OZARK NATIONAL SCENIC RIVERWAYS, MISSOURI

CULTURAL AFFILIATION STUDY

FINAL REPORT

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Final Report

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CHAPTER ONE

STUDY OVERVIEW

This report presents an overview of archaeological, historical, and ethnographic information relating to American Indian cultural affiliation and traditional association with Ozark National Scenic Riverways, Missouri. The primary purpose of this overview is to provide the National Park Service (NPS) with data that will aid in the development of further cultural and natural resource studies, interpretation, program objectives, and park management decisions. The present study, therefore, has been designed to establish a connection between park resources and associated past and present peoples. The data contained here are required to address the cultural affiliation and consultation requirements of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), and other legislation, policy, and regulations that address peoples traditionally associated with park resources, including, but not limited to, the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA); the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA, Sections 106 and 110) as amended; the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA); Executive Orders 13007, 13083, and 13084; the National Register Bulletin 38; and NPS Policies and Guidelines, as amended.

Geographic and Cultural Focus of the Research

The main focus of the study is on the history of American Indian habitation and use of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways. The riverways encompass two river corridors or 134 miles of the Ozark Plateau in Shannon, Carter, Texas, Dent and Reynolds counties, southeast Missouri. However, the historical and spatial range of human-land relations that may be relevant to establish park-people connections are broader than the park and include the region known as the "central Mississippi River valley," or the area between the mouth of the Ohio River to the north, the mouth of the St. Francis River to the south, the Mississippi River to the east, and the eastern escarpment of the Ozark Highlands to the west (Morse and Morse 1983). As discussed in the body of the report, cultural relationships of the prehistoric park inhabitants point to interaction with, and perhaps membership in, the regional groups of the central valley that in time became a part of the cultural system known as *Mississippian*. Cultural relationships of the historic park inhabitants, specifically American Indians, are even broader than the prehistoric ones, because they involved diverse ethnic groups that migrated to Missouri at different times throughout the colonial and American periods and who occupied portions of the riverways and vicinity for a length of time. Thus, this study reviews information necessary to document to the extent feasible the complex cultural affiliation of the park.

It must be noted at the outset that the riverways are located near the eastern escarpment of the Ozark Plateau, which constitutes a geographic and ecological boundary between the uplands to the west and the lowlands to the east. This location likely influenced the land use practices and social interactions of the prehistoric park inhabitants since perhaps the late Paleoindian period. Although in advantageous times (e.g., the late Archaic) the park area sustained permanent habitation, its resources were most frequently exploited by highland/lowland people on a seasonal or semipermanent basis. Seasonal use of the Riverways area likely continued throughout the protohistoric and historic periods, when the area was near or within the winter hunting grounds of the Osage.

Short-term permanent habitation occurred during the settlement of the emigrant tribes, but logistic uses continued or resumed after the relocation of Indian groups to the west. Consequently, the historical trajectory of the group(s) who once inhabited the park is complex, unevenly represented in the archaeological record, and interrupted by hiatus in human occupation at critical points in time. All of these characteristics have shaped the nature of evidence for cultural affiliation or traditional association.

For the purposes of this report, the distinction between cultural affiliation and traditional association must be made explicit:

Cultural affiliation refers to the relationship between archaeological remains currently owned by, or curated at, the park and contemporary Native American individuals or groups. These remains may potentially fall into one of five NAGPRA categories and thus could be eligible for repatriation if reasonable evidence for an "object-people" relationship exists. Below is a textual rendition of the legal definition of cultural affiliation.

Traditional association, on the other hand, refers to the existence of a history of physical, cultural, and spiritual attachments between the riverways and contemporary individuals or groups. Individuals or groups that are found to have a traditional association with the monument may enter in future consultation regarding preservation, management and interpretation of the park's resources. This study has limited its scope to American Indians; however, there is a wealth of information on traditionally associated Euroamerican communities who have lived near the riverways for over 150 years (Gibson 2000; Gaul and Lashlee 2001).

Project Scope and Methodology

In 2001 the Midwest Region of the NPS contracted an ethnographic team at the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology (BARA), University of Arizona, Tucson (UA), to conduct an American Indian cultural affiliation study for the Ozark National Scenic Riverways (hereafter, the Park). This study is administered under Task Agreement No. 04 for Cooperative Agreement No. H8601010007 with M. N. Zedeño. Specifically, the objectives of the cultural affiliation document are to provide:

- Descriptions of any American Indian groups who may be determined to be culturally affiliated with the park and its resources, including (1) relationships determined between earlier archeologically-defined groups and contemporary Indian groups; (2) relationships determined between specific objects in park collections to contemporary Indian groups or individuals who may be descendants; and (3) relationships determined between other park resources to contemporary Indian groups.
- A summary of the cultural history of each of the potentially affiliated groups, including descriptions of occupation and use, past and present, of the area *in* and *around* the park by traditionally associated groups of people. [Task completed]
- Descriptions of potentially existing rights arising from treaties, agreements, and laws [All treaties have been compiled; no potentially existing rights have been identified].
- A record of consultations (if applicable) with American Indians and other members of traditionally associated groups whose lifeways and cultural resources

may be affected by park management plans and action. [See section "contemporary claims" in chapter Five].

- Suggestions for further studies on the park's associated groups and resources which may be designed and conducted to develop more complete information on which to base future decisions by the park Superintendent with regard to ethnographic issues and concerns that have the potential to affect management of the park's resources.
- A list of potential interpretive topics that may be gleaned from the research.
- A "selectively annotated" bibliography" of relevant published and unpublished sources pertaining to traditionally associated groups, and a references section of sources cited in the body of the report.

To accomplish these objectives, the UA research team conducted extensive research of published and unpublished sources containing information on regional and park-specific archaeology, history, and ethnography. Archaeological literature was reviewed to reconstruct the use history of the riverways and to provide a frame of reference for identifying prehistoric and historic groups whose remains are in the park area. To fully construct this frame of reference required that we review archaeological research in the surrounding regions as well as in the park. Historical literature was then reviewed to document the geopolitical, social, and legal dynamics of Indian-Colonial and Indian-United States relations as they affected the use of the riverways and immediate surroundings. Ethnographic literature was reviewed to identify any oral traditions, folklore, social organization, or material culture that could be useful for establishing cultural affiliation. Linguistic and geographic data were also incorporated in the text. The Indian Claims Commission expert witness reports, published in 1974 by Garland Publishing, New York, were also consulted for this purpose.

Although the UA has an extensive library collection relevant to this study, in May 2001 we conducted on site archival research to ensure as complete a search coverage as possible. Archives and repositories visited include:

The University of Missouri-Columbia

Ellis Library

Western History Manuscript Collection

Missouri Historical Society Library and Archives

Ozarks National Scenic Riverways Library and Archives

Missouri Historical Society – St. Louis Library and Archives

In addition to published monographs, edited books, journal articles, and conference proceedings, we examined technical research reports, unpublished theses and dissertations, and historical manuscript collections. We also conducted one oral history interview at the request of an individual of American Indian descent whose ancestors lived in the park area.

This report does not summarize the archaeological data (e.g., object lists and summaries) pertinent to NAGPRA. Similarly, this report does not contain information on biology or lineal descent.

Summary of Findings

Upon reviewing a broad range of archaeological, historical, ethnological, and linguistic literature, we were able to find that:

(1) There is an identifiable prehistoric group that inhabited the park and vicinity since about 10,000 BC to AD 1350, whose human remains, associated funerary objects, and sacred objects have been recovered from archaeological sites in the park. This group, or a sector thereof, has an ancestral relationship to late prehistoric-protohistoric groups, known as Mississippian, who inhabited the central Mississippi Valley and hinterlands. More specifically, this prehistoric group participated in the Mississippian Emergence sometime between AD 650 and 800.

(2) There is archaeological evidence to suggest that most or all of the inhabitants of the riverways may have moved to the Western Lowlands around or before AD 1350 and that they possibly took part on the middle Mississippian cultural development known as the Powers Phase.

(3) It is unclear what became of these Western Lowland-Mississippian inhabitants during the late prehistoric/protohistoric period. Current hypotheses based on archaeological evidence suggest that there was a general southward trend in population movement and that some or all of the Western Lowland population may have consolidated in one of the many large late Mississippian-period settlements in the Missouri bootheel or in northeastern Arkansas.

(4) There is some evidence, in the form of Nodena projectile points and fragments of effigy vessels found on surface scatters in and around the park, that late Mississippians used the riverways sporadically, during hunting or resource extracting activities. Nodena materials and effigy vessels may be found from the lower Ohio River to the Arkansas River, but are generally concentrated in southeast Missouri and northeast Arkansas, and date from about AD 1350 to the mid-1500s. Early Nodena points (AD 1350) have been found in Powers Phase sites.

(5) The location of protohistoric "west-bank" Mississippian groups encountered by De Soto in 1541 is a matter of debate and has for a long time been dependent upon the reconstruction of the route followed by that expedition. Currently, the majority of scholars favor a northern route that crosses northeastern Arkansas and that places De Soto's scouts in southeastern Missouri and the eastern Ozark escarpment. The implication of this current reconstruction is that the groups visited by De Soto were living in the central Mississippi Valley and were the users of the Nodena archaeological materials, some of which are found in the park.

(6) The identity of protohistoric "west-bank" Mississippian groups encountered by De Soto in 1541 is likewise hotly debated; currently there are two competing hypotheses regarding their identity:

(6a) That they were Quapaw, a Dhegiha-Sioux speaking group whose contemporary descendants currently live in Oklahoma.

(6b) That they were Tunica speakers, an ancestral group whose contemporary descendants are currently part of the Tunica-Biloxi tribe of Louisiana.

(7) When the French-Canadian explorers Joliet and Marquette visited the central Mississippi Valley in 1673, the valley's inhabitants were not in the place where De Soto had found them 140 years earlier, but at some distance to the south. These explorers found that the Quapaw were living on both banks of the Mississippi River, about the mouth of the Arkansas River; the Tanikans or Tunica were living south and west of the Quapaw; and a refugee group of Illinois (Michigamea) had fled the Iroquois and was living on the west bank. This Algonquian-speaking group may have been in the general vicinity of the park, but there is not archaeological material that could support its presence there.

(8) Similarly, the French-Canadian explorers found that in 1673 the Osage were living in central Missouri, with villages in the Osage River.

(9) Historic documents pertaining to the French Colonial and Spanish Colonial periods (1673-1803) indicate that the Osage hunting grounds extended across the Ozark highlands to the eastern escarpment, therefore, the Current River was within their winter hunting territory or very close to its southeastern boundary. There is no archaeological material, however, that can be specifically tied to Osage use of the park and vicinity.

(10) At the time of the Louisiana Purchase by the United States in 1803, the area where the park is located was part of the Osage hunting territory, thus making this tribe the aboriginal group, or group who was in possession of the land at the time it became part of the United States, as defined by the Land Claims Commission.

(11) In 1808 the Osage Tribe ceded all their lands east of the Osage River to the United States, and this treaty terminated all their use rights to the lands and resources therein, including the riverways.

(12) Shortly after 1808 the United States government began the process of relocating groups of eastern Indians to Missouri. There is historical and archaeological evidence directly connecting Shawnee, Delaware, Cherokee, and possibly Peoria, to the riverways. These groups left Missouri after 1840, but some individuals or families may have returned to Missouri after that date. None of the emigrant groups hold use rights in Missouri.

(13) Contemporary Indian groups who live in the vicinity of the riverways, in particular those self-identified as "Western Cherokee," claim a prehistoric origin in the park area, with occupation extending between AD 800 and 1200.

(14) Another contemporary self-identified "Northern Cherokee" group currently claims ancestral relationships to the prehistoric people who once inhabited the park.

Neither Northern nor Western Cherokees are federally recognized tribes. There is no archaeological material specifically tied to either claim.

Legal Foundations for Cultural Affiliation

The concept "cultural affiliation" was given legal status on November 16, 1990, when the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) became law. NAGPRA makes provisions for the return of human remains and specified items (including funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony) held in federally funded repositories to lineal descendants and affiliated American Indian tribes, Alaska native villages and corporations, and Native Hawaiian organizations.

NAGPRA is triggered by the possession of human remains or specified items by a federally funded repository or by the discovery and intentional removal of human remains or specified items on federal or tribal lands. Under NAGPRA, human remains and specified items that were in the possession of said repository prior to November 16, 1990, are to be repatriated, upon request, to lineal descendants or culturally affiliated American Indians tribes, Alaska native villages and corporations, or Native Hawaiian organizations. Provisions also exist for the discovery and intentional removal of human remains and specified items after November 16, 1990 (25 USC 3002). NAGPRA defines the right of possession as:

> ...possession obtained with the voluntary consent of an individual or group that had authority of alienation. The original acquisition of a Native American unassociated funerary object, sacred object, or object of cultural patrimony from an Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization with the voluntary consent of an individual or group with authority to alienate such object is deemed to give right of possession of that object. (25 USC 3001(13)).

Thus, NAGPRA provisions for determining right of possession will in many cases help delineate the options available to the collection holder and the native groups. The question of right of possession (sometimes called "legal title") will not be asked unless a native group makes a repatriation request. To make such request, the native group must demonstrate a "burden of proof" of cultural affiliation (Evans et al. 1994:15).

The Act requires formal consultation with lineal descendants and Indian tribes, Alaskan native villages and corporations, and native Hawaiian organizations in deciding the disposition of human remains or specified items. Consultation is required in the preparation of inventories of human remains and specified items in federally funded and federal agency repositories and in the event of the excavation or discovery such items on federal lands of tribal lands. Executive Orders 13083 and 13084 re-estate and expand the requirement of government-to-government consultation with tribal and native governments and organizations.

Determining Lineal Descent and Cultural Affiliation

In preparing this report we followed the stipulations provided by NAGPRA in regard to the establishment of lineal decent and cultural affiliation of individuals and tribes. The regulations drafted by the U.S. Department of the Interior give the following definition of lineal descendants (Federal Register 1993:31129):

> *Lineal descendant* means an individual tracing his or her ancestry directly and without interruption by means of the traditional kinship system of the appropriate Indian tribe to a known Native American individual whose remains, funerary objects, or sacred objects are being claimed under these regulations (43 CFR Part 10 Section 10.14).

The lineal descendant standard requires that the human remains under NAGPRA consultation be identified as individuals whose descendants can be traced directly and uninterruptedly, either by means of the traditional kinship system of the Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization or by the common law system of descent to a known Indian individual whose remains and associated funerary objects are being considered for repatriation.

Cultural affiliation is defined as:

> ...a relationship of shared group identity which can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between a present-day Indian tribe or native Hawaiian organization and an identifiable earlier group (43 CFR Part 10(2)e Section 2(2)).

To establish cultural affiliation, the existence of an identifiable present-day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization with standing under these regulations must be determined. The existence of an identifiable earlier group may be traced from: (1) distinctive patterns of material culture manufacture and spatial distribution; (2) cultural characteristics, such as mortuary practices, that point to the particular identity of that group; (3) biological characteristics of the population; or (4) any other type of evidence that is stipulated by the law, as cited below. The relationship of shared group identity must be supported with evidence that reasonably demonstrates that a present day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization has been identified from prehistoric or historic times as descending from the earlier group.

Lineal descent and cultural affiliation determinations are necessary steps before a museum or Federal agency can begin the required consultation. Such determinations are a key component of NAGPRA, without which consultation is impossible. The 101st Congress Senate Report (2d Session 101-473:9) provides the following guideline for determining lineal descent and cultural affiliation:

> The types of evidence...may include, but are not limited to, geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, anthropological, linguistic, oral tradition, or historical evidence or other relevant information or expert opinion.

One of the major obstacles in determining lineal descent of human remains and associated funerary items is the absence of specific information on biological or kinship continuity between contemporary American Indians people and prehistoric remains. In many cases these remains are not found in the areas now occupied by the potentially affiliated tribes; remains may be found in the possession of Indian people who came to areas previously inhabited by unrelated ethnic groups, in reservations recently created by the U.S. government, or in federal or state lands. The 101st Congress Senate Report (2d Session 101-473:9) also provides clear guidelines for establishing cultural affiliation in such circumstances:

> The committee intends that the 'cultural affiliation' of an Indian tribe to Native American human remains or objects shall be established by a simple preponderance of the evidence. Claimants do not have to establish 'cultural

> affiliation' with scientific certainty...Where human remains and funerary objects are concerned, the Committee is aware that it may be extremely difficult, unfair or even impossible in many instances for claimants to show an absolute continuity from present day Indian tribes to older, prehistoric remains without some reasonable gaps in the historic or prehistoric record. In such instances, a finding of cultural affiliation should be based upon an overall evaluation of the totality of the circumstances and evidence pertaining to the connection between the claimant and the material being claimed and should not be precluded solely because of gaps in the record.

In most circumstances a gap in one evidence type (e.g., archaeology) may be filled in with another evidence type (e.g., oral history, geography). A cultural affiliation statement is thus a complex interweaving of data of varying detail and specificity that altogether provides a reasonable, albeit not scientifically certain, consultation baseline for the collections manager.

Also, the existence of different kinds of tribal relations with the land where human remains and specified items were originally collected create the need to build a case for cultural affiliation that is specific to a tribe and that includes a unique combination of evidence types. It follows that complex land use histories of specific pieces of Federal or tribal land, as for example the park under study, will result in complex cases for multiple cultural affiliation. The law acknowledges that such historical complexity may result in multiple requests for repatriation of any item. NAGPRA provides the following stipulation for addressing competing claims:

> Where there are multiple requests for repatriation of any item and, after complying with the requirements of this Act, the Federal agency of museum cannot clearly determine which requesting party is the most appropriate claimant, the agency of museum may retain such item until the requesting parties agree upon its disposition or the dispute is otherwise resolved pursuant to the provisions of this Act or by a court of competent jurisdiction (25 U.S.C. 3005 (7e) as amended).

The ownership or control of specified items that are either collected from or inadvertently discovered at, Federal or tribal lands after November 16, 1990, goes to (in order of priority):

- Lineal descendants
- Tribe on whose land the item was found
- Tribe that is most closely affiliated with the item
- Tribe that was recognized by the Indian Claims Commission as the aboriginal occupant of the land where the item was found. (25 U.S.C. 3002 Section 3a)

Thus if lineal descent cannot be ascertained and in the case of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony, then the tribe on whose land the items were found will be considered for ownership/control of the items. Should that tribe not claim cultural affiliation then the Indian tribe having the closest cultural affiliation with such remains or objects that upon notice states a claim for such remains or objects, will be considered. If cultural affiliation cannot be reasonably ascertained, then the Indian tribe recognized by a final judgment of the Indian Claims Commission or the U.S. Claims Court as aboriginal occupying the area wherein the items were found is given ownership or control of such items.

Theoretical and Practical Issues in Cultural Affiliation Research

In a recent cultural affiliation study for four national monuments in Arizona, Toupal and Stoffle (2001:8) observed that NAGPRA's definition of cultural affiliation and criteria for establishing cultural affiliation are based on a presumed relationship between social groups and discrete constellations cultural and biological traits that most anthropologists no longer accept because of its normative underlining. They cite a statement made by Old World prehistorian and migration scholar David Anthony to illustrate their point:

> Like all other residents of academia, archaeologists follow intellectual trends. According to the current trend, neatly defined, self-contained ethnic and linguistic groups are thought to exist only in the fantasies of nationalists and chauvinists. The phrase "the Indo-Europeans" could be seen as implying a timeless ethnic unity that perhaps never existed. Even worse, there is no necessary connection between material culture and language, between how people speak and how they make houses or pots. How can archaeological evidence ever be correlated with linguistic identity? (Anthony 2001:78)

Anthony further observes that the academic community at large acknowledges the lack of coincidence among boundaries of polities, biological populations, speech communities (languages), material culture, and other culture traits. Prehistoric groups whose archaeological records show evidence, for example, of having shared a ritual complex such as the Mississippian Southern Cult in the US Southeast (Waring and Holder 1945; Knight, Jr. 1986) or the Pueblo Kachina Cult in the US Southwest (Adams 1991), did not necessarily share ancestry, geography, or language. The currently accepted notion that modern Indian groups, such as the Hopi of Arizona or the Tunica-Biloxi of Louisiana, are composites of people from different cultural trajectories and geographies who since prehistoric times variously aggregated and split dates back to the nineteenth century; this notion was later eclipsed by the powerful frameworks of historical particularism, functionalism, and culture history, which favored the construction of 'culture' as a constellation of discrete traits rather than as a dynamic composite of cultural trajectories (Adams and Zedeno 1999:323).

Currently, and partly in response to interpretive issues raised in the context of consultation with modern Indian tribes and organizations, American anthropologists are revisiting the problem of ethnogenesis of prehistoric and historic groups (Ferguson 2002) and are willing to piece together the fragmentary evidence needed to rebuild the difficult paths Indian groups followed to the present day. NAGPRA has forced American anthropologists to face this problem, thus offering the opportunity for tremendous intellectual growth, as long as one is willing to reconcile the apparent contradiction between the normative definition of cultural affiliation and the requirement of a dynamic and flexible understanding of ethnogenesis. In reference to Moore's (2001) study of ethnogenetic patterns in native North America, the book editor notes,

> Proponents of ethnogenetic models of human history and evolution argue that human societies periodically reorganize themselves and that the resulting new social formations are likely to have their "roots" or "origins" in several antecedent societies (which may be greatly dissimilar), not just in one. The resulting patterns of diversity in biology, language, and culture can be said to be more like a "tapestry" than a "family tree" (editor's note, in Moore 200:31).

Cultural affiliation studies must recognize the complex 'tapestry' of historical and cultural trajectories and accept the very likely possibility that more than one present day group will be affiliated with a particular past group, however one defines it, and that only certain segments of the present group may be affiliated with a particular past group (or segment thereof). The question that must be answered, in order to piece together such complex cultural trajectories is, *what became of the descendants of the past group (or segment thereof) whose remains are under consultation?* The process followed to answer this crucial question begins in prehistory and moves forward to present times, in order to capture as much diversity and change as possible.

This thinking process contrasts with that followed by proponents of the more traditional direct historical approach who, in attempting to answer the question, *who were the ancestors of the present day group?* begin in the present and move back to the past (see Galloway 1986). Such approach favors continuity and homogeneity over diversity and change.

Object, People, and Place

The execution of NAGPRA requires that consultation with culturally affiliated tribes be focused on specific collections in the hands of museums and federal agencies, and thus the stipulations require only that connections be made between objects and culturally affiliated present day groups. The narrowly defined requirement, on the one hand, eliminates the problem of lacking information on archaeological provenience and context, which plagues old museum collections. On the other hand, it presupposes an identifiable relationship between an object's form and the cultural practices and identity of a past group, This presupposition lends an artificial intentionality to the manufacture of objects, and does not even begin to explain the complex relationship between artifact use and discard and ceremonial or religious significance. It is our experience that numerous American Indian cultural practices, including artifact use and discard, produced sacred objects, funerary objects, and objects of cultural patrimony that do not exhibit any formal characteristic or attribute that one could readily use to identify a religious or ceremonial function in a museum piece.

Across native North America one may find examples that illustrate widespread religious practices involving ordinary objects. For example, individual medicine bundles often contained unmodified materials thought to have special powers, including pigments, crystals, fossils, animal bones, or snake rattles; everyday objects, such as pots, grinding stones, and garments, were ritually burned or destroyed in funerary rites; projectile points were ritually deposited as offerings; plant and animal parts, such as seed fruits and tortoise shells, were used as ceremonial and funerary offerings. These are but few examples of artifacts that do not have any identifiable attribute that make them fit in a NAGPRA category except for the context or place where they were discarded. Also, modes of discard of similar objects may have varied from group to group. These examples highlight the importance of considering place and context in discussions of cultural affiliation and NAGPRA consultation.

Temporal and Spatial Scales

Whereas the historic records generally provide very specific information on the identity of Indian groups who occupied particular and often accurately mapped places or areas for a specified amount of time, the prehistoric records are far less specific and thus need to be framed in broad temporal and spatial scales. In situations where Indian groups vacated areas before written records were available, alternative sources of information must be used, for example, oral

traditions, linguistics and glottochronology, biology, and similarities in material culture and land use patterns. Each of these information sources needs its own temporal and spatial scales. Thus it is impractical and often futile, to attempt to establish contemporary cultural affiliation of prehistoric groups with the same degree of temporal and spatial specificity as that of historic groups.

In many cases cultural affiliation of prehistoric groups may be determined only at the regional scale or may refer to tentatively dated and centuries-long archaeological phases. This particular situation is common for archaeologically defined cultures identified in areas without a history of continuous occupation by any one historically known group: this is the case of the Ozarks National Scenic Riverways. At the Riverways, the prehistoric group(s) are closest to pre-contact Mississippian cultures that flourished in the lowlands just east of the park and then elsewhere in the southeast Missouri-northeast Arkansas area. The scale is therefore regional rather than park-specific, broadening even more in protohistoric times to encompass groups whose identity, geographic origin, and locale of habitation are highly debated by contemporary scholars. Similarly, the scale of occupation of the riverways by the aboriginal tribe—the Osage—who traditionally hunted and trapped in the Ozark highlands during the winter season also needs to be addressed at the scale of a large but topographically and ecologically distinctive region. In contrast, the record of historic occupation of the park by emigrant tribes is very specific to time and place and well established archaeologically.

Land Use Practices and Traditional Association

Prehistoric or historic groups may have used broad areas for very specific tasks and during specific times (e.g., chert quarrying; hunting; vision-questing) or may have inhabited a single site or an area for several generations. Each type of land use, in turn, leads to the development of different kinds of cultural or traditional attachments to the land and its resources; often, these land use practices did not leave recognizable archaeological remains, but were preserved in the collective memory of a group, as oral history. Whenever federal lands contain evidence of long-term prehistoric occupation that does not directly tie to historically documented uses, as is the case of the riverways and surrounding region, multiple types of land and resource use and diverse kinds of attachments will likely be identified for each traditionally associated group.

In all instances it is important to point out that exclusive use or occupancy, as defined by the Land Claims Commission, is not a requirement for building a statement of cultural affiliation or traditional association. On the contrary, cultural affiliation legislation acknowledges that more than one contemporary cultural group may be associated with a particular archaeological culture in a given site, park or region.

Prehistoric land use in the Ozarks National Scenic Riverways suggests a continuity of use through time that emphasizes upland-lowland seasonal exploitation of resources. This pattern began in the Paleoindian period and seemingly continued through the Archaic and Woodland periods, with the progressive addition of extended or year-round habitation in some instances, horticulture, pottery, and burial rituals involving the construction of cairns. Except for the construction of one mound, this pattern did not change drastically during the emergent or early Mississippian period, after which the riverways were no longer inhabited on a semipermanent or permanent basis. However, prehistoric and historic occupants continued to use important resources in and around the park, including game animals, minerals, and water sources. The

historic land use pattern changed drastically during early part of the nineteenth century, when the emigrant tribes, who were sedentary agriculturalists, came to live, hunt, and cultivate in the park. This pattern was short-lived, for they were relocated to Kansas within a few years of settlement. American land use practices, which may have continued after relocation and into the twentieth century, are not documented thus far.

In sum, this report attempts to reconcile normative concepts with dynamic social processes to build an argument for cultural affiliation. Given the complex history of Indian occupation of the park and surrounding region, this report will examine several potentially culturally affiliated Indian groups, including those who descend from the Mississippian cultures of the central Mississippi River valley, those who were determined as aboriginal by the Indian Claims Commission, and those historical emigrant tribes who resided in the park for several years and left remains at the park. This report will also document any contemporary cultural affiliation or traditional association claim that has been made by an Indian group.

The report begins with a brief description of the park and a narrative of its American Indian occupation sequence, from the Paleoindian period to historic times, found in Chapter Two. In Chapter Three, evidence for regional occupation during the protohistoric period, including current debates on the identity of potentially culturally affiliated groups, is summarized and briefly discussed. Chapter four presents a synopsis of the genesis and historical trajectory of the aboriginal group, the Osage. The histories of various emigrant tribes are presented in Chapter Five. The chapter concludes with a discussion of contemporary cultural affiliation or traditional association claims. Chapter six contains suggestions for further research and potential interpretative topics.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PARK AND ITS USE HISTORY

The legislation that established the Ozarks National Scenic Riverways was signed into law in 1964 by President Lyndon Johnson and enacted by the U.S. Congress (88th U.S.C. 2d Session). The National Park Service was to manage this unit and to preserve the natural resources, cultural heritage, and recreational potential of the Current and Jacks Fork rivers of Southeast Missouri (Stevens 1991:1; Figure 1).

The Current and Jacks Fork rivers flow through the most rugged portion of the Ozark uplands–the Courtois Hills-and also the most isolated (Sauer 197:68). Lying above Precambrian lava bedrock, the Cambrian-era dolomites, sandstones, and limestones of the Curtois Hills sustain a huge network of underground rivers and an active cave-spring-and-sinkhole system, which characterizes the landscape of the park and its surroundings (Unklesbay and Vineyard 1992:29). The Salem Plateau, which encompasses the park, contains the largest concentration of high-volume permanent springs in Missouri, including Big Spring, Round Spring, Blue Spring, and Alley Spring, among numerous others. The springs support a unique plant and animal ecology and were used prehistorically and historically by American Indians (Lynott 1982). Springs may have also served as landmarks along east-west trails that crossed the park (Banks 1984).

Caves are another critical resource in the park and, through time, they have been used variously as shelters, hideabouts, and strategic resource storage facilities (Unklesbay and Vineyard 1992:54-61). At least 335 caves were recorded in cave surveys mandated by the Cave Management Plan (Price and Hastings 1999:5), 86 of which were surveyed for biological resources in 1981 (Aley 1981, cited in Price and Hastings 1999:5). A recent intensive and systematic survey of 14 tracts across the main karst formations in the park produced data on 215 caves, 30 of which yielded evidence of prehistoric occupation and 9 contained evidence of historic use (Price and Hastings 1999:19-22).

The limestones and dolomites are capped by cherty sandstones. These deposits have hindered soil development and rendered the uplands unfit for agriculture, but such soils do support a thick hickory-oak forest with scattered stands of pine growing on pockets of sandy soil. Over the course of 60-120 million years, the Current and Jacks Fork rivers have carved a maze of valleys and hollows that are surrounded by steep hills formed by an Ordovician-era crustal uplift and by more recent alluvial terraces or slipoff slopes. The valleys and terraces offer some arable land and thus have been sought for human habitation since prehistoric times (Rafferty 1980; Stevens 1991:27).

The presence of abundant edible plants, fauna, freshwater resources, chert, and other mineral deposits (e.g., iron, galena and copper as its by-product, Unklesbay and Vineyard 1992:147) have attracted Indian groups over the millennia (Banks 1978; Chapman 1975; Ingerthron 1970; Rafferty 1980; Sabo III et al 1990; Stevens 1991). Prehistoric inhabitants of the Ozark highlands derived from a well-defined Paleoindian and Archaic ancestral tradition and were named "the Bluff Dweller Culture" by Harrington (1924).

It was once thought that this culture had evolved independently from their mound-building neighbors and was thus marginal to the economic, social, and political developments of Woodland and Mississippian groups that lived in the surrounding regions. Current research, however, indicates that the highland groups who inhabited the park interacted with, and likely became part of, Mississippian groups of the adjacent lowlands of the central Mississippi River valley that were, in turn, familiar with the Ozark highland's resources and may have exploited them for thousands of years (Price and Krakker 1975; Lynott et al. 2000; O'Brien 2001; Figure 2).

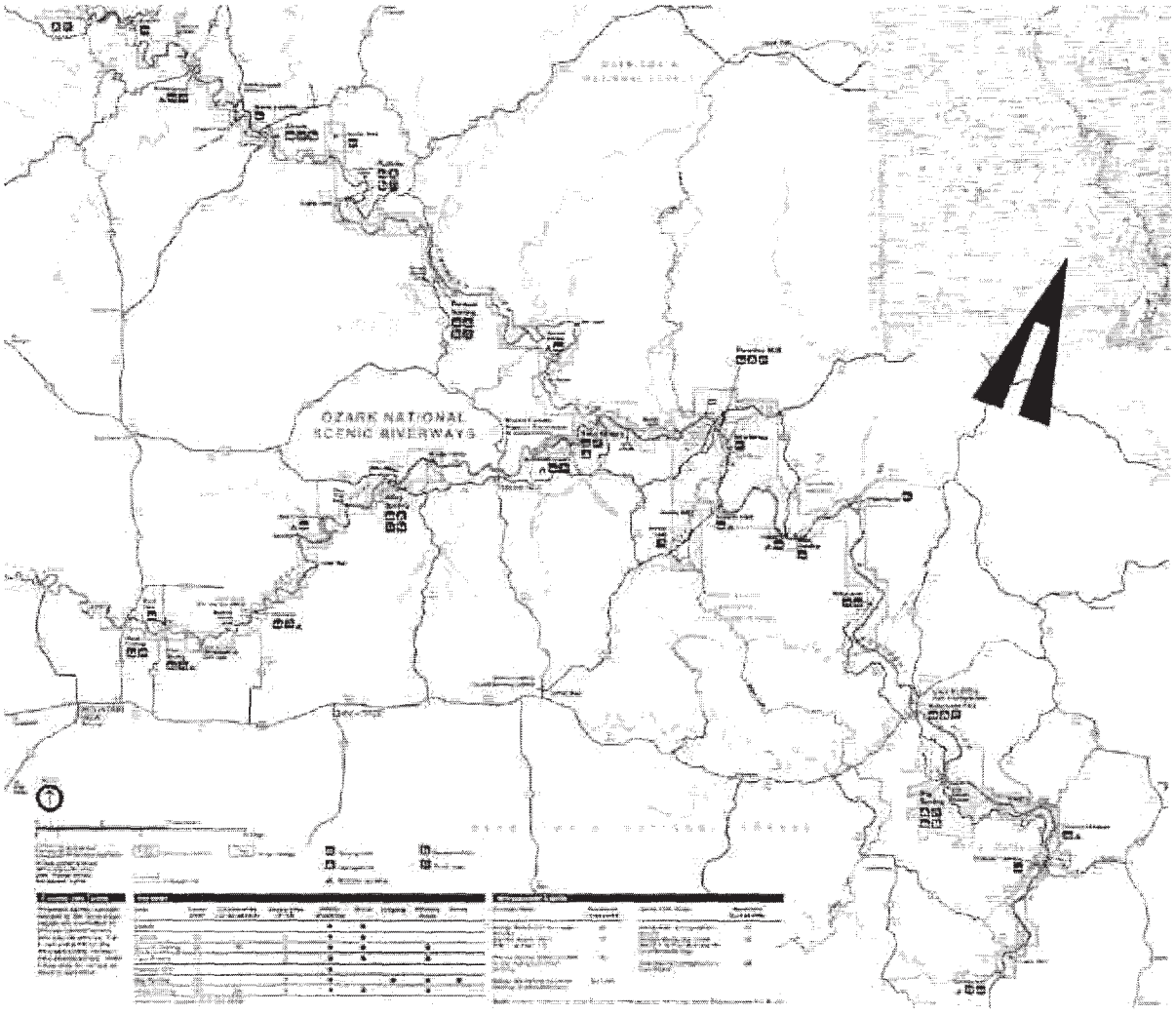

Figure 1. Ozark National Scenic Riverways, Missouri

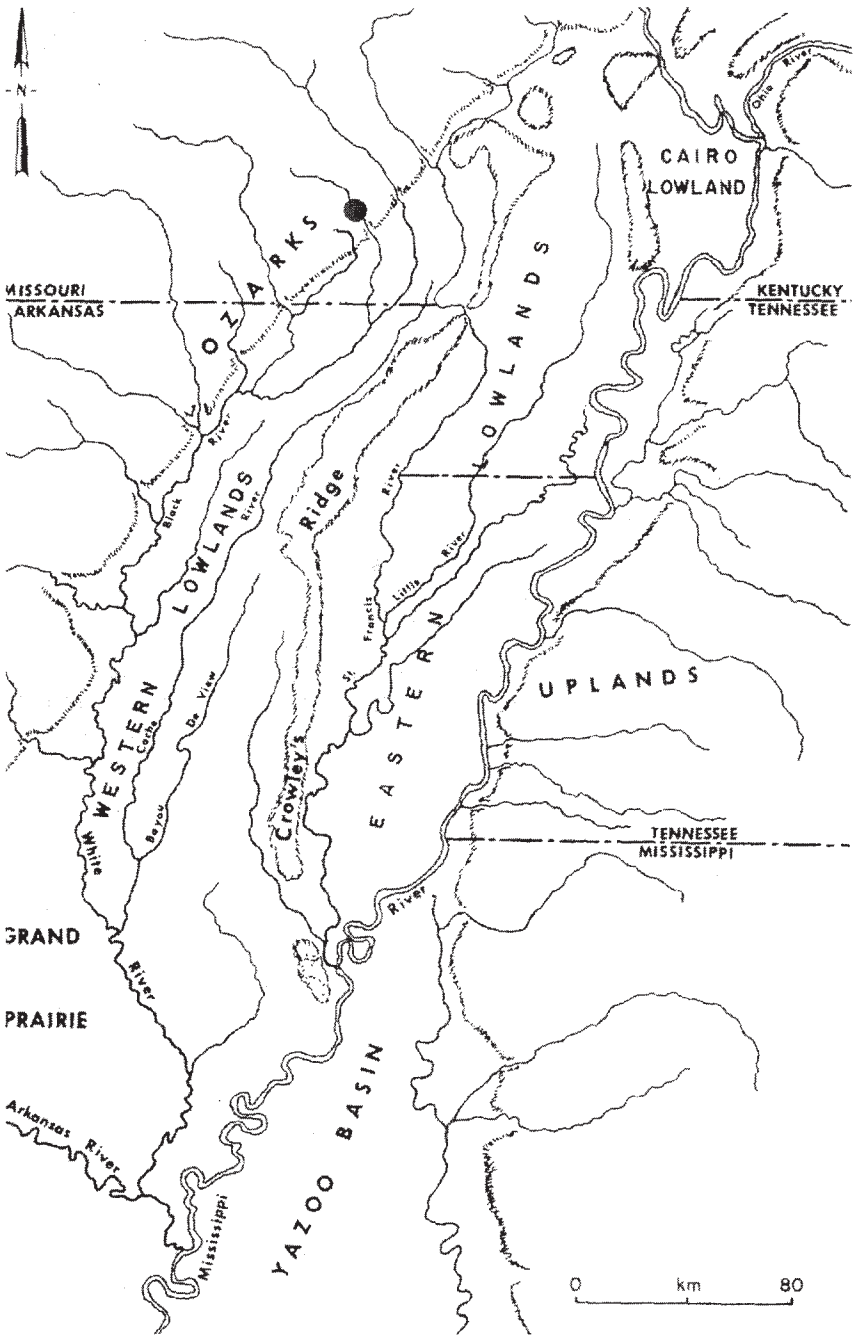

Figure 2. Geographic features of the Central Mississippi Valley (after Morse and Morse 1983)

Since late prehistoric times and throughout the colonial period, the riverways were part of the hunting territory of the tribe historically known as the Osage. In 1803 the United States acquired the region where the park is located through the Louisiana Purchase. In 1808 the Osage signed a treaty where they ceded most of their territory, including the park area, to the United States (Chapman 1974, III and IV). Under the Indian Claims Commission, it is the Osage who are the aboriginal Indian group, or group who was in possession of the land at the time it became a part of the United States.

