

HOUSEHOLDS & HEGEMONY

*Early Creek Prestige Goods, Symbolic Capital,
and Social Power* CAMERON B. WESSON

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Dedicated to the Creek peoples,
past, present, and future.

Having long seen cultures and societies as isolated and distinctive, we must learn to see them in interchange and cultural synthesis. Having learned to visualize cultural boundaries as fixed and stationary, we must now learn to see them as shifting and evanescent. We have stressed order, equilibrium, negative feedback; now we must come to terms with opposition, contradiction, conflict, rebellion, and revolution. We have laid great stress upon the human capacity to adapt; now we need to emphasize as well their considerable capacity to create. Human beings are not merely “broken upon the wheel of culture,” to serve lifetime sentences at forced labor in meeting the functional prerequisites of their cultures. They also seek the Golden Fleece, and wrest fire from the Olympian gods. We have learned a good deal; but there is still more to learn—and to learn it, we must first rethink the categories of our thought and practice.

—WOLF, 1974:xii

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INTRODUCTION

THE ARRIVAL OF EUROPEANS in southeastern North America in the sixteenth century heralded profound cultural transformations for the indigenous peoples of the region. Prior to European contacts the Southeast was home to a number of geographically expansive and sociopolitically complex Native American societies (Brose 2001). These societies were governed by hereditary chiefly elites who exercised considerable sociopolitical powers, resided in large houses placed atop earthen mounds, controlled the production and exchange of foodstuffs and high-status prestige goods, commanded large armies, expanded their polities both geographically and politically, and enjoyed a variety of additional indulgences (Clayton et al. 1993; Smith and Hally 1992). The most powerful of these elites is thought to have ruled a polity extending over two hundred miles along major river systems in the present states of Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama (DePratter et al. 1983; Hally et al. 1990; Hudson et al. 1985, 1987, 1989; Smith 2000). Within decades of contact with Europeans these same societies are described as disintegrated and politically acephalous (Corkran 1967; DePratter et al. 1983; Mason 1963a, 1963b; Mereness 1916; Smith 1987; Swanton 1928a:279–280). Where precontact elites exercised considerable sociopolitical power, those of the postcontact period are seen as almost completely devoid of centralized authority.

The factors most commonly cited for this decline in indigenous sociopolitical organization are disease (Baker and Kealhofer, eds.

1996; Dobyns 1983, 1991; Larsen and Milner 1994; Ramenofsky 1987; Smith 1987; Thomas 1989, 1990, 1991) and trade (Braund 1993; Fairbanks 1952; Martin 1978; Mason 1963a, 1963b; Morris 1993; Saunt 1999), with disease holding a particularly prominent position in explanations of postcontact Native American culture change. Several studies estimate the epidemiological impacts of these European-introduced diseases at more than 80 percent (Dobyns 1983; Ramenofsky 1987; c.f. Henige 1998). Marvin Smith (1987:145) proposes that the decline in indigenous sociopolitical organization in the Southeast “corresponds almost exactly with the evidence for depopulation.” Faced with such dramatic population declines these societies are thought by some scholars to have lacked the labor necessary to produce agricultural surpluses, construct monumental earthen structures, or engage in wars of political expansion—characteristics traditionally seen by archaeologists as representative of hierarchical social organization (Carniero 1981; Earle 1991; Feinman and Neitzel 1984; Peebles and Kus 1977; Sahlins 1963; Service 1962).

This process of sociopolitical decline is thought to have been exacerbated by Native American participation in trade with Europeans. Most studies addressing the impacts of trade (almost all developed within functional-materialist theoretical frameworks) contend that the *technological superiority* of European goods made them unavoidably attractive to Native Americans (Cotterill 1954; Crane 1928; Fairbanks 1952, 1958; Mason 1963b; Morris 1999; Willey 1953). As Martin (1978:8) states, “European hardware and other trade items were immediately perceived by the Stone Age Indian as being far superior in their utility to his primitive technology and general material culture.” Such perspectives have led many scholars to discuss European trade goods themselves in terms usually reserved for human beings (Knight 1985:169–170), with Native Americans viewed as powerless to resist the temptation of European material items (e.g., Morris 1999). Ultimately an image emerges of Native Americans lacking the ability to shape social phenomena, beset by forces outside their control or comprehension (Trigger 1980, 1982).

These postcontact changes are commonly viewed as resulting in a complete collapse of indigenous sociopolitical complexity in the Southeast during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Borah 1964; Crane 1928; Dobyns 1983, 1991, 1993; Dunnell 1991; Ramenofsky 1987, 1990; Sheldon 1974; Smith 1987, 1994; Thomas 1989, 1990, 1991). Some scholars (Dobyns 1983, 1991; Dunnell 1991) even suggest this collapse to be so profound that comparisons cannot be made between precontact and postcontact Native American societies. As Dunnell (1991:573) asserts, “modern Indians, both biologically and culturally, are very much a phenomenon of contact and derive from only a small fraction of peoples and cultural variability of the early sixteenth century.” Furthermore Smith (1987:145) contends that this collapse resulted in a state of “cultural impoverishment” among Native peoples of the Southeast and precipitated their rapid acculturation.

Although these perspectives of postcontact Native American culture change are *generally* accurate, they have become ever-ready archaeological and historical tropes, concealing critical details of the postcontact experience of indigenous peoples (Baker and Kealhofer 1996b; Trigger 1980; Wesson and Rees 2002b; Rogers and Wilson 1993). Viewed exclusively through the lenses of diseases and trade the causal forces of postcontact Native American culture change are defined *a priori* as external and—not coincidentally—European in origin. The success of Jared Diamond’s (1997) *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, which perpetuates a similarly flawed perspective of Native American and European interactions, demonstrates the appeal that such views maintain in both academic and public spheres. As Eric Wolf (1982) argues, such representations give us peoples without history who become merely the sociocultural backdrop for the European colonial enterprise. These views are not particular, however, to reconstructions of postcontact southeastern North America but figure prominently in discussions of culture change resulting from the European colonization of Africa, Asia, Australia, and other regions (Axtell 1981; Comaroff 1991; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Crotty 2001; Dirks 1992; Schrire 1991; Rogers and Wilson 1993;

Van Dommelen 1998; Wolf 1982). The development of European global hegemony and the expansion of the capitalist mode of production are thus the main players in many discussions of the history of the modern world; the dominance of both is portrayed as a historical inevitability (Thomas 2004).

Although I can understand why many studies of contact-period interaction stress generic, encompassing processes, we must never lose sight that each Native American society (and its various European partners) was historically and culturally situated, making the postcontact experiences unique (Cusick 1998; Hudson and Tesser 1994; Spicer 1961:537–543; Rogers and Wilson 1993; Wesson and Rees 2002a). Several recent archaeological and ethnohistoric studies have focused on the dynamics of individual contact situations, providing ample evidence that the nature, direction, and outcomes of these interactions were highly varied (David 1972; Fitzhugh 1985; Hammel 1983; Miller 1982; Rogers 1990; Rogers and Wilson 1993; Yellen 1977; see chapters in Cusick 1998; Hudson and Tesser 1994; Rogers and Wilson 1993; and Wesson and Rees 2002a). Thus, rather than viewing Native American and European interactions as representative of a singular, homogenous process, we must examine the details of these distinct cross-cultural exchanges. Additionally, we must recognize that any theoretical perspective that denies, *a priori*, the importance of ideological factors in sociocultural change holds little potential to advance our knowledge (Helms 1992; Hodder 1986, 1992; Lightfoot 1995; McGuire 1992; Pauketat 1994; Renfrew and Cherry 1986; Rogers 1990). Archaeological investigations of postcontact Native American culture change must be situated in the experience of social actors and be capable of examining the importance of both material and ideological forces.

Rather than a radical rejection of prior archaeological approaches, this change in focus is perhaps best conceived as a fundamental redirection of inquiry between the particular scales of history proposed by the Annales School. Annalists divide history into the Long Term (*Longue Durée*), Medium Term (*Conjunctures*), and the Short Term (*Evenements*); each historical scale possesses its own unique analyt-

ical characteristics (Braudel 1972). Long-Term history is composed of complete histories of cultures and civilizations and reveals forces that “act at the longest wavelength of time, so that change in them is almost imperceptible” (Bintliff 1991:7). Medium-Term history addresses the “forces . . . moulding human life, which operate over several generations or centuries” (Bintliff 1991:7). Histories of the Long Term and the Medium Term deal with “impersonal, collective forces” which operate outside the individual (Febvre 1973:37). As Bintliff (1991:7) contends, “Both long and medium-term dynamics are largely beyond the perception of past individuals, they act as structures . . . which form a constraining and enabling framework for human life, communal and individual.” Traditional archaeological inquiries have largely concerned themselves with issues of the Long and Medium Terms, resulting in reconstructions of the past that reduce the importance and visibility of past social actors.

The final level of historical inquiry, the Short Term, is the level addressed in much of the recent agent-centered archaeological research (Hodder 2000; Pauketat 2000). Rather than seeing human agency from a top-down historical perspective, with diminishing emphasis from the Long Term to the Medium Term and finally to the Short Term, this approach prioritizes the causality of the Short Term in the production of the patterns we recognize in the Medium and Long Terms. Histories of the Short Term focus on individual action in the production and reproduction of sociopolitical processes. The structural processes at play in Long- and Medium-Term histories are not seen as *impersonal* forces driving human history, but *as the results* of human actions in the Short Term. Consequently the causal forces operating at all temporal scales can be traced to individual social actors (Dobres and Robb 2000:11). Unfortunately, histories of the Short Term are the most difficult to reconstruct because they require accommodating ever-shifting social and political agendas and actions and the explicit recognition that past social agents possessed complex, often internally contradictory views and opinions.

Most studies of postcontact Native American culture change ad-

dress the scales of the Long Term and Medium Term, stressing large-scale sociopolitical changes without discussing these events as human mediated (e.g., Cotterill 1954; Crane 1928; Mason 1963b; Morris 1999). There is most certainly a need for such views of historical change, but they mask a more humane history by depicting culture change and historical processes divorced from individual social actors. Most of these works depict postcontact Native Americans as apparently powerless to alter their sociopolitical situations as they merely acted out a script written by the gods of historical process.

Several recent archaeological efforts have also sought to delve beyond Long- and Medium-Term concerns, stressing ideologies, world-views, and the immediate, Short-Term impacts of Native American interactions with Euro-Americans (Braund 1993; DePratter 1991; Knight 1985; Lightfoot 1995; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Martin 1991; Milanich 1978, 1995; Rogers 1990; Rogers and Wilson 1993; Saunders 2001; Saunt 1999; Smith 1987; Waselkov 1989, 1993; Wesson 2001; Wesson and Rees 2002a). The view that emerges from these works is one where Native American societies were impacted dramatically by European contacts, but one in which sociopolitical collapse is not taken as an *a priori* conclusion (see Muller 1997). The most sociopolitically complex societies recorded in early European documents may have contracted (a process that most scholars believe *predated* the European arrival), but many indigenous societies of the postcontact period most certainly exhibited characteristics consistent with traditional anthropological definitions of sociopolitical complexity (Blitz 1993; Clastres 1987; Feinman and Neitzel 1984; Fried 1967; Peebles and Kus 1977; Service 1962; Steponaitis 1978). As Blitz (1993:8–12) contends, archaeologists working in the Southeast frequently have conflated the most highly centralized polities of the region with the very definition of social complexity, thus limiting their ability to gauge sufficiently the nature of postcontact sociopolitical organization.

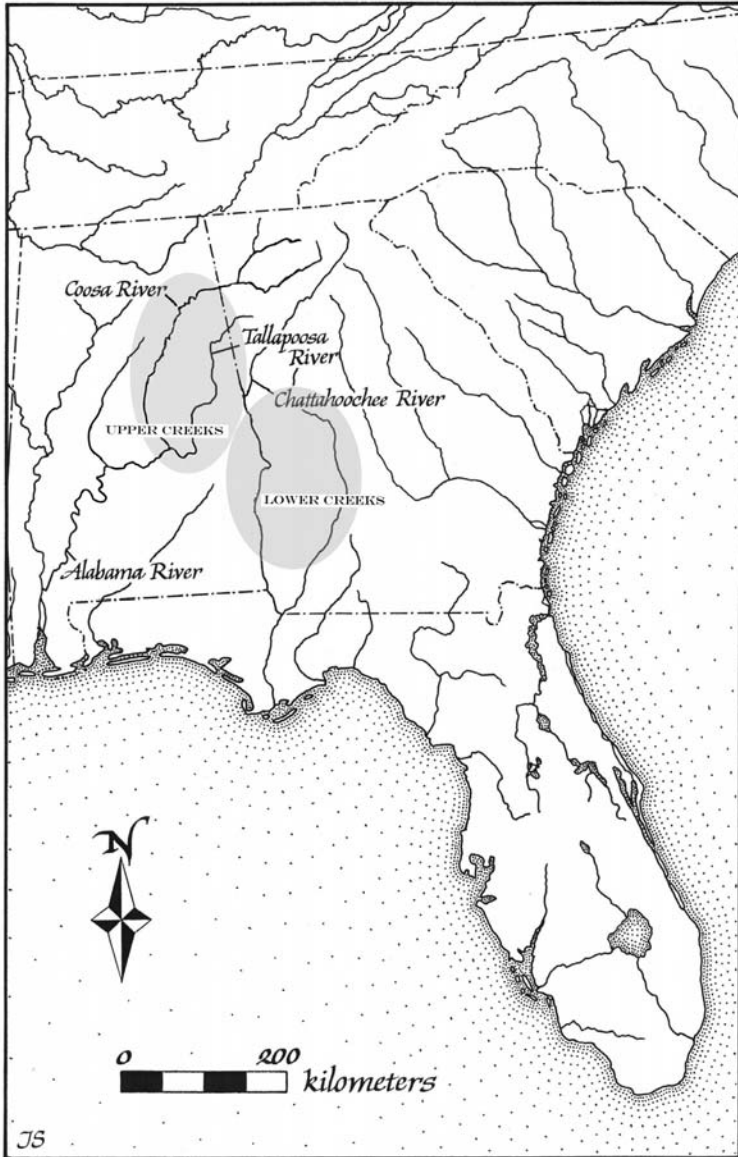
Contemporary theories of sociopolitical organization do not reify neoevolutionary typologies, nor do they rely upon the presence

or absence of specific cultural traits as exemplars of complexity (Pauketat 2007). They are concerned instead with the various ways in which social relations are manifested (Blanton 1994; Blanton et al. 1996; Brumfiel 1995; Crumley 1995; Ehrenreich 1995; Feinman 2000; Gilman 1991; Price and Feinman 1995; Renfrew 1974; Yoffee 1993; Zagarell 1995). Such views are based on the theoretical principle that there is no single path to sociopolitical complexity but a multiplicity of possible routes, each with its own distinct archaeological manifestations. The most influential of these perspectives, Dual Processual Theory, proposes that elites alternate between leadership strategies designed to produce group cohesion (corporate strategies) and those that elevate their own social positions (network strategies) (Blanton 1998; Blanton et al. 1996; Feinman 2000). As has been argued recently by King (2002a, 2002b) dominant sociopolitical groups in the Southeast shifted between these strategies, with the archaeological record reflecting a move toward corporate strategies following European contacts. Thus, the lack of monumental earthen architecture, decreased centralized control over surplus food resources and prestige goods, and a reduction in the size of southeastern polities can be seen as a reflection of these changing leadership strategies rather than as conclusive evidence of a collapse in sociopolitical complexity (King 2002b:222–225; see also Anderson 1994a, 1994b; Blitz 1999).

However, we also must not engage in theoretical reconstructions that are top-down in orientation. Native American elites may have altered their styles of leadership, but nonelites were also engaged in social projects all their own. Existing theoretical perspectives on Native American culture change that prioritize Europeans as the causal forces of change should not be replaced by new models that merely shift the causal focus to indigenous elites. To adequately examine the nature of postcontact Native American culture change we must seek both interpretive theories and detailed archaeological cases that are capable of examining the contributions of all social segments to the production (and reproduction) of social life (see chapter 1). Toward this end much recent archaeological re-

search explores the roles of individual social actors in the development of sociopolitical complexity in the Southeast (Anderson 1994a, 1994b, 1996; Cobb 2000; Nassaney 1994; Pauketat 1994; Pauketat and Emerson 1991; Peregrine 1992, 1996; Scarry 1994; Smith 1992; Wesson 1999, 2001). As Pauketat (1994:188) states, “It is through the perspective of people thinking and acting according to their prescribed beliefs, values and ethics that we may come to grasp how and why people who lived free of ascribed hierarchy submitted themselves to [it].” Conversely, with the Creeks and other postcontact societies, I believe it is possible to analyze the archaeological record for evidence of the beliefs, values, ethics, and practices that led people to remove themselves from ascribed hierarchies during the postcontact period.

The Creeks were not a single ethnic group but a confederacy of sedentary agricultural societies occupying the central portions of present-day Alabama and Georgia (see map 1). The Creek Confederacy encompassed several distinct ethnic and linguistic groups, including segments of the Alabama, Apalachee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Hitichi, Koasati, Shawnee, Tunica, Yuchi, Yamasee, and others (Bartram 1958; Braund 1993; Champagne 1992:65; Corkran 1967:4; Hawkins 1848:14; Martin 1991; Swanton 1922, 1928a, 1946; Wright 1986). During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Creeks occupied approximately forty towns, with the so-called Upper Creeks residing in twenty-five settlements located on the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers of Alabama and the Lower Creeks occupying fifteen communities along the Chattahoochee, Ocmulgee, and Flint rivers of Georgia (Corkran 1967:4–5; Hawkins 1848:25; Swanton 1922:189). Although population estimates are problematic due to the highly permeable social boundaries of the Creek people, they appear to be one of the few groups that increased in number during the postcontact period (Ashley 1988; Corkran 1967; Knight 1994a; Swanton 1928a). Much of this increase was related to the inclusion of cultural groups displaced by the increased European presence along the Atlantic Coast (Wesson 2002). Available census information suggests that the Creeks numbered somewhere



Map 1. Locations of the Upper and Lower Creeks

between 7,000 and 20,000 people, with a fighting force estimated from 2,500 to 3,500 male warriors (Ashley 1988; Corkran 1967:4; Swanton 1928a:437).

The origin of the Creek Confederacy is debated. Swanton (1922:257) and others (Braund 1993:4–6; Corkran 1967; Debo 1941; Green 1982) argue that it predated European contact. Another group of scholars (most notably Crane 1928; Ethridge 2003; Hahn 2004; Knight 1994a; Smith 1987:131; Waselkov and Cottier 1985:27; Wesson 2002) suggests that it developed during the early years of the eighteenth century. Those who argue for a precontact development of the Confederacy contend that the Creeks migrated to the Southeast from the West (circa AD 900–1100) and spread Mississippian cultural practices as they went (Adair 1968 [1775]; Bartram 1853; Braund 1993; Corkran 1967:4; Hawkins 1848:19; Romans 1962 [1775]; Swanton 1922:192; 1928a:34–40). Contrary to these migrationist views contemporary archaeologists see Mississippian culture spreading through the exchange of ideas and material goods rather than through the wholesale relocation of peoples (Anderson 1994a, 1994b, 1996; Pauketat 1994; Smith 1990). Archaeological research indicates strong links between the Creeks and various Lamar Mississippian groups in Alabama and Georgia, supporting the view that late precontact Mississippian groups were one of the principal components of the *in situ* emergence of the Creek Confederacy during the early postcontact period (Fairbanks 1952, 1958; Hally 1994; Kelly 1938; Knight 1994a; Mason 1963b; Moore 1994; Smith 1973; Williams and Shapiro 1990).

The Creeks experienced dramatic cultural changes during the postcontact period. One of the most striking changes came in the form of new sociopolitical identities. The term “Creek” was not an indigenous means of self-identification but was applied by English traders to their local Native American trading partners. Throughout the postcontact period the term was expanded by the English to encompass an increasing variety of distinct southeastern peoples (Crane 1928; Wright 1986:3). This concatenation of disparate cultural, ethnic, and linguistic groups into an emergent Creek identity

served the colonial agendas of the European powers vying for control of the Southeast by undermining precontact social distinctions (Dirks 1992; Hill 1998; Martin 1991:6–8; Whitehead 1992). Despite the ethnogenesis fostered by the European colonization of the Southeast most Creeks continued to use their matrilineage, clan, moiety, and town (*talwa*) as their primary means of social identification. In their own eyes they were never really Creeks but rather Cowetas, Kashitas, Tukabatchees, and the like. Thus, our understanding of postcontact Native American social change is impeded when indigenous peoples are viewed primarily through monolithic linguistic and political categories. We would benefit from research efforts devoted toward “the individual tribes or towns that comprise these larger entities” (Hally 1971:62).

Little archaeological research has addressed the development of the Creek Confederacy. Swanton (cited in Knight 1994a:376) dismisses such attempts as “well-nigh hopeless.” Not only were such efforts considered hopeless but they were incongruent with the traditional research interests of southeastern archaeology. From the origins of the field in the late nineteenth century, southeastern archaeology was dominated by research devoted to large sites with impressive earthen mounds. This is particularly true with archaeological research in Alabama. Beginning with the efforts of Clarence B. Moore (1899, 1905a, 1905b, 1907a, 1907b, 1915) most early archaeological studies were devoted to excavations of large Woodland and Mississippian mound sites (DeJarnette and Wimberly 1941; Peebles 1974, 1978; Webb 1938, 1939; Webb and DeJarnette 1942, 1948; Webb and Wilder 1951). Of these, archaeological research at the Mississippian center of Moundville came to dominate archaeological research in the state (Bozeman 1982; Haddy and Hanson 1981; Knight and Steponaitis 1998; McKenzie 1965, 1966; Peebles 1974; Powell 1988; Steponaitis 1983; Welch 1991). Although the Creeks constructed earthen mounds (which served as a frequent source of interpretation for similar Mississippian constructions [DeJarnette 1975; Howard 1968; Knight 1981, 1986; Swanton 1912, 1928a]) most Creek sites lack these struc-

tures, greatly reducing their research potential in the eyes of many early archaeologists. Most Creek sites were thus relegated to weekend excavations by amateur archaeologists (Brannon 1909, 1910) until the 1930s and 1940s when professional archaeologists began to investigate these sites (Fairbanks 1952; Kelley 1938, 1939; Mason 1963a, 1963b; Willey and Sears 1952).

Archaeological research directed at the Creeks has also been hampered by a primary interest in reconstructing the routes of Spanish expeditions and examining sites related to specific historical events. Considerable efforts have been devoted to reconstructing the route of Hernando de Soto's *entrada* (Andrews 1917; DeJarnette 1958; DeJarnette and Hansen 1960; Hally et al. 1990; Hudson et al. 1984, 1985, 1987, 1990; Swanton 1985). Although many sites visited by de Soto's party were occupied by peoples who would later be identified as Creeks, the Native American inhabitants of these settlements are commonly treated by both historians and archaeologists as secondary in importance to their Spanish invaders. For example excavations at the Childersburg site (17A1) (DeJarnette 1958; DeJarnette and Hansen 1960) focused more on the archaeological search for de Soto than on an enhanced understanding of the postcontact Creeks. Additionally, excavations at other Creek sites employed similar research strategies, with excavations at Nuyaka (17L52) and Tohopeka (17L53) designed to reveal details of defensive fortifications and other military aspects of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend rather than investigate the nature of culture change among the Creeks (Dickens 1979; Fairbanks 1962a, 1962b). This pattern also appears in ethnohistoric research, most notably in the *Final Report of the De Soto Commission* (Swanton 1985 [1939]).

Perhaps the greatest impediment to increased archaeological research of the Creeks is the availability of numerous ethnohistoric documents that address various aspects of their culture (see Green 1979 for a detailed review). Many researchers rely on published documents rather than seeking archaeological materials related to the Creeks, suggesting that archaeology can add little substance to historical accounts of the Creeks. In addition, archaeologists too fre-

quently have unquestionably accepted ethnohistoric accounts concerning the Creeks and other Native American peoples (Galloway 1993; Trigger 1982, 1985, 1986; Wesson and Rees 2002a). As Galloway (1993:91) demonstrates in relation to the synthetic ethnohistoric works on the Creeks by John R. Swanton (1911, 1922, 1928a, 1928b, 1928c, 1932, 1946), his combination of accounts ranging from the sixteenth century to the twentieth century resulted in an atemporal ethnographic present that masked the nature of post-contact Creek culture change. Any view suggesting that the Creeks changed little following their contacts with Europeans or that ethnohistoric documents contain everything there is to know about them is demonstrably false (Galloway 1993:91; Ramenofsky 1984, 1987; Smith 1987).

Several more recent archaeological investigations have been directed at Creek sites; most attempt to refine regional chronologies and our understanding of Creek ceramics (Dickens 1979; Fairbanks 1952, 1955, 1958; Foster 2007; Kelley 1938; Penman 1976; Russell 1976; Sears 1955, 1969; Willey and Sears 1952). Archaeologists have also addressed aspects of the postcontact experience for the Creeks. Most studies demonstrate an increased presence of European trade goods in Creek contexts (Chase 1967a, 1979; DeJarnette and Hansen 1960; Dickens 1979; Fairbanks 1952, 1962a, 1962b; Knight 1985; Mason 1963a, 1963b; Nance 1988; Sears 1955; Swanton 1928a; Walling and Wilson 1985; Waselkov 1985, 1988, 1989, 1993, 1997b; Waselkov and Cottier 1985; Waselkov et al. 1982). These studies hint at meaningful changes in the economic, social, political, and religious activities of the Creek during the postcontact period. As was previously noted, however, the majority of these studies do not situate Creek culture change within a theoretical perspective capable of examining the role of social agents in the process of change. One even suggests that there was little culture change among the postcontact Creeks at all (Foster 2007).

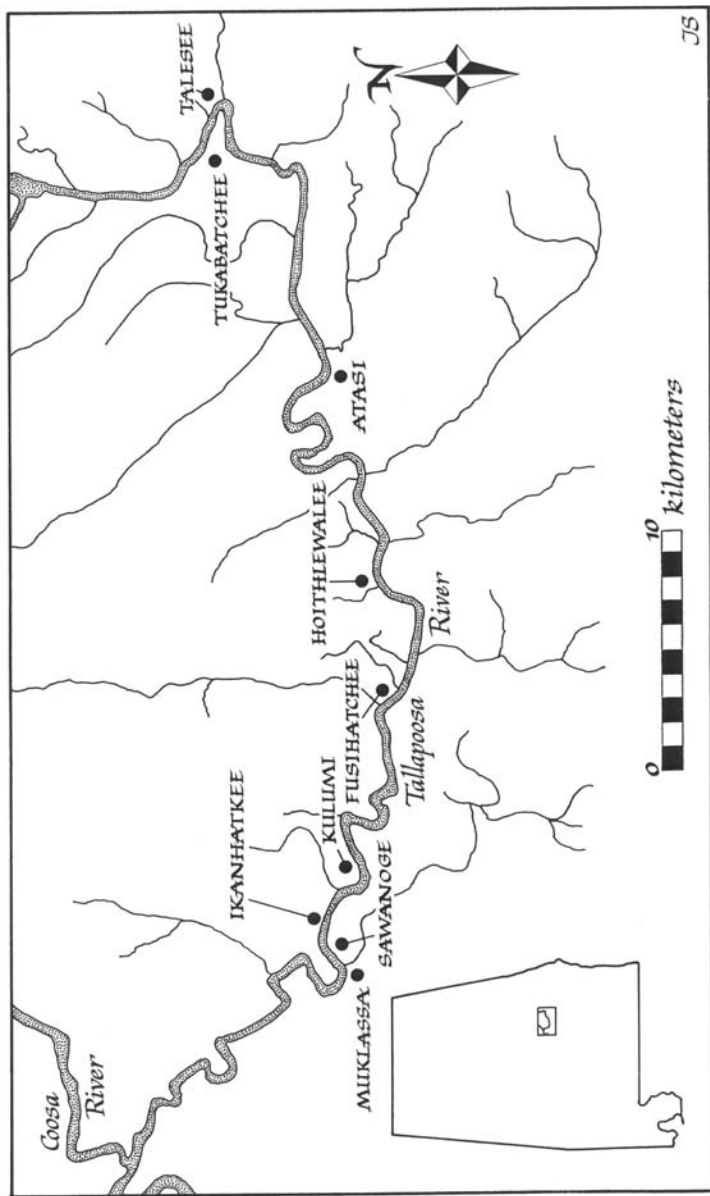
The most comprehensive archaeological investigation of the Creeks is recent research in the lower Tallapoosa and Coosa River valleys (Cottier 1997; Cottier 2007; Knight 1985; Sheldon 1997; Sheldon et

al. 2001; Waselkov 1985, 1989, 1993; Waselkov and Cottier 1985; Waselkov et al. 1982; Wesson 1997). This research includes both large-scale regional surveys and extensive archaeological excavations at several Creek sites (see map 2). Among these efforts archaeological investigations at the Creek villages of Fusihatchee (1EE191) and Hickory Ground (1EE89) are the most intriguing (Cottier 1997; Sheldon 1997; Waselkov 1985, 1997a, 1997b; Wesson 1997).

Located on the north side of the Tallapoosa River, Fusihatchee appears frequently in historic documents and was visited by Benjamin Hawkins (1848:33) in 1799. Although never identified in historical documents as one of the more important Creek villages, twelve years of intensive investigations at Fusihatchee (1985–1996) provide the most detailed archaeological data ever recovered from Creek contexts. Excavations at Fusihatchee exposed a majority of the village (approximately 5 hectares).

Located on the east side of the east bank of the Coosa River, below the falls at Wetumpka, Hickory Ground (1EE89) was one of the most important Upper Creek villages of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and played a major role in the political intrigues of the colonial era (Halbert and Ball 1995 [1895]). Although it was the subject of periodic archaeological investigations during the 1980s and 1990s, present development of the Hickory Ground site as a gaming complex spurred a recent intensification of these efforts, with year-round excavations taking place at the site from 2002 through 2006 (Cottier 2007). As with work at Fusihatchee, excavations at Hickory Ground encompassed more than four hectares of the village. Although analysis of the remains from Hickory Ground is incomplete at present, preliminary findings from this research provide important insights into the cultural processes examined in this work. Taken together, data from Fusihatchee and Hickory Ground provide an unparalleled opportunity to examine postcontact culture change among the Creeks (Cottier 2007; Sheldon 1997; Sheldon et al. 2001; Wesson 1997).

In this volume I explore the nature of postcontact sociocultural change for the Creeks from their initial contacts with Europeans



Map 2. Historic Creek towns in the lower Tallapoosa River valley of central Alabama

until their forced removal from the region (circa AD 1540–1835). Using the household as a primary unit of analysis I examine data from recent archaeological investigations at Fusihatchee and other Creek sites in central Alabama to reveal the choices, opportunities, and constraints faced by the Creeks during the postcontact period. Archaeological data recovered from more than fifty domestic structures present a unique and excellent opportunity to shift the scale of inquiry to that of the Short Term, thereby highlighting the importance of individual social agents in the processes of postcontact culture change. Rather than reserving a causal position for disease, colonialism, capitalism, cultural evolution, or the presumed technical *superiority* of European material culture, I contend that the nature of postcontact sociopolitical change among the Creeks was shaped through the collective actions of individual social agents. Furthermore, my analysis is not framed within a top-down perspective concerned only with the leadership strategies employed by elites but instead seeks to understand the contributions made by all members of society to the construction of postcontact social life. The picture of Creek culture change that emerges from my efforts suggests that rather than a precipitous cultural collapse immediately following initial contacts with Europeans, declines in sociopolitical centralization and elite social power among the Creeks were brought about through an intensification of internal social competition during the greater part of the three centuries that followed.

Social Agents, Hegemony, and Households

IN THE PREVIOUS TWO DECADES there was a marked increase in archaeological studies explicitly concerned with social life in past societies (commonly referred to as *social archaeology*). Although they derive from a variety of distinct intellectual traditions, most of these inquiries share an interest in examining the myriad relationships involving individuals and the social, political, economic, and ideological contexts in which they act. Archaeologists no longer view culture as static or “finished” but as being in the process of perpetual creation through the actions of social actors (Dobres and Robb 2000:8–14; Hodder 1982, 1986, 1987, 2000; Leone 1986; Meskell 1999; Spriggs 1984; Thomas 2004; Wobst 1997). As a result, culture change is no longer viewed as an exception but as one of the foundational principles of social life.

Contemporary views challenge prior ecofunctionalist and evolutionary perspectives that depicted cultures as homeostatic systems designed to promote sociocultural equilibrium (see Hodder 1982 and Trigger 1989:244–328 for detailed critiques). Where earlier researchers argued for the primacy of environmental determinants in sociocultural change, many contemporary scholars unequivocally reject as dehumanizing any theoretical perspective that posits humans as epiphenomenal to the processes of social change (Emerson 1997; Gillespie 2001:73; McGuire and Wurst 2002:85–86; Whitley 1998:7–18). Influenced by the works of social theorists Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1990, 1998), Anthony Giddens (1979, 1984, 1995),

Michel Foucault (1972, 1977, 1994), Antonio Gramsci (1971), and others (Archer 1995, 1996; Habermas 1984, 1987; Williams 1977), archaeologists have come to recognize the primacy of human agents in all processes of culture change (Cobb 1991; Dobres and Robb 2000a; Emerson 1997; Hodder 1982, 1987, 2000; Johnson 1989; Lightfoot 1995; Lightfoot et al. 1998; McGuire 1992; Meskell 1999; Pauketat 1994, 2001a; Pearson 1984:60–62; Saitta 1997; Shanks and Tilley 1987). Known collectively as “agency theories,” there are several distinct intellectual traditions within these theoretical perspectives (particularly those of Bourdieu and Giddens), but each shares a concern with the roles of individuals in the construction and alteration of society and social life. These perspectives do not deny the existence of external forces acting upon societies, but they shift the direction of analysis from external causality to internal, human-generated, and mediated causes.

As Dobres and Robb (2000:13) contend, however, many archaeological investigations of agency have taken a just-add-the-agents-and-stir approach. Such studies frequently substitute individuals for the “prime movers” of previous archaeological inquiry. But social agents are not the free-ranging, omniscient, self-serving, methodological individuals some mistakenly assume them to be (e.g., Agassi 1960, 1973; Gellner 1968; Johnson 1989; Lukes 1970; Muller 1997:11–14). Such extreme individualism is seen by many as merely an extension of the prevailing capitalist ideology into social theory (Eagleton 1996; Harvey 2000; Johnson 1989; McGuire and Wurst 2002; Meskell 1999).

Social life is never simply the result of humans’ engaging in their own individual narcissistic projects. Social actors are “socially embedded, imperfect, and often impractical,” and their actions are never completely uninhibited but are always constrained to some degree by the social structure and prevailing cultural practices (Dobres and Robb 2000:4). Since agents never possess a complete knowledge of the social world, they cannot know the ultimate results of their actions. Even their knowledge of the social terrain upon which

they stand is imperfect—clouded by multiple, often conflicting ideologies. Thus, the motivations and intent of social action are never unambiguous and straightforward for the social agent or the archaeologist hoping to reveal their interplay. Contrary to the mischaracterization of their critics, agency theories do not posit omniscient, self-satisfying individuals who act only in response to their own desires, because their wishes (and their ability *to wish*) are constrained by the existing social structure (see Gillespie 2001:74; McGuire and Wurst 2002:86; Pauketat 1994, 2000).

Such views are not new to the social sciences. Similar perspectives were expressed much earlier by Marx, Weber, Gluckman, and others. The dialectical nature of this agency-structure relationship was expressed quite saliently in V. Gordon Childe's (1951:188) paraphrasing of Marx: "tradition is created by societies of men and transmitted in distinctively human and rational ways, it is not fixed or immutable: it is constantly changing as society deals with ever new circumstances. Tradition makes the man, by circumscribing his behavior within certain bounds; but it is equally true that man makes his traditions. And so . . . Man makes himself." With apologies to both Childe and Marx, these ideas can be paraphrased again to express contemporary perspectives on agency and structure: *Social structure* is created by *social agents* and transmitted in distinctively human and rational ways. It is not fixed and immutable; it is constantly changing as *social agents* deal with ever-new circumstances. *Social structure* makes *social agents* by circumscribing their behavior within certain bounds, but it is equally true that *social agents* make their *social structures*. And so *social actors* make themselves.

Agency is not restricted to any one social segment but is an important component of each individual's social repertoire, although individuals do not always share equivalent abilities to act (McGuire and Wurst 2002:89). However, even in situations with highly centralized sociopolitical power, social actors possess transformative capabilities that can be marshaled to challenge existing practices

and alter their culture (Beaudry et al. 1991; McGuire 1992; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Pauketat 2000; see also articles by Brumfiel 1995; Crumley 1995; and Ehrenreich 1995 on heterarchy). As Giddens (1984:16) contends, “all forms of dependence offer some resources whereby those who are subordinate can influence the activities of their superiors.” However, the confines of this agentive influence vary from society to society, with no one-size-fits-all perspective on the agentive abilities of individuals. Application of these perspectives within archaeology thus necessitates a detailed examination of the strategic sociopolitical contexts of the social agents who constituted the societies we study.

