C O N T A C T W I T H
T H E I N D I A N S

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THE NATIONAL SURVEY
OF
HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

PREFACE

The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings is a resumption of the Historic Sites Survey begun in 1937, under the authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935. During World War II, and the emergency following, it was necessary to suspend these studies. The Survey has now been resumed to revise and bring up to date the earlier studies and investigations and to complete the program in all its major phases.

The purpose of the Survey, as outlined in the Historic Sites Act, is to "make a survey of historic and archeologic sites, buildings, and objects for the purpose of determining which possess exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States." In carrying out this basic directive, each site and building considered in the Survey is evaluated in terms of the Criteria for Classification, which are listed in the appendix of this report.

When completed, the Survey will provide a frame of reference for recommendations to the Director of the National Park Service and the Secretary of the Interior as to the sites of "exceptional value." This will assist the National Park Service in preparing the National Recreation Plan, including sites which may be administered by the National Park Service to fill in gaps in the historical and archeological representation within the National Park System. It will also recommend and encourage programs of historical and archeological preservation being carried out by State and local agencies.

This study was prepared for the National Park Service by Preston Holder, Acting Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, University of Nebraska, at Lincoln, Nebraska, under contract. Assistance in assembling the inventory of sites and site descriptions was given by the following Archeologists of the National Park Service: John W. Griffin, Southeast Region; Wilfred D. Logan, and the late Paul L. Beaubien, Midwest Region; Albert H. Schroeder, Southwest Region; Paul Schumacher, Western Region; John L. Cotter, Northeast Region; and Bruce Powell, National Capital Region.

The entire study has been edited and revised by the Survey staff of the Washington Office: John W. Walker, Staff Archeologist; John P. Bloom, Staff Historian; John O. Littleton, Chief, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, with suggestions and advice of the Chief Archeologist, John M. Corbett.

The study, as here presented, will be reviewed by the Consulting Committee for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The Committee, an eminent group of archeologists, historians, and architects, who serve without pay, are advisory to the Director of the National Park Service in all National Survey activities.

After review by the Committee, it will be presented to the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments, for evaluation and recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior as to which sites are considered to have "exceptional value" and are therefore eligible for Registered National Historic Landmark status.

The overall Survey is under the general supervision of Charles W. Porter III, Chief Historian; and Herbert E. Kahler, Chief, Division of History and Archeology.

George B. Hartzog, Jr.
~~Superintendent~~
Director

A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

The work of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings profits from the experience and knowledge of many persons and organizations. Efforts are made to solicit the considered opinion of as many qualified people as possible in reaching final selection of the most significant sites. Assistance in the preparation of this study from the following is acknowledged: John L. Champe, Department of Anthropology, University of Nebraska; Robert R. Stephenson, Chief, and G. Hubert Smith and Warren Caldwell, Archeologists, Missouri Basin Project, Smithsonian Institution; Marvin F. Kivett, Museum Director, and Roger T. Grange, Jr., Assistant Museum Director, Nebraska State Historical Society; E. Mott Davis, Department of Anthropology, University of Texas; Carl H. Chapman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Missouri; Robert F. Heizer, Department of Anthropology, University of California; Marian E. White, Department of Anthropology, University of Buffalo; Lewis H. Larson, Jr., Georgia State College; Robert S. Neitzel, Chief, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; William A. Ritchie and William N. Fenton, New York State Museum; Thomas A. Wasty, Kansas State Historical Society; Alfred K. Guthe, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee; Elaine K. Bluhm, University of Illinois; Don W. Dragoo, Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh; and John Witthoft, Pennsylvania State Museum.

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I

INTRODUCTION

In the 15th century, cultural exchange of a radically new tempo and scope was initiated into the Americas from western Europe. Within the next 100 years, European explorers, adventurers, and traders came face to face with peoples in widely separated sectors of the Western Hemisphere where ways of life had developed in isolation from western Europe and the Mediterranean area. This period of transitory contacts was followed by a migration of European peoples into temperate areas of relatively sparse native population, which radically changed the cultural and linguistic map of this part of the world. Some of the native inhabitants and their cultures were absorbed and assimilated by the newcomers. Most of them were obliterated, although communities which retain many ancient cultural attributes still survive with remarkable tenacity in frontier and less developed regions.

The early contacts between Europeans and the Indians of the 48 contiguous States are of concern in the present theme. This topic is approached primarily from the viewpoint of the Indian participants. Two main questions are asked: What was the native civilization like at the time of the appearance of Europeans, and how was it transformed by this new factor? What particular monuments and remains best exemplify this process or are likely to hold even more information if preserved for future study?

This period of initial contact covers more than three hundred years beginning with the first landfalls of Columbus and Cabot in the 1490's. Sporadic expeditionary thrusts first outlined the eastern and southeastern coasts of the present United States, then penetrated into the interior beginning around the middle of the 16th century. Settlement from Europe and Spanish Mexico followed at a slow tempo. After two centuries this movement of colonists framed only the southwestern, southern, and eastern margins of what is now the United States.

Intertwined with exploration and settlement were two other activities: trading, particularly the trade in furs, and ecclesiastical work. The importance and character of these activities varied with the special nature of the native society and with the policies and fortunes of the specific European nations involved.

The earliest European thrusts into the interior were primarily for the purpose of reconnaissance. The explorers aimed to find a path through or around the land mass which stood in the way of passage to the Orient. They also sought wealth of the type found to the southward or looked for other resources such as minerals and furs. For the native peoples these brief visits meant primarily the introduction of foreign diseases to which they lacked immunity, fleeting experience with the character of the newcomers, a few baubles, souvenirs, and some loot. The people in the vast interior of the continent were left to go their own way with relatively little face-to-face intercourse with Europeans

for some time. In places there was no contact until the first decades of the 19th century. At the same time the lives of these people were being altered, often radically, through epidemic disease, through trade in European articles with their many side effects, through the incorporation of European elements and ideas, and through the displacement of native groups from settled areas or from areas which had been despoiled by commercial hunting and trapping.

To the native the course of contact with Europeans was episodic and seemingly haphazard. Some peoples like the Wichita were first visited by Coronado in 1541, met Onate after a lapse of sixty years, and following another lapse of a century saw La Harpe and the beginning of the fur trade. Other groups who lived no more than a hundred miles away from waterways which were avenues of initial contact waited until the 1820's before Europeans set foot in their territory.

The Spaniards in North America were noteworthy for bursts of almost frantic exploration, separated by long periods when their activities were confined to parts of Mexico and the Southwest. This behavior meant that one or two direct, brief initial European appearances were followed by a lapse of many generations along the middle and lower reaches of the Mississippi River, east Texas, the Gulf Coast region, parts of the Southwest, the southern and south-central Great Plains, and the coast of California. There was a similar hiatus in southern New England and coastal New York. Until almost a century had passed no one followed

Gomez and Verrazano, who in 1524 explored the east coast of the United States. Obviously, the experience which the peoples of the northeast coast had with Europeans differed significantly from that of the peoples who lived in those regions of the Atlantic seaboard where exploration was rapidly followed by fur traders, or colonists, or where the establishment of trade bases and the setting up of settlements went hand in hand.

In other parts of the country individual fur traders, small parties, or tiny trading posts, long anticipated the serious consolidation of European holdings. This situation was typical of the whole area of French hegemony, particularly the upper Mississippi and Missouri drainage. It was also true of the transmontane region, most of the Great Basin and Plateau, and the inner valleys of California and the Oregon-Washington coast.

The introduction of European cultural elements indirectly through the medium of displaced native groups or through groups with access to European goods constituted a major form of contact. The process was essentially a native development utilizing European materials, carried through native systems of communication and old patterns of native intercourse. The relatively slow pace of European penetration meant that those people who were not exterminated were given some chance to incorporate foreign elements into their old ways of life and even to build new cultures in keeping with their old traditions. The horse and the equestrian complex brought to the New World by the Spaniards formed the

basis for a revolutionary new cultural adaptation on the Great Plains: equestrian nomadic bison hunting. Navaho pastoralism, weaving, and silver-working exemplify the same type of creative cultural amalgamation of the new and the old.

A recognition of this form of cultural development as it occurred in the contact period is important as a background toward understanding the status of modern Indian communities. Their position is often seen as a kind of stubborn cultural anachronism, the consequence of an incapacity to adjust to the "complex demands of modern life." The past aggressive role of the dominant culture in creating this situation is often forgotten. In earlier times the Indian displayed over and over again a remarkable resilience and adaptability in response to many new elements, opportunities, and the cultural challenge of the presence of Europeans. This resilience appeared wherever there was a chance for them to incorporate European elements with relatively little disturbance, or where the survivors of early debacles were given an opportunity to reestablish some form of social unity and equilibrium.

European contact also set in motion another process characterized by a real loss of culture for the native people. This loss of culture was combined with or initiated by a loss of population through disease, intertribal warfare, and the military action of Europeans including colonial slave raiding. The effects of loss of lands, destruction of the old economic base, loss of autonomy, independence, and mobility

further aggravated the despair and anguish occasioned by a catastrophic death rate. Commencing almost with the inception of the fur trade on the eastern seaboard, alcoholism further aggravated this demoralization. The frequency of cruel and unjust treatment by land-hungry settlers also served to show the Indians the position they were expected to occupy in the new scheme of affairs.

The prejudice of the original colonists against intermarriage with the Indians contributed to conflict and also blocked assimilation, according to William Byrd, member of the Executive Council of colonial Virginia and son of William Byrd, the planter and Indian trader. He believed with others that Pocahontas' marriage to John Rolfe was crucial in establishing tranquil relations in Virginia for a time. Certainly this type of marriage conformed to the native pattern for creating peace, goodwill, and forms of alliance between groups. The general barrier to intermarriage, however, meant that miscegenation took place under conditions further demoralizing to the native side. At the same time it blocked inheritance of lands by the descendants of such unions, the land thus passing into European hands.

In the subsequent course of settlement this type of European prejudice was reinforced. For the most part, the Indians encountered by the settlers were a detribalized, deculturated, ragged, and apathetic people whose role in the dominant community's life was comparable to that of the gypsies and other outcasts in Europe. They also met warriors who

seemed fanatical and unpredictable, another danger of the natural scene like the snakes and wild beasts. Perhaps the Indians encouraged this latter impression to insure that they would be feared and left more completely alone.

There were, of course, individuals and situations which ran counter to this trend. This was often the case with missions. Thus, for instance, the Mayhews of Martha's Vineyard were beloved by the Indians and kept that island free from the tragedies of King Philip's War. The Moravian missions of Pennsylvania constituted another kind of island. Indians came from great distances to visit these missions, coming not necessarily in order to be converted, but virtually as tourists who wanted with their own eyes to look upon a friendly place in a sea of indifference or hostility.

In the regions of French hegemony, especially in Laurentian area, intermarriage was officially encouraged and even rewarded. There was also considerable intermarriage throughout the major areas of the British fur trade. In the regions where intermarriage was prevalent, the Indians were largely absorbed although many elements of their culture survived. Around the trading posts a new cultural community, part-Indian, part-European, grew up as a kind of buffer zone or bridge between the two cultural poles. Such a group has maintained its identity in the Prairie Provinces of Canada, where the people are known as the Metis. In the United States there are a number of such groups.

Illustrative of these are the Croatans, Brass Ankles, Red Bones, Buckheads, Turks, and Red Legs of South Carolina. As a general rule individuals of mixed descent have been sorted out as being predominantly, or sociologically, Indians, or else they disappear into the European community. Needless to say, they may retain their identity in the Indian society. On reservations they may play a distinctive role in situations involving conflict of cultural traditions, although this sector of the native community has been treated as "Indian" by the neighboring "Whites." Ironically enough, when conditions were such that their education, way of life, and general performance enabled them to make unmistakable contributions to the surrounding community, they were usually considered exceptions in Indian life, "part-Whites." In the past the course of acculturation among such peoples as the Cherokee and others of the Civilized Tribes has been seen as deriving from the prevalence of miscegenation among them.

The term, acculturation, is widely used by anthropologists to designate changes in the native culture and society occurring as a consequence of long-term intercourse with a dominant industrialized European society. Theoretically, this process affects both groups, has been of importance at all periods, and has involved the interaction of other quite disparate cultural traditions elsewhere in the world. As a practical matter these aspects of acculturation are not commonly the object of research, although ethnologists often speak of individual Europeans who have become acculturated to American Indian ways.

In this survey, which has to take a broad and superficial view, the complexity of acculturation can be best understood as reflecting a relationship between the societies involved, itself complex and changing over time. The behavior and attitudes of the same people, even the same individuals, can change drastically at times as the relationship itself is modified. A shift in this relationship may create a barrier to the reception of cultural elements. Old attributes of life can assume new symbolic value and importance. This is often the case when the Indians find themselves actually "conquered" or placed in a subordinate political and economic status.

On the European side the period of acculturation was marked by a transition from a state of dependence upon the Indians, virtually parasitism, to a more symbiotic relationship, or a kind of equality, either in trade or in competition for land. The final phase, of course, is one of thoroughgoing domination over the Indians who have, in effect, been pushed completely aside.

The complementary relationship on the part of the Indian moves from a world in which the Europeans constitute an insignificant, unimportant minority to the final and complete reversal. Because of the initial insignificance of the transplanted European community the Indians generally did not recognize any "European threat." Rather than uniting against the whites, the Indians continued the extermination of themselves through intertribal warfare. This was true not only along the eastern seaboard, but in parts of the Great Plains, the Southwest, and

on the Northwest Coast as well. In comparable periods of time the Europeans were no more far-seeing and unified. Disputing nations did not join together against the "native foe." They sold to the Indians the very guns which were later turned against themselves. In the period of early settlement an objective observer might seriously doubt whether the Europeans would be able to maintain and develop their hold on the new land. Since this aim was accomplished, the historical records are seldom examined or analyzed from this critical view.

In some places, of course, the period of acculturation was distinguished by the fact that the Indians were given an immediate, consistent, continuous idea that the Europeans were a serious threat. This is evidently one reason for the remarkable tenacity of Puebloan culture. In the initial period of European parasitism these people were forced to make a stand against Spanish economic demands which they could not fulfill. The Spanish policy of imposing religious and political domination by force or punishment steeled the Indians to cling to their identity and cultural integrity. At the same time, here and elsewhere, such attitudes did not rule out cultural receptivity and change. Many aspects of Roman Catholicism found their way into Puebloan religion.

The American Indian groups who seriously continue their languages and customs today do not feel that these are incompatible with pickup trucks, automobiles, sewing machines, and refrigerators. The barrier to their adoption of even more of these elements is economic, not cultural. In a similar fashion the early settlers who looked upon the Indians as

wild animals, and the whites of today who look down upon Indians, are not moved on this basis to excise from their life and diet the many American Indian contributions. Had the first newcomers done so, they could not have survived. Nor could the Puebloans go this far when the leader of their successful rebellion in 1680 admonished them never again to use anything brought by the hated Spanish colonists. The new plants, the seeds, they could not bear to destroy.

The process of acculturation has not ended. It is not completely delineated or understood. The summary of its initial stages which follows, therefore, is an impressionistic interpretation rather than a scientifically and historically detailed exposition. It aims to sketch the significant ingredients of this theme as a background to the evaluation of sites. Above all, it will try to show what the Indians were like, what things looked like from their viewpoint, and how their world began to change with the appearance of Europeans.

INDIAN LIFE

AT THE TIME OF CONTACT

The native inhabitants of what is now the United States differed from place to place in many respects which the casual observer could readily see: physical appearance, language, clothing, style of dwelling, mode of transportation, aesthetic traditions or ideals, and burial customs. Other important differences could be appreciated only after prolonged familiarity. Thus, for example, there was considerable variation from group to group in the manner of reckoning one's kindred outside of the biological family and the way that these relationships governed forms of marriage, inheritance and etiquette.

In the face of many divergences there were some fundamental similarities. In certain regards the Indians over much of the North American continent were alike in ways that set them apart from the Europeans and from the peoples of other parts of the world. Certainly the North American Indian whom the explorers and traders met was a man of the world, almost cosmopolitan by comparison with the European peasant of that day. Although the North American might orient the cardinal directions with his own home as the center of the universe and refer to his own people by terms which implied that only they were human, he was often aware of seas and mountain ranges one thousand miles away from his "earth center." Sometimes he had actually been to those places. If his neighbors spoke a different, completely unrelated language, he

nevertheless could converse in it. In fact, he was a master linguist in comparison with the average European newcomer who found it hard to gain any understanding of Indian languages.

The American Indian facility with other tongues left Kilroy-was-here traces for the "first" intrepid explorers into various regions. It is claimed that the Indians of Newfoundland gave Cabot the Basque word for "codfish" in 1497. On the first known incursion into Florida in 1513 Ponce de Leon met a Calusa Indian who understood Spanish words. The crew of one of the earliest fur-trading vessels on the Northwest Coast, half dead with scurvy, cold, and starvation, with their ship frozen into the ice of Prince William Sound in 1786, were startled to hear Indians who came up call distinctly, "Here, Towser," to the ship's dog. When the first Europeans to sail straight across the Atlantic to New England approached the southern coast of Maine in 1602 they were met by Indians in a "Biscay shallop with sail and oars," clothed in some European garments, who "spoke divers Christian words." Eighteen years later the Pilgrim Fathers were greeted, "Welcome, Englishmen!" by the Abnaki Indian chief, Samoset.

Typically, the North American Indian was a deeply religious person who saw supernatural determinants at the basis of all of nature and all events, yet he did not appear to be tradition-bound in the exchange of goods or ideas. He often greeted a foreign trader or mendicant with curiosity and enthusiasm. He was more likely to be distrustful of his own close neighbors. Although interested in novelty and trinkets, he was

practical and shrewd in the market, ever looking for a chance to manipulate this new opportunity to his own profitable ends. Occasionally during the course of the fur trade Indians hesitated to hunt or trap for the Europeans. But there is no sign anywhere of reluctance to play the role of middleman, and to play it at a high rate of return.

Despite the Indian's skill in commercial maneuvering, he could never understand the gross selfishness and drive for accumulation in European economic behavior. Generosity was to him the hallmark of respected status. All over North America feast-giving and a gracious exchange of gifts were the aristocratic, ceremonial ideal. The Indians imposed lagniappe upon the trader. Once free gifts had been imposed, they insisted that gifts be given by all traders. Were the trader hospitable and generous in the "American Indian way," immediately he then felt that he was taken advantage of by shameless Indian beggars who did not hesitate to steal or cheat.

Nonetheless, the newcomers also found in North America the grand manner. Here was Rousseau's noble savage, even if he did sell Captain Cook's men bladders filled with water instead of oil. De Soto and his army were amazed to see that the Indian aristocrats of the southeastern United States and Mississippi region behaved with an elegance that would not have been out of place in the court of any rich empire of the world. This savoir-faire was even more striking when it appeared in other parts of the country where the chiefs were scarcely chiefs, certainly not rulers. There warriors as well as chiefs often appeared

as skilled orators and statesmen. If masters at making war, the Indians also seemed to have been masters at making peace as though born with Roberts' Rules of Order or some diplomatic equivalent in their hands. They rapidly sought legal procedures for adjusting their grievances with the whites. Even on the continental peripheries the Aleutian Islanders, gentle people for almost two centuries, originally fought the Russians fiercely and early sent a deputation to St. Petersburg.

In a general fashion it is true that if the European discoverers of the northern New World did not find a great civilization in terms of its wealth and scope; they did, however, find a remarkable people who had somehow mastered the art of raising children to be poised, self-reliant individuals, not fearful of the unknown.

CULTURE AREAS AT THE TIME OF CONTACT

In all areas of North America the hunting of wild game by the men and the gathering of natural harvest by the women were important in the lives of the people. This shared pattern, some ten thousand or more years old, was the primary activity of peoples in many regions such as the Great Plains, the interior basins and plateaus of the transmontane west, and the Pacific coastal strip. The arts of horticulture, hoe farming, were added to these activities in other wide areas. This improvement of native subsistence had been developed several thousand years prior to the beginning of our era somewhere in Central or South America. These skills had diffused northward along with the fundamental domesticated plants, corn, beans and squash, and other minor crops as tobacco and

cotton. By the time Europeans appeared, there were two large areas in the United States where horticulture furnished the main staple foods. In general these were the areas to the east of the semi-arid western plains and south of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence drainage system; and stretches of the semi-arid mesa and desert country of the present States of New Mexico and Arizona with notable concentrations along the Rio Grande and Colorado drainages.

Agricultural Areas

In the east the most concentrated areas of horticulture were in the alluvial bottoms of the Mississippi drainage and in the basins and piedmont slopes of the Southeast. Here De Leon, Narvaez, De Soto, and other conquistadores of the early 16th century found large permanent towns and impressive concentrations of populations in the territory subsequently occupied by such groups as the Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Tunica, Taensa, and Natchez. In a concentric zone about this center of intense development was a region of what might be called marginal horticultural peoples. These groups utilized the river bottoms fingering out onto the Great Plains from its eastern margins. The Wichita lived in the southern part of this area, along the rivers of eastern Texas and the Red River of the south. On the river bottoms to the north were settlements of the Pawnee, Osage, Omaha, and Ponca. These groups and the Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa on the middle stretches of the Missouri did not see Europeans until the first half of the 18th century when French traders were active in their country.

To the eastward across the headwater basin of the Mississippi River and the southern shores of the Great Lakes there were various Algonquian- and Siouan-speaking groups of horticulturists and the Iroquois. This way of life extended up the St. Lawrence Valley where Cartier visited a large horticultural town near the site of Quebec in 1535 and a heavily fortified one on the site of Montreal. The St. Lawrence River was evidently the same kind of pathway for aboriginal commerce that it became for the French traders and missionaries in the 17th century. European trade goods had penetrated westward as far as the Seneca of New York between 1550 and 1575. This region was evidently marked by large scale movements and displacements of people, starting sometime before Europeans appeared. The towns Cartier visited and their Iroquoian-speaking inhabitants had disappeared when Champlain made his way up the river in 1603. Possibly these were the Iroquoian-speaking Huron who travelled east from their peninsula to trade corn with Algonquian-speaking Naskapi hunters in the vicinity of Quebec.

To the south in the fertile valley of the Hudson River people like the Mahican and Canarsee were evidently left alone after Verrazano's brief appearance in New York harbor in 1524 until Hudson sailed up to Albany in 1609. Verrazano also visited the Narragansett of Rhode Island, and his men traded with the Abnaki of Maine. The Abnaki would not permit them to land, behaving in a fashion which suggested earlier experience with Europeans. These Abnaki were probably the most northerly cultivators on the Atlantic seaboard; they were in later times. Although he did not land, Verrazano believed the Connecticut and Long

Island shores heavily populated because of the many fires seen at night. Champlain saw very few Indians when he ascended the Penobscot River in 1604, although there were cornfields everywhere to the south, in Boston harbor and along Cape Cod.

Throughout the whole region, particularly east of the Mississippi the picture is complicated by the interpenetration of the hunting mode of existence so prevalent across the north of the continent. There was a southward extension of groups primarily dependent on hunting who adopted various aspects of the settled way of life. Regions near rich fishing areas supported peoples who either subsisted primarily on fish and seafoods or heavily supplemented their diet from such sources. This was probably true of the region below Tampa Bay, and around the mouth of the St. Johns, Altamaha, and Savannah Rivers as well as low-lying offshore islands. Native life on the southern coastal margins was seriously disrupted by slave-raiding beginning with the opening of the 16th century, as well as by the entradas and settlement.

Early sixteenth century visitors to New England such as Champlain and John Smith were greatly impressed with the cod-fishing of the Massachusetts Indians; to them the sea life and fish runs of the New England streams seemed limitless. Fish were also a staple for the people of the Great Lakes region. At the same time in these regions there were always groups who for reasons of climate and soil or inclination practiced unusually intensive horticulture. This was true of the Tobacco Huron or Tionontati of Ontario, and the Narragansett in New England. In the

southeast groups like the Eno of North Carolina and the Choctaw in east-central Mississippi were noted for their horticultural skill.

In the western Great Lakes there were peoples who were predominantly fishermen or hunters practising a kind of pseudo-horticulture or utilizing semi-domesticated plants. The Menominee and Ojibwa harvested the wild rice (Zizania aquatica) of the smaller lakes. In this area and to the east there was considerable dependence upon the sugarbush, or wild sugar maple trees. According to Ojibwa traditional history they once gardened extensively--apparently because they had to--during a period when they were confined to La Pointe Island, Lake Superior, "hemmed in" by hostile Fox and Dakota. Perrot mentions their gardening at this site in the late 17th century.

The horticultural border line was uncertain and shifting. There were people like the Paiutes of the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada who actually irrigated crops of naturally occurring weeds which were then harvested for their seeds. In the valleys of California an abundant acorn harvest furnished a real staple crop for a settled existence much like that of the marginal gardening peoples far to the east.

The southwestern region was more inhospitable to farming, although it had supported horticultural societies for some two thousand years or more, at least as long as the southeastern United States. Due to the altitude and the general semi-arid character of the country in the southwest, there was a strict limit to the areas which could be utilized.

The mesa lands of New Mexico and the plateau country of northern Arizona are well above 5,000 feet in elevation, perched on either side of the continental divide. Native farmers of this area sought out and carefully utilized sheltered and naturally watered spots or used irrigation. Many of the Pueblo peoples brought water to their fields by hand in pottery containers. The Hopi made ingenious use of springs and underground seepages. The mesa-top Pueblo of Acoma stored water in a reservoir formed by a natural depression in the rock.

The pueblos were the most compact towns in North America. The houses, constructed of stone and adobe, sometimes abutted so closely on each other that they appeared to be one large interconnected building. This region was characterized by a remarkable cultural continuity as well as a physical continuity of residence which contrasts markedly with the situation in the Laurentian region and eastern United States. Some comparative newcomers like the Navaho and the related Apache were predominantly hunters and raiders, who ranged widely around the settlements. There were signs of warfare, including the abandonment of some villages, but the strong conflicts between the villagers and the nomadic groups came at a much later time.

In this region the Spaniards were met with a hostility or a lack of curiosity which strongly suggests that the people had a very good idea of what to expect. They were not disappointed. Since there is no evidence of a scantily documented period of Spanish activity such as characterized the eastern seaboard and Gulf, this knowledge must have come from word of mouth from Mexico or the southeast.

The first Spanish representative to reach the Pueblos was the Moorish slave Estevanico, one of the four survivors of Narvaez's ill-fated expedition of 1528. After spending almost six years with various Indian groups of the Texas coast Estevanico and other castaways escaped. Led by Cabeza de Vaca, they made their way to Mexico City. On this two-year journey they crossed western Texas, southern New Mexico and eastern Arizona. Although they did not visit the Pueblos, they were told of them and, as great shamans, received presents which originated there. The travelers' report precipitated Fray Marcos' expedition of 1539. Estevanico, serving as guide, reached Cibola, or Zuni, ahead of the main party, and was killed by the inhabitants. Fray Marcos turned back, but his exaggerated accounts of Cibola's riches inspired the Coronado expedition of the following year. Coronado's men attacked the Zuni pueblo of Hawikuh. The Zunis resisted, but finally abandoned the settlement and moved to the more defensible village atop nearby Taaiyalone Mesa.

On Tovar's subsequent visit to Tusayan, the country of the Hopi mesa-top villages to the north, the invaders were met with firmness on the part of the native peoples. Having hidden themselves against the base of the mesa under cover of darkness, the Spaniards started up the path to the top the next day. There they were met by the men of Tusayan, probably at the village of Awatovi. Not at all impressed by the horses and armor of the newcomers, the Hopi drew a line in the dirt and cautioned the Spaniards not to cross it. They also

unceremoniously beat one of the horses about the head with a club. Matters were settled readily enough, and the Spaniards received gifts from the natives. Later an expedition was sent to explore the brink of the Grand Canyon; there, short of water, the party failed to find a trail to the river far below, indicating that there were strict limits to Hopi cooperation.

As the exploring party moved eastward across the Pueblo region, the story is much the same. The people of Acoma, who according to the sanctimonious Spanish were noted robbers, came down and also drew lines in the dirt. Peaceful gestures were made, and the Indians gave gifts to the invaders. Fortunately, the Spaniards did not stay long, and the Keresan-speaking inhabitants were able to withdraw into their mesa-top village which was not touched, undoubtedly for the reason that it appeared to be impregnable.

A short while later a part of Coronado's army reached the province of Tiguex, twelve Tiwa pueblos located along the Rio Grande. The Spaniards were much impressed by the area but continued eastward as far as the Pueblo of Pecos. Deciding that Tiguex offered the best place to establish a winter camp, they took possession of a pueblo which they called Alcanfor and began to live off the stores of the natives.

At first the Tiwa were generous with their supplies, but soon the Spaniards began using harsh methods in collecting of food and clothing, sometimes literally stripping garments from the natives. An open struggle ensued when Indians from the pueblo called Arenal killed a number of the

Spanish horses and then barricaded themselves inside their pueblo. The Spaniards attacked repeatedly, but the Indian defenses held until the lower walls of the pueblo were breached and fires were built to smoke out the defenders. Promised protection and safety from any reprisals, the suffocating Indians rushed out only to be killed or taken captive. Many of the captives were burned alive as a "lesson" to those who would defend their homes. Others who tried to escape this torture were shot down. A few men did manage to get away, and these spread the tale of terror. As a result the whole population of Tiguex withdrew into two defensible villages, Moho and a pueblo for which no name is given in the Spanish chronicles. Moho was besieged by the Spaniards for some fifty days. During this time the defenders surrendered one hundred women and children in order to conserve their diminishing water supply. When the water supply failed completely, the Indians attempted to escape under cover of darkness, but most were killed or captured. The other pueblo was also besieged. Its defenders finally fled, leaving some one hundred women and children who were taken into captivity. Both pueblos were thoroughly plundered by the Spaniards.

To the south and west of the Pueblo country were settlements of riverine peoples; the Pima, Papago, and River Yumans. Their villages were open conglomerations of jacal-type houses: a series of sticks set upright and often plastered with adobe and the whole topped off with thatch. These settlements seem not to have had any religious structures in association; at least the underground meeting houses of the Pueblos were lacking. Like the mesa land, this lower country was dry and

desolate. The rivers, while perennial, either were cut down far below the surrounding plateau as in the Colorado drainage, or, like the Gila and the Salt, ran through virtual deserts in their lower courses. Along the Colorado River the annual flooding of lowland brought fresh alluvial deposits which the Yuma, Halchidhoma, Mojave, and Havasupai utilized for farming. In the Salt-Gila River drainages of southern Arizona, the country of the Sobaipuri and Pima, there were extensive irrigation canals, some reaching lengths of twenty-five miles. The nearby Papago lived as much by gathering as by their crops, which were planted on the desert flats during the summer rains when the people occupied brush-hut villages. As the ponds dried up, the natives dispersed to hunt or trade. In the Spaniards' haste to reach the riches of Cibola in 1539-40, these "poor" people of southern Arizona were left quite alone. This isolation was broken by Father Eusebio Kino's travels in the latter part of the seventeenth century. By then the region, which may once have been more peaceful, was involved in considerable warfare and strife, partly as a consequence of Apache incursions.

