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The Mississippian Emergence - Smith, BD

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will find *Objects* provocative and likely draw from it his or her own processual insights.

The Mississippian Emergence. BRUCE D. SMITH, editor. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C., 1990. xvii + 280 pp., figures, tables, references. \$39.95 (cloth).

Reviewed by H. Edwin Jackson, University of Southern Mississippi.

Despite being somewhat out of fashion in some circles, I am pleased to report that there are still some archaeologists who find value in attempts to sort through the complex set of processes that produces fundamental changes in the nature and organization of cultural systems. Among the transformations begging adequate explanation is that leading to socially ranked and politically centralized middle-range societies, ones organizationally intermediate between egalitarian tribes and states. These chiefdom-level societies are well represented archaeologically in the southeastern United States by Mississippian culture, which dominated the cultural landscape during the five centuries prior to European contact. The cultural-evolutionary and historical processes spanning the time from approximately A.D. 700 to 1000 that produced these Mississippian chiefdoms in the southeast are the subject of the 11 papers that comprise *The Mississippian Emergence*.

The Mississippian world examined by the authors in this volume was multicultural, consisting of distinctive traditions (often roughly mirrored by archaeological nomenclature), each bearing the effects of local environmental parameters and specific Late Woodland roots. Within these major cultural units were a number of specific chiefly polities, each with its own history of growth, stability, and demise. Binding polities within regions and regions with one another were systems of exchange that moved both utilitarian and status-expressing paraphernalia, other material-culture traits, shared elements of ideology, and a system of symbols denoting chiefly authority, all modified for local consumption.

The papers in the volume generally share the conviction that the emergence of chiefdom societies in the Eastern Woodlands was the product of mainly indigenous processes that affected economy, politics, social relations, ideology, and symbolism. The development of chiefly systems represents the product of independent, yet interconnected developmental sequences, resulting in geographically specific organizations bound together by overarching systems of economic relationships and shared symbols. Previous explanations for the spread of Mississippian culture that resorted to mesoamerican influence, diffusion of Mississippian ideas, and migration of Mississippianized peoples from a single core area, find little support in the volume.

The volume begins with a forward by Stephen Williams, who offers his perspective on the history and prospect of Mississippian origins research. Following Williams, Smith provides an overview of the volume and also underscores the need to differentiate between the analogical and homological interregional similar-

ities in explaining the development of Mississippian chiefdoms, a question for which there are likely to be different answers in different historical and regional contexts.

The remaining papers consider the origins of Mississippian culture from three analytical levels. Papers by John House, Martha Rolingson, Dan and Phyllis Morse, and John Kelly attack the problem from the perspective of specific sites. House's discussion of the late seventh-century Baytown period Powell Canal site in southeastern Arkansas provides a socioeconomic baseline for Late Woodland societies from which to consider subsequent transformations. Martha Rolingson outlines the current state of knowledge about the Toltec Mounds site, a ninth-century center composed of 18 celestially oriented mounds arranged around two plazas and surrounded by a more than 1.5-km-long embankment. Toltec provides early evidence of the changed function of Woodland platform mounds from primarily mortuary to one symbolically expressing the elevation in status of certain segments of the society. The Morses describe the Zebree site in northeastern Arkansas, which provides evidence for the transition from a Late Woodland Dunklin phase winter village of up to five extended families to a larger agriculturally based ditch-encircled community apparently made up of several kin-related units. In the final site-specific paper, Kelly presents a detailed analysis of changing community structure at the Range site in the American Bottom. More than 5,000 features were excavated at the Range site as part of the I-270 mitigation, which could be differentiated into at least 28 Late Woodland, Emergent Mississippian, and Mississippian communities. A transition is documented from shifting settlements supported by swidden cultivation of mainly indigenous plant species, to larger more permanent maize-agricultural settlements with definite community plans, that often included public squares, special-purpose structures, and features that symbolically expressed enhanced community integration.

Each of these studies, Zebree and Range in particular, suggests that the markers of Mississippian culture appear in conjunction with the incorporation of more inclusive social units into permanent communities, community organization reflecting greater social differentiation, and increased reliance on maize and maize storage.

The second group of papers approaches Mississippian emergence from a regional perspective: Morse and Morse on the Central Mississippi Valley, Kelly on the American Bottom, Gerald Schroedl, Clifford Boyd, and Stephen Davis on the Eastern Tennessee River valley, Paul Welch on west-central Alabama, and John Scarry on the Fort Walton area of northwest Florida. Each paper grapples with the region-specific questions of chronology, material-culture changes, and subsistence and settlement change. Significantly, many of the same variables (not surprisingly) are identified as important: demographic change (either as population growth or shifts in population distribution), nutritional stress or more general ecological imbalances, the shift to maize agriculture, other changes in subsistence and settlement systems, problems of societal-level information processing, the shift in function of public architecture, exchange, and other external influences. Yet the careful

considerations of each regional trajectory clearly indicate differences in the primacy of these factors. What becomes clear is that no single model will be sufficient to account for the transition to Mississippian chiefdom organization throughout the south. Further, the papers demonstrate the critical importance of fine-scale local chronologies and the need for control of demographic factors if explanatory models are to be sufficiently precise to be useful. Welch's paper in particular is notable in demonstrating that even within a relatively confined study area, the paths toward three chiefly systems followed quite different (though not entirely independent) developmental sequences.