Since approximately 1720 to 1838, the French and Spanish Colonial and later United States governments sought the Missouri territory as a vacant area where eastern tribal groups, including the Shawnee, Delaware, Wyandot, Cherokee, Peoria, Seneca, and Kickapoo, who had been displaced by colonization, could be relocated. A number of these groups lived for several years on the Current and Jacks Fork riverways. After 1838 these people were officially relocated to Kansas and later Oklahoma but many individuals either remained in the park area, married into settler families, or returned to live in the park. The 2000 census data for Shannon, Denton, Texas, and Carter counties indicate that Native Americans living in the vicinity of the park number in the hundreds.

Faunal and mineral resources in the Ozark uplands were known to Europeans possibly since the De Soto expedition west of the Mississippi River. Deer skin trade and mineral prospects stimulated French exploration in the 1700s (Sauer 1971:73). Yet, no systematic and intensive resource use began until the early nineteenth century, when the first American families settled in the Current River valley (Rafferty 1980; Price 1981; Stevens 1991). Agriculture, for the most part, was limited to a few commercial farms in the lower Current River and smaller, self-sufficient hamlets in the upland terraces (Stevens 1991:27-30). During his 1819 mineral survey of the Ozark uplands, Schoolcraft noted that in the early 1800s not only the local Indians but also the American settlers depended almost exclusively on game and wild plants for their sustenance (Rafferty 1996). Mineral and timber resources were targeted commercially soon after White settlement (Stevens 1991:34, 67) and were a driving force in the relocation of aboriginal and emigrant tribes to Indian Territory.

In sum, the park and its surroundings contain extensive and varied resources of prehistoric, historic, and contemporary significance for numerous human groups. There is a wealth of data that illustrates the importance of Ozark's wildlife, plant, and mineral resources in American Indian subsistence, trade, medicine, and ritual (Wood and McMillan 1975). While a review of the park's most recent history (post-Indian removal) is beyond the scope of this study, in this chapter we briefly summarize existing knowledge and material evidence of prehistoric and historic use by American Indians, with the purpose of defining the past Indian group(s), which is the first step in establishing cultural affiliation.

Prehistoric Occupation Sequence

The park and vicinity contain evidence of long-term human occupation dating back to the Paleoindian period (ca. 12,000 years). Geomorphological studies by Saucier (in Price et al. 1987) indicate that the habitable formations in the southeastern Ozarks predate 18,000 BP. Archaeological research to date suggests that human groups chose to inhabit the uplands and use its resources beginning with Clovis hunters, throughout the Archaic and Woodland periods, and until about the middle Mississippian period (AD 1000-1350). There is ceramic evidence that at least some of the upland inhabitants of the Current and Jacks Fork rivers, who apparently

participated directly in the emergence of the Mississippian period, may have moved to larger settlements in the western lowlands, until about AD 1400, when most of southeast Missouri was vacated (Lynott et al. 2000). Scattered evidence of periodic park use in the protohistoric period (AD 1550-1700) suggests that the area continued to be of importance as a resource-rich hinterland after it was no longer used for permanent or semi-permanent habitation (Price 1981; Lynott et al. 2000).

Historic documents containing evidence of Indian use of the park area date to the French colonial period (1673-1762), and there are numerous references regarding Indian presence in southeast Missouri during the Spanish colonial period (1763-1803). Such documents not only refer to Indian tribes present in the region at the time of first contact and in the ensuing years, but also those that emigrated into Missouri after signing land session treaties with England and Spain (Houck 1909). Thereafter, American territorial papers dating as early as 1808 when the Missouri territory, including the portion of land where the park is located, was ceded in a treaty signed between the Osage Indian Nation and the United States, document aboriginal resource use and land-based interactions by both the aboriginal and the emigrant tribes (e.g., Houck 1909; Chapman 1974; Richard Graham papers 1919-1829;). Specific instances of these interactions have been documented archaeologically at the park (Price 1992).

Ethnographies also refer, directly or indirectly, to land and resource uses in the park and surrounding region. And finally, recent tribal publications (e.g., Baker Northrup 2001) make reference to ancestral connections between modern Indians and the people who once inhabited the park.

Paleoindian Period

The earliest remains of human occupation in the park area are from terminal Pleistocene period hunters known for the manufacture of the Clovis fluted point (ca. 10,000-8,500 BC). The majority of Paleoindian remains found in the park (n=4) and vicinity comes from private collections by individuals from Shannon and Carter counties (Price and Price 1980; Banks 1978) and in general, unprovenienced points come the Meramec, Current, Eleven Point, and White river drainages (Douthit et al. 1979:73). Isolated findings of Clovis fluted points by amateur archaeologists are valuable indicators of the presence of Clovis hunters in this area. Chapman (1975:67), for example, used data from a survey of point collectors to tackle the distribution of Clovis fluted points in Missouri.

Chapman (1975:54) considered the Ozarks to be a promising area for finding Paleoindian remains, given the geomorphic stability of the region's terraces and abundance of rockshelters. Thus far this has not been the case, except perhaps for the Meramec drainage, where numerous Clovis points have been found (Chapman 1975:73). Even accounting for great loss of surface artifacts to private collectors, there remains a clear pattern of use of high alluvial terraces and large fans along the main rivers (Chapman 1975; O'Brien and Wood 1998:58). It is important to note that at least six different chert sources were used in the manufacture of Clovis tools, one of which is located in the St. Francois Mountains of the northeast Ozarks (Martens, P.C. cited in O'Brien and Wood 1998:60). This indicates that certain upland resources were recognized and valued at the onset of human occupation.

Dalton Occupation Human occupation during the terminal Paleoindian period in Missouri, and specifically in the Ozark uplands, is represented by hunter-forager groups who manufactured the diagnostic Dalton serrated and Dalton lanceolate points (Price and Krakker

1975). This occupation is dated around 8,500-7,000 BC and thus constitutes a transition between the Pleistocene hunter groups and the more generalized Archaic forager groups in the region. Also, the Dalton occupation is important because it is local to Missouri and it is partially contemporaneous with, and somewhat analogous to, Western complexes such as Folsom, Plainview, and Agate Basin (O'Brien and Wood 1998:72 and *passim*).

The Dalton assemblages generally contain, in addition to the diagnostic points, hafted bifaces commonly found in the southern Ozarks (Dickson 1987:17) and other tools such as adzes, scrapers, engravers, grinding stones, worked bone (needles, awls) and antler, and iron pigments (Morse and Goodyear 1973). From excavations elsewhere in the state, specifically at the Rodgers Shelter in the Little Osage River and at Graham Cave, it is known that these tool types were used in the procurement and processing of a wide variety of wild resources, including seasonally available hickory and black walnut nuts, berries and seeds, white tail deer, eastern cottontail, raccoon, squirrel, plains pocket gopher, beaver, turkey, elk, coyote, woodchuck, eastern wood rat, muskrat, terrestrial and water fowl, turtle, snake, and fish (Klippel 1971:15; Kay 1982; Parmalee et al. 1976 in O'Brien and Wood 1998:89). Other stratified sites across the Ozarks, including Packard, Billy Ross, Breckenridge, Tom's Brook, and Holman, add information on seasonality, use and processing of different types of regionally available lithic raw materials including hematite, variability in tool kits and, in the case of the Packard Site in Oklahoma, evidence of modern bison hunting (Sabo III et al. 1990:42).

Dalton tools occur on surface localities in the Current and Eleven Point rivers but those are either unprovenienced or mixed with later Archaic materials (Douthit et al. 1979:83). One Dalton point was recovered from an undisturbed context at the Akers Ferry Site (Lynott 1993:6). Price and Krakker (1975) have documented extensive Dalton occupation along the southern Ozark border, particularly at the Lepold and Sullivan sites in the Little Black River. There, Price and Krakker uncovered two types of seasonal base camps—one on the lower drainage and another at base of the escarpment—that would have provided access to resources during the summer-fall and winter-spring seasons, respectively. The particular placement of these sites at different points along the river and at the upland-lowland ecotone suggests a territorial strategy focused on ready access to topographically distinct zones.

The appearance of Dalton period sites across a broad west-east band, from the Ozark escarpment to the eastern lowlands in southeast Missouri and northeast Arkansas, indicates that forager groups were able move some distance to supplement their diet with a variety of plants and animals and to obtain other nonfood resources (Godsey 1985; Goodyear 1974; Morse and Morse 1983; Price and Krakker 1975; Schiffer 1975). For example, Ozark cherts are abundant in lowland Dalton sites both as raw materials and finished products, indicating that the logistics of resource transport across diverse topographic and ecological zones were already in place by 8,000 BC (Morse and Morse 1983:82). As Sabo and Early (1990:46) explain, overall the Dalton site distribution pattern indicates adaptation to local environmental conditions of a mobile hunter-forager society whose organization was not much different than the preceding one, but with more evidence of ceremonialism.

Other important manifestations of Dalton group organization may be found in sites located in northeast Arkansas. Morse and Morse (1983:80-95) provide a detailed summary of earlier debates regarding settlement systems and territorial organization of Dalton groups, and describe three sites that contain information on the social aspects of this system: the Lace site—a possible base camp—, the Brand site—a hunting or task camp—, and the Sloan site—a possible

Dalton cemetery. The latter is unique in that it contains caches of lithic preforms and finished tools that were buried in a pattern strongly suggestive of deliberate deposition in a short period of time. Extremely eroded bone fragments (four of which are positively identified as human) support the interpretation of a possible burial ground (Morse and Morse 1983:90). Sabo and Early (1990:46) add the possible ceremonial hearth (interpreted as such by Chapman 1975) and possible Dalton burials at Graham Cave, to the north of the Ozarks.

Archaic Period

The Archaic period extended from 7,000 to 600 BC, and is generally divided in early, middle, and late stages. For the Ozark uplands, archaeologists generally discuss early and middle Archaic occupations together, since it is often difficult to place arbitrary boundaries on these continuous and long-term manifestations (Sabo and Early 1990; cf. Chapman 1975). Archaic artifacts, such as Hardin, Rice Lobed, Graham Cave, and Big Sandy points, are found in the park but lack well defined and dated contexts (Banks 1978, 1985); test excavations at the Akers Ferry Site and at Two Rivers have produced some of these points as well (Klinger et al. 1989; Lynott 1993). Archaic components are extensive in at least the Little Black River area and it is likely that the entire eastern Ozark border sustained a heavy Archaic occupation (Price et al. 1975; Lafferty and Price 1996:3).

In this section we discuss broad regional patterns and specific data drawn from well-dated sites in the Ozark uplands (e.g., Pomme de Terre localities, White River localities; Gasconade and Meramec drainages) to illustrate developments that may explain the presence of early and middle Archaic artifacts in the park area.

Early and Middle Archaic (7,000-4,000 BC). The Archaic period in the Ozarks and surrounding regions developed out of the Dalton adaptations and, at least during the early stage, Archaic subsistence and organization were probably no different than those of Dalton. Yet, Archaic hunter-foragers undertook a major technological innovation and expansion, with a proliferation of point types and other specialized tools indicating, among other things, an increase in the use of woods and fibers and intensive edible plant processing (Chapman 1975; Sabo and Early 1990). Point styles are numerous and vary both geographically and temporally, but they may be grouped in five form classes: stemmed, contracting stemmed lanceolate, side-notched, corner-notched, and basal-notched, all of which suggest technological variability in hafting techniques and use of the atlalt (O'Brien and Wood 1998). Other innovations that appeared during the early and middle Archaic include the manufacture of ornaments made of shell and bone, and the use of galena. Stone alignments in the Rodgers Shelter and burned limestone—possibly indicating hearths or ovens—at the Dawson site are important additions to the Archaic material culture complex (Sabo and Early 1990).

In terms of subsistence and organization, the early and middle Archaic developments cannot be understood without a consideration of the drastic climatic changes of the early Holocene. Between 7,000 and 5,000 BC increasing temperature and aridity caused an eastward expansion of the prairie and concomitant contraction of the hickory-oak upland forest. So severe were these conditions that the Mississippi River channel changed from braided to meander and its floodplain narrowed considerably; lowland swamps also shrank to small ponds (Saucier 1974). Throughout this period, known as the Hypsithermal or Altithermal, the Ozarks suffered occasional spells of prolonged drought, which likely affected subsistence resource distribution. Second order tributaries, such as the Current River, were also impacted by a reduction in the

width of meander belts and in the volume of water discharge. Accordingly, Archaic populations shifted their territorial organization to maximize access to resources.

It is difficult to reconstruct in detail changes that occurred from the early to the middle Archaic across the Ozark uplands given the gaps in the data. Nonetheless archaeologists have used available information to model possible scenarios that explain human adaptation to the Hypsithermal. The first scenario, suggested by Morse and Morse (1983:103), is that archaic populations shifted their focus from the broad lowland terraces to the narrow Ozark valleys, where important game species and aquatic resources, as well as nut-bearing trees, could be found. According to their model, there would be an increase in the frequency of several point style horizons in the uplands versus the lowlands. Site frequencies in the lowlands would decrease in relation to the uplands. This model contrasts with Chapman's (1975:172) earlier assessment that there was no significant occupation in the Ozarks during the middle Archaic and that the uplands were used primarily as hinterland by groups living farther to the east.

In a second scenario, Sabo and Early (1990:53) cite Ford (1977) and Brown and Vierra (1983), to note that changes in the floodplain configuration of the upland river valleys may have enhanced the development of bottomland gallery forests, leading to a shift in habitation focus to the bottomlands. Yet, they are cautious in generalizing this hypothesis to all valleys in the Ozarks, since the analysis of faunal remains from the Rodgers Shelter, reported by Purdue (1982), suggests that the floodplain forest along the Pomme de Terre River not only contracted but changed in structure, which in turn affected the fauna in important ways, by creating stressful conditions for forest edge species such as deer and by attracting prairie species such as pronghorn, bison, antelope, prairie chicken, and ground squirrel. Hypsithermal conditions may have been milder and in general developed later in the eastern Ozarks, where an expanded forest edge actually favored the deer population. As a positive side to these conditions, Sabo and Early suggest that erosion of the slopes due to a combination of vegetation loss and human use may have uncovered chert and other mineral deposits not available to earlier groups.

In terms of demographic and territorial organization, Sabo and Early (1990) and O'Brien and Wood (1998) note that the overall trend during the Hypsithermal was an increased use of the valley bottom settings with two or perhaps three seasonal rounds involving the exploitation of both upland and bottomland resources; human groups likely had to shift their seasonal rounds as the climate shifted and affected the distribution of resources. The overall pattern also suggests that middle Archaic groups were able to adapt well to the Hypsithermal conditions by broadening their food base as population density increased relative to carrying capacity. Site sizes indicate either an increase in population or longer/more frequent period of habitation. Population concentration in smaller territories may have led to the emergence social boundary maintenance mechanisms (Sabo and Early 1990:54). Evidence of further developments, such as the domestication of the dog, were found at the Rodgers Shelter, where a dog was buried in a cairn.

Late Archaic (4,000 600 BC). A number of critical organizational and technological innovations characterized the late Archaic or post-Hypsithermal stage in the Ozark uplands and surroundings. In southeast Missouri, diagnostic material culture of this stage, also known as the "Poverty Point" period, includes a sophisticated lapidary industry typified by bannerstones, tubular pipes, bolastones, effigy objects, gorgets, and various grinding implements; expanded use of basalt, hematite, galena, antler, human and animal bone, bivalve shells, turtle carapaces, and

animal teeth for implements and ornaments; Sedalia digging tools, and three temporally distinct projectile points (Morse and Morse 1983:116; Chapman 1975:185-199).

The Hypsithermal receded over a long period of time, giving Archaic populations the opportunity to slowly adapt to the new changes. The late Archaic groups expanded into new environments and in the Ozark uplands they began to use the bluff tops as well as the valley bottoms (Chapman 1975; Price 1981). While these groups continued to adapt to local environments, the general trend shows extended seasonal or even permanent residential habitations near the valleys complemented with specialized logistic campsites away from the residences (O'Brien and Wood 1998; Sabo and Early 1990). Extended residential stays are indicated by site size, artifact density and tool type diversity, and development of deep middens. Midden sites suggest a maximum-group size occupation with reoccupation over numerous seasons and abundant evidence of social and ceremonial activity (Morse and Morse 1983:130). Such occupations would have taken place through the late fall to the spring, or the time of maximum resource availability. The midden sites follow the traditional pattern of settling just below the escarpment and near the emergence of rivers from the Ozarks or lower ridges and within striking distance of important upland and lowland resources. Sabo and Early (1990:63; see also McMillan 1965) note that rockshelters, including the Rodgers Shelter and the Albertson Site, apparently became more specialized-use sites with emphasis on hunting, butchering, some hide processing, and plant processing. In the Ozark uplands, lithic workshops occur near quarry sites or by the streams and in association with good fishing spots (Morse and Morse 1983:131).

In terms of food resource exploitation, the late Archaic populations took advantage of the increasing number of available deer and continued collecting fresh water shells and turtle, among other resources. As O'Brien and Wood (1998:159) explain, increased sedentism and expanded land and resource bases may have resulted in the adoption of a "collector" subsistence strategy that involved more planning in resource collecting and processing than the earlier "forager" strategy. The large quantity of foodstuffs, food processing features and caches of processing tools found at the Garrelts site in the Salt River drainage illustrate this strategy (O'Brien and Warren 1982).

Importantly, the late Archaic groups began to consume domesticates such as bottle gourd (*Lagenaria sp.),* squash (*Cucurbita sp.),* sunflower *(Helianthus sp.)* and goosefoot *(Chenopodium sp.*), marking the beginning of food production, perhaps in small gardens or plots (Ford 1979). Uses of nonlocal raw materials and finished products also suggest the onset of interregional exchange, which in turn could be related to the spread of domesticates (Chapman 1975; Klinger et al. 1989; Sabo and Early 1990). At least at Phillips Spring in the Pomme de Terre drainage, the introduction of domesticates has been securely dated in a sealed deposit within the late Archaic occupation to 2272 +/- 57 BC or about 4,300 BP (Chomko and Crawford 1978; F.B. King 1982 cited in O'Brien and Wood 1998:161).

Evidence of ceremonial activity increases in the late Archaic occupations, and the first burial mounds date to this period. Burial modes include flexed and extended inhumation, cremation, and bundle. Specialized features such as mounds and natural rises may contain numerous burials of varied types accompanied by offering caches, as found in the Salt River drainage (Klepinger and Henning 1976, cited in O'Brien and Wood 1998:159). Midden sites also contain human burials and offerings (Morse and Morse 1983).

A number of late Archaic sites of varied size and function and multicomponent sites with a late Archaic component have been documented at the park and immediate surroundings. In fact, this time period is well-documented in the Current, Little Black, and Eleven Point rivers, and to the south in Fourche River near Pocahontas, Arkansas where sites are distributed throughout the riverine systems in substantial numbers and in diverse ecological and topographic settings (Price and Price 1981; Price et al. 1983; 1986). Some sites with late Archaic materials excavated in the park include Akers Ferry (Lynott 1993), Pulltite, Alley Springs (Price and Price 1983), and Two Rivers (Klinger et al. 1989).

Sedentary habitation is characteristic of the late Archaic occupation of the eastern Ozarks, and is represented by midden sites and extractive camps that are more or less evenly spaced in a linear pattern and following the drainages. Emphasis was placed in the extraction of lithic raw materials, particularly quartzite and rhyolite, in addition to chert (Perttula 1984:15). As Price (1981:20) points out, the rich and varied riparian habitats of the Ozark uplands, where terrestrial and aquatic resources are available within narrow valleys, made seasonal rounds unnecessary. Year-round or multi-seasonal residences were located in strategic points, such as near river confluences or floodplain terraces to maximize access to various ecozones and ensure a predictable and methodical resource exploitation schedule. Sedentism and predictability may have resulted in population increase and in the development of fixed territories along drainages inhabited by more or less discrete social groups.

Other social and territorial strategies may have involved the development of interregional exchange relationships, perhaps represented during the late Archaic by the use of exotic lithic raw materials. Research in the Little Black River drainage has produced some evidence of the use of upland cherts and rhyolites (Perttula 1984:15). Current River rhyolites were also found in sites along the St. Francis Basin. At least one burial site possibly dating to this period has been found in the lower Current River drainage (Ripley County). While excavating at the Gipsy Joint Site, Smith (1978:31) reported the finding of a human skull bone accompanied with late Archaic artifacts in a disturbed deposit. The Lepold Site also contains a possible late Archaic burial (Lynott and Monk 1987:8).

Woodland Period

The Woodland period (600 BC-AD 700) denotes post-Archaic human occupation of the forested environments of the mid-continent and the eastern United States. Despite the great local and regional variability in subsistence, spatial organization, and material culture of the Woodland adaptations, several general trends characterized this long developmental period across a vast region. These included: spread of agricultural economy, increase in sedentism, adoption of ceramic technology, ritual activity involving burial mound construction, and participation in long-distance exchange networks.

In the central Mississippi Valley and its western hinterlands, Woodland is generally divided in early, middle, and late stages, where the early Woodland or "Woodland beginnings" (Morse and Morse 1983:137) appeared as a logical outgrowth of the late Archaic adaptations; the middle Woodland entailed the participation of local populations in the Hopewell interaction sphere; and the late Woodland laid the technological and organizational foundation that led to the rise of Mississippian period polities in this particular region. Modern investigations in the Ozarks suggest that upland groups shared some of the period's trends with the lowland groups (e.g., Price 1981; Price and Price 1983; Klinger et al. 1989; Brown 1984). In this section we briefly

summarize key findings, as they are relevant for understanding prehistoric uses of the park and vicinity.

Early Woodland (600-0 BC). Isolating and dating archaeological remains that mark the end of the Archaic or the beginning of the Woodland period has been a difficult enterprise in a number of mid-continental regions (Fansworth and Emerson 1986:1). Yet, in the lowlands of southeast Missouri and in the Ozark escarpment these remains have been unequivocally identified by Price (1986) in the form of finely made sand-tempered "Tchula" pottery that is diagnostic of the early Woodland (Price 1986; cf. Chapman 1980). This ware is distinct from the coarse rock-tempered, plain or cord-marked pottery typed as Marion Thick (O'Brien and Wood 1998:180) that generally marks the onset of ceramic manufacture in the central Mississippi valley. The presence of fine sand-tempered pottery in southeast Missouri suggests the existence of technological affinities between these ceramic assemblages and those from the Tchefuncte culture in Louisiana (Phillips et al. 1951).

Tchula ceramics were first reported by Williams (1954) in the Cairo Lowland and also have been found in the Ed Moore Shelter, Texas County, Cave Fork, Carter County (C. Price 1976), and in the Little Black River area (Price 1986; Lynott 1985). That this tradition penetrated the Ozark uplands is also evident in private collector pieces from the Current and Eleven Point rivers (Price et al. 1983). The Culpepper site further shows a possible early to middle Woodland component (Lynott 1985). Morse and Morse (1983:145) reported a Tchula period occupation at the McCarthy site in northeast Arkansas. There, they found Tchula period pit structures, possibly for storage, which suggest extended or permanent occupation of the eastern lowland swamp. Tchula burials contained copper beads and various stone artifacts; one burial may have contained a pot. Importantly, Morse and Morse observed that most or all of the Tchula ceramics found at McCarthy, while very similar to several Tchefuncte types, apparently were locally made with a very sophisticated technology.

Middle Woodland (AD 0-450). At least initially, the adoption of ceramic containers and perhaps of corn (Yarnell 1976) were the only historical discontinuities between Archaic and Woodland periods in the central Mississippi valley and hinterland (Morse and Morse 1983:138). Yet, over the course of 500 years Woodland groups evolved in several important ways, all of which were directly or indirectly tied to an increase in reliance on wild and domesticated plants. O'Brien and Wood (1998:180) cite Joseph Caldwell's (1958) fitting term *primary forest efficiency* to describe the process of intensification and refinement of human interactions with forest resources in order to procure food. As Price (1981) observed regarding the eastern Ozarks, given the ecological diversity of upland forested valleys, where abundant aquatic and terrestrial species were readily available within very short distances, human groups had the opportunity to settle these niches permanently and to begin to consistently and systematically interact with certain food plants. Throughout this interactive process, groups intentionally or incidentally introduced changes into plant ecology and morphology, in particular genetic changes leading to domestication of native seeds (Rindos 1980, 1984).

Woodland sites in the eastern Ozarks are located on natural terraces or on the floodplains of the Current River valley. The Woodland sequence is not satisfactorily established but occupations are nonetheless evident in several important open sites and shelters (Klinger et al. 1989:23; Banks 1978). Lynott (1993:10) notes that the first permanent and most intensive occupations of the Akers Ferry site occurred during the middle Woodland period—a village site associated with burial cairns. However, not all the upland valleys offered the same opportunities

for settlement as the riverways, and there is more evidence of permanent habitation in the lowlands, along the main river valleys, than in the uplands (Morse and Morse 1983; Braun 1987; Sabo and Early 1990).

O'Brien and Wood (1998:214-216) draw on comparative data from early and middle Woodland sites in western Illinois to model the combined effects of domestication and technological innovation on local populations. They suggest that an increase in sedentism, coupled with heavy reliance on plant foods and improved food preparation technology, may have relaxed birth control behaviors (e.g., easier weaning and shorter lactating periods, see Buikstra et al. 1986) just enough to allow for local population growth. Even slight population growth may have caused a decrease in the volume of foodstuffs locally available for individual and group consumption. Eventually, prolonged exposure to such stress would have driven sedentary groups to establish intergroup networks to buffer scarcity (Braun and Plog 1982). Within groups, individuals may have adopted aggrandizing behaviors (e.g., Hayden 1998), geared toward securing leadership positions that would ensure access to foodstuffs and exchangeable objects. Ritual performance expressed materially in the construction of burial mounds and the intentional discard of exotic valuables would have played a key role in ensuring the social and political success of aggrandizers and their relations as well as their sustenance.

Hopewell and non-Hopewell Interaction Spheres

The material expression of middle Woodland interregional networks is known as Hopewell, after the Hopewell Mound Group in Ohio (Brose and Greber 1979). The central Mississippi Valley and eastern Ozark escarpment fall between two regional Hopewell expressions—Havana to the north, and Marksville to the south, which in turn represent early and late affinities, respectively, (Toth 1979). Yet, there is little evidence that the regional groups actively participated in either network and what is there is very spotty. Havana-like ceramics and other exotic artifacts are found in the western Ozarks in Cooper Complex sites (Chapman 1980:24; Sabo and Early 1990:68) perhaps reflecting a mixture of down-the-line exchange and local emulation of foreign trends. Evidence of regional use of Ozark cherts would partially account for the presence of exchanged items and ideas in the upland sites.

Exotic artifacts are found in the lowlands and uplands, commonly inside burial mounds in some Marksville period sites in northeast Arkansas (Morse and Morse 1983). Surface collections around the La Plant site in the Cairo Lowland, and around the Keller site just to the south of the Missouri bootheel, also produced some Hopewell artifacts as well as more localized grog-tempered ceramics (Morse and Morse 1983:172). Isolated objects often found in private collections or rescued from plowed sites offer a few clues as to the presence of possible Hopewell artifacts in the central valley; for example, Orr (1988:9) reported that 24 drilled bear teeth were recovered from a plowed mound in Stoddard County. Banks (1978:22) also reported extremely rare occurrences of Hopewell-like ceramics and projectile points in the eastern Ozarks.

The manufacture and distribution of non-Hopewell ceramics and lithic artifacts in the Ozark uplands and central valley lowlands suggests the existence of autonomous groups who at some point may have engaged in localized interaction networks that fulfilled functions similar to those outlined by Braun and Plog (1982). During the middle Woodland, upland groups expanded their ceramic technology repertoire, specifically experimenting with limestone temper and associated firing techniques, and with thinner and overall better constructed vessels (O'Brien and

Wood 1998). Two fairly well bounded technological traditions include the sand-tempered Barnes complex, found in the Western Lowland as well as in the escarpment, and the limestone-tempered Meramec Springs complex, found mostly on the eastern half of the Ozarks (Price 1981). Both ceramic complexes are found in the Current and Jacks Fork Rivers, indicating side-by-side residence of groups bearing distinct technological traditions. The distribution of the materials is somewhat distinctive, with Meramec Springs ceramics found at upriver sites, such as at Akers Ferry (Lynott 1993), Round Spring (Lynott 1991), and Shawnee Creek (Lynott and Price 1994) and Barnes found at sites in the lower Current and Eleven Point drainages (e.g., Gooseneck, Lynott and Price 1989) as well as in the Little Black River (Price et al. 1976). Baytown clay-tempered ceramics, generally found in the Eastern Lowlands at this time, occur occasionally on the eastern escarpment (Klinger et al 1989:24).

Unfortunately, the chronological placement of these occurrences is not sufficiently refined to allow detailed modeling of contemporaneous vs. sequential uses of the uplands by groups bearing different technological traditions, but it appears that the three tempering traditions were at least partially contemporaneous. It is possible at least to postulate that the eastern Ozark upland was an area where the distribution boundaries of middle Woodland traditions overlapped (Klinger et al. 1989) and this may indicate joint use of critical upland resources (e.g., minerals; wildlife) by more than one group. This type of behavior, which was ubiquitous among aboriginal Indian tribes across the continent, could have left behind more or less heterogeneous ceramic and lithic assemblages. Extraction of local lithic raw materials by outside groups or exchange of these raw materials between lowland and upland groups (Morse and Morse 1983:175) could have contributed to the development of localized social networks involving symmetrical exchange of material items or payment for direct use/exploitation rights.

Late Woodland (AD 450-700). The late Woodland period has been traditionally defined for what it lacked rather than for what if offered, at least in material terms (Chapman 1980:78). Characterized by an undecorated ceramic horizon and by the disappearance of Hopewell artifacts here and elsewhere, the late Woodland period nonetheless carried the organizational foundations that led to the development of the Mississippian societies, notably, the continuation of previously established social networks and a subtle shift in exchange emphasis toward resources available in the south (O'Brien and Wood 1998:223).

From the perspective of cultural affiliation, the late Woodland is an important period in the cultural sequence of prehistoric groups in the eastern Ozarks, and specifically the park, because evidence that the upland people actively participated in the development of one technological characteristic of the Mississippian, appeared during this period in the form of shell-tempered pottery (Lynott et al. 2000). As we explain below, evidence of this participation and its consequences places the affiliation of the park's prehistoric groups and at least some of their descendants within the central valley Mississippian groups.

Mississippian Period

This period witnessed the development of complex and socially stratified polities whose economic systems depended on extensive corn agriculture, control and exploitation of resources used in ritual activities, and participation in exchange networks (Pauketat 1998; Smith 1978; Steponaitis 1983). Demographic organization hinged on ceremonial-civic centers surrounded by villages of varying size, farmsteads, and special activity or extractive locales. One hallmark of this period was the construction of fortified settlements and pyramidal or platform mounds.

Given the extent and complexity of Mississippian period societies, our discussion will have to be selective and limited to the eastern Ozarks and its immediate surroundings. Developments in southeast Missouri and northeast Arkansas that are relevant to the construction of a cultural affiliation statement for the park will be briefly discussed in this section.

In the eastern Ozark uplands, late Woodland populations transitioned smoothly and without organizational change into Mississippian times. Populations continued to be dispersed in small farmsteads or hamlets along the major valleys, with limited activity locales on shelters and ridges. Stratified sites such as Akers Ferry and Two Points contain evidence of this transition (Lynott 1993; Klinger et al. 1989), as does Shell Lake, on the Little Black River basin (Price and Price 1984). The only flat-topped pyramidal mound with an associated settlement and midden was found at the Pigman Mound site in the Eleven Point River valley (C. Price 1978; Anderson n.d.). Evidence of occupation after AD 1200 is scant but still recognizable; Banks (1984:13) reported the presence of a Mississippian period village site on a tributary of the Current River, containing shell-tempered pottery, triangular corner-notched points, and unnotched triangular or Scallorn points. The area was vacated about 650 years ago and, thereafter, it was used only sporadically, as indicated by the isolated late prehistoric and protohistoric artifacts found on surface contexts (Lafferty and Price 1996).

The early Mississippian period marks the diversification of the "bluff dweller culture" into three distinct geocultural manifestations with specific interaction networks. Ceramic data and population dynamics suggest that eastern Ozark people had close relations with Mississippian groups in the Western Lowland and probably even moved there during the middle Mississippian period (Lynott et al. 2000). In contrast, people in the western Ozarks of southwest Missouri and northwest Arkansas were related to Caddoan developments perhaps since the late Woodland period, as indicated by burial mound patterns and material culture similarities (e.g., Perttula 1983; Wood and Pangborn 1968; see regional summary in Sabo and Early 1990:97-99). The northern Ozark upland was tied to—or even under direct control of—Cahokia through the exploitation of mineral resources used to manufacture ritual objects (Emerson and Hughes 2000; Pauketat 1998). Thus, during the late Woodland-emergent Mississippian transition interregional relations of Ozark groups became more localized; this possibility would be consistent with the rise of distinctive Mississippian political spheres, each with its own geographic and ethnolinguistic affiliation. Such differentiation would not have precluded the spread of nonlocal objects across the spheres and through long-distance exchange or down-the-line trading episodes, as suggested by the presence of Varney ceramics in Cahokia, among other evidence (Lynott et al. 2000:105, citing Kelly 1982).

Mississippian Emergence (AD 700-1000). As Lynott et al. (2000) observe, at about AD 700 innovation among upland groups entailed the experimentation with a new tempering technology: crushed shell. The first local manifestations of this experimentation are found in the late Woodland Buckskull or Scatters Phase plainware, which is tempered with limestone and shell (Price et al. 1976). Anderson (n.d.:4) also reported the presence of this pottery at the Pigman Mound. This limited-distribution ware seemingly led to the manufacture of the shell-tempered ware named Varney by Williams (1954) after the Old Varney River site. Varney materials characterize the Naylor Phase along the escarpment. In other words, progressive refinement of upland Varney ceramics points to indigenous development (Lynott et al. 2000:122). Naylor Phase components in eastern Ozark sites, particularly Gooseneck, have produced several radiocarbon dates that range between AD 650 and 800 (Lynott and Price 1989).

Few comparably early dates exist for the lowland sites in southeast Missouri or northeast Arkansas, and these come from the Hoecake site and from some sites in the Malden Plain (see Lafferty and Price 1996 for a detailed discussion of regional dates; contrast discussions of these dates by O'Brien and Wood (1998:249) and by Morse and Morse (1990:157-159)).

In the lowlands, the transition from the late Woodland to the emergent Mississippian period was also smooth and largely uneventful; in the Malden Plain, for example, the late Woodland settlement system that exhibited numerous small settlements dispersed in a low-density pattern along well-drained, sandy, elevated spots prevailed for a time but progressively population began to nucleate in fewer, larger settlements (Dunnell and Feathers 1991). This pattern may have been generalized for all of the central valley with the exception of a few, early emerging large sites like Hoecake, Double Bridges, Murphy and Kersey (O'Brien and Wood 1998:281). Morse and Morse (1990:63) offered a somewhat different picture for the Zebree site and associated settlements, and considered that this was the earlier form of Mississippian settlement system in the central valley. They interpreted the architectural features (e.g., ditches) at the Zebree site as indicating site planning—a characteristic of Mississippian towns. They associated this evidence with the replacement of sand-tempered Barnes pottery with shell-tempered Varney pottery.

