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Chickasaw Material Culture and the Deerskin Trade: An Analysis of Two Eighteenth Century Chickasaw Sites in Northeast Mississippi

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CHICKASAW MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE DEERSKIN TRADE:

AN ANALYSIS OF TWO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CHICKASAW SITES

IN NORTHEAST MISSISSIPPI

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A Thesis

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Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Masters of Arts

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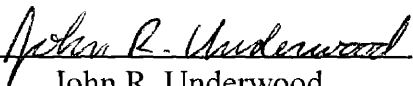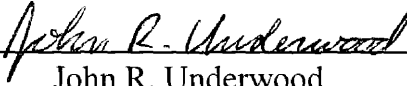
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This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of

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DEDICATION

For my loving wife, my parents, and my friends and family.

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ABSTRACT

According to most histories of the colonial southeast (Crane 1928; Robinson 1979; Usner 1992), the Chickasaw are described as British allies. These same histories also portray the British as superior tradesmen, able to outfit their allies with greater amounts of cheaper trade materials. Truthfully, however, England was often overtaxed in maintaining its lengthy overland routes, frequently leaving those allied to the English hard pressed for goods. Trade with the French proved quite the opposite. Their control of the extensive Mississippi River waterways provided their allies with faster, more reliable trade.
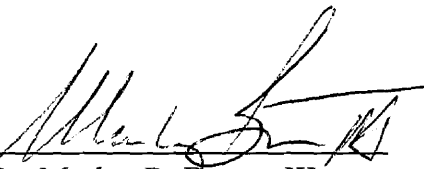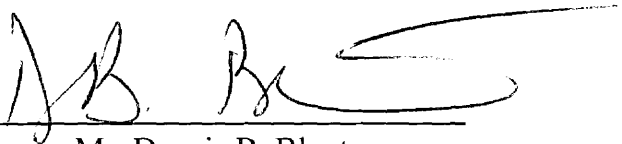
Contemporary sources clearly demonstrate the existence of factions within the Chickasaw nation, factions split along existing leadership and kinship affiliations who favored these competing colonial powers. They were congregated into two main settlement clusters in present-day Lee County, Mississippi based upon political affiliation: the Large Prairie (pro-English) and the Small Prairie (pro-French). Using a combination of technological analyzes, distributional data, and ethnohistorical accounts, Johnson has surmised that historic-period Chickasaw lithic assemblages accurately reflect this. He argues that sites aligned with the French (Small Prairie) possessed fewer tools due to their relationship with a more reliable trade partner, while those sites aligned with the English (Large Prairie) possessed more lithic tools to compensate for the lack of consist trade.

The purpose of this study is to assess the validity of these findings through an analysis of the European trade items from two Small Prairie sites. This will be accomplished by using a dual-level functional categorization of European trade goods, a categorization that has as its fundamental goal the expression of native uses and functions for these goods. In keeping with this line of thinking, items directly related to the maintenance of this trade are to be expected (i.e. deerskin acquisition and processing, etc.). The results of this analysis revealed not only a substantial number artifacts relating to this trade, but also a much more diverse collection of goods functioning as substitutes for both utilitarian and decorative native goods. This data also suggests that the maintenance of the deerskin went well beyond the simple desire to continue trade, but to profit from it. By providing comparable data in support of Johnson's argument, this study has helped establish a more refined contextual framework for re-evaluation of Chickasaw material culture.

CHICKASAW MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE DEERSKIN TRADE: AN ANALYSIS OF TWO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CHICKASAW SITES IN NORTHEAST MISSISSIPPI

CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW

Introduction

It is now commonly accepted by historians and archaeologists alike that aboriginal societies of the interior southeastern United States experienced massive and usually dramatic cultural and societal transformations during the colonial period (i.e. the period of time between 1670 and 1776). Entire environmental niches and world-views were turned topsy-turvy in the wake of European exploration and expansion of the new world as new and strange animals, plants, people, and diseases spread across the landscape (Smith 1987; Verano and Ubelaker 1992; Hudson and Tesser 1994). Aboriginal groups such as the Creek and Choctaw often found themselves pitted against competing European philosophies and strategies for economic and political sovereignty in this area . Only recently, however, has this list been expanded to include another of the more notable southeastern groups, the Chickasaw (Galloway 1996, Johnson 1997).

Documentary sources from the late 17th and 18th centuries frequently express the pivotal importance of the Chickasaw in the struggles between French and English aggressors for control over the interior southeastern United States. Representatives of both major powers recognized the Chickasaw's strategic positioning in the upper Tombigbee River drainage, at the established edge of each colony's holdings. Each side

clearly understood that the secret to controlling this area would be through the Chickasaw, or more to the point, through trade with the Chickasaw. In short, whomever could effectively maintain a more reliable trade relationship with the Chickasaw would gain that needed access to the upper Tombigbee River drainage.

Current research into the European/Indian interaction in the southeast reveals a very complex scenario of expansion and trade. According to most histories of the colonial southeast (Crane 1928; Robinson 1979; Usner 1992), the Chickasaw were viewed solely as British allies, testifying to the strength and lure of the English deerskin trade. Truthfully, however, England was often overtaxed in maintaining its trade routes. Therefore any Indians allied to the English would necessarily be constrained as to what they could obtain through trade with the English. Quite the opposite would be true of those allied to the French.

A thorough review of contemporary and more recent ethnohistorical sources clearly demonstrates the existence of factions within the Chickasaw nation in response to this external pressure (Swanton 1928; Adair 1930; Nairne 1988; Galloway 1996). Formed along leadership and kinship affiliations, these factions were congregated into two main clusters in present-day Lee County, Mississippi: the Large Prairie (pro-English) and the Small Prairie (pro-French). This thesis will use a dual-level functional categorization of European trade goods that incorporates native uses and functions to analyze two site assemblages, thereby evaluating the resultant affect of this geopolitical climate upon Chickasaw material culture.

The Problem

The theme of geopolitical competitiveness is not a new subject in southeastern archaeology. Within the past two decades in particular, the impact of this interaction upon southeastern native societies, namely the Choctaw and Creek, has received an increasing amount of attention in the archaeological world (see Smith 1987; Waselkov 1993; Galloway 1996). More recently, Jay Johnson has begun to investigate the role the Chickasaw played in this pageant. His research has shown a very strong influence of political as well as geographical distances to trade ports on aboriginal material culture and cultural dynamics between these conglomerations of Chickasaw settlement (Johnson 1997). Guided by this information, Johnson argues that historic examples of thumbnail scrapers are a response to the "specialized and intensified functional demands of processing large numbers of deer skins for trade with the Europeans" (Johnson 1997:227). This then implies a direct correlation between the quantity of scrapers and other lithic tools and the distance of sites from colonial trade centers, whereby substitute materials were readily available to those closer to these sources.

In his examination of Chickasaw lithic assemblages, Johnson discovers remarkable differences in the distribution of scrapers between sites associated with opposing geopolitical factions, with those aligned to the closer European trade center possessing fewer scrapers. Where one expects to see an abundance of stone tools, there is an unexpected scarcity; where one expects to see scarcity, there is abundance. The Large Prairie sites, whose relationship and association with the English should have provided them ample trade goods, actually possessed the greater number of stone tools when

compared to the Small Prairie sites, whose relationship and association with the French should have limited their trade opportunities. This juxtaposition implies that the former lacked "sufficient guns, ammunition, and metal tools" to meet the needs and demands of the deer skin trade, while the latter possessed greater numbers of gun parts and trade goods needed to sustain an active participation in the trade market (Johnson 1997:227).

Ultimately the consequence of this duality was two different and oftentimes competitive/conflicting trade strategies. Since Chickasaw polity is largely decentralized and based upon lineage and kinship ties, local villages and clans are mainly responsible for managing the day-to-day affairs of the nation; any issues that could not be settled by the local council were brought before the national council of elders for judgement (Champagne 1992:26,27). This level of decentralization resulted in primary political allegiances and loyalties to local villages, regions, kinship groups, or in this case, settlement conglomerations. Based upon this ideology, the marked difference in the distribution of stone tools can be viewed as a direct response to the flow, or rather the lack of flow, of trade items between these areas.

Presuming Johnson's assumptions are both accurate and valid, certain statements can naturally be made concerning the formal characterization of site assemblages from the two prairie settlements within Chickasaw homeland. Since there exists a direct correlation between distances to trade centers and the accessibility to trade goods, it is also very likely that sites closer to these trade centers benefitted from an overall better assortment of trade goods as well. Conversely, those sites further removed from their trade sources were more restricted as to what they could acquire through trade. These circumstances account for the general lack of lithic tools seen in the Small Prairie sites,

where European goods were not only more practical, but seemingly more preferable, alternatives to traditional items for acquiring and processing skins for trade.

Small Prairie sites, as a result of their favorable trade relationship with the French, obviously enjoyed far greater numbers of trade goods in comparison to Large Prairie sites. Given their heavy reliance upon this trade, it is very conceivable that trade good assemblages from the Small Prairie were more diversified than comparable Large Prairie assemblages. This diversity, by definition, implies a certain level of multiformity in their composition to reflect additional uses, i.e. objects other than those needed for maintaining the deerskin trade. These differences should be obvious in both quantitative and qualitative analyzes of these assemblages.

This paper will examine the trade good assemblages from two sites in order to examine and test the validity of these assumptions. Proceeding from the understanding that Johnson's writings are indeed true, the author has formulated the following hypotheses to be tested:

(1)   A site located in the Small Prairie should possess a large proportion of goods directly related to the active participation in and maintenance of the deerskin trade. For the purpose of this study, these should be items reflecting the hunting of and/or the processing of skins for trade.

(2)   A site located in the Small Prairie should possess a greater diversity of trade goods in addition to larger amounts of trade goods in relation to sites located in the Large Prairie. This may be manifested in one or more of the following ways: a small numbers of artifacts that correspond to a large number of activities, a large number of artifacts that correspond to a small number of activities, and /or

some combination of the two. For example, an assemblage consisting of glass, brass, and silver trade beads, pendents, and tinkling cones and gunflints, balls, shot, trigger guard finials, and side plates would conform to only two basic activities, personal decoration and hunting/warfare respectively; conversely, an assemblage consisting of glass bottle fragments, axes, knives, hoes, buttons, and nails would conform to multiple activities, i.e. chopping, cutting, storing, cultivating, etc.

Based upon this author's preliminary examination of the assemblages, each appears to more closely resemble the Small Prairie expectations. The results of this evaluation will demonstrate whether the European trade goods comparably reflect the level of differential access as that observed with the lithics, lending further support to Johnson's argument and opening the doorway for further research into the amount of influence European geopolitical competitiveness held over eighteenth-century Chickasaw material culture.

The Sample Data

The sample data selected for this study consist of two collections excavated in 1990 and 1996 respectively. These sites were chosen for three main reasons: 1) both sites were excavated with the benefit of modern methods and techniques of data recovery so that tight contextual/spatial control is possible; 2) both sites are temporally framed within the same thirty year period during the eighteenth century (to be discussed in further detail below); and 3) the author had co-written a previous study of the excavation and analysis of European trade goods from one of the two sites (Ryba et al. 1996).

Site 22-Le-912 was excavated in the spring of 1990 by a University of Mississippi field crew at the request of Whitiker and Associates, the firm heading the development of the Meadowbrook subdivision in present-day Tupelo, Lee County, Mississippi (Yearous 1991:9). This assemblage consists of some several test units, 192 features (11 pit features, 178 post molds, two artifact concentrations, and one wall trench), 13 burials, and numerous surface collections (Yearous 1991:73).

Site 22-Le-907, tentatively identified as a portion of the Tchouka Falaya village, is likewise located in present-day Tupelo, Lee County, Mississippi (Ryba et al. 1996). The site had been previously recorded in 1984 by Jim Atkinson, then archaeologist for the Natchez Trace Parkway. The North Mississippi Medical Center had begun preliminary construction on a new rehabilitation center and was in danger of disturbing , possibly destroying, much of this site's cultural information. Archaeologists from the Cobb Institute of Archaeology, Mississippi State University, were contracted in the summer and fall of 1996 to mitigate any relevant deposits (*ibid*). This assemblage consists of several test units, 1202 features (approximately 1178 postholes and 14 pit features), 14 burials, and numerous surface collections (*ibid*).

The Project Area

The early Chickasaw domain actually stretched from the Tennessee-Cumberland divide to as far north as the Ohio River, as far west as the Mississippi River, and as far south as the traditional Choctaw lands in central Mississippi (see Figure 1). By the turn of the eighteenth century, the political center of the Chickasaw nation had been

consolidated to mostly northeast Mississippi, near present-day Tupelo. Local histories frequently refer to this area as the Chickasaw Old Fields (Yearous 1991:1; Gibson 1971:6). Site 22-Le-912 is situated on a small ridge crest and corresponding side slopes overlooking a small tributary of King's Creek. Site 22-Le-907 too is situated along the south end of a ridge crest approximately 1.4 kilometers west of King's Creek (Ryba et al. 1996:1-2).

Establishing Parity

Two conditions need to be established before any in-depth examination of this data may begin. First, a clear temporal compatibility must be established between Johnson's original study sample and the sample of this study, this being the first two quarters of the eighteenth century. This was a critical time during the colonial period of the southeast when the English/French rivalry was at its peak, when both were actively pursuing alliances with the indigenous population. Both prior and succeeding periods are subject to different circumstances and factors which may not have been as necessarily relevant or prominent as they were during the first half of the eighteenth century. Secondly, a strong spatial conformity must also be established between the data sets. One must be assured that the collection is conclusively confined to one of the two geopolitical areas. The foundation of Johnson's paper rests upon the fact that access to European trade materials differed between the two Chickasaw settlement congregations. If such a degree of spatial continuity cannot be established, then there exists no contextual framework to argue from.

Recent work by Dr. Marvin Smith has refined the dates for several types of drawn beads using well documented assemblages from French colonial and French contact Native American sites in French Louisiana (1997). Since trade beads are easily the most plentiful of all the trade artifacts recovered, they will be used to establish comparable chronological context.

The Meadowbrook site collection produced two of the types mentioned by Smith: W1A and W1D. According to this research, the W1A bead postdates 1722 and is common during the 1730's, possibly dating as late as the 1750's (1997:6). Type W1D appears no earlier than 1731 but definitely pre-dates 1764, probably dating between 1755 and 1764 when its popularity appears to have climaxed (Smith 1997:7). These dates correspond nicely with those based upon bead types IA1, IA2, and IIA61, which dated between 1729 and 1760, with a median date of 1750 (Johnson et al. 1994:435). The Tchouka Falaya site collection similarly produced two of the types mentioned in Smith's work: IIb'6 and W1A.

Type IIb'6 is typically found on sites dating after 1711 but prior to 1731. As stated earlier, type W1A postdates 1722 and became common during the 1730's, dating as late as the 1750's in some British colonial contexts. Though somewhat earlier temporally than the other site, a date between 1711 and the mid-to-late 1730's is still within the desired temporal range. But more importantly, both sites roughly date between ca. 1720 and 1750, nicely matching the desired temporal range.

Since Johnson was interested in the differences between these concentrations of Chickasaw villages, each site used will be plotted onto the map already bearing the site locations for this study. This will establish a base map of all pertinent sites in northeast Mississippi, defining a fixed geographical boundary for each prairie (see Figure 3).