To date, archaeologists working from agent-centered approaches have made their most important contributions through analyses of social practice (*praxis*) (Dobres 2000; Dobres and Robb 2000:5; Emerson and Pauketat 2002; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Pauketat 2000; see also Ortner 1984). However, as Pauketat (2000:114–116) cautions, practice theory is not simply a synonym for agency theory but is a particular theoretical approach to issues of agency. Practice is defined as “a theory of knowledge concerning people’s practical engagement with the world . . . [that links the] material and experiential activity to society, thought, and belief” (Dobres and Robb 2000:5). Developed in the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1990), practice theory is predicated on the concept of the *habitus*—the nondiscursive, routine behaviors that make up the majority of our daily activities. These taken-for-granted actions result in the production of a collective “system of lasting, transportable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:18). In less obscure terms, the habitus is defined as the “unreflective knowledge that forms the basis of dispositions and that guides people’s actions” (Pauketat 2000:115).

Rather than being a straightjacket for human action, the habitus impacts the behavior, thoughts, and perceptions of individuals differentially. As Pauketat (2000:116) suggests, “Each individual’s dispositions (i.e., habitus) are not rigid and unchanging cultural or

structural monoliths that all people automatically share. Yet, neither are they rational behaviors whose ends are foregone conclusions.” From this perspective, social actors possess the ability to engage in social acts that conform to existing expectations while simultaneously altering the meanings of these actions and encouraging new social practices. Through this process of continually reworking actions and meanings, the habitus is concurrently created, made meaningful, and—in the process—altered (Bourdieu 1977; see Giddens 1979 for a slightly different perspective on this process). However, in contradistinction to agentic theories that stress self-maximizing, goal-centered rationalism on the part of past social actors, practice theory contends that the eventual outcomes of social action are not immediately apparent to the actors themselves (Emerson and Pauketat 2002; McCall 1999; Pauketat 1994, 2000, 2001a).

Since all societies are differentiated along lines including age, gender, and lineage, the habitus of any society varies among its members. The variations in social practice that result from these differences in habitus require the development of ideologies that unify them for the society as a whole. Ideologies thus serve to normalize the articulations of the habitus of distinct social groups (see Beaudry et al. 1991; Pauketat 1994:14; Shils 1972:29; Summer 1979:16). These ideologies are “historically necessary . . . [because] they have a validity which is ‘psychological’; they ‘organize human masses, and create the terrain upon which men move, acquire knowledge of their position, struggle, etc.’” (Gramsci 1971:377). Gramsci (1971:12–13) contends that these positional ideologies, although frequently contradictory, are reconciled through the imposition of the dominant social group’s habitus for society as a whole, a process he terms *hegemony*. For Gramsci (1971:333), hegemony involves the unification of habitus, ideology, and practice:

The active man-in-the-mass has a practical activity, but has no clear theoretical consciousness of his practical activity, which nonetheless involves understanding the world in so far as it transforms it. His theoretical consciousness can indeed be historically in opposition to his activity. One might almost say

that he has two theoretical consciousnesses (or one contradictory consciousness): one which is implicit in his activity and one which in reality unites him and all his fellow-workers in the practical transformation of the real world; and one, superficially explicit or verbal, which he has inherited from the past and uncritically absorbed.

Thus, as Comaroff and Comaroff (1992:29) assert, hegemony “is that part of a dominant ideology that has been naturalized and, having contrived a tangible world in its image, does not appear to be ideological at all.”

Yet studies of hegemony are concerned not merely with the reconciliation of ideologies but with both the nature of sociopolitical dominance and the complex forms of resistance employed by non-dominant groups to advance their own positions (Miller et al. 1989:111). As Raymond Williams (1977:112–113; emphasis added) contends, “hegemony is always a *process*. . . . It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not at all its own. We have to add to the concept of hegemony the concepts of *counter-hegemony* and *alternative hegemony*, which are real and persistent elements of *practice*.” This resistance to the hegemonic is most often found in situations where the difference between “the world-as-represented and the world-as-experienced becomes both palpable and insupportable” (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:30). The dialectical process underlying the simultaneous creation and contestation of hegemony is that of *negotiation*—the ever-present social discourse concerning power and tradition (see Pauketat 2001a).

An agentive approach based in practice theory and informed by the concept of hegemony is thus ideal for archaeological research that attempts to critique negotiations concerning habitus, ideology, and social practice. The hegemonic habitus as well as its supporting and competing ideologies are reflected in the archaeological record in the production and manipulation of material culture, ritual performances, and other symbolic expressions. De Marrias et al. (1996:31) refer to this as the “materialization of ideology,” a pro-

cess in which ideologies are expressed and manipulated as sources of sociopolitical power. Dominant groups construct and attempt to legitimate their hegemony through the use of ideological programs that blur distinctions between social groups and represent the habitus of the dominant group as that of society as a whole (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Kus 1984; Pearson 1984). However, this *is not* a top-down process in which astute sociopolitical aggrandizers simply promulgate a false consciousness for their followers to unconsciously absorb (c.f. Althusser 1969; Blanton et al. 1996; Clark 2000; Clark and Blake 1994; Feinman 1995, 2000; Hayden 1995; Maschner and Milthen 1996; Maschner and Patton 1996; see critique by Gero 2000). Non-dominant groups are simultaneously involved in this same process, engaging in actions that reflect *their* habitus and challenge the hegemonic (Barth 1989:29; Bloch 1989:124–133; Pauketat 2001a; Rappaport 1979:175–217; Williams 1977:113).

It is just such a struggle that I see manifested in the postcontact experience of the Creeks. Although clashes over local hegemony were certainly present prior to the arrival of Europeans, interactions between the Creeks and Euro-Americans resulted in increasing tension between the world of lived experience and the world rationalized in the sociopolitical ideologies of the elite (see chapters 2 and 3). This rift between the *ideal* and the *real* caused what was formerly *hegemonic* to become merely *ideological* (see Comaroff and Comaroff 1992). Bourdieu (1977:164–171) characterizes this dynamic as a struggle between *doxa* and *orthodoxy*, where *doxa* is the self-evident, taken-for-granted aspects of social life (similar to Gramsci's hegemony) and *orthodoxy* is those things of which social actors are aware and capable of actively challenging. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1977:168) contends that culture contact provides the primary context in which the shift from *doxa* to *orthodoxy* takes place, suggesting that “the practical questioning of the theses implied in a particular way of living that is brought about by ‘culture contact’ or by the political and economic crises correlative with class division . . .”

Evidence of these hegemonic struggles, what Gramsci (1971:229–235) terms “wars of position,” is represented best in contexts in which the production and reproduction of everyday life occurs (Johnson 1989; McGuire and Wurst 2002; Wurst and McGuire 1999). Archaeological studies of these hegemonic struggles expand our knowledge of social practice and the role of individuals in processes of social change. By refocusing our archaeological inquiries away from contexts that reify top-down perspectives (elite compounds, public structures, etc.) and toward those in which alternative, counter-hegemonic ideologies are commonly expressed, the importance of social actors in processes of sociocultural change can be revealed most readily (Pauketat 2001a; Wesson 1999, 2002). Given the inherent difficulties involved in identifying the actions of individuals through archaeological remains, scholars have proposed a variety of means for recovering aspects of past social agency (Bender 1993a, 1993b; Gillespie 2001:75; Hodder 2000). Some of the most promising efforts involve shifting the frame of reference from the individual to small-scale social groups that may be more easily recognized in the archaeological record (see Gillespie 2001; Kilminster 1991; Sewell 1992).

I contend that the best contexts in which to address such issues are households since they represent the fundamental social units underlying the composition of society as a whole. Households have much to reveal concerning the spatial divisions, demographic composition, and material practices of archaeologically identifiable small-scale social groups, and they possess unsurpassed interpretative potential for studies of practice, hegemony, ideology, and sociopolitical change (Ashmore and Wilk 1988; Bourdieu 1977; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995a; Cunninghamman 1973; Deetz 1982; Netting et al. 1984; Rogers and Smith 1995; Santley and Hirth 1993; Wilk and Rathje 1982).

Households

There is possibly no better exemplar of a culture than its households. Far more than a mere architectural setting for human activi-

ties, the household is both a cosmogram and sociogram writ large, constructed of wood and flesh. As phenomenologists, anthropologists, and architects have noted, domestic architecture is a cultural expression that transcends the mere need for shelter (Bourdieu 1977; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Cunningham 1973; Norberg-Schulz 1971, 1980; Rapoport 1969). Houses become, in their size, shape, plan, and materiality, physical translations of a culture's social structure, cosmology, and aesthetic principles (Kent 1990:2; Norberg-Schulz 1980:51; Rapoport 1990). Deetz (1982:719) suggests that the household is "a culture in microcosm," since it is where "individuals are brought to an awareness of their culture's rules, and conversely, where those rules are frequently expressed in physical form." As Bourdieu (1977:89) contends, "Inhabited space—and above all the house—is the principal locus of the generative schemes, and through the divisions and hierarchies it sets up between things, persons, and practices, this tangible classifying scheme continuously inculcates and reinforces the taxonomic principles underlying all the arbitrary provisions of this culture."

Although archaeologists have long discussed prehistoric social systems and interpreted their data in such general anthropological contexts, household-level research allows archaeologists to understand cultural diversity and social heterogeneity as never before. As Santley and Hirth (1993:1) contend, "In many societies the household provides the basic structure (mode of production) for agricultural subsistence, craft specialization, and commercial activity. Since domestic architecture typically reflects the social, political, and economic status of their occupants, households provide an entrée to understanding the structure and organization of societies which traditionally have interested anthropologists."

Household-based research is not without its impediments, however. Households frequently have diffuse spatial boundaries that extend beyond the limits of domestic structures and comingle with the social spaces of other nonrelated households. In addition, households are generally stable, long-term social affiliations that can persist for multiple generations. Such factors make the identification

of individual households in archaeological research quite problematic (Hirth 1987; Santley 1977; Santley and Hirth 1993:4; Winter 1976). It is also important to understand that, as Wilk and Rathje (1982:620) argue, “Archaeologists do not excavate households; they find the material remains of dwellings.” What, then, is a household, and how can it be defined for archaeological research? To bridge the gap between the study of houses and a legitimate household archaeology, we must first define the nature of households.

Although the term “household” has a long history in anthropological research, there is considerable disagreement over its exact meaning. In fact, my review of one of the seminal anthropological volumes on the subject reveals no less than 43 pages devoted to definitions of the household (Netting et al. 1984). First used in ethnographic studies addressing the nature of coresidential groups and kinship relations, “Households are seen as being generated by residence rules that lie in the ideational realm of kinship” (Ashmore and Wilk 1988:2). Thus, at the very heart of the household concept is a social group that shares a culturally defined set of kinship relations. These relationships vary cross-culturally, but there is general consensus that people belonging to the same household normally share a common domestic structure (Wilk and Rathje 1982:620). Ethnographic evidence indicates, however, that some groups sharing a common dwelling consider themselves to be separate households, while people who do not share a domestic structure may also consider themselves part of a larger, aggregate household (Bender 1967; Blanton 1994; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Goody 1958). Despite these problems of cross-cultural comparability, there is general agreement that the household is a basic social unit that involves both social and physical reproduction of the group’s members (Ashmore and Wilk 1988:2; Blanton 1994; Bohannan 1963:95–96; Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995; Gonzalez 1969:106; Goodenough 1956; Goody 1972; Netting et al. 1984:3).

In addition to the social relationships shared by household members, households are further defined by the productive activities performed by those members (Booth 1993; Gonzalez 1961, 1969;

Goody 1972; Halperin 1985). As Wilk and Rathje (1982:618; italics in original) contend, “Households are the level at which social groups articulate directly with economic and ecological processes. Therefore, households are a level at which adaptation can be directly studied. In fact, we can define the *household* as the most common social component of subsistence, the smallest and most abundant activity group.” Ashmore and Wilk (1988:3) extend this perspective, arguing that “anthropologists have always recognized that the household is essentially an activity group and not necessarily a corporate social unit bound together by kinship or other ties.” The most common household activities include: “*production, distribution, transmission, reproduction, and co-residence*” (Netting et al. 1984:5; italics in original) as well as the “generational transmission of wealth, property, and rights” (Ashmore and Wilk 1988:4). Households are thus the minimal unit of economic production, with their primary purpose being the production of wealth and collective prosperity of their members (see Booth 1993:41–42). Although the social components of households are the most difficult aspects to examine archaeologically, the productive, economic roles of households have been of major importance to archaeological research (e.g., Blanton 1994; Santley and Hirth 1993; Scarry 1995).

Along with their social and productive components, households also possess a physical (architectural) form, normally a residential structure where coresidence and productive tasks are undertaken. Although coresidence has been a frequent point of debate concerning the household concept, domestic structures have remained important to archaeologists addressing households. There is a tendency in archaeology to use the terms “household,” “house,” and “dwelling” interchangeably, without specifying (or possibly recognizing) the differences inherent in these concepts. Most often, archaeologists have dealt with the *material remains* of households—what I refer to as domestic structures. These domestic structures consist of the walls, postholes, and other structural elements that compose the physical environment in which the activities and social relationships of households are enacted. These remains alone,

however, do not constitute a household in its most inclusive sense. Archaeologists who attempt to use households as primary units of analysis must also consider the social relations of household members and their activities rather than simply focusing on their architectural manifestations.

In this work I employ a definition of households that acknowledges the contribution of all three of the components previously discussed—social, behavioral, and material. This perspective is based on the definition of households provided by Wilk and Rathje (1982:618; italics in original), who contend that households are composed of three distinct elements: “*social*: the demographic unit, including the number of relationships of the members; *material*: the dwelling, activity areas, and possessions; and *behavioral*: the activities it performs.” The primary question that arises from the application of this definition to archaeological contexts involves our ability to successfully recognize all three aspects of households. The material aspects are those most readily amenable to analysis and interpretation by archaeologists, but this does not mean that we are incapable of examining the social and behavioral aspects of households. We must transcend a mere material understanding of houses (domestic structures) and examine households as relationships between people. What we require are archaeological investigative strategies capable of revealing all the critical dimensions of households.

Archaeological investigations of households have primarily addressed the social and behavioral aspects of households through the analysis of demographic capacities (Naroll 1962), activity areas (Charlton and Charlton 1994; Kent 1984), and domestic economics (Netting 1982; Santley and Hirth 1993). Measures of floor areas within domestic structures are general indicators of the size of coresident groups (Naroll 1962; see critique in Cameron 1993). Although such estimates are not always reflective of individual cultural practices, they do provide a basis for diachronic comparisons of household occupancy. In addition, analyses of material remains from domestic contexts allow archaeologists to reconstruct the productive activities of household members and infer their social

relationships (Barrett 1994; Blanton 1994; Charlton and Charlton 1994; Hall 1966; Hassan 1978; Kent 1984; McGuire 1992; Santley and Hirth 1993). Taken together, the size of domestic structures, their internal spatial divisions, and the patterning of artifacts and features associated with these structures provide essential information as to the social nature of households.

Activity-area analysis is one way through which archaeologists have attempted to reconstruct the social relations and productive activities of households. As Susan Kent (1984) and others have argued, activity-area analysis reveals more than tasks devoted to household production but bears directly on the spatial organization of culture and underlying divisions of labor and political economy. Thus, through a thoughtful analysis of the material remains found in domestic contexts, archaeologists can begin to reconstruct many of the productive activities household members undertook as well as many of the relationships exhibited by the individuals performing these tasks. Archaeologists may never be able to reconstruct these social systems to the point of contemporary ethnography—specifying the exact demographic membership in the household and their familial or nonfamilial relationships—but we are capable of determining (with some confidence) the demographic capacity of domestic dwellings (Naroll 1962); the productive, functional activities of the household (Charlton and Charlton 1994; Kent 1984); and the social relationships shared by household members (Cunningham 1973).

Just as activity-area analysis leads archaeologists to a better understanding of household-productive activities and their material correlates, modern ethnography serves as a valuable source of information regarding the nature of social relationships and household production. Based on the findings of contemporary cultural anthropology, archaeologists have turned to culture groups that exhibit patterns in the distribution of activity areas and domestic architecture similar to that found in the archaeological record in an attempt to understand the various social relationships responsible for these patterns. Although the use of analogy in archaeology has

been subjected to intense scrutiny (Wylie 1985), it remains a necessary component of legitimate household archaeology because it is the best way to correlate possible social relationships with the patterns we observe in the ground.

Like all other aspects of culture, households are not static but are delicate indicators of social change (Ashmore and Wilk 1988:1; Kapches 1990; Wilk and Rathje 1982:618). Laslett (1972:xiii) suggests that households are “sensitive to minor, short-term fluctuations in the socioeconomic environment and [are] a prime means by which individuals adapt to the subtle shifts in opportunities and constraints that confront them.” Since recursive, dialectical relationships exist between individuals, households, and social structures, changes in sociopolitical relationships are commonly manifest in the material remains of households (see Levi-Strauss 1983). Even minor social changes can tremendously impact the form, materiality, and spatial patterning of domestic structures (Glassie 1975; Lawrence and Low 1990; Leone 1988; Norberg-Schulz 1982; Rapoport 1969, 1990). Consequently, changes in households that are identified archaeologically can be used to examine larger social processes of change and the effects of these changes on the daily lives of individuals living, working, playing, producing, and reproducing in household contexts.

Archaeological investigations of household change focus primarily on alterations to domestic economic production (Arnold and Santley 1993; Bawden 1990; Blitz 1993; Charlton and Charlton 1994; Cliff 1988; Haviland 1988; Jameson 1990; Kapches 1990; Mehrer 1988, 1995; Mehrer and Collins 1995; Riggs 1989; Santley 1993; Santley and Kneebone 1993; Scarry 1995; Smith 1994; Tourtellot 1988; Waselkov 1994; Widmer and Storey 1993). These studies demonstrate that archaeological materials from household contexts enable us to not only describe the nature of households and daily life but also to discover subtle shifts in the domestic economy (Blanton 1994; Cameron 1993; Kapches 1990; Kunstadter 1984; Lesure and Blake 2002). These functional dimensions of households indicate their importance in systems of production and consumption

in nonmarket economies. As Santley and Hirth (1993: 1) contend, “The household provides the basic structure (mode of production) for agricultural subsistence, craft specialization, and commercial activity.” Such sensitivity to economic fluctuations makes households excellent contexts in which to evaluate change. Even shifts as subtle as changes in generational inheritance patterns can be revealed from household-based research (see Tourtellot 1988; Haviland 1988).

The material remains of households are well suited for the analysis of prehistoric economic systems, and it is through these remains that our understanding of the economies of many cultures is based. Household size and degree of material elaboration are used commonly as measures of household wealth and social position (Alenderfer 1993; Feinman and Neitzel 1984:75; Maclachlan 1987; McGuire 1992:179–211; Netting 1982:657–660). Such views have a long history in American archaeology and are commonly considered standard measures for assessing social status within household contexts. Studies of status from domestic structures generally rely upon measures that include the quality of materials used in the construction and embellishment of domestic structures and the differential presence of high-status goods within household contexts (Polhemus 1987; Riggs 1989; Schroedl 1985). Various archaeological studies have also demonstrated the importance of households as fundamental elements of the political economy (Mehrer 1988, 1995; Pauketat 1994; Peregrine 1992; Rogers and Smith 1995; Santley 1993; Widmer and Storey 1993). Given the importance of households to larger economic processes, changes in their productive activities commonly are reflected in their archaeological remains.

Wilk and Rathje (1982:621) see household-based economic systems primarily functioning for purposes of production, distribution, transmission, and reproduction. These functional aspects of households show the importance of the household in the entire economic system of nonmarket economies, as activities ranging from resource procurement to final processing frequently take place within the household. As Wilk and Rathje (1982:631) state, “Household size

and form vary widely in time and space and the differences relate systematically to the kinds of functions the household performs. These functions are, in turn, a product of a society's mode of production and distribution." Thus, much of what archaeologists recover in their investigations bears directly upon how these modes of production and distribution were organized and played out in a household context. As numerous recent studies of households have shown, archaeological remains from dwellings provide unparalleled opportunities to understand the day-to-day functioning of local economies, highlighting changes in the existing modes of production and distribution in that society (Arnold and Santley 1993; Charlton and Charlton 1994; Mehrer 1988; Mehrer and Collins 1995; Santley 1993).

As primary units of production and consumption households are extremely sensitive to slight variations in the flow of goods and the demands for labor and tribute made by sociopolitically dominant groups. From the "Teotihuacán trade empire" (Widmer and Storey 1993) to the "prestige-goods economy" of the southeastern United States during the Mississippian period (Pauketat 1994; Peregrine 1992) much of our knowledge of pre-contact economic systems is based on research addressing household economies. These studies illustrate the importance of households to larger economic processes as well as the way micro- or macro-level economic changes are reflected in their remains.

Households, though, reveal culture change in areas other than the economy. Changes in ideologies, aesthetics, and systems of meaning are also reflected in domestic architecture and households (Booth 1993; Ockman 1985; Oliver 1969; Pearson 1984; Saile 1986; Stanish 1989). The development of new, or alternative, household forms also reflects changes in cultural ideologies and social hegemony. As Leone (1988), Beaudry et al. (1991), McGuire (1992; see also McGuire and Paynter 1991), and others (McGuire et al. 1986; Wesson 1998) have argued, households and the overall spatial patterning of the built environment may reflect elite efforts to manipulate social spaces as a means of reinforcing their differential social

position. Simultaneously, however, nonelites were engaged in activities designed to subvert these elite-centered spatial systems through both active and passive forms of cultural resistance (DeBoer 1988; Wesson 1999). Thus, what we observe as synchronic variation in household form may actually represent resistance to dominant cultural ideologies and power structures, while diachronic variations may represent longer-term shifts in cultural hegemony and social ideologies (Pearson 1984).

Cunningham (1973) argues that domestic structures commonly are constructed as cosmological referents, with their basic structuring of space serving to reinforce existing (often elite-centered) cultural norms. As Norberg-Schulz (1971, 1980) and Eliade (1959) contend, domestic architecture translates cosmological order into social order. Although this process is far easier to assess ethnographically, archaeological research demonstrates the important relationship between social order and household structure (Blanton 1994; Donley-Reid 1990; Pearson and Richards 1994; Rogers 1995; Wesson 1998). As Donley-Reid (1990) reveals for the Swahili using Giddens's (1977) theory of *structuration*, households were frequently manipulated to both create and subvert social power. The dynamic relationship between a culture and its households is therefore central to a nuanced understanding of culture change.

Unfortunately, such complex social issues frequently remain unaddressed in archaeological studies of households; most scholars fail to "question the notion that the household is necessarily characterized by egalitarian relations as opposed to power relations that structure society outside the household" (McGuire 1992:159). Many archaeologists ignore the roles that households play within sociopolitical struggles, acting instead as if they are representative of both internal and external egalitarian social relations. As McGuire (1992:160) argues, "Households and families do not exist autonomously. . . . The household and the family are embedded in larger sets of social relations. They are transformed even as those larger sets of relations are, and changes in the relations that structure households also alter those larger sets of relations." Thus, the

relationship between the household and society at large is both recursive and dialectic, with changes in households bringing about alterations in other areas of society, while social changes originating outside the household simultaneously impact the nature of households. For this reason, households provide excellent contexts in which to evaluate the nature of sociopolitical change.

Recent archaeological studies have addressed the recursive, polysemic, dialectical nature of households in relation to larger levels of sociopolitical change. Kapches's (1990) analysis of changes in the Iroquoian longhouse indicates that the orientation and arrangement of domestic structures and the spatial patterning of household activities reveals changes in the social composition and economic functions of Iroquoian households during the postcontact period. With the use of both synchronic and diachronic analyses, Kapches (1990:63–64) is able to show that these changes in household organization are internal responses to increased contacts with Europeans. Similar research by Kunstadter (1984) on changes in household composition of the Karen, Luá, Hmong, and Thai in northwestern Thailand indicates that there are numerous social and economic factors that affect the organization of households. Kunstadter (1984:307) argues that the development of global capitalism has forced many cultures out of traditional households and into new domestic structures—a pattern that is also revealed for the Creeks in this research (see chapters 4 and 5). In addition, these new architectural forms are related to changes in the social composition and economic functioning of indigenous households (Kunstadter 1984:307). Thus, the use of the household as a primary unit of analysis allows archaeologists to analyze data in more socially meaningful contexts and see clearly the effects (and also potential causes) of sociopolitical change.

Southeastern archaeologists have excavated domestic structures for quite some time, but few systematic studies have attempted to understand the material, social, and behavioral correlates of households. Much previous archaeological research has been concerned simply with defining the material nature of domestic structures, with

little discussion of how these dwellings related to the social relations and activities of household members (e.g., DeJarnette 1958, 1975; DeJarnette and Wimberly 1941). Contemporary southeastern archaeologists have begun to see the utility of household-level research for assessing many various aspects of cultural development (Hally 1994, 2002; Mehrer 1988, 1995; Mehrer and Collins 1995; Pauketat 1994; Polhemus 1990; Riggs 1989; Schroedl 1985; Sheldon et al. 2001; Sullivan 1986, 1987, 1989, 1995; Wesson 1999). Although these studies do not exhaust all possible areas in which households may be useful as primary units of analysis, they do demonstrate the basic conceptual importance of household-based research in the region.

A majority of the recent household-focused studies in the Southeast have focused on the nature of households at major Mississippian centers (see chapters in Rogers and Smith 1995). Mehrer (1988, 1995; Mehrer and Collins 1995) addresses the development of Cahokia's influence over smaller communities in the American Bottom, illustrating the effects of Cahokia's sociopolitical expansion on local household architecture, domestic economies, and social behavior. As Mehrer and Collins (1995:56) demonstrate, "Households are part of all levels of regional settlement." They go on to show that household-based research permits an unparalleled opportunity to analyze political expansion and contraction in the American Bottom. Additional household research by Rogers (1995), Mistovich (1995), and Scarry (1995) illustrates similar processes at work in the development of other major Mississippian polities.

Although households are an increasingly important unit of analysis for southeastern archaeology, most recent studies have attempted to reveal changes in households during periods of sociopolitical expansion rather than contraction. I contend that households have just as much to tell us about the nature of challenges to elite hegemony as they do its establishment. The challenge for archaeologists is to focus their investigations in such a way that evidence for both sociopolitical centralization and decentralization most readily can be revealed (Blanton 1994).

Households and Hegemony

As was previously advanced, household-based archaeological research holds the potential to expand greatly our understanding of past societies and processes of sociocultural change. The traditional difficulty in household archaeology has not been in the analysis of household material remains but in the interpretation of these remains in dynamic sociocultural frameworks. I contend that when the analytical perspectives of household archaeology are informed by contemporary theories of agency and practice, our ability to comprehend the nature of social life and the internal motivations for change can be interpreted more robustly (Bourdieu 1977; Tringham 1991). The household stands as a potent arena for archaeological research, capable of providing an improved understanding of the way in which individuals who are linked through household affiliations shape and are shaped by larger cultural processes. As Ashmore and Wilk (1988:1) state, “Households are fundamental elements of human society, and their main physical manifestations are the houses that the members occupy. Households embody and underlie the organization of a society at its most basic level; they can serve as sensitive indicators of evolutionary change in social organization.”

I explore households, hegemony, and culture change in this volume through an examination of changes in the archaeological manifestation of households at Creek sites in southeastern North America. Social, economic, ideological, and behavioral transitions in Creek society are scrutinized to reveal the nature of the change in Creek households during the postcontact period. I investigate both synchronic and diachronic variations in Creek households and propose what I believe to be the most parsimonious and ethnologically sound interpretations for the patterns of change that emerge. I address numerous aspects of household change, basing my theoretical perspectives on a critique of culture as a dynamic structure manipulated by various social groups to enhance their own interests while simultaneously countering the advances of others (see Barth 1965; Gluckman 1965; Leach 1954; Turner 1957, 1974).

I contend that a detailed analysis of Creek households reveals a social world where dominant groups attempted to entrench their heightened social status through the imposition of their habitus and its accompanying ideologies as sociopolitically hegemonic while non-dominant social groups engaged in the production of counter-hegemonic ideologies and acts of resistance based in their own habitus. As Tringham (1991:101) argues, “Archaeologists should seek to study households with faces, households as sets of relations between real people.” It is my sincere hope that through the unification of household archaeology and the theory of practice, fundamental questions concerning postcontact sociopolitical change among Native American peoples (and potentially other indigenous societies colonized by Europeans as well) can be addressed with greater clarity than is afforded by other perspectives, and that “households with faces” will emerge.

The Creek Social Universe

PRIOR TO EMBARKING upon a discussion of specific archaeologically revealed aspects of sociocultural change among the Creeks during the postcontact period, it is first necessary to present an understanding of the Creeks from ethnohistoric descriptions. Although the limitations of cultural descriptions based in an atemporal ethnographic present have been pointed out previously (see Galloway 1993), to understand the social processes of cultural change among the Creeks following European contacts, we must, as Rogers (1990:23) argues, “consider those sociocultural aspects relevant to the interaction process.” It is also essential to understand something of the structure of the Creek social and cosmological universes and how these perspectives helped to shape their postcontact social world. Creek peoples and social practices certainly were not static prior to European contacts, but the introduction of novel goods, diseases, and ideologies during the postcontact period presented unique challenges to preexisting sociocultural practices (Crane 1928; Fairbanks 1952; Knight 1985; Mason 1963b; Waselkov 1989, 1993). The question that now arises is, “Who are the Creeks?” Contrary to what almost three hundred years of ethnohistoric information would lead us to believe, the answer is not straightforward.

The Creeks were a multiethnic confederation of village agriculturalists occupying a large territory in the present-day states of Alabama and Georgia. Like most southeastern groups, the Creeks traced descent matrilineally, practiced matrilocal residence, and

used a modified form of the Crow kinship system (Spoehr 1947). The Creek household, or *huti*, was the smallest identifiable social unit among the Creeks, and it was through the household that they met their basic subsistence and productive needs. Household membership usually consisted of a matriarch, her spouse and dependent children, married daughters with their spouses and children, and occasionally additional matrilineally related relatives. Thus, the Creek household was a multigenerational extended family occupying a common dwelling and cooperating in subsistence and productive activities (see Swanton 1928a). It appears that during the precontact and immediate postcontact period, younger married couples lacked the resources necessary to begin new households, living instead with members of the wife's family until they had the resources necessary to establish an independent household (Swanton 1928a:114; Moore 1988:62). Creek households exhibit dramatic departures from these patterns during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These emergent trends are examined in greater detail in chapters 4 and 5.

Creek women were responsible for the daily upkeep of the house, including the production of pottery, basketry, and other essential domestic products. Women were also responsible for the cultivation of communal agricultural fields and house gardens as well as the final processing and cooking of foodstuffs. Women and small children secured firewood for daily use and gathered wild food products to supplement their diet (Hudson 1976:264). They prepared animal skins and produced textiles for clothing and other household uses. The house and the overwhelming majority of household property belonged to the matriarch of the household. Affinal men were considered little more than visitors in their wife's home. Research by Mason (1963b) suggests that the roles and social status of women remained largely unchanged throughout the historic period. She contends that the removal of men from Creek households for several months during commercial deer-hunting activities would have strengthened principles of matrilineal descent and improved

the social status of women. However, archaeological and ethnohistoric data suggest a more complicated interpretation of postcontact female roles and status (see chapter 5).

Creek men spent most of their time involved in “hunting, the ball game, politics, war, and the ceremonies connected with the entire round of social life” (Hudson 1976:267). Men made the majority of stone tools, cleared land for agriculture and the construction of new buildings, and built most public and domestic structures. During the historic period men spent an increasing proportion of their time engaged in commercial hunting related to the European deerskin trade. Such activities removed men from the household for long periods of time (sometimes as long as six months), forcing women to undertake an even greater range of domestic tasks (Piker 2004; Waselkov 1989, 1993). It was through the participation in the deerskin trade that many elements of Creek culture were forever altered as new ideologies and mechanisms of social aggrandizement were introduced into Creek households and as Creek peoples reacted to preexisting sociopolitical practices (see Braund 1993 and Saunt 1999).

Matrilineages allowed kinship groups to trace descent from a common ancestor, thus permitting lineages to organize themselves for rituals, group labor, or other collective activities. As Hudson (1976:190) illustrates, the Creeks were able to “classify almost all of the people in their social universe in terms of a few kinship categories.” In addition to matrilineages the Creek had an elaborate system of kin relations traced through totemic matri-clans. The relationship between clan members was not as clear as those within the matrilineage, but associates of each clan considered themselves to be related even if these relationships could not be traced biologically. Swanton (1946:654) argues that the Creeks had the “greatest profusion of totemic clans” found in the Southeast. However, this pattern is thought to have been related to the addition of numerous, distinct ethnic groups during the historic period (Spoehr 1947).

The clan formed an essential component of Creek social organization, and as stated by Stiggins (cited in Nuñez 1958:132), “The

strongest link in their political and social standing as a nation is in their clanship or families. By their observances of it they are so united that there is no part of the nation detached from the other, but are all linked harmonised [sic] and consolidated as one large connected family.” Clans were further divided into individual lineages of extended families usually traced through the matrilineage, but by the 1900s—due to intermarriage and other social forces—many Creeks adopted a more Euro-American kinship system (Spoehr 1947).

The postcontact period was one of tremendous population growth within Creek towns as formerly independent groups sought protection from European territorial expansion and the burgeoning Native American slave trade in the Southeast (Braund 1986, 1993; Ethridge 2003; Hahn 2004; Wesson 2002). This influx of ethnically and linguistically distinct peoples under the umbrella of the Creek Confederacy resulted in the establishment of strong moieties among the Creeks. It is believed that these social distinctions formed the principal mechanism for the integration of these people into the Creek social world. This strategy incorporated elements of existing red and white Creek moieties and is thought to have formed as a means of distinguishing between Muskogean speakers (the *proper* Creeks) and those with other linguistic and ethnic affiliations (Hudson 1976:236). Swanton recorded several myths of ethnogenesis among the Creeks that explain this division in mythological terms (Swanton 1928a:157).

These moiety divisions were also present in the structure of Creek towns. Various communities were identified as being either red or white towns. This duality was based on the duality between war and peace in Creek society. White towns are thought to have been “peace towns,” providing chiefs in times of peace, while red towns were considered “war towns,” providing chiefs during periods of conflict. At one time town and moiety divisions may have been identical, but by the seventeenth century these divisions were not synonymous (Swanton 1922:250). Hudson (1976:235) explains this dualism as a response to the demise of paramount chiefdoms in the region during the early postcontact period. The social remnants of

the chiefdoms were identified as white towns because white is generally associated with the “established, pure, peaceable, holy, united, and so forth.” Those seeking refuge from colonial Europeans would have therefore been seen as potential (or former) enemies, with the red designation being associated with “conflict, war, fear, disunity, and danger” (Hudson 1976:235).

These dualities in Creek social organization took place within a cosmological context as the Creek defined social positions and corresponding social relationships within a complex network of supernatural associations. The relationship between red and white permeated Creek social life and influenced interactions with Europeans as well. The effect each of these groups had on the complex interactions with Europeans is hard to determine, but the general impact of this ethnic and linguistic diversity was the introduction of social elements that resisted the preexisting Creek social hierarchies and political economy (see Saunt 1999). This social agitation may constitute an additional reason why red towns and the red moiety were associated with the social pathologies of “conflict, war, fear, disunity, and danger” (Hudson 1976:235). Thus, the inclusion of these “others” into the traditional Creek social universe was a potential source of great social turmoil and change. Dominant social segments among the Creeks were forced to reestablish and legitimate their differential social positions to both these newly adopted peoples and their own peoples as well (see King 2002).

Creek Chiefs

The preeminent position of sociopolitical power in Creek society was that of chief, or *mico*. William Bartram (1853:57) presents the standard late seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century view of *mico* power: “The *mico* is considered the first man in dignity and power and is the supreme civil magistrate; yet he is in fact no more than president of the national council of his tribe and town, and has no executive power independent of the council, which is convened every day in the forenoon, and held in the public square.” A

more complete description of the mico's power comes from Benjamin Hawkins (1848:69–70), appointed by President Washington as chief agent to the Indians of the Southeast:

The mico of the town superintends all public and domestic concerns, receives all public characters, hears all talks, lays them before the town, and delivers the talks of his town. The mico of the town is always chosen from some one family, the mico of Tuckabatchee is of the eagle tribe [more properly, clan]. After he is chosen and put to his seat, he remains for life. On his death, if his nephews are fit for the office, one of them takes his place as successor; if they are unfit one is chosen of the next of kin, the descent always being in the female line. . . . When a mico from age, infirmity, or any other cause, wants an assistant, he selects a man who appears to him to be best qualified and proposes him to the counsellors [sic] and great men of the town; and if he is approved by them, they appoint him as an assistant . . . and he takes his seat in the cabbin [sic] accordingly. The mico of the town generally bears the name of the town, as Cussitah mico. He is what is called by the traders the Cussitah king.

During the postcontact period, the mico served as head of the tribal council and as a tribal spokesman; individuals who distinguished themselves could amass more power, but it appears as though the powers of the mico always remained more persuasive than dictatorial (Mereness 1916:176). Micos of larger and more powerful towns were considered supreme micos, and their decisions had greater influence on Creek national affairs, but even supreme micos had limitations placed on their power. Mico power was also held in check by a town council during the historic period, and in his review of historical documents concerning the Creek, Swanton (1928a:279–280) stated that his exhaustive review of ethnohistoric materials revealed “no record of a mico undertaking any important action without conferring with his council.” That does not mean that it could

not happen, but there appear to be no historical records of its having occurred. Micos were selected by the town council and could be removed from the position for poor performance. Each town selected a mico from a particular clan, and the new mico was matrilineally related to the former mico. Some ambiguity exists concerning chiefly succession due to a switch from avuncular succession to succession based on primogeniture during the nineteenth century, but the most likely candidate for the micoship during the late precontact and early postcontact periods would have been a mico's maternal nephew.