O'Brien and Wood (1998:280) place some doubts on the Morses' interpretations and contend that there is really no evidence to suggest ceramic replacement. Different combinations of Barnes, Meramec Springs, Baytown, Varney, and Owls Bend traditions appear in most transitional and emergent site assemblages and thus they are initially coeval (Lynott et al. 2000:107; O'Brien and Wood 1998:257). But Varney pottery eventually overwhelmed relative percentages of other wares, appearing with frequency at sites well beyond the areas where it likely originated. Yet another trend observed during the transitional phases is the mix of previously spatially discrete temper technologies to manufacture single vessels; this behavior is found everywhere in the central valley, from the Current River (Lynott et al. 2000) to the Cairo Lowlands (Morse and Morse 1990). One hypothesis that need further testing is that this technological mixing may be directly related to face-to-face interaction, and even ethnic coresidence, among potters carrying distinctive ceramic traditions.

From ceramic evidence alone it would not be accurate to say that Ozark populations stimulated the organizational developments that led to the rise of complex Mississippian polities, but only that they experimented early on with a technology that eventually became diagnostic of this period. In fact, Mississippian centers to the north and east did not adopt shell-tempered pottery until after AD 1,000 (O'Brien and Wood 1998:253). However, as Price and Price (1983:273) and Lynott (1982) suggest, *the material culture data as a whole—shell temper, diagnostic point types, habitation and logistic sites, and the Pigman Mound—suggest that upland groups were following technological and cultural trajectories similar to those followed by lowland groups.* Further, the data suggest that the uplanders were doing so independently from the meander belt area where Smith (1978) and Morse and Morse (1990) proposed Mississippian adaptations originally developed in the central Mississippi River valley. The Morses (1990:159) rejected Price's and Lynott's conclusions on account of little quantitative and chronometric information available for review. But a recent analysis of ceramic composition published by Lynott and colleagues (2000) and additional dates strengthen the evidence for a close eastern Ozark-Western Lowland Mississippian connection and help to clarify these transitional trends. Its significance for cultural affiliation merits a detailed summary.

Lynott et al. (2000) submitted 397 samples of clays and prehistoric ceramics to instrumental neutron activation analysis with the purpose of characterizing chemical variation of ceramics recovered in the eastern Ozarks, and Western, Eastern, and Cairo Lowlands of southeast Missouri, and of establishing possible clays sources for these materials. The analysis aimed to determine whether any or all of the co-occurring ceramic traditions were made with upland clays or transported into the uplands, and if so, what kinds of interactions they may have signified. A total of 15 sites spread east-west were sampled for the study. The analysis demonstrated that lowland and upland materials were chemically very distinct from each other and further indicated that lowland and upland clays were internally variable and could be divided into subgroups. These findings complement evidence presented by O'Brien et al. (1995) of differences between Eastern and Western Lowland clays and ceramics.

Given this variation, Lynott and colleagues (2000:122-123) offered the following observations. First, all of the Meramec Spring ceramics were made with eastern Ozark clays, thus eliminating the possibility that these ceramics could have come from the northern Gasconade or Meramec drainages. Second, Varney ceramics from eastern Ozark sites, as far west as Akers Ferry, were made with both upland and lowland clays, indicating that Varney assemblages include pots made locally and nonlocally. Third, the small number of Barneys ceramics from upland, escarpment, and lowland sites were made with lowland clay sources, so they were brought into the uplands. Fourth, the samples from the distinctive Owls Bend assemblage (Lynott et al. 1984), which are formally similar to the Plum Bayou complex of east-central Arkansas, where locally made with upland clays. And fifth, the authors found limited evidence for movement of upland ceramics into the lowlands, and only at sites adjacent to the escarpment or near Crowley's Ridge.

The overall impression left by this analysis is of local manufacture of several coeval ceramic complexes in the uplands and overwhelmingly unilateral movement of lowland pots into the uplands with little movement of pots in the opposite direction. To explain this pattern, Lynott and colleagues suggest three possibilities: (1) nonlocal pots could have entered the eastern Ozarks through exchange of pots for pots or, more likely, other items; (2) nonlocal pots could have been brought about by immigrants who, thereafter, used upland clays to manufacture their pots; and (3) pots could have circulated as part of a seasonal lowland-upland movement of people. These possibilities are not mutually exclusive but together could have contributed create the observed typological and chemical variation. The latter two possibilities are extremely important because they connote a very close cultural/ethnic correspondence between upland and lowland groups that goes beyond trade relations. This correspondence should be expected given that the area's lowland-upland use pattern is of great antiquity, dating as far back as the Dalton period (Price and Krakker 1975:30).

Mississippian Expansion (AD 1,000-ca. 1450). In marked contrast to the pre-AD 1000 occupation of the eastern Ozark uplands, during the Mississippian expansion large sites were no longer situated there but in the adjacent lowlands. Most evidence found along the Current River is limited to small artifact scatters probably associated with short-term occupation of the uplands by the lowland inhabitants. This occupation ceased at about AD 1300- 1325. Thereafter, only isolated findings of diagnostic late Mississippian "Nodena" points and effigy vessel fragments have been found in the uplands, suggesting sporadic visits to the area (Klinger et al. 1989; Banks 1978).

Germane to our discussion of cultural affiliation, however, are the developments that took place in the Western Lowland during the Powers Phase (e.g., Price 1978; Price and Griffin 1979; Smith 1978; O'Brien 2001) and the possible connections between eastern Ozark and Western Lowland groups during this phase. The Powers Phase refers to the middle Mississippian (ca. AD 1250-1350) occupation of the sandy ridges that rise between the Little Black River and Cane Creek in southeast Missouri. According to Lynott and colleagues (2000:123), the Powers Phase represents "an abrupt population increase in the Western Lowlands, associated with the development of an agriculturally based settlement system with a civic-ceremonial center, fortified towns, hamlets, and farmsteads." They hypothesize that the advent of the Powers Phase coincides with the abandonment of the eastern Ozarks; upland groups may have moved permanently to the lowland sites soon after AD 1300.

In addition to timing, they based this hypothesis on the ceramic evidence discussed above, which indicates sustained contact between groups from the two regions in the preceding centuries. O'Brien and Krakker (2001:84) observe that, although evidence of previous contact does not necessarily prove that the eastern Ozarks were the source of population for the Powers Phase, this is the most plausible of scenarios proposed thus far to explain the sudden appearance of Mississippian settlements in the Little Black River area. While O'Brien and Krakker rightly call for further research and rigorous testing of this hypothesis, Lynott and colleagues have presented one of the tightest cases for short- distance population interaction leading to the rise of a Mississippian system that is available in the current regional literature. In comparable cases, ceramic data and timing of demographic shifts have been used pervasively in the American Southwest to identify source populations for newly occupied areas and for discrete units within aggregated settlements (e.g., Haury 1958; Montgomery and Reid 1990; Lyons 2001; Triadan 1998; Zedeño 2002).

It appears that the population source hypothesis presented by Lynott and colleagues (2000) logically follows the existing evidence for sustained interaction and/or movement of people between adjacent areas prior to the establishment of the Powers Phase settlements. Price (1978; Price and Griffin 1979) originally explained the advent of the Powers Phase as one of population intrusion or colonization, with a probable-if unknown archaeologically-displacement of indigenous groups who had previously inhabited the Little Black River valley. At that time the data indicated to him that an unrelated group, perhaps coming from the Eastern Lowland, had been responsible for the development of the Powers Phase system. However, more recent fieldwork conducted by Lynott (1982, 1991, 1993; Lynott and Price 1989; Lynott and Monk 1987), Price, and colleagues (Price 1981; Price et al. 1983, 1984, 1985; Price and Price 1986; Klinger et at. 1989), combined with their ceramic analysis, shows that preexisting upland-lowland relations may hold the key to understanding the evolution of the Powers Phase settlements.

Since at least the late Woodland period dispersed groups living in both areas were interacting so regularly along the escarpment that they may have eventually amalgamated into one or a few closely knit groups. After all, people affiliated with known late Woodland- early Mississippian sites in the eastern Ozarks, the Ozark escarpment, and the Western Lowlands were using an area of 80 miles at its widest--measured as the crow flies, from the upper reaches of the Current River to the Little Black River--and were likely using resources available at different elevations and ecozones along the Jacks Fork, Current, and Little Black drainage systems. The Powers Phase settlements could represent an effort of the amalgamated upland-lowland groups to

maximize their chances of success in the adoption of a corn-based agricultural economy. Also accounting for continuity is the observation originally made by Price (1978:208) and restated by O'Brien and Krakker (2001:90) that the location of Powers Phase settlements indicates persistence of the old pattern of exploitation of aquatic and terrestrial food sources alongside the production of corn.

Thus, rather than a sudden intrusion into a new area, the Powers Phase settlements could have been the result of a decision to move to the lowland ridges--a decision made on the bases of at least some partial knowledge acquired through previous use (see O'Brien and Krakker 2001:78) and/or information acquired through the existing interaction networks. The evolution of the nucleated, four-tiered hierarchical settlement system described by Price (1978:212-214) would have been a logical consequence of that decision, particularly given the thirteenth-century climate of political reorganization and rise of fortified centers across southeast Missouri (O'Brien 2001:299).

At any rate, the sequence of developments that may have connected the eastern Ozarks to the Western Lowlands during the early and middle Mississippian periods constitutes an important link in establishing cultural affiliation for the people who inhabited the park. As we explained in the introductory chapter, cultural affiliation hinges on piecing together plausible scenarios for ethnogenesis; in this particular case, what data are available point to a scenario wherein at least some of the people who left the eastern Ozarks around AD 1250 joined preexisting lowland groups or became the lowland inhabitants of the Powers Phase settlements along the Little Black River valley.

Regarding the lifespan of the Powers Phase, O'Brien and Perttula (2001:138) recently evaluated a large suite of dates available for five of the excavated sites--Powers Fort, Snodgrass, Turner, Gypsy Joint, and Neil Flurry. Their evaluation suggests that all but Neil Flurry may have been at least partially coeval, with their main occupation spanning the fourteenth century. The Powers Fort has the deepest and richest record of occupation but not the earliest or latest dates; Turner and Snodgrass may have been settled earlier than other habitation sites; and Gypsy Joint was occupied for a short period of time. Although it was originally thought that Turner and Snodgrass were burned practically in one day (Price and Griffin 1979), a reanalysis of formation processes indicates that the structures at both settlements were burned intermittently and that early-abandoned houses were filled with variable amounts of refuse (O'Brien and Cogswell 2001). And finally, one radiocarbon date suggests that Neil Flurry was founded after AD 1400, that is, after the abandonment of Turner and Snodgrass. Neil Flurry may have been occupied throughout most or all of the late Mississippian period but more dates are needed to establish a plausible date range for this site.

Late Mississippian-Protohistoric Period

This period refers to the indigenous occupation immediately preceding first European contact and includes the 142 years of "protohistory" that elapsed between the first and second contact episodes (1541-1673). We acknowledge that archaeologists often distinguish between "late Mississippian" and "protohistoric" as two different periods, and perhaps this usage is appropriate in circumstances where different data types are used to reconstruct the protohistoric populations and events (see papers in Dye and Brister 1986).

Archaeologists and historians have strived to reconstruct the ethnogenesis of the Indian groups first described by Hernando De Soto (1541-42) and later by Jesuit Fathers Marquette and

Joliet (1673), and by La Salle and members of his party (1680). Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record, the inconsistencies found in several renditions of Hernando De Soto' s account, and the ravages of disease and war during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, have conspired to perpetuate confusion and to polarize debates by the best of Southeastern scholars. In this chapter we present brief summaries of data on cultural sequences that pertain to the region wherein the prehistoric eastern Ozark people once lived. The debates of contact-period Indian groups and their ethnic affiliation is summarized in Chapter Three. This information is used to outline plausible scenarios for cultural affiliation.

Late Mississippian Markers in the Eastern Ozarks and Vicinity. As mentioned above, the archaeological record does not contain any evidence of permanent or seasonal occupation of the eastern Ozark uplands during the middle or late Mississippian periods. Yet, isolated findings of the willow leaf-shaped Nodena projectile points, small triangular points, and an effigy bowl fragment, which post-date AD 1350, suggest that individuals or small task groups may have returned sporadically to the area (Banks 1984; Price et al 1983, 1990:61). One Nodena point was found embedded in a bear skull inside Bat Cave, which overlooks the Current River.

Nodena points are one of a constellation of late Mississippian diagnostic artifacts, including Bell Plain, Parkin Punctate, Barton Incised, Campbell Appliqued, and Nodena Painted vessels, various effigy vessels, catlinite disk pipes, copper objects, and shell buttons, among others (Morse 1990, 1993; O'Brien and Wood 1998). The type was first described by Chapman and Anderson (1955) for the Campbell Site and by Bell (1958) and was named after the middle and upper Nodena sites, in northeast Arkansas. According to Price and Price (1990:66) Nodena and other contemporaneous points mark a departure from middle Mississippian points in that they are somewhat larger and exhibit superior workmanship.

Who were the makers and porters of Nodena points? The answer to this question bears on the possible identity of the people who traversed the park in late prehistoric times, perhaps revisiting their ancestral homes and hunting-collecting grounds or simply using the resources they knew were available there. The appearance of Nodena points and other diagnostic materials (see O'Brien and Wood 1998; Morse and Morse 1983) coincides with the abandonment of a number of middle Mississippian population centers in the central Mississippi River valley, including all but one Powers Phase site. This apparent demographic "deflation" led Williams (1983) to propose the notion of a vacant quarter for the portion of Missouri between the mouth of the Ohio River and New Madrid (see Hoffman 1993a for a detailed discussion of regional depopulation).

Most archaeologists have agreed with, but few have questioned the vacant quarter notion. Several models have been proposed to explain why the population may have shifted to the south, nucleated in fewer, larger settlements than in the previous period, or remained without significant change (cf. Morse and Morse 1983; O'Brien 1994; Lewis 1990). To illustrate, Price and Price (1990:63) support Morse and Morse's (1983:282) notion of a more southern orientation of the central valley population than in the previous period, noting that the ceramic assemblages of late prehistoric/early historic sites in the Missouri bootheel bear strong resemblance to those reported by Brain et al. (1974) for contact period sites in the lower Mississippi River. Lewis (1990:57), for his part, contends that in the Ohio-Mississippi confluence the population did not shift until contact period but that differences in ceramic assemblage composition between this area and the more southern site clusters have deceived archaeologists into thinking that no late Mississippian developments occurred in the northern

fringes of the central valley. O'Brien (1994:356) partially supports the rise of fortified towns in previously unoccupied or sparsely occupied areas, particularly Pemiscot Bayou, but also contends that not enough chronometric assays and material analyses have been performed to really strengthen the southward migration and nucleation hypothesis.

While there is disagreement as to the causes of abandonment, the direction of population movement, or the identity of immigrants that supposedly introduced a new array of exotic items into the central valley, archaeologists agree that numerous late Mississippian sites in the central valley have a single component and thus they might have resulted from a demographic shift of sorts (O'Brien 1994:356), consequently leading to a sudden increase in population in certain areas of the valley (Morse and Morse 1983:283). On the whole, the nucleated, fortified town-mound centers that characterized this period apparently were focused on floodplain lands and backswamp resources, which resulted in the clustering of sites close to the meander belt of the Mississippi River and to other large rivers such as the White and the Black. This use pattern may have caused an expansion of the hinterland into resource-rich areas that were by then vacated; the hinterland was apparently used logistically and sporadically.

Late Mississippian site clusters are found from Pemiscot Bayou in the Missouri bootheel to the mouth of the L' Anguille River (Morse 1990:fig. 5-2). Regional archaeologists refer to these clusters as Armorel, Parkin, Walls, Nodena, and Kent Phases. The geographic boundaries, life spans, and assemblage content of these phases overlap to a greater or lesser extent, thus giving an initial impression of broad regional similarities (Phillips et al. 1951; see O'Brien and Fox 1994 for a detailed discussion of phase variability). A partially contemporaneous site cluster is found in the Western Lowland, just below the Ozark escarpment and near the confluence of the Black and White Rivers; Morse and Morse (1983:298) call this the "Greenbrier phase." Sites with assemblages similar to those in southeast Missouri and northeast Arkansas may be found on the east bank of the Mississippi River, particularly Tennessee (O'Brien et al. 1995; Smith 1996). Nodena points occur in varying percentages in all of the site clusters.

Morse and Morse (1983:282) noted that the single most ubiquitous indicator of late Mississippian-contact period land and resource use in the central valley is in fact the Nodena point. Nodena points are found by the thousands on both sides of the river; they appear alone or clustered on old site surfaces, or in association with subsurface features (Gilliland and O'Brien 2001:247). For example, the Morses (1983:299, D. Morse 1986) reported at least two ceremonial mound sites, Old Town Ridge (Eastern Lowland) and Gibson (Western Lowland) in northeastern Arkansas, where there are clusters of these points, sometimes accompanied by beveled endscrapers. They interpreted these surface findings as representing people who apparently reoccupied the old sites during hunting and collecting trips. The finding of Nodena points in structures at the Turner and Snodgrass sites, as well as on the surface (Price and Griffin 1979:58; Gilliland and O'Brien 2001:248), suggests that some continuity existed between the middle Mississippian people who began to make or use Nodena points perhaps as early as AD 1350 and those who reoccupied the "old" Mississippian sites. This pattern may not be unique to the Powers Phase, but it is most evident at these sites probably because they were inhabited for such a short period of time. Morse (1993:31) gave the following rule of thumb for cross-dating late sites:Nodena points that post-date AD 1500 are invariably associated with beveled endscrapers whereas early Nodena points (presumably pre-AD 1500) appear alone. This association, Morse said, is confirmed by the co-occurrence of certain diagnostic ceramic types with either early or late Nodena points.

Yet another explanation for the presence of thin scatters of late prehistoric-contact period artifacts with Nodena points on older site surfaces was offered by Lewis (1990) who, in his discussion of the protohistoric period sites along the Ohio-Mississippi confluence, stated that such remains are nothing but the remnant occupation after the initial contact period, or what he calls the Jackson phase (AD 1500-1700). He notes that even indirect contact could have shook populations and caused changes that in the archaeological record show as abrupt and ephemeral discontinuities in artifact distributions and densities. His explanation accords with Muller's (1986:257) discussion of the protohistoric occupation of the lower Ohio River Valley, as represented in the Caborn-Welborn phase (see Chapter Four for a more detailed discussion of the Ohio Valley prehistory and its implications for cultural affiliation).

Schlanger (1992) coined the term "persistent place" to denote an archaeological remain created through revisiting of "abandoned" sites and pointed out that surface scatters of points and other lithic materials are diagnostic of a persistent place. In the archaeological record of the Southwest, Great Basin, and western Great Lakes persistent places are quite common and, as known from historic accounts, these places were sought repeatedly for camping during collecting and hunting trips. Certain vacated sites were considered shrines representing "ancestral homes" and thus they often contained ritually deposited objects or rock art. Other persistent places were located near resources of special religious or secular significance (e.g., eagle nests, quarries, medicinal plants, springs) that continued to be exploited generations after people had moved away (Nelson 2000; Zedeno 1997; Zedeno et al. 2001). From this perspective, it would not be surprising to find artifacts such as Nodena points atop large ceremonial mound sites, such as Gibson or Old Town Ridge, which could have been revered long after they were abandoned as D. Morse (1986:92) himself noted. Nor would it be unexpected to find points on the surface of former residential sites such as Turner or Snodgrass, and on nearby Ozark quarries, caves, and springs.

Oneota Materials in Missouri

Oneota is an eastern Woodland prehistoric cultural manifestation, mostly known for its distinctive pottery and polished stone artifacts (e.g., catlinite disk pipes) that developed primarily in eastern Wisconsin sometime before AD 1000 and spread west as far as Kansas, and south as far as the American bottom (Henning 1998:18), forming discrete enclaves where Oneota material remains have been located. The spread of Oneota is contemporaneous with the development of the Mississippian social system to the south.

There is no known Oneota material culture in the riverways. However, it is important to mention it here because, as we explain in the following chapters, Oneota is considered ancestral to Siouan-speaking groups such as the Winnebago, the Chiwere cognate groups, and the Dhegiha cognate groups that include Osage and Quapaw (Henning 1998:11). Oneota thus must be considered in this report, given that the Osage are the group that has aboriginal affiliation with the park.

To summarize, the thread of evidence available for tracking the prehistoric park populations through time begins to thin out after the abandonment of the Powers Phase sites. Only a few artifact categories, namely the Nodena points, allow one to tie late prehistoric park users to other groups of people that inhabited the surrounding region—southeast Missouri, northeast Arkansas, and west Tennessee. Paucity of data notwithstanding, it is plausible to assert, based on the broad regional trends of the late prehistoric period, that the descendants of the

people who once inhabited the park were culturally affiliated with the southeastern "Mississippian" Indian groups who were living in the central Mississippi River at the time of arrival of the first European explorers in 1541. We will return to this point in Chapter Three.

Historic Occupation Sequence

Historic Indian occupation of the riverways and vicinity may be divided in two main periods: Colonial (1673-1803), which covers the years between the French discovery of the Mississippi River, by Fathers Marquette and Joliet and the Louisiana Purchase; and American (1803-1838), which includes the years since the Louisiana Purchase to the Trail of Tears. This periodification reflects changes in political tenure of the Missouri territory and does not address the presence of Indian individuals or communities in the state after the forceful relocation of tribal groups to Kansas and Oklahoma's Indian Territory. We use political tenure as the main temporal criterion because the change from colonial to American government brought about significant transformation in the status of Indian groups that still affect Federal policy with respect to Indian tribes today.

In this section we summarize the archaeological and historic records of Indian occupation. Owing to the detailed historical research conducted by C. Price (in Price et al. 1983) there is a solid information base regarding the historic presence of Indian groups in and around the riverways. In addition, survey and excavations of historic Indian sites in the park (Price 1992) contribute to an understanding of the extent of occupation and land use by different Indian groups.

Colonial Period (1673-1803)

The De Soto expedition to the west bank of the Mississippi River in 1541-1542 was followed by a 140-year hiatus or "dark age" where no European explorations reached this region. Yet, the devastation that ensued the Spanish entrada was such that it drastically and permanently modified the ethnic composition and geographical distribution of Indian groups in the central and lower Mississippi River valley. Regional archaeologists continue to pursue material evidence that can help understand these changes but the record is elusive at best. Perhaps the greatest challenge in explaining the transition from prehistory to history in this area is the apparent change in the ethnic makeup of the Indian population of the central valley. The people who Marquette and Joliet encountered in the central valley were not, arguably, those who had lived there at the time of De Soto's expedition (the controversy surrounding Indian ethnogenesis in this region is discussed in Chapter Three).

At the time of Marquette and Joliet's expedition in 1673 the riverways and vicinity were under the control of the Osage, a Dhegiha Sioux cognate group whose heartland was located on the Osage River near its confluence with the Missouri River and whose hinterland extended from the Big Bend of this river to the Arkansas River. It is important to note, however, that there is very little reference to direct Osage presence in the Current and Jacks Fork rivers, and that use of this area may have been limited to sporadic hunting (Chapman 1974:187). Banks (1978:51) states that the Osage are known to have returned to their old Missouri hunting grounds in 1837 because the Kansas buffalo had been driven too far west by their enemies; but whether they made it all the way to the Current River that year is not known (Osage origin and historical trajectory are discussed in Chapter Four).

That there is no archaeological evidence directly tying the Osage to the park does not necessarily imply lack of use, since there was at least one aboriginal Indian trail, the "Virginia's Warrior Path" that cut across the Ozark highlands and passed between the Current and Eleven Point rivers. This trail was also connected to other paths that took people to the main Ozark villages in the west and to the Mississippi River in the east (Houck 1908:227; Chapman 1974, III:326). These trails may have been of great antiquity, as they linked important habitation and resource procurement areas across Missouri and went into Arkansas. The Indian trails in Missouri became the avenues of emigration of Indian groups that had been removed from their eastern homelands and were to be relocated in the Indian Territory.

American Period (1803-1838)

The American Period was characterized by short-term occupation of the park and surrounding region by different groups of emigrant Indians who for the first 20-30 years of the nineteenth century were relocated into different areas of Missouri and Arkansas. This areas were obtained by the United States through a treaty signed with the Osage Tribe in 1808, when they ceded a large portion of their eastern and southern territory in exchange for annuities, trade agreements, and other rights. The emigrant groups that came to Missouri included Delaware, Shawnee, Cherokee, Kickapoo, Wyandot, Peoria, and Piankashaw (Price et al 1983).

As Price (1992:1) notes, very little is known about the historic Indian occupation of southeast Missouri, at least from an archaeological perspective. A number of historic Indian settlements have been reported at various locales in southeast Missouri, both in the Ozark highland and in the Mississippi River Valley (Price and Price 1977; Rafferty 1996; Morrow 1981), but only a few have been archaeologically investigated, and these sites are in the park. Historic records (Houck 1908) indicate that the Delaware and the Shawnee were present on the Current River or on one of its tributaries as early as 1820 and the Delaware perhaps since 1812. In fact numerous place names point to their presence in association to natural features such as creeks. Archaeological remains of the Delaware may have included villages and burial grounds, as indicated by Lewis (1980, cited in Price 1992:5). Most of the known Delaware and Shawnee Indian villages were located at the junction of the Current and Jacks Fork rivers, near Van Buren, and in the lower Current River (Morrow 1981).

Jeddediah Morse's Indian census of 1822 (US Census Bureau 1894) also indicates that as many as 6,000 Cherokee were relocated in Missouri but he does not specify a location for these Cherokee emigrants. At least one family, the Watsons of Round Spring and Alley Spring, is reported as a relocated Cherokee unit who returned to Missouri from Oklahoma. A member of the pioneer Chilton family noted that in 1849 the Cherokee used the river bottoms north of the town of Eminence for a camping ground. These reports are of varying credibility (Price et al 1983:61).

Price (1992:2) indicates that there were two types of emigrant Indian sites distinguished in the historical literature: villages, which were occupied more or less permanently by all the group members, and small temporary hunting camps occupied seasonally by one or a small number of families or by males located at a distance from the villages (also Price and Price 1977). It is likely that both site types existed in the riverways and were affiliated with Shawnee and Delaware groups. At least one village in the Jacks Fork drainage was plotted in the General Land Office Survey plat for Township 29 North, 5 West, near Alley Spring; the map was used by Price to locate the archaeological site. Also, private artifact collections examined by the Prices in

1977 and published by Banks (1978:53) indicate that historic Indian assemblages were mixtures of traditional artifacts (e.g., triangular points) and European objects (e.g., English and French gunflints, iron) obtained through trade. Although we have arbitrarily used the date of 1838 to signal the last forced removal episode, Banks (1978:51) states that the Current River area was probably visited by Indian hunting parties well after the removal, at least into the 1850s.

Relevant for establishing historic and ancestral connections between archaeological remains of this period and contemporary individuals or Indian groups is that at least two of the earliest Euroamerican settlers married and had children with Indian women. These were Joseph Webb, who married a half-Cherokee Indian woman (Carter County Family Histories 1959:136) and Isaac Kelley, who married a Shawnee woman and is said to have brought a large group of Shawnee to camp at the bottom of his farm (Price et al. 1981:60). Although very few explicit family references to Indian marriages exist in the genealogical records of the park area (e.g., Carter County Family Histories 1959), it is likely that descendants of the emigrant tribes may still exist in the vicinity of the park.

To summarize, there is a long of complex sequence of occupation of the riverways and vicinity, which begins as early as 12,000 years ago and ends in recent historic times, and represents occupation by more than one distinct Indian group. Prehistoric groups appear to be affiliated to the Mississippian cultures that inhabited the central Mississippi River Valley whereas historic groups are recognizable in the historic literature as distinct from the Mississippian cultures of prehistoric times. The park has archaeological evidence of occupation by both prehistoric and historic groups.

CHAPTER THREE

ETHNIC IDENTITY OF THE REGIONAL PROTOHISTORIC GROUPS

The archaeological and ethnohistoric records available to date show that a large time gap exists between the last postulated prehistoric occupation and the earliest historically documented use of the Riverways by Indian tribes. Furthermore, these records strongly suggest that prehistoric and historic tribes who inhabited or used the park area and vicinity were not from the same ethnic group. Given this time gap, the complex use history of the park and region, and the fragmentary nature of the evidence at hand, only the broadest regional trends may be used to postulate the identity of Indian groups who once inhabited the region where the park is located. It is important to note at the outset that this exercise has been the focus of a long, arduous, and only partially solved scholarly debate that no one may ever be able to settle; nonetheless, every proposition has its relative merit and deserves careful consideration. Current knowledge and recent reanalysis of early data do offer a few strong indicators of ethnogenesis and identity of regional contact-period groups.

De Soto, the Route, and the Indians

During the years of 1539-1542, Hernando de Soto and his army crossed the entire area where the late Mississippian developments took place in the southeastern United States. Thus, the chronicles of this expedition are crucial for identifying the ethnicity(ies) of people who participated in the Mississippian system in the sixteenth century, and for tying information about historically documented Indian groups with the corresponding archaeological remains.

Four chronicles of Hernando de Soto's exploration exist today: Garcilaso de la Vega, the gentleman of Elvas, Luis Hernandez de Biedma, and Rodrigo Rangel. Whereas these chronicles do not represent a systematic or complete attempt at recording things, people, and events, each chronicle contributes unique and invaluable information about the southeastern Indian groups that existed at the time of the exploration. In addition, a map drawn during the expedition also contains the names of Indian towns in association with crudely drawn river drainages. In order to reconstruct de Soto's route, numerous scholars have scrutinized these sources over the last four centuries, but only until after the 1950s were scholars able to link documentary and linguistic data to the regional geography through the incorporation of archaeological sites.

Despite centuries of multidisciplinary research and recent advances in archaeological knowledge, the route followed by the expedition is not yet finally settled, and this is due to a variety of factors. The Spaniards under de Soto were less explorers than fortune hunters; as Garcilaso de la Vega noted, they did not record latitudes or elevations because they had neither navigating instruments nor mariner or cartographer, and as they realized that no gold was to be found, they became disgusted and "learned nothing at all" (Brain et al. 1974:242). Thus, the probability of erring in the identification of landscape features mentioned in the chronicles remains high. Compounding geographic inaccuracies is the fact that many place names recorded during the expedition disappeared or changed locations in subsequent centuries, thus making it very difficult to reconstruct the locales of specific events (Hudson 1997:455). And finally, the available descriptive detail of towns, people, and material culture may not necessarily correspond to archaeological evidence at hand. Nonetheless, enough progress has been made to allow one to postulate with some degree of confidence the relationships between archaeology, history, and Indian people of the central Mississippi River valley in the sixteenth century.

The relevance of De Soto's expedition for our study begins at the time when a decision was made to cross the Mississippi River. As discussed by Swanton ([1939] 1985:12-146), as early as 1718 French cartographers Claude and Guillaume Delisle placed the crossing of the Mississippi River below the mouth of the St. Francis River at Point D'Oziers. In 1818, Thomas Nuttall used Garcilaso's chronicle to place the crossing at Chickasaw Bluffs, on modern day Memphis. At least two nineteenth-century reconstructions based on Garcilaso and Elvas's accounts placed the crossing at or below the Arkansas River, whereas Schoolcraft (1853) and Bancroft (1854) supported the northernmost crossing. Schoolcraft actually proposed a trans-Mississippi route located much farther north than those reconstructed by anyone else before or since. In fact, many more nineteenth-century scholars advocated a Memphis crossing point than a southern point. In the early 1900s, T. H. Lewis used Rangel's account to suggest that the crossing was near Commerce Landing in Tunica County, northeast Mississippi. Finally, in 1935, the U.S. Congress approved an appropriation to fund the De Soto Expedition Commission, an endeavor that would mark the fourth-hundredth anniversary of the expedition. John Swanton, of the Smithsonian Institution, chaired the commission and produced the final report, originally published in 1939 (Swanton 1985).

Swanton had been interested in the value of De Soto's expedition for his ethnological research before the commission was formed and published on this topic (e.g., Swanton 1932, 1934). As chairman, he conducted field visits and used his linguistic and ethnological knowledge to extrapolate the chronicles' statistical and descriptive information with what was known at the time of the Indian groups and their geographical reach. And finally, when the report was completed, Swanton (1985:234) examined critically the three crossing locales proposed thus far—Chickasaw Bluffs, Tennessee; Commerce Landing, Mississippi; and Sunflower Landing, Arkansas—and their implications for reconstructing all other portions of the route west of the Mississippi River. All things considered, Swanton (1985:247) concluded that the crossing took place somewhere below the mouth of the St. Francis River, near Sunflower Landing, Arkansas. Subsequently he attempted to connect some of the main polities and towns mentioned in the chronicles with known mound sites, mostly those explored by Clarence B. Moore in east Arkansas. But as Swanton himself (1985:2) stated, all reconstructions leading up to the formation of the commission as well as the commission's suffered from the lack of solid anchoring on archaeological evidence of De Soto's presence in the region.

The commission's findings were not questioned for at least ten years, and many portions of the report are as authoritative now as they were in 1939. Yet, in 1951 Phillips, Ford, and Griffin published *Archaeological Survey in the Lower Mississippi Alluvial Valley 1940-1947.* In this comprehensive work, they reevaluated Swanton's conclusion and alternative routes in light of new archaeological discoveries. Although they did not discard or favor one route over another, their archaeological analysis led them to conclude that, even with the limitations of their inquiry, the Commerce Landing crossing "accords remarkably well with the geographical and archaeological conditions of the Survey Area" (Phillips et al. 1951:389). Swanton (1952) responded with a bitter critique of their work. Twenty-three years later, Brain and colleagues (1974) wrote an award-winning paper incorporating more archaeological data to the route analysis, but reached a conclusion similar to Swanton's. It was not until the publication of the archaeological report of the Parkin site by P. Morse (1981) and of the overview titled *Archaeology of the Central Mississippi Valley* by Morse and Morse (1983; also D. Morse 1990), that a far-reaching archaeological picture of De Soto's trans-Mississippian expedition began to emerge.

The works by Hudson (1985, 1997), Hoffman (1986, 1990, 1992, 1993a, 1993b), Dye (1986), Rankin (1993), Jeter (1986, 2002; Jeter et al. 1990) and many others (e.g., papers in Young and Hoffman 1993) have since made important advances and refinements in the critical interpretation of De Soto's chronicles on the basis of current archaeological, ethnological, geographic, and linguistic data. These authors, too, support a reconstruction of the expedition route that convincingly argues for a northern crossing near Commerce or Norfolk Landing in Tunica County, Mississippi and, most important for our study, a northeast Arkansas-southeast Missouri location for the main Mississippian polities encountered by De Soto upon crossing the river.

Whereas the geographic and archaeological referents of the expedition route seem somewhat settled among Southeastern scholars, at least momentarily (but see Henige 1993), the ethnic identity of the polities encountered west of the Mississippi, and particularly in eastern Arkansas, continues to be debated from a number of angles. The first angle refers to the ethnic identifications made of the groups mentioned in the chronicles and whether they fit in with what is known or has been inferred of the demographic, cultural, and linguistic characteristics of these groups in more recent times. The second angle addresses the problem of whether cultural variability (or lack thereof) documented in the chronicles has any relation to the archaeological record, and how would this relationship be manifested in material culture. And the third angle questions the ethnogenetic relations among prehistoric groups, groups identified in the chronicles, and groups documented in subsequent historic records.

Documentary Identification of Ethnic Groups

Explicit attempts at linking polities visited by De Soto and his party with historically known Indian tribes began in the eighteenth century with Pierre de Charlevoix, to whom Swanton (1985:14) attributes the identification of Natchez and Quapaw with polities mentioned by Garcilaso; it appears as though Charlevoix was guided by Garcilaso's spelling of the province of Pacaha, which he wrote as "Capaha," thereby creating scholarly confusion for centuries to come. Thomas Nuttall, J. H. McCullogh, James Mooney, John W. Monette, J.F.H. Claiborne, John Wallace, and John G. Shea, among other nineteenth-century historians of American Indians, offered various interpretations of the ethnic identity of contact-period groups (Swanton 1985). They based these identifications mainly on linguistic and phonetic characteristics of place and group names and on existing ethnological information of the descendants of contact-period groups. Most early and contemporary ethnic identifications, however, depend on the known location of the historic groups relative to the actual route and crossing point advocated by each historian (Jeter 1986:39)—hence the importance of narrowing down the crossing alternatives.

According to the Commission findings, the following interpretations of ethnic identity and political relationships among De Soto's "provinces" living on both sides of the river were made (Swanton 1985:53-54):

1. The province of Chicasa, corresponding to the historic Muskoegan-speaking Chickasaw group. This province was separated from the next province to the west by a no-mans-land; the inference made is that the Chickasaw were not politically or ethnically related to the western groups.
2. The province of Quizquiz, on the east bank of the river, affiliation unknown, but vassal to Pacaha on the west bank.

3. The province of Aquixo, on the west bank of the river, affiliation unknown, but vassal to Pacaha to the north.
4. The province of Pacaha, inferred to be Tunican-speaking rather than Quapaw.
5. The province of Casqui, to the southwest of Pacaha, inferred to be Muskoegan-speaking, perhaps the little known Casquinampo group, which eventually merged with Koasati.
6. The towns of Quiguate, Anilco, Guachoya, Aminoya, Quigualtam, Taganate, Chaguate, and Aguacay, inferred on the basis of location [below the mouth of the Arkansas and Wachita Rivers) and linguistics to be Muskoegan-speaking Natchez.
7. The highland provinces of Tanico and Coligua, inferred on the basis of location (near the salt springs in Little Rock, Arkansas) and linguistics to be Tunica-speaking and Koroa-Tunica, respectively.