Once completed, it was simply a matter of observation to correlate the location of the sample sites with the established boundaries of the Small Prairie to prove they were affiliated with the pro-French geopolitical faction (see Figure 4).

The proceeding chapter will be devoted to more fully explaining the historical context of these assemblages. Chapter III discusses the methodology utilized in this study and the rationale behind the organization of the analysis. Chapter IV presents the results of this analysis, taking special care to address each assemblage fully and equally. Chapter V presents the findings of this research and ends with some speculation over the future of Chickasaw archaeology.

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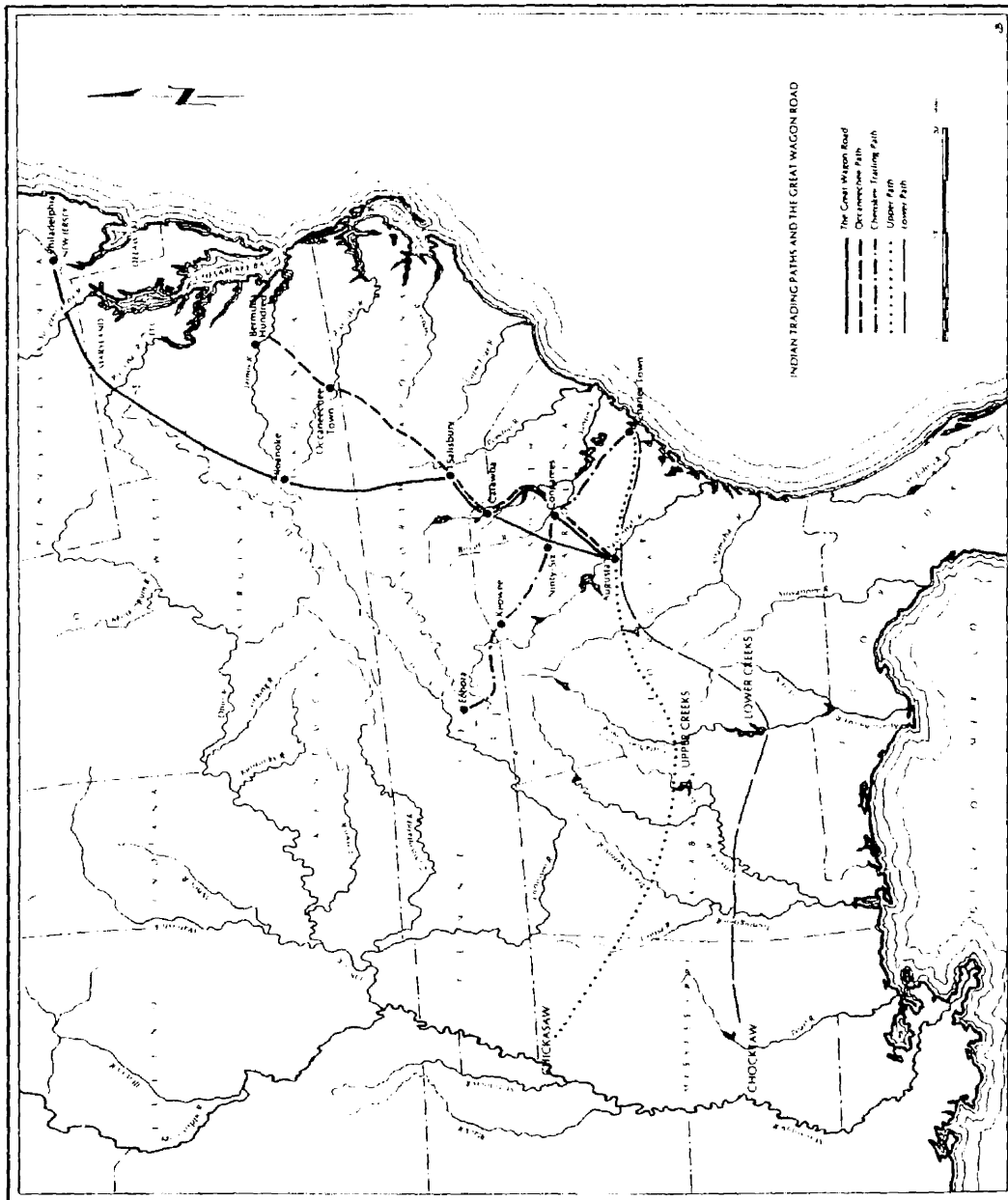
FIGURE 1

Map of the southeastern United States depicting the location of the Chickasaw in relation
to the various trade routes in use during the eighteenth century (after Robinson 1979:77).

FIGURE 2
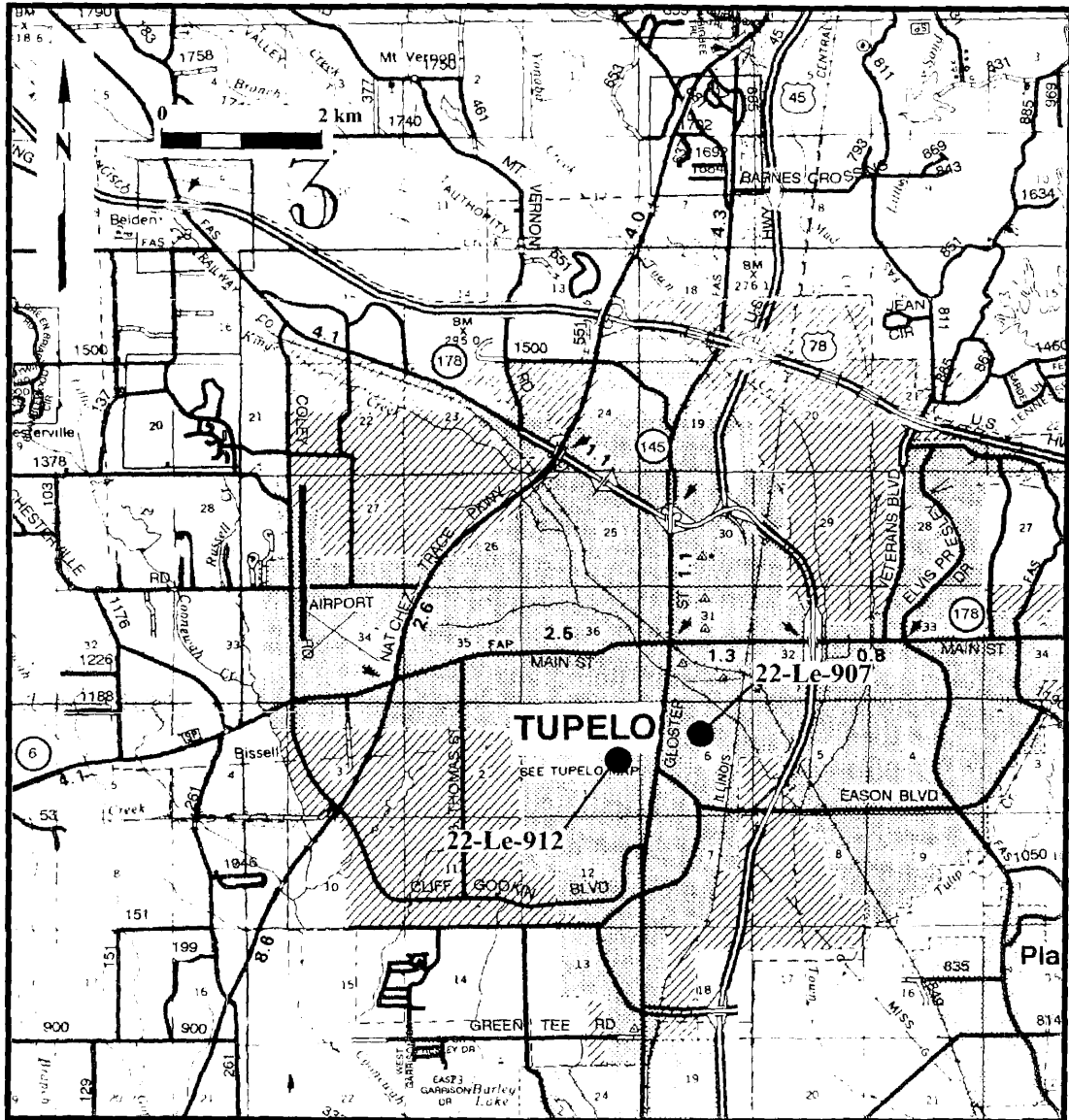
Location of the sample sites in relation to the present-day city limits of Tupelo, Mississippi.

FIGURE 3
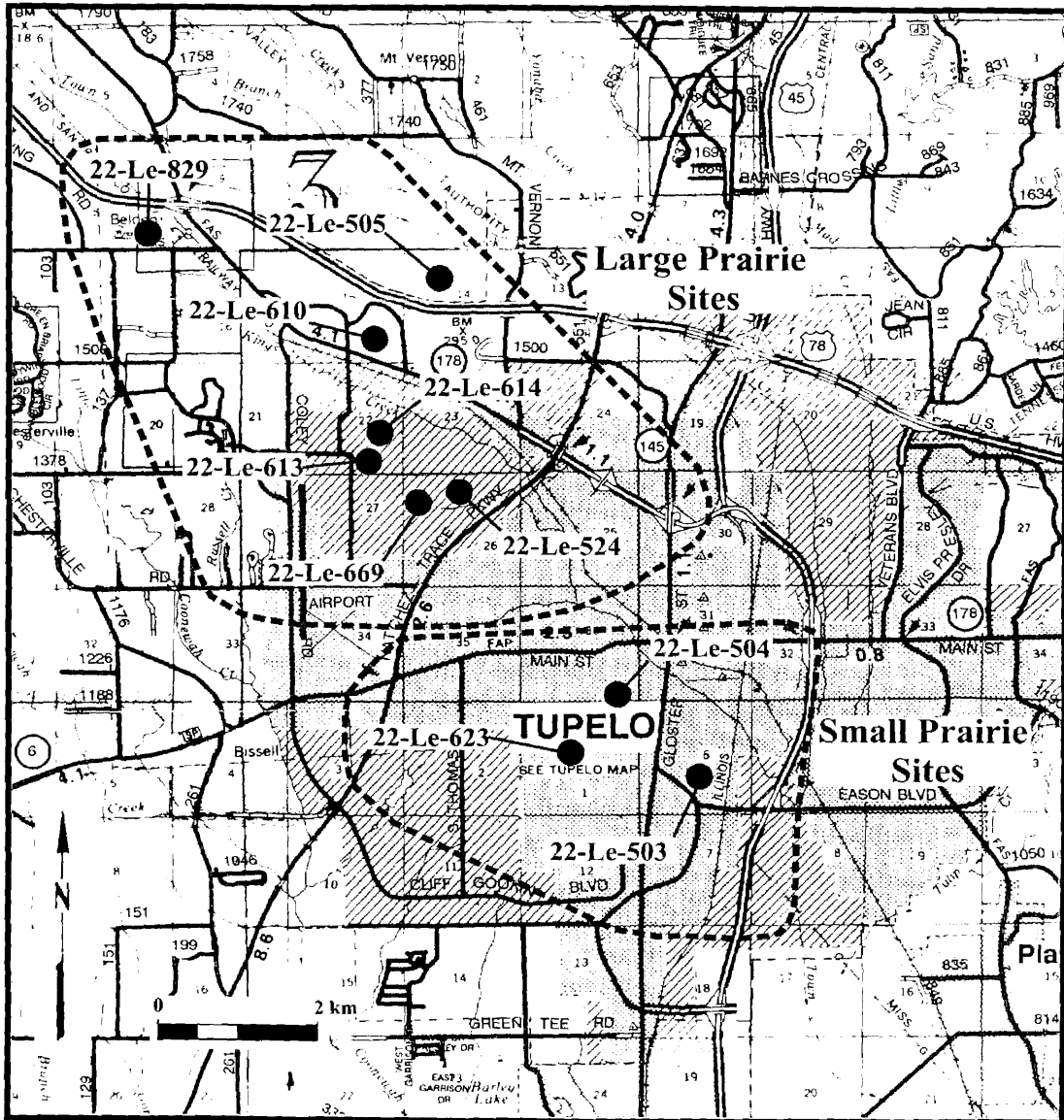
Location of selected Small Prairie and Large Prairie sites (after Johnson 1997:226).

FIGURE 4
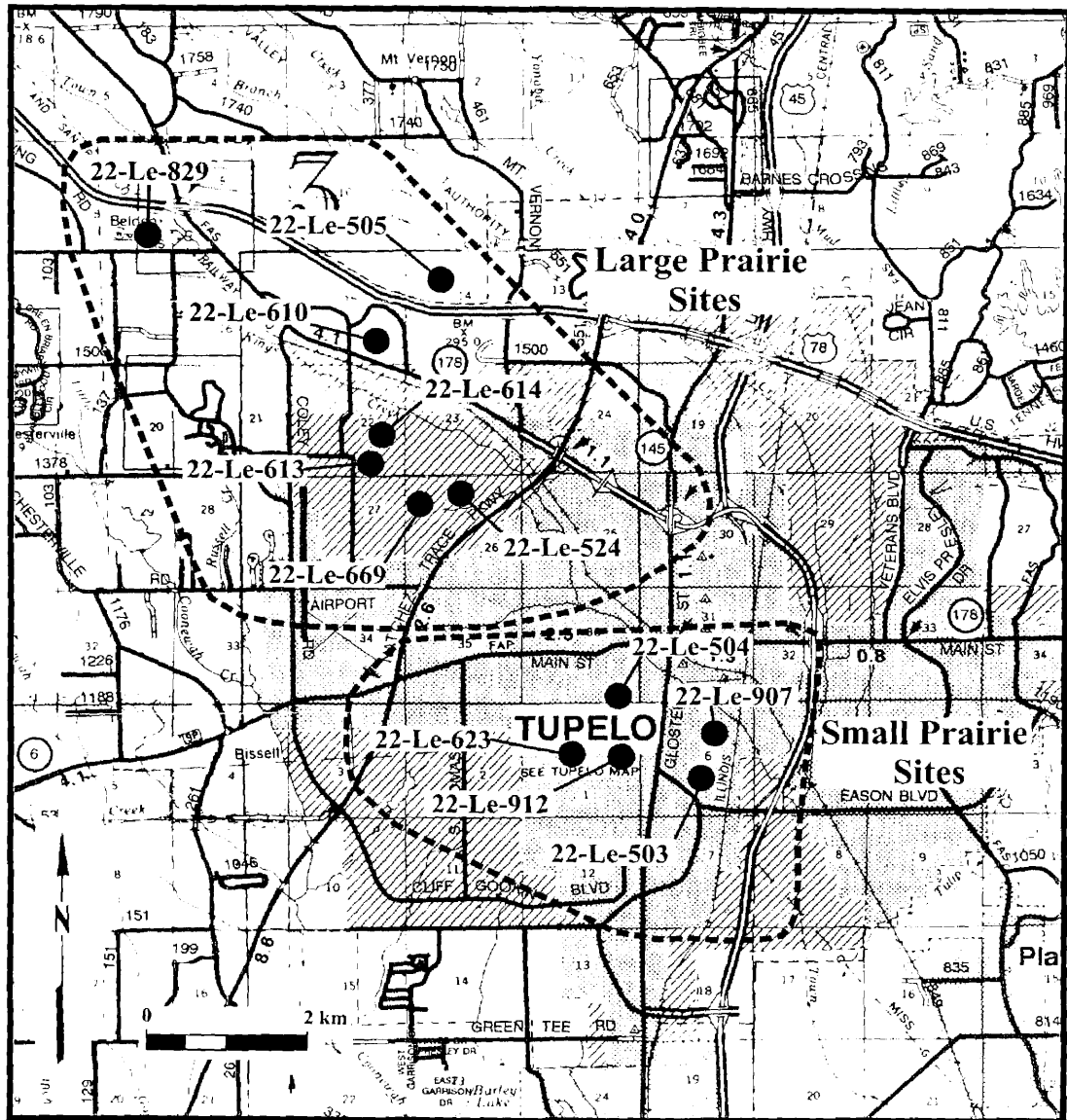
Final map depicting the sample, Small Prairie, and Large Prairie sites.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

Historians of the colonial southeast frequently express the pivotal importance of the Chickasaw in the struggles between the English and French powers for control over the interior southeastern United States. Representatives from each recognized the Chickasaw's strategic positioning in the upper Tombigbee River drainage, at the established edge of each colony's holdings. Each also understood too well that the secret to controlling this area would be through the Chickasaw, or more to the point, through strong and consistent relations with the Chickasaw in the forms of military assistance and trade. As Edmond Atkin, soon-to-be British superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Department, exclaimed in 1755:

> "[T]he prosperity of our Colonies on the [American] Continent, will stand or fall with our Interest and favour among [the Indians]. While they are our Friends, they are the Cheapest and strongest Barrier for the Protection or our Settlements; when Enemies, they are capable by ravaging in their method of War, in spite of all we can do, to render those Possessions almost useless" (see Axtell 1997:45).