Second to the mico in power and influence was the head warrior, or *Tus-tun-nug-ul-gee*, and two classes of counselors. Each town had its own *Tus-tun-nug-ul-gee*, and according to Hawkins (1848:70), "the great warrior is appointed by the mico and counselors" and appears to have been someone who had excelled in the rigors of war. The mico had three classes of counselors who advised him on all matters: the *Mic-ug-gee*, *E-ne-hau-ulgee*, and *Is-te-puc-cau-chau* (Hawkins 1848:69–70). Much more is known about the *E-ne-hau-ulgee* than the other two classes of counselor, and they were considered "second men" and were given the supervision of public works within the town, including the construction of public structures (Corkran 1967:14; Hawkins 1848:69). They were also responsible for preparation of *a-cee* (the black drink) (Corkran 1967:14; Hawkins 1848:69). The *Is-te-puc-cau-chau* were considered the beloved and revered men of the town, composed of distinguished warriors, former *Mikalagi*, and other distinguished members of the community. The *Mic-ug-gee* served as war advisors and they were considered a class of mico, but their origin and function is not well understood (Hawkins 1848:69). It is probable that many of the titles and roles given to these classes are remnants of social divisions established during the precontact Mississippian period when multicomunity, paramount chiefdoms were common. This could explain why many social titles appear to have served ambiguous purposes to both European observers and the Creeks themselves. However, it is apparent that these titles were highly sought

after by the sociopolitically aspirant (see Swanton 1928a). At the same time, both Hawkins (1848) and Bartram (1853) indicate that among status seekers kinship remained the most critical element in selection of political figures.

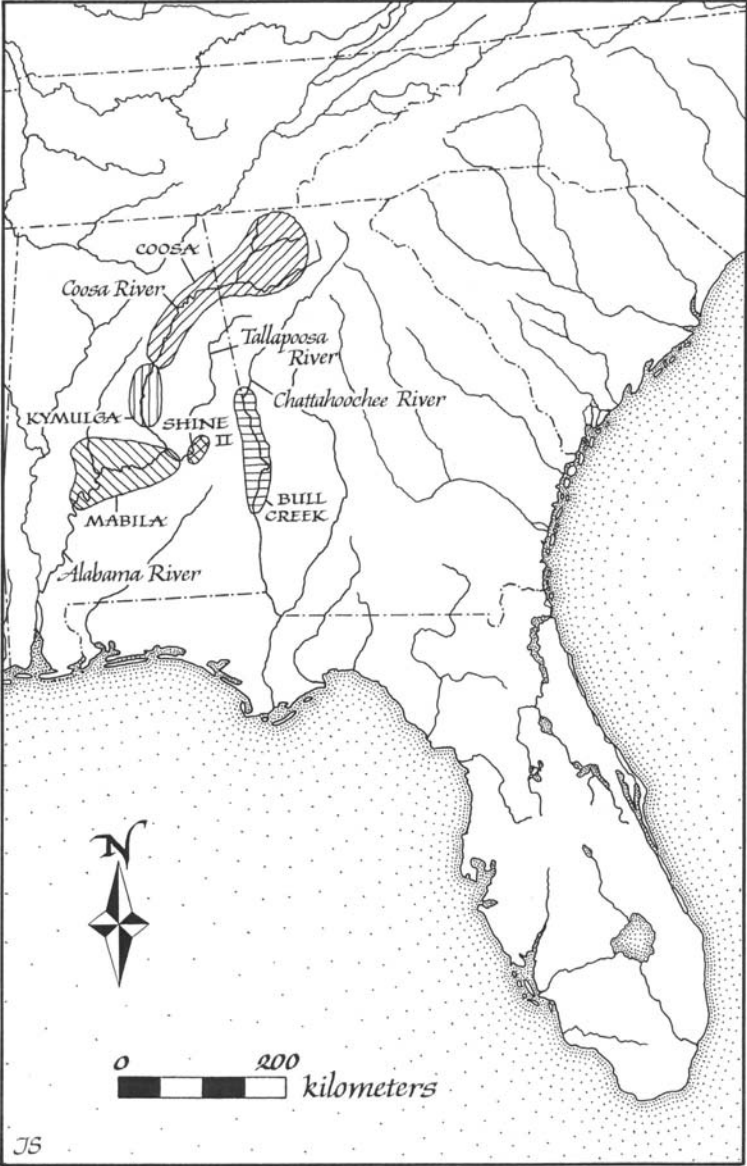
The image that emerges for the late postcontact period is that of a Creek government dominated by men “who had status based on age and service, lineage, or achievement” (Corkran 1967:14). Stiggins (cited in Nuñez 1958:31) states that “The form of government under which they live is a tyrannical oligarchy in its principles and practiced under that head to the full extent, at a slight view the most of people suppose and say that it is a democracy on republican principles but it is far different, for all public business whether of a national or private character is done by the chiefs.” This is somewhat of an overstatement, especially during the period when Stiggins was writing. It is obvious, however, that sociopolitical power was no longer embodied in one person but was vested in a small cadre of powerful males.

Ethnohistorical accounts provide a view of historic mico power that was limited and placed in check by a village council and other social institutions. Such views conflict sharply with the power exercised by elites at the moment of initial contact with Europeans (see descriptions in Clayton et al. 1993). As noted previously, the most important Creek communities were closely related to a number of powerful, precontact chiefdoms in Alabama and Georgia (Knight 1994b). These polities were governed by a class of powerful hereditary rulers who amassed considerable sociopolitical influence and controlled many aspects of daily life for those under their rule (Clayton et al. 1993; DePratter 1991; Hally and Smith 1992; Rogers 1996; Scarry 1996a, 1996b). A specific account—that of the Creek chiefdom of Coosa—serves as an example of the nature of Creek chiefdoms and the type of power exercised by paramount chiefs during the prehistoric period.

While dealing with the chief of Ocute, de Soto was informed of a paramount chief—the Lord of Coosa—who was believed to have

been the preeminent leader of the most powerful southeastern chiefdom of the period (Elvas 1968:65; Smith 2000). Coosa, located in present-day northwest Georgia was later identified as one of the most powerful Upper Creek towns during the eighteenth century and is one of the founding towns of the Creek Confederacy (map 3) (Hally et al. 1990; Hudson et al. 1985; Knight 1994b; Smith 2000). According to various sources, the power of the paramount chief of Coosa extended from northwest Georgia south to the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, a journey of over 24 days (Corkran 1967:44; Hudson et al 1985:723). This would mean that the Lord of Coosa had an effective political influence extending almost 300 kilometers along the Coosa River drainage system in present-day Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama. Spanish chronicles indicate that the Lord of Coosa and other southeastern chiefs resided in large houses placed atop earthen mounds, controlled external trade and internal food surpluses, exacted tribute from vassal provinces, commanded large military forces, and commonly held the power of life and death over their subjects (DePratter et al. 1983; Hally and Smith 1992; Hally et al. 1990; Hudson et al. 1985, 1987, 1989).

Although similar sociopolitical power was amassed by a number of elites at various locales in the Southeast during the Mississippian period, as Anderson (1990, 1994a, 1994b, 1996) contends, it was extremely difficult for elites to control such systems for long periods of time. These were inherently unstable social formations and are thought to have vacillated between periods of increased and decreased centralization through a process of political cycling (Anderson 1990, 1994a, 1994b, 1996). In the cycling process elite power experienced periods of ascendancy and contraction with comparably short periods of stability. Although prehistoric southeastern elites experienced periods with limited power, at present it appears that even during these periodic reductions in their power they were still able to exercise greater social control than any of their recorded historic counterparts (DePratter 1991). There is also archaeological evidence that town councils did not arise across the



Map 3. Mississippian polities in the research area at the time of European contact

region until the seventeenth century as a response to Euro-American influences, depopulation, and limited chiefly power (DePratter 1991:164–165; Smith 1987).

As the case of Coosa illustrates, precontact elites were able to amass great authority during the prehistoric period. This is a very different picture of chiefly power than the one that emerges from later historic documents. We are provided a picture of Creek sociopolitical life during the eighteenth century as having little centralized power and greatly reduced social heterogeneity. As Georgia's Governor Wright wrote during this period concerning the Creeks, "They have no form of government or any coercive power among them" (cited in Corkran 1967:12). Others recorded similar weaknesses in Creek sociopolitical organization:

The weakness of the executive power is such, that there is no other way of punishment but the revenge of blood . . . for there is no coercive power . . . Their kings [micos] can do no more than persuade. All the power they have is no more than to call their old men and captains and to propound to them the measures they think proper. After they have done speaking, all the others have liberty to give their opinions also; and they reason together with great temper and modesty, till they have brought each other into some unanimous resolution, then they call in the young men and recommend the putting in execution the resolution with their strongest and most lively eloquence. In speaking to their young men they generally address to the passions; in speaking to their old men they apply to reason only. (Corkran 1967:12–13)

Although these later writings are undoubtedly biased by Eurocentric notions of how political power is expressed, it is readily apparent that in the period from initial contacts between Native Americans and Europeans in the interior Southeast during the 1500s to the recording of detailed ethnohistoric descriptions of these societies in the late eighteenth century, changes in sociopolitical centralization had occurred. Micos still existed in the eighteenth and nine-

teenth centuries, but their powers were significantly diminished in comparison with their precontact predecessors. Concomitant with the reduction of centralized sociopolitical hierarchies came a significant restructuring of Creek society as a whole.

It is this decline in chiefly power and political centralization that many researchers see as evidence for postcontact declines in Native American sociopolitical complexity (Smith 1987). One of the problems in asserting that the later historical documents attest to an immediate and catastrophic collapse following European contacts is that the overwhelming majority of these documents were written more than 200 years after initial contacts took place. Given the paucity of ethnohistoric documents during this Protohistoric period (circa AD 1540–1700), we are left with a cultural and historical gulf that can only be bridged by archaeological investigation (Hudson and Tesser 1994; Wesson and Rees 2002). Attempts to understand the immediate postcontact experience of Native American peoples through ethnohistoric evidence alone is thus destined to reify previous arguments that the collapse of indigenous societies was primarily brought about by external European influences rather than internal social factors. To understand these changes more fully it is necessary to examine the basis of elite power during the precontact and postcontact periods using both archaeological and ethnohistoric data as well as ethnographic analogies drawn in colonial contexts in other world areas.

Prestige Goods, Symbolic Capital, and Social Power

Social and political power in Creek society and that of other southeastern groups is argued to have derived from a highly developed prestige-goods economy that predated European contacts. One of the general features of elite social power in global contexts is thought to be the control of esoteric goods and knowledge necessary for social ends (Earle 1997; Frankenstein and Rowland 1978:75; Helms 1979, 1988, 1992). Prestige-goods systems developed out of the control of external trade in exotic raw materials and finished goods and their subsequent internal redistribution by elites. These items had

value as a form of social currency necessary for certain forms of social reproduction (dowry, brideprice, etc.), and as esoteric items (*sacra*) that demonstrated the power of elites to import nonlocal material goods (Helms 1988, 1992, 1993; Knight 1986, 1990; Pauketat 1994; Peregrine 1992; Steponaitis 1986). As Pauketat (1994:24) contends, “Within the local domain, these ‘prestige goods’ would have served as coupons for transactions in all spheres of social life.” These goods were highly valued by all social segments and were considered to be related to elevated levels of social status because only elites possessed the trade connections and wealth necessary to import these exotic materials in large numbers. As Peregrine (1992:5–6) states, “When elites are able to control access to these symbols and knowledge, elite power grows in direct proportion to the growth of the prestige-goods system.” Frankenstein and Rowland (1978:76) contend that “The specific economic characteristics of a prestige goods system are dominated by the political advantage gained through exercising control over access to resources that can only be obtained through external trade. . . . Groups are linked to each other through the competitive exchange of wealth objects as gifts and feasting in continuous cycles of status rivalry. Descent groups reproduce themselves in opposition to each other as their leaders compete for dominance through differential access to resources and power.”

Although there are certainly other pathways to power for chiefs than the control and manipulation of prestige goods (see Earle 1997), the link between economic control and sociopolitical power has been of interest to archaeologists for quite some time (Childe 1951; Clark 1952, 1989; Dennell 1983; Fried 1967; Higgs 1972; Sahlin 1958; Service 1975). Various social theorists have speculated that the importance of material advantage in the development of sociopolitical complexity derives from both the functional importance of material goods (Corkran 1967; Griffin 1952; Harris 1979) and the ideological importance of such items (Helms 1979, 1988, 1993; Kleppe 1989; Pauketat 1994). Although researchers differ in their views of the exact nature of the social mechanisms fueling the

expansion of social heterogeneity, they tend to converge on the idea that social power is at least partially rooted in some form of material domination (see Earle 1997:67–104).

Prestige-goods economies in the Southeast have received much recent attention (Anderson 1990, 1994a, 1994b; Barker 1992; Barker and Pauketat 1992; Brown et al. 1990; Helms 1992; Knight 1985; Muller 1997; Nassaney 1992; Pauketat 1992, 1994; Peregrine 1992; Rogers 1996; Scarry 1990, 1996a, 1996b; Smith 1990; Steponaitis 1986; Waselkov 1993; Welch 1991, 1996; Wesson 1998, 2002). These systems are thought to have reached their height in the southeast during the Mississippian period (circa AD 900–1550) as local groups came into contact with materials and esoteric knowledge closely related to the emerging center of Cahokia and the formation of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex. The exact goods fueling these systems varied, but major elements of southeastern prestige-goods economies are thought to have been both raw materials and finished objects of copper, shell, pearls, exotic stones, and goods embellished with supernatural iconography (Peregrine 1992). Elite exchange of these goods reinforced existing social and political hierarchies and helped establish new social relationships.

Steponaitis (1986:392) contends that prestige goods “probably served as tokens in social transactions. Displayed as possessions, these tokens enhanced social prestige, presented as gifts that could be used to build alliances and inflict social debts. Exchanges of such items, especially among budding elites, were instruments of political strategy as much as, if not more than, purely economic activities.” Through close association with elites, prestige goods become essential components of ideologies supporting elite social aggrandizement (Knight 1985; Waselkov 1993). As has been repeatedly demonstrated, however, much more than the simple possession of an object is necessary to enhance one’s social power.

Southeastern elites used prestige goods to enhance their social status through both their display and exchange. When displayed these items were often seen as powerful *sacra* endowed with supernatural and religious connections (Knight 1981). When exchanged they

often created debts that the recipient could not repay in kind, establishing and/or reinforcing hierarchical social relationships. Debtors were often forced to repay these gifts with loyalty, work, or services, which the recipient could then use to create new relationships of obligation (Bourdieu 1977:195; Mauss 1990 [1954]; see Godelier 1999 for a very different interpretation of gift exchange).

Bourdieu (1977:179–180) views the ability to convert economic resources into social networks as more important than the ownership of material goods. By exchanging prestige goods with other individuals and social groups elites converted economic capital into symbolic capital. Symbolic capital is defined as the cultural value that derives from the ability to manipulate resources for the advancement of one's honor and prestige. Increasing one's symbolic capital does not demand the hoarding of resources but rather their dispersal through gift giving and alliance formation. Thus, prestige-goods systems are ultimately driven by the symbolic capital produced through the conversion of material goods (in the case of the Southeast, prestige goods) into social networks. The greater the investment of material resources in a social exchange, the greater the potential increased symbolic capital for those offering these goods. What is ultimately accumulated is not the material but rather “a capital of honour and prestige” (Bourdieu 1977:179). Those who play the game well are rewarded with increased social prestige and a clientele who are often both literally and figuratively in their debt.

When individuals and/or lineages can successfully control access to prestige goods and convert them into symbolic capital, their social power expands (Helms 1988, 1993; Kleppe 1989). Such interactions enabled southeastern elites to amass considerable power, culminating in the establishment of paramount chiefdoms across the region. They also gave rise to a social ideology promoting elite hegemony as central to cultural continuity. Peregrine (1992:7) contends that this was made possible because “individuals . . . intensified production to support their elites in competitive exchanges with others so that they would have had more access to prestige goods, and hence a better opportunity to socially reproduce them-

selves at acceptable levels.” In most cases, however, dominant social segments are not the only groups interested in improving either their stocks of prestige goods or symbolic capital (see Anderson 1994a, 1994b). Frankenstein and Rowland (1978:76) state that social “groups are linked to each other through the competitive exchange of wealth objects as gifts and feasting in continuous cycles of status rivalry. Descent groups reproduce themselves in opposition to each other as their leaders compete for dominance through differential access to resources and power.” The resources necessary to engage in such interactions are often well beyond those available to most of society, owing to an initial deficit of both material and symbolic capital.

Although prestige and social position can be won by expanding one’s social networks, the quest for prestige goods and symbolic capital is not without its pitfalls. In every exchange (particularly nonlocal marriage alliances), those engaged in the exchange risk losing both material goods and their existing symbolic capital. Such risk causes symbolic capital to fluctuate between social groups and individuals, whose fortunes rise or fall with each exchange (Bourdieu 1977:56–58, 67–68). Once a group has firmly established itself through superiority in such alliance building it can afford to invest more of its resources in cultivating additional relationships. As Bourdieu (1977:52) states, “It is logical that the higher a group is placed in the social hierarchy and hence the richer it is in official relationships, the greater the proportion of its work or reproduction that is devoted to reproducing social relationships, whereas poor relations, who have little to spend on solemnities, can make do with the ordinary marriages that practical kinship ensures them.” It is from such successful groups that social leaders are thought to have emerged in the Southeast, forming a basis for social stratification and the institutionalization of political offices.

Challenges to elite domination of socially desired prestige goods are ever-present, however. Both internal and external sources put constant pressures on the quantity and quality of prestige goods circulating within a society at any given time (Friedman 1982:193).

Friedman (1982) sees an increase in trade density threatening the power of elites, while a decrease in trade density (brought about through manipulation by elites or other processes) enabled elites to increase their power and their hierarchical complexity of the socio-political system they controlled.

Certain members of society (secondary elites, in particular) could have gained substantially by circumventing elite control of nonlocal trade and building both economic and symbolic capital for themselves and their lineages. Such actions would not have been confined to the postcontact period but arguably would have been present from the initial moments of social differentiation. Unfortunately, our reconstructions of past social systems and prestige-goods economies often have failed to adequately address the nature of this social competition, favoring instead perspectives based on group consensus and the unquestioning acceptance of elite domination by nonelites. As Archer (1996:9) states, such reconstructions “deny the readiness of opportunistic gurus, ambitious younger sons or disgruntled minorities to capitalize on cultural ambiguities and discontinuities which would advance their ambitions.” In addition, Gellner (1974:143–144) argues that the failure to consider ever-present challenges to elite authority presents culture as if “there can be no syncretism, no doctrinal pluralism, no deep treason, no dramatic conversion or doctrinal oscillation, no holding of alternative belief systems up one’s sleeve, ready for the opportune moment of betrayal.” It is my steadfast view that such acts of resistance and duplicity are ever-present components of all sociopolitical landscapes.

Resistance within prestige-goods systems is hard to identify archaeologically, but one of the inherent weaknesses of prestige-goods economies is that the number of goods circulating at any one time must be tightly controlled. An increase in the number of these goods means that more resources are available to social groups wishing to challenge elite social position. Such actions would represent a direct assault on the basis of elite claims to power (Beaudry et al. 1991; Ekholm 1972; Friedman 1982; Kleppe 1989; McGuire 1992;

McGuire and Paynter 1991; Williams and Shapiro 1990). As Peregrine (1992:31) states, “If a system is flooded with prestige goods, the control of them is meaningless. Alliances with individuals who have control of prestige goods are not necessary if individuals have easy access to them.” Much of the cycling in chiefly power identified by Anderson (1990, 1994a, 1994b, 1996) and others (Blitz 1993; Hally 1996; Scarry 1996a; Williams and Shapiro 1990) in southeastern chiefdoms can be seen as a sociopolitical response to fluctuations in elite control of prestige goods (see Helms 1994, 1996:438; King 2002).

Peregrine (1992) identifies Southeastern Ceremonial Complex materials exhibiting elite-centered supernatural iconography as a major element of prestige-goods economies in the Southeast. For the Creek in particular, Peregrine (1992:52, 114) defines shell goods, glass trade beads, and human scalps as major elements of their prestige-goods economy, to which Knight (1985) adds items of metal. Research at the Creek sites of Tukabatchee (Knight 1985) and Fusihatchee (Cottier 1997; Sheldon 1997; Waselkov 1997b; Wesson 1997) indicates the use of such items as high-status markers and reinforces the contention that during both the Mississippian and early postcontact periods such items were tightly controlled by elites and used to reinforce their superior social status. The distribution of these items at later postcontact Creek sites is also thought to be indicative of the continued presence of a prestige-goods economy among the Creeks until well into the eighteenth century (chapters 4 and 5).

I suggest that Creek chiefs continued to enjoy elevated social position and imposed their hegemonic discourse upon local peoples well after initial contacts with Europeans. Based on the archaeological case presented later in this work, I maintain that the prestige-goods economy present among the Mississippian peoples of the Southeast continued to function among the Creeks largely unabated until the quantity of trade materials introduced into Creek households through direct trade with Europeans overwhelmed the ability of local elites to exercise control over these materials. As Ekholm (1972:144) demonstrates for the Kongan prestige-goods economy,

“The arrival of Europeans gave every local chief career possibilities otherwise not available under the traditional system. Earlier the path to power and glory often went via a vassal relationship with one of the political centers, but afterwards, in principle, anyone with ambition and military strength could compete with the traditional authority over local hegemony.” In addition Ekholm (1972:135–136) argues that “When prestige goods became accessible to anyone with the ambitions to get them, the superior’s power declined. Similarly, for the brief period that superiors were able to maintain control over new, and highly desirable, European-introduced prestige goods, their power grew.”

It is just such a process that I believe was at work among the Creeks and other Native American peoples of the Southeast during the postcontact period. Traditional mechanisms of exchange were subverted by direct, individual trade with Europeans. These actions resulted in a reduction of sociopolitical centralization and increased competition for social status and political prominence between lineages (organized through individual households) through the accumulation of high-status trade goods. Such efforts not only fostered many of the sociocultural changes previously outlined for the postcontact Creeks, but also opened the door for the replacement of indigenous elite hegemony for that of Euro-Americans.

The Creek Cosmos and Sacred Landscapes

In addition to their reliance upon the control of material items to secure their social positions, Creek chiefs were also dependent upon the manipulation of other potent cultural symbols. Perhaps the most critical elements of this *symbolic manipulation* were ritual paraphernalia that linked closely dominant social segments to the supernatural power of the cosmos. Close symbolic associations between Creek elites and the supernatural were used in attempts to legitimate their heightened social status ideologically. Through such efforts, Creek micos materialized ideologies of elite social control and positioned themselves in sacred contexts, allowing them to portray themselves as earthly representatives of supernatural forces

(Wesson 1993, 1996, 1998). Blitz (1993:23) contends that “Ideological legitimization of leadership within a ritual format” is central to the success and expansion of elite social control. Through the use of supernatural cosmological associations the power of Creek elites was symbolically reinforced and disguised as “sacred authority.” An examination of the essential components of the Creek cosmos reveals a glimpse of the way in which elites used these forces to further their social and political agendas.

The Creeks interacted with the supernatural in their daily life and in specially prescribed rituals. Elites were responsible for supervising these rituals and for maintaining harmony in the relationship between their followers and the supernatural. The power of Creek chiefs was buttressed by their control of both the esoteric knowledge and the paraphernalia necessary to conduct these rituals (Swanton 1922, 1928a, 1946). To reinforce the supernatural foundation of their power and simultaneously legitimize their social positions, Creek elites manipulated material culture, ideology, social space, and ritual time (Wesson 1996). Through these and other actions Creek elites (and their Mississippian predecessors) positioned themselves physically and metaphorically as the intermediaries between their people and supernatural forces (Wesson 1998). These symbolic manipulations are most visible within the realm of public architecture.

Like other communicative systems architecture is a medium designed to convey culturally specific meaning (Cunningham 1973; Eco 1976, 1984; Eco et al. 1988; Eliade 1959; Fritz and Mitchell 1991; Heidegger 1972; Norberg-Shulz 1971, 1980; Sanders 1990; Tilley 1994; Wheatley 1971; Zuidema 1964). Although the messages conveyed by social space and public structures are potentially limitless, one of their most enduring statements is that of the “*imago mundi* or *microcosmos*” (Norberg-Shulz 1980:17; italics in original). Thus, social spaces become *sacred spaces* by translating cosmological order into built form. Through this process of cosmic representation (a literal re-presentation), the built environment becomes a cosmogram, with individual buildings and topographic features serving as symbolic representations of the various

elements of cosmic structure (Eliade 1959; Wheatley 1971). These *sacred landscapes* also reinforce a view of social structure consistent with the perfect cosmic order, serving simultaneously as cosmograms and sociograms (Knight 1998; Wesson 1998). This connection between the sacred and profane results in landscapes that serve as existential centers, giving meaning not only to space but to human action and social life (Norberg-Shulz 1980:17–18). Consequently, the built environment is not a mere backdrop for cultural action but is an active participant in the social drama, informing and shaping social praxis (Gosden 2001; Tilley 1994).

This production of meaningful built environments is commonly accomplished through the use of cultural narratives that unite physical spaces with the supernatural. As Tilley (1994:33) contends, “Narratives establish bonds between people and features of the landscape . . . creating moral guidance for activity.” Kleppe (1989:198) argues that the physical translation of these myths into landscapes also reifies existing social order and nonegalitarian social relations. Architecture thus becomes powerful sacred space by translating these narratives into built form. Through this process, referred to as *concretization*, cultures project cosmological order into the everyday lived experience of individuals by modeling architecture and social spaces as cosmic representations (Heidegger 1972; Norberg-Shulz 1971, 1980). As Eliade (1959:29) states, “All territory with the object of being inhabited or of being utilized as ‘vital space’ is necessarily transformed from ‘chaos’ into ‘cosmos.’” Through the process of narrative representation, social spaces become elements for which they are referents. Cultural action resides within the overarching frameworks of social and cosmological spaces—what Giddens (1979, 1981, 1984) refers to as ‘locales’—which inform and shape social interaction.

Foucault (1967, cited in Johnson 2006) defines such socially meaningful locales as “spaces of emplacement” where hierarchical sacred and profane spaces intersect. These spaces of emplacement are constructed as utopian ideals that present society in a perfected form (Foucault 1967, cited in Johnson 2006:82). However, Foucault

argues that utopias cannot exist in *real* space or within *real* human contexts. Hence, the realized, material forms of sacred landscapes conform to what Foucault (1967, cited in Johnson 2006:82) refers to as *heterotopias*—real places in which the utopian ideas are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.

Elites manipulate the nature of heterotopias through the materialization of elite-centered ideology within the very fabric of the cosmological order (DeMarrias et al. 1996:16). An excellent example of this process is found in Mayan architecture where structures and architectural spaces were often constructed as referents to cosmological and social orders. Places of cosmological power were seen to permeate the Mayan natural landscape, with architecture concretizing this power in built form and social space. Although deities resided in the natural landscape (hills, rivers, and caves), Mayan buildings were constructed as metaphorical referents to these key features. Mayan elites thus co-opted much of the symbolic power of these locations by uniting sacred spaces to architectural elements designed to materialize their own ideologies and thereby fuse their social positions and political power to the sacred order of the cosmos (Benson 1985; Schele and Miller 1986).

Another example of this process is found in Wheatley's (1971) classic study of Chinese site planning, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*. Wheatley (1971:417) argues that Chinese religion and cosmology played a central role in the development and planning of Chinese cities and demonstrates that ancient Chinese communities were structured in relation to their cosmic order, creating a powerful dichotomy between the realms of the sacred and profane. He contends that this is an essential division for Chinese religion and architecture: "The sacred space delimited in this manner within the continuum of profane space provided the framework within which could be constructed the rituals necessary to ensure that intimate harmony between the macrocosmos and microcosmos without which there could be no prosperity in the world of men" (Wheatley 1971:418). It was from this close association between such

supernaturally charged architectural settings that Chinese emperors were thought to have gained much of their divinity.

Such powerful cosmological associations yield power not only to buildings but cosmologically empower the individuals or social classes who reside in, or are most closely associated with them as well. As Benson (1985:188) argues, “Numinous power is concentrated with[in] the space. . . . The ruler, housed in a cosmos-defined environment, either in architecture or sculpture, is the pivot of a focused, integrated worldview. The god, the ruler, and the people are in control of the forces of nature, the universe as conceived, believed in, and presented by that people; the monumental pyramid not only defines the cosmos, but proclaims this power in a public statement to the world.” These places are potent seats of power, legitimizing elite social positions by representing them as essential components of the social and cosmological universes (Earle 1990; Eliade 1959; Schele and Miller 1986; Wheatley 1971). This view is supported by Tilley’s (1982:26) contention that elites engage in “ideological . . . manipulation, which serve to justify the social order.” As Schele and Miller (1986:103) argue, “The function of public art and architecture was to define the nature of political power and its role as a causal force in the universe. Maya imagery explains the source and necessity of kingly authority, by which the ancient Maya defined social order and expressed their perception of how the universe worked.” This incorporation of concretized cosmic order and the materialized elite-centered ideologies helped to establish elite hegemony over local peoples as their powers and those of the supernatural became fused. Ultimately, Mayan architecture and Mayan elites superseded mere metaphorical association with the cosmos, becoming essential components of this order (Benson 1985; Schele and Miller 1986). Thus, through concretization and materialization, public architecture links architecture, elites, and the cosmos, representing elite positions as necessary, inevitable, natural, and justified.

Such attempts at expanding elite social control are best done ideologically rather than through brute force. General political theory

suggests that people respond best to social controls that are not directly coercive but which are essentially ideological in nature. As Pearson (1984:61) contends, “The position of a ruling class might be legitimated in several ways; by misrepresenting the inequalities between the surplus-producing and the surplus-consuming groups; by representing the interests of the elite as universal for the whole society; and by justifying the status quo through hierarchical conceptions of the supernatural which ‘explain’ the hierarchical nature of social existence.” The materialization of elite ideology and the cultivation of elite hegemony follow all of these forms, cloaking their ultimate designs by representing themselves as cosmologically essential and divinely instituted.

This process was not limited to Mesoamerican and Asian elites but is, arguably, a major source of legitimization for elite interests in numerous cultural contexts, including the Creeks. Research by Knight (1981, 1986, 1990) indicates that Mississippian platform mound architecture was linked to cosmological order and the social performance of religious ritual, thus providing a concretization of supernatural power. Bruce Smith (1992:11) advances the idea that southeastern elites used architecture and social spaces to not only increase their roles as social coordinators but as “structures of domination—containers of authoritative resources involved in the control of social time-space that provided powerful levers of social inequality,” a materialization of elite ideology. Thus, elements of the Creek-built environment would have allowed elites the opportunity to enhance their social power and increase their hegemony over both society and their potential social rivals.

Analysis of Creek architecture and mythic structure reveals a similar relationship between the Creek cosmos, social order, elites, and the built environment (Wesson 1998). The most dynamic interpretation of Creek and Mississippian architecture and social space to date is found in the work of Vernon Knight (1981, 1986, 1990). Knight uses the Creek Chekilli migration myth as an interpretive tool to understand the role played by mounds in the ritual life of Creek and Mississippian peoples. Knight sees ritual space as empowered

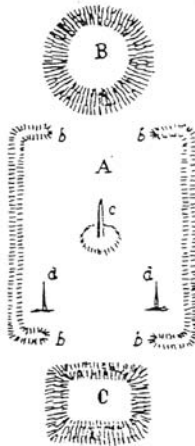
by numerous cosmological references that establish it as sacred and essential. This process does not begin nor end for Creek or Mississippian peoples with the construction of mounds but is present in all aspects of their architecture and social praxis. Both public and domestic architecture are filled with cosmological references working to establish the entire built environment and social world as a heterotopia or sacred landscape. Through an analysis of the Creek cosmos, origin myths, and architecture it becomes apparent that processes similar to those identified by Knight are at work in the entire repertoire of Creek and Mississippian architectural forms.

As with many indigenous groups there was no real division between the world of humans and that of the supernatural in Creek culture. The concrete world of lived experience mirrored the structure of the universe; actions in one realm affected those in the other. For the Creek the world was a flat, square plane surrounded on all sides by water. The heavens were formed by a solid vaulting circular hemisphere (Swanton 1928a:477). Thus, the primordial forms constituting the universe were the square and circle. The relationship between these two forms is replicated in the construction of the Creek sacred square and circular council house (figure 1), as well as in precontact summer and winter houses. The Creek further divided the cosmos into three distinct levels: upperworld, earthly world, and underworld.

The upperworld and underworld could not come into contact with each other; severe efforts were undertaken to ensure that elements of these cosmic levels were not mixed. The mediator between the upperworld and underworld was the earth, which could entertain elements from either world. The sky was considered part of the upperworld where supernatural beings lived and communicated with the Creek. The upperworld was inhabited by the “beneficent” souls of the dead and numerous supernatural deities (Swanton 1946:480–481) and was the place of “perfection, order, permanence, clarity, and periodicity” (Martin 1991:25). It was through the heavens that the Creek received much of the supernatural information needed for their survival. The upperworld was home to the

COUNCIL HOUSE

Place of origin and point of emergence from the underworld.
Womb-like structure with tunnelled entrance.



BALL FIELD & SACRED POLE
Place of transition and dispute resolution.
Mediates between culture and nature.

SACRED SQUARE

Cultural arena with highly structured social and symbolic spatial orders.
Prominent positions dominated by micos (chiefs) and beloved men.

Figure 1. Creek cosmos represented in architectural form
(based on Bartram 1853:52)

paramount deity in the Creek pantheon who was associated with the sun and represented on earth by the Busk fire, through which he communicated with the Creek (Swanton 1946:773). The underworld was thought to be a watery place governed by a great serpent and was considered a place of “reversals, madness, creativity, fertility, and chaos” (Martin 1991:25). Spirits from both the upper world and underworld could assume the form of humans or animals in this world, making the Creek suspicious of the interference of these beings in their daily life. For the Creek the earth was full of roaming spirits from these cosmic levels, intervening and directing the affairs of humans.

During the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries several origin and migration myths were collected from the Creek that

relate to the structure of the cosmos and their built environment. Although the details of these myths vary they share similar structural patterns. The original people are shown to escape from within the earth (or underworld) in the west, journey east toward the rising sun, ascend the “King of Mountains” where they receive knowledge and culture (representative of the upperworld), and descend to fertile areas below to begin life as the Creek (representing the earthly realm). These myths contain numerous spatial elements, and recurring themes consist of an earth mouth (or cave), a sacred mountain, and a sacred tree. These sacred places and the dichotomy they establish between *nature* and *culture*, *upperworld* and *underworld* are given physical expression in Creek architecture.

Writing toward the end of the eighteenth century, William Bartram (1853:51–56) provided the first detailed information concerning the nature and arrangement of Creek towns. The key public architectural features he recorded were: the public square, council house, and ballfield (1853:51–56). In addition, Bartram indicates that mounds played an important part in prehistoric Creek architecture, serving as bases for chiefs’ houses, council houses, and public squares. These are important constituents of the Creek-built environment and Creek sacred landscapes, and analysis of each structure type reveals its relationship to Creek myths and the cosmos.

Council House

At the beginning of the Chekilli legend and several comparable myths, we are told that people originated inside the earth and emerged from the earth’s mouth (Swanton 1928a:53–58). These original people lacked clothing, fire, medicine, and other vestiges of culture, all elements used by later groups to define themselves as a people. Several myths tell of hollow mounds with people living inside. This is recorded in a Coweta-Kashita myth where a hollow chamber is made inside a mound so that the people can “fast and purify their bodies” inside (Swanton 1928a:54). This inner chamber is referred to by the Creek as the “bowels of the earth” (Swanton 1928a:55).

These hollow mounds represent the primordial earth mouth or

Image masked

Figure 2. The Creek council house
(Nabokov and Easton 1989:107; Oxford University Press)

earth cave and are replicated in architectural form in the southeastern earthlodge and in the Creek council house (figure 2). The council house was a semisubterranean structure, similar to the earthlodges identified across the region (Hally 1994; Rudolph 1984). Not only was the Creek council house circular, but the low, narrow entrance forced individuals to crouch upon entering and leaving. The act of crawling in and out of the council house mirrors the initial emergence of humans from the mouth of the earth.

Bartram (1853) states that people without houses or clothes were allowed to sleep in the council house at night. This naked impoverishment mirrors the initial human state before their emergence from the earth. This primordial state is one without culture because the Creek migration myths detail how the people obtained fire, knowledge, sacred medicines, and sacred herbs “outside” the confines of

the earth mouth. Thus, a dichotomy arises between nature (as expressed by the naked, ignorant humans of the earth mouth) and culture (as expressed by the knowledge gained outside the confines of the earth).

Mounds

One Coweta myth records how the people, after crawling out of the earth, traveled to a mountaintop from which they could see the rising and setting of the sun (Swanton 1928a:53). The Chekilli myth also records the importance of a certain thundering mountain where the Creek received their sacred fire and the knowledge of edible plants and herbs (Swanton 1928a, 1928b). Another myth indicates that one of the first things the original people did after emerging from the earth was to construct two mounds that were designed to “give them help” and to protect them (Swanton 1928a:57–58).

