent from the three units along the terrace edge. Units with the highest densities were clustered near the chimney base, indicating that these fragments were hearth related. The remaining charcoal fragments were found adjacent to the stone foundation wall, suggesting they represent portions of the burned structure.

Six bone handle fragments were recovered from two units, five from N6 W3 and one from N4 W1. A nearly complete specimen from the latter unit was decorated with a diamond pattern and was held onto the utensil by two small cuprous pins. The machine-decorated area covered the central portion of the handle and was bound on the proximal and distal ends by two undecorated zones. The inhabitants of 34MC485 modified the two undecorated zones, cutting an "X" and several dots in these areas. Two fairly deep lines, made by repeated cuts, formed the "X." A sharp implement using a twisting motion made dots. The v-shaped cut lines and the extremely fine termination point of the dots indicates

a knife was used to decorate the bone handle. The five fragments from N6 W3 represent pieces from one handle and were decorated with the machined diamond pattern. The handle was not modified like the first.

Burned peach pit fragments (n=6) and one complete black walnut nut and shell were the only floral remains from non-feature contexts. The peach pits recovered from N4 W0, N5 W1, and N6 W1 were just outside the east wall foundation. The peach pit from N4 W2 was discovered near the southeast corner of Feature C. The walnut was recovered outside the structure in N6 W2 and was just beneath ground surface. The walnut is considered intrusive since a mature tree was located approximately 4.82 m north of the excavation unit.

Table 4.3 lists artifacts recovered from Features B and C. The dual listing will bring similarities and differences in the respective assemblages into sharp focus. The total number of artifacts recovered from Features B (n=383) and C (n=374) are very close. Metal artifacts dominate the assemblages from both features. Those from Feature B (n=296) represent just over three-quarters (77.3 %) of the of the entire feature assemblage, while metal objects from Feature C (n=176) account for just under one-half (47.1 %) of the total artifacts. Machine cut nails (n=239) and nail fragments (n=44) were the most common metal artifact type recovered from Feature B. Complete nails were unequally divided between Wells' Nail Type 7 (n=57) and Nail Type 8 (n=182) and denote a temporal span of 1820-1890 (Wells 1998:Figure 8). The remaining metal artifacts from Feature B included eight colander fragments, one table knife blade fragment, one copper flooring staple, one rolled cone arrow point, the axe from the native stone support, and one iron fragment too small to be identified. The nails, staples, and axes represent architectural construction or maintenance activities. The colander, table knife, and metal

Table 4.3. 34MC485 Artifacts from Features B and C.

	Feature B					Feature C					Total		
	N4W2	N4W3	N4W4	N5W2	N5W3	N3W2	N3W3	N4W1	N4W2	N4W3	N5W2	N6W2	
Ceramics													
Mississippi Plain	0	0	6	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	11
Chicachae Combed	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Pearlware													
Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	3
Blue Shell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
Hand-pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Whiteware													
Plain	0	3	0	0	1	3	2	1	4	1	0	0	15
Blue Shell	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Hand-pt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	3
Flow Blue	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Spatter	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Metal													
Cut nails	0	24	69	91	55	10	5	1	55	2	2	7	321
Nail frag	0	2	11	20	11	5	4	6	16	5	1	3	84
Strap hinge	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Hinge	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Unesil handle	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Harness buckle	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	4
Butcher knife	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	4
Table knife	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Staple	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Bolt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Forged pin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Arrow point	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Bucket bail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Brass chain	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Hatchet	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Hand saw	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Hoe	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Slide/lock	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
File	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Kettle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	3
Spoon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Fork	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Axe	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Pie safe	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	9
Unid.	0	1	0	0	0	2	5	0	16	2	0	0	26

Table 4.3 continued

	Feature B					Feature C							Total
	N4W2	N4W3	N4W4	N5W2	N5W3	N3W2	N3W3	N4W1	N4W2	N4W3	N5W2	N6W2	
Glass													
Amber	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
Aquamarine	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
Light Green	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	6
Dark Green	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	4
Beads	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	3
Buttons													
Bone	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	3
Metal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Glass	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	8
Other													
Chinking	35	0	0	1	1	32	22	11	44	38	6	0	190
Peach pits	0	0	1	0	6	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	8
Hickory nut	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Hens egg	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Charcoal	0	0	2	1	3	13	2	0	36	19	0	0	76
Mussel shell	0	0	0	0	1	4	10	1	7	1	0	0	24
Dirt dauber	0	0	3	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	8
Shoe heel	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Sandstone	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	1	0	0	7
Stone pipe	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Stone marble	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Sec. flake	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	4
Ter. Flake	0	3	0	5	5	6	9	0	17	6	0	0	51
Point	-	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	5
Total	35	35	94	122	97	94	74	21	244	84	11	11	922

arrow point were utilized during kitchen or subsistence related work.

Complete machine cut nails (n=82) and fragments (n=40) were also the most common metal artifact type recovered from Feature C. Sixty-three complete nails were classified as Wells' Nail Type 8 while the remainder were identified as Nail Type 7 (Wells 1998:Figure 8). Again, complete nails indicate a temporal span of 1820-1890. The remaining metal objects from this feature are more diversified than those from Feature B. Kitchen or food preparation activities are indicated by four butcher and one table knife blade fragments, one iron spoon fragment, one fork fragment, two iron utensil handle fragments, three iron kettle fragments and nine colander fragments. Architectural related items include one iron hatchet, one complete hand saw, two slide lock fragments, two floor staples, and one small strap hinge. Subsistence and possibly transportation related activities are indicated by a wagon tongue bolt, four harness buckles, an iron hoe, and possibly a small triangular file. A very small brass hinge and a piece of a repaired brass chain were likely used on a piece of furniture such as a small box or chest. Twenty-six iron metal fragments recovered from Feature C were too small for more detailed analysis or interpretation.

One light green and two amber glass fragments recovered from Feature B represent one vessel each and suggest, at minimum, a temporal span of ca. 1840-1880 (Hunter et al. 1997:Table 4; Journey 1992:74). Fourteen glass vessel fragments and three glass beads came from Feature C. One amber, one aquamarine, two light green, and one dark green bottle are represented in the glass vessel sample from Feature C. This very small glass sample suggests a date range between ca. 1840-1880 (Hunter et al. 1997:72-74, Table 4; Journey 1992:74). The glass beads were all white, wire-wound, and barrel-shaped. This type of bead was a staple in Euroamerican trade after the mid-eighteenth

century (Hunter et al. 1994:37-42, Tables 5-6). The glass samples from both features are fairly small, but do reflect a similar use pattern as that found in non-feature contexts.

Chinking fragments were the dominant artifact type in the Other category from both Features B (n=37) and C (n=153). However, since the sample from Feature C was recovered from the base of the pit, it should not be considered chinking but burned earth/clay fragments. There is a noticeable difference in the amount of wood charcoal recovered from the features; only six pieces were recovered from Feature B, while 70 came from Feature C. The difference is likely the result of two factors. First, the burned structural member (n=61) from Feature B is not included in the feature tally. Second, most of the charcoal from Feature C was collected from the ash layer just above the burned floor and lower pit walls. If the structural element from Feature B is included, then the difference in wood charcoal content is negligible.

Lithic debris (n=56) and Gary type projectile points (n=6) were recovered from both features. These lithic artifacts came from either the Archaic or Woodland period components documented at the site and were mixed with the historic assemblage when Features B and C were created. Since these artifacts are not considered part of the historical material assemblage, no further discussion is presented. Two stone pipes were recovered from Feature C. Both were manufactured from poorly cemented or porous sandstone. It has not been determined at present if the sandstone is local or foreign. One pipe is elbow shaped, while the other is simply a cone-shaped bowl. These pipes are nearly identical in shape to those recovered from a Choctaw male burial at the Philip Nick's Place (16AV4) site near Marksville, Louisiana, the only difference being that the Louisiana examples were manufactured from clay rather than sandstone. The artifacts accompanying several burials at the Nick's Place site indicated a temporal span of 1795-

1815 (Hunter et al. 1994:34, 72, Figure 7). The elbow form, considered “native,” has been documented archaeologically and ethnographically among the Choctaw (Bushnell 1909:12-13, Plate 14; Hunter et al. 1994:45-46). The cone-shaped bowl form seems to mimic Euromerican kaolin pipes used during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. One limestone marble was recovered from Feature C and was produced sometime between 1860-1895 (Randall 1971:102). The marble had an uneven outer surface and measured 1.38 cm in diameter. Several small, vein-like cracks were noted on the marble. The cracks may simply reflect the grade of limestone or they could indicate use related wear.

Part of a shoe heel was recovered from Feature C. The heel was made from leather and was attached to the rest of the shoe by small, wood pegs. Since only part of the heel was collected from N3 W2, it could not be determined with any confidence whether the example was from an adult's or child's shoe.

Peach pits, hickory nuts, eggshell fragments, and possibly fresh water mussel shell indicate that subsistence related items were present in both features. Seven peach pits were recovered from Feature B, while only one was collected from Feature C. One hickory nut was collected from each feature. The hickory nuts are considered recent intrusions, since they were collected from just beneath the surfaces of the features. The only piece of eggshell was recovered from Feature C and was light brown, suggesting it was from a domestic chicken. The freshwater mussel shell from Feature B and the examples from Feature C (n=24) may indicate their utilization as a food source. On the other hand, the occupants of the site may have utilized them as temper for Mississippi Plain vessels present in the material culture assemblage.

The material culture assemblages recovered from feature and non-feature contexts

indicate that 34MC485 was occupied from just after removal to Oklahoma to at least 1880. Euroamerican ceramics recovered from the site were manufactured primarily during the first half of the nineteenth century. The blue shell edge, flow blue, and spatter decorated sherds suggest that many of the Euroamerican wares were produced between 1828-1870 based on site data from Texas (Jurney 1992:68-74) and the ceramic discussion presented in Chapter 3 of this research. Container glass suggests a temporal span beginning ca. 1840 and continuing to at least 1880. Complete nails recovered from 34MC485 indicate a more general temporal span of 1820-1890. However, Wells Nail Type 7 was manufactured only between 1834-1837. This fairly restricted temporal association suggests that cabin construction may have begun just after the Choctaw were removed to Oklahoma beginning in 1830. Buttons recovered from the site were not produced prior to 1840 while the stone marble could not have entered the archaeological record before 1860. Glass beads from the site were manufactured from the mid-eighteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century and generally support the temporal range established by other artifact types. Artifacts recovered from 34MC485 indicate that the site was initially occupied during the late 1830s and cabin construction began at this time. This occupation continued to at least the early 1880s based on container glass recovered from the site.

Site 34MC399

Archaeological investigations at 34MC399 were completed by Gregory Perino (1979) during the late 1970s. The site lies near the junction of the Mountain Fork and Little rivers in southeastern Oklahoma, and was discovered after logging activities exposed portions of structural remains and features. The structures were on a terrace of

the Little River, approximately one-half mile west of the Mountain Fork River. Surface collections obtained from 34MC399 indicated that this site was affiliated with a post-removal Choctaw occupation that contained at least three houses and several large pits associated with each structure. House 1 and 2 had been placed very near each other and only a few meters from the edge of the terrace on the crest of a rise. A spring or seep is approximately 30 m southwest of these two structures and is more or less between them. House 3 was approximately 100 m west of the other structures on the edge of the terrace. Subsequently, limited excavations at these three structures, interpreted as houses, revealed pits that were either outside the structure or underneath it (Neal et al. 1991; Neal and Rees 1993:27-29; Perino 1979:2-4). Further discussion of this site will be restricted to House 1 and four associated exterior pits designated Features A-D (Figure 4.5).

Perino (1979:2) did not fully describe House 1, but believed it was a house and that it had been utilized longer than the other two structures. His interpretation of longevity was based on the relative amount of midden accumulation observed at each structure (Perino 1979:2-3). His excavations revealed the presence of a badly decomposed oaken sill running the full length of the house, except where disturbed by a logging furrow. The interior of the house was easily distinguished from the surrounding dark soil representing midden accumulation. Apparently, the house had a baked clay floor (Neal and Rees 1993:27).

Feature A was near the center of the structure's east wall. It was basin-shaped and measured approximately 2.36 x 2.36 m and attained a maximum depth of 76 cm below ground surface. Material excavated from this feature included faunal remains, Choctaw

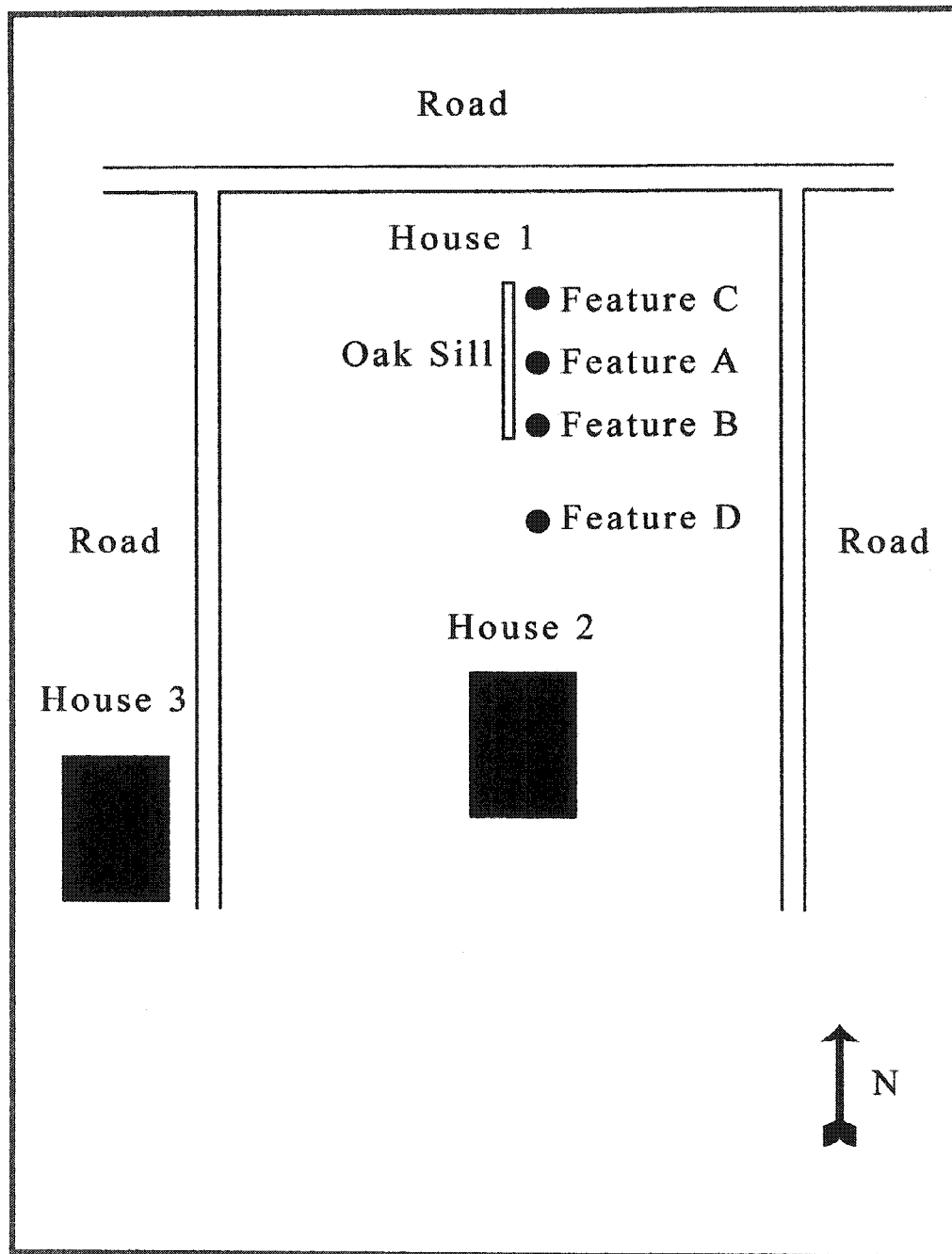


Figure 4.5. 34MC99 Sketch map site plan, not to scale. (Adapted from sketch map provided by Larry Neal).

and Euroamerican ceramics, glass fragments, and a diverse group of metal artifacts (Neal and Rees 1993:Figure 6; Perino 1979:3).

Feature B was near the southeast corner of Structure 1 and had a rectangular outline. This pit measured 1.1 m wide, 1.52 m long, and attained a maximum depth of 71 cm below ground surface (Perino 1979:3). The bottom of this feature had been lined with rock (Neal and Rees 1993:Figure 6). Artifacts collected from Feature B were similar to those from Feature A, including faunal remains, Choctaw and Euroamerican ceramics, glass beads, glass vessel fragments, and metal artifacts.

The exact dimensions of Feature C have not been defined at the present date (Neal and Rees 1993:27-29; Perino 1979:4). It was near the northeast corner of the house and was described as "about the same size and shape as Pit A" (Perino 1979:4). In addition to faunal remains and metal artifacts, Feature C contained an entire decorated pearlware plate. Choctaw ceramics included most of a large decorated bowl, as well as two globular jars. These vessels were reconstructed during analysis.

Feature D was directly south of Feature B, but away from the structure. This pit was roughly oval-shaped, approximately 1.5 x 1.5 m, and attained a maximum depth of 65 cm below ground surface. Unlike the other three features, Feature D had a narrow trench oriented northwest/southeast excavated in its bottom. This trench was 54 cm wide, 15 cm deep, and ran the length of the feature (Perino 1979:5). Also, two small post molds were located at each end of the feature (Larry Neal, personal communication 1992). The artifact assemblage recovered from Feature D is extremely similar in composition to the other three features. The plan view and cross-section of Features A, B, and D are presented in Figure 4.6.

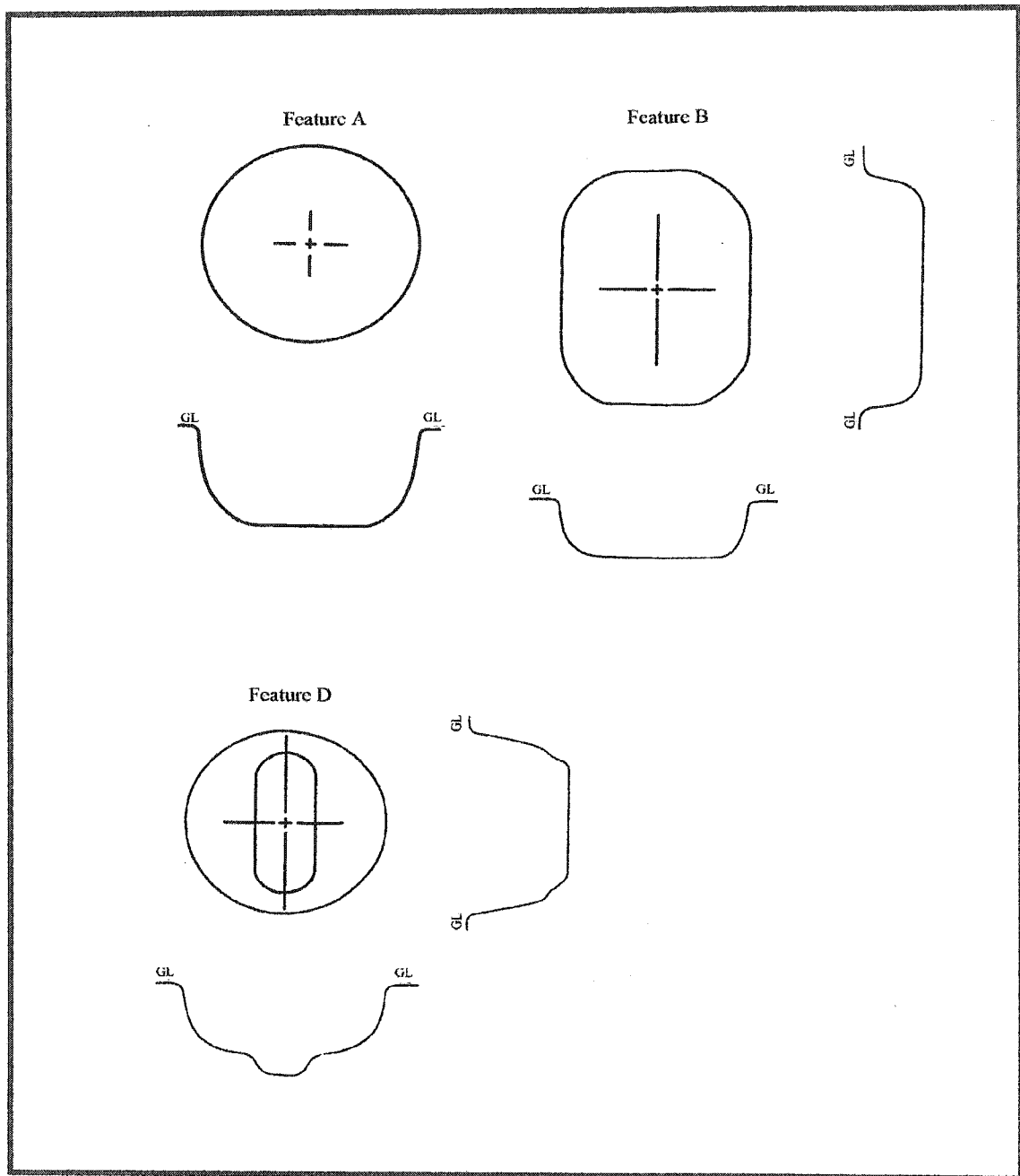


Figure 4.6. 34MC99 Plan and Profile of Features A, B, and D. (Adapted from Neal and Rees 1993:Figure 6).

A total of 829 artifacts were recovered from surface and feature contexts at 34MC399 (Table 4.4). These artifacts were almost evenly distributed across contexts. Feature C (n=190) contained the most artifacts, followed by the surface collection (n=188), Feature A (n=176), Feature B (n=175), and Feature D (n=100). Euroamerican ceramics (n=472) represent over one-half of the site assemblage and were recovered from all contexts. Choctaw manufactured ceramics (n=185) occurred in every context except Feature D. Metal artifacts (N=51) were also recovered from all contexts, while faunal remains (n=109) occurred only in the features. Artifacts placed in the Other category (n=7) and glass fragments (n=4) constitute small minority groups. Other category items were recovered only from the site surface and Features B and C. Glass fragments were found only in Feature A.

Mississippi Plain sherds (n=136) recovered from 34MC399 were tempered with unburned, coarse to medium-sized shell. The interior and exterior vessel surfaces were poorly prepared resulting in a “bumpy” appearance. The vessels were apparently fired in an oxidizing environment since exterior wall colors range from reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) to light brownish gray (10YR 6/2). Interior wall colors range from very pale brown (10YR 7/4) to grayish brown (10YR 5/2), while cores were uniformly reddish yellow. Sherd thickness measured anywhere between 7-10 mm with an average thickness of 8.5 mm.

Enough sherds were recovered from Feature C to reconstruct two globular-shaped vessels. Mississippi Plain Vessel 1 (Figure 4.7) was approximately 39 cm tall, 17 cm wide at its maximum expression, with a flattened base approximately 14 cm in diameter. This vessel has a restricted neck and excurvate rim. The vessel orifice or opening at the lip was determined to be 11 cm. The rim averaged 4.5 mm thick, while the vessel’s body

Table 4.4. 34MC399 Artifacts from all Proveniences.

	Feature A	Feature B	Feature C	Feature D	Surface	Total
Choctaw Ceramics						
Mississippi Plain	28	8	97		3	136
Chickachae Combed	5	22	22			49
Euroamerican Ceramics						
<i>Pearlware</i>						
Blue shell edge	2					2
Green shell edge	5		5		6	16
Black transfer print		7				7
Blue transfer print	2	3	2	8	6	21
Fine Polychrome hand-pt	5			2	4	11
Cobalt hand-pt		2				2
Annular/Mocha				4		4
<i>Whiteware</i>						
Plain	57	5	24	22	97	205
Blue shell edge		3	1	1	14	19
Black transfer print	17	10	7	5	4	43
Blue transfer print	7		2	4	5	18
Mulberry transfer print	4	3		10	12	29
Fine Polychrome hand-pt		5	7	8	12	32
Cobalt hand-pt					3	3
Annular/Mocha	16	7	2	9	17	51
Sponge/spatter				4	2	6
Copper luster			4			4
Metal						
Cut nails		11				11
Nail fragments		8				8
Spike		1				1
Iron trigger guard	1					1
Tripodal baking oven				1		1
Kettle fragments			2		1	3
Scissors		1				1
Case knife					1	1
Table knife		1	1	1		3
Spoon		5	1	1		7
Hoe blade				1		1
Shovel blade				1		1
Spur	1					1
Plow frame				1		1
Bridal		1				1
Trace chain	1					1
Stirrup	1					1
Curry comb	4					4
Harness buckle		1				1
Lead ball		1				1
Rolled cone arrow point			1			1

Table 4.4 continued

	Feature A	Feature B	Feature C	Feature D	Surface	Total
Glass						
Dark Green	4					4
Faunal Remains						
Pig	5	16	1			22
Deer	11	32				43
Cow		3	1	17		21
Rabbit		7				7
Bird		8				8
Freshwater mussel shell			8			8
Other						
Burned wood			1			1
Ground sandstone			1			1
Pitted hammerstone		1				1
Slate Pencil		1				1
2 Hole bone button					1	1
Deer tyne knife handle		1				1
Blue faceted bead		1				1
Total	176	175	190	100	188	829



Figure 4.7. 34MC399 Mississippi Plain Vessels 1 and 2 recovered from Feature C. Chickachae Combed Bowl 1 included for comparative purposes.

averaged 9 mm . The base had an average thickness of 6.5 mm and was made from a single piece of flattened clay, while the rest of the vessel was made from welded clay coils.

Mississippi Plain Vessel 2 (Figure 4.7) was approximately 42 cm tall, 16.4 cm wide at its maximum, and had a rounded base. The vessel also had a restricted neck and excurvate rim, but the neck was longer and the rim diameter was smaller than the first vessel. Also, the body was more round in shape than on Vessel 1 and narrowed progressively to form the round base. The rim of Vessel 2 was slightly thicker (5 mm average), while the body average was the same as Vessel 1. Patches of carbon residue were observed on the lower body and base of Vessel 2.

Chickachae Combed sherds (n=69) were tempered with a combination of sand, grog, grit, and bone. The interior and exterior surfaces were well smoothed, and in most cases, burnished. Exterior colors range from pale brown (10YR 6/3) to dark gray (10YR 4/1) to reddish yellow (7.5YR 5/6). Interior surfaces exhibit the same array of colors noted for vessel exteriors. Cores were uniformly gray (7.5YR 6/0). Sherd thickness ranged between 5.5-12 mm with an average thickness of 8.5 mm. Inspection of the sherds indicated that Chickachae Combed vessels were manufactured from welded clay coils.

Three combed vessels were reconstructed from the sample obtained from 34MC399. Features A, B, and C contained one vessel each; all were bowls. The bowl from Feature C was 7.65 cm tall, 16 cm wide, with a base that measured 10.32 cm in diameter. The lip had an average thickness of 5.5 mm while the rim was almost twice as thick, averaging 10.5 mm. The bowl walls were 8.5 mm thick and its base was 7 mm thick. The vessel orifice was determined to be 11 cm.

The design field executed on the bowl from Feature C was restricted to the upper one-third of the vessel and was composed of four sets of four scrolls. Each scroll

contained four lines made with an implement 4.1 mm wide. Two of the four scrolls in each set extended around the vessel to become part of the other sets of scrolls (Figure 4.8).

The bowl reconstructed from Feature A is smaller than the vessel just described. This second bowl was 6 cm tall, 11.51 cm wide, with a base that measured 8 cm in diameter. The lip had an average thickness of 6 mm while the rim averaged 9 mm thick. The vessel walls had an average thickness of 7 mm and the base 5.5 mm. The second bowl's orifice was 11 cm in diameter.