Note that Swanton (1985:51) gave careful thought to the possible presence of the Quapaw at contact time and, even though he did not think this was outside the realm of possibility, he favored instead a Natchezan connection for most of the riverine provinces south of Casqui. Swanton's decision to assign Natchezan ethnicity to De Soto's Mississippian provinces was influenced by both his knowledge of linguistics and his geographical reconstruction of the southern route.

Phillips et al. (1951:390) had little to add to the Commission's findings in terms of ethnic identifications except to note obvious weaknesses in Swanton's arguments. First they were ambivalent as to the identification of Pacaha as Tunica rather than Quapaw, noting that some of Garcilaso's description of the village were alike palisade sites in the lower Ohio—the river of mythical origin of the Quapaw. Second, they pointed out the lack of evidence for the identification of Casqui as Casquinampo (and we will return to this point). And third, they stated that nothing in the archaeological record could support the identification of Quiguate as Natchez. Thus, the major contribution of these authors to this issue was precisely to bring to the scientific community's attention the fact that much more needed to be done in order to fully evaluate Swanton's theories.

Brain et al. (1974:262) were the next to contribute to the ethnic identifications, linking the previously unassigned Quizquiz to the Tunica. First, they noted Biedma's observations of men working in the fields, which is a very distinctive Tunica behavior and radically opposite to Quapaw agricultural organization that had women in control of fields and crops (Arnold 2000:7). Also, they cited Swanton's (1911:317) observation that the Chickasaw and Choctaw tradition places "Tunica Oldfields" or their ancestral sites on the Mississippi River near Friar Point (in Horseshoe Lake), not far from Helena, Arkansas and just opposite to the Montgomery site, which they proposed to be one of the Quizquiz towns. Further, Brain and colleagues (1974:267) also proposed that the town of Aquixo, on the west bank of the Mississippi River was culturally similar to Quizquiz—and, therefore, Tunica. This observation derives from their connecting Aquixo villages to the sites of the Old Town phase, which are archaeologically similar to the Montgomery site.

Brain and colleagues did not challenge the ethnicity of Casqui but simply noted that the chronicle's description of the numerous but smaller villages of Casqui could fit very well with the Kent site group. Importantly, they also noted the presence of Nodena Red and White bottles at these sites. And finally, they (1974:273) observed that Garcilaso's description of Pacaha fit the

Belle Meade settlement pattern, which is found in the St. Francis River to the north and which is different from the other three provinces. Based on similarities in ceramic collections, they support the chronicle's intimation of a cultural and political continuity extending from Pahaca to the other side of the river. Paradoxically, Brain et al. (1974:277) revived the idea that Pacaha (and only Pacaha) represented part of the Quapaw movement down the Mississippi River. They based this assertion on Garcilaso's spelling of Capaha and La Metairie's name for the seventeenth century Quapaw village in the lower Arkansas River, Kappa, and the name of its chief, Capaha. They also pointed out that the southward population movement began before De Soto and that would explain the ceramic similarities across the Parkin, Kent, and Walls-Belle Meade site groups. They also extended the Quapaw identification further south to Quiguate, which they proposed to be the site of Dupree in the lower Arkansas River.

Morse and Morse (1983:305-315; D. Morse 1991) capitalized on their intimate knowledge of the Parkin and Nodena phases in northeast Arkansas, coupled with their expertise on the central Mississippi Valley as a whole, to bring forth a convincing, archaeologically and geographically sound reconstruction of the Commerce Landing crossing and northern route. They proposed that Quizquiz and Aquixo were at the sites of the Wall phase, including Belle Meade; that Casqui was the Parkin site; and that Pacaha was Pecan Point or Bradley—both Nodena phase sites (Morse and Morse 1996:79). Advances in archaeological research at Parkin (P. Morse 1981), accomplished after the publication of the seminal paper by Brain et al.'s (1974), included findings of European beads and bells and a large charred beam atop the mound which they speculate could have been the locale where De Soto placed the cross at Casqui as a religious offering to alleviate the drought that was devastating the Indians' crops. The finding of Spanish artifacts here and farther north, at Bradley and Campbell, marked the turning point in the reconstruction of the northern route. Numerous other details, among which are the location of Greenbrier phase sites along the purported "Calusa" (or Black Water) province near the lower Little Black River, and the proximity of copper and salt sources to the Campbell site in Pemiscot Bayou, add conviction to their argument.

In terms of the ethnic identity of the protohistoric groups in northeastern Arkansas, Morse and Morse (1983:321) supported a Quapaw connection, arguing that the seventeenth-century Quapaw found by the French in the lower Arkansas River were actually the result of an amalgamation of disintegrating Mississippian polities, including those visited by De Soto. This proposition actually differs from that by Brain et al. (1974:277) in that the Morses do not believe that the Quapaw, as a distinctive group, migrated from the Ohio River sometime in the late prehistory or early history, as the Quapaw's own traditions tell, but that they were true Mississippian people. This identification is based on circumstantial evidence of cultural continuity, but hinges on one important point: Ford's (1961) original identification of the Menard site as the seventeenth century site of Ossotuoy, one of the four Quapaw villages located in the lower Arkansas. This point has since been challenged by Hoffman (1993a), House (1991), and Jeter (2002). Additional arguments involve the toponimic equation (again based on Garcilaso's spelling) of "Capaha" with the Quapaw village of Kappa (or Kappaha, according to La Metairie), a proposed similarity in settlement patterns between Nodena phase sites and historic Quapaw villages, and some artifact similarities among Nodena, the Menard complex, and the historic Quapaw (Morse 1986). Again, these points have been challenged in print by Jeter (1986, 2002), Hoffman (1993a, 1993b), and Rankin (1993) while House (1991) remains ambivalent.

In short, the information provided by the De Soto chronicles, vague as it is, has been contextualized from the geographical, archaeological, and linguistic perspectives. There remain a number of unresolved issues but overall the most convincing arguments may be summarized as follows:

The Route

Archaeological and geographical evidence support the northern route reconstruction and the Commerce Landing crossing. This seems to be a settled issue among most Arkansas scholars, but by no means is it unanimous. Figure 3 shows the locations of the polities mentioned in the chronicles and the possible ethnic groups, according to the northern route.

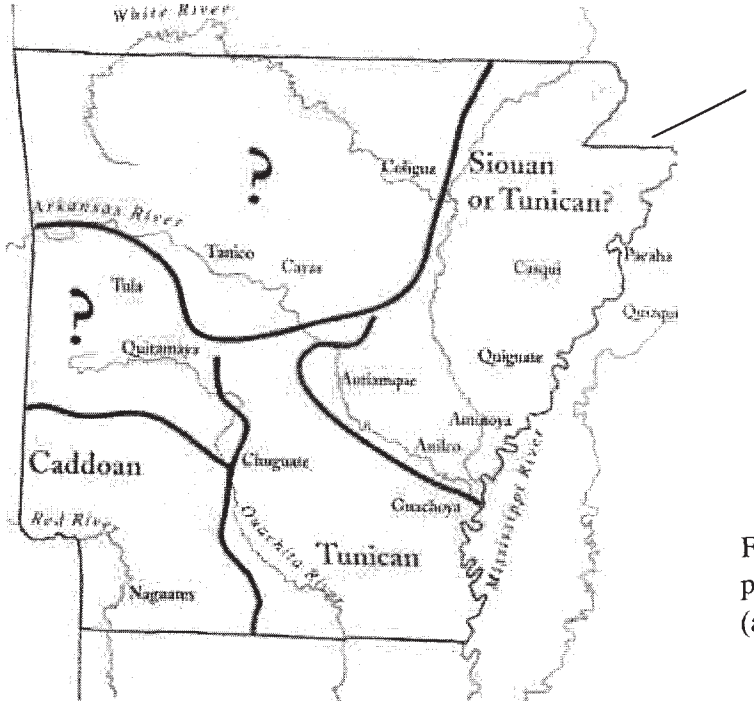

Figure 3. Sixteenth century polities and ethnic groups (after Sabo 2001)

The Dominant Ethnic Group

Moving the route to the north of Swanton's and adding Brain's ethnic reconstruction carries an important implication for the ethnicity of Quizquiz and Aquixo, as well as other riverine polities in the central and lower Mississippi Valley and in the Ozark highlands: as Jeter (1986:39) puts it, "if they [the Morses] are right about the crossing location, but Brain is still right about the ethnicity of these provinces, then the Tunica would have been present in extreme northwestern Mississippi, and in northeastern Arkansas nearly opposite the Tennessee-Mississippi line, in the early to middle 1500s." By extension, those west-bank polities identified by Swanton as Natchez on the basis of location would also be Tunica. Brain's (1988) archaeological analysis of Tunica materials as well as Hoffman's (1993a, 1993b, 1993c) work in the lower Arkansas River would support this contention. Brain (1988:316) provides a very precise count of the Tunica population in the historic period. From Biedma's narrative he calculates that in 1541 there were 5,000 Tunica souls with more than 300 women in the first Quzquiz town and from Garcilaso he extracts a figure of almost 4,000 armed warriors. He then

infers that the Tunica villages were populous and highly organized socially and politically, belonging into a regional hierarchy. They had a productive economic system based on agriculture and other resource extraction (e.g., fish). And, like all other Mississippian polities, their villages contained monumental earthworks.

More recently, however, Jeter (2002:206) has proposed that Quizquiz is actually a Natchezan rather than Tunican word, thus confirming Swanton's ethnic identification but not his geographic placement of this town. Jeter also proposes that there was at least some degree of ethnic coresidence in the larger Mississippian towns. In this recent review of the protohistoric period in the central and lower Mississippi Valley he presents a provocative reconstruction, farther-reaching that his earlier "Tunica Maximum," of the location of protohistoric groups: he suspects, quite reasonably, that the Tunica and the Natchez were once located to the north of their known historic homelands—the Tunica as far as the Arkansas-Missouri border and along the southeast escarpment of the Ozark highlands, and the northern Natchez also reaching northwest Mississippi and northeast Arkansas (Jeter 2002:208). In reconsidering Swanton's linguistic analysis, Jeter also thinks that there were more Natchezan than Tunican towns along De Soto's route; given that the northern route is currently widely accepted, this would imply that the Natchez towns of Swanton's reconstruction were actually located farther north than once thought. Nevertheless, Jeter also points out that the Tunica towns were located in strategic locations, so that they controlled the exchange routes from the Ozarks and southern Plains to the Mississippi Valley and particularly the crucial salt trade (see also Brown 1999; Schambach 1999).

The Identity of Casqui. Although Phillips and colleagues (1951), Brain and colleagues (1974), and Hoffman (1993b) note how flimsy is Swanton's original assertion that Casqui is Casquinampo, a Muskoegan-speaking group no longer in existence, no one has offered a convincing alternative to this connection. Swanton based his identification on both the name of Casqui and on the chronicles that place Casqui at odds with the dominant polity of Pacaha. Contemporary scholars such as Dye (1986) accept this equation as an indication of ethnic boundary between the two polities, or tribal difference (P. Morse 1981), but the fact that they were enemies does not automatically imply ethnic difference (Jeter 2002).

A careful reading of the original chronicles reveals two instances of cultural similarity. First, there is no indication that a language barrier existed between Pacaha and Casqui; in fact, three chronicles have both chiefs speaking directly to each other (Elvas 1993:120; Rangel 1993:303; Garcilaso 1993:405). In this respect, at least Elvas (1993:242, 244) was careful to note when a group of Indians could or could not make itself understood to other Indians. Of course, multilingualism among Mississippian polities and particularly elites must be taken into consideration, as noted by Booker et al. (1992). And second, the narratives of interaction between Pacaha and Casqui chiefs are suggestive of familiarity with each other's customs and traditions and point to similar cultural and perhaps ethnic identity. For example, they knew of each other's lineages and the relative status and rights lent to the chiefs, and they also shared rules of social etiquette.

If Casqui was indeed Parkin and Pacaha was a Nodena phase site, then archaeological evidence, in the form of similarity in ceramic assemblages (O'Brien and Fox 1994), may also be brought to bear in support of a shared cultural and perhaps linguistic/ethnic identity between these neighboring provinces. In terms of the ethnicity of Casqui, Jeter (1986:41; 2002) remarks that the coarse shell-tempered ceramics found at Parkin are diagnostic of colonial Tunican

ceramic wares, but Hoffman (1993b:135) contends that Tunica ceramics found in the Quapaw phase sites of the lower Arkansas River do not share many similarities with ceramics from Parkin or Nodena phase sites. Nonmetric cranial comparisons suggest a similar distance between the Quapaw phase human remains and the Parkin and Nodena remains. These comparisons, performed by Katherine Murray (1989, cited in Hoffman 1993b:140), also indicate a high frequency of shared characteristics among Nodena and Parkin populations.

In short, Jeter is pushing for a Tunican identity for this province whereas Hoffman (1993b:141) is noncommittal and would not challenge Swanton's assignation of Casquinampo to Casqui.

The Identity of Pacaha. Two propositions exist regarding the identity of Pacaha: Tunica (Swanton 1985; Rankin 1993; Hoffman 1992, 1993a, 1993b; Jeter 1986; 2002) or Quapaw (Brain et al. 1974; Morse and Morse 1983, 1996; D. Morse 1986, 1990). Arguments for a Tunica identity are linguistic, geographic, and cultural. Arguments for a Quapaw identity are toponimic (if one believes Garcilaso), and architectural (village layout). Arguments against a Quapaw identity are linguistic, demographic, archaeological, and ethnological.

Linguistics

The linguistic analysis favors the Tunica identification. In addition to Swanton's original linguistic comparisons that pointed to Tunican as the Pacaha language, Rankin (1993) notes that no Siouan words were ever recorded in the chronicles. However, such is the controversy surrounding Quapaw origins that a detailed linguistic summary should be presented here.

Dorsey (1886:216), who first classified Dhegiha languages, noted that Ponca and Quapaw were very close languages and that the Quapaw could understand his spoken Ponca very easily. The mutual intelligibility of both Siouan languages argues for a relatively short history of separation. Rankin's (1988) important analysis of Quapaw vocabularies shows such close affinity with Dhegiha Sioux that there is little or no evidence of outside linguistic influence. Rankin (1988:634) states that the Quapaw grammar and syntax are virtually free of traces of intensive language contact in protohistoric times—the period of demographic turmoil in the central Mississippi Valley and the period after the hypothesized breakup of the Dhegiha cognate groups. His analysis contradicts and clarifies previous assertions by Griffin (1960) and the Morses (1983; D. Morse 1991) regarding the uncertain linguistic origin and connections of the Quapaw.

Dhegiha as a whole, however, does share some linguistic characteristics with southeastern languages, including Algonquian, Muskoegan, Tunica, Natchez, Atakapa, Chitimacha, and Yuchi (Rankin 1988:642). Quapaw, in addition, shares some additional features with these languages, including southeastern clan names in addition to plains names; rabbit as the trickster in origin stories; and a few minor phonetical and lexical characteristics which, Rankin (1988:643-645) notes, logically date to the period of settlement at the mouth of the Arkansas River and thus should be considered recent, that is, post-dating the fifteenth century. A longer discussion of Dhegiha cognate groups is found in Chapter Four.

In regard to Tunica language, it must be stressed that Tunica sounds unlike any other language in the Southeast and constitutes an isolate below the very general group of Gulf languages (Brain 1988:318; Haas 1950; Swanton 1946). It is unlikely that the Spaniards, who were accustomed to hear and spell phonetically exotic Indian words, would have confused this

distinctive language with any other, and even more unlikely that it would have been confused by De Soto's Indian interpreters. Unfortunately, the language is extinct and thus it is not possible to trace it historically to any particular origin.

Geography

Again, the validity of geographic analysis depends on whether one argues for or against the northern route of the expedition. If contemporary Arkansas scholars are correct, and there is enough accumulated data to indicate they are, then the Tunica speakers once lived much farther north than recorded in historic times, or what Jeter, Cande, and Mintz (1989:531) calls the "Tunican Maximum spread," reaching as far as the Missouri bootheel and the southern escarpment of the Ozark Highlands. Some geographic references to mountains, caves, and woods exist in Tunica origin traditions (Haas 1950). In a slightly different scenario, the Tunica would have been living side by side with their northern Natchez neighbors (Jeter 2002).

Demography

Lewis (1990) presents compelling evidence against a late prehistoric depopulation of the lower Ohio River Valley; also, he points out that enough material variability exists between the north and the south extremes of the late Mississippian period to misguide archaeologists into thinking that no significant population existed in the area at contact times due to southward migration. As we discuss in the following chapter, Green and Munson (1978) and Muller (1986) have documented Oneota/Sioux groups living alongside and/or interacting with Mississippian groups in the Ohio Valley during the protohistoric period. This information, when combined with Quapaw oral tradition, carries the implication of a very recent arrival to Arkansas.

Jeter (2002) goes so far as to propose that the Quapaw entered the central and lower Mississippi Valley no earlier than the mid 1600s, and suggests that their homeland until that time was indeed in the Ohio drainage. His estimate of the Quapaw migration timing is based on macroregional demographic trends that derived from the tremendous push factors orchestrated by the Iroquois League wars in the early seventeenth century that caused massive population displacement across the midcontinent. In fact, at least one refugee group fleeing the Iroquois was found on the west bank in 1673 (Dickinson 1984). Jeter suggests that the Quapaw and its linguistic cognates were the prehistoric easternmost Fort Ancient people whereas the Shawnee were the westernmost Fort Ancient ones. Interestingly, the Shawnee also were displaced and eventually moved westward and settled along the central Mississippi River valley toward the end of the seventeenth century (Drooker 2002).

If Bradley is indeed Pacaha, and Pacaha was indeed Tunica rather than Quapaw, then the settlement was large, populous, and spectacular just as other known Tunica settlements were at the time. Clarence Moore (1911:427-446) described the remains of Bradley as covering a length of approximately five miles along Wappanocca Bayou. Morse and Morse (1983:286) add that there are other late Mississippian sites on Bradley Ridge covering several acres.

Oral history

Quapaw and Tunica origin myths indicate that both groups had a historic memory of having encountered each other in less than friendly terms, with the Quapaw remembering that they pushed the Tunicas south, and the Tunicas remembering that they once lived north but were pushed south by their enemies (Haas 1950).

The migration tradition of the Quapaw is a part of the Siouan migration recorded as early as 1682 by Douay (Shea 1903), noted again by Gravier in 1700 (Shea 1861:120), and thereafter studied in detail by Dorsey (1884, 1886, 1888) and by Fletcher and La Flesche (1911, La Flesche 1995). Whereas these oral traditions are useless indicators of time and only vague indicators of space or direction, they do point to general behavioral and demographic trends that must not be overlooked. Both Douay and Gravier note that the Akamsea or Arkansas Indians once lived in the upper Mississippi or Ohio river drainages, and that they were forced to move downriver due to Iroquois pressure. The mention of the Iroquois wars place this migration in the early 1600s.

Dorsey indicates that the Dhegiha Sioux were once a single nation and that they split in their westward migration (see details in Chapter Four). The portion of Dorsey's (1886:215) version of the tradition referring to the Quapaw says that,

> At the mouth of the Ohio a separation [of the Dhegiha nation] occurred. Some went down the Mississippi, hence arose their name, "U-ga'-qpa (Oo-ga-khpa)"or Kwapa (Quapaw), meaning "the down-stream people." This was prior to 1540, when De Soto met the Kwapas, who were then a distinct tribe.
>
> The rest of the Arkansas ascended the river, taking the name of U-ma^{n}'ha^{n} (Omaha), "those going against the wind or current."
>
> These names—Kwapa and Omaha—are of more recent origin than Kansas, Osage and Ponka.

Dorsey, as we noted before, followed Charlevoix's identification of Capaha as Quapaw on the basis of Garcilaso spelling.

Baird (1980:5), a Quapaw scholar, also supports a very recent southwest-ward migration, and states that there is a considerable amount of documentation of an early residence in the Ohio Valley, including accounts the French recorded from the Illinois Indians that speak of the Akansea, which suggest that the Dhegiha Sioux or at least the Quapaw were in the Ohio Valley as recently as late prehistoric or early historic times. That in 1673 this migration was still in process, Baird (1980:6) continues, is indicated by the fact that one Quapaw village still was located on the east bank of the Mississippi River, whereas the other villages had already been established on or above the mouth of the Arkansas River. He also notes that the Quapaw's entry into the central and bwer Mississippi valley was a militant penetration that placed them as the enemies of the Chickasaws to the east. Also in 1827 Arkansas Territory Governor George Izard recorded an account, given to him by a Quapaw chief, which translated into English says,

> When we abandoned our former lands we set out without knowing whither we were going. Our motive for leaving the country we occupied was the scarcity of game...On arriving at the mount of the Ohio River [Ny-Tonka], our chiefs determined on separating the nations...After our separating, our party followed the course of Ny-tonka [Mississippi]. The first red skins [Indians] whom we met with were settled some way below the Ny-Whoutteh-Junka [literally 'little grey river,' the Little Muddy River, now the St. Francis]; they were called Tonnika. We attacked and put them to flight. Some time afterwards we entered this river, which we call Ny-Jitteh [Red River; now the Arkansas]. We soon discovered that there were other red skins in the country. Parties were sent out to look for them. They were found encamped in the Great Prairie [between the post of the Arkansas

> and the town of Little Rock]. We attacked them; they made a valiant resistance, but we beat them and drove them away. This nation called itself Intouka; the whites at that period gave them the name of Illinois. Then we were left entire masters of this country. (Bizzell 1982:72, cited in Hoffman 1990:208, notes in Hoffman, originally)

This account may be dated to at least the eighteenth century, according to Hoffman, and even earlier according to Brain (1980), who also notes that it generally corresponds with earlier French observations that in 1682 had the Tunicas below the Quapaws near the mouth of the Yazoo River and that nine years earlier had a Michigamea or Illinois colony just west of the Tunica (Dickinson 1984). Given the combined weight of the independent accounts, Baird follows other regional scholars in rejecting the theory that Pacaha was Quapaw.

The Tunicas, for their part, also had an oral tradition that speaks of southward migration and war. Haas (1950:133) recorded three versions of the migration tradition in which two migration episodes down the Mississippi River are mentioned, the first longer than the second one. Whereas the first two versions seem to refer to historic migrations that accord remarkably well with the historic documents of Louisiana, the third version refers to the Tunica's place of emergence or origin, where they lived and hunted until "the English came:"

> (There) lay a mountain and in the mountain (there) was an opening [or cave, according to Haas]. The Tunica emerged from this. When they had all gotten out they settled near the mountain. (Haas 1950:141)

Also, the second version mentions that the Tunica lived where they hunted and fought in the woods (Haas 1950:139). These references to mountain, cave, and woods are unique in the Tunica texts, which for the most part refer to lowland environments (e.g., bayou) and wildlife (e.g., alligators) more common to the south of the Yazoo River.

Archaeology and Material Culture

The material culture presumably associated with protohistoric groups in the central Mississippi Valley and hinterlands presents a complex pattern of similarities and differences across a broad region. For example, Lewis' (1990) and Muller's (1986) work on the lower Ohio River, along with Green and Munson's (1978) in southwestern Indiana and Esarey and Conrad's (1998) in the middle Illinois River Valley, suggest that the northernmost Mississippian groups may have shared just enough material culture with the southern Mississippian polities to indicate interaction (e.g. Nodena ceramics and lithics, among other late prehistoric artifact types) while at the same time containing materials that may point toward a more Oneota or "proto-Siouan" affiliation for the northern Mississippian groups. The distinctive Oneota materials are present in the American bottom and in central Missouri since late prehistoric times where the Osage were later found (Henning 1998; Yelton 1998). On the other hand, Oneota materials are absent along the lowlands of the central Mississippi River Valley below the mouth of the Illinois. This absence adds to the difficulty in reconciling the historic Dhegiha Sioux-speaking Quapaw with likely archaeological candidates for their ancestors (Vehik 1993; cf. D. Morse 1991).

Important material culture categories, such as ceramics, point to a generalized Tunican tradition, ranging from northeast Arkansas to the lower Arkansas River Valley, namely, the Menard-Kinkaid complex, and across the river into northwest Mississippi (Hoffman 1992:45; Jeter 1986:41; Brain 1988:264-285). At present, no known archaeological complex has been

indisputably identified with the Quapaw group, and the Quapaw phase name identified at Menard is an unfortunate misnomer. Even though Quapaw proponents have argued for similarities in village layout, Hoffman's (1991) analysis of house construction lists important differences between Quapaw and Mississippian traditions, and there are bioarchaeological indications of change in dietary emphasis (more animal protein, e.g., bison, than corn) during the colonial period in central Arkansas that may have derived from a Quapaw/Siouan influence (Jeter et al. 1989). Furthermore, the burial custom of wooden box interment in a charnel house, mentioned in the chronicles, has not been documented for the Quapaw or any other Dhegiha group.

Brain (1988:262) suggests that the protohistoric Oliver lithic complex, including Nodena points, stone pipe drills, and large triangular knives may represent the Quapaw archaeologically; Nodena points are present in the lower Ohio Valley as well. Brain thinks that the association of this complex with Tunican pottery may have represented Quapaw men taking Tunican women and thus creating a record of ceramic continuity-lithic discontinuity. While interethnic marriages and adoptions may have been a very likely occurrence in the late prehistory and certainly occurred in historic times (see below), this lithic complex is not a good indicator for it; its most important diagnostic, the Nodena points, date to the fourteenth century in the Missouri/Arkansas border sites and are securely associated with middle (e.g. Powers Phase) and late Mississippian contexts (Price and Griffin 1975; Gilliland and O'Brien 2001; Morse and Morse 1983). Therefore, they cannot be considered evidence of lithic discontinuity. Hoffman (1992:51) adds that there is no evidence of language exchange between Quapaw and Tunica (at least of what is known of these languages) to support a close relationship implied in Brain's hypothesis. Jeter (2002) even doubts the existence of such a complex.

In sum, whereas the identity of Pacaha is not a settled matter, of the two existing propositions—Quapaw vs. Tunica—the Tunica proposition appears to conform best to the broad patterns of linguistic, ethnological, and (only partially) material affinity among the riverine provinces found by De Soto in central and northeast Arkansas and northwest Mississippi. The chronicles convey at least a sense of cultural affinity and lack of linguistic or cultural barrier among the largest province, Pacaha, its two vassal provinces, Aquixo and Quizquiz, and its neighbor and enemy, Casqui. The chronicles do provide a clear understanding of political and social stratification in the late Mississippian period and the strife that derived from social inequality. These broad patterns of affinity, particularly material remains, should be interpreted only tentatively as an indicator of a shared ethnic identity, as there is still a tremendous amount of material variability that awaits further analysis.

The Identity of the Calusa Hunters. A final point that may be important for extrapolating the identities of the contact period people refers to Biedma's chronicle of an exploratory party that went into the Ozark escarpment. These people, according to the chronicle, lived in temporary pole and bark lodges, and purportedly subsisted by hunting bison and deer. It is not known whether they spoke a Tunican, Muskoegan, Caddoan, or Siouan language or whether they could even communicate with the Indian interpreters. Morse and Morse (1983) favor the interpretation that these may have been Mississippian hunting parties perhaps associated with Greenbrier phase settlements. In a less favored scenario, these parties could have been the advancing Siouan (Osage or Quapaw) bison hunters or scouts who were transporting their traditional woodland pole and bark wigwams, but again, no linguistic data can be put forward to support this proposition.

The Identity of the Northern Towns visited by a Scouting Party. The issue of whether the Pemiscot Bayou sites that presumably a De Soto exploratory party may have visited (Morse and Morse 1983) are from the same ethnicity as Pacaha or Casqui is unresolved. Houck (1909) and later Chapman (1975) thought that these were ancestral Illinois. O'Brien (1994; O'Brien and Wood 1998) remains skeptical about ethnic assignation. There are ceramic differences pointed out for the Campbell group (O'Brien and Fox 1994) but at least generally these sites fit well with the regional trends for the central Mississippi River valley.

There remains a critical clue brought up by O'Brien (1994:370)—that of a possible multiethnic population living at Campbell. He cites the differences in frequency of cranial deformation among male vs. female adults: out of 90 crania, 33 of 54 females show deformation, whereas only 3 of 36 males show deformation. No individual whose age of death was at 20 or younger shows deformation. It appears as though adult females from a group that practiced deformation may have entered Campbell as marriage partners. O'Brien adds that cranial deformation was practiced in the neighboring states of Arkansas and Tennessee. Powell (1990:104) also found a similar pattern at Nodena. Independently, Jeter (2002, personal communication) suggested that ethnic coresidence may have characterized the large protohistoric towns, particularly in boundary areas.

In terms of ethnogenesis and cultural affiliation, two historically known ethnic groups appear as candidates for having occupied the area immediately to the east and south of the riverways in protohistoric times: Tunica and Quapaw. It is important to keep in sight the fact that neither Morse's Quapaw hypothesis nor Jeter's Tunica or Tunica/northern Natchez hypothesis is fully supported by the data at hand nor wholeheartedly accepted by the academic community (see Hoffman 1990, 1992). Therefore, both must be kept on the table until new evidence favoring either hypothesis becomes available. Jeter (2002) at least concedes that his are scenarios meant to provoke debate and elicit new research rather than final or fixed conclusions. The main weakness of the Tunica and Tunica/Natchez hypotheses lies in the great deal of variation in material culture found within the area proposed by Jeter as protohistoric Tunica (and northern Natchez) and in the ceramic differences between the northeastern Arkansas assemblages and those securely identified as Tunica (or Natchez) to the south (Hoffman 1992:51). In his latest analysis, Jeter (2002) has begun to unravel this variability. The main weakness of the Quapaw hypothesis is the apparent contradiction among several lines of evidence, including linguistics, oral tradition, ethnology, and archaeology (Vehik 1993), and the lack of broad regional research that could connect this group and other Dhegiha Sioux speakers to their presumed origin place, the Ohio River Valley (Jeter 2002).

Historical Trajectories

No information exists regarding the use of the eastern Ozarks and vicinity by the Quapaw or the Tunica in the historic period, as both groups were found in 1673 to be located far to the south of our study area. It is likely (but not archaeologically visible) that in the early colonial years and before the southern expansion of the Osage the Quapaw were actually hunting to the north of the Arkansas River and as far as the eastern Ozarks (Nasatir 1926). However, throughout most of the eighteenth century this area was under the control of the Osage and remained so until the arrival of the emigrant tribes. The trajectories of the Osage and emigrant tribes are discussed in detail in the following chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

CULTURAL AFFILIATION OF THE ABORIGINAL GROUP

For the purpose of this study the term "aboriginal" is used as defined by the Indian Claims Commission, that is, the Indian group who was in possession of the land at the time it became a part of the United States of America, in our case through the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. According to the Commission, the aboriginal group is the one that has a legal claim to that land. During the land claims process it was established that in 1803 the Osage Nation was in possession of the land that includes the riverways, these being in close proximity to the eastern boundary of the Osage hunting territory (Chapman 1974, III and IV).

The term "aboriginal" does not imply the existence of a continuous trajectory; in fact, currently available archaeological, ethnological, linguistic, and historical data do not support the notion of continuity between prehistoric occupation of the eastern Ozark highland and the historic Osage. There is, however, indication that some archaeological components to the north and west of the park, namely the Oneota components combined with Mississippian elements, may be ancestral Osage, suggesting some prehistoric-historic continuity in the broader region. As we explain in this chapter, there is no simple one-to-one relationship in Osage ethnogenesis.

Osage Origins

Four sources of evidence regarding the origins of this group have been generally tapped by regional scholars: linguistics, oral tradition, ethnology (ethnobiology, kinship, social organization), and archaeology. The most comprehensive overview of these sources was carried out in the 1950s by Marriot (1974, II), Chapman (1974, III and IV) and Henning (1974, IV) for the land claims process. Chapman, in particular, was instrumental in the reconstruction of an "Osage prehistory." Two treatises of Osage culture and history by Rollings (1992) and Mathews (1973) are crucial for understanding the contemporary perspective and the tribe's own historical views, respectively. Numerous other studies (e.g, Baird 1972; Burns 1989; G.A. Dorsey 1904; Graves 1916; La Flesche 1995; Wilson and Porter 1988; see bibliography by Wilson 1985; also Yelton 1998; Vehik 1998), add complementary views to those of Chapman.

Linguistics

The Osage are one of four Dhegiha Sioux-speaking groups who in historic times inhabited the prairie peninsula of Missouri and Kansas and the lower Arkansas River until about 1838. According to Siouan scholars (e.g., Dorsey 1885, 1886, 1888; Fletcher and La Flesche 1911; Hollow and Parks 1980; Rankin 1988), the Dhegiha dialects—Omaha-Ponca, Osage, Kansa, and the extinct Quapaw—are mutually intelligible, with the Osage and Kansas being closer to each other than to Omaha-Ponca and Quapaw. Mutual intelligibility (or lack thereof) is used as a measure of temporal distance between languages; in this case, the separation of Osage from other Dhegihan dialects is far more recent than that of Dhegiha from other Mississippian Siouan dialects. A glottochronology by Hollow and Parks (1980:80) estimates that the Osage dialect separated from the upper Mississippian Dakota and Winnebago dialects approximately 1,200 years ago, which is an "impressionistically good" calculation and a proxy for calculating the geographic drift of the cognate groups. In their calculations, Osage and its cognate groups drifted south and west from a proto-Siouan ancestor at approximately AD 800. Swanton's (1943)

comparative analysis of several Southeastern and Mississippian Siouan languages led him to conclude that the cognates had indeed separated from a proto-Siouan group who formerly inhabited the Ohio Valley, thus confirming the oral traditions.

Springer and Witkowski (1982:73, cited in Henning 1993:255) suggest the following separation dates: the Siouan lingustic groups began to diverge about AD 700, with the split of proto-Dakota. At about AD 1000 proto-Dhegiha separated from the proto-Chiwere Winnebago. At about AD 1300 the Dhegiha cognate groups separated from each other. Chiwere did not separate from Winnebago until AD 1500. Assuming that linguistic separation does indicate geographical drift or fission of a cognate group, these dates have important implications because they indicate that the Dhegiha Sioux may not have participated in the emergence of the Mississippian system but only came into contact with Mississippian populations in the late prehistory of the mid-south. Lexical sharing rates also supports the historical linguistic data. Rankin (1988), on the other hand, believes that the major Siouan languages and cognate groups separated at least 400 years earlier than estimated by Springer and Witkowski; Rankin justifies this earlier estimates with both lexical analysis of agricultural-related terms and cross-dating of archaeological evidence for agriculture.

Mochon (1972) conducted comparative analysis of lexical data from three Siouan (Ofo, Biloxi, and Osage) and two Muskoegan (Creek and Choctaw) dialects to determine whether there were linguistic indications of participation in Mississippian developments by Oneota people/Siouan speakers. Beginning with the knowledge that Muskoegan speakers were Mississippians, Mochon established lexical categories that would best reveal direct involvement in Mississippian society, given what is known archaeologically. His lexical categories included food production; craft production, distribution, and specialization; settlements and social categories; polity; public construction; and worldview.

Mochon (1972:499) concluded that Muskoegan speakers were most likely indigenous to the Southeast and from early own showed linguistic trends toward food production, astronomical observation, and increasing social complexity. In contrast, the Siouan languages showed a simple lexical inventory (partly a function of poor data) that reflects a marginal agricultural subsistence, a generalized barter economy, shamanistic leadership, and undifferentiated architecture. He stated: "all of the Siouan data tends to support current interpretation of Oneota culture as contemporary with but marginal to Mississippian developments." As we explain below, even considering the limitations of lexical analysis that Mochon explicitly indicated, the results of his work contribute positively to the reconstruction of Osage ethnogenesis.