Knight (1981:46–47) interprets Creek and Mississippian platform-mound architecture as representative of the earth. The construction of mounds is seen as an effort to “control, defeat, or remove Earth from Society, as Society aspires for purification” (Knight 1981:47). A complementary interpretation is that these mounds serve as sacred mountains, replicating and symbolizing the point where the original people received the elements that made them unique and gave them a cultural identity. This is also the first place where they encounter the supernatural forces of the underworld. By constructing mounds Mississippians and Creeks gave physical form to an important element of their ethnogenesis. These sacred mountains form an essential component of their sacred landscape by mapping a portion of a mythic narrative onto their constituent architectural forms.

This is supported by Knight’s (1981:51) contention that the earth used to construct these mounds was “not ordinary, unadulterated earth but instead village midden. It is earth full of cultural debris, and it is therefore in a sense ‘compromised earth,’ belonging fully neither to the realm of Society nor to Earth.” Since the sacred thundering mountain provided the original people with the knowledge of all things cultural, it is only fitting that it be reconstructed from a

mixture of earth and cultural materials. Since culture did not originate from within the earth in the primal state of humans but was acquired by humans through their dealings with supernatural forces, a reconstruction of the cosmos in platform-mound architecture is consistent with the concept of sacred landscapes.

Sacred Square

The Chekilli myth states that after the Creek had received all the necessary elements of culture a dispute arose between various factions concerning which group was the oldest and thus the most revered. Four divisions were formed, each having a distinct social identity (Swanton 1928a). This four-part division of society is expressed in Creek architecture in the form of the sacred square. Consisting of four rectangular buildings (referred to as clan beds) arranged in a square around a central courtyard, the sacred (or public) square served as the major ceremonial and political center for Creek towns (Taitt 1916) (figure 3). Individual seating positions within the clan beds forming the sacred square were divided along lines of kinship and social status, replicating the social order in spatial terms and informing each person of his position through the medium of space (Hawkins 1848:70–71). This is critical because it indicates the ability of the Creek to not only recognize their social divisions but to concretize them in space and social action.

The most important Creek ceremony, the Busk, took place within the sacred square. Through this ritual the Creek spiritually renewed themselves and reestablished their ties to their deities through acts of ritual purification. At the center of the square was the Creek sacred fire. Given to them by the primordial “King of Mountains” and representative of their chief deity, the sacred fire was the most visible symbol of the Creek cosmology, representing the origin and migration of the Creek people as well as their connection with the supernatural (Gatschet 1969). One of the essential elements of the Busk was the extinguishing of the old sacred fire and the lighting of a new fire. Through this action the Creek reenacted essential elements in their origin and migration stories, translating these myths

Image masked

Figure 3. The Creek sacred square
(Nabokov and Easton 1989: 110; Oxford University Press)

into prescribed ritual actions (Swanton 1928a). The Busk not only rekindled the sacred fire, it renewed the Creek social world and its connections to the cosmological. By translating their myths into social action the Creek empowered their public square and their communities with sacred cosmic power.

In addition to its role in the Busk ceremony, the sacred square also contained the Creeks' sacred ritual paraphernalia. These sacred relics were maintained in a small room to the rear of the chief's (mico's) cabin. Bartram (1853:53) states that "Here are deposited all of the most valuable public things, [such] as the eagle's tail or national standard, the sacred calumet, the drums, and all of the . . . [symbolic priestly elements]." There is a strong association here between these ritual items, the chief, religious specialists, and the sacred square.

Through these cosmological associations, the Creek sacred square becomes not only a repository for social and religious power, but serves as both a cosmogram and sociogram as well. By reflecting the social order in its seating the square reified existing social divisions, attempting to convince individuals of their appropriate place, or “space,” in Creek society. Given the cosmological and symbolic associations structuring interactions within this ritual space, social divisions were represented as natural and divinely established, a materialization of elite-centered ideologies and an important component in the program designed to establish and maintain elite hegemony. This process was furthered through the ritual actions that took place within the sacred square and their strong association with powerful, cosmologically sanctioned social elites. Through all of these means the Creek sacred square became a cosmological referent and a significant component of Creek sacred landscapes.

World Tree and Ballfield

The ballfield, also known as the “chunky yard,” was located between the council house and sacred square during the precontact and early contact periods (Bartram 1853:34). It was a well-cleared area of land surrounded by a small ridge of earth along two sides. In the center of the ballfield a single, central pole was erected, resting on a low mound of earth, and, according to Bartram, appeared like an “Egyptian obelisk” (1853:35) (figure 4). The ballgame provided a way for disputes to be settled between villages, and supernatural overtones are apparent in many of the myths and rituals surrounding the game (Hudson 1976; Mooney 1891). This intermediate position is critical in an architectural analysis of Creek public space. The central pole, located between the council house and public square, became a powerful *axis mundi*, or world tree. The ballfield constituted the third element of Creek public space, and its location is of extreme importance in the cosmology and political ordering of Creek culture and architecture. This ballfield and world tree are positioned between the public square and the council house, highlighting the ballfield as a transitional space between

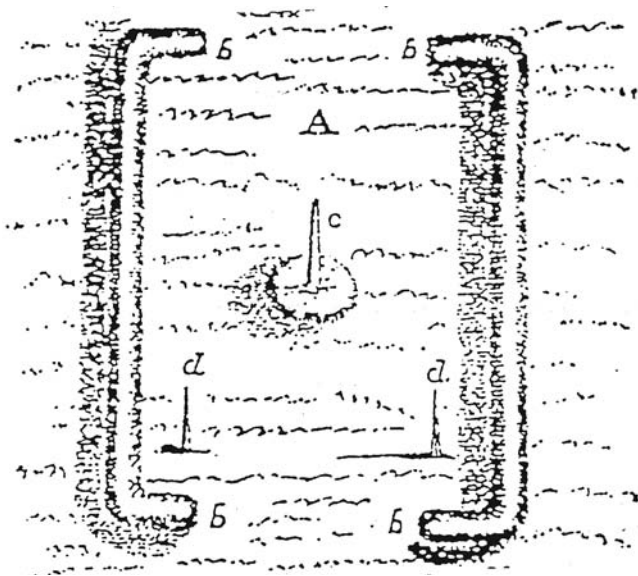


Figure 4. The Creek ballfield and sacred pole
(Bartram 1853:52)

the upperworld and underworld as expressed through the dichotomy of nature and culture.

The Chekilli myth states that the thundering mountain had a “restless and noisy” pole on top that could not be quieted. The pole was finally silenced by striking a motherless child against it, killing the infant (Swanton 1928a). The pole was then subdued by the Creek and carried by them when they went to war. Through the act of sacrificing a child the Creek gained control of this symbolic world tree and appropriated it for warfare. This act symbolizes the sacrifice of nature for culture in the Creek worldview as an uncultured, natural infant was given up for access to supernatural or cultural power.

Although each of these individual architectural structures is representative of an element of the cosmos, taken together they are a concretization of the Creek migration myth in physical form. The structure and arrangement of these individual architectural elements

follows the course of the Creek ethnogenesis, progressing from the unstructured underworld to the highly structured social positions of the public square. Analogies drawn from contemporary Creek and Yuchi rituals indicate that several dances followed this same progression by originating outside the public square, progressing to a mound, and then ending at the sacred fire (Ballard 1978). Through similar rituals the Creek were constantly reminded that their architectural and social landscapes were not separate from the order of the cosmos but were essential components of its order.

Creek chiefs were also aware of the power inherent in sacred social space, acting to promote their sociopolitical agendas through close association with these cosmological elements. An example is found in the sacred square where chiefs were intimately linked with the most sacred Creek ritual paraphernalia. These sacred items, kept in a small room to the rear of the *mico's* cabin, consisted of both items of a communal religious nature and emblems of chiefly authority (Bartram 1853:53). By maintaining these items in the *mico's* cabin the link between chiefly power and the sacred, supernatural power of the cosmos was established, helping to expand and consolidate elite hegemony. This position of power was recognized in the seating of the sacred square as all seating positions were structured in relation not only to the sacred fire but to the *mico* as well.

During the historic period the structure and arrangement of Creek towns was significantly altered as formerly nucleated villages began to disperse (Ashley 1988; Saunt 1999). As individuals removed themselves from the physical center of Creek towns and elites the nature of the elite relationship with the supernatural was altered as well. By the late eighteenth century the dispersal of Creek communities was widespread. The banks of major rivers and streams became dotted with households (Ashley 1988:107–108; Cotterill 1954:9; Saunt 1999; Swan 1855:262). This process of settlement dispersal would have undermined elite-centered sacred landscapes and impacted their efforts at maintaining hegemony over local sociopolitical matters, a point discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

Conclusions

Precontact social, political, and economic life among most southeastern groups was dominated by elite claims to power. Such claims were perpetuated through a series of ideological and material means as chiefly elites placed themselves in control of exchanges of high-status goods and within spatial settings that linked them with powerful supernatural forces. Continued manipulation of these key features allowed elites to entrench their power during the Mississippian period, culminating in a series of powerful chiefdoms that controlled large areas of the interior Southeast. It was these social formations that the first European explorers recorded, providing a hazy glimpse of many of these societies near the height of their political ascendancy.

Contrary to many prior claims, however, nonelites did not simply comply with elite wishes and accept this domination. In fact, much of the chiefly cycling discussed by Anderson (1990, 1994a, 1994b, 1996) and others is thought to have resulted from not only environmental or economic fluctuations but from fluctuations in elite abilities to satisfy the ideological and material desires of their supporters. When nonelites were denied access to the resources necessary to reproduce themselves socially at acceptable levels, resistance to elite power increased. Such resistance usually is not expressed through violent resistance, but is expressed in subversive acts that threaten the ideological position of elites and call their hegemony into question (DeBoer 1988; Morse 1980).

The analysis of historic Creek households reveals the presence of an increasing number of acts throughout the postcontact period that can be interpreted as resistance to elite domination (chapter 4). Such actions are argued to have challenged chiefly claims on authority and engendered many of the cultural changes experienced by the Creeks during the postcontact period. Although many of the acts of resistance were influenced by both direct and indirect interactions with Europeans, they were undertaken by indigenous social agents acting in concert with their own dynamic motivations. Thus, the major source of postcontact culture change was the Creeks them-

selves. Although Creek postcontact social, political, and economic relationships most certainly were altered by the introduction of European diseases, religious beliefs, and modes of exchange, the postcontact period also saw the crystallization of competing internal political and social factions as differing Creek social groups advanced conflicting sociopolitical ideologies. It is toward a discussion of the historical interaction between Creeks and Europeans that I now turn in an effort to identify the evidence of household-based resistance to elite strategies of social control and elite hegemony.

Creek-European Interactions

THE FORCES THAT BROUGHT Native Americans and Europeans into contact varied greatly throughout the postcontact period, ranging from treasure hunting expeditions and military incursions to trading parties and missionary proselytizing. Beginning with the exploration of the Southeast in the sixteenth century the colonial powers of Europe—and later a fledgling United States—vied for control of the people and resources of the region. Although each colonizer pursued distinct policies for interacting with the indigenous peoples of the region (these contacts also differed based on international intrigues, geographic peculiarities, and cultural practices), they all presented challenges to the political autonomy and territorial integrity of Native American societies. Throughout this period the traditional hegemony of indigenous elites was undermined while the roots of European hegemony were planted.

Several previous historical studies of this process of change present the actions of Europeans in almost complete isolation with little regard for the role of Native Americans in the contact process (e.g., Crane 1928; Cotterill 1954; Debo 1941; Diamond 1997; Mason 1963b; Morris 1999). However, as Rogers (1990), Waselkov (1993), and others (Ethridge 2003; Fitzhugh 1985; Hahn 2004; Kaplan 1985; Piker 2004) demonstrate, changes in Native American culture during the postcontact period do not represent merely the impacts of external influences on indigenous societies but the internal cultural processes of Native American groups expressed in the

forms of negotiation and practice. In sum, interactions with Europeans altered Native American societies of the Southeast in meaningful ways, but these changes were not controlled or directed exclusively by Europeans, nor did these changes always serve to advance European colonial agendas.

An overview of Creek-European interactions reveals a series of issues critical to the nature of these cross-cultural exchanges. Several works provide excellent summaries of Creek postcontact culture history (Braund 1993; Crane 1928; Debo 1941; Ethridge 2003; Hahn 2004; Martin 1991; Piker 2004; Saunt 1999; Wright 1986), and it is not my intention to rewrite that history here. Instead, I would like to identify those factors I believe are most significant to an analysis of Creek interactions with Europeans during each period of Creek-European interactions. This approach permits the development of diachronic comparisons of Creek culture that can then be assessed with archaeological data. My approach is based on the method advocated by Rogers (1990:78–79), who contends that “The factors considered most relevant for this history of interaction include an orientation towards the significance of trade and the trade goods themselves, and the relevance of attitudes and perspectives held by both parties in the contact environment.”

In this chapter I extend prior arguments concerning the exchange of trade goods between Native Americans and Europeans to an analysis of the ideological impact these newly introduced objects may have had on Creek households and preexisting sociopolitical organization. Based on the historical development of Creek-European relations I divide the postcontact period into three distinct temporal phases: initial contact, trade, and European hegemony. Examination of the specific features of these periods illustrates the dynamic nature of cross-cultural interactions and their concomitant impacts on Creek culture. I begin my analysis with a consideration of the late precontact Southeast to establish a baseline for comparisons with later temporal periods. The precontact Mississippian period has long been an area of archaeological interest in the Southeast.

Countless scholars have attempted to understand what is considered the most complex period of indigenous social organization in the Eastern woodlands. By describing the nature of local Mississippian societies prior to contact I believe it is possible to identify the factors related to sociopolitical complexity that were critical to the postcontact experience of Native American peoples. More specifically, by exploring the role of chiefly elites and the nature of social inequality during the Mississippian period it is possible to see changes in ideology and action that acted to reduce social heterogeneity and encourage the development and expression of competing ideologies during the postcontact period.

Before the Fall

Immediately prior to contact with Europeans, the Southeast was home to a number of hierarchically ranked societies that correspond to the traditional neoevolutionary typology of Service (1962) as chiefdoms (see Pauketat 2007 for a critique of this concept). As discussed previously, archaeological and ethnohistoric data indicate that these societies were geographically expansive polities; dominant towns controlled secondary villages and scattered homesteads (Smith 1978). The larger towns and their political elites are thought to have controlled the redistribution of surplus foodstuffs, high-status prestige goods, and nonlocal trade networks, and exacted tribute from secondary centers—acts that reinforced the prestige of these centers and their ruling elites (Clayton et al. 1993; Corkran 1967; Hally and Smith 1992; Hudson et al. 1985; Smith and Hally 1992:96; Swanton 1928a; c.f. Muller 1997). Southeastern chiefdoms are characterized by social ranking with ascribed status, hierarchical settlement systems, various levels of craft specialization, chiefly control of labor and resources, the presence of public architecture, and control over large military forces—all classic roles defined for chiefs in anthropological literature (Carniero 1981; Earle 1987; Flanagan 1989; Feinman and Neitzel 1984; Flannery 1968; Fried 1967; Johnson and Earle 1987; Peebles and Kus 1977; Sanders and Webster 1978; Service 1962:133–134; Upham 1990).

Scholars commonly divide southeastern chiefdoms into a typology of *simple* and *complex* (Steponaitis 1978). Blitz (1993) considers simple chiefdoms to be “small, autonomous political units with a single level of political decision making above the individual household, and institutionalized in the permanent office of chief.” Complex chiefdoms are viewed as consisting of “a paramount chief-tain who exacts tribute from subordinate chiefs located in scattered communities. Thus complex chiefdoms represent a larger, more centralized organization with at least two levels of decision-making hierarchy above the household level” (Blitz 1993:9). Although these distinctions may seem merely typological in nature, the identification of different scales of chiefdoms has important implications for analyses of postcontact southeastern sociopolitical life.

In addition to the forces that gave rise to southeastern paramountcies previously discussed, traditional views of hierarchical sociopolitical development also place considerable emphasis on the importance of a centralized political elite in the control and redistribution of foodstuffs (Wesson 1999). Early historic documents (Vega 1951:315–325) and archaeological data (Hatch 1976; Smith 1976, 1987; Welch 1991) support the contention that southeastern elites controlled access to extralocal prestige goods, with documentary evidence indicating that elites continued to control access to certain prestige goods as late as the nineteenth century (Bartram 1853; White 1983).

During the precontact Mississippian period, central Alabama—the Upper Creek heartland—was home to a series of polities, currently referred to as Shine, which spanned the period from AD 1250–1550 (Shine I AD 1250–1400, Shine II AD 1400–1550) (figure 5). Although little is presently known about these polities, Knight (1985:172–175) contends that they represented a simple chiefdom or a series of simple chiefdoms that exerted sociopolitical control over the Lower Tallapoosa River and central Alabama region. Although the Shine type-site, Jere Shine (1MT6), contained three small earthen mounds and one larger platform mound, most Shine sites were “one-mound towns” that served as seats of power for local political and religious

Tallapoosa Phase

1715 - 1830

Atasi Phase

1600 - 1715

Shine II Phase

1400 - 1600

Shine I Phase

1200 - 1400

Figure 5. Regional chronology for the Tallapoosa River valley

elites (Knight 1985:173). In addition, smaller hamlets and homesteads have recently been identified through further survey that are thought to have been linked to these somewhat larger communities (Cottier, personal communication 2002; Knight 1985:182-183, 1994a:380; Waselkov 1981). As with other Mississippian polities artifacts from the Shine site point to the presence of a prestige-goods economy based on the control of socially meaningful exotic trade items including metal, trade ceramics with classic Moundville characteristics, and shell artifacts (including a Spaghetti-style gorget) (Knight 1985, 1994a; Wesson 1998; Wesson et al. 2001).

Social power in Shine society, as with any number of similar polities in the Southeast, would have been highly defined with ascribed social status. Knight (1985:173) contends that Shine chiefs controlled “surplus food production, probably in the form of conscripted manual labor as a taxation contributing to public store-

houses of produce . . . [and] inter-societal traffic in certain luxury goods employed as symbols of rank and exclusion.” Although the precise nature of social and political inequalities during the Shine I and Shine II phases remains unexamined, at present there is no reason to believe that they were organized differently from other similar Mississippian polities throughout the region. Knight (1985:173) states that at least during the Shine II phase (AD 1400–1550) “domestic luxuries, or what we know of them, appear to have been restricted by social forces to items standardized as appropriate to certain status privileges or ritual occasions.” Analysis of burial data from the Shine site supports this contention (chapter 4; Wesson 1999; Wesson et al. 2001).

Despite two seasons of archaeological investigation (1998–1999), my research at the Jere Shine site (1MT6) revealed no architectural data related to Shine I or Shine II households. Although field notes from excavations at the Shine site by David Chase (1963–1964 and 1974–1975) indicate the presence of scattered posts, no identifiable structures were revealed during his investigations. Most of our knowledge of Shine comes from limited surveys and details provided by nonprofessional excavators. Differentiation between the Shine I and Shine II phases is currently accomplished primarily on the basis on ceramic analysis (Chase 1979; Wesson 1998). Shine I ceramics are stylistically similar to those of the Black Warrior River to the northwest while Shine II ceramics conform to typical Lamar types (Knight 1994b:187). These differences in ceramic types are thought to indicate an initial occupation (Shine I) by groups more closely allied to the Western Muskogean groups of western Alabama and eastern Mississippi, while the subsequent occupation (Shine II) appears to have been by Eastern Muskogean groups of eastern Alabama and west-central Georgia. Although at present only limited data are available to assess the nature of the ethnic and linguistic affiliations of Shine materials, it is highly probable that the Shine II phase occupation of the Lower Tallapoosa River Valley represents a proto-Creek presence in the region (Knight 1994b).

Although our current knowledge of Mississippian societies in the

research area is significantly limited, it is widely believed that these late precontact societies eventually served as major constituents of the Creek Confederacy (Ethridge 2003; Hahn 2004; Knight 1994a, 1994b; Waselkov 1989; Wesson 2002). Knight (1994b:186) proposes that the Shine II peoples of the Tallapoosa River Valley were Eastern Muskogean speakers and that they were directly ancestral to the postcontact Creeks of the Tallapoosa River drainage. An improved understanding of the precontact Shine peoples holds the potential to clarify many of the changes in social and political organization experienced by these peoples during and immediately after initial contacts with the first European explorers of the Southeast. Given the primary focus of present research, however, this very basic understanding of the nature of the Shine I and Shine II phases provides a background for general comparisons to be made with the social and political formations present in this area during the postcontact, protohistoric Atasi phase (AD 1550–1715).

First Contacts and the Era of Exploration

The first documented contact between the indigenous peoples of the interior Southeast and Europeans took place during the ill-fated expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez in 1528. This expedition proved to be a complete disaster for all involved; only two people survived out of an original landing party of 300 (Hoffman 1994:58). One of the survivors of this expedition, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, lived for eight years with the Indians of the Southeast, eventually making his way to Spanish-controlled territory in Mexico. After returning to Spain, Cabeza de Vaca wrote of his travails while a captive of several Native American groups in the region. Although his account provides an incomplete picture of the Southeast and its peoples, it did provide the first generation of southeastern explorers with basic cultural information. Hoffman (1994) contends that Vaca's experience may have encouraged some individuals to join the later expedition of Hernando de Soto. Although the Narváez expedition provided the first opportunity for indigenous southeastern groups to have dealings with Europeans it had few long-term effects on

these groups. It is of interest, however, to note that Vaca's account indicates that European material goods preceded the Narvaez expedition's presence in Florida. These items were controlled and displayed by local Native chiefs (Hoffman 1994:66).

Cabeza de Vaca's experiences did stimulate the popular imagination of many would-be explorers. The most notable of those enticed to the Southeast was Hernando de Soto, the Spanish governor of Cuba. No European figure looms more prominently in the early history of the Southeast than de Soto. His expedition (AD 1539–1543) provided the first detailed information about the inhabitants of the Southeast, and as Hudson (1980; cited in Smith 1987:11) states, "De Soto saw a Southeast never seen again." The Southeast that he saw was one divided into territorially expansive polities ruled by semidivine paramount chiefs. The chronicles of this expedition provide the only European eyewitness accounts of these societies as fully functioning sociopolitical formations (Clayton et al. 1993).

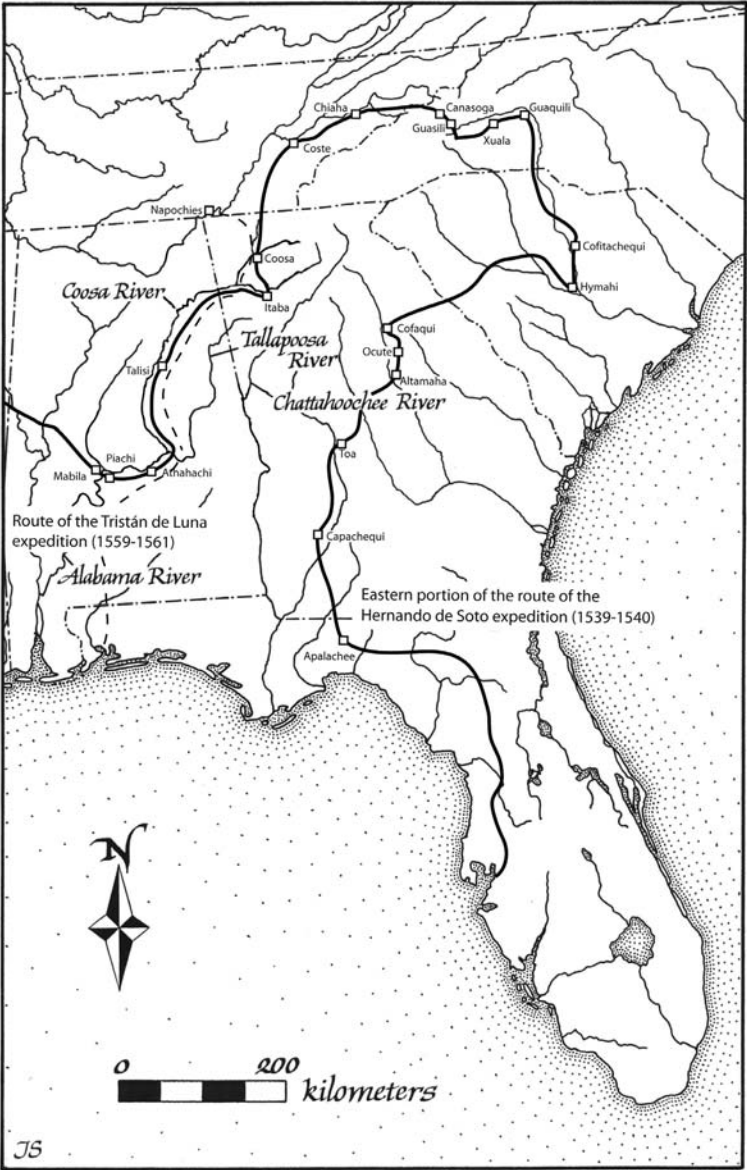
Many of the groups that would be recognized later as Creek experienced their first contacts with Europeans during de Soto's expedition. In their quest for riches members of the de Soto party brought not only trade items but death, destruction, and disease as they cut a path across the Southeast. Although these first face-to-face contacts were to have profound effects on indigenous societies, it was after de Soto and his entourage passed through the region that the long-term process of social and cultural change began in earnest. As research by Smith (1987, 1994) and others (DePratter 1991; Galloway 1995, 1998; Hally 1994; Hudson 1990; 1997; Hudson and Tesser 1994; Hudson et al. 1985; Knight 1994a) indicates, the period immediately after contacts with the first European explorers was one of great change for the peoples of the Southeast. Historical and archaeological evidence supports the view that during the period between AD 1540–1670 there was considerable abandonment of older settlements and a relocation of population to other regions (Knight 1994a, 1994b; Smith 1987, 1994).

Almost twenty years would pass after de Soto's expedition before

additional contacts would take place between Europeans and indigenous groups of the interior Southeast. In 1559 Tristan de Luna led a party that pushed into the interior of the Southeast in search of food and supplies. Remembering the great wealth described by veterans of the de Soto expedition at the town of Coosa, a party was dispatched there to secure food. Unlike the powerful town described in the de Soto chronicles, however, de Luna encountered a town with a much smaller population and a more limited central authority. Villages formerly subject to Coosa refused to continue paying tribute, and, in exchange for supplies, de Luna and his men fought with the Coosas to restore these villages to their former tributary relationships (Smith 1987, 2000). A reduction in the ability to mobilize tribute from lesser polities can be seen as either a direct impact of European contacts on southeastern elites or as a natural period in the developmental cycle of complex chiefdoms (see Anderson 1994a and King 2002). Although cycling is ever-present in chiefdoms most researchers see the reduction in the power of Coosa as symptomatic of the reduction in sociopolitical complexity brought about by the depopulation resulting from the spread of European diseases (Hudson et al. 1985; Ramenofsky 1987; Smith 1987, 1994, 2000).

The next major Spanish incursions into the interior Southeast were those of Juan Pardo (AD 1566, 1568) (map 4). Pardo's military expeditions set out from the Spanish settlement at Santa Elena (present-day Paris Island, South Carolina [South 1980]) on two occasions to gain more information on the geography of the interior Southeast, secure friendly relations with local Indian groups, and search for an overland route for Spanish silver to be brought from Zacatecas, Mexico to the Spanish colony at St. Augustine (Hudson 1990:3-5). Pardo's party retraced much of the route of the de Soto expedition; narratives of his journeys provided information on the location of many of the Native American settlements visited by this earlier expedition (DePratter et al. 1983; Hudson 1990:4; Smith 1987:13).

Although earlier parties were provisioned with trade items to ex-



Map 4. Routes of early southeastern explorers

change with local groups, Pardo's expeditions are considered important in the history of Native American and European relations because they were outfitted with larger quantities (and a wider variety) of trade items to be used to forge political alliances with interior groups (DePratter and Smith 1980; Hudson 1990; Smith 1987). Because of these goods the Pardo expeditions are thought to have had a greater material influence on the indigenous cultures of the Southeast than any of these early explorations. Several excavations have recovered material items traded by the Pardo expedition to Native Americans, and their locations reveal much concerning their distribution within and between Native American societies (DePratter 1991:23–53). The Pardo expeditions traded these items (primarily chisels, wedges, axes, cloth, and necklaces of glass beads) to head chiefs to secure political alliances with local groups (DePratter and Smith 1980). Not only did local chiefs receive these items, but others are said to have come great distances to secure these gifts as well (DePratter and Smith 1980:71). It is unclear as to whether these chiefs were summoned by local paramounts to receive these gifts or if they arrived on their own initiative, but these events do suggest that the prestige-goods economies which fueled the expansive Mississippian chiefdoms of the interior Southeast were still functioning, as was demonstrated by the redistribution of European items from principal chiefs to their subordinates.

Recovery of these items from archaeological contexts reveals that many were concentrated in the burials of high-status individuals, reinforcing the notion that these items were closely maintained as elite status markers and not allowed to circulate freely in society, again supporting the view that indigenous prestige-goods economies continued to be prevalent in the region (DePratter 1991; Blakely 1988). Archaeological evidence from the de Soto expedition supports this view as well, suggesting that the few European-produced items preceding their entry into the region were controlled by elites (Smith 1976:28). However, elite control of these goods did not require simply their hoarding for personal display but their redistribution to secondary elites and other alliance members. By redistribut-

ing a portion of these goods chiefs expressed their generosity, power, and prestige but also strengthened their relationship with villages under their control (see Godelier 1976:39–62, 1996, 1999). These redistributive mechanisms moved many of these items outside major centers, explaining their presence in the archaeological record at smaller communities that were not visited directly by early European expeditions (Polhemus 1982; Smith 1976, 1987).

Many of the paramount chiefdoms of the Southeast played host to the de Soto, de Luna, and Pardo expeditions as these groups gravitated toward powerful towns in search of provisions, riches, and alliances. Chronicles from these expeditions provide information on the nature of social power in the late prehistoric Southeast. Smith and Hally (1992:107) indicate that the de Soto party received traditional greetings reserved for paramount chiefs and their emissaries, including provisions of food, bearers, guides, water transportation, housing, and women. They contend that southeastern chiefs often toured their territories in an effort to retain control and as a method of collecting tribute. Thus, what has traditionally been interpreted as Native American efforts to pacify the Spanish intruders may actually have been nothing more than the standard treatment afforded a visiting paramount chief (Smith and Hally 1992:107). These historical descriptions improve our understanding of chiefly sociopolitical power by providing details on elements of their prerogatives that lack direct material correlates. Spanish documents also clearly demonstrate that paramount chiefs controlled communal resources and were capable of appropriating them when necessary (Clayton, et al. 1993). Later ethnohistoric accounts provide us with descriptions of chiefly power that appear to be much more limited.

By targeting powerful towns for exploration during this initial phase of contact the effects of initial interactions with Europeans were felt disproportionately by these centers and their paramount elites. European explorers often decimated local food supplies by requiring local groups to provide them with provisions, killed or imprisoned elites to secure their safe passage through their territories, sacked and pillaged elite stores of prestige goods and religious

icons, and waged pitched battles against local groups (Clayton et al. 1993; Hudson 1997). Such contacts not only fostered material and ideological changes in Native American societies, but had considerable demographic impacts as well.

Early contacts with Europeans in the Southeast introduced new diseases into local populations—diseases for which Native Americans lacked natural immunities. The introduction of smallpox, influenza, measles, and other pathogens into Native American communities was to be the first lasting consequence of interactions with Europeans. The estimated impacts of these diseases vary; several scholars estimate that these newly introduced diseases reduced indigenous populations by as much as 80–90 percent (Dobyns 1983; Ramenofsky 1987; Smith 1987, 1994). As with other cultural impacts the initial effects of European-introduced diseases would have first touched elite centers since this is where most early contacts took place. Communities spared direct contact with this first wave of European explorers would have avoided the initial depopulation associated with these diseases, but these pathogens eventually spread into areas that never experienced direct contacts with Europeans, resulting in a second wave of depopulation in the region (Dobyns 1983). A community need not have experienced first-hand contact with Europeans to have suffered the effects.

Several authors have addressed the transition from prehistory to the early historic period in the Southeast (DePratter 1991; Dobyns 1983; Dunnell 1990; Milner 1980; Ramenofsky 1987; Smith 1987). Most suggest that the reduction in indigenous population was so severe as to make comparisons with their prehistoric antecedents difficult or impossible. The picture presented in these works is that of societies so reduced in population that they were no longer able to maintain existing sociopolitical organizations and reverted to less complex social organizations. The powers of chiefly elites are thought to have contracted markedly during this period. The first major indigenous culture changes brought about by interactions with Europeans are thought to have been depopulation on a regional level and the concomitant loss of sociopolitical complexity.

Smith (1987) sees depopulation in the Southeast as effectively ending chiefdoms in the region. The loss of life due to introduced diseases is argued to have terminated elite control of craft production, the construction of mounds and fortifications, and hierarchical settlement systems (DePratter 1983, 1991; Knight 1985, 1994a, 1994b; Smith 1987:144–155). As Smith (1987:145) states, “Most traits that were suggested to correspond to a chiefdom type of organization can be shown to have disappeared by about the beginning of the seventeenth century—certainly no later than the first third of the century.” Declines in most of these areas of chiefly power can be demonstrated archaeologically, but I contend that the definitions of “chiefs” and “chiefdoms” used by Smith (1987, 1994) and others are biased toward the larger and more centralized *complex chiefdoms* rather than the more common *simple chiefdoms*. Furthermore, as King (2002a, 2003b) suggests, such characteristics are primarily representative of network-leadership strategies, while corporate-leadership stratagems leave less clear-cut evidence for sociopolitical complexity. Because of these differences in the archaeological signatures of complex societies it is certainly possible that postcontact chiefdoms were present among the Creeks and other groups well into the eighteenth century (King 2002a, 2002b).

These differences may appear semantic, but if the late postcontact Southeast was still home to complex, hierarchically ordered societies many of our assumptions concerning the impact of European contacts on Native American societies would need to be reexamined. There is good archaeological and ethnohistoric evidence that there remained “fewer positions of status than individuals capable of handling them” (Fried 1967:109–110), a “permanent central agency of coordination” (Service 1962:134), and a “pervasive inequality of persons and groups in society” (Service 1962:145), in the postcontact Southeast. Chiefs still maintained their roles as redistributive officials and demonstrated asymmetrical access to trade goods, social labor, political power, and the basic means of production. Although social heterogeneity was markedly reduced from precontact levels, social groups continued to be ranked

socially in relation to the chiefly lineage. The continuity of chiefly roles and social differentiation are supported in archaeological research (Knight 1985:16–35; Wesson 1999) and ethnohistoric documents from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Adair 1968:285; Bartram 1853; White 1983:39–47). In addition, the chiefly role as redistributive official over surplus foodstuffs appears to have continued unabated well into the nineteenth century. Bartram (1955:401 [1791]) states that:

There is a large crib or granary, erected in the plantation, which is called the king's crib; and to this each family carries and deposits a certain quantity, according to his ability or inclination, or none at all if he or she chooses; this in appearance seems a tribute or revenue to the mico; but in fact is designed for another purpose, i.e. that of a public treasury, supplied by a few and voluntary contributions, and to which every citizen has the right of free and equal access, when his own private stores are consumed; to serve as a surplus to fly for succour [sic]; to assist neighboring towns, whose crops may have failed; accommodate strangers, or travellers [sic], afford provisions or supplies, when they go forth on hostile expeditions; and for all other exigencies of the state; and this is at the disposal of the king or mico; which is surely a royal attribute, to have an exclusive right and ability in a community to distribute comfort and blessings to the necessitous.

Such descriptions suggest that chiefs could no longer compel contributions to communal stores as they had during the precontact era but they do indicate that chiefly managerial functions over surpluses remained intact. As Bourdieu (1977:195) contends, “Their chief is indeed, as in Malinowski’s phrase, a ‘tribal banker’, amassing food only to lavish it upon others, in order to build up a capital of obligations and debts which will be repaid in the form of homage, respect, loyalty, and, when the opportunity arises, work and services, which may be the bases of a new accumulation of material goods.” Such chiefly abilities transcended the contact period

and are present in both archaeological and ethnohistoric contexts as late as the early nineteenth century.

The principal chiefly ability lacking during the postcontact period was elite control of large territories and multiple settlements within a well-defined settlement hierarchy. However, rather than representing a loss of chiefly power and authority such alterations may also be interpreted as the effect of large-scale immigration into Creek communities as a result of perturbations brought about by European contacts (Ethridge 2003). It is suggested that the Chatahoochee River Valley experienced a 90 percent decline in settlement between the late precontact Stewart phase (AD 1475–1625) and the postcontact, protohistoric Blackmon phase (AD 1625–1715), with a concomitant reduction in settlement size and regional settlement complexity (Knight 1994a; Smith 1989). Much of this decline is thought to be due to massive population movements during the postcontact period rather than disease. Despite these population declines some sites, such as the Creek village of Tukabatchee, appear to have expanded dramatically following initial contact with Europeans in the region. Knight (1994a) suggests that these population increases were related to the coalescence of remnant groups (Knight 1994a). As Smith (1994:264) argues, “the most common response to severe depopulation brought about by European disease epidemics, warfare, and famine was to flee the area.”