The design field on the Feature A bowl was also restricted to the upper one-third of the vessel and formed with an implement 4 mm in wide. However, the decoration on this specimen was composed of two design elements. The first element was placed just below the lip of the bowl and was composed of inverted "V" shapes made with a four-tooth implement. This element does not seem to be continuous, but was spaced around the vessel. The second design element was placed immediately below the first. The second or lower element was a series of scrolls placed end to end, encircling the entire bowl. The scrolls were also formed from four lines. Figure 4.9 depicts the reconstructed bowl from Feature A. It should be noted that placement of the upper design element is conjectural.

The last reconstructed bowl was from Feature B. Approximately one-third of the upper portion of this vessel was recovered from the feature fill. The lip was 6.5 mm thick, the rim 10 mm thick, and the walls 7 mm thick. The decoration on the third bowl was also composed of two design elements and made with an implement 4 mm wide. The upper element contained a single set of four parallel lines placed just below the lip. The lower element was composed of the inverted "V" shapes observed on the second vessel. Both

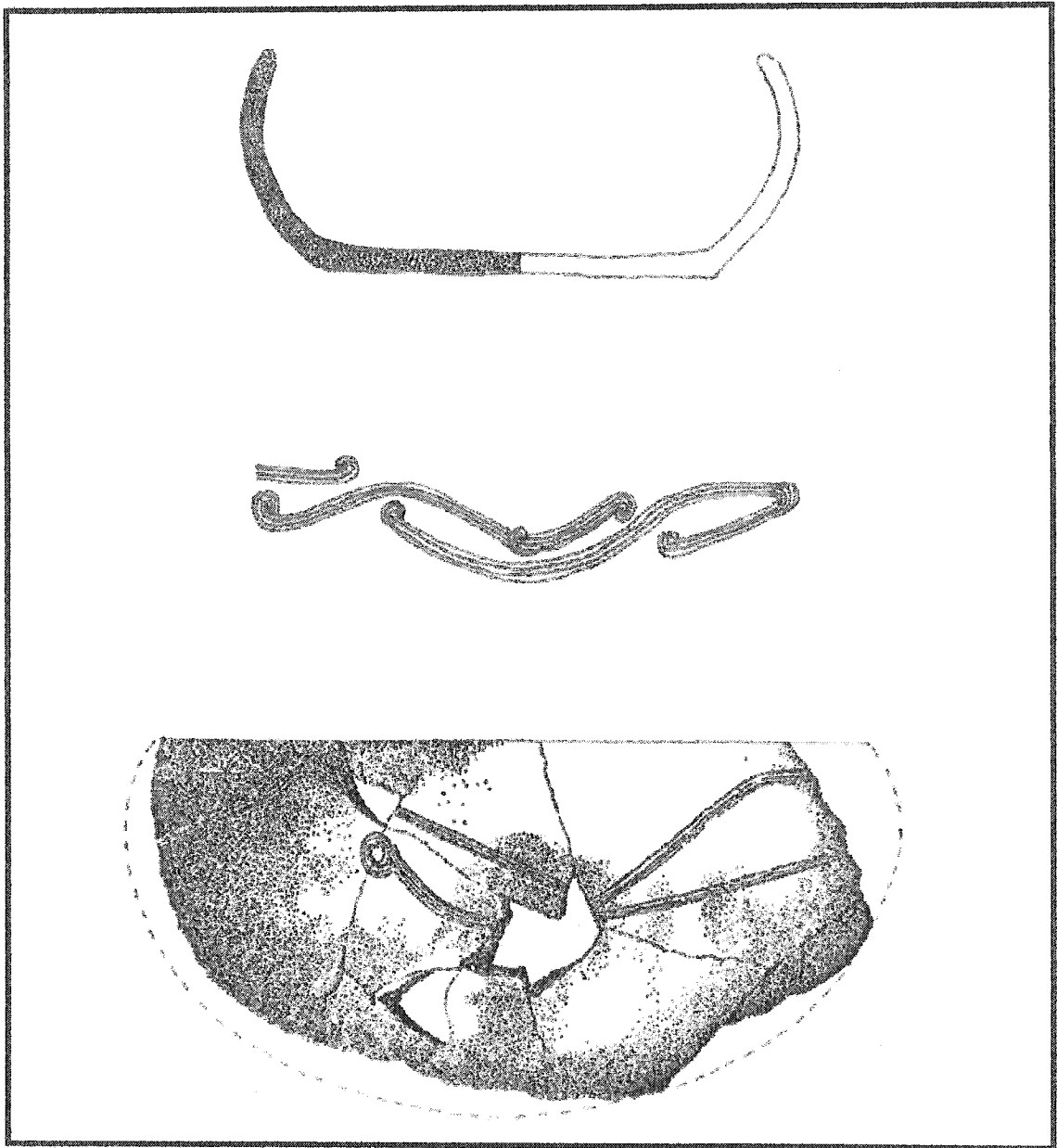


Figure 4.8. 34MC399 Reconstructed Chickachae Combed Bowl 1 recovered from Feature C. (Reconstruction from Perino 1979).

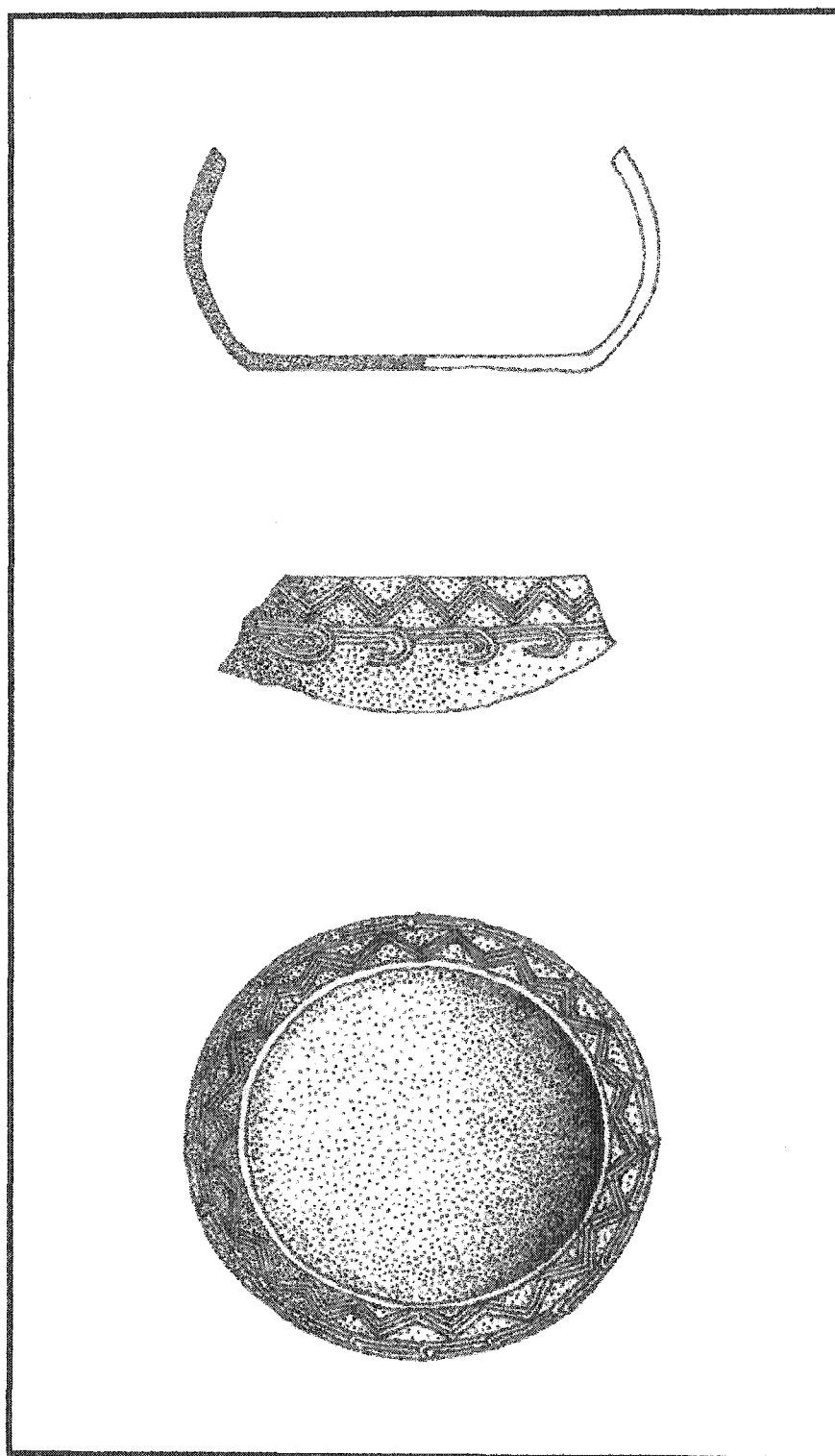


Figure 4.9. 34MC399 Reconstructed Chickachae Combed Bowl 2 recovered from Feature A.

design elements seem to be continuous, encircling the upper portion of the bowl. Figure 4.10 depicts the reconstructed bowl from Feature B. The shape of the lower portion of this vessel is conjectural.

Euroamerican ceramics from 34MC399 were unevenly divided between pearlware (n=63), whiteware (n=406), and redware (n=4) sherds (Table 4.4). Blue transfer print (n=21) was the most common decoration used for pearlware vessels. Green shell edge (n=16) was also quite common, followed by hand-painted polychrome floral motifs (n=11), black transfer print (n=7), annular/mocha decoration (n=4), hand-painted cobalt floral designs (2), and blue shell edge decoration (n=2). No plain pearlware sherds were recovered from 34MC399.

A blue shell edge pearlware plate was reconstructed from sherds excavated from Feature C, accounting for the small sherd sample. The plate was 22.9 cm across with a molded rim. A single band of blue was brushed over most of the molded portion of the rim. An impressed manufacturer's mark contained an anchor with "Davenport" curved above it. An impressed numeral 6 is above the name, while a 3 is to the left of the anchor and a 6 is on its right. The mark indicates that Henry and William Davenport, of Longport, England produced the plate in June 1836 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:167).

Sherds from a blue transfer print decorated pearlware plate also contained a partial Davenport mark. This pearlware plate was recovered from Feature D. Part of an impressed anchor had the name "Rocaille" above it. The pattern name was not impressed, but was a transfer printed label. No numerals indicating possible production year were on the partial maker's mark. Davenport produced the Rocaille pattern sometime between ca. 1820-1869 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:168, 409).

Plain whiteware sherds (n=205) were just slightly more common than decorated

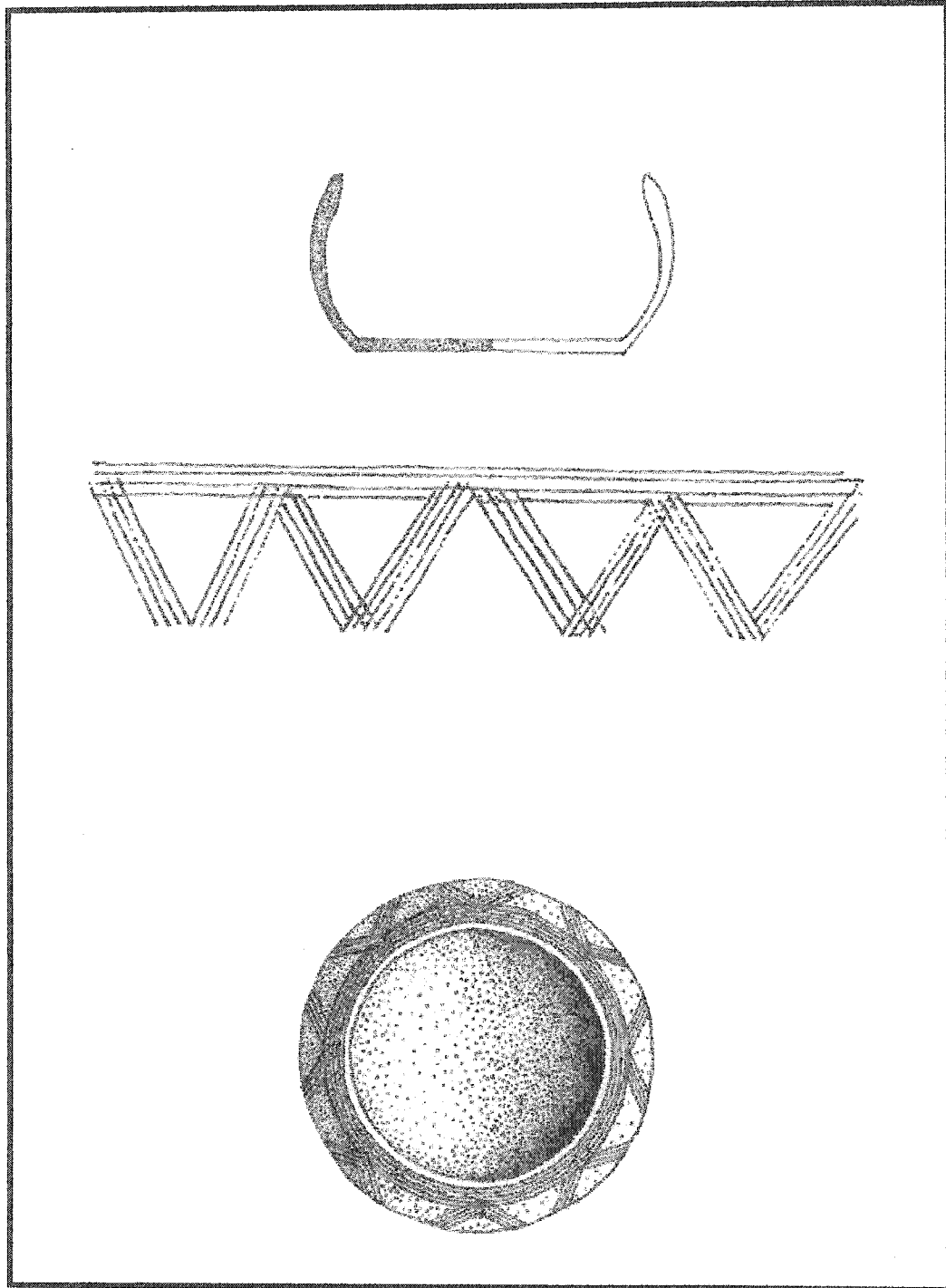


Figure 4.10. 34MC399 Reconstructed Chickachae Combed Bowl 3 recovered from Feature B.

examples (n=201). The most numerous decorated whiteware type from all contexts was annular or mocha (n=51), followed in quick succession by black transfer print (n=43), hand-painted polychrome floral motifs (n=32), and mulberry transfer print (n=29). The remainder of the whiteware sample contained blue shell edge (n=19), blue transfer print (n=18), sponged (n=6), and hand-painted cobalt floral motifs (n=3). The black transfer print pattern is identical to that recovered from the Bottoms Farmstead site (41FT89) in central east Texas that dates between 1856-1868 (Jurney 1992:97, Figure 24e-f).

Two partially reconstructed mulberry transfer print decorated whiteware plates were also recovered from Feature D. The reconstructed plates were large enough to determine that both were the same size as the blue shell edge pearlware plate, 22.9 cm. One plate had a manufacturer's mark bearing an eagle with out-stretched wings standing on the back of a nest. The eagle and nest was above a ribbon/banner with the name "Columbia" in the center of ribbon/banner. The firm of Clementson and Young used this mark and produced the pattern between 1845-1849 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:147, 403)

One of the sherds from one of the reconstructed mulberry transfer print decorated plates was recovered from Feature A (Perino 1979:5). This cross-mended with one from Feature A, suggesting that features A and D were contemporaneous during at least a part of the time they were in use. Cross-mends were also noted for other whiteware vessels decorated with a blue transfer print pattern. The pattern was found on the inner rim of saucers and just below the lip on the interior and exterior of the cups. Matching cup rims were recovered from Features A and B. Cross-mends of pearlware and whiteware sherds indicate that Features A, B, and D were in contemporaneous use during at least some of the time the settlement was occupied.

Copper luster decorated (n=4) examples were the only redware sherds recovered from the site. These sherds were recovered from Feature C and represent one vessel. The design is composed of either all or portions of a black "sprig" executed on a light copper colored background.

Metal artifacts were a definite minority group at 34MC399. Machine cut nails (n=11), nail fragments (n=8), and spikes (n=1) are the only architecturally related items in the sample and were recovered only from Feature B. All of the machine cut nails were classified as Wells Nail Type 8 and suggest a general temporal span between 1820-1890 (Wells 1998:Figure 8). Iron spoon fragments (13.7%) were recovered from Features B (n=5), C (n=1), and D (n=1). Four pieces of a curry comb were collected from Feature A. Two kettle fragments were recovered from Feature C and one from the site surface. Three partial table knives were recovered from Features B, C, and D. The handle from the Feature C example was decorated with the same machine cut diamond pattern noted at 34MC485.

The remaining artifacts in the metal group are represented by one fragment each. Feature A contained an iron trigger guard, a spur fragment, part of a trace chain, and part of a stirrup. Feature B's metal sample included a broken pair of scissors, part of a bridle, a harness buckle, and a flattened piece of lead. An iron, cone-shaped arrow point broken into two pieces was found in Feature C. A three-legged baking oven, a broken hoe blade, a small broken shovel blade, and part of a plow frame were contained in Feature D. One nearly complete case or folding knife was collected from the site surface.

Only seven artifacts were placed in the Other category. A hammerstone with a pit in one side, a slate pencil fragment, a bone handle, and a blue faceted bead were recovered from Feature B. Feature C contained one small piece of burned wood and a ground

sandstone fragment, while a bone button with two mounting holes was collected from the site surface.

The bone handle was made from the lower end of a deer antler tine and was 9.25 cm long and 3.2 cm wide. A circular hole 1.2 cm wide was cut into the proximal end of the handle. The tine seems to have been collected after the rutting season when male deer shed their horns, since the button was still present on the distal end of the handle. The button is the attachment point between the tine and skull and would require cutting if the deer had been killed for subsistence purposes. The button and numerous knob-like projections on the tine were smoothed over and exhibited a low-level sheen suggesting that they had been polished. The ground sandstone fragment recovered from Feature C may have been used to smooth the tine.

The blue bead had six ground facets or sides. It was 5.5 mm wide and 7.1 mm long. Ground faceted beads were not produced until after 1820 (Hunter et al. 1994:39-40, Table 5). The bone button was commercially produced with a raised front edge and a circular depression in the center. The two mounting holes were spaced equidistant from the depression edges. This bone button type was manufactured between 1800-1865 (Castille et al. 1986:Table D-3). The hammerstone was more than likely manufactured during either the Woodland or Mississippian periods since components of each were identified at the site. However, no other prehistoric artifacts were recovered from the features, suggesting it may have been re-utilized by the historic occupants of the site.

Perino interpreted the four features as refuse pits, a seemingly correct assessment for Features A and C, at least, which seem to be secondary refuse pits. However, the differences noted in Features B and D suggest that they were originally used as outside cooking pits and were subsequently converted into trash receptacles. Datable decoration

patterns and manufacturer's marks indicate that many of the ceramics were produced between 1836-1869. Ground faceted beads were not produced until 1820, therefore, the specimen recovered from this site is well within the temporal parameters established by Euroamerican ceramics. Similarly, the bone button recovered from the site was produced sometime between 1800-1865 and conforms generally with the ceramic data. Wells Nail Type 8 was produced between 1820-1890 and is congruent to the dates derived from the ceramic assemblage. Dark green glass was produced throughout the nineteenth century and supports the temporal range established by other artifact types.

Material culture recovered from the features at 34MC399 suggests that the site was initially occupied during the late 1830s. Cabin construction probably began at this time based on the modern machine cut nail and datable ceramic samples. Site occupation seems continuous until at least 1870 if the manufacture date of the nails and ceramic types are considered in light of production, use, and discard into the archaeological record.

The George Hudson House Site (34MC544)

The George Hudson House site was discovered during a 1990 survey designed to locate post-removal Choctaw affiliated occupations. This site is on the west side of the Mountain Fork River just above a series of springs. Construction related to the expansion of a rural water district processing plant disturbed portions of the site in 1992. Excavation of the site commenced later that year under the direction of Larry Neal. These investigations discovered the remains of two structures and two features. It was also determined that part of the north and west walls of one structure had been partially removed by construction activities (Neal and Rees 1993:26).

A metal detector survey of the site area recorded two overlapping clusters of nails and forge clinkers (Figure 4.11). The western cluster was not given a feature designation. The north and west sides of this cluster had been partially removed by construction activities. From the remaining part of this cluster it was determined that two distinct layers of nails were present (Neal and Rees 1993:26). Feature 1 was discovered near the center of the western nail cluster, while Feature 2 was immediately north and adjacent to the cluster. The eastern nail and clinker cluster was designated Feature 3. No additional features were discovered in or near the eastern cluster.

Feature 1 was determined to be a pit with inwardly slanting steep walls and a relatively flat floor. The feature was 2.35 m long (north/south), 1.66 m wide (east/west), with a maximum depth of 0.44 m. Feature 1 excavation was hampered by inclement weather, making it difficult to recognize differences in internal stratigraphy. Near the end of Feature 1 excavation, it became apparent that there were six zones or deposits associated with the pit (Neal and Rees 1993:25, Figure 5c). Zones I, III, and IV were interpreted as discard episodes. Zone II was interpreted as hearth related material that was deposited between discard episodes. Zone V represents soil placed on top of the feature during construction, while Zone VI may represent an intrusion (Figure 4.12).

Feature 2 was "L" shaped and oriented southeast/northwest. The southern portion of the feature was rectangular. Its dimensions were determined to be 1.40 meters long, 0.95 m wide, and it attained a maximum depth of 0.17 m. A disturbed area that measured 0.30 m x 0.40 m was noted and attributed to tree roots. The northern portion of Feature 2 was also rectangular, and measured 0.70 x 0.40 m. Feature 2 was believed to represent the remnants of a chimney (Neal and Rees 1993:26) (Figure 4.13).

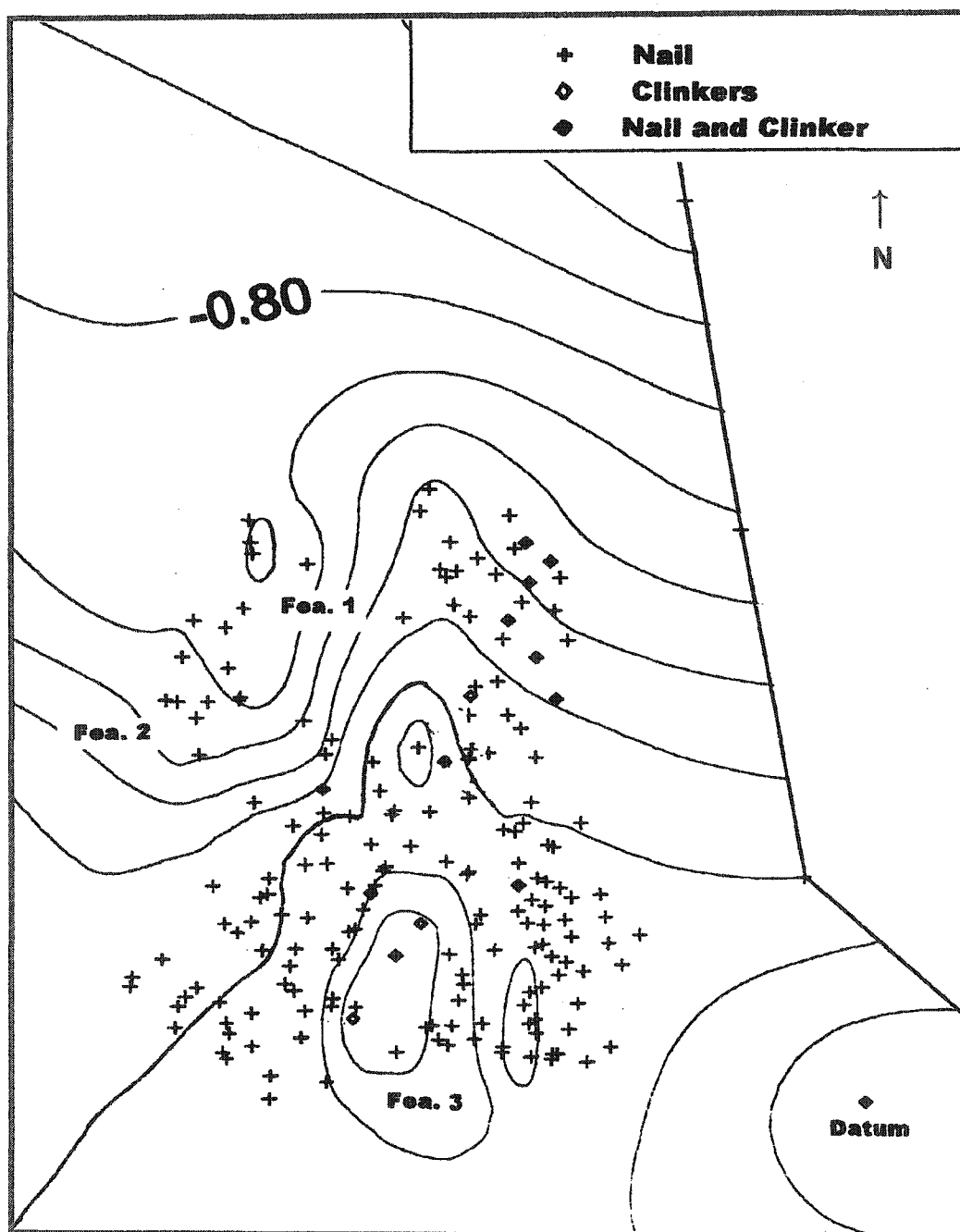
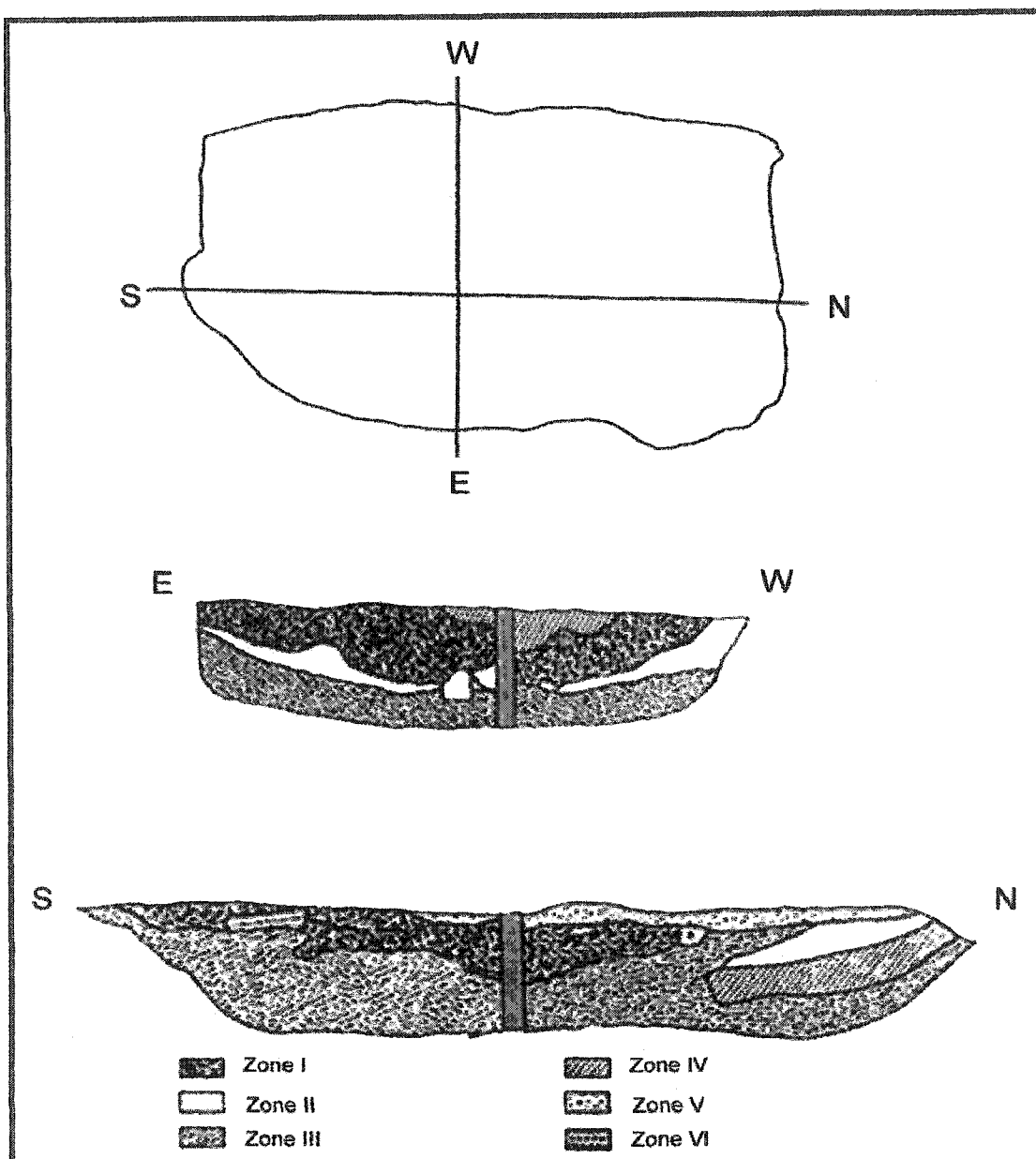


Figure 4.11. 34MC544 Site Plan. (Adapted from Plan provided by Larry Neal, Oklahoma Archaeological Survey).



