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CHRONOLOGY OF THE FATHERLAND SITE

Master of Arts
University of Mississippi Anthropology and Sociology Department

Daniel Shawl

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Abstract

A recently discovered mound (Mound E) at the Grand Village of the Natchez Indians (22AD501, the Fatherland Site) dates to the Foster phase of the Mississippian period (1300-1500 CE). This new chronology is stems from analysis conducted on ceramic assemblages from Robert S. Neitzel's (1965) excavations and ceramic assemblages from Tony Boudreaux's (2019) excavations at the site. Frequency seriations, non-metric multidimensional scaling, and radiocarbon dates suggest that Mound E was constructed and in use several hundred years prior to European contact at the site. The results of this body of research brings new insight into a portion of history of the Natchez people and the Lower Mississippi Valley that has largely been overlooked in past archaeological projects. This thesis provides a foundation for further research at the Fatherland Site, and new insights into the chronology of the Natchez people in the Lower Mississippi Valley.

Acknowledgements

This body of research could not have been done without the works of Dr. Edmond “Tony” Boudreaux. His guidance and help have been unwavering throughout my entire work on this project, and I cannot thank him enough for that. Next, I would like to acknowledge Dr. Lexi O’Donnell. Without her stepping in to be my advisor I am not sure where this project would have gone. Her support and guidance have truly helped shape this project, and have helped bring it into fruition. I would like to also thank the National Park Service. For a little over a year, I was employed by them while working on my thesis, and I would like to thank all of my team members from my time at the Natchez Trace Parkway for their support and the time they allowed me to work on my research. They helped me be able to support myself and my family financially while also juggling my educational needs. I must also give a big thank you to all of my fellow graduate students from our 2019 cohort. They all truly came together as a team no matter what we faced. We fought in the academic trenches together, and I cannot thank them enough for all the help they gave me.

Next, I must absolutely thank my family. My mother, father, and brother gave me unending support throughout this entire process, and they have always pushed me to go further and be all I can be. I would also like to thank and acknowledge my grandmother. Her daily conversations with me kept me calm and focused on my work ahead, and she always made me realize that this work was doable. Another person I would like to thank is Bradley "Big Bad Brad" Carlock, who certainly deserves to be listed in the paragraph with my family. Bradley has

in many ways been like a brother to me and has mentored me in countless ways throughout my work as an archaeologist and even in life.

I would also like to thank Keith Baca, who's words of wisdom, humor, guidance, and patience have helped shape me into the professional I have become today.

While I have never met him, I would like to thank Robert Neitzel. Without the works he conducted at the Grand Village of The Natchez Indians, I would have never been able to carry out this project.

Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank my wife Klaire Shawl. While so many people have aided me in various ways through this project, my wife has been the absolute biggest influence. She was the one who saw me staying up late, stressing, and wondering at times if this was really for me, and she always fired me up and motivated me to see this project, and my education through to the end. She has been there for the ups and downs of this entire process, and she made sure that I never looked away from the goal at the end of it all.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis is focused on establishing a chronology for a recently discovered mound, Mound E, at the Fatherland Site (22AD501), and relating its time of use to the overall chronology of the site. Through this work, I hope to bring insight into a portion of history of the Natchez peoples and the Lower Mississippi Valley that has largely been overlooked in previous archaeological projects. Ceramic seriations, multi-dimensional scaling, and radiocarbon dating of artifacts recovered from this mound show that Mound E was in use prior to the other mounds found at the Fatherland Site, thus giving new insight into the history of the ancestral Natchez people and their occupation of the Grand Village of the Natchez. Through the above methods I hope to achieve the goal of establishing the chronology of Mound E, which will rework the known chronology for the Fatherland Site. This can contribute to future research at the site and others throughout the Southeastern United States.

The Grand Village of the Natchez Peoples, referred to historically as the Fatherland Site (22AD501), is located in Natchez, MS. It dates to the Mississippian period and was occupied from around 1200 CE to 1735 CE (Neitzel 1965). Located along St. Catherine Creek, the Grand Village was the epicenter of the Natchez peoples for their ceremonial and political practices during the time of French settlement (1682-1730) (Barnett 2007:45-48, Brown and Steponaitis 2017, Neitzel 1965:9-10). Moreau B. Chambers and Robert S. Neitzel conducted the first archaeological explorations at the site in the 1930's and 1960's and concluded that the Grand Village of the Natchez consisted of three platform mounds and a large plaza area and that the

majority of social and political interactions of the surrounding Natchez peoples took place there following a similar trend seen in many other Mississippian sites (Brown and Steopnaitis 2017; Neitzel 1965).

Recently, archaeologist Vincas Steponaitis examined several maps (Figure 1) from French explorers in the 1700's that depict at least five mounds at the Grand Village (Brown and Steponaitis 2017:182-184: Figure 9.9). The site is subject to flooding from the creeks and rivers near it, and over time alluvial soils from the creeks and rivers have been redeposited over the site essentially burying some of the features that were once present. It is possible that the mounds depicted in the French maps were covered.

In 2019, a team of archaeologists lead by Dr. Edmond Boudreaux used ground penetrating radar, magnetometry, coring, and excavations to re-locate one of the mounds depicted in the French maps (Figure 2). Anomalies identified underneath the alluvial soil deposits were located, and subsequent coring and excavations resulted in the rediscovery of one of the buried mounds designated Mound E. A midden deposit was also uncovered from an excavation pit that was placed on the slope of the newly discovered mound now referred to as Mound E. The archaeological assemblage that was obtained from Mound E consists of various faunal, lithic, and ceramic materials associated with the Natchez peoples. The collection includes approximately 1,329 ceramic sherds of various types and varieties.

I have two goals:

1) To determine when Mound E was built and used by comparing the typologies of the ceramic materials recovered from it and their associated uses.

2) To relate Mound E to the overall history of the site by comparing its period of occupation to published data from Mounds A, B, and C at the Fatherland Site (Barnett 2007;

Brown 1985; Brown and Steponaitis 2017; Brown and James 1990; Cushman 2014; Hudson and Ethridge 1997; Lorenz 2000; Milne 2015; Neitzel 1965, 1983). Here, I explain the cultural and environmental history of the Natchez and the Grand Village through the ethnographic and archaeological works that currently exist on them. Next, I will explain the methods used in my research and the ways in which they can contribute to my goals. Following an explanation of the methods, I will provide the results of my analysis and a discussion on how these results were interpreted. Through this work I have sought to establish a more accurate timeline for occupation at the Grand Village of the Natchez.

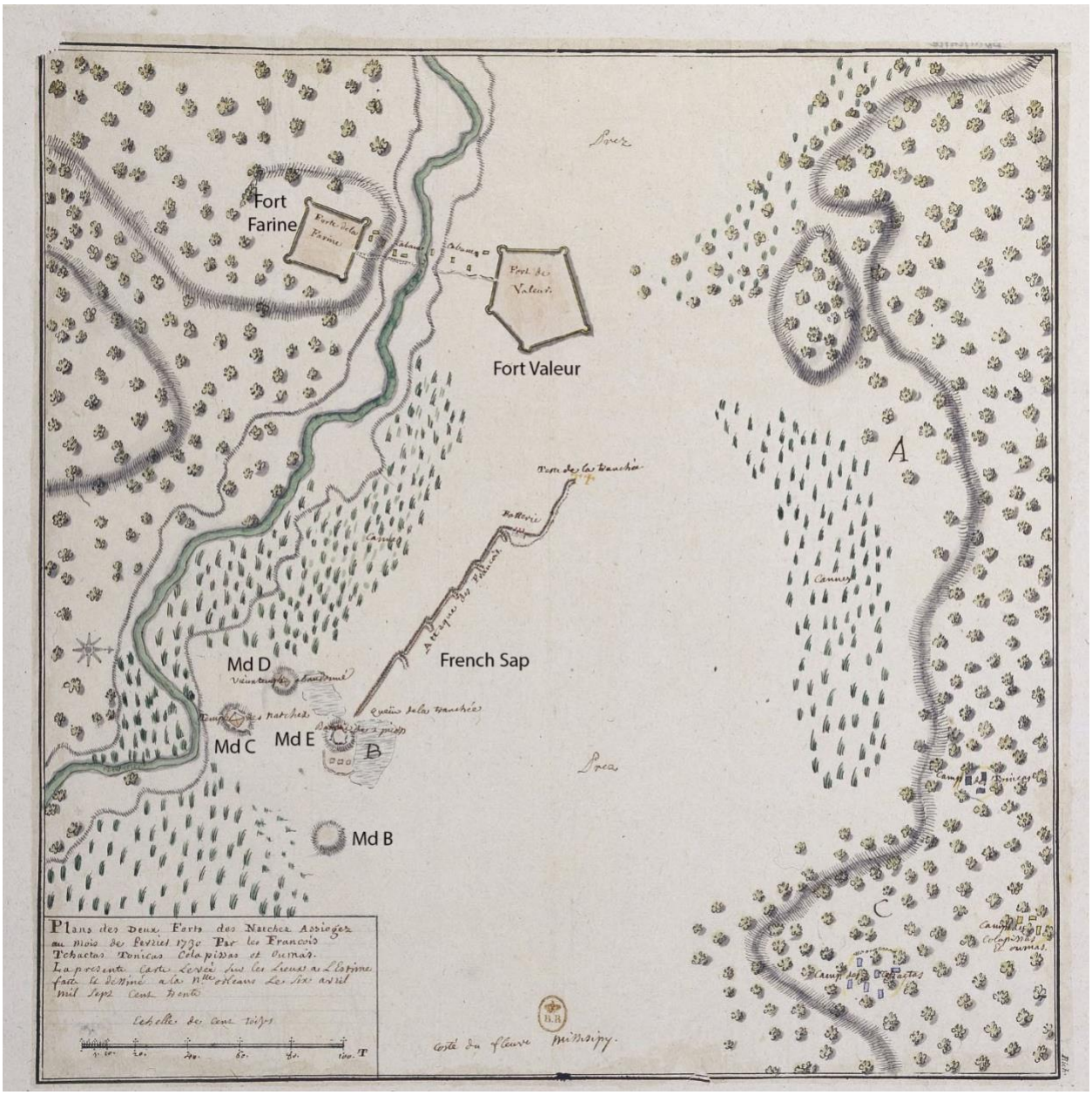

Figure 1 Anonymous 1730 map of the French/Natchez battlefield showing multiple cultural features associated with the battle. Mounds B, C, D, and E labeled based on Neitzel (1965) and Brown and Steponaitis (2017) (Figure 9.9) (North is to the right on this map

