

CULTURAL AFFILIATION STATEMENT  
BUFFALO NATIONAL RIVER, ARKANSAS

Final Report

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## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The findings of the cultural affiliation study for Buffalo National River, Arkansas, can be summarized as follows:

### **Prehistoric Affiliations**

(1) The Ozark Mountains, where Buffalo National River is located, were inhabited by human groups since at least the terminal Pleistocene (9,000 B.C.). Paleoindian hunters likely entered the Ozarks following the White River and its tributaries and took advantage of high-quality lithic raw materials available there. Clovis points have been recovered from several Arkansas localities; the Albertson Site and Calf Creek Cave are the Paleoindian sites closest to the park. One Packard-like point was recovered from a plow zone at the Elk Track site.

(2) Among the most significant transitional Paleoindian-Archaic occupations is Dalton, which is well represented across northern Arkansas and southwest Missouri, appearing in areas farther away from the Ozark escarpment; Dalton artifacts have been recovered from sites in Buffalo National River. Following this transition, an impressive Archaic occupation across the uplands suggests that the Archaic developed out of local Paleoindian adaptations. Archaic components in open sites and rockshelters have been identified in the park. Archaic-age burials with offerings were uncovered in the park; among the offerings are two diagnostic points, Hanna and Standlee, which confirm that the cultural affiliation of the burials is with the local Archaic traditions that extend into neighboring states.

(3) Other important findings dating to the Archaic period are the grog tempered ceramics recovered from the Dirst Site, which resemble Williams Plain and thus they may be affiliated with the Fourche Maline cultural manifestation that is ancestral to the Caddoan Spiro sequence of the Arkansas River Valley.

(4) The Woodland Period in Buffalo National River exhibits strong continuity in adaptations since the Archaic period, but with more pointed innovations in food procurement strategies and artifact technologies. Importantly, the central Ozarks were not involved directly in external networks developed during the Middle Woodland, but nonetheless contributed indirectly to these networks, through the extraction of working stone and other important resources (e.g., quartz) available locally. The single most important development with implications for cultural affiliation is the early evolution of ceramic technology, particularly “Mississippian” shell-tempered technology, alongside other tempering traditions characteristic of areas where Caddoan ancestors likely originated. This technological innovation connects culturally the late Woodland period in the park with contemporaneous developments in the southeastern Ozarks.

(5) The Mississippian Period in Buffalo National River is characterized by both seasonal and more permanent habitation sites as well as specialized activity camps. Diagnostic materials recovered from these sites, namely shell-tempered ceramic types and Nodena

points, strongly suggest a central Mississippi Valley affiliation. Burials dating to this period contain shell-tempered ceramics that support the central Mississippi Valley affiliation. Although evidence of Caddoan presence in the park (e.g. Spiro sequence) is tenuous at best, regional archaeology does indicate that Spiroan groups were present in the Ozark uplands of northwest Arkansas and thus this affiliation should not be discounted.

### **Protohistoric and Early Historic Affiliations**

Cultural Affiliation of materials dating to the Protohistoric and Early Historic period are as follows:

(1) Aside from isolated Nodena points that may be prehistoric or protohistoric, Buffalo National River does not have evidence of protohistoric occupation, but sites in its vicinity do. The archaeological materials found in the region include Mississippian, Fort Coffee, Neosho Focus and, farther north, Oneota. Each of these materials has, in turn, its own historic affiliation.

- Despite the controversy regarding the cultural identity of the groups that inhabited the central Mississippi Valley, regional scholars strongly support a Tunica-Koroan affiliation with multiethnic connections. Given the reconstructed timing of migration of the Quapaw into the west bank of the Mississippi River, and the location of their first confirmed villages at the mouth of the Arkansas River, a Quapaw affiliation for protohistoric remains in northern Arkansas and particularly the central Ozarks, is improbable. Tunica presence on the north bank of the Arkansas River, on the other hand, was recorded as late as 1673.

- Fort Coffee is a post-Spiro Caddoan phase from the Arkansas River Valley, which protohistorically may have been related to the Mento subgroup.

- Neosho is currently thought to combine Caddoan, Mississippian, and Oneota influences that may, in turn, represent remnant groups that occupied the Ozark Mountains after the collapse of the large Mississippian towns.

- Oneota is representative of Ohio River Siouan populations (most likely Chiwere speakers and less likely Deghihan speakers) that began to migrate west in the aftermath of the Middle Mississippian-Cahokian regional system. Although it has been postulated that the Oneota materials in western Missouri represent the ancestral Osage, this association is shrouded in controversy because of the lack of a clear sequence of prehistoric-to-historic occupation of the Osage heartland.

(2) Historic documents confirm that Osage ancestors arrived to the western half of Missouri sometime after AD 1500, were well settled in their heartland by 1673, and quickly expanded their territory as far as the Arkansas River Valley by the early 1700s. No Caddoan presence remained north of the valley after this date.

## **Late Historic Affiliations**

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, emigrant tribes including the Cherokee, Shawnee, Delaware, Kickapoo, Piankashaw, Miami, Wyandot, and Wea, occupied the southern Ozark escarpment. Archaeological remains confirming their presence have been found in the Current River and the White River. Only one reference to the presence of Cherokee campsites in the tributaries of the Buffalo River in Searcy County has been found but the obscure primary source of this information is currently under interlibrary search.

## **Conclusions**

In conclusion, the following culturally affiliated tribes should be contacted for future consultation in Buffalo National River:

- For prehistoric remains of Paleoindian, Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian age:

Caddo Nation of Oklahoma, representing the Arkansas River Valley Caddoan ancestors

Tunica-Biloxi Tribe of Louisiana, representing the central Mississippi Valley ancestors

- For protohistoric remains of Mississippian affiliation:

Tunica-Biloxi Tribe of Louisiana, representing the central Mississippi Valley ancestors

- For protohistoric remains of Fort Coffee and Neosho affiliation:

Caddo Nation of Oklahoma, representing the Arkansas River Valley Caddoan ancestors

- For protohistoric remains of Oneota affiliation and all early historic remains:

Osage Nation of Oklahoma

- For late historic remains, as determined by location and material culture:

Osage Nation of Oklahoma

Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma

## CHAPTER ONE STUDY OVERVIEW

This Final Report presents an overview of archaeological, historical, and ethnographic information relating to American Indian cultural affiliation with Buffalo National River, Arkansas (Figure 1). The primary purpose of this overview is to provide the National Park Service (NPS) with a set of basic criteria that will aid in future consultation for cultural resources and in the development of ethnographic research, interpretation, program objectives, and park management decisions.

The data contained here are required to address the cultural affiliation and consultation requirements of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and other legislation, policy, and regulations that address peoples traditionally associated with park resources, including, but not limited to, the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA); the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA, Sections 106 and 110) as amended; the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA); Executive Orders 13007, 13083, and 13084; the National Register Bulletin 38; and NPS Policies and Guidelines, as amended.

### **Geographic and Cultural Focus of the Research**

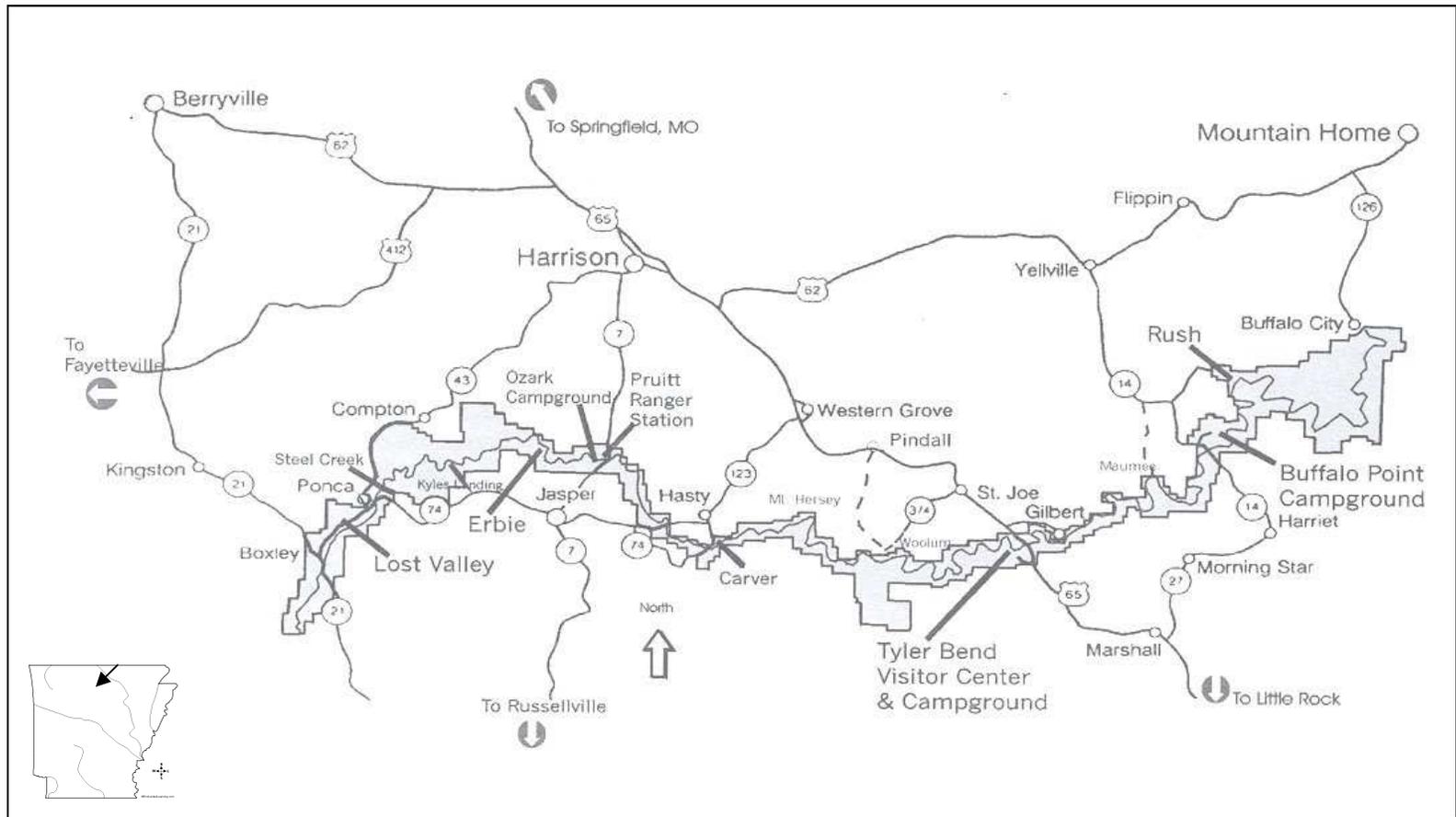
The main focus of the research is on the record of American Indian habitation and use of the area comprised by Buffalo National River. A rich archaeological record of human occupation spanning 10,000 years has been unearthed over the past century in the general study region, which centers around the Ozark Mountains in the north-central portion of Arkansas (see Figure 1), and also extends beyond the state to incorporate the cultural history of the central Mississippi Valley, the north bank of the Arkansas River, and the Ozark uplands of southern Missouri and Western Oklahoma.

### **Cultural Affiliation and Traditional Association**

Connections between Native Americans and ancestral lands, objects, and resources take on multiple expressions, many of which are explicitly discussed in the relevant legislation (e.g., NHPA, NAGPRA, AIRFA). The NPS acknowledges a broad range of cultural and traditional connections between tribes and park. These may be categorized, in turn, as Cultural Affiliation and Traditional Association.

*Cultural affiliation* refers specifically to the relationship between contemporary Native American individuals or groups and archaeological objects currently owned by, or curated at, the park. These objects may potentially fall into one of five NAGPRA categories and thus could be eligible for repatriation if such an “object-people” relationship can be established. A textual rendition of the legal definition of cultural affiliation is on page 8.

Figure 1. Buffalo National River, Arkansas



***Traditional association***, on the other hand, refers to the existence of a record of physical, cultural, and spiritual attachments between a park's land and resources and a contemporary tribal individual or group. Traditional associations are unique in that they represent contemporary expressions of past spiritual and physical links between people and the land. Thus, a thorough understanding of such associations requires: (1) a review of the history of past activities as they relate to the landscape, and (2) an explanation of needs, standings, and circumstances under which contemporary tribal groups and individuals engage the past to bring ancestral connections into activities of present relevance (see Bucko 1998:12-13).

Individuals or groups that are found to have a cultural affiliation or a traditional association with Buffalo National River may enter in future consultation regarding preservation, management, and interpretation of the park's resources. This study has limited its scope to Native Americans; however, there are numerous examples in the National Park Service system of non-Indian groups that have traditional associations with park units.

### **Project Scope and Methodology**

In 2005, the Midwest Region of the NPS contracted Dr. Maria N. Zedeño of the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology (BARA) at the University of Arizona, Tucson (UA) to write a cultural affiliation statement for Buffalo National River. This study is administered under Task Agreement No. J6068050087, CESU Cooperative Agreement No. CA-1248-00-002 with Maria N. Zedeño.

The objectives of this Report are to provide:

- Descriptions of any American Indian individuals or tribes who may be determined to be culturally affiliated with the park, including: (1) relationships determined between earlier archeologically-defined groups and contemporary Indian groups, and (2) relationships determined between specific objects in park collections to contemporary Indian groups or individuals who may be descendants.
- A summary of the cultural history of each of the potentially affiliated groups, including descriptions of occupation and use, past and present, of the area in and around the park by traditionally associated groups of people.
- A bibliography of relevant published and unpublished sources pertaining to traditionally associated groups, and a references section of sources cited in the body of the report, with selectively annotated entries.
- A list of names and addresses of tribal officials representing culturally affiliated/traditionally associated groups to be delivered as a separate document along with the final version of the report.

### **Methodology for the Cultural Affiliation Study**

To accomplish the cultural affiliation objectives, the authors conducted extensive research of published and unpublished sources containing information on regional and

park-specific archaeology, history, and ethnography. Archaeological literature was reviewed to reconstruct the use history of the park and to provide a frame of reference for identifying prehistoric and historic groups whose remains may be found in park lands. Searches included a week-long visit to the archives of the Arkansas Archaeological Survey in Fayetteville and a one-day visit to the park. We are especially grateful for the guidance and information provided by Dr. George Sabo, III.

To fully construct this frame of reference a review of archaeological research in the surrounding regions was also conducted. Historical literature was then reviewed to document the geopolitical, social, and legal dynamics of Indian-Colonial and Indian-United States relations as they affected the use of the park and immediate surroundings. Ethnographic literature was reviewed to identify any oral traditions, folklore, social organization, or material culture that could be useful for establishing cultural affiliation and traditional association. Linguistic, forensic, and geographic data were also incorporated in the text when available or applicable. The Indian Claims Commission expert witness reports, published in 1974 by Garland Publishing, New York, were also consulted for this purpose. In addition to published monographs, edited books, journal articles, and conference proceedings, we examined technical research reports, unpublished theses and dissertations, and historical manuscript collections.

### **Previous Research and Tiering**

This report is the second multi-tribe cultural affiliation study conducted for Buffalo National River. The first report produced by Lafferty et al. (2002). Our study was commissioned in 2005 with the objective of obtaining an independent cultural affiliation statement that detailed the cultural history of the park and connected it to protohistoric, historic, and modern Indian tribes and organizations. To the extent possible, our report was prepared without reference to Lafferty et al. (2002), with one exception: the description of human remains and associated funerary objects, along with their interpretation of these remains, was taken into consideration and cited in this Final Report as appropriate.

The ethnohistoric and ethnographic research presented here is based to a substantial degree on a cultural affiliation statement prepared by Zedeño and Basaldú (2003) for the Ozarks National Scenic Riverways, Missouri. The information contained in this report, however, has been specifically and carefully tailored to serve the needs and respond to the concerns of Buffalo National River.

### **Legal Foundations for Cultural Affiliation**

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

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

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

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

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

### **Determining Lineal Descent and Cultural Affiliation**

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

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

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

Cultural affiliation is defined as:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Theoretical and Practical Issues in Cultural Affiliation Research**

In a recent cultural affiliation study of four national monuments in Arizona, Toupal and Stoffle (2001:8) observed that NAGPRA's definition of cultural affiliation and criteria for establishing cultural affiliation are based on a presumed relationship between social groups and discrete constellations of cultural and biological traits that most anthropologists no longer accept because of their normative underlining. Indeed, the academic community at large acknowledges the lack of coincidence among boundaries of polities, biological populations, speech communities (languages), material culture, and other culture "traits" (Anthony 2001:78). For the mid-south region, where Buffalo National River is located, the connections between constellations of traits and discrete cultural/ethnic/political groups has been blurred due to massive demographic changes in the protohistoric and early historic periods, giving rise to controversies discussed in Chapters Three and Four.

Partly in response to interpretive issues raised in the context of consultation with modern Indian tribes and organizations, American anthropologists have revisited the problem of ethnogenesis of prehistoric and historic groups (e.g., Hill 1996; Terrell 2001). They are willing to piece together the fragmentary evidence needed to rebuild the difficult paths Indian groups followed to the present day. NAGPRA has forced American anthropologists to face this problem, thus offering the opportunity for tremendous intellectual growth, as long as one is willing to reconcile the apparent contradiction between the normative definition of cultural affiliation and the requirement of a dynamic and flexible understanding of ethnogenesis. In reference to Moore's (2001) study of ethnogenetic patterns in native North America, Terrell (2001:31) points out that,

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

Cultural affiliation studies must recognize the complex 'tapestry' of historical and cultural trajectories and accept the very likely possibility that more than one present-day

group will be affiliated with a particular past group, however one defines it, and that only certain segments of the present group may be affiliated with a particular past group (or segment thereof). The question that must be answered, in order to piece together such complex cultural trajectories is, *what became of the descendants of the past group (or segment thereof) whose remains, objects, and resources are under consultation?* The process followed to answer this crucial question begins in prehistory and moves forward to present times in order to capture as much diversity and change as possible. This thinking process contrasts with that followed by proponents of the more traditional direct historical approach who, in attempting to answer the question, *who were the ancestors of the present day group?* Begin in the present and move back to the past--hence emphasizing continuity and homogeneity over diversity and change (see Galloway 1986). Given that there are no Native American tribes in the state of Arkansas, nor are there prehistoric-historic continuities documented *in situ* for the region of interest and the park, a perspective that begins in the distant past is the most appropriate for following the trajectories of prehistoric inhabitants of the area in and around Buffalo National River.

### **Object, People, and Place**

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

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

## **Temporal and Spatial Scales**

Whereas the historic records generally provide very specific information on the identity of Indian groups who occupied particular and often accurately mapped places or areas for a specified amount of time, the prehistoric records are far less specific and thus need to be framed in broad temporal and spatial scales. In situations where Indian groups vacated areas before written records were available, alternative sources of information must be used, for example, oral traditions, linguistics and glottochronology, biology, and similarities in material culture and land use patterns. Each of these information sources needs its own temporal and spatial scales. Thus it is impractical and often futile, to attempt to establish contemporary cultural affiliation of prehistoric groups with the same degree of temporal and spatial specificity as that of historic groups.

In many cases cultural affiliation of prehistoric groups may be determined only at the regional scale or may refer to tentatively dated and centuries-long archaeological phases, as is the case of remains dating to the Archaic period. This particular situation is common for archaeologically defined cultures identified in a park without a history of continuous occupation by a historically known group. The scale is therefore regional rather than park-specific, but it may expand or contract in response to historical particularities of park and of each ethnic group.

### **Land Use Practices, Ethnographic Resource Assessments, and Cultural Affiliation**

Prehistoric groups may have used broad areas for very specific tasks and during specific times (e.g., stone quarrying, hunting, plant collecting) or may have occupied a single site or an area for generations going back to the Archaic period or even the Paleoindian period. Each type of land use, in turn, generates its own kinds of cultural or traditional attachments to the land and its resources. Whenever federal lands contain evidence of long-term prehistoric occupation that does not directly tie to historically documented users, multiple types of land and resource use and diverse kinds of attachments will likely be identified for each culturally affiliated Indian group. Here is when ethnographic resource assessments, comprising both literature searches and contemporary site visits and consultation, come into place as potentially contributing to cultural affiliation or traditional association determinations.

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

The archaeological record of Buffalo National River suggests two land-use strategies: (1) a locally developed, highly efficient foraging adaptation that eventually developed into stable horticulture, and (2) a highly specialized, task specific adaptation to diverse environments and raw materials found in the Ozark Mountains. These strategies were not

mutually exclusive; rather, they were complementary and inextricably tied to the particular characteristics of the terrain. It is possible that extractive activities were the domain of particular ethnic groups that had access to the uplands; alternatively, the local upland dwellers may have extracted raw materials and other natural resources for exchange with populations in the valleys to the south, west, and east. The record further indicates that Buffalo River was located in an area where different prehistoric cultures came together: the Caddoan and the Mississippian ancestors, and thus the probability of distinct but land use strategies within the same region and even river remain high.

### **Organization of the Report**

The Final Report is organized as follows: Chapter Two describes the culture history of Buffalo National River and environments, and derives implications for cultural affiliation. Chapter Three reviews and discusses hypotheses regarding the identity of protohistoric groups who inhabited and/or use the study area and presents archaeological, historical, linguistic, and ethnographic information pertaining to each group. Chapter Four summarizes the historical trajectory of the aboriginal group. Chapter Five is an overview of the history of emigrant tribes that temporarily occupied the southern Ozark escarpment. The cultural affiliation statement ends at the time when the tribes left Arkansas to settle in Oklahoma.