The Tallapoosa River Valley was spared the impacts of direct contact with Europeans during the initial contact period, but that does not mean that they did not feel the effects. Our present knowledge of late-precontact-period (Shine II phase) and early-postcontact-period (Atasi phase) settlement is imperfect; we have little specific information on the impacts of European-introduced diseases and other disruptions on local populations (Knight 1985:16; Waselkov 1981). During the later postcontact period (the protohistoric Tallapoosa phase) a well-defined hierarchical settlement pattern was present although these settlements appear to have remained politically autonomous (Knight 1985; Waselkov 1981). Knight (1994a, 1994b) suggests that the primary political centers in the Tallapoosa

River Valley during the precontact Mississippian period served as population magnets during the initial postcontact period, providing the basis for the development of the Creek Confederacy.

An additional factor proposed to be indicative of the termination of sociopolitical complexity in the Southeast is the elite control of high-status prestige goods (Smith 1987, 1994). As Smith (1994:271) contends, “Such markers as embossed native copper and spatulate stone celts disappear by the first third of the seventeenth century, suggesting that the loss of these artifacts signaled the demise of the aboriginal status categories.” Smith (1987, 1994) presents an excellent summary of the archaeological data related to declines in prestige goods during the seventeenth century. However, Rogers (1990) and Knight (1985) provide ample evidence that indigenously produced prestige goods were quickly replaced in local prestige-goods economies by European trade. Such items initially served as supplements to preexisting prestige-goods systems, but ethnographic and archaeological studies indicate that in many colonial settings European goods eventually became the focus of indigenous prestige-goods economies (see Ekholm 1972; Peregrine 1992). Helms (1979, 1988, 1992) argues that goods traded from great distances become central elements of elite-centered ideologies and prestige-goods systems. European goods would certainly have met this criterion, and since metal was highly prized by elites (forming a central component of the precontact southeastern prestige-goods networks), the substitution of European metalwork for indigenous counterparts would have been acceptable as powerful materializations of elite ideologies and sociopolitical hegemony.

Knight (1985:174) proposes that the introduction of such items by Europeans would have resulted in a reconsideration of their sacred qualities. He states that the “abrupt influence of any amount of metal into an exclusionary prestige goods economy—some of it via random nonaristocratic channels—could only have had the historical effect of eroding native preconceptions regarding the currency’s sanctity. The chieftainship, like the previously rare currency

upon which conveyed its legitimacy, would face the threat of devaluation.” With an increase in the volume of prestige goods circulating in southeastern societies it would have been increasingly difficult for chiefs to secure social and political alliances as ever-increasing numbers of material goods were needed to finance their sociopolitical agendas. There is evidence that elites continued to maintain control over the vast majority of these items flowing through the Southeast, but ever-increasing numbers would have fallen into the hands of nonelites and fostered competition for supporters, which would have posed significant threats to existing social hierarchies (Wesson 1999). However, as Knight (1985:174) contends, an increase in the availability of these goods may not have diminished their social value as prestige goods but may have compromised their symbolic, religious associations.

Although our knowledge of the immediate impacts of exploration on the peoples of the Tallapoosa River Valley is limited, there is significant archaeological information concerning the nature of the cultures occupying this region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Atasi phase (AD 1600–1715) encompasses this period in the lower Tallapoosa, and excavations at several major sites in this region provide significant data concerning the nature of society and local households (Cottier 1997; Knight 1985; Sheldon 1997; Sheldon et al. 2001; Waselkov 1985, 1997a, 1997b; Wesson 1997). As was previously suggested, the majority of peoples living in this region are thought to have spoken related Eastern Muskogean languages. These peoples formed the basis for the development of the Creek Confederacy and provided much of the available information on the development of postcontact Creek culture (Knight 1994a, 1994b). My analysis of archaeological materials from Atasi phase sites in the lower Tallapoosa River Valley provides comparative data for later Tallapoosa phase sociopolitical relations and the nature of Creek households (see chapter 4). Using data from these sites the impacts of initial European contacts are evaluated as they related to indigenous social and political power as well as to the nature of postcontact prestige-goods systems.

Trade

Following initial exploration of the Southeast a period of colonization began as a series of settlements, missions, and garrisons were constructed across coastal Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina (Braund 1993:4–5). The construction of such settlements represented novel challenges to the indigenous peoples of the region as a new chapter in their relationship with Europeans unfolded. For the next two centuries following initial European forays into the region there was comparatively little direct contact between Europeans and Native Americans of the interior Southeast. Instead, coastal cultures experienced the most profound impacts of contacts during this period. European settlements encroached on these coastal groups through the appropriation of their lands and resources (Milanich 1978, 1995, 2000; Milanich and Proctor 1994). These groups were also confronted with the forced reorganization of their social, political, and religious life by the Spanish mission system and new settlements (Deagan 1978, 1988; Ethridge 2003; Milanich 1995:99–231; Saunders 2001; Stojanowski 2005).

Groups located within the interior of the region were insulated from these constant forces of change, using their considerable distance from European settlements and their numerical advantages to avoid additional social disruptions. This does not mean that these groups were not changing due to the European influences, however, as they were confronted with the introduction of new material goods and an ever-changing social and political landscape. Despite a lack of face-to-face interactions European goods continued to enter Native American societies. These items consisted largely of glass beads, brass bells, hoes, axes, and various other iron tools, all of which have been recovered by archaeologists from domestic contexts in the Tallapoosa River Valley (Chase 1979; Cottier 1997; Knight 1985; Sheldon 1997; Waselkov 1988, 1989:137; Wesson 1997). With regular trade between Native Americans and Europeans in the interior Southeast still decades away, the mechanisms which brought these material items into indigenous contexts are important considerations.

Knight (1985:17–19) proposes four means through which these goods came to be possessed by Indians of the interior: down-the-line exchanges between Native American groups, travel by interior groups to coastal European settlements, the presentation of these goods to interior peoples by Europeans in order to secure alliances, and the out-right pillaging of European settlements. As Knight (1985:19) states, “The cumulative effect of all of these kinds of events . . . was to introduce a perhaps not unsubstantial amount of European material culture into the interior Southeast during the early and middle years of the seventeenth century. Those interior groups which perhaps had greatest access to such goods were those in closest proximity to the Spanish settlements, and those powerful enough, or armed well enough, to threaten the security of the mission chain. Such definitely included the inhabitants of the lower Tallapoosa Valley.” Although each of these mechanisms implies dramatically different (and sociopolitically significant) means of exchange, at present, archaeological research cannot easily identify the specific means through which European goods entered Native American communities during this period. We can, however, distinguish their presence in the archaeological record and potentially recognize socially meaningful patterns in their use and distribution in the archaeological record.

Archaeological evidence suggests a wider distribution of European goods in postcontact seventeenth-century Creek contexts, with burial assemblages from Fusihatchee and other sites demonstrating an increased abundance of European goods and a widened dispersal among members of the community (chapter 4). With the introduction of these goods into Creek society in increasing numbers there is evidence that many of these trade goods avoided elite control. Atasi phase households excavated at Tukabatchee and Fusihatchee contain a wide variety of European goods, and almost all of these items were used for personal adornment (Knight 1985:175; Wesson 1993). Knight (1985:179) contends that this is the first evidence of a domestic interest in European goods: “there is no hint that this interest has anything to do with the exclusive domain of

nobility and its own prestige goods economy of politico-religious legitimacy. On the contrary: this quantum increase in the traffic in luxuries resides within the common domestic economy, and its display within the small-scale sphere of inter-community relations.” Thus, the accumulation of these early European goods was not necessarily a direct threat to traditional elite prestige-goods economies or the nature of their power but demonstrated an individual’s connection to the nonlocal. Such connections were made the more emphatic through the display of European goods, and those who possessed them in large numbers were socially enhanced vis-à-vis other nonelites.

Near the end of the Atasi phase, several changes occurred in the nature of Creek and European exchanges that were to greatly influence Creek culture change. With the establishment of more formal mechanisms of exchange and the development of the deerskin trade, new European material goods were introduced into Creek society, and the volume of these goods circulating among the Creek increased dramatically. These factors altered not only the numbers and types of European goods entering Creek society but eventually the nature of Creek social and political power as well.

The British founded the Carolina colony in 1670; the center of colonial life was the newly founded Charles Towne. The establishment of this colony effectively extended the British empire into the Southeast, challenging Spanish claims to the region. This touched off a series of international intrigues between the British and Spanish but had even more dramatic impacts on the aboriginal inhabitants of this region. Colonial Charles Towne began to engage in trade with Native Americans early in its development, and it was this trade that was to make the Carolina Colony one of the wealthiest of the British colonies. By 1685 Carolinian traders were venturing into the interior of the Southeast in search of trading relationships, finding willing partners in the Creek of the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers (Crane 1928:339–342; Cotterill 1954:16–21). This trade did not reach the Creek of the Tallapoosa and Coosa rivers until the 1690s when Carolina traders expanded their networks farther west (Crane 1928:339–342).

During this period the French also extended their colonial interests into the interior Southeast. With the founding of the Louisiana colony in 1699 the French established a western source of influence for the Native Americans of the region. Like their British counterparts, the French began to cultivate trading relations with Native Americans, eventually becoming the major competition to British interests in the region. Although the primary sources of French deerskins were the Native American groups of Mississippi, Louisiana, and southwestern Alabama, the French trade did extend into the Tallapoosa River area. With the founding of Mobile in 1702 the French became a major competitor with the British for the Creek trade, and with the construction of Fort Toulouse at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers in 1717 they staked a major claim to the central Alabama region (Waselkov 1984:3; Waselkov et al. 1982:44–47). To counter French expansion into the area the British founded a small outpost—Fort Okfuskee—on the Tallapoosa River in 1738 (Piker 2004; Wood 1984).

The mid-eighteenth century saw expanded competition between the British and French for the control of the deerskin trade; the British finally emerged as the major trading partner for the Creek. The British gained advantage in their trade with the Creeks by stationing traders in larger Creek communities, regulating rates of exchange (by acts of the Georgia legislature), and offering higher rates of exchange (Cotterill 1954; Crane 1928). The deerskin trade was also used effectively by the British as a means of forming alliances with the Creek, and this close relationship allowed the British to successfully counter French, Spanish, and eventually, colonial United States interests in the region. Both French and British colonial policies attempted to secure the support of the Creek, and large numbers of goods were given to chiefs who were thought to be loyal to their colonial interests (White 1983). These gifts consisted of both functional goods like those exchanged in the deerskin trade as well as special medals and other items given to major chiefs as signs of loyalty. Such gifts would have reinforced elite power within Creek society, which other colonial policies tended to undermine.

Although individual Creeks were able to keep the items they traded for without elite interference or confiscation, elites did maintain some general control over the deerskin trade. As with other southeastern groups, Creek chiefs continued to act as the conduits of exotic trade goods well into the historic period. As Swanton (1918:56–57) discusses, for the Choctaw elites negotiated trading terms and the exchange value of goods with traders before allowing others to participate in trade. As the historic period developed much of the elite power to control such trade began to be challenged, not from the outside but from within Creek culture as individuals ventured outside the local community and elite controls in order to participate in direct trade with Europeans. Such actions challenged traditional elite power and resulted in the widespread adoption of household-based trading practices (Piker 2004; Saunt 1999).

An additional area of elite control over the deerskin trade was their power over the use of firearms. Adair (1968:285) indicates that firearms were controlled by elites as late as the 1770s; those who secured skins or meat with the use of a chief's gun were required to pay tribute to the chief in the form of meat and a portion of the goods for which the skins were traded. This system appears to have lasted far longer for the Choctaw than for other southeastern groups. The Creek were provided with many more British firearms than other southeastern groups in an effort to dominate the regional deerskin trade and engage in slave raids on more poorly armed neighboring groups. Firearms were not common in Native American communities prior to the advent of the deerskin trade, but guns quickly became one of the most prized goods garnered through trade with the French or British. By arming their trading partners the British simultaneously neutralized Spanish influence in the region, and their missions became fertile grounds for slave raids and other aggressive maneuvers (Ethridge 2003; Ethridge and Hudson 2002; Hudson 1976:436).

As with the initial demographic changes brought about by the interactions with Europeans the deerskin trade was to have a tremendous impact on Creek culture through both the goods and ide-

ologies it brought into local communities and the removal of Creek men from their households for as much as six months at a time. The deerskin trade has received a tremendous amount of research because of its importance to the economy of South Carolina and Georgia, its place in the historical development of the Southeast, and the changes it fostered in southeastern societies (Braund 1993; Crane 1928; Ethridge 2003; Lapham 2005; Martin 1991; Saunt 1999; Wright 1986). This trade was to play an important role in the daily life of the historic Creek. Knight (1985:22) states, "It has been the overwhelming sentiment of modern scholarship that the deerskin trade rapidly created a thorough dependence of the Indian to the material culture of the European. It would be wrong to dispute this unelaborated proposition. . . . But the precise nature of this economic 'dependence' has been seldom probed more than superficially."

These events all occurred during the waning days of the protohistoric Atasi phase (AD 1600–1715) and the early Tallapoosa phase (AD 1715–1750), time periods for which we have a much larger corpus of archaeological material. Knight's (1985:177–178) view of this expansion of trade during the Tallapoosa phase is expressed as a continuation of the ostentatious display present in the previous Atasi phase. He states, "items like iron hoes and axes, which we might tend to think of as technological necessities, . . . were still at this point primarily luxury goods. They merely substituted objects of native manufacture, and there is no evidence that the basic mode of production of necessities was significantly altered by this substitution during the early Tallapoosa Phase. Thus, we cannot invoke these 'technological' artifacts as evidence of an emerging dependence on European goods." Instead, actions during the early Tallapoosa phase can be seen as an increased desire of individuals and households to improve their social status through access to European goods. However, far from being used as nonelite social symbols during the Atasi phase, these goods were often used to improve the social status of lineages and households through competitive exchanges and hoarding. By demonstrating their abil-

ity to secure large quantities of these goods through exchange with Euro-Americans, nonelites openly challenged elite authority, eventually circumventing traditional mechanisms for the control of such exchanges entirely.

Knight (1985:179) claims that during the early eighteenth century knowledge of affairs outside the local community became accessible to many members of society, eroding an additional source of traditional elite power (see also Helms 1979, 1988). Claims to social power now became tied to an individual's ability to secure both material goods and knowledge from nonlocal sources, causing many Creeks to marry Europeans and some even to send their children to Europe to be educated. As Knight (1985:179) summarizes, "Political leadership, now as much personally achieved as ascribed, rested to a large degree upon the relative aptitude of chiefs as information brokers. The effective specialist in government became that individual most thoroughly schooled in both internal and external affairs, capable of providing guidance and security in topics related to both the world of the Indian and that of the European. Thus the emergence, during the eighteenth century of the merchant-chief and the mixed-breed chief among the Creeks." Such processes of change are thought to have material correlates that can be assessed archaeologically, and these views are examined in detail later in this work.

The effects of the deerskin trade dramatically impacted the Creek, but other than the sweeping statements concerning Creek culture change provided in ethnohistoric summaries and historical documents, its direct impact on Creek households and daily life remain largely unexamined. Research by Knight (1985) recovered architectural evidence of one Tallapoosa phase structure along with several refuse and storage pits, and his analysis represents the most detailed knowledge of these processes prior to major archaeological research addressing Creek sites in central Alabama beginning in the late 1980s. In the chapters that follow I present data from more extensive archaeological investigations of Creek households that expand our knowledge of Creek cultural changes during this period.

Euro-American Hegemony

Following the development and entrenchment of the deerskin trade Creek social institutions and autonomy were threatened repeatedly due to their asymmetrical relationship with their European trading partners. Although during the initial phases of the deerskin trade the European colonists were more dependent upon these exchanges than the Creeks (Crane 1928), as the course of this relationship developed, this situation became somewhat inverted. The Creeks became such willing partners in these exchanges that when the British perceived the Creek resistance to colonial policy, “the threat of an embargo could be used to control them” (Smith 1974:74). To secure the goods they desired, the Creeks employed a strategy of playing one European power against another, alternating alliances for their own economic and strategic benefit. With the Treaty of Paris (1763) effectively removing Spain and France from the Southeast the British became the only major source of trade goods for the Creeks, and the terms of trade were increasingly set in favor of the British.

With the advent of the American Revolution the Creek carried favor with both the Americans and British by pursuing trade with both groups. Threatened with an embargo of trade by the British if they continued to support the Americans, a majority of Creeks supported Britain during the Revolution—a decision that would cost them dearly in the decades to come. During the war years Georgia and South Carolina ceased trading with the Creek because of their support of the British, thereby reducing the goods circulating in Creek society (Wright 1986:45). Following the war the deerskin trade was further reduced as American eyes turned toward land instead of skins (Braund 1986:220). With the Americans being their only surviving trading partners Creek trade was to take a decided turn as the terms of trade shifted against them (Green 1979; Braund 1986, 1993).

In their exchanges with Americans the Creeks began to increasingly rely on credit for their trade goods, often at terms that could not be repaid. Additionally, with the devastating impacts of almost a century of the deerskin trade on southeastern deer populations,

Creek men were often removed from their households for long periods of time, ranging up to two hundred miles away from their homes and families in a quest to garner the skins needed to settle their accounts with local traders (Cotterill 1954; Mason 1963b; Waselkov 1993). With the balance of trade decidedly in the Americans' favor, the Creek were forced to cede large segments of their lands to settle their trade accounts (Braund 1986; Green 1982; Parades and Plante 1975). These efforts pacified the United States and Georgia governments for a while, but the desire for additional lands in Alabama and Georgia were continual issues in relations between the Creeks and Americans.

It was at this critical juncture that the U.S. representative to the Indians of the Southeast, Benjamin Hawkins, embarked upon a policy that he thought held the greatest possibility of keeping the Creek in place. His policy was to steer Native Americans away from commercial hunting and toward farming for their survival. Hawkins attempted to convert the Creek to European concepts of private property and land tenure and embark upon the development of large agricultural endeavors based on the European nuclear family as part of a larger plan to acculturate the Creeks to the European way of life (Martin 1991; Wright 1986). The attempt to convert the Creek to yeoman farming was also a veiled effort at securing extra lands for the ever-expanding United States. Martin (1991:94–95) states that, “Ideologically, it is clear that the aims and intents of the plan of civilization put into practice the expansionist policies officially promulgated by high government officials, including George Washington, Henry Knox, and Thomas Jefferson.” As Cotterill (1954:124) indicates, Hawkins supported these efforts because they would “recreate the Creeks in the American pattern, but would also, by instilling order, promoting peace, and increasing agriculture, enable Creeks to maintain themselves on a more restricted domain and thus have surplus acres for cession to a benign and fostering American government.”

Hawkins introduced modern agricultural practices to the Creek including large-scale animal husbandry and plow agriculture. Al-

though he desired to change most aspects of household life by instituting greater self-sufficiency in subsistence practices, he primarily wanted to steer Creek men toward agriculture. Traditionally, Creek women were the agriculturists, and this was one change in cultural practice that the Creek steadfastly resisted (Pound 1951). Creek men did, however, readily adopt animal husbandry as a replacement for the deerskin trade as cattle were raised for trade with their traditional American trading partners (Knight 1985:181). Hawkins's attempts at altering the domestic economy of the Creek did find an audience, and many Creeks moved away from nucleated villages to farm their own lands and raise cattle. These efforts divided Creek society between those who wanted to adopt the American plan of civilization and those who wanted to conform to more traditional cultural practices (Martin 1991; Saunt 1999; Wright 1986).

The internal division between progressive and traditional factions coupled with an influx of American settlers in Creek territory led to a series of confrontations between the Creek and these settlers, and among the Creek themselves. These divisions would ultimately surface in the Creek Civil War of 1813. Inspired by the Shawnee prophet, a nativistic backlash erupted against whites occupying their lands and against Creeks thought to have adopted the white man's ways. This conflict is thought to have largely sprung from Creek frustrations over the increasing American control over their affairs and the forced imposition of nontraditional cultural practices and ideologies (Martin 1991; Wright 1986). The Creek War would reach a tragic end as U.S. troops under the command of Andrew Jackson routed over one thousand "traditional" Creeks at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend (Coley 1952; Cotterill 1954:186–188; Hawkins 1980). Jackson followed up his victory at Horseshoe Bend with a strike against Creek towns thought to be disloyal to the United States (including Fusihatchee, the archaeological site providing much of the primary data for this work). Although many more Creek were loyal to the United States than those who rebelled, the Creeks were forced to cede large areas of Alabama and Georgia as terms of the peace treaty with the United States government.

Following the First Creek War, Creek lifeways were significantly altered. Rather than await their ultimate fates at the hands of the Americans many Creek fled to Florida and joined up with the Seminole, effectively tripling their population during this period (Swanton 1946:181). Over the next twenty years the Creek endured continuing encroachments on their territory as the states of Georgia and Alabama pressed them for additional lands. In 1832 the Creek were forced to sign a treaty that ended their control of lands in Alabama. This treaty reorganized lands that were formerly held collectively by the tribe into smaller segments. Headmen were given one section of land, and every family received a half section (Young 1961:38–39).

These land divisions were considered fraudulent; most were designed to make money for land speculators and cheat the Creek out of both lands and money (Green 1979; Young 1955, 1961). Although these land divisions were ultimately intended to force the Creek west by limiting their lands, many Creeks refused to leave Alabama. Eventually, most of the Creek remaining in Alabama were forced west on the Trail of Tears, and those that remained were forced into marginal areas. Although tremendous changes had taken place in Creek culture throughout the historic period, after relocating to Oklahoma the Creek continued many previous cultural practices including the reformation of earlier communities from Alabama and Georgia.

During this period the Creek faced numerous challenges to traditional culture and elite ideologies. With the imposition of increasing European control over Creek affairs the Creek were forced to adopt cultural practices that were more similar to those of colonial Americans than those of their ancestors. Even within this period of tremendous cultural upheaval much of the Creek political economy remained intact. Knight (1985:181) states that, “The economy of domestic luxuries, relatively unchanged in its social marking function since the early seventeenth century, continued in strength throughout this period.” New material goods are thought to have replaced glass beads and iron hoes by the late Tallapoosa phase

(AD 1750–1836). European tableware, clothing, silver, and African slaves became primary means of social ranking (Knight 1985:183–185). These and other material goods provided a means of establishing and reinforcing social status for those who could gain and control them, making social organization increasingly more *achieved* than *ascribed*.

Knight (1985:185) contends that this period saw increased elite power and stability in social leadership, but the challenge to elite authority through the factionalization of Creek society calls such a view into question. Although American efforts to prop up elites—and thereby control Creek affairs through political proxies—dated to at least the civilization plan of Hawkins and was financed through direct cash payments to Creek chiefs on numerous occasions, these efforts appear to have been another vestige of European hegemony rather than a continuation of traditional elite social authority. In fact, Hawkins considered one of the greatest successes of his program to be the strengthening of Creek chiefs, “With the typical American inability to tolerate nonconformity, he had strengthened the authority of the town chief, systematized the sessions and procedure of the national council, and converted the head chief into a ‘Speaker’ of the council” (Cotterill 1954:124).

After removal to Oklahoma it was the Creek town (*talwa*) that was to be the focus of Creek tribal government rather than the institutional position of chief. Eventually community-based decision making developed into a constitutional form of government. Such a development was actively encouraged by the United States, but internal factors made the Creek well suited for such a political formation. As Champagne (1992:30–31) states, “The nonhierarchical leadership, decision making by consensus and negotiation, non-coercive powers of leadership, and the accountability of leadership are elements of political culture that embody democratic principles that may have facilitated adoption of constitutional democratic forms of government among the Creek.”

Before the removal of the Creek from the Southeast the development of greater individual and household reliance continued.

Particularly after the allotment of tribal lands to individual families Creek households became increasingly important elements of Creek social life and subsistence activities. Most previous scholars have viewed this process of change as simple acculturation, with Europeans serving as donor cultures and the Creek as the recipients (Cotterill 1954; Crane 1928; Mason 1963b). Brown (1979a, 1979b) argues that such views are overly simplistic since Native American cultures often used the material goods they received from Europeans in unique ways. These novel uses of European material items and knowledge produced Creek cultural practices that did not simply follow European precedents but stemmed from traditional Creek worldviews.

There is no doubt that Creek culture underwent a series of changes during the period from the Creeks' first contacts with Europeans until their removal from the Southeast to Oklahoma. Much of our present knowledge of these changes comes from the analysis of historical documents and the few sites dating to this period that have been excavated to date. Although a picture of Creek sociopolitical life and household organization emerges from these works, it is an extremely limited view that proceeds from the community to the household without assessing the changes in ideology and practice within the household that shaped much of Creek culture during the historic period. In the chapters that follow, I attempt to transcend these views by using the Creek household as the primary unit of analysis through which to examine these changes.

Changing Creek Households

GIVEN THE CONSIDERABLE variation in the relationships between Native Americans and Europeans previously examined, each interaction provides a unique opportunity for archaeological research (Cotterill 1954; Crane 1928; Knight 1985, 1994a, 1994b; Mason 1963b; Smith 1987, 1994; Swanton 1928a, 1928c, 1985; Waselkov 1993; Waselkov and Cottier 1985; Waselkov et al. 1982; Wesson and Rees, eds. 2002). Most archaeological attempts to address the results of such contacts have been primarily materialistic in scope, stressing alterations in toolkits and the increasing presence of Euro-American goods in Native American contexts without assessing the larger cultural, social, or political implications these goods represented (e.g., Crane 1928; Diamond 1997; Mason 1963b; Morris 1999). This focus is somewhat understandable given the limitations of the archaeological record and the prevailing anthropological views when many of these prior studies were undertaken, but many of these studies fail to recognize that these remains are representative of past *social* realities.

More recent studies of colonial contact situations transcend a mere consideration of material items to address the social consequences of their exchange, use, and disposal (Cusick 1998). Archaeology holds the potential to address the social impacts of cross-cultural interactions on indigenous cultures and sociopolitics by examining specific contextual relationships and the potential social meanings of cross-cultural exchanges. Rogers (1990:100) illustrates the

efficacy of this approach by stressing the contextual and ideological relationships represented by trade goods. He states, “One of the most important factors to be considered in the analysis of any archaeological assemblage is the role of context, and how changes in artifact distributions are related to social, cultural, behavioral, or historical processes. If meaning, in a general sense, is at least partially context specific . . . then analytical procedures should include a very careful consideration of context when making general comparisons.”

If we are to tease out these social meanings we must view archaeological remains within the context of larger social and historical phenomena. As Rogers (1990:102) notes, “Any set of archaeological remains compared over a lengthy period of time will show change in the composition of the assemblage, at least at some level.” The key is to distinguish which of these variations in assemblage patterning underlies larger, more meaningful patterns of culture change. A wide variety of analytical techniques are employed in order to transcend a mere recording of artifact assemblages and contextual distributions of European items and to discover potential social meanings.

As was previously argued households represent a wide range of social phenomena and are a primary means of assessing culture change (Bourdieu 1977:89; Deetz 1982:719; Donley-Reid 1990:125; Laslett 1972; Wilk and Rathje 1982:631). Present research addresses the contextual relationship of archaeological remains from Creek households, attempting to reveal the social processes involved in the procurement and use of European trade goods and their attendant social meanings within Creek society and households. Through an analysis of Creek households from the postcontact, protohistoric Atasi phase through the late-historic Tallapoosa phase, I explore changes in the demographic, behavioral, and material aspects of Creek households. Changes in the Creek household are viewed not only as informative on the nature of their domestic economy but as intimately related to larger changes in Creek society. By revealing strategies adopted by households to the new opportunities and

constraints represented by European interactions it is possible to understand the effects of these influences on the daily life of individuals and small-scale social groups. Also, by comparing households within and between each phase it is possible to see differences in the adoption of these strategies between households. These comparisons reveal much about the nature of households in Creek society and their important role in shaping larger social phenomena.

Identifying Household Change

Based in part on the spatial-dynamics analysis model employed by Kapches (1990), Kent (1984), and others (Bawden 1990; Kus and Raharijaona 1990; Rapoport 1969; Sanders 1990), in this research I employ analytical techniques composed of traditional descriptive analyses designed to reveal relationships in data and exploratory data techniques designed to reveal additional data structure not apparent in descriptive techniques. This approach to architectural remains views the size, structure, and organization of domestic structures as representative of a wide range of social factors, with changes in the structure of houses representative of changes in society at large. As previously advanced, many scholars see households as exemplifying social and cultural ideals. Changes in households reveal concomitant changes in larger cultural structures. These studies also recognize that many societies express differences in social ranking through the size of domestic structures, the materials used in their construction, and in their material assemblages.

Although it is these larger social meanings that I hope to reveal, analysis of architectural remains must begin with the recording of basic architectural attributes. This research makes use of architectural data related to the internal area of domestic structures; the number and size of both interior and exterior posts; and the number, type, and size of associated features. Through the use of various statistical analyses these measures were compared for the domestic structures in this study to reveal patterns in the spatial, behavioral, and social components of Atasi- and Tallapoosa phase households. Comparisons were made both within and between each cultural

phase to reveal both synchronic and diachronic variations in domestic structures. Changes revealed in this analysis are then discussed within larger cultural and historical frameworks to examine their possible social meanings.

In addition to their architectural components Creek households commonly have a number of associated features including burials, storage pits, refuse pits, and defined activity areas. Household features are used in this research to reveal patterns in both their distribution and contents. Each feature is classified by type, and its contents are assessed and recorded. Artifacts are analyzed through the recording of information regarding their origin (Native American or European), date of production, type, and function(s). The presence of goods thought to have been part of the Creek prestige-goods system is noted by both ubiquity and presence or absence. Comparisons of material assemblages are then made by phase, site, and local context to reveal possible patterns in their distribution over time. The distribution of these features and the nature of their contents are compared between households, sites, and phases to reveal differential access to prestige goods and other resources. These patterns are then interpreted in relation to changes in the nature of the Creek domestic economy and elite socioeconomic power.

As with any study that stresses the ideological nature of material remains, the recognition of items thought to be indicative of social status is an ever-present problem. As indicated in the previous discussion of Creek prestige goods (and previous research by Knight 1985) there is reason to believe that the nature of the Creek prestige-goods system changed over time, as did social definitions of high-status goods. Changes in the goods that define such systems do complicate the present analysis, but through the use of ethnohistoric documents and previous research identifying the nature of the Creek prestige-goods system, a differentiation of prestige goods is made between the Atasi and Tallapoosa phases. First, Atasi phase items considered to be indicative of social status are: European glass beads; brass pendants, beads and bells; and other

European items of personal adornment (after Knight 1985:175–177). Tallapoosa phase items considered to be indicative of social status are: brass pendants, beads, and bells; silver jewelry; European ceramics; European clothing; and coinage. Although admittedly imperfect measures of the delicate nuances of social life these items are thought to be those most often mentioned for the Creek as status markers, and, when coupled with architectural remains and other contextual evidence, are thought to be strengthened as measures of social status.

Chiefly abilities to control and redistribute these goods are assessed through an analysis of their distribution in Creek households. There were certainly larger numbers of European prestige goods circulating in Creek society at this time, but with a transition from ascribed to achieved social status proposed for the historic Creek (Knight 1985; Wesson 1997, 1999), those with access to larger quantities of elite goods would meet the present definition of historic Creek elites. If this is accurate, evidence of differential access to prestige goods will be reflected in elite household contexts, with higher-status households possessing a greater ubiquity of these items.

In addition to the analysis of feature contents, the number and volume of household storage facilities are analyzed. There is significant ethnohistoric and anthropological evidence to support the contention that one of the major roles of elites in prehistoric and protohistoric Creek society was the control of food surpluses. Thus, an increase in the frequency and/or size of domestic storage facilities may represent declines in elite ability to control such surpluses. Such changes are also related to an increase in household-based subsistence practices, autonomy, and social status. These features are analyzed for evidence of changes related to alterations in the Creek household and Creek culture following European contacts.

Following similar studies of historic culture change in the Americas (O'Shea 1984; Rogers 1990) my analysis relies on comparisons of statistical measures thought linked to the historical processes of change previously outlined. Ubiquity measures are also used in this

analysis, but as Rogers (1990:155) contends, “Although presence/absence is a conservative measure, it may be more appropriate for a data set in which the frequency of objects is very low and in which numbers are dominated by such things as beads that may skew distributions.” These measures are drawn from the analysis of available data from Creek domestic architectural remains and associated burials and features.

Individual classes of data are presented separately to reveal relations to larger changes in Creek households and culture. Data from each temporal period are also treated separately to allow for diachronic comparisons to be made. Taken together it is believed that the patterns revealed in this research will inform us of the many meaningful social changes experienced by the Creek during the historic period as well as the role of Creek households in relation to these larger cultural changes.

I previously presented both a historical overview of interactions between Creeks and Europeans and a theoretical framework within which to evaluate the sociopolitical changes experienced by the historic Creeks. This information led to the formulation of several research questions concerning the nature of postcontact Creek culture change. These questions are:

Is there evidence of a decline in the ability of Creek elites to control access to prestige goods?

Is there evidence of a decline in the ability of Creek elites to control surplus foodstuffs?

Is there a decline in the materialization of elite-centered ideologies in both material culture and spatial order among the Creeks?

Is there evidence of change in the social, behavioral, and material components of historic Creek households?

Is there evidence that Creek social ranking changed from ascribed to achieved during the historic period?

What was the role of the Creek household in larger social changes?

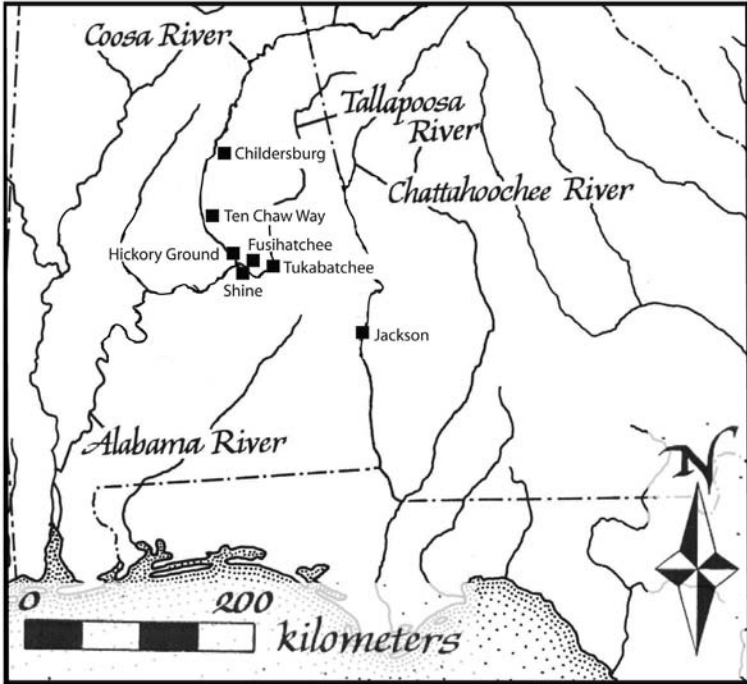
Although these questions address a wide range of Creek socio-political practices each can be addressed substantively through the analysis of archaeological remains from Creek households.

Data Sources

This research relies on data from Creek archaeological sites in central Alabama (map 5). All available published data from Creek sites with good feature integrity and the presence of household remains were used in this study. Although additional Creek sites have been excavated over the last fifty years many remain unpublished and are presently unavailable for inclusion in this research. A number of additional excavations were judged to lack the feature integrity or architectural data necessary to this study. In addition to previously published excavations new data is provided from recent research at the Creek sites of Fusihatchee and Hickory Ground; these sites provide the vast majority of data analyzed in this study.

FUSIHATCHEE (1EE191)

The Creek village of Fusihatchee first appears in the historic record on the DeCraney map of 1733. Located on the north side of the Tallapoosa River in east-central Alabama, it appears frequently in historic documents and was visited by Hawkins (1848:33, italics in original) in 1799 who described it as: “*Foosce-hat-che*; from foos-so-wau, a *bird*, and hat-che, *tail*. It is two miles below Ho-ith-le-wau-le, on the right bank of Tallapoosa, on a narrow strip of flat land; the broken lands are just back of the town; the cornfields are on the opposite side of the river, and are divided from those of Ho-ith-le-wau-le by a small creek, Noo-coose-chepo. On the right bank of this little creek, half a mile from the river, is the remains of a ditch, which surrounded a fortification, and back of this for a mile, is the appearance of old settlements, and back of these, pine slashes.” Although never identified in ethnohistoric documents as one of the most important Creek villages along the Tallapoosa, Fusihatchee does provide the most complete archaeological information yet recovered from a Creek site in the Tallapoosa River Valley.



Map 5. Archaeological sites used in this study

The site is located on an oxbow lake formed by an extinct channel of the Tallapoosa River and lies within a kilometer of the present Tallapoosa River channel. Site limits extend along a terrace edge to the north of this oxbow, with the site covering more than three hectares in area. Ceramic evidence suggests that Creek occupation of the site began early in the Atasi phase and lasted well into the Tallapoosa phase (Cottier 1997; Sheldon 1997; Sheldon et al. 2001; Wesson 1997, 1999). Creek occupation continued until approximately 1813 when the residents of Fusihatchee moved to Florida and joined the Seminole after their village was sacked and burned by Andrew Jackson following the Battle of Horseshoe Bend (Swanton 1922).