A final paper by James Brown, Richard Kerber, and Howard Winter represents a thematic perspective on the Mississippian emergence. Recognizing the central role of exchange in the relationships among small scale societies, they explore the evidence for and implications of utilitarian and prestige-good production and distribution within and among Mississippian societies and propose important directions for further study.

The value of *The Mississippian Emergence* lies in the careful development of archaeological cases, permitting critical juxtaposition of the different explanatory models offered. Prior to the 1980s, models for the origins of Mississippian societies, whether rooted in diffusionary or developmental explanatory frameworks, shared the weakness of overgeneralization. This volume crosses an important threshold into a stage of analysis that will be based on comparison of specific sequences. Region-specific variables can be isolated, and shared variables considered. Mississippian research will continue to refine anthropological conceptualizations of chiefdom societies as well as processes by which they came to be.

This large-format volume is amply illustrated and well produced (I noted only one typographical error and a figure-caption omission). It will be required reading for those working on the later prehistory of the Southeast or just interested in the social process of the Mississippian time range. It is also recommended to any anthropologist (archaeologist or otherwise) concerned with the issues surrounding the development of social complexity.

The Pequots in Southern New England. LAURENCE M. HAUPTMAN and JAMES D. WHERRY, editors. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1990. xix + 268 pp., figures, index, bibliography, notes. \$24.95 (cloth).

Reviewed by Mitchell T. Mulholland, University of Massachusetts.

An interdisciplinary study by ethnographers, historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists, this volume deals with the demise of the Pequots in the seventeenth century and their continued oppression through the twentieth. The book stresses the resilience of the Pequot people in the face of 300 years of control and oppression by wealth-hungry Europeans and their Native American allies, state-appointed overseers, misguided bureaucrats, and vote-conscious politicians. In

the preface, editors Lawrence Hauptman and James Wherry promise a presentation devoid of jargon, to provide a work as educational to high school and college students as to scholars of Native American history. The book is highly successful at both.

The volume is divided into four parts: an introduction, prehistory and early history, survival, and a discussion of modern federal and state policies concerning Native Americans.

Part 1 begins with an introduction by Alvin Josephy discussing the lack of public knowledge of past and modern American Indians. A communications gap caused by erroneous histories permeates the educational literature. The gap has been fueled by general lack of interest on the part of writers and closed or myopic academic groups. Indian and non-Indian scholars are urged to help eliminate the gap and set the record straight by making scholarly contributions to the general public as well as to specialized audiences.

Part 2 covers the prehistory of southern New England and early Pequot history during and shortly after European contact. Dena F. Dincauze provides a clear and highly readable capsule of 12,000 years of Native American occupation, written for the general public. Dincauze humanizes prehistory by describing the progression of accomplishments of the region's native peoples in terms of pioneers, settlers, and farmers as they adapted to a changing environment. This article is an excellent example for any archaeologist attempting to prepare scholarly information for a wide audience.

William A. Starna discusses the economic and sociopolitical structure of the Pequot people in the early seventeenth century. Already altered by contact and the fur trade, the Pequot's social and political structure was catastrophically disrupted by European-introduced diseases. Spared the devastation of the plague of 1616–1619, the Pequots were decimated by smallpox in 1633 resulting in a mortality rate of 77 percent prior to the Pequot War.

Lynn Ceci discusses the importance of wampum—the exchange medium for Iroquois furs—as a key factor in the demise of the Pequot economic system. Situated between the coastal sources of shell used in the manufacture of wampum and the English and Dutch markets, the Pequots prospered for a time by controlling the supply. As wampum became the regional currency, Europeans sought successfully to control wampum supply and production. Consequently, the Pequots suffered devastating reprisals culminating in major loss of life during the War of 1637.

Part 3 evaluates Pequot survival from the events of the seventeenth through twentieth centuries. Hauptman discusses the legacy of the Pequot War and its enduring effect on the modern Pequot people. Subject to a continual decline in population from the seventeenth century to the 1950s, the Pequots have begun an impressive program in nation building. Following a successful petition for recognition by the federal government, a trust fund has been established to allow the purchase of land. Within the past 10 years the tribe has acquired more than 648 ha of land, built housing and a museum, started businesses including a highly lucrative bingo hall, and employed more than 150 individuals.