This 'friend or enemy' policy became the driving force behind the conquest of the Mississippi River Valley during the colonial period, often placing the Chickasaw and other southeastern groups in a most precarious position between colonial powers. What

follows is a brief discussion of the historical context of these relationships between the Chickasaw and the Europeans. For expediency's sake, the major events are separated into six historical periods as outlined by Brain in his study of the Tunica and French relations (1979).

Period I (pre-1700)

The first recorded contact with Europeans dates to 1539-1540, when Hernando de Soto and his expedition were forced to occupy a vacated Chickasaw summer village during a particularly harsh winter (Roberts 1959; Hudson et al. 1990; Wells 1994). Needless to say, this was not a pleasant meeting for either party concerned. For roughly the next 150 years, any and all contact between Europeans and the Chickasaw was usually indirect and therefore undocumented. This changed very dramatically during the last decades of the 17th century, beginning with a visit to the Chickasaw territory by a Father Marquette in 1673 (Malone 1922:233). His narrative relates of his entrance into the country of the warlike Chicachas, a country that at that time extended for several hundred miles to the east of the Mississippi River. He reports that the Chickasaws he encountered possessed guns, hoes, knives, beads, and glass bottles, all obtained from friends to the east (*ibid*). These goods were more than likely obtained through early trade with native groups who frequented Spanish trade centers in Florida during the latter half of the seventeenth century, not directly (Waselkov 1989; Champagne 1992:62).

The last quarter of the seventeenth century is characterized by the widespread European interest in the commercial, industrial, and political potentials of this virgin

wilderness. For the French this centered around plans to utilize the Mississippi Valley as a wedge between Spanish and English territory, hopefully confining the to against the eastern seaboard, and as a potential "frost-free port outlet" for their growing fur trade in the New World (Wells 1994:45). During the last quarter of the seventeenth century several French expeditions were launched into the lower Mississippi Valley to explore the region and find ways to connect the existing French settlements in the Northwest with the Gulf of Mexico.

Although members of the Juliet-Marquette party passed through Chickasaw territory during their initial reconnaissance of the region in 1673, physical contact between the two did not occur until some nine years later in 1682, when members of La Salle's famed exploration of the lower Mississippi River encountered several Chickasaw during a survey for provisions (Roberts 1959; Gibson 1971:32-33; Stubbs 1982; Wells 1994:37-38). Based upon their dealings with the region's indigenous population, the French believed that the key to controlling this area would be through the establishment and maintenance of favorable trade relations with the Chickasaw and other native groups of the interior southeast (Galloway 1991:64). After the Louisiana Colony was founded in 1699, the French established a chain of forts along the Mississippi Valley in a concerted effort to expedite their expansion into that region (Champagne 1992:54-55).

As the 17th century drew to a close, the activities of France in the New World did not go unnoticed by British colonial officials. The English sought to expand their control westward to further stimulate their booming Indian trade, a trade upon which they had become so heavily dependent. The capital city of Charles Town, South Carolina, founded in 1670, provided the English its crucial and strategic gateway into the interior southeast

(Crane 1928; Moore 1988; Johnson 1997). As early as the 1680's and 1690's, the English had begun to increasingly rely upon Cherokee, Creek, and Chickasaw slave raids to help alleviate labor shortages in the colony, offering them muskets and ammunition for their services (Champagne 1992:51).

Unlike the French colonies, South Carolina was founded strictly as a business venture sponsored by British businessmen, courtiers, and joint-stock companies, although it soon became a convenient outlet for England's overpopulation and dwindling resources (Hudson 1976:434; Wells 1994:45; Axtell 1997:39). The simple goal of this and other English colonies was to generate profit for the Mother Country. It is therefore not surprising that England's response to the establishment of French Louisiana was to greatly increase the volume of cheaper, higher quality trade imports specifically to lure the southeastern groups away from the French (Champagne 1992:55).

In 1685 a Dr. Woodward of Carolina became the first Englishman to formally contact the Chickasaw during his visit the Alabama Creeks. While among the Creek, he dispatched two traders to establish ties with the Chickasaw (Nairne 1988; Wells 1994:45). By 1698 English traders were regularly visiting the northern Mississippi settlements of the Chickasaw, highlighted by the travels of Col. Thomas Welch and Anthony Dodsworth, who arrived at the Tombigbee settlements with horse trains packed with "Limbourg cloth, guns, powder and shot, beads, knives, hatchets, hoes, scissors, vermillion, axes, brass wire, Bengal silk, and 'Dutch pretties'" (Gibson 1971:34). Further exploration into this territory came a short two years later with a reconnaissance party lead by Jean Couture, a former assistant of La Salle and funded by then deputy governor of South Carolina Joseph Blake for help solidify trade relations with the native groups

(Robinson 1979:97). Though somewhat distant from Charles Town (approximately 850 km or 700 miles), the Chickasaw's location at the western end of this trade route provided an early source of important trade items (Nairne 1988; Johnson 1997). The strength and influence of the English would only increase through time, a fact that the French were quick to learn and act upon.

Period II (1700-1719)

More permanent interactions between the Chickasaw and the French began shortly after the founding of the Gulf Coast colony of Old Mobile in 1701. The French were very concerned with winning the Chickasaw favor away from the British insurgence into the region (Galloway 1991; Usner 1992). In 1702, Henri de Tonti successfully established diplomatic relations with the Chickasaw tribe. While en route, Tonti and his companions were forced to take refuge from a Chickasaw slave raiding party that was incidentally lead by an Englishman (Galloway 1982, 1991:66; Usner 1992:18). After arriving Tonti arranged a council meeting between the two groups, regardless of the fact that an Englishman sat on the council. Despite these circumstances, Tonti managed to persuade several Chickasaw leaders to attend negotiations at Mobile where gifts consisting of 200 pounds of powder, 200 pounds of bullets, 200 pounds of game-shot, 12 guns, 100 axes, knives, glass beads, gun flints, awls and other hardware were presented and a tenuous peace was secured between the French, Choctaw, and Chickasaw (Usner 1992:19; Wells 1994:80).

This treaty marked the beginning of a period of on-again, off-again relationships between the French and the Chickasaw that was highlighted by peace negotiations and outright warfare. Immediately proceeding this meeting the Chickasaw did in fact receive French traders, despite the increasing number of English visits. The Chickasaw quickly realized, however, that the French goods were "of lower quality than English items and that his [French] prices were higher, sometimes twice that for goods from Carolina" (Gibson 1971:36). The precarious peace was shattered in 1705 by the Chickasaw seizure and sale of several Choctaw families who had ventured into their territory in a measure of good faith (Wells 1994:86). The actual fighting usually took place between the Chickasaw and Choctaw, taking advantage of the existing hostility between these two groups (Rowland and Sanders 1932:201).

The British quickly became aware of the French intentions to circumvent their lucrative trade relations and efforts were made to prevent any further disruption of their existing trade relations by driving the French out of the region. Nairne's April, 1708, visit to the Chickasaw was spurred by rumors spread in 1707 that the French were planning to launch an attack against the Carolinians from Fort Louis de la Louisiane, Old Mobile, (Galloway 1991:67). Their goal was to isolate the French at Mobile by winning over their Indians allies, most noticeably the Choctaw, or force their extermination. To aid him in this venture Nairne turned to the Talapoosas and Chickasaw to make massive raids upon the Choctaw (Crane 1928; Nairne 1988). Similar attacks were conducted again in 1712 and may have been responsible for the Choctaw abandonment of the Mobile River delta (Galloway 1991:67).

Despite these early dealings with the English, formal ties were not established with the Chickasaw until 1717. Late that year, a large contingent of some 17 Chickasaw chiefs met in Charlestown with the Commissioners of the Indian Trade to request the establishment of a trading post within or near their nation. Both parties resolved that a post would be erected in the village of Talasee, located on the border between Cherokee and Chickasaw country. Goods would come to this post via those established routes to the Creeks and Cherokees (McDowell 1955; Roberts 1959:66).

The lateness of this date was largely due to the 1715 uprising of the Yamassee, Creek, and Choctaw Indians in South Carolina, who finally reached their boiling point after years of mistreatment at the hands of unscrupulous English traders. This resulted in the deaths of many setters and traders, not to mention an increase in unrelated trouble from the Spanish and other Indian groups along the Atlantic coast (Roberts 1959:67; Hudson 1976:438; Wells 1994:94-95). Peace was restored in 1717 when the Carolinians concluded negotiations with the Creek (Hudson 1976:438-439). As a consequence of this conflict, the English began exporting large numbers of Indian slaves to the Caribbean Islands and replacing them with large numbers of black slaves, who proved much easier to control and maintain than Indian slaves in the colonies (Champagne 1992:51). Over the next five years, the flow of English trade goods into the Mississippi Valley essentially ceased as the English frantically strived to re-establish their former share of the Indian trade. The French were quick to capitalize on the English's misfortune by constructing new forts among the Natchez in 1716 (Fort Rosalie) and the Yazoo in 1718 to further bolster their already impressive trade network (Galloway 1991:69).

Period III (1720-1729) - French Climax

By 1720 the shape of the French-Indian trade network was firmly set. Aside from Carolinian trade with the Chickasaw and some Upper Creek towns, the French had complete commercial control of the Lower Mississippi Valley with trade flowing "mainly from the Indian villages around the interior French posts to the Gulf Coast ports of Mobile and New Orleans" (Usner 1992:31). The French wished to neutralize this English advantage through a policy of disruption and harassment. War against the Chickasaw was ultimately deemed necessary to achieve this goal, even though they enthusiastically desired a more peaceful alternative. The reasons behind this French decision were twofold: 1) colonial officials found it impossible to supply the Chickasaw with the quantity and quality of items necessary to secure their allegiance with France, and 2) colonial officials viewed the elimination of the Chickasaw as a crucial means of protecting their borders (Usner 1992:81-84).

At a council meeting in Biloxi on February 8, 1721, the French formalized a tariff of exchange rates for deerskins produced by the Choctaws and formally announced their approval of warfare already in progress between the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes. To ensure Choctaw cooperation, the French promised each warrior "one gun, one pound of powder and two bullets for each Chickasaw scalp and eighty livres of merchandise for each Chickasaw slave" (Usner 1992:65). In reaction to this, the Chickasaw began mounting attacks directly on French settlements in addition to those tribes allied with to the French, usually focusing upon French supply boats traveling the Mississippi River in efforts to sever the lifeline connecting the Illinois and Louisiana colonies (Champagne

1992:42). The English fueled this explosive situation by eagerly purchasing every Choctaw prisoner that the Chickasaws could capture, indirectly lending support to the Chickasaw attacks against the French (Roberts 1959:68). As this last statement illustrates, the general policy of disruption and harassment soon became the hallmark not only of the French but of the English as well during the 1720's. In many ways this policy greatly aided the British in their resurgence into the Mississippi Valley after 1722 (Hudson 1976:439-440).

Period IV (1730-1763) - Weakening French Control

French dominance over the Lower Mississippi Valley slowly started to crumble by the mid-1720's as various groups, most noticeably the Natchez, began to rebel against the French control of the region. In 1724, the Natchez, fueled by Chickasaw-English antagonism, suddenly rose up in rebellion, killing many French colonists in the process. The 1729 attack upon Fort Rosalie, otherwise known as the Great Natchez Revolt, proved the last straw for the French, who demanded retribution (Hudson 1976:440; Galloway 1991:69; Usner 1992:74). Swift retaliation came in 1730 with the near destruction of the entire Natchez tribe. A small number of the survivors were later taken in by the Chickasaw, apparently honoring long-standing relations of alliance. Upon learning of this the French demanded the immediate and unconditional surrender of these renegade Natchez. When the Chickasaw refused to comply, the French Minister of Marine decided to resolve this matter by the complete elimination of the Chickasaw in addition to the remaining Natchez (Usner 1992:82). Armed attempts led by Bienville in 1736 and again

1740 proved unsuccessful. Bienville finally resigned himself to his fate and negotiated a peace with the Chickasaw that same year (Usner 1992:84; Wells 1994:139-141).

The terms of this peace called for the Chickasaw to "cease attacks on the Mississippi River and to return all Natchez refugees found among their people on condition that the Louisiana governor prevent Indian war parties of the upper valley from further raiding their villages" (Usner 1992:84). The peace between the Chickasaw and the French was practically non-existent as Chickasaw raids against French convoys and settlements returned later that year. Bienville fell back upon his native allies the Choctaws to continue their role as harassers, intimidaters, and scalpers which he hoped would cripple the Chickasaw and drive off the English traders (Wells 1994:142-144). Throughout the remainder of the 1740's Choctaw war parties (reportedly totaling near fifteen hundred warriors in September 1742) raided Chickasaw cornfields and English trade caravans--occasionally led by French officers and traders (Usner 1992:87). By the early 1750's these raids had become severe enough to consistently interfere with Chickasaw hunting parties, driving that Chickasaw to develop plans for the dissolution of the Chickasaw nation, sending three villages to settle among the Creek and the other four among the Cherokee (McDowell 1958:17-23, 109-116, 444-446). Relief finally came in 1759 with the defeat of France in the French/Indian War.