Zone I: Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR 4/4)
 Zone II: Strong Brown (7.5YR 6/6) to
 Yellowish Brown (10YR 5/4)
 Zone III: Dark Grayish Brown (10YR 3/2)
 to Very Dark Grayish Brown (10YR 4/2)

Zone IV: Dark Brown (10YR 4/3)
 Zone V: Soil mixed by bulldozer
 Zone VI: Red (2.5YR 4/6) Clay

Figure 4.12. 34MC544 Plan and Profile of Feature 1. (Adapted from Neal and Rees 1993:Figure 5).

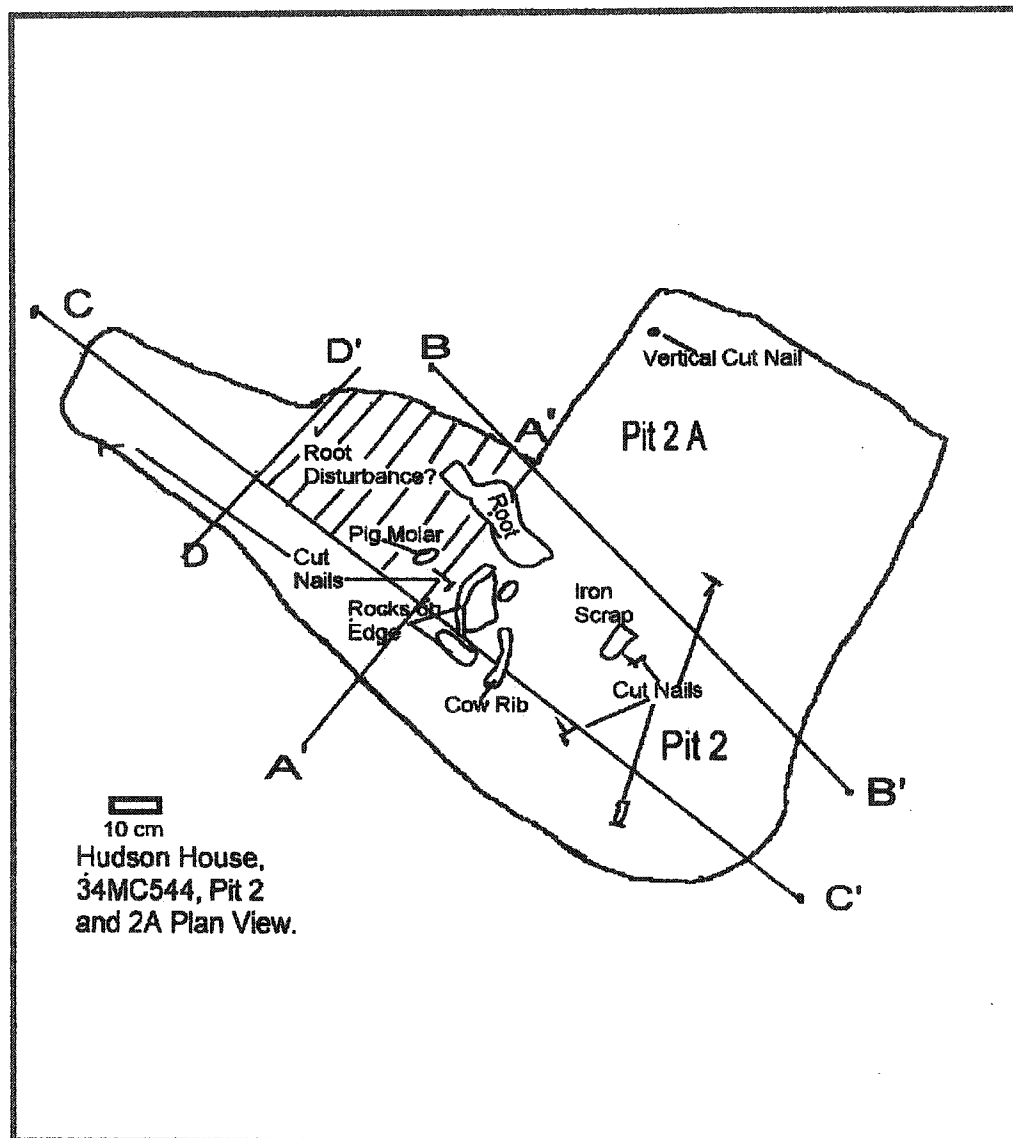


Figure 4.13. 34MC544 Plan of Feature 2. (Adapted from Plan provided by Larry Neal, Oklahoma Archaeological Survey).

A total of 634 artifacts was collected from the various contexts at 34MC544 (Table 4.5). Feature 1 contained over one-half (n=394 or 62.24%) of the site artifact assemblage. The remainder of the site sample was split unevenly between the site surface collection (n=204 or 32.23%) and Feature 2 (n=35 or 5.53%). Ceramics of all types (n=364) were the most common artifact class recovered from the site, followed by metal (n=131), Other artifacts (n=29), and glass (n=28). Faunal remains recovered from the site have not been analyzed at the present date and are therefore excluded from any further discussion.

Feature 1 contained 176 ceramic sherds of all types (n=56%), 96 metal artifacts (n=30%), 29 artifacts placed in the Other category (n=9%), and 16 pieces of glass (n=5%). Feature 2, on the other hand, contained only four ceramic sherds (n=2%), 24 metal artifacts (n=68.6%), and four pieces of glass (n=11.4%). The site surface collection contained 181 ceramic sherds of all types (n=88.7%), 12 pieces of glass (n=5.4%), and 11 metal artifacts (n=5.4%) in addition to the those discovered during the metal detector scan (Table 4.5).

Choctaw ceramics (n=19) were classified as either Mississippi Plain *var. unspecified* (n=14) or Chickachae Combed *var. unspecified* (n=5). Most of the Mississippi Plain sherds collected during Feature 1 excavation were fairly small and all were tempered with unburned, coarse shell. A complete, flat, circular base from one vessel was recovered from the top of Feature 1. Inspection of the base indicated it was made from a single, flattened piece of clay. The dimensions of the base were very similar to that recorded for the flat-bottomed, reconstructed Mississippi Plain vessel from 34MC399. Likewise, all of the Chickachae Combed sherds (n=5) were small and tempered with finely crushed shell, grit, grog, and sand. The small size of the Chickachae

Table 4.5. 34MC544 Artifacts from all Proveniences.

	Feature 1	Feature 2	Surface	Total
Choctaw Ceramics				
Mississippi Plain	10		4	14
Chickachae Combed	2		3	5
Euroamerican Ceramics				
<i>Pearlware</i>				
Plain	5		54	59
Blue shell edge	5		3	8
Green shell edge	4		1	5
Black transfer print			4	4
Blue transfer print	1		7	8
Brown transfer print	1			1
Green transfer			4	4
Red transfer print			7	7
Flow blue			8	8
Fine Polychrome hand-pt	5		1	6
Broad Polychrome hand-pt	21		1	22
Cobalt hand-pt	11		6	17
Annular/Mocha	1		1	2
<i>Whiteware</i>				
Plain	11	4	10	25
Blue shell edge	3		7	10
Black transfer print	13		1	14
Black transfer/hand-pt			2	2
Blue transfer print	6	2	10	18
Green transfer print	1			1
Mulberry transfer print			4	4
Polychrome transfer print	10			10
Red transfer print	2			2
Red/Green transfer print	10			10
Flow blue	4		2	6
Fine Polychrome hand-pt	3		11	14
Cobalt hand-pt	11	1	8	20
Annular/Mocha	23		9	32
Sponge/spatter			3	3
<i>Redware</i>				
Copper luster	2		8	10
<i>Yellowware</i>				
White banded	11		2	13
Total	176	7	181	364

Table 4.5 continued

	Feature 1	Feature 2	Surface	Total
Metal				
Cut nails	36	19		55
Nail fragments	3	1		4
Axe			1	1
Saw			1	1
Brass spur	1			1
Harness buckle	1			1
Trace chain	1			1
Forged hook		1		1
Iron lid	11			11
Iron clasp	1			1
Bone handle fork	1			1
Bone handle utensil	2			2
Fork	1			1
Spoon	1			1
Table knife	2			2
Lead ball		1		1
Copper mesh	1			1
Indeterminate iron	33	2	9	44
Indeterminate copper	1			1
Glass				
Amber	5			5
Light green	5		1	6
Dark Green			1	1
Solarized	3		2	5
Colorless	3		8	11
Other				
Burned/baked clay	22	1		23
Dirt duaber nest		3		3
Slate Pencil	1			1
Slate board	2			2
Beads				
Amber barrel-shaped	26			26
Green barrel-shaped	26			26
Red oval-shaped	22			22
Blue faceted	2			2
Red faceted	1			1
Metal bead	1			1
Buttons				
Bone 4-hole	1			1
Brass disk-shaped	2			2
Total	218	28	23	269
Grand Total				633

Combed sherds precludes more detailed analysis.

The Euroamerican ceramic assemblage (n=345) from the site contained whiteware (n=171), pearlware (n=151), yellowware (n=11), and redware (n=2) sherds. Pearlware sherds were almost evenly divided between decorated (n=92) and plain (n=59). Whiteware sherds on the other hand were primarily decorated (n=146) with a small minority of them undecorated (n=25). All redware and yellowware sherds were decorated.

Hand-painted pearlware (n=45) was the most common form of decoration in the sample obtained from Feature 1 (n=37) and the site surface collection (n=8). Both fine- and broad-line polychrome types depict the same floral pattern. Cobalt hand-painted sherds depict both floral and scenic design elements. The cobalt sherds were too small to identify specific patterns.

Blue, black, brown, green, and red transfer print decorated pearlware sherds were present in Feature 1 and the surface collection. Three specific transfer print patterns were noted in the sample. The "Ruins" pattern was found on a black print bowl, a green print bowl, a blue print cup, and an indeterminate mulberry print vessel. Patterns named Ruins were manufactured by eight commercial potteries during the nineteenth century. The pattern found at 34MC544 is nearly identical to those produced by either William Davenport or William Adams and Sons between 1829-1860. It is not clear which of the two potteries first produced the pattern (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:507).

Design elements of a pattern named "Chinese Garden Scene" were found on sherds from a blue print bowl. William Davenport produced the pattern between 1830-1850 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:478; Lockett 1972:52-53, Plate 30). The rim design from a blue print plate matches that from a pattern named "Chinese Past Time," also

produced by Davenport. The rim pattern was produced with at least three variations on a central theme found in the central portion of plates. The central theme depicts children in various garden settings. This pattern was produced from ca. 1825-1869 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:478).

Shell edge (n=13) and annular decorated (n=2) pearlware sherds are two minority types collected from Feature 1 and the site surface. Blue (n=8) and green (n=5) shell edge varieties were almost equally represented in the very small sample. The annular sherds are too small for more detailed discussion, however one of the sherds seems to be from a vessel that had engine turned designs.

The whiteware sample from the site indicates that transfer print decoration (n=61) was more common than hand painting (n=34). All of the transfer print colors noted for pearlware also occurred on whiteware vessels with the addition of dual and polychromatic varieties. Dual transfer printing was noted on a cup that had a red pattern on the outside and a green one on the inside. The cup was too small to confidently identify the patterns. This was also true of the polychromatic sherds from Feature 1.

Hand-painted whiteware sherds (n=34) were decorated with either finely executed polychrome floral patterns or monochromatic cobalt floral design elements. The polychrome floral pattern was composed of a yellow flower with a thin, black stem. Small green leaves were placed on either side of the stem. A large flower, probably a rose, with serrated edged leaves surrounding it, was the primary design element found on cobalt hand-painted sherds.

Most of the annular and/or "mocha" decorated whiteware sherds were recovered from Feature 1 (n=23), with a smaller number from the site surface (n=9). White, blue, and green bands of different widths were observed on the vast majority of sherds. These

bands were either found alone or in different combinations. Portions of a multi-colored cable design were noted on nine examples, while part of a dendritic or Mocha design was found on one sherd (Sussman 1997:27, 29). Annular bands may comprise all of the decoration on a vessel or be used in conjunction with either the cable or dendritic design. When used in tandem, the annular bands are usually placed above and below the other design element (Sussman 1997:Figures 36-41).

Edge decorated whiteware sherds (n=10) occurred in numbers similar to its pearlware counterpart. Also, both blue (n=9) and green (n=1) shell edge sherds were recovered from the site. However, the blue variety was recovered from all contexts investigated, while the green sherd was from the site surface. The disproportionate number of blue examples is likely the result of decreased production of green shell edge vessels ca. 1840 (Miller 1991:6).

Sponge and spatter decorated whiteware sherds (n=3) were collected only from the site surface. Sponge decoration was executed in both red and blue, apparently on the same vessel. Spatter decoration consisted of small blue dots placed irregularly across the vessel surface. Both the sponge and spatter decorated sherds were too small to identify either patterns or design elements.

The small sample of redware sherds (n=10) was decorated in a similar manner. Copper luster decoration was found on all sherds. The design noted on the sherds contained elements defined as “sprig,” “berry,” and “tealeaf” (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:14-15). These elements may be used singularly or in conjunction with the other elements. The sprig element (n=6) occurred most often, followed in turn by the berry (n=2) and tealeaf (n=2) elements.

Almost all yellowware sherds (n=13) were recovered from Feature 1. These

sherds were uniformly decorated with white bands, probably encircling the entire vessel. The thickness of the sherds suggests that they were from either large bowls or possibly jars.

Machine cut nails and fragments (n=59) from feature contexts formed a small majority of metal artifacts collected from 34MC544. Complete nails represent several size categories that included 4d (n=5), 6d (n=8), 7d (n=4), 8d (n=3), 9d (n=1), 10d (n=12), and 16d (n=2). Size could not be determined for four fragments. Morphological characteristics observed on the nails indicate that they all conform to Wells's Nail Type 8 (Wells 1998:Table 8). The nail size range suggests a use pattern similar to that found at 34MC485. Also similar to 34MC485 was the presence of two layers of nails in and around Feature 1 (Neal and Rees 1993:26). These data suggests the structure around Feature 1 was a log cabin with a wood floor and roof. Therefore, Feature 1 appears to be a subfloor pit like Feature C at 34MC485.

One axe head and a fairly long piece of serrated iron, believed to be part of a handsaw, were collected from the site surface. The only other artifacts collected from the site surface were nine iron fragments too small to safely classify. The hand saw likely represents activities associated with architectural construction, while the axe may represent architectural or subsistence activities such as cutting fire wood.

A harness buckle, several links from a trace chain, and part of a spur were collected from Feature 1 and suggest either transportation or subsistence activities. Also recovered from Feature 1 were fragments of an iron lid (n=11), a bone handled knife, pieces of another bone handled utensil (n=2), a metal spoon, a metal fork, and fragments from a table knife. The bone handles were decorated with the same machine cut diamond pattern observed at 34MC485 and 34MC399, while the plain iron or metallic handled

eating utensils were silver-plated. This latter group of metal artifacts denotes kitchen related activities. The remaining metal artifacts collected from Feature 1 included a small piece of tubular copper mesh, iron fragments too small to classify safely (n=33), and one piece of copper too small to classify with any confidence. The function of the tubular copper mesh had not been determined at the present date.

Part of a forged hook, a lead ball, and two small, unclassifiable iron fragments were obtained from Feature 2 in addition to the machine cut nails. The hook seems to be manufactured on or near site from flat metal bar stock. Since the hook is associated with the remnant chimney/hearth, it may have been utilized to suspend cast iron pots over the hearth. The lead ball probably represents a round of ammunition fired from either a pistol or rifle. It was not possible to determine the caliber of the round ball since it had been cut.

Glass fragments (n=28) from the site were recovered either from Feature 1 (n=16) or the site surface (n=12). Five amber glass fragments representing one medicine bottle were collected from Feature 1. Enough of the vessel was recovered to determine that it was a rectangular bottle with chamfered corners. Most of the fragments were relatively thin and burned. The letters L and O were on the bottle shoulder. The two letters were not sufficient to determine if they were part of a company name or the contents of the bottle. Amber glass produced with a semi-automatic bottle maker began ca. 1880 and continued until ca. 1915 (Hunter et al. 1997:72-74, Table 4).

Six light green glass fragments representing a liquor or wine bottle were also collected from Feature 1 and the site surface. A single, dark green piece of glass came from the surface collection and represents a wine bottle. Five solarized fragments from the neck of a bottle, as well as 11 colorless glass fragments came from Feature 1 and the surface collection.

The colorless glass fragments represent at least two different bottles, but the fragments were too small to ascertain shape and function. Most of the colorless glass pieces and the larger pieces of the solarized vessel neck were obtained from the site surface. Both of these glass types were first manufactured during the late nineteenth century. Glass with manganese oxide was not produced after ca. 1917 when the additive was diverted to military production, while colorless glass is still being produced in great quantity. The presence of amber, solarized, and colorless glass suggests the site was probably occupied until at least the 1880s (Hunter et al. 1997:72-74, Table 4). It is possible, however, that the colorless glass is not associated with the historic occupation of 34MC544, but reflects a recent discard since most examples came from the disturbed site surface or the top of Feature 1.

Twenty-nine artifacts from Features 1 and 2 were placed in the Other category. Burned or baked clay fragments (n=23) clearly dominated this category. Those collected from Feature 1 represent pieces of chinking from the log cabin walls, while the one example from Feature 2 is from the catted chimney. Three fragmentary mud dauber nests were recovered from Feature 2. One slate pencil fragment and two fragments from a slate writing board were recovered near the bottom of Feature 2. The slate artifacts suggest that some of the former site occupants, probably children, were participating in a Euroamerican style education process.

Numerous glass beads (n=78) were discovered in a discreet cluster located in the northwest quarter of Feature 1. This cluster contained 26 amber barrel-shaped beads, 26 green barrel-shaped beads, 22 red oval-shaped beads, one blue faceted bead, one red faceted bead, and one brass bead. The nearly equal number of barrel and oval beads and the singular occurrence of the faceted and brass beads indicate the beads were from a

finished item. The barrel and oval beads were more than likely used to form the main pattern, while the faceted and metal beads were utilized as “spacers” within the pattern. The morphological characteristics of the glass beads indicate a ca. 1820-1860 manufacture range (Hunter et al. 1994:Tables 5-6).

One bone button with four mounting holes and two brass disk-shaped buttons were also recovered from Feature 1. The size of the buttons indicates they were from adult apparel. Both button types commonly occur during the early nineteenth century (Castille et al. 1986:Table D-3; Olsen 1963:Figure 1; South 1964:121).

Artifacts recovered from 34MC544 indicate this site was occupied generally at the same time as the other two McCurtain County sites. General ceramic production dates and datable decorative patterns suggest a temporal span between 1825-1870. Complete nails recovered from the site were produced between 1820-1890. Most of the container glass was not produced before ca. 1880. The glass beads were manufactured between 1820-1860 while the bone and brass buttons were produced during the early nineteenth century. The rather late manufacture date of container glass at this site suggest is was occupied slightly longer than the other two McCurtain County sites. This slightly longer occupation likely accounts for the presence of yellowware vessels at the site since this ceramic ware is more common on sites with temporal spans encompassing the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Yakubik 1990:306).

34BR225

This site was initially discovered during an archaeological survey of a proposed water supply lake for Durant, Oklahoma (Figure 4.14). The site contained a collapsed log cabin and a large depression west of the cabin (Vehik and Vehik 1991:24-25).

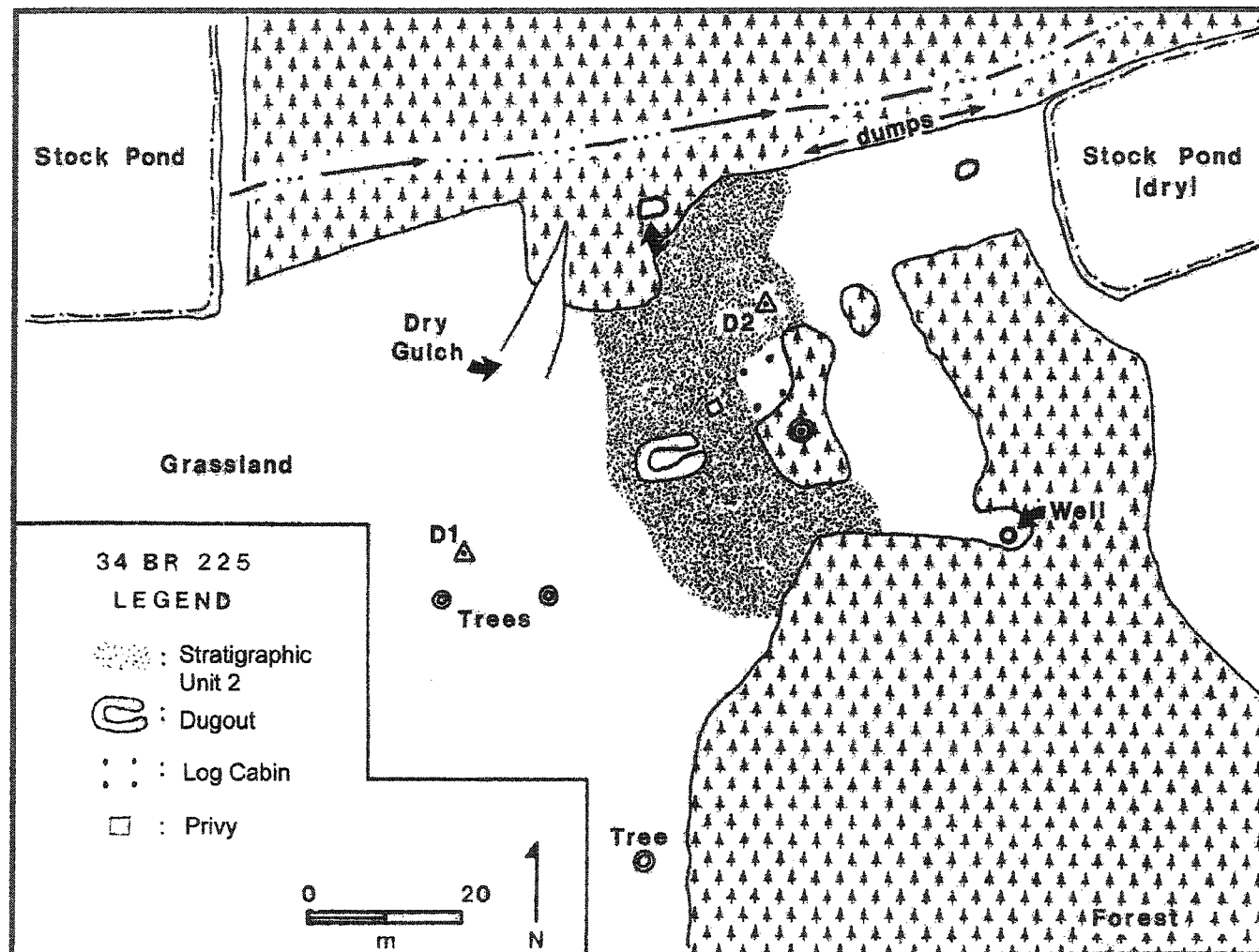


Figure 4.14. 34BR225 Site Plan. (Adapted from Lee et al. 1994:Figure 4).

Subsequently, the cabin was dismantled in four stages and a small excavation was placed in the depression. Architectural data and material culture from the depression indicated that the cabin was probably built sometime during the late nineteenth century, and that the depression was actually a dugout structure (Lee and Bailey 1992). Large-scale investigations were subsequently conducted. Excavation units were placed south of the cabin. The dugout structure was completely excavated, a privy was identified and excavated, and a brick-lined well south of the cabin was partially exposed and documented (Lee et al. 1994). Since all phases of archaeological investigations at 34BR225 have been fully described in professional reports, only a synopsis of the contexts noted above will be presented.

Data derived from the four dismantling stages and ethnographic interviews (Lee and Bailey 1992:17; Lee et al. 1994:28-32) allowed several conclusions to be formulated for the cabin (Figures 4.15 and 4.16). The cabin was constructed of hand-hewn timbers and was at least nine timbers tall. Round, wooden blocks supported each corner of the cabin, and large pieces of limestone were placed under the lowest tier of timbers at major stress points. Hewn floor timbers functioned as joists and were notched on each end to facilitate their placement in notches cut in the lowest tier of wall timbers. Window areas had notched timbers as headers, with boards covering the end of the wall timbers. Door areas on the south and west were treated in the same manner as the windows.

The roof had a center ridge pole supported by notched poles. A series of notched poles were placed along the uppermost wall timber that served as supports for tongue and groove boards forming a loft. The remnants of a fireplace were in the southeast corner of the cabin. Tongue and groove boards formed the floor of the cabin and were fastened by wire nails. Wooden weatherboards were fastened to the outside of the wall timbers with

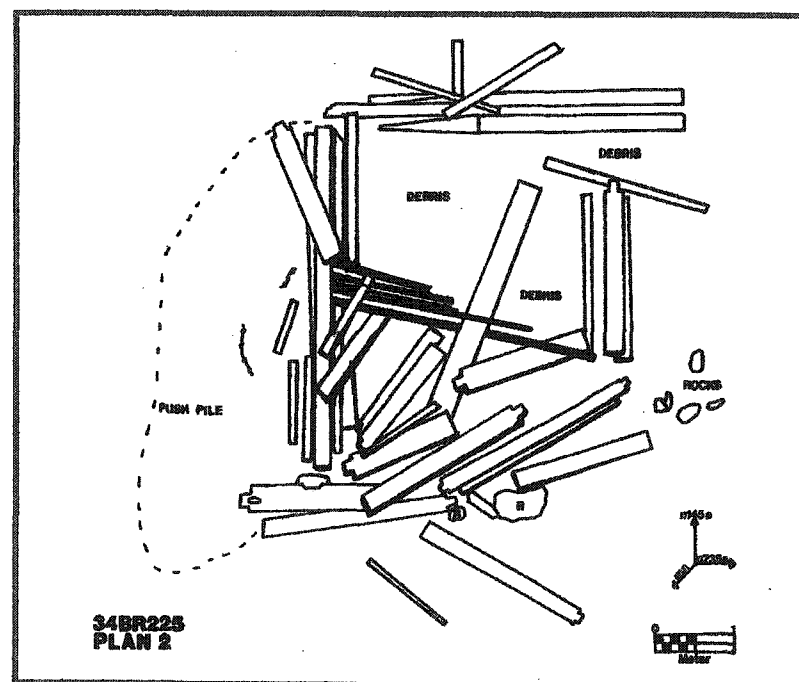
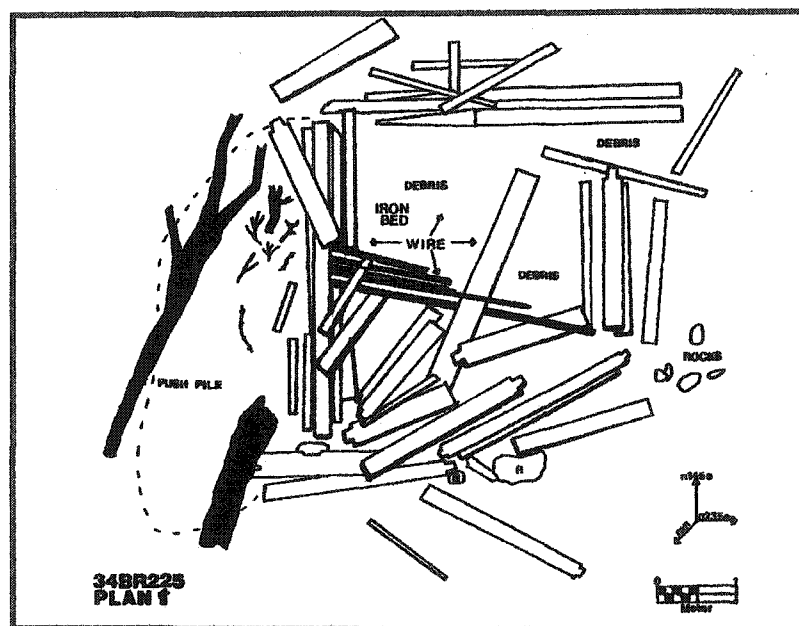


Figure 4.15. 34BR225 Log Cabin Disassembly Plans 1 and 2. (Adapted from Lee and Bailey 1992:Figures 4 and 5).