### **Disclaimer**

The information presented in this study represents the opinions of the authors and does not necessarily represent the opinions nor official positions of the U.S. Department of the Interior or the National Park Service.

## CHAPTER ONE

### CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE BUFFALO NATIONAL RIVER REGION

The Ozark Mountains have witnessed human use and habitation since the end of the Pleistocene. Chapman (1975) notes that a rather moderate climate during the glacial maximum allowed for the development of mosaic forests with boreal and deciduous species that supported both megafauna and smaller northern and southern animals, and that likely attracted hunters and foragers. The geology of the Ozark highlands, in particular its south-facing karstic shelters and caves, probably furnished temporary shelter from the elements since very early times, continuing to be occupied into the protohistoric period and perhaps the historic period. Likewise, the abundant resources in the forests and valleys that cut the Ozark escarpment allowed for sustained habitation and local horticultural development. Mineral resources were significant for the participation of Ozark dwellers in regional interaction networks.

#### **The Paleoindian Period (12,000-9,000 B.C.)**

Northern Arkansas is an area where artifacts such as heavy chipped stone choppers and core tools occur on Pleistocene-age terraces near the Albertson Shelter, which may point to a pre-Clovis human presence (Dickson 1991). The Paleoindian period is represented in several Arkansas localities (including Newton, Boone, and Madison counties) by isolated Clovis or Clovis-like findings as well as lanceolate points similar to types of the Plano Complex (Newton 1977:85). Two of these fluted points were recovered along the Buffalo River (Sierzchula 1984:4). An unfinished fluted point was recovered from the earliest cultural deposit at Calf Creek Cave in Searcy County (Dickson 1970:74, fig. 19a). The Skaggs site has an important Paleoindian component with various Clovis fluted point fragments (Mainfort 2000:105). Surface findings of similar age range have been recovered along the Arkansas River valley to the south of Buffalo River; fluted points come from Logan, Garland, and Lawrence counties (Davis 1967), and from northeast Arkansas (Morse and Morse 1983) and southwest Arkansas (Hoffman 1969:39). A Scottsbluff point was found on a surface site in Washington County (Sabo and Early 1990:38).

Newton (1977) points out that the impressive Archaic occupation of the Ozark Mountains is suggestive of earlier presence of hunting groups who became familiar with the environs; transitional Archaic occupations have already been identified. He reconstructed the Paleoindian period for the Arkansas Ozarks on the basis of 13 fluted points, of which four are Clovis-like points and the remainder are Cumberland-like and Pelican-like specimens characteristic of the eastern United States. Typically, these remains were isolated findings intermixed with later cultural remains in sites along the stream valleys of the Arkansas Ozarks; ten points came from open sites and three from rockshelters. All of the sites appear to be multicomponent and representative of the Archaic, Woodland, and Marginal Mississippian periods (Newton 1977). The Paleoindian points were manufactured with local cherts. Newton (1977:90) further notes that the findings appear concentrated in the immediate vicinity of the White River around the Lead Hill Area of

Boone County. This observation fits well with Chapman's (1975:69-71) findings in southwest Missouri and supports his hypothesis that Paleoindian hunters first entered the Ozark region from the east following the White River and tributaries.

Chapman (1975) observed that the lack of stratified Paleoindian sites in the Ozark Mountains could be due to brief occupations of selected localities by very small groups. Although at least Calf Creek Cave has a pre-Archaic cultural deposit, no other caves or shelters excavated in the region have yielded such deposits. Open sites located along the streams could have easily been washed out by flooding and other erosional processes which only left behind the isolated points. As noted by Dickson (1991) and Newton (1977), elevated terraces such as those found near the Albertson Shelter, on the other hand, could contain buried deposits of Paleoindian age. A single, fragmented Paleoindian point similar to the Packard point was recovered from stripped-back plowzone at the Elk Track site in Buffalo National River (Lafferty 1988:107).

Another element confounding the reconstruction of Paleoindian lifeways in the Ozark Mountains is the dearth of remains of extinct animals in association with artifacts. Although megafauna are present along the Arkansas River, only isolated and redeposited remains have been recovered from the Arkansas Ozarks. Nevertheless, Sabo and Early (1990:39) provide a list of Pleistocene and early Holocene large mammals in the Arkansas Ozarks that include 26 species. The location of projectile point findings in the landscape indicates that Paleoindian hunters may have indeed sought different resources from various microenvironmental zones (Sabo and Early 1990: 4). As Waguenspak and Surovell (2003) suggest, Paleoindian hunters utilized a variety of animal resources from mammoths to rodents and birds; thus it is likely that they may have been attracted to an area of high resource diversity and quality raw materials such as the Ozark Mountains.

### **Dalton Period (10,500-9500 BP)**

The Dalton period falls at the terminal Pleistocene/early Holocene transition, and represents the expansion of generalized hunting and gathering adaptations to changing Ozark environments. Important environmental changes coincided with the extinction of megafauna and the spread of food-rich deciduous forests that provided abundant nuts, and understory species that included berry bushes. Wild plants also included herbs and roots known to have been used for medicinal and ceremonial purposes in historic times.

The Dalton complex consists of a wide range of specialized and multi-purpose tools including lanceolate points, adzes, spokeshaves, cutting and scrapping tools, and ground stone abraders, which together "reflect the importance of woodworking to produce such items as weapon shafts, tool handles, containers, snares and traps, and undoubtedly, a multitude other artifacts" (Sabo and Early 1990:41). Plant processing tools include sandstone mortars, grinding stones, and pestles. Bone awls, needles, scrapers, and stone perforators suggest manipulation of hides and/or plant fibers. In all, this toolkit indicates that Dalton-period people were familiar with a wide variety of plant and animal species as well as lithic raw materials and made use of them. Also, the Dalton occupation is important because it is local to Missouri, Arkansas, and Oklahoma, being partially

contemporaneous with, and somewhat analogous to, Western complexes such as Folsom, Plainview, and Agate Basin (O'Brien and Wood 1998:72 and *passim*).

The Dalton assemblages generally contain, in addition to the diagnostic points, hafted bifaces commonly found in the southern Ozarks (Dickson 1987:17) and other tools such as adzes, scrapers, engravers, grinding stones, worked bone (needles, awls) and antler, and iron pigments (Morse and Goodyear 1973). From excavations elsewhere in the region, specifically at the Rodgers Shelter in the Little Osage River and at Graham Cave, it is known that these tool types were used in the procurement and processing of a wide variety of wild resources, including seasonally available hickory and black walnut nuts, berries and seeds, white tail deer, eastern cottontail, raccoon, squirrel, plains pocket gopher, beaver, turkey, elk, coyote, woodchuck, eastern wood rat, muskrat, terrestrial and water fowl, turtle, snake, and fish (Klippel 1971:15; Kay 1982; Parmalee et al. 1976 in O'Brien and Wood 1998:89). It is important to note that the Dalton complex, particularly the Dalton points, are quite heterogeneous; some are multifunctional. O'Brien and Wood (1998: 95) say that variability in Dalton assemblages indicates that Dalton-period hunters adapted their technology to a much wider range of game than what was available to their predecessors. In fact, the Dalton toolkit reflects the use of not only a variety of resources but also a variety of microhabitats

There are a number of stratified sites with Dalton components in the Ozark Mountains, including Albertson Rockshelter (Dickson 1991); Breckenridge (Wood 1963; Thomas 1969), and Packard (Wyckoff 1985), which produced a radiocarbon date of 9,16 +/- 193 BP. Other sites include Tom's Brook Shelter and Holman Creek; the only documented Dalton site in the Arkansas Valley is Billy Ross (Sabo and Early 1990:41). These sites add information on seasonality, use and processing of different types of regionally available lithic raw materials including hematite, variability in tool kits and, in the case of the Packard Site in Oklahoma, evidence of modern bison hunting (Sabo and Early 1990:42). Other sites with Dalton (Breckenridge variety) points are Wolf Creek, a bluff shelter in Benton County, and Elk Track in Newton County on Buffalo National Park (Klinger et al. 1993:24).

A single Dalton biface was recovered from Dry Ford in the Buffalo National River. The tool had been resharpened extensively by beveling the right margin of each face. It has evidence of intensive use, which suggest it was a knife rather than a projectile. The biface was made of Keokuk Variety 4 chert. No other artifacts can be securely associated with this finding, so Klinger et al (1993:176) consider it a "loss" by its user, or "a find" by subsequent occupations of the site. The Dirst Site in the Rush Development area of the park contains a transitional Dalton-Archaic component. Two Dalton bifaces, two Graham Cave side-notched points, and one early Archaic Rice Lobed point were recovered from a paleosol in Area D at this site (Sabo et al. 1990:144). These points were associated with cores, flakes, and a limed assemblage of other stone tool categories. Importantly, a small sample of archaeobotanical remains was recovered from flotation samples of the paleosol. Not enough charcoal was recovered to radiocarbon date the findings. Dalton remains have been found in six other sites at the park (Wolfman 1979:36)

The appearance of Dalton period sites across a broad west-east band, from the western and southern Ozark escarpment to the lowlands in southeast Missouri and northern Arkansas, indicates that forager groups were able to move some distance to supplement their diet with a variety of plants and animals and to obtain nonfood resources (Godsey 1985; Goodyear 1974; Morse and Morse 1983; Price and Krakker 1975; Schiffer 1975). Although portions of the Ozark highlands were covered with loess during the hypsithermal (Kay 1982), Ozark cherts are abundant in lowland Dalton sites both as raw materials and finished products, indicating that the logistics of resource transport across diverse topographic and ecological zones were already in place by 10,000 BP (Morse and Morse 1983:82). As Sabo and Early (1990:46) explain, overall the Dalton site distribution pattern indicates adaptation to local environmental conditions of a mobile hunter-forager society whose organization was not much different than the preceding one, but with more evidence of ceremonialism.

Other important manifestations of Dalton group organization may be found in sites located in northeast Arkansas. Morse and Morse (1983:80-95) provide a detailed summary of earlier debates regarding settlement systems and territorial organization of Dalton groups, and describe three sites that contain information on the social aspects of this system: the Lace site—a possible base camp—, the Brand site—a hunting or task camp—, and the Sloan site—a possible Dalton cemetery. The latter is unique in that it contains caches of lithic preforms and finished tools that were buried in a pattern strongly suggestive of deliberate deposition in a short period of time. Extremely eroded bone fragments (four of which are positively identified as human) support the interpretation of a possible burial ground (Morse and Morse 1983:90). Sabo and Early (1990:46) add the possible ceremonial hearth (interpreted as such by Chapman 1975) and possible Dalton burials at Graham Cave, to the north of the Ozarks. These Dalton sites have contributed the most to the understanding of settlement patterns and functional variability.

Large habitation sites and cemeteries found in northeastern Arkansas led researchers to the conclusion that Dalton-period people were living in semipermanent base camps occupied by multifamily groups adapted to the valley floors. However, a reappraisal of sites vis a vis tool complexes and available resources led Schiffer to conclude that adaptations were in fact to the valley gradient, including upland and lowland resources, rather than to the valley floor (Goodyear 1974; Morse and Morse 1983; Schiffer 1975). This is a very important conclusion, because it places Dalton subsistence and settlement patterns well within the broad terminal Pleistocene/early Holocene adaptations observed across North America, which involve similar use of valley gradients such as the Carolina Piedmont (Anderson 1996) or the Wyoming Rockies (Frison 1991).

### **Implications for cultural affiliation:**

Available information about the Paleoindian period, albeit scarce in the Buffalo National River and surrounding region, furnishes important highlights for characterizing the trajectory of human occupation there:

- Isolated findings of fluted and lanceolate points indicate uses of two significant Ozark environments: shelters and stream valleys. Although open sites may be a product of redeposition, the buried artifacts found in a paleosoil of an elevated terrace indicate that valleys were indeed used at that time. Both southern exposure and milder climate may have attracted hunters in search of a resource-rich place to hunt and conduct other foraging and manufacturing activities.
- The use of local cherts also indicates knowledge of resources and time spent in the area. The fact that both western-style and eastern style Paleoindian points are found in the region could be the result of diversity in the geographical origin of hunters, who nonetheless utilized the local high-quality raw materials needed to make technologically sophisticated fluted and lanceolate points. Presence of iron pigments in possible ceremonial contexts also places Dalton-period at the beginning of a well-developed Native American tradition involving use of red and other colored pigments to paint the body, artifacts, and animals (horse, dog, and feathers).
- The co-occurrence of isolated Paleoindian points and long-term sequences of occupation, ranging from the Archaic to the Mississippian periods, demonstrates that specific localities in the Arkansas Ozarks were attractive to human groups throughout the prehistoric period. One such locality is Buffalo National River which, although lacking Paleoindian deposits, it nonetheless contains abundant evidence of occupation and use for the prehistoric and historic periods.
- The existing evidence of settlement and subsistence patterns during the Dalton period is suggestive of a depth of knowledge of the landscape that made later Archaic developments possible.

### **The Early and Middle Archaic Period (9500-5000 BP)**

The Archaic period in North America coincides with the advance of a climatic episode known as the altithermal or hypsithermal; this episode was characterized by warmer and drier environments. The effects of the warming trend varied widely by region, opening up some areas for habitation and resource exploitation and degrading others beyond viability. At the end of the Pleistocene, variation in air masses and jet streams over much of the continent produced distinctive climatic patterns. In the Ozark Mountains, the hypsithermal brought widespread aridity, and contributed to the formation of modern deciduous forests and the channelization of the streams that cut into the Salem Plateau, including the Buffalo River (Guccione and Gendling 1990). Variations in the water table during this period also contributed to the formation of karstic environments that are characteristic of this region (O'Brien and Wood 1998; Klinger et al. 1993; Sabo et al. 1990). Paleoclimatic reconstruction from environmental records at Rodgers Shelter and at Graham Cave suggest that the severity of the hypsithermal declined from west to east, and therefore it may have been advantageous in the interior Ozarks, where prairie expansion created a more extensive forest edge favored by deer for browsing (Sabo and Early 1990:54).

The Archaic period also brought about human impacts to the environment that may be explained by population increase and regional circumscription. One such impact was anthropogenic fires, which changed forest structure and stimulated the expansion of the prairies. The open woodland landscape that resulted from the introduction of fire by humans is very different than the one we see in the Ozarks today (O'Brien and Wood 1998). Another important environmental impact during this time is an increase in the use of wood for fuel and construction. Both impacts, while slow in shaping the landscape, nonetheless influenced resource availability and procurement strategies as well as choice of settlement.

Klinger et al. (1993) note that the immediate post-Dalton period was a time for innovative experimentation with biface styles as well as with various local raw materials, including cherts, quartzites, hematites, and even petrified wood (e.g., at Pumpkin Creek, Wyckoff 1984:133). Smaller points with contracting stems as well as corner- and side-notched points suggest a higher degree of adaptation of point shape and size to different game species. Increase in milling stones through time also indicate a greater emphasis on plant consumption, particularly nuts. Woodworking implements became more common as well. Warren (1982) proposes that the annual round had three seasons: a warm-season encampment for bottomland resources; a warm-season upland encampment for nut and acorn collecting; and a cool-season upland encampment for hunting game that took advantage of the upland environments.

Important regional information about the early Archaic period (9500-8000 BP) comes from Albertson Shelter, Calf Creek Cave, Breckenridge, Spradley Hollow, and Packard. Albertson and Breckenridge yielded faunal procurement and plant processing tools; the latter contained Rice Complex tools. Calf Creek Cave produced a number of points, the earliest of which lies just above a possible paleo-level; these points were named Calf Creek (Dickson 1991). The Packard site in Oklahoma also yielded a cultural deposit with a hearth and a Side-notched Simonsen point and Packard Lanceolate point associated with it, with dates ranging between 9800 and 9400 BP (Wickoff 1984:129). Albertson was radiocarbon dated to 8410 $\pm$  245 BP. Pumpkin Creek, also in Oklahoma, contains Dalton and other slightly later diagnostics (Wyckoff 1984:132). These deeply buried or otherwise protected sites constitute some of the earliest and best dated archaic cultural contexts west of the Mississippi River.

The Rice complex is characteristic of the southern Ozarks, and includes diagnostic points such as Dalton, Rice Lobed, Rice Contracting Stemmed, Rice Lanceolate, Agate Basin, and Graham Cave, along with various forms of scrapers, choppers, trianguloid adzes, pebble choppers, and pitted anvil stones (Chapman 1975:129). This complex is restricted to the White River drainage of southern Missouri and northwestern Arkansas. Isolated early and middle Archaic points were recovered at Buffalo National River. Elk Track produced 12 points from the plowzone, including Rice Lobed, Jakie Stemmed, Big Sandy, and Hemphill (Lafferty 1988:91). Six early-middle Archaic points were recovered from the Dirst Site: Big Sandy, Marshall, Stone, and Table Rock. It is possible that these remains were associated with a cultural stratum that dates 8,000-5,000 BP (Sabo et al. 1990:144). Dry Ford also yielded two Johnson point fragments made of Keukuk Variety

1 chert and Jefferson City dolomite, respectively. It appears that ephemeral stone tool working and repairing occurred at least once at this site (Klinger et al. 1993:179).

Overall, there is limited knowledge about the subsistence and spatial organization of early and middle Archaic groups; it is known, however, that early Archaic people occupied, at least sporadically, the Arkansas Ozarks and particularly the White River drainage, with increasing occupation through time (Chapman 1975). House (1965) suggests that many middle Archaic sites are located in inaccessible places over the bluffs and this location is perhaps one reason why they are so difficult to find; during the Archaic period small groups of hunters may have used the escarpment as a lookout to monitor the movement of herds (and possibly people). The presence of local Boone Chert in neighboring regions may also indicate that they ventured into the area in search of suitable raw materials. Greater evidence comes from other areas in the Ozarks, including the Rodgers Shelter, where a residential campsite complete with stone infrastructure and a dog burial in a rock cairn were uncovered.

At both Rodgers and Albertson sites there is also evidence of manipulation of red pigment and galena (Kay 1982). Hematite also appears to have been used in Spradley Hollow (Cande 2000). Remains from these sites and from Tom's Brook and Cooper in Oklahoma also indicate a more dedicated and varied diet that included mussels, fish and the occasional turtle in addition to a variety of terrestrial animals and plants. It is possible that the shelters were utilized for long seasons of at least six months during fall through spring, whereas the campsites may have been occupied sequentially and for shorter periods of time. Overall, at least in the western fringes of the Ozark Mountains middle Archaic occupations seem to have lasted longer than early Archaic ones, with frequent reoccupation of campsites (Wickoff 1984:145).

### **The Late Archaic – Woodland Transition Period (5000-1800 BP [3000 BC-AD 200])**

The late Archaic and transitional Woodland periods coincide with the post-hypsithermal developments in the Ozark Mountains. Pollen records indicate an expansion of hickory forests. The formation of modern oak/hickory forests and open forest/savanna ecotones dates to this period, with an increase in pine in upland areas by the onset of the middle Woodland period. These changes also correspond with an increase in deer and other forest edge species and a stable diet based of plants and aquatic resources. One important regional development in the Late Archaic is the introduction of cultigens such as *Lagenaria siceraria* and *Cucurbita pepo* at Phillips Springs. It is possible that late Archaic people were developing small gardens (Fritz 1986, cited in Sabo and Early 1990:61). Local domesticated plants such as *Chenopodium* were recovered from rockshelter sites including Eden's Bluff and White Bluff in Benton County, Arkansas. These date to the early Woodland period. Other local starch plants that were cultivated in the Ozark Mountains include *Blygonum*, *Phalaris*, *Iva*, and *Helianthus*. As Price (1981) observed regarding the eastern Ozarks, given the ecological diversity of upland forested valleys, where abundant aquatic and terrestrial species were readily available within very short distances, human groups had the opportunity to settle these niches and to begin to

consistently and systematically interact with certain food plants. Throughout this interactive process, groups intentionally or incidentally introduced changes into plant ecology and morphology, in particular genetic changes leading to domestication of native seeds (Rindos 1980, 1984).

Concomitant with diet changes are those changes seen in settlement patterns and use of the Ozarks. First, there is indication of year-round occupation of late Archaic base camps along major rivers with rich bottomland forest habitats, such as Phillips Spring and Lawrence in the western Ozarks. The Lawrence campsite further indicates heavier investment in the construction of infrastructure, for example clay-lined ovens and a possible clay-covered shelter (Wyckoff 1984:149). Development of food storage techniques likely influenced this trend. Second, use of rockshelters such as Rodgers and Albertson became more specialized, with repeated occupations by small groups of hunters (Sabo and Early 1990:59). The assemblages that accompany these occupations include extended tool kits for wood and hide processing, a variety of projectile points, antler points, bone awls, net weights, mullers, grinding basins, stone balls, paint stones, and a variety of ornaments including gorgets and pendants made of animal teeth. Diagnostic points belong to the James River complex, which is characterized by Smith Basal Notched, Stone Square Stemmed, Table Rock Stemmed, and Afton Corner Notched points (Chapman 1975).