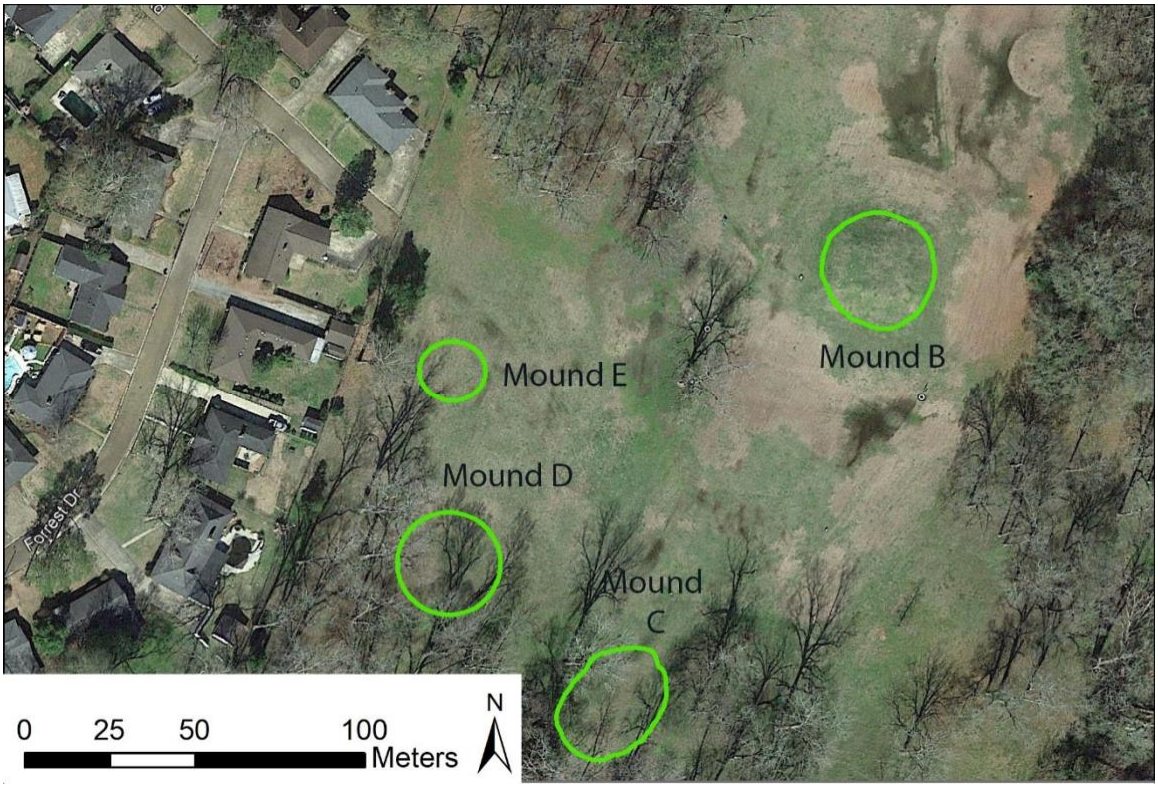

Figure 2 Locations of buried Mounds D and E. (Boudreaux and Harris, 2020)

Mississippian Societies

The Mississippian period, which is classified as the time period around 1000 CE-1600 CE, was the era that followed what is known as the Late Woodland period (Blitz 1993). The Mississippian period consisted of vast and varying chiefdoms that were characterized by earthen mound structures, increased reliance on agriculture, and various ceremonial and ideological practices (Blitz 1993:2010; Cobb 2003). The chiefdom was the primary political organization of Mississippian Period societies (Anderson and Sassaman 2012; Blitz 1999; Cobb 2003:1). Chiefdoms were nonstate societies that featured a hierarchical or ranked social system of varying sizes and degrees of complexity (Anderson and Sassaman 2012:167; Blitz 1993, 1999:578; Cobb 2003:1-3).

Cobb (2003:1) points out two trends in research on Mississippian complexity from the focal point of political economy. The first trend is the idea of political economy had changed from that of materialism, or the obtainment of resources, in previous periods, to that of ideological and political culture considerations. The second is that vertical structures of power which focus on elites had changed to take into account more horizontal structures of power and the acceptance and resistance to power of the commoners in a Mississippian chiefdom (Anderson and Sassaman 2012; Blitz 2010:4; Cobb 2003:67; Steponaitis 1986). These ideas represent sociopolitical trends that were characteristic of Mississippian societies and provide insight into some of the social mechanisms through which power was obtained and distributed, and societies were formed or dissolved.

Mississippian polities and communities varied in size, control, and complexity, and the levels of political control and complexity have often been associated with the size of their mound centers and the community around them (Anderson 1990, 1994, 1996, Cobb 2003:66). A platform mound is a form of monumental architecture, on which activities were conducted or buildings resided (Anderson and Sassaman 2012; Hally 1993:143; Knight 2010; Lindauer and Blitz 1997). Mounds were primarily built from soil and clay, but occasionally featured logs or rocks in their construction, and access to the tops of these mounds was sometimes obtained through the use of stairs, ladders, or ramps (Anderson and Sassaman 2012; Halley 1993; Knight 2010; Lindauer and Blitz 1997; Sherwood and Kidder 2011).

Mounds were used for a variety of purposes, primarily by the elites of the community often in a manner to be observed by the community as a form of establishing social connections. (Lindauer and Blitz 1997:173-174). The largest platform mounds often were the residences of chiefs or other high-status individuals. The smaller platform mounds had many different uses,

including functioning as residences of other high-status individuals, or as temples, ceremonial areas where activities such as feasting or rituals may have occurred, ancestor shrines, meeting places, and council buildings, (Anderson and Sassaman 2012:127-128; Blitz 1993; Cobb 2003: 66; Knight 2010; Lindauer and Blitz 1997: 174). The remnants of architecture often differ at mound centered town sites from what is found atop the mounds and what is found on the ground levels surrounding the mounds, with the architecture atop the mounds usually being more elaborate and resource dependent than those on the ground (Lindauer and Blitz 1997: 173). Through the use of ethnohistoric examinations, a parallel can be seen between the sequential construction of earthen mounds and the embodiment of a sense of societal renewal, such as a new elite faction coming in to power, as well as an example of the organization of labor in societies (Anderson 1989; Hally 1987, 1993, 1996:5; Cobb, 2003: 69-78; Knight 1986:678;1989).

The large earthen mounds of Mississippian polities were a physical display representing the control of labor and status of the individuals and groups that constructed and occupied them, reflecting and engraining a sense of kinship amongst the corporate groups and those who participated in the construction (Knight 1989, 2010:365-367; Lindauer and Blitz 1997:173). Some theories suggest that this hierarchy is represented in the differences in mound sizes as well, in that towns that were made up of several different sized mounds reflected a difference in status amongst the elites and groups that occupied and used them (Blitz and Livingood 2004:289-291), with larger mounds typically representing a higher elite status as opposed to smaller mounds, which may represent a lower, but still, elite status (Blitz and Livingood 2004: 291).

Multi-platform mound sites potentially represent the combined labor efforts of competitive groups or corporations in their societies vying for representation of their class or

status (Blitz and Livingood 2004: 298). Blitz and Livingood (2004) concluded that as much as 41% of mound volume in Mississippian sites could be due to the levels of duration usage however, the outlying mounds of larger multi mound sites could be a result of chiefly powers enacting their political power. Thus, when examining the relationships between mound volume and their construction and significance amongst a society both interpretations warrant some consideration (Blitz and Livingood 2004: 299; Hally 1987, 1993, 1996; Knight 1989, 2010:365-367; Lindauer and Blitz 1997:173.)

To further understand the reasons behind variations in mound volume, the interpretations of duration of use and the interpretation of chiefly power must be considered. The chiefly power interpretation relates to the idea that the volume of mounds represents the ability of an elite or leader to organize workers and labor under a central control (Blitz and Livingood 2004: 293; Hally 1987, 1993, 1996). The duration of use interpretation states that the volume of a mound increased so long as the mound was being occupied or used, in part due to the stratified construction of the mound in stages (Blitz and Livingood 2004: 292; Hally 1993, 1996:93-94; Knight 1989, 2010:365-367). These stages of building in large platform mounds can be seen in the archaeological record, and it is theorized that as the period of mound use grew, the mound volume also grew as more construction stages were added to the mound through the construction of layers as well as structures (Blitz and Livingood 2004: 291; Hally 1993, 1996:93-94; Knight 2010). Knight (2010) argues that a combination of several interpretations likely explains the construction and use of mounds, which clearly were a significant component of Mississippian societies and an indication of communities' status as the capital of a chiefdom (Anderson 1989; Anderson and Sassaman 2012; Blitz and Livingood 2004: 291; Cobb 2003; Hally 1993, 1996; Knight 2010; Lindauer and Blitz 1997; Sherwood and Kidder 2011).

Insight From Ceramic and Material Remains

The duration of mound use has broader implications, including population size and longevity of sites. It is widely agreed that chiefdoms of sites such as Cahokia, Moundville, Etowah, Spiro, Lake George, Lake Jackson, Winterville, Kincaid, Angel, and Fatherland were all complex or paramount sites that during their peaks had substantial political power and relatively large populations (Cobb, 2003:68). However, obtaining accurate depictions of the distribution and duration of Mississippian chiefdoms can also be a very difficult task. Research conducted on Mississippian mounds sites has shown that polities frequently rose and fell, with many of them succeeding the conquered polity in the same location (Halley, 1993; 1996; 2019). One of the ways in which temporal duration and population distribution can be measured at Mississippian sites is through analysis of cultural traits left behind in artifacts from the sites (Brain 1988,1989; Brown 1985, 2019, Phillips 1970; Phillips et al. 1950).