On the lower Colorado there is no sign that the warfare was brought to the Indians by Europeans. In 1540, when Hernando de Alarcon came by sea and Melchior Diaz by land, they were impressed by the great stature and warlike proclivities of the Yuman-speaking horticulturists who already knew of Coronado's activities some forty day's journey to to the northeast. For these people warfare was as continual as time

could afford. Not simply a manly pursuit, in some mystical fashion it was considered essential for the well-being of the whole group. Hand-to-hand combat with clubs and small weapons was preferred. In his passage of 1605 Onate saw seven of these Yuman groups, whose lives seemed little changed from that described 65 years earlier. Over the next three centuries these conservative groups remained in the same locations. They kept most of their old ways, although some European customs were gradually adopted. Despite the harshness of their environment and the endless flickering warfare, these people may well have had as secure an existence as the Pueblo villagers.

Hunting, Gathering, and Fishing Areas

Beyond the Colorado River to the north of the region of southwestern horticulture, the semi-arid conditions of the Great Basin were unrelieved by major waterways. In aboriginal times this region was inhabited very sparsely by the Ute, Shoshoni, Paiute, and Gosiute who led a simple, sometimes precarious, hunting-and-gathering existence. The so-called "Mission Tribes" of desert California were better situated since they could get to the sea if only once a year to trade. On the upper tributaries of the Klamath River and northward where the major Columbia River system dissects the Plateau, a predominantly berry-and-root gathering and hunting existence was enhanced by the annual migration of large numbers of spawning salmon from the coast up the interior streams.

In aboriginal times the wealthiest neighbors of the Salishan- and Shahaptian-speaking groups of the Columbian Plateau were the people farther down the rivers on the western side of the Cascade range where fish were even more abundant. This narrow Pacific littoral, which extends from northwestern California north to Yakutat Bay in Alaska, was inhabited by fishermen and sea-mammal hunters with a characteristic culture noteworthy for its wood-working skill. They built large plank dwellings and a variety of canoes, boxes, carvings, and monuments. Abundant crops of roots and berries were gathered. Dried or smoked fish, clams, and berries were the staple foods everywhere in the region, although in combinations which varied from place to place. Acorns were important in the diet of the Yurok of northern California, just as for their Sacramento Valley neighbors.

Except for minor differences of this sort, life was evidently much the same on up the Oregon coast through the territory of the Tillamook. The Chinookan-speaking people, living in the vicinity of the Columbia River where Lewis and Clark wintered in 1805-06, in some respects resembled not their southern neighbors but people to the north as far away as the Queen Charlotte Islands. The Lower Columbia peoples enjoyed the riches of the tidewaters of a great river, and they were wealthy traders. In 1792, when the American fur trader Robert Gray entered the river, he saw many villages along the banks.

Captain James Cook's exploration of 1778 had initiated an intense seaborne trade with the Indians of the coast. It ended around 1825

with the virtual extinction of the major fur-bearer, the sea otter. The fur traders were the first whites to visit the majority of the Indians of coastal Washington and Oregon, despite the major reconnaissance of the Puget Sound area conducted by Captain George Vancouver in 1792. Isolated upriver, peoples on the continental side of Puget Sound may not actually have seen Europeans until the establishment of Fort Nisqually in 1833. This fur-trade period, to the end of the first quarter of the 19th century, also marks the closing phase of the United States fur trade, which brought not only traders but also American and Canadian trappers into formerly isolated sectors like the southern Great Basin. Only scattered relict groups remained in some mountain fastnesses of the Sierra Nevada massif, the Trinity Alps, and the Siskiyous in California.

The Pacific coast was characterized by a maritime or riverine hunting orientation, yet even here the hunting of land-mammals was sometimes important. Groups on Puget Sound and the Olympic peninsula sought mountain goats for their wool. Deer and elk were important for some of the Lower Chinook who held their economic position in the sea-otter fur trade by selling heavy hide armor which the European traders then resold farther north.

The most impressive hunting resource available to the native peoples of North America seems to have been the bison. Vast herds of these animals ranged seasonally across the Great Plains of the interior, covering the area from the Rockies east to the Mississippi River and from the Texas plains north to Saskatchewan and Alberta. In

prehistoric times there must have been minor groups of hunters on the Plains who followed the bison on foot and traded with settled peoples on the eastern, southern, and river-bottom margins. On their way to Quivira in 1541, Coronado's expedition met such nomadic bison hunters, probably Plains Apache. All of the marginal horticurists of the Plains region depended upon the buffalo to a considerable extent. Its importance to them is illustrated by the inclusion of the bison and bison hunting in their horticulturally oriented religion and by the use of the bison scapula hoe as their major gardening tool. It seems likely that communal hunts were carried out at all times of the year when bison herds were present.

The economic importance of these hunts was limited by the lack of any draft animal other than the dog. Transportation was a problem for hunters who tried to live off the herds; these people also faced the severe winters of this continental area. It seems likely that groups came out from the western margins in the summer to hunt and retreated into sheltered valleys to spend the winter. This was still the pattern for people in the intermontane regions of the Plateau after the introduction of the horse. By the time the Nez Perce, Snake, and Kutenai were described by visitors such as Lewis and Clark early in the 19th century, their existence had been radically transformed by this domesticated animal. This was also true for the complete area of the Great Plains, which was peopled by mounted bison hunters recruited evidently from all of its margins. This successful new adaptation and

the tremendous movement of peoples into this region were among the most sweeping, radical consequences of the appearance of Europeans.

The nomadic hunting groups which Coronado saw on his trip to Kansas lacked the horse, but they shared many traits with these later nomadic mounted bison hunters. They both lacked many traits which are widespread in North America. The arts of pottery and of basket-weaving were given up by the bison hunters. Horticulture was lacking. There was no systematic use of fish as food. Water transportation was either lacking or poorly developed. Minimal use was made of roots and berries, and maize was obtained from the settled villages. These people were absolutely dependent on the bison herds. Basic sustenance was the meat from these animals. Homes were conical skin tipis, made from the hides of the animals. Clothing was buckskin, it is true, but bedding and the robes used against the winter weather were of bison hide. Food and gear were stored in containers of rawhide. Food was even boiled in buffalo paunches by the use of hot stones plunged into the stew. Except for the manufacture of weapons, work in stone, bone, and wood was not well developed. In fact, the inventory of possessions was kept to a minimum in order to make simpler the task of moving.

Thus far, North American Indian life has been described briefly in terms of regional cultural adaptations with some reference to the initial appearance of Europeans. The following section emphasizes the kinds of cultural similarities which cut across this differentiation.

Some of these similarities reflect the productive limits of the subsistence base, the preponderance of hunting, and the marginal character of much of the horticulture. In addition, many correspondences of outlook and custom had been developed over centuries of common history and shared cultural traditions.

CULTURAL SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

The Europeans met a comparatively sparse population living in small, autonomous villages or towns, family groups, or bands. In many places there was no tribal organization in the European sense of the term. A "tribe" often consisted merely of a people sharing the same dialect and customs who lived side by side without chief or other authority over them. One of the really basic ways the native groups identified themselves in contrast to neighbors or strangers was by language affiliation. It is no chance matter that the Europeans early came to use language as a convenient means of designating tribal units.

Villages and bands--even families and households--might be economically quite self-sufficient, although everywhere there was some form of barter or gift-exchange with outsiders. No group was so self-sufficient that it did not vitally need some raw material or product from others. No band of wanderers was so poor that they had nothing to offer, if only some type of root, nut, or pigment. Transportation and communication were relatively undeveloped and inefficient by Old World standards

except on major inland waterways such as the Mississippi River, the Laurentian-Great Lakes region, and in the fiord area of the Pacific coast. Nevertheless there were signs of contact between peoples and movements of people over wide areas. There appear to have been few natural barriers to the dissemination of treasured commodities and ideas. Many semi-nomadic or semi-sedentary groups came together seasonally for what amounted to trade fairs. Great gatherings for other ceremonial or economic purposes were usually combined with barter. Some casual trading was in the hands of individual peddlers or small parties who traveled great distances even in the face of widespread intermittent warfare and raiding. Only in the economically marginal areas was such warfare lacking.

This warfare, combined and intermingled with trade, resulted in the wide dispersal of aboriginal cultural elements, and of subsequent European ones. Everywhere there were "foreigners," refugees, prisoners of war, and former prisoners of war who had been adopted, "enslaved," or married. These interpreted unfamiliar languages and customs, and introduced them to the groups with which they became associated. The presence of the foreign women was an especially notable leveler in the pronunciation of disparate languages, contributing to the formation of broad areas of common sound patterns, or phonetic belts, which spread across numerous unrelated languages. This kind of intercommunication was also expressed in the cosmopolitan attitude of individuals and in the cultural uniformities which cut across linguistic diversity and

political anarchy. In the Old World the development of feudal and semi-feudal states had so modified this early form of communication that it is now difficult for us to evaluate the role which it could play. We commonly equate backwardness with isolation.

Marginal Peoples

It is true, of course, that the peoples living in some sections of North America were relatively isolated from peoples of other cultures. In these areas the natural conditions for existence were extremely difficult, the mode of subsistence was reduced to its simplest terms, and the population was meager and scattered. There were few reasons for outsiders to enter these regions. Lower California and the interior of Labrador constituted such relict areas, as did the Gulf coastal margin of Texas, the desert and semi-arid Great Basin, and parts of the Columbian Plateau. Some of the most marked exceptions to the general North American Indian characteristics were found among these poor and solitary folk.

Cabeza de Vaca described Coahuiltecan Indians of southern Texas in 1533 as people who had no fixed abodes, lived mainly on roots, and even utilized powdered bones for nutrient. He suggested that these people would have consumed rocks if there were any to be found. Only when the cactus fruit was ripe did they have adequate food. Despite the constant effort necessary to barely support themselves, they did engage in warfare and feuding. After a time they actually enslaved the Spanish visitors, rather surprising behavior on the part of people who

periodically were near starvation. This was at variance with the traditional treatment of native prisoners of war who generally were adopted or married into the tribe.

Almost three hundred years after de Vaca's adventure, the tiny wandering bands of Great Basin people were practicing the same type of ingenuity in exploiting every potential food item in their environment: grasshoppers, pinon nuts, rats, and lizards. The Gosiutes, who rescued the famished Jedediah Smith after his 1827 initial crossing of the central Nevada deserts, seemed even then to be completely withdrawn from the sweeping effects European contact had on the Indians living east and west of them. Although they lived a more settled, secure village existence, some interior Salishan peoples appeared to be similarly uninfluenced by life around them when David Thompson first met them on his 1811 descent of the entire length of the Columbia River. Groups like the Methow, Sinkiuse-Columbia, Nespelem, and Sanpoil showed little evidence of the warfare and military interests which characterized their close neighbors who had taken over the horse complex.

Agricultural Peoples

At the other extreme from these marginal groups there were marked cultural and social divergences among the remnants of the wealthiest communities in North America which once ranged along the central and lower reaches of the Mississippi River and covered a large part of the southeastern United States. These communities, in turn, show many signs of having been influenced by the high cultures of Mexico and Central

America. As Hernando de Soto's army wandered across the aboriginal Southeast in 1540-41, they met peoples who were living in fairly large towns separated by open country, woods, and cultivated fields. Groups of these towns were evidently united into "provinces," with the high-ranking head of one settlement in a position of command. Whatever these provinces were politically, they were linguistic units with clear-cut boundaries. Sometimes the Spaniards faced native "armies" of six to ten thousand men at these borders or at defensible points. Occasionally these forces retreated to a town where another stand was made. On the Atlantic coast and in northern Florida some towns were fortified with elaborate palisades. Extensive moats protected settlements along the Mississippi River. Archeological evidence suggests that there were aboriginal towns in this general region containing eight or ten thousand people.

The 16th century narratives, although confusing, serve to establish a fairly dense population along the Mississippi River. By the 18th century there remained only tiny relict groups--the Taensa, Tunica, Natchez, and Chitimacha. There was considerable aboriginal warfare here and across the country occupied by the Timucua, Hichiti, Yamasee, and Apalachee, as well as the Chickasaw and Choctaw. Extensive stored supplies of surplus foodstuffs are indicated by the ability of these peoples to fulfill Spanish levies. Evidences of social stratification were widespread. Generally there was some form of aristocracy with individual members in positions of considerable authority. In one

district fields were cultivated by individuals whose tendons of one leg had been cut to hamper their escape.

Unfortunately, the De Soto chroniclers obtained little insight into the native rationale behind the social order, or the mounds and the temple ossuaries which surmounted them. Their rather vague understanding of the importance of the sun in the aboriginal religion does agree with known native belief supporting a venerated priest-king. By the 18th century this type of ruler was found only among the Natchez-Taensa and the Caddo, and, in attenuated form, in the social structure of the Chitimacha. At that time the Natchez claimed to have once held the Mississippi River as far north as the confluence of the Wabash and the Ohio Rivers. They believed that their divine aristocracy, the Suns, and their complicated caste system were established by a family line "from Mexico."

The heart of the southeastern horticultural area was differentiated from the rest of North America by the same type of theocratic organization which is believed to have existed in the Mississippian, or Temple Mound, archeological complex. On the other hand, the native warfare in this area as documented by the 16th century Spanish observations is characteristic of the aboriginal United States generally. The Spaniards found little or no evidence of the desire to conquer other people in order to seize their territory or to force them to become tributary. In the military interactions with De Soto two themes of native warfare were established which do not disappear from the North American scene

until the close of the 19th century with the final military defeat of the Indians. There was an endless feuding among the native groups. In contrast to this was the ability of warring factions to unite on a limited basis for limited objectives. As De Soto's expedition moved across the southeast some groups, evidently the weaker, sought at once to employ the Spaniards' strength and military potentialities in order to gain new advantage against traditional foes. However, by the time the surviving Spaniards were preparing to flee down the Mississippi River, there was a great alliance of ten autonomous "districts" formed to destroy them and, presumably, also poised to finish off their abandoned native allies.

Division of Labor

In addition to sharing widespread patterns of warfare, the southeastern United States seems to have been one with the rest of the continent in basic economic organization. Throughout North America a simple sexual division of labor predominated. Women generally conducted the stay-at-home tasks. They processed the raw materials and foods, gathered wild products, and carried on the gardening. Among the more nomadic groups they were in charge of the transportation of goods as well as household appurtenances. In addition they set up and struck camp. Men were hunters, fishermen, warriors, and helped with the heavy horticultural work.

In the Pueblos of the southwest and among the Tunica of the Lower Mississippi the men were the farmers, probably because it was not

necessary to devote all of their time to hunting. Shifts in customary occupations of the sexes seem to have been more feasible for the horticulturists generally and for the maritime groups of the Pacific coast. In contrast, people who lived predominantly by hunting and the marginal horticulturists had the idea that it was a disgrace for a man to engage in "women's work." The individual who wished to change his occupation across sexual lines had to change sexual identity, clothing, and status.

The productive limits of the division of labor according to sex and age were expanded everywhere by conducting some activities by work parties. These ranged from the drives and surrounds of grasshoppers and antelope in the Great Basin, deer in the Plateau, rabbits in the Pueblo country, to the bison drives and hunts of the Great Plains. Occasionally these labors involved specialized, elaborate equipment, and divisions of function as in the whaling of the Makah and Quinault of Cape Flattery. Often a whole community simply worked side by side in a relatively uncoordinated fashion with tasks differentiated according to age or sex. Communal hunts enhanced the security of the simplest hunters and gatherers. These also meant that people without any political order delegated considerable authority to individuals who directed and supervised these tasks.

These great harvest times of the hunters and gatherers, such as when the wild rice was gathered in the western Great Lakes or when the white fish concentrated at the Straits of Mackinac were taken, had the social value of bringing together for the social amenities of community

life people who might be scattered and isolated at other seasons. Life on the Pacific littoral was distinguished by the unparalleled number and potential wealth of these occasions. Fairly large permanent villages with large substantial houses were seasonally occupied at various sites with periods of dispersal into small family hunting and fishing camps. The Vancouver expedition conducted the initial European reconnaissance of the Puget Sound area during one of these periods of dispersal so that it is difficult to assess his report that in 1792 part of this region had been recently depopulated.

Work parties were of fundamental importance in the southeastern horticultural economy, often on a town basis. The Creek and Cherokee women cared for family gardens alongside their homes, but the main food supply was grown on a large town field divided into family plots. The townsfolk planted and cultivated the field together. Only at harvest time were the plots worked separately. Each family gathered in its own produce and placed it in a family storehouse. A share was reserved for the town storehouse to supply public needs such as aid for the needy, the equipment of military expeditions, or the accommodation of visitors. Hunting and fishing were also community enterprises. Each town had its own game preserves. Town councils regulated their use. The towns also owned fishing places.

Crafts

In North America generally the various handicrafts were conducted by individuals on a part-time basis as a sideline to subsistence

activities. There were few, if any, full-time specialists; but the lack of specialization and the availability of only simple tools did not bar technical and aesthetic mastery.

Certain fine products were associated with specific regions, localities, or even villages on the basis of traditional interest or skills as well as the possession of special raw materials. The Spaniards described beautiful repousse copper ornaments worn by the Timucua and other southeastern Indians. Flint work in the valleys of California was as fine as that of pre-dynastic Egypt. The locale of Sir Francis Drake's landing in Miwok Indian territory on the California coast in 1579 was established by an accurate description of the exquisite Pomo-type coiled basketry. These artfully designed and executed containers, so finely woven that they were water-tight without further caulking, were decorated by feathers, bits of irridescent abalone shells, and valuable disc beads which were woven into the surface. The Chitimacha were also noted for their woven basketry. An especially fine cloth of mulberry fiber was woven by the Tunica in the southeastern textile tradition. The Pueblos wove cloth from their domesticated cotton. The Clallam of the Olympic peninsula made blankets from the wool of a special breed of dogs. The Montauk, or Canarsee, Indians met Verrazano in 1524 wearing feather garments. Feather cloaks were made in New England and the eastern United States quite generally.

The women of the Pueblos and southeast were skilled potters. The women of the Great Plains processed supple white deerskins and heavy,

warm buffalo hide robes. Osage and Blackfoot men made excellent bows. Tonti in the 1680's claimed that some Caddo men did nothing but make bows. In 1524 the Narragansett Indians of Rhode Island used arrows "worked with great beauty" and tipped with heads of "emery, jasper, hard marble, and other sharp stones." Of all the peoples of the continent only the Chumash of the Santa Barbara Islands fashioned plank canoes, coated with bitumen. In 1542 they met Cabrillo, the first European visitor to the California coast, in craft which were twenty-five feet long with a beam of four feet and held as many as twenty passengers. At almost the same time the Yumans were busy ferrying the Diaz party across the lower Colorado in basketry coracles pitched with bitumen. Such crossings were also accomplished in large ceramic pots.

The finest dugout canoes of the Lower Columbia and the Washington coast were fashioned from huge cedars by the Nootka of Vancouver Island. Using these craft, the Makah of Cape Flattery became some of the greatest canoemen in the world. They paddled some thirty miles out to sea in order to fish the halibut banks. During post-contact times the Comanche became highly skilled as horsemen; they drilled until they could rescue a fallen comrade from the ground at a full gallop. The woodsmanship, tracking ability, and hunting skills of the northeastern Indians have become legendary. Iroquois raiding parties were able to travel on foot five hundred miles or more from home and return with prisoners, living off the land and moving at times through wild country away from worn trails to avoid detection. If they faced a large stream, they knew how

to construct a bark canoe. The same kind of ingenuity and skill was necessary to carry the Ojibwa on their yearly trading voyages from Chequamegon Bay on Lake Superior to Montreal and return.

With the exception of restrictions based on age and sex, these various skills and handicrafts were equally accessible to all members of the community. Private, secret knowledge, which was inherited or purchased from others, was usually in the supernatural realm in the form of magical formulae, prayers, or amulets. Since such esoteric lore was often considered essential for skill or successful performance in secular spheres, it could restrict participation in crafts or other activities. This line of reasoning meant that skill was never considered the simple result of perfecting individual talent; instead it was believed that some decisive component of supernatural assistance was necessary. The powerful warrior, adept hunter, basket-maker, or potter--all were blessed.

Aboriginal Religion

This basic outlook of North American Indian religion differed fundamentally from the ethical systems of the world-wide religions. The latter usually distinguish between supernatural or spiritual rewards and worldly coin. For most of these religions spiritual strength ideally is associated with withdrawal from the world or renunciation of worldly pleasures and aims. In the New World, however, supernatural prowess was equated directly with worldly achievement. The aid of the supernatural was sought for an improvement of life in

this world, not in some future afterlife or incarnation, yet forms of puritanical renunciation and even harsh discipline could be essential to achieve these worldly ends.

The odor of humans was repellant to supernatural forces. This impurity could be removed through continence, fasting, bathing, purgatives, and emetics. The supernatural was then reached through dreams, visions, and signs. Occasionally, stimulants facilitated this communication. The religious value of heightened emotional states leading to trance or unconsciousness was likely to carry over in reaction to the alcohol brought by Europeans. According to Robert Beverley the aboriginal Virginians did not "taste any strong drink at all, unless they can get enough to make them quite drunk, and then they go as solemnly about it as if it were part of their religion."

In North American Indian religion, perhaps in so-called primitive religion generally, there was little recourse to a god who moves in mysterious ways or to some grand design beyond man's understanding. It might take a shaman or a priest to explain the motivations of a god, but precise explanations were generally available. The awesomeness or mystery was, instead, in the tremendous energies involved in the charge or discharge of vast supernatural forces and in the peopling of land and sky with demons and creatures, potentially dangerous or helpful to man. Similarly on earth there were people who might possess harmful influences and intentions, unknown and undiscovered for a time. This fear of sorcery and witchcraft was no doubt enhanced by the disruptions of contact times, particularly by the terrible death rate of epidemics.

It is not possible to describe the general attributes of North American Indian religion without reference to the many possibilities of European influence. Many European ideas seem to have been added to the native store of sorcery beliefs. Due to the pragmatic religious approach, "if it works, it's sound," there was no intellectual barrier to the early diffusion of many Christian notions and elements. Some people in later times became disillusioned when they found that Christianity "didn't work." The equation of worldly and supernatural status meant readjustments to the changing status of the native communities and the sweeping events of contact times. Native religion and authority could be severely undermined as the Europeans appeared more powerful, sometrmes overwhelmingly so. It was also possible to rationalize new situations on the basis of the old beliefs, and new tragedies were attributed to a flaw in relations with the supernatural. Thus a Natchez priest told Antoine Du Pratz how his people were nearly destroyed after a careless priest let the sacred fire go out and secretly rekindled it from a profane flame. Five hundred aristocratic Suns died, and all the people would have perished had not the guilty man confessed when he, himself, was dying. By then only a remnant of the people remained.

North American Indians generally considered supernatural power to be a vast, generalized or abstract energy manifest throughout nature. Man was not an actual repository or expression of this force, but instead tapped it indirectly through the intercession of its manifestation in natural forces, animals, and even objects which were animated

by it. These might function as tutelary spirits or be personified into gods. Gods seem to have been of less immediate importance to the individual than the personal guardian spirits. Like the deities of classical antiquity, the Indian gods held sway over restricted spheres of influence. High gods were not concerned with details of the world.

After contact the high gods frequently were given attributes of the Christian deity. The restricted distribution of the Caddo "Captain Above" reported by the French in the closing decades of the 17th century suggests the possibility of influence from Cabeza de Vaca's activity as a curer and religious practitioner, or from the missionaries who accompanied Coronado to the Wichita in 1541. Some influences may have gone the other way; it seems that the Chippewa Manabozho may have given birth to Paul Bunyan in the lumber camps of the north woods. Yet, those closer to the Indian viewpoint have considered the gigantic hare of Algonquian mythology to represent Manabozho. As the Great Rabbit, he was the personification of life and possessed not only the power to live, but also the correlative power of renewing his own life and of quickening and therefore of creating life in others.

Seasonal changes in the horticultural cycle and the seasonal appearance of various plants or animals were marked by religious ceremony. There were many of these in the southeastern United States, like the Creek busk for which people came together from considerable distances. A calendric cycle of ceremonies was also characteristic of the Pueblos and the Plains horticulturists. The fertility of the crops was a fundamental concern of religion in these areas; the supernatural

control of rainfall was particularly important in the Plains, Southwest and parts of the Southeast.

Fire was sacred over much of the continent as the vehicle for burnt offerings. For some peoples, such as the Natchez, it represented the life principle, and a sacred fire was kept burning continuously. The Cherokee and other southern groups believed that an eternal fire burned beneath some of their mounds. Annual ceremonies of fire-renewal were held by the Creek, Iroquois, and Hopi. The Arikara limited this ceremony to the death of a chief. The Chippewa and Ottawa claim once to have maintained a sacred or national fire, evidently like that of the Natchez.

Tutelary supernaturals were usually the source of the shaman's ability to cure sickness and to prevent or cause harm and death. Priests were more likely to possess sacred knowledge for manipulating or interpretating the generalized power and supernatural relationships. Yet there was considerable variation from place to place in the social structure of the religion. In the Northwest Coast winter rituals, for example, the active participants were actually possessed or animated by their tutelary spirits just as shamans generally were. In the Pueblos of the Southwest the community gods were simply impersonated by performers by means of elements of costuming and masks. The gods were present as spectators and became well-disposed through their pleasure at seeing their ceremonies duplicated by man.

The tutelaries seem to constitute a rather individualistic form of helper. Nonetheless, societies were formed by persons who had the same type of religious experience or who possessed the same category of helper. The Navajos, Pueblos, and the Great Plains people had religious societies made up of those who had been cured by the same form. Initiation or curing fees of various scope were involved. With all of the emphasis upon personal, ecstatic or mystical experience, dreams, and visions, there was a pronounced tendency for supernatural attributes to come into the economic sphere.

The services of the priest, curer, or sorcerer were secured by payment or gifts. At times the knowledge or the power which another had obtained from a religious experience could be acquired through the purchase of amulets and fetishes. These were the repositories of power and also served as mnemonic references to the occasions when the power became manifest to the individual. The Blackfoot medicine bundles, evidently first obtained in the fur-trade period, were bought from the Mandan-Hidatsa.

Where new forms of wealth, like the Blackfoot horses, were expressed in a more stable differentiation of the community into rich and poor families, this differentiation was naturally reflected in the religious realm. In the Puget Sound area where inherited status became important, the individual generally "found" on his personal quest a supernatural helper that had been in the possession of his ancestors or relatives. This power was inherited in effect, as well as achieved through ceremonial

purity and effort. Even so it might only be effective after a kind of payment to the community in the form of feast-giving and distribution of presents.

Existence after death was considered to be somewhat of a continuation of this world rather than a status introducing new relationships and elements. The barrier between life and death, therefore, was not insurmountable; in many places the dead continued to be important in relation to the living and vice-versa. Feasts in honor of the dead were widespread. There was a great intercommunity or "intertribal" ceremony in the northeast among groups like the Huron. At the annual Huron feast all of those who had died during the year were disinterred, and the corpses were carried about. There was a lavish display and distribution of wealth and a mass reburial in a general burial pit, after the flesh was stripped from the bones and these were rewrapped. The whole matter was a solemn affair in honor of the departed with extensive supernatural ramifications. It is reminiscent of the practice of burying the dead in mounds.

Handling of the dead and various forms of reburial were common in the eastern United States. In the southeast the remains of priest-chiefs and particularly sacred or important individuals were given special treatment. Often their bones or corpses were permanently kept in the temple. In 1528, the Narvaez expedition found Apalachee corpses wrapped in painted deerskins stored in merchandise boxes of Spanish manufacture. These were destroyed and burned, helping to trigger a month-long conflict in which the Spaniards were finally forced to

abandon this fortified town and withdraw to the coast. Almost two centuries later the Powhatan of Virginia still preserved the corpses of chiefs by filling the flayed skin with fine white sand and the dried articulated bones. Flesh which had been removed was dried and stored in baskets at the foot of the body. Numbers of these were kept in a temple guarded permanently by priests and an "idol."

The charnel houses and the bone-pickers of the Choctaw and other southern tribes are much better known at all periods than the beliefs underlying these customs. Where the inheritance of status or wealth was of importance, as in the southeastern region and on the Northwest Coast, there may have been a trend toward ancestral cults. In the southwestern Pueblos all the dead were considered to be important in relation to the community. Among Plains horticulturists, like the Pawnee, the departed shamans were remembered with food thrown into the fire.

The remains of animals and fish were also treated in ways to insure continued success for the hunter and the replenishment of the supply of fish. Respectful treatment might prevent resentment in the soul of the slain animal or avoid offending his still-living relatives. The bear, in particular, was venerated, decorated, and apologized to for having been slain; this ritual was practiced by northern hunters across the continent and into Asia.

The tremendous diversity of belief in North American Indian religions suggests a diffusion of religious ideas into the New World from vast sectors of time and space. In the contact period new ideas were introduced;

at the same time there must have been a considerable loss of old elements. It is hard to judge how much of the original organization of religion into a codified or coherent system was lost by various groups. There seems to have been a great deal of cultural variation from this standpoint. Among the Pueblos, where there is a well-integrated community religion tied in with the horticultural cycle, there is a remarkable range in the character of minor beliefs from village to village, although these appear in a common overall setting. Within a Northwest Coast village, traditions varied a great deal from family to family, since some of these were valued family property. Among some of the sedentary villages of the Great Plains the priesthood had elaborated or maintained philosophical concepts which united superficially disparate beliefs. It was believed that supernatural power was polarized into forces of earth and death contrasted with sky and life. The dominance of these shifted with the seasons. This dichotomy was also expressed in authority figures. The civic chief was gentle and wise. He never could resort to or deal with physical violence. The war chief functioned in affairs of death, aggression, and fighting. This kind of division was also widespread in the southeastern United States, as presumably was the rationale. It must have been behind the misunderstood Good Spirit-Evil Spirit dichotomy described by early missionaries and observers in the eastern United States generally. To the Indians of the Great Plains this dualism had no such connotation.

CHANGES IN NATIVE LIFE DUE TO CONTACT

INFLUENCE OF CONTACT ON SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Due to the lack of an emphasis upon ethics there was little stress on good and evil as separate and distinct entities. Nonetheless, there was a fairly clear-cut code of conduct governing matters which could be classified as legal or judicial. This code differed from that of the Europeans in fundamental respects which contributed to much mutual misunderstanding. In particular, there were very different ideas on the responsibility of an individual for actions which affected other people unfavorably. American Indians generally evaluated only the actual results of an action in determining indemnities or the nature of reprisals for an offense. There was none of the concern with the question of the intention of the actor or culprit, which is so important in our legal code. In the European view, the Indian attitude had the consequence of an indefinite extension of responsibility or, what is much the same thing, of a willingness to accept or seize compensation from sources not responsible. This meant that the misdeeds or agression of individual Europeans could have widespread, continuing repercussions.

North American Indian notions regarding land tenure differentiated rights of use from ownership. Individual or family ownership of territory did not always imply exclusive rights of use, perhaps due to the emphasis upon generosity and hospitality. This was particularly true of village sites. Sale of land to Europeans, therefore, might not

imply to the Indians a permanent loss of access. Sometimes ownership was generalized (chief-for-group) or non-existent (Great Spirit). There might then be no one in the native community with the authority or right to alienate land.