Period V (1764-1799) - The Extension of British and Spanish Power

With the withdrawal of the French from the Lower Mississippi Valley in the 1760's, the Chickasaws, as well as the Choctaw and the Upper Creek, were suddenly

faced with a vacuum in the balance of power in the region. The French defeat precipitated a number of large land cessions, including the cession of Louisiana from France to Spain in November of 1762 and the cession of French lands east of the Mississippi River, the Illinois country, and Canada to England in 1763 (Gibson 1971:57). This was quickly followed by the additional acquisition of Florida from Spain to England, giving England a virtual monopoly over the lower Mississippi Valley. Native groups, no longer the object of competitive powers, diplomatic gifts, or 'mercenary employment' were forced to rely solely upon England for their ever increasing dependency on European goods (Rowland and Sanders 1929:23).

Relations between the English and these tribes were formalized in treaties of "peace and friendship" in the spring of 1765 (Gibson 1971:59-60; Wells 1994:168-169). In addition to establishing peace, England also negotiated for the return of all runaway slaves and deserting soldiers, the cession of a specified amount of land along the Gulf Coast, and the regulation of trade through a table of fixed prices (Usner 1992:124). Problems for the Chickasaw began almost immediately with an incredible influx of illegal squatters, the result of the rush for land in West Florida. The favored land route to West Florida was unfortunately via the Ohio and Tennessee rivers, across Chickasaw territory to the Mississippi River (Gibson 1971:63).

This trend continued throughout the 1770's as more and more traders began establishing their own farms and plantations in Chickasaw country , further encroaching upon traditional hunting grounds. This was a direct violation of not only the 1765 treaties but the Proclamation of 1763, which temporarily closed lands west and north of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic (Wells 1994:169, 177). Their frustration is exemplified by the

comments of Paya Mattaha, head chief of the Chickasaws in 1772, citing problems not only with the "presence of white hunters and horse thieves in his country but also reporting that traders were cheating his people by using shorter measures and phoney scales" (Usner 1992:126).

Competition returned to the region with the close of the American Revolution in 1782, ushering in yet another shift in the balance of power. A British defeat resulted in the withdrawal of England from the eastern seaboard in 1783 and West Florida in 1784. The Spanish, eager to capitalize upon the British removal from the Mississippi Valley, immediately began pursuing alliances with the southeastern groups (Gibson 1971:70, 80-81; Usner 1992:273). They regarded the Indians as free citizens of a "sovereign nation" and were allowed to make treaties with any nation, essentially recognizing their legal rights, although they secretly encouraged attacks against Americans near their territorial borders, denying them access to vital commercial ports (Champagne 1992:71; Wells 1994:187, 197-198; Axtell 1997:39). The Spanish also wanted to establish strong trade relations with the Chickasaw so that their lands could serve as a buffer against the westward expansion of the Americans. To achieve this the Spanish supplied the Chickasaw and other southeastern groups with weapons and goods to combat the Americans, giving them the physical means to preserve some level of political and territorial autonomy promised by Spanish officials (Gibson 1971:74).

At first, the Spanish were very successful at implementing this policy. Much of their success was at the expense of the short-lived, largely decentralized American Confederation (Wells 1994). The ratification of the new American constitution in 1789 alleviated this weakness with a much stronger and more centralized federal government.

This allowed the Americans to compete more competently with Spain in matters of Indian trade, diplomacy, and military action (*ibid*). As the eighteenth century drew to a close, the Napoleonic Wars in Europe proved too taxing on Spanish resources and attention. Attention gradually began to be drawn away from Spain's colonial holdings in the southeast. As a result, the southeastern nations soon found the Spanish less and less reliable as trade and military partners.

With the signing of the Treaty of San Lorenzo de Real in 1795, all Spanish claims to the southwestern territory north of thirty-first parallel and west to the Mississippi River were granted to the United States, essentially leaving them the sole power in the Mississippi Valley (Gibson 1971:90; Wells 1994:199). The removal of the Spanish from the lower Mississippi Valley marked the beginning of the end of Chickasaw autonomy. Gone were the days of intense geopolitical rivalries and competitiveness, which provided the Chickasaw with a certain degree of freedom and flexibility in their dealings and relations with the Europeans and later American agents. With the Spanish removal, the American forces were faced with no opposition. This situation forced the Chickasaw into complying with American interests and demands.

Period VI (post-1800) - American Supremacy

Between 1795 and 1818, the American government worked toward consolidating political control over the eastern portion of the present-day United States. Over this 22 year period, the Chickasaw ceded their extensive territory north of the Mississippi through a succession of treaties in 1801, 1805, 1816, and 1818, amounting to over

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20,000,000 acres of land (Rowland 1925:110, 159; Gibson 1971:138-151). Following quickly on the heels of these acts, the state of Mississippi enacted a series of laws that abolished the Chickasaw government and brought them under state jurisdiction (Rowland 1925:159-160). The nation was officially dissolved through a number of negotiations and treaties between 1830 and 1837, in which the Chickasaw agreed to become federally recognized "Chickasaw citizens" and to form a separate district within the Choctaw nation west of the Mississippi, beholden to all Choctaw laws and political organization.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Functional Categorization

A variety of methods or approaches will be utilized to examine the hypotheses stated earlier. Each individual method will be discussed separately so that their use in this research may be fully understood and justified. For assessing the quality or variety of trade items, each archaeological context will be grouped into several basic functional categories based upon those first devised by J. Daniel Rogers (1990) in his study of Arikara contact with Europeans from the early sixteenth through middle nineteenth centuries and William Turnbaugh (1993) in his analysis of seventeenth-century Narragansett society. Both authors rely upon local ethnographic accounts rather than European ideals to formulate these artificial groupings aimed at elucidating the native uses of certain artifact types in a variety of contextual settings (for Rogers these were Domestic earthlodges, Ceremonial earthlodges, and burials; for Turnbaugh these were burials only). For the purposes of this study, each assembly will be separated into two basic intra-site contexts: Burials and Non-Burials.

Table 1 lists the various artifact categories for both sites. Between the two sites, over forty separate artifact categories were identified. While it is true that functional categories can be difficult and/or problematic to interpret, even to the point of masking

significant information, such categories, when derived from the proper contexts, can provide for some insightful commentary into artifact patterning and frequency. The value of this system is that it allows for both a qualitative and quantitative evaluation of the archaeological record at the same time.

The principle guiding this form of analysis is simply the fact that notions of value and meaning assigned to objects by the Europeans were not necessarily transferred by native groups to those same objects (Braund 1993:130-131). It is true, however, that several items such as silk clothing, needles, iron axes, knives, chisels, and so on were acquired because they were items already familiar to native society, allowing individuals to do things in ways that had always been done but with "less effort and new gains in efficiency and durability" (Axtell 1997:63). For other items the shapes, functions, and meanings remained virtually the same. Trade goods such as brass kettles, for example, took on multiple roles, while others still adopted roles and meanings far removed from European notions and ideals. The functional categorization system used in this study is designed to reflect this understanding.

The majority of artifacts recovered from both assemblages fall into the first category of trade items, those whose use and function changed little if at all. These include glass shards (bottles), axes, wedges, chisels, hoes, washers, knives, glass beads, silver earbobs, brass buttons, lead and iron buckle frames, various gun furniture, and ammunition. Gibson illustrates this point in a brief discussion of Chickasaw clothing where Chickasaw women were often observed fashioning loose petticoats from European cloth "with leather belts and brass buckles" (1971:8). Nairne similarly comments on this occurrence in a 1708 letter describing how many Chickasaw women adorned themselves

"with glass pendents, her neck and waists encircled with beads of the same Mettel" (1988:46). Some items, such as silver earbobs, were loosely based upon European prototypes though specifically manufactured for the Indian trade (Brain 1979:163). Trinkets such as silver earbobs and brass buttons can therefore be assigned to the activity groupings of personal adornment and fastening, respectively, with no apparent conflict in their derived meaning or usage.

Historic accounts detail the importance of iron tools among the native populations as well. According to Axtell, a 1759 French trade schedule lists large shipments into Indian country consisting of "2,440 woodcutters' knives, 1,200 clasp knives, 400 pairs of scissors, and 150 brass kettles," clearly illustrating the value native groups placed on these goods (1997:62). Judging from the list above, it appears this was an accurate assessment of Chickasaw desires. The rationale behind the classification of items such as hoes and knives is not necessary considering each had an equivalent in native material culture, e.g. short-handled hoes with blades made of chipped flint or the shoulder blade of large mammals, such as the elk or bison (Hudson 1976:80-81). Much more detail is required of those items which are seemingly out of place or components of larger mechanisms, such as iron chisels, washers, and horse bits.

Iron chisels are frequently recovered from the more northern sites such as Fort Michilimackinac (Stone 1974:183) and were commonly used to punch holes into the ice. Their appearance in the more southern sites has been tied to uses as woodworking tools (Brain 1979:150). Based upon this information, the iron chisel was classified accordingly as an item related to that act of chiseling. The iron washer is another such artifact.

TABLE 1

COMPLETE LISTING OF THE ARTIFACT CATEGORIES AND ACTIVITY GROUPINGS DEFINED FOR BOTH ASSEMBLAGES

Activity Groupings	Site Context Count	Site Context Count	Site Context Count	Site Context Count	Site Context Count	Site Context Count
Containing						
Bottle Fragments	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron Kettle Fragment						
Iron Barrel Hoop Fragment						
Chopping						
Iron Axes						
Cutting						
Knives						
Scraping						
Chipped Glass						
Flattened Iron Gun Barrel						
Digging						
Iron Hoe						
Wedging						
Iron Wedge						
Chiseling						
Iron Chisel						
Personal Adornment						
Silver Earbob Pendent						
Glass Beads						
Brass Beads						
Iron Beads						
Silver Beads						
Lead Bracelet						
Brass Jangler						
Tinkling Cones						
Copper Wire						
Silver Cutout						
Silver Pendent						
Silver Broach						
Copper Dowel						
Brass Cutout						
Brass Pendent						
Brass Ring						
Iron Ring						
Painting						
Vermilion						
Fastening						
Brass Buttons						
Lead Buckle Frame Frag.						
Iron Buckle Frame Frag.						
Joining						
Nails						
Brass Tacks						

TABLE 1

COMPLETE LISTING OF THE ARTIFACT CATEGORIES AND ACTIVITY
GROUPINGS DEFINED FOR BOTH ASSEMBLAGES- CONTINUED

Activity Groupings	Site Context Count	Site Context Count	Site Context Count	Site Context Count	Site Context Count	Site Context Count
Piercing						
Brass Trigger Guard Tang	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron Trigger	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brass Side Plate Frag.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Flintlock Spring? Frag.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Trigger Guard Finial Frag.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron Gun Bridle	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron Gun Screw	-	-	-	-	-	-
Misc. Iron Gun Part	-	-	-	-	-	-
Euro. Spall Gunflints	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lead Sprue	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shot	-	-	-	-	-	-
Balls	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transportation	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron Horse Bit	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other Use	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brass Fragments	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron Fragments	-	-	-	-	-	-
Silver Fragments	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lead Fragments	-	-	-	-	-	-
Misc. Iron Rod	-	-	-	-	-	-
Misc. Iron Bar	-	-	-	-	-	-
Misc. Glass Flakes	-	-	-	-	-	-
Misc. Lead Object	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron Washer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	0	0	0	0	0	0

According to Stone, iron washers similar to these were identified as components of small padlocks (1974:235). Since padlocks were meant to secure various containers, their inclusion in the containing grouping should come as no surprise.

During the eighteenth century, the horse became the accepted mode of transportation among the southeastern groups (Adair 1930). Not only were these animals valuable as packhorses and a reliable mode of transportation, they also functioned as trade commodities (Braund 1993:76-77). Perhaps their greatest use to the native groups came via the deerskin trade, where hunters could remain in the field for extended periods of time, traverse much more land, and transport larger quantities of skins back to the ports for trade (Braund 1993:64-66). Based upon this information, the classification of the iron horse bit into the transportation category is summarily justified.

Items such as brass janglers, beads, cut-outs, copper wire or dowel, and tinkling cones, silver beads, pendents, and cut-outs, lead bracelets, iron rings, chipped glass shards, a flattened gun barrel, and an iron chisel were specifically manufactured or modified to accommodate certain existing native forms and meanings. It should be noted that nearly all of these artifact categories belong to the personal adornment grouping due to their inherent value as articles to beautify oneself or one's personal articles (the chipped glass and flattened gun barrel being the only exceptions). Most of these items were cut from sheet metal or salvaged brass/copper and silver, usually in the form of kettles or silver jars that were in some way "unserviceable" (Brain 1979:178,195). Copper wire, often used in the frontier and colonies as a form of "colonial duct tape" and in servicing traps, was traditionally sold to native groups on pencil-like spindles, where they were made into "squeezable hair pluckers to rid native faces of unsightly and

unintelligent beards" (Axtell 1997:67). The lead bracelet, very similar to the classic Type-C brass bracelets made from the same wire coils described above, (see Quimby 1966:72; Brain 1979:193), appears to have been made from an unserviceable lead buckle frame, possibly a shoe frame given its diminutive diameter. A literature search has yielded no similar occurrences.

The remainder of these artifacts, the chipped glass shards and flattened iron gun barrel, found use as supplemental tools. Miscellaneous glass shards were commonly reshaped for use as scrapers, knives, and points by native individuals (Axtell 1997:67). Signs of both re-sharpening and wear-use on these artifacts suggest their use as scrapers, similar to examples from the Gilbert, Guebert, and Chickasaw Agency sites (Jelks 1967:111; Good 1972:180; Atkinson 1985). Once broken or otherwise unusable, gun barrels were often heated red hot to amplify the torture of war captives or flattened for use as hide scrapers or fleshers (Hamilton 1982:77; Axtell 1997:67). Since this particular gun barrel was apparently flattened, the latter use seems probable. From this information, both the chipped glass shards and gun barrel were included in the cutting activity grouping.

The last item to be discussed belongs to the painting activity grouping. Vermilion, also known as ground cinnabar, was a favorite trade item among several native groups participating in the European trade market (Swanton 1911:54; Yearous 1991:48). It is composed of deep scarlet pigment known as mercury sulfide that originally was imported to England from China (Braund 1993:123). This product was typically mixed with bear grease for use as a war paint, apparently producing a more vibrant shade of scarlet than local flora could provide (*ibid).

Determining the Overall Assemblage Composition

To evaluate of the overall assemblage composition, the activity groupings defined above will be subsumed into broader groupings, designated activity events. These "event" groupings include the following: warfare, hunting/fishing, horticulture/plant gathering, tool or product manufacture/maintenance, and socioceremonial. According to Rogers, this system is wholly dependent upon the relations between things and not "discrete numerical partitioning," so that categories may be viewed as relevant to one or more major activity events, allowing for a "truer reflection of reality" (1990:149). This grouping allows for a more broad-based look at these collections, allowing for a certain degree of flexibility in the placement of corresponding artifact categories, so that the overall nature or character of the assemblage may be accurately gauged in addition to establishing a reliable numerical relationship between the two groups. Using this classification, the overall character of the assemblage may be judged in light of the English/French geopolitical climate and its influence over the formation of factions and Chickasaw material culture in general. While it is well-known that firearms (included within the piercing activity grouping) were an integral component of the deerskin trade, other items involved with the preparation of the skins for trade are not so obvious. In order to determine which of the above activity events, activity groupings, and artifact categories were affiliated with this aspect of the trade, a brief discussion of the methods used to process the skins is required.