Oral Traditions

The Dhegiha cognate groups share an oral tradition that narrates their westward migration to the places where they were found historically. An early, albeit somewhat confusing version of their migration story was recorded by Douay, a man with La Salle's 1683 expedition. Douay wrote:

> The Arkansas [Quapaw] were formerly stationed on the upper part of one of these rivers, but the Iroquois drove them out by cruel wars some years ago, so that they, with some Osage villages were obliged to drop down and settle on the river which now bears their name. (Shea 1903:226)

A similar version of this tradition was recorded by Nuttall in 1819 (Nuttall 1980) and by Stephen Long in the same year (Kane, Holmquist, and Gilman 1978). Long noted, in relation to the Missouri (a Chiwere Siouan-speaking group, whose cognate groups are Oto and Iowa) that this group was once part of the Winnebago nation. Later, BAE ethnologist Owen Dorsey (1884, 1885, 1886, 1888) recorded detailed versions of the migration story both from the Dhegiha and the Chiwere perspectives, the latter of which corroborated Long's observations. According to Dorsey (1886:214-216),

> The Ponkas told Rev. A. L. Riggs that their ancestors used to dwell east of the Mississippi. They subsequently inhabited the country on the north side of the Missouri river, near its mouth. The Kansas and the Osages were the first to depart; then the Omahas and the Ponkas followed the course of the Missouri towards its head. Mr. Riggs also says that the Ponkas went to the region of the Black hills, and were there before the Crows; but the Ponkas told the writer that the Crows inhabited that country and were owners of the Black hills when their ancestors arrived there, at which time there were no Dakotas in the region. This last statement is confirmed by the Dakota winter-counts in Dr. Corbusier's collection. The writer was also told that the Ponkas used to dwell north-east of the old Ponka reservation (which is in Todd county, Neb.), in a land where they wore snow-shoes. Since 1879 the writer has gained more definite information from other Ponkas, as well as from Omahas, Osages and Kansas, and it is now given.
>
> Ages ago the ancestors of the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas, Kwapas, Winnebagos, Pawnee Loups (skidi) and Rees, dwelt east of the Mississippi. They were not all in one region, but they were allies, and their general course was westward. They drove other tribes before them. Five of these peoples, the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas, and Kwapas, were then together as one nation. They were called Arkansa or Alkansa by the Illinois tribes, and they dwelt near the Ohio river. At the mouth of the Ohio a separation occurred. Some went down the Mississippi, hence arose their name, "U-ga'qpa (Oo-ga-kpa)" of Kwapa (Quapaw), meaning "the down-stream people." This was prior to 1540, when De Soto met the Kwapas, who were then a distinct tribe.
>
> The rest of the Arkansas ascended the river, taking the name of U-ma^{n}'-ha^{n} (Omaha), 'those going against the wind or current." ... The Omahas and their associates followed the course of the Mississippi till they reached the mouth of the Missouri, remaining for some time near the site of the present city of St. Louis. They ascended the Missouri to a place called Tce-dúñ'-gaa'ja-be and Ma^{n}'daqpa'-yé by the Kansa and Ma^{n}'-ta-qpa'-dhé by the Osages. This was an extensive peninsula on the river, having a high mountain as a landmark.
>
> Here, according to the Kansas and Osages, the ancestors of the four tribes lived together. In the course of time they ascended the Missouri and established themselves at the mouth of the Osage river. The Iowas were near them; but the Omahas say that at that period they did not know the Otos and Missouris. The Omahas and Ponkas crossed the Missouri, resuming their wanderings. The Osage ascended the stream bearing their name, and a tributary, called by them "Tse'-tú^{n}-÷a'-qa," they divided into the pa-he'tsi (those who camped a the top of the mountain), incorrectly styled Great Osages, and the U-tseh'-ta (those who camped

a the base of the mountain), popularly called Little Osages...The Kansas ascended the Missouri...

Dorsey's version of this tradition was corroborated by Fletcher and La Flesche (1911), who collected a very similar version of it and added sociological information in support of a "former unity" of the five cognate groups.

Social Organization

In their study of the Omaha tribe of Nebraska, Fletcher and La Flesche (1911:38) observed that the five cognate groups were remarkably similar in their social and political organization. They noted that all of the tribes have the same kinship system and exogamy rule, with each tribe being subdivided in groups or gens that in turn had their own repertoire of personal names and identity symbols (e.g., head shaving patterns) as well as rituals. They further observed that during the westward migration of the former Dhegiha tribe each split occurred across gens, so that every time a new cognate group formed all or most of the parent group gens were reproduced, along with all of their identity symbols and rituals. Therefore, "among the Omaha Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw a turtle group is found as a subgens in each tribe...among the Omaha, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw the Kansa, or Wind people, form a gens in each tribe..." and so forth. Also, after the cognate tribes had formed people would continue to split opportunistically and often because of strife; these people would be adopted by another cognate tribe and constitute a gens named after their former tribe. Only the Omaha and the Quapaw did not have such a tribe-named gens, perhaps reflecting the lateness of their split.

Fletcher and La Flesche (1911:39) cited the persistence of the Dhegiha's unique personal name system to support the notion of a former unity of the cognate tribes. Such a system not only preserved traditional naming relationships among tribes and gens, but also contained information about a gens rights and obligations, for instance:

> The Omaha personal name Uzu'gaxe, meaning "to clear the pathway," finds its explanation in the office of the Osage gens of the same name, whose duty it was to find a way across or around any natural obstacle that lay in the path of a war party, as a safe place to ford a dangerous river or a pathway over or around a cliff.

Wissler (1914), Swanton (1946), and Wedel (1946) also remarked on the similarity in social organization, clan naming, patrilocal residence, leadership, architecture, and religion of the Osage and their Siouan-speaking neighbors. Fire-keeping and worship, on the other hand, was similar to the southeastern tribes (Chapman 1974, III).

In sum, oral traditions and ethnographic data complement linguistic patterns that point to a common origin for the cognate tribes; the common origin may have had a geographic referent or place where the ancestral group resided, perhaps somewhere outside the area where the Osage were found historically. While oral traditions, because of their timelessness, cannot be literally interpreted as indicating linear trajectories or orderly sequences of events, they do highlight general behavioral patterns that once existed and were preserved in the collective memory and social institutions of the cognate tribes (see Mathews 1973). Groups who have not migrated do not generally have a migration story and vice versa (Stoffle and Zedeno 2002). The only case known to the authors where a group is known (through linguistics, archaeology, ethnography, and oral traditions of neighboring groups) to have migrated within the last 1,000 years but does not have a migration story is the Navajo nation of Arizona.

The validity of the Dhegiha oral traditions has been questioned and its usefulness for understanding ancient demographic trends continues to be debated today, particularly by archaeologists who have alternative views of the Osage ethnogenesis.

Archaeology

The main obstacle in the reconstruction of Osage origins is the lack of sites positively identified as Osage that predate the historic period (Chapman 1974, IV:17). Additionally, the introduction of European trade goods and the horse almost two centuries before the first ethnographic studies were undertaken contributed to modify the material culture and behavior of this tribe to the point where their historic archaeological record is sufficiently different from the prehistoric record to preclude the reconstruction of a convincing continuum in Osage culture history. Due to these difficulties there are several theories as to their prehistoric antecedents in Missouri.

Theory of a Mississippian Origin. The idea that the ancestral Osage and Kansa were the mound builders of the Ohio Valley and later lived in Cahokia was originally proposed by Dorsey (1884) and later accepted by Fowke (1910). Not everyone supported Dorsey's interpretation of the Dhegiha Sioux migration tradition, however, as Thomas (1894) thought that it was implausible. Yelton (1998) notes that Dorsey's attempt to correlate the migration tradition with actual sites suffered from the lack of archaeological tools and knowledge we have today; he could not have understood at that time the temporal differences between the mound building episodes he was attempting to explain and the late prehistoric and historic societies. Several decades later, Carl Chapman revisited the theories of Osage origin and proposed a Mississippian connection; but his arguments lent the problem an entirely different perspective than those offered by Dorsey and Fowke.

Chapman began his study of Osage culture history in 1939, when he surveyed historic Osage and Missouri village site locations along the Missouri and Osage rivers. Chapman's main goal was to expand Osage culture history as far back as the archaeological record would allow, and to demonstrate continuity between prehistoric remains and historic material culture. After investigating the village sites and conducting archaeological research in west-central Missouri (Berry and Chapman 1942; Berry et al. 1944) he published a detailed list of comparable archaeological and historic Osage traits (Chapman 1946). He then used the Midwestern Taxonomic System (McKern 1939) to produce a classification of Osage culture. He compared the Osage trait list with the Woodland and Mississippian determinant traits and concluded that the historic Osage shared a number of those determinants. For example, primary extended burials with moderately abundant grave goods, small triangular projectile points with retouch that were predominant over primary knives with triangular blades, and the "equal-armed" pipe and its stone variants seemed to him middle Mississippian in character. Also, upper Mississippian traits such as pottery decoration, elliptical house floor outlines, and an array of polished and chipped stone objects and techniques had counterparts in historic Osage traits.[1] Lastly, Chapman (1946) proposed that the "top-layer culture" (Griffin 1937) and the Neosho Focus/Oneota Aspect (Barreis 1941) found along the Oklahoma-Kansas-Missouri border, respectively, represented a late prehistoric manifestation of a Dhegiha Sioux group.

O'Brien and Wood (1998:345; O'Brien 1996) note that the problem with Chapman's initial trait list comparison is that he collapsed the Upper and Middle Mississippi Valley Groups that William Henry Holmes (1886) had originally created on the basis of pottery differences and

native group distribution to separate the eastern woodland/Mississippi headwaters region from Mississippian of the central and lower Mississippi Valley. These authors also point out that Chapman's conflation of Holmes' dichotomous groups was grounded in the incorrect assumption (made by Griffin in 1943 perpetuated by Cleland in 1966) that Oneota was a late manifestation that derived from Mississippian developments. O'Brien and Wood further state that this assumption was hard to die and biased subsequent interpretations of the archaeological record, particularly with regard to the Osage.

After absolute dating and broad regional research demonstrated how variable and long-lived Oneota culture had been (see Henning 1998), perhaps even associated with Chiwere rather than Dhegiha Sioux, Chapman abandoned the Oneota connection but continued to spouse the theory that Osage was a remnant Mississippian culture that had moved west from southeast Missouri after the collapse of the fortified centers and that was closely related to the riverine Quapaw (O'Brien and Wood 1998:347). This reconstruction contradicted earlier linguistic evidence of a short distance between Quapaw and Omaha-Ponca on the one hand, and between Osage and Kansa on the other. After World War II Chapman was commissioned to write an expert witness statement regarding the Osage land claims case (Chapman 1974, vols. III and IV), which gave him the opportunity to examine closely all evidence concerning Osage origin and development. Chapman reviewed several lines of evidence, rejecting oral traditions and sociological data and developing an alternative archaeological scenario where,

> It was concluded on the basis of archaeological information that the Osage had developed in the general area of their known historical range 1673-1872 A.D. from the late prehistoric cultures represented by the Neosho focus, the Ozark Top-layer, the Marginal Mississippi and the latest prehistoric archaeological assemblage in the Osage River drainage. Strongest relationships existed with the late prehistoric cultures of the Arkansas River drainage [here he refers to the Quapaw]. (Chapman 1974, III:241)
>
> There was no good evidence in linguistics or ethnography for migration to the area.
>
> Plants and animals in myth, legend, economically important or used as clan names were found to be primarily those native to the known range of the Osage (Chapman 1974, III:242)
>
> ...There was a late overlay of Oneota, due in great part to contact with the Missouri and the Oto tribes in the eighteenth century.
>
> The evidence from all sources is preponderant that the Osage tribe originated in the place of its historic habitat, probably starting as a series of autonomous village units and deriving from the people that left the late prehistoric archaeological assemblages in southwestern Missouri, northwestern Arkansas, southeastern Kansas and northeastern Oklahoma. (Chapman 1974, III:243)

In short, Chapman (1974, III:202) believed that the Osage ethnogenesis reflected their geographical placement, somewhat intermediate between the southeast, the southern plains, and the Ohio Valley, and that their ethnographic culture was "just what would be expected had it formed in place." The Osage were once Middle Mississippian populations living in the central valley; at some point they left the valley and migrated west in small, scattered groups, and later

they became increasingly Oneota due to their contacts with Plains Sioux (Yelton 1998:269). To arrive at this conclusion, Chapman (1959a) reinterpreted migration traditions and largely ignored linguistic and ethnological evidence.

Theory of an Oneota Origin. As explained above, the theory of an Oneota origin for the Osage was first espoused by Berry and Chapman, but later Chapman (1959:65) modified this proposition, noting instead that the Chiwere Sioux were a better fit for an Oneota ancestry, as understood archaeologically, than the Osage. In hindsight, Chapman's shifts in the reconstruction of Osage origins were a logical response to an increasing knowledge of the broad regional prehistory and concomitant discovery of more material culture variability. As Henning (1993, 1998) notes, Oneota was the ancestor of numerous Siouan groups, and its spatial variation in material culture corresponded to differences in interaction spheres of local Oneota manifestations beyond the eastern woodlands—the western Oneota reflected close relations to the Plains cultures whereas the eastern Oneota exhibited links to Mississippian cultures. This statement is true not only for the Oneota manifestations but also for the historically known Dhegiha cognate groups, who were very closely similar in language, ritual, and social organization but who had very different and rapidly changing material culture (Henning 1993:254).

Yelton (1991, 1998) is a strong supporter of in-situ development of the Osage out of the Oneota in the Chariton region of central Missouri. His arguments diverge from Chapman's in two important points—first, Yelton sees an Oneota ancestry as alternative to a Mississippian ancestry and, second, he sees a closer relationship between Oneota and Osage than between Oneota and Missouri. Yelton (1998:270) has resolved the problem that plagued Chapman's work—lack of convincing prehistoric Osage sites—by proposing that Oneota sites such as the Utz group were occupied by prehistoric Osage and Kansa, and that the Missouri were the late immigrants into the area. A few of the sites he reexamined also contain a historical component (Yelton 1998:276). His proposition and the dates obtained for the Chariton sites accord with the Siouan glottochronology proposed by Springer and Witkoski (1982) and even with Dorsey's interpretation of the migration tradition that has Dhegiha groups living on the Missouri River before the European contact.

Yelton (1998:279) explains material culture differences between eastern woodland and local Oneota as rapid cultural change, and between local Oneota and Osage as the result of access to European trade items. His discussion focuses on similarities, rather than differences, between local Oneota and Osage pottery, architecture, lithic technology, and choice of village location.[11] Yelton also acknowledges the very possible fact that the archaeological record of the Chariton region and of many other ancestral Siouan sites, for that matter, may be the product of people bearing different ethnic identities, and not just Osage.

Reconciling Oneota, Mississippian, and the Ohio Valley Homeland. One of the most contentious areas of interpretation of the migration tradition refers to the purported origin place of the Dhegiha ancestors. Dorsey (1886:215) relates that the five cognate groups were once one nation that resided near the Ohio River and was called Arkansa or Alkansa by the Illinois tribes. They moved downstream and split at the mouth of Ohio River. This detail of the narrative was what prompted Dorsey to interpret the Ohio Valley mounds as having been made by the Dhegiha ancestors. In doing so he correlated two very distinct and unrelated phenomena: the Woodland-period mound sites with the Mississippian-period [but not necessarily Mississippians themselves] Dhegiha Sioux groups.

Since that time, a number of archaeologists who have attempted to understand the dynamics of Dhegiha origins and spread have rejected the Ohio River valley as the probable origin for these people, proposing instead an in-situ development for these groups from various local traditions. Following in Chapman's footsteps, Morse (1986; Morse and Morse 1983) rejected the migration tradition in favor of a local Mississippian development for the Quapaws; Johnson (1991) argued that the Kansa derived from the local Pomona variant, the Ponca from the Coalescent tradition, and the Omaha from the Nebraska variant. These are only examples of numerous local traditions suggested as the ancestors of the cognate groups.

Archaeologists who question some of the in-situ development theories, on the other hand, have given a second look at the archaeological record of the Ohio Valley, in search of a reason for the consistent mention of this valley in the oral tradition of the five cognate groups. Hoffman (1986, 1993, 1990), Vehik (1993) and, less enthusiastically, Henning (1993) suggest that there are protohistoric materials in the lower Ohio-Wabash Rivers, grouped under the Caborn-Welborn phase, that exhibit attributes of possible Siouan/Oneota affiliation intermixed with materials of Mississippian affiliation. The Caborn-Welborn phase has been described in detail by Green and Munson (1978) among others, and is a late Mississippian occupation on the lower Ohio represented most notably in the Angel site. Some diagnostic artifacts found in sites of this phase, including shell-mask gorgets, miniature polished stone, Parkin Punctated, Nodena points, Nodena Red and White pottery, Dallas appliquéd bowls, and effigy vessels, among others, are undeniably associated with central and lower Mississippi Valley phases and thus have attracted the attention of scholars like Hoffman. Interestingly, some of the southern incised ceramics also exhibit Oneota-like motifs (Green and Munson 1978:303). Oneota artifacts include catlinite disk pipes, buffalo bone artifacts, copper snakes, and ear coils. This intermixing of both traditions has been described in detail for the lower and central Illinois River (Farnsworth and O'Gorman 1998; Esarey and Conrad 1998) and the American Bottom (Jackson 1998), suggesting a possible southwest-ward movement of a small number of northern Oneota/Siouan people along the eastern Mississippi River tributaries.

In his *Archaeology of the Lower Ohio Valley*, Muller (1986:262) suggests that the Oneota may have developed locally out of the late Woodland populations, but that were clearly not Mississippian in organization except for the fact that they developed and lived in geographically proximate and ecologically similar environments. The lower Ohio Oneota and other non-Mississippian groups seem to have been modest horticulturalists and organized hunter gatherers who were adapted to a dispersed settlement pattern and seasonal movement. Regarding the affiliation of the Caborn-Welborn phase, Muller (1986:257) suggests that either the remnant population was becoming more Oneota-like due to changes in the environment, including the entry into the area of the bison, or there were southward population shifts in late prehistoric times, as evidence found across most of the Midwest seems to indicate. At any rate, Oneota presence in the lower Ohio was minor in comparison with Mississippian developments there but it was resilient and sufficiently strong to be isolated archaeologically.

Vehik's (1993) discussion of multiple lines of evidence for the origins of Dhegiha groups provides the most cogent arguments for reconciling evidence of Oneota connections, Mississippian connections, and the "mythical" Ohio Valley homeland. Vehik's major argument is against an in-situ development of Dhegiha Sioux groups out of local cultural manifestations in the plains. She notes that such a development would have necessarily implied long-term connection and some degree of cultural and material exchange between Dhegiha groups and their

next-door neighbors, the Caddoan-speaking groups. Neither the material nor the nonmaterial culture of Dhegiha groups give any indication that such coexistence occurred before the protohistoric period. Vehik examined linguistic borrowing, ritual, myth and folklore, and kinship, and concluded that the similarities within Dhegiha and between Dhegiha and Chiwere Sioux far outweighed any similarity between those and Caddo or southeastern Mississippian. Vehik's analysis (1993:243) showed that many interethnic correspondences (e.g., Quapaw's southeast vintage folklore, Osage historical matrilocality) were the result of protohistoric or postcontact interaction. She concludes:

> Although anthropologists commonly dismiss origin legends as being inaccurate, in the case of some Plains archaeological discussions of Dhegihan origins the oral histories have not necessarily been replaced by more useful scenarios. It seems odd to dismiss a set of oral histories that exhibit substantial similarity among Dhegihan societies in favor of an archaeological argument that cannot be substantiated in Dhegihan or Caddoan culture as historically documented.
>
> An origin in the Ohio valley, as suggested by the oral histories, would account for the fact that there are so many Dhegihan similarities to Mississippi Valley Siouan, Algonkin, and southeastern societies. It would also explain why there are so few similarities to Caddoan societies.
>
> The similarity among Dhegihan societies culturally and linguistically suggests that their separation is relatively recent. Dhegihan origins more likely are in Oneota or the disintegration of Mississippian tradition societies...(Vehik 1993:246)

Jeter (2002:215-219) contends that none of the proponents of an Ohio Valley origin for the Dhegiha Sioux has actually looked far enough into the upper reaches of the drainage to find archaeological evidence of a possible link between prehistoric cultures and this group (but see Henning 1993:256). He cites Rankin's 1997 analysis of linguistics and the Oneota manifestation to argue against an Oneota-Dhegiha connection and instead proposes an "eastern Fort Ancient" connection based on the presence of long houses in the Ohio drainage of northeastern Kentucky and western West Virginia. Jeter suggests that this scenario would fit best with the oral traditions of the cognate groups, would help explain the cultural, geographic, and historical relationships between the Chiwere and Dhegiha linguistic families, and would place their arrival into the central and lower Mississippi Valley in the mid-1600s. Jeter justifies this late arrival date from a macroregional perspective wherein the Iroquois League would have pushed surrounding groups, including the Dhegiha Sioux and the Shawnee, thus creating a domino effect of westward population movement in the protohistoric period.

To summarize, along the lines of Henning's, Vehik's and Jeter's reasoning, an examination of various pieces of evidence and arguments regarding the origins of the Osage indicates that linguistics, ethnology, oral history, ecology (e.g., bison), and archaeology all point to a rather late prehistoric arrival of this group into Missouri; that the material and nonmaterial culture variability simply indicates that Osage culture and society had highly developed adaptive strategies that contributed to rapid changes in technology and economy; and that the Osage and cognate groups interacted with Mississippian populations marginally but still consistently so that it affected to a greater or lesser degree their material and nonmaterial culture. Given the chaotic demographic dynamics of the protohistoric period and the ancient Indian custom of adopting or

marrying individuals of other tribes to replace dead tribal members or acquire slaves, it is also very likely that Mississippian people joined Dhegiha Sioux groups sometime after the demise of their social systems.

It is only fair to point out that the evidence needed to elucidate whether Dhegiha ancestors were, indeed, somewhere in the Ohio Valley at some point in their prehistory is more forthcoming now than it was in Chapman's time, owing to both the state of current knowledge of regional prehistory and the renewed efforts of archaeologists to systematically attempt to resolve the riddles of ethnogenesis.

Osage Ethnohistory

The Osage have a long and complex history of economic and political relationships with colonial and republican forces that led them to relocation away from their aboriginal homeland and slowly but inevitably changed their culture and society. The historical trajectory of this tribe has been studied in detail by a number of scholars (see Wilson 1985). Here we present a brief ethnohistorical summary, based on classic and contemporary scholarly works as well as on colonial government relations, travelers accounts, and unpublished materials to (1) illustrate the extent and character of Osage land use practices, intertribal relations, and official interactions that may have included or indirectly affected their presence in or near the park area, and (2) document the nature of Osage-government relations that led to land sessions, relocation, and the formation of the modern Osage tribe. In this discussion we follow Chapman's (1974, III:222) fourfold periodification of Osage history, but place emphasis on the first three periods that most directly relate to their life in Missouri and Arkansas.

French Colonial Period (1673-1770)

The Osage were not visited by Europeans until the end of the seventeenth century. Osage historian John J. Mathews (1973:98) describes the arrival of two *coueurs du bois* from the tribe's perspective:

> On this certain day, the history thereof garbled in tribal memory, two pale men came upriver with two of the *Ni-sho-Dse* [Missouri] warriors. They had hair on the backs of their hands and on their faces, and hair glistened in the sun as it showed itself from the V of their Algonkian buckskin shirts. Their eyes and their mouths were almost hidden by hair. Their mouths were like the den of an old, male, bank beaver overhung by rootlets.

The existence and location of Osage villages was first recorded by the Canadian explorer and colonial agent Louis Joliet and his French companion, Jesuit Father Jacques Marquette. Both explorers had been carefully selected by colonial authorities to confirm rumors of the existence of a great navigable river the Indians called "Messipi" and the Spanish "Rio Grande." In the spring of 1673 Joliet and Marquette embarked at Mackinac, reaching the junction of the Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers on June 17, and the mouth of the Missouri River five weeks later (Verwyst 1886:119). According to their relation, large pictographs of *Manitou* or spirit beings may have marked a boundary between the tribes inhabiting the upper Mississippi drainage and those inhabiting the area on and below the mouth of the Missouri River.

Below the Missouri they first encountered a village of Illinois Indians and heard of the existence of other tribes to the west and south. Both Marquette and Joliet mapped the location of

the Osage tribe near the confluence of the Osage and Missouri Rivers (Tucker 1942:Plates IV and V). Marquette also noted the location of a village of Illinois or "Michigamea" who were a trading colony living on the west bank of the Mississippi River, a refugee village displaced the Iroquois and sheltered by the Osage (Dickinson 1984:201-202; Shea 1903:166), or both. Traveling further below they met a hostile tribe of unnamed Indians and, eight or 10 leagues to the south, they arrived to the village of the Akamsea or Quapaw, on the east bank of the Mississippi and across from the mouth of the Arkansas River. At this point they verified from the Indians that the river emptied in the Gulf of Mexico and decided to turn back to Green Bay.

Marquette and Joliet established friendly relations with the Illinois, which in time proved critical for aiding the French in their advance into Osage country (Bailey 1973). In 1682 La Salle reported that two French traders--perhaps those described by Mathews, above--were already living among the Osage; Fathers Douay and Hennepin also noted that the Osage lived along the Osage River (Shea 1903:226). The establishment of Jesuit missions and settlements among the Illinois in 1699 greatly facilitated the advance of the French into the Missouri River drainage and became a permanent source of European goods for the Osage and neighboring tribes (Nasatir 1952).

Bailey (1973:4) suggests that at the turn of the eighteenth century the Osages may have controlled the drainage of the Osage River and possibly the headwaters of the James and Gasconade Rivers; their hunting territories comprised the mountainous regions of southwest and south-central Missouri. Villages were reportedly located on the *Marais do Cygnes* or Lake of Swans, on the Osage River, and near the confluence of the Osage and the Missouri Rivers. At least one village on the Missouri was arguably founded after 1700 (see discussion by Chapman 1974, IV:204). The first recorded visit to the Osage country produced some population estimates and village descriptions. This visit occurred in 1719, when Claude Charles Dutisné, an employee of the Company of the West (or Company of the Indies), traveled across portions of western Missouri, Oklahoma, and southeast Kansas. Dutisné was a seasoned French agent in Louisiana and Illinois when he was ordered by the colonial commander LeMoyne de Bienville to make a journey to the *Panis* (Wichita) and *Padouca* (Kiowa Apache) west of the Mississippi River, with the ulterior purpose of establishing trade with the Spanish on the Rio Grande of New Mexico. He made two trips and produced corresponding journals that were published by his contemporary La Harpe and later reproduced by Margry in 1886 (Wedel 1972:11).

Dutisné undertook the route up the Missouri River toward the Kansas River from where he would drop south toward the Three Forks area (the junction of the Grand, Verdigris, and Arkansas rivers), which was populated by several tribes and was an important north-south trade route preferred to the difficult overland routes on the Ozark highlands. As he progressed in his route he came upon the Osage River, where he noted that the village of the Osage Indians was said to be "80 leagues above to the Southwest," near which "there are some very rich lead mines" (Wedel 1972:13). He proceeded to visit a village of the Missouri Indians near Fort Orleans, on the north bank of the river, where he learned that just to the south there were villages of the *Petit Ausages,* who were in turn only eight leagues from the *Grand Ausages.* A 1714 note from the French trader Veniárd de Bourgmont, who lived among the Missouris, indicates that the Little and the Great Osage groups had already split and were living in separate villages (Wedel 1972:16). As Chapman (174, IV) indicates, both Joliet's and Marquette's 1673 maps (see Tucker 1942:Plate IV-V) depicts only one village as *Ausage.* Other maps, including Randin's 1674-1681 (Tucker 1942:Plate VI), and Delisle's (1703), depict several Osage villages but no tribal division.

Dutisné did not succeed in reaching the plains on his river trip due to opposition from the Missouris, so in the summer of 1719 he decided to try again, taking this time an overland route across the northern Ozarks. Upon crossing the Meramec, Gasconade, and Osage River tributaries he arrived to the village of the Great Osage. He described the village as "situated on an eminence at a league and a half from the [Osage] River to the northwest" in present Vernon County, Missouri, perhaps corresponding to the site known archaeologically as Brown (23VE3). Dutisné estimated that the village was composed of 100 dwellings built with an "arborlike framework," and had about 200 warriors. There is no indication, says Wedel (1973:152), that he learned of any other Osage village in the vicinity. Wedel also notes, in comparing these figures with that of 300 dwellings posted in 1700 by Henri de Tonti from secondary sources, that the population of the Osage had decreased considerably in twenty years, due probably to plague and war. In fact, other trader reports recorded only two years after Tonti's indicate that the Little and the Great Osage together only had two villages and 200 dwellings. Mooney (1928) offers an estimate of 6,000 Osage for the time of earliest contact, whereas Yelton (1985, cited in Wiegers 1988:197) suggests that Osage may have numbered in the 12,000 souls, decreasing by the mid-1700s—shortly after Dutisné's visit—to under 4,000, and then increasing steadily until the smallpox epidemic of 1800-1801. By 1840 they had been reduced to 3,000 souls living in five villages in the Kansas reservation (McDermott and Salvan 1940:126-129).

Some important observations on the social and political structure of the Osage made by Dutisné match those made by travelers and ethnologists in the ensuing centuries (see Bailey 1973:19-24). For example, Dutisné noted that the Osage had "several chiefs of bands" likely referring to the Osage binary village organization, where each of the two moieties had one hereditary chief. He added that these officials were "not very absolute" and that their activities were limited to certain specified duties (Wedel 1973:151). Another of his observations involved part-time occupancy of the village: "They remain at their villages only as do the Missouri, with the winter spent hunting buffalo which are very abundant in this area" (cited in Wedel 1973:151). These observations are relevant in that they were made at the time when sustained intercourse with Europeans had yet to drastically transform Osage society, and stand in marked contrast to the descriptions of Mississippian chiefly offices and subsistence activities provided by the De Soto expedition for Southeastern tribes. Even though by 1719 the Osage had already suffered loses due to exposure to plague, they managed to maintain their traditional village and clan organization long after Dutisné's visit to their country.

Chapman (1974, IV:203) reviewed in detail cartographic and written evidence for the tribal split between Little and Great Osages; this information was relevant for tracking the geographical trajectory of the Osage in the areas they would later cede to the United States (areas 67 and 68, Royce 1899). He found no evidence of the split until 1717; the presence of an Osage village by the Missouri River was confirmed by La Harpe and Dutisné in 1719. It was not until the publication in 1724 of a map drawn by de Montigny, an engineer detached to de Bourgmont at Fort Orleans, that the village of the Little Osages was actually depicted as a separate entity from the mother Osage village in the Osage River. Apparently, the Little Osage split from the mother village after 1700 to form a socially self-sufficient and politically independent village on the Missouri River. This village lasted throughout the French Colonial period.

Soon after Dutisné's visit the Osage engaged actively in the fur and slave trade, and these activities contributed to rapid change in their material culture; as Chapman and Chapman (1980) note, with the exception of the Brown site Osage sites dating to the eighteenth century show an

ever greater number of European trade items, which eventually replaced aboriginal tools, housewares, and weapons. Among the most prized trade items were firearms with which they improved their hunting success and also acquired political power and advantage over neighboring tribes to the west. Slave trade may have affected Osage demography as well (Wiegers 1988). Throughout the 1700s the Osage were known for their warlike stance and unwillingness to surrender their control over land and trade routes to Europeans or other Indians (Bailey 1973:34). Osage provided French trading houses with deer, bear, and buffalo skins and buffalo meat (Nasatir 1952). They also engaged in Indian slave trade (Wiegers 1988), raiding the Caddos of the Arkansas and Red River, who were removed from major trading routes and had minimal access to firearms at the time. Another source of wealth among the Osage was the horse, which they acquired or stole from the Kiowas and Caddos and traded with Mississippian tribes and European settlers. Even though the French government outlawed Indian slavery as early as 1720, Indian slave trade increased along with African slave trade after the establishment of plantations in Louisiana and Illinois, which became the agricultural capitals of New France.

French trading houses rapidly built monopoly over fur trade and agriculture along the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, and the colonies of Fort Orleans and Fort Chartres flourished (Foley 1971,I). From these colonies, another economic enterprise--lead mining--was launched. Lead mines had been found deep in the interior of the Missouri Ozarks but lack of transportation and labor force prevented the French from exploiting it. In 1723 Philippe Francois Renault received mining grants on the Missouri River, which allowed him to penetrate Western Indian territories (Houck 1909:282). In the same year, the building of Fort Orleans on the Missouri River facilitated both territorial penetration by the French and acquisition of trade items by the Osage. But French activity along the Missouri River was short lived, and even the founding of St. Genevieve on the west bank of the Mississippi before 1732 did not help the interior posts survive the wilderness. By 1731 the French houses had rescinded control over the Illinois posts to the King and the Missouri posts were dismantled or turned over to the colonial government by 1744 (Foley 1971,I:14-15).

Throughout the French trade monopoly of the first half of the eighteenth century, the Osage and the Missouri continued to block access to the Caddoans by the French, forming a formidable barrier that extended from the Platte River to the Red River. Nevertheless, the French traders continued pushing west and by the 1740s they were trading with the Apaches and Comanches, with Caddoans as middlemen (Morris 1970:80). Conflict between the Osages and the Caddoans ensued, weakening both groups. This situation was to change at the onset of the French and Indian War, which caused a shortage of firearms and ammunition among the tribes (Nasatir 1952).

Spanish Colonial Period (1770-1803)

The defeat of the French in 1763 and subsequent taking over the Illinois colony by the Spanish in 1769 had huge impacts over the Osage and neighboring tribes. Chief among these impacts were the dismissal of missions and presidios in Texas that negatively affected the Caddoan tribes, and the formation of a loose alliance between the Spanish colony and the Osage, which stimulated the Osage to expand their hunting and trapping territory from the north bank of the Missouri on the north to the Arkansas River on the south, and from the eastern Ozark escarpment on the east to the Great Salt Plain on the west (Bolton 1914:167). The Osage monopoly over the plains-prairie throughout most of the eighteenth century came to its height at this time. Their hegemony, according to Rollings (1992:7), was based upon several factors: a

large population, a strategic location, abundant natural resources from three ecosystems, and an adaptable culture. They outnumbered their Indian and European neighbors, allowing them to maintain political autonomy while keeping the gates to the West under their control (Talbott 1989).

The Osage continued raiding for slaves and trading in stolen horses long after both activities had been banned by the Spanish governor of Illinois; the Spanish institution of licensing traders to control their traffic further contributed to the Osage expansion and violent push southward onto the Arkansas River (Nasatir 1926:59). By the 1770s the Osage were providing as much as one-half of the pelts acquired by the trading houses that operated west of the Mississippi (Foley and Rice 1983). The presence of the Osage in the Arkansas district caused enormous trouble both for the tribes living there and for the traders (Rollings 1992:164). The Spanish authorities, fearing war, declared that the Osage belonged into the Illinois district and under no circumstance were Arkansas traders licensed to trade with them (Nasatir 1926:67). The Osage, ignoring this mandate, continued to trade at the Arkansas Post and to raid to protect their economic and political status.

In the last two decades of the eighteenth century St. Louis and St. Genevieve prospered uniquely for two frontier outposts, owing largely to the fur trade and the development of plantations. According to Nasatir (1926) these outposts differed from earlier ones in that their inhabitants discouraged the formation of permanent Indian villages in the outskirts of either cities. Instead, the Spanish officials encouraged trading houses to send licensed emissaries to the interior wilderness to distribute gifts and trade with the Indians, and only invited the Indians to St. Louis when they realized that the English were challenging their trade monopoly west of the Mississippi. The Osage were unwilling political allies who continually defied Spanish authority; soon after taking over upper Louisiana, Spain turned against them, inciting other tribes to attack the Osage and Missouri villages. Houck (1908, I:226-227) provides a map showing the numerous warpaths that cris-crossed Missouri at that time; at least one of them crossed the Current River.

Tribal warfare and Spanish trade blockades eventually forced the Little Osage village to move back to the homeland on the Osage River in 1775 (Chapman 1974:205). As Nasatir (1926:87) relates, the Osage were caught in the middle of a colonial struggle to dominate the fur trade, thus becoming the principal enemy and target of hostilities. In 1794 the Spanish officially declared war on the Osage and urged the other Indian tribes to attack them. In that same year Fort Carondelet was established by Auguste Choteau near the Osage villages as a peace-making effort, and soon thereafter an Osage village had formed next to it. In the end, the Osage managed to avert destruction and found alternative ways to continue with the profitable trade business.

The Osage's main strategy to adapt to hostile conditions while continuing to profit from the trade appears to have been tribal segmentation. As described by Foley and Rice (1983:47), after 1777 the Big and Little Osage villages remained independent but stable on their Osage River locations; a third village formed next to Fort Carondelet at about 1795. During hunting season, however, the tribal parties ventured deep into the western prairies and, as early as the 1780s, a dissenting group under a chief called Le Chenier or The Oak, moved to the three forks in the Oklahoma-Arkansas border, where game was plentiful. They defied the authority of both the Spaniards and the Missouri Osages and were outlawed in 1787. In the 1790s a group under the leadership of Clermont moved to the Verdigris River of Oklahoma, where the Choteaus kept

a prosperous post. And finally, around 1802 a group under Chief Big Track or Cashesegra, joined the Clermont party. At the turn of the century Clermont was the effective leader of all the Arkansas Osages whereas White Hair or Pa-Hiu-Skah remained the dominant chief of the Missouri Osages. But as Foley and Rice comment, there is great confusion surrounding the dates and events of tribal segmentation.

Several reasons for the tribal split may be suggested. First, segmentation allowed the Arkansas Osage to expand their hunting and trapping grounds into Caddoan territory and to acquire buffalo. A need to expand hunting territories may have been created by the intrusion of emigrant tribes into the Osage's most bountiful hunting grounds in the Ozarks, particularly along the White River. Groups of Cherokee, Shawnee, Delaware, and Peoria, among others, that had been relocated to the west bank by the Spaniards, now lived and/or hunted on traditional Osage grounds (see Chapter Five). Rollings (1992:185) relates how violent the Osage became when the immigrant Illinois groups, with whom they normally had peaceful relationships, penetrated the eastern escarpment to hunt. He states,

> The Ozark forests were particularly important to the Osage. Fur-bearing animals, especially the important bear and beaver, which supplied fur and fat for the Osage, thrived in the forests. This important natural resource was vital to their trade economy, and any threat to it was a serious threat to Osage survival. The Ozarks were also strategically important to the Osage. The rugged mountain country served as a buffer from the eastern tribes. It was important for the Osage to keep rival nations out of the Ozarks and far way from their prairie villages. The Ozarks protected the Osage from the south and east, and the Osage constantly struggled to drive the outsiders from the Ozarks.