One particular invention was the Sedalia digger, which has a bit of a curve on one end and was used like a hoe. Sedalia diggers and wooden digging sticks (recovered from sealed deposits at Rodgers, Kay 1982), are indicators of plant manipulation and some are worn in patterns that accord with this use. The Sedalia Phase, named after this tool, represents this transitional period that marks the advent of plant cultivation in the Ozark Mountains (Sabo and Early 1990:57). Finally, burial mounds dated to the early woodland appear in some areas of the western Ozarks, such as the Pomme de Terre River. Although no such finding occurs in the Arkansas Ozarks, it is notable that the same point types (e.g., Afton) are found in both areas (O'Brien and Wood 1998:163). Finally, important developments include the presence of exotic raw materials (e.g., Jemez and Yellowstone obsidian) at late Archaic sites such as Lawrence, that could indicate the beginning of long-distance networks that came to characterize Woodland societies (Wyckoff 1984:150). Probable Woodland contexts in Spradley Hollow, particularly the Petroglyph Shelter, give some indication of ritual activity in the form of rock peckings indirectly associated with Williams Plain-like pottery and a Gary-like knife (Cande 2000:116-119).

Buffalo National River is one area in the interior Ozarks that had major lags in knowledge about the late Archaic period (Early and Sabo et al. 1990:19). However, recent data recovery and stabilization efforts have contributed to fill in some gaps. For example, substantial remains dating to this period (5000-2500 BP) were recovered from Area D at the Dirst Site. Although a buried cultural deposit was found, no features suggesting length of occupation or site function were identified. Artifacts, nonetheless, were varied and included Afton, Castroville, and Stone Square Stemmed points, as well as cores, flakes, and perform fragments that suggest stone tool manufacturing activities. Plant remains suggest that hickory nuts, acorns, and some locally cultivated plants were used. Four grog tempered sherds were found in association with the points, and two shell-

tempered sherds likely came from the level above (Sabo et al. 1990:274). A large cluster of smudge pits was found at Elk Track (Lafferty 1988:263), which suggests some functional specialization of late Archaic open sites or sectors thereof.

On the other hand, the Elk Track site actually contains a possible smudge pit or a small structure, radiocarbon dated to 3,267 +/- 622 BP, but no diagnostic artifacts except for one point similar to a Williams or a Marcos point. Overall, however, the dates, cultigens, and artifacts obtained, while sparse, accord well with other late Archaic dates elsewhere in the mid-continent. Furthermore, dates reported from the park for the White River Complex are actually on the earliest end for the late Archaic (Lafferty 1988:91). Finally, Dry Ford yielded seven diagnostic projectile points, including: Big Creek Corner-notched, Smith-like square-stemmed. Interestingly, these points were made with a variety of regionally available cherts, including Keokuk Variety 2, Reeds Spring Varieties 9 and 20, and Pierson Variety 4 (Klinger et al. 1993:180-181), which departs from the overall general pattern of Boone Chert use.

Of particular significance are burials found in the park that date to the late Archaic period. These and all other known burials were originally summarized by Lafferty et al. (2002) for the purposes of establishing cultural affiliation. Site 3NW90/95 (Wallin Field) contains a partially articulated burial excavated during testing and prior to stabilization. Recovered bones include a humerus, a left and right tibia, left and right fibula, and unidentified fragments. Diagnostic associations include a Standlee point and a Hanna point; also there were two flaked knives (Lafferty et al. 2002:23). Another burial site is Site 3NW926 (Flowstone Façade), which was excavated by D. Hayes. It is a burial in a cave consisting of 35 bones that include a possible male mandible with the molars worn flat. According to Lafferty et al. (2002:23), the wear on the molars is consistent with pre-corn diets. A large, rectangular, solid-bone artifact resembling a stone atlatl weight was also recovered. Both artifacts and teeth are consistent with an Archaic period age (10,000-2,000 BP). Unfortunately, other burials found in spatial proximity to Archaic or pre-ceramic materials come from disturbed sites whose assemblages either have no artifacts or have artifacts dating to different time periods (Lafferty et al. 2002:27).

### **Implications for Cultural Affiliation**

The following points may be made regarding the nature of human occupation of the Arkansas Ozarks and the Buffalo National River during the Archaic period:

- Archaic-period human groups who inhabited the Ozark Mountains made seasonal use of plant, animal and mineral resources, as well as differential use of various landforms. Dates obtained for the early-middle and the late Archaic place this period within the ranges of other regions of the mid-continent. Overall trends point toward the development of cultivation of local plants as well as use of wild plant foods and small animals. Although most lithic remains are of Boone Chert, some variation in the use of regionally available raw materials is evident at the park.

- Of significance for establishing cultural affiliation are the grog-tempered sherds from the Dirst Site, which resemble Williams Plain, an early Woodland period ceramic type associated with the Fourche Maline cultural manifestation of the Red River and the Oachita Mountains along the Arkansas-Oklahoma border. Williams Plain occurs in the Gober Complex sites in Arkansas, and in early Woodland phases at Spiro (Sabo et al. 1990:275). As noted below, it continues on throughout the Woodland period and signals important cultural connections to the west and southwest of the park that play an important role in later periods.
- The patterns of land use in the late Archaic period, which show increased specialization in the uses of highlands versus bottomlands, is of particular significance for establishing long-lived land use traditions in the region; the trend toward year-round occupation of bottomlands but highly specialized and seasonal occupation of shelters is a characteristic in Ozark prehistory that lasts until the contact period.
- Although many of the Archaic remains at the park are of ephemeral nature, it is nonetheless important to note that there are human burials with offerings that date to this period. Accompanying diagnostic artifacts (e.g., Standlee and Hanna points) place the affiliation of these burials within well-defined traditions also found in the neighboring plains and prairies (O'Brien and Wood 1998; Kay 1998).

### **The Woodland Period (2500-1200-BP [500 BC-AD 800])**

The Woodland period denotes post-Archaic human occupation of the forested environments of the mid-continent and the eastern United States. Despite the great local and regional variability in subsistence, spatial organization, and material culture of the Woodland adaptations, several general trends characterized this long developmental period across a vast region. These included: spread of agricultural economy, increase in sedentism, adoption of ceramic technology, ritual activity involving burial mound construction, and participation in long-distance exchange networks. Not all these trends were present in all Woodland-period sites, and certainly not in the Ozark Mountains. However, many large open sites have not been excavated and there appears to be a bias toward the large bluff shelters (Lafferty 1988:17). Furthermore, lack of chronological control prevents the precise placement of certain non-habitational features found along the White River drainage in the regional cultural historical trajectory (Sabo and Early 1990).

In the Arkansas Ozarks, the early Woodland period is generally discussed with the late Archaic, as there is little distinction among these periods in terms of material culture or adaptation to the local environment (Sabo and Early 1990). Nevertheless, the advent of the Woodland period is marked by a lengthy post-Hypsithermal event to which human activities involving uses of wild and cultivated plants, fibers, and terrestrial and aquatic resources, eventually adapted. Environmental stability and modern conditions, particularly visible in forest composition, were achieved during this time. Importantly, the differences in use specialization of upland versus bottomland habitats became more pronounced through time.

In the past, these differences led archaeologists such as Harrington (1924) to define “The Ozark Bluff Dweller Culture” as a distinctive entity that was separate from the cultures found along the stream valleys (but see Brown 1984). While the notion of a distinctive identity as seen through particularities of settlement and material culture may still have some validity in terms of ethnic and cultural diversity of prehistoric Ozarks groups, it is nonetheless crucial to understand that upland and bottomland occupations were complementary rather than mutually exclusive, with definite hunting and tool-making activities on the upland sites and broader activity patterns and features including food processing and storage in bottomland or river terrace campsites (Wyckoff 1984; Vehik 1984). In this section we briefly summarize key arguments, as they are relevant for understanding prehistoric uses of the park and vicinity.

The middle and late Woodland periods are less understood in the Arkansas and Oklahoma Ozarks than along the eastern Ozark escarpment (see Zedeno and Basaldu 2003 for a literature review). At least initially, the adoption of ceramic containers was the only historical discontinuity between the Archaic and Woodland periods in the Ozark hinterlands. Yet, over the course of 500 years Woodland groups evolved in several important ways, all of which were directly or indirectly tied to an increase in reliance on wild and domesticated plants. O’Brien and Wood (1998:180) cite Joseph Caldwell’s (1958) fitting term *primary forest efficiency* to describe the process of intensification and refinement of human interactions with forest resources and local cultigens in order to procure food. Yarnell (1976) and Fritz (1984, 1986) indicate that most local cultigens found in the dry shelters and caves of the Ozark Mountains date to the Woodland period. Shelter occupation at the Albertson site suggests seasonal occupation for hunting and plant gathering as well as stone tool-making, hide-working and wood-processing (Dickson 1991). Sabo and Early (1990:72) also note that most settlements and campsites are found on terraces along stream valleys, with upland shelter occupations likely complementing the annual cycle, as seen in Mulberry Creek (House 1972) and upper Lee Creek (Trubowitz 1980). This pattern was also identified for the Delaware focus in northeastern Oklahoma (Vehik 1984).

Yet another important development during this period is the rise of long-term relations with groups outside the Ozarks, including the central Plains and the Mississippi Valley. As noted below, western obsidian made its first appearance in the Ozark fringes during the late Archaic period. This development is seen as related to the adoption of ceramics resembling eastern Hopewell, likely via the Kansas City Hopewell. Archaeologists have wondered whether migration or diffusion explained the presence of Havana materials in this region; migration has been favored but it needs to be tested, according to O’Brien and Wood (1998:199), as much of the pottery looks like local imitations of stylistic trends, exhibiting quite a bit of technological variation. Sourcing studies are needed to further explore these possibilities.

### **Hopewell and non-Hopewell Interaction Spheres**

The material expression of middle Woodland interregional networks is known as Hopewell, after the Hopewell Mound Group in Ohio (Brose and Greber 1979). The central Mississippi Valley and eastern Ozark escarpment fall between two regional Hopewell expressions—Havana to the north, and Marksville to the south, which in turn

represent early and late affinities, respectively (Toth 1979). Yet, there is little evidence that the regional groups actively participated in either network and what is there is very spotty. Havana-like ceramics and other exotic artifacts are found in the western Ozarks in Cooper Complex sites (Chapman 1980:24; Sabo and Early 1990:68; Vehik 1984), perhaps reflecting a mixture of down-the-line exchange and local emulation of foreign trends. Evidence of regional use of Ozark cherts as well as exotic materials would partially account for the presence of exchanged items and ideas in the upland and valley sites.

There are a few key sites in the Arkansas Ozarks that best illustrate middle Woodland typology and adaptations to the upland environments. Albertson Site, for example, contains Snyders, Dickson, and Waubesa points as well as pottery, both plain (Honey Creek) and decorated (Cooper Zoned Stamped and Ozarks Zone Stamped). Importantly, Sabo and Early (1990:67) note that Cooper Zone Stamped is found at the Cooper site in Oklahoma, which is a local site of Havana Hopewell-Kansas City Hopewell affiliation (Baerreis 1939a). Havana Hopewell materials (Cooper Complex or Focus) also occur at some sites in the Table Rock Reservoir, including Lander II Shelter and the multicomponent Cantwell III site overlooking the White River (Chapman 1980). In Oklahoma, these ceramics are generally accompanied by a host of local and Hopewell-influenced points, including Scallorn, Sequoyah, Langtry, Williams B, Fresno, Young, and Alba (Vehik 1984). Other artifacts include food processing stones and gorgets, among many other types.

Whereas local groups in the central and eastern Ozarks developed well-defined non-Hopewell ceramic complexes such as Barnes, Baytown and Meramec Springs (Lynott 1993; O'Brien and Wood 1998), in the southwestern Ozarks specialized industries focused instead in the manufacture of chipped stone hoes, flakes, and other tools from Webber's Falls siltstone. These tools, in addition to the later spades, occur on the Arkansas, Illinois, and White River drainages (Jurney 1981, cited in Sabo and Early 1990:72). In Oklahoma, sophisticated toolkits include fishing implements as well as ceramic materials (Vehik 1984). Overall, the Arkansas Ozarks sites dating to this period show that, although they were not in direct and close contact with groups involved in the production of Havana, Kansas City, or Marksville Hopewell assemblages, they nonetheless contributed to these developments at least indirectly. Contact and exchange of artifacts and ideas may have taken place through the Oklahoma groups who, according to Vehik (1984:195) at some point may have received Hopewell "intruders," who eventually became incorporated by the local populations. The Arkansas Ozarks did not lack for valuable materials to exchange, notably quartz, which may be found in other regions some distance away (Sabo et al. 1990:319).

The late Woodland period has been traditionally defined for what it lacked rather than for what it offered, at least in material terms (Chapman 1980:78). Broadly characterized by an undecorated ceramic horizon and by the disappearance of Hopewell artifacts here and elsewhere, the late Woodland period nonetheless carried the organizational foundations that led to the development of the Mississippian societies, notably, the continuation of previously established social networks and a subtle shift in exchange emphasis toward

resources available in the south (O'Brien and Wood 1998:223) and southwest (Galm 1984:218).

From the perspective of cultural affiliation, the late Woodland is an important period in the cultural sequence of prehistoric groups in the Ozark Mountains, and specifically the park, because evidence that the upland people actively participated in the development of one technological characteristic of the Mississippian period—shell tempered pottery—appeared during this period across the southern and central Ozarks. As suggested below, evidence of this participation and its consequences places the affiliation of the park's prehistoric groups and at least some of their descendants within the central valley Mississippian groups and the Arkansas River valley Caddoan groups.

Buffalo National River has a few well-defined middle-late Woodland period contexts. In Area D of the Dirst site, for example, stratified and dated materials contain diagnostic Rice Side Notched dart points as well as Scallorn, Gary, Langtry, Agee A, and Poccola arrow points. Importantly, ceramics identified in Stratum 5 are predominantly shell-tempered, with small samples of grog, shell/bone, and grog/bone tempered potsherds. A single incised and shell-tempered rimsherd of the Coles Creek red filmed type was also found here (Sabo and Early 1990:147). Other grog-tempered and shell-tempered sherds were recovered by Gregoire (1971) from Falling Water Falls Shelter; Klinger et al. (1993:181) note that, while the former are late Woodland, the latter may slightly postdate them. Woodland ceramics have also been recovered from sites in the Boxley Valley district (Stewart et al. 1994). More recently, the Mouth of Calf Creek site (3SE33) yielded one of the largest Woodland ceramic assemblages found at the park. This river terrace site also contained indicators of a small village whose inhabitants exploited heavily the river's resources (Stewart et al. 1994).

### **Implications for Cultural Affiliation**

Overall, Woodland period remains recovered from Buffalo National River and neighboring regions in and around the Ozark Mountains indicate that there is a strong continuity in adaptations since the Archaic period, but with more pointed innovations in food procurement strategies and artifact technologies. Importantly, the central Ozarks were not involved directly in external networks developed during the Middle Woodland, but nonetheless contributed indirectly to these networks, through the extraction of working stone and other important resources (e.g., quartz) available locally.

Perhaps the single most important development with implications for cultural affiliation is the early evolution of ceramic technology, particularly "Mississippian" shell-temper technology, alongside other tempering traditions characteristic of areas where Caddoan ancestors likely originated.

### **Emergent Mississippian Signatures**

As Sabo (1990:319) notes, the radiocarbon dates obtained from Stratum 5 at Dirst place the late Woodland-emergent Mississippian transition within the same age range as that

identified in the southeastern Ozarks, or about AD 600-800 (Lynott and Price 1994; et al. 2000). He explains why the significance of this coeval development cannot be overemphasized, as it is a clear indicator of historical trajectories that connected cultural trends followed by eastern and western Ozark groups, and also by upland and lowland inhabitants. These connections were ecological, technological, social, and probably ethnic. Unfortunately, the kinds of highly successful ceramic analyses conducted on materials from the eastern Ozarks sites have not yet been conducted on Buffalo River ceramics, and thus one cannot determine precisely whether Buffalo River inhabitants (e.g., at the Dirst Site) (a) manufactured the pottery themselves with materials available locally, or (b) obtained them from neighboring groups; Sabo (ibid) proposes that they indeed made them locally. The presence of small numbers of bone- and grog- tempered ceramics further indicates that they may have both made vessels locally and also obtained vessels from the Caddoan neighbors. Moreover, at the Dirst Site there is consistent evidence of both internally driven factors as well as increasing interregional interaction, all of which eventually may have stimulated a shift to sedentism, horticultural lifeways, and participation in ceremonial and social networks that characterized broad Mississippian patterns in the mid-continent throughout the late prehistoric period (Sabo ibid:281).

### **Mississippian Period (AD 800-1550)**

By the end of the Woodland period, major waterways in and around the Ozark Mountains were occupied by local populations living along the terraces overlooking fertile valleys and using upland environments (and rockshelters) for specialized activities (and occasionally for habitation). Evidence scattered across the region suggests that maize horticulture was practiced where possible, but intensive exploitation of wild resources continued to provide the most reliable source of food (Sabo and Early 1990:2). Upland burials found to the north of the Buffalo River in the Missouri Ozarks, indicate a consistent pattern of utilization of prominent landforms to build rock and earthen burial mounds that date as far back as the Archaic period. Considerable offerings, some including Spiro-phase diagnostic ceramics, also indicate that these groups shared the same social networks as those in the southwestern Ozarks of Arkansas and Oklahoma; however, the presence of long-standing local diagnostics, such as Scallorn and Gary points (O'Brien and Wood 1998:265-267) indicate close affiliation of the burials with Ozarks groups. Other burial and cairn sites are found overlooking the White and James River basins in southwest Missouri (O'Brien and Wood 1998:268).

Although exchange systems were not well-developed beyond intraregional exchange of a few items during the late Woodland period, social networks between Ozark people and other groups living around the plateau began to take shape in Mississippian times. For example, the eastern Ozarks appear to have been connected, through extractive activities, to the Cahokian regional system (Emerson and Hughes 2000; Pauketat 1998; Walthall 1981), whereas the southeastern escarpment was closely affiliated with horticultural groups (e.g., Powers Phase) inhabiting the Western and Eastern Lowlands of the central Mississippi River valley (Smith 1978; Morse and Morse 1990; Price and Price 1986; O'Brien and Wood 1998). The fringes of the northwestern Ozarks were likely utilized by

central plains villagers, while the southwestern and central Ozarks increasingly exhibited connections with both Mississippian groups and Caddoan groups from the neighboring Arkansas River valley (Sabo and Early 1990).

Sabo and Early (1990:82) note that evidence for increasing interaction between Ozarks and Arkansas River valley groups is indicated by the emergence and distribution of ceremonial mound centers through parts of this region; by the character of artifact assemblages dating to this period; and by the distribution of exotic and, presumably, high status artifacts, many of which represent the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex. The southwestern fringe of the Ozarks exhibits features that tie sites in this subarea to the sequence of Harlan, Spiro, Fort Coffee phases and the Neosho focus; an important exception is ceramic technology, namely, tempering material, which is shell in the Ozarks and grit or clay in the Arkansas River valley until about AD 1400, when shell dominates all assemblages.

Important southwestern Ozarks mound centers dating to the early and middle Mississippian periods include Harlan, which has five mounds and human remains in different contexts and with varied burial offerings. Diagnostic ceramics include Coles Creek Incised and Williams Plain. Other mound sites in the subarea include the Reed site on the Elk River, the Lillie Creek site on the Grand River, the Brackett and Goforth-Saindon sites on the Illinois River, and the Parris Mound site on Lee Creek. These are of a more recent age than the Harlan site, and Goforth-Saindon actually exhibits an astronomical arrangement (Sabo and Early 1990:87). At the very least, the spacing of ceremonial centers along the southern Ozark escarpment seems to have followed a consistent and comprehensive network. Each center sat prominently on alluvial valleys of major streams; it is possible that the network helped coordinate corporate work and regulated social relations among inhabitants of mound and non-mound sites (Kay et al. 1988).

An important Ozarks mound site is Loftin, which was excavated as part of the Table Rock Reservoir project and thus it is very well studied. Loftin is located on an alluvial terrace at the juncture of the James and White Rivers in southwest Missouri. Loftin is one of four river bottom mound sites in southern Missouri; the other sites are Elk River, Ingram, and Pigman, the latter being more closely associated with Mississippi Valley people than with ancestral Caddoan groups (Anderson 1982). Importantly, Loftin's domestic architecture is characteristic of Caddoan communities to the southwest, as well as of neighboring Mississippian communities, but public architecture as well as ceramic (e.g., Woodward Plain) and projectile point assemblages (Gary, Scallorn, Rice side-notched, and Madison) are similar to those found in the Arkansas River valley and in the southwestern and central Ozarks (O'Brien and Wood 1998:270; Perttula 1983). Loftin is contemporaneous with Harlan Phase sites (AD 1000-1200) (Wyckoff 1980) and partially overlaps occupations at mound sites in northwest Arkansas, including Huntsville, along the War Eagle Creek and Collins. These upper White River sites and other sites without mounds were located on areas where arable lands were most extensive, in a similar fashion as the Mississippian inhabitants of the Arkansas River Valley and the Missouri

Lowlands. Other considerations included dense concentrations of wild plants and animals (Perttula 1983).