Deerskins arrived in colonial markets in one of three forms: raw, half-dressed, and fully dressed. Raw skins are just what the name implies; they were directly obtained

from the hunter and transported back to market by the trader (Axtell 1997:48). Half-dressed skins, the most common during the colonial period, were devoid of all flesh and most of the hair and briefly smoked to prevent immediate decay for their transport to market (Robinson 1979:100; *ibid*). The final and last type, fully dressed skins, was apparently the most time consuming and tedious of the three to ready for market. After removing the "snouts, hooves, tails, and ears" the skins were then carefully smoked over "corncob smudges, pounded with stones, and rubbed with deer brains to soften and preserve them" (Axtell 1997:48-49).

As these descriptions imply, the first step in processing deerskins involved cleaning the skin. Scrapers, 'fleshers', and other various cutting implements were used to remove the tissue and animal fat from the skin (Braund 1993:68; Johnson 1997:225). Once completed, the edges of the skin were pierced by an awl or drill so that they could be stretched and laced to a wooden frame for drying in the sun (Johnson 1997:225). Once removed, skins were either immediately smoked if going half-dressed to the market, or subjected to further scrutiny if going fully dressed to the market. This further scrutiny first involved the removal of any leftover hair, followed by a soaking in a solution of deer brains and water (Braund 1993:68). After soaking, the skin was "curried or paddled" to remove any access fluid and to soften it (Gibson 1971:25). The skin was then stretched and dried a final time, after which it was placed in a shallow fire pit to be smoked (Braund 1993:68).

Judging from these accounts, the activity events pertaining to the acquisition and preparation of deerskins would be the tool or product manufacture/maintenance and the hunting/gathering events (which includes the iron horse bit as a representative of the

method used to transport goods to and fro the market). Those activity groupings directly affiliated with processing the skins include the following: cutting (iron knives), scraping (chipped glass shards and flattened iron gun barrel), transportation (iron horse bit), and the piercing (consisting of the possible gun components, which could equally be reflexive of the consistent aggression between the Choctaw and the Chickasaw). The cutting and scraping groupings are integral to the initial processing of the hide. The piercing grouping is rather obvious in that it includes weapon of choice for landing deer, the flintlock rifle. The only items missing from this listing are awls, needles, or files needed to pierce the skin for strapping to the drying frame. It is very possible that categories from the joining grouping, iron nails and brass tacks, could have been used in place of these other artifacts to perforate the edges of the hides. Unfortunately, there is no documentation of such usage, at least in the contemporary ethnohistorical accounts, that details the use of either nails or tacks in this role.

It should be quickly noted before proceeding further, however, that the artifact categorization system does not detail the specific qualities of two trade items, glass beads and gunflints, to the level of most archaeological analyzes. This is because a separation of these two categories into method of manufacture for beads, or origin of materials for gunflints, is not necessarily relevant to a discussion of artifact usage. Such stylistic separations may or may not reflect different artifact usages and are therefore not an issue.

Based upon this background information and the hypotheses proposed earlier, the projected outcome of this organizational scheme should be assemblages composed primarily of artifact categories associated with the acquisition (hunting/plant gathering event) and processing (tool or product manufacture/maintenance event) of deerskins.

These expectations can best be illustrated graphically, using a simple two-dimensional chart to assess the composition of each assemblage (see Figure 5). The vertical axis represents the distance between a site and its trade center in kilometers, ranging from zero through 900. The horizontal axis represents the amount of artifact categories (trade goods) associated with the deerskin trade. It is organized numerically, with a low artifact count on the far left and a high artifact count on the far right. Actual numerical increments will be added latter to provide an ample margin for potentially high or low artifact counts. Based upon contemporary historical information, the sample data should fall somewhere in the in the lower right quadrant of the graph where high artifact amounts and closer distances meet, thus providing a standard against which the analyzed data can be appraised.

FIGURE 5

	900 km				
	850 km				
	800 km				
	750 km				
	700 km				
	650 km				
	600 km				
	550 km				

Low Artifact Count

High Artifact Count

| 2 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 10 | 500 km | 12 | 14 | 16 | 18 |

	450 km				
	400 km				
	350 km				
	300 km				
	250 km				
	200 km				
	150 km				
	100 km				
	50 km				
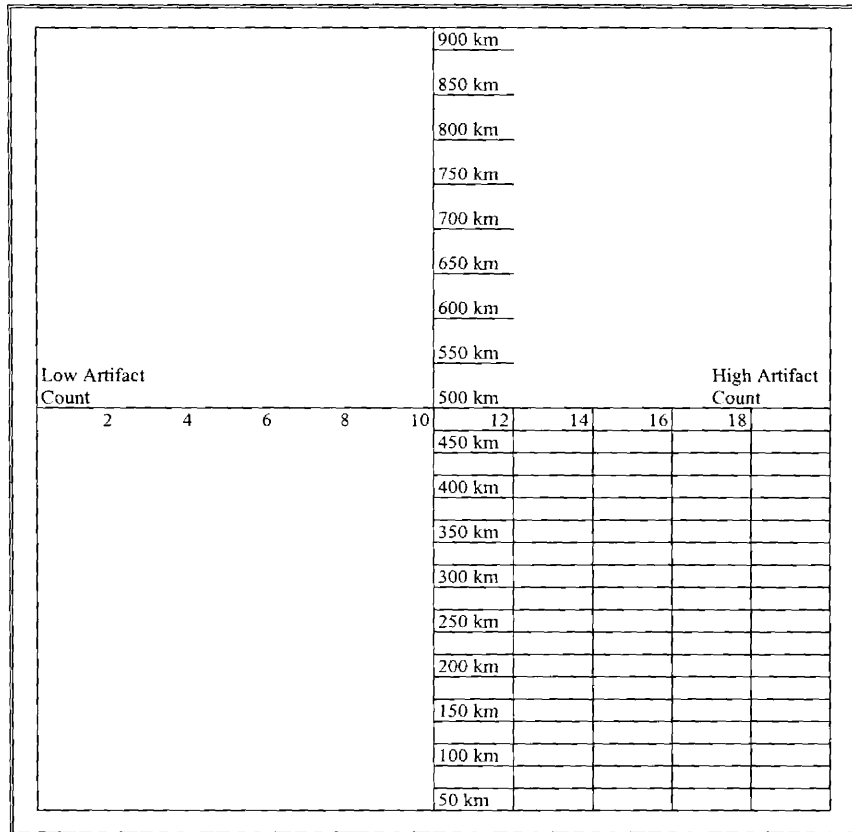
Legend		
A	=	Site 22-Le-907
B	=	Site 22-Le-912

Chart depicting the projected results of the site composition analysis .

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Introduction

As stated earlier, this system relies heavily upon the works of Rogers (1990) and Turnbaugh (1993) to establish a both qualitative and quantitative method for assessing material variety. These artifact categories represent a combination of inferred (meaning categories derived from commonly used archaeological classifications) and ethnohistorically observed usage. They are then subsumed into broader activity groupings that reflect individual artifact use while still allowing for a certain degree of flexibility. These groupings are further subsumed into a larger system of five activity events that represent more broad-based activities: warfare, hunting/fishing, horticulture/plant gathering, tool or product manufacture/maintenance, and socioceremonial (Rogers 1990:150-152).

Site 22-Le-907

A total of 39 artifact categories and nine activity groupings were defined for this assemblage (see Table 2). The activity groupings consist of the following: containing, represented by 33.33% (n=13) of the 39 recorded categories.

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF ARTIFACT CATEGORIES AND ACTIVITY GROUPINGS BY SITE ASSEMBLAGE

Activity Groupings	22-Le-907 Count	Totals	22-Le-912 Count	Totals
Containing				
Bottle Fragments	32	3.47%	63	0.98%
Iron Kettle Fragment	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Iron Barrel Hoop Fragment	-	0.00%	1	0.02%
Chopping				
Iron Axes	2	2.50%		0.00%
Cutting				
Knives	5	0.54%	3	0.05%
Scraping				
Chipped Glass	3	0.33%	4	0.06%
Flattened Iron Gun Barrel	-	0.00%	1	0.02%
Digging				
Iron Hoe		0.00%	1	0.02%
Wedging				
Iron Wedge		0.00%	1	0.02%
Chiseling				
Iron Chisel	-	0.00%	1	0.02%
Personal Adornment				
Silver Earbob Pendent	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Glass Beads	740	80.26%	6273	97.62%
Brass Beads	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Iron Beads	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Silver Beads	2	0.22%	3	0.05%
Lead Bracelet	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Brass Jangler	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Tinkling Cones	4	0.43%	3	0.05%
Copper Wire	2	0.22%	-	0.00%
Silver Cutout	-	0.00%	1	0.02%
Silver Pendent	-	0.00%	1	0.02%
Silver Broach	-	0.00%	2	0.03%
Copper Dowel	-	0.00%	1	0.02%
Brass Cutout	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Brass Pendent	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Brass Ring	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Iron Ring	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Painting				
Vermilion		0.00%	1	0.02%
Fastening				
Brass Buttons	3	0.33%	5	0.08%
Lead Buckle Frame Frag.	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Iron Buckle Frame Frag.	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Joining				
Nails	2	0.22%	4	0.06%
Brass Tacks	2	0.22%	-	0.00%

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF ARTIFACT CATEGORIES AND ACTIVITY GROUPINGS BY
SITE ASSEMBLAGE - CONTINUED

Activity Groupings	22-Le-907 Count	Totals	22-Le-912 Count	Totals
Piercing				
Brass Trigger Guard Tang	-	0.00%	1	0.02%
Iron Trigger	-	0.00%	1	0.02%
Brass Side Plate Frag.	-	0.00%	1	0.02%
Flintlock Spring? Frag.	-	0.00%	1	0.02%
Trigger Guard Finial Frag.	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Iron Gun Bridle	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Iron Gun Screw	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Misc. Iron Gun Part	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Euro. Spall Gunflints	9	0.98%	15	0.23%
Lead Sprue	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Shot	4	0.43%	7	0.11%
Balls	2	0.22%	4	0.06%
Transportation				
Iron Horse Bit		0.00%	1	0.02%
Other Use				
Brass Fragments	4	0.43%	4	0.06%
Iron Fragments	44	4.77%	-	0.00%
Silver Fragments	1	0.11%	17	0.26%
Lead Fragments	27	2.93%	4	0.06%
Misc. Iron Rod	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Misc. Iron Bar	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Misc. Glass Flakes	14	1.52%	-	0.00%
Misc. Lead Object	1	0.11%	-	0.00%
Iron Washer	-	0.00%	1	0.02%
Totals	922	100.00%	6426	100.00%

chopping, cutting, scraping, personal adornment, fastening, joining, piercing, and other use. Personal adornment was the most prominent of the groupings for Site 22-Le-907, This was followed by the piercing and other use activity groupings, each accounting for 20.51% (n=8) of the total. The remaining activity groupings break down as follows: fastening 7.69% (n=3), containing 5.13% (n=2), joining 5.13% (n=2), chopping 2.56% (n=1), cutting 2.56% (n=1), and scraping 2.56% (n=1). Figure 5 contains a complete listing of the above distributions.

The fact that six of these groupings contained three or fewer artifact categories each suggests that goods associated with them were either in less demand, more difficult to acquire, or sporadically acquired as the need arose, possibly due to the longevity of several of these items (glass bottles, iron knives, axes, and nails, buttons, etc.). The remaining three activity groupings, personal adornment, piercing, and other use, however, contained a much wider array of categories, implying a greater demand, desire, or need in Chickasaw material culture. Including the other use group would be suspect if not for the fact that any of the items reflected in this grouping may be the remnants of something usable or were originally specifically acquired to produce something usable.

Table 3 represents a numerical breakdown of artifact categories by individual activity grouping for each site context. Artifact categories belonging to the personal adornment grouping dominate the assemblage, amounting to approximately 82.10%, (n=757), of the categories recovered. This is a rather misleading figure considering that one artifact category alone, glass trade beads, constitutes approximately 97.80% of this particular activity grouping and 80.30% of the total artifact assemblage.

There are other, more meaningful differences in the distribution of artifact categories between the major contextual divisions. The categories iron kettle fragments, iron axes, wrought nails, iron gun bridle, iron gun screw, misc. iron gun part, iron buckle fragment, misc. iron bar, copper wire, brass beads, brass trigger guard finial fragment, brass jangler, brass pendents, lead bracelet, lead sprue, lead buckle fragment, misc. lead object, silver earbob pendent, and chipped glass shards are isolated to non-burial contexts (accounting for 15 of the total 39 categories). Conversely, the categories iron beads, iron rings, brass rings, brass cutouts, brass tacks, silver beads, and silver fragments are isolated to only the burial contexts (accounting for seven of the 39 categories).

To assess the overall composition of the site assemblage, each artifact category will be subsumed under their respective larger activity event (see Figure 7). It should be noted that these findings, by design, account for multiple artifact usage. The results of this analysis clearly demonstrate that the artifacts affiliated with the socioceremonial activity event are by far the most noticeable, totaling 16 artifact categories. This is followed by artifacts affiliated with the warfare, hunting/fishing, and tool or product manufacture/maintenance activity events, each represented by eight artifact categories. Only four artifacts were found to be affiliated with the horticulture/plant gathering activity event. This information certainly suggests differing levels of demand, need, and/or obtainability for artifacts associated with certain activity events, with items belonging to the socioceremonial activity event evidentially being the most frequently or easily acquired and items belonging to the horticulture/plant gathering activity event being the least frequently or easily acquired. Those items associated with the warfare, hunting/fishing, and tool or product manufacture/maintenance activity events appear to be

comparable to each other in demand and/or obtainability. It will be interesting to see how these trends are manifested in the separate site contexts.

Non-Burials

The first major context to be considered is non-burials. All nine of the activity groupings identified for the total site assemblage are represented in some form in this context (see Figure 8). The personal adornment and piercing activity groupings were the most prominent groupings, accounting for a combined 48.48% of the recorded total, each represented by eight artifact categories. The other use activity grouping was the next prominent, accounting for 21.21% (n=7) of the total. The remaining activity groupings break down as follows: fastening 9.09% (n=3), joining 6.06% (n=2), containing 6.06% (n=2), chopping 3.03% (n=1), scraping 3.03% (n=1), and cutting 3.03% (n=1). As would be expected, the frequency of items per activity grouping decreases in comparison to the total site assemblage. Nowhere is this better expressed than in the personal adornment grouping, shrinking from 13 artifact categories containing 757 artifacts seven artifact categories containing 36 individual artifacts.