Struggle for land and power eventually led to tribal split. First, given that the Osage social groups (villages, moieties, clans) traditionally maintained separate hunting grounds, as described by Dutisné in 1719 (Wedel 1972), it is likely that disgruntled factions whose grounds were no longer theirs alone may have split in search of territories that were uncontested or weakly defended (see Bailey 1973:38-42). Second, interaction between warriors/hunters and the colonial authorities who lacked knowledge of traditional power relations within the tribe resulted in the acquisition of political status by individuals who did not traditionally have rights to such status, leading to dissension and instability (Rollings 1992:178). And third, segmentation may have responded to the lure of trade enterprises that were flourishing along the edge of the prairie--far away enough from the main settlements to allow business to be conducted outside the range of Spanish scrutiny (Fausz 2000:32). The implications of this westward move for the purposes of our study is that the southeastern extreme of their hunting grounds on or near the Current River was no longer easily accessible or desirable.

At this point of the narrative it becomes difficult to explain the historic developments of the Missouri Osage without briefly mentioning the activities of influential individuals such as Pierre Laclede and his stepson and clerk, Auguste Choteau. Both arrived in Missouri in 1763 and proceeded to build a trading post that would soon become St. Louis. Arriving at the time of retreat of French forces to New Orleans, Laclede had to recruit new settlers for St. Louis among French and English people who preferred to live under the Spanish rule (Foley 1971,I:17). Laclede and, later, the Choteau family, were the first traders to take advantage of the Spanish licensing system, which allowed them to build a strong commercial empire west of the Mississippi River and to control all trade with the western tribes. Auguste and his little brother

Pierre Choteau played a critical role in the diplomatic relations between the Osage and the Spanish colony (see Nasatir 1926), and also made it possible for at least one Osage band to split and move to the three-forks area on the Arkansas-Oklahoma border where the Choteaus had a trading post and could assure them a profitable trade partnership (Rollings 1992:198). Pierre Choteau, in particular, grew up among the Osage, knew their language and customs intimately, and understood their traditional rules of interaction (Foley and Rice 1983:21). This knowledge gave him great political and economic advantage both among the Indians and among the colonial authorities. In time, such knowledge would allow the Choteau family to occupy prominent positions in the governance of the Indian tribes of the American frontier.

In short, by the beginning of the nineteenth century the Osage, had outlived the French Colonial system and survived Spanish Colonial persecution and Spanish-instigated tribal wars. Their Missouri and Arkansas communities adapted rather well to the conditions introduced by European colonization, developing a dual economy based on subsistence hunting and trade. Rollings eloquently (1992:8) sums up Osage adaptive response to colonial forces of change:

> The Osage were able to adapt and avoid internal conflict by creating social and political compromises that recognized older patterns, yet integrated new features. The Osage changed, but their changes were always within a familiar context. Thus Osage hegemony continued.

In addition to the rapid adoption of European material culture, they also became increasingly dependant on horses (Bailey 1974:42). This dependency was born out of their shift in hunting grounds from the forest to the prairie and from deer to buffalo. Given their increasing mobility and focus on buffalo hunting, the horse, which before had importance only as a trade item, became indispensable in the hunt, as did long-range firearms. Also, by this time horticulture had become even less important than it was a century earlier. Bailey (1974:43) also points out that the winter hunt, now focused on beaver and bear available to the east of their historic villages as far as the St. Francis River in Missouri, was an outcome of the fur trade demands as these animals had little importance in subsistence. It is perhaps during these winter hunting forays that the Osage may have utilized the eastern Ozark areas near the Current River.

Other changes discussed by Bailey (1973) and Rollings (1992) include the switch from patrilocal to matrilocal residence--an adaptive strategy that may have helped protect the lives of the male population of villages pestered by raiding parties, and the change in the political offices of traditional chiefs because of European influence. Europeans could not understand the pre-contact Osage system of multiple chiefly offices and preferred to deal with a single authority figure (see also Brazelton 1935; Short 1934). This preference led to their artificially aggrandizing certain compliant leaders to the detriment of the entire political system. By the nineteenth century the council and dual chieftancy had lost its original decision-making power. In time, birth-rights of males also gave way to prestige rights, as young raiders and warriors became the major household purveyors of trade goods and meat, thus eclipsing their older father-in-laws and also causing rifts within the community.

Finally, changes in inter-tribal relations that were either brought about by European colonization or exacerbated by it, include extensive slave trade, raiding, and unlikely alliances as well as enmities that influenced the way in which the Osage and other neighboring tribes used their land and resources. Wiegers (1988:196), citing La Flesche (1921:54) adds that slave trade may have also impacted Osage social organization by adding two new clans and also influencing

the change to matrilocality. Wiegers further suggests that these changes may have been the result of increase in population due to the presence of captive females from other tribes, and also of cultural interaction with these captives. Slavery may have caused some depopulation among the Osage, leading them to replace population by acquiring captives from other tribes and hence to maintain a critical demographic mass for their survival.

Early American Period (1803-1830)

The unexpected sale of the Louisiana Territory to the United States came about after rumors that Napoleon Bonaparte had completed in 1801 a secret transfer agreement of Louisiana from Spain to France and was planning to rebuild France's colonial power in America. President Jefferson was keenly aware of the problems that this transfer could cause to Franco-American relations in the continental United States, particularly interference with the United States rights to navigate the Mississippi River and to deposit goods in the port of New Orleans. Jefferson sent top diplomats to intensify pressure on France and this diplomatic maneuvering led to an agreement whereby America would pay fifteen million dollars for the entire Louisiana Territory. The Treaty of Cession, best known as "the Louisiana Purchase," was signed on May 2, 1803 and the territory was officially incorporated to the United States in December 20 of that year (Foley 1971,I:63-65).

The political implications of the Louisiana Purchase were cause of great polemics, particularly among Jefferson's opponents who, afraid that the acquisition of this vast territory could upset the balance of the union, challenged the legality of the purchase. To offset the legal issues, Jefferson proposed a constitutional amendment to incorporate Louisiana to the United States and to deal with the practical administrative problems. In this amendment, the government would have postponed any large-scale settlement of Louisiana by Whites, but would have made provisions for the opening of lands east of the Mississippi River by exchanging the remaining Indian lands there with territories in the newly purchased territory. Additionally, any lands on the west bank that were in White hands would have been exchanged for comparable tracts elsewhere in the United States. Congress voted against the proposed amendment but nonetheless authorized the president to take possession of the territory, to name the individuals who would govern it, and to ensure the protection of the fundamental rights of the territorial inhabitants (Foley 1971, I:66-70).

One of the first difficult governing decisions concerned the legality of colonial land grants issued by the French and Spanish government to White settlers on the west bank and the huge fraudulent land speculation that went on just before and after the Purchase. A second bill was drawn to terminate any land grants established after 1800, to designate Indiana as the governing place for the new territory, and to consider relocating eastern Indian tribes to the west bank. This bill was received with even more pronounced opposition from the territory settlers. After numerous unfortunate incidents, Louisiana finally achieved self governance in 1805, with James Wilkinson as the new governor.

Wilkinson's first responsibility was to deal with the defensive and military issues in the frontier, and so one of his resolutions, which had been promised earlier to the Indians, was to open a "factory" or government-sponsored trading house offering reasonably priced goods to the region's tribes. This was to be Fort Bellefontaine, built on the Missouri River four miles above its mouth. But this factory did not stop the British from continuing their commerce in American territory, which prompted Wilkinson to charge Zebulon Montgomery Pike with the task of

exploring the source of the Mississippi River in search for the best sites to locate military posts and factories (Foley 1971, I:114; Coues 1895:83). A second federal trading factory was built at the mouth of the Arkansas River; even though the traders at this factory were prohibited by Wilkinson to trade with the Arkansas Osage they continued to do so as the Osage were the ones still bringing in the majority of the furs. Wilkinson's unpopular military endeavors ended soon thereafter, with the return of Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and their Corps of Discovery from the famed expedition to the Pacific Coast (1804-1806).

Indian Policy and the Treaty of 1808. A decision relevant for carrying out Jefferson's mandates was to appoint Pierre Choteau agent of Indian Affairs for the Louisiana Territory. His orders, received in 1804 from the Secretary of War, were to "heal the rift" between the Missouri and Arkansas Osage and ensure safe passage for any government expedition to the sources of the Arkansas and Red Rivers and the southwestern tributaries of the Missouri River (Chapman 1974, IV:212). The Osage were to be provided with a blacksmith, various tools and equipment, and a mill, to lure them into civilized pursuits (Foley and Rice 1978:369). Governor Wilkinson further recommended Choteau to block the trade to the Arkansas band under Big Track to encourage them to return to Missouri. Choteau went as far as taking a delegation of Osage to meet Jefferson in Washington, D.C. But all efforts failed as the Osage remained characteristically unfriendly toward the White government and as lingering war among the western tribes, and particularly between the Missouri Osage and the Potawatomi, Sac, and Fox prevented any peace effort (Foley 1971,I:115; Rollings 1992:203-207). The Potawatomi Massacre of an Osage village in 1805, to which the Osages, fearing the loss of American support, did not retaliate, marked the end of the tribe's powerful war engine of colonial times. By the signing of the 1808 the Osage River villages had relocated to Marais de Cygnes, the westernmost tributary of the Osage River; Bailey (1973:53) suggests that this westward shift was a response to northern tribal threats.

In 1806 Wilkinson departed his post as Lewis and Clark returned from their expedition. Jefferson took their successful return as an opportunity to appoint these popular and respected individuals to key territorial offices. So in 1807 Lewis was made governor, Pierre Choteau was appointed Agent for the Osage Indians, and Clark was appointed agent for the remaining territorial tribes. The significance of these appointments lies in the fact that no one in Jefferson's tenure knew better than Lewis, Clark, and the Choteaus the strategic value of the Missouri River drainage for opening the West to colonization and settlement. Together, they combined an intimate knowledge of the Indians and the landscape with political power and the ability to translate plans into action.

Having survived yet another change in political power, the Choteaus renewed their efforts to consolidate the Osage in the north, where they were more easily accessible by boat. Jefferson's mandate to consolidate the bands to make room for relocating the eastern tribes thus worked to the advantage of the Choteaus. These political maneuvers destroyed the traditional polities of the Osage River bands, while helping the splinter bands on the Arkansas keep their old dual chief system alive. These bands were strong, prosperous, and better able to resist the traders' manipulation than the Missouri ones. The northern Osage who sought to move south were lured by the Arkansas Osage's prosperity (Rollings 1992:220). It was at this point that the Osage hegemony of the plains-prairie began to collapse under new pressures, particularly the increase in Indian emigrants in the Ozark highlands and the arrival of the first White settlers there. Jefferson had originally intended to reserve the west bank that is now Missouri exclusively for Indian habitation. However, the findings of the Corps of Discovery stimulated White settlers

into migrating there--as early as 1807 the first White settler had arrived to the Current River area. As both Indians and non-Indians depended on game for a big portion of their food supplies, the Osage continued to harass these newcomers to keep them away from their hunting grounds.

Governor Lewis decided to take drastic measures to stop once and for all the Osage attacks on Indian and White settlers. First he blocked all trade to those Osage bands not under the rule of the Big Osage chief White Hair or *Pawhiuskah*. This order came right before the summer hunt, when the Osage needed most to get guns, powder, and other supplies. Second, Lewis decided against building a factory on the Osage River, as the federal government had mandated to do in hopes to subdue the tribe and instead chose Fire Prairie, on the Missouri River to build Fort Clark (soon renamed Fort Osage, Woldridge 1983). Taking advantage of the absence of the Osage during the summer of 1808, he sent Captain Eli Clemson and Fort Bellefontaine's factor George Sibley to build the fort. And third, he convinced White Hair's band to relocate to Fort Osage and encouraged the emigrant tribes and the northern tribes to attack any Osage who refused to relocate or attempted to join the Arkansas bands (Fausz 2000:35).

Upon the White Hair's return from the hunt and relocation to Fort Osage in September 1808, Indian Agent Clark took advantage of their peace-making efforts and convinced the Osage chief to sign the Fort Osage Treaty, whereby they ceded to the United States all their lands located to the east of the Osage River, that is, their vast forest hunting grounds in the Ozark highlands (Figure 4). This was a highly questionable treaty, as many of the chiefs were not present at its signing and many more did not even hear about it. It took Choteau months to renegotiate the treaty and numerous threats to get all the necessary signatures; the treaty was not ratified until 1810 (Fausz 2000:36). Nevertheless, the implications of this treaty were devastating to the Osage, who saw their lands reduced to a sliver between their Osage River villages and the Kansas border. They had ceded about 50,000 square miles of prime land in exchange for a meager 1,400 dollars in payment and 1,200 dollars in annuities. They were also to be provided with a blacksmith, a grain mill, plows, two log houses, and a trading post (Rollings 1992:224). The Osage, particularly those not present at the treaty signing, later contended that they had never intended to give up their hunting rights but only to share them with the United States, as they had before shared with other friendly nations. Even though Clark later conceded that the Osage had been adamant about keeping their hunting rights on the White River, they were not to keep these lands as the final draft of the treaty eliminated such rights there.

Despite this terrible reversal of fortune, the Missouri Osage made of Fort Osage a short-term trading success, but eventually had to move back to their old villages to avoid attacks from the northern tribes and continue with their trading business with Choteau and other St. Louis traders. Soon only the Little Osages, who were used to living by the Missouri River, remained at the fort until 1812, when the fort was temporarily moved down river because of the war with the British. The Osage continued to complain about the presence of emigrant tribes in the ceded lands and kept hunting in those lands. It was not until the treaty line was surveyed in 1816 that the Osage began to comprehend the practical implications of having this line within sight of their villages (Rollings 1992:227-231).

In contrast to the fate of the Missouri Osage, the Arkansas Osage fared far better in their dealings with the United States at that time. In 1809 Governor Bates, who replaced Lewis, obtained from Clermont II and Big Track a willing signature of a version of the original 1808 treaty covering the same tract of land. Through this treaty the Arkansas Osage finally received official recognition of their chiefly status, acknowledgement of their permanent independence

from the Missouri bands, and the reinstatement of trade without sacrificing their hunting territory (Rollings 1992:229; Fausz 2000:37). They continued to prosper for many years.

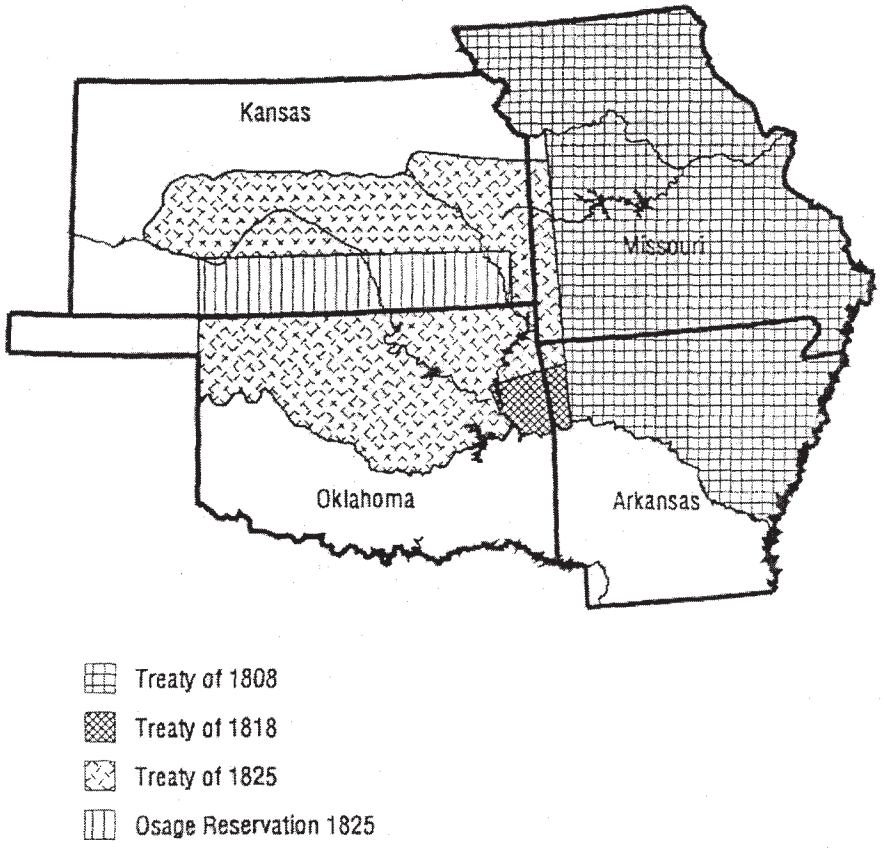

Figure 4. Osage Land Sessions in the nineteenth century (after Wolferman 1997)

Subsequent Land Cessions. By 1813 the number of emigrant Indian communities had grown so rapidly, particularly the Cherokee colony living around the Arkansas Osage, that the federal government sent them an Indian Agent, Mj William Lovely. Finding that the Cherokee and the Osage were in a violent war over hunting territory, in 1816 Lovely convinced the Osage to sell them the land between the Cherokee relocation area and the Verdigris River. This purchase, however, went unratified by the federal government. In 1817 the Cherokee, who had obtained a promise to get as much land in the west as they had ceded in the east, began an all-out war against the Osage, destroying Clermont II village and taking numerous captives. Fort Smith was built on the Arkansas River as a way to control the war. The Cherokee convinced Clark to give them the land on the Verdigris as spoils of war and in 1818 Clark succeeded in obtaining a session from the Osage, who received $4,000 in exchange for the land. They also allowed the Cherokee passage through their lands to the bison plains, but did not stop from making plans for

revenge. In 1821 another Cherokee raid killed numerous Osage during the winter hunt and weakened them to the point of signing a peace treaty in June of the following year (Bailey 1973:55-56).

After Missouri achieved statehood in 1821 the need to remove all traces of past Indian deals became ever more pressing for the United States. In 1822 the Missouri Osage released the United States treaty obligation to keep Fort Osage open, and for $2,533 in merchandise they allowed its closure. White Hair's band then moved to the Verdigris and Neosho River area. The Missouri Osage, who had not signed any peace treaty with the Cherokee emigrants, attacked and destroyed a hunting party, which led to another outbreak of war in 1823. The government then decided to build another fortification, Fort Gibson, on the Neosho River. In 1825 the Osage ceded all their remaining lands in Missouri and Arkansas, keeping only a 50-mile wide strip of land just west of the Missouri border (Bailey 1973:56). Nevertheless, many Osage remained in the ceded area of the three forks and hunted in the Ozark mountains until as late as the 1850s (Banks 1978).

Late American Period (1830-1870)

The latter portion of the nineteenth-century history of the Osage land cessions begins with the passage of the Indian Removal Bill in 1830. This Bill was the culmination of the process of opening land for White settlement in the east by obtaining land cessions and then relocating entire landless tribes to the territory west of the Mississippi. As a result, up to 60,000 additional southeastern Indian emigrants flooded onto the Osage hunting territory in present-day Oklahoma and Kansas. Additionally, other eastern tribes relocated to the area north and east of the Osage. As Bailey (1973:57) notes, the eastern tribes were culturally closer to the White frontierspeople than the western tribes, and both White and Indian emigrants depended at least partially on hunting and trapping, thus placing huge pressure upon the ecosystem once exploited almost exclusively by the Osage and their old neighbors. For their part, the Arkansas Osage continued living in the three-forks area even after the 1825 treaty, and were also pressured by increasing numbers of Cherokee emigrants.

One of the immediate consequences of the massive relocation was the extermination of game animals. This scarcity, coupled with a war between the Osage and the Kiowa and Comanche, forced the Osage to return to their old hunting grounds in southern Missouri and along the Neosho River; the army had to force them back into the reservation. After 1830 yet another setback had befallen on the tribe, this time the taking over the trapping business by White frontiersmen, who were rapidly advancing into the land occupied by the emigrant tribes in Missouri. By 1840, after the Indian relocation was complete, the White settlers were only 50 miles away from the Osage border in Kansas, and within 20 years they had moved to live side by side. And finally, the whiskey traffic, which the Osage had managed to avoid, eventually reached them. Within 10 years they had traded most of their horses for whiskey (Bailey 1973:69).

From 1850 to 1870, thousands of White settlers flooded into Kansas, as land cessions in that state reached the 18,000,000 acres. Some settlers even took up farming within the Osage reserve. The intrusion affected Osages in every way, as the settlers destroyed the game and stole their horses. This situation worsened during the Civil War, when livestock and farms were all but razed, leaving the Osage with only 50 acres of cultivated land. Taking advantage of this weakened situation, in 1865 the government convinced them to cede another portion of their Kansas reservation, which immediately filled with settlers. Aside from the delay in payment for

the lands, conflict with the settlers and with the plains tribes ensued, further cornering the Osage. In 1869 they were forced to cede all remaining land in Kansas. Although the treaty was not ratified until 1870 and a new reservation had not been selected, the Kansas settlers took over the reservation, cutting timber and destroying all Indian property. The Osage had to contend with the squatters for another two years until the establishment of their reserve in the Oklahoma Territory. By 1871, they numbered 3,678 full-blooded individuals splintered into seven bands according to the census, but perhaps even more according to other observers.

NOTES: [1] O'Brien and Wood (1998:347) note that at the time Chapman matched trait lists neither houses nor burials had been found archaeologically in the late prehistoric cultures he used to compare with Osage traits.

[11] It is important to point out here that the archaeological data he cites in support of his argument, the house outlines in particular, were unavailable to Chapman at the time he drew his own theory.

CHAPTER FIVE
EMIGRANT TRIBES

The emigrant tribes are groups of eastern American Indians who ceded their land in exchange for relocation west of the Mississippi River. Some groups migrated from the eastern United States to the west to escape European, mainly English, and later American encroachment upon their lands. Other groups were removed forcibly by the U.S. government who sought to implement Indian removal policies. Even though the area to the west of the Mississippi River was occupied by Indian tribes, this area and specifically the Ozark highlands and some river valleys in Missouri and Arkansas became both a refuge from settler depredations and endemic Indian wars and a place for temporary relocation of numerous tribal groups who were seeking a permanent reservation somewhere in the West. The riverways were one place were several groups settled for certain periods of time.

As native people of the eastern seaboard began to move westward and warfare and disease led to major demographic shifts, some emigrants became absorbed into other groups and disappeared as a separate ethnic group or polity. When dissent or basic need took over the emigrants, larger groups also split into smaller ones, sometimes only to reunify in some other place and with a different organization. Large group migrations took place relatively frequently, beginning in the late 1600 through the early 1900s, in addition to the continuous small-scale movement of individuals and families. Not every person in these groups made the journey, moreover, not all sub-groups in these groups moved at the same time or to the same places. Many individuals died on the path while others stopped along the way and remained in those places until their passing. Some resisted all pressures to relocate and lived out their days near their homelands, perhaps becoming absorbed into American society. Altogether the processes of relocation and reorganization created collective histories whose intricate trajectories can rarely be fully understood. This brief chapter paints these trajectories in very broad strokes and only to provide a background for establishing the cultural affiliation of historic tribes.

Three major Indian groups--Cherokee, Delaware (Lenni Lenape) and Shawnee--will be examined in some detail as they inhabited the park lands and immediate vicinity. Also discussed in brief are the Algonquian-speaking groups of the Illinois confederacy that through attrition and relocation eventually consolidated into the group currently known as Peoria. It should be noted that several other native groups also sojourned through Missouri and Arkansas, including the Wea, Wyandot, Piankashaw, and Kickapoo.

The Forces of Emigration

It would be inaccurate to begin a discussion of the historic tribal emigration process without at least a cursory mention of the Iroquois League wars, which in through most of the seventeenth century wrecked havoc on the eastern portion of North America and caused massive population dislocation; its effects were felt hundreds of miles away from the actual battlefields. Numerous eastern tribes who lived near the Iroquois, as for example the Delaware, Shawnee, Sioux and Illinois, suffered impacts of various degrees of severity, some becoming too weak or splintered to fight the advance of European conquest and colonization.

In the east, the English colonial influence acted as a pushing factor in the emigration of some groups, as the English wanted to rid themselves of the Indians in order to expand lands available for White settlement. The Spanish colonial influence, on the other hand, offered an attractive pulling force toward the virgin lands of the west. For example, Houck in his *History of Missouri* reports from letters of Spanish colonial forces that:

> In 1782 Cruzat writes that he had made peace with one hundred and forty tribes of warlike Indians. In the same year four principal chiefs and forty Indians of the Shawnee, Delawares, Chickasaws and Cherokees came to St. Louis with four large blue and white belts of wampum and reported that they had united one hundred and thirty tribes between the Ohio and the Gulf, and between the Mississippi and the Atlantic states. They asked protection of the King of Spain, and proposed to establish a firm and sincere peace with the Spaniards. (Houck 1908, 1:311)

Houck notes that the Spanish encouraged native emigration from English colonial lands not only to improve political relationships with native people but also to cultivate native allies to form a buffer between Spanish colonial endeavors and "problem" tribes such as the Osage. So, beginning in 1794, Spain actively encouraged the relocation of Cherokee, Shawnee and Delaware people to settle west of the Mississippi. Yet, Spanish control of Louisiana, which included the lands west of the Mississippi, did not last to see the full emigration process. In 1801 Spain relinquished colonial jurisdiction to Napoleon who in turn sold the territory of Louisiana to the United States in 1803. As discussed in Chapter Four, one of President Jefferson's main objectives for the Louisiana Purchase was to complete the relocation of the eastern tribes that had begun in colonial times and initially he intended to eliminate White settlement west of the Mississippi River (Foley 1971, I). But the power and determination of White settlers overrode Jefferson's intentions, eventually leading to the removal of the emigrant and aboriginal tribes to the Oklahoma Indian Territory.

The Eastern Cherokee

The Ozark highlands has been historically the home of various bands, groups and families of Cherokee people. Eastern Cherokee have lived in these lands from 1823 at the latest. Also, there are two self-identified Cherokee groups, The Western and the Northern Cherokees, who claim an Ozark origin and prehistoric ancestry, respectively. In this section we discuss the emigration of eastern Cherokee. The claims of the self-identified Cherokee are presented in the section entitled "Contemporary Claims."

At the time of European contact the main concentration of the Cherokee people appears to have been the southeastern United States in the southern Appalachians including areas of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Most of these areas inhabited by Cherokee people have been hill or low mountain areas. Cherokee settlement patterns at the time of contact consisted of small villages spread over an area with a ceremonial center that served the surrounding villages. Cherokee maintained small family gardens, and also used various wild plant and animal resources around them. The annual cycle was complete with religious observances that coincided with planting and harvesting. One of the most important ceremonies was the annual New Fire ceremony when everyone would re-light their home fires with the new fire ceremonially rekindled from the ancient fire. Other well-known ceremonies involved going to war and returning from war, both requiring intense purification rituals.

The Cherokee speak an Iroquoian language. According to Lounsbury, Cherokee is distantly related to other Iroquoian languages pointing to a very old separation from other languages in this family (Lounsbury 1978:334). In his glottochronology dendrogram, Lounsbury places Cherokee as the only representative of a Southern Iroquoian language. All other Iroquoian languages derive from Northern Iroquois. He places the separation between Southern Iroquoian and Northern Iroquoian between two and five millennia ago. It appears to Lounsbury that Southern Iroquoian did not branch out into more languages; the development of local Cherokee dialects is relatively recent.

The Cherokee came to the main stage of anthropology in 1890 when Cyrus Thomas showed that the archeological record revealed that the Cherokee and other American Indian groups descended from the mound builders of ancient days. Thomas revolutionized archeological thought of his day by asserting that ancient Americans were in fact capable of producing complex social institutions, and that ancient Americans were ancestors of the so-called "Indians". Prior to Thomas, European prejudice deemed that Indians and their ancestors were incapable of complex social organization and thus incapable of creating evidence of such organization to be hidden in the archeological record. The Cherokee, one of the five civilized tribes, was used as an example of social complexity and cultural achievement.

One of the earliest historic habitation references is found in Swanton. Citing Woodward, he relates that the Cherokee were present in the town of Westo on the Savannah River in 1674 (Swanton 1979:111). He mentions De Soto's expedition in the 1540s as probably the first contact that ancestral Cherokees had with Europeans. For their part, the Cherokee people developed varying levels of intercourse with the European colonists, but such interactions inevitably led to tensions with the voracious settlers. Eastern Native Americans were constantly pressured to cede land to colonists and to compress themselves into smaller and smaller areas. The Cherokee were no exception; in fact, Swanton recounts the possibility that the colony of South Carolina made a treaty with a group of Cherokee people as early as 1684.

In addition to their problematic intercourse with settlers, Cherokee bands and villages were involved in their own alliances and conflicts with various other indigenous groups. For example, they sustained an endemic warfare with the Seneca, Mohawk and other Iroquois nations before and after contact. After European contact, the European competition for political and economic hegemony over the New World began to propel colonial policy toward the elimination of indigenous nations and also changed the relationships that Indian groups had developed and maintained among themselves for untold periods of time.

It is not relevant to this report to detail the history of the eastern Cherokee in their homeland, therefore we will concentrate on their emigration history, particularly in reference to the trans-Mississippi area. Mooney states:

> When the first Cherokee crossed the Mississippi it is impossible to say, but there was probably never a time in the history of the tribe when their warriors and hunters were not accustomed to make excursions beyond the great river...
>
> According to an old tradition, earliest migration took place soon after the first treaty with Carolina, when a portion of the tribe, under the leadership of Yunwi-usga'se'ti, "Dangerous Man," foreseeing the inevitable end of yielding to the demands of the colonists, refused to have any relation with the white man, and took up their long march for the unknown West (Mooney 1900:99).

If Swanton's date is correct for the first treaty between the Cherokee and the South Carolina government, then an historic Cherokee migration west of the Mississippi must have happened after 1684. Perhaps this treaty is the one to which Mooney alluded.

A privately published source, Garrett and Hansen, claims that Cherokee chief Dangerous Man and his followers migrated west of the great river in 1721, and also mentions the treaty with South Carolina; however, no date is given for this treaty (Garrett and Hensen 1996:20). These authors also affirm that Dangerous Man and his followers settled in present Cape Girardeau County and remained, as did some of their descendents. Apparently while there, Dangerous Man and his people had continuous clashes with the Osages, initially as a result of Spanish instigation and later on as a consequence of encroachment in Osage hunting grounds (Nasatir 1926).

Just as indigenous groups and polities forged diplomatic relationships with other indigenous polities, they also established diplomatic ties and relationships with the local colonial groups. In the case of conflict, such relationships could be severed and later peace or détente could be sought and found. The history of such relationships is extremely complex. In addition, native towns, villages and groups might fuse or separate due to warfare, alliance, economic advantage/disadvantage, resource use, disease, calamity or natural disaster. Factions could also form over political disagreement. For example the Chickamauga Cherokee wanted nothing to do with Europeans and so split from the nation and settled on land in southern Tennessee. Some of these Chickamauga would also relocate to Arkansas and Missouri. As groups or factions moved into different areas, other alliances and conflicts could arise, resulting in further movement, battle, fission, or fusion with other local groups.

The Cherokee, though caught between the colonial powers of France and England in the east, allied themselves with the English throughout the French and Indian War and the American Revolutionary War. But Cherokee people also had contact with Spanish colonial powers. According to Starr:

> The Cherokees had been settling in the St. Francis country for at least forty years, as Lieutenant Governor Couzat reported to Governor Amazoga on December 10, 1775 that the Cherokees had driven the miners away from Mine La Motte, fifteen leagues from St. Genevieve (Starr 1922:38).

After the United States became established as a republic, some Cherokee and Americans sought peace in order to assure a mutually safe livelihood. Other Cherokee that had been allied with the English sought to immigrate to Spanish lands west of the Mississippi River. In 1782 a delegation of Cherokee, Shawnee and Delaware chiefs met in St. Louis to request lands for settlements in the lands that would become Missouri and Arkansas (Garrett and Hensen 1996:4; Hoig 1998:103; Houck 1908, I:311). These were the Cherokee that most likely settled in southeastern Missouri and northern and northeastern Arkansas. The Treaty of Hopewell (1785) was the first Cherokee treaty with the new United States of America.

Garrett and Hensen mention a migration of Cherokee in 1790 under Chief Rogers who "settled in or near what is now the site of Dardanelle" on the Arkansas River (Garret and Hensen 1996:21). Here Cherokee also clashed with the Arkansas Osages as two splinter bands of Osage claimed this area of the Arkansas River as living and hunting grounds. Cherokee Chief Duwali (a.k.a. Chief Bowl, the Bowl) also led a group of followers to settle on the St. Francis River in northeastern Arkansas. Mooney recounts the Bowl migration, according to "Reverend Cephas Washburn, the pioneer missionary of the western Cherokee, the first permanent Cherokee

settlement beyond the Mississippi was the direct result of the massacre, in 1794, of the Scott party at Muscle shoals, on the Tennessee River, by hostile warriors of the Chickamauga towns" (Mooney 1900:100; Hoig 1998:103).

Swanton also records the departure of Chief Bowl and his followers to land across the Mississippi River in 1794 (Swanton 1979:112). In 1794 Chief Bowl (Duwali) and his followers left the southeast, dissatisfied with the Treaty of Holston, July 2, 1791, which established peace and friendship between the United States and the Cherokee Chiefs who signed the treaty and their followers. Chief Duwali and his followers migrated west in hopes of finding enough land to live in peace, undisturbed by Euro-American encroachment and depredation. Chief Duwali settled in the St. Francis River valley. In 1795 the Spanish territorial government for the Louisiana territory officially encouraged settlement of the St. Francis River valley northwest of New Madrid by Cherokee people and the White River valley by the Lenape (the Delaware).

By 1802 the Cherokee were one of the 24 tribes listed by Laussat as having established relationships with the French in Louisiana (Garrett and Hensen 1996:21), indicating that, in spite of their allegiance to England and Spain, the emigrant Cherokee sought the friendship of yet another colonial faction and probably involved their participation in the fur trade. Indeed, after the Louisiana Purchase the Cherokee in Missouri and Arkansas were already established in Osage hunting grounds, particularly the Ozark highlands, and had fully developed a violent relationship with the Osage. One example is the war that the Cherokee declared on the Osage in January 1805. On occasion of this war more eastern Cherokee went west to fight the Osage along side their emigrant relatives (Hoig 1998:103-104). According to Hoig, at this time Chief Konnetue was the chief of the St. Francis Cherokee. There was another primarily Chickamauga migration 1,130 strong to Cherokee settlements previously established on the Arkansas River at or near Dardanelle in 1808 (Garrett and Hensen 1996:22).

According to Starr, the Cherokee who had been living in the area of New Madrid, Missouri and in the St. Francis River valley vacated the lowlands of New Madrid, which today makes up the several counties of southeastern Missouri, due to cataclysmic earthquakes that changed the course of the Mississippi River itself in December 1811 and March 1812 (Hoig 1998:105). Many Cherokee in this area migrated to settlements between the Arkansas River and the White River where the United States would one day set up a Cherokee reservation (Starr 1922:38-39). Furthermore, Garrett and Hensen point out that there were three major Cherokee groups that moved into three different areas, one group went north of the Missouri River and settled in what are now Boone, Howard, Audrain, Monroe, Randolph, Chariton, Macon and Shelby counties; a second group to Howell, Ozark, Taney, Christian, Stone, Lawrence, Barry, and McDonald counties of Missouri, and the third to Benton, Newton, Searcy, and Stone counties of Arkansas (Garrett and Hensen 1996:23).

In 1817 the U.S. government established a reservation for the emigrant Cherokee in what is now present day western Arkansas along the northern bank of the Arkansas River bounded on the north by the White River (Garrett and Hensen 1996:24; Markman 1972). This reservation attracted even more Cherokees to the west, causing great pressure over the Arkansas Osage who, having signed the 1808 treaty in which they ceded their Missouri lands, thought themselves and their hunting grounds safe in Arkansas. The Cherokee manipulated the U.S. government into giving them Osage land as "spoils of war" and succeeded, also getting a safe passage to the bison country.

Later in 1817 Chief Bowl and Chief Tachi ("Dutch") and their followers would cross the Red River to relocate to Texas. But after the end of the Sam Houston administration of the new Republic of Texas, the Cherokee were evicted and Chief Bowl was killed in 1839 (Garrett and Hensen 1996:34). Thereafter the, Texas national policy on Native Americans was a policy of intolerance and extermination.

One famous individual resettlement occurred in 1822 when Sequoya traveled to the Arkansas territory to teach his syllabary to the emigrant Cherokee. Sequoya settled with the emigrants in 1823 (Swanton 1979:113; Mooney 1900:137-138). After becoming a figure of renown and a leader of these Cherokee, Sequoya set out to find the fabled "Lost Cherokee" in 1843 which he believed to be somewhere in northern Mexico. He died in Mexico in August of 1843 (Mooney 1900:148).

The Cherokee reservation in Arkansas remained until 1828 when a fateful new treaty cemented an agreement that the Arkansas Cherokee would relocate to lands west of the Arkansas state line, into Indian Territory. This treaty was signed by a small delegation of Cherokee leaders that went to Washington to negotiate with the federal government. This delegation had no authority to cede any land belonging to any group or band of Cherokee. The United States Congress quickly ratified the treaty in 22 days and treated it as law. Not all Arkansas Cherokee relocated west but instead tried to remain, and others joined their relatives in Missouri (Garrett and Hensen 1996:27; Markman 1972). This treaty would stand as the American justification and precedent of the 1835 Treaty of New Echota which was used to force the removal known as the Trail of Tears.