The religious equation of supernatural and worldly status meant that man's relationship to the supernatural was closely reflected in his standing with his fellowman. In reacting to slights or humiliations, the North American Indian had no inner spiritual retreat of the type theoretically offered by some of the world's ethical systems. What might seem a minor slight to us could strike at an individual's whole self-esteem and status in a fashion which could only be handled by a drastic or vengeful reassertion of earthly and supernatural might. Starting at an early period in the eastern United States, friendly outsiders described the Indians not simply as proud and haughty but, above all, as sensitive to slight or shame. They were also seen as vengeful and capable of harboring grudges for a tremendously long time before adjusting them. Sometimes serious outrages were not balanced for generations. In the sphere of native conflict this meant that wars and raiding were always justified and motivated by the most noble or righteous sentiments. This must be remembered in evaluating the economic motivations and consequences of the native warfare of contact times. During the period when the Iroquois were endlessly involved in trade wars, they continued to raid their traditional foe, the Catawba, who lived in South Carolina and could not be considered as interfering with the Iroquios fur trade.

Very few special statuses or formal positions were differentiated in the North American social scheme. Men could be priests, ritualists, shamans, chiefs, warriors or war leaders, hunt captains, and officials or high-ranking members of a variety of fraternal organizations. These latter always had special dances, ceremonies, songs, and costumes. A chief's roles could be delegated to a variety of sub-chiefs who served as the chief's speakers or heralds, attendants or representatives, particularly at these ceremonies. Among the Great Plains bison hunters of the 19th century there was an elaborate development of military offices and societies. These societies were ranked roughly according to the age of the members. Some tribes had as many as 10 such groups. Young boys or inexperienced warriors made up the lowest ranking society, and old men who had retired from active warfare, the highest. The latter usually served as advisors and supervisors of tribal ceremonies. The lower ranking units served as policemen or performers for the great communal hunts, war expeditions or camp circles. This type of organization seems to have been a post-contact development among some groups in the Plains region. Yet, this potentiality must have been widespread judging from the Huguenot descriptions of the military organization and discipline of the Timucua and neighboring Florida tribes in the 1560's.

It should be clear that although this social scheme was comparitively simple, the people themselves were not. However, some personal traits do seem related to the restriction of the political unit to kin or village groupings and the intimacy of the small-sized social unit. Throughout

North America, Indian groups with chiefs of high rank placed them in the role of a father to the group. As such, he was expected to be generous with them. Generosity was the ideal for all persons, but it was especially the hallmark of high or respected status. Where there were no headchiefs, the wealthier men were expected to be generous. On the other hand, where there were no wealthy men, the chief usually possessed some economic authority; often he was an overseer. What varied most were the ways used by the chiefs to gain and maintain their special economic status. Sometimes this status seemed to result primarily from the chief's own activities and those of his immediate family; in such instances he might also be supported by the informal generosity of the others toward him. This was generally true among the Blackfoot, Sioux, and other Great Plains buffalo hunters. In other places, chiefs had various rights of first fruits or even rights of tribute to help them to exercise their responsibility for the welfare of others. The town storehouse of southeastern Indians "belonged" to the headchief, yet it was his for the purpose of assuring community security and hospitality. In 1792 when Lieutenant Broughton of the Vancouver expedition explored the lower reaches of the Columbia River, a Lower Chinook chief moved ahead of him for a time, commandeering fish to give to the expedition from the Indians working along the river.

Wisdom and skill in communication were essential characteristics for all kinds of leaders, perhaps due to the comparative absence of coercive power. War leaders had to be good speakers in order to persuade individuals

to go to war. The civic leaders also harangued, listened, and explained in order that policies might meet the desires of all participants, if possible. The goal of these democrats seems to have been unanimity and not majority rule. Serious differences were resolved by splitting up the community. According to traditional history, this is how many new groups or tribes were formed.

The appearance of Europeans evidently accelerated and intensified many processes which were at work before they came: commerce, warfare, and the movement of peoples. Many traits which distinguish North American Indian life thus became more important. The comparatively sparse population became sparser as an immediate consequence of the military action of Europeans, the intruduction of Old World diseases, and the accelerated native warfare.

Some diseases introduced by the brief visits of the early explorers spread rapidly through the native peoples. Since the provenience and the consequences of these diseases are not completely known, it is likely that the early population estimates from various parts of North Americ do not accurately represent the aboriginal situation nor aboriginal economic potentialities.

In the eastern Gulf region and the Atlantic seaboard there are early glimpses of the way that Spanish military action combined with diseases to depopulate coastal areas. Alonzo de Pineda entered Mobile Bay in 1519. At the mouth of the Mobile River he found a large town; traveling upstream for six leagues, he saw 40 villages. In the fall of

1540 De Soto's forces engaged in a pitched battle at a fortified town to the north of Mobile Bay. Three thousand Indians are said to have been killed in this battle. In 1559, when a part of Tristan de Luna's expedition reached this area, they found an abandoned town. Natives whom they met stated that the town had been partially destroyed and its inhabitants driven away by men like themselves. De Luna also found that the countryside around Mobile Bay had been virtually abandoned.

The records are similar throughout the area of Spanish contact. In 1520-21 Ayllon's men raided along the Atlantic Coast and made off with seventy captives to be used as slaves. Slave raiding along this coast continued for many years. As late as 1700 the English in company with Chickasaws were slaving among the Acolapissa. Captain Juan Pardo in 1556 and 1567 led full-fledged expeditions of more than one hundred soldiers into the interior mountains of the Carolinas, where he built a fort and found some evidences of De Soto's passage of many years before. His men claimed to have killed some 1500 of the native people on a military expedition of only four-days' duration.

One-century-and-a-half later French exploration from the north penetrated into the sectors of the Mississippi region which had felt the effects of De Soto's and Coronado's entradas. The records of Jolliet's expedition of 1673 and of La Salle's and Tonti's various journeys between 1678 and 1691 make it clear that the people whom they met had no knowledge of the now abandoned mound sites with their attendant town ruins. The Cahokia, Tamaroa and other Illinois living at or near Cahokia, the great mound

center with over one hundred artificial mounds, had not even a glimmering of the origin nor significance of these works. The same is true all the way down the river. The Quapaw villages clustered about the White-Arkansas-Mississippi confluence certainly saw the French now as strangers and newcomers. Still it cannot be said that they had not been influenced by contact, since the presence of such Siouan-speaking groups at this precise location was a result of the cultural dislocations caused by the earlier entradas. Only among such groups as the Natchez, Tunica, Taensa, Creeks and Caddo were there fragments of the complex life of these earlier ceremonial centers.

The Caddo, incidentally, must have always occupied a western position which was somewhat peripheral to these former groups. Unfortunately the records from De Soto's army tell little of their region. Effects of contact with the Europeans were apparently less severe here than in the areas to the east. There were still extensive populations in the Caddo country when Joutel and other members of La Salle's last expedition crossed this region on their way from the Texas Gulf Coast to the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi Rivers in the spring of 1687. The party met Caddo Indians, already familiar with horses, who had adopted elements of Spanish clothing. The men were engaged in extensive hunting and warfare, yet it was clear that the Southeastern horticultural pattern had survived here. The villages were scattered along the river bottoms for many miles in either direction from a central temple or communal gathering place. High ranking members of the community lived

near the religious edifices and conducted various ceremonies for the total village population.

Depopulation resulting from early epidemics is difficult to trace even in the archeological record, since a constantly decreasing population could be continually regrouping into as large or even larger, if fewer, communities. In historic times regrouping was frequently necessary if continued existence was to be assured in the face of severe warfare. The social and political fabric of formerly independent groups was drastically uprooted in these amalgamations and the old integrity and meaning of affiliations shifted. The chiefly authority which remained was often threatened and undermined by that of others. Some such process may account for the democratization of groups like the Creek, Chiekasaw, and Choctaw in historic times. These people probably once had a well-developed theocracy similar to that of other communities associated with the late prehistoric phases of the Mississippian, or Temple Mound, archeological complex. No doubt many tribal leaders were killed in battles with the Europeans. It also seems probable that the old meaning of the priesthood and of civil authority was dimmed among the Southeastern tribes by the almost incessant warfare of Colonial times, since the offices of war and peace were sharply separated in aboriginal government and religion.

The epidemic diseases and the warfare which swept North America not only removed people from the scene but also modified the survivors' lives, cultures, and viewpoints in ways that can scarcely be reconstructed.

The initial direction of this change seems to have been a step backward culturally, a loss of forms of integration and functioning, as well as of discrete elements. Due to the character of archeological and documentary evidence it is easy to see that this must have occurred in the Mississippi region and the Southeast. This disintegration is more difficult to assess in an area like southern New England, which was decimated by "pestilence" in 1617 following John Smith's early reconnaissance prior to the first European settlement. In the case of the Massachusetts Indians, who barely survived this brief interlude of warfare combined with disease, there is no way to determine the true political or social meaning of their organization, which was described by the Europeans as being made up of "three kingdoms or sagamoreships having under them seven dukedoms or petty sagamores." Similarly, the native social order which Jacques Cartier briefly glimpsed along the St. Lawrence in 1535 is bound to remain a mystery. The town near the site of Quebec was said to be the capital of a province, in turn subject to a much mightier ruler, the "great King and Lord" of Hochelaga, a fortified Iroquois town on the site of Montreal.

It is possible that tribal organization of the Old World type was more widespread and predominant in North America in aboriginal times and that religious and secular leaders may once have been more powerful. However, there were no cities, nations, standing or draft armies, and there was little stress on classical conquest, the motivation of most Old World warfare.

NATIVE MIGRATIONS AND WARFARE DUE TO CONTACT

Along with disruptions due to amalgamation into new communities there was another kind of disruption of the social scene as a consequence of European settlement. Some people, displaced time after time, entered upon a nomadic or drifting sort of existence. This existence emphasized hunting and gathering and the maintenance of small mobile community units without extensive stored surpluses and all other aspects of life which would further survival under conditions of increased warfare and pestilence. Groups like the Shawnee, or Savannah, and the Delaware radically changed their way of life during the contact period. The lives of the coastal peoples in what is now New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland were disrupted at an early date. The majority of the Tuscarora moved northward out of the Carolina piedmont to the country of the Iroquois to avoid further disintegration after years of warfare and enslavement. A multitude of small shifting communities of Algonquian people who roamed across the northeastern quadrant of the Mississippi basin represents a similar process. The Potawatomi, Menominee, Kickapoo, Sauk, Fox, Miami, and the numerous Illinois groups: Kaskaskia, Peoria, Michigamea, Tamaroa, Cahokia, and others were seldom long in one place throughout the contact period.

It is difficult to classify these peoples either as horticulturists or as hunters; they were both, just as they were neither sedentary nor completely nomadic. Their way of life was truly a product of the contact period in a very rapid process of transition, readjustment, and

ultimately complete dislocation. Ironically, some of these people furnished the raw material from which the popular image of the romantically wild Indian of the Forest was constructed. This instability strewn Algonquian place names across the entire Midwest in great profusion and ultimate confusion. The problem of precisely locating any one of these groups during the contact period presents real difficulties. There does not seem any reasonable doubt, however, that their movement was relatively recent and that the peoples were, in essence, new-comers in all the areas where they were found.

Due to disruptions in the Southwest people from the pueblos of the upper Rio Grande country had migrated by the middle of the 17th century across the Plains to what is now Scott County in western Kansas. There, among the Plains Apache, they built a small pueblo known as El Cuartelejo and set up an irrigation system. The Apache had been drifting southward across the Plains for some time and continued to do so well into the 18th century, leaving scattered remains known as the Dismal River archeological complex. This movement of the marginal horticultural and hunting groups is another cultural process distinctly characteristic of the whole period of contact across this region. The Plains Apache adopted this way of life some 100 years before other groups who became nomadic bison hunters were aware of the potential riches of the region.

In the Colonial wars and in the fur-trade period native enmities increasingly were matched with the rivalries of various European nations for political or commercial ascendance in the new land. Specific native

groups aligned themselves with representatives of one European country against other American Indian enemies who made common cause with a rival European power. At a time when the European population was even sparser than that of the Indians, these alliances generally meant that Indian allies or recruits supplied the bulk of the fighting force sent out to exterminate other Indians. Thus, for example, the South Carolina troops whom Colonel John Barnwell led against the Tuscarora in 1712 were made up of 498 Indians and 33 white men. The following year the warring faction of the Tuscarora was driven northward by Colonel James Moore's army, which was composed of less than 100 white combatants and more than 900 Indian allies. Such an army was not new to Colonel Moore. In the winter of 1703-04, his force of 50 whites and 1000 Creeks defeated the Apalachee of Florida; destroyed San Francisco de Oconee, San Luis de Apalachee and other Spanish missions in the region; and took 1400 Indian prisoners. The theme of destroying themselves by aiding the Europeans is rather general for the horticulturists in the eastern United States. In New England in 1637 the Pequots were annihilated by an army originally composed of 80 Englishmen and 368 Indians, mostly Narragansets and Niantics. One generation later, in King Philip's War, the Indian allies on the Connecticut side were not proportionately so large, but their role was important. The Narraganset headchief, whom the colonists considered a major troublemaker, was killed by a young chief of the Mohegans and two Pequot chiefs.

In contrast, only rarely did the Indians of a Southwestern pueblo join the Spaniards in an attack on another. An example of this is the Jemez rebellion of 1694, when Keresean warriors from Santa Ana, San Felipe and Sia joined the Spanish against the Jemez, Keresean from Acoma, and Zuni. It was more common, however, for Pueblo peoples to attack others for having given up or for not joining to fight the Europeans. The Hopi town of Awatobi was destroyed by its neighbors in the early 18th century, reputedly because it harbored a Spanish church and its converts.

Even where Europeans were not directly involved, native warfare was modified by new motives for making and breaking alliances and by new opportunities to settle old grudges. European economic activity, particulary trade, provided the major motivation. Since the Europeans valued a comparatively limited inventory of native possessions and goods, groups living in localities where these materials were available, or situated in areas where they could act as middlemen, were placed in an exceptionally good economic position. Other groups suddenly lost their positions in the economic and political systems and sought new solutions for regaining their old places. It was, of course, the regions most densely populated which had the least potential hunting resources for commercial exploitation. These regions were also unfortunate in that they seem to have been most vulnerable to the early spread of epidemic disease.

CHANGES IN ECONOMIC BASE

The first big shift in economic relationships was presumably in large part a consequence of the 16th century Spanish entradas. The wealthier

aboriginal peoples living along the Mississippi River disappeared. Apparently such tribal groups as the Quapaw and Illinois drifted into this empty space. Archeological exploration has uncovered evidence of considerable north and south movement of goods, like native copper and Gulf shells, through this region as early as Hopewell times, roughly 400 B.C.-A.D. 400. Yet in contact times the Illinois were known as slave traders and seem not to have been producers of, nor middlement for, any native goods other than pelts. The Mississippian artery may have assumed some of its older significance in contact times only when it became the pathway for French penetration and trade beginning in the last quarter of the 17th century.

Influence of the Fur Trade

In the first half of the 17th century the European fur trade shifted the focus of the aboriginal economy northward into Canada where the predominantly hunting groups assumed new significance, particularly as the supply of fur-bearing animals was exhausted to the south.

The intense commercial exploitation of the country followed the original Spanish explorations by an interval of some fifty to one-hundred years. All along the Atlantic coast the French, English, Dutch, and Swedish nationals began commercial enterprises which shortly led to the establishment of permanent settlements. In nearly all of the English colonies, the fur trade was an important part of the economy. It provided the early foundation for the economic development of the religious

colonies of New England. Somewhat later in time it supplemented the cultivation of tobacco in Virginia. The westward movement of Virginians and Carolinians was due mainly to trade in pelts and Indian slaves. As a consequence of these activities trade relations continually penetrated further into the interior following channels of communication established long before by the native peoples.

Cartier's brief visits in the first half of the 16th century did not result in permanent establishments. Beginning in the first half of the 17th century, French traders and missionaries began moving inland from the recently established permanent settlements along the major waterways of the Saint Lawrence and penetrated the Great Lakes. In the process the various Iroquoian-speaking peoples were involved, and their way of life transformed in various fashions.

The French explored the country as far as Green Bay; by the middle of the century traders and missionaries had pushed on west from the Sault. By 1665, Nicolas Perrot, a coureur de bois, was in the country of the upper Mississippi and western Great Lakes where he was to spend some 36 years deeply involved in the affairs of the native people. In 1660, Father Menard, a Jesuit missionary, wintered along the shore of Lake Superior at Keewenah Bay; a year later he disappeared somewhere along the Wisconsin River. In 1665, another Jesuit priest, Father Claude Jean Allouez, skirted the shores of Lake Superior and founded a mission among the Ottawa on Chequamegan Bay.

The first extensive explorations of Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, were in company with the adventurous Sulpicians, François

Dollier de Casson and Rene de Brehant de Galinee. In 1669-70, they explored the lower Great Lakes in some detail and left the first accurate records of this part of the interior. There is some reason to believe that La Salle, parting company with the adventurers at the head of Lake Ontario, may have gone southwesterly as far as the mouth of the Ohio River. The first definitely recorded journey down the main Mississippi drainage was that of Louis Jolliet, an explorer and trader, and Father Jaques Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, in 1673.

The northern hunters increasingly became professional hunters and trappers in order to obtain metal pots, blankets and other woolens, axes and knives which made it easier to set steel traps and fashion shelters, and guns and powder for killing larger animals and for warfare. Native foodstuffs, tobacco, and nets were brought to them for some time by marginal horticulturists of the eastern Great Lakes and the region south of the St. Lawrence.

The struggles of these predominantly horticultural groups to intercept the harvest of northern furs played a crucial role in relations between the French, Dutch, and English during Colonial times. The Hurons, Neutrals, and Erie were virtually annihilated by the Iroquois proper, who became a kind of military power whose raiding and fur-trading parties ranged far into the country about the headwaters of the Mississippi River. The Ottawa, on the other hand, held their position as native middlemen and were increasingly successful with the fading away of the Huron.

This combination of trading and fighting was responsible for a continual movement of peoples in and out of what is now Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana. A major Wisconsin tribe, the Winnebago, first received European trade goods at Green Bay from the Huron, the Ottawa, and the Chippewa band known as the Nipissing. When Jean Nicolet visited them in 1634 in company with a Huron interpretor, he met 3000 warriors; but within a few years this powerful tribe was almost destroyed by the usual combination of disease and military misfortune, including a catastrophic defeat at the hands of the Illinois. Some of the survivors joined the Menominee who had been a weak, tributary group. According to La Salle, the Illinois also fought the Osage, Chickasaw, and Quapaw, who lived to the south. Some of the Illinois moved into the region vacated by the Winnebago; there they joined such refugees from the Iroquois dispersal of the Huron, as the Sauk, Fox, Mascouten, Miami, Kickapoo, Ottawa, and Chippewa. As the region became over-populated some of these peoples drifted back to their homes when the Iroquois-proper became particularly involved in warring with the Susquehanna.

The old aboriginal rationale behind these conflicts was not lost. The Winnebago were not destroyed in order to seize their territory. Instead it was said that they viciously killed and ate five-hundred Illinois men who brought corn to save them from starvation one bad winter around the middle of the 17th century. Farther north when the Chippewa movement westward brought them into conflict with Dakota and Fox, the Dakota were driven out of some fine village sites not with the motive of taking their

beaver meadows and wild rice lakes. This attack was organized by a grieving father whose three sons had been murdered, when, at different times, they had gone to trade peacefully with the Dakotas.

Increased Dependence on European Trade

The major impetus behind the troubles and movements of the Great Lakes region seems to have been the struggle to maintain access to now essential European goods in the face of exhaustion of hunting resources. However, the pressures of settlement on the east coast must have played an increasing role by narrowing the Indians' land and hunting base. When the Iroquois managed to disperse the Susquehanna with unsolicited aid from the Maryland settlers, the Susquehanna's old territory was settled by refugees. This was a little more than two generations after the initial exploration of the valley by a lieutenant of Champlain's. The Shawnees came from the south. A large contingent of the Tuscarora settled there under Iroquois protection after their severe defeat by North Carolina colonists. Delawares arrived after losing their homes in Pennsylvania, as did the Nanticokes of Maryland. As white settlements appeared near them these villages moved upstream. More and more these peoples withdrew into the Ohio country. Traders followed them; it is estimated that there were 300 in the Ohio region by the middle of the 18th century. Although the Indians learned what European encroachment meant in the loss of their hunting grounds, villages, homes, and fields, they could not live without the European goods. Moving away from the frontier of settlement did not mean moving back to the old ways.

Commercial hunting and trapping was wasteful in the extreme. The destruction of sedentary animals, like the beaver, was extremely rapid. John Heckewelder, a Moravian missionary to the Indians of the Ohio country in the latter half of the 18th century, estimated that a hunter bagged about 100 deer in a season to supply himself with the necessary European goods. Little, if any, of the meat was used.

In the general northeast-Great Lakes region two trends were evident which recur elsewhere in the fur trade, and in post-contact economic acculturation generally. In disseminating advantages, the fur trade produced unstable conditions through its unprecedented demands upon the native resources. Various groups benefited from it for periods of time, partly at the expense of others who thus were deprived. Due to a complex of factors, including disease, there was a chaotic rising and ebbing of the fortunes, power, and size of specific American Indian groups. Yet the sequence and character of the early fur trade is remarkably uniform all over the continent from the standpoint of the type of European goods which were offered and received with enthusiasm.

Native copper had diffused widely over the continent from sources about Lake Superior, but aboriginal metal-working had remained at a simple level. The equipment and techniques for weaving also were relatively crude. Thus European textiles, metal, metal tools and implements were eagerly sought. Iron and steel knives, hoe blades, arrowpoints, axes, hatchets, needles, and awls were more durable than the native stone and bone equivalents, and in general were better tools. Iron and copper kettles

were more durable than native containers of pottery or other materials. Originally, textiles may have been accepted on the basis of novelty and prestige. Fur traders and explorers often gave the chiefs articles of clothing as insignia of rank. As European goods rapidly replaced everyday wearing apparel such as robes and blankets, certain fine native goods were placed in the category of precious heirlooms or ceremonial attire. Some other native crafts of this type were continued. The European economy, even today, has no material to match the special characteristics of buckskin. For a very long time the Indians continued to use heavy hides and heavy fur or hair robes, as well as native footgear.

Beads were especially popular due to the considerable value and rarity of native forms. Shell beads together with the raw material for making them, were widely dispersed by aboriginal channels. These constituted a form of currency on both the east and west coasts and far into the interior. On the Atlantic coast the aboriginal "wampum" became an exchange medium for the colonists until it lost its value toward the last quarter of the 17th century.

European metal tools improved or accelerated native ways of doing things, although the basic techniques were not fundamentally revised. Nevertheless, the native stone-working complex was replaced, and tools and weapons came from trade with the new, very different type of economy. This replacement was very rapid. At the time Jolliet and Marquette were beginning to explore the Mississippi River, the Indians in the vicinity of the Gulf of St. Lawrence "had abandoned all their own utensils." The

possibility of delineating this rapid technological change gives very great potential scientific value to the most meager or poorly documented archeological sites from this period throughout all the United States.

It is more difficult to understand the native rationale behind the replacement of native weapons by European firearms. Starting with the arquebus, the firearms brought by the early traders or given to treaty partners would seem to have been as potentially dangerous for the user as for his foe, and a poor weapon indeed. Nevertheless, the Indians evidently felt that the possession of firearms gave them a considerable advantage over enemies who were not so armed. They fought with these poor weapons from the moment they appeared in the fur trade in an effort to obtain more of them or to block others from receiving them. Much precious ammunition was expended in an effort to keep open the access to more ammunition and to prevent rivals from reaching a supply. Of all of the early trade goods firearms were the most desired. Competition for them was very keen, although they could be used and kept in working order only if some close contact was maintained with the European source. As guns could usually be obtained only by selling furs and pelts or by looting, war and commerce became closely intertwined. Dependence upon the Europeans for these weapons was the basic ingredient for European enticement and control of their native partners. Guns always came to the fore wherever there was not a clear-cut, stable monopoly of trade or control on the European side.

Liquor was also a crucial element in the competitive fur trade. Profits from its sale were enormous. There was a potentially limitless

demand and a tremendous value of the product per unit of bulk or weight, particularly when it was diluted for the customer's consumption.

Some of the other elements brought by Europeans were virtually gifts from the standpoint of the degree to which they bound the Indians to the European economy. The horse, other domesticated animals, and crops could be maintained and would even flourish once their care or cultivation was established on a secure footing. This was, of course, the unique characteristic of the horse-nomad hunting adaptation to the Great Plains. Metal tools and European textiles were relatively durable, so that some amount or periods of independence from European trade could be more easily maintained.

The growing economic dependence on the part of the natives was expressed in struggles for trade advantage and territory and by direct involvement in warfare sparked by European rivalry, often far in advance of the actual frontier. As the natives relied more heavily upon commercial hunting and trapping, the more rapidly were the fur-bearing animals destroyed. The consequences of this destruction for the native people depended upon the place of commercial hunting and trapping in their total economic life, the extent to which their old subsistence base had been disrupted or destroyed, and whether or not the people were now completely dependent upon European weapons and tools for continued existence. The meaning of these factors varied with the passage of time. Over the centuries the growing alienation of native holdings on the continent constricted the indigenous economic base. As a consequence the strength

of the surviving native communities had been drastically undermined when they found themselves in competition with the Europeans rather than to some extent incorporated into European economic life.

In one regard the native economy retained considerable independence and continuity. Until well into the 19th century European economic activity was not a significant source of foodstuffs; in fact it was scarcely a direct source at all. The native people had to continue to support themselves while they hunted, trapped, and traded furs. Because native foodstuffs were needed by explorers and traders, they continued to function as trade goods. Various forms of maize, especially cornmeal and dried, pulverized, smoked and preserved meat and fish were extremely nutritious for their bulk and weight. Unlike the emergency rations of today some of these, as pemmican and the pounded salmon of the Columbia River, were delicious. Some aboriginal containers of basketry and hide, native cordage, and types of craft continued to be important throughout the fur trade.

Native horticulturists supplied the major subsistence base for European penetration and activity beginning in the 16th century and continuing almost throughout the duration of the fur trade in the continental United States. They also provided the initial base for settlements and the basic techniques or crops which made it possible for these settlements to grow, although after early hard times native food was not purchased by the settlers.

Ancient horticultural techniques were not fundamentally changed by the introduction of hoes and axes. Trade with Europeans occupied a

position ancillary to the old organization of subsistence activities. The surplus from native production was simply converted into European weapons, tools, implements, textiles, ornaments, and cooking pots. The seasonal rhythm of horticultural work parties and the widespread sexual division of labor in which women gardened and processed the food made it possible for the men to hunt, trap, trade, or virtually become professional warriors without severely disrupting the cultivation of corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins.

During the 18th century in what is now the southeastern United States there seems to have been a period of cultural equilibrium for the people, although many attributes of the old social order were surely gone. The fur trade followed a later and less frenzied course in this region. A century after beaver had disappeared from the territory of the Iroquois proper, animals whose furs or skins were valued by the Europeans were still quite common in the area which is now Alabama and Georgia. Here the Creeks had the sale of alcohol well under control, although 100 years before that time, the Delawares had begun "drinking up their land." New crops such as rice and potatoes were being added to the old inventory of plants. There were fine horses and herds of cattle in possession of the Yamasee, Hitchiti, and Muskogee, who, moving into Florida after the destruction of the Spanish missions, came to be known as the Seminoles. The Choctaw wove cloth from the cotton which they had learned to grow from Europeans. Early in the 18th century the Natchez had so many chickens that the French demanded them as tribute along with corn.

The European plantation economy developed precisely in the region where native horticulture had been most successful. This meant that indigenous peoples were forced from the region by European action. On the other hand, in the Southwest native horticulture has survived with remarkable continuity in those parts which were inhospitable to large-scale agriculture, European small farming, or even pastoralism. Puebloan life still presents the picture of the essentially indigenous system incorporating many European elements and improvements. Village horticultural life was greatly disrupted by disease, refugee peoples, and encroachment by the whites; yet in the upper Missouri drainage this way of life continued until it was obliterated by governmental action during the reservation period.

The Effect of the Introduction of the Horse

It was in the Missouri drainage and on the Great Plains that the last important native cultural development took place: the rise of a system of nomadic bison hunting carried out on horseback. This final economic shift resulted from contact with the Europeans but not from direct contact. The horse came as a sort of gift from the Europeans. It was self-reproducing and with some care could be encouraged to increase. Once the techniques were mastered, the new animal could be counted on as a reliable beast of burden for riding or packing. Starting in the Spanish Southwest sometime in the first half of the 17th century, the animal passed from group to group and spread northward to peoples who as yet knew little of the Europeans and their ways.

The simpler hunting peoples gained the most benefit from the introduction of the horse, just as they had from the fur trade. The range of their hunting activities was extended. When large game was available, it was possible to carry back to camp greater amounts of food. The horse itself could be eaten. Greater mobility and extended range immeasurably increased trade connections and raiding activities. Thus to all the non-sedentary peoples the domesticated horse was tremendously important. Once discovered, it was never again lost.

The Athapascan-speaking peoples of the Southwest early served as major agents in the dispersal of the horse to peoples farther north. The Apache and the Navaho both raided the Spanish settlements for their stock. They were sometimes aided by the peoples of the Pueblos. Spanish slave-raiding of the Athapaskans and cruel mistreatment of the Pueblos created an intense mutual hatred for the Spaniards which broke down many old barriers between people of the region. Puebloans fled to live with the Apachean groups in order to escape Spanish reprisals, particularly during the period of the Pueblo revolt of 1680 which drove the Spaniards from the country for 12 years. As early as the 1630's Spanish slave-raiding had brought the Shoshonean-speaking Ute into the horse-using orbit. The horse spread rapidly along the mountains fringing the Great Basin and the Plateau. The Shoshoni of present-day Idaho were familiar with the animal by the opening of the 18th century. The Snake and Blackfoot to the north were using saddle and pack horses not later than the middle of the same century. Along the eastern edge of the mountains the Comanche

were raiding south from present-day Colorado into New Mexico for horses at the close of the 17th century. Before this time La Salle and his men had met with horses among the Caddo proper along the rivers of eastern Texas. In 1719, Claude Charles Du Tisne reports horses in considerable numbers among the Wichita. Shortly thereafter Etienne Veniard, Sieur de Bourgmont found that the peoples about the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri Rivers had horse herds. The rapidity of this northward spread can be judged from the journals of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Verendrye and his sons. When La Verendrye visited the Mandan villages near the confluence of the Knife and the Missouri Rivers in 1738, he found no horses. In 1742, however, La Verendrye's son obtained two horses from the Mandan.