This trend seems to imply a specified functional role attributed for this contexts. Table 5 showing the general composition of some 39 artifact categories according to activity events supports this observation with 30.77% (n=12) of the artifact categories reflexive of socioceremonial and 41.02% (n=8 each) of the artifact categories reflexive of both warfare and hunting/fishing events. The remaining activity groupings break down as follows: tool or product manufacture/maintenance 17.95% (n=7) and

FIGURE 6
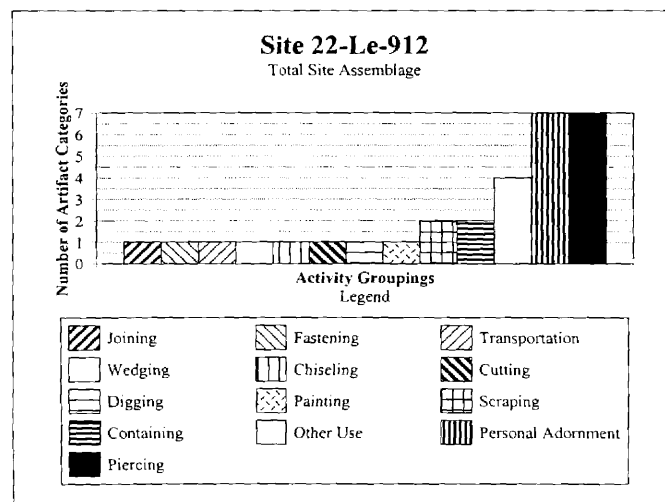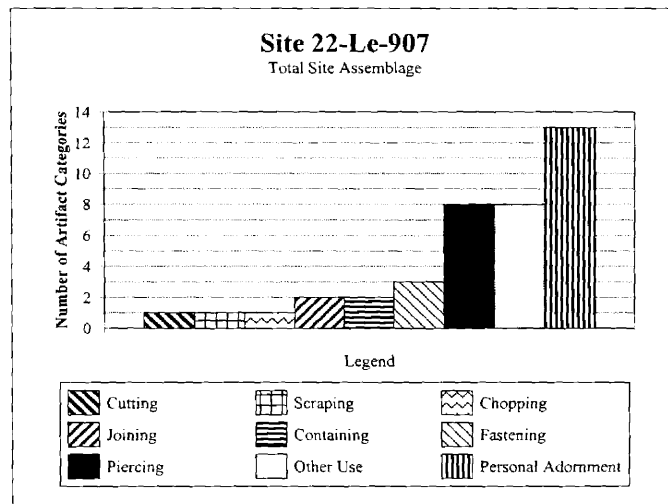
Frequency Distribution of Activity Groupings for both site assemblages.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF ARTIFACT CATEGORIES AND ACTIVITY GROUPINGS BY INTRA-SITE CONTEXTS FOR SITE 22-LE-907

Activity Groupings	Burials	Non-Burials	Categories	TOTALS Groupings	Percentage
Containing				33	3.58%
Bottle Fragments	2	30	32		
Iron Kettle Frag.	-	1	1		
Chopping				2	0.22%
Iron Axes	-	2	2		
Cutting				5	0.54%
Knives	-	5	5		
Scraping				3	0.33%
Chipped Glass	1	2	3		
Personal Adornment				757	82.10%
Silver Earbob Pendent	-	1	1		
Glass Beads	713	27	740		
Brass Beads	-	1	1		
Iron Beads	1	-	1		
Silver Beads	2	-	2		
Lead Bracelet	-	1	1		
Brass Jangler	-	1	1		
Tinkling Cones	2	2	4		
Copper Wire	-	2	2		
Brass Cutout	1	-	1		
Brass Pendent	-	1	1		
Brass Ring	1	-	1		
Iron Ring	1	-	1		
Fastening				5	0.54%
Brass Buttons	1	2	3		
Lead Buckle Frame Frag.	-	1	1		
Iron Buckle Frame Frag.	-	1	1		
Joining				4	0.43%
Nails	-	2	2		
Brass Tacks	2	-	2		
Piercing				20	2.17%
Trigger Guard Finial Frag.	-	1	1		
Iron Gun Bridle	-	1	1		
Iron Gun Screw	-	1	1		
Misc. Iron Gun Part	-	1	1		
Euro. Spall Gunflints	-	9	9		
Lead Sprue	-	1	1		
Shot	3	1	4		
Balls	-	2	2		
Other Use				93	10.09%
Brass Fragments	1	3	4		
Iron Fragments	34	10	44		
Silver Fragments	1	-	1		
Lead Fragments	-	27	27		
Misc. Iron Rod	-	1	1		
Misc. Iron Bar	-	1	1		
Misc. Glass Flakes	4	10	14		
Misc. Lead Object	-	1	1		
Totals	770	152	922	922	100.00%

FIGURE 7
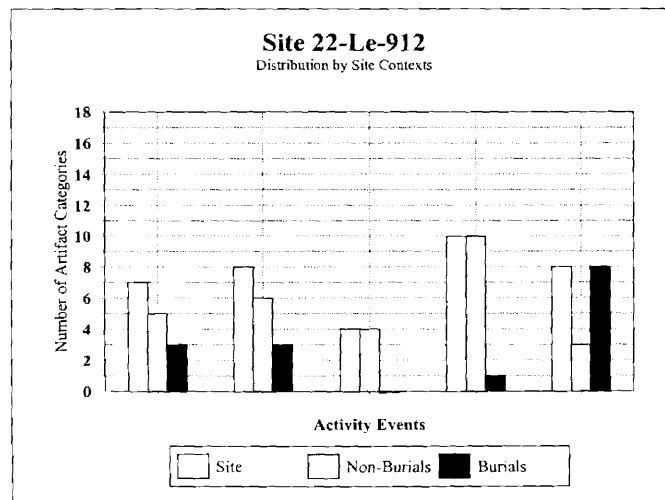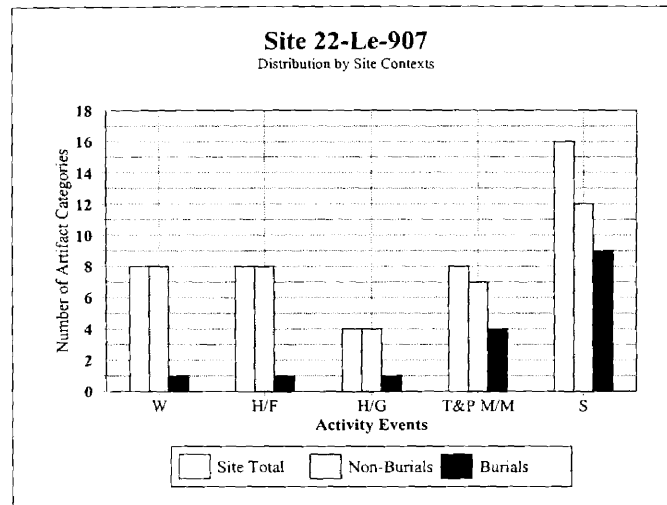
Distribution of Activity Events for both site assemblages and their respective intra-site contexts.

horticulture/plant gathering 10.26% (n=4). It clearly demonstrates that for these contexts, the majority of artifact categories reflect the material culture of everyday necessity. If this is true, it should also be these contexts will also differ significantly from other site contexts in their composition. This does not automatically presume, however, that non-burial assemblages should be comprised mostly of tools. On the contrary, the distribution of artifact categories clearly showed that the personal adornment activity grouping comprised a sizable portion of the non-burial assemblage composition (see Figure 8).

Burials

The second major context to be discussed is burials. Unlike the non-burial features, burials did noticeably vary from the overall site composition. The first major context to be considered is non-burials. Only seven of the nine activity groupings identified for the entire assemblage were observed at this level (see Figure 8). Not surprisingly, the personal adornment activity grouping was the most prominent grouping, accounting for 43.75% (n=7) of the recorded total. The other use activity grouping was the next prominent, accounting for 25.00 % (n=4) of the total. The remaining activity groupings break down as follows: piercing 6.25% (n=1), fastening 6.25% (n=1), containing 6.25% (n=1), joining 6.25% (n=1), and scraping 6.25% (n=1). Once again, the frequency of items per activity grouping decreases in comparison to the total assemblage. This is most dramatically expressed in the piercing activity grouping, shrinking from eight to one artifact category, and from 20 to only one solitary artifact. The significance of this is increased in light of the fact that items found in burial contexts

were presumably placed there in accordance with Chickasaw beliefs. Artifacts in non-burial contexts, for example, consist mostly of trash and debris deposits, though it is possible for feature items to be disposed of in a "ritually prescribed manner" as well (Rogers 1990:181). Since these truths are, in general, universally accepted, there is no reason to further justify that burials assumed specific functional roles different from features or other contexts. Figure 7 clearly demonstrates that in burials, the majority of artifact categories reflect material culture of socioceremonial significance, i.e. items reflecting personal adornment.

This is strikingly different from the non-burial contexts whose very artifact composition stress items more reflexive of the everyday aspects of Chickasaw material culture. This is not to say that items unaffiliated with personal adornment or decoration are foreign or alien to burial contexts. In fact, quite the contrary is actually true. Table 3 denotes the occasional presence in burials of items reflecting activities such as containing or fastening. These could possibly be incidental inclusions in the burial fill and not directly associated with an individual. Nonetheless, it should follow that burials will differ from other site contexts in their composition, stressing those items more reflexive of socioceremonial significance, often expressed in an individual's personal appearance.

Site 22-Le-912

A total of 30 artifact categories and 13 activity groupings were defined for this assemblage (see Table 2). The personal adornment and piercing activity groupings were the most prominent, accounting for a combined 46.67% of the 30 recorded categories,

FIGURE 8

Site 22-Le-907
Non-Burial Contexts

Site 22-Le-907
Burial Contexts
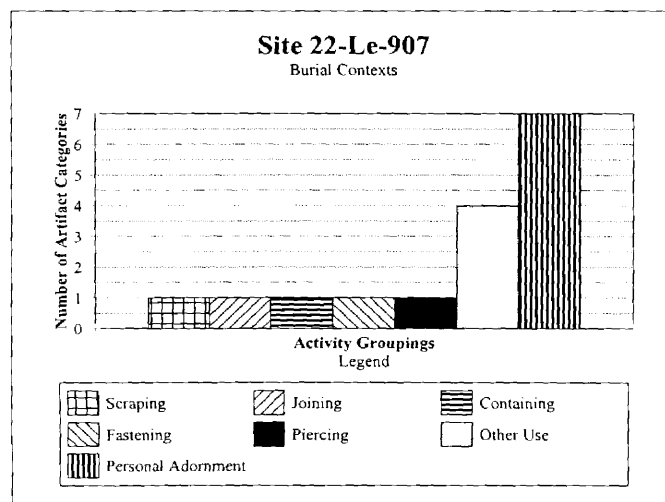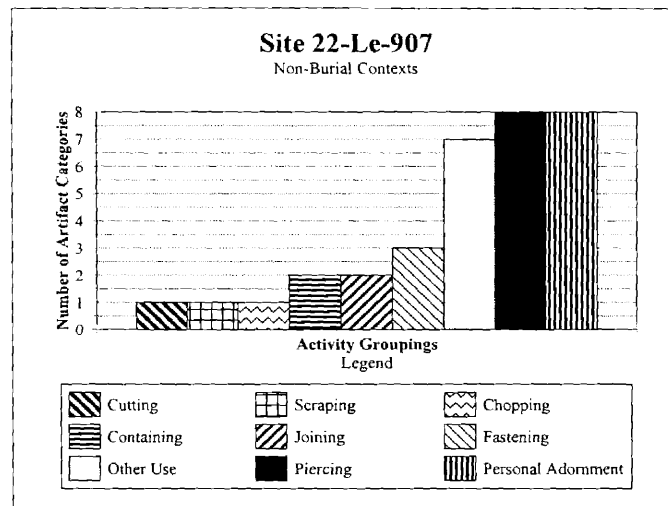
Frequency Distribution of Activity Groupings for both intra-site contexts, Site 22-Le-907.

each represented by seven artifact categories apiece. This was followed closely by the other use activity grouping at 13.33% (n=4). The remaining activity groupings breaks down as follows: containing 6.67% (n=2), scraping 6.67% (n=2), painting 3.33% (n=1), digging 3.33% (n=1), cutting 3.33% (n=1), chiseling 3.33% (n=1), wedging 3.33% (n=1), transportation 3.33% (n=1), fastening 3.33% (n=1), and joining 3.33% (n=1). Figure 6 contains the complete graphical tabulation of these groupings.

The fact that eight of these groupings possessed only one artifact category suggests the similar existence of differing levels of demand, need, and/or obtainability that was observed earlier with Site 22-Le-907. However, the distributions of the remaining activity groupings scraping, containing, personal adornment, piercing, and other use are indicative of a much wider array, implying an increased desire, need, or significance for and of these goods. The other use activity grouping is restricted to artifact categories defined as miscellaneous metal fragments. As discussed earlier, these items are historically and archaeologically known to have served a variety of uses and, as such, their true nature in relation to the composition of the site assemblage is somewhat unclear.

Table 4 illustrates the numerical breakdown of artifact categories according to individual activity grouping for each of the site's major contexts. The personal adornment grouping contains the majority of the artifact categories recorded at 97.79 % (n=6284). As was true of the previous assemblage, this grouping consists primarily of a single artifact category, glass trade beads, constituting approximately 99.82 % of this particular activity grouping and 97.61 % of the total artifact assemblage. Distributional variations were again observed between the two contexts. The artifact categories iron

barrel hoop fragments, iron knives, iron gun barrel, iron wedge, iron chisel, iron hoe, iron trigger, iron flintlock fragment, iron horse bit, iron washer, brass trigger guard, brass side plate, misc. brass fragments, and misc. lead fragments are limited to the non-burial contexts (accounting for 15 of the 30 total categories). In contrast, the artifact categories silver beads, silver pendents, silver cutout, copper dowel, and vermilion are confined to burials and burials only (accounting for six of the 30 categories).

To assess the overall composition of the site assemblage, each artifact category will be subsumed under its respective larger activity event (see Figure 7). The results of this analysis clearly show a more balanced distribution of artifact categories than that observed with Site 22-Le-907. The tool or product manufacture/maintenance activity event is represented by nine artifact categories, followed closely by the socioceremonial activity event with eight artifact categories. Somewhat less common were items belonging to the warfare and hunting/fishing activity events with seven artifact categories apiece, and the horticulture/plant gathering activity event with four artifact categories. This information certainly reflects a more balanced division of activities as seen through the trade goods, with four of the five major activity events represented by virtually identical frequency distributions of artifact categories. It will be interesting to see how these trends are manifested in the separate site contexts.

Non-Burials

The first major context to be considered is non-burial features. Only three of the activity groupings defined for the total site assemblage are represented here (Figure 9).