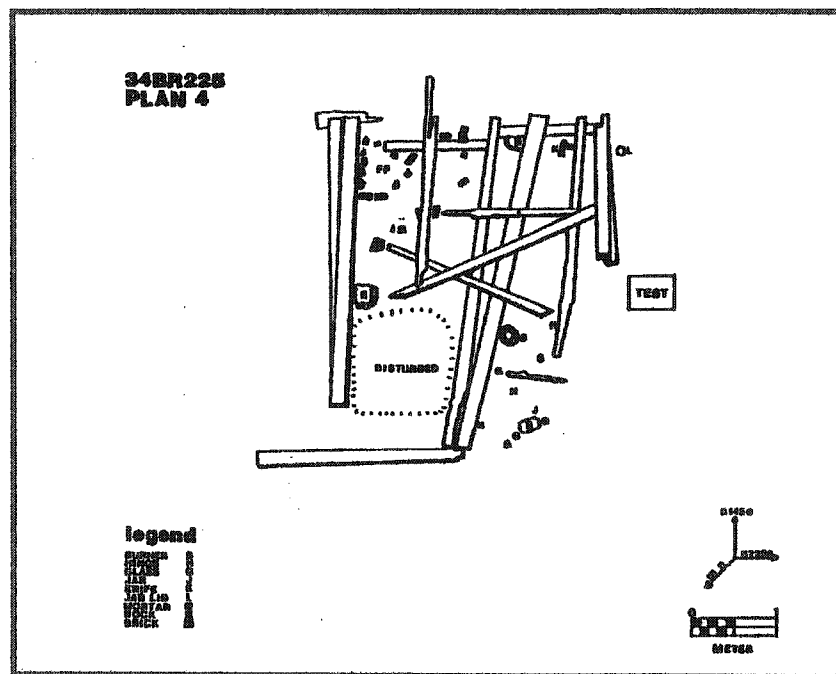
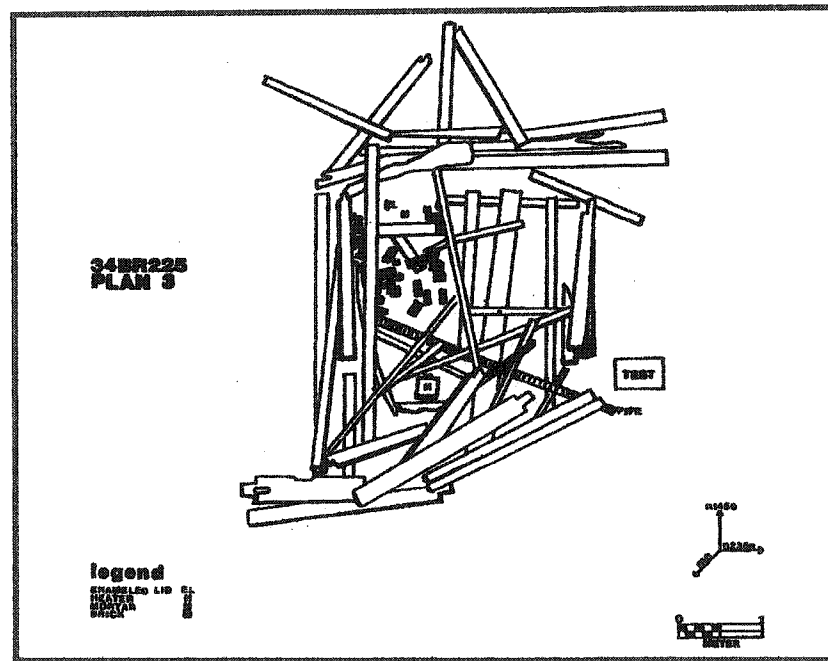


Figure 4.16. 34BR225 Log Cabin Disassembly Plans 3 and 4. (Adapted from Lee and Bailey 1992:Figures 6 and 7).

small wire nails (3d and 4d). Gaps between the wall timbers were filled with a portland cement-based mortar.

The southern door was modified by placement of new flashing boards over the pre-existing flashing. The older board was fastened with modern machine cut nails, while the newer board was fastened with wire nails. New boards were also placed over older window boards, but the original notched headers were not replaced. The roof also seems to have been modified or replaced. The center ridge pole had modern machine cut nails on one side and wire nails on the other. Most, if not all, of the structural modifications occurred after 1915.

Excavation units 11-14 were south of the cabin (Lee et al. 1994:28-32). These 1 m squares were excavated in 10 cm levels. Units 11 and 12 were south and adjacent to the suspected south door area, while Unit 13 was north. Unit 14 was 1 m south of the other units in order to try to confirm the porch edge (Figure 4.17). All units were excavated to a depth of 20 cm below ground surface (two levels), encountering the B or C horizon in the second level. In general, the A horizon was 10-16 cm thick, underlain by the B horizon in units 11-13, and the C horizon in Unit 14. The substrata were normally encountered halfway through the second level, depending on ground slope.

Artifacts recovered from these units indicate a mixture of structural, subsistence, and personal utilitarian items (Table 4.6). The most common artifact in all units and levels were wire nails. Most were smaller than 8d (eight penny) in size, although nails up to 20d were recovered. A smaller number of machine cut nails were recovered, as were roofing brads. An inspection of Table 4.6 shows that wire and machine cut nails and roofing brads

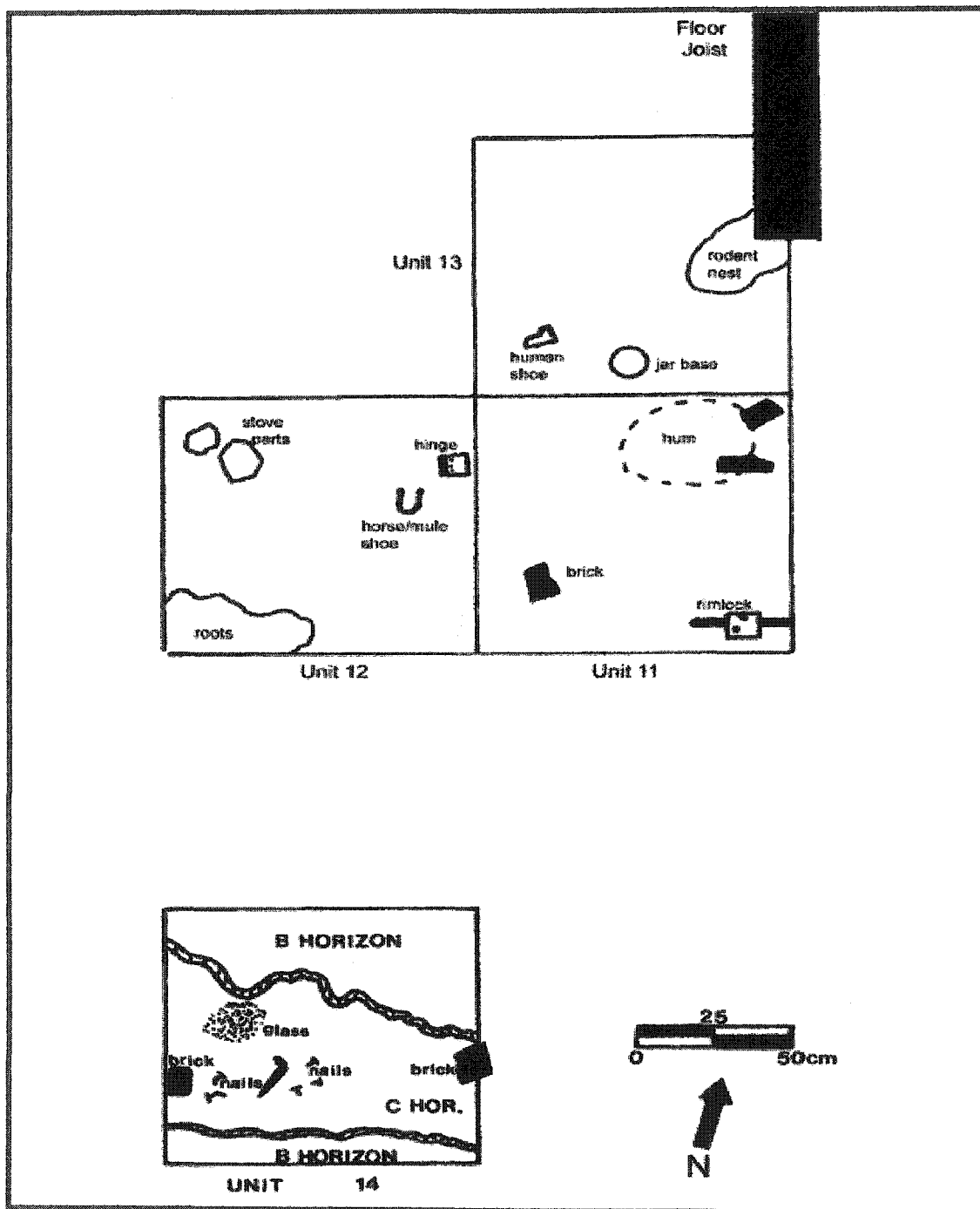


Figure 4.17. 34BR225 Plan of Log Cabin Excavation Units 11-14. (Adapted from Lee et al. 1994:Figure 12).

Table 4.6. 34BR 225 Artifacts Recovered from Excavation Units 11-14.

	11	11	12	12	13	13	14	14	Total
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 1	Level 2	Level 1	Level 2	Level 1	Level 2	
Ceramics									
Plain Porcelain								1	1
Stoneware									
Bristol		1							1
Glass									
Colorless			1						1
Colorless Molded	5	4				5			14
Colorless bottle			1	25	6		3		35
Amber						1			1
Solarized							2	11	13
Window lite	12	23	2		13	12	3	4	69
Metal									
Wire nails	75	74	74	53	77	78	26	28	485
Cut nails	4			1		1			6
Horse hoe nails				1					1
Roofing tacks	8		3	7	21	21			60
Fence staples								2	2
Wood screw						1			1
Door lock	4								4
Door pull		1							1
Butt hinge			1						1
Stove fragments				3			1		4
Can fragments	2			1					3
Zinc screw cap	2					1			3
Barbed wire					1				1
Unidentifiable	10	18	1	4	11	18		1	63
Other									
Brick	1				3		1		5
Fire brick	4	3	1					2	10
Mortar	1	1				6			8
Shoe leather					5	4			9
shoe heel					1				1
Faunal/Floral									
Rat mandible		1	1						2
Chicken humerus		1							1
Unid. Mammal					1				1
Pecan			1						1
Total	128	126	87	95	139	148	36	49	808

were in all unit levels and do not indicate any vertical separation. Other structure related items included clear and light blue window glass, mortar/plaster, rimlock fragments, a door pull, and a butt hinge.

A complete rimlock, attached to a board, was recovered from the surface of Unit 11, while the door pull came from level 2 of Unit 11. Three additional rimlock fragments were also recovered from level 2 of Unit 11, indicating an older lock. The butt hinge was recovered from the east side of Unit 12 in level 1, while a door knob was recovered from the surface 44 cm west of Unit 12.

Subsistence/kitchen related artifacts recovered from the units included an iron screw cap, fragments from a Dr. Pepper bottle, a small fragment of Bristol glazed stoneware, a complete milk bottle, and the fragments of two large glass jars. Two large clear glass jars were manufactured by the Hazel Atlas (1920-1964) and Owen-Illinois Glass (1929-1954) companies (Toulouse 1971:107, 406). Both bases came from level 2 in Unit 13. The milk bottle also came from the surface of Unit 13 and had a manufacturer's mark that may come from the Putnam Company (Toulouse 1971:371). The Dr. Pepper bottle was recovered from levels 1 and 2 in Unit 12. No manufacturer's mark was associated with this bottle, but it probably dates within the same time frame as the other bottles.

Personal items were recovered from Unit 13, level 2. Several fragments of a small leather shoe were collected near the base of the level. Although fragmentary, the size of the parts suggests it could have either a woman's or subadult's shoe.

A brick-lined well was located south and down slope from the cabin (Lee et al. 1994:37-39). A narrow trench was excavated east of the well to drain it. The emptied well contained a large Osage Orange log, fragments of the freestanding portion of the

well, and floral debris. The well extended to a depth of just over 4 m below ground surface and was nearly 1 m wide (Figure 4.18).

The well shaft had been originally excavated until a dense, gleyed gray clay was encountered. The lowest course of brick was laid at this point and construction continued upward. At the original ground surface (about 15 cms) several large limestone rocks were placed around the well to provide both a "walk area" and a support for a concrete facade placed over the freestanding portion of the well.

A piece of the fragmented upper well was inscribed with the initials J H. These initials may correspond to Jada Harned, wife of the landowner from 1913-1915, suggesting that the well was built during this time (Lee et al. 1994:17, 59-61). Additional evidence supporting this date is based on manufacturing attributes of the bricks used in the well construction. Bricks and fragments recovered from the cabin, dugout, and privy are all similar in design and manufacture; they are handmade, sand struck bricks and are earlier (Gurke 1987:104), than the bricks from the well which were stiff mud side and end cut bricks (Gurke 1987:111). In addition, the bricks from the well were much denser, even after drying, and better formed, with sharp corners and smooth surfaces. The well brick appears to conform to the nine-inch straight brick type illustrated by Gurke (1987:121). The different brick styles indicate different dates of manufacture.

A large Osage Orange log extended the entire length of the well. During deposition, the log had tipped a metal washtub located in the bottom, on its side. The log was removed and artifacts were recovered from the bottom of the well. In addition to the washtub fragments, an oil can, a rabbit, and a clear glass mason type jar with a solid metal screw top were recovered. The clear glass jar had no manufacturer's mark present, but was made after 1910 based on the screw cap and automatic bottle-maker's seams on the



Figure 4.18. 34BR225 Well Excavation. (Adapted from Lee et al. 1994:Figure 13).

jar (Lorrain 1968:44; Toulouse 1971:150). The washtub appears to have been purposefully placed in the bottom, probably to facilitate well cleaning. Additionally, a 2x4 inch board was at the bottom and had several holes drilled in it. This board likely functioned to secure and elevate a water bucket and secondarily to raise the tub for periodic well cleaning.

Seven 1 m wide trenches were excavated in the dugout area. However, only five trenches (1-5) were necessary to fully excavate the dugout (Lee et al. 1994:39-57). Excavation revealed that the dugout was rectangular with rounded corners and that it was oriented east/west. A narrow entrance was on the east side and consisted of earthen steps. Three posts were discovered near the north central wall and served as supports for the roof (Figure 4.19). The roof was constructed of a series of small poles held together with wire, and sheet metal was placed over the poles (Lee et al. 1994:40-41).

Excavation clearly demonstrated that the dugout area was utilized before this structure was built. An extensive midden deposit was designated Stratigraphic Unit 2 (Figure 4.20). This deposit derived its color from soot, ash, coal, and charcoal found within the matrix. Though Stratigraphic Unit 2 was homogenous in terms of artifact counts throughout the matrix, two artifact clusters suggested exterior activity areas. The first was in the southwest corner of the block excavation and contained numerous artifacts associated with blacksmithing activities (forge hammer, file/rasp, wagon/buggy parts, scrap iron, and coal). The second, a small burned concentration of material at the base of the stratigraphic unit, was outside the exterior northeast corner of the dugout. This concentration contained artifacts that conjoined with fragments found in the interior of the dugout (Lee et al. 1994:47-48), suggesting exterior deposits migrated into the dugout during its construction.

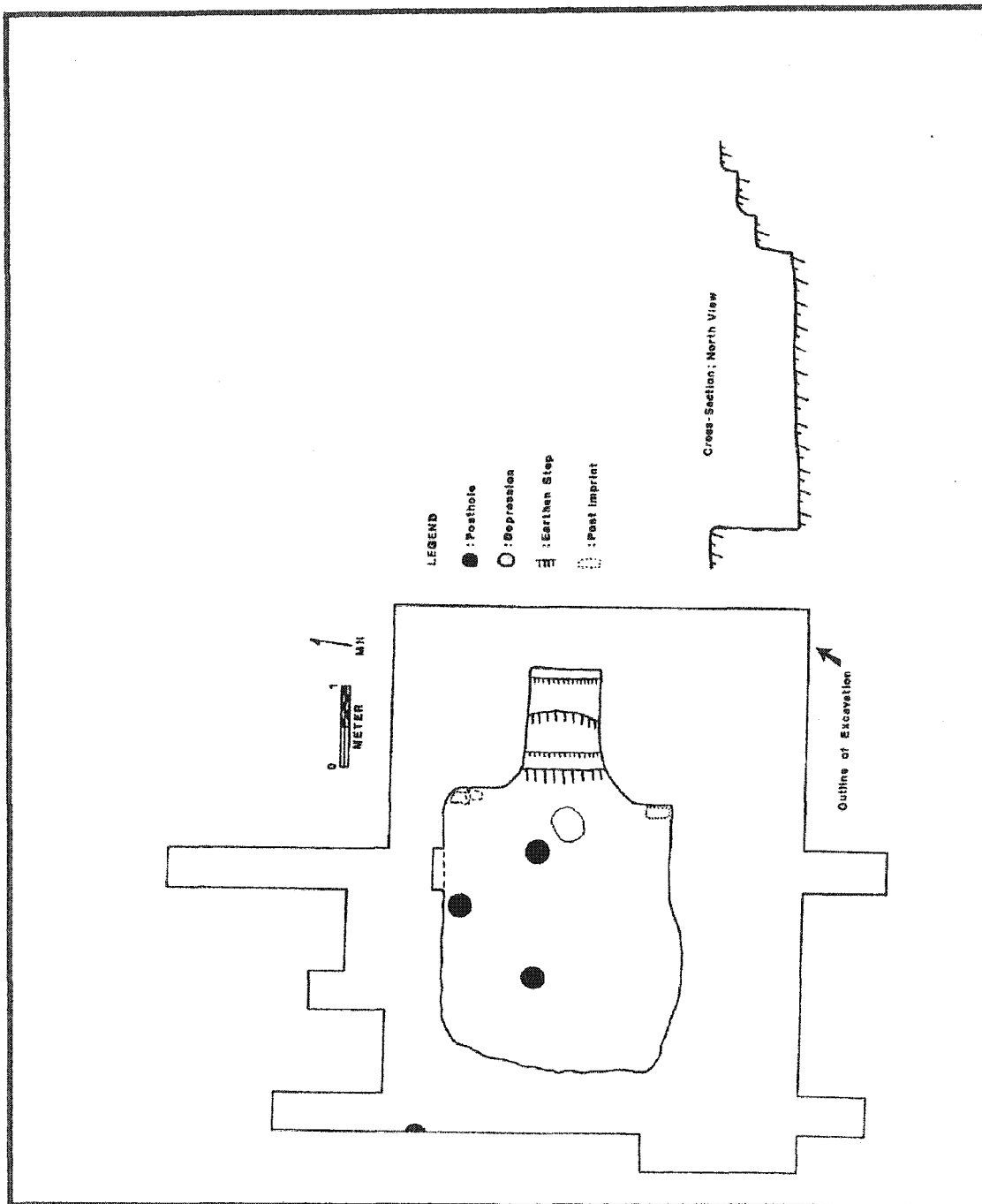


Figure 4.19. 34BR225 Dugout Plan and Profile. (Adapted from Lee et al. 1994:Figure 14).

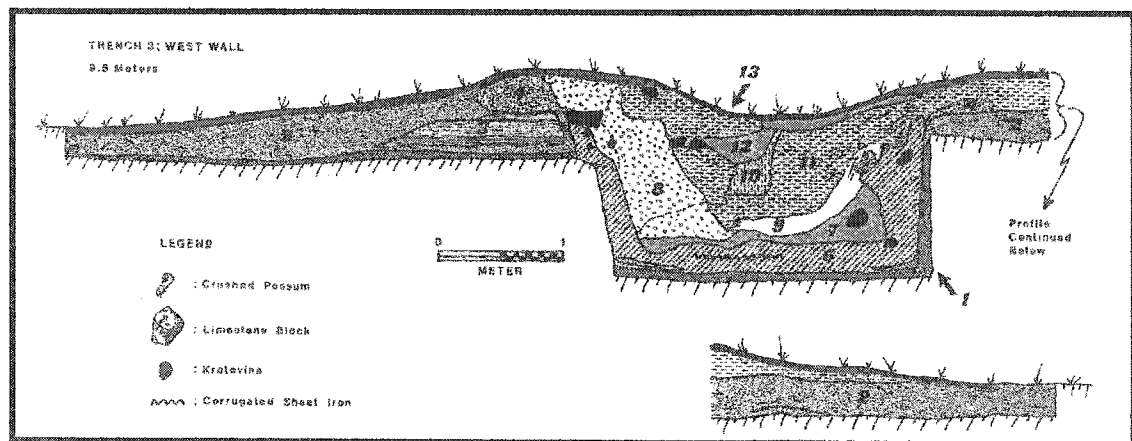
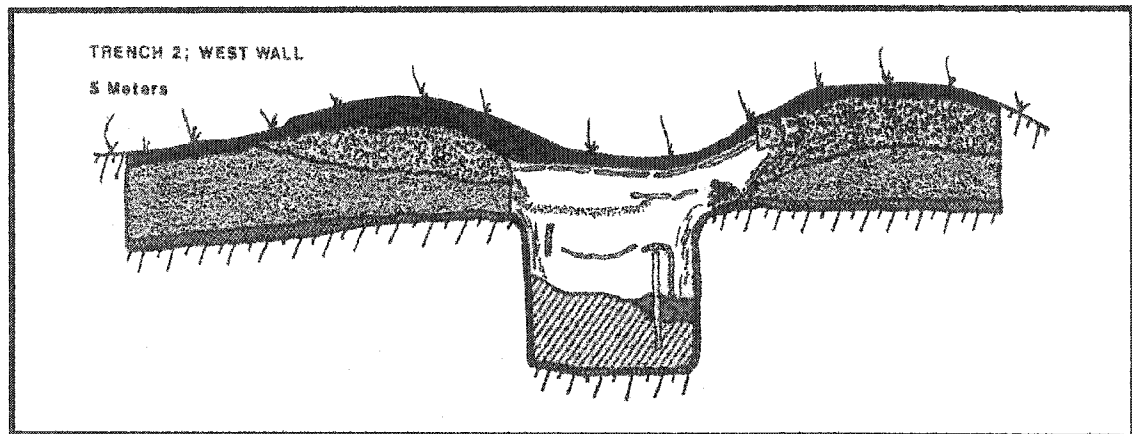
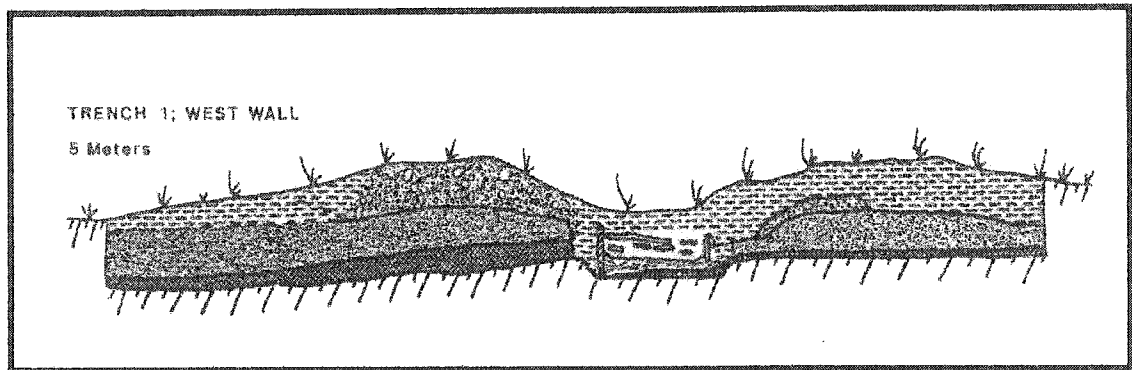


Figure 4.20. 34BR225 Dugout Trenches 1-3 West Wall Profiles. (Adapted from Lee et al. 1994:Figures 15-17).

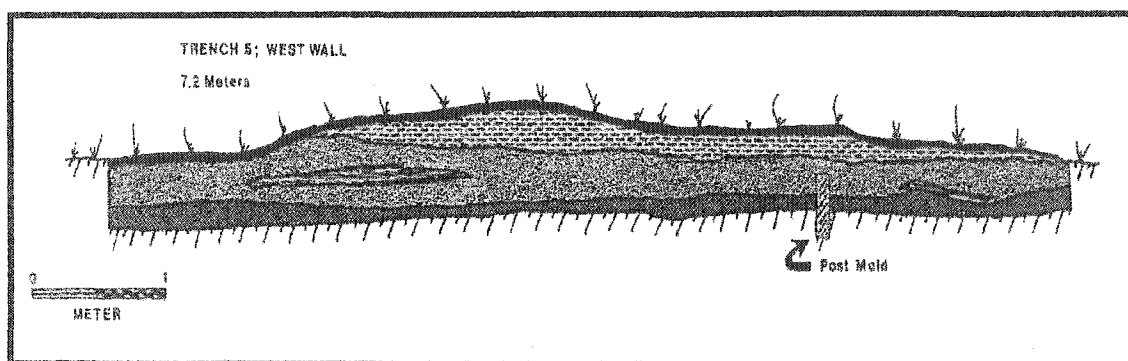
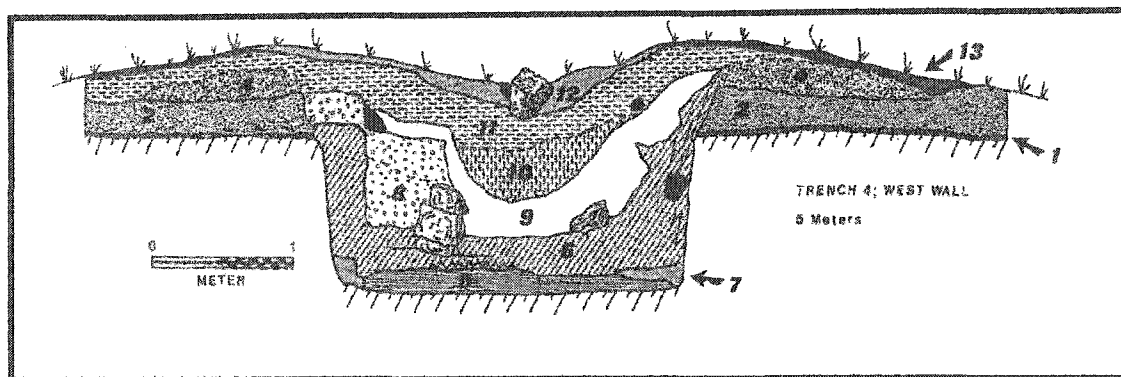


Figure 4.20 cont. 34BR225 Dugout Trenches 4-5 West Wall Profiles. (Adapted from Lee et al. 1994:Figures 15-17).