According to Garrett and Hensen, in 1831 the Cherokees of the White River and leaders of the Cherokee settlements of the Missouri River met to discuss unification of a Cherokee Nation of Missouri. "Benjamin Green was officially elected Principal Chief of the United Cherokees on June 1, 1831" (Garrett and Hensen 1996:33). It is important to note that the Cherokee political organization persevered among the emigrants, who had their own traditions of governance, diplomacy, and law enforcement. The Cherokee had an active government at local levels, at regional levels and a method of making decisions with a national impact. Knowing this, many Eastern Cherokee forced to remove to Indian Territory had options to seek out help and shelter from fellow Cherokee as they escaped from the Trail of Tears.

During the calamitous forced migration of Cherokee from the southeastern United States to the Indian Territory in 1837-1838 known in English as the Trail of Tears, many Cherokee escaped the soldiers and agents to hide in the hills, caves, towns and villages of settlers and also other Native American communities. The northern route of the Trail of Tears crossed the Mississippi River in what is now Cape Girardeau county and then passed right by the park area and continued down to present day eastern Oklahoma. Cherokee people who fled or escaped in this area hid with other Cherokee who had already established settlements in Missouri and Arkansas.

Cherokee who had relocated to Oklahoma (Indian Territory) also moved back to lands in Missouri and Arkansas. For instance, James Price found one reference in particular to a story recounted in a *Current Wave* issue dating to October 1897. The story was told by a woman of Cherokee descent named Betsy, who recalled that in 1948 when she and her Cherokee husband returned to Missouri and lived along the Jacks Fork, the Cherokees used the river bottoms north of Eminence as a campground (Price 1983:61). A Western Cherokee consultant who recounted

Western Cherokee oral histories also mentioned historic Cherokee campgrounds near present day Eminence, Missouri. This is a memory still shared by contemporary Cherokees who live in the vicinity of the park.

Lenni Lenape (Delaware)

When first European colonial contact occurred, the Lenni Lenape lived on the eastern coast of this continent in areas of present day eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, around Delaware Bay and the through the Delaware River valley, and southeastern New York state, western Long Island and Manhattan Island. The Lenape are known as "Grandfathers" to many of the Algonquian tribes of the northeast. This honor and respect attests to the importance of the Lenape as a people and could also refer to the antiquity of their habitation in North America (Kraft 1986). The Lenape were subjected to several relocations from the east coast to temporary homes in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, and finally Indian Territory which became the state of Oklahoma. Each time the government promised to leave them in peace to live their live it broke its promises and failed to sustain their responsibilities agreed upon in the treaties. According to Ives Goddard (1978:213),

> The Delaware spoke dialects of two closely related Eastern Algonquian languages, Munsee and Unami. ... The groups here treated together never formed a single political unit, and the name Delaware, which was first applied only to the Indians of the middle Delaware Valley, was extended to cover all of these groups only after they had migrated away from their eastern homelands. This piecemeal westward migration in the face of White settlement and its attendant pressures ... left the Delaware in a number of widely scattered places in southern Ontario, western New York, Wisconsin, Kansas, and Oklahoma.

Like other indigenous groups, the Lenni Lenape have oral traditions that describe their origins and migrations. One particular document known as the Wallam Olum (sp. Walam Olum, Wallam Olam) also known and the Red Record or Red Score was a symbolic text with red pigment incised on bark or wooden slats that recorded the migration of the Lenape and the names of prominent leaders of the Lenape over that time. The Wallam Olum begins with creation and ends soon after the first contact with European people. Euro-American scholars and thinkers have speculated over the Wallam Olum for more than a century. Issues discussed include the document's veracity, its antiquity, and the possible geopolitical interpretation of the movements.

David McCutchen (1993) interprets the Red Record as the epic history of the Lenni Lenape from Creation, through years of migrations that led the people from central Asia across the Bering Straight, down through Alaska and through the continent until they came to settle on the east coast of this continent. On the other hand, Newcomb asserts, "that the migration account of the Walam Olum was derived from the traditional legends, but that it was altered to suit the political circumstances of nineteenth-century Delaware life" (Newcomb 1956:4). Newcomb also states that the "diffusion of cultural traits were important, but were not on the scale suggested by the Walam Olum or the oral traditions". Newcomb does not agree that the Red Record reflects such a grand relocation as McCutchen, while agreeing with Brinton, that the Delaware probably migrated southwestward from Labrador.

Newcomb portrays the Lenape not as one large unified political unit, but as "a large number of small dispersed and essentially autonomous groups" (Newcomb 1956:9). This being the case, it is no surprise that historians have had a difficult time trying to discern from the

historical record a discreet political unit. Various groups in different areas were known by various names. Goddard places the Munsee speakers at the northern half of Delaware lands including southeastern New York State, Manhattan and the Hudson River valley, western Long Island, northeastern Pennsylvania and the northern third of New Jersey. The Unami speakers he divides into Northern Unami, mid-eastern Pennsylvania, and middle New Jersey, and Southern Unami, southeastern Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey and surrounding Delaware Bay (Goddard 1978:214). Newcomb adds a discussion of a third possible Lenape group known as Unalachtigo, however, the name is not of Munsee or Unami dialect. For Newcomb it appears to refer to many native groups of southern New Jersey. They clearly spoke Algonquian dialects but may or may not have been of "Delaware" origin. Goddard seems to identify these peoples as Southern Unami.

In describing Delaware subsistence, Goddard mentions the Delaware used fire to clear fields in late autumn, "after the leaves fell" (Goddard 1978:216). Fields were used for corn planting and other crops including beans of several varieties, squash, and native tobacco. Nuts and berries were collected at the appropriate time. The people hunted year round with an intensity in late fall (Goddard 1978:217). Newcomb mentions that the cultivation of tobacco was the exclusive right of post-menopausal women. Moreover tobacco was prepared as two portions to one portion of wild sumac (Newcomb 1956:14). The Lenape housing consisted of multiple family longhouses, built in semipermanent winter settlements, sometimes clustered on hilltops behind stockades of logs and trees. When not stockaded, 'villages' were apt to consist of a scattering of houses spread over a considerable area. The population was especially mobile in the summer, but settlements were established near the cornfields and small houses are mentioned for the temporary hunting and fishing camps. (Goddard 1978:218-219)

Without fully reconstructing the ethnogenesis of the Delaware, Newcomb does attempt to demonstrate the complexity of the issue. The lack of a unified polity, the presence of many autonomous villages spread over a large area of land, the presence of three major colonial powers, each with their own names for so many small groups, and the absorption of other people into the population as the result of colonial pressures (including disease), and the staggered nature of the historic migrations westward, are all circumstances that make it difficult to simplify or generalize about the Delaware ethnogenesis. But it can be argued that the consolidation processes which began in the early eighteenth century, according to Newcomb, was the result of pressure not only from the European colonists but also from the rising power of the Iroquois confederacy. Further complexity would be added as relocations westward would lead to other fissions and fusions with migrating Shawnee and Cherokee peoples.

Goddard cites Wroth who claims that the earliest European contact occurred in 1524 when Giovanni da Verrazano came to New York harbor. The Delaware recall first contact to have been with Spanish or Portuguese people (Goddard 1978:220). Later, more intense contact occurred with the Dutch as these began to trade and colonize the Hudson River Valley, the main impetus being the hunger for furs, established a trading fort in what became Albany, and "purchased" Manhattan Island. Conflicts with the Dutch began at least as early as the 1643 (Goddard 1978:221). Migrations in the early colonial period resulted from colonial pressure to vacate land, armed conflict, and eventually, by treaty negotiation. Several large Delaware groups moved out of the Delaware and Schuylkill River Valleys and relocated to the area of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River between 1709 and 1742. During the French and Indian War, some Delaware crossed the Allegheny Mountains to settle in western Pennsylvania. In 1768 the

Delaware east of the Allegheny Mountains joined those that had crossed west of the mountains (Weslager 1978:13).

The French and Indian War began in 1754. The Iroquois confederacy sided with the English. Many Delaware were living in the Susquehanna River Valley which was Iroquois-controlled land. The Delaware did not, however, side with the English just because the Iroquois, who perceived themselves to be the lords of the Delaware, chose to do so. Weslager reports that in 1752 a group of 250 Delaware families under Shingas settled in the Ohio River Valley in western Pennsylvania (Weslager 1978:17). This group allied themselves with Shawnee warriors, and being supplied by the French, warred upon the English and their colonists (Weslager 1978:18). In 1758 the English took Fort Duquesne, bringing the French and Indian War to a close. The Delaware that opposed the English made peace with them, thus jeopardizing their land holdings on the Susquehanna River. Anglo encroachment sent these Delaware westward at the invitation of the Wyandot to lands in Ohio along the Tuscarawas and Muskingum Rivers, which feed into the Ohio River (Weslager 1978:24).

Delaware warriors participated in Pontiac's War which was meant to curb the relentless onslaught of colonial settlers and to unify native nations starting in 1763. The war was not successful for indigenous peoples. In 1765, as part of the peace settlement the Delaware were forced to give up their rights and claims to the east of the Allegheny Mountains and to not resist White settlement. Needless to say, the Delaware were not happy with the terms (Weslager 1978:36-37). Soon the American Revolution would lead to more conflict and result in further relocations from Ohio to Indiana.

In 1778 a treaty of alliance was made between the Delaware of eastern Ohio and the United States of America. At the time the Delaware were surrounded by other native nations that supported the British (Weslager 1978:40). This led to the making of factions that supported the rebelling colonists and factions that supported the British. After the Revolutionary War, the new American government had to smooth over relationships with the Delaware that had been split into factions. In 1785, another treaty was drawn acknowledging the United States signed by Delawares, Wyandots, some Ottowa and Chippewa (Weslager 1978:48).

When conflict inevitably arose over the relentless push of American settlement onto Indian land, the Delaware and other tribes battled with the United States army. The Indian defeat at the Battle of Fallen Timbers led to the signing of the 1795 Treaty of Greenville. Signatories included representatives of the Delaware and the Shawnee and many other nations. The Treaty of Greenville dispossessed the Ohio Delaware. The, Miami of Indiana invited the Ohio Delaware to settle in their lands. Thereafter, the Delaware moved to the West Fork of the White River in Indiana Territory (Weslager 1978:53). This would not be the last removal of the Delaware.

The strongest historic evidence that the Lenape were living in Missouri and within the present boundaries of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways dates to 1820-1822. But this was not the first time the Lenape were west of the Mississippi River and within the present boundaries of Missouri. According to nineteenth century Missouri historian Louis Houck,

> The Shawnee and Delaware Indians first settled in southeastern Missouri in about 1784. When Colonel George Morgan came down the Ohio in the fall of 1788 to take possession of the extensive grant which he thought he had secured from the Spanish government, he found a small band of about twenty Delaware Indians

> camped in the bottoms, in what is now Mississippi county, on the west bank of the Mississippi (Houck 1908, I:208).

Houck notes that it was Don Louis Lorimier under direction of Baron de Carondelet who,

> established the [Delaware] in the province of Louisiana, on the Mississippi between the Missouri and Arkansas, although it appears that the Shawnees and Delawares resided on the west bank of the Mississippi prior to this period, perhaps on merely the implied permission of the Spanish authorities. (Houck 1908, I:208).

Moreover, "the settlements of the Shawnee and Delaware were made principally between the mouth of Cinque Hommes creek and Flora creek, above Cape Girardeau" with an eastern boundary of the Mississippi River and a western boundary of the White Water (Houck 1908, I:209; Weslager 1972:362).

Lynn Morrow found a reference that notes Kaskaskia merchants "had a well-established winter trade with Delawares near the mouth of the Ohio River during the 1770's (Morrow 1981:150). Morrow also notes that the Delaware along with Shawnee and Creek settled near New Madrid. Interestingly, Morrow reminds us that along with Algonquian migration into the region of southeastern Missouri, there was also immigration of Scots, Irish, English, and German settlers (Morrow 1981:150-151).

Morrow points out that Delaware that had settlements in eastern Missouri before the War of 1812 began to move further west after the war, settling on Jack's Fork of the Current River and also the James River (Morrow 1981:151-152). Houck lists other sites of Lenape and Shawnee villages including a Lenape village in 1806 on the White River, near Forsythe, in what is now Taney County; a village on the James' Fork, in what is now Christian county; and a village on Wilson's Creek, in what is now Greene county; in addition, Shawnee and Delaware villages were located on the Maramec and Current rivers, and on the headwaters of the Gasconade, and other points in the interior (Houck 1908, I:218). Houck also lists joint Shawnee and Lenape villages on the Castor River, near present day Bloomfield, Stoddard County around 1816, and near present Kennett (Houck 1908, I:217, 231).

Alliances between the Cherokee and the Lenape had already been previously forged. As both Cherokee and Lenape had been relocated to territories far west of their homelands and west of the Great River, they both clashed with resident native nations west of the Mississippi River, most notably the Osage. Cherokee warred with Osage in Missouri and Arkansas at times allied with emigrant Shawnee and Lenape (Lankford 1999:404). Though the government claimed title to much of Osage land in Missouri and Arkansas, and though the government had a treaty with the Osage to extinguish their title in the territories of Missouri and Arkansas, the Osage felt that they retained the right to use their hunting grounds in these territories despite occupancy privilege.

In the war of 1812 many of the native nations that signed the Treaty of Greenville allied themselves with the English. At First the Wyandots, Delaware, Shawnee and Seneca attempted to remain neutral (Weslager 1978:67). At the behest of William Henry Harrison, the Delaware were moved from their residence on the White River to the Upper Piqua, but most returned to the White River in 1814 after signing another treaty with the U.S. at Greenville on July 22, 1814 (Weslager 1978:69-70). The United States victory over England meant further cessions would be sought from native peoples, especially those who had aided England.

Indiana gained statehood in 1816. Political pressure to remove all Indians from Indiana, and pressure from settlers jeopardized Indian livelihood in the state, according to Weslager (Weslager 1978:71). President Jefferson had proposed the removal of all Native Americans to west of the Mississippi River into the Louisiana Territory. The Treaty of St. Mary in1818 provided for the Delaware to relinquish their rights of occupancy in Indiana. Simultaneously the Miami, whose land the Delaware were invited to reside, ceded their lands in Indiana and Ohio to the United States. The Delaware were required to vacate Indiana by 1821 (Weslager 1978:77). The migration was staggered, not all Delaware groups traveled to Missouri Territory at the same time. Some Delaware groups were already living in Missouri. According to Morrow "Governors William Clark of Missouri, and James Miller of Arkansas ... agreed the James River valley would be a good interim reserve" (Morrow 1981:152). When Schoolcraft toured the Ozarks in 1819 he found Delaware villages and camps on the north fork of the White River and was impressed by their cleanliness and organization (Rafferty 1996).

From correspondence among Indian Agent Richard Graham, Governor Clark, and trader and Indian agent Pierre Choteau, it is clear that they wanted to relocate the eastern Indians in areas where they could practice agriculture so that they would not be so dependent on government supplies (Richard Graham Papers, 1820-1822). As the Lenape were being relocated to Missouri, they camped for two years along the Current River in Shannon and Carter counties from 1820 to about September 1822 (Weslager 1972:361; Newcomb 1956:98). Newcomb points out that while on the Current River from 1820-1822 planted crops failed due to flood and caused great hardship for the Delaware and Shawnee who had to rely heavily upon annuities to survive. James Price also cites the papers of Indian Agent Richard Graham of St. Louis speaking about the "Delaware from 1821 to 1822 on the 'Currents'" (Price 1992:1). According to Price,

> Since 1981 it has been known, based on interviews with an amateur archaeologist, there was the likelihood of an historic Indian village located near Alley Spring in Shannon County, Missouri. The general location of the village was also noted on early maps of Missouri. Subsequent archival research discovered a General Land Office Survey map of 1821 which had a more precise location indicated for the site.

This historic Indian village is quite possibly a Delaware and/or Shawnee site. Price also reviewed literature on both Delaware and Shawnee occupancy of the Current River and the Jacks Fork and findings that Lewis (1980:62) reported and concurs that a Delaware village was near Alley Spring before 1812. Thereafter these Delawares moved to McBride Spring in Pine Hollow. Price says that Lewis also reported that Delaware burials in cemeteries near Rocky Ford and Rich House Spring and he postulated that the Shawnee and Delaware were in the Bottoms opposite Chimney Rock, all on the Jacks Fork (Price 1992:5). It is Price's opinion that the artifacts found at a site on the Jacks Fork at the mouth of McCormack Hollow date before European settlement of Missouri and this area, and with a high level of confidence he feels that this site is not European but Delaware and/or Shawnee (Price 1992:12).

From here the Lenape made residence in southwestern Missouri at James Fork, which feeds into the White River. There they established Anderson Village, which was also known as Delaware Village in present day Christian County (Weslager 1972:362; 1978:213). The main body of the Lenape remained here until they were relocated to eastern Kansas. Even though the Delaware and other tribes had settled in Missouri, even though they had spent the past fifty years relocating again and again, American settlers were not yet satisfied. Soon the state of Missouri

would seek to remove the Delaware and eventually all Indian people from the state. "The Council Camp treaty on James Fork in September 1829, and the Castor Hill treaty [in St. Louis, 1832] completed the Delaware and Shawnee abrogation of all rights to improvements and land in Missouri" (Morrow 1981:165-166). After this, the Delaware were removed to the junction of the Kansas and Missouri Rivers, though some Delaware attempted to relocate to Texas with Chief Bowles of the Cherokee. This was not to be the final relocation which took the Lenape to Indian Territory, where they later applied to be citizens of the Cherokee Nation.

The Shawnee

The Shawnee are Central Algonquian speakers with closest linguistic ties to Sauk, Fox and Kickapoo peoples, according to Voegelin (1936:7-8). Callender characterizes the Shawnee at time of European contact as "an exceptionally fragmented people, ... never united into a single society" (Callender 1978a:622). Callender notes that many Shawnee lived in the region of southern Ohio in the second half of the eighteenth century. But he also says "at the time of contact various groups were reported in Illinois, on the Ohio, in Maryland and along the Savannah River" (*ibid*).

Scholars do not agree on the topic of Shawnee occupation at the time of contact. Callender summarizes the two major scholarly debates. One theory places the Shawnee as aboriginal inhabitants of the Ohio River valley, from the Fort Ancient aspect, or on one of the tributaries of the Ohio River. Another main theory is that their origins are located in the Cumberland River Valley (Callender 1978a:630). Callender prefers the Ohio origins of the Shawnee while Howard (1981:4) prefers to place the ancestral Shawnee in both the Ohio and the Cumberland. Another opinion recently expressed by Penelope B. Drooker asserts that the Shawnee indeed occupied the Ohio River Valley, but that there is the possibility that the Shawnee were not affiliated with the Fort Ancient aspect (Drooker 2002).

There appear to have been several groups that fall under the appellation of Shawnee. But the reconstruction of ethnic groups in the early historic period is quite difficult and complex and always open to great ambiguity due to the diverse recorders of various historical documents, the language barrier between indigenous nations and the agents of the colonizing forces, the mobility of segments of the indigenous population, and the constant fssion and fusion of indigenous groups and villages due to disease, political alliances, surplus or lack of resources, warfare (both indigenous and colonial), and conflict with invading colonists. This situation is not limited to the Shawnee but also applies to the Lenape and the Cherokee and virtually every indigenous group in the Western Hemisphere.

With this in mind, Callender asserts that there were two different kinds of subgroups of Shawnee. First, there are five divisions, which appear to be patrilineal and ethnic. These are Chalaka, Kishpoko, Mekoche, Pekowi, and Thawikila or sometimes written Chawikila. A division was conceived as a distinct territorial unit centering on a town that bore its name. It also constituted a political and ritual unit in a pattern that resembled a Creek or Cherokee town (Callender 1978a:623). The second kind of subgroups seem to have arisen over the historic period due to the ongoing history of conflict, war, dispossession and relocation. Three subgroups would emerge through a long and complex process. These groups are the Eastern Shawnee, the Cherokee Shawnee and the Absentee Shawnee. To reduce and generalize, Callender states that "the Absentee Shawnee are apparently Kishpoko, Pekowi, and Thawikila; the Eastern Shawnee, Mekoche; and the Cherokee Shawnee, Mekoche and Chalaka" (Callender 1978a:624).

When discussing the possible aboriginal Shawnee groups, Drooker repeats the list of Kishpoko, Pekowi, Thawikila, Mekoche, and Chalaka, but she adds "and perhaps in earlier times, a sixth [group], named Shawnee" (Drooker 2002:126). The Shawnee situation may have resembled the situation of the Delaware (see above). As the so-called Delaware were many autonomous villages with similar languages and similar customs but without a strong central government, so too the Shawnee may have been occupying areas ranging from the Ohio Valley, the Cumberland Valley, areas of Pennsylvania, and a village as far south as Alabama, associated with the Creeks. So, the Shawnee occupied lands further west and south of the Lenape. The "Delaware" as a political unit arose from contact and conflict with other peoples, and so may have the Shawnee. In both cases contact and conflict included the Iroquois confederacy and the various European colonial powers.

The Shawnee were organized in autonomous villages. Shawnee provided food for themselves from a variety of sources including agriculture, fishing, hunting, and plant collecting. According to Callender, the many Shawnee also participated in the fur trade economy of the eighteenth century (Callender 1978a:623). Like all other Native American groups, the Shawnee had their own ritual and ceremonial practices, medicinal practices. They carried out their relationships with other Shawnee villages, other peoples, and with their environments. Callender mentions that the Shawnee ranged over land areas that were quite diverse, therefore, the Shawnee cannot be associated with any particular environment (Callender 1978a:622).

The Shawnee had their own conflicts with other indigenous people. They were for a time enemies of the Iroquois and later after defeat were considered to be vassals of the Iroquois Confederacy. The Iroquois pushed the Shawnee out of the Ohio River Valley (Callender 1978a:622). The Shawnee also seem to have warred with the Catawba and the Chickasaw. It appears that the Shawnee were at times allied with the Cherokee, the Creek and the Delaware.

The Shawnee people also had historic ties to southeastern Missouri. Both the Shawnee and the Delaware acknowledge the social, historic, linguistic, and cultural ties between them. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century the Shawnee and Lenape shared similar conflicts not only with European and American expansion, but also tensions with the Iroquois confederacy, which claimed to hold both the Shawnee and Lenape as vassals at the time of the American Revolution and some time prior. Moreover, as the Shawnee and Lenape migrated westward, many times a migrating group would contain a contingent of the other people.

According to Lankford, in 1779, Shawnee of various bands "accept[ed] the invitations of the Spanish to move west of the Mississippi. In that year, 4,000 Kishpoko and Pickaway went to Missouri, while most of the Mekoche and Chalakatha stayed in Ohio to fight the whites" (Lankford 1999:395). Lankford also notes that there were Delaware with these Shawnee who emigrated west. They settled south of the French town of Ste. Genevieve near the great river. Lankford quotes a nineteenth century historian by the name of Firmin Rozier who places this village called Le Grand Village Sauvage on La Petit Riviere a la Pomme or Apple Creek (*ibid*). According to Sugden's biography of the Shawnee Prophet Tecumseh, his sister lived here and "Tecumseh visited her at least once" (Lankford 1999:397; Sugden 1997:208-211).

In 1793 the Spanish regime made a land grant to the Indians near Cape Girardeau. This place became the home of Shawnee, Lenape, and a few Cherokee, Creek and other peoples. Recall that Cherokee were already in the area, from previous migrations west (see above discussion of Cherokee). Houck also records Native American residence in what is now the state

of Missouri. As for the Shawnee, Houck records several residences. Houck places the first Shawnee and Delaware settlement in southeastern Missouri in 1784. By this time, Shawnee migrating westward were accompanied by migrating Lenape (Delaware) (Houck 1908, I:208). One of the most significant Shawnee villages was located on Apple Creek above Cape Girardeau (Houck 1908, I:212). He also mentions Shawnee and Delaware villages between the mouth of Cinque Homes creek and Flora creek above Cape Girardeau (Houck 1908, I:209).

Houck lists other sites of Lenape and Shawnee villages including a Lenape village in 1806 on the White river, near Forsythe, in what is now Taney county; a village on the James' Fork, in what is now Christian county; and a village on Wilson's creek, in what is now Greene county; in addition, Shawnee and Delaware villages were located on the Maramec and Current rivers, and on the headwaters of the Gasconade, and other points in the interior" (Houck 1908, I:218). Halso mentions joint Shawnee and Lenape villages on the Castor River, near present day Bloomfield, Stoddard county around 1816, and near present Kennett (Houck 1908, I:217, 231). Houck records that there were Indians living in southeastern Missouri,

> It is probable that these Indians were finally absorbed or joined the Cherokee or the Shawnee and Delaware villages, ... from time to time located in various portions of the districts now embraced in the counties of Stoddard, New Madrid, Pemiscot, and Dunklin, and farther southwest (Houck 1908, I:223).

And,

> Some of these Indians removed to the borders of Castor and St. Francois rivers, west of White Water, and established villages in that territory. ... The Shawnees claimed the land east of the territory occupied by the Delawares [villages on the James Fork]. The Shawnee claim in that territory embraced most of the counties of Taney, Ozark, Douglas, Webster, and Wright (Houck 1908, I:236).

James Howard increases the specificity of the Shawnee settlement in Missouri by attempting to trace major bands of the Shawnee. For example he places the Thawikila, Pekowi, and Kishpoko divisions of the Shawnee as comprising the earliest migrations west of the Mississippi River to the Cape Girardeau area after 1790 (Howard 1981:15). After Americans captured the land of the Ohio valley, hostile Shawnee migrated to the new settlements in Cape Girardeau (Howard 1981:17).

Henry Harvey, a nineteenth century Quaker missionary and historian among the Shawnee in Missouri, mentions the settlement of Shawnee people in the Cape Girardeau area as the consequence of a Spanish land grant made formal in 1793 (Harvey 1855:117). Harvey also records the treaties by which the Shawnee successively ceded lands to the United States and thereby migrated from their homelands in the Cumberland River valley to the Ohio, to lands in Indian, Illinois, Missouri/Arkansas (the Ozarks), Kansas, and finally Oklahoma.

Lankford points out that Shawnee and Delaware expanded westward from their Cape Girardeau settlements to eventually partially relocating in and near the James Fork of the White River in southwestern Missouri (not to be confused with the White River in Indiana where the Shawnee sojourned). Between these points lays the Current River and the present day Ozark National Scenic Riverways (Lankford 1999:398). From 1820-1822 migrating Shawnee and Delaware camped along the Current River in Shannon and Carter counties (see above). Upon examining a number of local sources, Price (1983:60) comments that "The Shawnee were also reported along the Jacks Fork. They were almost certainly around Big and Little Shawnee

creeks." Moreover, Lewis reports a camp "around a spring ½ mile up Coon Hollow." Another Shawnee group settled around Van Buren, and yet another at White Springs in Henpeck Valley. Price cautions, though, that some of these sources are less reliable than others and that without archaeological evidence it is difficult to confirm them. There was another Shawnee village on Crooked Creek of the Current River (Lankford 1999:400). Shawnee and Delaware also settled on the Cherokee reservation, which was established in 1817 in present day Arkansas between the Arkansas and White Rivers.

Richard Graham, who was Indian Agent for the Department of War in St. Louis in the early 1800s, was very much concerned about two major issues in the years of 1820-1822. First, that the Shawnee and Delaware were being relocated from Cape Girardeau and New Madrid to the James Fork. Moreover, other Indian groups were being relocated as well such as the Kickapoo, Piankashaw, Wea, Miami, Sac and the Fox. And second, that there were numerous conflicts between the Osage and the Cherokee and between the Osage and the Delaware. Just prior to this time, the Cherokee has been given a reservation in land that had been Osage's for at least 100 years. Warfare between the Osage and the Cherokee became constant with occasional events of heightened intensity. Cherokee allegiances with Shawnee and Delaware increased the possibility of escalation in the eyes of Agent Graham, who sought ways to preserve the peace in the Missouri Territory and later State of Missouri. For example, Delaware Chief Anderson, wishing to avenge the murder of his son at the hand of Osage warriors, so he thought, gathered Delaware warriors, and invited Kickapoo and Cherokee warriors to join in the expedition against the Osage in March 1826 (Richard Graham Papers). Graham tried to encourage peace in the matter. As with the Lenape, the Shawnee were relocated to Kansas and later on to Indian Territory.

Other Immigrant Tribes

Creek, Peoria, Piankashaw, Miami, Wea, Kickapoo

In the history of Missouri and Arkansas many groups of indigenous peoples passed through the regions or lived for a time in temporary encampments or in permanent settlements. Above we discussed three major groups, Cherokee, Lenape (Delaware) and Shawnee, but there were also other allied and independent groups.

Houck says, "A village of allied Piankishaws was situated on the St. Francois, and one of the Peorias at Ste. Genevieve in 1794 ... and another on the Current river" (Houck 1908, I:219). "A band of Indians also had a village near Pilot Knob in 1818, presumably Shawnees and Delawares." (Houck *ibid*; Harvey 1855:184). Piankashaw and Peoria were also present at the Delaware village on the James Fork of the White River in June and July of 1826 to receive their annuities from Richard Graham (Richard Graham Papers). Also present were Kickapoo, Wea, and Kaskaskia Indians to receive their annuities.

Peoria, Piankashaw, Kickapoo and Wea people were living with and near the Delaware and Shawnee in southwestern Missouri around the lands of the James Fork. These groups also hunted in and around this area ranging as far away as the Current River and the St. Francois River. They were probably more accustomed to this region after the 1820-1822 migration of Delaware and Shawnee to the James Fork. Houck also tells us that Piankashaws and Peorias were living and hunting on Delaware and Shawnee land on the James Fork area in southwestern Missouri (Houck 1908, I:236). The Kickapoo and Wea appear in the vicinity in letters and papers of Richard Graham and his staff.

The Kickapoo are also a Central Algonquin speaking group. According to Callender, R. Pope, and S. Pope, the Kickapoo's nearest relatives in language and culture are the Sauk, Fox, and Mascouten. Callender et.al., also note that political relationships between the Sauk, Fox and Kickapoo may not have been close after European contact. Moreover, they say that the Mascouten were absorbed by the Kickapoo. The Kickapoo are also linguistically and culturally tied to the Shawnee (Callender *et al.* 1978:656). These authors also report that scholars are not sure as to the original homelands of the Kickapoo. At the time of European contact the Kickapoo were "west of Lake Erie" where they had been pushed by the Iroquois. The Kickapoo were further pushed into southern Wisconsin. "Soon after contact they moved to central Illinois and the western part of the Wabash drainage, remaining there until United States expansion forced them across the Mississippi in the early nineteenth century"

Kickapoo post-contact migration and relocation is extraordinarily complex, convoluted and difficult to track. Many bands of Kickapoo split, fused, re-fused, and split again multiple times. Some groups migrated to the same place at different times. Suffice it to say that the Kickapoo traveled through Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, and Mexico, not necessarily in that particular order. Various groups of Kickapoo would relocate eventually to Indian Territory along with most other Missouri Indians. Other groups continued south to Texas the earliest apparently as early as 1800. Other groups went to Texas and some moved on to Oklahoma. Some Kickapoo migrated south beyond the Rio Grande into the Mexican state of Coahuila where they live to this day. Presently the Kickapoo are concentrated in two place, Central Oklahoma and in Nacimiento, Coahuila. A few Kickapoo even moved from Coahuila to Sonora.

The Kickapoo had received a land grant in western Missouri in 1819 between the Osage River and the Pomme de Terre River, and between the ridge that separates the Osage River and the White River. This land was ceded in 1832 and the Kickapoo settled west of the Missouri state line in what would become the state of Kansas (Houck 1908, I:234-235). Like the Shawnee, the Kickapoo would not remain in Kansas for long as they were again relocated to what is now Oklahoma and to Coahuila.

Other Indian peoples spent time in Missouri and Arkansas. Mentioned as receiving annuities from Richard Graham, Indian Agent for Missouri are also Piankashaw and Wea who, according to Callender, are Miami people. The Miami, also Algonquian speakers, were described by Bacqueville de la Potherie in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as comprised of "six groups or tribes – Atchatchakangouen, Kilatika, Mengakonkia, Pepikokia, Piankashaw, and Wea" (Callender 1978b:681). Callender adds,

> in the eighteenth century, the outlines of the group became much clearer. The Piankashaw and Wea retained their distinct status and were recognized as fully independent tribes. The term Miami was restricted to a tribe living along the upper courses of the Wabash and Maumee rivers.

Callender goes on to state that the Miami were most likely a core of Atchatchakangouen and may have included the Kilatika and Mengakonkia. The Pepikokia were associated with the Wea and were most likely absorbed.

It appears from the maps provided in the *Handbook of North American Indians*, that the Miami peoples were residing in what is today most of the state of Indiana, from the Ohio River to the Eel River and southeastern Illinois between the Wabash River and the Kaskaskia. They

may have moved from southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois to northern Illinois and northern Indiana circa 1680. Like other tribes and peoples, European contact provided opportunities for trade and for new alliances, but contact also provided opportunities for disease and intense conflict. Later, American expansionism and pressures from white settlement would push the Miami, Piankashaw and the Wea westward. Like many other people, these people did not go quietly but also fought European and American forces at times.

The many Central Algonquian-speaking autonomous groups of this area are collectively known as the Illinois. Similar to the Miami in culture and language, these groups merged and regrouped on several occasions. Callender says,

> The five tribes whose identities are clearest and who persisted longest were the Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Michigamea, Peoria, and Tamaroa. However, as their populations dwindled, they were ultimately affected by the same processes of absorption and merging responsible for the earlier disappearance of the lesser-known Illinois tribes. The Kaskaskia absorbed the Tamaroa, and Michigamea, while the Cahokia merged into the Peoria, whose name was eventually extended to all the surviving Illinois (Callender 1978c:673).

At first European contact, Illinois tribes were found on both sides of the Mississippi River, from Iowa to Arkansas, along the Illinois River, and the Kaskaskia River. The Michigamea were recorded to be between the St. Francis River and the Mississippi River in what is now northeastern Arkansas (Dickinson 1984). According to Bauxar's summary of history in the Illinois area, Illinois peoples between 1650-1705 inhabited central and southeastern Iowa, throughout the Des Moines watershed, most all of the state of Illinois, and along eastern Missouri and northeastern Arkansas, between White River and the Mississippi River. They seem to have the Mississippi as an eastern boundary below the Big Muddy River (Bauxar 1978:595-596, Fig. 1). Bauxar's Figure 1, in fact, indicates that their historic expanse was within the vicinity of the Current River.

As the French tried to establish themselves along the Mississippi River inland, trading forts were built near Indian villages and residences. After native people became acquainted with trade items, they would frequent the forts and some would set up residences closer to the forts making new or larger villages. Fort de Chartres, was set up at the mouth of the Kaskaskia River. As early as 1675 Father Jacques Marquette began the Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary among the Kaskaskia people. The French would also establish other forts and missions at Fort St. Louis, Ste Genevieve. The French would exert influence in the area until the United States claimed the area as the "Louisiana Purchase". Recall that during the Spanish administration, the Shawnee and the Delaware were invited and encouraged to settle in Missouri. Some Cherokee that had already relocated to Missouri were officially established during the Spanish period.

The Miami sold their land in Indiana to the United States in 1805 and thereafter relocated to Missouri in 1814. During this time the Delaware had made separate agreements with the government as they too were living in Indiana at the time. The Delaware also relocated to Missouri as above mentioned. Callender mentions that in 1846 the American army "forcibly removed the Miami from Indiana, although half the tribe evaded the troops" (Callender 1978b:687). Some of these Miami relocated to Kansas where a reservation for the Miami had been established in1840, after Missouri became a state and forces all Indians into hiding or to

Indian Territory further west (Indian Territory became the states of Kansas and Oklahoma). Some Wea and Piankashaw had been established upon a reservation on the Osage River in 1832 in what would become the state of Kansas. This would not be the last removal with which these people would be afflicted.

In 1867 the Wea and Piankashaw of Kansas then moved from Kansas, which would also be emptied of its Indian population due to white encroachment and the making of Kansas State. They moved to a small corner of northeastern Oklahoma. Moreover, "in 1854 the Wea and Piankashaw formally merged with the remnants of the Illinois tribes under the name Confederated Peoria. The Miami joined this group in 1873, when it became the United Peoria and Miamis" (Callender 1978b:681).

There are also other Algonquian speaking peoples that spent time in Missouri, namely the Sauk and the Fox. These groups have been closely related to each other culturally and linguistically. However, in a conflict with the French, as the French were bent on Fox genocide, the Fox took refuge with the Sauk, to their own peril. Since that time, the Sauk and the Fox have been closely tied politically. The Sauk and the Fox had settled in northeastern Missouri above the Missouri River. It is possible that they traveled to the area of the Park (Houck, 1908, I:201). A band of Sauk traveled through northern Missouri in 1813-1836 and relocated to Kansas (Callender 1978d:649).