Ceramic materials and their associated phases can provide a great amount of information into the chronology of sites (Brain 1988, 1989, Brown 1985, 1997, 2019; Gibson 1993; Phillips 1970; Willey and Phillips 1958). Archaeological phases are defined through diagnostic assemblages of cultural traits, including the stylistic traits that are present in different artifacts (Michels 1973: 23; Phillips 1970:24-27). The traits used to define an archaeological phase have to be significantly unique and distinguishable from those of other phases and they must encompass unique characteristics of temporal and spatial distribution (Michels 1973; Phillips 1970:24-27; Willey and Phillips 1958). Once the diagnostic cultural traits for each phase are understood, they can then be used to identify the presence or absence of phases in archaeological assemblages (Michels 1973:23; Phillips 1970:24-27; Willey and Phillips 1958).

The classification of ceramic types and varieties can become a very confusing and arduous task. Types of pottery found in one region may appear in another distant region with no continuity in-between, which in turn creates confusion in sorting and performing any kind of analysis on the ceramics (Phillips 1970). Ceramic decoration is a primary indicator for of shifts in ideas, as decorative treatments are representative of creative ideas (Phillips 1970). While certain types of pottery can be found cross spatially and even cross temporally, it is the decorative varieties of these assemblages that can provide real inference into shifts in ideas across space and time (Brown 1985; Phillips 1970; Phillips et al. 1950). Once cultural traits such as decorative variety are defined and categorized as a phase, they have the ability to provide insight into sociopolitical trends, cultural trends, and shifts in these trends in the past (Brain 1978a; Brown 1985; Phillips 1970).

Archaeological Phases of the Lower Mississippi Valley

One of the main goals of this thesis is to establish a local chronological sequence of occupation at the Grand Village. In order to derive chronological data from ceramic analysis at the Fatherland Site, the phases and time periods that have been established in the region of the Lower Mississippi Valley must be understood. While archaeological phases are essentially nothing more than analyst-made arbitrary time periods based on artifacts (Williams and Brain 1983:350), the associations of the different types and varieties represented in the phases lead to the conclusion that these associations represent actual sociocultural events (Phillips 1970). The regional sequence for the Lower Yazoo Basin was largely constructed by Phillips (1970). The methods used by Phillips in his 1970 volume have largely been accepted and validated in the

decades following his work and have acted as a guide for the construction of other regional phase sequences in several adjacent regions (Brain et al. n.d; Hally 1967; O'Brien 1995; Steponaitis 1974).

The phases for the Lower Yazoo Basin were primarily created from ceramic assemblages in the area and the cultural traits that were observed from them (Phillips 1970). The construction of these sequences began with an analysis into surface and stratigraphic samples of pottery to create hypotheses of the chronological order of the different ceramic complexes (Phillips 1970:523). The pottery complexes were defined as the culmination of the types, varieties, and modes of an archaeological phase (Phillips 1970). The mixed assemblages that Phillips (1970) encountered were sorted into the different assemblages based on their associations with the hypothesis he established (Phillips 1970:523). Phillips (1970:523-524) revised these ceramic complexes on the significance of certain varieties and modes that could indicate a certain complex and its associated phase in an archaeological context.

Williams and Brain (1983) further revised the regional sequencing of the Lower Yazoo Basin through research conducted at the Lake George site in Yazoo County, which featured excavations rather than surface collections. Comparisons made between ceramic complexes as well as non-ceramic artifacts were further refined using radiocarbon dating at Lake George and other sites including Winterville (Williams and Brain 1983:379). Some of the complexes were considered as a component of phases hypothesized by Phillips, or in some cases the sequences of the phases being revised. The radiocarbon dates aided in providing calendrical dates for the Yazoo Basin and were then compared with radiocarbon dates from other sites and assemblages in surrounding regions (Phillips 1970:955-962).

The Natchez Bluffs regional sequence of phases was established in a way similar to that of the Lower Yazoo Basin, it was derived from both stratigraphical and surface level assemblages (Brain et al. n.d.; Steponaitis 1981). The phases of the Mississippi period in the Natchez Bluffs (Table 1) were created on the basis of diagnostic ceramic materials, and their sequence was derived from comparisons at several known Mississippian sites in the region such as Emerald Mound (Steponaitis 1974), Fatherland Site (Neitzel 1965, 1983), and the Foster Site (Steponaitis 1974). They were also created using comparisons to other sites in nearby regions (Steponaitis 1981). Calendrical dates for this region were established through the use of radiocarbon dates, in a manner similar to that of the Lower Yazoo Basin and, much like the Lower Yazoo Basin, the sequencing of many of the types and varieties used to identify different phases in the Natchez Bluffs region hinged on the stratigraphical data derived from the Lake George site (Brain et al. n.d.).

The sequencing of phases in the Upper Tensas Basin followed a similar method. The artifacts used to establish the sequences was derived from a combination of surface collections and excavations from several sites in the region such as Routh, Balmoral, Fitzhugh, and Transylvania (Hally 1972). These assemblages were compared with each other, as well as with assemblages from other regional areas (Hally 1972). Calendrical dates for the phases of the Upper Tensas Basin were also established in a manner similar to that of the Lower Yazoo Basin and Natchez Bluffs, with data being gathered from radiocarbon dates taken at several sites in the region and being cross-compared with radiocarbon dates from sites in other nearby regions (Hally, 1972).

One of the most prominent archaeological phases observed in the Natchez and Lower Mississippi Valley regions was that of the Cole's Creek period (Brain 1978: 337). The Cole's

Creek period began around the first century CE and was very similar to the Mississippian period culture that later followed and spread through the region. It featured the use of pyramid shaped mounds with platform tops, as well as the development of polities (Brain 1978: 337). By around 1100 CE the cultural traits of the Coles Creek period had expanded much farther than the Lower Mississippi Valley, and the archaeological record shows continuity between the various sites associated with this time period. This continuity provides evidence that these separate polities had complex relationships and often interacted with one another, which likely aided in the vast spread of Mississippian Period cultural traits later on (Brain 1978: 337).

Period	Phase	Associated Ceramic Types	Dates (AD)
Historic	Natchez	• Fatherland Incised • Leland Incised • Maddox Engraved • Mazique Incised	1650-1750
Mississippian	Emerald	• Barton Incised • Evansville Punctated • Fatherland Incised • Leland Incised • Maddox Engraved • Mazique Incised	1500-1650
Mississippian	Foster	• Barton Incised • Coleman Incised • Evansville Punctated • Fatherland Incised • Leland Incised • Maddox Engraved • Mazique Incised • Plaquemine Brushed • Parkin Punctated	1350-1500
Mississippian	Anna	• Coleman Incised • Evansville Punctated • Leland Incised • Mazique Incised • Plaquemine Brushed • Parkin Punctated • Anna Incised	1200-1350

Table 1 Periods and Phases of Mississippian Period in Natchez Bluffs region with associated ceramic types. (Boudreaux and Harris, 2020)

Frequent flooding and millennia long occupation have resulted in buried sites, structures, and features in the Mississippi River floodplain, which was occupied continuously in the Natchez Bluffs region from the late prehistoric period through to the historic period (Barnett 2007; Brown, 1985; Brown, James 1990; Brown and Steponaitis 2017; Cushman 1999; Depratter 1986; Lorenz 2000:143). The protohistoric and historic periods feature episodes of contact between the Natchez and sixteenth century Spanish colonists, as well as eighteenth and nineteenth century French colonists, of which various recorded accounts were produced (Lorenz 2000:143; Brown and Steponaitis 2017; Barnett 2007; Brown, Ian W. 1985; Brown, James 1990; Cushman 1999; Depratter 1986).

The soils that are present in the Natchez area, as well as the entire Lower Mississippi Valley, played a crucial part in the locations of the past Natchez villages. The Lower Mississippi Valley is an area that has seen regular flooding from the Mississippi river for centuries. As a result, much of the area is covered with steep alluvial soil deposits, some 70-ft thick, creating massive loess bluffs that sit upon the sides of the river (Brain, et al. 1995). These bluffs are some of the most fertile and arable land in the Lower Mississippi Valley and as a result, became the locations for many of the American Indian societies in the region (Brain et al. 1995). The agricultural aspects of the loess bluffs also later attracted European and American farmers as well. This, coupled with the general nature of the flooding and redepositing of soils by the rivers, has led to many of the archaeological sites in the region either becoming destroyed or buried. Such a case is evident at the Grand Village of the Natchez where mounds such as Mound E were essentially buried and hidden by the deposits of loess soil that were carried onto it during river floods.

The Natchez Bluffs region was likely inhabited by several settlements and chiefdoms throughout prehistory up to the historic period with all of them competing and varying in their political and regional power throughout time (Lorenz 2000:145). The ancestral Natchez peoples spoke a language similar to Muskhogean and lived in various settlements along the tributaries east of the Mississippi river (Lorenz 2000:143). In the late precontact and early-contact periods, the territory of the Natchez encompassed over 120 miles from the Homochitto River in the South up to the Big Black River around what is modern day Vicksburg (Lorenz 2000:143: Sayre 2016). However, the territory of the Natchez diminished in size over time and eventually only encompassed around 65 kilometers from the banks of St. Catherine's Creek at its southernmost point, to Fairchilds Creek and the South Fork of Cole's Creek at its northernmost point (Lorenz 2000:143). Archaeological research shows that the ancestral Natchez peoples and their ancestors had occupied the Natchez Bluffs region of southwest Mississippi from around CE 1200 through to historic times and are often representative of the Plaquemine culture which is a variant of Mississippian culture (Lorenz 2000:145). Excluding ceramic technology, Plaquemine sites are very similar to other Mississippian sites in that they include platform mound building, maize agriculture, and similar settlement distribution patterns (Lorenz 2000:145). The ceramics from the Plaquemine sites vary from other Mississippian sites in that they were typically crafted with clay and grit temper rather than shell (Lorenz 2000:145).

In the protohistoric period many of the Native American polities began to dissolve and decrease due to changes in internal power struggles; as a result, several mound sites and their accompanying chiefdoms were abandoned and replaced by smaller rival polities (Lorenz 2000:147; Ethridge 2010). During contact with European colonists around this time, much of the population of the Natchez and other indigenous American groups in the Southeast were the

victims of infectious diseases carried over by the Europeans (Lorenz 2000:147). The first historically recorded account of the Natchez peoples begins with Spanish accounts from the de Soto expeditions, which recorded their contact with the Quigualtam, a strong ruling ancestral Natchez nation in the region (Lorenz 2000:143; Brain 1978). The Quigualtam polity was thought to have been centered around the Emerald Mound complex, which is one of North America's largest earthen mounds. Eventually, due to disease, decrease in population size, and internal shifts, the center of the Natchez polity switched overtime to the present location of the Grand Village in what is modern day Natchez, banking alongside the St. Catherine Creek (Lorenz 2000:151; Brain, et al. 1995).