Table 4.7 presents the artifacts collected from Stratigraphic Unit 2. Items related to farrier activities include horse/mule shoe trimming fragments, cut and stamped shoe nails, cut shoe portions, and a complete Phoenix type horseshoe with heel calks (Spivey 1979:167-168). Maintenance of wagons/buggies and associated horse gear are indicated by the presence of harness buckles and cinch ring, snaffle bit fragments, hub key, wagon tongue bracing iron, step support, stationary gear fragments, wagon bolt fragments, reach plate and pin, Burton Type anti-rattler, and a countersunk type carriage knob.

Materials indicative of general blacksmithing activities include flat/bar stock, threaded round stock, cut railroad spikes, tools made from the cut spikes (wood gouges), cut metal fragments, iron handles, cut bolts and nuts, flat strap iron fragments, washers, an auger bit, two hammers, and "in process" tools which were discarded before finished. The railroad spikes were not likely procured before 1873, when the first railroad line crossed the region (Lee et al. 1994:11).

Other artifacts collected from this deposit suggest firearms usage and/or repair. A hammer from a shotgun was recovered on the north side of the dugout. The hammer had been repaired at one point by the "sweating" of copper that covers its entire basal portion. Subsequently, the area below and including part of the mounting hole broke, and the hammer was discarded. A .44 caliber center fire cartridge made by the Winchester Repeating Arms Company and a .22 caliber short rim fire cartridge made by the U.S. government was adjacent to the discarded hammer. The .44 caliber cartridge could not have been produced before 1873, and the .22 caliber short cartridge could not have been produced before 1869 (Spivey et al. 1977:233). Several 10 gauge shotgun shells were also recovered from Stratigraphic Unit 2. Manufacturer's marks indicate they were made by the Union Metallic Cartridge Company no earlier than 1867 (Spivey et al. 1977:233).

Table 4.7. 34BR225 Artifacts Recovered from Dugout and Privy.

	SU 2	SU 5	SU 6	Door	Privy	Total
Ceramics						
<i>Ironstone</i>						
Blue tint plain	40	6	2	3	18	69
Clear tint plain	31	6		11	1	49
Cream tint plain					1	1
Blue transfer					1	1
Green transfer	5		1			6
Decalomania					1	1
Minature vessels	4					4
<i>Porcelain</i>						
Plain				1		1
Single red line				1		1
Doll fragment					1	1
<i>Stoneware</i>						
Albany	8	1		1		10
Bristol	1	1		1	5	8
Bristol/Albany	2			2	2	6
Brown	4	1	1			6
Banded	1			1		2
Gray/brown					2	2
Rockingham	1					1
Unglazed	1					1
Ink bottle	1			3		4
Pipe fragment					2	2
Glass						
Colorless	139			1	56	196
Colorless molded	30	1		3	9	43
Colorless bottle	89	36	15	62		202
Colorless globe	54	2	1	2	9	68
Colorless lid liner				3		3
Amber	101	17	11	11	8	148
Aquamarine	58	7		10	1	76
Cobalt	2					2
Light green	16	1	2		17	36
Green	5	6	1		6	18
Rose	2					2
Yellow					1	1
Solarized	11	1	1	13		26
Milk glass	5				2	7
Window lite	26			228	1	255
Other						
Ash					1	1
Coal	602	60	14	15	5	696
Charcoal	114			2	31	147
Clinkers	426	83	9	14		532
Burned limestone	13			1		14
Brick	17	5		1	2	25
Fire brick	2					2
Stone marble	1		1			2
Mussel	9	1	1			11
Sandstone	34	2				36
Rubber tire	34					34
Black walnut	3					3
Wood	17	16	5	38	9	85
Mortar	1			4		5
Lead pencil					1	1
Total	1910	253	65	432	193	2853

Table 4.7 continued

	SU 2	SU 5	SU 6	Door	Privy	Total
Metal						
Wire nails	122	64	17	190	24	417
Cut nails	170	24	9	16	86	305
Nail fragments	129				87	216
railroad spike	23		2	3		28
Shoeing nail	67	12	6	5	3	93
Fence staple	20		1	2	5	28
Brad	2	1		2	10	15
Wing bolt	2					2
Bolt	10	2			7	19
Washer	2	1	1			4
Horse shoe	2	1				3
Heel calk	1					1
Shoe trimmings	8	9	1			18
Staple	1					1
Reach plate	2					2
Reach pin	1					1
Stationary gear	1					1
Clevis	1					1
Whiffle tree hook	1					1
Tongue brace	5					5
Anti-rattler	1					1
Counter sink knob	1					1
Suspender clip	2					2
Key	1			1	1	3
Bit/ring	3					3
Zinc screw cap			1			1
shudder hinge	2					2
Rimlock	3					3
Door knob	1					1
Hammer	2					2
Knife	4				1	5
File	2	3		1	2	8
Punch	2	6		1		9
Wire latch	5	1	1	1		8
Cut flat stock	8					8
cut round stock	3					3
Cut metal frag.	49	15		3		67
Threaded stock	2					2
Sheet metal	134	234	49	593		1010
Kettle	4	4		1		9
Can	20			1	3	24
Chain	3			1	1	5
Strap handle	3					3
Shim	1					1
Hook	1	1				2
Auger bit	1					1
Fish hook	1				1	2
Handmade tools	3			2		5
Wire	8	5	1	1	1	16
Buckle	5			1		6
Bucket	1					1
Gun hammer	1				1	2
10 Ga. Shell	2	1		1	2	6
22 Cal. Case	2			2	3	7
44 cal. Case	1					1
Butt plate		1				1
Lead	11	1			2	14
unid metal	187	23	17		137	364
Total	1050	409	106	828	377	2770

Allowing for a time lag between manufacturing and discard, these artifacts indicate a temporal span between the mid 1870s to the mid 1880s.

Kitchen or subsistence related activities are indicated by ceramic and stoneware artifacts, two knives, and a fishhook. Plain ironstone, transfer printed and Decalcomania decorated ironstone, and porcelain indicate a temporal span between 1860-1915 (Hunter et al. 1997:264-269, Table 71; Journey 1992:70-74; Moir 1987a:101-107, Table 7-2). Salt glazed, Albany Slip glazed, Bristol Slip glazed, and Albany/Bristol Slip glazed stoneware indicate a temporal range between 1840-1920 (Greer 1981:179-215). A nearly complete table knife was recovered from the north end of Trench 1. This knife is identical to those sold in the 1894-95 Montgomery Ward Catalogue in sets of six for \$1.10-\$1.30 (Schroeder 1970:433, item 46334-36). The fishhook, 5/0 size with a Limmerick style bend, was also sold by Montgomery Ward (Schroeder 1970:477).

Personal items are indicated by buttons, a stone marble, and four miniature, plain ceramic vessels. The stone marble and miniature vessels are toys likely associated with children. Stone marbles were produced between 1860-1895 (Randall 1971:102), while the plain, miniature ceramic vessels were produced between 1875-1900 (Haskell 1981:23). Most buttons were made from shell and had either two or four mounting holes. The buttons were probably attached to personal apparel and indicate a temporal span of 1860 to the present (Castille et al. 1986:Table D-3).

Structural artifacts recovered from Stratigraphic Unit 2 included a shutter hinge, two door lock fragments, and a twisted wire latch. The shutter hinge and twisted wire latch were south and just outside the dugout, while the door lock fragments were in the north end of Trench 3. These items possibly indicate a shutter or coal chute on the south side of the dugout, but no evidence of a door on the north side of the dugout was

identified during excavation.

The first occupation of the dugout was contained in Stratigraphic Units 5 and 6 (Figure 4.20). Stratigraphic Unit 5 was highly compact and heavily mixed from mechanical trampling and covered the rear portion of the dugout (Lee et al. 1994:47-48, 52-53). Farrier related items, such as horse/mule shoe trimming fragments, cut and stamped shoeing nails, and horse/mule shoe fragments. Wagon or related horse gear items identified included a carriage bolt fragment and a seat spring hook (Table 4.7).

Firearm usage/repair included 10 gauge shotgun shell brass manufactured by the Union Metallic Cartridge Company, a United States Cartridge Company issue .22 caliber short rim fire cartridge, and the butt plate from a rifle. The shotgun shell brass and .22 caliber cartridge indicate a time span between 1867-1911 (Spivey et al. 1977:233). The dimensions of the butt plate indicates it is from a Spencer or Sharps type rifle. General smithing activities are suggested by the presence of punches, cut bar stock, nuts, punch plugs, a complete flat mill file, a cut plate with nut and bolt attached, and a claw hammer fragment.

Stratigraphic Unit 6 covered the entire floor of the dugout and was separated from Stratigraphic Unit 5 by a layer of sheet metal (Figure 4.20). Unit 6 artifacts were less numerous than those from Unit 5 and displayed a more restricted range of activities (Lee et al. 1994:53-54). Horse/mule shoe trimmings and shoeing nails are the only items that could be associated with farrier activities. There is no evidence to suggest wagon/buggy repair or usage. General smithing activities are indicated by the presence of staples and cut railroad spikes (Table 4.7).

During excavation of the second occupation of the dugout, a crushed door and a possible sheet metal awning were uncovered (Lee et al. 1994:56-58). The door, complete

with window glass, was constructed from rough-hewn planks, cut and wire nails, and was covered with a sheet metal kick plate. The clear glass or lite fragments were 2.00-2.25 mm thick. Four fragments of blue-green window glass were also recovered. These fragments were 3 mm thick and indicate a later temporal period and possibly more than one episode of door refurbishing. The wire nails, ranging from 3d to 12d in size, are congruent with use in light or medium framing. Sheet metal and wood planks, anchored with dressed limestone blocks, lined the earthen entrance. The earthen steps had been filled with sediment, creating an earthen ramp that was used to enter and exit the structure (Figure 4.20). No hardware was recovered that indicates how the door was mounted, however a small skeleton key was in the fill.

Ceramics, stoneware, glass, and metal artifacts recovered from the door area indicate a mixing of nineteenth and twentieth century occupations (Table 4.7). They also duplicate functional categories previously discussed. Plain tinted varieties of ironstone, Decalcomania decorated porcelain, Bristol Slip glazed stoneware, and a stoneware ink bottle indicate a temporal span between 1860-1930 (Greer 1981:179-215; Hunter et al. 1997:264-269, Table 71; Journey 1992:70-74; Moir 1987a:101-107, Table 7-2). The only manufacturer's mark in the entire site ceramic assemblage was on a plain ironstone sherd recovered from Trench 2. The mark was used between 1890-1900 by the Homer Laughlin Company of Ohio (Gates and Ormerond 1982:132, Figure 112a; Lehner 1978:48). The stoneware ink bottle is identical to the one illustrated by Spivey et. al (1977:79, Figure 15b). The manufacturer's mark indicates it was produced between 1861 and 1891.

Aquamarine, amber, clear, and sun-purpled bottle glass fragments were recovered in the same contexts. The aquamarine and amber fragments were probably from beer, liquor, or condiment bottles (Putnam 1965:Plates 194-198). These assignments are

tenuous, since only body fragments were recovered. One mouth and neck section from a clear glass vessel was recovered from Trench 4. The crown top and automatic bottle machine seams indicate a post-1915 production date (Lorrain 1968:44; Paul and Parmalee 1973:14). A complete clear glass lid liner was recovered and manufactured by the Presto Company after 1929 (Toulouse 1971:389). One 10 gauge shotgun shell manufactured by the Union Metallic Company indicates a time span between 1867-1911 (Spivey et al. 1977:233). One mower tooth, chain links, and a second cut, flat file were recovered near the door area. These items do not lend themselves to discreet temporal assignments (Table 4.7).

Several artifacts were outside the dugout and along the northern edge of the excavation block (Lee et al. 1994:50). This cluster contained numerous toiletry bottles and a crushed bucket. Two Camel Hair Oil bottles were identified in the cluster. Both bottles, with metal screw caps, were made by an automatic bottle machine. The bottles had Owen-Illinois Glass Company marks on their bases. One was manufactured at the Huntington, Virginia plant, while the other was produced at the Newark, Ohio plant (Toulouse 1971:395). The bottles were produced between 1929-1938. A small Listerine bottle from the Lambert Pharmacal [sic] Company was also produced by Owen-Illinois at its Clarksburg, West Virginia plant in 1936 (Toulouse 1971:395). Another clear glass bottle of unknown function was produced by Owen-Illinois at its Alton, Illinois plant in either 1936 or 1946 (Toulouse 1971:395). A production date of 1936 is more likely, considering the confirmed dates from the other associated bottles. A tincture of iodine bottle was also recovered, but had no identifying marks other than a mold number. Given the function of some of the bottles (iodine, hair oil, and mouth wash), this feature likely relates to a washstand.

A privy was between the dugout and log cabin (Lee et al. 1994:22-27). The midden deposit covering the feature measured 2.65 m x 1.44 m. The actual dimensions of the privy were determined to be 1.44 x 1.44 m. Excavation of the privy revealed five distinct deposits that extended to a depth of 52 cm below ground surface (Figure 4.21).

Stratum 1, the highest stratigraphically, was a cap over the feature and consisted of the rocky B horizon mixed with parts of Stratigraphic Unit 2 (Figure 4.21). This stratum extended to a maximum depth of 16 cm below ground surface and was relatively thicker on the eastern side. Artifacts within this zone were usually 10-16 cm below ground surface and included machine cut and wire nails, file and knife fragments, a single decorated sherd of ironstone, stove parts, a key, a brass percussion cap box, glass, and faunal remains (Table 4.7).

Stratum 2 consisted of ash and charcoal in a very dark gray (10YR 4/4) matrix. Ash and charcoal were dispersed throughout the matrix, which extended from 16 cm to 24 cm below ground surface. This stratum terminated approximately 30 cm from the west wall (Figure 4.21). Artifacts recovered from Stratum 2 included plain ironstone sherds, stove parts, machine cut and wire nails, glass, and faunal remains (Table 4.7). Although ash and charcoal were ubiquitous in this zone, none of the recovered artifacts showed any evidence of burning. It is surmised that the ash and charcoal are not an *in situ* burning episode; rather they were secondarily placed in the deposit, either coming from the blacksmith forge or the log cabin fireplace.

Stratum 3 was a very dark grayish brown (10YR3/4) sandy silt matrix with ash and charcoal present in the upper 4 cm of this zone. The stratum extended from 24 to 32 cm below ground surface and was dish shaped. It was higher along its edges than in the middle. Though there was charcoal and ash, none of the recovered cultural materials

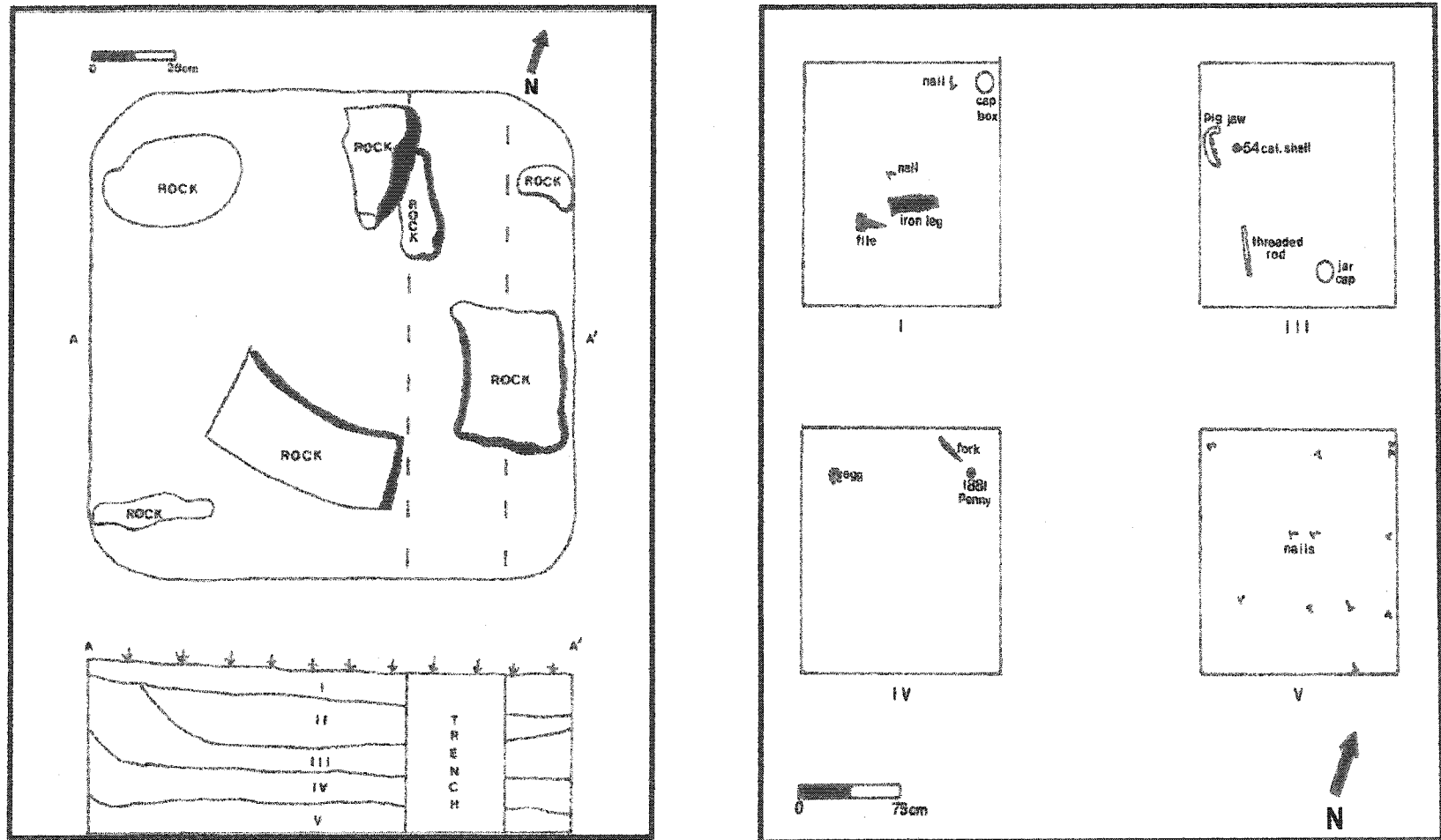


Figure 4.21. 34BR225 Privy Plan, North Wall Profile, and Artifact Plots by Stratigraphic Association. (Adapted from Lee et al. 1994:Figures 5 and 6).

exhibited any indications of burning (Figure 4.21). Plain ironstone sherds, a hammer from an Enfield musket, a fired lead ball, glass, wagon hardware, and nails were recovered (Table 4.7). The lead ball nipple was deformed, but recovered dimensions indicate it was .54 caliber. A pig mandible and cranial fragments were along the west wall, with the mandible being inverted. The spent ball lay in close proximity to the pig elements and is believed to be the agent of the pig's demise.

Stratum 4 was a black (10YR 2/2) sandy silt matrix that extended from 32 cm to 44 cm below ground surface (Figure 4.21). This matrix was much thicker in the southeastern quadrant of the feature. Very little ash or charcoal was noted in this zone. Artifacts in this layer were similar to the previous layers with the exception of an 1881 Indian Head Penny (Table 4.7) recovered in the east center part of the feature. Inspection with a 10x microscope revealed very little surface wear or use marring on the coin, suggesting that the coin was deposited very shortly after minting and circulation.

Stratum 5 was a yellow brown (10YR 6/4) sandy matrix and was relatively less compacted than the other four strata. This matrix was present in the northwest, northeast, and southwest quadrants of the feature, but was absent from the southeast portion. The stratum, when present, was between 44 and 52 cm below ground surface and was much thicker along the north wall of the feature. At least three burned planks were exposed in the central portion of the feature and exhibited a north-south and east-west orientation (Figure 4.21). Surrounding these burned planks was a very thin (2-4 cm) deposit of gray ash. None of the artifacts, either on top or immediately adjacent to the planks, had evidence of burning. Following the removal of planks and artifacts, the bottom of the feature was troweled. Several machine cut nails were plotted in place. These nails were aligned in at least two east-west rows. Two machine cut nails in the northwest wall were

horizontal, indicating that they had been driven through lumber of unknown dimensions into the west wall of the feature.

Historic research and material culture temporal ranges indicates 34BR225 was initially occupied by the mixed lineage Choctaw family of Bryant and Melinda Pate. Bryant Pate, a Euroamerican non-citizen, is believed to have been a blacksmith and to be responsible for building the log cabin and dugout around 1870 (Lee et al. 1994:17, 59).

The lack of native ceramics is more difficult to interpret. Two alternative interpretations may account for this situation. Melinda Pate's mother, Maggie Buford Durant, was a non-citizen and probably Euroamerican (Lula Pate, Enrollment Cards of Five Civilized Tribes, Census Card, 1896, Microcopy 1186, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman). Native American ceramic traditions are believed to be passed through the matrilineal line from generation to generation (Swanton 1942:67). Since Maggie Durant was a non-citizen, she would not possess the native traditional skills to teach her daughter. However, greater access to eastern markets, facilitated by railroad construction (post 1873), may also account for the lack of native ceramics (Lee et al. 1994:11-12). Access to more durable Euroamerican goods, i.e. stoneware vessels, may have provided an impetus for the replacement of native manufactured vessels.

The Pate occupation was followed by a period of abandonment and then the site was re-occupied by the Euroamerican Harned family between 1912-1915. The well was constructed during this very short occupation (Lee et al. 1994:17, 60). The Miller family acquired the property in 1915 and, subsequently, the log cabin was modified. Also, the dugout was partially re-excavated and used as a root cellar and wash facility (Lee et al.

1994:17, 60-61).

Summary

The four sites just described are similar in many aspects, but differences are also noted. The structures at all four sites are believed to have been log cabins associated with domestic occupations. The type of burned architectural members, chinking, and nail sizes found at the Choctaw Cabin site (34MC485) are congruent with log cabin construction (Jurney 1992:57-66; Lees 1985:124). Nails and other architectural artifacts from 34MC399 are nearly identical to those from the Choctaw Cabin site, indicating a log structure was present at 34MC399. There is less evidence of a log structure at the George Hudson House site. However, Peter Hudson (1932:501-504), George Hudson's nephew, described the structure at this site as a log cabin. The evidence of a log cabin at 34BR225 is irrefutable, since the structure stood until 1969 and was photographed by the Miller family.

Log cabins are a Euroamerican structure type, not Choctaw. However, the earliest extant description of Choctaw houses states that they were made from poles set in the ground, were covered entirely with clay, and had no windows. Holes were made in the two gabled ends of the roof to let smoke escape (Swanton 1918:57, 1931:37). Gabled roofs are usually found on square or rectangular structures rather than round ones that have conical roofs (Swanton 1931:38-39). These data indicate that Choctaw houses were square or rectangular. Therefore, the use of log cabins by the Choctaw may represent the integration of a foreign structure that corresponded to Choctaw concepts.

There is evidence at 34MC485 that the door was on the east side of the cabin. The exterior pits at 34MC399 were on the east side of the structure. Photographs of Choctaw structures and their yards (Bushnell 1909:Plate 12; Neal et al. 1991:Figures 2-4) demonstrate that cooking and other outside activities took place in the yard in front of the door. Thus, it seems more than likely that the door was on the east side of the structure at 34MC399. Door placement at 34BR225 was noticeably different from the other two sites. Doors were placed on the west and south sides of the cabin. It should be reiterated that the cabin at 34BR225 was built by a Euroamerican and not a Choctaw. Therefore, it seems that the Bryan County log cabin followed Euroamerican preferences.

All four sites were on terraces above stream courses. Terrace site settings were the preferred location for Choctaw sites in Mississippi and indicates that the settlement pattern observed in Mississippi continued in Oklahoma (Neal et al. 1991:60-65; Neal and Rees 1993:21-23). Since the Bryan County site seems to follow Euroamerican preferences, selection of terrace settings for settlement does not seem to be confined to the Choctaw.

Artifacts recovered from the four sites are predominately Euroamerican in origin. However, Choctaw ceramics occurred at all McCurtain County sites. The plain vessels conform to the description of Mississippi Plain, *var. Wilson Pasture* defined for Choctaw sites in Mississippi. The decorated vessels were all classified as Chickachae Combed, but no varieties were assigned since the designs were on each vessel could fit more than one variety. The low percentage of Choctaw ceramics in the Oklahoma site assemblages follows the pattern noted in Mississippi Choctaw sites. The only other artifacts clearly

manufactured by the Choctaw were the rolled cone arrow points and stone pipes.

Glass vessel fragments were found in very low percentages in the three McCurtain county sites, while numerous examples were recovered from 34BR225. This difference is likely related to the fact that glass vessels were mass produced during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and rapidly supplanted other types of containers. Therefore, the difference in the number of glass vessel fragments between the McCurtain County sites and 34BR225 is temporal rather than social.

No window pane glass was recovered from the McCurtain County sites. Numerous examples were collected from around the cabin and dugout at 34BR225. Since window pane glass was in production during the late eighteenth century, the absence of this artifact type at the McCurtain County sites suggests that Choctaw preferences were observed at these sites, while Euroamerican preferences are evident at 34BR225.

No Choctaw manufactured artifacts were recovered from 34BR225. As noted above, cabin construction at this site followed Euroamerican preferences. In addition, the privy and dugout are Euroamerican in origin. These data clearly indicate that no material cultural evidence of Choctaw identity is reflected in this site. However, both daughters of Bryant and Melinda Pate were considered Choctaw and were allotted land. Thus, it seems that identity cannot be derived from material culture, at least in this instance.

Faunal and floral remains were recovered from all four sites, but in very low percentages. There are enough data to suggest that the occupants of all four sites had a similar diet consisting primarily of domesticated resources. Based on these limited samples, there do not seem to be major differences in food sources among the four sites.

In sum, enough evidence has been presented to support the position that the three McCurtain County sites are Choctaw affiliated. The material culture assemblages from these three sites are extremely similar and composed primarily of Euroamerican manufactured items. However, it has been demonstrated that patterns noted in Mississippi Choctaw sites continued in Oklahoma. These include settlement pattern, ceramic assemblage composition, structure orientation, and outside activity organization.

Opposed to these trends is the site in Bryan County. No material culture was recovered that was exclusively Choctaw, while cabin construction and other patterns followed Euroamerican preferences. Despite the lack of material culture correlates of Choctaw identity, the Pate children were still considered Choctaw. The next chapter provides detailed intrasite comparisons. From this the topic of social inequality among Oklahoma Choctaw will be addressed.

Chapter 5

Assemblage Quantification and Comparison

Introduction

This chapter presents the results of analytical methods used to quantify the different site assemblages. Visual sorting of Euroamerican ceramics was conducted in conjunction with a hardness test and ultraviolet light (UV) assessment. These new techniques were utilized in an attempt to test their efficacy in sorting different ceramic wares. The ceramic assemblages from each site were categorized by ware, vessel shape, and decoration. The Minimum Number of Vessels (MNV) was also determined for each site. The relative percentage of each Euroamerican ware and Choctaw ceramic type was determined for each site. Site temporal parameters were established by determining the Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) and the Mean Glass Date (MGD). The Mean Ceramic Date, vessel shape, and decoration type are required variables to determine the Ceramic Price or CC Index. This index establishes a relative economic index for each site and is used as a primary indicator of socioeconomic differences. The different depositional contexts for each site were determined. Material culture assemblages associated with these contexts were grouped by functional categories and compared.