Non-mound sites include villages, hamlets, and campsites as well as rockshelters. Many of these sites (e.g., Albertson, Jackie) were occupied since earlier periods; however, the location of ceremonial centers relative to these and other Mississippian period sites in the region may have influenced use during this period (Sabo and Early 1990). Village structures were often arranged around a plaza. Some campsites, such as Huffacker, had no visible structures but a sizable cemetery. Rockshelters including Owl Cave in northeast Oklahoma and Albertson in northwest Arkansas have Spiro-phase ceramics and other working implements commonly found in task camps, e.g., stone-, hide-, bone-, and wood-working tools (Wyckoff 1980; Dickson 1991). Food remains at mound and non-mound sites do include maize, but the respectable portion of wild plants and animals is indicative of heavy utilization of the Ozarks' forested environment and the prairie edge. Given the evidence for social networks mentioned above, it is likely that the Ozark uplands supplied resources needed in ceremonies that were conducted elsewhere, for example, bird feathers, wood, and stone for sacred objects and plants for ritual use.

Although Mississippian-period occupation of the Buffalo National River does not approach the breath of other Ozark drainages, it nonetheless contains evidence of unquestionable Mississippian presence in the upper and lower reaches of the river. As to whether these were groups expanding from the White River drainage or local groups who partook of Mississippian ways of life and material culture as did their neighbors is a matter of further discussion.

Mississippian-period occupation in the park was not well known until recent salvage and clearance projects began to uncover sites. Cobb Cave (3NW6) is one of the better known sites of this period, containing quantities of animal bone, corn cobs, cordage, basketry, a burial, and a cradle board (Dellinger 1936). These excavated materials typify the spectrum of upland environments used during this period, with an emphasis on hunting and gathering wild plants. Likewise, Albertson (3BE174) is illustrative of a range of upland occupations through time (Dickson 1991).

Dry Ford (3NW507) is an open site located near the edge of the bluff overlooking the upper Buffalo River. This is a multi-component site with diagnostic lithic artifacts dating to the Dalton period to the late Mississippian period, or from 6000 BC to AD 1650 (Klinger et al. 1993). Mississippian-age assemblages represent at least four regional phases of which three are considered Caddoan (Loftin [AD 900-1250]; War Eagle [AD 1250-1350]; and Huntsville [AD 1350-1450]) and one is late-prehistoric (Neosho focus). A single Nodena point found at the site also indicates presence of hunters from the central Mississippi valley and environs, which is not unusual along the southern and southeastern Ozark escarpment (see Zedeno and Basaldu 2003). The absence of pottery in Mississippian levels at the site is suggestive of a lack of family-oriented occupation (Klinger et al. 1993:190). Rather, the assemblage indicates that this was a campsite of hunters and foragers who also engaged in some minimal tool production and maintenance activities.

In contrast, Elk Track (3NW205) provides abundant evidence for permanent settlement (Lafferty et al. 1988). Evidence includes a house structure, storage or smudge pits, and a variety of food processing artifacts such as shell-tempered ceramics, milling stones, and abraders. Diagnostic materials include several arrowhead types (Scallorn, Madison, Cahokia Side-notched, Nodena, Ashley, Bonham, and Maud), which indicate both local and external influences, particularly from the central Mississippi River valley. And yet, elk and other seasonally available foodstuffs were still most significant in the diet at this site. Another site with similar evidence for Mississippian occupation is 3NW359 (Limp 1989) and the Luallen site (3NW662) (Spears et al. 1989). This site, too, had Nodena-like points and shell-tempered pottery.

Burials recovered at Buffalo National River include one well-dated to the Late-Woodland / Emergent Mississippian period (AD 660) that was recovered from Fred Dirst Campground (3MR80). This burial consists of 90 scattered bone fragments recovered from a large pit (Feature 10) which also contained a shell-tempered sherd (Guendling et al. 1992:69-87, as cited in Lafferty and Hoffman 2002:22). Also recovered at this site was another human bone scatter in a deep storage pit. This burial had cut animal bone, a bone bead, a shell disc bead, three Scallorn points, a Rice side-notched point, several stone tools, 40 shell-tempered sherds, 2 grog/grit-tempered sherds, and seven grog-tempered sherds. As with the first burial scatter, this finding dated to AD 663, which places it at the Woodland/Mississippian transition (Lafferty and Hoffman 2002:23). Other disturbed burials with no associated artifacts have, nonetheless, shell-tempered pottery and other Mississippian indicators in the immediate deposits, among artifacts of other time periods (IBID).

### **Nodena**

Nodena points are one in a constellation of late Mississippian diagnostic artifacts in the Central Mississippi River Valley. They are generally found in association with Bell Plain, Parkin Punctate, Barton Incised, Campbell Appliqued, and Nodena Painted vessels, various effigy vessels, catlinite disk pipes, copper objects, and shell buttons, among others (Morse 1990; O'Brien and Wood 1998). The type was first described by Chapman and Anderson (1955) for the Campbell Site in southeast Missouri, and by also Bell (1958); it is named after the eponymous middle and upper Nodena sites in northeast Arkansas (Morse 1989). According to Price and Price (1990:66) Nodena and other contemporaneous points mark a departure from middle Mississippian points in that they are somewhat larger and exhibit superior workmanship.

Who were the makers and porters of Nodena points? The answer to this question bears on the possible identity of the people who traversed the southeastern and central Ozarks in late prehistoric times, perhaps revisiting their ancestral homes and hunting-collecting grounds or simply using the resources they knew were available there. As noted above, isolated findings of the willow leaf-shaped Nodena projectile points, which post-date AD 1350, are found in the White River, the Buffalo National River (Spears 1989; Limp 1989) and the Ozarks National Scenic Riverway (Banks 1984; Price et al 1983; Price and Price 1990:61). One Nodena point was found embedded in a bear skull inside Bat Cave, which

overlooks the Current River in southeast Missouri. Specimens of the Late Mississippian ceramic types noted above are found across northern Arkansas and the Ozark escarpment, along the middle Arkansas River Valley (e.g., Carden Bottoms) and into northwest Oklahoma in late Spiro phase sites; visible blending of Spiro and central Mississippi trends in material culture indicate a definite traffic of artifacts, of people, or both, across the state (Brown 1984:253). Because of their probable origin and cultural associations, Nodena materials are at least worthy of brief review.

The appearance of Nodena points and other diagnostic materials (see O'Brien and Wood 1998; Morse and Morse 1983) coincides with the abandonment of a number of middle Mississippian population centers in the central Mississippi River valley, including all but one of the Powers Phase sites (Price and Griffin 1979; O'Brien 1994). This apparent demographic "deflation" led Williams (1983) to propose the notion of a vacant quarter for the portion of Missouri between the mouth of the Ohio River and New Madrid (see Hoffman 1993a for a detailed discussion of regional depopulation).

Most archaeologists have agreed with, but few have questioned the vacant quarter notion. Several models have been proposed to explain why the population may have shifted to the south, nucleated in fewer, larger settlements than in the previous period, or remained without significant change (cf. Morse and Morse 1983; O'Brien 1994; Lewis 1990). Price and Price (1990: 63) note that the ceramic assemblages of late prehistoric/early historic sites in the Missouri bootheel bear strong resemblance to those reported by Brain et al. (1974) for contact period sites in the lower Mississippi River. Lewis (1990:57), for his part, contends that in the Ohio-Mississippi confluence the population did not shift until contact period but that differences in ceramic assemblage composition between this area and the more southern site clusters have deceived archaeologists into thinking that no late Mississippian developments occurred in the northern fringes of the central valley. O'Brien (1994:356) partially supports the rise of fortified towns in previously unoccupied or sparsely occupied areas, particularly Pemiscot Bayou, but also contends that not enough chronometric assays and material analyses have been performed to really strengthen the southward migration and nucleation hypothesis.

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

Morse and Morse (1983: 282) noted that the single most ubiquitous indicator of late Mississippian-contact period land and resource use in the central valley is in fact the Nodena point. Nodena points are found by the thousands on both sides of the river; they appear alone or clustered on old site surfaces, or in association with subsurface features (Gilliland and O'Brien 2001:247). For example, the Morses (1983: 299, D. Morse 1986) reported at least two ceremonial mound sites, Old Town Ridge (Eastern Lowland) and Gibson (Western Lowland) in northeastern Arkansas, where there are clusters of these points, sometimes accompanied by beveled endscrapers. They interpreted these surface findings as representing people who apparently reoccupied the old sites during hunting and collecting trips.

The finding of Nodena points in structures at the Turner and Snodgrass sites, as well as on the surface (Price and Griffin 1979:58; Gilliland and O'Brien 2001:248), suggests that some continuity existed between the middle Mississippian people who began to make or use Nodena points perhaps as early as AD 1350 and those who reoccupied the "old" Mississippian sites. This pattern may not be unique to the Powers Phase, but it is most evident at these sites probably because they were inhabited for such a short period of time. Morse (1993:31) gave the following rule of thumb for cross-dating late sites: Nodena points that post-date AD 1500 are invariably associated with beveled endscrapers whereas early Nodena points (presumably pre-AD 1500) appear alone. This association, Morse said, is confirmed by the co-occurrence of certain diagnostic ceramic types with either early or late Nodena points. The Greenbrier phase, represented in the site cluster found in the Western Lowland, just below the Ozark escarpment and near the confluence of the Black and White Rivers (Morse and Morse 1983:298) is probably the most likely source of many of post-1500 central Mississippian materials, notably Nodena, found across the southern half of the Ozarks. Sites with assemblages similar to those in southeast Missouri and northern Arkansas may also be found on the east bank of the Mississippi River, particularly Tennessee (O'Brien et al. 1995; Smith 1996). Thin scatters of protohistoric- period artifacts with Nodena points on older site surfaces along the Ohio-Mississippi confluence were interpreted by Lewis (1990) as the remnant occupation after the initial contact period.

### **Fort Coffee Phase**

Fort Coffee is a term with two references: the protohistoric phase of the Spiro sequence as defined and dated by Brown (1967), and the focus defined by Bell and Baerreis (1951), for the Arkansas River Valley Caddoan, which was seen as largely contemporaneous with the Spiro phase. Fort Coffee focus is no longer used, but the phase remains well-dated at about AD 1450-1650, and well defined for the Arkansas Basin (Rohrbaugh 1984:266; Perttula 1996). Fort Coffee diagnostic grog- or shell-tempered ceramics (e.g., Womack Engraved, Hudson Engraved, Emory Puctated, Nash Neck Banded, Woodward Plain, and Woodward Applique) are less varied and decorated than those from the earlier Harlan and Spiro phases; bottles and shouldered bowls and flat-bottomed jars are the most common shapes. Fort Coffee triangular unnotched points are also diagnostic and Talco and Shetley types are unique to the phase (Rohrbaugh 1984:280).

Fort Coffee phase sites include rock shelters and open sites. In the Ozarks, these sites tend to be located on the lower stretches of streams and near the Arkansas River Valley. There is evidence of intensive use of upland resources as well as agriculture; overall, the patterns remain similar to the preceding phase but without the complex ceremonialism (Sabo et al. 1990). Despite the proximity of Fort Coffee phase sites to the central Ozarks, there are no “good” late prehistoric or protohistoric findings associated with Caddoan materials in the Buffalo River (George Sabo, personal communication, 2006).

### **Neosho Focus**

The Neosho focus, defined by Bell and Baerreis (1951) and summarized by Freeman (1962), is also a protohistoric manifestation characteristic of the uplands and best studied in Delaware County, Oklahoma. Neosho focus settlement integrated rockshelter and open site habitation. Sites on bluffs along the Grand River include primary burials accompanied by few grave goods consisting of ceramic bowls, stone tools, shell beads, and occasionally matting. The presence of bison-scapula hoes is suggestive of plains influence in the manufacture of agricultural tools. Overall, there is abundant use of bone tools in Neosho as well as in Fort Coffee sites that also support plains influence (Freeman 1962). Neosho ceramics are shell-tempered and have a few distinctive shapes and incised decoration as seen in Neosho Punctate.

Although both protohistoric manifestations share some technological characteristics of tool and ceramic manufacture, the distribution of Neosho Punctate does not overlap with ceramics of the Caddoan area; this particularity has led to various hypotheses about the origin of the focus. Debates revolve around whether Neosho is a product of remnant local population or a signature of groups advancing from the north. For example, Baerreis (1939b) suggested that Neosho sites were the product of Dhegiha Sioux/Oneota presence in the forested uplands, whereas Freeman (1962) concluded that Neosho was a local Caddoan development out of Archaic and Woodland adaptations and with evidence of contact with other groups including Oneota. Wyckoff (1964) compared Neosho features and artifacts from the permanent habitation site named Jug Hill on the Grand River and historic Osage sites. He found support to Barraeis’ original postulation.

Chapman (1946) elaborated on Baerreis’ hypothesis to suggest a direct ancestral connection between Neosho and historic Osage in Missouri, but later (Chapman 1974) shifted position and instead suggested that the Osage were once Mississippi River inhabitants who were displaced in the Cahokia Aftermath. However, this reconstruction is also fraught with problems, as Yelton (1991) and Vehik (1993) duly note. And finally, Conner et al. (1999:95), speaking from their findings at Dahlman, Missouri, support (with caution) Freeman’s conclusion of a probable Caddo affiliation for the Neosho focus, with some Oneota influences. They note that there are dissimilarities between Neosho industries and Mississippian industries, which are most evident in biface reduction sequences (Conner et al. 1999:39), and in ceramic forms and decoration. But Dahlman, located near a major trail, has also produced a large number of exotic raw materials, some of which may be the product of exchange networks reaching into the southern Plains and perhaps other regions (Thomas and Ray 2002).

Important considerations of differential spatial distribution of Neosho materials vis-à-vis Caddoan and Mississippian remains in the Arkansas Ozarks have led Sabo (1990:92) to question the postulated connections with incoming groups from the north. Chief among them is the presence of Central Mississippi Valley materials, including Nodena points and associated ceramic types, as well as southern Plains lithics, in Neosho focus sites. These associations could also indicate that the protohistoric local population (the “Top Layer Culture” as per Harrington [1924] or the Jackie aggregate as per Chapman (1960]) broadened their social networks to include groups that were expanding or migrating south. We elaborate on these points in sections below.

There are two significant Neosho components in the general vicinity of Buffalo River: Bontke Shelter in southwest Missouri and the Albertson site in northwest Arkansas. Both sites date to about AD 1500. Bontke Shelter appears to be an extended family base camp occupied during the cold season and an important component in of an annual settlement pattern that also included warm season base camps (Cobb 1976, as cited in Sabo et al. 1990). The Neosho component at Albertson shows a similar range of artifact types and organic remains, indicating that it was used also during the cold season (Dickson 1991). Albertson is also an example of the aforementioned association of Mississippian and Neosho materials. Dahlman, too, exhibits a few associations of Neosho with local Ozarks lithic tools as well as Mississippian triangular points (Conner et al. 1999; Thomas and Ray 2002). Overall, the tool kits indicate a strong focus on big game hunting and hide processing and a southern Plains-bison diet emphasis.

### **Oneota Materials in the Ozarks**

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

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

Oneota stylistic influences have been observed in Neosho focus ceramics, along with fragments of catlinite pipes recovered from sites such as Dahlman, Bontke, and Jug Hill (Freeman 1962; Conner et al 1999). However, these influences are currently being interpreted as a product of interaction among local and immigrant populations in the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods.

## Implications for Cultural Affiliation

The archaeological record of Buffalo National River and vicinity contains significant clues to derive inferences about the cultural affiliation of its late prehistoric and protohistoric inhabitants:

- Evidence of the manufacture of Emergent Mississippian shell-tempered ceramics likely by local groups at about the same time as in the southeastern Ozarks, suggests that Buffalo River dwellers participated in the development of a landmark technology that became the archaeological signature of Mississippian peoples across a broad region and of central Mississippians in particular. Evidence at hand indicates that in early Mississippian times the local population was living and cultivating along the river, and were generally engaged in productive activities as well as some exchange of lithics (e.g., quartz) and other materials.
- The presence of Nodena points in association with local ceramic and lithic materials in a permanent settlement such as Elk Track, strengthens the hypothesis of a central Mississippian affinity for the Buffalo River inhabitants at this time period. Similarly, Nodena points found in more specialized sites point to the probable use of the uplands by hunters or otherwise temporary residents. Once again, this particular use pattern is also a characteristic of central Mississippian groups.
- A small number of diagnostic Caddoan materials found in association with Mississippian materials both in domestic and in burial contexts is suggestive of interaction maintained between Buffalo River residents and their neighbors to the west. However, absence of Spiro phase or Fort Coffee phase materials does not support a Caddoan connection continuing into protohistoric times. However, if Neosho is indeed a late Caddoan development associated with late Ozark upland occupation, then there is evidence for continuity in Caddoan presence in this area. There is, too, the possibility that Neosho is nothing but a protohistoric pottery type manufactured somewhere in the Arkansas Basin and transported or exchanged during lowland-upland seasonal moves. Without detailed technological and compositional analysis of diagnostic ceramics, Neosho's affiliation is a moot point.
- In conclusion, the uneven and often confusion distribution of diagnostic materials from the Arkansas Basin and the central Mississippi Valley in Ozark sites should not be surprising in an area where rich and diverse resources were accessible from different directions. Cultural affiliation with one or another general group should then be taken on a site-by-site basis, as coresidence or joint use of the upland terraces and rockshelters in the late prehistoric and protohistoric period may have been the primary occupation mode in the Ozark Mountains. More specifically, connections with the Central Mississippi River Valley are the most conspicuously represented in the Buffalo River at this time period. The thread of evidence available for tracking the prehistoric park populations through time begins to thin out after AD 1450. Only a few artifact categories, namely the Nodena points,

allow one to tie late prehistoric park users to other groups of people that inhabited the surrounding region—southeast Missouri and northeast Arkansas. Less certain are the connections with populations from the Arkansas Basin.

### **Historic Occupation Sequence**

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

#### **Colonial Period (1673-1803)**

The De Soto expedition to the west bank of the Mississippi River in 1541-1542 was followed by a 140-year hiatus or “dark age” where no European explorations reached this region. Yet, the devastation that ensued the Spanish entrada was such that it drastically and permanently modified the ethnic composition and geographical distribution of Indian groups in the central and lower Mississippi River valley. Regional archaeologists continue to pursue material evidence that can help understand these changes (e.g., Perttula 1996, Jeter 1989) but the record is elusive at best. Perhaps the greatest challenge in explaining the transition from prehistory to history in this area is the apparent change in the ethnic makeup of the Indian population who occupied or used the Ozark escarpment. As discussed below, the people who Marquette and Joliet encountered or heard about on the Mississippi River were not those who had lived there at the time of De Soto's expedition.

At the time of Marquette and Joliet's expedition in 1673 the Buffalo River and vicinity was under the control of the Osage, a Dhegiha Sioux cognate group whose heartland was located on the Osage River near its confluence with the Missouri River and whose hinterland extended from the Big Bend of this river to the Arkansas River. At the time, the Osage were mortal enemies of the northern Caddoan groups that inhabited the Arkansas Basin; although the northern Caddoan boundary may have reached the fringes of the park at the height of Spiro, this certainly was not the case in the seventeenth century (Perttula 1996). It is important to note that there is very little reference to direct Osage presence in the central Ozarks and that use of this area may have been limited to sporadic hunting (Chapman 1974:187). Banks (1978:51) states that the Osage are known to have returned to their upland hunting grounds in 1837 because the Kansas buffalo had been driven too far west by their enemies; but whether they made it all the way to the Buffalo River is not known.

That there is no archaeological evidence directly tying the Osage to the park does not necessarily imply lack of use, since there was at least one aboriginal Indian trail, the “Virginia’s Warrior Path” that cut across the Ozark highlands. This trail was also connected to other paths that took people to the main Ozark villages in the west and to the Mississippi River in the east (Houck 1908:227; Chapman 1974, III:326). These trails may have been of great antiquity, as they linked important habitation and resource procurement areas across Missouri (e.g., Dahlman and Old Fort, Conner et al. 1999; Thomas and Ray 2002) and went into Arkansas and Oklahoma. These Indian trails became the avenues of emigration of Indian groups that had been removed from their eastern homelands and were to be relocated in the Indian Territory.

### **American Period (1803-1838)**

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

Archaeological remains of the emigrant may have included villages, hunting camps, and burial grounds, as indicated by Lewis (1980, cited in Price 1992:5). But very little is known about the historic Indian occupation of northern Arkansas from an archaeological perspective, even though Schoolcraft visited and described emigrant villages and camps during his Ozark tour in 1819 (Rafferty 1996). Davis’ (1987) research on the Arkansas Cherokee yielded information on historic buildings associated with the Cherokee occupation (e.g. Dwight Mission and Lovely’s agency). There are Smithsonian Institution records of an Indian Plantation and other possible sites in the Dardanelle area. Davis (1987:52) also notes that amateur historian James Johnston from Searcy County believed he found the location of one or two Cherokee sites along tributaries of the Buffalo River in that county (Johnston [1984], cited in Davis [1987]).

A number of historic Indian settlements have been reported at various locales in southeast Missouri, both in the Ozark highland and in the Mississippi River Valley (Rafferty 1996; Morrow 1981), but only a few have been archaeologically investigated (Price 1992). Historic records (Houck 1908) indicate that the Delaware and the Shawnee were present on the Current River or on one of its tributaries as early as 1820 and the Delaware perhaps since 1812; both were also on the north fork of the White River. Historic documents also place the Cherokee in the river; in one instance, they were actually conducting their green corn ceremony (Davis 1987:55).