While much has been written and researched regarding the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century occupations at the Fatherland Site, little information exists on the earlier occupations at the site. Neitzel (1965) gave some of the first evidence that pointed to precolonial construction and occupation at the Fatherland Site. Nietzel (1965) concluded that Mound A at the Fatherland Site showed no evidence of usage or construction during the French occupation at the site meaning that it must have been used, constructed, and abandoned prior to European contact. While the Fatherland Site acted as the central paramount chiefdom in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is theorized that it had not been the central paramount chiefdom for long at that point (Brain 1978; Brown 2007). Archaeological evidence shows that during the Anna phase (Table 1), from around AD 1200 to 1350, there was significant occupation at the site (Brown and Steponaitis 2017:185-187). Mound construction at the Fatherland Site appears to have begun directly after the Anna phase, in the Foster phase, around AD 1350 to 1500, with additional construction continuing into the Emerald phase, around AD 1500 to 1650 (Brown and Steponaitis 2017:186). It is during the Emerald phase that the Fatherland Site most likely became

the acting political capital of the Natchez people; it is likely that in earlier times the Emerald and Anna Sites acted as the political capitols of the Natchez (Brain 1978; Brown 2007; Brown and Steponaitis 2017).

Ethnographic History of the Grand Village

The Fatherland Site was the home of the Great Sun, as well as his war chief brother, Tattooed Serpent, it was also the central location for much of French interactions with Indigenous communities (Sayre 2016). The French recorded accounts of the Natchez spans from around 1682 to 1731. These records are composed of several journals and letters that were written by colonists, soldiers, and campaign leaders. According to the French records, the Great Sun was thought to have ruled around six to nine villages — with a population between 4,000 to 6,000 people and an army of around 1,500 soldiers —in the Natchez Bluffs area (Lorenz 2000:153; Sayre 2016).

One of the most detailed and heavily studied recordings of the Natchez was the account written by French fur trader Le Page Du'Pratz. Du'Pratz states that the Great Sun had complete political power over the civil systems, while Tattooed Serpent was in charge of forming councils and issuing war declarations (Lorenz 2000:153; Sayre 2016). The Great Sun was always the son of the Mother Sun, and the daughter of the Mother Sun would in turn become the new Mother Sun (Sayre 2016). Along with their power over decision making in the Natchez society, the elites of the Great Sun lineage also had greater access to economic and subsistence capital than the commoners, often requiring great tributes of goods, materials, and subsistence that were rarely redistributed (Lorenz 2000: 152; Sayre 2016; Barnett 2007; Smyth, 2016). While the French

describe the ruling power of the Great Sun and his lineage as being reminiscent of their own kings and rulers, the reality of the situation was much different (Sayre 2016).

Though the Great Sun and Tattooed Serpent had a great deal of power and rule over the Natchez Bluffs area, many of the surrounding Natchez villages and chiefdoms operated and governed themselves independently(Lorenz 2000:163; Barnett 2007; Smyth 2016:30-34). These separate polities eventually led to warfare breaking out between the Natchez and Europeans with the first major conflict being started by the murder of four French traders by a Natchez raiding group led by a War Chief from the White Apple village (Lorenz 2000:163). A meeting was called for the various chiefs of the Natchez where they attempted to establish peace and plead innocence to the wrongdoings. It was revealed that some of the Natchez villages sided with English colonists in the area and had risen in power to rival the Great Sun and Tattooed Serpent (Lorenz 2000:163; Barnett 2007).

As warfare broke out between Natchez villages and French colonists, the state of the Grand Village came under siege. In 1725, the biggest blow delivered to the Natchez of the Grand Village was the death of Tattooed Serpent, followed shortly after by the death of the Great Sun, in 1728 (Lorenz 2000:162; Sayre 2016; Barnett 2007). Tattooed Serpent and the Great Sun had been large supporters of the French colonists during their occupancy in the area and with their deaths, the paradigm of French support was shifted, with the ruling Natchez villages in support of the English rather than the French (Lorenz 2000:163; Barnett 2007). The English supporting Natchez peoples conducted a series of attacks on French settlements in the area which eventually resulted in retaliation by the French. In 1731, the French along with Choctaw allies captured the Grand Village of the Natchez in a massive battle that all but decimated the Natchez people and their society (Lorenz 2000: 163-165; Barnett 2007).

While the Natchez may have been defeated and driven from their ancestral homelands as a result of these battles, their history did not end in 1731 (Smyth, 2016). The Natchez integrated into the Chickasaw, Cherokee, Creek, and possibly other nations throughout the Southeastern United States after their battle with the French (Smyth, 2016:6-9). While in some manners, the Natchez conformed to some of the cultural and political practices of these nations, they maintained their own autonomy and identity through creating communities on the outer areas of these polities (Smyth, 2016:7-10). It was through these communities on the outer areas of larger polities that the Natchez established networks with other Natchez communities in other polities, creating a web of support and identity for one another, and vital relationships with other Native American Nations (Smyth, 2016). Eventually the Natchez along with the other Native American Nations of the Southeastern United States were forcibly relocated to what is present day Oklahoma through the Indian Removal Act, an arduous and deadly journey that is referred to as the Trail of Tears. Today the Natchez still maintain their sovereignty and identity as a proud nation and people.

Archaeological Work Conducted at The Fatherland Site

Some of the first archaeological studies at the Grand Village were done by James Ford and Moreau B. Chambers (Brown, Steponaitis 2017; Brain, Brown, and Steponaitis 1995). Moreau B. Chambers in 1930 began a series of excavations at the site that uncovered burials and other cultural material remnants. Further work was done by George Quimby who, in 1942, examined the ceramic materials from the site. Following these projects, one of the most significant investigations was conducted by Nietzel who investigated Mounds A, B, and C in the

1960s (Nietzel 1965) and later investigated non-mound areas at the site in the 1970s (Nietzel 1983).

Prior to Nietzel's work, it was believed that Mound A at the Fatherland Site had been the site of the Great Sun's residence while Mound B was the site of the temple, and Mound C had been a burial mound (Nietzel 1965). Nietzel began his work by starting excavations at Mound B. His excavations at Mound B were carried out by cutting trenches in the North, South, East, and West sides of the mound (Nietzel 1965:16). The trenches showed that Mound B had been built in four stages with each stage being completed by capping the layer with the remains of a structure (Nietzel 1965:16). Nietzel (1965:16) labeled the different stages as Phase's 1-4 or Building Level's 1-4. Nietzel (1965:16-25) uncovered evidence of 5 levels of occupation at Mound B, with the remnants of a structure being revealed at the base level of the mound, and cultural refuse and structural remnants being revealed in the later levels. Mound B was not fully excavated past Phase 1 in most areas due to time/contractual constraints; it was however excavated in some select areas.

Chambers carried out some of the first excavations at Mound C, and he determined that the mound was a small burial mound only 3 feet in height at its maximum. Neitzel (1965:27) tested Mound C by excavating a 10-foot-wide test trench in several of the sides of the mound and found the extent of the mound to be much deeper than Chambers had. Neitzel (1965:27-39) uncovered four levels of occupation that were capped off by structures or burials similar to that of Mound B. Interestingly, Neitzel only uncovered European contact artifacts in the topmost layer of Mound C at Level four (Neitzel 1965:39).

Mound A at the Fatherland Site had also been previously excavated to some extent by Moreau B. Chambers. By the time Neitzel began his own excavations at Mound A however, a

large portion of it had eroded into the St. Catherine Creek. Neitzel (1965:15) noted that he and his team did not investigate this mound to the extent of the others they excavated due to the erosion as well as the end of their field season approaching. To make use of the erosion that had taken place on the eastern side of Mound A, Neitzel and his team opened a test trench that went about eight to nine feet below the mound's surface (Neitzel 1965:15). Another trench was dug into the western side of Mound A by Neitzel digging to a depth of around seven feet below the mounds surface (Neitzel 1965:15). Neither of the trenches in either side of Mound A were fully completed by Neitzel and his team, and in both instances no structures or distinct phases were found and very few artifacts were recovered (Neitzel 1965:15-16).

Prior to Neitzel's work, it was theorized by Moreau B. Chambers that Mound B was the remnants of the Great Sun's home, and that Mound C was the site of the Natchez temple, with mound A appearing to have been abandoned and unused by the time of French arrival (Neitzel 1965). The excavations performed at the Fatherland Site revealed a number of cultural remains that provide insight into the ways of life for Natchez peoples at the Grand Village, with some twenty-five burials being discovered, along with ten completed projectile points, stone pipes and other various stone and bone crafted tools, and several European trade goods, such as porcelain crockery, kaolin pipes, iron, flint, lead, brass and copper, silver, glass, beads, among others (Neitzel 1965:49-51).

Upon Neitzel's return to the Fatherland Site, excavations and surveys were carried out in the areas surrounding the mounds, and various structures and artifacts were uncovered (Neitzel 1983). A plaza area, as well as various faunal remains were discovered which provided insight into the cultural practices of the ancestral Natchez peoples as well as their foodways and subsistence patterns (Neitzel 1983). Though the size of the plaza was small, through

ethnohistoric works it has been revealed to have been of significant cultural importance, being the space of events such as feasting and ceremonial endeavors, as well as the 1725 funeral of Tattooed Serpent (Brown and Steponaitis 2017). The excavations performed by Neitzel took some considerable work. In order to reach the 1730's stratigraphic layer Neitzel had to uncover almost 2 meters of sediment, which he attributed to deforestation patterns from locals and the constant overflowing of the Saint Catherine Creek over time (Brown and Steponaitis 2017).

Another phenomenon that Neitzel noticed during his research at the Fatherland Site was an earthen ridge that sat between Mounds B and C, which Neitzel believed was a siege trench created by the French army (Brown and Steponaitis 2017:184). Neitzel came across this siege line from an eighteenth century French military map of the Grand Village. A problem soon arose with Neitzel's depiction of the Grand Village and of the map (Brown, Steponaitis 2017:185). In the eighteenth century French military map the Grand Village of the Natchez was depicted as having four mounds instead of only three as had been depicted by Neitzel (Brown, Steponaitis 2017:185). Neitzel argued that it was the French military map that had recorded the site wrong by misplacing the Northing arrow and thus compromising the map, but recent research conducted by Ian Brown and Vincas Steponaitis into the French military map examined by Neitzel as well as two other maps from the time, which Neitzel did not have access to, has revealed that the Grand Village of the Natchez was, in fact composed of more than three mounds, and that the ridge which Neitzel believed to be a military trench was actually the remnants of an old levee system (Brown, Steponaitis 2017:187).