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF ARTIFACT CATEGORIES AND ACTIVITY GROUPINGS FOR SITE 22-LE-912

Activity Groupings	Burials	Non-Burials	Categories	TOTALS Groupings	Percentage
Containing				64	1.00%
Bottle Fragments		63	63		
Iron Barrel Hoop Frag.		1	1		
Cutting				3	0.05%
Knives/Frags.		3	3		
Scraping				5	0.08%
Chipped Glass		4	4		
Flattened Iron Gun Barrel		1	1		
Digging				1	0.02%
Iron Hoe		1	1		
Wedging				1	0.02%
Iron Wedge		1	1		
Chiseling				1	0.02%
Iron Chisel	-	1	1		
Personal Adornment				6284	97.79%
Glass Beads	6248	25	6273		
Silver Beads	3	-	3		
Silver Pendent	1	-	1		
Silver Broach	1	1	2		
Copper Dowel	1	-	1		
Tinkling Cones	2	1	3		
Silver Cutout	1	-	1		
Painting				1	0.02%
Vermilion	1	-	1		
Fastening				5	0.08%
Brass Buttons	1	4	5		
Joining				4	0.06%
Nails	1	3	4		
Piercing				30	0.47%
Brass Trigger Guard Tang	-	1	1		
Iron Trigger	-	1	1		
Brass Side Plate Frag.	-	1	1		
Flintlock Spring? Frag.	-	1	1		
Euro. Spall Gunflints	10	5	15		
Shot	2	5	7		
Balls	1	3	4		
Transportation				1	0.02%
Iron Horse Bit	-	1	1		
Other Use				26	0.40%
Brass Fragments	-	4	4		
Silver Fragments	16	1	17		
Lead Fragments	-	4	4		
Iron Washer	-	1	1		
Totals	6289	137	6426	6426	100.00%

The piercing activity grouping is by far the most prominent grouping, accounting for 28.00% (n=7) of the recorded total. The other use and personal adornment activity groupings are the next prominent, accounting for 16.00% (n=4) and 12.00% (n=3) of the total respectively. The remaining activity groupings break down as follows: containing 8.00% (n=2), scraping 8.00% (n=2), chiseling 4.00% (n=1), digging 4.00% (n=1), cutting 4.00% (n=1), joining 4.00% (n=1), fastening 4.00% (n=1), transportation 4.00% (n=1), and wedging 4.00% (n=1).

Glass bottle fragments were the most plentiful artifact from these contexts, accounting for 45.99% (n=63) of the non-burial goods. Glass trade beads were the next plentiful, accounting for 18.25% (n=25) of the total. The remaining 35.76% (n=49) consists of artifact categories which contain no more than five individual artifacts each. The frequency of items per activity grouping in non-burial contexts closely mirrors the overall site assemblage except for a slight decrease in the frequency of personal adornment artifact categories and the total absence of the painting activity grouping. A closer examination of the activity groupings by activity event reveals that nearly all of the artifact categories that comprise the warfare, hunting/fishing, and horticulture/plant gathering activity events are from non-burial contexts (see Figure 7). The tool or product manufacture/maintenance activity event was the most prominent event, accounting for 35.71% (n=10) of the recorded total. The hunting/fishing and warfare were the next prominent, accounting for 21.41% (n=6) and 17.86% (n=5) respectively. The remaining activity events break down as follows: horticulture/plant gathering 14.29% (n=4) and socioceremonial 10.71% (n=3). It should be noted that this particular context most

FIGURE 9

Site 22-Le-912
Non-Burial Contexts

Site 22-Le-912
Burial Contexts
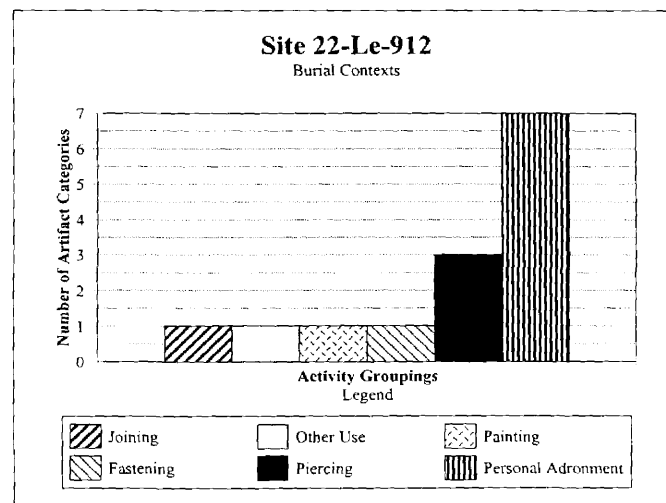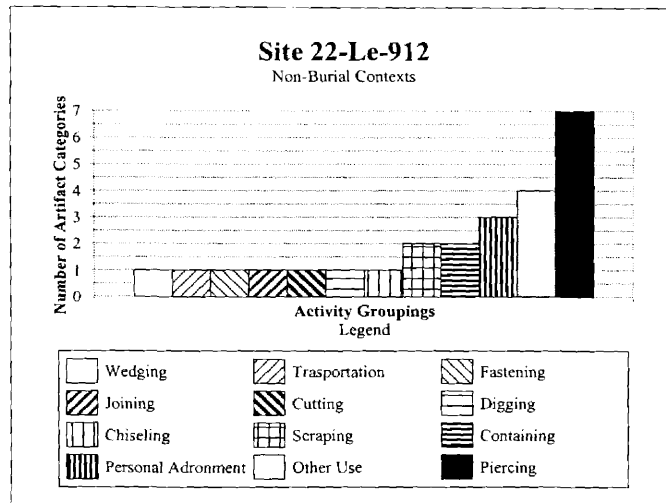
Frequency Distributions of Activity Groupings for both intra-site contexts, Site 22-Le-912.

closely resembles the feature assemblages examined earlier from Site 22-Le-907 in overall composition. As these frequency distributions clearly demonstrate, the contents of non-burial features consist mostly of items reflecting domestic or utilitarian usages.

Burials

As was true of the burials at Site 22-Le-907, burial contents at Site 22-Le-912 noticeably varied from the overall site composition. Only six of the nine activity groupings defined for the total assemblage were observed in the burials (see Figure 9). The personal adornment activity grouping was the most prominent of the groupings, accounting for 50.00% (n=7) of the 14 recorded total. Next in prominence was the piercing activity grouping, accounting for 21.43% (n=3) to the total. The remaining activity groupings break down as follows: fastening 7.14% (n=1), painting 7.14% (n=1), other use 7.14% (n=1), and joining 7.14%(n=1). Once again, the frequency of items per activity grouping decreases in comparison to the total site assemblage. This is most dramatically expressed in the distribution of items belonging to the piercing activity grouping, shrinking from seven artifact categories containing 17 artifacts to three artifact categories containing 10 artifacts.

Figure 7 clearly demonstrates that in these burials, the majority of artifact categories reflect material culture of a socioceremonial nature. The socioceremonial activity event was the most prominent, accounting for 53.33% (n=8) of the recorded total. The warfare and hunting/fishing activity events were the next prominent, accounting for a combined 40.00% (n=3 each). The tool or product manufacture/maintenance activity

event accounts for the remaining 6.67% (n=1) of the recorded total. Based upon this information, items belonging to other activity groupings such as piercing or fastening appear secondary, or at least of less importance, possibly even intrusive in origin. This is strikingly similar to observations made of burials at Site 22-Le-907. If these similarities hold true for the remainder of this analysis, then it can be expected that other contexts will reflect the everyday aspects of Chickasaw material culture, while burials contexts were exclusively reserved for the expression of social/ritual beliefs and ideology.

Evaluation of Hypotheses

These results indicate not only a strong preference towards items reflexive of decorative and utilitarian usages, but a strong sense of diversity in the contents of the various contexts, especially when one considers the tight temporal range of these sites. In light of this discussion, the questions posed by this study will be addressed. In the following section, each hypothesis will be listed and evaluated separately to assess viability and validity.

Hypothesis #1

A site located in the Small Prairie should possess a large proportion of goods directly related to the active participation in and maintenance of the deerskin trade. For the purpose of this study, these should be items reflecting the hunting of and/or the processing of the skins to trade.

According to background research, the activity events associated with the deerskin trade include the hunting/fishing and tool or product manufacture/maintenance events. For this hypothesis to be true, these events would need to be the primary contents of each assemblage. Judging from their initial distribution, the majority of artifacts reflected either the socioceremonial activity event (as in the case of Site 22-Le-907) or the tool or product manufacture/maintenance activity event (as in the case of Site 22-Le-912), only partially fulfilling the necessary conditions. For a more accurate assessment of these findings, it was decided to plot the combined distributions of these activity events graphically, producing a template exclusively focusing upon this data.

The resultant template projected higher amounts of artifacts related to these activity events for assemblages closer to colonial trade centers. Given the close proximity of these assemblages to the French trade center at Mobile (approximately 250 kilometers away), high distributions were expected. When these data were plotted onto the chart, they were found to lie well within the projected area (see Figure 10). The hunting/fishing and tool or product manufacture/maintenance activity events accounted for 36.36% (n=16) of the recorded activity events. For Site 22-Le-912, these two activity events accounted for 48.65% (n=18) of the recorded activity events. Although these data do not represent a clear majority of the activity events for either assemblage, they clearly are a primary activity, testifying to the importance of the deerskin trade to Chickasaw material culture.

Hypothesis #2

A site located in the Small Prairie should possess a greater diversity of trade goods in addition to larger amounts of trade goods in relation to sites located in the Large Prairie. This may be manifested in one or more of the following ways: a small number of artifacts that correspond to a small number of activities, a large number of artifacts that correspond to a small number of activities, and/or some combination of the two. For example, an assemblage consisting of glass, brass, and silver trade beads, pendents, and tinkling cones and gunflints, balls, shot, trigger guard finials, and side plates would conform to only two basic activities, personal decoration and hunting/warfare respectively; conversely, an assemblage consisting of glass bottle fragments, axes, knives, hoe, buttons, and nails would conform to multiple activities, i.e. chopping, cutting, storing, cultivating, etc.

From the evidence gathered thus far, it would seem that both sites possess a wide array of trade goods, represented not only in the overall quantity of goods but in the diversity as well, reflected in the functional uses of these goods. Both sites combine for well over 7,300 trade artifacts, a potential misleading figure considering that approximately 95.44 % (N=7,013) were glass trade beads. The qualitative differences in these assemblages were expressed in the frequency of categories defined by Rogers (1990) and Turnbaugh (1993).

As stated earlier, Sites 22-Le-907 and 22-Le-912 were represented by 39 and 30 artifact categories, and nine and 13 activity groupings, respectively. This number is actually smaller number considering the fact that 28 of the 69 artifact categories and 16 of the 22 activity groupings are duplicates, meaning they were counted twice, once per assemblage. This means that there are a total of 25 artifact categories unique to Site 22-Le-907 and 16 artifact categories unique to Site 22-Le-912, another clear sign indicative of some inherent diversity in these assemblages. One activity grouping, chopping, and five other activity groupings (digging, wedging, chiseling, painting, and transportation)

were limited to Site 22-Le-907 and Site 22-Le-912, respectively. The fact that six of these 22 activity groupings were represented only once implies that a certain level of specificity to these assemblages. Combined with the fact that a large majority of the artifacts were are beads, this information indicates a large number of activity groupings for a relatively small sample of artifacts, corresponding to the second of the three possible scenarios. Taken together, this data clearly indicate a measurable level of diversity in the composition of the trade goods from both assemblages.

FIGURE 10
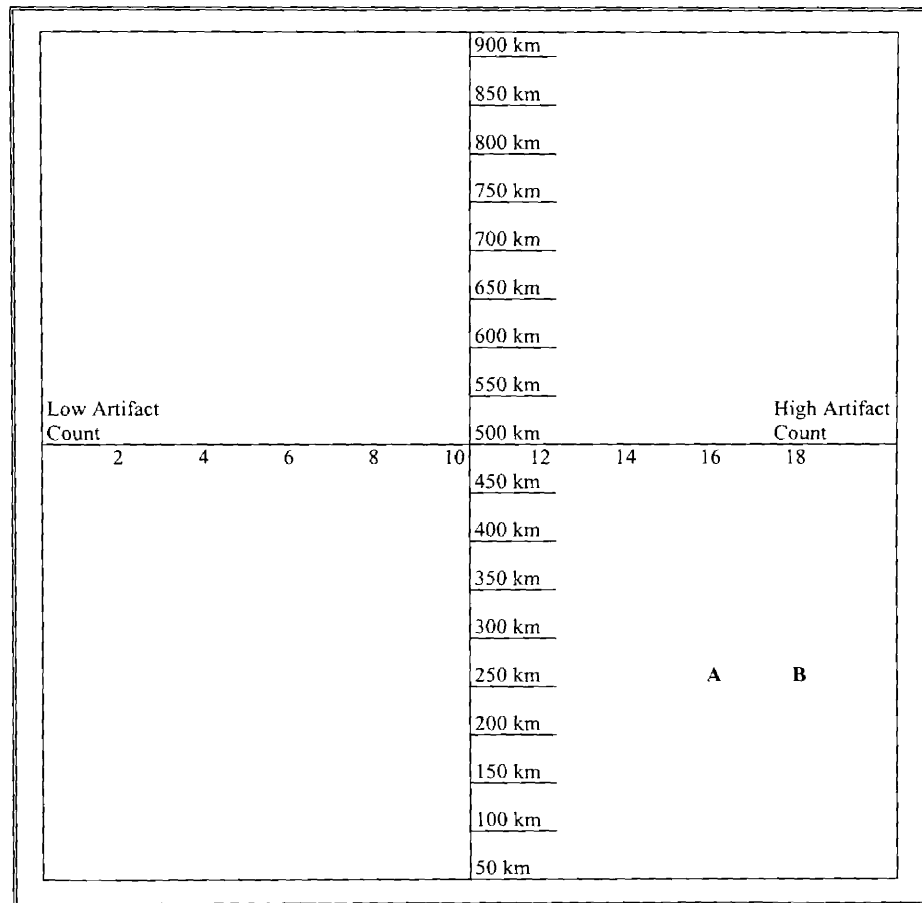
Chart depicting the actual results of the site composition analysis.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Overall Summation

The rate of change in Chickasaw society has received little attention until now. Recent studies of Chickasaw material culture have concluded that increased participation in the deerskin trade resulted in "a specialized stone-tool technology only in those areas where distance to ports of trade made metal tools rare or expensive" (Johnson 1997:228). This was accentuated by the existence of competing factions within the Chickasaw nation, factions allied to rival European powers. Those favorable to the closer French trade ports, a conglomeration of settlements called the Small Prairie, had better access to these goods through closer ports, while those favorable to the English, a conglomeration of settlements called the Large Prairie, did not. Judging from the histories of the colonial southeast, it is quite apparent that this deerskin trade quickly became fundamental to the economy of the southeastern groups, transforming native ideologies and philosophies along the way.

The question asked of this study is this: do the Small Prairie Sites of 22-Le-907 and 22-Le-912, sites belonging to the pro-French Chickasaw faction, possess significantly increased amounts of and variety in European items indicative of this participation in the deerskin trade during the first half of the eighteenth century. If so,

how were these traits actually manifested in the material record. Through the combination of ethnohistorical documentation and a multi-leveled functional categorization system, these artifacts were classified into individual categories which, in turn, were subsumed into larger, more broad-based groupings reflexive of individual artifact usages. These categories and groupings showcased the diversity and quantity of European items, and highlighted the more prominent activities these artifacts represented.

The first goal of this study was to assess the variety of European trade items in these assemblages, with a high level of variety indicating sustained access to trade ports. The results of this analysis did demonstrate a relatively diverse array of European items in both of these collections. The functional categorization of these goods provided an effective measure of the variety inherent in these assemblages. Each assemblage was classified into some 54 separate artifact categories, 41 of which (74.55%) were site specific (see Table 2). A certain degree of uniqueness, though not nearly as prominent, was observed when these artifact categories were further classified into activity groupings, with only six of the 22 activity groupings identified as site specific. These individual differences were magnified when each assemblage was subdivided into their separate intra-site contexts, with both exhibiting strikingly distinct compositions while largely retaining the total assemblage's uniqueness when combined.