To summarize, there is a long of complex sequence of occupation of the Buffalo River and vicinity, which begins as early as 12,000 years ago and ends in recent historic times, and represents occupation by more than one distinct Indian group. Prehistoric groups

appear to be affiliated to the Mississippian cultures that inhabited the central Mississippi River Valley whereas historic groups are recognizable in the historic literature as distinct from the Mississippian cultures of prehistoric times. The park has archaeological evidence of occupation by both prehistoric and historic groups.

## CHAPTER THREE PROTOHISTORIC ETHNIC GROUPS

The archaeological and ethnohistoric records available to date show that a large time gap exists between the last postulated prehistoric occupation and the earliest historically documented presence of Indian tribes west of the Mississippi River. Furthermore, these records strongly suggest that prehistoric and historic tribes who inhabited or used the region of interest were not from the same ethnic group. Further confusion arises from the 130-year gap between the first and second European expeditions to this area, during which time ethnic groups merged, migrated, or disappeared, whereas others arrived from more or less distant regions. Given this time gap, the intriguing use history of the Buffalo River and vicinity, and the fragmentary nature of the evidence at hand, only the broadest regional trends may be used to postulate the identity of Indian groups who once inhabited the region where the park is located. Thus, it is important to note at the outset that this exercise has been the focus of a long, arduous, and only partially solved scholarly debate that no one may ever be able to settle; nonetheless, every proposition has its relative merit and deserves careful consideration. Current knowledge and recent reanalysis of early data do offer a few strong indicators of ethnogenesis and identity of regional contact-period groups.

### **De Soto, the Route, and the Indians**

Between 1513 and 1519, at least three attempts to explore the southeastern coastline and gain a foothold in the continent were largely unsuccessful. But in 1539, Hernando de Soto and more than 600 people (soldiers, officers, craftsmen, priests, and two women) landed in Tampa Bay on the west coast of Florida. With 225 horses, dogs, and pigs, de Soto's army launched a war of context that covered the entire area where the late Mississippian developments took place in the southeastern United States. Along the trail that took four years to traverse the Spaniards encountered myriad aboriginal groups. Thus, the chronicles of this expedition are crucial for identifying the ethnicity(ies) of people who participated in the Mississippian system in the sixteenth century, and for tying information about historically documented Indian groups with the corresponding archaeological remains.

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

Despite centuries of multidisciplinary research and recent advances in archaeological knowledge, the route followed by the expedition is not yet finally settled, and this is due to a variety of factors. The Spaniards under de Soto were less explorers than fortune hunters; as Garcilaso de la Vega noted in his memoirs 50 years after the expedition, they did not record latitudes or elevations because they had neither navigating instruments nor mariner or cartographer, and as they realized that no gold was to be found, they became disgusted and “learned nothing at all” (Brain et al. 1974:242). Thus, the probability of erring in the identification of landscape features mentioned in the chronicles remains high. Compounding geographic inaccuracies is the fact that many place names recorded during the expedition disappeared or changed locations in subsequent centuries, thus making it very difficult to reconstruct the locales of specific events (Hudson 1997:455). And finally, the available descriptive detail of towns, people, and material culture may not necessarily correspond to archaeological evidence at hand. Nonetheless, enough progress has been made to allow one to postulate with some degree of confidence the relationships between archaeology, history, and Indian people of the central Mississippi River valley in the sixteenth century.

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

Swanton had been interested in the value of De Soto’s expedition for his ethnological research before the commission was formed and published on this topic (e.g., Swanton 1932, 1934). As chairman, he conducted field visits and used his linguistic and ethnological knowledge to extrapolate the chronicles’ statistical and descriptive information with what was known at the time of the Indian groups and their geographical reach. And finally, when the report was completed, Swanton (1985:234) examined critically the three crossing locales proposed thus far—Chickasaw Bluffs, Tennessee; Commerce Landing, Mississippi; and Sunflower Landing, Arkansas—and their implications for reconstructing all other portions of the route west of the Mississippi River. All things considered, Swanton (1985:247) concluded that the crossing took place somewhere below the mouth of the St. Francis River, near Sunflower Landing, Arkansas.

Subsequently he attempted to connect some of the main polities and towns mentioned in the chronicles with known mound sites, mostly those explored by Clarence B. Moore in east Arkansas. But as Swanton himself (1985:2) stated, all reconstructions leading up to the formation of the commission as well as the commission's suffered from the lack of solid anchoring on archaeological evidence of De Soto's presence in the region.

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

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

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

## Documentary Identification of Ethnic Groups

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

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

1. The province of Chicasa, corresponding to the historic Muskoegan-speaking Chickasaw group. This province was separated from the next province to the west by a no-mans-land; the inference made is that the Chickasaw were not politically or ethnically related to the western groups.
2. The province of Quizquiz, on the east bank of the river, affiliation unknown, but vassal to Pacaha on the west bank.
3. The province of Aquixo, on the west bank of the river, affiliation unknown, but vassal to Pacaha to the north.
4. The province of Pacaha, inferred to be Tunican-speaking rather than Quapaw.
5. The province of Casqui, to the southwest of Pacaha, inferred to be Muskoegan-speaking, perhaps the little known Casquinampo group, which eventually merged with Koasati.
6. The towns of Quiguate, Anilco, Guachoya, Aminoya, Quigualtam, Taganate, Chaguata, and Aguacay, inferred on the basis of location [below the mouth of the Arkansas and Wachita Rivers) and linguistics to be Muskoegan-speaking Natchez, with less certainty about Quiguate.
7. The highland provinces of Tanico, Coligua, Calpista, and Palisema, inferred on the basis of location (perhaps near the salt springs in Little Rock, Arkansas) and linguistics to be Tunica-speaking and Koroa-Tunica, respectively.

8. The Arkansas River province of Tula, inferred to be Caddo on the basis of Swanton's geographic inferences and of linguistic distinctions that impeded communication with Tanico, as noted by de Soto's Tanico hosts.

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

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

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

Brain and colleagues did not challenge the ethnicity of Casqui but simply noted that the chronicle's description of the numerous but smaller villages of Casqui could fit very well with the Kent site group. Importantly, they also noted the presence of Nodena Red and White bottles at these sites. And finally, they (1974:273) observed that Garcilaso's description of Pacaha fit the Belle Meade settlement pattern, which is found in the St. Francis River to the north and which is different from the other three provinces. Based on similarities in ceramic collections, they support the chronicle's intimation of a cultural and political continuity extending from Pacaha to the other side of the river. Paradoxically, Brain et al. (1974:277) revived the idea that Pacaha (and only Pacaha) represented part of the Quapaw movement down the Mississippi River. They based this assertion on Garcilaso's spelling of Capaha and La Metairie's name for the seventeenth

century Quapaw village in the lower Arkansas River, Kappa, and the name of its chief, Capaha. They also pointed out that the southward population movement began before De Soto and that would explain the ceramic similarities across the Parkin, Kent, and Walls-Belle Meade site groups. They also extended the Quapaw identification further south to Quiguate, which they proposed to be the site of Dupree in the lower Arkansas River.

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

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

In short, the information provided by the De Soto chronicles, vague as it is, has been contextualized from the geographical, archaeological, and linguistic perspectives. There

remain a number of unresolved issues but overall the most convincing arguments may be summarized as follows:

### The Route

Archaeological and geographical evidence support the northern route reconstruction and the Commerce Landing crossing. This seems to be a settled issue among most Arkansas scholars, but by no means is it unanimous. Figure 2 shows the locations of the polities mentioned in the chronicles and the possible ethnic groups, according to the northern route.

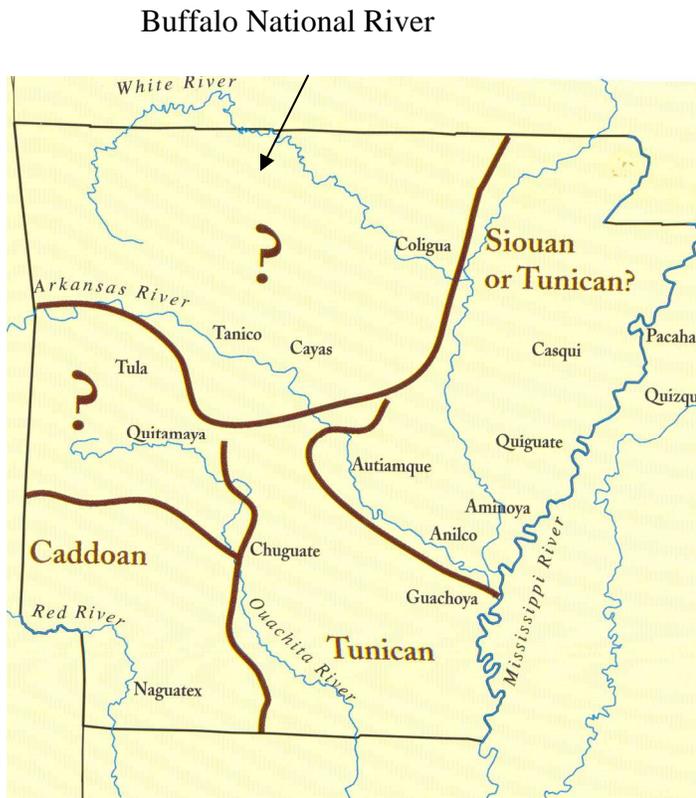


Figure 2. Sixteenth century polities and ethnic groups (after Sabo 2001)

### The Dominant Ethnic Group: Tunica, Quapaw, or Both

Moving the route to the north of Swanton's and adding Brain's ethnic reconstruction carries an important implication for the ethnicity of Quizquiz and Aquixo, as well as other riverine polities in the central and lower Mississippi Valley and in the Ozark highlands: as Jeter (1986:39) puts it, "if they [the Morses] are right about the crossing location, but Brain is still right about the ethnicity of these provinces, then the Tunica would have been present in extreme northwestern Mississippi, and in northeastern Arkansas nearly opposite the Tennessee-Mississippi line, in the early to middle 1500s." By extension, those west-bank polities identified by Swanton as Natchez on the basis of location would also be Tunica. Brain's (1988) archaeological analysis of Tunica materials as well as Hoffman's (1993a, 1993b, 1993c) work in the lower Arkansas River would

support this contention. Brain (1988:316) provides a very precise count of the Tunica population in the historic period. From Biedma's narrative he calculates that in 1541 there were 5,000 Tunica souls with more than 300 women in the first Quizquiz town and from Garcilaso he extracts a figure of almost 4,000 armed warriors. He then infers that the Tunica villages were populous and highly organized socially and politically, belonging into a regional hierarchy. They had a productive economic system based on agriculture and other resource extraction (e.g., fish). And, like all other Mississippian polities, their villages contained monumental earthworks.

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

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

A careful reading of the original chronicles reveals two instances of cultural similarity. First, there is no indication that a language barrier existed between Pacaha and Casqui; in fact, three chronicles have both chiefs speaking directly to each other (Elvas 1993:120; Rangel 1993:303; Garcilaso 1993:405). In this respect, at least Elvas (1993:242, 244) was careful to note when a group of Indians could or could not make itself understood to other Indians. Of course, multilingualism among Mississippian polities and particularly elites must be taken into consideration, as noted by Booker et al. (1992). And second, the narratives of interaction between Pacaha and Casqui chiefs are suggestive of familiarity

with each other's customs and traditions and point to similar cultural and perhaps ethnic identity. For example, they knew of each other's lineages and the relative status and rights lent to the chiefs, and they also shared rules of social etiquette.

If Casqui was indeed Parkin and Pacaha was a Nodena phase site, then archaeological evidence, in the form of similarity in ceramic assemblages (O'Brien and Fox 1994), may also be brought to bear in support of a shared cultural and perhaps linguistic/ethnic identity between these neighboring provinces. In terms of the ethnicity of Casqui, Jeter (1986:41; 2002) remarks that the coarse shell-tempered ceramics found at Parkin are diagnostic of colonial Tunican ceramic wares, but Hoffman (1993b:135) contends that Tunica ceramics found in the Quapaw phase sites of the lower Arkansas River do not share many similarities with ceramics from Parkin or Nodena phase sites. Nonmetric cranial comparisons suggest a similar distance between the Quapaw phase human remains and the Parkin and Nodena remains. These comparisons, performed by Katherine Murray (1989, cited in Hoffman 1993b:140), also indicate a high frequency of shared characteristics among Nodena and Parkin populations.

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

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

### *Linguistics*

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

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

the Morses (1983; D. Morse 1991) regarding the uncertain linguistic origin and connections of the Quapaw.

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

In regard to Tunica language, it must be stressed that Tunica sounds unlike any other language in the Southeast and constitutes an isolate below the very general group of Gulf languages (Brain 1988:318; Haas 1950; Swanton 1946). It is unlikely that the Spaniards, who were accustomed to hear and spell phonetically exotic Indian words, would have confused this distinctive language with any other, and even more unlikely that it would have been confused by De Soto's Indian interpreters. Unfortunately, the language is extinct and thus it is not possible to trace it historically to any particular origin.

### *Geography*

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

### *Demography*

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

Jeter (2002) goes so far as to propose that the Quapaw entered the central and lower Mississippi Valley no earlier than the mid 1600s, and suggests that their homeland until

that time was indeed in the Ohio drainage. His estimate of the Quapaw migration timing is based on macroregional demographic trends that derived from the tremendous push factors orchestrated by the Iroquois League wars in the early seventeenth century that caused massive population displacement across the midcontinent. In fact, at least one refugee group fleeing the Iroquois was found on the west bank in 1673 (Dickinson 1984). Jeter suggests that the Quapaw and its linguistic cognates were the prehistoric easternmost Fort Ancient people whereas the Shawnee were the westernmost Fort Ancient ones. Interestingly, the Shawnee also were displaced and eventually moved westward and settled along the central Mississippi River valley toward the end of the seventeenth century (Drooker 2002).

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

#### *Oral history*

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

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

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

At the mouth of the Ohio a separation [of the Dhegiha nation] occurred. Some went down the Mississippi, hence arose their name, "U-ga'-qpa (Oo-ga-khpa)" or Kwapa (Quapaw), meaning "the down-stream people." This was prior to 1540, when De Soto met the Kwapas, who were then a distinct tribe.

The rest of the Arkansas ascended the river, taking the name of U-ma<sup>n</sup>ha<sup>n</sup> (Omaha), "those going against the wind or current."

These names—Kwapa and Omaha—are of more recent origin than Kansas, Osage and Ponka.

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

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

When we abandoned our former lands we set out without knowing whither we were going. Our motive for leaving the country we occupied was the scarcity of game...On arriving at the mouth of the Ohio River [Ny-Tonka], our chiefs determined on separating the nations...After our separating, our party followed the course of Ny-tonka [Mississippi]. The first red skins [Indians] whom we met with were settled some way below the Ny-Whoutteh-Junka [literally 'little grey river,' the Little Muddy River, now the St. Francis]; they were called Tonnika. We attacked and put them to flight. Some time afterwards we entered this river, which we call Ny-Jitteh [Red River; now the Arkansas]. We soon discovered that there were other red skins in the country. Parties were sent out to look for them. They were found encamped in the Great Prairie [between the post of the Arkansas and the town of Little Rock]. We attacked them; they made a valiant resistance, but we beat them and drove them away. This nation called itself Intouka; the whites at that period gave them the name of Illinois. Then we were left entire masters of this country. (Bizzell 1982:72, cited in Hoffman 1990:208, notes in Hoffman, originally)

This account may be dated to at least the eighteenth century, according to Hoffman, and even earlier according to Brain (1988), who also notes that it generally corresponds with earlier French observations that in 1682 had the Tunicas below the Quapaws near the mouth of the Yazoo River and that nine years earlier had a Michigamea or Illinois colony just west of the Tunica (Dickinson 1984). Given the combined weight of the independent accounts, Baird follows other regional scholars in rejecting the theory that Pacaha was Quapaw.

The Tunicas, for their part, also had an oral tradition that speaks of southward migration and war. Haas (1950:133) recorded three versions of the migration tradition in which two

migration episodes down the Mississippi River are mentioned, the first longer than the second one. Whereas the first two versions seem to refer to historic migrations that accord remarkably well with the historic documents of Louisiana, the third version refers to the Tunica's place of emergence or origin, where they lived and hunted until "the English came:"

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

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

### *Archaeology and Material Culture*

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

Important material culture categories, such as ceramics, point to a generalized Tunican tradition, ranging from northeast Arkansas to the lower Arkansas River Valley, namely, the Menard-Kinkaid complex, and across the river into northwest Mississippi (Hoffman 1992:45; Jeter 1986:41; Brain 1988:264-285). At present, no known archaeological complex has been indisputably identified with the Quapaw group, and the Quapaw phase name identified at Menard is an unfortunate misnomer. Even though Quapaw proponents have argued for similarities in village layout, Hoffman's (1991) analysis of house construction lists important differences between Quapaw and Mississippian traditions, and there are bioarchaeological indications of change in dietary emphasis (more animal protein, e.g., bison, than corn) during the colonial period in central Arkansas that may have derived from a Quapaw/Siouan influence (Jeter et al. 1989). Furthermore, the burial

custom of wooden box interment in a charnel house, mentioned in the chronicles, has not been documented for the Quapaw or any other Dhegiha group.

Brain (1988:262) suggests that the protohistoric Oliver lithic complex, including Nodena points, stone pipe drills, and large triangular knives may represent the Quapaw archaeologically; Nodena points are present in the lower Ohio Valley as well. Brain thinks that the association of this complex with Tunican pottery may have represented Quapaw men taking Tunican women and thus creating a record of ceramic continuity-lithic discontinuity. While interethnic marriages and adoptions may have been a very likely occurrence in the late prehistory and certainly occurred in historic times (see below), this lithic complex is not a good indicator for it; its most important diagnostic, the Nodena points, date to the fourteenth century in the Missouri/Arkansas border sites and are securely associated with middle (e.g. Powers Phase) and late Mississippian contexts (Price and Griffin 1979; Gilliland and O'Brien 2001; Morse and Morse 1983). Therefore, they cannot be considered evidence of lithic discontinuity. Hoffman (1992:51) adds that there is no evidence of language exchange between Quapaw and Tunica (at least of what is known of these languages) to support a close relationship implied in Brain's hypothesis. Jeter (2002) even doubts the existence of such a complex.

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

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

**The Identity of the Northern Towns visited by a Scouting Party.** The issue of whether the Pemiscot Bayou sites that presumably a De Soto exploratory party may have visited

(Morse and Morse 1983) are from the same ethnicity as Pacaha or Casqui is unresolved. Houck (1909) and later Chapman (1975) thought that these were ancestral Illinois. O'Brien (1994; O'Brien and Wood 1998) remains skeptical about ethnic assignation. There are ceramic differences pointed out for the Campbell group (O'Brien and Fox 1994) but at least generally these sites fit well with the regional trends for the central Mississippi River valley.

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

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

### **The Identity of Coligua and Quiguate**

After visiting Casqui for the last time, de Soto continued south along the St. Francis River and arrived at the city of Quiguate, which was by the chronicles' description the larger they had seen. There, they learned of the "River of Coligua" or the White River on the east edge of the Ozark Mountains. The people of Coligua (also spelled Coligoa and Colima in the chronicles), in the vicinity of Batesville, Arkansas had not heard of the Spaniards yet, and were surprised to see them, thus suggesting isolation of Ozarks groups

from the Mississippian mainstream at this time. Interestingly, however, the number of buffalo robes found at this town suggests Plains/Caddo interaction.

### *Linguistics*

Swanton's interpretation of the vocabulary of the Coliguas led him to assign a Tunica-Koroa affiliation to this province, which accords well with the overall cultural trajectory in that portion of the Ozark Mountains. Hoffman (1993:218) is more cautious in supporting the Koroa/Coligua correlation, however, he considers it a "strong possibility." Quiguate was postulated as probably Natchezan, but archaeological and geographic indicators for the northern route place it closer to Tunica.

### *Geography*

The chronicles, as interpreted by Morse (1993:65), indicate that the river of Coligua was about 84-120 miles from Quiguate. On the way to Coligua the expedition crosses four swamps, which correspond with major backswamps, including L'Anguille, Bayou de View, Cache River, and perhaps Village Creek, along north-south streams. The river itself had to be crossed twice, which is suggestive of the White River, since it bends at a 90 degree angle near Batesville.

### *Archaeology*

Morse (1993) indicates that there is at least one substantial Greenbrier phase site in the vicinity of Coligua. This affiliation would accord with archaeological interpretations of late prehistoric Ozark affiliation reached independently by other scholars as indicated in the previous chapter. Quiguate, on the other hand, could have been represented by Kent phase sites on the St. Francis River. Importantly, all the sites postulated for these affiliations have diagnostic Nodena ceramics and lithics.

## **The Identity of Tanico and Cayas**

Continuing from Coligua, where only limited food supplies were available to them, the Spaniards passed Calpista, a Tunican name for the salt source located near the confluence of Departee Creek and the White River in White River County, Arkansas (Morse and Akridge(1998) and followed the River of Cayas (Arkansas River) upstream until they arrived to the town of Tanico. Cayas apparently was located in the Dardanelle area. Chronicles indicate that the hinterland settlements were scattered rather than large, compact, and fortified as in the Mississippi River Valley, which also suggests relative isolation from aboriginal conflagrations among the powerful river polities.