Since Fusihatchee's location was well documented it was easily found by early artifact collectors and was investigated on several occasions by members of the Alabama Anthropological Society in the 1920s (Brannon 1929, 1930). Despite knowledge of the site and of these early excavations no professional archaeological investigation took place on the site until the 1980s. From 1985 to 1996 Auburn University and Auburn University–Montgomery conducted excavations at Fusihatchee to recover as much information as possible before its destruction. I participated in excavations at Fusihatchee from 1990–1995. During the summer of 1994 I organized excavations by a field school from the University of Illinois. In all, excavations at Fusihatchee recovered over four hectares of the site and included complete mapping, recording, and excavation of the entire exposed area (figure 6). These efforts represent one of the largest single site excavations in the history of Alabama archaeology (Cottier 1997; Sheldon 1997; Sheldon et al. 2001; Waselkov et al. 1990).

The excavations at Fusihatchee provide us with the first look at the archaeology of a complete Creek village and the initial opportunity to assess the validity of accounts concerning Creek town organization and household composition. Approximately 30 Atasi phase structures and 20 Tallapoosa phase structures were recovered from Fusihatchee, providing the largest data set presently available

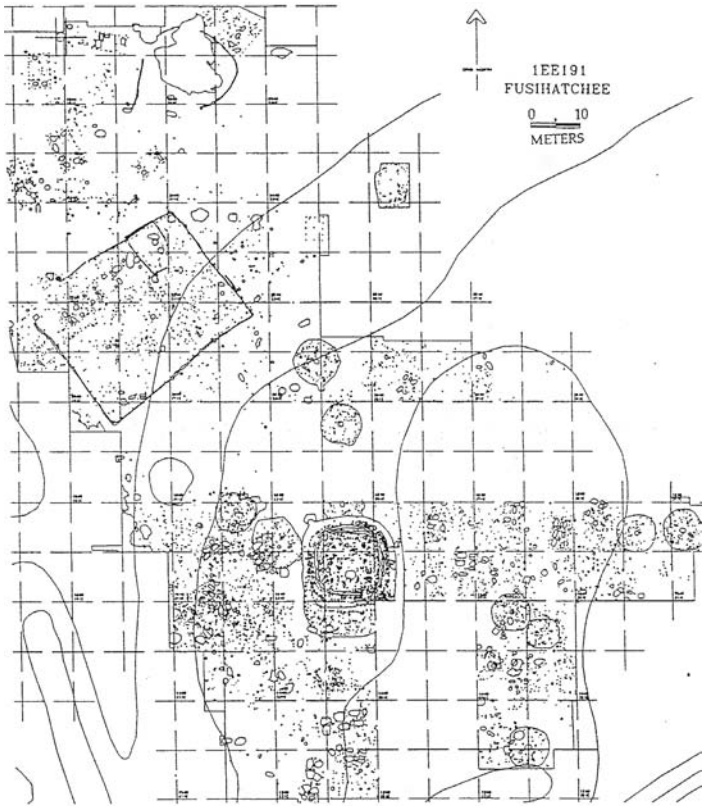


Figure 6. Central portion of Fusihatchee village excavations (courtesy of Auburn University and the University of South Alabama)

for the analysis of Creek households and culture change during the historic period. In addition to these architectural remains, several thousand additional features were recovered, including burials, storage pits, refuse pits, and activity areas. With the addition of these data to the data formerly available for Creek households a more complete analysis of transitions in the Creek household from the Atasi and Tallapoosa phases is possible. With materials recovered from Fusihatchee we are given the possibility of assessing changes in the Creek household and Creek culture with much greater clarity than was previously possible.

HICKORY GROUND (1Ee89)

A large historic Creek village on the lower Coosa River just above its junction with the Tallapoosa, Hickory Ground was a major center of Creek social and political life and figured prominently in trade and other relations with Euro-Americans (Hawkins 1848:38). It was called O-che-au-po-fau by the Creek, and Hawkins (1848:38) describes it as

O-che-au-po-fau; from Oche-ub, a hickory tree, and po-fau, in, or among, called by the traders, hickory ground. It is on the left bank of the Coosau (Coosa), two miles above the fork of the river, and one mile below the falls, on a flat of poor land, just below a small stream; the fields are on the right side of the river, on rich flat land. . . . These people are, some of them, industrious. They have forty gun men, nearly three hundred cattle, and some horses and hogs.

Two residents of Hickory Ground are said to have had slaves, with one owning fourteen and the other thirty (Hawkins 1848:38). Several prominent Creek families lived in this village including the McGillivrays. As a result, Hickory Ground is thought to have been one of the most prosperous Upper Creek villages during the eighteenth century.

Research at Hickory Ground by Cottier and Sheldon (1993–1996; 2002–2006) has recovered architectural remains from several Creek households, most of which date to the Tallapoosa phase (Cottier 2007; Cottier et al. 2007) (figure 7). I also led field schools from the University of Illinois-Chicago at Hickory Ground during the 2005 and 2006 summer field seasons. Numerous household storage features, refuse pits, and activity areas were recovered during excavations at Hickory Ground (Cottier 2007; Cottier et al. 2007). Data from architectural remains, household features, and activity areas are used in this study to address the research questions posed above. These data provide information on late-historic Creek households and allow comparisons to be made with remains



Figure 7. Examples of domestic architectural remains from Hickory Ground (courtesy of Auburn University)

from other Creek sites to assess differences in household economies and social prestige.

JERE SHINE SITE (1MT6)

The Jere Shine site, the type-site for both the Shine I (AD 1200–1400) and Shine II (1400–1550) phases, is a multi-component Mississippian site consisting of a large village area and four earthen mounds of various sizes. Our knowledge of the Shine site and the Mississippian occupation of the Tallapoosa River Valley is extremely limited. The most extensive investigations of the site remain unpublished research by David Chase from 1963–1964 and from 1974–1975. These investigations recovered burials and house floors, but these materials have not received complete analysis or publication (Chase 1979; Freeman 2001; Wesson 1997). My own research at the Jere Shine site (1998–1999) consisted of two University of Oklahoma archaeological field schools. That research revealed poor feature in-

tegrity at the site and a limited possibility for future research at the site to improve our understanding of the site's place in local socio-political development. This is unfortunate because as Knight (1985, 1994a, 1994b) contends, additional research in the region which targets this time period is extremely important in improving our understanding of the late precontact settlement of the region and its relationship to the later formation of the Creek Confederacy.

Unpublished field notes from Chase's excavations (in the possession of the author) indicate that 27 burials were excavated at the Shine site, and a small number of funerary goods were found with these burials. Chase's field notes make reference to the placement of some of these burials beneath house floors, but Chase did not record the presence of structures during his investigations (Chase, personal communication 1998). Although the present interpretability of this material is limited, analysis of these Shine burials does provide some basis for comparisons with later Atasi phase and Tallapoosa phase burial assemblages. Since the postcontact Creeks are thought to have had a close relationship to these lower Tallapoosa River groups (Knight 1994a, 1994b), analysis of Shine materials permits expanded comparisons to be made with later, postcontact Native American occupations of the region.

JACKSON SITE (1BR35)

The Jackson site is a small Creek site along the Chattahoochee River in eastern Alabama. This site dates to the Lawson Field phase (AD 1715–1835) and is contemporary with the Tallapoosa phase occupation on the Tallapoosa. Excavations at Jackson by DeJarnette (1975:109–130) in 1960 and 1961 exposed the majority of one small house structure, associated features, and three burials. The house structure is a semicircular structure, similar to the Creek hot house described by several Europeans during the early historic period (figure 8). Although DeJarnette does not discuss this structure at length there is evidence that it dates to the earlier Blackmon phase (AD 1625–1715), a contemporary with the Atasi phase on the Tallapoosa rather than to the later Lawson Field phase. Based on the

Image masked

Figure 8. Blackmon Phase structure from the Jackson site
(DeJarnette 1975:119; used with permission of the Historic
Chattahoochee Commission, Eufaula, Alabama)

placement of intrusive Lawson Field phase features into this structure, the analysis of items recovered from these features, and evidence that the circular house form was abandoned by the Creeks during the early part of the Lawson Field and Tallapoosa phases, this structure most probably dates to the earlier Blackmon phase. Although architectural data is incomplete for this structure, it does provide some evidence of domestic activities during the protohistoric and historic periods.

Forty storage features were excavated at the Jackson site, most containing a large number of European goods (DeJarnette 1975:123–130). Based on the present dating of these materials and analysis of maps and ethnohistoric documents, DeJarnette (1975:130) proposes that the Jackson site was probably part of the Creek village of Tamatle. It is unclear from DeJarnette's discussion of the three burials from Jackson whether he considered them contemporaneous or not, but analysis of ceramics from these burials supports a view that two of them date to the Blackmon phase while the third

is related to the Lawson Field phase. Data from Jackson hold the potential to inform us of changes in the historic Creek household and also provide a source of comparison for potential differences in household activities between the Creeks of the Tallapoosa and Chattahoochee River Valleys.

CHILDERSBURG SITE (ITAI)

The Childersburg site is a large village site located on an escarpment overlooking the Coosa River near the present-day town of Childersburg, Alabama. Swanton (1985:206) believed Childersburg to be the site of Coosa described in historic documents. The U.S. de Soto Commission report (which he directed) states that “Coosa is one of the best established points along De Soto’s route. With few exceptions, students have agreed that it was the Upper Creek town of Coosa . . . [which] stood on Coosa River between the mouths of Tallaseehatchee and Talladega creeks, but nearer the later in Talladega County, Alabama” (Swanton 1985:206). To assess these claims, the Alabama Museum of Natural History began excavations at the site in 1948 under the direction of David L. DeJarnette (1958:26). DeJarnette’s research revealed a sizable Creek occupation at the site, but rather than dating to the Mississippian period as initially thought by Swanton and others, evidence recovered by his excavations indicate that the site was not occupied until the late postcontact period (DeJarnette 1958; DeJarnette and Hansen 1960).

Although the Childersburg site did not prove to be the Coosa of the de Soto chronicles, these excavations did recover material remains that are useful to the present analysis. No house structures were identified during the site’s excavation, but scattered burials and numerous storage features present an indication of Creek lifeways on the Coosa River during the historic period. Excavations by DeJarnette recovered twelve burials, all of which contained numerous European material goods, and several storage features which contained additional European trade items. These remains were used to define the Childersburg phase (AD 1715–unspecified 1830s), a phase contemporaneous with the Tallapoosa phase on the Tall-

apooosa River and the Lawson Field phase on the Chattahoochee. As with the Jackson site, data from Childersburg provides information germane to the present analysis by allowing comparisons in the distribution of prestige goods and other European items in Creek society. Although they do not provide adequate data on Creek household organization, they do allow for comparisons to be made between Creek life on the Tallapoosa, Coosa, and Chattahoochee Rivers during the eighteenth century.

TUKABATCHEE (1EE32)

Tukabatchee was a large Creek village situated on the north side of the Tallapoosa River and figures prominently in historical documents concerning the Creek of the Tallapoosa River Valley. Benjamin Hawkins (1848:27–29) describes Tukabatchee as it appeared in the late 1790s in some detail:

The ancient name of this town is Is-po-co-ge; its derivation uncertain; it is situated on the right bank of the Tallapoosa, opposite the junction of Eu-fau-be, two and a half miles below the falls of the river, on a beautiful level. . . . They have 116 gunmen belonging to this town; they were formerly numerous, but have been unfortunate in their wars. In the last they had with the Chickasaws, they lost thirty-five gun men; they have begun to settle out in villages for the conveniency [sic] of stock raising, and having firewood; the stock which frequent the mossy shoals above the town, look well and appear healthy; the Indians begin to be attentive to them, and are increasing them by all the means in their power. Several of them have from fifty to one hundred, and the town furnished seventy good beef cattle in 1799. . . . The town is on the decline. Its appearance proves the inattention of the inhabitants. It is badly fenced; they have but a few plum trees, and several clumps of cassine yupon; the land is much exhausted with continued culture, and the wood for fuel is at a great and inconvenient distance, unless boats or land carriages were in use.

Knight (1985:23–24) suggests that Tukabatchee was first visited by Europeans in 1686 and that by this time the community contained several ethnic groups including a large group of Shawnees. There is some evidence that Tukabatchee was an early Muskogee political center, possibly influencing the development of the Creek Confederacy, and serving as an early population center for the Upper Creek (Knight 1985, 1994b). Evidence also suggests that Tukabatchee was the center of a powerful protohistoric chiefdom, holding power over as many as fourteen separate towns (Boyd 1936; Knight 1985:28; Wenhold 1936:10). Knight (1985:iii) contends, “It was certainly, at least for a time, the most populous Indian town within the limits of the present State of Alabama.”

Excavations at Tukabatchee by Knight (1985) in 1984 were the first professional excavations of the site, revealing evidence of occupation from the Shine II, Atasi, and Tallapoosa phases. The largest occupation is thought to have been sometime during the early Tallapoosa phase. Excavations revealed two Atasi phase domestic structures and numerous Tallapoosa phase features, all of which are used in this research. Although Tallapoosa phase architectural remains were not identified in Knight’s research, these features are consistent with those from domestic contexts at the contemporary Creek site of Fusihatchee and aid in the interpretation of household changes presented in the present research.

Prior to excavations at Fusihatchee and Hickory Ground, Knight’s work at Tukabatchee provided our best understanding of protohistoric and historic Creek culture change and households. With the addition of considerable excavated data from Fusihatchee and Hickory Ground, many of Knight’s (1985) suggestions concerning the Creek domestic economy and the nature of elite power can be addressed more fully.

TIN CHAW WAY (1CS148)

Identified during archaeological survey by Auburn University in 1993, Tin Chaw Way is a late historic period Creek site in Coosa County, Alabama. Excavations revealed the remains of a single

domestic structure occupied during the Late Tallapoosa phase (AD 1780–1836) (McClung 1993). Analysis of remains from the site reveal a post-1800 occupation, and land records for the allotment of 1832 indicate that this site lies within a half-section of land allotted to Tin Chaw Way (McClung 1993; Parsons and Abbott 1833:8). These records also indicate that this parcel of land was occupied by two adult females and two African slaves (McClung 1993). Although slave ownership was not unusual for the Creek during the historic period, Knight (1985:182) contends that due to their value in both the Native American and European communities slaves would have been major sources of social status as only the most affluent Creeks would have been able to purchase slaves (Braund 1993; Saunt 1999).

Although Tin Chaw Way does not represent the wide diversity present within Creek households during the late Tallapoosa phase it does provide a picture of at least one Creek household immediately prior to their removal to Oklahoma. Excavations at other sites dating to this period have found limited subsurface features and offer little comparative data as houses began to be constructed above ground without the use of wall trenches or single-placed posts (Lantz 1980:20). Foundation stones from this structure were located during these investigations along with a large domestic refuse pit located immediately adjacent to this household. Analysis of the material remains from Tin Chaw Way reveal much about the domestic economy, access to European goods, and consumer preferences in the last half-decade of the Tallapoosa phase Creek household. Since the Tin Chaw Way site was constructed as a stand-alone household away from a village center, its remains will be compared to those of late Tallapoosa phase households at Hickory Ground to reveal possible differences in household structure, activities, and economics.

Burial Data

During the postcontact period the Creeks, like the Chickasaws and other southeastern groups, interred their dead within their houses. Burials were placed under house floors, and individuals were usu-

ally buried with a large portion of the property they controlled in life (Swanton 1946:724–725). Although there is thought to be an ossuary pit in the main mound at Tukabatchee (Cottier, personal communication 1996), archaeological evidence from the Shine I phase supports a claim that household-based interments were the norm for some time in Creek culture and the lower Tallapoosa River Valley. With the deceased placed in household contexts along with substantial portions of their material possessions, burial data provide significant information on the social status of both individuals and households.

My analysis of the twenty-seven burials recovered from the Jere Shine site by Chase during his excavations at the site in 1963–1964 strongly suggests the presence of a local prestige-goods economy in Shine II contexts (see table 1 in the appendix). Of these twenty-seven burials, eleven date to the Shine I phase and sixteen to the subsequent Shine II phase. Although these are admittedly small samples they allow for the first assessment of burial data from Shine contexts and provide some of the most important initial information in our understanding of the Mississippian presence in the lower Tallapoosa River Valley and the central Alabama region as a whole.

The Jere Shine site burial assemblage is remarkable only in its paucity of burial furniture. Of the eleven Shine I burials only one—that of an infant—received any material items thought to be status related. In fact, this was the only burial to receive any burial goods in the Shine I burial population. In the Shine II burial population five individuals received status-related goods: two infants, two adults, and one individual of indeterminate age. These are also the only Shine II burials at the site that contain any burial goods. One of the infant burials contained an engraved shell spaghetti-style gorget (Wesson et al. 2001). Items interred with these individuals consist primarily of shell ornaments and goods identified by Peregrine (1992) and others (Anderson 1994a, 1994b; Pauketat 1994; Welch 1991) as intimately linked to southeastern prestige-goods systems. However, based on such a small sample and on one infant burial with a high-status prestige good there is no conclusive evidence of

a functioning prestige-goods economy in Shine society, but the unequal distribution of these items does suggest that they are representative of social status and may be indicative of social, political, and economic relations with dominant polities in the region (Wesson et al. 2001).

Analysis of these twenty-seven Shine burials from the Jere Shine site demonstrates that access to prestige goods may have been extremely limited (and tightly controlled) for Mississippian peoples living along the Tallapoosa River. If these people and their sociopolitical systems are in fact antecedents of the historic Creek towns of the Tallapoosa River Valley (Knight 1985, 1994a, 1994b) there is some precedent for elite control of prestige goods and ascribed social status in pre-Creek contexts. Much additional research is needed to fully address these transitions, but available data support an initial contention that an elite-centered prestige-goods system was in place along the Tallapoosa River at least during the Shine II phase.

Burial data from the subsequent postcontact, protohistoric Atasi phase are provided by excavations at Fusihatchee—the only Creek site to have yielded significant burial data from this period. This lack of contemporary data from other sites is unfortunate because the Atasi phase was a period of great social change as native southeastern societies responded to initial contacts with Europeans. I used data from fifty Atasi phase burials from Fusihatchee in this analysis. Two burials from the Jackson Site—a contemporaneous Blackmon phase site on the Chattahoochee River—were also used (DeJarnette 1975:113). In all, a total of fifty-two Atasi phase burials were analyzed.

During the postcontact Atasi phase, burial goods became much more common. Of the fifty-two burials dating to this phase, 65 percent received some form of burial good, most consisting of small items of personal adornment, European trade goods, ceramic vessels, or other indigenously produced items (see table 2 in the appendix). This compares to only 8 percent of Shine I and 27 percent of Shine II burials that received burial goods. Of Atasi phase burials, 46 percent contain European items. Quite a few of these remains

Burials Receiving Goods by Phase (%)

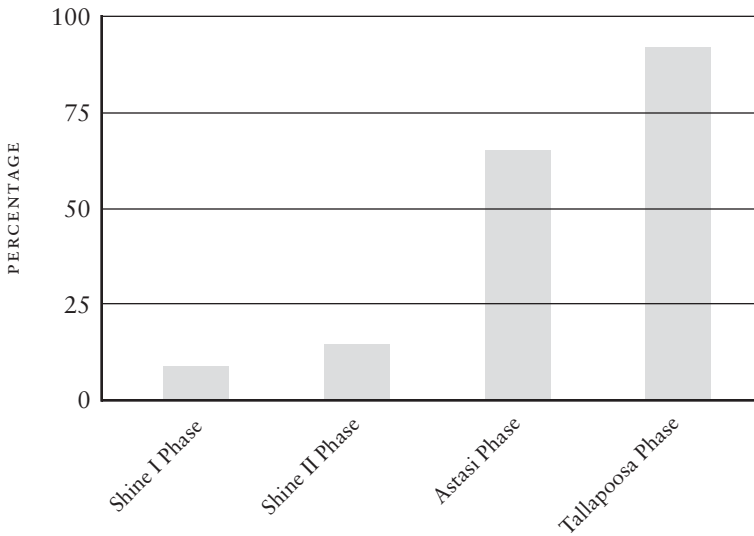


Figure 9. Burials receiving goods by phase (%)

are believed to have functioned as high-status goods (figure 9). This analysis reveals that 52 percent of the Atasi phase burials contain high-status goods. Of those that contain these status-related goods three burials contain status goods solely of aboriginal origin while twenty-four contain status goods of European origin. Furthermore, there is evidence which indicates that certain members of society were able to secure larger numbers of these goods and may in fact have been hoarding prestige goods. Although 52 percent of Atasi phase burials contain high-status items, only 7.7 percent contained large numbers (more than ten) of these goods. Although this is an imprecise measure of social prestige, it does reveal possible differential levels of access to prestige goods.

An additional forty-six burials from the late postcontact Tallapoosa phase occupation at Fusihatchee were analyzed in this study (see table 3 in the appendix). As with the Atasi phase a continual increase in the presence of burial goods is noted. Of these burials, 91 percent receive some type of burial furniture, continuing the

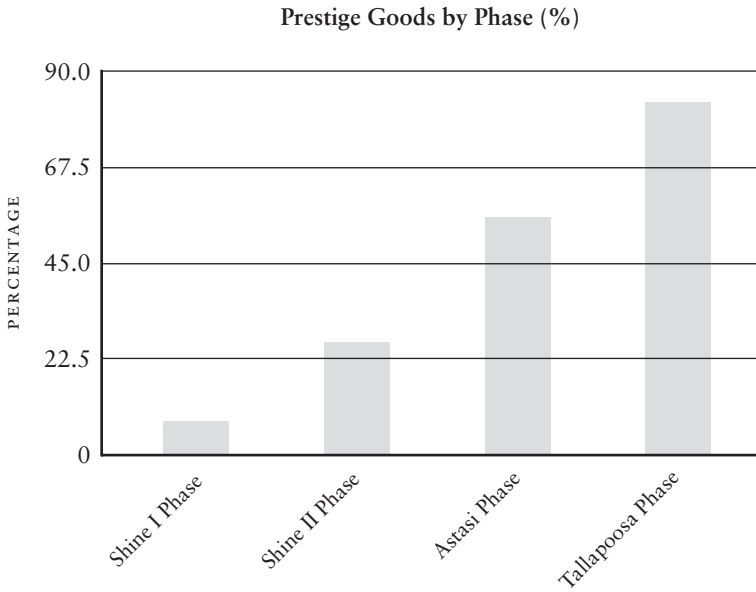


Figure 10. Prestige goods by phase (%)

trend identified in the Atasi phase. An increase is also noted in the presence of European burial goods in Tallapoosa phase burials; all burials contain goods having at least one item of European manufacture. The trend toward increased availability of prestige goods also continues, with 82 percent of Tallapoosa phase burials containing items identified as prestige goods (figure 10). The hoarding of large quantities of prestige goods also appears to have continued. During the Tallapoosa phase; 47.8 percent of the burial population garnered five or more prestige items and 26 percent contained twenty or more prestige goods (figure 11). Based on increases in trade density and Creek trade with Europeans such trends are not unexpected and are supported in previous research (Knight 1985; Waselkov 1985, 1993, 1994; Waselkov et al. 1990).

A comparison of burials from the Shine I phase through the Tallapoosa phase reveals a series of statistically significant trends that I contend correspond to meaningful changes in Creek society. Throughout these periods there is an increase in the number of individuals

Hoarding of Prestige Goods (+10)

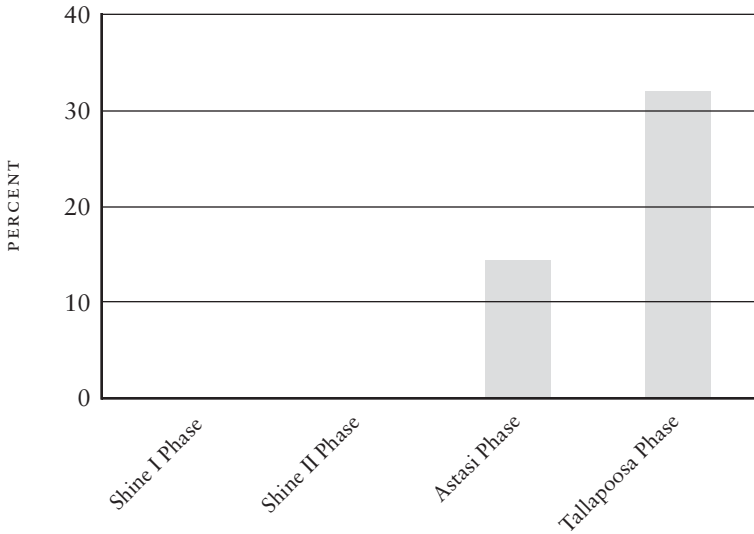


Figure 11. Hoarding of prestige goods (+10)

receiving burial goods, indicating an increase in the social importance of burial furniture and a possible increase in the availability of material items for placement with the deceased ($\chi^2 = 40.606$; $p = 0.000$). Another change noted in this analysis is an increase in the number of burials containing prestige goods. The percentage of burials receiving these goods increases with each phase, indicating a general trend toward greater cultural emphasis on high-status burial furniture ($\chi^2 = 29.872$; $p = 0.000$). There is also evidence of the hoarding of prestige goods, indicated by an increase in the number of these goods in certain burials over time ($\chi^2 = 46.287$; $p = 0.000$). This is particularly true of the Tallapoosa phase burials where increasingly large caches of prestige goods were placed with the dead.

One of the items thought to have played a major role in the prestige-goods networks of the Tallapoosa phase is silver (Knight 1985). Large quantities of silver were not made available to the southeastern Indians until the eighteenth century, and control of this exotic

trade good is thought to have been closely associated with social rank (Knight 1985). Analysis of Atasi phase burials reveals that only 5.7 percent received grave goods made of silver, possibly reflecting not only elements of social status but also the relative scarcity of this commodity. During the Tallapoosa phase silver was present in 30 percent of the burial population, indicating not only its increasing availability but a possible connection with the deerskin trade and achieved social status. The difference in these distributions of silver is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 10.357$; $p = 0.001$), and it is possible that it has a social meaning other than as an indicator of the increasing ubiquity of silver in Creek hands.

Household Feature Data

Creek domestic structures contained, or were directly associated with, a wide range of features which reflect household-based activities. The majority of these features consist of small basin-shaped refuse pits, large bell-shaped storage pits, hearths, smudge pits, and a variety of activity areas. The density, location, and size of these features relate to the demographic size of the Creek household, its length of occupation, and activities performed in household contexts. Changes in these features are related to larger changes in Creek culture, and, given their close association with individual households, the nature of the Creek domestic economy.

Analysis of Atasi phase features indicates limited household-based food storage facilities (see table 4 in the appendix). Atasi phase winter structures lack evidence of storage features, suggesting that there was either a dependence upon foods stored in others locations, such as the summer houses, or on communal stores controlled by Creek chiefs. Atasi phase summer structures indicate the presence of storage facilities, but their size and distribution are limited when compared to later Tallapoosa phase storage features (figure 12). Atasi phase storage facilities are small, averaging 0.174 meters³ in volume, while the later Tallapoosa phase storage pits average 0.585 meters³ (figure 13). A boxplot of these storage features indicates that there

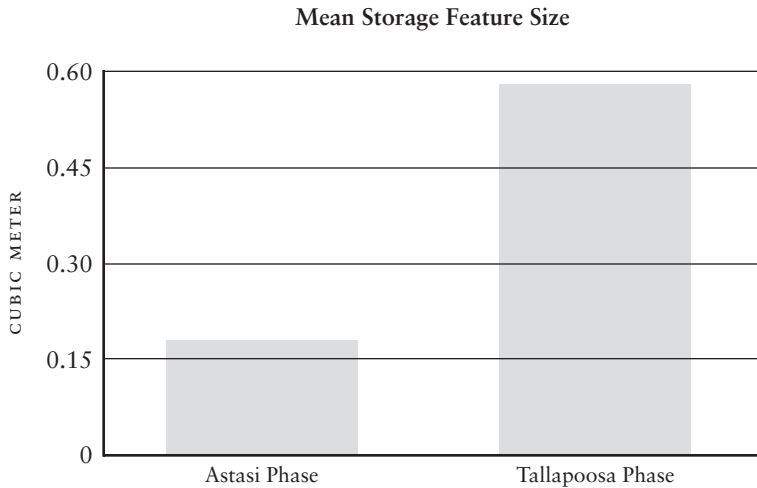


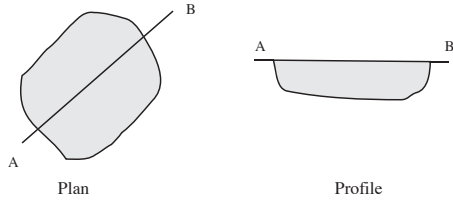
Figure 12. Mean storage feature size

is considerable difference in not only the average size of these features but in their overall variability as well (figure 14).

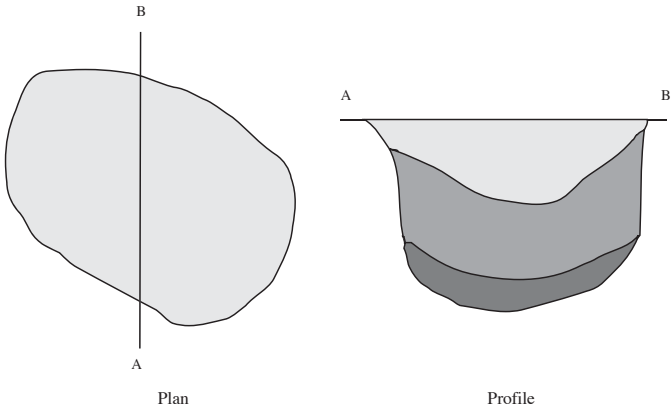
There is also a tremendous increase in the number of storage pits containing botanical remains from the Atasi phase to the Tallapoosa phase in the households analyzed in this research. Only eight Atasi phase storage pits were identified in the present analysis, with none found to contain botanical remains. For the Tallapoosa phase storage pits, seventeen of the thirty-three contained botanical remains (51.5 percent). At present this data is tentative. Complete flotation of these features has yet to be undertaken. There is also a sampling bias since there are so many more Tallapoosa phase structures available for analysis than those from the Atasi phase.

Household Architectural Data

Although burials and other associated features contain a good deal of information concerning Creek culture change, this research is also concerned with addressing changes in the architectural composition of Creek households to demonstrate social, behavioral, ideological, and economic changes in historic Creek culture. Earlier I made a case for the utility of a household-based research strategy, arguing



Atasi Phase



Tallapoosa Phase

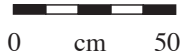


Figure 13. Atasi Phase and Tallapoosa Phase storage features

that architectural remains and the patterning of domestic structures represents more than a mere protective cover from environmental forces. Houses are important places, and it is within their confines that much of the practice of culture takes place. With the analysis of Creek domestic structures from the Atasi and Tallapoosa phases a more complete view of historic Creek culture change and the role of individuals and small-scale social units in the production of culture becomes apparent. A description of Creek households from the

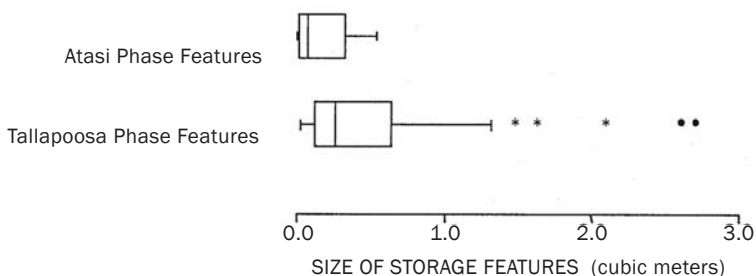


Figure 14. Boxplot of Atasi Phase and Tallapoosa Phase storage features

Atasi and Tallapoosa phases is presented, with a combined analysis of these structures following these descriptions.

Excavations at Fusihatchee have recovered numerous Atasi phase domestic structures, allowing a more complete definition of these structures and comparison with the description of Creek domestic structures provided by ethnohistoric documents. The Atasi phase household pattern is one with great antiquity in the Southeast (Faulkner 1977), but has not been previously recognized as an architectural form used by the Creek. This pattern consists of two seasonally specific structures, a circular semisubterranean winter house and a rectangular summer house (figure 15). Although there is nothing radically different in this pattern for the Southeast as a whole, the accepted view of Creek domestic structures was that the four-structure household discussed in ethnohistoric documents was the predominant house pattern during both historic and prehistoric times (this house form will be discussed in greater detail). At Fusihatchee, this is obviously not the case. In fact, archaeological evidence from Fusihatchee indicates that circular domestic structures were used by the Creek well into the postcontact period (Cottier 1997; Hally 2002; Sheldon 1997).

This two-structure seasonally specific household pattern was the primary domestic architectural form used by the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and other groups during the historic period (Adair 1968 [1775]; Bartram 1853; Hudson 1976). The extent to which this seasonally specific, dual-structure pattern extends into Mississippian times is not presently known, but Faulkner (1977:1) indicates

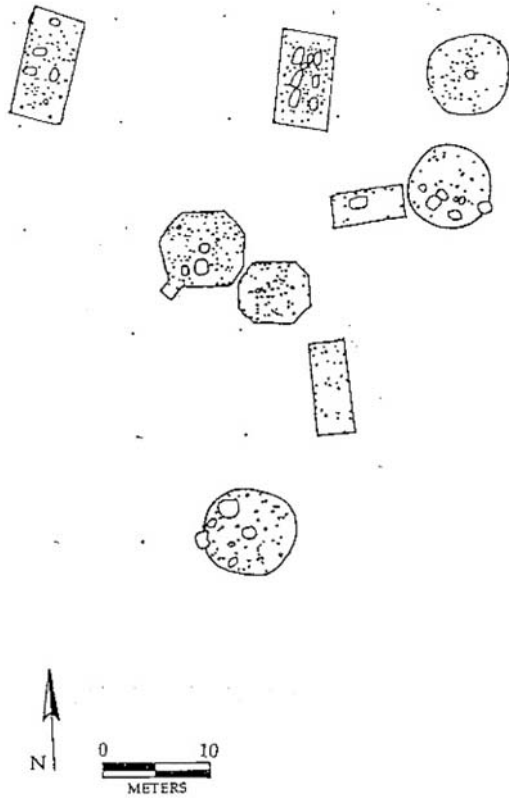


Figure 15. Examples of Atasi Phase domestic structures at Fusihatchee (courtesy of Auburn University and the University of South Alabama)

that it was present as early as AD 1000 in parts of the Southeast. Circular winter houses were recorded for several southeastern groups including the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and others, but was never directly recorded as being used by the Creeks, although inferences may be made in several instances. In fact, an early Spanish account made during the de Soto expedition may provide the first recorded information on Creek domestic architecture: “The houses of this town are different from those behind [in Florida]. [These] are roofed with cane after the fashion of tiles. They are kept clean; some have their sides so made of clay as to like *tapia* [puddled adobe]. . .

Throughout the cold country every Indian has a winter house, plastered inside and out, with a very small opening which is closed at dark and a fire being made within, it remains heated like an oven, so that clothing is not needed at night. He has likewise a house for summer and near it a kitchen, where fire is made and bread baked” (cited in Nabakov and Easton 1989:93–94).

These structures are similar to the Creek “hot house” (council house) recorded by several Europeans, but the hot house is described as being community-based rather than as a household structure. Excavations at Tukabatchee revealed one of these Atasi phase circular structures as well. Knight (1985:78) proposes that these circular structures may have provided the prototype for these later communal structures. This winter house, resembling a smaller version of the communal council house, also served as a sweat lodge. Prehistoric Creek winter houses were typically round in form and were built with the same construction techniques used in the summer houses. These houses were semisubterranean with a tunneled entrance, designed to take advantage of the additional heat and shelter from the elements (Driver 1961:117).

This pattern is present at other archaeological sites occupied by people who would become the historic Creek. Excavations at the King site (9FL5), for example, revealed that these semisubterranean structures were present in prehistoric and protohistoric Creek contexts (Blakely 1988; Hally 1994; Polhemus 1990) (figure 16). Additional archaeological research in Alabama and Georgia recovered evidence of these circular winter structures (Knight 1985), but in some cases their utility in assessing Creek domestic architectural patterns was not immediately recognized (DeJarnette 1975; Wauchop 1966).