The way of life of the horticultural peoples along the rivers of the eastern plains was considerably modified by this new animal. Even the conservative Pawnee and Arikara now spent more time hunting bison. The Wichita and Kansa became virtually semi-nomadic. Others were completely transformed into nomadic mounted bison hunters. Typical of these latter were the Cheyenne who, as late as the middle of the 18th century, were living in earth-lodge villages and gardening along the Sheyenne River of the Red River drainage of eastern North Dakota. Within a period of some fifty years these people moved southwestward to the Arikara villages at the confluence of the Grand and Missouri Rivers where they continued to garden for a few years. They then left the horticultural way of life behind, moved on westward to the Black Hills, and thence out onto the

Plains where, drifting southward, they became one of the important nomadic hunting groups of the 19th century. The wide-ranging Dakota bands of hunters and marginal horticulturists moved from the woods and prairies of southern and central Minnesota following much the same path as the Cheyenne. They, too, became important Plains bison hunters. Along the eastern fringe of the Rockies other groups expanded their range of hunting and changed their way of life with the advent of the horse. The Crow, breaking from the riverine Hidatsa some time before, took the horse and moved southward away from the Missouri and the Yellowstone to become important bison-hunting Indians of southern Montana and Wyoming. On their south the Algonquian-speaking Arapaho followed suit. In a similar fashion the Kiowa moved rapidly south from eastern Montana past the Black Hills and on into the western reaches of the southern plains.

These changes took place rapidly. The adoption of the horse, the various modifications which followed, and the final appearance of a full-fledged mounted bison-hunting existence took less than two generations in some cases; in no case was more than a century and a half involved. In the Southwest, the adoption of other domesticated animals followed shortly after the horse. The Navaho with their flocks of sheep became a pastoral people who added the weaving of woolens and silversmithing to the indigenous skills.

On the Great Plains, however, true pastoralism never developed. The pattern of mounted bison hunting which came into being can be briefly summarized. Typically, a tribe of bison hunters consisted of some

thousands of peoples speaking a single language and considering themselves to be related. There might often be closely affiliated or semi-attached groups of different languages and tribal identity. On the other hand, closely related groups, such as the Dakota and the Assiniboin, might be bitter enemies and constitute different tribes. The really permanent unit on all of the Plains was the band with its constituent encampments. The typical community was a small encampment of a few hundred people with their associated horse herds. During the summer this encampment moved from spot to spot about the plains in search of bison. When another such group was nearby there was generally either visiting, trading, horse-raiding, or warfare. Trading with settled villages for horticultural foodstuffs was also frequent. In good weather, related encampments sometimes gathered into great bands, or tribal groupings, composed of thousands of people. Generally this was done for religious ceremonies. Aside from hunting, the main concern of the men was warfare and raiding. Success in life was measured in terms of these activities, although prestige also accrued to skilled healers and to those who had special access to supernatural powers.

Individual autonomy was the rule in matters of political control. The decisions of a chief and council of elders held for the mass of the people only insofar as these were in keeping with the desires of the various family groups or subsidiary bands. Even the composition of the tribe, or of any band, was fluid and changed readily from year to year according to the fortunes of the constituent members.

The population growth of these mounted hunters must have been considerable from about the 17th to the middle of the 19th century. The details still await scientific investigation, but it is clear that all of these groups expanded their territory and their actual numbers at the very time when the sedentary villages were dwindling away. There is no doubt that the growth of such groups as the Dakota and the Comanche was confined to the contact period and that it was the direct result of the introduction of new cultural elements from Europe. Thus it is possible to say that the Europeans themselves brought about the conditions which made possible the Indian Wars of the second half of the 19th century.

The associated expansion of the fur trade and the consequent disintegration of the ancient villages of the horticultural peoples along the rivers of the eastern fringes of the Plains were intertwined with this whole process. Once the Mississippi had been traversed, at the end of the 17th century, the French fur trade was immediately extended up the tributary streams to the west. For the next century the Missouri River was the scene of a whole series of sequential contacts between hitherto unknown native groups and the French commercial representatives.

INFLUENCE OF CONTACT ON INDIANS OF THE WEST

The French penetration of the remoter parts of the Missouri came as an extension of their establishment along the whole length of the Mississippi Valley. In addition, during the first half of the 18th century, the expeditions of the La Verendryes headed southwest from the Rainy Lake country of Canada and came to the large fortified earth-lodge

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villages of the Mandan in what is now North Dakota. From Mississippi centers the voyageurs and their associates had long traveled among the settled peoples along the Missouri. The Europeans had come to stay, and the settlements of the unfortunate village peoples served as a convenient base of operation for French commercial exploitation. When the nomadic hunting groups entered the fur trade, they generally met with the Europeans at a convenient earth-lodge village of horticulturists.

These villagers felt the new influences in sequential waves moving up the Missouri River drainage. As early as the late 17th century the Osage in western Kansas were involved in the fur trade. The Omaha and the Ponca, who lived further up the river, were soon drawn in, as were the Pawnee some distance to the west on the tributaries of the Platte and Republican Rivers in present-day Nebraska. It was not long before fur trappers had reached the various bands of Arikara scattered along the Missouri in a multitude of small earth-lodge villages throughout southern and central South Dakota. De Bourgmont gave his official reports of these people as early as the spring of 1714. Within the next few decades the majority of the peoples of the central and southern Plains saw French nationals. It was not long before Spanish representatives on a more military footing saw many of the same peoples. During the first decade of the 18th century Juan de Ulibarri headed north and east out of New Mexico and finally reached the banks of a large stream, which sounds much like the Republican River of southern Nebraska. Here they met with defeat at the hands of groups of Pawnee who were far to the west of their regular villages, probably on a large-scale bison hunt. Some Pawnee allies

in the engagement were French nationals in the garb of voyageurs.

Large-scale commercial contact on the middle Missouri did not come until the last quarter of the 18th century. By then, the people had already undergone a considerable metamorphosis. At the beginning of the century many populous Mandan and Arikara earth-lodge villages were scattered along the river from the northern border of Nebraska to the confluence of the Heart and Missouri Rivers in central North Dakota. During the century the number of villages dwindled. The constituent populations must have been decimated by the newly introduced diseases. Warfare increased. Extensive fortifications surrounded all villages. More and more groups of peoples moved onto the Plains to become nomadic mounted hunters as the horse became more readily available.

By the end of the 18th century with the firm reestablishment of commercial contacts the native horticultural groups along the Upper Missouri had become miserable remnant populations. From strong communities of thousands they were reduced to broken villages of hundreds and finally to mere negligible anachronisms in the face of the great tribes of nomadic hunters.

To the north in Canada the English moved into the arena with such commercial organizations as the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company. They are reported to have been as far south as the Des Moines River in the early 1700's and by the end of the century to have made close contact with the Mandan. Their main interest seems to have been

the various hunting groups. Around the beginning of the 19th century, the Blackfoot and Flathead had their first direct contact with representatives of these companies, such as the younger Alexander Henry.

Nevertheless, European cultural elements had been flowing to these hunting groups for many years. The horse, iron weapons, and other items from the Spanish holdings in the Southwest had not only diffused out onto the Plains, but also had spread along their westerly face of the mountains and out across the Columbian Plateau. At the moment of first official contact the peoples about such places as the Dalles of the Columbia River were already familiar with European artifacts and the horse. In 1792, Lieutenant Broughton of the Vancouver expedition found that the lower Chinook near present-day Portland had trade items which they said came from the interior; probably these were from Canadian sources.

This was the pattern along the whole Pacific littoral from Trinidad Bay northward; at almost every place the Europeans found iron in the possession of the native people at the time of their initial recorded intercourse with them. Some of this was from drift wreckage. Russian activity in the north, the fur trade of the interior, and even the Spanish settlements in the Southwest were all possible sources of this metal.

Many familiar effects of contact were found in this region. The initial Spanish explorations brought small pox. In the 1830's the people of the Lower Columbia and part of the Oregon coast were

destroyed by malaria, which was carried by trappers to the interior valley of California where few Indians survived. The fur trade ran an exuberant, rapid course as it did in other areas. However, its effect on native peoples was different. The sea-otter trade rewarded the groups who had been well-situated aboriginally rather than those who had not been. Slavery, slave trading, and raiding for slaves was greatly increased. This was a continent-wide trend, but it was most extreme on the Pacific littoral, even though no European market for native slaves was involved. Indigenous warfare was expanded and, if anything, became more deadly due to firearms, although here Europeans did not directly participate. The people in the Puget Sound and Straits region suffered increasingly in the 19th century as the establishment of Hudson's Bay Company posts drew powerful northern raiders south more frequently. Yet the familiar ability to coordinate military action on a limited basis appeared. Coast Salish villages on 120 miles of coastline managed more than once in the 1840's to stop fighting among themselves long enough to send northward retaliatory armadas. These actions were typical in that their results were inconclusive. One group of their enemies was so decimated that it lost its independent existence; the Coast Salish, however, lost their northernmost village site. At the same time, on the Northwest Coast, generally, the people who happened to survive on the frontiers of the region have displayed a great capacity for adapting to the new economic life.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

American Indians today form an important part of our Nation's population. This study has reviewed some of the characteristics of their way of life at the time of their first contact with Europeans. It has tried to convey some idea of how the Indians looked to the newcomers and, even more importantly, how the Europeans appeared to them. The study deals with the historical roots out of which these people came and indicates the ways in which they transformed themselves, particularly the earliest steps by which they became an important part of our national heritage.

Europeans began to penetrate North America in the 16th century, first as explorers and fortune-seekers, later as traders, clerics, travelers, and colonists. Everywhere they met a native population in possession of well-developed, distinctive customs and beliefs. This population was sparse and scattered by modern standards yet it lived in traditional communities: towns, villages, or small bands. These groupings had a characteristic social and political order which grew out of beliefs concerning human relations and which was strongly bolstered by ideas regarding supernatural forces.

Among all of these peoples hunting was an important activity for the men. In addition hoe-farming, usually in the hands of the women, was basic to life from the Atlantic Coast far west into the river bottoms of the Great Plains and the Southwest.

of Christian ritual and belief were incorporated into the rich, complex American Indian religions which seemed receptive already to diverse elements.

Depopulation meant a loss of cultural elements and vitality, and a lowering of the survivors' morale. Conflict was intensified as the shattered remnants of groups recombined to assure continuing existence. The typical absence of strong monolithic authority, religious or secular, was a factor in early contact times which opened the way for factionalism and feuding.

Participation in the fur trade transformed native economic life. European metal goods replaced stone equivalents, textiles as well as tools and firearms were sought, and many old crafts began to disappear. Well-being was dependent upon the European market. The people came to work predominantly as producers of furs, hides, and of their own subsistence. This dependence along with the devastation of hunting resources ruled out the possibility of the relict survival of predominantly hunting groups in the territory of the United States.

The horticultural way of life was not shattered nor modified to this extent, however. In the southwestern United States some ancient communities have maintained their social and cultural integrity and a continuity of residence up to the present day, to a remarkable degree. Alongside of them has flourished one of the remarkable new cultural adaptations, Navaho pastoralism. Elsewhere the old life has survived principally in the attitudes, values, and perspectives of a dwindling

number of persons. One purpose in presenting this segment of our national history has been to show how it came about that in some ways these people are like the other people in our land today, and yet in other regards they are very different. The sites noted here which are of historic value to the contact period can thus be seen to commemorate the beginning of the process by which these people and their history have become a vital part of our national heritage.

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II

SURVEY OF IMPORTANT SITES

Sites illustrating the life of the Indians at the time of their contact with Europeans are with a few exceptions archeological, or depend on archeological research for their validation. For this reason many important sites either have not yet been found or cannot be demonstrated adequately. In addition, the attrition of years and the progressive industrialization and urbanization of the countryside have destroyed many sites. This makes evident the great value of those few sites which are of outstanding value for the current theme.

The present study, by definition, covers a large span of time, from the first explorations of the mainland at the opening of the 16th century to the establishment of widespread European settlement by the opening quarter of the 19th century. Many different peoples are involved. On the European side we must consider all of the major nations involved in the occupation of the North American continent, Spain, France, and England; and these must be considered not so much from their own history as from the viewpoint of their relation to the Indians. In addition, the relationships of the Indian groups to each other must be considered, especially as this affected their relations with the Europeans.

It can thus be surmised that the physical nature of the sites will vary considerably. There are in the first place purely archeological

remains of native communities changed by contact with European culture elements. In the second place there are European establishments which have in association with them native works, reflecting an important immediate effect on native life. In the latter case there are sometimes buildings as well as more subtle archeological remains. Finally, there remain native communities, especially in the Southwest, which have survived the whole process and still today continue in many of the old ways of life. In effect these communities are living examples of the process illustrated by this theme, and in some ways can be considered as our most valuable sites. At the same time many of the sites must be shared with other themes, both historic and prehistoric. In this case the importance of the sites from the point of view of each of the themes must be considered. At the same time, of course, such sites gain importance because of their broad interest.

The sites have a wide distribution geographically, and most sections of the country are represented in one way or another. There are some surprising weak spots, however. New England was the scene of many important early contacts, yet it offers few sites. The same is true to a lesser degree for the entire Atlantic Coast. It is especially disappointing that there are no good sites identified with the entrada of De Soto, comparable to Southwestern and Plains sites dating from Coronado's contemporaneous expeditions. Sites along the Mississippi River and its eastern affluents are rare. More sites might be expected from the Great Lakes region. The Plains region is relatively well

represented, as is the Southwest with its living monuments, but there are few sites in the transmontane West except for the Coastal regions. There should be more sites connected with the trip of Lewis and Clark and the subsequent American fur trade, no doubt.

New sites are frequently being identified in widely scattered areas, however, and thus the list will grow with the passage of years. All scholarly sources have not been tapped nor have all local resources been explored. It can be expected, furthermore, that sites may be brought into focus at a later date which are now known but which have been overlooked in this initial examination.

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SITES OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE

APALACHICOLA FORT (1 RU 101), ALABAMA

Location: Russell County, near Holy Trinity on the west bank of the Chattahoochee River.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: Over much of the southeast the story of European-Indian contact is also the story of the struggle between Spain, France, and England for control of the area. Fort Apalachicola, the northernmost Spanish outpost on the Chattahoochee River, was built by the Spanish in 1690 to prevent the English from gaining a foothold among the Lower Creeks.

Beginning in 1675 Spanish missionaries made several unsuccessful attempts to work among the Creeks on the Chattahoochee. When the Creeks rejected these missionaries and accepted English traders, the Spanish retaliated with punitive raids. Despite the burning of several Lower Creek towns and the construction of Fort Apalachicola in the heart of Creek territory, the Spaniards failed to gain control of these Indians. The Lower Creeks moved many of their towns to the Ocmulgee and Oconee Rivers in present-day Georgia, so they would be nearer the English. Early in the 18th century, these Indians, with English aid and leadership, destroyed many of the Spanish missions among the Apalachee and seriously threatened St. Augustine.

Historical sources indicate that the palisade of Fort Apalachicola was rectangular, roughly 61 feet by 53 feet, and had corner bastions. It was constructed of wattle and daub reinforced by an exterior half-wall of clay. A moat surrounded the palisade; this in turn was surrounded by an earth embankment. In 1691, after being occupied for only a year, the fort was abandoned and destroyed by the Spanish because of the English threat.

Limited archeological excavations at the site, conducted by the Smithsonian Institution and the University of Alabama, have uncovered evidence of the structure which is in agreement with historical records. Artifacts include majolica sherds and olive jar fragments which are Spanish in origin and which are from periods overlapping the period of occupation of Fort Apalachicola. The Indian pottery is that generally found on Creek sites of this period, such as Palachocolas Town and Ocmulgee Old Fields.

Present Status: The site is so well preserved that the line of the moat is clearly visible. It is privately owned and is used as a pasture. When the Walter F. George reservoir fills, the site will be on its margins.

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AWATOVI, ARIZONA

Location: Navajo County, about 8 miles south of Keams Canyon on the southern tip of Antelope Mesa

Ownership: Hopi Indians

Significance: On July 15, 1540, one week after the capture of Hawikuh, Coronado dispatched Pedro de Tovar to investigate Tusayan, like Cibola a kingdom of seven cities. Tovar's expedition reached Tusayan later that month and thus became the first Europeans to visit the Hopi pueblos. Awatovi, one of the largest and most important of these, had then been in existence for about 450 years. Archeological evidence indicates that the pueblo was founded about 1200, in middle Pueblo III.

At Awatovi, the first pueblo reached by the Spanish, there was a skirmish; but the pueblo's inhabitants quickly sued for peace and offered presents of cloth, skins, turquoises, and maize. Kawaioku did not capitulate so readily, and the pueblo was sacked and partially destroyed. The five remaining pueblos then offered fealty to the King of Spain. After visiting these villages Tovar returned to Hawikuh and reported to Coronado what the Hopis had told him of a great river to the west where giants lived. Coronado immediately sent out a party under Garcia Lopez de Cardenas to locate the river. Cardenas went first to Tusayan where he was well received and given supplies and guides. He then went on to the Colorado River.

Until 1583, and the arrival of an expedition led by Antonio de Espejo, the Hopi were not visited again by the Spanish. Espejo spent several days visiting the Hopi towns before turning southwest to the Verde Valley.

In 1598, Don Juan de Onate arrived at Tusayan and found the Hopis ready to give formal submission to the King of Spain. He visited the villages again in 1604, and Captain Geronimo Marquez visited them in 1614. It is unlikely that these six brief visits could have had any real influence on Hopi culture. However, this situation soon changed.

In 1628, the Hopi were visited by a missionary, and the next year the Spanish mission program really began. Fray Estevan de Perea brought four Franciscans to serve among the Hopis. One of the priests, Francisco Porras, played an important part in the conversion of many of the 900 residents of Awatovi. A mission, given

the name of San Bernardino, was begun. When Porras died in 1633, it was thought that native ceremonial leaders resentful of Porras' successes among their people had poisoned him.

Fray Alonso de Posado is known to have been at Awatovi from 1653 to 1655; Fray Jacinto de Mompean, about 1662; and Fray Jose de Espeleto, in 1663 and 1672. Fray Jose de Figueroa was at Awatovi from 1674 until the opening of the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, when he was killed. Awatovi thus had been under the tutelage of the Franciscans for 50 years; however, during this period the Hopi had no direct contact with Spanish settlements and little with the military.

Although the Hopi expected reprisals for their part in the Rebellion, there were none. When Diego de Vargas arrived at the villages in 1692, the Hopi swore allegiance to Spain, and Vargas departed without incident.

In 1699, the Christian faction among the Hopis, probably inhabitants of Awatovi, sent a delegation to Santa Fe asking for missionaries and offering to rebuild their mission. In response, three missionaries made a brief visit to Awatovi. They reported that the Hopis were generally hostile and would not listen to them, but they also recommended that a garrison be posted at Awatovi to protect the Christian Indians of that pueblo from other Hopis. Shortly after, Fray Juan de Garaycoechea went to Awatovi. He was well received and was even able to baptize 73 children; however, he was talked out of visiting the other villages. Awatovi's reception of Garaycoechea marked its doom. Feeling against the village arose among the other Hopis and, near the end of 1700, the pueblo was sacked and destroyed. All the men were killed, and the women and children were distributed among the other villages. The pueblo was never reoccupied.

Excavation of the site by Dr. J. O. Brew uncovered much of the sandstone pueblo and three churches. A large amount of aboriginal material--pottery, stone and bone artifacts, etc.--was uncovered; but only a very few fragments of porcelain, metal, or other Spanish materials were found.

Present Status: Parts of the pueblo ruin and of the friary associated with the second church are still in fair condition; but little remains of the three church structures.

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Reed, Erik K.
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1962 Cycles of Conquest. Tuscon

HANO, ARIZONA

Location: Navajo County, north of Walpi and Sichomovi on First Mesa, Hopi Villages.

Ownership: Hopi Tribal Council

Significance: Hano Pueblo, or Tewa as it sometimes is known, was founded just after the minor pueblo rebellion of 1696 by a group of Tewa-speaking Indians. The ancestors of these people were living in the pueblos of San Cristobal and San Lazaro, in the Galisteo Basin south of Santa Fe, New Mexico, when the Spaniards first entered the Southwest. During the period of the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680-92, they moved north between Santa Cruz and Chimayo, and established new pueblos among the Tewas of this region. In 1694, the Indians were evicted from one of the new pueblos by Governor Diego de Vargas to make room for colonists, and crowded into the pueblo of their relatives. Two years later these Indians rebelled, burned the church, killed two missionaries, and abandoned their pueblo (called Tsanwari). They fled west to join the Hopis, as had other Rio Grande groups during the earlier rebellion.

The Hopi Indians at Walpi invited the Tewas to settle a short distance to the north, at the head of the trail leading from the mesa, to help protect Walpi from Ute inroads. By the middle 1700's, other Pueblo Indians who sought refuge among the Hopis had returned to New Mexico. The Jemez people joined their kinfolk at Jemez Pueblo, and the Tiwa group at Payupki Pueblo on Second Mesa returned to their homeland in the Albuquerque area to refound Sandia Pueblo. The Tewas at Hano remained, however. They have

retained their language and ceremonies to this day, although their kivas are Hopi in style. Close contact with the Hopis has modified the Tewa social organization through the adoption of a kinship system of clans based on descent through the mother.

Present status: In the 1770's, Hano was reported to be a plaza-type masonry pueblo, a form it still retains, with a population of 110 families. In the 1890's, at which time about 160 inhabitants were recorded, these Tewas revived the old style Hopi pottery of the 1660's, primarily due to the efforts of one potter, Nampeyo. Today the pueblo is a major producer of pottery and has a population over 300. Hano is the only pueblo remaining that exemplified the population shifts of the late 1600's.

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MENARD, WALLACE, AND RELATED SITES
ARKANSAS

Location: Left bank of Arkansas River below Arkansas Post State Park, Arkansas, and about 5 miles (air line) distant. Section 2303, T8S, R2W, and adjoining areas.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The site is important as the site of an early Indian village, probably of the Quapaw Indians, which provides evidence of contact with Europeans at an early date; and as the possible site of the trading post constructed in 1686 by Henri de Tonti.

This is an extensive multi-component site with some increments of a relatively late date and native burials with associated European trade goods. It has been investigated by Edward Palmer under Cyrus Thomas's nominal direction in the 1880's; C. B. Moore in the early 1900's; various commercial relic hunters; and latterly by Philip Phillips in the 1940's, Preston Holder in the late 1950's, and Robert S. Neitzel and James B. Ford a year or so later. There is no dearth of archeological data concerning the components at the site.

It has been shown that almost every elevated knoll along the 3-mile extent of the southeastern edge of Little Prairie, where the Menard and related sites are situated, gives some evidence of Indian occupation, ranging in date from the Early Baytown archeological period (ca. 300 B.C.) down to the contact period. Only at the Menard and Wallace sites, however, are pottery and other material of the contact period found in concentration, leading to the conclusion that one of these is the site of the former

populous village of Osotouay, of the Quapaw, where the first Arkansas Post was established by Tonti. The physiographic evidence suggests that it was more likely the Menard site (the Arkansas River then having its channel in today's Menard Bayou), the Wallace site having been occupied perhaps a century earlier.

Continuing archeological work has failed, unfortunately, to provide conclusive proof that the Tonti post was located at the Menard or any other specific place. Ford has given an elaborate statement of the logical and other arguments favoring the Menard sites, but concluded somewhat equivocally:

> Can the location of the village of Osotouy where Jean Couture and his companions built the log cabin which served as the first bid of France for mid-continental dominion be considered as solved? The archeological and historical jury must decide, but this advocate pleads in the affirmative.

Present Status: The area is now mixed pastureland, orchard, cultivated acreage, and woodland. In arrangement the Menard site is a typical ceremonial center of the Late Mississippian type. The principal temples or ceremonial buildings were located on large mounds--one of them today 35 feet high--with the dwellings of important citizens of the town identifiable by remaining small mounds, arranged around the borders of a large adjacent court or plaza. In general appearance the Wallace site is similar.

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GIANT EFFIGIES, CALIFORNIA

Location: Riverside County, 16 miles north of Blythe and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile west of U.S. Highway 95.

Ownership: U.S. Government; lands withdrawn for National Monument purposes by Executive Order 6212, dated July 25, 1933.

Significance: Giant Effigies are extraordinary symbolic figures constructed on the desert floor by careful arrangements of glazed pebbles. Dr. Arthur Woodward, former Curator of History and Anthropology of the Los Angeles Museum, described them as "gigantic intaglio pictographs." It is believed that they were made by Yuman-speaking Indians although, at the time of their modern discovery from the air in 1931, Colorado River Indians disclaimed any knowledge whatever of them. On the basis of the condition of the desert "varnish" on the rocks, the figures are thought to be 200 or more years old. If the quadruped figures represent horses, the work must date subsequent to the entry of Spaniards into the area, about 1540. The effigies may have served in some fashion as shrines to the memory of Ha-ak and her destroyer, Elder Brother, as depicted in Yuman mythology.

Giant Effigies includes three main groups in the described location; other smaller figures and groups have been seen in more remote areas but, apparently, not carefully studied. Site No. 1 contains three figures, a human figure measuring about 94 feet by 67 feet; a quadruped presumed to be a horse, and a coiled snake. Site No. 2, with a single human figure is .3 miles west of Site No. 1. Site No. 3, just south of Site No. 2, includes a human figure measuring 170 feet by 158 feet, a quadruped 53 feet by 44 feet, presumably a horse, and an apparent trace of a coiled snake now obliterated.

Present Status: Giant Effigies was marked as California State Historical Landmark No. 101 in the 1930's, with the result that attention was attracted to the area and vandalism along with incidental wear-and-tear from hikers and picnickers produced a serious deterioration by the 1950's. The Highway Department covered the bronze marker with plaster as a protective measure, until a high-school group from Blythe, supported by the Blythe Chamber of Commerce and the Desert Protective Council, carried out restorative and protective measures in 1957. Student volunteer workers returned the scattered pebbles to the original lines, which were readily distinguishable on the ground and checked carefully against aerial photographs dating back to the discovery of the figures. Rut roads intruding into the area were obliterated by hand. Using funds raised by a local committee, the two major groups of figures have been protected by means of heavy wire mesh fencing, on steel posts set in concrete.

References:

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1952 "Seeking the Secret of the Giants." The National Geographic Magazine, Vol. CII, No. 3., pp. 390-404.

TSURAI, CALIFORNIA

Location: On shore of Trinidad Bay, Humboldt County, Trinidad, near Trinidad Beach State Park.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: Old Tsurai, a Yurok village, represents a continuum of culture from the prehistoric past to historic contact. The village was seen and recorded as early as 1600.

Present Status: The site on a bench above the beach, contains an eight foot deep black midden and two major springs, and historic house remains are still present. Documentation concerning the original structures of Tsurai is available.

References:

Heizer, R.F., and Mills, J. E.
1952 The Four Ages of Tsurai, University of California Press.

Waterman, T. T.
1920 "Yurok Geography," UC-PAAE - 16-177-314.

SANTA CATALINA DE GUALE,
GEORGIA

Location: Liberty County, on Saint Catherine's Island.

Ownership: Edward Noble Foundation, New York, New York.

Significance: In 1569 the Jesuits established missions among the Guale, and one of the missionaries, Domingo Augustin, wrote a grammar of the Guale language. However, the spiritual labors of the missionaries proved unavailing, and they soon abandoned the country. The Franciscans began work in the province of Guale in 1573 and soon had a chain of missions along the entire coast. All of these were destroyed in the Guale uprising of 1597. Punitive expeditions undertaken by the Spaniards in 1601 brought the Guale to submission.

In 1604, when Governor Pedro de Ybarra visited the province of Guale, the Franciscan mission of Santa Catalina de Guale had been constructed. It continued in operation as the most important of the missions on the coast of Georgia until it was abandoned in 1686 in the face of continual English inspired and directed raids out of the Carolinas.

No surface indications of the mission buildings are visible today. Nevertheless, the site has been located by the finding of Spanish and Indian pottery sherds of the period and of a few iron nails.

Present Status: The site seems to be well preserved. It is now in forest and underbrush and is being used for grazing.

References:

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1959 "Field Notes, Excavations at Santa Catalina de Guale, 1959 Season." Manuscript, Georgia Historical Commission. Atlanta

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1936 "A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderon, Bishop of Cuba, Describing the Indians and Indian Missions of Florida." Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 95, No. 16. Washington

OLD KASKASKIA VILLAGE, ILLINOIS

Location: La Salle County, on the north side of the Illinois River in Utica Township just upstream from Starved Rock State Park (Ottawa Quad., N½ of NW¼ of Sec. 23, Twp. 33N, R. 2E).

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Old Kaskaskia Village (or Zimmerman) Site is the best documented historic Indian site in the Illinois River Valley. It was first recorded in the summer of 1673 by Louis Jolliet and Father Jacques Marquette, who paddled up the Illinois River in returning from their pioneer voyage down the Mississippi. The village then contained 74 houses which were inhabited by the Kaskaskia, one of the bands which composed the Illiniwek, or Illinois, tribe. When Marquette returned in the spring of 1675 to establish a mission at the village, it contained between 100 and 150 houses and was estimated to have 1500 warriors. In the spring of 1677, Father Claude Jean Allouez replaced Marquette at the mission and found that the village had grown to 351 houses which were occupied by members of seven other Illinois bands as well as the Kaskaskia. The village was next visited by Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, in December 1679. Father Louis Hennepin, who accompanied him, counted 460 houses which he described as being "made like long arbors and covered with double mats of flat flags, so well sewed that they are never penetrated by wind, snow, or rain." The Indians were away on their winter hunts, and La Salle's party, finding a number of buried corn caches, robbed several of their contents. Continuing downstream, La Salle came upon an Illinois village at the southern end of Lake Peoria, where he built Fort Crevecoeur. In March 1680, he placed the fort under the command of Henri Tonti and headed north. On his way up the Illinois, he noted the natural fortification now known as Starved Rock, and sent a message to Tonti telling him to occupy it in case of an Iroquois attack. Tonti moved to Starved Rock in April, but built no fortifications there.

A war party of 600 or 700 Iroquois appeared in September, and, with the exception of 500 Illinois warriors, the 7,000 or 8,000 inhabitants of the village fled downstream. Negotiations were carried on for several days; but, when the Illinois warriors learned that the Iroquois were bent on destroying them, they fled and Tonti moved north. The Illinois did not return to the site during 1681 or 1682.

La Salle, wishing to build a bulwark against the Iroquois so as to make the Illinois Country safe for the fur trade, joined Tonti in December 1682, in beginning construction of a fort atop Starved

Rock. When the fort, which was given the name of Fort St. Louis, was completed in the spring of 1683, the French were joined by groups of Miami and Shawnee. The Kaskaskia and other Illinois bands returned in the fall of that year and settled across the river from the fort, probably at their abandoned village, the Old Kaskaskia Village Site. In all 20,000 Indians gathered in the area; included among them were about 3,880 warriors.

Slowly this confederacy fell apart, and La Salle's dream of an Indian empire vanished. Iroquois attacks continued, and the allies of the Illinois left Fort St. Louis. In the fall of 1691 a council was held, and it was decided that Starved Rock could not be defended. The Illinois bands which still remained then moved to Lake Peoria.