Euroamerican Ceramic Sorting

A hardness test and UV light sorting was conducted on 1,023 sherds from a total sample of 1,301 sherds. Choctaw manufactured ceramics, stoneware, yellowware, and

redware were not included in either test since they are easily separated. When testing for hardness, sherds were classified as soft, medium, and hard. All pearlware sherds were classified as soft, since the implement scratched or cut a groove in the ceramic fabric. Whiteware sherds were unequally divided among all three categories: 53 sherds (8.53 %) were classified as soft, 215 (34.62%) as medium, and 353 (56.84%) as hard. Ironstone sherds were also unequally divided between medium (43 or 26.21%) and those classified as hard (121 or 73.9%).

Hunter et al. (1997:266) conducted the only other hardness tests known in this part of the Southeast. The Huffman Creek site (16RA443) in central Louisiana includes a late nineteenth century ceramic sample. Their sample contained 2,989 sherds, all classified as whiteware. The results from the Louisiana site were very similar to those from the four Oklahoma sites. Sherds from the Huffman Creek site classified as hard were a clear majority (65.65%) in the sample, followed by medium (29.23%), and soft (5.12%). The similarity between the two whiteware data sets may be fortuitous. No ironstone sherds from Oklahoma were classified as soft. Many of the whiteware sherds from Huffman Creek would have been classified as ironstone had they been analyzed using the criteria defined in Chapter 2. The difference in sherds classified as soft is likely the result of meshing two different classificatory schemes for comparative purposes, rather than denoting divergence between the two samples.

The results of the hardness tests conducted on ceramics from sites in Oklahoma and Louisiana clearly indicate a progression from soft to hard refined earthenware paste during the nineteenth century. These results also indicate considerable overlap among

sherds classified as pearlware, whiteware, and ironstone. These test results support Mathews's (1991) position that the hardness test is most effective when analyzing late nineteenth century ceramic assemblages (Hunter et al. 1997:266; Mathews 1991).

Ultraviolet light sorting of different Euroamerican wares was fairly successful and conformed for the most part with expectations based on similar analyses (Hunter et al. 1997:71-72; Mathews 1991). Pearlwares fluoresced dark violet when inspected under UV light. Whitewares uniformly fluoresced brilliant white, as did most ironstone sherds. Porcelain sherds exhibited a color very similar to, but not quite as dark as, the pearlwares. The utility of the technique was limited in two instances. The first was noted when examining small blue transfer printed, cobalt hand painted, and edge decorated sherds. These sherds fluoresced dark violet regardless of ware type, the result of cobalt additives found in either the glaze, the paint, or the oxides used for decoration or sealing. Ultraviolet sorting was a complete failure when the sample from 34MC544 was assessed. The entire assemblage fluoresced a dull brown when examined, regardless of ware type. A color similar to this (dull yellowish brown) is expected when viewing creamware under UV light. However, no creamware was noted in any of the samples obtained from Oklahoma. No concrete explanation can be presented for the problem with the 34MC544 sample at this time. The uniform color expression of this sample, despite the different wares distinguished in the sample, may stem from some post-deposition modification that has not been identified.

One unexpected advantage of the UV light assessment was found during analysis of the sample from 34BR225. Several ironstone sherds were visually sorted as plain.

When viewed under UV light, a decorative pattern could be discerned on the sherds. Closer inspection revealed the “shadow” or impression of an over-glaze decal. Color could not be determined, but the impressions were distinct enough to determine part of the pattern. If UV light had not been utilized during this research, the visual sorting error would not have been detected and corrected.

The Ceramic Assemblages

As noted above, the total ceramic sample contains 1,301 sherds representing nine different wares or ceramic types (Table 5.1). When arranged by site, differences are noted in the assemblages from 34MC485, 34MC399, and 34MC544. These sites contain Choctaw manufactured ceramics, as well as pearlware and whiteware. Small amounts of redware were recovered from 34MC399 and 34MC544, while yellowware was recovered only from 34MC544. The minor amounts of redware and yellowware suggest that the latter two sites may have been occupied for a relatively longer period than 34MC485 since these wares are more common in site ceramic assemblages dating after ca.1860 (Yakubik 1990:306).

In contrast, there is a sharp dichotomy in the ceramic samples from the McCurtain County sites and 34BR225. The sample from 34BR225 did not contain any early to mid-nineteenth century wares, but consisted of ironstone, porcelain, and stoneware. This ceramic association is very common on sites dating from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century (Briscoe 1992:15-45; Hahn et al. 1996:Table 5; Hunter et al. 1997:

Table 5.1. Ceramic Assemblages from All Sites Grouped by Ware Type.

	34MC485	34MC399	34MC544	34BR225	Sherds
Mississippi Plain	14	136	14		164
Chickachae Combed	1	49	5		55
Pearlware	17	63	151		231
Whiteware	44	406	171		621
Redware		4	10		14
Yellowware			13		13
Ironstone				164	164
Porcelain				7	7
Stoneware				32	32
Total Sherds	76	658	364	203	1301
	34MC485	34MC399	34MC544	34BR225	MNV
Mississippi Plain	4	7	11		22
Chickachae Combed	1	5	5		11
Pearlware	7	23	44		74
Whiteware	19	83	70		172
Redware		2	2		4
Yellowware			6		6
Ironstone				35	35
Porcelain				6	6
Stoneware				16	16
Total MNV	31	120	138	57	346
	34MC485	34MC399	34MC544	34BR225	
Mississippi Plain	12.9	5.83	7.98		
Chickachae Combed	3.22	4.17	3.62		
Pearlware	22.59	19.16	31.89		
Whiteware	61.29	69.17	50.72		
Redware		1.67	1.45		
Yellowware			4.34		
Ironstone				61.41	
Porcelain				10.52	
Stoneware				28.07	
Percent	100	100	100	100	

264-266, Table 70; Journey 1992:70-74, Table 10; Mathews 1983:96, Table 6; McGuff et al. 1993:82-101; Stewart-Abernathy 1986:77-82, 99-101).

A total Minimal Number of Vessels (MNV) estimate of 346 vessels of all types was derived from the ceramics sample (Table 5.1). The obvious low sherd count versus the MNV estimate reflects the enumeration of completely or partially reconstructed vessels as one item rather than several sherds. Euroamerican vessels (n=313) are obviously more numerous than those produced by the Choctaw (n=33). Whiteware was the most common Euroamerican ware recovered, followed by pearlware, ironstone, stoneware, porcelain, yellowware and redware. Similarly, Mississippi Plain vessels were twice as numerous as Chickachae Combed bowls. Both types were present at all sites except 34BR225.

After the nine ware categories were converted to percentages of the site sample, several general trends were discerned (Table 5.1). The number of Mississippi Plain vessels was fairly consistent, ranging between 5-12% of each site sample when it occurred. Chickachae Combed vessels, on the other hand, consistently account for 3-4% of each site assemblage. The number of pearlware vessels was also fairly consistent, accounting for 22-31% of each site assemblage. Whiteware vessels clearly accounted for over one-half of the total number of vessels recovered from each site. Diametrically opposed to whiteware, redware was a minor constituent at each site, accounting for only 1% of each site assemblage. Yellowware was recovered from only one site and in slightly larger quantities than redware.

Ironstone vessels were clearly more common than any other ware at 34BR225 (Table 5.1). Ironstone accounted for almost two-thirds of the vessels, while stoneware accounted for just under 30% of the sample. Porcelain seems to be a minor constituent at 34BR225, accounting for only 10% of the total vessels.

Table 5.2 presents the ceramic sample for each site arranged by ware and vessel form. Vessel form could not be determined for just under one-fifth of the total sample. Plates were the most common vessel form recognized in the samples, regardless of ware. The one exception occurred at 34BR225, where saucers outnumbered plates. Plates were either 22.9 or 25.4 cm in diameter. Pearlware and whiteware plates were equally represented at 34MC485. Whiteware plates were slightly more numerous at 34MC399, while pearlware plates constituted a slight majority at 34MC544. All plates from 34BR225 were classified as ironstone.

Cups were the second most common vessel form, followed closely by saucers (Table 5.2). Cups from 34MC485, 34MC399, and 34MC544 did not have handles and were morphologically similar to an "inverted truncated cone with a steeply angled shoulder just above a high standing foot ring" (Miller 1991:15). All the cups recovered from 34BR225 had handles and round (simple) bodies. Whiteware cups always outnumbered pearlware examples when the two occurred on the same site. Ironstone cups were a definite majority over porcelain examples at 34BR225.

Saucers occurred at all sites. Whiteware examples were noted from 34MC485 and 34MC399, but were absent in the 34MC544 assemblage. Pearlware, whiteware, and redware saucers occurred at 34MC544. Pearlware and whiteware saucers were found in

Table 5.2 Ceramic Assemblages from All Sites Arranged by Ware and Vessel Form.

	Plates	Cups	Saucers	Bowls	Tureens	Indeterminant	Total
34MC485							
Pearlware	6					1	7
Whiteware	6	1	1	4	1	6	19
Redware							
Yellowware							
Ironstone							
Porcelain							
Total	12	1	1	4	1	7	26
34MC399							
Pearlware	14	6		2		1	23
Whiteware	20	16	21	15	2	9	83
Redware				1		1	2
Yellowware							
Ironstone							
Porcelain							
Total	34	22	21	18	2	11	108
34MC544							
Pearlware	20	12	6	2	1	3	44
Whiteware	16	18	7	7	1	21	70
Redware			1			1	2
Yellowware				3		3	6
Ironstone							
Porcelain							
Total	36	30	14	12	2	28	122
34BR225							
Pearlware							
Whiteware							
Redware							
Yellowware							
Ironstone	12	6	9	4	2	2	35
Porcelain		1	4			1	6
Total	12	7	13	4	2	3	41
Grand Total	94	60	49	38	7	49	297
Percent	31.63	20.14	16.38	12.66	2.34	16.85	100

almost equal numbers, whiteware examples formed a slight majority. The one redware saucer was a definite minority occurrence. Ironstone saucers occurred just over twice as often as porcelain saucers in the 34BR225 sample (Table 5.2).

Bowls occurred at all sites and their frequency, as far as type, is similar to that for saucers. Whiteware bowls were noted at 34MC485, while pearlware, whiteware, and redware examples were found at 34MC399. Most of the bowls from 34MC544 were either pearlware or whiteware, while a minority were classified as yellowware. As with plates, only ironstone bowls were collected from 34BR225 (Table 5.2).

Comparison of Euroamerican ceramics demonstrates all four sites were very similar in terms of vessel shape and decoration (Table 5.3). Plain or undecorated vessels represent a slight majority of the total MNV. Different molded rim patterns indicate that at least three sets of plain vessels are represented in the 34MC399 pattern, rather than unmatched vessels from different sets. This is also the case from 34MC544 and 34BR225. Edge decorated vessels also occurred at all three McCurtain County sites. Blue decorated examples were more common than green at all sites. The restriction of edge decoration to only plates and the dominance of blue decoration was not unexpected, since the technique was utilized primarily on flat vessels and the production of green examples became rare after 1840 (Miller 1991:6).

Transfer print and hand painted vessels were the most common decorated types occurring in the sample. Similar to plain wares, sets of transfer print decorated vessels are clearly present at 34MC399 and 34MC544. The sample from 34MC399 contains vessels from different patterns and colors. The same is true with the sample from 34MC544 with

Table 5.3. Ceramic Assemblages from all Sites Arranged by Ware and Decoration.

	Plain	Edge	Trans	Flown	Handpt	Spatter	Annul	Copper	Decal	Gilt	Band	Total
34MC485												
Plates	6	2	4									12
Cups	1											1
Saucers	1											1
Bowls					4							4
Holloware							1					1
Indeterminate	2		1	2		2						7
34MC399												
Plates	4	17	12		1							34
Cups	4		6		12							22
Saucers	4		9		8							21
Bowls	2				4		11	1				18
Holloware	2											2
Indeterminate	5		2		1	2		1				11
34MC544												
Plates	6	17	6	1	6							36
Cups	7		12		10		1					30
Saucers	5		4		4			1				14
Bowls	1				1	3	7					12
Holloware				1	1							2
Indeterminate	5		5	3	4		10	1				28
34BR225												
Plates	11										1	12
Cups	4								2		1	7
Saucers	5		2							2	4	13
Bowls	3								1			4
Holloware	2											2
Indeterminate	2										1	3
Total	82	36	63	7	56	7	30	4	3	2	7	297
Percent	27.7	12.1	21.2	2.35	18.86	2.35	10.1	1.34	1.01	0.7	2.35	100

one exception. The “Ruins” pattern vessel set contained at least four different colors. It cannot be determined with any confidence whether the pattern was obtained over a period of time or was purchased as a set from a retailer/wholesaler. Vessels decorated with different colors from the same pattern have been recovered from one store in Arkansas (Stewart-Abernathy, personal communication 2002). The transfer print samples from 34MC485 and 34BR225 are too small to discuss confidently.

Flow Blue transfer print and sponge/spatter decorated vessels occurred at all McCurtain County sites in the same frequency. Most of the time, vessel shape could not be determined for these two decorative types. One Flow Blue decorated plate and one vase-like vessel were noted in the sample from 34MC544. Three sponge/spatter decorated bowls were also identified in the collection from 34MC544. The relatively low number of identified vessels precluded any detailed discussion of these decorative types, but one is left with the general impression that Flow Blue and sponge/spatter vessels were acquired individually.

Hand painted vessels occurred at all three McCurtain County sites, with the vast majority obtained from 34MC399 and 34MC544. Polychrome floral decorated examples formed a clear majority of the hand painted sample. Fine- and Broad-line varieties of the floral pattern occurred in similar frequencies. Monochrome blue hand painted vessels were present, but in much lower numbers. Hand painted decoration occurred on four of the five vessel classes in the sample from 34MC399 and all vessel classes at 34MC544, indicating once more that sets of vessels are present.

Annular decorated vessels were nearly as common as edge decorated examples and also occurred on a restricted set of vessel types. Annular decoration was found primarily on bowls and rarely on saucers and holloware vessel types, such as a gravy boat from 34MC485. Based on the limited sample of annular decorated vessels, it seems that individual items were obtained at 34MC485 while sets were present at 34MC399 and 34MC544. This general impression should be viewed with caution, since one-third of the annular decorated vessel sample could not be confidently typed.

Four copper luster decorated redware vessels were identified in the ceramic samples, two from 34MC399 and two from 34MC544. One of the vessels from 34MC399 was identified as a bowl, while one saucer was identified at 34MC544. Shape could not be determined for the remaining two vessels. This obviously low sample does not lend itself to much discussion, other than to suggest that individual vessels are represented.

Over-glaze decal, gilt, and single band decoration occurred only at 34BR225. It is not possible to characterize over-glaze decal vessels with much confidence, since this decoration type was identified under UV light. The pattern(s) represented on the vessels seem to be chains of flowers, probably roses. It was not possible to determine if the decal covered the entire vessel. Decal vessels and sets depicted in late nineteenth century mail order catalogues were dominated by different types of rose patterns placed on the upper one-third of the vessel. Given the diversity of rose patterns and the very small sample of decal decorated vessels at 34BR225, it is not possible to determine if individual vessels or sets are represented in the sample.

Single band decoration occurred on ironstone as well as porcelain. Single band decoration was noted on plates, saucers, and cups. Based on the limited sample, it seems that single band ironstone vessel sets were purchased. It was not possible to provide a determination for porcelain, since only one single band decorated example was identified. Gilt decoration was observed on two vessels from 34BR225, both ironstone saucers.

Mean Ceramic Dating

Mean ceramic dates were compiled for the site sample (Table 5.4). Each ceramic type and its corresponding median date was listed. The result of multiplying the actual number of sherds per ceramic type by the median date was also listed. The median ceramic date (MCD) for each site derived from South's formula was listed at the bottom of Table 5.4.

It was expected that the site MCDs would reflect the general temporal span suggested by the ceramic assemblages. Sites 34MC485, 34MC399, and 34MC544 were expected to return an MCD sometime near the mid-nineteenth century, since their assemblages suggest occupations dating from ca. 1830-1870. Site 34BR225 was expected to return an MCD of sometime during the late nineteenth century based on the ceramic sample and historical documentation. The initial determination of the respective MCDs met these expectations in only one case.

The MCD returned from the three sites projected to reflect mid-nineteenth century occupations were much earlier than expected. Site 34MC485 returned a MCD of 1839.59, Site 34MC399 returned a MCD of 1845.62, while 34MC544 returned the

Table 5.4. Mean Ceramic Dates Complied for All Sites.

		MC485		MC399		MC544		BR225	
Pearlware									
Plain	1810	9	16290	0	0	59	106790		
Blue shell	1810	6	10860	2	3620	8	14480		
Green shell	1820	0	0	16	29120	5	9100		
Blue trans.	1810	1	1810	21	38010	8	14480		
Black trans.	1810	0	0	7	12670	4	7240		
Brown trans.	1810	0	0	0	0	1	1810		
Green trans.	1810	0	0	0	0	4	7240		
Red trans.	1810	0	0	0	0	7	12670		
Mono hdpt	1825	0	0	2	3650	17	31025		
Fine poly hdpt	1817.5	0	0	11	19992.5	6	10905		
Broad poly hdpt	1825	1	1825	0	0	22	40150		
annular	1815	0	0	4	7260	2	3630		
Whiteware									
Plain	1850	23	42550	205	379250	25	46250		
Blue shell	1850	1	1850	19	35150	10	18500		
Green shell	1850	0	0	0	0	14	25900		
Blue trans	1850	2	3700	18	33300	18	33300		
Black trans	1850	0	0	43	79550	2	3700		
Green trans	1850	0	0	0	0	1	1850		
Mulberry trans	1855	0	0	29	53795	4	7420		
Polych trans	1850	0	0	0	0	20	37000		
Red trans	1845	0	0	0	0	2	3690		
Blue mono hdpt	1845	0	0	3	5535	20	36900		
polych hdp	1850	12	22200	32	59200	14	25900		
Flow Blue	1855	2	3710	0	0	6	11130		
Sponge	1855	4	7420	6	11130	3	5565		
Annular	1850	0	0	51	94350	32	59200		
Copper Luster	1850	0	0	4	7400	10	18500		
Yellowware	1870	0	0	0	0	13	24310		
Ironstone									
Blue trans	1900							2	3800
Green trans	1900							6	11400
Band/line	1907.5							2	3815
Decal ov	1910							5	9550
Blue tint	1875							96	180000
Clear	1905							51	97155
Ivory tint	1915							4	7660
Porcelain									
Gilt	1905							2	3810
Banded	1907.5							1	1907.5
Stoneware									
Salt Glaze	1850							1	1850
Slipped	1887.5							24	45300
Bristol/Albany	1905							12	22860
Total		61	112215	473	872983	337	618635	206	389107.5
MCD			1839.59		1845.62		1835.71		1888.87
MCD-A			1850.68		1850.39		1851.71		1888.87

earliest MCD at 1835.71. The first possible explanation for the difference is the small sample size used in the MCD formula. The total number of sherds used for each site is much lower than the sample used in South's study (South 1972:73-74, 1977:201-236). In addition, the sample from 34MC485 is inordinately small, even when compared to the other two sites. Low sample size, however, does not seem to be the entire explanation, since the samples from 34MC399 and 34MC544 are roughly the same size and returned fairly different MCDs.

This problem was also encountered in similar studies conducted on nineteenth century occupations in Louisiana. After exploring several possibilities, it was determined that the earlier than expected dates usually occurred when samples contained ceramic wares that were near the end of their production. When these wares were omitted from MCD calculations, the refined dates were much closer to the expected temporal range (Franks and Yakubik 1991:247-256; Hunter et al. 1997:230).

Pearlwares are fairly common in the early nineteenth century ceramic assemblages from the McCurtain County sites. The mean dates listed for pearlware in Table 5.4 usually date at least 15 years earlier than the 1830-1840 date for the removal of the Choctaw to Oklahoma. Therefore, the pearlwares and the use of their mean dates in the MCD calculations seem to be the most likely factor responsible for the earlier than expected dates from the Oklahoma sites.

The MCD was re-calculated for each of the three sites (34MC485, 34MC399, and 34MC544), omitting the pearlware sherds and listed as MCD-A to represent the adjusted date. The resulting MCD is much different from the first set of calculations. Sites

34MC485 and 34MC544 returned new MCDs that dated 10-15 years later than the first set of calculations. A five year difference was noted in the new MCD for 34MC399. The new dates are closer to the expected MCD and support the presumption that pearlware sherds were responsible for the earlier than expected MCD.

CC Indexing

Table 5.5 presents the results of the CC indexing of the site assemblages. This method considers the relative economic index values of vessels in relation to their decoration or lack thereof. Soup boats, gravy boats, and vase-like vessels were placed in the holloware category, since they rarely occurred in the site samples. Holloware was not used by Miller (1991), but was created for this research to facilitate indexing. It should also be noted that the Dipt decorative category was used by Miller (1991:6) and corresponds to the annular decorated category used in this research. Copper luster decorated redware is not considered since Miller (1991) did not create an index for this type.

The sample from 34BR225 was problematic in the application of Miller's indices, since many late nineteenth century decorative types are not included in his study. The Band and Line index described by Miller (1991:7) was used for the single band decorated vessels in the sample from 34BR225. Band and Line decorated vessels were very cheap and the index justifies its placement between plain vessels and the more expensive transfer printed ironstone. No substitution was attempted for over-glazed decal decorated vessels. Creating an index for this decorative type has been attempted for the previously mentioned

Table 5.5. Ceramic Index Values Calculated for All Sites.

	Plain	Edge	Trans	Handpt	Sponge	Dipt	Gilt	Band	Total	CC Index
34MC485										
Plates	6 (1)	2 (1.33)	4 (2.42)						17.01	1.41
Cups	1 (1)								1	1
Saucers	1 (1)								1	1
Bowls				4 (1.64)					6.56	1.64
Holloware						1 (1.2)			1.2	1.2
Mean CC										1.4
34MC399										
Plates	4 (1)	17 (1.33)	12 (2.42)	1 (1.68)					57.33	1.68
Cups	4 (1)		6 (2.89)	12 (1.5)					39.34	1.78
Saucers	4 (1)		9 (2.89)	8 (1.5)					42.01	2
Bowls	2 (1)			4 (1.6)		11 (1.2)			25.2	1.48
Holloware	2 (1)								2	1
Mean CC										1.72
34MC544										
Plates	7 (1)	17 (1.33)	6 (2.67)	6 (1.68)					55.71	1.54
Cups	6 (1)		12 (2.89)	10 (1.23)		1 (1.5)			54.48	1.87
Saucers	5 (1)		4 (2.89)	4 (1.23)					21.48	1.65
Bowls	1 (1)			1 (1.64)	3 (1.11)	7 (1.2)			14.37	1.19
Holloware			1 (2.42)	1 (1.68)					4.1	2.05
Mean CC										1.63
34BR225										
Plates	11 (1)							1 (1.13)	12.13	1.01
Cups	4 (1)							1 (1.18)	5.18	1.03
Saucers	5 (1)		2 (1.18)						7.36	1.05
Bowls	3 (1)								3	1
Holloware	2 (1)							1 (1.13)	3.13	1.04
Mean CC										1.06

nineteenth century Louisiana sites (Castille et al. 1986:Appendix A; Franks and Yakubik 1991:259-261), but this attempt was not completely successful. Therefore, over-glaze decal vessels are not represented, creating an obvious bias in the sample contained within the present study.

This research is also biased by the fact that the CC Index is applied to contexts that represent occupations of at least 40 years, ignoring the 20 year span expressly stated by Miller (1991:5). Results from similar applications have been questioned. The indices were believed to reflect economic statuses that were higher than they actually were (Dawdy 1998:102; Dawdy and Ibanez 1997:112). Therefore, the comparisons in this research should be viewed conservatively and, of course, relatively as the sites considered here have similar occupation spans.

Site 34MC485 returned the lowest mean site index ($n=1.40$) of the McCurtain County sites, reflecting the fact that just over one-half the sample was comprised of cheap vessels that were either undecorated or minimally decorated. Site 34MC544 returned the next highest mean index ($n=1.63$), while 34MC399 returned the highest index ($n=1.72$). The higher mean indices for the latter two sites reflects the high number of transfer print and hand painted vessels in these sites' assemblages. The primary difference between mean indices from the latter two sites is the lower cost of hand painted cups, saucers, and bowls in the 34MC544 sample.

The mean indices from the McCurtain County sites are lower than that from the Pate-Roden site ($n=1.90$), occupied by a Choctaw family between 1830-1850 (Lees and Kimery-Lees 1986:20-21, Table 6). Comparison of the McCurtain County sites with CC

index data from 21 sites across the United States indicates 34MC399 and 34MC544 are in the same economic group as small planters, factory workers, plantation overseers on large and medium size plantations, and African American slaves (Adams and Boling 1989:Table 7). Site 34MC485 is in the same economic group as small farmers, tenant farmers, and tenement dwellers (Adams and Boling 1989:Table 7). It should be noted that the mean indices from the Pate-Roden site and data presented by Adams and Boling (1989) were calculated before Miller (1991) adjusted his index values. The mean index values from these two comparative samples would be lower if the adjusted index values were used.

A measure of how much lower the index values would be is provided by CC indices calculated for two sites near New Orleans, Louisiana, with a MCD of 1814. The ceramic assemblage associated with a French creole large plantation owner returned a CC index of 1.68 (Dawdy and Ibanez 1997:112), while the assemblage from a professional living in New Orleans returned a CC index of 1.43 (Dawdy 1998:102). Comparison of these indices with those from the McCurtain county sites indicates that 34MC399 would be in the same economic group as large plantation owners rather than small plantation owners, while 34MC544 would probably be in the same economic group as medium size plantation owners (Adams and Boling 1989:Table 7). The Choctaw occupants of 34MC485 would be in the same economic groups as trained professionals rather than small or tenant farmers and tenement dwellers.

The late nineteenth century site, 34BR225, also returned a low site index reflecting the overwhelming majority of plain vessels. The remainder of the sample is composed primarily of low cost gilt and single band decorated vessels with transfer print decorated

vessels a definite minority in the sample. It does not seem that the inclusion of over-glaze decal vessels would affect the mean index for the site, since it would contribute another relatively low cost category to the index.

The initial sorting and general assessment of the ceramic assemblages from the four sites brought several general trends to light. Choctaw site ceramic assemblages dating to the first half of the nineteenth century are clearly dominated by Euroamerican wares. Whiteware vessels are, at the very least, twice as common as pearlware vessels. Redware and yellowware were minor types when encountered, and seem to enter the ceramic assemblages sometime around the mid-nineteenth century. Choctaw manufactured ceramics constitute only a minor portion of the ceramic assemblage, with plain utilitarian wares recovered twice as often as decorated bowls. However, the differences seem to be minor and are related to the small sample from 34MC485 and the relatively longer occupation spans for 34MC399 and 34MC544. The longer occupation spans would allow ceramics such as copper luster decorated redware and yellowware to be included in the assemblages.

Late nineteenth century Choctaw site ceramic assemblages may or may not contain Choctaw produced ceramics. They were not present in the assemblage recovered from 34BR225. However, this site follows trends observed in contemporary Euroamerican and African-American affiliated sites in the region (Moir 1987a:100, Table 7-1). Ironstone vessels dominate these late contemporary assemblages. Most of the ironstone vessels are plain, while decorated types include transfer print, over glazed decals, band and line (single line on rim), and gilt along the rim (Moir 1987a:Table 7-4). Stoneware vessels are

fairly common on late-nineteenth century sites, but tend to decline in number on sites occupied after ca. 1930 (Moir 1987a:117). Porcelain is nearly always a minor portion of the late assemblage and is usually minimally decorated (Moir 1987a:107-111).