### *Linguistics*

Tanico and Cayas were interpreted by Swanton as being affiliated linguistically with the Tunica. Both the Spanish Ranjel and Elvas and the French F. Marquette recorded the same name for this polity, which indicates continuity throughout the intervening 130

years. Tanico, according to Hoffman (1993:217) is an excellent rendition of Tunica, which means “the people.”

### *Geography*

The association of a Tunica town with a salt mine (the only one in this region, according to Sabo 2001:17) and mineral springs is not surprising, given that Tunicans are known for having developed major salt production centers in colonial Louisiana. The location of Cayas, on one of the major east-west trading routes, also points to the role of “backswamp” Tunicans as important players in trans-Mississippi trade. Rivalries with the Tulas, as recorded in the chronicles, also point to a competitive stance between these groups.

### *Archaeology*

Early (1993:72) points out that the identification of a protohistoric cultural and linguistic boundary between Tanico and Tula, on either side of the Arkansas River, corresponds to that between Mississippian and Caddoan societies, with Carden Bottoms being the complex that most closely resembles an archaeological boundary. Carden Bottoms sites, in the Dardanelle district, were severely damaged by pot hunters in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. A large collection of pottery vessels and other artifacts was obtained by Dellinger in the 1930s and housed at the Arkansas Archaeological Survey. Whereas Carden Bottoms is geographically closer to the Caddo area than to any Tunica core area, the ceramic collection indicates otherwise. Early (1993:73) notes that this collection has strikingly few stylistic and technological similarities with Caddo ceramics from Spiro and Coffee phase sites just upstream on the Arkansas River. She suggests that there may be some Oachita affinities instead. Sabo (personal communication, 2006) stated that the location of Carden Bottoms, along a major route made it an ideal place for multiethnic Mississippian communities to have developed at a time of population upheaval, and that the collection reflects this condition.

### **The identity of Tula**

Upon arrival to the town of Tula, de Soto’s party immediately noted differences in language, architecture, and social organization between this and other provinces previously visited. They confirmed, therefore, the assertions made by the Tanico chief. They were greeted with vicious attack from both men and women. After a bloody battle in which the Spanish suffered losses but eventually were greeted by Tula chief and his entourage who, weeping in the Caddo fashion, they gifted them with buffalo hides to which they have direct access. This reception, gift, and the description of the Tulas’ body tattoos and weaponry has been interpreted as strong indicators of Caddo affiliation (Early 1993).

### *Linguistics*

The linguistic affiliation of the Tula is not certain, as the *l* sound does not exist in the Caddo language. However, given that this name was given to the Spanish at Cayas it is likely that the word comes from Tunica or even from another Mississippian language.

### *Geography*

The location of Tula and other polities south of the Arkansas has been a matter of debate because of contradictory locators provided in different chronicles. However, careful examination of geographical indicators brought Early (1993:75) and Hudson (1997) to place Tula near the Arkansas townships of Ozark and Clarksville, or the point at which mountainous terrain constricts the Arkansas River Valley.

### *Archaeology*

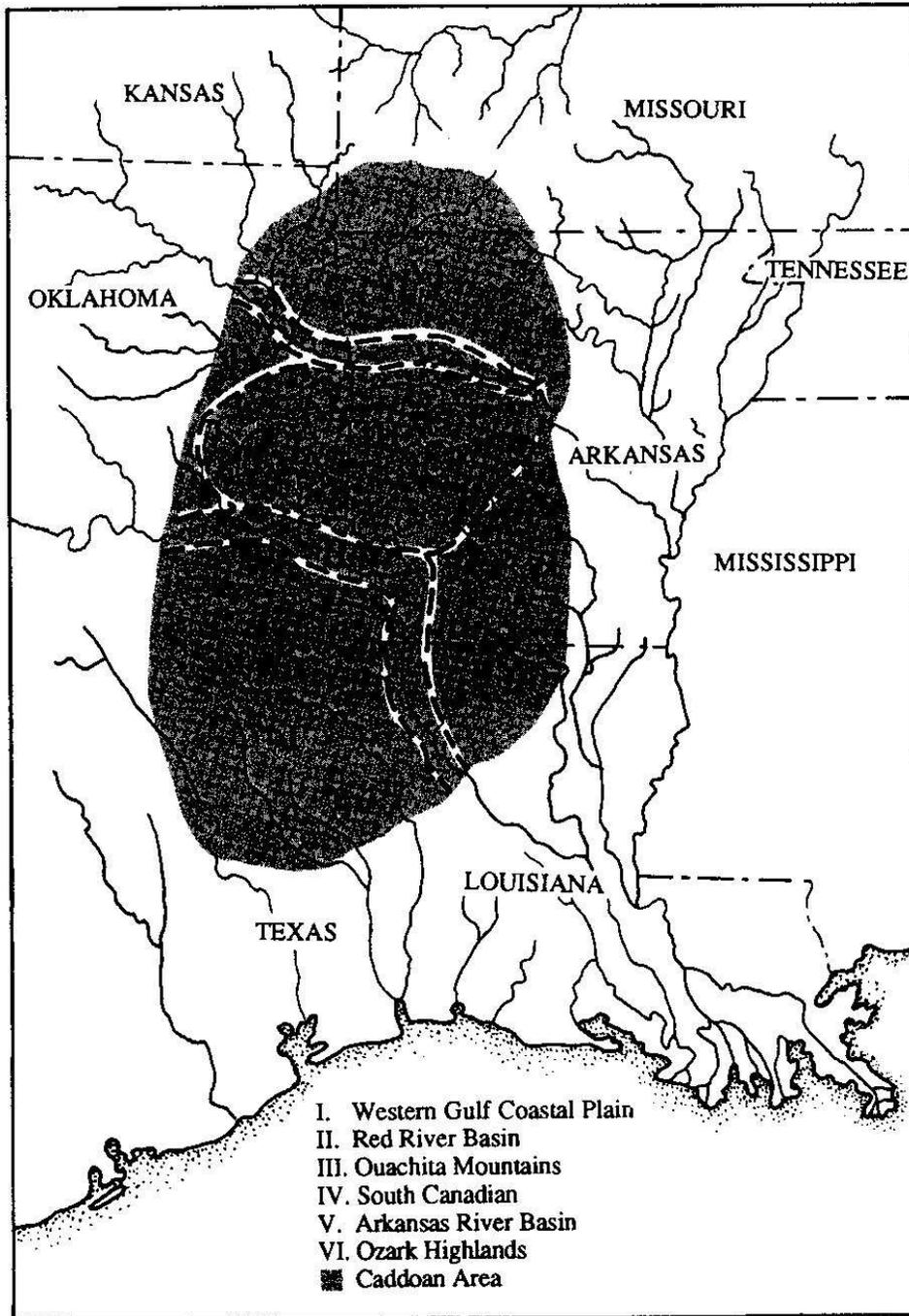
Both the dispersed settlement pattern of Tula and the spatial-social organization it conveys are reminiscent of the terminal Fort Coffee phase or Fort Coffee-related populations, but the lack of well studied sites in the postulated vicinity of Tula makes this affiliation tentative (Early 1993).

### **Notes on Caddo Cultural Affiliation**

The term “Caddo” denotes a large, culturally and linguistically related but politically independent and geographically diverse group of native people whose territory comprised, at the time of first contact with Europeans, the eastern portions of Oklahoma and Texas, the western half of Arkansas south of the Arkansas River, and the northwestern corner of Louisiana. Caddoan speakers also include village agriculturalists who inhabited the central Plains (Pawnee, Skidi, Republican, and Arikara) and the Ouachitas of the Ouachita Mountains. The main linguistic groups, Wichita, Pawnee, and Kichai derive from a postulated proto-Caddoan/proto-Iroquoian root, but separated from Iroquoian before 2000 B.C. Main linguistic and cultural distinctions exist between plains and forest Caddos, who probably probably separated in prehistoric times. Less pronounced distinctions exist among dialects of the main linguistic groups (Hughes 1974).

As drawn by Perttula (1997: 8, Figure 3) the greatest expanse of the Caddo peoples once reached the southwestern corner of Missouri, that is, skirted the Ozark escarpment and bordered the area where Buffalo National River is located. At some points in time, ancestral Caddo material remains were found even farther north in Missouri and east toward the forks of the White River. However, in 1541 de Soto found the first Caddo-speaking polity, Tula, on the south bank of the Arkansas River near Caddo Gap and thus this is the boundary (linguistic, cultural, and geographic) most generally used to draw the Caddo aboriginal territory.

Figure 3. Extent of Caddoan Culture Area (After Perttula 1997)



The bands known to have occupied the northernmost reaches of the Caddoan area are the Mento/Touacara/Tawakoni, whose residence once stretched downstream from the Three Forks of the Arkansas River to the Arkansas-Missouri Border and whose associated archaeological expression was the Fort Coffee phase, or terminal phase in the Arkansas Valley Caddo cultural sequence. It has also been suggested that this phase is ancestral to the Kichai division to the south of the Arkansas River (Vehik 1993:239). The Mento

merged with the Oachita or Wichita sometime in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries, and were found only a few miles upstream from the Quapaw in 1673. It is likely that a combination of post-de Soto demographic collapse may have precipitated the southern move, however, the advancing and menacing presence of the Osage near the Arkansas River by 1700 was likely a major culprit in this migration. No recorded presence Caddoan speakers in the vicinity of Buffalo National River has been uncovered so far in the ethnohistoric literature (see Perttula 1997).

### *Origins and Archaeology*

Several origin stories have been recorded for the Caddo and their different polities over the past 150 years. Schoolcraft (1853:5:682), for example, reported that the Caddo believe to have emerged from the hot springs in Arkansas, from which they later expanded north toward Oklahoma, south toward the Red River and west toward the Ouachitas and beyond. Other stories recorded by Owen Dorsey (1886), George Dorsey (1905), and Swanton (1942) indicate that they ancestors variously emerged in the quad-border of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana, from where they spread to other places. Whatever the version examined, the Caddo traditions firmly place them as originating generally *in situ*, with relatively minor migration episodes within their aboriginal territory (Hughes 1974:65). The oldest Wichita migrations are northward, along the Arkansas River, with later southward migrations into the Ouachita Mountains.

Mountain and hilly environments mentioned in various origin traditions, including that of the first village (G. Dorsey 1905 [1997]) and that of the flood (Larkford 1987) provide indirect evidence of familiarity with the rugged terrain of their core territory in the middle Arkansas River. In Dorsey's (1997:8) account, after emerging from the underworld with the guidance of the moon the Caddo build their first home:

The people's first village in this new world was called Tall-Timberon-Top-of-the-Hill, for the place was in black-jack timber near the top of a high hill. There was the beginning of the real people. Moon called the people together for the first time in the new world and said: "Soon there will be a child born of a certain woman. He is on the way. He shall have more power than any one else, for Great-Father-Above has sent him down to his mother, the earth, to be among the people and teach them right and wrong. When the child comes he shall name himself after the former chief, Medicine-Screech-Owl, and he shall have with him bow and arrows."....

Medicine-Screech-Owl grew to be a man, and after Moon was gone the people gathered again to select another chief, and they selected the powerful Medicine-Screech-Owl. His first announcement to the people was that they must move on farther west. The people began moving westward, climbing the mountains. When they had got on top of them they saw a large lake, and they wondered where the water came from. Medicine-Screech-Owl called the people's attention to it, and they all came and gathered along the banks of the lake. He then spoke to the

people, saying: "These waters which are before you are the tears of your great chief, Moon, for before he was taken up into the heavens he came up to this mountain and shed tears for the wrongs he had done to his people. So we shall call this mountain Moon's-Tears-on-the-Mountain." The people kept on moving westward until they found a place where they wanted to locate their second village. They commenced making bows and arrows, which they used in killing game. They began to go out a long distance from their village to hunt buffalo and other animals.

G. Dorsey (1997) also collected abundant references (too numerous to reference here) to mountain animals, such as bear and mountain lion, to going to the mountains to hunt for up to several weeks (Dorsey 1997:82), and to using the mountain environments as refuges or hiding places. The water or lake environment mentioned in the story above has been thought to refer to Caddo Lake (Hughes 1974).

### *Archaeology*

Archaeological remains found in the Caddo area at large but more specifically in the Arkansas Basin support long-term developmental continuity into the protohistoric period, which is intimated in the oral traditions excerpted above. In addition to the regional evidence of Paleoindian presence, Caddoan developments best known as "Spiro" derive from a solid Archaic or formative foundation known as Wister phase followed by Fourche Maline in the Woodland period (Galm 1984). A few examples of the diagnostic early Fourche Maline pottery, with its flat-bottom vessels tempered with grog or grit have been recovered from Buffalo River sites (see chapter two). Quoting G. B. Griffin, Perttula (1996:302) notes that, while the domestication of native cultivars was instrumental to settlement organization and diversification of resources since the Late Archaic period, maize agriculture was not synchronous with Caddoan cultural growth and elaboration "but the primary addition that nurtured the growth of Mississippian societies"

Perttula (1996:314) has outlined general areal and regional trends in the development of Caddoan agricultural economies, in which the Ozark Mountains played a significant role; the colonization and possible domestication of weedy annuals beginning ca. 1000 B.C. or earlier in the Ozarks is an example in point. But the most significant contribution of the Ozarks to the development of the Arkansas Valley Caddoan society lies in its abundant and varied mineral resources, which appear most significantly during the height of the Spiro chiefdom. Possible presence of Caddoan ancestors in the Ozark escarpment was found in the Spradley Hollow locality in Madison County; in addition to rock peckings of an unusual style for the Ozarks, Petroglyph Shelter also contained a Williams Plain potsherd and a Gary-like knife (Cande 2000:116; 120).

Whereas the southern portion of the Caddoan area is larger and better known archaeologically and historically, the northern Caddoan area is most famous for the Spiro Mound and Craig Mound sites and associated developments in eastern Oklahoma and northwestern Arkansas. Thought to have been a theocratic chiefdom with strong Mississippian connections, Spiro developed after AD 1000 (Harlan Phase, AD 1000-

1200), reaching its peak around AD 1250, and ending by AD 1450 (Spiro Phase, AD 1200-1450) (Brown 1996). During the Harlan Phase, Spiroan mound sites, some with geoastronomical orientation, developed in the southwestern fringes of the Ozarks (e.g., the Loftin site and phase, Sabo and Early 1990). An arguably Mississippian/Caddoan regional center, Huntsville, flourished during the late prehistoric in north-central Arkansas. Spiroan presence in the Ozarks was felt directly through these developments; material evidence that Spiro people acquired quantities of raw materials from this area. Unfortunately, Spiro Mound was badly damaged by pot hunters in the early twentieth century and thus much is unknown about this ceremonial, political, and trading center. What is known comes from artifact collections donated to or purchased by regional and national museums, including the Arkansas Archaeological Survey.

Brown (1996:2:639-669) provides a careful and extensive list of minerals recovered from Spiro sites that point to extensive trade in this materials, most of which were used to make ceremonial paraphernalia. Among those minerals available in the Ozark Mountains are: silicified siltstone, used in the manufacture of pipes and effigies; limestone used to make palettes; coal, shale, and slate, used to manufacture celts, earspools, and ceremonial bifaces; igneous rocks; pyrites; galena; crinoid fossils; Keokuk (Boone) chert; Moorefield chert; siderite crystals; and quartz crystals—the latter being specific to Buffalo River.

The post-Spiro Caddoan phase Fort Coffee (ancestral Kichai, Rohrbaugh 1984) and the Neosho focus (arguably northern Caddo/terminal Mississippian/Oneota) are poorly, if at all, represented in the Buffalo River. However, nearby sites that were probably related to central Ozarks groups, such as Albertson, do contain Neosho components. It is unknown, but still likely given recent findings in the Missouri Ozarks, that in the terminal prehistoric and protohistoric period small splinter groups dispersing from the troubled population centers along the Mississippi and Arkansas river valleys may have taken refuge in the Ozarks, where resources were abundant (see Chapter Two for a review).

### *Mississippian/Caddoan Connections*

The affiliation of Spiro culture with Caddoan peoples is not accepted by everyone, particularly the later portion of the sequence. There is no denying that the Arkansas River Valley, despite its independent cultural and political development as a regional power of its own, nevertheless kept significant economic and social networks with Mississippian centers and hinterlands on both sides of the Mississippi River (Brown 1996:1). However, there are at least two positions regarding the ethnicity of Spiroans. On the basis of details of human cranial deformation and tattooing, Schambach (1999) argues that the “Arkansas Valley Tradition” is an enclave of ancestral Tunica who settled the area to control long-distance trade. This position has not met with great acceptance. However, there is rather good evidence of Tunica enclaves on the north bank of the Arkansas River Valley that were visited by de Soto, as discussed above. The second position is that of Sabo (1990), who does not see a strong Caddoan presence in the Arkansas River valley after AD 1450. Rather, he argues that Carden Bottoms, as well as Huntsville, were the result of an amalgamation of disgruntled Mississippian people who regrouped in the hinterlands. At least in the Carden Bottoms case, Sabo (personal communication 2006) sees a multi-

ethnic population settling an area of high traffic and easy access to a variety of local and exotic resources.

### *Historical Trajectories*

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

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CULTURAL AFFILIATION OF THE ABORIGINAL GROUP

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

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

#### **Osage Origins**

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

#### **Linguistics**

The Osage are one of four Dhegiha Sioux-speaking groups who in historic times inhabited the prairie peninsula of Missouri and Kansas and the lower Arkansas River until about 1838. According to Siouan scholars (e.g., Dorsey 1885, 1886, 1888; Fletcher and La Flesche 1911; Hollow and Parks 1980; Rankin 1988), the Dhegiha dialects—Omaha-Ponca, Osage, Kansa, and the extinct Quapaw—are mutually intelligible, with the Osage and Kansas being closer to each other than to Omaha-Ponca and Quapaw. Mutual intelligibility (or lack thereof) is used as a measure of temporal distance between languages; in this case, the separation of Osage from other Dhegihan dialects is far more recent than that of Dhegiha from other Mississippian Siouan dialects. A glottochronology

by Hollow and Parks (1980:80) estimates that the Osage dialect separated from the upper Mississippian Dakota and Winnebago dialects approximately 1,200 years ago, which is an “impressionistically good” calculation and a proxy for calculating the geographic drift of the cognate groups. In their calculations, Osage and its cognate groups drifted south and west from a proto-Siouan ancestor at approximately AD 800. Swanton’s (1943) comparative analysis of several Southeastern and Mississippian Siouan languages led him to conclude that the cognates had indeed separated from a proto-Siouan group who formerly inhabited the Ohio Valley, thus confirming the oral traditions.

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

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

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

## **Oral Traditions**

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

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

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

The Ponkas told Rev. A. L. Riggs that their ancestors used to dwell east of the Mississippi. They subsequently inhabited the country on the north side of the Missouri river, near its mouth. The Kansas and the Osages were the first to depart; then the Omahas and the Ponkas followed the course of the Missouri towards its head. Mr. Riggs also says that the Ponkas went to the region of the Black hills, and were there before the Crows; but the Ponkas told the writer that the Crows inhabited that country and were owners of the Black hills when their ancestors arrived there, at which time there were no Dakotas in the region. This last statement is confirmed by the Dakota winter-counts in Dr. Corbusier's collection. The writer was also told that the Ponkas used to dwell north-east of the old Ponka reservation (which is in Todd county, Neb.), in a land where they wore snow-shoes. Since 1879 the writer has gained more definite information from other Ponkas, as well as from Omahas, Osages and Kansas, and it is now given.

Ages ago the ancestors of the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas, Kwapas, Winnebagos, Pawnee Loups (skidi) and Rees, dwelt east of the Mississippi. They were not all in one region, but they were allies, and their general course was westward. They drove other tribes before them. Five of these peoples, the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas, and Kwapas, were then together as one nation. They were called Arkansa or Alkansa by the Illinois tribes, and they dwelt near the Ohio river. At the mouth of the Ohio a separation occurred. Some went down the Mississippi, hence arose their name, "U-ga'qpa (Oo-ga-kpa)" of Kwapa (Quapaw), meaning "the down-stream people." This was prior to 1540, when De Soto met the Kwapas, who were then a distinct tribe.

The rest of the Arkansas ascended the river, taking the name of U-ma<sup>n</sup>-ha<sup>n</sup> (Omaha), "those going against the wind or current." ... The Omahas and their

associates followed the course of the Mississippi till they reached the mouth of the Missouri, remaining for some time near the site of the present city of St. Louis. They ascended the Missouri to a place called Tce-dúñ'-gaa'ja-be and Ma<sup>n</sup>'daqpa'-yé by the Kansa and Ma<sup>n</sup>'-ta-qpa'-dhé by the Osages. This was an extensive peninsula on the river, having a high mountain as a landmark.

Here, according to the Kansas and Osages, the ancestors of the four tribes lived together. In the course of time they ascended the Missouri and established themselves at the mouth of the Osage river. The Iowas were near them; but the Omahas say that at that period they did not know the Otos and Missouris. The Omahas and Ponkas crossed the Missouri, resuming their wanderings. The Osage ascended the stream bearing their name, and a tributary, called by them "Tse'-tú<sup>n</sup>'-qa'-qa," they divided into the pa-he'tsi (those who camped at the top of the mountain), incorrectly styled Great Osages, and the U-tseh'-ta (those who camped at the base of the mountain), popularly called Little Osages...The Kansas ascended the Missouri...