A faction of the Peoria band of the Illinois established a settlement near Starved Rock in 1712 and remained in the area until 1722, when they fled after being defeated by the Fox. It is doubtful, however, that they occupied the Old Kaskaskia Village Site during this time.

The major component at the site is termed Heally and belongs within the Lake Fisher Focus. This component is characterized by grit tempered pottery decorated with trailed chevrons or festoons. Since this was the dominent ware found at Plum Island (a documented Peoria site) as well as at the Old Kaskaskia Village, it probably can be safely identified with the Illinois.

A second culture, the Danner Focus, is foreign to the Illinois Valley. The pottery characteristic of this focus is shell-tempered, is smooth or cord marked, and has flaring rims and decorated strap handles. This focus, which is similar to the Madisonville Focus of the Fort Ancient Aspect in Ohio, probably represents the Shawnee who came to the site in 1683. More items of European manufacture were found in association with artifacts of the Danner Focus than were found with materials of the Heally component. Among the trade goods with the Danner materials were glass beads, copper and brass beads and jinglers, coiled brass wire ornaments, glass bottles, and iron knife and axe blades.

Among aboriginal artifacts other than pottery the most numerous were stone arrow points and scrapers, perforated bone awls, and buffalo scapula hoes. Buffalo bones, which are extremely rare on aboriginal sites east of the Mississippi, were quite common at the site. This suggests either that the Illinois hunted west of the Mississippi or that buffalo had migrated to the eastern prairie.

Present Status: A very small percentage of the site has been excavated. Although most of it has been farmed for several generations, it is believed much valuable information remains untouched beneath the plow zone.

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ARKANSAS CITY COUNTRY CLUB SITE (14CO3), KANSAS

Location: Cowley County, on the golf course of the Arkansas City Country Club, about 1 mile east of Arkansas City, on the bluffs east of the Walnut River.

Ownership: Arkansas City Country Club

Significance: In search for the mythical riches of the province of Quivira, Coronado's army left the Tiwa pueblos in New Mexico on April 23, 1541. Guided by two Plains Indians who had been taken captive by the inhabitants of Pecos Pueblo, the Spaniards moved east across the Texas Panhandle country. At the eastern edge of the Llano Estacado, Coronado sent the army back to the Rio Grande pueblos; then, with a detachment of 30 horsemen, he turned north. In early July, he reached settlements of the Quivira or, as they are known today, the Wichita. Having met only nomadic Plains Apache after leaving the pueblo country, the Spaniards were impressed by the permanent houses and by the agriculture of the Wichita; but they were, nevertheless, greatly disappointed, for they found no gold nor other riches. In August, they turned back to the pueblo country.

Fray Juan de Padilla, who had accompanied Coronado on his journey into the Plains, returned to Quivira the next year in the hope that he might convert the inhabitants of the province; instead, he lost his life while exploring farther to the east. The Quivira region was next visited in 1593 or 1594 by an unauthorized expedition under Francisco Leyva de Bonilla and Antonio Gutierrez de Humana. It was again visited a few years later, in the summer of 1601, by a large expedition led by Don Juan de Onate.

Historians, ethnologists and archeologists agree that the area to which the Spaniards referred as Quivira is today central and south-central Kansas. Moreover they are in general agreement in stating that the Quiviran villages visited by the Spanish were located along the Smoky Hill River and along the Arkansas River and its tributaries. Quiviran sites have been excavated in Cowley, Rice, and McPherson Counties.

The Arkansas City Country Club site is one of the more interesting. It is unique among known Quiviran sites in that it contains two relatively large mounds. These are 5 or 6 feet high and are approximately 60 feet across the base. One is flat-topped, thus suggesting the possibility that it, and possibly the other, was a temple platform. Neither has been excavated.

Also on the site are 10 to 15 smaller mounds ranging from a few inches to about 3 feet in height, none of which are more than 30 feet in diameter; only one has been excavated. It was made up primarily of refuse, and possibly it was nothing more than a midden; however, neither its original construction nor use could be definitely determined. Under it were three trash-filled cache pits which are believed to be roughly contemporaneous with the mound.

Although the Country Club site is thought to have been the Quiviran settlement visited by Onate, no materials of European origin were found in the very limited excavations so far carried out. There was, however, evidence of contact with the Southwest in the finding of a small quantity of Rio Grande glaze paint pottery. This has been dated circa 1525-1650.

The culture represented at the Country Club site and at other Quiviran sites in Cowley County is very similar to that of the Quiviran sites in Rice and McPherson Counties. Characteristic of both groups of sites are low refuse mounds, specialized ceremonial structures, numerous cache pits, and an artifact content which presents evidence of a subsistence economy based on horticulture as well as hunting and gathering. Because of these similarities both groups of sites have been placed in the Great Bend Aspect. They are, however, classed as separate foci within this aspect because of certain differences, such as the predominant use of shell as the tempering in Cowley County pottery and the use of grit in Rice-McPherson pottery, and the occurrence of temple mounds on Cowley sites as opposed to "council circles" on Rice-McPherson sites.

Present Status: As part of the golf course of the Country Club, the site is well-sodded and is in an excellent state of preservation.

References:

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EL CUARTELEJO (SCOTT COUNTY PUEBLO SITE, 14SC1), KANSAS

Location: Scott County, 12 miles north of Scott City, west of U.S. 83. The Pueblo site, included in Scott County State Park, is about 70 yards west of an artificial lake on Ladder Creek.

Ownership: State of Kansas

Significance: El Cuartelejo, the ruin of a seven-room stone Puebloan structure, is attributed to a group of Picuris Indians who left the Southwest in 1696 to live with the Cuartelejo Apache. Because of friction with the Spanish other Puebloans had fled to El Cuartelejo as early as the 1660's. It is thought that Spanish expeditions under Archuleta (pre-1680) and Ulibarri (1706) reached this site when engaged in returning groups of Picuris to the Southwest.

Governor Valverde, who headed an expedition northeast from Santa Fe in 1719, visited the Cuartelejo Apache and learned of French penetration into the Plains. This news led to the Villazur expedition of 1720 which passed through El Cuartelejo enroute to a defeat by the Pawnee.

Archeological excavation of the site has produced almost no artifacts of Southwestern origin. Instead the data show that the pueblo ruin and its typically Southwestern appurtenances (slab-lined hearths, grinding trough, oven, etc.) were directly associated with a material culture complex which was almost entirely Plains Apache. This suggests that either the Puebloans stayed in the area only a very short time or else they readily adopted the everyday implements and utensils of the local residents.

Present Status: By being included in a state park, the site has been well preserved; however, traces of the pueblo ruin are rather obscure.

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FANNING SITE (14DP1), KANSAS

Location: Doniphan County, about one mile north of Fanning on a ridge between Wolf Creek and the Missouri River Valley.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: In the area west of the Missouri River the Oneota culture, a Mississippian-derived archeological complex, spans the shadowy border line between the undocumented late prehistoric and the post-white contact period. Of the four trans-Missouri Oneota sites reported in print, white contact materials occur on two, the Fanning and Doniphan sites.

The Doniphan site, 16 miles north of the Fanning site, has been identified from historical documents as the principal village of the Kansa Indians in 1724 when they were visited by the French trader Entienne Veniard de Bourgmond. It is believed that the European trade goods excavated at the site were obtained from Fort Orleans, Bourgmond's trading post established near the present Malta Bend, Missouri, in 1723.

Although the Fanning site cannot be definitely identified as to tribe, it also is believed to represent a Kansa village. The small quantities of iron, brass, and glass beads found in the trash-filled cache pits cannot be precisely dated, but are typical of the late 17th century. The site is thought to have been abandoned before 1700.

The trade material is, for the most part, made up of small ornaments and trinkets. The only implements of European manufacture found were a few knife blades. Doubtless these materials were obtained from some of the traders and trappers who were venturing in small parties up the Missouri and its tributaries by the closing decades of the 17th century.

The Fanning site, as indicated by low refuse mounds and abundant trash-filled cache pits, marks the location of a semisedentary community which covered approximately 10 to 12 acres and had a population of 200 to 300 people. The only house uncovered in excavation at the site was a semisubterranean circular earthlodge, but it is possible that the more usual habitation was a surface structure with bark or mat covering.

Subsistence was based in part on agriculture and on the gathering of wild fruits, nuts, berries, and tubers when in season. Numerous large cache pits suggest surpluses of food stored for use in

the nongrowing season. Hunting was also of considerable importance, with deer and other woodland forms taken in greater abundance than bison and other plains animals.

Present Status: The site is in farmland and has been repeatedly cultivated. Nevertheless, it is relatively well preserved.

References:

Wedel, Waldo R.
1959 An Introduction to Kansas Archeology. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 174.

TOBIAS-THOMPSON COMPLEX, KANSAS

Location: Rice County, on the Little Arkansas River about 4 miles southeast of Geneseo. The Tobias site (14RC8) is on a ridge south of the river; the Thompson site (14RC9) is about 450 yards away on a ridge north of the river.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: Culturally, temporally, and spatially the Tobias and Thompson sites are parts of a single community. Because they are divided by a small stream and were considered separate sites prior to excavation they bear separate designations in archeological literature.

Authorities in history and in ethnology are in general agreement that the Quiviran, or Wichita, sites visited by Coronado and by Bonilla and Humana were in what is now Rice and McPherson Counties, Kansas. Archeological evidence seems to verify this.

Glass, copper, and iron items of European manufacture have been obtained from the Tobias-Thompson, Malone, and Saxman sites in Rice County, and from the Paint Creek site in McPherson County. Fragments of chain mail of ring diameters which fall within the 16th century pattern have been obtained from excavation at the Thompson section of the Tobias-Thompson complex. Other fragments were excavated at the Paint Creek site, and flood erosion has recently uncovered a shirt of mail at the Saxman site.

Contact with the Southwest has been verified by the finding of turquoise beads, Rio Grande glaze paint pottery, and Chupadero Black-on-White pottery at the Tobias-Thompson site. The glaze paint ware, dated between 1525 and 1650 but thought probably to date prior to 1550, suggests that this contact occurred at a Coronado time level.

There are 29 small low mounds within the limits of the Tobias-Thompson complex. However, the most notable feature of the community is a "council-circle" which is in the Tobias portion of the complex. It is made up of a low circular mound approximately 60 feet in diameter, and 4, or possibly 5, elliptical basins which surround the mound and form a discontinuous circle. Excavation has determined that the largest of these was about 10 feet wide, 45 feet long, and 3 feet deep, and that it and other basins were originally the lower portions of earth-covered buildings. The mound contains refuse but seems to have been purposely constructed.

The use of the "council-circles" has not been determined, but certainly they were special structures. Only four others are known; these are on nearby sites culturally related to the Tobias-Thompson complex. At no site has more than one "council-circle" been reported. Perhaps the most reasonable explanation for them is that they may have been the sites of temples or ritual centers.

The culture of the Tobias-Thompson complex and of the Malone, Hayes and Major sites has been designated the Little River Focus of the Great Bend Aspect. The Arkansas City Country Club site and other Quiviran sites in Cowley County also fit into the Great Bend Aspect.

Present Status: Mostly in grassland, and partially in unbroken sod, the Tobias-Thompson complex is rather well preserved.

References:

Bolton, Herbert E.
1949 Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Wedel, Waldo R.
1942 "Archeological Remains in Central Kansas and Their Possible Bearing on the Location of Quivira." Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 101, No. 7.

1959 An Introduction to Kansas Archeology. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 174.

MOYAONE (Accokeek Creek) SITE, MARYLAND

Location: Prince Georges County, 4½ miles west of the town of Piscataway on left bank of Potomac River between Piscataway Creek and Accokeek Creek.

Ownership: Alice L. L. Ferguson Foundation, Accokeek, Maryland.

Significance: When the Conoy, or Piscataway, were first contacted by Captain John Smith in 1608, Moyaone was the seat of the principal chief of the Piscataway confederacy. At that time it was a large stockaded town with 100 warriors.

The town is believed to have been in existence for about 300 years before its destruction and abandonment in the first half of the 17th century. In 1623 Moyaone was sacked and burned by Governor Wyatt of Virginia in reprisal for the murder of a party of traders including Captain Henry Spelman. Between 1627 and 1631, it was burned again, probably by the Seneca, and was never rebuilt. The residents of the town then moved to the nearby town of Piscataway, where they remained until about 1680.

Partial excavation of the Moyaone site by the late Mrs. Alice L. L. Ferguson revealed several stockade outlines; the larger two of these gave evidence of having been burned. In addition, the excavations uncovered four ossuaries, many storage pits, hearths, burial pits, and some 72,000 artifacts. Analysis of these findings by Dr. Robert L. Stephenson indicates that the site was occupied from late Archaic times until the Colonial period.

A number of European artifacts dating from the early 17th century were found. However, the only item of European origin which was definitely associated with an archeological feature was a fragment of copper found with an Indian burial. This suggests little utilization of trade goods by the Conoy in the first years of contact with the Europeans. Excavation of Piscataway indicated that the situation changed greatly in the following years, for large numbers of trade items were uncovered there.

Moyaone is important archeologically not only as a site of European-Indian contact but also as a site whereby the development of Middle Atlantic Coast aboriginal culture can be traced for some 5,000 years.

Present Status: The Moyaone site is in farmland. In appearance it survives little changed from Colonial times.

References:

Ferguson, Alice L. L.
1937 Moyaone and the Piscataway Indians. Privately printed. Washington

1937 "Burial Area in Moyaone." Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, Vol. 27, No. 6, pp. 261-267.

Ferguson, Alice L. L. and Henry G.
1960 The Piscataway Indians of Southern Maryland. The Ferguson Foundation. Accokeek, Maryland

Stephenson, Robert L.
1956 Accokeek: A Middle Atalantic Seaboard Culture Sequence. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan. Ann Arbor

1959 The Prehistoric People of Accokeek Creek. The Ferguson Foundation. Accokeek, Maryland

KATHIO SITE, MINNESOTA

Location: Mille Lacs County, on Mille Lacs Lake at Vineland, North Kathio Township.

Ownership: State of Minnesota

Significance: Kathio is the name now given Izatys, a village which was occupied at the beginning of the historic period by the Mdewkanton band of the Santee (or Eastern) division of the Dakota or Sioux. The first historical mention of the Dakota occurs in the Jesuit Relation for 1640; at that time nothing was known of them except that they were living in the vicinity of the Winnebago. In the Jesuit Relation of 1642, they are more definitely located as being situated some 18 days journey west of Sault Ste. Marie. That location was confirmed by the French explorers Pierre Esprit Radisson and Medard Chouart, Sieur de Groseilliers who, after spending three years, 1654-1657, in the Lake Superior region, reported the Dakota were living west of the Lake. Although Radisson and Groseilliers seem to have heard much concerning the "Nadouessioux" (the Assiniboin word from which "Sioux" was derived), they did not visit them. Later, in 1659, these explorers returned and spent some time among the Dakota. Other Frenchmen, including traders and missionaries are known to have been in the western Lake Superior area in the 1660's and 1670's, and in 1665 a mission called St. Esprit was built on Chequamegon Bay. It is almost certain that there were numerous contacts with the Dakota during this period, but there is no documentary evidence for them.

The first definite record of the Kathio site dates from 1679, when Daniel Greysolon, Sieur Dulhut (whose name we know in the Anglicised form as Duluth) "on the second of July .... had the honor to set up the arms of his Majesty in the great village of the Nadouessioux called Izatys." In the same year Father Louis Hennepin was taken captive and brought to a nearby Mdewkanton village. Freed by Duluth in 1680, he accompanied his rescuer to Izatys where the Dakota were told of the power of France and were warned of the great danger they faced should they harm Frenchmen. A 1682 map, drafted by Abbe Claude Bernou and M. Peronel after consultation with Duluth, places Issati (Izaty) on the shore of Lac Baude (Mille Lacs Lake) which drains into the River of the Sioux (Rum River), one of the headquarters of the Mississippi.

As was frequently true, intertribal warfare accompanied the Dakota's contact with the French. Although the French, like other Europeans, were usually willing to trade with any natives

with whom they came in contact, those in closest proximity to the trading posts generally had an advantage over those more distant, particularly in respect to obtaining firearms and other weapons. Natives so equipped had, of course, a tremendous advantage over aboriginally armed groups, so that a rapid expansion of the peoples with European arms occurred.

The Chippewa, pressed by the Iroquois who, in turn, were pressed by white settlements, had moved into the territory west of Lake Huron by 1650. At the time of Pierre Charles Le Seur's visit to the Dakota in 1700, they were gradually moving westward due primarily to the persistent attacks of the Chippewa, who received arms from the French, while they themselves had to rely almost wholly on bows and arrows. In the three day Battle of Kathio, which occurred about 1740, the Dakota lost their hold on this homeland to the Chippewa. The Dakota then moved south and west where they figured prominently in the history of the Plains and the Rocky Mountain states. Chippewa still live near Kathio.

The finding of aboriginal materials which can be identified as historic Mdewkanton Dakota at the Kathio Site serves to corroborate the historic identification of the site as Izatys. Prehistoric materials from the site seem to be ancestral to the historic materials and so substantiate the Dakota claim that the Mille Lacs region was their homeland.

Present Status: The site is well preserved. Adjoining it is the Mille Lacs Indian Museum of the Minnesota State Historical Society.

References:

Brebner, John B.
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Fridley, Russell W.
1960 "Preserving Historic Sites." Minnesota History, Vol. 37, No. 2, pp. 68-69.

Wilford, Lloyd A.
1944 "The Prehistoric Indians of Minnesota: The Mille Lacs Aspect." Minnesota History, Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 329-341.

FATHERLAND PLANTATION SITE (Grand Village of the Natchez), MISSISSIPPI

Location: Adams County, within the city limits of Natchez on both banks of St. Catherine's Creek.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Grand Village of the Natchez is probably the most thoroughly documented historic Indian site in the southeastern United States. First described in 1700 by Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, mention of the town occurs many times in early 18th-century sources. Following the establishment of nearby Fort Rosalie, built on the site of the present town of Natchez after the "First Natchez War" of 1714, Le Page du Pratz did sketches of Natchez life. Still later, about 1725, Dumont mapped the immediate area, his map showing the fort and the Grand Village. Both Du Pratz and Dumont described the Natchez attack on the French in 1729 and the abandonment of the village in 1730. From this information it is possible to definitely identify the Fatherland Plantation site as being the Grand Village of the Natchez.

The site is situated on both sides of St. Catherine's Creek. In the flat-bottom land on the west side of the creek are three mounds. Mound A has been almost entirely destroyed by stream erosion but appears to have been a low truncated pyramid. Mound B, which is also pyramidal, is about 80 feet square at the base and 7 feet high.

Mound C, a platform mound with burials in the floor of the temple atop it, was excavated by Moreau B. Chambers in 1930. Twenty-five skeletons were found, eight of them buried in two wooden chests outlined by iron nails, hinges, and hasps with locks. The other burials contained large quantities of European material including glass and porcelain beads, glass bottles, crockery, knives, C-shaped iron bracelets, brass bells, and a flintlock pistol. Outstanding among the Indian artifacts found was a small human effigy head made of limestone; the headdress of this figure is similar to that on effigies from large prehistoric temple mound sites of the Mississippian archeological period, such as Etowah in Georgia and Moundville in Alabama. About 60 Natchez pots were also found with the burials.

The village area, covering about 5 acres across the creek from the mounds, was tested. Intermingled with Indian artifacts were pieces of glass bottles, iron nails, and iron musket balls. Artifacts from the village site and from Mound C are in the Mississippi State Historical Museum.

The site was reexcavated in 1962 by Robert S. Neitzel, Chief Curator of the Mississippi State Historical Museum. This excavation determined that the site was occupied for roughly 100 years, 1630-1730, and established the identification of Mound C as the temple mound described by Iverville and Mound B as the mound on which the chief's house was located. Further information concerning the plaza, material culture, and occupation of the site was also uncovered, and another burial was found.

The Fatherland Plantation Site is an extremely important archeological area. The positive identification of this historically-well-documented Mississippian site has provided a base from which inferences can be made regarding the lives of the peoples of prehistoric Mississippian sites.

Present Status: Although the site is within the city limits of Natchez and in an area which has been zoned commercial, there has been no development yet in the vicinity of the site. It is in cut-over timberland, covered with brush and second-growth trees. Portions of the village site east of the creek have been badly eroded but other parts of it, as well as the village area around the mounds, are well preserved under a covering of alluvium.

References:

Ford, James A.
1936 Analysis of Indian Village Site Collections from Louisiana and Mississippi. Anthropological Study No. 2, Department of Conservation, Louisiana Geological Survey. New Orleans.

Swanton, John R.
1911 Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 43. Smithsonian Institution. Washington.

LITTLE OSAGE VILLAGE SITE (23SA3), MISSOURI

Location: Saline County, less than 1 mile north of Malta Bend, at the edge of the Tetsau plains on the south side of the Missouri River (SE$\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 18, T51N, R22W).

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Little Osage Village (or Plattner) Site is known to have been occupied by the Little Osage band of the Osage tribe from before 1750 until about 1777. It is possible that the site was occupied earlier, for from 1673 the Little Osage are known to have lived near the Missouri tribe, and the Missouri are believed to have moved about 1728 from the Utz Site to the Gumbo Point (or Late Missouri Indian Village) Site just north of the Little Osage Village Site.

The Little Osage seem to have been highly acculturated, at least in a technological sense, throughout the occupation of the site. Flintlock gun barrels and parts were far more plentiful than stone arrow points, and fragments of copper and brass kettles were much more numerous than aboriginal pottery sherds--in fact, excavation of 1350 square feet uncovered only 92 sherds. Iron knife blades, axes, hoes, nails, awls, and scissors were common, as were copper and silver ornaments, arrow points cut from sheet copper, and glass beads and bottles. Even European ceramics occurred at the site. Perhaps the most interesting find was a chest containing 25 gunsmith's tools and 104 gun parts. It has not been possible to precisely date these materials, but the most recent are thought to fall somewhere between 1770 and 1780. The most numerous of the aboriginal artifacts were large stone scrapers, suggestive of the preparation of skins and furs for trade.

Present Status: The site is in farmland and has been cultivated for more than 100 years. Although this had badly damaged the site, it is believed that much archeological evidence may still be recovered from below the plow zone.

References:

Chapman, Carl H.
1946 "A Preliminary Survey of Missouri Archaeology, Part I: Historic Indian Tribes." The Missouri Archaeologist, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 1-56.

1959 "The Little Osage and Missouri Indian Village Sites, Ca. 1727-1777 A.D." The Missouri Archaeologist, Vol. 21, No. 1

Hamilton, T. M.

1960a "Some Gun Parts from 18th Century Osage Sites." The Missouri Archaeologist, Vol. 22, pp.120-149

1960b "The Gunsmith's Cache Discovered at Malta Bend, Missouri." The Missouri Archaeologist, Vol. 22, pp. 150-171.

UTZ SITE (23SA2), MISSOURI

Location: Saline County, 12 miles north of Marshall on the Pinnacles south of the Missouri River (SW$\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 19, T 52N, R 21W).

Ownership: University of Missouri and various private owners.

Significance: The Utz Site is believed to have been the principal settlement of the Missouri Indians from before 1673 until 1728. Marquette's map of 1673-1674, the best surviving record of the pioneering voyage which he and Jolliet made down the Mississippi in 1673, placed the "Messourit" on the Pekittanoui (Missouri) River in the approximate location of the Utz Site. The Minet map of 1685 and the Franquelin map of 1688 also show the Missouri in the same area. Both these maps were based on La Salle's lost map of his 1682 voyage down the Mississippi. It is assumed that the placement of the Missouri on his map was based on information given him by the Missouri, since a party of Illinois and Missouri were met just south of the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers.

It is not known when the French began to exercise influence over the Missouri; but this seems to have occurred before 1712, as in that year the Missouri helped break the Fox and Iroquois siege of Fort Detroit. On their return to Missouri, they were accompanied by a young French trader, Etienne Veniard, Sieur de Bourgmond, who is said to have lived among them for five years. Later, in 1723, Bourgmond returned to the Missouri country to build and command Fort Orleans, a combined military and trading post located on the Missouri River near the village of the Missouri.

Fort Orleans was the first European post on the Missouri. As such it may have contributed indirectly in minimizing Spanish incursions from the Southwest into the central and upper Plains; but it was never very successful from a commercial standpoint, and from time to time it was beset with administrative difficulties. In late 1727 the post was ordered abandoned, and presumably this was effected in the early spring of 1728.

French trade items found over much of the Utz Site lend credence to the idea that as early as 1724 the Missouri were trading at the nearby French post, for they are of the kind carried most frequently by the earlier French voyageurs: glass beads, brass ear ornaments, brass rings, and copper and brass for making ornaments. The almost total absence of metal knives and axes, gun parts, and copper and iron kettles at the site indicates that the Missouri did not remain at their village much after the abandonment of Fort Orleans in 1728, because after that time utilitarian trade items became increasingly available.

The Missouri Indian culture as represented at the Utz Site has been classed under the Oneota Aspect of the Upper Phase of the Mississippi Pattern. The three complete and two partial house patterns uncovered at the Utz Site in the summer of 1963 are the only house patterns which are known for Oneota sites, with the exceptions of part of a similar house on a Wisconsin Oneota site and of earth lodges, which are considered atypical for Oneota but which occur on Kansas and Nebraska Oneota sites. All of the five Utz Site houses were elliptical in shape; the largest were approximately 50 by 30 feet. Associated with them were fireplaces, one or more refuse-filled cache pits, and floor areas which were unprepared except for sod-stripping.

Present Status: Forty-two acres of the approximately 200-acre site is owned by the University of Missouri and is used for the Lyman Center for Archaeological Research and the University's archeological field school. A small museum which exhibits materials from the site is open during the summer, and the excavations may be visited on weekends and holidays from June through August. The remainder of the site, with the exception of a small portion within Van Meter State Park, is privately owned and is in farmland.

References:

Bray, Robert T.
1961 "The Missouri Indian Tribe in Archaeology and History." Missouri Historical Review, Vol. LV, No. 2, pp. 213-225.

Chapman, Carl H.
1946 "A Preliminary Survey of Missouri Archaeology, Part I: Historic Indian Tribes." The Missouri Archaeologist, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 1-56.

HILL SITE, NEBRASKA

Location: Webster County, about 7 miles south of Red Cloud on the south bank of the Republican River.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Hill (or Superior 1) Site is generally accepted as being the Kitkehahki, or Republican Pawnee, village where Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, in September 1806, caused the Spanish flag to be lowered and the American flag, raised. The location of the site and the topography of the vicinity coincide with both the descriptions in Pike's journal and the map of the expedition. Archeological evidence offers further corroboration of this identification. Among the materials excavated were: a Spanish peace medal which dates from 1797, an American peace medal of the type issued by the Government after 1801, and a military button bearing the raised figure "1", the battalion number of Pike's infantry.

Although excavation produced many other items of European origin, including iron hoes, gun parts, axes, chisels, bridles, stirrups, knives, glass beads, wooden-backed mirrors, and cloth, the Pawnee still retained much of their aboriginal material culture. Typical Pawnee potsherds were numerous, as were bone and stone artifacts.

The site is known to have nearly 100 earthlodges; however, only three have been excavated. A rectangular hard-packed area surrounded by post molds, evidently a horse corral, was also uncovered. It is not surprising that the Pawnee had corrals and that in the excavations horse bones were numerically second only to bison bones, as they are thought to have had horses in the 17th century.

Subsistence was based primarily on maize agriculture and bison hunting, although gathering of wild fruits, berries, nuts, and tubers was also important. There were two great tribal bison hunts each year; the summer hunt, which lasted from the middle of June until September, and the winter hunt, from the end of October until early April. Maize was planted and cultivated before the summer hunt and gathered and cached away before the winter hunt.

Present Status: The entire site is in farmland and has been under cultivation for more than 70 years; consequently, all surface indications of the site have been obliterated. Nevertheless, plowing reveals the presence of earth lodges and cache pits as discolored areas.

References:

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Strong, William D.
1935 An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 93, No. 10.

Wedel, Waldo R.
1936 An Introduction to Pawnee Archeology. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 112.

PALMER SITE (25HW1), NEBRASKA

Location: Howard County, about 4 miles north of Palmer, on the second bottoms on the north side of the Loup River.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Palmer Site, a Skidi Pawnee, or Panimaha village site covering over 15 acres, is known to have been occupied for the first 40 years of the 19th century. It was first reported by Lewis and Clark in 1804. Although they did not visit the site, the report on their expedition states that the "Skee-e-ree," or "Loups," lived on the Loup River 36 leagues from its mouth. Lieutenant Zebulon Pike, who visited the Republican Pawnee in 1806, agreed with Lewis and Clark as to the location of the village; however, he did not go north of the Republican village, at the Hill Site. In 1811, Major Sibley, an officer of the Missouri Company, visited the Skidi village. He stated that it was located about 130 miles northwest of the Kansa village at the Big Blue Kansa Site in Kansas. His reckoning of distance is somewhat short, but from other information it appears he was referring to the Palmer site. The journal of Major S. H. Long's expedition in 1819 specifically mentions the Skidi village at a location which is the same as that of the Palmer Site. The Reverend Jedidiah Morse, who visited the village in 1822, stated that it contained 120 lodges; but it contained only 70 lodges in 1836 according to John B. Dunbar. In 1844, when Major Clifton Wharton came into the area, the village at the Palmer Site had been abandoned, and the Skidi were at a short-lived village, the Fullerton Site, near the present Fullerton.

As at other sites of this period, gun parts, iron hoes, axes, articles of personal adornment, and many other materials of European manufacture were frequently found. However, items of aboriginal manufacture were quite common also. Triangular unnotched arrowpoints were surprisingly numerous; sherds of typical Pawnee pottery were found all over the site; and tools used in the preparation of bison hides, such as bone and stone scrapers, occurred in large numbers. Bison scapula hoes and other implements used in agriculture were also found.

Present Status: Almost the entire site is in cultivation and has been for a number of years. For this reason no surface indications remain with the exception of a few earth lodge circles. Plowing, however, still reveals the sites of other lodges in the form of large areas of dark, discolored soil.

References:

Wedel, Waldo R. 1936 — An Introduction to Pawnee Archeology. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 112.

WILSON SITE (Jack Wilson or
Wovoka), NEVADA

Location: Lyon County, Nevada; Nordyke Ranch, northeast side of Mill Ditch in Nordyke, 7 miles SW of Yerington.

Ownership: Privately owned

Significance: Wovoka, known as Jack Wilson, was a Paviotso Indian who was brought up in the home of David Wilson. In this household he listened attentively to family readings of the Bible, making his own interpretations, and in late 1888, after a serious illness during which he had a revelation, came to believe himself an Indian Messiah. He taught his tribesmen that white men would suddenly disappear and that the land again would belong to the Indians, if the Ghost Dance, the climax of the ceremonies, were carried out properly.

Tribal leaders from far and near came to observe and learn the ceremonies, and the Ghost Dance spread rapidly through the Great Basin country and over the mountains onto the Plains. The killing of Sitting Bull on December 15, 1890, and the massacre at Wounded Knee two weeks later brought about the final collapse of this movement. A deep heritage of bitter frustration remained, however, and certain elements of the dance were incorporated in other tribal dances.