One of the paramount pieces of evidence used during Brown and Steponaitis's research was a map of Natchez (Figure 1), which was created by French Officer Ignace-Francois Broutin (Brown, Steponaitis 2017:188: Figure 9.9). This map by Broutin depicted six mounds which he

labeled A-F. Mounds A, B, and C from Broutin's map actually fit with the depiction of mounds A, B, and C on Neitzel's map, and several houses and other structures are depicted in the areas surrounding the mounds (Brown, Steponaitis 2017:188). Four structures were depicted atop Mound A, while two were shown on Mound B, and Mound C and D each have one. The structures on Mound B are labeled as the cabin of the Great Chief, while those on Mound C are labeled as the New Temple, and the structure on Mound D is labeled as the Old Temple (Brown, Steponaitis 2017:188).

Another piece of evidence used by Brown and Steponaitis was a map of the Grand Village that was created by an employee of the Company of the Indies during the mid-1700's named Marc-Antoine Caillot (Brown, Steoponaitis 2017:189). The Caillot map shared many traits with both maps, however the Caillot map revealed the reasons behind why the other two maps, the one observed by Neitzel and the Broutin map, were not syncing (Brown, Steponaitis 2017:189). The research conducted by Brown and Steponaitis produced many revelations about the Fatherland Site. First, that the Grand Village was actually made up of more than the three mounds currently assumed; second, that the North arrow on the map Neitzel had examined was actually correct; third, that the French did in fact have siege lines in the area but they were north of where Neitzel had previously argued; and fourth, that Neitzel's theories that Mound B functioned as the Great Sun's residence and Mound C functioned as a temple were true (Brown, Steponaitis 2017:191).

In 2019, following the discovery of the unknown mounds revealed in (Brown, Steponaitis 2017), a team of archaeologists lead by Dr. Edmond Boudreaux performed a series of surveys using ground penetrating radar, magnetometry, coring, and eventually excavations in hopes of locating the previously unknown mounds, as well as, the sap trench depicted in the French maps

(Figure 2). Using ground penetrating radar and magnetometry, anomalies underneath the alluvial soil deposits were recorded. Further coring and excavations were done at and around the locations of these anomalies. Through this work one of the buried mounds, known as Mound E, was discovered, and subsequently a midden deposit was uncovered from an excavation pit that was placed on the slope of the newly discovered mound.

The archaeological project has produced a number of artifacts from Mound E consisting of various faunal, lithic, and ceramic materials associated with the Natchez peoples. The collection includes approximately 1,329 ceramic sherds of various types and varieties (Boudreaux and Harris, 2020) (Table 2). Through an analysis into the ceramic materials recovered from this project I will seek to understand the occupational history of the Grand Village and the Lower Mississippi Valley as a whole.

	Mound E Base																	Mound E Summit						
	N831 E857											N832 E857						N832 E866						
Type and Variety by Temper	Gen.	Lv. 1	Zn. 1	Zn. 2	Zn. 3	Zn. 3/4	Zn. 4	Zn. 4, Lv. 2	Zn. 5	Zn. 6	Zn. 7	Lv. 1	Lv. 2	Lv. 3	Lv. 4	Lv. 5	Zn. 2	Fea. 1	Lv. 1	Lv. 2	Lv. 3	Lv. 4	Backhoe Trench into Possible Sap	Totals
Grog																								
Addis Plain, *var. Unspecified*	6	1	9	72	92	15	4	4	35	41	12	21	92	47	46	8	4	2	4	27	5	30	-	577
Coleman Incised, *var. Unspecified*	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Evansville Punctated, *var. Unspecified*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Fatherland Incised, *var. Unspecified*	-	-	-	5	2	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	15
Leland Incised, *var. Unspecified*	1	-	1	2	6	1	1	1	2	5	-	-	5	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
Maddox Engraved, *var. Emerald*	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	6
Maddox Engraved, *var. Unspecified*	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	1		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	5
Mazique Incised, *var. Unspecified*	-	-	-	3	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	2	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	20
Plaquemine Brushed, *var. Plaquemine*	-	-	-	20	10	1	-	-	3	11	-	4	9	8	5	-	-	-	-	1	2	5	-	79
Unclassified Decorated	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Unclassified Engraved	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Unclassified Eroded	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Unclassified Incised	-	-	1	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	1	-	-	1	1	2	1	1	20
Shell																								
Barton Incised, *var. Unspecified*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
Bell Plain, *var. Unspecified*	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	8
Mississippi Plain, *var. Unspecified*	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Unclassified Incised	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Unclassified Small Sherds	3	2	5	60	121	5	4	3	30	44	6	28	73	57	24	18	5	-	16	18	24	-	1	547
Total	11	3	17	173	236	22	10	8	77	106	18	56	191	121	88	30	9	2	22	48	36	40	3	1327

Table2. Ceramic types and counts recovered from Mound E. (Boudreaux and Harris, 2020)

Chapter 2. Methods

As mentioned previously, the goal of this thesis is to establish a chronology for Mound E and to relate that chronology with that of the other contexts at the Fatherland Site, so that a more complete chronology can be established for the entire site. In order to do this, I will analyze ceramic assemblages from these various contexts at the Fatherland Site. There are several reasons for why ceramic materials are the focus of the analysis in this research. One reason is that the Fatherland Site features an abundance of ceramic materials that have been catalogued and documented in several contexts at the site. Another, and perhaps the most significant reason, is that ceramic assemblages often feature decorative varieties that when sequenced, can show evidence of shifts in decorative ideas (Phillips 1970). These decorative varieties can then be used to provide insight into sociopolitical shifts and trends that occurred over time and space (Brain 1978; Brown 1985; Phillips 1970) (Table 1). It is worth noting that further analysis into the associated uses of these ceramic types could yield great insight into the practices and events that took place at the summit of Mound E, however, this was not analyzed in this thesis.

The first step in performing the analysis was to gather and compile the data on ceramic typologies and their percentages from Mound E, as well as from the other mound contexts at the Fatherland Site. The ceramics recovered from Mound E were analyzed and sorted according to their typologies by Dr. Edmond Boudreaux (2020) at the University of Mississippi. Mound E pottery was sorted and analyzed using typologies stemming from the type-variety classification system (Brain 1988, 1989; Brown 1998; Phillips 1970; Williams and Brain 1983). In classifying

these typologies, emphasis was placed on surface decorations and temperament that was added to the clay during their creation (Brown 1998; Phillips 1970). From there, the artifacts were arranged into groups according to their typologies and then the number of sherds of each type were catalogued and entered into a spreadsheet and table (Table 2).

The next hurdle was to somehow get the ceramic typologies and their counts for the other contexts found in Mounds A, B, and C at the Fatherland Site. In Neitzel's monographs on the Fatherland Site (Neitzel, 1965), there a few examples of hand drawn seriations representing the ceramics found in Mounds A, B, and C, but there was little mention of the raw data used to produce these seriations. Boudreaux determined the counts for the various ceramic types and their contexts by examining a hand drawn seriation of the data housed and the Mississippi Department of Archives and History in Jackson, MS. From this work the typologies and their raw counts for Mounds A, B, and C were catalogued and transcribed into more modern typologies and uploaded into a central database from which a table was created (Table 3). Finally, the tables created from Mound E (Table 2) and Neitzel's (1965) excavations (Table 3) were combined into a table of ceramic data by Boudreaux (2020) that featured the assemblages from both into a combined ceramic assemblage representing all excavated mound contexts at the Fatherland Site ((Tables 4 and 5).

	Md. C	Md. B	Md. B	Md. B	Md. C	Md. B	Md. B	Md. C	Md. C	Md. A	Md. A	Md. A	
Pottery Types	Fea. 44	Fea. 5	Fea. 6(?)	Fea. 8	Fea. 33, 42, 43	Fea. 2	Fea. 4	Fea. 31	Fea. 30	Pre-Md	Phase I	Phase II	Total
Addis Plain, *var. unspecified*	435	322	717	225	288	411	273	537	1160	38	103	93	4602
Anna Incised, *var. unspecified*	3	0	8	0	5	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	23
Avoyelles Punctated, *var. Dupree*	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Carter, Maddox, or Unclassified Engraved	3	2	4	10	2	2	2	3	15	0	0	0	43
Coles Creek Incised, *var. Hardy*	0	0	8	1	2	0	0	3	15	0	3	0	33
Evansville Punctated, *var. Rhinehart*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Evansville Punctated, *var. unspecified*	3	0	8	0	0	2	0	0	15	0	0	0	28
Evansville Punctated, *var. Wilkinson*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3
Fatherland Incised, *var. Bayagoula*	0	2	8	0	2	0	0	7	7	0	0	0	26
Fatherland Incised, *var. Fatherland*	3	9	4	0	0	2	4	7	30	0	0	5	63
Fatherland Incised, *var. unspecified*	3	2	8	1	2	0	4	3	22	0	3	5	53
Harrison Bayou Incised, *var. unspecified*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	2	10
Leland Incised, *var. unspecified*	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Maddox Engraved, *var. Emerald*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Marksville Incised, *var. Yokena*	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	5
Marksville Stamped, *var. Troyville*	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	5
Mazique Incised, *var. Manchac*	3	6	4	1	2	2	10	7	15	0	0	3	52
Mississippi Plan, *var. Neely's Ferry*	0	2	4	4	0	0	0	7	22	0	0	0	39
Parkin Punctated, *var. unspecified*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	7	0	0	0	11
Plaquemine Brushed, *var. unspecified*	39	74	155	59	72	100	76	139	297	4	10	9	1034
Unclassified Incised	3	0	4	1	2	0	2	0	7	0	0	0	19
Unclassified Incised and Punctated (Addis paste?)	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	5
Unidentified Exterior Engraved	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Winterville Incised, *var. Ranch*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Total	57	100	221	79	93	110	98	194	468	5	20	26	1471

Table 3. Ceramic types and counts from Mounds A, B, and C based off Neitzel (1965).