The summer structures used during the Atasi phase were very similar to the structures occupied during the Tallapoosa phase and were much less substantial constructions. These summer houses were rectangular in plan, with a pitched roof. Available data indicate that these were single-post-placed structures constructed of woven cane. There is no indication at present that these Atasi phase

Image masked

Figure 16. The King site (9F15) (Blakely 1988:8;
used by permission of the University of Georgia Press)

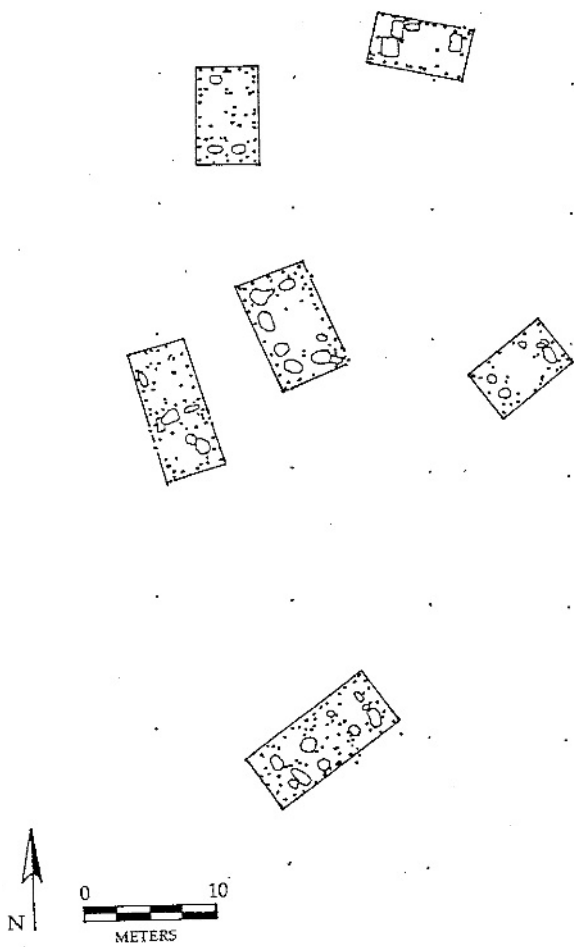


Figure 17. Examples of Tallapoosa Phase domestic structures at Fusihatchee (courtesy of Auburn University and the University of South Alabama)

summer structures were daubed, and there is some indication that portions of these structures may have been open-air to allow for maximum ventilation.

Late Creek domestic structures, as recorded by Bartram (1853:55–56), are said to have typically consisted of a cluster of buildings constructed around a central courtyard, covering perhaps a quarter-acre. At a minimum these structures are said to have consisted of a summer house and a winter house. Large or wealthy households added a third or even a fourth building for storage and other uses (figure 17).

Bartram (1853:55–56) states that:

The dwellings of the Upper Creeks consist of little squares, or rather of four dwellings inclosing [sic] a square, exactly on the plan of the Public Square. Every family, however, has not four of these houses; some have but three, others no more than two, and some but one, according to the circumstances of the individual or the number of his family. Those who have four buildings have a particular use for each building. One serves as a cook-room and a winter lodging-house, another as a summer lodging-house and hall for receiving visitors, and a third for a granary or provision house, etc. The last is commonly two stories high, and divided into two apartments, transversely, the lower story of one end being a potato house, for keeping such other roots and fruits as require to be kept close, or defended from the cold in winter. The chamber over it is the *council*. At the other end of this building, both upper and lower stories are open on their sides: the lower story serves for a shed for their saddles, pack-saddles, and gears, and other lumber; the loft over it is a spacious, airy, pleasant pavillion [sic], where the chief of the family repose in the hot seasons, and receives his guests, etc. The fourth house is a skin or warehouse, if the proprietor is a wealthy man, and engaged in trade or traffic, where he keeps his deer-skins, furs, merchandise, etc., and treats his customers. Smaller or less wealthy families make one, two, or three houses serve all their purposes as well as they can.

It is possible that the number of buildings owned by a household correlated with its period of development, with households headed by an older couple and their adult children owning more than newly founded households (Hudson 1976). Differential participation in the deerskin trade, however, may have erased such differences in material possessions and domestic structures rapidly.

Essentially, the Creek household presented in ethnohistoric literature is composed of a series of up to four individual structures arranged around a central household work area where tasks vital to the household were undertaken. As was previously noted, this architectural pattern stands in stark contrast to that of other southeastern Native American groups and Atasi phase Creek domestic structures as well. Most Creek households were located in the immediate vicinity of the town center; others were located on adjacent streams and connected to the village by paths (Hudson 1976:213). By the late Tallapoosa phase, however, Creek households began to scatter throughout the countryside away from village centers (Ashley 1988; Ethridge 2003; Hahn 2004; Saunt 1999).

Analysis indicates that the Tallapoosa summer structures are smaller than their Atasi counterparts (figure 18). The mean size of the Atasi structures is 40.925 m², while those for the Tallapoosa phase have a mean size of 28.669 m². This difference in size is statistically significant ($t = 3.208$; $p = 0.005$), indicating substantial differences in house size. Size differences in Atasi phase and Tallapoosa phase domestic structures are also presented in a boxplot to illustrate these changes in a graphical manner (figure 19). This comparison reveals a striking difference in the comparative size of these structures, with only one Tallapoosa phase structure falling near the median for the Atasi phase structures, and most falling outside the distribution of Atasi phase domestic structures. These differences in size have tremendous implications for the understanding of the social and behavioral aspects of Creek households, and analysis of these spatial changes can reveal information on not only changes within the household, but in other areas of culture as well.

The reduction in house size indicates that the number of individuals residing in Creek households declined during the historic pe-

Mean Domestic Structure Size

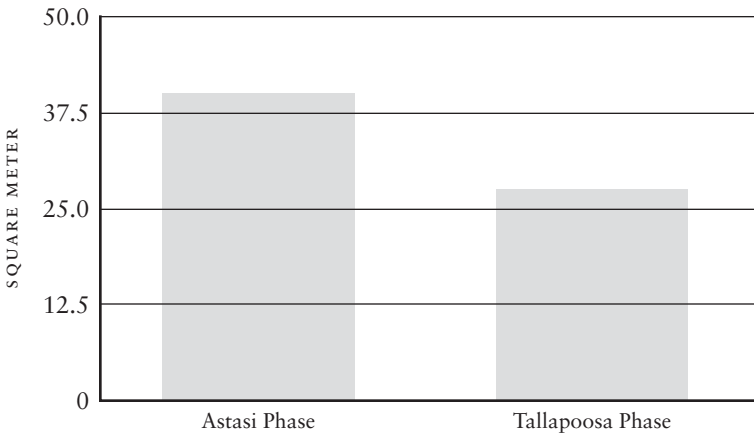


Figure 18. Mean domestic structure size

riod. This pattern suggests a decline in household occupancy from an average of five or six to three or four. The social implications of this pattern of change are important to consider. Such changes would have led to not only fewer individuals living in Creek households but also to changes in the nature of activities performed by the household and the household's place of importance in the Creek economy and social organization. Meanwhile, analysis of the construction materials (posts etc.) used in these houses reveals no change in their size or in their internal spatial patterns. Thus, there is good evidence that the household continued to perform many of the same activities even though it was reduced in both physical size and demographic composition.

Data Summary

Results of data analysis indicate that many changes took place in Creek household contexts during the period AD 1500–1835. These changes incorporate elements of burial practice and access to material goods as well as the social composition, behavior, and architectural patterning of Creek households. These results are intriguing in and of themselves, yet deeper examination is required if these

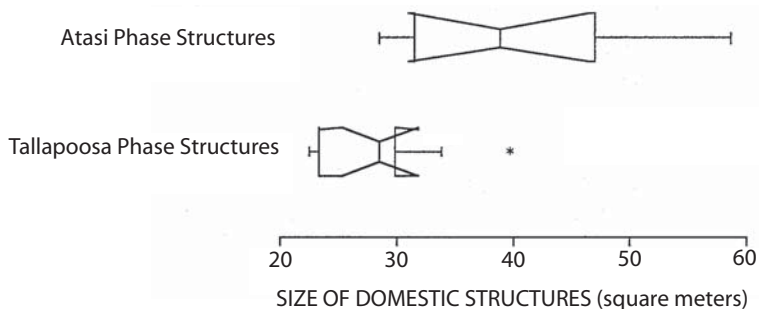


Figure 19. Boxplot of Atasi Phase and Tallapoosa Phase domestic structures

changes are to be seen in a meaningful social context.

I view many of the changes experienced by the Creek during the historic period as outgrowths of changes in their political economy and the nature of elite claims to power. With increasing traffic of European goods within Creek society chiefly control of these goods was compromised. Such increases in trade density are thought to have been disastrous for elites dependent upon their control for the legitimization of their power (Ekholm 1972; Friedman 1982). As Helms (1979, 1988, 1992) and others (Anderson 1990, 1994a, 1994b; Peebles 1986; Peregrine 1992) contend limited access to prestige goods was necessary for the maintenance of elite social power, and such a dramatic increase in the circulation of these items in society would have placed tremendous pressure on local elites to control access to these goods. With their monopoly of these goods undermined secondary elites would no longer need to form alliances with ruling lineages to secure the goods they needed. Without the support of lesser elites chiefs were threatened with not only the loss of support from their followers but from increased social competition from potential political rivals. This process would have produced a growing factionalization of society and a contraction of chiefly power and authority. In addition to the manipulation of material items, elites also advanced their social positions through the materialization of elite-centered ideologies and the control of sacred time and space. With the continued dispersal of local commu-

nities throughout the historic period Creek chiefs lacked the ability to reinforce these connections to an increasingly large segment of their population. During the Tallapoosa phase new towns developed as older towns fractured over political rivalries, devaluating chiefly claims to sacred, supernatural powers.

Throughout the historic period elite claims to power were continually undermined both through the actions of individuals and the increasingly household-based Creek domestic economy. The traditional view of these processes has argued that such limitations were brought about by Euro-American interactions that undermined traditional Creek culture and promoted a dependence on the accumulation of property and capital (Braund 1993; Cotterill 1954; Crane 1928; Debo 1941; Mason 1963b; Saunt 1999) as the Creek began to participate in the emerging world system (see Pergrine 1992 and Wallerstein 1979). Much of this interpretation is based on European-centered views of cultural exchanges and the nature of the Creek economy both before and after contacts with Europeans. Rather than a growing desire for participation in economic exchanges with Europeans for the simple accumulation of wealth the Creek participated in these relationships for a variety of material and ideological reasons. Such interactions would eventually become the primary means of establishing one's social status as prowess in warfare was replaced by shrewdness in the marketplace as an attribute favored by the Creek. It is the role of individual social actors and households in these processes of change that I now examine in more detail.

CONCLUSIONS

THE MORE THAN THREE CENTURIES of interaction between the Native American peoples of the Southeast and Europeans during the time from their first contacts to the ultimate removal of the majority of indigenous peoples from the region resulted in many changes in southeastern cultures. Although these changes have been addressed in much previous research, far too little work has addressed the exact nature of these changes and the role of individuals in shaping these larger sociopolitical processes. The territorially expansive complex societies recorded by early European explorers no longer existed after the initial impacts of contact with Europeans set in, but many southeastern societies of the later historic period were most definitely sociopolitically complex. As such, the sociopolitical positions of chiefly elites were sanctioned through the control of sacred authority and mechanisms of economic exchange. Thus, contrary to prior claims the ultimate decline of hierarchical societies in the Southeast is not to be found in the initial depopulation of the region following first contacts with Europeans but in the dynamic three centuries of interaction between southeastern native peoples and Europeans that followed.

Although there were most certainly cultural changes initiated through the first interactions between Native American peoples and Europeans, there is significant support for the view that many social, political, and economic institutions endured this initial reduction in population. After indigenous populations stabilized, indig-

enous peoples engaged in the reconstruction of their societies based on many of the same principles established during the precontact period (see Foster 2007). Social elites continued to occupy unique social positions, holding control of prestige-goods economies and access to supernaturally sanctioned power. Throughout the course of the postcontact period the ability of individual leaders to maintain control of these systems declined, resulting in a sharing of power with larger segments of society and the development of consensus-based governments. One mechanism thought to have precipitated the decline in elite authority is the ability of individual members of society to garner the goods they needed for social reproduction directly from Europeans without having to participate in the traditional elite-controlled exchange system. A decline in elite ability to control access to high-status prestige goods allowed individual Creeks to increase their social prestige through participation in the deerskin trade and other exchanges with Europeans.

Unlike many previous views (Cotterill 1954; Debo 1941; Mason 1963a, 1963b; Morris 1993) I contend that although Euro-American influence fostered cultural changes among the Creeks the major sources of change were the Creeks themselves. As Knight (1985:182) suggests:

The nature and character of the traffic in European goods among the Creeks was not wholly imposed by Europeans. It was actively shaped by Creek individuals behaving according to an entirely indigenous moral code, a code whose origins predate the arrival of Europeans. It was a code modified at times by the history of contact with the external world, but in the end it must be comprehended as an internal social force. It was not simply a case of the primitive passively yielding to an overwhelming exposure to superior technology and culture.

By examining ideologies at work within Creek households, it is possible to view changes in Creek culture as responses to internal desires to alter existing social inequalities. Individual Creeks made decisions that often favored the accumulation of material goods and

the subversion of traditional social, political, and economic practices. Such actions created an inflationary cultural spiral where an ever-increasing number of European material goods were necessary for reinforcing claims to social and economic status. As such, the Creeks were not dependent upon European trade goods because they were functionally superior but because they had become central components in networks of social status and prestige, necessary components for certain types of social reproduction. Saunt (1999:42) contends that prior to the mid-eighteenth century the deerskin trade did not significantly alter the Creek political economy, “[with] the exchange of goods reciprocal and obligatory rather than purely commercial.” After the 1750s, however, the nature of the deerskin trade changed dramatically. In 1738 approximately 90,000 pounds of deerskins were exported from the Southeast, but in the late 1760s both Charleston and Savannah were exporting more than 300,000 pounds of skins apiece (Piker 2004:148). Many of these skins were not only traded outside the traditional community-based trade network favored by both colonial authorities and local leaders but also circumvented the social dimensions of trade that included the mobilization of household resources for the preparation of finished skins for trade.

In the previous chapter I offered six specific research questions guiding my efforts. Having presented summaries of the archaeological data used to evaluate these questions, I now wish to turn to their interpretation.

Is there evidence of a decline in elite control of prestige goods?

Before addressing this question it was first necessary to establish that such a system was in place during the late precontact Mississippian period. As was previously stated a single Shine II infant burial containing prestige goods does not provide conclusive evidence of a functioning prestige-goods economy in the precontact lower Tallapoosa River Valley, but several possible interpretations can be posited from this and burials from this period. The placement of prestige goods with an infant strongly suggests the indica-

tion of ascribed social status, given that at present no mechanisms for achieved infant social status are known from anthropological literature (Wesson et al. 2001). Furthermore, the presence of prestige goods in such a context indicates that the social group responsible for interring this child had access to high-status goods even if in small quantities.

Shine II burials as a whole include an increase in the availability of prestige goods in comparison with Shine I burials and the presence of ascribed social ranking based on their distribution among five individuals of varying age. Chase (unpublished field notes) proposes that the majority of mound construction at the site took place during the Shine II phase. (Chase 1979; Freeman 2001; Wesson 1997). Changes in ceramic styles, coupled with the development of a complex public construction program and increased access to prestige goods represent major social changes between Shine I and Shine II periods. These changes may represent the westward expansion of polities along the Chattahoochee River or the rise of local paramountcy during this period (Wesson et al. 2001). Additional research is necessary to fully address these cultural transformations, but the data presently available support the contention that a prestige-goods system was in place along the Tallapoosa River during the Shine II phase.

During the Atasi phase there was an increasing dispersal of burial goods to larger segments of society. Using the definition of “prestige-goods materials” set forth by Knight (1985), Peregrine (1992), and others (Friedman 1982; Frankenstein and Rowland 1978), analysis reveals that more than half of the Atasi phase burials contain high-status goods. Of those that contain these status-related items three burials contain status goods of aboriginal origin while 24 contain status goods of European origin. These patterns conform to expectations developed out of non-burial analysis at Tukabatchee (Knight 1985). One possibility for continued use of such items as status markers by elites would be control of large quantities of these items. Thus, status may not have been related to the mere posses-

sion of a small number of high-status items but rather to their control in numbers too great for social rivals to equal. Such elite strategies would have undoubtedly touched off an inflationary spiral in the number of prestige goods needed to claim increased social status vis-à-vis other members of society. These actions would result in discernible archaeological signatures, primarily in the form of burials containing increasing numbers of European goods.

Analysis of Atasi phase burials reveals the hoarding of just such items in increasingly large quantities. Although this is an imprecise measure of social prestige it does indicate that there remained differential levels of access to these goods. Prestige items may have continued to flow through Creek society without absolute control by chiefs, but through the manipulation of these goods in greater numbers than their social rivals, elites would have continued to advance their sociopolitical power. This supports Knight's (1985) conclusion that social status during the Atasi phase no longer rested on sacra empowered by supernatural connections but on the accumulation and display of these items. Such a transition suggests that social status in historic Creek society was increasingly achieved rather than ascribed.

Another strategy which chiefly elites may have employed as Creek society became inundated with prestige goods would be to change the nature of social currencies indicative of social status. Knight (1985) proposes that a shift took place in the Creek political economy by arguing that changes were made in the nature of high-status goods between the Atasi phase and Tallapoosa phase. This transition took the form of a changing definition of the items necessary for advancing one's social position, from increasingly ubiquitous items to those more easily controlled by elites (Little et al. 1992). Based on documented increases in trade density after the advent of Creek trade with Europeans, such trends are not unexpected and are supported by previous research (Knight 1985; Waselkov 1993; Waselkov et al. 1990). Hitting on the same historical themes, but focusing on a slightly later temporal period, Claudio Saunt's (1999) work pres-

ents additional evidence for the long-term transformation of political economies among the Upper Creeks. Where earlier Creek participation in the deerskin trade largely conformed to long-standing pre-contact patterns, with little social pressure toward the competitive accumulation of material wealth, Saunt (1999:42–45) views the mid-eighteenth century as a period of dramatic change in Creek attitudes toward the deerskin trade. A report by Atkins in the 1750s suggests that traditional means of claiming social standing were being abandoned, with “The ‘old Head Men of Note’ . . . [having] to earn their ‘great Veneration’ from material riches” (cited in Saunt 1999:47). An additional threat to local political economies was the introduction of cattle and the division of the landscape into fields controlled by individual families. As Saunt (1999:47) suggests, these practices “threatened the very identity of the Creeks.”

Knight (1985:175–176) contends that during the Atasi phase a transition occurred in the Creek domestic economy and social relations: “Here we have evidence, for the first time, of an exceptional domestic interest in the acquisition and display of foreign exotica . . . an unprecedented development—let us call it a domestic ‘economics of ostentation.’” Knight (1985:174–175, 178–179) also states his belief that during the Atasi phase these items represented a separate economic sphere than those of the elite prestige-goods economy but that during the Tallapoosa phase these items began to threaten the nature of elite social position and legitimacy. Such changes in the nature of social position did not arise quickly but occurred through an increase in individual economic activity and household-based status accumulation. Ultimately, the nature of social power became tied to the control of large numbers of European prestige goods and economic success rather than through traditional means of accumulating social power. As Saunt (1999:42) contends:

Before the 1760s, the deerskin trade did little to alter the relationship between Creeks and property. The trade operated in the context of long-established Creek subsistence practices. Men hunted as they had always done, and women contin-

ued to farm. With the trade, they participated in commercial exchange to secure some goods, but the market existed between them and outside traders, not between Creeks. Moreover, Creeks established kin relationships with traders, making the exchange of goods reciprocal and obligatory rather than purely commercial.

One of the items thought to have played a major role in the alteration of the Creek prestige-goods system is silver (Knight 1985). Large quantities of silver were not made available to the southeastern Indians until late in the eighteenth century so control of this exotic trade good at an earlier time is thought to have been closely associated with social rank. Results of my analysis indicate that silver played an increasingly important role in the expression of social prestige in Creek culture.

Other items thought to have increased in importance as social markers are money, slaves, and European domesticated animals. Unfortunately these vestiges of social position have little or no archaeological manifestation that can be directly addressed in this study. Available burial data do support the view of a decline in elite control of prestige goods, increased dispersal of prestige goods throughout Creek society, and possible alterations in the use of items as social markers.

Although these findings support a view of individuals and households augmenting their social positions vis-à-vis others in society, there are some potential problems with this interpretation. The primary concern is that the items identified in Creek burials as prestige goods are actually representative of social processes and not just functional items or insignificant material goods. This research approaches all material items as possessing both a material and ideological basis, thus there can be no insignificant or meaningless material culture. Pearson (1984:61) contends, "Artifacts cannot be divided up according to economic, social, or ideological criteria. All practice and the technology employed to implement that practice is mediated through ideology with each item taking its mean-

ing from the whole set of material conditions, social practices and belief systems.”

To minimize the potential of misidentifying prestige goods in Creek society their material conditions, social practices, and belief systems have been explored. I applied a conservative view of prestige goods was applied in this study, stressing only those items previously identified in archaeological and ethnohistoric studies as status-related goods in Creek society (Knight 1985; Peregrine 1992; Waselkov et al. 1990). This strategy is designed to compare the distribution of these goods through time, and, as indicated, several patterns have emerged. The analysis of burial goods as measures of social status is always problematic, as has been demonstrated in other research (O’Shea 1984; Tainter 1975). The use of presence/absence measures in this study is an attempt to avoid giving priority to the number of goods placed with an individual given that the relative importance of each class of burial goods is unknown. For instance, do two guns equal one silver earring in the Creek prestige-goods system? Since these questions cannot be answered with the available data the presence of these items is used as an indicator of access to prestige goods. Certainly much of the social diversity represented in these remains is lost through such an approach, but it is thought that this approach will reveal material trends which can inform us of the social changes in historic Creek society.

Analysis of burial data supports a view of increasing social access to prestige goods and the ability of individuals and households to increase their relative social status in competition with others for these resources. The picture of protohistoric and historic Creek social life that emerges is one of competing agendas and a constant negotiation of status hierarchies and social position. This situation meets the present understanding of cultural hegemony because economic and political powers are not seen as leading to cultural control, illustrating positions as negotiated through consensus rather than coercion (Beaudry et al. 1991:165; Gramsci 1971).

As was argued previously, an increase in trade densities of high-

status goods threatens the very nature of elite social status in prestige-goods systems (Ekholm 1972). During the historic period elite control of prestige goods was undermined through the increasing European presence in the Southeast and the advent of the deerskin trade. With the greater availability of trading partners and the removal of large segments of the population from the local community for months at a time individuals were presented with new opportunities for securing these goods directly from Europeans without a need for chiefly elites. Such exchanges brought large quantities of these materials into the Creek communities and served to erode centralized control of nonlocal trade relations (Piker 2004).

Joshua Piker's (2004) recent historical volume on the Upper Creek village of Okfuskee suggests that many of these changes I identify archaeologically are supported by historical evidence as well. Presented as a conflict in values between the traditional political economy, which he refers to as primarily a *religious economy*, and the emerging capitalist-based, *nonreligious* political economy, Piker (2004:148) suggests that the traditional political economy

produced a set of connections between the hunter and both the nonhuman beings addressed in his rites and the human beings who shared in his ceremonies and consume the products of his hunt. A nonreligious economy produced a different web of connections and relationships, a different society. The evolving deerskin trade, then, illuminates not only the Okfuskee's relations with the material world but also their connections to fellow townspeople and Euro-American traders. Changes in the Okfuskee's production and sale of deerskins—in the volume of skins traded, the ways those skins were processed, the seasonal nature of the work, the number and character of the town's traders—reveal profound shifts in community life.

He certainly identifies areas of continuity within the social practices of the Okfuskees, but his detailed analysis of the impacts of the seventeenth-century deerskin trade on their community indi-

cates that “By the late 1760s, the relationships that the deerskin trade had formerly encouraged and the town-focused life resulted from those ties were under assault by the modes of interaction promoted by the new-style exchange system. Trade, which had helped to bind Okfuskee together, now threatened to tear it apart” (Piker 2004:154).

Based on these results one would have to conclude that there was indeed a decline in elite ability to control prestige goods during the historic period. The distribution of prestige goods in burial contexts indicates the increasing social importance of burial goods, particularly those of nonlocal origin. This pattern has also been identified in other areas of the Southeast as burial goods become more common, more widespread, and potentially more meaningful (Smith 1987). Both prestige and nonprestige goods increased in number and distribution over time; Tallapoosa phase burials received a wide variety of prestige goods, some in extreme quantities. The mere presence of prestige goods in burial contexts may not necessarily represent a complete collapse in chiefly mechanisms of control over prestige goods, but there is evidence that their availability and social meaning changed markedly. As Saunt (1999:43) states,

Foreign-manufactured goods in and of themselves did not alter the Creek attitude toward riches, though these items replaced some local products, reducing the need for women’s labor. Muskogees certainly desired trade goods, as a Creek leader named Mortar stated in 1765: “In former times, we were entirely unacquainted with the customs of the white people, but since they have come among us, we have been clothed as they are, and accustomed to their ways, which makes it at this day absolutely necessary that we should be supplied with your goods.”

The analysis of household storage facilities, activity areas, and architectural remains contributes to this view and provides a more robust interpretation of Creek culture change.

Is there evidence of a decline in elite abilities to control surplus foodstuffs?

One feature thought to be closely related with challenges to elite authority is domestic storage pits, especially those containing evidence of food storage. A central role of Creek chiefs was their control of surplus foodstuffs. Early Spanish documents indicate that elites controlled large stores of food and that individuals from the local community were responsible for periodic contributions to these stores (Elvas 1968; Hudson 1990; Vega 1951). In paramount towns tribute in the form of surplus food was collected from all subject communities as well. During the historic period there is evidence that the chiefly role as redistributor of surplus foodstuffs began to decline as contributions to these stores were no longer compulsory but recommended (Bartram 1853; 1958). Such declines would have threatened what many researchers see as a hallmark of chiefdom-level societies and the very nature of social power in Creek society (Fried 1967; Service 1962). Declines in elite control of food surpluses and in the contributions made to these stores would have promoted increased household-based storage of foodstuffs. Morse (1980) and DeBoer (1988) have argued that during the height of elite power household-based storage would have primarily been designed to hide food supplies from the community for the exclusive use of the household. During times of reduced elite authority such storage would have served as a symbol of household wealth (DeBoer 1988; Morse 1980; Wesson 1999).

Analysis of Atasi phase storage features indicates limited household-based food-storage facilities. These structures lack evidence of subsurface storage features, indicating that foods were either stored in another manner by the household or that they were placed in communal stores controlled by elites. Based on the analysis of the size of storage features coupled with ethnohistoric data, there is reason to believe that the chief's role as the controller of surplus foodstuffs lasted well into the Atasi phase.

There was also a tremendous increase in the number of storage pits containing botanical remains in the households from the Atasi

phase to the Tallapoosa phase. Only eight Atasi phase storage pits were identified in the present analysis, none containing botanical remains. Of the Tallapoosa phase storage pits, 17 of the 33 contained botanical remains (51.5 percent). At present this data is tentative, and complete flotation of these features has yet to be undertaken. There may also be a bias in sampling since there are more Tallapoosa phase structures available for analysis than those from the Atasi phase. Presently available data, however, support the conclusion that the number of household-based storage facilities increased from the Atasi phase to the Tallapoosa phase, as did the practice of storing food supplies within the domestic structure.

The advent of household-based storage of foodstuffs is seen as a direct reaction against the traditional control of these supplies by social elites. Reliance upon household food reserves would have placed a premium on domestic relations in subsistence activities as individuals chose to forgo long-standing mechanisms of elite redistribution. Such actions would have reinforced the importance of the domestic economy and would have become an additional mechanism for the display of household-based social status (DeBoer 1988; Morse 1980; Wesson 1999).

Both the increase in number and volume of storage features during the historic period tend to support a view of increasing household-based storage and a decline in elite control of surpluses. One potential problem for this interpretation is the possibility that there were alternative means of storage for foodstuffs within household contexts during previous periods that do not produce unambiguous archaeological remains. It has been suggested that the semisubterranean nature of the Atasi phase winter house might have provided enough of a heat-sink to serve as adequate storage throughout the year (Sheldon, personal communication, 1996). This suggestion has yet to be evaluated but it remains an alternative explanation that can be tested against additional data. Available evidence, however, suggests that the nature of household-based storage changed dramatically between the Atasi and Tallapoosa phases.

I contend that the results of my research indicate a reduction

in elite abilities to control surplus foodstuffs. One of the primary roles of a chief was to serve as a redistributive figure. Early accounts from the de Soto expedition on record the presence of *barbacoas*, or community food storage facilities (Bartram 1958; Bourne 1904; Swanton 1922). These storage facilities were controlled exclusively by the chief who served as the redistributor of these stored foods. This corporate storage of foodstuffs would explain the absence of features related to food-storage pits in households during the protohistoric Atasi phase. Thus, the large number of food-storage facilities present in postcontact Creek households represents the demise of corporate storage facilities and the rise of household control over surplus foods.

Is there a decline in the materialization of elite-centered ideologies in both material culture and spatial order?

Data evaluated in my investigation coupled with previous research on the structure of historic Creek settlements (Ashley 1988; Saunt 1999) supports the view of a decline in the currency of elite-centered ideologies. A loss of the hallmarks of elite power, control of surplus foodstuffs, and high-status prestige-related items would have placed existing chiefly elites in a compromising situation. Many of the prestige goods controlled by southeastern chiefs during the Mississippian and protohistoric periods contained iconographic embellishment that connected local elites to the esoteric knowledge of distant centers. During the historic period such claims could be made by anyone possessing European items viewed as equal to the indigenously produced items. The increased availability of prestige goods and the decline in previous iconographic traditions (Smith 1987) acted to reduce opportunities for the elite to materialize their ideologies.

Additionally, the spatial mediums used by Creek micos were altered. As was previously argued, Creek chiefs represented themselves as being tied to the supernatural forces of the cosmos, therefore vital to the successful functioning of social and ritual life. During the historic period a series of changes in the structure of local commu-

nities challenged this position of elite centrality or causality. First, through the imposition of council houses and the decline in direct elite connections with mounds, one segment of elite spatial differentiation was compromised. In addition to a reduction or elimination of mound construction the reorganization of the Creek town also altered the relationship between the Creek community and the structure of its cosmological and social world (Bartram 1853). The continued removal of households from nucleated villages into previously unsettled areas would also have threatened chiefly claims to the power of sacred space. No longer the integral focus of a centered community Creek chiefs were simply another component in a nonhierarchical community structure.

These processes would have severely limited elite abilities to present their ideological agenda to the community at large and would have removed many of the external connections necessary for continuation of their privileged social positions. By compromising both the material and ideological underpinnings of elite authority Creek society began to place increasing importance on achieved social status rather than inheritance. Increasingly, traditional ideologies gave way to competing ideologies and cultural negotiation. Stripped of its traditional mechanism of legitimization elite power now rested on success in the marketplace and access to knowledge from European sources (Knight 1985).

Is there evidence of change in the social, behavioral, and material components of historic Creek households?

There is certainly evidence of significant changes in all aspects of Creek households presented in this study. Evidence for social changes in the Creek household can be found in the changing nature of co-residential groups and the movement away from aggregated winter houses and their replacement with more stable household demographics. In addition, the dramatic change in the size of the Creek summer house indicates social changes as well. Becoming smaller over time Creek houses tell a story of declining household membership and a move toward a household structure more reminiscent

of the nuclear family. This change may be a direct influence of the desire of U.S. government officials to shape the Creek social world in a more European form or it may simply reflect the basic components of traditional Creek households (Knight 1985). Regardless of the ultimate genesis of this change the results had a number of impacts on Creek social organization and the social composition of Creek households. As Piker (2004:152) contends, “When approximately a third of the Okfuskees’ deerskins were traded raw, it had the potential to disrupt the town’s web of social relations. Creeks believed that a deer’s skin belonged to the hunter, but that his female relatives should dress the skin; the hunter then traded it and used the goods he received to provide for his family. If raw skins could be traded openly and in large quantities, then men (especially unmarried men) could trade without relying to such a large degree on women.”

Behavioral changes in the Creek household are most notable as they relate to the processing of deerskins and other trade-related activities. If Waselkov (1994) is correct that the Creek were increasingly absent from their villages for long periods of time during the year, the behavior of households while in hunting camps would have differed greatly from life in settled communities. Additionally, the density of smudge pits in household contexts from the Tallapoosa phase indicates an increasing amount of household activity was directed toward the processing of hides for the deerskin trade. Such activities would have reduced the time available for other tasks and would have perhaps altered the daily activities of every household member. Increased household-based storage would also have required new roles and behaviors within the household.

The average Tallapoosa phase structure has six smudge pits within a five-meter radius, indicating a tremendous amount of household effort was invested in the production of finished hides. This is consistent with the increased importance of commercial hunting during the Tallapoosa phase as households and individuals were increasingly involved in activities related to these exchanges. If the number of deerskins procured by an individual meant an increase

in his ability to trade for larger numbers of European goods, there is the possibility that the processing of large numbers of skins became not only a necessary task but a status demonstration as well. By processing a large number of hides outside the domestic structure in view of other members of the community such actions were potential status displays in their own right as households demonstrated their ability to claim skins for exchange with Europeans. This view of hide processing is somewhat theoretical but is consistent with the concept of social life proposed by Bourdieu (1977), Giddens (1984), and others (Krais 1993; Lash 1993; LiPuma 1993; Merleau-Ponty 1955; Ollman 1993) where all human actions are seen as taking place within a social network. Every action is seen as possessing a “transformative capacity” from which social change is generated (Giddens 1984:15).

Essentially, the Creek household presented in ethnohistoric literature is composed of a series of up to four individual structures arranged around a central work area where tasks vital to the household were undertaken. This pattern stands in stark contrast to that of other southeastern groups (Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw) whose primary household continued to be the two-structure seasonally specific pattern used by the Creek during the Atasi phase. Most Creek households were located in the immediate vicinity of the town center during the Atasi phase while others were located on adjacent streams and connected to the village by paths (Hudson 1976:213). During the Tallapoosa phase, however, households began to scatter throughout the countryside, away from village centers (Ashley 1988; Saunt 1999).

Creek houses were the centers of daily life, serving as the site of family activities as well as production and consumption tasks necessary to the household. The Creek household was the dominant coresidential group. Knight (1985:119–120) suggests that the four-structure households described by Bartram (1853) and others did not constitute one household but rather a grouping of matrilineally related households. Thus, these groups may have cooperated economically but may not have been coresidential.

The Creek household can be considered a vernacular architectural tradition since it illustrates architecture of the commoner. A vernacular tradition (also known as “folk architecture”) is constructed by the average individual in society and is the “direct and unself-conscious translation into physical form of a culture, its needs and values—as well as the desires, dreams, and passions of a people” (Rapoport 1969:2). It is a model with few individual variations and does not require the specialized services or knowledge of a professional craftsman. Although cultural conventions change with time, change comes at the slowest rate through vernacular architectural traditions. With the Creek, however, a dramatic change in domestic architecture is found between the Atasi and Tallapoosa phases. An analysis of this architectural change provides an improved understanding of Creek culture change and the role of the Creek household in these changes.

Since the circular winter structure was no longer used in the Tallapoosa phase direct comparisons cannot be made between this structure and later Creek houses. The abandonment of these winter houses appears to correspond with the initial development of the deerskin trade, and by AD 1725 there is no evidence of the winter house in Creek domestic contexts. Waselkov (1994:195) contends that this transition in domestic architecture is a direct Creek response to the growing deerskin trade:

With the advent of long winter hunts, villages were virtually abandoned during that season in favor of temporary, mobile hunting camps. In place of the modest number of deerskins formerly obtained for personal clothing, large quantities of easily perishable skins now needed to be stored until they could be sold to itinerant traders. These factors combined to create new architectural needs not met by the traditional semisubterranean houses, which were neither suitable for large-scale deerskin storage nor any longer necessary for winter warmth in villages now occupied by only a fraction of their summer population. So labor-intensive pit construction was soon aban-

doned for domestic use, surviving only for special purpose structures such as town rotundas.

These winter houses served not only one segment of a matrilineage, but given their size and number in comparison to Atasi phase summer structures, there is the possibility that they served as a winter house for multiple segments of a matrilineally extended family (Sheldon, personal communication). Several of the individual household groups that would have lived separately during summer may have coalesced during the winter, forming a much larger domestic unit. If true, such composite households would have promoted greater cooperation and group identity and strengthened extended familial relationships. Given the size of these houses, the maximum coresidential group would have varied between six and ten individuals.

As Waselkov (1994:195) argues, by the Tallapoosa Phase these structures were no longer being constructed based on the amount of time and effort needed in their construction. The domestic architectural structure used during this period was the traditional summer house, and strong architectural and spatial similarities persisted between the Atasi phase summer structures and their Tallapoosa phase counterparts. This change in the architectural form of the Creek domestic structure has social, demographic, and ideological implications. If the household is a culture in microcosm as has been proposed by Deetz (1982), Wilk and Rathje (1982), and others, then a change in the structure of the house has implications for cultural perceptions of both the social and cosmological universes.

Analysis indicates that the Tallapoosa phase summer structures are substantially smaller than their Atasi phase counterparts. This reduction in house size is consistent with expectations for the Tallapoosa phase, indicating that the number of individuals residing in Creek households declined during the historic period. This pattern suggests a decline in household occupancy from an average of five or six to three or four. The social implications of this pattern of change are dramatic, leading not only to fewer individuals core-

siding but also to changes in the nature of activities performed by the household and the household's place of importance in the Creek economy and social organization. One possible explanation for this pattern is an increase in the ability of younger married couples to found their own households based on the new resources made available through the deerskin trade. Thus, individuals who may have previously been tied to the household of a matrilineal kin would have been able to found their own (see Henri 1986 for other possible interpretations of this change).

Analysis of the construction elements used in these houses reveals no change in their size or in their internal spatial patterns. Thus, there is good evidence that the household continued to perform many of the same activities but had been reduced in the number of household members. As was discussed previously, it has been suggested that the four-structure arrangement of Creek houses described by Hawkins may actually have been a series of several segments of a matrilineage organized into a spatially related pattern of structures. This may prove to be the case, but Fusihatchee provides little evidence to evaluate this claim because none of these four-structure households has been identified. Instead, a series of individual structures were placed across the site, and there exists little evidence to support the ownership of multiple houses by one coresidential domestic group. It is possible that none of the excavated structures at Fusihatchee of Hickory Ground were affluent enough to garner additional structures or that these secondary structures may not have left significant archaeological evidence.