Present status: The original Wilson family ranchhouse burned to the ground in the late 19th century, and nothing remains of this structure. However, it appears that Wovoka never actually lived in the family house, but rather in a 10' x 6' wood and mud semi-subterranean hut which is still

standing. The hut is largely intact, although some of the roof mud has collapsed. The Wovoka hut is situated just east of the present two and a half story ranchhouse.

Jack Wilson was born in Mason Valley in 1858 and died in September, 1932 at the age of 74.

References:

Nevada State Historical Society, Inc.
1957 Nevada, A Guide to the Silver State. American Guide Series.

Dangberg, Grace M., ed.
"Letters to Jack Wilson, The Paiute Prophet, written between 1908 and 1911, in Smithsonian Institution, BAE Bul. 164, Anthropological Papers, No. 55. Washington.

ABO PUEBLO AND MISSION, NEW MEXICO

Location: Ten miles west of Mountainair, on north side of U.S. Highway 60.

Ownership: State of New Mexico, administered by Museum of New Mexico

Significance: The first Europeans known to have visited Abo Pueblo were Antonio de Espejo and a small group of men, who arrived there in 1583. At that time the pueblo was estimated to have a population of 800. In 1598 Juan de Onate, first Governor of New Mexico, assigned Father San Francisco de Miguel to Pecos Pueblo, where he had the responsibility also for neighboring pueblos including Abo. He is not known to have made much impression upon the inhabitants by the time he departed in 1601, in which year the people of Abo killed 2 deserting soldiers who were trying to make their way back to Mexico. Onate sent one of his lieutenants, Vicente de Zaldivar, to chastize the residents of Abo for the killings, which resulted in a battle nearby.

Known missionary work began at Abo about 1622, and in 1626 Father Francisco Fonte was assigned here, evidently for full-time work in this pueblo. Off and on during the ensuing years other guardians were assigned. In 1641 the pueblo was reported to have a population of 1,580. The missionaries brought about several changes in the Indian way of life through the introduction of the new religion, improved agriculture, new domestic animals and plants, new ideas in architecture, and Spanish goods. The church structure is believed to have been constructed in 1629-30 under the guidance of Father Francisco de Acevedo. This was the "mother mission" of the Salinas group of pueblos, which also included Quarai, Tenabo and

and Tabira. Gran Quivira (San Buenaventura de las Humanas) was a visita of Abo, and was not continuously occupied by a priest.

The ruins of Abo represent an important and relatively little-known period in Southwestern aboriginal culture history. Occupied from late prehistoric times (about 1300) through early Spanish times (abandoned about 1672 due to drought and Apache incursions in their area), they typify the period in which acculturation began in the Southwest. Through excavation and archival research, they will provide vital data on this highly important process. Little excavation has been performed here as yet, but what has been done indicates clearly that the site is significant in acculturation studies. Never satisfactorily explained, for instance, is the role of the kiva found within the convento at Abo. A kiva represents the focal point of Indian religious activities, but evidently this kiva was constructed after the erection of the structures of San Gregorio mission. A pottery cup, made in the local pueblo style but shaped like a chalice, is among the interesting artifacts recovered from this kiva. One cannot help but speculate on what manner of mixture may have been practiced here of Indian-Roman Catholic religions.

Present Status: The ruins lie on a low promontory of land at the junction of Barranco Arroyo and an unnamed arroyo, in the center of a natural amphitheater formed by low-lying hills. The pueblo ruins consist of extensive mounds of earth, stone and debris concealing walls probably several feet high beneath the detritus. The mission is built of red sandstone set in adobe mortar. Portions of the church walls survive

almost to roof height. The convento was covered with debris prior to excavation in 1938-39. Very little addition or restoration accompanied stabilization of the mission, and very little of the pueblo was excavated. The ruins of both pueblo and mission are in good condition.

References:

Kubler, George
1940 The Religious Architecture of New Mexico. Colorado Springs

Reed, Erik K.
1940 Special Report on Abo State Monument, New Mexico. National Park Service. Santa Fe

Toulouse, Joseph H. Jr.,
1949 The Mission of San Gregorio de Abo. School of American Research Monograph No. 13. Albuquerque

Walter, A. F.
1931 The Cities That Died of Fear. Santa Fe

Note: This site has already been classified of exceptional value in this theme.

BIG BEAD MESA, NEW MEXICO

Location: Sandoval County, north of Marquez; T14N, R4W.

Ownership: Cibola National Forest, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Significance: Big Bead Mesa is a mute monument to Navajo-Ute conflicts in the first half of the 1700's, a major Navajo retreat from their homeland on the upper San Juan River, and the opening of a wedge that gave the Navajos access to central New Mexico.

Around 1700, the Utes were joined by their Comanche allies and began a series of devastating raids into northern New Mexico on both sides of the Rio Grande. By the 1720's, Navajos in the upper San Juan-Largo Canyon region began to construct stone-walled sites on top of crags and other easily defended spots for refuge from Ute attacks. Similar structures continued to be erected into the 1740's. In this decade the Navajos, under the pressure of continued Ute attacks, retreated southward, taking refuge in the upper Chaco drainage and in the Mount Taylor region, including Big Bead Mesa. By the early 1750's the Utes were masters of the upper San Juan. Never again did the Navajos occupy any of the country north of the Large Canyon drainage, their Dinetah, though a few took refuge there from American troops in the late 1800's.

The Navajos who moved into the Big Bead Mesa region in the middle 1700's had entered country new to them. Their retreat south had brought them to the northern border of the Gila Apaches, some of whom lived a few miles to the south near Cebolleta. Within a few years Navajos of this vicinity began to plague the nearby pueblos of Laguna and Acoma and came to know their Gila Apache neighbors better. By 1780 the Gila Apaches and these eastern Navajos formed an alliance which concerned the Spaniards to such a degree that military campaigns were organized with the express purpose of breaking the alliance. This aim was achieved in 1785, but only temporarily.

The Navajos of the Mount Taylor region slowly spread out during the late 1700's, pasturing their flocks of sheep and settling on new farmlands. By 1808, the Spaniards living in the region near Laguna Pueblo permitted some of these Navajos to take up land in the Mesa Gigante area with the hope that the Navajos would act as a buffer against Gila Apache raids north toward Albuquerque. This hope backfired. In short order the Navajos developed a raiding trail down the Puerco River, which in a few years took their warriors as far south as the Valverde area on the Rio Grande, also a target for the Gila Apaches, and even into the Sierra Blanca in

Mescalero Apache country. Thus the eastern Navajos, who had retreated before the Utes in the middle 1700's, became an aggressive power in the late 1700's and expanded their operations south into central New Mexico by the early 1800's. Big Bead Mesa best commemorates this series of events primarily involving inter-tribal conflict and alliance.

Present Status: Big Bead Mesa is situated in a remote, elevated, arid area. The mesa rises abruptly from the surrounding tableland, and is dotted with the remains of Navajo forked-stick and stone-walled hogans constructed after 1745.

Bibliography: Dorothy Louise Keur, Big Bead Mesa, Memoirs of the Society of American Archaeology, No. 1 (Menasha, 1941); Albert H. Schroeder, unpublished manuscript.

QUARAI PUEBLO AND MISSION, NEW MEXICO

Location: Torrance County, 8 miles north of Mountainair and .6 miles west of State Highway 10. Within the Quarai State Monument.

Ownership: State of New Mexico.

Significance: Quarai Pueblo may have been visited by the Spanish entrada of 1581, under Cahmuscado and Rodriguez, or by the expedition of 1583, under Antonio de Espejo. However, the first actual reference to the village is found in Governor Juan de Onate's account of his 1598 trip to the salt lakes on the west side of the Sandia Mountains. Onate spoke of the pueblo as "the salines," but it seems certain he was referring to Quarai.

In 1598, Fray Francisco de San Miguel was assigned to and based at Pecos Pueblo; from there he also ministered to Quarai and other pueblos. It was not until 1628, however, that the Tiwa inhabitants of Quarai had a resident guardian, Fray Juan Gutierrez de la Chica. It was at this time that the name Nuestra Senora de la Concepcion de Quarai was given the mission. In the 1630's, Quarai served as the seat of the Inquisition in New Mexico. Following Chica various Franciscans were almost continuously in residence at the pueblo up to the 1670's.

In 1641 Quarai had a population of 658. From the 1640's into the 1660's there was considerable friction between church and state officials in New Mexico, and many events that occurred at Quarai were a direct outgrowth of this controversy. In the late 1660's, the Indians at Quarai, having been in the middle of the squabbles between church and state, planned to revolt with Apache help; but the plot was discovered, and the leader, Esteban Clemente, was executed. The droughts of the 1660's and early 1670's weakened the pueblo, and in 1672 some 600 occupants moved out to join the Tiwa relatives 12 miles to the north at Tajique. Two years later Tajique was abandoned and the Indians moved to Isleta, another Tiwa pueblo on the Rio Grande. When the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680 broke out, many of these Indians joined the Spaniards on their retreat down the Rio Grande and were settled at Isleta del Sur near present El Paso. By the late 1800's these Tiwas had been absorbed by the Mexican population.

After its abandonment in 1672, Quarai was never again occupied by the Indians. It was, however, used for a short period in the 1750's as a base for Spanish troops to ward off attacks by Apaches who came through the Pass of Abo.

Quarai, probably better than any other pueblo, tells the story of Indian involvement in the bitter controversy between church and state in the middle 1600's.

Present Status: Like several other pueblos in the region, Quarai contains two churches, a small early one of which the wall outlines only remain, and a large structure which still stands to a height of 40 feet in places. It is not definitely known who was responsible for the construction of each, nor the dates when constructed. The massive sandstone walls of the large church and monastery of this impressive ruin were excavated and stabilized by the Museum of New Mexico in 1934-36 and additional work was accomplished in 1938 and 1939. A small amount of excavation in the pueblos ruins also was accomplished in 1916 and in the 1930's. This site became a state monument in 1935.

References:

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1931 The Cities that Died of Fear. Santa Fe.

Note: This site has already been classified of exceptional value in this theme.

SAN RAFAEL CANYON (group),
NEW MEXICO

Location: Rio Arriba County, near the town of Gobernador, drainage on south side of Gobernador Canyon.

Ownership: No information.

Significance: This canyon contains sites representing villages constructed by refugee Pueblo Indians who fled from their homes on the Rio Grande during the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680-92. Navaho occupation is evident also in some of these pueblos and in the near vicinity. Glass beads, a copper buckle, Spanish bridle bit, an iron crucifix, and metal knives and axes recovered from these ruins bear witness to the historical contact of the former inhabitants with the Spanish.

It was during the time that these Pueblo people were hiding in this country that the Navaho borrowed a number of ideas from them. The Navaho reshaped their culture by employing masonry in some of their buildings, constructing small houses on rocky crags, and making use of paint on their pottery. In addition, this was the period of the probable introduction of sand painting, clans, and other socio-ceremonial features to the Navaho. along with the expansion of farming and herding practices. These refugee sites represent a unique mingling of sedentary Pueblo people in the region of the semi-nomadic Navaho as a result of the Pueblo Rebellion which led to the expulsion of the Spaniards for a period of twelve years.

Present Status: The Pueblo ruins, some of which still stand a little over one story, are located on the edge of the canyon rim or on small mesa tops, either difficult of access or enclosed by protective walls of sandstone

masonry. Plaster is still evident on some of the walls, and many well preserved roofs exhibit timbers cut by steel axes. Protected entries and notched log ladders are the only access to several of these pueblos. Hewn wood slabs or poles, split logs, and pegs occur in some of the doorways. Water conservation devices also are evident.

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BOUGHTON HILL (GANNAGARO) SITE, NEW YORK

Location: Ontario County, in the vicinity of Victor.
Boughton Hill Site: $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles south of Victor.
"Fort Hill" Site: 1 mile west of Boughton Hill.
"Battlefield" Site: north of Victor near the New York Thruway.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: Boughton Hill is the site of Gannagaro, "the great town" of the Seneca who, as the westernmost of the five nation League of the Iroquois, were symbolically regarded as the door-keepers of the longhouse.

The term "Seneca," a derivative of the Mahican term for the Oneida, was used by the Dutch as early as 1616; however, it was first applied not only to the Seneca proper but to the three other Iroquois tribes west of the Mohawk as well. Gradually the proper designations for these tribes became known to the Dutch, but the general term "Seneca" continued to be used for the group living farthest west. Records show that the few Dutch and French traders who penetrated to the Seneca towns after 1635 were content to let colonial officials and competitors know only that the Seneca lived west of the Onondaga. Although by this period the Seneca had come to regard European trade goods as absolute necessities, they obtained them almost entirely through trade with the Mohawk, the easternmost of the Iroquois. Because the Mohawks desired to retain their position as middlemen, they strongly opposed the establishment of trading posts in the interior; and Fort Orange, near the present Albany, remained the trading post nearest the Iroquois from its establishment in 1617 until after 1664, when the English acquired New Netherlands.

Iroquois commerce with the Dutch was based almost entirely on the beaver. After the exhaustion of the beaver supply in the Iroquois country about 1640, the Iroquois attempted to gain control over the tribes participating in the fur trade with the French. Failing to accomplish this peacefully, they attacked and dispersed the Huron in 1648-1649, sacked the Tionontati towns in 1649, and defeated and subjugated the Neutrals in 1651 and the Erie in 1656. Peace treaties were made with the French in 1645 and 1653, but these were short-lived.

Because of the continued harassment of the French and their Indian allies by the Iroquois, the French invaded the Mohawk country twice in 1666. Weakened by disease and by Susquehanna attacks on the Seneca and Cayuga, the Iroquois sued for peace. The peace

treaty, made in 1667, was kept by the Iroquois until after the defeat and dispersal of the Susquehanna in 1675.

The first mention of specific Seneca towns occurred after the treaty of 1653. In the fall of 1655, Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon, French Jesuits, visited the Seneca and reported that their territory, the "great hill" country, was more fertile and more populous than the other Iroquois provinces. They stated that it "contained two large villages and a number of small ones, besides the Huron Village." The incorporation of a band of Huron into the Seneca was in keeping with the Iroquois policy of adopting the remnants of tribes whom they had conquered. By 1656 there were 11 different tribes represented in the Seneca country.

The two great towns and two lesser ones persisted throughout the period from 1655 until 1687. All were on hilltops, and it appears that all were fortified, at least until after the Seneca defeated the Susquehanna in 1675. Gannagaro was described in 1669 by Father Rene de Brehant de Galinee as being surrounded by a perfectly square palisade without flanking bastions, but with piles of wood which buttressed it on the inside to the height of a man. However, in 1677 Wentworth Greenhalgh reported, "None of the (Seneca) towns are stockaded."

Following the defeat of the Susquehanna, the Iroquois again attempted to gain control of the French fur trade. By 1677, they were making raids on the Illinois. They drove the Illinois from their main village, Old Kaskaskia near Starved Rock in 1680; however, La Salle persuaded them to return in 1683 by constructing Fort St. Louis atop the Rock.

In the summer of 1683 La Barre, the governor of Canada, took shares in a company engaged in the Illinois trade in rivalry with La Salle. He then sent word to the Iroquois that they might rob any French traders who did not possess passports signed by him. An Iroquois war party composed primarily of Senecas acted on this warrant in the spring of 1684. They seized seven canoes filled with French trade goods and then went on to attack Fort St. Louis. The traders whom they robbed had been sent out by La Barre's company, and Fort St. Louis had recently been taken over by the company.

Determined that the Senecas must be humbled, La Barre wrote to Louis XIV asking for troops with which to exterminate them, and to Thomas Dongan, the English governor of New York, asking that he

might have, if not support, at least neutrality. Dongan met that summer with representatives of all five Iroquois tribes; and, when they had agreed to live at peace with the English, he gave them the arms of the Duke of York to erect in their villages as a representation of the establishment of a protectorate. In the fall of 1684, La Barre gathered together an army of nearly 1200 men but did not attack, for he feared the power of the united Iroquois backed by the English.

The Marquis de Denonville replaced La Barre as governor of Canada in 1685. Denonville, whose ambition was to secure New York for France, decided to accomplish this by first defeating the Senecas and declaring their lands French territory, and in 1687 he marched into the Seneca country with a force of about 3000 men. Although the inhabitants of Gannagaro had erected a fort near their town, only one of the four Seneca villages was palisaded. In an attempt to keep Denonville from the villages, the Seneca warriors met his army to the north of Gannagaro. Repulsed after one day of battle, the Seneca fell back to their villages and, having set fire to their cabins, hustled their women and children off to the Cayuga. Despite the destruction of the villages and of the livestock and grain belonging to their inhabitants, Denonville had only temporarily driven the Seneca from their lands. They soon returned. However, they had been greatly weakened, and instead of rebuilding their large villages they became decentralized and lived in a scattering of small family clusters.

The Morgan Chapter Study Group of the New York State Archaeological Society has been excavating the site for a number of years. Members of the Chapter have uncovered literally hundreds of burials which contain a large quantity of varied trade items, such as: beads, iron awls, projectile points, and knives; Jesuit crosses; rings and medallions; brass kettles, pendants, and projectile points; gun flints; and a pistol. It is estimated that less than 25% of the artifacts which have been excavated are of aboriginal origin.

Present Status: The Boughton Hill, or Gannagaro, Site is in farmland. Although no structural remains or other evidence of Indian occupation is visible, it is thought that scientific excavation of the site would uncover information regarding house types and settlement pattern.

The "Fort Hill Site," traditionally the site of the fort erected by the inhabitants of Gannagaro, has been so badly damaged by cultivation that no evidence of occupation remains.

The "Battlefield Site," is presumably the site of the battle between the French and the Seneca. It has been identified as such by Mr. J. Sheldon Fisher of Victor, a local historian. It is in a marshy, wooded area and is threatened by urban development.

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BIG HIDATSA VILLAGE SITE (32ME12), NORTH DAKOTA

Location: Mercer County, about 2½ miles north of Stanton on the north bank of the Knife River, near the center of SW¼ Sec. 21, Twp. 145, R. 84.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Big Hidatsa Village (or Olds) Site was the largest of the three Hidatsa villages located near the mouth of the Knife River in the period from about 1740 to 1845. Prior to the establishment of these villages the Hidatsa lived near the confluence of the Heart and Missouri Rivers in close proximity to the Mandan, a tribe with whom they shared many cultural traits. About 1770 the Mandan moved up the Missouri and established two villages near those of the Hidatsa. These five villages formed an extremely important center for the northern Plains fur trade. As the Big Hidatsa Village Site is well documented both historically and archeologically, it is an excellent example of the effects of 100 years of fur trade contact and of the acculturation resulting from it.

The date of the first meeting of the Hidatsa and Europeans is not known, but it probably occurred shortly after the Hidatsa moved from the Heart River to the Knife River. It appears, however, that for some time previous to actual contact the Hidatsa and Mandan had been quite successful as middlemen in the northern Plains trade involving European materials. They received European goods from eastern tribes such as the Assiniboin and Cree, who were in direct contact with the French. In return for these goods they gave corn, which they had grown, and products of nomadic life--buffalo robes, furs, and meat--which they had obtained from the Crow, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and other western tribes. Corn and limited quantities of European trade materials were, in turn, traded for the products of these nomadic peoples.

If the Hidatsa were still on the Heart in 1738, they may have encountered members of Pierre Gaultier de Verranes, Sieur de La Verendrye's expedition which visited the Mantannes (Mandan) that year. Had they already moved to the Knife, it is almost certain that contact occurred within the next decade, for Verendrye's visit opened the way for direct trade between the French Voyageurs and the Mandan and Hidatsa villages. This trade was virtually stopped from 1756 to the end of the French and Indian War, but it was renewed in 1766 by the British fur companies despite the fact that the territory was part of that

which had been transferred to Spain by France in 1762.

When Jacques D'Eglise, the first representative of the Spanish traders to visit the Mandan and Hidatsa, reached their villages near the Knife in 1790, he found a French Canadian trader employed by the British who had been living and trading there for 14 years. However, it was John Evans who made the first official Spanish contact with the Mandan and Hidatsa in 1796. Finding a Canadian trading post which had been erected two years earlier, he ordered the traders to return to Canada. The traders left the villages, but they returned in the spring of 1797 and forced Evans to leave.

The first definite reference to the Big Hidatsa Village occurred later that year when David Thompson, the Canadian trader, explorer, and geographer, visited the Hidatsa and Mandan. Although he referred to the village as the "Upper Village of the Fall Indians," it is evident from his 1798 map that the two were the same. In 1800 the territory was transferred back to France, and in 1803 it was sold to the United States.

The expedition led by Captain Meriwether Lewis and William Clark spent the winter of 1804-1805 at Fort Mandan, a camp which they built on the Missouri a short distance below the mouth of the Knife. Their journals describe five villages, all of which were within six miles of one another. Two of these were occupied by the Mandan; two by the Minataree (or Hidatsa); and one by the Annahaways (or Amahami, a band of the Hidatsa, formerly an independent but closely related tribe).

While at Fort Mandan, Lewis and Clark encountered traders from both the Northwest and Hudson Bay Companies. These traders were restrained from going father west by the Mandan and Hidatsa; but they, nevertheless, were aware of the great opportunity for trade which the west offered. This is evidenced by Francis Antoine Larocque writing in 1805 that "They have never had any traders with them, they get their battle Guns, ammunitions etc. from the Mandans and Big Bellys (Hidatsa) in exchange for horses." That the traders understood the Hidatsa and Mandan's motive in holding them back is shown by Charles Mackenzie's statement, which was also written at this time:

> They (the Mandan and Hidatsa) asserted that if the white people would extend their dealings to the Rocky Mountains, the Mandanes (and Hidatsa) would thereby become great sufferers, as they would not only lose all the benefit which they had hitherto derived from their intercourse

with these distant tribes, but that in measure as these tribes obtained arms, they would become independent and insolent in the extreme.

Despite great effort, they were unable to halt the movement of traders to the western tribes. This, however, did not have the immediate effect which the Hidatsa and Mandan feared. As their corn and other agricultural products were still commodities desired by both the traders and the nomadic Indians, they were able to maintain a relatively favorable trading position.

When George Catlin, Prince Maximilian, and Karl Bodmer visited the Hidatsa and Mandan at the mouth of the Knife during the years 1832, 1833, and 1834, they found that the villages still formed a stable community. Both Catlin and Maximilian described the Big Hidatsa Village and its people, and Catlin and Bodmer did sketches of the village. We are very fortunate to have these, for the smallpox epidemic of 1837 almost destroyed the Mandan and greatly weakened the Hidatsa. Shortly after Fort Berthold was built in 1845, the Hidatsa moved upstream and established a village there, and the Mandan followed and settled with them.

Historical records show that the century of almost continuous contact between the Hidatsa and the Europeans brought about a decline in native technology and a few replacements, some additions, and many alternatives to the material culture inventory. This is also borne out by archeological evidence from limited excavation at the Big Hidatsa Village Site. In the lower levels materials of aboriginal manufacture were found in tremendous quantity, while European items were almost nonexistent; in the upper levels bone and stone artifacts and aboriginal potsherds were quite numerous, but mixed with them were large numbers of European trade items.

Present Status: The Big Hidatsa Village Site covers 15 or more acres, most of which has never been cultivated. It is exceptionally well preserved. The depressions of more than 100 circular earthlodges can be seen quite clearly, and several fortification trenches, which were made when the village was enlarged or when portions of it were abandoned, are also visible.

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MENOKEN INDIAN VILLAGE SITE, NORTH DAKOTA

Location: Burleigh County, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles north of Menoken (SW$\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 22, Twp. 139, R. 78)

Ownership: State of North Dakota

Significance: The Menoken Indian Village Site is generally accepted as being the site of the first mantannes (Mandan) village reached by Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de La Verendrye's expedition of 1738.

Verendrye described this village as a fort built on a height in open prairie. He stated that it contained about 130 dwellings and that it was surrounded by a palisade with four bastions, outside of which was a defensive ditch 15 feet deep and 15 to 18 feet wide. While at the village Verendrye heard of five other villages of the same "nation" which were located on "the river" and sent his son to visit them. To reach these villages required a one-day journey, and Verendrye's son returned after visiting only the nearest of them. He reported that it was situated "on the bank of the river," and that it was once again as large as the one they were in. He added that "the palisade and fortification there are ... built in the same style as that in which we were."

From the emphasis which the narrative places on "the river," it appears that the term refers to the Missouri, the only major stream in the area in question. As no mention of "the river" occurs in Verendrye's account of the journey from Fort La Reine on the Assiniboin River to the first of the Mantannes villages visited by the expedition, it seems almost certain that the Mantannes village was east of the Missouri. The only area on the Missouri, and actually the only area in the northern Plains, in which five earthlodge villages dating from the Verendrye period have been found is at the mouth of the Heart River.

The Menoken Site is the only known fortified Mandan village of the Verendrye period which is located some distance to the east of the Heart River villages but within a day's journey of them. The ditch surrounding the site is still clearly visible, and archeological excavation has uncovered evidence of a palisade which had four bastions. Thus it seems that the identification of the Menoken site as the village visited by Sieur de La Verendrye is well founded.

Present Status: The village site is included in the Menoken Indian Village Archeological Site. It is well preserved.

References:

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DEER CREEK SITE, OKLAHOMA

Location: Kay County, five miles northeast of Newkirk where Deer Creek flows into the Arkansas River (Sec. 15, T28N, R3E).

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Deer Creek (Kay County, or Ferdinandino) Site is a fortified village site believed to have been occupied by the Wichita or related Indian groups during the first half of the 18th century.

Although the Wichita, the Quivira of Coronado, appear in Spanish history in 1541, there is no evidence that the French knew of them until the maps of Jolliet and Radin, drawn about 1674. These maps show the Panissa, as the French called the Wichita, in the same general region in which the Spanish found them. It was also in this region that the first recorded French contact with the Wichita occurred in 1719, when Bernard de la Harpe encountered a large group of them on the south Canadian River in what is now Oklahoma.

La Harpe, who was primarily a trader, explored the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers, probably as far as 100° W, in the hope of expanding French trade into an area previously dominated by the Spanish trade, which was mainly in horses. Either he, or the French trade policy of supplying manufactured articles including guns, was quite successful, for following shortly behind him were numbers of individual French traders. Unfortunately there is only the scantiest record as to who these traders were or where they went.

One, or probably more, of these nameless traders established a trading post called Ferdinandino at the Wichita village which we know as the Deer Creek Site. From an analysis of the beads, gun parts, metal utensils, iron knife blades, scissors, and other trade items found on the site, it appears that the trading post was begun about 1725 and continued until 1750. The aboriginal materials found at the site are also indicative of this trade, the most common artifacts being long stone end-scrapers which were used to prepare the hides.

Present Status: The village site, which is under sod that has never been broken, is extremely well preserved. Still clearly visible are a number of refuse mounds and the trench which was just outside the palisade that originally surrounded the village. In the cultivated field just west of the village are three very

large bison bone middens. The site has never been excavated, but the visible remains of the village and large collections of surface materials from the site evidence its importance as a site of European and Indian contact.

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MAKAH INDIAN RESERVATION, WASHINGTON

Location: Neah Bay, Makah Indian Reservation, Clallam County; including Cape Flattery.

Ownership: Makah Indian Tribe, Neah Bay, Washington.

Significance: The Makah (Indian cape people) are the last of a warlike tribe, a branch of the Nootka, whose chief abode is on the outer side of Vancouver Island. They are more closely connected with the culture of southeastern Alaska than with that of other Washington Indians. The Makah once excelled in the art of canoe making, their finished canoes ranging from shovel-nosed dugouts, used in ascending shallow streams and capable of carrying one or two persons, to ocean-going whaling canoes.

The present Indian village of Neah Bay sits on top of a huge prehistoric Indian shell midden, and is headquarters for the Makah Indian Reservation. No authentic Indian buildings remain, of any notable age, with the possible exception of an old Shaker Indian church of uncertain age.

The place is important not only from the standpoint of Indian antiquities but also as the site of the first European settlement in the present State of Washington. On May 29, 1791, the Spanish frigate Princesa landed a group of settlers headed by a Lieutenant Fidalgo, brought from San Blas, Mexico. The settlement was called Bahia Nunez Gaona in honor of the Archbishop of Mexico. The settlers were ordered to "establish a small battery on the mainland, respectable fortifications, provisional barracks for the sick, a bakery and oven, and a blacksmith shop, and to cut down

all trees within musket shot." The enterprise was abandoned after only five months. Some reflection of a reason for its failure may be found in the name given the area by later settlers: Poverty Cove. Brick tile used by the Spanish settlers have been found in the vicinity and are displayed in the Washington State Historical Society Museum in Tacoma, but no report is available of any substantial archeological investigation of the area.

Present status: The village of Neah Bay has a population of about 500. The structures are modern and of frame construction. It is not only the administrative and trading center of the Makah Indian Reservation, but also a fishing center.

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MUD BAY SHAKER CHURCH, WASHINGTON

Location: Thurston County, 4.5 miles west of Olympia in pine woods in the Y of U.S. Higways 410 and 101, overlooking Mud Bay.

Ownership: Shaker Indian Church, Mud Bay, Washington.

Significance: This 20' x 50' frame building is the parent church of the Shaker Indian religion. It has four windows on each side and a bell in a small belfry on top. There are three additional buildings associated with the church--a house, a utility building, and a recreation hall.

Many of the Skokomish Indians have embraced the Shaker religion, which John Slocum, an Indian, is credited with founding. Services, conducted in the native tongue, begin with a solemn exhortative sermon by the leader. Then he calls for prayers; in turn each worshipper calls out his petition, and the assemblage echoes it in a deeptoned, thrilling chant. After the prayers a deacon, a bell in either hand, leads a ceremonial dance around the room to the accompaniment of rhythmic chanting and the jingle of bells. Each dancer in turn revolves before the altar and passes his hand through flaming candles for purification.

Present status: In fair condition, occupied by a small congregation of worshippers.

References:

Washington State Historical Society
1941 Washington, A Guide to the Evergreen State. American Guide Series, Binfords, & Mort, Publishers. Portland

SITES PERTINENT TO THEME VIII
WHICH HAVE BEEN CLASSIFIED OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE
IN OTHER THEMES

Alabama
- Fort Toulouse

Arizona
- San Xavier del Bac

Arkansas
- Arkansas Post State Park and Historical Environs

California
- Carmel Mission
- Fort Ross
- Santa Barbara Mission

Delaware
- Fort Christina

Florida
- San Luis de Apalache

Idaho
- Cataldo Mission

Illinois
- Starved Rock

Louisiana
- Fort de la Boulaye

Michigan
- Fort Michilimackinac
- St. Ignace Mission

Missouri
- Fort Osage

Nebraska
- Fort Atkinson (Council Bluff)

New Mexico
- Acoma
- Hawikuh
- Pecos
- Taos

New York
- Johnson Hall
- Old Fort Niagara

Oregon
- Fort Astoria

Pennsylvania
- Forks of the Ohio
- Conrad Weiser Home

Tennessee
- Long Island of the Holston

Wyoming
- Green River Rendezvous Site

42891-64

SITES IN THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE WHICH
ARE RELATED TO THEME VIII

Arizona
- Coronado National Memorial
- Grand Canyon National Park
- Tumacacori National Monument

California
- Cabrillo National Monument

Florida
- Castillo De San Marcos National Monument
- De Soto National Memorial
- Fort Caroline National Memorial
- Fort Matanzas

Georgia
- Fort Frederica National Monument
- Ocmulgee National Monument (Ocmulgee Trading Post)

Massachusetts
- Cape Cod National Seashore

Michigan
- Isle Royale National Park

Minnesota
- Grand Portage National Monument

New Mexico
- Gran Quivira National Monument

North Carolina
- Fort Raleigh National Historic Site

Oregon
- Fort Clatsop National Memorial

Virginia
- Colonial National Historical Park (Jamestown)

Washington
- Fort Vancouver National Historic Site
- Whitman Mission National Historic Site

OTHER SITES CONSIDERED

ARIZONA

MISHONGNOVI, ARIZONA

Location: On eastern tip of Second Mesa, Navajo County.