This data suggest a measurably high level of diversity in the composition of European trade goods, a level of variety that can be best be explained as the result of consistent and sustainable access to trade items. Since both these assemblages reside within the boundaries of the Small Prairie, it seems logical to conclude that this area did indeed enjoy at least some level of preferential access to trade items. However, since no

collections from the Large Prairie were available for a direct comparison, one cannot argue with 100% complete assurance that large amounts of trade goods in the Small Prairie sites necessarily implies better access to trade goods. To help clarify this scenario, the activity groupings were subsumed into larger groupings, identified as activity events, which are directly representations of large-scale community actions. The next step was to ascertain exactly which activity events were directly associated with the processing of deerskin for trade and whether they were present in these assemblages.

With the aid of several contemporary and recent accounts, a fairly accurate representation of the steps involved in hide preparation was compiled. Judging from these accounts, the events in question were the tool or product manufacture/maintenance (the actual processing of the hide) and the hunting/gathering (the rather self-explanatory capturing of the skins) activity events. Those activity groupings directly affiliated with the capture and processing of the skins included the following: piercing (consisting of numerous gun paraphernalia), cutting (iron knives and fragments), and scraping (chipped glass shards and a flattened iron gun barrel). As this list implies, both assemblages contained artifact categories reflexive of the deerskin trade, namely the hunting and treating of skins for transport to market. While it is true that none of these artifact categories or groupings were particularly voluminous in terms of quantity, they were impressive in terms of content.

Two artifact categories in particular, chipped glass shards and the single flattened gun barrel, are by-products modified to comply with native hide scraping demands, essentially replacing traditional stone tools designed for this purposes. Their very existence confirms that lithic tools were not a complete necessity, not totally relied upon,

and that suitable European replacements were readily accessible at some level. It is very possible that artifact categories from the joining activity grouping, iron nails and brass tacks, were similarly used in place of the more traditional bone needles or awls to perforate the edges of the hides. A confirmation of such use has not been found in the contemporary ethnohistorical literature

Future Research Potential

As stated earlier, there were some minor differences in the frequency and distribution of certain artifact categories and activity groupings between assemblages. To briefly recap, these included a higher frequency of personal adornment items (N=13), followed closely by piercing and other use items (N=8 each) in relation to the other use items at Site 22-Le-907. This ordering differed slightly at Site 22-Le-912, where personal adornment and piercing items shared the same distributional frequency (N=7), followed closely by other use items (N=4). This subtle variation in the frequency of certain activity groupings may represent a temporal shift in the preferences or needs of the Chickasaw populations during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Recall that Site 22-Le-912 was found to roughly date between 1729 and 1760, with a median date of 1750 (Johnson et al. 1994:435). Site 22-Le-907 was slightly earlier, dating between 1711 and the mid-to-late 1730's. It is possible that with Site 22-Le-907, we are witness to the beginning stages of the deerskin trade, where items seem to have been chosen simply to augment, not necessarily replace, native goods; or perhaps this is a fingerprint of what European traders were initially capable of readily supplying.

Later during the first half of the eighteenth century at Site 22-Le-912, the emphasis apparently drifted away from items of personal adornment, though the presence of vermilion still suggests an interest in such goods, to a more balanced array and distribution of items, items for a far greater number of activities including the one integral for the very acquisition of these items...hunting. In addition, there is a noticeable difference in the composition of each assemblage when sub-divided into constituent materials. Site 22-Le-907 possesses a much larger variety of glass trade beads, bottle fragments, and lead artifacts than Site 22-Le-912, and yet Site 22-Le-912 is represented by a wider array of activities. These variations deserve further inquiry.

A more idealistic aim of this study was to spur further research into the complexities evident in Chickasaw material culture, most notably during the colonial period. To be frank, woefully little is known about Chickasaw archaeology. Only a handful of reports have been published that focus on this at some level (Jennings 1941; Stubbs 1983; Atkinson 1987; Johnson et al. 1994; Johnson 1997), nearly all of which centered upon prehistoric cultural material. European goods received only minimal attention. The main cause of this disparity is simply that very few sites have been excavated. In fact, the two sites utilized for this study represent the first Chickasaw sites excavated since World War II (see Jennings 1941). It is the hope that the pioneering efforts of Johnson and potentially this work will bring some renewed vigor to the study of the historic Chickasaw.

Closing Remarks

Taken together, these data sets strongly suggest that Small Prairie sites, through their favorable ties with the closer French ports, did enjoy a sustainable level of trade with European vendors, whereby skins were exchanged for a variety of European items both necessary (such as glass and metal tools, firearms, and ammunition) and superlative (brass and silver jewelry, glass beads, and vermilion) to the continuation of this trade. This evidence lends credence to Johnson's arguments regarding the geopolitically-influenced distribution of European goods within the Chickasaw nation and the concurrent material culture specialization to offset the lack of access to these goods. Moreover, this exercise has shown us that traditional histories should not be wholly accepted at face value. There is still a wealth of information to be gleaned from primary as well as secondary sources, information instrumental to recognizing and understanding the level of change aboriginal societies experienced during the colonial period; we need only look.

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APPENDIX

TABULAR PRESENTATION OF THE ARTIFACTS

Site 22-Le-912, distribution of metal trade goods by type and context.

	Burial #1	Burial #2	Burial #3	Burial #4/5	Burial #6	Burial #7	Burial #8	Burial #9	Burial #10	Burial #11	Burial #12	Burial #13	Totals
Brass													
Buttons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Side Plate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Pendant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Dowel	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Tinkling Cones	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
Trigger Guard Tang	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Copper Wire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Misc. Fragments	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Silver													
Beads	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
Cut-out/Effigy?	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Broach	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Pendant	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Misc. Fragments	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	16
Iron													
Hoe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Wedge	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Chisel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Horse Bit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Barrel Hoop Frag	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gun Trigger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Flattened Gun Barrel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Knives	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Flintlock Spring? Frag	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Wrought Nails	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Washer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Misc. Fragments	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Lead/Pewter													
Ball	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Shot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Misc. Fragments	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Other													
Vermilion	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bark/Fiber Mat	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Totals	3							6					32

Site 22-Le-912, distribution of metal trade goods by type and context.

	Feature #3	Feature #7	Feature #9	Feature #11	Feature #12	Feature #13	Feature #15
Brass							
Buttons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Side Plate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pendent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dowel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tinkling Cones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Trigger Guard Tang	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Copper Wire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Misc. Fragments	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Silver							
Beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cut-out/Effigy?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Broach	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pendent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Misc. Fragments	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Iron							
Hoe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wedge	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chisel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Horse Bit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barrel Hoop Frag.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gun Trigger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Flattened Gun Barrel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Knives	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Flintlock Spring? Frag.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wrought Nails	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Washer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Misc. Fragments	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lead/Pewter							
Ball						-	-
Shot	-					3	-
Misc. Fragments						-	-
Other							
Vermilion	-	-	-	-	-		-
Bark/Fiber Mat	-					-	-
Totals	0	0	0	0	0	5	0

Site 22-Le-912, distribution of metal trade goods by type and context.

	Feature #59	Feature #88	Feature #112	Feature #151	Feature #225	Test Units	Surface Coll.	Totals
Brass								
Buttons	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Side Plate	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Pendent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Dowel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Tinkling Cones	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Trigger Guard Tang	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Copper Wire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Misc. Fragments	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Silver								
Beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Cut-out/Effigy?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Broach	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Pendent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Misc. Fragments	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Iron								
Hoe	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Wedge	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Chisel	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Horse Bit	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Barrel Hoop Frag.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Trigger	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Flattened Gun Barrel	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Knives	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Flintlock Spring ?Frag.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Wrought Nails	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	3
Washer	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	3
Misc. Fragments	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Lead/Pewter								
Ball							-	0
Shot							1	4
Misc. Fragments							4	4
Other								
Vermilion			-	-	-		-	0
Bark/Fiber Mat			-	-	-		-	0
Totals	0	0	0	2	0		28	37

Site 22-Le-912, distribution of glass trade goods by type and context.

	Burial #1	Burial #2	Burial #3	Burial #4/5	Burial #6	Burial #7	Burial #8	Burial #9	Burial #10	Burial #11	Burial #12	Burial #13	Totals
Beads													
Drawn													
Ia2	4,157	363		-		1	-	5	-	-	-	1	4527
IA1	2	-					-	-	-	-	-	-	2
IA3	70	-				1	-	1	-	-		3	74
IIaB1	-	-	-			1	-	1	-	-		-	0
IIA1	-	-					-	-	-			-	0
IIA3	-	-						1	-			-	1
IIA5	186	123	-					30				2	341
IIA6	24	-	1					7				-	31
IIA7	-	-	1					75				-	76
IIIA1	-	-	1					-				-	1
IIIA2	94	750						34				-	878
IVA1	131	159	1				-	14				3	308
Wire-wound													
WIA1	1						-	-				-	1
WID1	1						1	6				1	8
Bottle Glass													
Body Sherds													0
Basal Sherds													0
Rim/Lip													0
Chipped Glass		-										-	0
Totals	4665	1395						172				10	6248

Site 22-Le-912, distribution of glass trade goods by type and context.

	Feature #3	Feature #7	Feature #9	Feature #11	Feature #12	Feature #13	Feature #15
Beads							
Drawn							
Ia2	1	1	1	4	1	1	3
IA1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IA3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IIa61	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IIA1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IIA3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IIA4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IIA5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
IIA6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IIA7	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
IIIA1	-	-	-	2	1	1	-
IIIA2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IVA1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Wire-wound							
WIA6		-					
WID1							1
Bottle Glass							
Body Sherds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Basal Sherds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rim/Lip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chipped Glass	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	1	3	1	7	2	2	4

Site 22-Le-912, distribution of glass trade goods by type and context.

	Feature #59	Feature #88	Feature #112	Feature #151	Feature #225	Test Units	Surface Coll.	Totals
Beads								
Drawn								
Ia2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	13
IA1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IA3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IIa61	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
IIA1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IIA3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IIA4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IIA5	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
IIA6	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
IIA7	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
IIIA1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
IIIA2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IVA1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Wire-wound								
WIA6								0
WID1								1
Bottle Glass								
Body Sherds				5			52	57
Basal Sherds				-			1	1
Rim/Lip				-			1	1
Chipped Glass	-						4	4
Totals	2	2		5		0	58	88

Site 22-Le-907, distribution of metal trade goods by type and context.

	Burial #1	Burial #2	Burial #3	Burial #4	Burial #5	Burial #6	Burial #7	Burial #8	Burial #9	Burial #10	Burial #11	Burial #12	Burial #13	Burial #14	Totals
Brass															
Bead															0
Buttons		1													1
Ring		1													1
Cut-out/Effigy?											1				1
Pendent															0
Tacks					2										2
Tinkling Cones						2									2
Trigger Guard															0
Copper Wire															0
Misc. Fragments					1										1
Silver															
Beads					2										2
Jangler															0
Earbob Pendent															0
Misc. Fragments														1	1
Iron															
Bead					1										1
Axes															0
Ball Ear/Lug															0
Bar															0
Buckle Frame															0
Gun Bridle															0
Gun Screw															0
Knives															0
Case															0
Clasp															0
Misc. Gun Part															0
Wrought Nails															0
Ring										1					1
Rod															0
Misc. Fragments		3			14						17				34
Lead/Pewter															
Ball															0
Bracelet															0
Buckle Frame															0
Handle Fragment															0
Shot					3										3
Sprue															0
Unknown Object															0
Misc. Fragments															0
Totals	0	5	0	0	23	2	0	0	0	1	18	0	0	1	50

Site 22-Le-907, distribution of metal trade goods by type and context.

	Feature #1	Feature #2	Feature #19	Feature #20	Feature #22	Feature #24	Feature #27	Test Units	Surface Coll.	Totals
Brass										
Bead	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Buttons	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Ring	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Cut-out/Effigy?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Pendent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Tacks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Tinkling Cones	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Trigger Guard	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Copper Wire	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Misc. Fragments	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	3
Silver										
Beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Jangler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Earbob Pendent	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Misc. Fragments	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Iron										
Bead	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Axes	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
Bail Ear/Lug	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Buckle Frame	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Gun Bridle	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
Gun Screw	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Knives										
Case	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Clasp	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	4
Misc. Gun Part	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Wrought Nails	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Ring	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Rod	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Misc. Fragments	-	8	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	10
Lead/Pewter										
Ball	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Bracelet	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Buckle Frame	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Handle Fragment	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Shot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Sprue	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Unknown Object	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Misc. Fragments	-	22	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	26
Totals	3	42	0	3	0	1	13	5	5	72

Site 22-Le-907, distribution of glass trade goods by type and context

Type	Burial #1	Burial #2	Burial #3	Burial #4	Burial #5	Burial #6	Burial #7	Burial #8	Burial #9	Burial #10	Burial #11	Burial #12	Burial #13	Burial #14	Totals
Beads															
Drawn															
Ia2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IA1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IA3	-	-	-	-	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29
IIA1	-	7	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	-	29
IIA3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
IIA4	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	36	-	42
IIA5	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	3
IIA6	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	65	-	72
IIA7	-	2	11	-	6	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	468	-	489
IIA8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3
IIA15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IIb16	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
IIbb7-2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IIIA1	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
IIIA2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
IVA1	-	9	-	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	-	32
IVA2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
IVB6	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Wire-wound															
WIA6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
WIC1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
WIIA7	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
WIIIA8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bottle Glass															
Body Sherds	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Basal Sherds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Neck	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Finish	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Chipped Glass	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Flakes															
Intentional	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Unintentional	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Totals	0	27			71	4					6	0	598	0	718

Site 22-Le-907, distribution of glass trade goods by type and context.

	Feature #1	Feature #2	Feature #19	Feature #20	Feature #22	Feature #24	Feature #27	Test Units	Surface Coll.	Totals
Beads										
Drawn										
Ia2	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
IA1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
IA3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IIA1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
IIA3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IIA4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IIA5	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	4
IIA6	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
IIA7	-	-	-	1	-	-	6	-	-	7
IIA8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IIA16	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2
IIb'6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IIbb7-2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
IIIA1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IIIA2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
IVA1	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
IVA2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
IVB6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Wire-wound										
WIA6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
WID1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
WIIA7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
WIIIA8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Bottle Glass										
Body Sherds	-	9	-	-	-	-	1	7	-	18
Basal Sherds	1	4	-	-	-	-	1	4	-	10
Neck	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Finish	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Chipped Glass	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Flakes										
Intentional	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
Unintentional	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	6
Totals	3	28	1	3	1	3	14	13	3	69

VITA

John Robert Underwood was born October 31, 1972, the son of Dr. Joe Ray and Nancy Underwood of Starkville, Mississippi. He attended Starkville High School in Starkville, graduating in 1990. He then attended Mississippi State University beginning in the scholastic year 1990. He subsequently graduated from Mississippi State University in May, 1994, with B.A. degrees in anthropology and history. He worked for one year as an archaeologist for the Cobb Institute of Archaeology, Mississippi State University, until moving to Williamsburg, Virginia to attend the College of William & Mary. Mr. Underwood returned to the Cobb Institute of Archaeology, Mississippi State University, in July of 1996 and continued working there until the fall of 1997. At this time, he returned to the state of Virginia and began working for the William & Mary Center for Archaeological Research. He received his M.A. in anthropology from the College of William & Mary in August of 1998.