Counts	Anna Incised	Engraved	Evansville Punctated	Fatherland Incised	Leland Incised	Mazique Incised	Mississippi Plain	Parkin Punctated	Plaquemine Brushed	Totals
Md A/Pre-Md	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	6
Md A/PH1	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	10	16
Md A/PH2	0	0	2	9	0	3	0	0	9	23
Md B/F2	0	2	2	2	0	2	0	0	100	108
Md B/F4	0	2	0	8	0	10	0	0	76	96
Md B/F5	0	2	0	13	2	6	2	0	74	99
Md B/F6	8	4	8	19	4	4	4	0	155	206
Md B/F8	0	10	0	1	0	1	4	0	59	75
Md C/F30	7	15	15	59	0	15	22	7	297	437
Md C/F31	0	3	0	17	0	7	7	3	139	176
Md C/F33-42-43	5	4	0	4	0	2	0	0	72	87
Md C/F44	3	3	3	5	0	3	0	0	39	56
Md E/ZN2-Stage2	0	2	0	5	2	3	1	0	20	33
Md E/ZN3-5-Stage1MDN	0	4	0	4	11	4	0	0	14	37
Md E/ZN6-Stage1	0	1	0	1	5	1	1	0	11	20
Md E/Summit	0	2	0	2	0	4	0	0	8	16
Totals	23	57	32	152	24	65	41	10	1087	1491

Table 4. Ceramic types and counts from all mound contexts at Fatherland Site,(Boudreaux and Harris, 2020)

Percentages	Anna Incised	Engraved	Evansville Punctated	Fatherland Incised	Leland Incised	Mazique Incised	Mississippi Plain	Parkin Punctated	Plaquemine Brushed	Totals
Md A/Pre-Md	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	66.67	100
Md A/PH1	0.00	18.75	0.00	18.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	62.50	100
Md A/PH2	0.00	0.00	8.70	39.13	0.00	13.04	0.00	0.00	39.13	100
Md B/F2	0.00	1.85	1.85	1.85	0.00	1.85	0.00	0.00	92.59	100
Md B/F4	0.00	2.08	0.00	8.33	0.00	10.42	0.00	0.00	79.17	100
Md B/F5	0.00	2.02	0.00	13.13	2.02	6.06	2.02	0.00	74.75	100
Md B/F6	3.88	1.94	3.88	9.22	1.94	1.94	1.94	0.00	75.24	100
Md B/F8	0.00	13.33	0.00	1.33	0.00	1.33	5.33	0.00	78.67	100
Md C/F30	1.60	3.43	3.43	13.50	0.00	3.43	5.03	1.60	67.96	100
Md C/F31	0.00	1.70	0.00	9.66	0.00	3.98	3.98	1.70	78.98	100
Md C/F33-42-43	5.75	4.60	0.00	4.60	0.00	2.30	0.00	0.00	82.76	100
Md C/F44	5.36	5.36	5.36	8.93	0.00	5.36	0.00	0.00	69.64	100
Md E/ZN2-Stage2	0.00	6.06	0.00	15.15	6.06	9.09	3.03	0.00	60.61	100
Md E/ZN3-5-Stage1MDN	0.00	10.81	0.00	10.81	29.73	10.81	0.00	0.00	37.84	100
Md E/ZN6-Stage1	0.00	5.00	0.00	5.00	25.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	55.00	100
Md E/Summit	0.00	12.50	0.00	12.50	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	100
Totals	1.54	3.82	2.15	10.19	1.61	4.36	2.75	0.67	72.90	100

Table Table 5. Ceramic types and percentages from all mound contexts at Fatherland Site

Frequency Seriations

In order to gain inferences into the chronology of Mound E and make use of this newly created database, the ordering of the ceramic assemblages from the Fatherland Site into sequences is paramount. These ceramic sequences were created through the use of seriation methods and correspondence analysis. Seriation is a technique in which units are arranged into a sequence so that the closer a unit is to another, the more similarities they share, and the farther apart the units are, the less similarities they share (Cowgill 1972:381; Maquardt 1982:408; Shennan 1988:341; Smith and Neiman 2007). The seriations that I will be using are often referred to as frequency seriations. Frequency seriations have been used to establish chronologies in archaeology as early as the late 1800's when Flinders Petrie developed the method he called "sequence dating" to study the succession of stylistic traits amongst artifacts found in Egyptian graves (Lyman et. al., 1998:248-249); Smith and Neiman 2007:48). Frequency seriations

essentially order the sequences of artifacts, in this case ceramics, by arranging them according to typological frequencies (Smith and Neiman 2007:48).

Using frequency seriation enabled me to create sequences across several different assemblages at the Fatherland Site. The sequences are created by attempting to fit and order the percentages of types found in an assemblage to a model of how the fluctuations of those types should change overtime (Smith and Neiman 2007:48-50). The model of change in ceramic type frequencies is referred to as the popularity principle or battleship-shaped curve, focusing on the shape amongst ceramic types rather than the mechanisms creating the changes between ceramic assemblages. Frequency seriations do not always produce perfect battleship-shaped curves however. In some instances, frequency seriations may not be able to properly sequence artifact types and assemblages due to artifact typologies not being historical (Smith and Neiman 2007:49). Even when sequences are created that fit the model well, they are still not an absolute example of chronology. In order to support the results of these seriations I will also be using non-metric multi-dimensional scaling (NMMDS), and radiocarbon dates to aid in establishing a chronology.

To create the seriations, I employed the use of an excel program called Lipo version 3.0 that was created by archaeologists Dr. Carl Lipo, Dr. Tim Hunt, and Dr. Robbert Dunnell (Lipo et al., 1997:33). This program works by transcribing data entered into row and columns into a frequency seriation chart with bars representing the percentages of ceramic types for each unit. From there these bars can be manipulated and reordered by dragging them into new ordered positions. For my first attempt at creating a frequency seriation for the Fatherland Site, I used all of the data available. The result of this was a very incoherent seriation, with many variables that

skewed results. In order to refine the seriation, I began to manipulate the stratigraphical and typological data that was being examined.

The first change that was made was to reduce the typologies included in the seriation to only those that provided the largest sample sizes. In order to do this some of the various typologies had to be combined based on their stylistic traits. The typologies used were narrowed down to Anna Incised, Engraved, Evansville Punctated, Fatherland Incised, Leland Incised, Mazique Incised, Mississippi Plain, Parkin Punctated, and Plaquemine Brushed. The next change was in the contexts being examined. Due to Mound A and Mound E having small, and in some cases absent, sample sizes in some of the stratigraphic layers, the entire pottery counts for all stratigraphic layers in each mound were combined and used as single contexts, resulting in a single context for Mound A, and a single context for Mound E that encompassed all of the ceramic types and their counts found in each mound.

These changes created a dataset that provided a greater sample size for the seriations. The next step was to begin creating various seriations that continuously refined the datasets in an effort to avoid biases created by skewed sample sizes.

Non-Metric Multi-Dimensional Scaling

Non- Metric Multi-Dimensional Scaling (NMMDS) has become more popular in American archaeology in recent years. NMMDS operates similarly to frequency analysis in that it operates on a two-way data matrix, with rows featuring assemblages and columns featuring frequencies. Much like frequency seriation it can provide a visual representation of the distances between similarities in assemblages. NNMDS is a quantitative method that can be used to seriate attributes of archaeological materials. NMMDS works by establishing a geometric representation

of similarities and dissimilarities into a matrix represented by points (Marquardt 1982:428). For this thesis, the points being compared will be percentages of pottery types. The matrix produced through NMMDS is interpreted through examining the distances between given points in the matrix (Cowgill 1972:388). The level of distance between the points in a dissimilarity matrix is a representation of the number of relative differences between units (Cowgill 1972:388). In this case, the matrix will be used to reveal the similarities and dissimilarities between percentages of pottery types in different units at the Fatherland Site.

When examining a dissimilarity matrix, the space between the points is the key factor. Points that are spaced farther apart from each other represent a greater amount of difference or dissimilarity amongst consecutive units, while points that are closer to one another represent less of a difference or dissimilarity amongst consecutive units (Cowgill 1972, 398). Through NMMDS the rank ordering of the distances tries to remain relatively preserved as dimensions are reduced in an iterative procedure (Shennan 1988:348). The amount of success in which the ordering is preserved in the reduction of dimensions is referred to as stress (Shennan 1988:348). If the archaeological data is sufficient enough and is able to produce a representation with a low amount of stress, then it is possible that NMMDS will establish a two-dimensional plot of the data in a chronological order (Shennan 1988:348-349). If the data does not meet the above requirements, then there is likely another factor that drives the variation between the archaeological data (Cowgill 1972: 397).

Radiocarbon Dating

Radiocarbon dates are the final method being employed in this thesis research to aid in establishing a chronology for Mound E. Radiocarbon dates are based on the measurements

stemming from the last Carbon-14 interactions between living organic matter and the atmosphere during the time of death of the organic matter (Taylor 2000:1). This method was first developed by Nobel Prize winning chemist Willard F. Libby in 1949 (Taylor 2000:1). It is worth noting that radiocarbon dating does have some limitations. These limitations apply to biological specimens that are fairly recent, usually in the past 300 years or so. This limitation is due to natural fluctuations in carbon-14 interactions, as well as modern factors such as the increased burning of fossil fuels, and even nuclear testing that have disrupted the natural carbon-14 interactions (Taylor, 2000: 2-4). Four charred nutshells, discovered in the excavations at Mound E by Dr. Boudreaux in 2019, were used for the radiocarbon date testing (Boudreaux, 2021). These four charred nutshells were sent to Beta Analytic Lab Testing in Miami, FL where the radiocarbon dates were obtained (Boudreaux, 2021). The combination of results from frequency seriations, statistical analyses, and radiocarbon dates will all be compared in the effort of establishing the chronology of Mound E, and the Fatherland Site as a whole.

Chapter 3. Results

Seriations

Based off the methods listed above, the following seriations were created using the ceramic data from Table 4. Figure 3 represents the ceramic assemblage sorted by the Fatherland Incised typology, in this seriation, only the types that had at least 60 sherds present were included.