Ownership: Hopi Indian Reservation.

Significance: Mishongnovi, "the place of the black man (Grow Clan)," is on the eastern of the two southern tips of Second Mesa.

When the 16th century Spanish explorers visited the Hopi villages, the original Mishongnovi was located on a terrace below the present pueblo. No specific reference to the village was made until 1583. At that time it was described as being made up of clusters of house blocks arranged around two plazas, and was said to be smaller than Shongopovi, the other pueblo of Second Mesa. Between the 1620's and 1680's, Old Mishongnovi was a visita of Shongopovi with the designation San Buenaventura.

According to tradition, either Ute, or Apache attacks forced Mishongnovi's inhabitants to move to the mesa top, possibly during the late 1680's. There they joined an existing village. This village, to which the name Mishongnovi was transferred, appears to have been originally a plaza-type pueblo to which additional two story house blocks were added.

Mishongnovi played a prominent part in the destruction of Awatovi in 1700, and most of the women and children taken captive were brought to this pueblo. Perhaps it was at this date that Mishongnovi reached its present size, as this is the only Hopi pueblo that maintained a stable population for almost 200 years--53 families in 1775, 221 people in 1870, 241 in 1871, 289 in 1882, 242 in 1891, and 266 in 1932. There has been no appreciable change in the architectural plan of the pueblo since the 1680's, and in all probability a minimum since the 1700's. Old Mishongnovi is the burial ground for the present village.

Present Status: Mishongnovi is in good condition and appears today much as it did in the 18th and 19th centuries.

References

Mindeleff, Victor
1891 A Study of Pueblo Architecture, Tusayan and Cibola. Bureau of American Ethnology, 8th Annual Report.

WALPI, ARIZONA

Location: Navajo County, on the southern tip of First Mesa in the Hopi country.

Ownership: Hopi Indian Reservation.

Significance: Walpi, corrupted from the native name "Walaovi" meaning place of the notch, is located on the southern tip of First Mesa. Its picturesque setting on a very narrow portion of the mesa has made it the most photographed of all Hopi pueblos.

Kuchaptuvela (Ash Hill Terrace), the original site of Walpi, lies on a low terrace below its present site, about one-half mile to the southwest. This was the village which was visited by the 16th century Spanish explorers. It was not, however, mentioned by name until 1583 (Gaspe, Calpes), at which time it had a population of over 1000.

Sometime after 1630, the village gradually shifted a bit to the north on the upper terrace, probably as a result of the establishment of a mission at this site. This pueblo is known as Kisakovi (Place of the Ladder House). During the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680-92, when its population was reported to be about 1200, the church was destroyed.

During the period of the rebellion, Kisakovi was abandoned, and its inhabitants moved to the top of the mesa to form the present village. It was at this same time that a number of Tewa Indians left the Rio Grande and sought permission to settle among the Hopis. They were allowed to settle on First Mesa with the understanding that they were to protect the trail leading to Walpi, and built the pueblo of Tewa or Hano (Los Tanos) nearby.

In 1693, when Governor Don Diego de Vargas approached Walpi during his expedition of reconquest, he was met by Hopis supported by

Utes, Havasupais, and Apaches. No skirmish took place on this occasion. Shortly after the reconquest, the pueblo of Awatovi showed signs of accepting the Franciscan missionaries, and the other Hopi pueblos banded together to destroy the village in 1700. The inhabitants of Walpi, who were participants in the destruction, brought a number of women and children from Awatovi to live in their pueblo. In 1716, Governor Don Felix Martinez and his company were forced to retreat from Walpi, destroying corn fields as they went.

Around 1750, the clans living in the row of houses on the east edge of the mesa, now in ruins, moved out and founded the present village of Sichomovi between Hano and Walpi.

In 1775, Father Escalante visited Walpi and reported it had about 200 families. The following year he noted that the Utes were engaged in a war with the village.

The beginning of a population decline appears to have occurred in 1781, when the Hopis suffered the first of a series of smallpox epidemics. In the early 1800's, Walpi, like the other pueblos, was plagued with Navajo raids on their fields and encroachment on their lands. The situation was relieved to a certain extent by American troops in the campaigns of the 1860's against the Navajos.

In the 1870's Indian agents were assigned to the Hopis, and in December 1882, Hopi lands were set aside by executive order. Since 1900, the population at Walpi has ranged between 160 and 200. These figures are considerably below those of the late 1700's, primarily due to the founding of Sichomovi, the inroads of smallpox in 1853-54 and again in 1866-67, and the recent withdrawal of a number of families who have built houses near the springs and fields at the foot of the mesa.

Present Status: The pueblo, constructed of masonry, varies from one to three stories in height, and consists of three house blocks in a line with covered passageways between each. A few dwellings are separate on the west side and four rectangular, subterranean kivas on the east. Another kiva is incorporated in the south end of the pueblo. As late as 1900 the houses were up to four stories in height.

References:

Hargrave, Lyndon L.
1931 "First Mesa." Museum Notes, Vol. 3, No. 8.

Mindeleff, Victor
1891 A Study of Pueblo Architecture, Tusayan and Cibola. Bureau of American Ethnology, 8th Annual Report.

Reid, Earle H.
1940 "Special Report on Walpi, Arizona." Manuscript. National Park Service, Southwest Regional Office.

Stubbs, Stanley A.
1950 Bird's Eye View of the Pueblos. Norman

CALIFORNIA

CLEAR CREEK (Pick-Ah-Ish), CALIFORNIA

Location: Siskiyou County, about 10 miles from Happy Camp at the mouth of Clear Creek where it empties into the Klamath River.

Ownership: U. S. Forest Service

Significance: This is the most upstream of the "World Renewal" (Pick-Ah-Ish) ritual sites on the Klamath. The ceremony, which was performed by the Karok Indians according to the moon but usually about August, was the only major rite performed in the open without a sacred structure. It is known that either the Woodpecker (Jump) Dance or the White Deerskin dance was performed here; but it is not known when the ceremony was last held. In 1925, the U. S. Forest Service had a public camp site on the west bank of Clear Creek a little below the dance site, and had erected signs about the dances.

No archaeological data is available for the site.

Present Status: The site is in poor condition; however it still retains some of the aboriginal setting.

References:

Kroeber, A. L.
1925 "Handbook of the Indians of California."

ORICK SITE, CALIFORNIA

Location: Humboldt County, on U. S. Highway 101 near Orick.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: Orick, or Awzek, Village Site was located on a bluff overlooking Redwood Creek lagoon from the south. It once belonged to a Yurok Indian called Orick Bob.

Present Status: The site has been destroyed. Construction of the new U. S. 101 cut away the old cemetery (23 burials were removed by the Highway Department), and Orick Bob's old home site has a high TV antenna on it.

References:

Waterman, T. T.
1920 "Yurok Geography"
University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, No. 16.

SELBY STABLES SITE (SAC 192), CALIFORNIA

Location: Sacramento County, on the American River at the foot of Watt Avenue, Sacramento.

Ownership: Unknown.

Significance: The Selby Stables Site, also known as the historic Indian Village of Kadema, was occupied until around 1930 by remnants of the once-numerous Valley Nisenan, a branch of the Maidu Indians.

Although the village has suffered considerable vandalism it remains as one of the major landmarks of Sacramento's history and prehistory. It was here that some of Captain Sutter's faithful Hawaiian companions found Indian wives, and it was here that they established a cemetery for their departed loved ones. Burials continued in the cemetery until 1906.

Present Status: The site is in poor condition. Vandals have thrown out the fence which had been placed around several graves.

References:

Riddell, Frank
---- "The Historic Village of the Kadema."

FLORIDA

SAN FRANCISCO DE OCONEE (Scott Miller Site, Je-2), FLORIDA

Location: Jefferson County, about 2½ miles southeast of Waukeenah (Sec. 20, T 1S, R 4E).

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The San Francisco de Oconee Site is thought to have been the location of the 17th century Spanish mission for which it is named.

Intensive Spanish mission activity among the Apalachee and related Indians of northwest Florida began about 1633. As time passed members of other tribes were drawn into the area; among them were some of the Oconee. Evaluation of archeological materials from San Francisco de Oconee, the mission built for them, suggests that it was established about 1650. By 1702, 14 missions had been built in the Apalachee province, and Spanish influence over the Indians in the area was at its height. In 1704, all of the missions were destroyed or abandoned as the result of English and Creek raids.

Excavation of the site uncovered evidence for two buildings of the mission complex. These had been constructed by the wattle and daub technique and had floors of packed red clay.

Materials of Old World origin were quite common. Among these were: sherds of Spanish majolica and tinaja, pistol flintlocks, a spur rowel, chain mail, nails, fragments of glass, a brass crucifix, beads, a tooth of a domestic pig, peach pits, hinges, locks, an anvil, axes, and hoes. The most unusual find were fragments of Chinese porcelain.

The aboriginal materials found are typical of the period. It is interesting to note, however, that among the tribal groups of Apalachee there were differences in pottery styles. At San Francisco de Oconee, which was presumably occupied by the Oconee, most of the decorated sherds were complicated stamped wares; but at San Luis de Apalachee, occupied mainly by the Apalachee, about one-half of the sherds decorated by stamping were simple and check stamped.

Present Status: The site is in farmland.

References:

Boyd, Mark F., Smith, Hale G., and Griffin, John W.

1951 Here They Once Stood. The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions. Gainesville.

Smith, Hale G.

1956 The European and the Indian. European-Indian Contacts in Georgia and Florida. Florida Anthropological Society Publications, No. 4.

SELOY, FLORIDA

Location: St. Augustine

Ownership: The Catholic Church and Fountain of Youth, Inc.

Significance: The Seloy site is the presumptive location of the Timucuan Indian village of Chief Seloy which Pedro Menendez found when he entered St. Augustine harbor in 1565.

The site is a large shell midden for which archeological testing has revealed a long history, dating at least as far back as the Orange Period (ca. 2000-500 B.C.); however, no one portion of it can be isolated as the 1565 village of Seloy.

Present Status: Much of the area is covered by modern cemeteries and tourist developments.

GEORGIA

SPANISH MISSION SITE NEAR DARIEN, GEORGIA

Location: McIntosh County, on Altamaha River just east of Darien.

Ownership: State of Georgia and private owner.

Significance: The Spanish Mission Site near Darien is thought possibly to have been the site of Santo Domingo de Talaje, one of the Guale missions dating from about 1600 through 1675.

Excavation of the site uncovered a series of large square postholes forming the outline of a rectangular building, 35 feet wide by 70 feet long. (From the shape of the postholes it is obvious the structure was not Indian.) The postholes contained only Indian and 17th-century Spanish materials, seeming to indicate that the holes had been dug, used, and refilled at sometime before nearby Fort King George was established by the English in 1721. Further evidence that the structure antedated the fort was the uncovering of three burials in the Fort King George cemetery (dating from 1721 through 1726) which were placed over the square postholes.

Enclosing the structure was a wall to which were attached two smaller buildings. Behind the central building, but within the enclosure, was a small Indian-type house. Arranged in a neat fashion to the east of this complex were shallow wall trenches and small round postholes marking the location of 13 Indian houses.

That the complex containing the large building was of Spanish origin would be inferred from the history of the Georgia coast. The finding of nearly 200 sherds of Spanish majolica and tinaja, which date from the first half of the 17th century, offers still further proof of this identification.

Identification of the site as Santo Domingo de Talaje is not certain. However, the Spanish name for the Altamaha River was Talaje, the village at Santo de Talaje was described as lying on the banks of a large fresh water river, and the church was said to have been built of large squared timbers.

Present Status: Most of the mission site is located within the 12½-acre state-owned tract which includes the sites of Fort King George and Fort Darien, but part of it is on privately-owned land. Its present condition is not known.

References:

Bolton, Herbert E., and Ross, Mary
1925 The Debatable Land. Berkeley.

Caldwell, Sheila Kelly
1954 "A Spanish Mission Site Near Darien." Early Georgia, Vol. 1, No. 3

ILLINOIS

CRAWFORD FARM SITE (Bi-01), ILLINOIS

Location: Rock Island County, on the south bank of the Rock River, Black Hawk Township, Milan Quad., SW¼ of Sec. 18, Twp. 17N, R 1W.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Crawford Farm Site is believed to be the site of the Sauk village on the Rock River which was visited by Zebulon M. Pike in 1805. Although Pike's account appears to be the first specific reference to the site, it is thought that the Sauk had lived at the site for more than 30 years prior to his visit. Historical records show that Sauk villages were established near the mouth of the Rock River by 1674, and some of the archeological materials from the site date as early as 1780.

Partial excavation of the site has uncovered the postmold patterns of eight houses, which were from 35 to 60 feet in length and about 20 feet in width. Near these houses were numerous small firepits and large storage pits. Throughout the area which was excavated, materials of European manufacture were quite common. Among these were: iron knives, axes, and files; glass beads; gun parts and musket balls; pieces of glass bottles; brass kettles; trade pipes; and silver ornaments.

The 63 burials excavated at the site are of considerable interest as a large amount of information concerning Indian costume of the period can be obtained from them. Flannel frock coats, turbans, strings of beads, beaded garments, peace medals, and silver bracelets, rings, brooches, and earrings must have been widely used items of costume, for they occur frequently with the burials.

A study has been made of the makers' marks on the silver ornaments. From this it has been concluded that the site was occupied ca. 1700-1815.

Present Status: The site is in farmland. Although it has been plowed for several generations, most of the evidence of the historic Indian occupation remained undisturbed in 1960 (when the University of Illinois last excavated there).

NEW KASKASKIA VILLAGE SITE, ILLINOIS

Location: Randolph County, Brewersville Township, Chester Quadrangle NW¼ of SW¼ of SE¼; NE¼ of SW¼; NE¼ of SW¼; W½ of NE¼ of SE¼ of Sec. 23, Twp. 6S, R. 6W.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The site is a rectangular area about 300 yards wide by 1/4 mile long, which is located on a slight ridge west of the Kaskaskia River in the Mississippi River flood plain. It was occupied by the Illinois after they left Starved Rock and moved downstream, after 1700.

Excavation of the site by the Illinois State Museum uncovered beads, musket balls, gun parts, nails, broken glass, and other articles of European manufacture.

Present Status: The site is in farmland. It is in good condition.

INDIANA

FORT WAYNE AREA, INDIANA

Location: Fort Wayne

Ownership: Various public and private owners.

Significance: The Fort Wayne Area, center of the Miami confederacy, was occupied during the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

The portage near Fort Wayne was the key area, but occupation sites extended down the Wabash River through Wabash, Logansport, and Lafayette. The "Wabash" Indians had semi-permanent villages at Lafayette and Logansport.

Present Status: The condition of these sites is unknown, but presumably they are overlaid by Fort Wayne and have no surviving integrity as archaeological sites.

KANSAS

BIG BLUE KANSA SITE (14PO24), KANSAS

Location: Pottawatomie County, about 2 miles east of Manhattan on the north bank of the Kansas River.

Ownership: The Union Pacific Railroad and various owners.

Significance: The Big Blue Kansa (also known as Manhattan, Kansa Village, or Blue River) Site was the principal village of the Kansa from about 1810 until 1830. The general appearance of the village during occupancy was well described in 1819 by Thomas Say, zoologist of the Long expedition. According to his estimate, the number of earth lodges at that time was 120, and the population was in the neighborhood of 1500 persons.

Limited excavation of the site produced very few artifacts of native manufacture and no aboriginal pottery. However, objects of European manufacture, such as firearms, steel traps, cutlery, household utensils, trade textiles, and articles of personal adornment, were present; and some of these items were rather plentiful. That the Kansa were so highly acculturated by the early 19th century is not surprising, for they were obtaining European trade materials in the late 17th century, as evidenced by the Fanning site.

Present Status: Lateral erosion by the river has destroyed much of the site. The remaining portion, which is in farmland, is owned by the Union Pacific Railroad.

References:

Thwaites, Reuben G., ed.
1905 Early Western Travels, 1748-1846: James Account of S. H. Long's Expedition, 1819-1820. Cleveland.

Wedel, Waldo R.
1946 "The Kansa Indians." Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science, Vol. 49, No. 1, pp. 1-35, June.

[illegible]
1959 An Introduction to Kansas Archaeology. Bureau of American Archaeology, Bulletin 174.

KANSAS MONUMENT SITE (14RP1), KANSAS

Location: Republic County, about 2 miles southwest of Republic, on the bluffs south of the Republican River.

Ownership: Kansas State Historical Society

Significance: The Kansas Monument Site derives its name from a granite shaft erected on the spot in 1901 by the State of Kansas "to mark the site of the Pawnee Republic, where Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike caused the Spanish flag to be lowered and the flag of the United States to be raised, September 29, 1806." However, this identification is no longer generally accepted. The location of the site and the topography of the vicinity differ from that described and mapped by Pike's party; and archaeological investigation, although confirming that the site was occupied by the Republican Band of the Pawnee, suggests that the site was occupied earlier, probably between 1775 and 1800. Most authorities now agree that the site visited by Pike was the Hill site which is farther upstream across the State boundary in Nebraska. The Kansas Monument Site is, nevertheless, of interest as the only certainly identified historic Pawnee village site which has been located to date in Kansas.

The site covers less than 10 acres. Within this area 25 lodge circles are scattered about. They average 18 inches in depth, are well defined, and show clearly the position of the former entrances. Among the lodges are scattered caches, 15 or more of which are clearly discernible.

Artifacts from the site are a mixture of aboriginal materials and white trade items. Typically Pawnee potsherds and quartzite scrapers occur along with metal hoes, bridle bits, spurs, iron pots, and other evidence of commercial intercourse with white traders.

Present Status: The Kansas Monument site is extremely well preserved. Most of it is in unbroken sod.

References:

Coues, Elliott, ed.
1895 The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, 1805-1807. 3 Vols. New York.

Wedel, Waldo R.
1936 An Introduction to Pawnee Archeology. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 112.

" " " "
1959 An Introduction to Kansas Archeology. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 174.

MALONE SITE (14RC5), KANSAS

Location: Rice County, 4 miles west of Lyons on the flat uplands east of Cow Creek.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Malone Site is one of the Quiviran, or Wichita, sites of the Coronado period. It covers 15 or 20 acres within which are two low mounds, possible lodge sites, and a number of cache pits.

Only limited excavation has been allowed at the site. This, however, was adequate for determining that it is very closely related to other Rice and McPherson Counties Quiviran sites. Like the Tobias-Thompson complex, it has been placed in the Little River Focus of the Great Bend Aspect.

A tall concrete cross, floodlighted at night, has been erected on the site in memory of Fray Juan de Padilla. Padilla, who had accompanied Coronado to Quivira in 1541, returned the next year and, while exploring further to the east, lost his life. There is, however, no evidence which would specifically connect him with the Malone site.

Present Status: The site has been in cultivation for a number of years and, subsequently, has been damaged to some degree.

References:

Bolton, Herbert E.
1949 Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Wedel, Waldo R.
1942 "Archeological Remains in Central Kansas and Their Possible Bearing on the Location of Quivira." Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 101, No. 7.

- - - -
1959 An Introduction to Kansas Archeology. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 174.

PAINT CREEK SITE (14MP1), KANSAS

Location: McPherson County, about 5 miles southwest of Lindsborg on the west bank of Paint Creek approximately 1½ miles south of the Smoky Hill River.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: One of the Quiviran sites of the Coronado period, the Paint Creek site (earlier called Saline 1) covers an area of approximately 30 acres. Within this area are 22 low refuse mounds, great numbers of trash-filled refuse pits, and a "council circle" some 60 yards in diameter.

The site was first excavated by J. A. Udden in 1881-1888. The most interesting artifact from this excavation was a fragment of chain mail. Later testing by Dr. Waldo R. Wedel in 1934 uncovered no European materials. However, the aboriginal cultural materials found are quite closely related to those from other Quiviran sites. With the Nobles-Thompson complex and the Arkansas City Country Club site, it has been placed in the Great Bend Aspect.

Present Status: The site has been in farmland for a number of years. Cultivation has leveled and nearly obliterated many of the mounds and other features.

References:

Udden, J. A.
1900 An Old Indian Village. Augustana Library Publication, No. 2. Rock Island.

Wedel, Waldo R.
1955 "Walker 1: A Protohistoric Indian Village in McPherson County, Kansas. Nebraska History Magazine, Vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 239-250.

———
1962 "Archeological Remains in Central Kansas and Their Possible Bearing on the Location of Quivira." Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 101, No. 7.

———
1959 An Introduction to Kansas Archeology. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 174.

LOUISIANA

ANGOLA FARM SITE, LOUISIANA

Location: Angola State Penal Farm, N½ irreg. S52, T1S, R5W,

Ownership: State of Louisiana

Significance: The Angola Farm Site was the location of a Houma village visited by Iberville in 1699 and by Gravier in 1700. In 1706, according to Le Harpe, the Tunicas abandoned their villages on the Yazoo River "and collected again among the Houmas, who received them kindly." Shortly after this, the Tunicas "killed more than one-half of their (the Houmas) nation" and took over the village. The Tunicas continued to live at the Angola Farm Site until sometime between 1784 and 1803, when they moved westward to the Marksville Prairie near the Red River.

In 1934, 10 burials were excavated at the site. Except that these burials were in excavated graves, they showed striking similarity to the Natchez burials in Mound "C" at the Fatherland Plantation Site in Mississippi. The beads, brass bells, axe, and native-made copper cones are identical at both sites; and, as at Fatherland, a wooden chest (the outlines of which are marked by nails, hinges, and a hasp) had been used as a coffin at the Angola Farm Site.

Present Status: Unknown.

References:

Ford, James A.
1936 Analysis of Indian Village Site Collections from Louisiana and Mississippi. Anthropological Study, No. 2, State of Louisiana Department of Conservation.

BAYOU GOULA SITE, LOUISIANA

Location: Iberville Parish, on the west bank of the Mississippi on the outskirts of Bayou Goula. SW¼ of Irregular Sec. 40, R. 12E, T 10S.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Bayou Goula Site is the location of an early 18th century village which was occupied by the Bayougoula Indians and other groups amalgamated with them.

Iberville visited the village in 1699 and described it as containing 107 ordinary dwellings, a chief's house, and a temple. At that time the village was surrounded by a palisade.

In 1940-41, the site was excavated and evidence uncovered for several rectangular houses. A large number of trade items were also found.

Present Status: Unknown.

References:

Quimby, George I.
1957 "The Bayou Goula Site." Midwestern Anthropology, Vol. 47, No. 2.

NATCHEZ FORT SITE, LOUISIANA

Location: Catahoula Parish, east side of Sicily Island, not far west of Tensas River. SE corner of irregular Sec. 38, T11N, R8E.

Ownership: Unknown.

Significance: The Natchez Fort Site has been identified as the refuge site where the Natchez constructed their fort after fleeing in 1729 from their old villages in Mississippi. Identification of the site was originally based on maps drawn by an engineer who accompanied Perier's expedition against the fort.

Archeological evidence supports this identification. Quantities of European material were found at the site of the fort, and, included among these items were large numbers of lead balls, fragments of hollow cast iron shells, and gun parts. The aboriginal pottery from the site also corroborates the identification, as almost all the decorated sherds are identical to those found at the Rutherland Plantation Site.

Present Status: Unknown.

References:

Ford, James A.
1936 Analysis of Indian Village Site Collections from Louisiana and Mississippi. Anthropological Study No. 2, State of Louisiana Department of Conservation.

MARYLAND

SUSQUEHANNOCK FORT, MARYLAND

Location: Prince George County, on the west shore of Piscataway Creek just below Rockley Point. (38° 41' 54" North Latitude and 77° 2' 45" West Longitude).

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Susquehannock Fort Site is the site of a European-style stockaded fort built in 1675 by remnants of the Susquehannocks for defense against the Seneca. Betrayed and besieged by colonists from Virginia and Maryland, the Susquehannocks escaped, pillaged across Virginia, and furnished the spark which ignited Bacon's Rebellion. The Susquehannocks subsequently joined the Senecas and became implacable enemies of the whites.

A collection of trade goods was removed from storage pits, burials, and an ossuary associated with the Susquehannock Fort. Such items as clay pipes, jews harps, bark bells, copper jewelry, glass bottles, and iron tools were found.

Present Status: The site is in farmland, as it has been for 200 years; but, except for natural changes due to river building and erosion, the area is thought to appear much as it did when the Fort was standing.

References:

Ferguson, Alice I. L.
1941 "The Susquehannock Fort on Piscataway Creek." Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol. 36.

Ferguson, Alice I. L., and Ferguson, Henry G.
1960 The Piscataway Indians of Southern Maryland. Accokeek, Maryland.

Stephenson, Robert L., and Ferguson, Alice I. L.
1963 The Accokeek Creek Site: a Middle Atlantic Seaboard Culture Sequence. Anthropological Papers, No. 20, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan.

MINNESOTA

FORT L'HUILLIER, MINNESOTA

Location: Blue Earth County, on the right bank of the Blue Earth River about a league from its mouth, close by the junction of the Le Sueur River with the Blue Earth.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: Fort L'Huillier was established by Pierre Charles Le Sueur in the fall of 1700 as a headquarters for trading and mining. It consisted of three or four log cabins surrounded by a palisade.

Le Sueur left the area in the spring of the following year; but the data which he assembled concerning the location of Indian villages, streams, natural resources, etc., was almost immediately taken to Paris, where it was incorporated in various maps and narrative accounts.

The site of Fort L'Huillier has been identified as being on a large natural mound, about 60 to 75 feet high, with a few acres of fairly level ground on its top.

Present Status: The site is in farmland. Its present condition is not known, but evidence of the structures is believed to have been destroyed by cultivation.

References:

Hughes, Thomas
1908 The Site of Le Sueur's Fort L'Huillier. Minnesota Historical Society Collections, Vol. XII.

MISSOURI

BACK AND FORTH LITTLE OSAGE VILLAGE SITE (23VE4), MISSOURI

Location: Vernon County, near Arthur, on the right bank of Back and Forth Slough a short distance from the left bank of the Osage River.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Back and Forth Little Osage Village Site was the site of a Little Osage settlement from about 1777 until 1815.

When visited in 1806 by Captain Zebulon M. Pike who recorded enough information to make positive identification of the site possible, it was the village of Tuttasuggy, or The Wind,

chief of the Little Osage. Pike's lieutenant, James B. Wilkinson, mentioned being met by "180 horsemen, painted and decorated in a fanciful way," "a discharge from four swivels" in salute, and the eating of "green corn, buffalo meat, and watermelons."

Archeological excavation at the site has uncovered house patterns, trash-filled cache pits, and fire pits. Very few aboriginal artifacts were found, but items of European manufacture--glass and porcelain beads, copper projectile points, iron axes, fragments of kettles and flintlocks, etc.--were quite common.

Present Status: The site originally covered about 30 acres, but strip-mining for coal have destroyed all but 5 acres. The remaining section is in cultivation and has been for some time; however, its archeological integrity has not been destroyed. House patterns and other features were found below the plow zone during the University of Missouri's excavations in 1962 and 1963.

References:

Berry, Brewton; Chapman, Carl; and Mack, John
1944 "Archeological Remains of the Osage," American Antiquity, Vol. X, No.1, pp.1-11.

Chapman, Carl
1946 A Preliminary Survey of Missouri Archaeology, Part 1: Historic Indian Tribes. Missouri Archaeologist, Vol. 10.

BEE BRANCH OSAGE VILLAGE SITE (23VE3), MISSOURI

Location: Vernon County, near Walker on the east fork of Bee Branch of Coal Creek (W½ SW Sec. 14, T37N, R30W).

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Bee Branch Osage Village Site is the earliest of the Osage villages and the only one of them where aboriginal pottery has been found in any quantity--here potsherds were the most numerous artifacts.

Objects of European origin are also rather common. Among these were flint-lock rifle parts; iron axes, hoes, knives, awls,

files, and projectile points; copper kettles, bells, and sheet disks; brass buttons; fragments of glass; and crockery sherds.

This evidence seems to indicate that the site was occupied prior to, or just at the beginning of contact and/or trade, and that it was occupied for some time with European items gradually replacing those of aboriginal origin.

Present Status: The site is in farmland. Much of it is in pasture, which apparently has not been cultivated. That excavations were conducted at the site in 1962 and 1963 speaks for its archeological integrity.

References:

Berry, Brewton; Chapman, Carl; and Mack, John
1946 "Archeological Remains of the Osage," American Antiquity, Vol. X, No.1, pp.1-11.

Chapman, Carl
1946 A Preliminary Survey of Missouri Archaeology, Part I: Historic Indian Tribes. Missouri Archaeologist, Vol. 10.

CARRINGTON OSAGE VILLAGE SITE (23VE1), MISSOURI

Location: Vernon County, north of Nevada on the western edge of Green Valley Prairie near Old Town Branch of the Marmaton River.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Carrington Osage Village has been identified as the Big Osage Village visited by Zebulon Pike in 1806 and by the Chouteau-De Munn Expedition in 1815.

Almost the whole inventory of aboriginal materials were made of stone-scrapers, small triangular projectile points, knives, manos, pipes, etc.

Contact materials were abundant and included flint-lock rifle parts; iron axes, hoes, knives, and awls; fragments of copper kettles, bells, projectile points, spangles, and crucifixes;

porcelain and glass beads; pieces of glass bottles; clay pipes; crockery fragments, and small silver ornaments.

Present Status: The site is in farmland. It is relatively well preserved.

References:

Berry, Brewton; Chapman, Carl; and Mack, John
1944 "Archeological Remains of the Osage." American Antiquity, Vol. X, No. 1, pp.1-11.

Chapman, Carl
1946 A Preliminary Survey of Missouri Archaeology, Part I; Historic Indian Tribes. Missouri Archaeologist, Vol. 10.

Hamilton, T. M.
1960 "Some Gun Parts from 18th Century Osage Sites." Missouri Archeologist, Vol. 22, pp. 120-149.

Harner, Joe
1939 "Village of the Big Osages." Missouri Archaeologist, Vol. 5, pp. 19-20.

HALLEY'S BLUFF SITE (23VE2), MISSOURI

Location: Vernon County, on Halley's Bluff on the south side of the Osage River (N½ NW NE Sec. 34, T38N, R30W).