Mean Glass Dating

No window glass fragments were collected from the three early nineteenth century Choctaw sites. Window glass fragments were obtained from several contexts at 34BR225. Samples from the log cabin midden and the dugout were the only collections large enough to be used in this dating method. Sixty-nine window glass fragments were recovered from the cabin midden. Window glass fragments in Level 1 from all excavation units were collapsed into a single group for analysis. This procedure was followed for Level 2. The sample from the dugout was much larger, containing 254 specimens. Most specimens were from the door area of the dugout, while the remaining portion was collected from Stratigraphic Unit 2, the midden predating the dugout. After the dugout fragments were separated for analytical purposes, it became clear that the sample from Stratigraphic Unit 2 was actually too small to be considered for this method. Nevertheless, mean glass dates were calculated for Stratigraphic Unit 2 to see if it deviated from the other samples (Table 5.6).

Mean dates calculated for the cabin samples indicate that it was occupied and/or utilized between 1879-1913. Level 1 from the cabin returned a date of 1895.17, while Level 2 returned a date of 1899.17. Level 1 should date later than Level 2. Inspection of Table 5.6 demonstrates that the samples from Levels 1 and 2 are composed of at least two

Table 5.6. Mean Glass Dates Calculated for Contexts at 34BR225.

		Units 11-14 Level 1	Units 11-14 Level 2	Dugout SU 2	Dugout Door Area
0.75	1819.61				
0.95	1830.49				
1.15	1840.44				
1.35	1850.45				
1.55	1860.5				
1.75	1870.61				
1.95	1880.78	16	11	11	90
2.15	1891		6	15	130
2.35	1901.08				
2.55	1911.61	14	22		8
Total		30	39	26	228
MGD		1895.17	1899.17	1886.68	1887.69
SD		15.38	13.88	5.05	6.72
Date Range		1879-1910	1885-1913	1881-1891	1880-1894

temporally distinct glass sizes. These glass sizes occurred in both levels and suggest that they probably became mixed as they were deposited in the midden that formed on a slight slope behind the cabin.

Mean dates calculated for the dugout indicates that it was occupied or utilized between 1880-1894. Stratigraphic Unit 2 returned a date of 1886.68 while the door area returned a date of 1887.69. These dates suggest that the small sample from Stratigraphic Unit 2 did not deviate significantly from the results from the dugout door area, since it was supposed to date earlier than the door area. However, Stratigraphic Unit 2 should date to the late nineteenth century, while the door area should reflect the early twentieth century Miller family occupation based on the excavation and ethnohistorical data presented in Chapter 4. The rather tight MGD from the dugout contexts may indicate that a door was taken from the cabin when the Miller family renovated it after 1915 and reused when the dugout entrance was reworked.

The mean glass date range of 1879-1913 fits very well with the Durant/Pate family occupation of the site during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, this range does not include the last two occupations of the site by the Euroamerican Harned and Miller families. The last two occupations were more than likely masked by the overwhelming majority of size classes that date to the 1880-1900 period. These last two occupations are evident to a degree and are represented by the small number of window pane fragments dating after 1911.

The mean glass date ranges calculated for the cabin and dugout contexts indicate that the cabin was constructed at about the same time Stratigraphic Unit 2 began to form.

Shortly thereafter, Stratigraphic Unit 2 was disturbed by dugout construction. The time interval between cabin and dugout construction seems to be five years or less based on the respective date ranges from the cabin and dugout.

Functional Classification

Artifacts were grouped by constituent material within their respective contexts in Chapter 4. These artifacts are now presented by functional category within specific depositional contexts. Functional categories include Architecture, Kitchen, Non-Kitchen Tool, Personal/Clothing, and Furniture, and are those used by Lees (1988) when examining *in situ-de facto*, primary refuse, and secondary refuse contexts from sites in Kansas and Oklahoma. Since examples of each context were discovered at one or more of the sites used in this research, the results of intra- and intersite comparisons can be compared to the results of Lees's study. Intra-site comparisons are presented first.

34MC485 Contexts

The only *in situ-de facto* context occurred at 34MC485 and is represented by material recovered from non-feature excavation units within the excavation grid. Secondary contexts, represented by Features B and C, also occurred at the site (Table 5.7). The Architecture group was found in all contexts and constituted the majority of the samples from these contexts. The Kitchen group was also found in all contexts and was the second most common group occurring in the samples. Similarly, the Non-Kitchen Tool group occurred in all three contexts and was the third most commonly occurring

Table 5.7. Depositional Contexts from 34MC485 Arranged by Functional Group and Artifact Type.

	<i>In situ-de facto</i>	Secondary Feature B	Secondary Feature C
Architecture	nails (603) chinking (260) Charcoal (67) Sandstone (11) floor staple (3) spike (2) hinge (1) nest (1)	nails (283) chinking (37) nest (7) axe (1) floor staple (1)	nails (122) sandstone (7) lock slide (2) hinge (1) floor staple (1) hatchet (1) hand saw (1) nest (1)
Total	948 (90. 63%)	329 (93.46%)	136 (63.55%)
Kitchen	ceramics (36) glass (29) bone handle (6) butcher knife (4) colander (1) table fork (1) utensil handle (1)	ceramics (10) colander (8) glass (3) table knife (1)	ceramics (29) glass (12) butcher knife (4) kettle (3) utensil handle (2) bucket bail (1) table fork (1) colander (1)
Total	78 (7.46%)	22 (6.25%)	54 (25.23%)
Non-Kitchen	harness buckle (3) bolt (2) cinch ring (1) lithic drill (1) forged pin (1)	arrow point (1)	bolt (1) forged pin (1) file (1) harness buckle (1) hoe (1)
Total	8 (0.76 %)	1 (0.28%)	5 (2.34%)
Personal	buttons (9) shoe buckle (1) shoe eyelet (1) scissors (1)		buttons (12) beads (3) stone pipes (2) shoe heel (1) marble (1)
Total	12 (1.15 %)	0	17 (7.94%)
Furniture			brass chain (1) hinge (1)
Total	0	0	2 (0.93%)
Grand Total	1046	352	214

group. The Personal/Clothing group occurred in the *in situ-de facto* sample and one secondary context, Feature C. The Furniture group was minimally represented and found only in the Feature C sample.

The *in situ-de facto* and secondary deposits are very close when artifact types per group is considered. In most instances, the same artifact types are found across contexts. The artifacts also occur in similar frequencies within their groups. The most apparent difference is that the *in situ-de facto* deposit and Feature C consistently have more artifact types per group than Feature B. Burned artifacts were recovered primarily from the Architecture group within the *in situ-de facto* deposit and Feature B.

This comparison suggests that there are more differences between the two secondary contexts than between the *in situ-de facto* and secondary contexts. Since both secondary contexts were beneath the structure, location does not seem to be responsible for this difference. Feature B intruded into Feature C, suggesting that it may date relatively later in the site formation sequence. This shorter use span may be reflected in the lower number of functional groups, as well as the lower number of artifacts per group. The most likely reason the secondary deposits are different is their formation processes. Feature C was created specifically for storage then turned into a trash receptacle, while Feature B was created when work space beneath the cabin was required to repair a native stone footing. The deposit forming beneath the cabin was disturbed when Feature B was excavated and was subsequently mixed with feature fill and other material when the cabin burned. Thus, Feature B and the *in situ-de facto* deposit are similar because much of the material cultural found in Feature B came from the *in situ-de facto* deposits.

34MC399 Contexts

All features discovered at 34MC399 were classified as secondary contexts (Table 5.8). The Architectural group is minimally represented in the four secondary contexts at 34MC399, occurring only in the sample from Feature B. The Kitchen category was present in all four features and formed the majority of the samples. Non-Kitchen Tool group artifacts occurred in three of the four features and was the second most common functional group. Personal/Clothing artifacts were found only in the Feature B sample and ranked behind the Architectural group.

Artifact types in the Kitchen group are fairly consistent. However, most types are represented by a single example with the exception of ceramics. Opposed to this is the diverse collection of artifact types found in the different Non-Kitchen Tool group. No artifact type occurred across the group; each feature contained a mutually exclusive, but sometimes related, set of artifacts. Horse and armament related artifacts form the majority of types from Features A and B. Exhausted or broken agriculture tools were found in Feature D.

The lack of or low percentage of Architectural items is likely the result of at least two factors. The features were adjacent to the structure rather than underneath it and the structure was interpreted as a house with a baked clay floor. Log cabin construction does not require extensive use of nails, except for the roof, floor, and door. If there is no floor, architecturally related artifacts should not occur in great numbers at the site or in its associated features.

Table 5.8. Depositional Contexts from 34MC399 Arranged by Functional Group and Artifact type.

	Feature A	Feature B	Feature C	Feature D
Architecture		nails (19) spike (1)		
Total	0	20 (18.51%)	0	0
Kitchen	ceramics (148) glass (4)	ceramics (75) spoon (5) table knife (1) scissors (1)	ceramics (173) arrow point (2) kettle (2) table knife (1) spoon (1)	ceramics (77) kettle (2) baking oven (1) table knife (1) spoon (1)
Total	152 (95%)	82 (75.92%)	179 (100%)	80 (96.38%)
Non-Kitchen	curry comb (4) spur (1) stirrup (1) trace chain (1) trigger guard (1)	bridal (1) deer tyne handle (1) harness buckle (1) lead ball (1)		hoe (1) plow (1) shovel (1)
Total	8 (5%)	4 (4.70%)	0	3 (3.75%)
Personal		bead (1) slate pencil (1)		
Total	0	2 (1.85%)	0	0
Grand Total	160	108	179	83

No burned artifacts were noted in the samples from the four features. This absence was not surprising, except for the fact that Feature D may represent a cooking pit, which would be expected to yield burned artifacts. The lack of burned artifacts suggests that the feature was used as a trash receptacle only after it was no longer used for cooking. This change in function may be reflected by the presence of the agricultural implements that have a longer use span than the other Non-Kitchen group artifacts. Thus, the lack of burned artifacts from Feature D probably represents a functional shift.

34MC544 Contexts

The contexts examined from 34MC544 are restricted to Features 1 and 2. The surface sample from the site would ordinarily be considered a primary context; however, the sample was obtained from a surface that was mechanically stripped. Mixing of primary and secondary contexts likely occurred, thereby making the sample useless for comparative purposes. Features 1 and 2 were classified as secondary contexts (Table 5.9).

No examples from the Non-Kitchen, Personal/Clothing, and Furniture groups occurred in the Feature 2 sample, making comparison somewhat difficult. No artifacts from the Furniture group occurred in the Feature 1 sample, further hampering any attempt to compare the samples. Therefore, this discussion is attenuated to a great degree.

There is one difference in the contexts from this site that merits discussion and it involves the relative ranking of the Architecture group. This group ranked second in Feature 1 and first in Feature 2. This difference may be explained by the fact that Feature 1 was beneath the structure, while Feature 2 was immediately adjacent to it. Data

Table 5.9. Depositional Context from 34MC544 Arranged by Functional Group and Artifact Type.

	Secondary Feature 1	Secondary Feature 2
Architecture	nails (39) clasp (1)	nails (20) nest (2)
Total	40 (11.83%)	22 (73.33)
Kitchen	ceramics (176) glass (16) iron lid (11) bone handle (2) table knife (2) bone handle fork (1) fork (1) spoon (1)	ceramics (7) forged hook (1)
Total	210 (62.13%)	8 (26.67%)
Non-Kitchen	harness buckle (1) lead ball (1) spur (1) trace chain (1)	
Total	4 (1.83%)	0
Personal	beads (78) buttons (3) slate board (2) slate pencil (1)	
Total	84 (24.85%)	0
Grand Total	338	30

presented for subfloor pits from 34MC485 and exterior features from 34MC399 indicate that architectural materials are less likely to be found in contexts beneath structures than around them. The difference may also be related to the fact that Feature 1 was used as a trash pit, while Feature 2 was not. Another factor to be considered is that Feature 2 is not actually a secondary context, since it was a mud cat chimney. A primary context associated with a chimney should exhibit a restricted number of artifact types, such as nails, chinking, wood, charcoal, ash, and probably dirt dauber nests, reflecting only the Architectural group. The limited sample from Feature 2 suggests that it may be a primary context rather than a secondary context.

34BR225 Contexts

Depositional contexts found at 34BR225 are the most diverse in the sample. The midden sample from the log cabin and Stratigraphic Unit 2 from the dugout are primary contexts. Stratigraphic Units 5 and 6 from the dugout represent primary-*de facto* contexts directly associated with blacksmith activities. Artifacts from the door area of the dugout are not considered at this point. Excavations indicate that artifacts recovered from the door area represent a mixing of primary-*de facto* and primary deposits, the result of the reworking of the door area during the early twentieth century. The privy represents the only secondary context at the site.

Primary refuse deposits included three functional groups that were present in the midden sample associated with the log cabin (Table 5.10). Twelve artifact types comprise

Table 5.10. Primary Refuse Contexts from 34BR225 Arranged by Functional Group and Artifact Type.

	Primary Cabin Midden	Primary SU 2		
Architecture	nails (491)	nails (938)	shudder hinge (2)	
	window lite (69)	sheet metal (134)	door knob (1)	
	roofing tacks (60)	sandstone (34)	mortar (1)	
	fire brick (10)	window lite (26)	staple (1)	
	mortar (8)	fence staple (20)		
	brick (5)	brick (17)		
	door lock (4)	wood (17)		
	fence staples (2)	wire latch (5)		
	barbed wire (1)	rim lock (3)		
	butt hinge (1)	brad (2)		
	door pull (1)	fire brick (2)		
Total	653 (88.48%)	1186 (36.94%)		
Kitchen	glass (64)	glass (512)		
	stove fragments (4)	ceramics (169)		
	can (3)	can (20)		
	ceramics (2)	kettle (4)		
	zinc screw cap (2)	knife (4)		
		zinc screw cap (1)		
		fish hook (1)		
Total	75 (10.16%)	711 (22.14%)		
Non-Kitchen		coal (602)	strap handle (3)	bucket (1)
		clinkers (426)	chain (3)	auger bit (1)
		charcoal (114)	round stock (3)	hook (2)
		cut metal (49)	bit ring (3)	shim (1)
		railroad spikes (23)	file (2)	hub key (1)
		burned limestone (13)	punch (2)	counter sunk knob (1)
		bolt (10)	threaded stock (2)	anti-rattler (1)
		shoe trimmings (8)	reach plate (2)	whistle tree hook (1)
		flat stock (8)	wing bolt (2)	clevis (1)
		harness buckle (5)	washer (2)	stationary gear (1)
		tongue brace (5)	horse shoe (2)	reach pin (1)
		hand made tools (3)	reach plate (2)	heel calk (1)
Total	0	1306 (40.68%)		
Personal	shoe leather (9)	minature vessels (4)		
	shoe heel (1)	suspender clip (2)		
		stone marble (1)		
Total	10 (1.35%)	7 (0.21%)		
Grand Total	738	3210		

the Architecture group, with nails the most common type. Window pane fragments and roofing tacks form the bulk of the remaining architectural sample from this context.

The Kitchen group contained four artifact types. Glass was the most common artifact type, followed by can fragments, zinc screw cap fragments, and ceramics. No artifacts from the Non-Kitchen Tool group were identified in the sample.

Personal/Clothing group artifact types were restricted to a shoe heel and pieces of shoe leather. The Furniture group did not occur in the cabin midden deposit.

Fifteen artifact types comprised the Architectural group from the dugout midden, the other primary context at 34BR225. Nails were the most common type in the group. Sheet metal, sandstone, window pane, fence staples, bricks, and wood were found in similar numbers. The rest of the Architecture group included wire latches, rim locks, brads, shutter hinges, a floor staple, door knob, and mortar.

Glass was clearly the dominant artifact type in the Kitchen group. Ceramics were the second most common type. Can, kettle, table knife, zinc screw cap, and fish hook fragments represent the rest of the group, but in significantly lower numbers.

Thirty-six artifact types comprise the Non-Kitchen Tool group and represent the most diverse group in the entire sample. The Non-Kitchen Tool group also represents the majority of the sample from the dugout midden. The most common types in the group are coal, clinkers, and charcoal. Cut metal, railroad spikes, bolts, shoe trimmings, cut flat stock, harness buckles, and wagon tongue brace fragments are found in much lower numbers. The rest of the 25 artifact types in this group are represented by three examples or less.

The Personal/Clothing group represents a very minor portion of the dugout midden sample. Four miniature ceramic vessels, one stone marble, and two suspender clips are the only representatives of this group. No artifacts from the Furniture group occurred in the dugout midden sample.

Primary-*de facto* deposits at 34BR225 are restricted to Stratigraphic Unit 5 and Stratigraphic Unit 6 from the Dugout (abbreviated SU 5 and SU 6 on Table 5.11). Stratigraphic Unit 5 contained artifacts representing the Architecture, Kitchen, and Non-Kitchen Tool groups while no artifacts from the Personal/Clothing and Furniture groups were recovered (Table 5.11). Sheet metal and nails were the most numerous artifact types in the Architecture group. Wood, brick, wire, sandstone, a brad, wire latch, and hook are the other artifact types in this group.

Kitchen group artifacts form a minority of the sample from Stratigraphic Unit 5. Glass was the most common type and represents the clear majority of the group. Ceramics and kettle fragments follow in much lower numbers and are the only other types in the group.

Twelve artifact types comprise the Non-Kitchen Tool group, with clinkers and coal the two most commonly occurring types. Cut metal, shoeing nails, shoe trimming fragments, and punch fragments occurred in similar numbers. Three file fragments were identified. Washers, horseshoes, shotgun shells, butt plates, and lead are artifact types represented by one example each.

Four functional groups comprise the sample from Stratigraphic Unit 6 (Table 5.11). Sheet metal and nails were again the most common artifact types in the

Table 5.11. Primary-de facto and Secondary Refuse Contexts from 34BR225 Arranged by Functional Group and Artifact Type.

	Primary-de facto SU 5	Primary-de facto SU 6	Secondary Privy
Architecture	sheet metal (234)	sheet metal (49)	nails (197)
	nails (88)	nails (26)	brad (10)
	wood (16)	wood (5)	wood (9)
	brick (5)	fence staple (1)	fence staple (5)
	wire (5)	wire latch (1)	brick (2)
	sandstone (2)	wire (1)	wire (1)
	brad (1)		window lite (1)
	wire latch (1)		
	hook (1)		
Total	353 (55.32%)	83 (54.24%)	225 (52.08%)
Kitchen	glass (71)	glass (31)	glass (109)
	ceramics (15)	ceramics (4)	ceramics (32)
	kettle (4)	zinc screw cap (1)	can (3)
			knife (1)
			fish hook (1)
Total	90 (14.10%)	36 (23.52%)	146 (33.79%)
Non-Kitchen	clinkers (83)	coal (14)	charcoal (31)
	coal (60)	clinker (9)	bolt (5)
	cut metal (15)	shoeing nail (6)	coal (5)
	shoeing nail (12)	railroad spike (2)	22 cal. (3)
	shoe trimming (9)	washer (1)	shoeing nail (3)
	punch (6)	shoe trimming (1)	shotgun shell (2)
	file (3)		lead (2)
	bolt (2)		file (2)
	washer (1)		key (1)
	horse shoe (1)		chain (1)
	shotgun shell (1)		ash lump (1)
	butt plate (1)		gun hammer (1)
	lead (1)		1888 penny(1)
Total	195 (30.56%)	33 (21.56%)	60 (13.88%)
Personal		stone marble (1)	lead pencil (1)
Total	0	1 (0.65%)	1 (0.23%)
Grand Total	638	153	432

Architecture group. Wood fragments were the third most commonly occurring type, followed by one fence staple, one wire latch, and one piece of wire.

The Kitchen group was less diverse than the Architecture group, with only three types present. Glass was the most common type in the group, followed by ceramics and a zinc screw cap fragment. The composition and internal ranking of artifact types are nearly identical to those for the Kitchen group from Stratigraphic Unit 5.

Six artifact types comprise the Non-Kitchen Tool group. Again, coal and clinkers are the most common artifact types in the group. Shoeing nails were not as common as the first two types, but were more numerous than railroad spike fragments, washers, and shoe trimming fragments. A stone marble is the only artifact type included in the Personal/Clothing group from Stratigraphic Unit 6.

The privy represents the only secondary context considered from 34BR225 (Table 5.11). Representative types from four functional categories are present in the sample. Seven artifact types form the Architecture group. Nails were the most common type and form the majority of the group. Brads and wood pieces occurred in almost the same frequencies. The remainder of the group, represented by five examples or less, is made up of fence staples, brick, wire, and window pane fragments.

Glass was again the dominant artifact type present in the Kitchen group. The four other types in this group are ceramics, can fragments, one fish hook, and one knife. The Kitchen group forms a small portion of the sample, repeating the trend observed in the two primary-*de facto* contexts.

Artifact types making up the Non-Kitchen Tool group are definitely more

diversified and more numerous than the Kitchen group. However, the Non-Kitchen Tool group ranks slightly behind the Architecture group in terms of the entire context.

Charcoal fragments are the most common type in the group. Bolts are the next most frequently occurring type, followed by coal and shoeing nails. One hub key, one piece of chain, and one lump of ash constitute the remainder of the Non-Kitchen Tool group. A lead pencil fragment is the only artifact included in the Personal/Clothing group.

Intersite Comparisons

Table 5.12 presents the different depositional contexts grouped by type within the five functional categories used in this research. Since only one example of an *in situ-de facto* context was discovered at 34MC485, there is no possible intersite comparison. Two primary-*de facto* contexts occurred at 34BR225 and are specifically related to blacksmith activities, but again do not allow for intersite comparisons. Two primary contexts were defined at 34BR225 as well and are from the same temporal span as the two primary-*de facto* contexts. As the two primary contexts are from the same site, intersite comparisons are not possible.

Secondary contexts were the most common deposit in the four site sample. Feature C from 34MC485 and Feature 1 from 34MC544 are similar morphologically and both were beneath structures interpreted as log cabins with wood shake roofs and wooden floors. These two secondary contexts will be compared.

Comparison of Feature C from 34MC485 and Feature 1 from 34MC544 indicates that the only major difference as far as types within groups is found in the Architecture

Table 5.12. All Depositional Contexts Arranged by Functional Group and Artifact Class.

	In situ-de facto	Primary-de facto	Primary-de facto	
	34MC485	34BR225-SU 5	34BR225-SU 6	
Architecture	8 (90.63%)	9 (55.32%)	6 (54.24%)	
Kitchen	8 (7.46%)	3 (14.10%)	3 (23.52%)	
Non-Kitchen	5 (0.76%)	13 (30.56%)	6 (21.56%)	
Personal	4 (1.15%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (0.65%)	
Furniture	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	
Total	25 (100.00%)	25 (100.00%)	16 (100.00%)	
	Primary	Primary		
	34BR225-Cabin	34BR225-SU 2		
Architecture	12 (88.48%)	15 (36.94%)		
Kitchen	6 (10.16%)	7 (22.14%)		
Non-Kitchen	0 (0.00%)	36 (40.68%)		
Personal	2 (1.36%)	3 (0.21%)		
Furniture	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)		
Total	20 (100.00%)	61 (100.00%)		
	Secondary	Secondary		
	34MC485-C	34MC544-1		
Architecture	8 (63.55%)	2 (11.84%)		
Kitchen	9 (24.23%)	9 (62.13%)		
Non-Kitchen	5 (2.33%)	4 (1.18%)		
Personal	5 (7.94%)	4 (24.85%)		
Furniture	2 (0.93%)	0 (0.00%)		
Total	29 (100.00%)	19 (100.00%)		
	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
	34MC399-A	34MC399-B	34MC399-C	34MC399-D
Architecture	0 (0.00%)	2 (18.51%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Kitchen	2 (90.00%)	4 (75.92%)	5 (100.00%)	4 (96.38%)
Non-Kitchen	5 (5.00%)	4 (3.70%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (3.62%)
Personal	0 (0.00%)	2 (1.85%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Furniture	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Total	7 (100.00%)	12 (100.00%)	5 (100.00%)	7 (100.00%)
	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary	
	34BR225-Privy	34MC485-B	34MC544-2	
Architecture	7 (52.20%)	5 (93.47%)	2 (73.33%)	
Kitchen	5 (33.87%)	4 (6.25%)	2 (26.67%)	
Non-Kitchen	12 (13.68%)	1 (0.28%)	0 (0.00%)	
Personal	1 (0.23%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	
Furniture	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	
Total	25 (100.00%)	10 (100.00%)	4 (100.00%)	

group. Four times as many artifact types were included in the Architecture group from 34MC485 than the context from 34MC544. Artifact types in the Kitchen, Non-Kitchen, and Personal/Clothing groups from the contexts were nearly identical. The only other difference in the two secondary contexts is that the Furniture group is present at 34MC544 and absent from 34MC485.

Differences between the two contexts are more apparent when the percentages of each functional group is considered in terms of the total assemblage. The Architecture group from Feature C formed just over 60% of the assemblage, while the corresponding group from Feature 1 accounted for just over 10% of its assemblage. The Kitchen group accounted for approximately 25% of the assemblage from Feature C, but for just over 60% from Feature 1. The respective Non-Kitchen Tool group percentages were fairly close. This group formed a little over 2% of the sample from Feature C and just over 1% of the sample from Feature 1. The Furniture group was present in the Feature C sample and comprised less than 1% of the total. This group was not present in the Feature 1 sample.

Two explanations are possible for the differences in the secondary contexts considered from 34MC485 and 34MC399. Both pits were under cabins with wooden floors. The structure at 34MC485 clearly burned, while the one at 34MC544 apparently did not. The higher frequency of nails in the subfloor pit at 34MC485 may be a direct result of the floor and roof burning. This may also explain the presence of the floor staple, strap hinge, and lock slide fragments in the feature. The difference may also reflect the fact that the surface at 34MC544 was mechanically stripped prior to excavation. Stripping

may have removed artifact types from the upper portions of the pit. Mechanical stripping does not seem to be a plausible explanation, however, since common architectural items such as nails were the dominant artifact type in both pits. Therefore, the more numerous architectural artifact types from the subfloor pit at 34MC485 most likely reflects the fact the cabin burned creating an *in situ-primary-de facto* context where Architecture group artifact types tend to be most common.

The number of artifacts per group is also fairly even in the Non-Kitchen Tool Group when all four features are considered. Feature A contained the highest number of types in the group and Feature D the lowest. Feature D was exactly in the middle of the other two features. No Non-Kitchen Tool group artifacts were recovered from Feature C. The Non-Kitchen Tool group consistently accounted for a small portion of the samples, ranging between 3-5%.

A privy was the only secondary context at 34BR225 and is the latest temporally in the secondary context sample. Comparison to the subfloor pits and the exterior pits indicate that the privy was closer to the subfloor pits in terms of groups and constituent artifact types. Closer inspection revealed that of the two subfloor pits, the privy is more like the example from 34MC485 than to that from 34MC544. In most cases the number of artifact types per group, as well as the relative percent that each group represented in the entire assemblage, was quite similar. The major difference noted in the groups was that more artifact types were included in the Non-Kitchen Tool group from the privy. This difference is likely the result of artifacts representing different activities from the dugout being dumped into the privy.

Intersite comparisons demonstrate differences between the two subfloor pits. These differences are likely the result of one structure burning while the other did not. These comparisons also indicate that Feature 2 from 34MC544 was erroneously classified as a secondary rather than a primary context. The privy sample was more similar to the subfloor pit discovered at 34MC485 than the one excavated at 34MC544. The variability among the different types of secondary contexts examined in this research was documented in Lees's (1988) study. This suggests that documenting formation processes is just as important when comparing the same type of depositional contexts as when comparing different types of contexts.