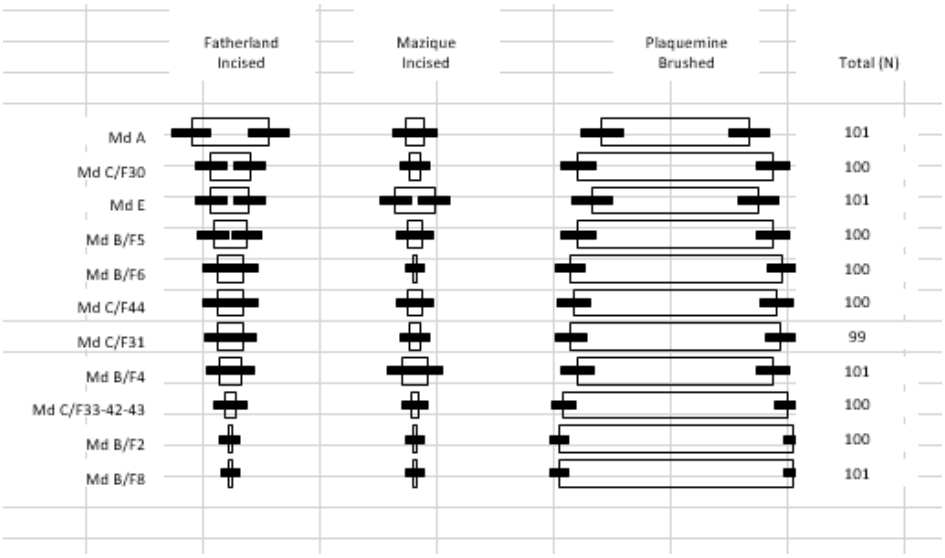

Figure 3 Seriation sorted on Fatherland Incised. Limited types >60.

Figure 4 represents the ceramic assemblage sorted by the Mazique Incised typology, in this seriation only the types that had at least 60 sherds present were included. No data from Mound A was included.

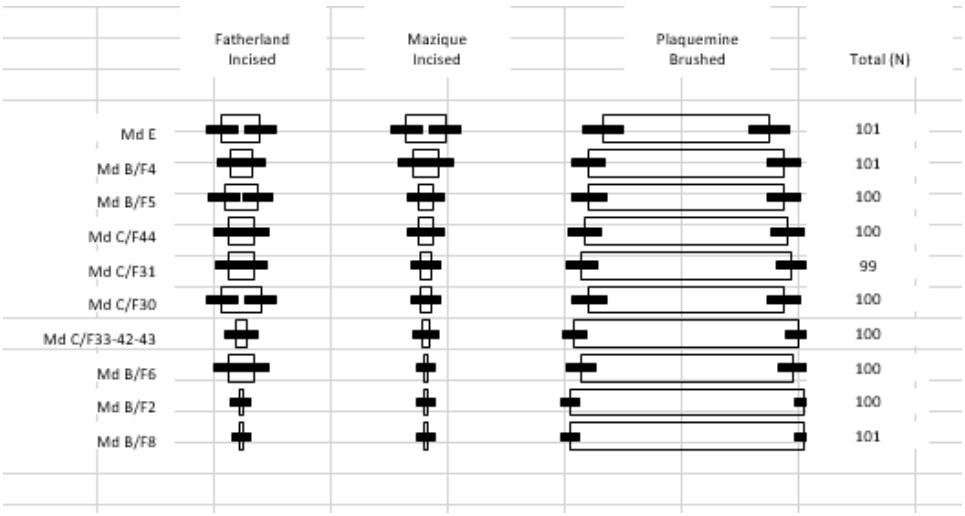

Figure 4. Seriation sorted on Mazique Incised typology. Limited types >60.

Figure 5 represents the ceramic assemblage sorted by the Plaquemine Brushed typology. In this seriation only the types that had at least 60 sherds present were included. No data from Mound A was used.

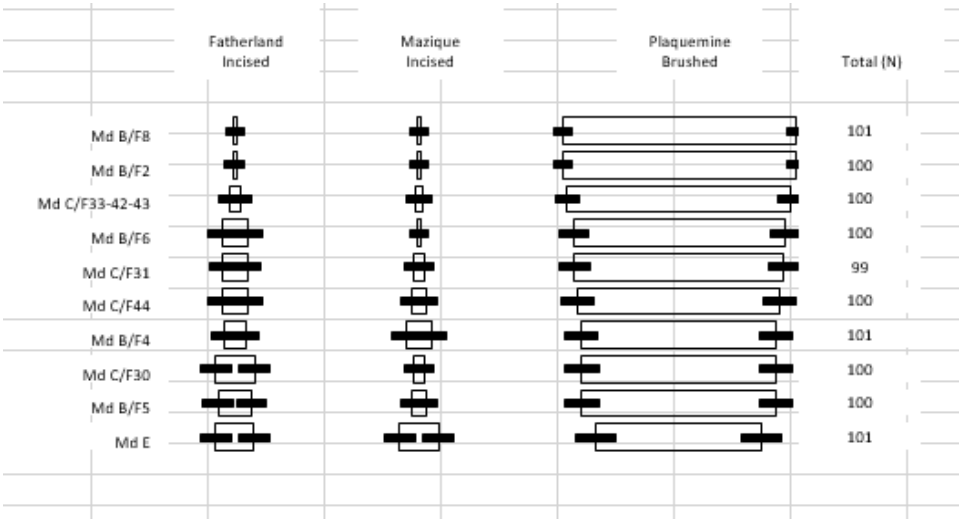

Figure 5. Seriation sorted on Plaquemine Brushed. Limited types >60.

When reviewing the results of the seriations, those including Mound A (Figure 3) show some interesting patterns. When sorted on Fatherland Incised in Figure 3, Mound A stands out as having one of the highest counts of the Plaquemine Brushed typology, and one of the highest counts of the Fatherland Incised typology. When considering the date ranges and associated pottery types found in Table 1. This seriation could be interpreted as representing the primary usage of Mound A. The primary use of Mound A, then falls somewhere between the Late Mississippian Period (1500-1650 AD) and the Historic Period (1650-1750 AD) due to the prevalence of pottery types that relate to those periods, and the less prevalent and in some cases absence of other types. In all of the seriations containing Mound A, however, there are several outlying ceramic typologies that offset the structure of the seriations, causing it to appear as if there were abrupt and non-sequential changes in the popularity and prevalence of various pottery types over time at the Fatherland Site. This is likely due to erosion and possibly even lack of use of the mound mentioned in the chapters above.

Mound A, even with its contexts combined into a single context, still had the overall lowest counts of ceramic materials for all typologies amongst the other three mounds. While some types such as Fatherland Incised were featured more abundantly in Mound A as compared to others in the seriations, the actual number of ceramic materials, regardless of typology, were much less than those of the other mounds. It is also worth noting that both Neitzel (1965) and Sayre (2016) claim that Mound A was not used by the Natchez people for possibly hundreds of years prior to French contact. Considering these things, it was decided that seriations excluding Mound A entirely, might produce more accurate results in the seriations.

Several seriations (Figures 4 and 5) were created with data from Mound A not included, a uniform and sequential order of the prevalence and popularity of certain ceramic types could still

not be achieved though. Several other ceramic types: (Addis Plain, Anna Incised, Avoyelles Punctated, Carter and Mattox Engraved, Coles Creek Incised, Evansville Punctated, Harrison Bayou Incised, Leland Incised, Marksville Incised, Marksville Stamped, Mississippi Plain, Parkin Punctated, Winterville Incised, and various unclassified types) were present at low frequencies in all mounts. In order to create a seriation that represented a more accurate depiction of the prevalence and popularity of ceramic typologies across time at the Fatherland Site, seriations were then created that excluded ceramic types that had less than 30 sherds present. This effort was furthered to exclude ceramic types that had less than 60 sherds present.

Non-metric Multi-Dimensional Scaling

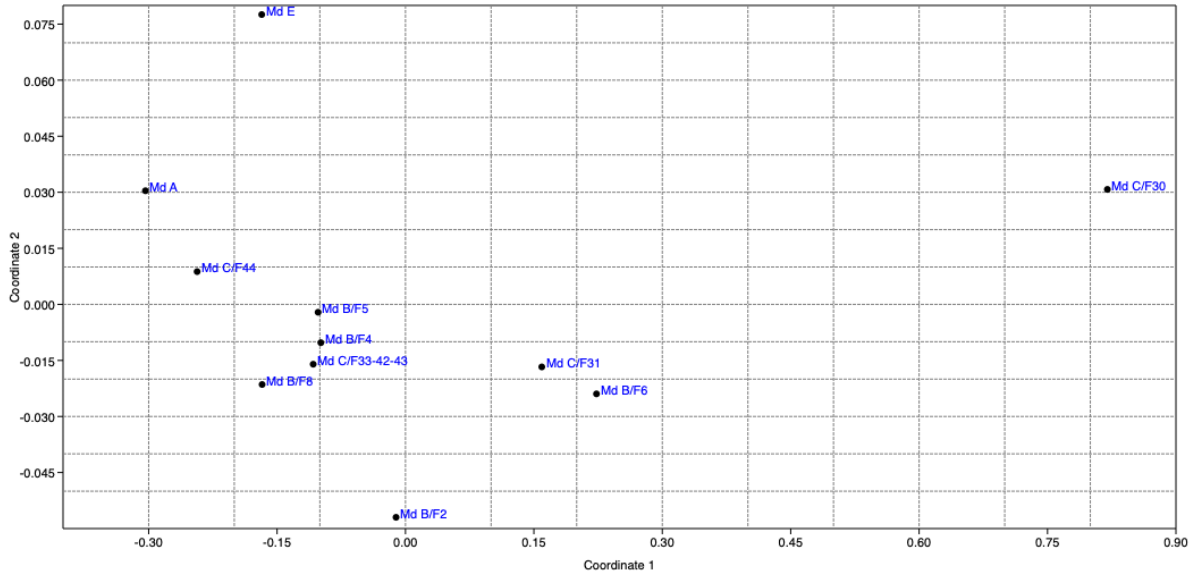

Figure 6. Dissimilarity Matrix of mound contexts at the Fatherland Site.

Using the raw pottery counts of each mound context from Table 4, the following NMMDS analysis was done (Figure 6). This NMMDS dissimilarity matrix was created using a

program PAST version 4.07 (Hammer, et al. 2001). The dissimilarity matrix has a stress level of 0, meaning that the matrix has a strong goodness of fit and reflects an accurate depiction of the similarities and dissimilarities amongst the contexts.