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Halley's Bluff Site is the probable location of Fort Carondelet, which dates from 1795 to 1801.

Beneath the bluff are a series of 23 bell-shaped pits cut into solid sandstone. These are 5 feet deep on the average, about 3 feet across at the top, and 5½ in diameter at the bottom. Just south of the pits is the so-called "Osage Trace," a winding trail from the River to the top of the bluff, which may have been used to haul supplies coming from down-river to the fort at the top.

Although scientific excavation produced little cultural material, some items dating from the 1790's were uncovered. Earlier digging by local people produced trade goods in association with burials, and surface collections include aboriginal artifacts similar to those found on other Osage sites of the period.

Downstream is the location of the Harmony Mission which was established in 1821. There Bill Williams helped prepare an Osage dictionary before going West to become Old Bill Williams, Mountain Man.

Present Status: The site has suffered from vandalism. It has been used as a picnicking area for a great many years.

References:

Berry, Brewton; Chapman, Carl; and Mack, John
1944 "Archaeological Remains of the Osage." American Antiquity, Vol. X, No.1, pp. 1-11.

NEBRASKA

BAD VILLAGE OF THE OMAHA (HEIMES SITE, 25CD12), NEBRASKA

Location: Cedar County, near Wynot on Bow Creek (NE¼ S10 T32N R2E).

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Bad Village of the Omaha, or Heimes Site, is thought to have been occupied by the Omaha in the latter part of the 18th century and to have been abandoned just prior to the establishment of the Big Village of the Omaha. The name, Bad Village, refers to intra-tribal altercations leading to its abandonment.

The site has been archeologically tested, but the results were inconclusive. It is, however, archeologically important for determining the culture of the 18th century Omaha.

Present Status: Farmland.

References:

Fenenga, F., and Frantz
n.d. Notes on excavation. Manuscript. Laboratory of Anthropology, University of Nebraska.

BELLWOOD SITE (25BU2), NEBRASKA

Location: Butler County, near Bellwood (W½ NE¼ S12 T16N, R1E).

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Bellwood Site is the site of a Grand Pawnee village which was occupied at the opening of the 19th century.

The village was built on the site of an earlier Lower Loup culture village, dating probably from the last half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. For any study of cultural differentiation of the various Pawnee villages and bands, the site is of great importance. Only small portions of it have been excavated to date.

Present Status: Unknown.

References:

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n.d. Excavation notes. Manuscript. Nebraska Historical Society. Lincoln.

LINWOOD SITE (25BU1), NEBRASKA

Location: Butler County, near Linwood (SE¼, S3½ T17N R4E).

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Linwood Site, occupied by the Grand band of the Pawnee, is one of the type sites of the historic Pawnee.

At the site there are two contiguous components: the early component, "A", circa 1800; and the late component, "B", dating from 1851 to 1857. Component "A" has been excavated by the University of Nebraska and by the Nebraska Historical Society;

component "B" has not been excavated.

This site has played an important part in defining the culture of the Grand Pawnee at the opening of the 19th century. When the remaining portion of the site (component "B") has been excavated, it will be even more important, for then changes in Pawnee culture in the historic period can be studied.

Present Status: Unknown.

References:

Strong, W. Duncan
1935 An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 93, No. 10.

Wedel, Waldo R.
1936 An Introduction to Pawnee Archeology. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 112.

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1938 "The Direct-Historical Approach to Pawnee Archeology." Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 97, No. 7.

YUTAN SITE (25SD1), NEBRASKA

Location: Saunders County, near Venice (SE¼, S35 T15N R9E).

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Yutan Site is the location of a large well-documented contact village which was occupied by the Oto and Missouri from about 1775 to 1830. Ultimately they were persuaded by Moses Merrill to move to the La Platte Village site near Bellevue, and thence to the Barneston Village and the Merrill Mission Village.

Any delineation of Oto culture in the contact period will depend on archeological data from the Yutan site. The site

has been excavated on occasion since 1935; however, these excavations have so far uncovered only ceramic wares which are generally thought to be of Pawnee manufacture. This problem adds to the possible importance of the site.

Present Status: The site is in farmland.

References:

Blackman, E. B.
1902 Report of Department of Archeology, Nebraska State Historical Society for 1901-1902. Lincoln.

Hill, A. T., and Cooper, Paul.
1938 "The Archeological Campaign of 1937." Nebraska History Magazine.

Hewett, M. F.
1940 Indian Village Sites. Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln.

NEW MEXICO

JEMEZ PUEBLO, NEW MEXICO

Location: Sandoval County, Jemez Pueblo.

Ownership: Jemez Tribe.

Significance: In 1541, the chronicler of the Coronado expedition recorded seven Jemez pueblos, plus three others in the region of Jemez Hot Springs. Espejo, in 1583, noted seven; and Onate saw eight and mentioned three others in 1598. About 1618, Father Geronomo de Zarate Salmeron settled some of the Jemez in a new pueblo, Giusewa, and constructed a church called San Jose at the pueblo. In 1623 the pueblo was abandoned, and the church, burned. Some 6,500 Jemez Indians were said to have been baptized during this period; obviously they did not all live at Giusewa.

In 1626, a new pueblo with 300 houses was founded, and a church dedicated to San Diego was built under Father Martin de Arvide's

guidance. This pueblo was on the site of the modern Jemez. In 1641, there were 1,860 Jemez Indians under the administration of this mission; however, the mission probably included two other pueblos.

After the Pueblo Rebellion broke out in 1680, the Jemez went into the mountains. They later returned to the San Diego pueblo but, in 1688, again took refuge on the nearby mesas. When the Spanish returned to the area in 1692, the Jemez were found in a large fortified pueblo, probably in the mountains. Most of the Jemez remained in this pueblo, but others returned to San Diego.

In 1696, the Jemez again joined the other pueblos in revolt, and the Jemez who had been living at San Diego rejoined the group which had remained in the mountains. The Spaniards undertook a punitive expedition against the Jemez and defeated them. Following this, a number of the Jemez fled to other pueblos and to the Navajos.

By 1706, about 300 of the Jemez were reestablished at San Diego, and a decade later others returned from the Hopi villages. In the early 1700's the Navajos and the Utes frequently raided San Diego, the only surviving Jemez pueblo; and in 1728 a pestilence struck the village. However, 574 inhabitants were recorded in 1749. A smallpox epidemic in 1793 reduced the population to 489; but it was increased in 1838, when the people of Pecos (also speakers of the Tewa language) abandoned their pueblo and joined the Jemez. Since 1890 the population has risen steadily; it now stands at over 1,200.

Present Status: In 1776 the pueblo of Jemez was made up of five house blocks with the church on the south side. Today, the pueblo is a large sprawling village of individual and connected adobe houses, mostly one story high.

References:

Hodge, F. W.; Hammond, G. P.; and Rey, A.
1945 Fray Alonso de Benavides Revised Memorial of 1634. Albuquerque.

Reiter, Paul
1938 The Jemez Pueblo of Unshagi, New Mexico. Monograph of the University of New Mexico and the School of American Research.

SAN JUAN PUEBLO, NEW MEXICO

Location: Rio Arriba County, San Juan Pueblo.

Ownership: San Juan Tribal Council.

Significance: In July 1541, a party of the Coronado expedition visited, on the way to Taos, two pueblos on opposite sides of the Rio Grande, referred to as the "province of Yunqueyunque." Fifty-seven years later, the expedition led by Don Juan de Onate arrived on July 11, 1598, and selected this locality for the first successful permanent Spanish colony in the Southwest. The pueblo on the east bank of the river (still occupied) has ever since been known as San Juan "de los Caballeros"; that on the west side, in the triangle between the Rio Grande and the Chama River, as San Gabriel de Yunqueyunque or Yugowinge. There is some uncertainty as to whether Onate actually established his headquarters first on the east side of the Rio Grande, at San Juan or at Yunqueyunque on the west bank. The most likely theory is that the colony was quartered at San Juan while building a church (dedicated to San Francisco, which adds to the confusion) and irrigation ditch at Yunqueyunque, moving across the river later. From at least 1600 until the founding of Santa Fe in 1609-10, in any case, San Gabriel was the headquarters or "capital" of the Spanish colony in New Mexico. However, San Juan may well have been the first base of operations.

San Juan, the northernmost of the several Tewa pueblos, led an uneventful existence, so far as known, during the early mission period up to 1680. At this time, Pope, the leader of the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, who was a native of San Juan, directed activities from Taos. At the time of the uprising San Juan had 300 inhabitants. By 1729, almost half of the now increased population of 750 people were Spanish. A pestilence in 1782 took a heavy toll on the inhabitants, but in 1793 the pueblo contained 260 Indians and over 2,000 Spaniards. By 1850, 368 Indians were living at San Juan, this number having steadily risen since to almost 1,000 today.

Present Status: In 1776, San Juan Pueblo was made up of three house blocks, constructed of adobe, around a plaza with the church on the south side. Today it is composed of a series of house blocks more or less arranged along streets. Only an occasional building exhibits two stories.

References:

Hammond, G. P.
1926 Don Juan Onate and the Founding of New Mexico. Santa Fe.

Hammond, G. P., and Rey, A.
1953 Onate, Colonizer of New Mexico. Albuquerque.

Lambert, Marjorie F.
1944 "Exploratory Work at Yungueyunque." El Palacio, Vol. LI, No. 11, pp. 222-224.

ZUNI SALT LAKE, NEW MEXICO

Location: Catron County (T3N, R16W, SW¼).

Ownership: State of New Mexico

Significance: The Zuni Salt Lake, in the crater of an extinct volcano, was used by the Indians as a source for obtaining salt in prehistoric and early historic times. It is still used by them today.

The Lake was first recorded in 1539, when Indians of south-southern Arizona told one of the scouts under Melchior Diaz that there was a salt deposit about two days journey from Cibola (the Zuni Pueblos). The next year members of the Coronado expedition found some of this salt in the ruins of Hawikuh Pueblo, and one chronicler wrote that the salt was better and whiter than any he had ever seen.

The Zuni Salt Lake was used by other pueblo peoples and by the Apache and Navajo as well. Not only was the site ceremonially significant to these people, but it was also considered to be neutral ground, even though hostilities might have existed between two groups who were in the vicinity at the same time. This immunity was later extended to the Mexicans and Americans.

Present Status: Still used by the Indians today, the appearance of the salt beds at Zuni Salt Lake has been changed only by the addition of a few residences and of structures connected with modern salt operations at the site.

References:

Hammond, George P., and Rey, A.
1940 Narratives of the Coronado Expedition. Albuquerque.

Stevenson, Matilda C.
1905 The Zuni Indians. Bureau of American Ethnology, 23rd Annual Report.

NEW YORK

MARSH SITE, NEW YORK

Location: Ontario County, Town of East Bloomfield at the junction of Mud Creek and Schaffer Creek.

Ownership: Unknown

Significance: The Marsh Site was the site of Gandougarae, the smaller of the two eastern Seneca villages (the larger being Gannagaro, the Boughton Hill Site).

Although considered as a Seneca village, the population of Gandougarae was composed mainly of Huron who had been incorporated into the Seneca following their dispersal by the Iroquois in 1648-1649. In 1655 the Jesuits, who referred to the village as St. Michael because of the mission by that name which they established there, wrote that people of "the Huron Village ... Saint Michael ... retain their old customs and peculiar usages, and live apart from the Iroquois." In 1670, the village was burned; but it was rebuilt.

Like the other Seneca towns, Gandougarae was destroyed in 1687 by the Marquis Denonville, the governor of Canada. Although the Seneca returned to the area, they did not rebuild their large villages; instead they became decentralized and lived in a scattering of small family clusters.

Some archeological materials from the site are housed in the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences. Others are in private collections in the area.

White, Marian E.
1957 "A Salvage Dig at Honeoye Lake." Museum Service Bulletin of the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences, No. 2, pp.24-25.

NICHOLS POND SITE, NEW YORK

Location: Madison County, Township of Fenner.

Ownership: County of Madison

Significance: The Nichols Pond Site is thought to possibly have been the location of the fortified Oneida village which Champlain and his Huron allies attacked in 1615.

The topography of the area of the site seems to fit generally with that described by Champlain in his account of the battle, and archeological excavation of the site has uncovered about 120 feet of a quadruple stockade with ample room between the walls for the galleries mentioned by Champlain.

However, the aboriginal pottery from the site does not appear to fit with such an identification, as it seems to antedate the battle and to indicate that the village was not Oneida. Based on current archeological knowledge, the pottery has been dated as being from the latter part of the middle prehistoric stage, prior to A.D.1600, and has been identified as being prehistoric Mohawk.

Present Status: The Nichols Pond Site is well preserved. It has been leased to the Champlain Battle Park Association, which is developing the area on a limited scale.

References:

Fenton, William N.
1940 "Problems Arising from the Historic Northeastern Position of the Iroquois." Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 100.

Grant, W. L., ed.
1952 Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1618. Barnes and Noble, Inc., New York

Ritchie, William
n.d. Field data on excavation. Manuscript. New York State Museum, Albany.

Present Status: The site is in farmland. Its condition is not known.

References:

Houghton, Frederick
1922 "The Archeology of the Genesee Country." Researches and Transactions of the New York State Archeological Association, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 55-56.

Parker, Arthur C.
1920 The Archeological History of New York. New York State Museum Bulletin.

Thwaites, Reuben G., ed.
1896-1901 The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (73 vols.). Cleveland

MORROW SITE, NEW YORK

Location: Ontario County, Town of Richmond, northeast side of Honeoye Lake.

Ownership: Unknown.

Significance: The Morrow site was the location of Honayaye, one of the Iroquois villages which were destroyed by General John Sullivan's army in 1779.

Historic materials were recovered from limited excavations at the site. Owasco and Point Peninsula artifacts have also been found.

Present Status: Real estate development of the site is planned. It is in poor condition, having been badly disturbed by pot-hunters and power machinery. However, salvage archeology has produced significant archeological information.

References:

Guthe, Alfred K.
1957 "Our Investigation of the Past Is Continued." Museum Service Bulletin of the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences.

NORTH DAKOTA

MOLANDER INDIAN VILLAGE SITE (32OL7), NORTH DAKOTA

Location: Oliver County, between Price and Sanger on the west bank of the Missouri River.

Ownership: State Historical Society of North Dakota.

Significance: The Molander Site, a village site dating from the last decade or so of the 18th century, is thought to represent the settlement built by the dissident group of Arikara from the Cheyenne River Village in South Dakota who moved north to be with the Mandan about the time of Truteau's visit to the Cheyenne River. Just before the end of the century they returned downstream to form one part of the big double Leavenworth Village above the mouth of the Grand River.

The Molander Site is a double site with one village on a low terrace and the other above it on a higher terrace. It may have been the double Arikara village mentioned in Lewis and Clark's Journal. However, the contemporaneity of the two villages has not been demonstrated archeologically.

The upper village site covers an irregular area of about 4 acres and is completely encircled by a ditch with palisades and well-placed bastions. The lower village site covers an area of about 6 acres, was in cultivation over a long period of time, and shows no indications of ditch or palisade. Circular lodge ruins show faintly in the lower site and plainly in the part of the upper site which remains unbroken. The potsherds from the site are slightly decadent Arikara types and are quite similar to sherds from Arikara sites east of the Missouri in the Grand River area.

Present Status: The site is within the Molander Indian Village Archeological Site, a state park. It is well preserved.

References:

Holder, Preston, and Krause, R. A.
n.d. Miscellaneous Reports. Manuscript. Laboratory of Anthropology, University of Nebraska.

Will, G. F., and Hecker, T. C.
1944 "Upper Missouri River Valley Aboriginal Culture in North Dakota." North Dakota Historical Quarterly, Vol. XI, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 5-126.

OREGON

BULLARD SITE, OREGON

Location: Coos County, north bank of the Coquille River, 600 yards west of Bullard's Ferry.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Bullard Site is the site of three houses dating from about A.D. 1850. Excavation of them determined that they represented a single occupation of undetermined origin. These houses had cedar plank walls.

Also excavated were three extended burials with cedar plank covering. The only grave goods were 75 pine nut beads; these were found with a young adult female.

Present Status: The site is in farmland. It is in poor condition.

References:

Leatherman, Kenneth E., and Krieger, Alex D.
1940 "Contributions to Oregon Coast Prehistory," American Antiquity, Vol. VI, No. 1.

HALSEY MOUND, OREGON

Location: Linn County, 3 miles east and 2 miles north of Halsey, near the Calapuya River.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Kelsey Mound Site was occupied until 1840. Fire hearths and fractured rocks were found throughout the mound, and two burials were recovered. Artifacts from the site include points, weapons, mortar and pestle fragments, and worked bone.

Present Status: The site was destroyed by highway construction in 1950.

References:

Laughlin, William S.
1941 "Excavations in the Calapuya Mounds of the Willamette Valley, Oregon." American Antiquity, Vol. III, No. 2.

SPURLAND MOUND (HARRISBURG), OREGON

Location: Linn County, 2 miles south of Rowland on the north side of a gulley adjacent to Little Muddy Creek.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Spurland Mound was partially excavated in 1940, and skeletal remains of six individuals were recovered. Also found were chipped stone artifacts, fired rock, and bird and animal bones.

Further excavation of the mound, carried out by the University of Oregon in 1949-1950, produced indications that the skeletons excavated in 1940 were probably post-contact and were intrusive into the pre-contact midden.

A suggested interpretation is that formalized living patterns existed prior to cultural contact with the whites but disappeared almost spontaneously with the assimilation of new trade implements.

Present Status: The site is in farmland. It is in poor condition.

References:

Collins, Lloyd R.
1951 "The Cultural Position of the Kalapuya in the Pacific Northwest." Manuscript (Thesis), University of Oregon.

Laughlin, William S.
1941 "Excavations in the Celapuya Mounds of the Willamette Valley, Oregon." American Antiquity, Vol. VII, No. 2.

PENNSYLVANIA

CHADDS FORD SITE, PENNSYLVANIA

Location: Chester County, near Chadds Ford.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Chadds Ford Site is the site of a Delaware Indian village. It was settled after the 1682 council which these Indians held with William Penn, and was abandoned about 1740.

The village site has not been archeologically tested; however, the cemetery above it has been partly looted.

Present Status: The site is in pasture. Its present condition is unknown.

PYMATUNING TOWN SITE (36Mer11), PENNSYLVANIA

Location: Mercer County, within the flood pool of Shenango Basin Reservoir.

Ownership: U. S. Army Corps of Engineers.

Significance: Pymatuning Town, a historic Delaware village, dates from the period between the French and Indian War and the American Revolution.

The first specific reference to the village was by Thomas Hutchins, who noted on a sketch map which he prepared about 1761: "15 Houses at Peyamatuning last fall and Consisted of 40 Warriors .... In the month of April most of the Indians at Pymetuning talked of moving some to the Tuscarawas and some to the Muskingum." The actual removal, however, probably did not take place until in the 1780's. In 1785, Andrew Henderson

surveyed the lands in the area and reported that the "..old Indian town -- Pematuning, appears not to be improved there 8 or ten years ..." He later wrote: "In 1785 there were some cabins at(Pymatuning) which would have been useful to settlers, but are long since destroyed by fire."

In 1961, limited excavation was carried out at the village site. Several small pits and a layer of refuse were found. These contained items of European manufacture which date from the last half of the 18th century. Included in this material were pewter spoons, handwrought iron nails, and fragments of glass and chinaware. Bones of domestic pig were also found.

On a nearby knoll evidence for the village cemetery was found. However, the area had been badly disturbed and only one complete burial was recovered. In a nearby vandalized grave pit two brass hawk bells and several blue-and-white glass trade beads were found.

Present Status: The site is now within the flood pool of Shenango Basin Reservoir.

References:

Dragoo, Don W.
1961 "Archeological Investigations in the Shenango Basin Reservoir." Manuscript. National Park Service Northeast Regional Office, Philadelphia.

Hunter, William
1956 "Pymatuning. Identified Delaware Townsite in Western Pennsylvania." Pennsylvania Archeologist, Vol. 26, pp. 174-177.

Mayer-Oakes, William J.
1953 "An Archeological Survey of the Proposed Shenango River Reservoir Area in Ohio and Pennsylvania. Annals of Carnegie Museum, Vol. 33, pp. 115-124. Pittsburgh.

WYANDOT TOWN SITE (36LR1), PENNSYLVANIA

Location: Lawrence County, West Pittsburgh, south of New Castle.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Wyandot Town Site is a multicomponent site which was occupied in the Archaic and Historic periods. The historic component at the site is attributed to the Wyandots.

Excavation by an amateur archeologist has uncovered several burials.

Present Status: The site is in farmland. Its condition is unknown.

SOUTH CAROLINA

PALACHACOLAS TOWN SITE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Location: Hampton County, near Garnett on the north bank of the Savannah River.

Ownership: Unknown.

Significance: Palachacolas Town (later called Parachocolas Fort or Parachuckle) was occupied from about 1680 to 1716 by a band of the Apalachicola, one of the Hitchiti-speaking Lower Creek groups.

The term "Apalachicola" seems to have been applied originally to a small group of towns or tribes speaking the Hitchiti language and living on the lower Chattahoochee River, but the Spanish used it in a loose way for all the Lower Creek groups. Beginning in 1675, Spanish missionaries made several unsuccessful attempts to work among the Lower Creeks on the Chattahoochee. When the Creeks rejected these missionaries and accepted English traders, the Spanish retaliated with punitive raids and burned several of the Lower Creek towns. Many of the Lower Creeks then moved to the Ocmulgee and Oconee Rivers in present-day Georgia where they would be nearer the English.

It seems probable that some of the Apalachicola moved to the Palachacolas Town Site at this time, for in a number of South Carolina documents dating from the late 1680's there are references to "Palachuclas" or "Palachuccalas." These people were said to be living on the Savannah River in close association with the Yamassee.

The Apalachicola bands who remained on the Chattahoochee appear to have been friendly with the Spanish, for they moved downstream nearer the Spanish settlements. When the Creeks in alliance with the English attacked them in 1706 and 1707, the Apalachicola were living on the Apalachicola River (the river formed by the Chatahoochee and the Flint). A number of Apalachicola were taken prisoner during these raids. They were later settled at the Palachacolas Town Site.

In 1708 the census of South Carolina included the following statement regarding the Apalachicola: "To the southward of the Yamassees are a small nation called Paleathuckles, in number about Eighty men. They are settled in a Town ... (on) the Savannah River & are very serviceable in furnishing w th provisions the English men who goe up that river in perryagues w th supplies of goods for the Indians & bring skinns in return for them." Seven years later they were said to be living in two villages which had a total population of 214, including 64 warriors.

Later that year the Apalachicola joined with other Southeastern Indian tribes in the uprising which we know as the Yamassee War. During, or just after, the War the Apalachicola abandoned the Palachacolas Site and retired into their old country, settling at the junction of the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers.

Collections of archeological material from the surface of the site serve to corroborate occupation of the site by the Apalachicola between 1680 and 1716. The aboriginal ceramic wares are those generally found on Creek sites of the period, such as Ocmulgee Old Fields and Apalachicola Fort; and the items of European manufacture are also of this period.

The importance of the Palachacolas Town site lies in the certainty of its historical dating and ethnological identification.

Present Status: Portions of the site were being destroyed by stream erosion when Caldwell first reported on it in 1948. Its present condition is unknown.

References:

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1948 "Palachacolas Town, Hampton County, South Carolina." Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, Vol. 38, No.10, pp. 321-324

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SOUTH DAKOTA

NORDVOLD SITE (39C031), SOUTH DAKOTA

Location: Corson County, on the high bluff of the Missouri River just upstream from the mouth of Oak Creek.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Norvold Site is a late 18th century fortified village, which was occupied by one of the Arikara groups. It is a small compact site of some 20 or so earthlodge depressions with a surrounding ditch.

Culturally and chronologically it falls somewhere between the village at Four Bears and the Molander Site, the large double village of the Arikara. It is one of the few sites of this period which will not be inundated by the Oahe Reservoir.

Present Status: The site is in pasture. It has been relatively undisturbed and is in good condition.

References:

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TENNESSEE

FORT LOUDOUN, TENNESSEE

Location: Monroe County, on the Little Tennessee River about a mile upstream from its confluence with the Tellico.

Ownership: State of Tennessee (administered by the Fort Loudoun Association).

Significance: Fort Loudoun, the first English settlement west of the Smoky Mountains, was begun in 1756, two years after the beginning of the French and Indian War and one year after the French began construction of Fort Massac near the confluence of the Ohio and Tennessee Rivers. The Fort, which was built at the request of the Cherokee, was completed in 1757 and was occupied until 1760.

The primary purpose of the fort was to provide protection and support to the Cherokee against the French and their Indian allies, and thus to protect the English frontier. At first the attitude of the Cherokee was friendly for the most part; but after a number of Cherokee warriors, who had served under General Stanwix in the Ohio campaign, were killed by Virginia frontiersmen while returning home, matters began to deteriorate. Incident followed incident, and when 31 Cherokee leaders, members of a peace delegation, were taken captive in 1759, the Middle Settlements went on the warpath against the frontier settlements. In 1760, the 22 members of the peace delegation still held captive were "butchered ... to death in a manner too shocking to relate", both the Lower and Overhill Towns joined the Middle Settlements.

Fort Loudoun was attacked on March 20, and though the firing ceased after 96 hours the fort remained under siege. The food supply soon ran low; however, until early June the Cherokee women brought food to the fort. Some of these women were married to soldiers, but most were merely anxious to trade for items of European manufacture. It is interesting to note that the only official help sent the besieged garrison was a packet of ribbons and gauds to be used in trading for food.

On August 8, 1760, Captain Paul Demere, who had succeeded his brother as commander of Fort Loudoun, arranged with the Cherokee the surrender of the fort. In return for the fort and its contents, the soldiers and their families were promised safe conduct to Fort Prince George in South Carolina. However, less than 15 miles from the fort the party was attacked. Thirty of the soldiers were killed, and the remainder of them and their families were taken prisoner. The Cherokee occupied the fort for a short time, and later it was burned.

Archeological excavations were carried out at the site of Fort Loudoun by Hobart Cooper in 1936-1937, by Elsworth Brown in 1955-1957, and by Dr. Peter H. Kunkel in 1958-1961. From these excavations the size, shape, and construction of the fortifications and of many of the structures inside the palisade have been ascertained. An analysis of the bone recovered from the excavations shows almost complete dependence of the British occupants of the fort upon their own domestic stock. Of the more than 700 identifiable bones, about 55% were those of cattle, 32% were hogs, and 6% were chickens.

Present Status: The site is administered by the Fort Loudoun Association. Portions of it have been reconstructed.

References:

Bivin, Virginia
1961 "Fort Loudoun Is Tourist Mecca." Tennessee Conservationist, August, pp. 5-7.

Corkran, David H.
1962 The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-62. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Kunkel, Peter H.
1960 "Fort Loudoun Archaeology: A Summary of the Structural Problem." Tennessee Archaeological Society Miscellaneous Papers, No. 6, pp. 1-25.

Parmalee, Paul W.
1960 "Vertebrate Remains from Fort Loudoun, Tennessee." Tennessee Archaeological Society Miscellaneous Papers, No. 6, pp. 26-29.

TEXAS

PAINT ROCK SITE, TEXAS

Location: Concho County, on the Concho River 1 mile from Paint Rock.

Ownership: Privately owned.

Significance: The Paint Rock Site contains an estimated 1500 Indian pictographs which extend for about 1/2 mile along the bluffs of the Concho River.

The area is one through which the Comanches passed in raiding south toward the San Saba Mission and San Antonio. In all probability the majority of the paintings can be assigned to the Comanches and can be dated as extending from the early to middle 1700's to the reservation period.

Present Status: The site is in good condition.

References:

Webb, Walter P.
1952 The Handbook of Texas. Austin.

SPANISH FORT SITE, TEXAS

Location: Montague County, near the village of Spanish Fort, on both sides of the Red River.

Ownership: Privately owned by several parties.

Significance: The Spanish Fort Site is the site of an important village occupied from the latter half of the 17th century through most of the 18th century by the Taovaya, a band of the Wichita.

Although the Wichita were known in the Coronado period, the first reference to the "Taovaya" occurred in 1719, when Bernard de la Harpe, the French trader, encountered a large group of them on the Canadian River in what is now Oklahoma. However, it seems that some of the Taovaya, or a closely related group, had lived at the Spanish Fort Site for some years at that time, for Tewa Polychrome wares dating from the 1680's have been found on the site.

The Taovaya were among the tribes that raided the Lipan Apache mission of San Saba de la Santa Cruz in 1758. Almost immediately Diego Ortiz Parilla organized a retaliatory expedition, and in 1759 he led a force against the Taovayas at Spanish Fort. When he reached the rancheria, he found it protected by a stockade and moat, armed with French guns, and flying a French flag. In the battle which followed, Parilla was defeated and was forced to retreat.

In 1778, Athanase de Mezieres visited the village and renamed it San Teodoro.

The Taovayas were again visited by the Spaniards in 1786-1788, when Pedro Vial and Jose Mares led expeditions between Santa Fe, New Mexico, and San Antonio, Texas. In 1812, a smallpox epidemic decimated the village, and the surviving Taovaya joined the other Wichita.

Present Status: The site is located in cotton fields. Continued cultivation has left it in poor condition with little remaining on the surface by which the site may be identified. However, the Texas Centennial Commission did erect a marker near the site in 1936.

References:

Krieger, Alex D.
1946 Culture Complexes and Chronology in Northern Texas. University of Texas Publication No. 4640, Austin.

Witte, Adolph Henry
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SITES ALSO NOTED

ARIZONA
- Oraibi Pueblo
- Gaybanipitea
- Sierra Azul (Jerome) Mines

CALIFORNIA
- Amedee Cave
- Katimin
- Panamenik
- Pekwan
- Weitchpec Village

COLORADO
- Cuerno Verde Battleground
- San Carlos de los Jupes

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
- Nacochtanke (Anocostin Indian Fort)

FLORIDA
- Pine Tuft

KANSAS
- Fort Cavognolle

MICHIGAN
- Fort Saint Joseph

NEBRASKA
- Dismal River Sites
- Leary Site

NEW MEXICO
- Yunqueyunque
- Cerrillos Turquoise Mines
- Estancia Salt Deposits
- Kuaua
- Palace of the Governors

NEW YORK
- Gargoa
- Mundawago

OREGON
- Fuller Mound
- Sherars Bridge

TEXAS
- San Saba Mission
- San Francisco de los Tejas

SITES RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER STUDY

Florida
- Mound Key

Michigan
- Sault Ste. Marie

Nebraska
- Big Village of the Omaha (25TS6)
- Villazur Battleground (exact location unknown)

New York
- Caughnawaga
- Little Beard's Town
- Seneca Indian Village, Rochester Junction (Totiakton)
- Rochester Junction

North Carolina
- Tuscarora Fort (exact location unknown)

Pennsylvania
- Chambers Site
- Minnisink Island

South Carolina
- Fort Moore (exact location unknown)

Virginia
- Uttamussak (exact location unknown)
- Werowocomoco (exact location unknown)