The Late Tallapoosa phase structure at Tin Chaw Way indicates that during the last period of occupation in Alabama (1832–1836) many Creeks adopted the colonial frontier log cabin as their primary domestic structure. These structures were derived from the notched-log cabins used in early pioneer buildings along the southeastern frontier, and the Creek derivation from these colonial examples is understandable given the state of affairs in Creek society during this period. These domestic structures were rectangular and developed as a synthesis of the traditional summer form utilized by

the Creeks and the colonial cabins built by white settlers. The floor plan and spatial division of these structures is believed to have followed Creek cultural conventions, but many of them incorporated stone fireplaces and central entrances similar to their colonial counterparts as well as other colonial elements. There is evidence that these structures served as year-round houses, replacing the more traditional seasonally specific household arrangement of multiple structures. Between 1815 and 1836 this hewn-log structure became the predominant domestic architectural form for both the Lower Creek and several Cherokee groups as well (Schroedl 1985:227).

Evidence from Tin Chaw Way indicates that many traditional artifact types had been abandoned, making the Creek household more reliant on European trade goods. European ceramics, tableware, containers, cooking hardware, and other personal effects were all present in the late-historic Creek household, and it is argued that in most instances there is little significant difference in the archaeological signature between this household and its colonial-American counterpart (McClung 1993). Architecturally, these structures are thought to have been almost identical as well, but given their above-ground construction few subsurface architectural features are present (Waselkov 1984:15). This domestic architectural pattern is presently seen as an outgrowth of the U.S. government's policy of "civilizing" the Creek initiated at the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, the division of communal lands into private allotments, and the continually expanding emphasis on the household as the primary unit of Creek subsistence, economics, and social organization.

As was originally proposed, the changes in domestic architecture revealed in this analysis point to a reduction in household membership and changes in the nature of the Creek household itself. A reduction in the number of individuals occupying a shared household may also have affected the nature of social relations within matrilineages as increased emphasis was placed on the role of household members in meeting the productive tasks necessary for household functioning. If multiple matrilineage segments had lived together

for several months at a time during the Atasi phase then the loss of such practices would have acted to reduce the ties between former coresident kin groups and minimize opportunities for cooperative activities. As this process continued, the Creek household is thought to have more closely resembled the European nuclear family (Knight 1985). Knight contends that the nuclear family had always been a major social component of Creek households and that such a transition would not have been unusual for the Creek, but the loss of extended-family cohabitation would have played a significant role in shaping the Tallapoosa phase household and historic Creek social relationships.

Not only did the Creek household undergo a series of changes, but the relationship between individual households and the larger community was altered as well. Changes in settlement structure have been recorded both ethnohistorically (Bartram 1853; Piker 2004; Saunt 1999) and archaeologically (Ashley 1988), with present data pointing toward fissioning within Creek communities and the process of household dispersal from nucleated towns out into the surrounding areas (see Blitz 1999). Ethnohistoric documents concerning these changes indicate that they are also related to changes in Creek chiefly power and an increasing independence on the part of many Creek households.

In his *Sketch of the Creek and Cherokee Country*, William Bartram (1853:52–53) indicates that there were two different templates for the public architecture of the Creek: an early, prehistoric pattern and the later pattern for which we have the most documentary evidence. The prehistoric template indicates that the Creeks used supportive mounds for both the square ground and the council house (figure 20). An alternative explanation is offered by DePratter (1991:165), who contends that council houses were extremely rare from AD 1000–1600 and that these structures were actually chiefly residences. Not only is this possible, but, given the abundance of evidence for chiefly mound residence and a corresponding lack of data for council houses during this period, it seems probable (Bourne 1904).

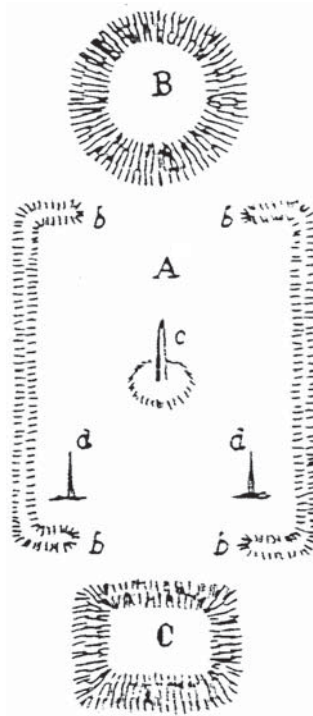


Figure 20. Bartram's prehistoric Creek town plan
(Bartram 1853:52)

DePratter suggests that as sociopolitical hierarchies formed, council houses began to decline in number. Coinciding with this greater centralization and complexity there was an increase in the size and prominence of chiefly residences. DePratter (1991:165) states that “councils which advised the chief or controlled his decisions may have been present during the early stages of the development of a chiefdom, but as the chief grew stronger, the councils apparently grew weaker and eventually disappeared all together in most southeastern chiefdoms.” The accounts of Hawkins (1848), Taitt (1916), Bartram (1853), and Swan (1855) suggest that the chief's house continued to serve a semipublic role in Creek society. This is understandable if it replaced a communal building form. Archaeological evidence to support this transition in power from a civic body

to the chief can be found in research by Lewis and Kneberg (1946), Wauchope (1966), and DeJarnette (1975). It is possible that in some cases chiefly mounds were constructed on top of previous council houses, providing a powerful symbolic termination of a village government based on consensus and the imposition of a more centralized and powerful chiefly elite.

This view sees the rise of chiefs developing out of an established duality of power between the council and the chief. As society became more complex with greater productive capacity and increased population density the role of chief began to increase in importance, with individual leaders seizing greater authority within society and extending his power over multiple settlements. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries council houses reappeared across the Southeast and become a mainstay in European accounts. There was a corresponding decline in the construction of mounds for chiefly residences, and, one may infer, a decline in the absolute authority of chiefs as well. After this point, a balance of power appears to have been struck between the council and the chief. The accounts of Bartram and others indicate a limited mico power placed in constant check by the council and a reimposition of consensus in political matters.

Creek communities were constructed after the cosmos, making the local community a model of social and supernatural relationships. At the center of this system were Creek micos who added to their power by tying themselves to this sacred order. During the historic period the material nature of Creek elites was altered significantly as nonelites began to have access to increasing quantities of prestige-related goods. Such an undermining of elite social power would have placed even greater stress on the Creek-built environment as a materialization of elite ideologies. During the Tallapoosa phase the ability of elites to manipulate spatial mediums was also called into question as the organization of Creek settlements was changed (figure 21) and individual households began to move away from nucleated villages and into unpopulated areas.

Such movements were often designed as direct challenges to elite

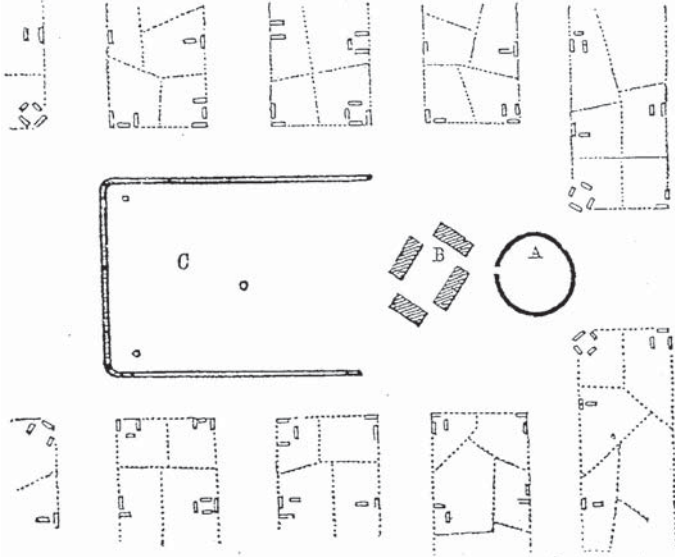


Figure 21. Bartram's historic Creek town plan
(Bartram 1853:53)

power (Moore 1988:62–63; Swanton 1922:229) or as strategic movements on the part of households to place themselves in a better position to secure the resources needed to further their economic development (Saunt 1999; Swanton 1922:229). Many of these households were attempting to gain access to larger areas of land for the raising of livestock or to claim larger pieces of land for the cultivation of noncommunal foodstuffs (Piker 2004; Saunt 1999; Sheldon 1974:112). The first Creeks to move away from towns are thought to have been those married to whites or the children of such unions (Bartram 1853:38), and these acts are usually seen as direct attempts to improve the wealth and status of these individuals and their families (Ashley 1988:115). Many of these newly affluent mixed-bloods would become the most powerful and wealthy Creeks as they positioned themselves within both the European and Creek communities to advance their social prestige and economic advantage.

As with the loss of the control of prestige goods Creek elites were

increasingly faced with the desertion of their population and the constant creation of new rivals to challenge their authority. The dispersal of Creek communities during the Tallapoosa phase is an indication of this process. Whether intended by all those who chose to move away from their communities or as an unexpected consequence, the results of this process were a further independence of Creek households and an erosion of the traditional mechanisms of chiefly claims to power. Such processes acted to limit elite authority severely, eventually resulting in a dynamic sociopolitical structure that fluctuated with economic cycles and constant competition between rival households and families.

Material changes in the historic Creek household were perhaps the most dramatic of all changes. Alterations in structures thought to represent a myriad of culturally specific messages would have had enormous impacts on Creek culture. The loss of the traditional Creek winter house and the adoption of the summer house for year-round occupation represent major changes in the material nature of Creek households and demonstrate quite clearly one element of Creek culture change. In addition to material alterations in the architectural nature of Creek houses, Creek households also began to be the repositories of a wide range of new material objects as the fruits of their labors from the deerskin trade were brought home in the form of ever-increasing quantities of European goods. Although the argument has been advanced throughout this work that these changes were not driven by functional-material considerations, the introduction of many items did increase the productive capacities and the material nature of Creek households.

Taken together this evidence demonstrates quite clearly the numerous changes in the social, behavioral, and material aspects of Creek households during the historic period. Although the rates and nature of change varied from household to household the general trend in all areas of household composition is toward greater social and economic dependence upon the household. The increased importance of the accumulation of high-status goods, household-based subsistence strategies, and greater economic autonomy led to

increased household independence and ultimately resulted in many of the larger changes in Creek culture noted during this period.

Is there evidence that Creek social ranking changed from ascribed to achieved during the historic period?

The evidence for this change is somewhat inconclusive; however, there are some indications that such a transition may have taken place. Evidence from Fusihatchee supports claims by Knight (1985) concerning the domestic economy and social ranking at Tukabatchee. There is increasing evidence in household contexts of the accumulation of European goods, with nonfunctional items of adornment thought to be the most ubiquitous. These items were not selected by the Creek simply because of their exoticism but also because they were similar to previously unavailable items needed for social reproduction. The increasing availability of these items to individual Creek would have presented significant challenges to existing social orders (Braund 1993; Ekholm 1972; Peregrine 1992; Piker 2004; Saunt 1999).

Although some elements of inherited social position remained consistent throughout the historic period, never indicating a complete abandonment of the traditional hereditary selection of *micos*, historic Creek social and political decisions were consensus based. As such, many of the decisions made by a chief and his council were made through the mobilization of factions to the aid of political leaders. This mobilization often took the forms of gift giving and the formation of alliances that took place outside the Creek town councils. Thus, it was possible for individuals who had accumulated social prestige through success in commercial ventures and the deerskin trade to parlay this position into social action. As such, there is no indication of a complete transition in Creek social status from ascribed to achieved, but there is evidence that achieved social status was much easier to come by during the historic period than before.

In addition, the Creek social landscape appears to have become much more dynamic during the historic period than at any previous

time. With the ability of individuals and households to improve their social standing through the accumulation of prestige goods those desirous of improved social position could obtain it. With numerous households and individuals opting for the same mechanisms of social aggrandizement, however, social rankings would have always been somewhat tentative and subject to reevaluation. This would have made continued success in the deerskin trade necessary for maintaining achieved social positions and would have continued to bring European items to the Creek community in large numbers.

What was the role of the Creek household in these larger social changes?

The answer to this question is not an easy one, but suffice it to say that all of the cultural changes occurring in Creek society during the historic period were firmly rooted in the household. As was previously discussed (chapter 1), the household is one of the most pervasive and important social formations, and it is through the household that individuals gain an awareness of their culture. During the historic period the household played an even greater role in Creek society, becoming the primary center of production and consumption and constituting a major social role in Creek society. With households becoming increasingly independent traditional family and clan relations were no longer as important in the formation of social networks and the establishment of social positions.

All of the changes identified in this analysis took place within a household context. Many of these changes stood in direct conflict with traditional Creek culture and placed those who participated in them in opposition to existing status hierarchies. Through these and similar acts of resistance Creek culture and the power of chiefs was permanently altered, resulting in the factionalization of Creek society and a series of conflicts that served to limit Creek ability to resist the territorial expansion of the United States. Taken in their totality, these processes of change in the Creek household reveal a pattern of resistance to traditional elite authority and an increasingly household-based focus in matters of subsistence and economics. Al-

though declines in elite power enabled the increasing imposition of European hegemony over Creek affairs such declines allowed individuals and Creek households greater independence and increased opportunities to improve their social position.

By exposing the ideologies at work in Creek households, it is possible to view changes in Creek culture as responses to internal desires to alter existing social inequalities. Some individual Creeks made decisions that favored the accumulation of material goods and the subversion of traditional commitments to society at large, while others did not. Such actions created an inflationary cultural spiral where an increasing number of European material goods were necessary for reinforcing claims to social and economic status. As such, the Creek were not dependent upon European trade goods because they were functionally superior but because they had become central components in networks of social status and prestige—necessary elements for certain forms of social reproduction.

The selective adoption of European material items and the use of these items in Creek contexts indicate that many of the changes noted in historic Creek culture change were not brought about by European design but were instead products of internal Creek social processes (see Silliman 2001, 2005). The use of European material items in the Creek prestige-goods economy indicates that although these items may have held a functional advantage over their aboriginal equivalents, they were not being used as was intended by those originally producing or exchanging them. The use of these items within preexisting systems for reckoning social status reinforced existing views of social reproduction while simultaneously undermining them. This process resulted in an opportunity for many Creek to augment their social standing.

These were not the European ideologies accompanying trade items, but they were, in large measure, the way in which these items were viewed and used within Creek culture. Far from being dependent on European items as was depicted by previous scholars (Cotterill 1954; Crane 1928; Debo 1941), the Creek played a much larger role than that of mere consumers. The Creek ability to position Europe-

ans against each other for their own advantage worked successfully for over a century as they became one of the most powerful societies of the Southeast: “With the help of English arms and support, the Creek had been given fighting and scalp glory such as they had never known before. They had destroyed the Apalachees, ruined the Spanish Apalachee missions, penned the French into Mobile, and the Spaniards into St. Augustine and Pensacola, and had given the Choctaws a severe thrashing. From their own point of view they were a great success; from the English point of view they had formed a massive wall which dammed the French and Spanish advance into regions toward which England’s rising empire was flowing” (Corkran 1967:56). With the profits of their trade, the Creek became “a fiercely acquisitive and affluent Indian society” (Corkran 1967:53). Adair (1968 [1775]:258) sums up the American view of the Creek during this period in their history: “They are certainly the most powerful Indian nation we are acquainted with on this continent, and within thirty years past, they are grown very warlike.”

Although many of these changes were made possible by the introduction of European goods—particularly the gun—I contend that the Creek used these items to a large extent within existing cultural frameworks until well into the eighteenth century. Creek culture change as discussed in this work is largely seen as an internal development as traditional mechanisms for the establishment of social position were manipulated by individual Creek. Trade with Europeans also affected other elements of traditional Creek culture such as the bride price. The bride’s family demanded a great deal of English goods from the prospective groom (Corkran 1967:40; Swanton 1928a:369), but these were internal reactions to external events, and such changes represent choices made by individuals and small-scale social groups in the construction of their culture. Piker’s (2004:152–154) analysis lends considerable support for these views by indicating that the challenges presented by these new trading patterns led to declining reliance upon matrilineal kin for the processing of skins, longer absences from the local community while engaged in trade, and illicit backcountry traders plying their Creek

trading partners with alcohol. As Piker (2004:154) demonstrates, headmen complained about all of these concerns, fearing that they ultimately would lead to community disaggregation and the breakup of Creek towns. The deerskin trade ceased encouraging cooperative labor and the centrality of the town (*talwa*) and micos with the local political economy. The desire to acquire European goods eventually undermined the very social networks that formed the essential structuring principles of community life. As Piker (2004:156) contends, Creek communities endured “despite their economic relations, not because of them.”

Available data support the view that the Creek household became increasingly important in social reproduction and the construction of historic Creek culture. Taken in concert, all of the research questions demonstrate the utility of the household as an analytical unit in the appraisal of historic Creek culture change and the importance of the household toward a meaningful understanding of these changes. Although the Creeks experienced profound social, cultural, political, and economic change following contacts with Europeans these changes were internally mediated, rooted in the abilities of individuals to construct their own social world through practice and the historical particulars of their relations with Europeans.

The process of change delineated in this work cannot be applied to other southeastern cultures wholesale, because each culture responded to European influence in very different ways, making each a unique case study. From my perspective these processes are not perfectly synonymous. Each culture responded uniquely to the opportunities and constraints presented in such interactions, and a diversity of social strategies were employed in the continuation of cultural traditions and the invention of new cultural forms. However, there are some broad similarities between the case of the Creeks and other southeastern groups. In addition, colonial contexts in other world areas present patterns of change that are, in many ways, consistent with those that I identify among the Creeks.

Previous research on cross-cultural relations, especially in colonial situations, has depicted this process of culture change as sim-

ply “acculturation” (see critiques in Cusick 1998a, 1998b). I have avoided the term in this research because the Creek case illustrates the limitations of acculturation as a theoretical concept. Although specific definitions of acculturation differ, that supplied by Kroeber (in Foster 1960:7) is the standard view of this process: “Acculturation comprises those changes produced in a culture by the influence of another culture which result in an increased similarity of the two.” Certainly there were increasing similarities in Creek and Euro-American culture from the seventeenth century to nineteenth century, but most of these similarities were confined to areas of material culture rather than ideological or social structures. Thus, even with increasing Euro-American material objects in Native American hands, the uses of the items within a social context were often very different between the colonial and indigenous communities. By simply viewing this as an example of acculturation, many of the social differences are dismissed, and the assumption is presented that Native cultures have simply succumbed to the weight of the dominant “conquest culture” (Foster 1960:11–12).

Acculturation research is highly materialistic in nature, designed to reveal replacement in toolkits and the presence of novel material items, often without attempting to discover the larger cultural meanings represented by the objects (Wesson 2001). Research by White (1975) provides an example of this materialistic bias. White developed an approach to acculturation at Native American sites that is designed to reveal the relative effects of acculturation by revealing the nature of indigenous material assemblages. White’s (1975:159–160) approach attempts to reveal the level of acculturation “by determining the relative proportion of each of these artifact types in a contact situation (Native-produced or Euro-American-produced), the archaeologist may provide himself with a rough indication of the degree of culture change in both material and non-material spheres.” However, as Smith (1987:116) notes, White never indicates how these nonmaterial changes are brought about, apparently suggesting that the mere adoption of nontraditional material culture indicates significant changes in nonmaterial culture. Such

assumptions are not always born out in the archaeological or ethnographic records.

Other attempts at acculturation research have developed indices of change which center on the replacement of aboriginal toolkits with European counterparts as well as the introduction of material items for which there are no prior indigenous counterparts (Brain 1979; Brown 1979a, 1979b). Although these studies stress the inadequacies of noncontextual acculturation research, they remain largely functional in nature, stressing the function of these artifacts without addressing the social context in which these items were operationalized. Thus, they continue the same emphasis on material traits regardless of cultural factors that might mediate the social nature of these artifacts. There is evidence from numerous southeastern archaeological sites that a wide range of European material items were used as social markers rather than as functional material objects (Smith 1987:11-53). Although Native Americans undoubtedly knew the functional value of a metal ax in comparison to its stone counterpart, these items were seen as more valuable as indicators of social ranking than means of production. The present schemes proposed by White (1975), Brain (1979), and Brown (1979a, 1979b) cannot provide mechanisms for recognizing the social value of these items, thus the appearance of metal axes is simply seen as further evidence of acculturation and the erosion of pre-contact lifeways.

Such approaches to the past and the nature of the archaeological record cannot acknowledge the nonmaterial aspects of these items and their position in local exchanges and social relationships. Smith (1987) is able to use such studies as guides in his research, but he successfully advocates a view that highlights the roles these goods played in preexisting trade relations and mechanisms of social reproduction rather than examples of acculturation. By placing emphasis not on the materiality of these remains but on their inherent social meanings, views of culture change and acculturation transcend indices of culture change and calculations of "innovation values." Such research results in interpretations of culture change that are much less numerical, but infinitely more socially meaningful.

I adopt a similar approach to the nature of culture change and the social meaning of newly introduced European material items in this volume. The lack of a discussion of acculturation in Creek culture is an intentional response to previous research efforts that are more artifact-centered than agent-centered. Acculturation studies place emphasis on discontinuities in material remains that they claim indicate the gradual change of one culture to resemble a more dominant culture with which they interact (Cusick 1998a, 1998b; Foster 1960). Culture is always composed of more than material remains, and although changes in material remains can often be linked to larger social changes, these processes need not be concomitant (Miller 1982). A review of additional studies of culture change from archaeological and ethnographic research reveals many more processes than that of acculturation and indicates the tremendous diversity in cultural responses to the introduction of new material items and nonlocal peoples.

As with the Creek other indigenous cultures of North America experienced a series of relationships with Europeans, all ultimately resulting in the loss of political autonomy and geographical domain. Numerous cultures succumbed to these forces of change; many sought refuge among other groups or retreated further into the continent's interior to flee these influences. The Cherokee and Creek were long-time rivals in the Southeast. Relations between these two groups shaped much of the early history of the region. The Cherokee were exposed to many of these same forces as the Creek, and relations between the Cherokee and Euro-Americans mirror those for the Creek in many ways. Research by Riggs (1989) and Schroedl (1986) points to numerous transitions in historic Cherokee culture during the historic period, most centering around changes in household organization and the nature of the domestic economy.

Presently available evidence suggests that the Cherokee abandoned long-standing patterns in household structure and political economy during the postcontact period (Davis et al. 1982; Riggs 1984; Schroedl 1986:542–543). Research at the historic Overhill Cherokee towns of Chota and Tanasee indicate that the Cherokee

experienced many of the changes in household economy and in the architectural organization of domestic structures as well (Schroedl 1986). Evidence suggests that the Cherokee abandoned the traditional two-structure domestic pattern between 1750 and 1775 and adapted the summer structure for year-round occupation (Schroedl 1986:542–543). By the conclusion of the eighteenth century it appears as though the Cherokee also began the transition to log cabin-like structures (Davis et al. 1982; Riggs 1984). Schroedl (1986:543) links these architectural transitions with changes in other areas of Cherokee domestic organization, arguing that they were the direct outgrowth of Cherokee and European interactions:

Euro-American contact introduced alternative architectural elements and building technology for incorporation into Cherokee dwellings. Contact also resulted in population movements which produced additional structure styles and patterns in the Overhill area. Beginning in the Revolutionary Period and culminating in the Federal Period, the Overhill Cherokee experienced serious disruptions to their socio-political and socio-economic patterns, reducing population size and altering its structure and distribution. The size and effectiveness of family economic and kin group networks were reduced. As this occurred, village entities collapsed, family units became more widely dispersed and the size of dwellings diminished.

These changes are extremely close to the series of changes experienced by the Creek during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The most striking similarities are the changes in household form. Much additional research is needed about the contact experience of other southeastern groups to attempt to identify transitions in house type for other indigenous peoples, but this is one pattern that both the Creek and Cherokee seem to share. As with the Creek it is suggested that these changes in Cherokee domestic structures were at least partially a response to the deerskin trade (Schroedl 1986:542). Since men were absent from the household for longer periods of time the construction of houses needed to be accomplished

more quickly and with less effort. The solution is thought to have been a transition to summer-house occupation year round.

The transition in household-based subsistence strategies and the competitive accumulation of prestige goods is also thought to have taken place in Cherokee households at the same time (Riggs 1989). Research indicates the development of tremendous variability in interhousehold contexts and a diversity of socioeconomic differentiation between households (Riggs 1989:336). These patterns are thought to have arisen as interhousehold competition in trade relations with Europeans began to increase and as conservative factions began to resist the importation of these goods and these changes in Cherokee culture.

Although there are some very similar aspects to the experiences of the Creek and Cherokee during this time, there were differences in their contact experiences as well. Studies of cross-cultural interactions cannot be reduced to one-size-fits-all answers. The specific details of each culture's experience need to be considered when attempting to address these complex issues. The uniqueness of each culture is undeniable, but with the use of households as primary units of analysis, a more comprehensive understanding of cultural change is possible.

Viewed from an agent-centered perspective, indigenous sociopolitical change is revealed to have been shaped far more profoundly by the actions of social actors than by the traditional European black boxes of disease and trade. The selective adoption of European material items indicates that many of the postcontact changes noted in other research efforts were not brought about by European designs but were instead products of internal social processes (Silliman 2001; Turnbaugh 1993). The use of European material culture in indigenous prestige-goods economies indicates that these items were used by native peoples in ways that were not immediately recognizable to European observers. Instead of serving merely as functional, material goods, these items functioned within precontact systems for reckoning social status, simultaneously reinforcing and undermining existing mechanisms of social reproduction.

Areas for Future Investigation

In attempting to understand changes in Creek households and Creek daily life during the historic period, several additional directions for future research readily become apparent. Perhaps the most pressing of these research needs is the recovery and analysis of additional household remains from Creek sites. Our understanding of Creek households is largely based on the materials and interpretations presented in this work, and the recovery of additional data holds the potential to further refine our understanding of Creek daily life and the culture change that the Creek experienced during the post-contact period. Such studies may also be able to address the multiethnic nature of Creek society, allowing us to recognize the presence of differing cultural traditions in Creek contexts. Additional research will also provide new data with which to assess the interpretations present in this work. Present research at the site of Hickory Ground by John Cottier, Craig Sheldon, and myself holds just such a potential.

Research addressing the nature of late prehistoric Mississippian groups in the central Alabama region will also add immeasurably to our understanding of the process of change Native American and European interactions fostered in indigenous cultures. Armed with this information we will be better suited to determine the exact nature of local Mississippian communities, prestige-goods economies, and the cultural relation of these peoples to the historic Creeks. Materials from Mississippian Shine I phase and Shine II phase households in the central Alabama region can provide much of this needed information, and although previous archaeological investigations targeted Shine sites, results currently remain unpublished. Archaeological survey has identified the location of several Shine sites (Knight 1994a), but only limited archaeological investigation of these sites has taken place (Wesson 1997). Final analysis of unpublished materials from the Jere Shine site will also add immeasurably to our understanding of the late prehistory of this region (Freeman 2001). With more complete data from Shine I phase and Shine II phase sites, the development of local Mississippian polities

and culture can be assessed, as can their connections to Moundville and Lamar Mississippian groups.

Although these areas of suggested future research address the particular case at hand, there is also a need for more information on the historic culture change of other southeastern indigenous cultures. At present there are few studies that address the nature and direction of contact-period experience for individual southeastern cultures. Most studies are generalized discussions of the contact period and accompanying Native American acculturation and include little data from archaeological investigations of historic sites. With an increase in research at Native American sites from the historic period we can begin to gain a better understanding of similarities and differences in the effects of European interactions on indigenous southeastern cultures as well as the role of individual agency in the course of these interactions.

Research with a decided ideological focus will also be of benefit to the current research and to our understanding of the development and decline of sociopolitical complexity in the southeastern United States. Such studies will provide more information on the role of ideology and specific areas of dominance and resistance employed by Native American peoples. If we begin to see all action as containing some form of ideological content then a more complete picture of social life emerges. Such research will also provide additional evidence that individuals are always faced with certain constraints and opportunities and that the choices they make result in the social phenomena which we recover in the form of the archaeological record. Elite ideologies are not allowed to circulate completely unchallenged. The search for alternative ideologies in the archaeological record will result in a more complete understanding of the societies that we wish to study and of “thick descriptions” of social life (Geertz 1973:6–10).

Perhaps the most important area of future research is the adoption of households as primary units of analysis in more archaeological research. Although the questions posed by researchers vary along with local cultural conditions and preservation factors, the

household is a powerful entrée into the social, political, and economic structure of previous societies. By focusing on households we can reveal many aspects of daily life so critical to an understanding of cultural life. Certainly no single strategy holds the possibility of answering all questions about the past, but through the household we are given an unparalleled view of the opportunities, constraints, and choices made by individuals and small-scale social groups. Such research will not only yield a greater appreciation for one of the primary units of material, economic, and social life but a heightened appreciation for the role of individuals—linked through household affiliation—in the processes of culture change.

APPENDIX

Table 1. Shine Burial Data

Burial Number	Archaeological Phase	Sex	Age	No. of Burial Goods	Status Goods (P = 1)
1	Shine I	Male	25	0	0
2	Shine II	Indeterminate		0	0
3	Shine I	Indeterminate	3	0	0
4	Shine I	Indeterminate		0	0
5	Shine I	Indeterminate		0	0
6	Shine I	Indeterminate	6	0	0
7	Shine II	Indeterminate	6	0	0
8	Shine II	Indeterminate		1	1
9	Shine II	Indeterminate		1	1
10	Shine II	Female		0	0
11	Shine II	Indeterminate	9	0	0
12	Shine I	Indeterminate	30	0	0
13	Shine I	Indeterminate	25	0	0
14	Shine II	Indeterminate	17	0	0
15	Shine II	Female	30	1	1
16	Shine II	Female		1	1
17	Shine II	Indeterminate		0	0
18	Shine I	Indeterminate	1	0	0
19	Shine II	Female	40	0	0
20	Shine II	Female	35	0	0
21	Shine I	Indeterminate		0	0
22	Shine II	Indeterminate		0	0
23	Shine I	Male	45	0	0
24	Shine II	Indeterminate	5	0	0
25	Shine I	Indeterminate	1	1	1
26	Shine II	Female	17	0	0
27	Shine I	Indeterminate	35	0	0

Source: Created by the author.

Table 2. Atasi-Phase Burial Data

Burial Number	Archaeological Phase	Site	Goods (P = 1)	Status Goods (P = 1)	European Goods (P = 1)	Hoarding (+20) (P = 1)
323	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
325	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
326	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
342	Atasi	Fusihatcee	0	0	0	0
343	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	0	1	0
345	Atasi	Fusihatcee	0	0	0	0
347	Atasi	Fusihatcee	0	0	0	0
349	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
350	Atasi	Fusihatcee	0	0	0	0
365	Atasi	Fusihatcee	0	0	0	0
430	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
431	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	1
603	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
858	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	1
863	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
864	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
865	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
1545	Atasi	Fusihatcee	0	0	0	0
1546	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
1547	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
1548	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
1549	Atasi	Fusihatcee	0	0	0	0
1553	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
1556	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
1557	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
1569	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
1572	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
1575	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
1595	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	0	1	0
1597	Atasi	Fusihatcee	0	0	0	0
1600	Atasi	Fusihatcee	0	0	0	0
1602	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
1603	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	0
1604	Atasi	Fusihatcee	1	1	1	1

Burial Number	Archaeological Phase	Site	Goods (P = 1)	Status Goods (P = 1)	European Goods (P = 1)	Hoarding (+20) (P = 1)
1615	Atasi	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	0
1623	Atasi	Fusihatchee	1	0	1	0
1631	Atasi	Fusihatchee	0	0	0	0
1638	Atasi	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	0
1646	Atasi	Fusihatchee	0	0	0	0
1663	Atasi	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	0
1665	Atasi	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	1
1666	Atasi	Fusihatchee	0	0	0	0
1699	Atasi	Fusihatchee	0	0	0	0
1700	Atasi	Fusihatchee	0	0	0	0
1701	Atasi	Fusihatchee	1	0	1	0
1705	Atasi	Fusihatchee	1	0	1	0
1724	Atasi	Fusihatchee	0	0	0	0
1733	Atasi	Fusihatchee	0	0	0	0
1740	Atasi	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	0
1741	Atasi	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	0
35-1	Blackmon	Jackson	0	0	0	0
35-2	Blackmon	Jackson	0	0	0	0

Source: Created by the author.

Table 3. Tallapoosa-Phase Burial Data

Burial Number	Archaeological Phase	Site	Goods (P = 1)	Status Goods (P = 1)	European Goods (P = 1)	Hoarding (+20) (P = 1)
336	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	0
376	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	0
428	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	0
429	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	0	0	0
597	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	0	0	0
826	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	0	0	1
828	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	0	0	1
830	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	0
831	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	0	0	0
832	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	0	0	0
834	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	1
835	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	0
836	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	1
841	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	0
847	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	1
861	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	1
897	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	1
1540	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	0	0	0
1544	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	0
1550	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	0
1551	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	0
1570	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	0	1	0
1594	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	1
1605	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	0	0	0
1636	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0	0	0	0
1641	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0	0	0	0
1645	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	1
1647	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	1	1	1
1648	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	0	1	0
1664	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	0	0	1
1690	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	0	0	0
1719	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	1	0	0	0
1720	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0	0	0	0
1	Childersburg	Childersburg	1	1	1	1

Burial Number	Archaeological Phase	Site	Goods (P = 1)	Status Goods (P = 1)	European Goods (P = 1)	Hoarding (+20) (P = 1)
1.2	Childersburg	Childersburg	1	1	1	0
1.3	Childersburg	Childersburg	1	0	1	0
1.4	Childersburg	Childersburg	1	0	0	0
1.5	Childersburg	Childersburg	1	1	1	1
1.6	Childersburg	Childersburg	1	0	0	1
1.7	Childersburg	Childersburg	1	1	1	0
1.8	Childersburg	Childersburg	1	0	0	1
1.9	Childersburg	Childersburg	1	1	0	0
1.10	Childersburg	Childersburg	0	0	0	0
1.11	Childersburg	Childersburg	1	1	0	0
1.12	Childersburg	Childersburg	1	1	1	0
35.3	Childersburg	Childersburg	1	1	1	0

Source: Created by the author.

Table 4. Atasi- and Tallapoosa-Phase Storage Features

Feature Number	Archaeological Phase	Site	Size (meters ²)	Goods (P = 1)	Prestige Goods	European Goods	Botanical Remains (P = 1)
3	Childersburg	Childersburg	1.634	0	0	0	0
6	Childersburg	Childersburg	1.486	0	0	0	0
13	Childersburg	Childersburg	0.636	1	1	1	1
28	Childersburg	Childersburg	2.61	1	1	1	1
35	Childersburg	Childersburg	2.706	1	1	1	0
36	Childersburg	Childersburg	2.095	1	0	1	1
38	Childersburg	Childersburg	0.479	1	1	1	1
41	Childersburg	Childersburg	1.315	1	0	1	0
73	Childersburg	Childersburg	0.256	1	0	0	0
91	Childersburg	Childersburg	0.386	1	1	1	0
1543	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.57	1	1	1	1
1552	Atasi	Fusihatchee	0.493	1	0	0	0
1562	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.292	1	1	1	1
1593	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.636	1	0	0	1
1608	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.133	1	1	1	1
1640	Atasi	Fusihatchee	0.07	1	0	0	0
1643	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.265	1	1	1	1
1644	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.258	1	1	1	1
1675	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.379	0	0	0	0

1691	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.169	1	0	0	0	1
1692	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.303	1	0	0	0	0
1696	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.1	0	0	0	0	0
1695	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.247	1	0	1	1	1
1704	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.54	1	1	1	1	1
1725	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.3	1	0	0	0	0
1727	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.088	1	0	0	0	0
1728	Atasi	Fusihatchee	0.015	1	0	0	0	0
1729	Atasi	Fusihatchee	0.007	1	0	0	0	0
1730	Atasi	Fusihatchee	0.012	0	0	0	0	0
1732	Atasi	Fusihatchee	0.088	1	0	0	0	0
1737	Atasi	Fusihatchee	0.536	0	0	0	0	0
1738	Atasi	Fusihatchee	0.168	1	0	0	0	0
1744	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.198	1	0	1	1	1
1745	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.097	1	0	1	1	0
1746	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.033	0	0	0	0	0
1889	Tallapoosa	Fusihatchee	0.45	1	1	1	1	1
15	Tallapoosa	Hickory Ground	0.205	1	0	0	0	0
16	Tallapoosa	Hickory Ground	0.114	1	1	1	1	1
20	Tallapoosa	Hickory Ground	0.211	1	0	0	0	0
24	Tallapoosa	Hickory Ground	0.117	1	0	0	0	0
89	Tallapoosa	Hickory Ground	0.668	1	1	1	1	1

Source: Created by the author.

Table 5. Atasi- and Tallapoosa-Phase Domestic Structures

Phase	N	Mean (m ³)	Standard Deviation
Atasi	10	40.93	10.84
Tallapoosa	10	28.67	5.34

Source: Created by the author.

Note: Pooled variances $t = 3.208$; probability = 0.005

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