Regional Comparison

Extensive excavations have been conducted at only two other Choctaw sites in Oklahoma. Contexts from the early nineteenth century Pate-Roden site (Rohrbaugh et al. 1971) have been classified and interpreted by Lees (1988:192, 229, Tables 24, 40-41) when examining historic site formation processes. The primary context is associated with a structure believed to be a log cabin, while the secondary context is from a large pit more than likely situated beneath the cabin (Rohrbaugh et al. 1971). Two structures and several pit features were excavated at the late nineteenth century Cutbank site (34AT185). Contexts and functional groups were described. However, the artifact assemblages from the different contexts were placed in a single table and not discussed separately. Similarly, functional groups were discussed, but specific artifact counts were not presented for each group. In addition, the functional groups were not discussed in relation to depositional

context (McGuff et al. 1993:71-151). Therefore, data from the Cutbank site are not sufficient for context specific comparisons. Information from this site is useful to a certain degree, however, when discussing Choctaw material culture assemblages from the late nineteenth century.

Artifacts recovered from the primary context at the Pate-Roden site represent all five functional categories. Window glass was the most common artifact type within the Architecture group followed by cut nails, spikes, wood screws, lock staples, cabin hook, and key. Ceramics were clearly the dominant artifact type from the Kitchen group. Tin can fragments, bottle glass, kettle fragments, utensil handles, and spoons comprise the remainder of the group. Non-Kitchen Tool group artifacts included gun parts, harness buckles, files, scissors, hammer, chain link, stove parts, and a bridle bit. The Personal/Clothing group contain four artifact types that included tobacco pipes, trade beads, marble, and a Jew's harp. Brass tacks were the only Furniture group artifact type identified in the sample (Table 5.13).

The Architecture group comprised 33.23% of the entire primary context assemblage from the site, while the Kitchen group comprised 65.34% of this assemblage (Table 5.13). The remainder was composed of minor quantities of the Personal/Clothing group (0.75%), Non-Kitchen Tool group (0.58%), and Furniture group (0.08%). No primary contexts were identified from the three early nineteenth century Choctaw sites in McCurtain County that could be used for comparative purposes. Comparison of the primary context from the Pate-Roden site and the two primary contexts at the late nineteenth century site, 34BR225, demonstrates that artifact types comprising the different

Table 5.13. Pate-Roden Site Context and Functional Groups (adapted from Lees 1988: Tables 24 and 40).

	Primary	Secondary
Architecture	window glass (526) nails (260) spikes (2) wood screws (2) lock staples (2) cabin hook (1) key (1)	window glass (111) nails (10)
Total	794 (33.23%)	121 (77.56%)
Kitchen	ceramics (1316) tin can fragments (129) glass (106) kettle fragments (5) spoons (3) utensil handles (2)	ceramics (25) glass (6) tin can fragments (3) food grater (1)
Total	1561 (65.34%)	35 (22.44%)
Non-Kitchen	gun parts (4) harness buckles (3) files (2) scissors (1) hammer (1) chain link (1) stove fragments (1) bridle bit (1)	
Total	14 (0.58%)	0 (0%)
Personal	tobacco pipe fragments (13) trade beads (3) marble (1) Jew's harp (1)	
Total	18 (0.75%)	0 (0%)
Furniture	brass tacks (2)	
Total	2 (0.08%)	0 (0%)
Grand Total	2389 (100%)	156 (100%)

functional groups are similar and found in similar numbers. On the other hand, the Architectural group accounts for a higher portion of the context assemblage at 34BR225 rather than the Kitchen group.

The occurrence of the Non-Kitchen Tool group is variable when the two sites are compared. This group is a minor portion of the context at the Pate-Roden site, absent from the primary context associated with the cabin at 34BR225, and comprises the majority of the assemblage from Stratigraphic Unit 2 from 34BR225. It seems from the available data that the Non-Kitchen Tool group is a minor portion of primary contexts that are associated with residences (e.g. log cabins), but forms the majority of primary contexts associated with specialized non-domestic activities (Table 5.13).

Two functional groups were identified in the secondary context at the Pate-Roden site (Table 5.13). The Architecture group contained two artifact types, with window glass (n=111) clearly more numerous than machine cut nails (n=10). The Kitchen group artifact types were restricted to ceramics (n=25), bottle glass (n=6), tin can fragments (n=3), and one food grater fragment. The Architecture group accounted for 85.77% of the secondary context sample, while the Kitchen group (14.23%) accounted for minor portion of this sample. Unexpectedly, the Pate-Roden secondary context is more similar to Feature B from 34MC485 than the subfloor pits at 34MC485 and 34MC544. This difference in subfloor pit contexts may be the result of a relatively short occupation span at the Pate-Roden site and the subfloor pit used for storage only and not converted into a trash receptacle.

Summary

One of the goals of this research is to define a typical ceramic assemblage for Choctaw sites in Oklahoma. Data from the early nineteenth century Choctaw sites indicate a typical site assemblage is composed primarily of Euroamerican wares with a clear minority of Choctaw manufactured wares. Whiteware occurs most often and is followed by pearlware, redware, and yellowware. Pearlware vessels occur in significant numbers considering the initial occupation date of ca. 1830 for these sites. The relatively high number of these vessels probably reflects production techniques used in England. During the early nineteenth century, thousands of vessels were fired at English potteries, then placed in warehouses without further treatment. These forms were used later when orders were placed with the potteries (Stewart-Abernathy, personal communication 2002). The warehousing of vessel forms for later use would account for the high number of pearlware vessels identified in the site ceramic assemblages. One other reason may also account for the high number of pearlware vessels. Cobalt tinting in glazes declined during the early nineteenth century; however, the decline was gradual, not abrupt. The UV sorting technique is not refined enough to distinguish gradual changes, but instead illuminates major changes in ceramic technology. Thus, many of the wares typed as “transitional whiteware” in some earlier studies were classified as pearlware in this research, thereby raising the number of vessels in this category.

Choctaw manufactured ceramics were either plain jars or decorated bowls. The plain jars fit the descriptions of the type Mississippi Plain *var. Wilson Pasture* established for Mississippi Choctaw sites. Flat bottomed forms of this type were probably used for

storage, while the round bottomed forms were used for cooking. Discoloration and carbon build up were noted only on round bottom forms, while color variation on flat bottom forms seems to be the result of manufacture (e.g. open firing) rather than functional use.

All decorated bowls were classified as Chickachae Combed. However, no varieties were assigned since the design on each vessel was different. The design on Chickachae Combed vessel 1 from 34MC399 supports the position that combed varieties based on curvilinear versus rectangular motifs should be discontinued, since they occur on the same vessel. The other two combed vessels from 34MC399 suggest that design elements can be used in different combinations, making it difficult to classify combed vessels by varieties until the vessel sample expands enough to record repetitive combinations. Large and small bowls have been identified in site and museum collections. Large bowls are believed to represent communal use, while the small bowls were used by individuals (Gettys 1989:420; Neal et al. 1991:110). The bowls from 34MC399 fit the size parameters defined for the large bowl category and therefore represent communal use vessels.

The typical ceramic assemblage for late nineteenth century Choctaw sites contained ironstone, porcelain and stoneware. Plain ironstone vessels were most common, followed by porcelain and stoneware. Decorated vessels of any type occur in noticeably smaller numbers than plain forms. The assemblage from 34BR225 is nearly identical to that recovered from the Cutbank site (McGuff et al. 1993:82-85, Table 4.4). The major difference is that Mississippi Plain storage jars occur at the Cutbank site, but

are absent from 34BR225. Thus, it seems that the presence or absence of Choctaw ceramics in late nineteenth century site assemblages may be related to specific factors, such as intermarriage between Choctaws and non-Choctaws, rather than general factors such as simple functional replacement of Choctaw storage vessels by more durable Euroamerican stoneware vessels.

Ceramic Price index calculations did not meet earlier projections (see Chapter 3). The George Hudson House site (34MC544) index was projected to be the highest of the three early nineteenth century Choctaw sites, since Hudson was an elected principal chief. However, the sample from 34MC399 ranked highest, with 34MC544 a close second and 34MC485 third. The CC index returns indicate that differences in socioeconomic levels may not be manifest in Choctaw material culture assemblages.

The ceramic sample from the late nineteenth century site 34BR225 returned a fairly low CC index. I suggest that the low index is the result of acquiring lower cost ceramics produced in the United States rather than more expensive English wares. This shift in acquisition corresponds very well with increased ceramic production on the United States' east coast, as well as the proliferation of potteries in the Ohio River valley region (Gates and Ormerond 1982).

Comparison of depositional contexts from the four sites clearly demonstrated that functional groups and their constituent artifact types differ by context. Intersite comparisons also demonstrated considerable variation, especially among secondary contexts. Regional comparisons were attempted for two other excavated Choctaw sites in Oklahoma. Comparisons could not be made with the Cutbank site assemblage because of

the manner in which the material culture assemblage from that site was presented.

Comparison of the three early nineteenth century sites to the Pate-Roden assemblage indicates that differences in secondary contexts (e.g. subfloor pit) are likely the result of a shorter occupation span and the subfloor pit used only for its original function and not subsequently used for a trash receptacle as in the McCurtain County examples. Thus, it is suggested that formation processes must be recognized and accounted for when comparing different types of depositional contexts, as well as when comparing examples from the same category.

Chapter 6

Summary and Conclusions

Social inequality has been used in this research as a general context for investigating the development of Choctaw society. Our current theoretical concepts of social inequality indicate that unequal relations in complex societies are manifest in the construction of monumental architecture, the manipulation of landscapes and mortuary practices, the use of coercive force implied or real, and the control and manipulation of production. To establish and maintain cultural hegemony, elites control and manipulate ideological symbols past and present, patronize certain classes of material objects, fund new institutions of control, and interact with other regional elites to legitimize their status and authority.

This research concludes that the historic Choctaw exhibited most of these attributes and were organized as a complex chiefdom. Based on ethnohistorical data, the historic Choctaw probably represent a complex chiefdom rather than a segmentary tribe or a group of simple chiefdoms organized as a confederacy. Settlement data spanning the late Prehistoric through Historic periods support the position that the historic Choctaw are the result of *in situ* development within the Choctaw Homeland (cf. Carson 1999:11; Galloway 1995:67-74; Kidwell 1995:3). Political consolidation of the new complex chiefdom probably began shortly after ca. 1400 A.D. and was fully developed before sustained European contact almost three centuries later.

Vertical differentiation among the Choctaw is explicit in that two distinct

administrative levels above the local or town level have been confirmed. Clear differences existed between the two levels of administrative chiefs and between the administrative chiefs and local chiefs. There were also clear differences in status and responsibility between the politically dominant civil chiefs and the subdominant war chiefs.

Previous research interpreted the position of the Choctaw Great Chief as French-derived, rather than a native institution and that status was achieved rather than ascribed (Galloway 1989:262, 1994:414-415, 1995:2; Swanton 1931:91-92; White 1983:39-43). A closer examination of historical documents, supported by linguistic analysis, provides evidence that this office was a native institution, that it was hereditary with ascribed status, and that the office was passed from maternal uncle to nephew following Choctaw inheritance rules. The characterization of the Great Chief as a powerless anomaly (Galloway 1982a:296) is not an accurate assessment, but rather a misconception based on the failure to take into account different behavior patterns exhibited by civil and war chiefs, a lack of understanding the command structure in the Choctaw language, and not recognizing implied coercive force.

Ethnohistorical data also provides evidence that Choctaw males were organized into classes that included chiefs, holy men or priests, functionaries, and four classes of warriors instead of chiefs and three age-graded warrior classes (cf. Swanton 1931:84, 91). Two groups of holy men or priests were present and probably represented specialists used by Choctaw elites to manipulate ideological symbols in an effort to maintain unequal relations. The priest, like chiefs, were divided into red and white groups, reflecting and reinforcing one of the primary mechanisms for organizing the Choctaw - the moiety

divisions. Functionaries also exhibited a form of duality in that the *Tishu mingo* was associated with internal affairs, while the *Fani mingo* represented outside interests. The four warrior classes were ranked internally. Each warrior class had a specific group of males that formed an advisory council and a second group of males that coordinated ritual activities with other male classes. The priests, functionaries, and warrior classes had titular leaders succeeded by designated heirs and formed a ranked tier in the complex chiefdom.

No evidence of monumental mound construction by the Historic Choctaw was discovered during this research. On the other hand, Choctaw chiefs performed rituals on top of at least one prehistoric mound and faced the cardinal directions before beginning national councils (Swanton 1931:101). Mounds are also prominent in the Choctaw creation myth. The Choctaw, as well as three other contemporary Native American groups, emerged from the interior of a mound. Apparently, the Choctaw and other groups emerged from different sides (directions) of the mound (Galloway 1995:331-337; Swanton 1931:5-8). Mound related behavior clearly documents the association of the number four and the cardinal directions.

Platform mounds associated with late prehistoric complex chiefdoms are believed to be the symbolic representation of a communal ideology, while “. . .summit use seems clearly the product of several more restricted orders of social organization and ritual” (Knight 1989:287). Ritualistic use of mounds indicates that the symbolism associated with these edifices was retained by the Choctaw, as it is among the contemporary Creek (Knight 1989:287). It is highly likely that mounds represented a communal or non-elite

ideology, since a mound was the origin point for all Choctaw as well as three other Native American groups. The number four and the cardinal directions seem to be linked to mound use, suggesting that they may be symbols associated with a communal ideology.

Choctaw chiefs reinforced their status as well as legitimized their authority by performing public rituals on the mound summit. Choctaw chiefs seem to be asserting their dominance by co-opting symbols of a non-elite ideology, the number four and cardinal directions (Scarry 1992:179). These chiefs were also manipulating past ideological symbols to reinforce their status and positions in the ethnohistorical present. Thus, Choctaw elites utilized some of the same strategies as their prehistoric predecessors to establish and maintain their dominant positions in society.

The eighteenth century Choctaw settlement pattern, like earlier chiefdoms, was comprised of a single central political center, four secondary centers, and towns. The four secondary centers correspond to the leading town in each political division and were governed by males that formed the second administrative or chiefly level. Hamlets and villages formed towns. The population was dispersed across the landscape in farmsteads. The political arrangement of the four divisions, again, reflects the two most evident symbols of Choctaw ideology: the number four and the four cardinal directions. The dispersed population may indicate that the chiefdom was fairly stable (Scarry 1992:177).

Social distinctions between chiefs and other males were also manifest in the Choctaw mortuary program. Only the chief's skull and hamper were painted red in twice before final interment. Chiefs' mortuary hampers were placed in one charnel house, while non-elite males were placed into two other charnel houses based on moiety affiliation.

Changes in burial furniture and burial style during the eighteenth century occurred first among the chiefs and was noted later among the non-elite male population. It is undeniable that secondary processing was performed for all Choctaw males and probably served as a leveling mechanism (Galloway 1995:301-304). Still, this research concludes that mortuary distinctions are evident between chiefs and non-elite males and that secondary processing probably served to mediate or constrain chiefly power rather than to create solidarity in a newly formed confederacy.

Two modes of production existed among the historic Choctaw. A kinship mode of production was used by non-elite Choctaw while a tributary mode among the elite is reflected by staples placed in warehouses and reserved for the chief's use. Tribute was used by the civil chiefs, in part for internal redistribution. Staples were also consumed as part of ritual feasting when the Choctaw interacted with non-Choctaw groups and served to legitimize the chief's political authority and rank.

Ethnohistorical research also identified a group of Choctaw males responsible for engaging in and/or maintaining relations with other contemporary Native American groups. These males are denoted by titles that contain the name of one of the contemporary Native American groups and adjective modifiers like those from other male classes (e.g. *Inholahta*, *taboka*). Titles discovered thus far in this research indicate that the Choctaw were in direct contact with contemporary groups in Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi before sustained European contact.

Choctaw-European interaction provided an excellent platform to investigate how high status non-Choctaw items were introduced and subsequently dispersed. European

medals were useful for charting this progression. The use of medals by Europeans to recognize certain Native American leaders with whom they dealt was not unique to the French. The first French medal was given to the Choctaw Great chief shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century. By ca. 1730, medals had expanded to include the four ranking civil chiefs that formed the second administrative level. Second chiefs received small medals, while gorgets were noted for leaders of moieties and warrior classes. This clearly indicates that material symbols of Choctaw-French interaction were different and seem to be associated with specific Choctaw status levels.

During the late eighteenth century, large medal holders included the highest ranking civil and war chiefs as well as the holy men or priests. Small medal holders included a lower ranked group composed of second chiefs and village chiefs. The gorget, ranked below the small medal, suggests, again, that material symbols were moving down the hierarchy, and new items were introduced to identify leaders of the warrior classes, moieties, and matrilineages. In sum, status laden material symbols of Choctaw-French interaction reached the lowest level of Choctaw leadership within a century. During this time, we witness the fact that access to the “esoteric knowledge” (Helms 1992:186-188) held by the Europeans shifted from a single elite male to a few elite males belonging to the dominant chiefly class and then to a group of elites that included the highest ranking chiefs and their specialists.

Recently, it has been suggested that the dominance of the Chickachae Combed ceramic type in Mississippi site ceramic assemblages denotes increasing solidarity in the confederacy (Voss and Mann 1986:52-54). This decorative type is also believed to have

some type of symbolic value for the Choctaw (Galloway 1995:358). Similarly, Ramey Incised ceramic designs from the late prehistoric Cahokia chiefdom are believed to be a symbolic representation of an elite ideology that was transmitted to the non-elite population through ritual use of the decorated ceramics (Pauketat 1992:38, 1994:100-101). The quadrated design may symbolize the four directions, four cosmological partitions, or the four winds (Pauketat and Emerson 1997:271). Use of the Ramey Incised vessels by the non-elite population at Cahokia reinforced this elite ideology (Pauketat 1992:38). The four interlocking scrolls design found at 34MC399, analogous to Ramey Incised, may depict two important symbols of the Choctaw - the number four and the cardinal directions. Since these large decorated bowls were used communally, the symbols would have been constantly reinforced among Choctaw households.

Choctaw ceramic design elements are also replicated in beadwork patterns found on Choctaw male stickball accouterments (Bushnell 1909:Plate 13; Kidwell 1995:154). The beadwork design is usually scrolls made with four lines of beads, with pendant triangles spaced along the scrolls. A Euroamerican produced knife within the present Oklahoma sample was modified by the addition of Choctaw symbols. The crude cross on the knife handle appears to represent the cross motif symbolic of the four cardinal directions among the Choctaw (Carson 1999:22). The ring of small dots found around the cross suggest the quadrated circle design prevalent ideological symbol shared by many Mississippian societies (Carson 1999:22; Pauketat 1992:38). The repetitive use of the number four and the cardinal directions or their symbolic representations in different design media supports the position that these patterns are not random pairings of design

elements, but are deliberate and convey an ideological or symbolic meaning.

As noted in Chapter 2 of this research the use and manipulation of these symbols seems to be confined primarily to chiefs and specialists. Therefore, the dominance of combed vessels in Mississippi site assemblages may be related to the reinforcement of elite status, rather than denoting increased solidarity within a confederacy. Combed ceramics may be one material culture indicator of social inequality since they seem to be one avenue by which this elite status and probably an elite ideology was transmitted and subsequently reinforced among the non-elite Choctaw.

Previous research has suggested that Choctaw sociopolitical organization collapsed during the late eighteenth century. Ethnohistorical data presented in Chapter 2 does not support this position. However, ethnohistorical data more clearly indicates that a new form of government based on elected officials began just after the turn of the nineteenth century. The first indication of this new form of government is the election of division chiefs. The Choctaw Great Chief disappeared from historical documents about the same time that a constitutional form of government was created in Mississippi in 1826 (Kidwell 1995:111-112). Therefore, it is likely that this office ceased to function sometime after the constitutional government formed (cf. Blitz 1985:15) and was replaced with an elected office in 1857 (Kidwell 1995:162). On the other hand, historical documents from the post-removal era demonstrate that all male classes were still evident along with their titular leaders. These documents also note that both types of holy men or priests were present, as well as four division chiefs (non-elected) and some of the medal chiefs. Evidence presented thus far suggest that Choctaw sociopolitical organization was

in a transitional state by the early nineteenth century. During the early part of this transition, hereditary leaders and elected officials functioned side by side. Subsequently, hereditary leadership categories were replaced by elected officials. The final transition to an elected form of government was complete when the office of an elected principle chief was instituted in 1857.

Ethnohistorical evidence presented in this research clearly demonstrates that the Choctaw complex chiefdom contained most elements noted for late prehistoric chiefdoms. The presence of hereditary chiefs with ascribed status is one indicator that the chiefdom was fairly stable. Political stability may also be inferred from the dispersed population. Matrilocal residency rules reinforced political stability by removing potential successors within the ruling lineage and isolating them among other dominant or subdominant matrilineages. Ethnohistorical evidence also demonstrates that sociopolitical organization did not collapse, but was modified incrementally as a result of intense pressure from the Euroamericans.

When the ethnohistoric evidence for social inequality was investigated using material culture assemblages from early nineteenth century Choctaw sites, inequality was difficult to identify. There was no difference in house types, since only log cabins were present at all sites and seem to be of similar size. Efforts to construct and maintain wood floors involved more labor over a longer period of time than clay floors. Preconstruction planning was also required by the subfloor pits since structural supports are found in them. The difference in labor requirements, as well as an extended planning and execution process, suggests socioeconomic status differences (Delle 1998:4-8; Staski and Reiter

1996:1-19). Wooden floors at 34MC485 and 34MC544 versus clay floors at 34MC399 may indicate some economic differences as suggested by Debo (1967:12, 111).

Metal and vessel glass artifacts from the early nineteenth century sites do not vary greatly and do not suggest socioeconomic differences. The artifact classes suggest access to Euroamerican goods was available to all levels of Choctaw society. Faunal and floral remains from these sites are not of the quantity and quality sufficient to address socioeconomic differences.

The Ceramic Price indices calculated for the early nineteenth century sites confirmed socioeconomic differences among the McCurtain county sites. George Hudson served as an elected member of the Choctaw Council before serving as Principle Chief (Debo 1967:81-82). It was expected that the office of elected principle chief would be manifest by differences in power, wealth, and authority. However, expectations that the George Hudson House site (34MC544) would rank highest were not supported. 34MC544 ranked below 34MC399 and ranked above 34MC485. Even when comparing plates, cups, saucers, bowls, and holloware index values separately, 34MC399 still outranked the other two McCurtain county sites in most vessel form categories. Cups and saucers are two vessel forms in which socioeconomic differences are readily apparent in Euroamerican society (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987:79). Comparison of these vessel form categories indicate that 34MC399 still ranked higher than 34MC544.

Several factors may account for the relatively low ranking of 34MC544. Most of the ceramics were purchased before George Hudson was elected principle chief in 1860 (Debo 1967:81-82, 163). Hudson's tenure was only two years, too short a temporal span

to be reflected in the ceramic assemblage. The low ranking of 34MC544 may also reflect the difference between a hereditary principle chief and an elected one. Also, material culture correlates of elected principle chiefs may not occur in domestic site assemblages. Finally, the unexpectedly low ranking may reflect the fact that socioeconomic differences based on ceramic decoration and vessel form are based on Euroamerican concepts of status that were different from those in Choctaw society.

Slate pencils and writing tablets occurred at 34MC544, and a slate pencil was recovered from 34MC399. No Euroamerican writing implements were recovered from 34MC485. By removal, less than 5% of all young Choctaw had attended Euroamerican patterned schools for any length of time (Kidwell 1995:145). These data suggest the possibility that many of the children attending these schools were probably from high status Choctaw families. The lack of writing implements at 34MC485 suggests that the site was occupied by a Choctaw family from a relatively lower socioeconomic level, while 34MC399 and 34MC544 were occupied by families from a higher socioeconomic level.

Communal use Native-made ceramic bowls, as well as storage and cooking vessels, clearly indicate that the Choctaw ceramic tradition transferred to Oklahoma and continued well into the nineteenth century. There does not seem to be a deterioration in ceramic production skills even when Euroamerican ceramics are clearly dominant in the site assemblages (cf. Ward 1986:31-44). Plain storage and cooking vessels from Oklahoma were classified as Mississippi Plain *var. Wilson Pasture*. Plain vessels occurred twice as often as decorated examples at all early nineteenth century sites in Oklahoma. This consistent ratio of plain and decorated vessels is not congruent with the position that

more decorated vessels would occur at high status households. Thus, unequal relations do not seem to be manifest in the Choctaw ceramics recovered from the early nineteenth sites.

Decorated Choctaw ceramics from the Oklahoma sites have thus far been classified as Chickachae Combed *var. unspecified*. The design patterns from all three early nineteenth century sites were executed with a four-tooth implement. Design patterns ranged from four interlocking scrolls composed of curvilinear and rectilinear elements to a linear arrangement of scrolls beneath four horizontal lines to four horizontal lines with pendent triangles. Hunter et al's (1997:50) position that Chickachae Combed varieties should not be defined by the presence or absence of curvilinear or rectilinear design elements is supported by the sample from Oklahoma, since these elements occur in the same design field (cf. Penman 1977:238, 1983:286). Hunter et al. (1994:32-33) classified all Chickachae Combed patterns composed of either straight or curvilinear lines as *var. Chickachae*. The Chickachae Combed ceramics from Oklahoma exhibit definite patterns that should be further investigated before defining new varieties. Therefore, this research recommends that Chickachae Combed ceramics be classified as *var. unspecified* until more data on patterns are developed and varieties can be systematically defined.

The early nineteenth century sites in Oklahoma exhibited scant evidence of social inequality, but some material correlates of unequal relations were present. These include sets as well as multiple sets of expensive Euroamerican ceramics, differences in some aspects of house construction, and the presence of Euroamerican writing implements.

Comparisons to determine whether evidence of social inequality exists during the

late nineteenth century could not be made between 34BR225 and its contemporary, the Cutbank site. The material culture assemblage from the Cutbank site was presented in a manner that precluded these comparisons. Therefore, the investigation of social inequality present in this research is attenuated and falls somewhat short of the stated goal.

One barely investigated aspect of Choctaw archaeology is the types of depositional contexts that occur at domestic sites. Excavation documented *in situ de facto*, primary *de facto*, primary, and secondary contexts in the research sample. Comparisons could not be conducted for the *in situ de facto* and primary *de facto* contexts, since they were the only examples. The primary contexts were not compared since they were discovered at the same site and are associated with the same activity. Comparisons of secondary contexts demonstrated differences between the artifact assemblages from subfloor and external pits. Since subfloor and external pits did not occur on the same sites, excavations of sites containing both would seem necessary to confirm this research.

As stated in Chapter 1, the first goal of this research included a re-examination of Choctaw leadership categories, mortuary program, settlement data, and sociopolitical organization in an attempt to determine what type of sociopolitical organization existed among the Choctaw before and after removal to Oklahoma. The second goal focused on material culture assemblages from four Choctaw domestic sites in Oklahoma to determine if social inequality was manifest there. In addition, ceramics from early and late nineteenth century Choctaw sites in Oklahoma were described to provide in-use ceramic assemblages and provide a much needed starting point for subsequent Choctaw ceramic research.

Depositional contexts from the four sites were described and compared to provide data on an aspect of Choctaw archaeology that has not been comprehensively examined.

This research was successful, in that ethnohistorical data provided evidence that the Choctaw were organized as a complex chiefdom and that unequal relations existed before removal to Oklahoma. Some of this ranked organization transferred to Oklahoma. This research was also successful in clarifying the confusing and often contradictory interpretations of Choctaw titular leaders and their responsibilities, as well as clarifying the number of male classes present among the Choctaw. Comparison of material culture assemblages from the sites comprising the research sample did discover material evidence of social inequality in Oklahoma. Detailed analysis of ceramic assemblages from early and late nineteenth century Choctaw sites documented major differences in these assemblages in terms of Euroamerican ceramic wares found in them. This research was also successful in documenting Choctaw ceramic production in Oklahoma and in determining that Choctaw ceramic production skills did not deteriorate. Analysis of depositional contexts from the four Oklahoma sites confirmed that different material culture assemblages are associated with different types of contexts. It was also determined that different material culture assemblages can be found in the same type of contexts. Despite some limitations, this research provides data that will be useful for subsequent considerations of the Choctaw, domestic sites, and social inequality.

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