Lankford mentions a Creek village on the St. Francis founded during the Spanish period (Lankford 1999:395). The Creek do not belong to an Algonquian language family. Creek who call themselves Muskogee speak Muskogean language. Like the Cherokee, the Creek were forcibly relocated to the Indian Territory, loosing their land in the American southeast, lands in Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi. Creek villages were ceremonial and political centers usually surrounded by family managed fields of corn, beans, squash and melons. The rich black earth of the southeast was ideal for producing these crops. Moreover, Creeks would also hunt and collect other plant resources for food, medicine and ceremony. A small number of Creeks must have relocated west of the Mississippi.

Contemporary Claims

Despite the enforcement of removal and relocation, and later on the assimilation policies, not all individuals, families, or even sub-groups of these tribes complied with the government's orders or plans. Within the states of Missouri and Arkansas and in the vicinity of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways live people who claim to be Native American and/ or of Native American decent. Some claim to have been in the region of the park for many centuries. In this section we will explore the claims of two of these groups represented by one privately published book and one consultant who requested to be formally interviewed for this project.

One Cherokee group in particular, called Amonsoquath, believes the area of southeastern Missouri which includes the Ozark National Scenic Riverways to be the most sacred and spiritual homeland of their people. Their religious leaders are knowledgeable of sacred sites throughout the area. These sites require vigilant attention by the caretakers who have the religious and ceremonial knowledge to manage the sites. Their origin mountain is just south of the park in National Forest land.

In contemporary times, a former chief of the present Northern Cherokee of the Old Louisiana Territory by the name of Beverly Baker Northup privately published a book in which

she recounts her autobiography in the context of the history of Cherokee people in what is now Arkansas and Missouri. She represents only one of the many small Cherokee groups of Missouri and Arkansas. Other groups of people also claim to be Cherokee. The presence of so many small groups of Cherokee is not surprising, considering the history of fission and faction of various Cherokee bands and groups. What makes studying this area difficult is the fact that there are so many small groups who are disinclined to talk about their heritage and ancestry to outsiders. Years of discrimination and fear of violence or loss of health, life or property has conditioned many of these people to blend into the mainstream of America.

According to Baker Northup, her particular group traces its heritage to the major Cherokee migrations to the lands west of the Mississippi River, the Trail of Tears, various Chickamauga bands that wished to escape Euro-American influence and presence, and the "Old Settlers" and "Lost Cherokees" that settled in areas in Missouri and Arkansas prior to the Trail of Tears. These "Old Settlers" also were related to the prehistoric inhabitants of the Ozarks. She points out that while growing up, she and her relatives and neighbors knew that they were Cherokee, but that no one spoke much about it (Baker Northup 2001:6).

Baker Northup cites the Louisiana Territorial Papers recounting that there was a grand council of leaders from the Cherokee, Lenape, Choctaw, and Chickasaw which was held in New Madrid in 1806 (Baker Northup 2001:67). She also recounts the New Madrid earthquakes of 1811 as a reason that many Cherokee homesteads and settlements were abandoned in New Madrid and the Missouri bootheel. Thereafter, land speculators and American squatters infiltrated the area and claimed the land. Baker Northup draws upon not only published sources but also her own memory and oral tradition to weave her story. She claims to be one of her people's leaders who are trying to unify her people, to encourage them to live openly as Cherokee, and to collect their individual histories.

Baker Northup also recounts and defines Cherokee districts, which historically had leaders in charge of them. Her map shows that the area of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways is in Northern Cherokee District 12, the Big Spring District "along the spring fed Current River and into the Eleven Points River, and Western Watershed of the Black River" (Baker Northup 2001:26). If Baker Northup is correct, then there are many more people of Cherokee decent in Missouri and in Arkansas than is acknowledged by state, local and federal American governments.

Yet another group of Missouri Cherokees claim a connection with the park. According to a self-identifying Western Cherokee consultant, the area of southeastern Missouri that includes the Ozark National Scenic Riverways is the ancient sacred homeland of all Cherokee before the Cherokee migrated to the southeastern United States and to areas of Appalachia. About AD 800, the Cherokee people became the Cherokee in the sacred homelands that are now in southeastern Missouri. This land is sacred because it is the birthplace of the Cherokee as a people. The origin of human beings is much more ancient. But according to this consultant, the Cherokee as we know them from prehistory, history, and today became a unified people here in these homelands. The Park is situated in the middle of these sacred homelands.

According to this consultant, who is recounting oral history that has not been recorded to this date, there was a great drought and famine throughout this region. The area of the Ozarks and southeastern Missouri still had water. Displaced people from all over the region wandered looking for food and water for survival congregating in southeastern Missouri. Then the water

here dried up. The people prayed to Creator on a high mountain that still stands today (but could not be revealed in the interview). Here Creator took the top out of the mountain and water flowed from the top of the mountain, and water filled the springs, and the springs flowed again. Alley Spring, Blue Spring, and Big Springs are thus all sacred and holy springs for the people. It was at this time that the Cherokee became a people distinct from the many that had fled to this place for survival.

The consultant tells of oral traditions that talk about conflict between the ancient Cherokee and two groups--the "people eaters" and the "great warriors" who surrounded their Ozark land along the west and south. Contemporary elders are unsure who these people were but speculate that could have been the Caddo and the Tunica, respectively. They also claim that the Quapaw were not in the area but were late comers. They warred with these groups and eventually lost hold of most or their upland, being squeezed out of the area. About four centuries after their emergence as Cherokee, many of them relocated to the southeastern United States. It was there that Europeans first contacted the Cherokee and thus the Europeans considered that area as their aboriginal homelands. Though most Cherokee migrated to the southeast, there remained a group of the priestly class of Cherokee to protect the sacred homelands in the eastern Ozarks. These people call themselves the Amonsoquath, and their descendants are purportedly living in southeastern Missouri to this day. Spiritual leaders of the Amonsoquath still guard and maintain the sacred sites throughout southeastern Missouri, including sites within the Ozark National Scenic Riverways and the Mark Twain National Forest. No specific location for any of their sites has been recorded or revealed outside their community.

The consultant noted that some of the sacred sites in the area do not date all the way back to the days of the origin of Cherokee people, but instead, they date back to the days when Cherokee people participated in the feasts at the spiritual center of Cahokia, as did many peoples of different ethnic backgrounds. To this day there are remnants of the ancient Cherokee who had participated in the political and cultural activities at Cahokia. Most important among these traditions is that these Cherokee also kept sacred fire from the religious fire that burned at Cahokia. After Cahokia ceased to be the central focus of the region, the ancient Cherokee kept their sacred fire from the Cahokian source in southeastern Missouri. According to our consultant, at least one of these fires has been kept since that time. Other fires that were remains of Cahokia have been ceremonially put to rest.

Moreover, there are many places where ancestors were buried in the vicinity of the park and the forest that are considered to be very sacred and undisturbable by the ancient Cherokee descendants who "keep" these sites to the present day. Both our consultant and Baker Northup agree that there are many Cherokee people in Missouri and Arkansas who have deliberately kept their Cherokee identity secret for many generations due to very real fears of discrimination, bigotry and racial violence which at times in both states has manifested in wholesale massacre and murder of Indian people.

This consultant points out that the historical migrations of the Cherokee people from the southeastern United States into this land west of the Mississippi River were nothing but the return to the Sacred Homelands. This would mean that the Cherokee were not truly an "Immigrant Tribe" in the same way that the Lenni Lenape or the Shawnee were. Moreover, this ancient Cherokee legacy made the historical migrations easier for the bands of Cherokee people that had migrated to the southeast centuries before Columbus and the European colonization of the New World.

The consultant also observes that it will be difficult to find archeological evidence of Cherokee occupation near the riverways. Cherokee residential patterns usually favored higher ground, hills, cliffs, bluffs and so forth. Moreover, water in springs and in creeks and rivers is very sacred; in traditional Cherokee life patterns, Cherokee would respect such sanctity by not living near the water. This has the added benefit of avoiding the danger of flood. Burials, on the other hand, may be found nearer to the river or in a saddle between two hills. There is much more to the story that this consultant revealed. He also says that this first interview only scratched the surface of a very deep and complex history that directly involves the park.

As explained to us, one of the most difficult issues that these modern Cherokee face is the lack of respect for an identity that has become "wholesale" for anyone who wishes to claim an American Indian ancestry. Cherokee people adopted and married people of other Indian and non-Indian groups without feeling that they would lose a sense of their own peoplehood. Due to the long history of traditional practices of adoption of intermarriage and of captivity, Cherokees were bringing both Europeans and Africans into their society. So after so many years, within any given Cherokee town appearance and material culture may not necessarily determine an individual's "Indian-ness" or "Whiteness".

In Cherokee history and in the history of other Native American groups, the ability to "pass" for White was used as a survival strategy and as protection from the real possibility of discrimination, violence, and fatal assault. Furthermore, once the frontier areas were brought under state and federal sovereignty (ignoring any form of tribal sovereignty), Cherokee would suffer censure and violence if they openly revealed their Cherokee heritage. Thus continued generations of hidden Cherokee identity only to reemerge when cultural, social, political, and legal atmospheres improved due to the American civil rights movement.

A further correlated issue faced by historic American Indian groups is the apparent similarity of material culture and lifeways (see, for example, Nuttall's [1980:136-137] description of the emigrant Cherokee; also Markman 1972:132). Because of their long exposure to European contact and trade, the Cherokee modified their traditional cultural patterns of agriculture and plant and animal resource use by using techniques and artifacts of European origin. So, by the time they came to Missouri they resembled more the White settlers than the more traditional western Indians. In the "frontier" areas, Cherokee settlements were perceived as White settlements. This change has precluded their unambiguous identification in the archaeological record.

CHAPTER SIX

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION

On the basis of the cultural affiliation research for the Ozarks National Historic Riverways summarized in this report, the following suggestions may be forwarded:

Research Suggestions

Archival research conducted by the authors as well as by previous scholars in the riverways has indicated, to a greater or lesser degree of specificity, that there are several contemporary American Indian groups whose ancestors were or may have lived in or around the park at some point or another in prehistoric or historic times. As the extensive archival research conducted by James and Cynthia Price suggests, it is highly probable that numerous historic Indian campsites, villages, burial grounds and cemeteries existed in the park. Future research could be conducted to expand existing knowledge of the location of these sites.

Given that the archaeological record of the diverse Indian occupations of the parks is not always explicit or forthcoming, we suggest to expand the research to systematically document non-archaeological resource uses, including plants, animals, minerals, and landforms that were or still are culturally significant to traditionally associated groups.

Documenting non-archaeological resource uses may require ethnographic fieldwork in order to complement the literature searches and to fill in knowledge gaps. For example, it is unclear to what extent the Osage used the eastern Ozarks; thus it may be useful to inquire among the contemporary Osage people whether there is a memory of use of this area.

In addition to the federally recognized tribes identified here as potentially culturally affiliated with archaeological remains found at the park, there seems to be a large number of American Indian individuals and families who live in the vicinity of the park, as indicated by the U.S. Census 2000 for the four Missouri counties where the park is located. These individuals and families may have traditional associations with the park. It may be useful to design a research project aimed at identifying these American Indians, their ethnic identity and historical trajectories that brought them into the riverways and vicinity.

There seems to be a paucity of photographic materials, or at least there are no readily available collections showing American Indians in or near the park (this of course, would be limited to the nineteenth century). Both for research and for interpretation, it would be very useful to begin a systematic search to see if there are such photos in private or public collections.

Interpretation

A promising area for expanding or refining interpretive programs in the park is the diversity of ethnic groups that came to live at or near the riverways at different times. The public would greatly benefit from a more detailed understanding of the complex history of Indian occupation before and until the arrival of White settlers. The historic site at Alley Springs, for example, could be developed as an interpretive locale for the history of emigrant tribes. Similarly, interpretation of Kelley Hollow could be expanded to include some of the history of emigrant tribes.

An example of a resource that ought to be explored and interpreted is the network of Indian trails across the Ozark highlands, some of which may have crossed the park. At least two sources (Hough 1908, I; Chapman 1974, III) show maps of trails that seem to be within the immediate vicinity of the park. The identification of such trails would enhance the historical significance of the riverways and would provide a stimulating topic of interpretation.

A combination of future research on non-archaeological resources and interpretive efforts could result in the development of signs and brochures explaining the cultural significance of the most salient natural features that make up the park as well as the more commonly found ones, including plants and animals. Park displays showing plant, animal, and mineral uses could be enhanced with such type of information, perhaps containing examples of various uses by different ethnic groups.

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SELECTED ANNOTATIONS

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An analysis of the impact of Europeans on the Osage, contains an extensive reference list as well as thoughtful commentary on historical events.

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A unique, authoritative, comprehensive history of the Quapaw Tribe of Arkansas, includes oral traditions, beliefs, origin debates, ethnohistorical trajectories, removal.

Baker Northup, Beverly

2001We Are Not yet Conquered: The History of the Northern Cherokee Nation of the Old Louisiana Territory. Paducah: Turner Publishing Company.

A history of the Northern Cherokee band of Missouri and Arkansas, contains documentary research, oral histories, family histories, contemporary photographs. This work is the only published argument for an explicit, direct, cultural affiliation claim to the Ozarks National Scenic Riverways.

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A short but well documented summary of American Indian presence in the park area, contains tidbits of information not generally available in regional histories.

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This article contains information and a map that argues for an Illinois Indian presence in the west bank of the Mississippi River, within the immediate vicinity of the park.

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Key reference for reconstructing the migration tradition of the Quapaw and their relationship with the Tunica. Although it is often cited as the only or the most authoritative reference to the Quapaw migration from the Ohio River, there are two earlier references to it, see John Shea's 1861 and 1903 publications.

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Award-winning paper, with a detailed archaeological reconstruction of De Soto's southern route.

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Chapman, Carl
1974Osage Indians, Vols III and IV. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Expert witness report on the ethnogenesis of the Osage Indians of Missouri and their historical trajectory until the land cessions.

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1959The Little Osage and Missouri Indian Village Sites Ca. 1727-1777 A.D. The Missouri Archaeologist 21(1):1-67.

Discusses the relationship between historic sites and the Osage and Missouri Indians. Presents hypothesis about Osage origins.

Dorsey, Owen J.

1886Migrations of Siouan Tribes. The American Naturalist XX(3):211-222.

This is a detailed analysis of the complete Osage migration tradition as related to rev. Dorsey, with a map of possible migration route.

Dye, David H., and Ronald C. Brister, ed.

1986The Protohistoric Period in the Mid-South: 1500-1700. Jackson, Mississippi: Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

Contains a series of papers relevant for reconstructing the ethnogenesis of contact period Indian groups in SE Missouri and NE Arkansas.

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1998The Bold Counselor Phase of the Central Illinois River Valley: Oneota's Middle Mississippian Margin. The Wisconsin Archeologist 79(2):38-61.

Discusses ethnic coresidence of Oneota/Sioux and Mississippian people east of the Mississippi. Relevant in discussion of Osage origins and late arrival to Missouri.

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1911The Omaha Tribe. Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report No. 27. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Classic ethnographic account of Dhegiha Sioux traditions and social organization, includes a detailed analysis of the origin and migration tradition.

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Excellent history of the Choteau family; discusses in detail the role of the Choteaus in Indian affairs, particularly the Osage, from the establishment of trading relations to the land cessions.

Ford, James
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Rare publication, not frequently cited, with information on historical events of the emigrant Cherokee.

Gilliland, J. Eric and Michael J. O'Brien
2001Stone Artifacts from Turner and Snodgrass. In Mississippian Community Organization: The Powers Phase in Southeastern Missouri. M. J. O'Brien, ed. Pp. 231-264. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Contains reference to early Nodena points in Powers Phase sites, critical for establishing connections between middle Mississippian populations and prehistoric park users.

Graham, Richard
1819-1829 Papers. St. Louis.

Collection of documents and correspondence of Indian Agent Richard Graham, for his tenure at the Osage Agency, Missouri. Contains numerous references to different Indian groups who were brought into Missouri in route to the Indian Territory. Contains a few references to Indian villages in the Current River and vicinity.

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Only published source known to contain a narrative of Tunica emergence and migration stories.

Henige, David
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Important and very strong critique of archaeologists and historians who attempt to reconstruct the De Soto route from the original relations.

Henning, Dale R.
1993The Adaptive Patterning of the Dhegiha Sioux. Plains Anthropologist 38(146):253-264.

Discusses relationships between Dhegiha Sioux archaeology, and the linguistic and ethnological records. Excellent explanation for variation in Dhegiha adaptation and material culture.

Hoffman, Michael P.
1986The Protohistoric Period in the Lower and Central Arkansas River Valley in Arkansas. In The Protohistoric Period in the Mid-South: 1500-1700. D. H. Dye and R. C. Brister, ed. Pp. 24-37. Jackson, Miss.: Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

Argument against in situ development of the Quapaw, supports northern crossing (near park area) for the De Soto expedition.

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1990The Terminal Mississippian Period in the Arkansas River Valley and Quapaw Ethnogenesis. In Towns and Temples along the Mississippi. David Dye and Cheryl Anne Cox, ed. Pp. 208-226. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.

Expands on 1986 original argument against a Mississippian origin for the Quapaw, but does not offer a clear-cut alternative explanation.

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1991Quapaw Structures, 1673-1834, and Their Comparative Significance. In Arkansas before the Americans. Hester A. Davis, ed. Pp. 55-68. Fayetteville, Ark.: Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series 40.

Compares Quapaw and Mississippian architecture to argue against in situ development of Quapaw.

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1992Protohistoric Tunica Indians in Arkansas. Arkansas Historical Quarterly 51:30-53.

Discusses and partially supports Marvin Jeter's argument for a Tunica presence north of the Arkansas River.

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1993aDepopulation and Abandonment of Northeastern Arkansas in the Protohistoric Period. In Archaeology of Eastern North America: Essays in Honor of Stephen Williams. James Stoltman, ed. Pp. 261-275. Jackson, Miss.: Mississippi Department of Archives and History Archaeological Report 25.

Excellent discussion of protohistoric demography and depopulation factors in northeastern Arkansas with relevance to southeast Missouri as well.

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1993bIdentification of Ethnic Groups Contacted by the De Soto Expedition in Arkansas. In The Expedition of Hernando De Soto West of the Mississippi, 1541-1543. Gloria Young and Michael Hoffman, ed. Pp. 132-142. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press.

Explicit alternative reconstruction of ethnic groups encountered by De Soto to the reconstruction offered by Swanton in the 1939 report.

Hoig, Stanley W.
1998The Cherokees and Their Chiefs. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press.

Important historical piece that discusses traditional ties of Cherokees west of the Mississippi.

Houck, Louis

1908History of Missouri: From the Earliest Explorations and Settlements until the Admission of the State into the Union. 2 vols. Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company.

Classic history of the state with abundant information on American Indians.

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1909The Spanish Regime in Missouri. 2 vols. Chicago: R.R. Donnelley and Sons, Co.

Contains translations of Spanish colonial documents on Indian affairs.

Hudson, Charles M.
1985De Soto in Arkansas: A Brief Synopsis. Field Notes 205:3-12.

Hudson's original proposition and defense of a northern route for De Soto.

Jeter, Marvin

1986Tunicans West of the Mississippi: A Summary of Early Historic and Archaeological Evidence. In The Protohistoric Period in the Mid South: 1500-1700. D. H. Dye and R. C. Brister, ed. Pp. 38-63. Jackson, Miss.: Mississippi Department of History and Archives.

Arguments supporting Tunica presence as far north as the Missouri bootheel.

Jeter, Marvin

2002From Prehistory through Protohistory to Ethnohistory in and near the Northern Lower Mississippi Valley. In The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760. Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, ed. Pp. 177-224. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.

Most recent and provocative paper by Jeter, not only argues for a northern Tunica presence but also proposes an alternative scenario where the Natchez would have had a "northern branch" that reached into the Arkansas-Missouri border.

Klinger, T. C., R. P. Kandare, J. E. Price, and R. T. Saucier
1989Two Rivers Ii Archaeological Excavations at Two Rivers (23sh101), Ozark National Scenic Riverways, Shannon County, Missouri. Naylor, Missouri: Historic Preservation Associates and University of Missouri, American Archaeology Division, Southeast Missouri Research Center. Historic Preservation Associates Reports 89-2.

Detailed summary of prehistoric cultural sequence for the park.

La Flesche, Francis
1995The Osage and the Invisible World from the Works of Francis La Flesche.G. A. Bailey Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Excellent compilation of Francis La Flesche's earlier ethnographic work.

Lafferty, Robert H., III and James E. Price
1996Southeast Missouri. In Prehistory of the Central Mississippi Valley. Charles H. McNutt, ed. Pp. 1-46. Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press.

Contains detailed tables of chronometric assays for the area.

Lankford, George E.
1999Shawnee Convergence: Immigrant Indians in the Ozarks. Arkansas Historical Quarterly.

Contains relevant information on the Shawnee presence in the park vicinity.

Lynott, Mark
1982Mississippian Archaeology of the Upper Current River, Southeast Missouri. Southeastern Archaeology 1(1):8-21.

Early statement of emergent Mississippian development in the eastern Ozarks, as indicated in several park sites.

Lynott, Mark, Susan Monk, and James Price
1984The Owls Bend Site, 23sh10: An Emergent Mississippian Occupation in the Eastern Ozarks, Southeast Missouri. Missouri Archaeological Society Quarterly 1(1):12-20.

Published report on Owls Bend site discusses emergent Mississippian ceramic traditions, burial and associated artifacts, in the park.

Lynott, M., ? Kennedy, and J. E. Price

1985The Grimes Site: Woodland and Mississippian Occurring Along the Ozark Border. Missouri Historical Society Quarterly 2(1):11-21.

Detailed description of test excavations and findings at this site, contains ceramic evidence for Mississippian emergence.

Lynott, Mark
1989An Archeological Evaluation of the Gooseneck and Owls Bend Sites, Ozark National Scenic Riverways, Southeast Missouri. Lincoln, Nebraska: National Park Service, Midwest Archaeological Center Occasional Studies in Anthropology No. 23.

Report of two large emergent Mississippian sites in the park

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1991Round Spring Archaeology, Ozark National Scenic Riverways, Southeast Missouri. Lincoln, Nebraska: Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service.

Report of a site containing Meramec Springs (late Woodland-transitional) ceramics.

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1993Archaeological Investigations at the Akers Ferry Site, 23sh23, Ozark National Scenic Riverways, Southeastern Missouri (Parts I and Ii). Missouri Archaeological Society Quarterly 10(1-2).

Detailed article on a stratified emergent Mississippian site at the park, with reconstruction of cultural sequence.

Lynott, M., H. Neff, J. E. Price, J. W. Cogswell, and M. D. Glascock
2000Inferences About Prehistoric Ceramics and People in Southeast Missouri: Results of Ceramic Compositional Analysis. American Antiquity 65(1):103-126.

Excellent source for understanding geographical, demographic, and cultural connections between the eastern Ozarks and the Western Lowlands during the Emergent Mississippian period. Crucial piece used in argument for a cultural affiliation with Mississippian groups.

Lynott, Mark and James Price
1994Shawnee Creek, an 11th-Century Emergent Mississippian Occupation in the Upper Current River Valley, Southeast Missouri. Missouri Archaeological Society Quarterly 11(1):10-22.

Detailed discussion of a park site containing evidence for the emergence of Mississippian shell-tempered pottery.

Lynott, Mark and Susan Monk
1987The Lepold Site 23ri59: A Stratified Site in Southeast Missouri. Missouri Archaeological Society Quarterly 4(3):8-21.

Published report of a multi-component site on the Ozarks escarpment, with a probable Archaic burial.

Markman, R.
1972The Arkansas Cherokees: 1817-1828. Ann Arbor: university Microfilms.

Historical analysis of the emigrant Cherokees in Arkansas with observations regarding their lifeways and material culture.

Mathews, John Joseph
1973The Osages, Children of the Middle Waters. Civilization of the American Indian Series. Volume Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Classic historical book on the Osage Nation, written by an Osage historian, it is unique in that it presents the Osage history from the perspective of the traditional people.

Mochon, Marion J.
1972Language, History and Prehistory: Mississippian Lexico-Reconstruction. American Antiquity 37(4):478-503.

Unique analysis of linguistic references to prehistoric Mississippian developments, contrasts Muskoegan and Dhegiha-Siouan lexica. Analysis does not support a direct participation of Siouan speakers in the Mississippian system.

Mooney, James
1975Historical Sketch of the Cherokee. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Classic reference for eastern Cherokee trajectory.

Moore, John H.
2000Ethnogenetic Patterns in Native North America. In Archaeology, Language and History. J. E. Terrell, ed. Pp. 31-56. London: Greenwood Publishing, Inc.

Innovative discussion of the dynamics of ethnicity and diversity in American Indians. Should be standard reference in cultural affiliation studie.s

Morrow, Lynn
1981Trader William Gillis and the Delaware Migration in Southern Missouri. Missouri Historical Review.

Contains information on Delaware presence in the park.

Morse, Dan F.
1986Protohistoric Hunting Sites in Northeastern Arkansas. In The Protohistoric Period in the Mid-South:1500-1700. David Dye and Ronald Brister, ed. Pp. 89-94. Jackson, Mississippi: Mississippi Department of Archives and History Archaeological Report 18.

Discussion of isolated and clustered surface findings of Nodena Points found on reoccupied sites in northeast Arkansas; good comparative data for interpreting similar findings in the park.

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1990The Nodena Phase. In Towns and Temples Along the Mississippi. David H. Dye and Cheryl A. Cox, ed. Pp. 69-97. Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press.

Summary of Nodena Phase archaeology, northeast Arkansas, with some discussion of Nodena-Quapaw relations.

Morse, Dan F.

1991On the Possible Origin of the Quapaws in Northeast Arkansas. In Arkansas before the Americans. Hester A. Davis, ed. Pp. 40-54. Fayetteville, Ark.: Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series 40.

Argues for in situ development of the Quapaw and for a Quapaw identity of the Pacaha kingdom, relevant for the protohistory of southeast Missouri.

Morse, Dan F. and Phyllis A. Morse

1983Archaeology of the Central Mississippi Valley. New York: Academic Press.

Compilation of regional prehistoric culture sequence for the central Mississippi River valley with some discussion of Ozark archaeology.

Nasatir, Abraham Phineas

1926Indian Trade and Diplomacy in the Spanish Illinois, 1763-1792. Ph.D. Dissertation, Anthropology Department, University of California, Berkeley.

Presents a detailed analysis of original French and Spanish documents pertaining to Osage relations with the colonial powers.

Newcomb, William W. Jr.

1956The Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians. Anthropological Papers, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan No. 10Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Classic source for reconstructing the trajectory of emigrant Delaware.

O'Brien, Michael J.

1994Cat Monsters and Head Pots: The Archaeology of Missouri's Pemiscot Bayou. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

A reanalysis of the late Mississippian materials from one of the largest sites in southeast Missouri--Campbell. See also Chapman and Anderson 1955.

O'Brien, Michael J., and Gregory L. Fox
1994Assemblage Similarities and Dissimilarities. In Cat Monsters and Head Pots: The Archaeology of Missouri's Pemiscot Bayou, by M. J. O'Brien. Pp. 61-94. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

Analysis of ceramic diversity across late Mississippian-protohistoric phases in SE Missouri and NE Arkansas, useful for evaluating archaeological affinities and differences in the general park region.

O'Brien, M.J., J. W. Cogswell, R. C. Mainfort, Jr., H. Neff, and M. D. Glascock
1995Neutron-Activation Analysis of Campbell Appliquéd Pottery from Southeastern Missouri and Western Tennessee: Implications for Late Mississippian Intersite Relations. Southeastern Archaeology 14(2):181-194.

Presents comparative ceramic data to interpret the place of eastern Ozark shell-tempered ceramics in regional perspective.

O'Brien, Michael J., and W. Raymond Wood
1998The Prehistory of Missouri. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

Most recent compilation of state-wide prehistoric cultural sequence with detailed sections on Ozark archaeology and excellent artifact illustrations.

O'Brien, Michael J.
2001Concluding Remarks. In Mississippian Community Organization: The Powers Phase in Southeastern Missouri. M. J. O'Brien, ed. Pp. 293-300. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Thoughtful evaluation of the development of this Mississippian community in the Western Lowlands, discusses specifically and supports Price and Lynott's argument for an emergent Mississippian connection between the Ozark escarpment and the W. Lowlands

—, ed.
2001Mississippian Community Organization: The Powers Phase in Southeastern Missouri. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

A reanalysis of the Powers Phase archaeology (see original analysis by Price and Griffin 1979), with useful chapters on ceramics, lithics, settlement patterns and site dates, and formation processes. Important data for reconstructing probable trajectories of regional inhabitants.

Perttula, Timothy K.
1984Prehistoric Use of Rhyolite in the Current River Valley, Eastern Ozark Highland, Southeast Missouri. Missouri Archaeological Society Quarterly 1(1):3, 11, 15.

Contains information on prehistoric (Archaic period) exploitation of locally available lithic resources and long distance exploitation and exchange networks.

Phillips, P., J. A. Ford, And J. B. Griffin
1951Archaeological Survey in the Lower Mississippi Alluvial Valley, 1940-1947. Cambridge: Harvard University, Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology Papers No. 25.

Classic regional archaeological source book. Used in this report in the context of a discussion of the archaeology of De Soto's route and its reconstruction. The authors were the first to challenge Swanton's southern route based on archaeological data.

Price, Cynthia R. and James E. Price
1980An Inventory and Assessment of the Leo Anderson Collection of Archaeological Specimens: 1980. Springfield, Missouri: Southwest Missouri State University, Center for Archaeological Research Report 252.

A detailed inventory of the largest known private collection of archaeological artifacts from the Current River, Jacks Fork, and Eleven Point drainage area. The Anderson collection also contains numerous pieces from other sites in southeast Missouri. Continues in 1983 and 1984 park reports.

Price, James E.
1981Archaeological Investigations at the Ozark National Scenic Riverways. Springfield, Missouri: Southwest Missouri State University, Center for Archaeological Research Report.

Statement of research goals and current state of research for the park

Price, J. E., C. R. Price, R. Saucier, and T. K. Perttula
1983Archaeological Investigations in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1981-1982. Springfield, Missouri: Southwest Missouri State University, Center for Archaeological Research Report 447.

A detailed summary of field research and other special studies (e.g., geology) conducted in the park for the years of 1981 and 1982.

Price, J. E., C.R. Price, R. Saucier, P. Delcourt, H. Delcourt, and E. N. Smith
1984Archaeological Investigations in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1982-1983. Springfield, Missouri: Southwest Missouri State University, Center for Archaeological Research Report 550.

A detailed summary of field research and other special reports conducted in the park for the years of 1982 and 1983.

Price, J. E., C. R. Price, and R. Saucier
1985Archaeological Investigations in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1983-1984. Springfield, Missouri: Southwest Missouri State University, Center for Archaeological Research Report 580.

A detailed summary of field research and other special studies conducted in the park for the years of 1983 and 1984.

Price, J. E., C. R. Price, and R.T. Saucier
1987Archaeological Investigations in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1984-1986. Springfield, Missouri: Southwest Missouri State University, Center for Archaeological Research Report 675.

A detailed summary of field research conducted in the park for the years of 1984-1986.

Price, James E.
1992Archeological Investigations of an Historic Shawnee-Delaware Occupation in the Vicinity of Alley Spring, Ozark National Scenic Riverways, Shannon County, Missouri. Lincoln: Department of Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center.

Unique piece of historical archaeology, demonstrates archaeologically the presence of emigrant tribes in the park.

Price, J. E., and Mary Jane Hastings
1999An Archeological Survey of Caves and Rockshelters in Ozark National Scenic Riverways, Carter, Shannon, and Dent Counties, Missouri. Lincoln, Nebraska: Midwest Archaeological Center, National Park Service.

One of the most recent, systematic and comprehensive surveys of caves and shelters in the park, contains detailed illustrations, geological, and archaeological data.

Price, J. E. and C. R. Price
1986Archaeological Investigations in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1984-1985. Springfield, Missouri: Southwest Missouri State University, Center for Archaeological Research Report 640.

A detailed summary of field research conducted in the park for the years of 1984 and 1985.

Price, James E. and Cynthia R. Price
1990Protohistoric/Early Historic Manifestations in Southeastern Missouri. In Towns and Temples Along the Mississippi. David H. Dye and Cheryl A. Cox, ed. Pp. 59-68. Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press.

Surveys the archaeological evidence of protohistoric and early historic occupation in the park region, including available data for the park.

Price, James E. and James J. Krakker
1975Dalton Occupation of the Ozark Border. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri, Museum of Anthropology, Museum Briefs No. 20.

Seminal work on PaleoIndian-Dalton archaeology. Extremely useful for understanding the nature of human adaptation to the upland-lowland ecotone, which characterized the use of the park throughout prehistory.

Rafferty, Milton D.
1980The Ozarks: Land and Life. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A detailed human geography of the Ozark Highlands, with emphasis on the historic period.

—, ed.
1996Rude Pursuits and Ragged Peaks: Schoolcraft's Ozark Journal 1818-1819. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press.

A newly edited version of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's journey through the Ozarks. The journal itself contains references to the location and condition of the emigrant groups who were living in the area during 1818-1819.

Rankin, Robert
1988Quapaw: Genetic and Areal Affiliations. In Honor of Mary Haas. William Shipley, ed. Pp. 629-650. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Important historical linguistic analysis of Quapaw; establishes beyond doubt the close connection that exists between Quapaw and other Dhegiha Sioux cognate languages.

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1993Language Affiliations of Some De Soto Place Names in Arkansas. In The Expedition of Hernando De Soto West of the Mississippi, 1541-1543. G. Young and M. Hoffman, ed. Pp. 210-221. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press.

A detailed analysis of the ethno-linguistic identity of the villages and people visited by De Soto.

Rollings, Willard H.
1992The Osage: An Ethnohistorical Study of Hegemony on the Prairie-Plains. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

A modern ethnohistory of the Osage, with a detailed discussion of the political dynamics of the Arkansas and Missouri Osage.

Royce, C.C.
1899Indian Land Cessions in the United States. In Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Pp. 521-964, Vol. 18(pt. 2). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Contains detailed maps of land cessions by state and text of treaties arranged chronologically with margin identification of tribes involved.

Sabo, G., III, A. M. Early, J. C. Rose, B.A. Burnett, L. Vogele, Jr., and J. P. Harcourt
1990Human Adaptation in the Ozark and Oachita Mountains. Fayetteville: Arkansas Archaeological Survey Research Series No. 31.

Comprehensive overview of Ozark archaeology, emphasis is on the western portions of the mountains but nonetheless it includes discussion of the eastern Ozarks whenever available. Useful for deriving regional comparisons.

Shea, John G., ed.
1861Early Voyages up and Down the Mississippi, by Cavelier, St. Cosme, Le Sueur, Gravier, and Guignas. Albany: Joel Munsell.

The narrative by Gravier contains explicit mention to the Quapaw origin story as well as other Quapaw information.

—, ed.
1903Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, with the Original Narratives of Marquette, Allouez, Membre, Hennepin, and Anastase Douay;. Albany: J. McDonough.

Douay's narrative contains the earliest known mention to the Osage and Quapaw origin and migration story.

Stevens, Donald L., Jr.
1991A Homeland and a Hinterland: The Current and Jacks Fork Riverways. Omaha, Nebraska: National Park Service, Midwest Region.

Historical Overview of Land Use and Culture in the park, with a very small section on archaeology and American Indians.

Swanton, John Reed
1985 [1939]Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

The complete study and evaluation of the De Soto expedition in the Southeastern United States, based on several lines of evidence. Used in this report to present the debates on the ethnic identity of protohistoric groups in the central Mississippi River Valley.

Tixier, Victor, John Francis McDermott, and Albert Jacques Salvan
1940Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Contains detailed description of Osage life in the Kansas Reservation.

Tucker, Sara J.
1942Indian Villages of the Illinois Country. Scientific Papers No. 2(I). Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Museum.

Vast collection of historical maps, with numerous early charts of the Mississippi River Valley.

Vehik, S. C.
1993Dhegiha Origins and Plains Archaeology. Plains Anthropologist 38:231-252.

Thoughtful argument against prehistoric Dhegiha Sioux presence in the prairie peninsula, uses multiple lines of evidence to dispute any long-term interaction with Caddo populations.

Verwyst, Chrysostom
1886Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Menard, and Alluez in the Lake Superior Region. Milwaukee: Hoffman Brothers.

Useful compilation of Jesuit relations that contain ethnographic information relative to the Mississippi River and Great Lakes region.

Wedel, Mildred M.
1972Claude-Charles Dutisné: A Review of His 1719 Journeys (Part 1). Great Plains Journal 12(1):4-25.

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1973Claude-Charles Dutisné: A Review of His 1719 Journeys (Part 2). Great Plains Journal 12(2):147-173.

A two-park historical analysis of Dutisne's Missouri journals, which are not easily accessible.

Williams, Stephen
1954An Archaeological Study of the Mississippian Culture in Southeast Missouri. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Anthropology Department, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Contains original phase definition and description for southeast Missouri.

Yelton, Jeffrey K.
1998A Different View of Oneota Taxonomy and Origins in the Lower Missouri Valley. The Wisconsin Archeologist 79(2):268-283.

Contains an archaeological argument for in situ development of the Osage out of an Oneota manifestation in central Missouri.

Young, Gloria A., and Michael P. Hoffman
1993The Expedition of Hernando De Soto West of the Mississippi, 1541-1543: Proceedings of the De Soto Symposia, 1988 and 1990. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press.

Broad collection of research papers, include archaeology, history, geography and linguistics. The collection as a whole presents a convincing argument for De Soto's northern route.