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

### **Social Organization**

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

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

The Omaha personal name Uzu'gaxe, meaning "to clear the pathway," finds its explanation in the office of the Osage gens of the same name, whose duty it was

to find a way across or around any natural obstacle that lay in the path of a war party, as a safe place to ford a dangerous river or a pathway over or around a cliff.

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

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

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

### **Archaeology**

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

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

theories of Osage origin and proposed a Mississippian connection; but his arguments lent the problem an entirely different perspective than those offered by Dorsey and Fowke.

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

O'Brien and Wood (1998:345; O'Brien 1996) note that the problem with Chapman's initial trait list comparison is that he collapsed the Upper and Middle Mississippi Valley Groups that William Henry Holmes (1886) had originally created on the basis of pottery differences and native group distribution to separate the eastern woodland/Mississippi headwaters region from Mississippian of the central and lower Mississippi Valley. These authors also point out that Chapman's conflation of Holmes' dichotomous groups was grounded in the incorrect assumption (made by Griffin in 1943 perpetuated by Cleland in 1966) that Oneota was a late manifestation that derived from Mississippian developments. O'Brien and Wood further state that this assumption was hard to die and biased subsequent interpretations of the archaeological record, particularly with regard to the Osage.

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

examine closely all evidence concerning Osage origin and development. Chapman reviewed several lines of evidence, rejecting oral traditions and sociological data and developing an alternative archaeological scenario where,

It was concluded on the basis of archaeological information that the Osage had developed in the general area of their known historical range 1673-1872 A.D. from the late prehistoric cultures represented by the Neosho focus, the Ozark Top-layer, the Marginal Mississippi and the latest prehistoric archaeological assemblage in the Osage River drainage. Strongest relationships existed with the late prehistoric cultures of the Arkansas River drainage [here he refers to the Quapaw]. (Chapman 1974, III:241)

There was no good evidence in linguistics or ethnography for migration to the area.

Plants and animals in myth, legend, economically important or used as clan names were found to be primarily those native to the known range of the Osage (Chapman 1974, III:242)

...There was a late overlay of Oneota, due in great part to contact with the Missouri and the Oto tribes in the eighteenth century.

The evidence from all sources is preponderant that the Osage tribe originated in the place of its historic habitat, probably starting as a series of autonomous village units and deriving from the people that left the late prehistoric archaeological assemblages in southwestern Missouri, northwestern Arkansas, southeastern Kansas and northeastern Oklahoma. (Chapman 1974, III:243)

In short, Chapman (1974, III:202) believed that the Osage ethnogenesis reflected their geographical placement, somewhat intermediate between the southeast, the southern plains, and the Ohio Valley, and that their ethnographic culture was “just what would be expected had it formed in place.” The Osage were once Middle Mississippian populations living in the central valley; at some point they left the valley and migrated west in small, scattered groups, and later they became increasingly Oneota due to their contacts with Plains Sioux (Yelton 1998:269). To arrive at this conclusion, Chapman (1959a) reinterpreted migration traditions and largely ignored linguistic and ethnological evidence.

**Theory of an Oneota Origin.** As explained above, the theory of an Oneota origin for the Osage was first espoused by Berry and Chapman, but later Chapman (1959:65) modified this proposition, noting instead that the Chiwere Sioux were a better fit for an Oneota ancestry, as understood archaeologically, than the Osage. In hindsight, Chapman’s shifts in the reconstruction of Osage origins were a logical response to an increasing knowledge of the broad regional prehistory and concomitant discovery of more material culture variability. As Henning (1993, 1998) notes, Oneota was the ancestor of numerous Siouan groups, and its spatial variation in material culture corresponded to differences in

interaction spheres of local Oneota manifestations beyond the eastern woodlands—the western Oneota reflected close relations to the Plains cultures whereas the eastern Oneota exhibited links to Mississippian cultures. This statement is true not only for the Oneota manifestations but also for the historically known Dhegiha cognate groups, who were very closely similar in language, ritual, and social organization but who had very different and rapidly changing material culture (Henning 1993:254).

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

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

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

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

local Pomona variant, the Ponca from the Coalescent tradition, and the Omaha from the Nebraska variant. These are only examples of numerous local traditions suggested as the ancestors of the cognate groups.

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

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

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

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

Although anthropologists commonly dismiss origin legends as being inaccurate, in the case of some Plains archaeological discussions of Dhegihan origins the oral histories have not necessarily been replaced by more useful scenarios. It seems odd to dismiss a set of oral histories that exhibit substantial similarity among Dhegihan societies in favor of an archaeological argument that cannot be substantiated in Dhegihan or Caddoan culture as historically documented.

An origin in the Ohio valley, as suggested by the oral histories, would account for the fact that there are so many Dhegihan similarities to Mississippi Valley Siouan, Algonkin, and southeastern societies. It would also explain why there are so few similarities to Caddoan societies.

The similarity among Dhegihan societies culturally and linguistically suggests that their separation is relatively recent. Dhegihan origins more likely are in Oneota or the disintegration of Mississippian tradition societies...(Vehik 1993:246)

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

To summarize, along the lines of Henning's, Vehik's and Jeter's reasoning, an examination of various pieces of evidence and arguments regarding the origins of the Osage indicates that linguistics, ethnology, oral history, ecology (e.g., bison), and archaeology all point to a rather late prehistoric arrival of this group into Missouri; that

the material and nonmaterial culture variability simply indicates that Osage culture and society had highly developed adaptive strategies that contributed to rapid changes in technology and economy; and that the Osage and cognate groups interacted with Mississippian populations marginally but still consistently so that it affected to a greater or lesser degree their material and nonmaterial culture. Given the chaotic demographic dynamics of the protohistoric period and the ancient Indian custom of adopting or marrying individuals of other tribes to replace dead tribal members or acquire slaves, it is also very likely that Mississippian people joined Dhegiha Sioux groups sometime after the demise of their social systems.

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

### **Osage Ethnohistory**

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

#### **French Colonial Period (1673-1770)**

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mexico. He made two trips and produced corresponding journals that were published by his contemporary La Harpe and later reproduced by Margry in 1886 (Wedel 1972:11).

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

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

Some important observations on the social and political structure of the Osage made by Dutisné match those made by travelers and ethnologists in the ensuing centuries (see Bailey 1973:19-24). For example, Dutisné noted that the Osage had "several chiefs of bands" likely referring to the Osage binary village organization, where each of the two moieties had one hereditary chief. He added that these officials were "not very absolute"

and that their activities were limited to certain specified duties (Wedel 1973:151). Another of his observations involved part-time occupancy of the village: "They remain at their villages only as do the Missouri, with the winter spent hunting buffalo which are very abundant in this area" (cited in Wedel 1973:151). These observations are relevant in that they were made at the time when sustained intercourse with Europeans had yet to drastically transform Osage society, and stand in marked contrast to the descriptions of Mississippian chiefly offices and subsistence activities provided by the De Soto expedition for Southeastern tribes. Even though by 1719 the Osage had already suffered losses due to exposure to plague, they managed to maintain their traditional village and clan organization long after Dutisné's visit to their country.

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

Soon after Dutisné's visit the Osage engaged actively in the fur and slave trade, and these activities contributed to rapid change in their material culture; as Chapman and Chapman (1980) note, with the exception of the Brown site Osage sites dating to the eighteenth century show an ever greater number of European trade items, which eventually replaced aboriginal tools, housewares, and weapons. Among the most prized trade items were firearms with which they improved their hunting success and also acquired political power and advantage over neighboring tribes to the west. Slave trade may have affected Osage demography as well (Wiegiers 1988). Throughout the 1700s the Osage were known for their warlike stance and unwillingness to surrender their control over land and trade routes to Europeans or other Indians (Bailey 1973:34). Osage provided French trading houses with deer, bear, and buffalo skins and buffalo meat (Nasatir 1952). They also engaged in Indian slave trade (Wiegiers 1988), raiding the Caddos of the Arkansas and Red River, who were removed from major trading routes and had minimal access to firearms at the time. Another source of wealth among the Osage was the horse, which they acquired or stole from the Kiowas and Caddos and traded with Mississippian tribes and European settlers. Even though the French government outlawed Indian slavery as early as 1720, Indian slave trade increased along with African slave trade after the establishment of plantations in Louisiana and Illinois, which became the agricultural capitals of New France.

French trading houses rapidly built monopoly over fur trade and agriculture along the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, and the colonies of Fort Orleans and Fort Chartres flourished (Foley 1971,I). From these colonies, another economic enterprise--lead

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

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

### **Spanish Colonial Period (1770-1803)**

The defeat of the French in 1763 and subsequent taking over the Illinois colony by the Spanish in 1769 had huge impacts over the Osage and neighboring tribes. Chief among these impacts were the dismissal of missions and presidios in Texas that negatively affected the Caddoan tribes, and the formation of a loose alliance between the Spanish colony and the Osage, which stimulated the Osage to expand their hunting and trapping territory from the north bank of the Missouri on the north to the Arkansas River on the south, and from the eastern Ozark escarpment on the east to the Great Salt Plain on the west (Bolton 1914:167). The Osage monopoly over the plains-prairie throughout most of the eighteenth century came to its height at this time. Their hegemony, according to Rollings (1992:7), was based upon several factors: a large population, a strategic location, abundant natural resources from three ecosystems, and an adaptable culture. They outnumbered their Indian and European neighbors, allowing them to maintain political autonomy while keeping the gates to the West under their control (Talbot 1989).

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

licensed to trade with them (Nasatir 1926:67). The Osage, ignoring this mandate, continued to trade at the Arkansas Post and to raid to protect their economic and political status.

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

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

The Osage's main strategy to adapt to hostile conditions while continuing to profit from the trade appears to have been tribal segmentation. As described by Foley and Rice (1983:47), after 1777 the Big and Little Osage villages remained independent but stable on their Osage River locations; a third village formed next to Fort Carondelet at about 1795. During hunting season, however, the tribal parties ventured deep into the western prairies and, as early as the 1780s, a dissenting group under a chief called Le Chenier or The Oak, moved to the three forks in the Oklahoma-Arkansas border, where game was plentiful. They defied the authority of both the Spaniards and the Missouri Osages and were outlawed in 1787. In the 1790s a group under the leadership of Clermont moved to the Verdigris River of Oklahoma, where the Choteaus kept a prosperous post. And finally, around 1802 a group under Chief Big Track or Casheseagra, joined the Clermont party. At the turn of the century Clermont was the effective leader of all the Arkansas Osages whereas White Hair or Pa-Hiu-Skah remained the dominant chief of the Missouri Osages. But as Foley and Rice comment, there is great confusion surrounding the dates and events of tribal segmentation.

Several reasons for the tribal split may be suggested. First, segmentation allowed the Arkansas Osage to expand their hunting and trapping grounds into Caddoan territory and to acquire buffalo. A need to expand hunting territories may have been created by the

intrusion of emigrant tribes into the Osage's most bountiful hunting grounds in the Ozarks, particularly along the White River. Groups of Cherokee, Shawnee, Delaware, and Peoria, among others, that had been relocated to the west bank by the Spaniards, now lived and/or hunted on traditional Osage grounds (see Chapter Five). Rollings (1992:185) relates how violent the Osage became when the immigrant Illinois groups, with whom they normally had peaceful relationships, penetrated the eastern escarpment to hunt. He states,

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

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

At this point of the narrative it becomes difficult to explain the historic developments of the Missouri Osage without briefly mentioning the activities of influential individuals such as Pierre Laclede and his stepson and clerk, Auguste Choteau. Both arrived in Missouri in 1763 and proceeded to build a trading post that would soon become St. Louis. Arriving at the time of retreat of French forces to New Orleans, Laclede had to recruit new settlers for St. Louis among French and English people who preferred to live under the Spanish rule (Foley 1971,I:17). Laclede and, later, the Choteau family, were the first traders to take advantage of the Spanish licensing system, which allowed them to build a strong commercial empire west of the Mississippi River and to control all trade with the western tribes. Auguste and his little brother Pierre Choteau played a critical role in the diplomatic relations between the Osage and the Spanish colony (see Nasatir 1926), and also made it possible for at least one Osage band to split and move to the three-forks area on the Arkansas-Oklahoma border where the Choteaus had a trading post and could

assure them a profitable trade partnership (Rollings 1992:198). Pierre Choteau, in particular, grew up among the Osage, knew their language and customs intimately, and understood their traditional rules of interaction (Foley and Rice 1983:21). This knowledge gave him great political and economic advantage both among the Indians and among the colonial authorities. In time, such knowledge would allow the Choteau family to occupy prominent positions in the governance of the Indian tribes of the American frontier.

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

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

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

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

Finally, changes in inter-tribal relations that were either brought about by European colonization or exacerbated by it, include extensive slave trade, raiding, and unlikely alliances as well as enmities that influenced the way in which the Osage and other neighboring tribes used their land and resources. Wiegers (1988:196), citing La Flesche (1921:54) adds that slave trade may have also impacted Osage social organization by adding two new clans and also influencing the change to matrilocality. Wiegers further suggests that these changes may have been the result of increase in population due to the presence of captive females from other tribes, and also of cultural interaction with these captives. Slavery may have caused some depopulation among the Osage, leading them to replace population by acquiring captives from other tribes and hence to maintain a critical demographic mass for their survival.

### **Early American Period (1803-1830)**

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

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

One of the first difficult governing decisions concerned the legality of colonial land grants issued by the French and Spanish government to White settlers on the west bank and the huge fraudulent land speculation that went on just before and after the Purchase. A second bill was drawn to terminate any land grants established after 1800, to designate

Indiana as the governing place for the new territory, and to consider relocating eastern Indian tribes to the west bank. This bill was received with even more pronounced opposition from the territory settlers. After numerous unfortunate incidents, Louisiana finally achieved self governance in 1805, with James Wilkinson as the new governor.

Wilkinson's first responsibility was to deal with the defensive and military issues in the frontier, and so one of his resolutions, which had been promised earlier to the Indians, was to open a "factory" or government-sponsored trading house offering reasonably priced goods to the region's tribes. This was to be Fort Bellefontaine, built on the Missouri River four miles above its mouth. But this factory did not stop the British from continuing their commerce in American territory, which prompted Wilkinson to charge Zebulon Montgomery Pike with the task of exploring the source of the Mississippi River in search for the best sites to locate military posts and factories (Foley 1971, I:114; Coues 1895:83). A second federal trading factory was built at the mouth of the Arkansas River; even though the traders at this factory were prohibited by Wilkinson to trade with the Arkansas Osage they continued to do so as the Osage were the ones still bringing in the majority of the furs. Wilkinson's unpopular military endeavors ended soon thereafter, with the return of Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and their Corps of Discovery from the famed expedition to the Pacific Coast (1804-1806).

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

In 1806 Wilkinson departed his post as Lewis and Clark returned from their expedition. Jefferson took their successful return as an opportunity to appoint these popular and respected individuals to key territorial offices. So in 1807 Lewis was made governor, Pierre Choteau was appointed Agent for the Osage Indians, and Clark was appointed agent for the remaining territorial tribes. The significance of these appointments lies in the fact that no one in Jefferson's tenure knew better than Lewis, Clark, and the Choteaus

the strategic value of the Missouri River drainage for opening the West to colonization and settlement. Together, they combined an intimate knowledge of the Indians and the landscape with political power and the ability to translate plans into action.

Having survived yet another change in political power, the Choteaus renewed their efforts to consolidate the Osage in the north, where they were more easily accessible by boat. Jefferson's mandate to consolidate the bands to make room for relocating the eastern tribes thus worked to the advantage of the Choteaus. These political maneuvers destroyed the traditional polities of the Osage River bands, while helping the splinter bands on the Arkansas keep their old dual chief system alive. These bands were strong, prosperous, and better able to resist the traders' manipulation than the Missouri ones. The northern Osage who sought to move south were lured by the Arkansas Osage's prosperity (Rollings 1992:220). It was at this point that the Osage hegemony of the plains-prairie began to collapse under new pressures, particularly the increase in Indian emigrants in the Ozark highlands and the arrival of the first White settlers there. Jefferson had originally intended to reserve the west bank that is now Missouri exclusively for Indian habitation. However, the findings of the Corps of Discovery stimulated White settlers into migrating there--as early as 1807 the first White settler had arrived to the Current River area. As both Indians and non-Indians depended on game for a big portion of their food supplies, the Osage continued to harass these newcomers to keep them away from their hunting grounds.

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

Upon the White Hair's return from the hunt and relocation to Fort Osage in September 1808, Indian Agent Clark took advantage of their peace-making efforts and convinced the Osage chief to sign the Fort Osage Treaty, whereby they ceded to the United States all their lands located to the east of the Osage River, that is, their vast forest hunting grounds in the Ozark highlands (Figure 4). This was a highly questionable treaty, as many of the chiefs were not present at its signing and many more did not even hear about it. It took Choteau months to renegotiate the treaty and numerous threats to get all the necessary signatures; the treaty was not ratified until 1810 (Fausz 2000:36). Nevertheless, the implications of this treaty were devastating to the Osage, who saw their lands reduced to a sliver between their Osage River villages and the Kansas border. They had ceded about 50,000 square miles of prime land in exchange for a meager 1,400 dollars in payment and

1,200 dollars in annuities. They were also to be provided with a blacksmith, a grain mill, plows, two log houses, and a trading post (Rollings 1992:224). The Osage, particularly those not present at the treaty signing, later contended that they had never intended to give up their hunting rights but only to share them with the United States, as they had before shared with other friendly nations. Even though Clark later conceded that the Osage had been adamant about keeping their hunting rights on the White River, they were not to keep these lands as the final draft of the treaty eliminated such rights there.

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

In contrast to the fate of the Missouri Osage, the Arkansas Osage fared far better in their dealings with the United States at that time. In 1809 Governor Bates, who replaced Lewis, obtained from Clermont II and Big Track a willing signature of a version of the original 1808 treaty covering the same tract of land. Through this treaty the Arkansas Osage finally received official recognition of their chiefly status, acknowledgement of their permanent independence from the Missouri bands, and the reinstatement of trade without sacrificing their hunting territory (Rollings 1992:229; Fausz 2000:37). They continued to prosper for many years.

**Subsequent Land Cessions.** By 1813 the number of emigrant Indian communities had grown so rapidly, particularly the Cherokee colony living around the Arkansas Osage, that the federal government sent them an Indian Agent, Mj William Lovely. Finding that the Cherokee and the Osage were in a violent war over hunting territory, in 1816 Lovely convinced the Osage to sell them the land between the Cherokee relocation area and the Verdigris River. This purchase, however, went unratified by the federal government. In 1817 the Cherokee, who had obtained a promise to get as much land in the west as they had ceded in the east, began an all-out war against the Osage, destroying Clermont II village and taking numerous captives. Fort Smith was built on the Arkansas River as a way to control the war. The Cherokee convinced Clark to give them the land on the Verdigris as spoils of war and in 1818 Clark succeeded in obtaining a session from the Osage, who received \$4,000 in exchange for the land. They also allowed the Cherokee passage through their lands to the bison plains, but did not stop from making plans for revenge. In 1821 another Cherokee raid killed numerous Osage during the winter hunt and weakened them to the point of signing a peace treaty in June of the following year (Bailey 1973:55-56).

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

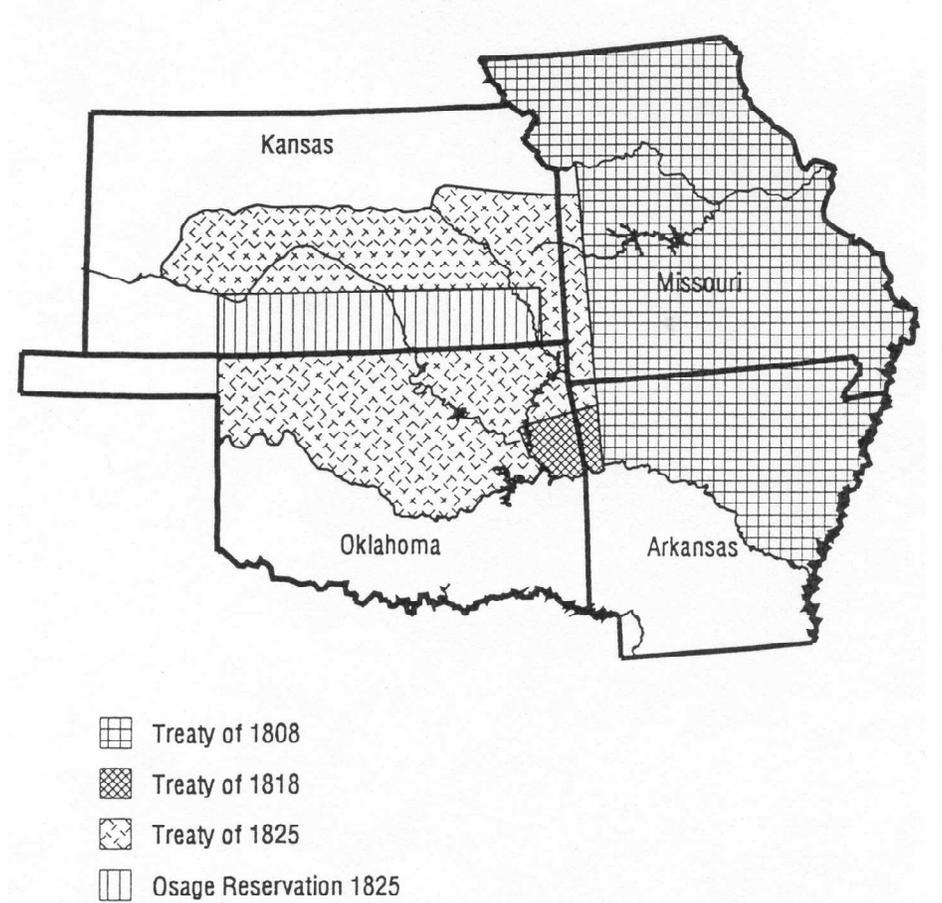


Figure 4. Osage Land Sessions in the nineteenth century (after Wolferman 1997)

## **Late American Period (1830-1870)**

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

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

From 1850 to 1870, thousands of White settlers flooded into Kansas, as land cessions in that state reached the 18,000,000 acres. Some settlers even took up farming within the Osage reserve. The intrusion affected Osages in every way, as the settlers destroyed the game and stole their horses. This situation worsened during the Civil War, when livestock and farms were all but razed, leaving the Osage with only 50 acres of cultivated land. Taking advantage of this weakened situation, in 1865 the government convinced them to cede another portion of their Kansas reservation, which immediately filled with settlers. Aside from the delay in payment for the lands, conflict with the settlers and with the plains tribes ensued, further cornering the Osage. In 1869 they were forced to cede all remaining land in Kansas. Although the treaty was not ratified until 1870 and a new reservation had not been selected, the Kansas settlers took over the reservation, cutting timber and destroying all Indian property. The Osage had to contend with the squatters for another two years until the establishment of their reserve in the Oklahoma Territory. By 1871, they numbered 3,678 full-blooded individuals splintered into seven bands according to the census, but perhaps even more according to other observers.