While the seriations featured many alterations to the samples used, the NMMDS featured the full use of all of the raw pottery counts seen in Table 4. As mentioned in previous chapters, NMMDS was used to create a visual representation of the similarities and dissimilarities of the various mound contexts at the Fatherland Site. Through comparing the amounts of sherds and their typologies found in the different mound contexts, the mound contexts were sorted in the dissimilarity matrix to represent which contexts were more similar or dissimilar to one another. The resulting matrix (Figure 6) showed some very interesting results. Mound E, by far, showed the least similarity amongst all other mound contexts at the Fatherland Site. While there were some hurdles to overcome in some of these methods, once refined, the results of these methods have allowed for some valuable interpretations to be made in regards to the chronology of Mound E at the Fatherland Site.

Radiocarbon Dates

The first of the four nutshells that were used for radiocarbon dating produced a date range of 1474-1638 CE. The second nutshell produced a date range of 1437-1522 CE. The third nutshell produced a date range of 1408-1460 CE. The fourth nutshell produced a date range of 1404-1452 CE. Overall, the report produced by Beta Analytic Testing Laboratory concluded that the most probable age range for the set of nutshells fell between the date range of 1404-1452 CE (Boudreaux, 2021). This date range, as well as the absence of European artifacts at Mound E, gives support to the conclusion that Mound E of Fatherland Site was constructed and in use in

the Foster phase of the Mississippian Period nearly 300 years before European contact in the Lower Mississippi Valley.

Results Summary

The goal of this thesis is to determine the chronology of Mound E at the Fatherland Site. This will allow for establishment of a revised site chronology. As mentioned in my previous chapters, the methods used to obtain this goal, with the exception of the radiocarbon dating, have largely been dependent on analyzing the ceramic materials recovered from Mound E and the other mounds at the site. One of the biggest challenges to this research has stemmed from obtaining sufficient sample sizes of ceramic materials from the various mound contexts. In order to obtain these samples several changes and alterations in the organization of the ceramic assemblage had to be made and considered.

One of the first challenges in obtaining a sufficient sample came from Mound A. For Mounds A, B, and C, the ceramic data, including the counts, typologies, and contexts used in this research came directly from Neitzel (1965). According to Neitzel (1965) Mound A did not yield a large ceramic assemblage. The lack of ceramics recovered from Mound A made inputting this data into seriations and NMMDS very difficult. In order to combat this, the various contexts of Mound A were compiled into a single context when being used in the seriations and NMMDS, in order to achieve a larger and more reflective sample size. The same was done in the case of Mound E. This of course poses some possible dilemmas.

Mounds are massive earthen works, that are often created and built-in stages over very large time spans (Anderson and Sassaman 2012; Halley 1993; Knight 2010; Lindauer and Blitz 1997; Sherwood and Kidder 2011). With this in mind, the problem stemming from combining all

of the stratigraphical contexts of a mound into one context is that ceramic materials from vastly different time periods could potentially be associated together. Thus, combining the stratigraphical contexts of a mound into a single context could potentially result in a misrepresentation of the archaeological context in regards to chronology. Though this method of combining contexts has some potential biases, some of the analysis such as seriations, and NMMDS, simply could not be performed in a sufficient manner without the larger sample sizes that resulted from these context combinations.

Chapter 4: Discussion

The primary goal of this thesis is to establish a chronology for the construction and use of Mound E at the Fatherland Site. The methods used to obtain this goal involved analyzing ceramic typologies amongst different mound contexts at the Fatherland Site through the creation of frequency seriations, and NMMDS dissimilarity matrices. The seriations and NMMDS matrix were then ultimately compared with and supported by a series of 4 radiocarbon dates from nutshells recovered from Mound E. Based on my analyses, it appears that Mound E of Fatherland Site was likely constructed and in use during the Foster phase of the Mississippian Period (1350-1500 CE) several hundred years prior to European contact in the Lower Mississippi Valley, and that the Grand Village of the Natchez was inhabited by people and featured a complex society much earlier than what was theorized by previous archaeological projects. Where previous archaeological projects theorized that the Fatherland Site had occupations dating back to the Anna Phase through to the Historic Period (1200-1750 CE), it was thought that the site did not see large scale use and development until sometime in the Emerald Phase (1500-1650 CE) (Barnett, 2007; Neitzel, 1965;1972).

The seriations revealed some interesting patterns in the popularity and presence of certain pottery types over time at the Fatherland Site. As mentioned previously, the first few seriations did not produce very good sequences for the ceramic typologies, this was likely due to the low sample sizes for many of the types. In Figures 3-5, the seriations reveal that Mound E showed

some of the highest frequencies of Mazique Incised and Fatherland Incised pottery, and some of the lowest frequencies of Plaquemine Brushed pottery.

With the Fatherland Incised type, Mound E featured the highest frequency, which could be interpreted as the highest popularity of that type. In Figures 3 and 5 a gradual trend can be seen indicating the decrease of popularity amongst this type across different mound contexts. The same pattern can be seen in the Mazique incised type in Figure 4, where Mound E shows a higher frequency of this decorative type and the subsequent mound contexts showing somewhat gradual decreases. The Plaquemine Brushed typology shows the opposite trend in frequency and popularity (Figure 5), with Mound E having the lowest frequency, and the subsequent mound contexts showing gradually higher frequencies.

The pottery types that provide the most evidence about Mound E's construction and use were Barton Incised, Coleman Incised, Evansville Punctated, Fatherland Incised, Leland Incised, Maddox Engraved, Mazique Incised, and Plaquemine brushed (Brown 1998; Phillips 1970), most of which were in use from the Anna phase on into the Natchez phase. It is important to note that some of these types such as Barton Incised, Coleman Incised, and Plaquemine Brushed are some of the most diagnostic types recovered from Mound E due to their limited distribution. While many of these types mentioned provide diagnostic evidence to Mound E's possible construction and use, many of them were not included in the seriations due to low sample sizes. In considering the overlap of time periods that Plaquemine Brushed is associated with (Brown 1998; Phillips 1970) and the pattern of ascending frequency shown in the seriations when limited to types that include only those that featured 60 or more present sherds, the evidence suggests that Mound E was likely constructed and in use sometime during the Foster phase (CE 1350-1500) (Table 1).

The use of NMMDS also yielded results that show some clear distinctions between Mound E and the other mound contexts at the Fatherland Site. The mound contexts showing the least amount of dissimilarity are Mound B/F5, Mound B/F4, Mound C/F33, and Mound B/F8 (Figure 6). Mound E, and Mound C/F30 show the greatest amount of dissimilarity amongst the other mound contexts in Figure 6. Considering that the dissimilarity of these contexts are based on ceramic typologies and their presence, absence, and frequency, the resulting dissimilarity matrix shows a representation of mound contexts that essentially represents similarities and dissimilarities in decorative pottery types amongst contexts, which can be translated into similarities and dissimilarities in time amongst contexts. The amount of dissimilarity between Mound E and the other mound contexts at the Fatherland Site shows a great deal of dissimilarity between Mound E and the other mound contexts. When considering the temporal implications of these decorative ceramic types, it provides evidence that Mound E greatly differs chronologically from the other mounds at the Fatherland Site.

While the above results and their interpretations offer some good evidence to suggest that Mound E was constructed and in use prior to European contact along with the other mounds at the Fatherland Site, perhaps the most tangible evidence that points to this conclusion is that of the radiocarbon dates that were taken from four nutshells recovered from Mound E. As mentioned above, the nutshells that were used for radiocarbon dating produced date ranges of 1474-1638 AD, 1437-1522 CE, 1408-1460 CE, and 1404-1452 CE. The radiocarbon date report by Beta Analytic Testing Laboratory suggests that the most probable date range for the set of nutshells is 1404-1452 CE. When considering the results of the radiocarbon dates, as well as the absence of European artifacts at Mound E, the interpretation can be made that Mound E of Fatherland Site was constructed and in use in the Foster phase of the Mississippian Period some

several hundred years before European contact in the Lower Mississippi Valley, and that the Grand Village of the Natchez was inhabited and featured complexity much earlier than was previously thought.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This body of research provides insight into chronology of the construction and usage of Mound E, as well as the occupational chronology of the Fatherland Site. Archaeology as a discipline is very peculiar thing at times. While at a moment we may consider ourselves scientists, at another I feel that we are something else entirely. An old professor of mine, Dr. Evan Peacock, once told me that archaeologists are more like detectives of the past; we are given a screenshot of the scene of an event, sometimes even a crime, in the form of the artifacts and features left behind from whatever happened at a site. Just like detectives, those artifacts and features are like clues and, once we remove those clues from the site, a lot of the information is destroyed. In this essence, the ceramic artifacts and charred nutshells recovered from the Fatherland Site are the snapshots, clues, and windows of which I have used to view into the past and understand what took place at this site. Through these snapshots, clues, and windows I have performed several analyses, and my ultimate conclusion is that Mound E of the Fatherland Site, the location of the Grand Village of the Natchez, was constructed and in use sometime around the Foster Phase of the Mississippian period around 1300-1500 CE.

Future research is needed however, to further understand the full chronology of the site. Analysis into the other buried mounds, as well as further analysis into the archaeological remains of these mounds needs to be conducted in order to better understand the chronology of the overall site, as well as, the events that likely took place on the summits of these mounds. I

believe this body of work will act as a good platform for future research to be done on other newly discovered mounds at the Fatherland Site, and it is my hope that this research will pave the way for new projects that further explore Mound E and its creation and usage, ultimately shedding new light into the cultural characteristics of the ancestral Natchez people. The broader implication of this thesis research is that the focus of archaeologists on the interactions between the French and other nations with the Natchez during the contact period neglects a significant part of the history of the Grand Village and the Natchez people. The history of the Natchez and the Grand Village did not begin with European contact when the French arrived. There was a thriving, complex society generations earlier, which opens the door to a new page of history on the Natchez and the Lower Mississippi Valley.

This thesis, Master's degree, and everything I do with them are dedicated to my MaMa Joyce. Because if I have seen further, it is because I stood on the shoulders of a Giant.

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May-June 2016: Excavation Field School participant at Allendale Chert Quarry Martin, SC

June-August 2016: (40 hours per week) CRM field technician Tennessee Valley Archaeological Research, performed archaeological survey in various counties in Mississippi.

February 6, 2017- August 6, 2019: (40 hours per week) CRM field technician for Mississippi State University