## **Osage Hunting**

Treaty rights provided for the preservation of subsistence hunting. The Osage hunted a variety of game, which included a number of smaller and larger mammals. Although the Osage consist of three separate groups (Little, Big and Arkansas) their subsistence strategies in terms of hunting were quite similar, with the bison being the primary animal taken. Although various periods of Euroamerican contact would alter Osage subsistence strategies, securing game appears to have been the prime subsistence activity as far as in the past as the Osage can be traced historically (Chapman 1974:15). Hunting was the duty of men and although women may have assisted in the butchering activities and accompanied men on the hunt actual hunting was left to the men. Men were unwilling to abandon hunting, because their hunting skills defined them. Good men were good hunters who provided game for their family (Rollings 2004:97). Hunting not only provided much-needed subsistence for Osage families but also acted as a lucrative and necessary enterprise with increased interaction with Euroamericans. Hunting also allowed men to move the horses away from overcrowded villages and to spend long periods of time in the wilderness. Furthermore, as a hunter the man was not only required to acquire sufficient game to feed and cloth his family, but was also expected to acquire surplus food to entertain guests and to secure hides and horses to be used as gifts (Bailey and Swan 2004:60).

## **Hunting Territory**

Marriot notes that “how far hunting territories extended depended on the kind of game which furnished a tribe’s major source of subsistence” (Marriot 1974:27). For example, the buffalo herds of the plains followed an established seasonal migratory pattern, but they also fluctuated toward the upland valleys during certain climatic conditions. The herds also sought mineral-rich soils or salt licks, which abound in northern Arkansas. References to Osages in Mexico indicate that buffalo-hunting tribes maintained a type of “border patrol” of their hunting lands, watching each other’s movements and always ready to protect their boundaries; this was especially true along the Osage-Pawnee boundary. The introduction of the horse in the late 1600s allowed the Osage to exploit resources well beyond traditional hunting territories. “They began hunting buffalo on the Wichita hunting grounds along the Arkansas and deer in the southern Ozark and Quachita forests” (Rollings 2004:25). In his description of Osage villages and hunting territories around 1820, Sibley “indicates that the Osage must have hunted the whole of the Ozark Plateau, including the whole of the Boston Mountains [and White River Watershed,] and descended into the southeast Missouri valley, through which the St. Francis, Black, Current and Eleven Point streams flowed after originating in the Ozark Plateau” (as cited in Voget 1974:119).

Even though the Osage exploited resources over a vast area, increased Euroamerican interaction and U.S. governmental Indian policy greatly reduced these areas. A treaty planned by Governor Meriweather Lewis ceded former Osage lands to the United States but preserved use rights. The treaty stipulated that the Osage “would be allowed to hunt

as they had done formerly on “all tract of country, west of the north and south boundary line, on which they, the said Great and Little Osage, have usually hunted or resided” (Mathews 1961:390). With the establishment of the treaty-stipulated fort in the heart of Osage country, many of the Great Osage would come to the fort for hunting supplies and provisions before beginning their winter and summer hunts. However, in 1808 the Osage parted with their land along the Mississippi River and in 1825, they ceded all lands in Missouri and Arkansas to the United States and moved to Oklahoma (Fletcher and LaFlesche 1911:57).

## **Seasonality**

The Osage organized three grand hunts a year unless a threat to their villages was impending (Burns 1984:97). Two of which were the spring and fall buffalo hunts while the third was the winter hunt for deer and fur bearing animals. In addition to the grand hunts many smaller-scale less communal hunts took place from winter to the spring. Tixier describes two seasons for Osage hunting activity. The autumn year (fall) began in October and ended in March. During this time the hides and pelts of many animals (e.g. bison, deer, and wolf) were collected and prepared. The summer hunt began during the early part of June until mid-August (McDermott et al. 1940:140).

Rollings (2004:174) suggests that even in the 1870s, when the Osage came into sustained contact with Quakers and Catholics, traditional cultural and economic activities continued and the Osage made their summer and winter buffalo hunts on the plains. However, the winter hunt of 1873 would be their last large-scale successful buffalo hunt because Indian agents began calling them back to reservation confinement. The Red River War that ensued prevented the Osage from going on their winter hunt. In the spring of 1876, the Osage conducted their last plains buffalo hunt ignoring orders from the Indian agent to stay confined on the reservation. Ultimately, Euroamerican settlement and reservation confinement proved disastrous for Osage hunting practices in terms of seasonality and territories and this life-way slowly dissolved.

## **The Summer, Fall and Winter Hunts**

Although Osage scholars and ethnographers refer to two primary large-scale hunts in the fall and summer, a third hunt also took place during the winter months. The hunt was conducted from the main villages. The game consisted primarily of deer or “smaller” animals commonly found in the uplands. Large groups of hunters would break up into smaller groups and radiate out from the village in all directions patiently waiting to ambush the animals. Burns also indicates that at times these groups would hunt bears that recently entered into hibernation because their flesh was excellent due to recent hibernation (Burns 1984:108). The purpose of the summer hunt was to secure meat and tallow (Bailey and Swanson 2004:55). Bailey and Swanson suggest that these hunts only took about two or three weeks and after the hunting was over the party remained in the hunting camp on the plains to pursue other ventures. The fall hunt was used to procure not only subsistence resources but furs as well to make robes for the cold winter months.

## **Organization**

Bailey and Swan suggests that for the buffalo hunt the Sky and Earth chiefs from various villages would meet and agree on the hunting areas that each village would exploit. At times villages may organize joint hunts to maintain peaceful relationships.

Because Osage chiefs had joint responsibility for the overall well-being of the group the chiefs usually led the summer and fall buffalo hunts and were entitled to a part of every animal killed (Bailey and Swan 2004:50). The chiefs were responsible for the safety of the hunters during the hunt. Chiefs would command until the hunting party arrived at the place of the selected camp (Burns 1984:101). Burns suggests that during the buffalo hunt, once the hunters reached the base camp the Director of the Hunt and his Soldiers took charge of the hunt.

Mathews indicates that each unit of hunters was organized according to the old tribal hunting organization of the Little Old Men. Many hunters attached stag beetles to their shot and wadding pouches, because the beetle brought good luck (Mathews 1961:453). Once the Director of the Hunt took over he had to insure the safety of the group and was responsible to devise a fair and successful hunt (Burns 1984:103-104). Ceremonial pauses were observed as the hunter approached the herd by recognized tribal authorities including the Director and his Soldiers sitting on their horses side-by-side, the smoking of a ceremonial pipe to ensure protection from accidents, arguments over the kill, or bloodshed over dividing the kill, and the holding back of hunters so that the ceremonies would not be interrupted (Burns 1984:103).

## **Game Hunted by the Osage**

The Osage hunted a variety of animals including deer, bear, and beaver; however bison was the primary animal taken. Tixier describes the deer hunt as largely a group effort. Upon seeing a deer Osage hunters would pursue it on horseback. The Osage hunters are well aware of the fact that deer, antelope and stag would run for a little while then stop and look at their pursuers, start again and stop. Furthermore, as previously mentioned Tixier indicates that during the winter hibernating bears would be killed.

**Buffalo.** For the most part buffalo was the primary subsistence resource of many of the plains tribes including the Osage. Although buffalo was not common in the Ozark uplands, small groups of buffalo were commonly sighted (particularly in the winter) on wooded areas in the valleys that cut dissect the escarpment. As Mari Sandoz indicates, “The buffalo was almost the sole subsistence of the plains Indian – his shelter, food, clothing, and fuel. The buffalo furnished most of the amusement and entertainment too, and was involved in many of the Indians tests of courage and character, and a large part of his ethics and religion” (cited in Marriot 1974:28). For example, Marriot indicates that “the buffalo was hunted in the winter by small, independent but organized parties of the tribe, but not subject to ceremonial exactions of the ceremonial hunt” (Marriot 1974:55). The pelts secured at this time were for bedding or for warmer garments. The texture of the hide was not conducive to fine dressing. The hides of the buffalo killed in the fall or

early winter were used to make the best robes (Marriot 1974:55). The habitual movements of the buffalo and their availability determined Osage annual movements during the spring and fall (Voget 1974:228). Moreover, as previously stated, the regularity of the buffalo movements was very important to other plains tribes as well (Voget 1974:228).

Burns suggests that during the Grand Buffalo Hunt the grand *Tsi shu* chief led the people on the first day's journey to the base camp (Burns 1984:101). Once the camp was reached the Director of the Hunt and soldiers took charge of the hunt. Before the large scale use of hunting horses among the Osage, stampeding was used to hunt buffalo. Mathews (1961) describes the Osage process of stampeding by driving them over steep canyon walls. The buffalo would be driven through a gourd-shaped drive moving toward the neck. Men were "painted like demons," hiding behind stone cairns and would show themselves to keep the buffalo moving through the drive. Bailey and Swan (2004:54) indicate that Osage buffalo hunting strategies were quite different from those of other plains tribes, particularly those that did not have access to steep topography in their hunting territories. In the morning, the hunters would move as close to the herd as possible and independently pursued the buffalo at the given signal. The hunters would try and disable the buffalo, after which they would return and continue to kill, skin and butcher the animals. At times the hunter would be forced to stay with the animal butchering it through the night and returning to camp the next day. Tixier described the butchering process as follows, "he first cuts off the tail and tongue, which belong by right to the one who killed the beast. The tails is the trophy of the conquer. The skin is split under the belly by a long cut; the hunter drinks the milk, if the beast is a cow then he cuts off the udders and skin. The Osage then chose their meat" (cited in McDermott et al. 1940:193).

## **Hunting Camps**

Mathews suggests that the buffalo hunting camps seem to have had no formal arrangement, at least much later in historical times. For ceremonial purposes the lodges were arranged in sevens for each of the grand divisions, the *Tzi-Sho* and *Hunkah* (Mathews 1961:85). Mathews describes these divisions:

"Between the *Tzi-Sho* on the north and the *Hunkah* on the south, there was always a clear avenue running east and west. Standing in the avenue between the two chiefs' lodges, which were opposite each other and were in the middle of the first line of lodges, facing east, one found the *Tzi-Sho* group of lodges on his left to the north, and the *Hunkah* group on his right to the south. The north is the direction of consistent light and the direction of periodic play of the Aurora Borealis even on the thirty-eighth parallel. The *Tzi-Sho*, the peace people, were ever associated with north, whence came constant light, and ever therefore associated with the left from orientation, while the *Hunkah* were ever associated with the south and right" (Mathews 1961:85).

All the openings the lodges except the chiefs, which had both east and west openings, were opened to the east so the hunters could pray to *Wah'Kon-Tah* every morning (Mathews 1961:86). Voget suggests that from accounts by Sibley, Tixier and Boone the conclusion can be drawn that the three major divisions of Osage (Little, Big and Arkansas) were in the habit of moving their buffalo hunting camps west and northwest of the Great Salt Plains during June and July (Voget 1974:236).

### **Weaponry**

Before the widespread use of firearms among the Osage, the bow was the primary weapon used for hunting large game including elk, deer, antelope and bison. “Longbows were considered very personal items and the owner would frequently incise the weapon with pictures of the hunt and warfare, creating his own autobiography” (Bailey and Swan 2004:71). With the introduction of the horse, curved bows became popular for use by hunters on horseback in pursuit of bison. On the hunt, hunters would aim for the flanks of the animals in order to make them limp and cause them to move in a circular pattern (Bailey and Swan 2004:80). This allowed the hunters without a horse to utilize their long bows and war clubs to subdue the animal. Yet, the rifles would prove to be the most effective weapon on the buffalo hunt. On his travels Tixier indicates that a well-aimed arrow or bullet is generally sufficient to kill a buffalo and that he had witnessed a buffalo which had been struck by more than twenty bullets before it fell (McDermott et al. 1940:194). Bows were made of Osage Orange, a superb flexible wood that was commonly harvested in the wooded valleys near the Oklahoma-Arkansas border. These bows were known also as trade items.

## CHAPTER FIVE EMIGRANT TRIBES

The emigrant tribes are groups of eastern American Indians who ceded their land in exchange for relocation west of the Mississippi River. Some groups migrated from the eastern United States to the west to escape European, mainly English, and later American encroachment upon their lands. Other groups were removed forcibly by the U.S. government who sought to implement Indian removal policies. Even though the area to the west of the Mississippi River was occupied by Indian tribes, this area and specifically the Ozark Mountains and some river valleys in Missouri and Arkansas became both a refuge from settler depredations and endemic Indian wars and a place for temporary relocation of numerous tribal groups who were seeking a permanent reservation somewhere in the West. Several groups settled for certain periods of time along the White River and tributaries and, allegedly, the Cherokee had campsites on the tributaries of the Buffalo River (Davis 1987).

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

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

### **The Forces of Emigration**

It would be inaccurate to begin a discussion of the historic tribal emigration process without at least a cursory mention of the Iroquois League wars, which in through most of the seventeenth century wrecked havoc on the eastern portion of North America and caused massive population dislocation; its effects were felt hundreds of miles away from the actual battlefields. Numerous eastern tribes who lived near the Iroquois, as for

example the Delaware, Shawnee, Sioux and Illinois, suffered impacts of various degrees of severity, some becoming too weak or splintered to fight the advance of European conquest and colonization.

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

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

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

### **The Eastern Cherokee**

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

At the time of European contact the main concentration of the Cherokee people appears to have been the southeastern United States in the southern Appalachians including areas of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Most of these areas inhabited by Cherokee people have been hill or low mountain areas. Cherokee settlement patterns at the time of contact consisted of small villages spread over an area with a

ceremonial center that served the surrounding villages. Cherokee maintained small family gardens, and also used various wild plant and animal resources around them. The annual cycle was complete with religious observances that coincided with planting and harvesting. One of the most important ceremonies was the annual New Fire ceremony when everyone would re-light their home fires with the new fire ceremonially rekindled from the ancient fire. Other well-known ceremonies involved going to war and returning from war, both requiring intense purification rituals.

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

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

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

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

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

When the first Cherokee crossed the Mississippi it is impossible to say, but there was probably never a time in the history of the tribe when their warriors and hunters were not accustomed to make excursions beyond the great river...

According to an old tradition, earliest migration took place soon after the first treaty with Carolina, when a portion of the tribe, under the leadership of Yunwi-usga'se'ti, "Dangerous Man," foreseeing the inevitable end of yielding to the demands of the colonists, refused to have any relation with the white man, and took up their long march for the unknown West (Mooney 1900:99).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Garrett and Hensen mention a migration of Cherokee in 1790 under Chief Rogers who “settled in or near what is now the site of Dardanelle” on the Arkansas River (Garrett and Hensen 1996:21). Here Cherokee also clashed with the Arkansas Osages as two splinter bands of Osage claimed this area of the Arkansas River as living and hunting grounds. Cherokee Chief Duwali (a.k.a. Chief Bowl, the Bowl) also led a group of followers to settle on the St. Francis River in northeastern Arkansas. Mooney recounts the Bowl migration, according to “Reverend Cephas Washburn, the pioneer missionary of the western Cherokee, the first permanent Cherokee settlement beyond the Mississippi was the direct result of the massacre, in 1794, of the Scott party at Muscle shoals, on the Tennessee River, by hostile warriors of the Chickamauga towns” (Mooney 1900:100; Hoig 1998:103).

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

By 1802 the Cherokee were one of the 24 tribes listed by Laussat as having established relationships with the French in Louisiana (Garrett and Hensen 1996:21), indicating that, in spite of their allegiance to England and Spain, the emigrant Cherokee sought the friendship of yet another colonial faction and probably involved their participation in the fur trade. Indeed, after the Louisiana Purchase the Cherokee in Missouri and Arkansas were already established in Osage hunting grounds, particularly the Ozark highlands, and had fully developed a violent relationship with the Osage. One example is the war that the Cherokee declared on the Osage in January 1805. On occasion of this war more

eastern Cherokee went west to fight the Osage along side their emigrant relatives (Hoig 1998:103-104). According to Hoig, at this time Chief Konnetue was the chief of the St. Francis Cherokee. There was another primarily Chickamauga migration 1,130 strong to Cherokee settlements previously established on the Arkansas River at or near Dardanelle in 1808 (Garrett and Hensen 1996:22).

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

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

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

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

The Cherokee reservation in Arkansas remained until 1828 when a fateful new treaty cemented an agreement that the Arkansas Cherokee would relocate to lands west of the Arkansas state line, into Indian Territory. This treaty was signed by a small delegation of Cherokee leaders that went to Washington to negotiate with the federal government. This

delegation had no authority to cede any land belonging to any group or band of Cherokee. The United States Congress quickly ratified the treaty in 22 days and treated it as law. Not all Arkansas Cherokee relocated west but instead tried to remain, and others joined their relatives in Missouri (Garrett and Hensen 1996:27; Markman 1972). This treaty would stand as the American justification and precedent of the 1835 Treaty of New Echota which was used to force the removal known as the Trail of Tears.

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

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

### **Lenni Lenape (Delaware)**

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

The Delaware spoke dialects of two closely related Eastern Algonquian languages, Munsee and Unami. ... The groups here treated together never formed a single political unit, and the name Delaware, which was first applied only to the Indians of the middle Delaware Valley, was extended to cover all of these groups only after they had migrated away from their

eastern homelands. This piecemeal westward migration in the face of White settlement and its attendant pressures ... left the Delaware in a number of widely scattered places in southern Ontario, western New York, Wisconsin, Kansas, and Oklahoma.

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

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

Newcomb portrays the Lenape not as one large unified political unit, but as "a large number of small dispersed and essentially autonomous groups" (Newcomb 1956:9). This being the case, it is no surprise that historians have had a difficult time trying to discern from the historical record a discreet political unit. Various groups in different areas were known by various names. Goddard places the Munsee speakers at the northern half of Delaware lands including southeastern New York State, Manhattan and the Hudson River valley, western Long Island, northeastern Pennsylvania and the northern third of New Jersey. The Unami speakers he divides into Northern Unami, mid-eastern Pennsylvania, and middle New Jersey, and Southern Unami, southeastern Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey and surrounding Delaware Bay (Goddard 1978:214). Newcomb adds a discussion of a third possible Lenape group known as Unalachtigo, however, the name is not of Munsee or Unami dialect. For Newcomb it appears to refer to many native groups of southern New Jersey. They clearly spoke Algonquian dialects but may or may not have been of "Delaware" origin. Goddard seems to identify these peoples as Southern Unami.

In describing Delaware subsistence, Goddard mentions the Delaware used fire to clear fields in late autumn, "after the leaves fell" (Goddard 1978:216). Fields were used for corn planting and other crops including beans of several varieties, squash, and native tobacco. Nuts and berries were collected at the appropriate time. The people hunted year round with an intensity in late fall (Goddard 1978:217). Newcomb mentions that the

cultivation of tobacco was the exclusive right of post-menopausal women. Moreover tobacco was prepared as two portions to one portion of wild sumac (Newcomb 1956:14). The Lenape housing consisted of multiple family longhouses, built in semipermanent winter settlements, sometimes clustered on hilltops behind stockades of logs and trees. When not stockaded, 'villages' were apt to consist of a scattering of houses spread over a considerable area. The population was especially mobile in the summer, but settlements were established near the cornfields and small houses are mentioned for the temporary hunting and fishing camps. (Goddard 1978:218-219)

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

Goddard cites Wroth who claims that the earliest European contact occurred in 1524 when Giovanni da Verrazano came to New York harbor. The Delaware recall first contact to have been with Spanish or Portuguese people (Goddard 1978:220). Later, more intense contact occurred with the Dutch as these began to trade and colonize the Hudson River Valley, the main impetus being the hunger for furs, established a trading fort in what became Albany, and "purchased" Manhattan Island. Conflicts with the Dutch began at least as early as the 1643 (Goddard 1978:221). Migrations in the early colonial period resulted from colonial pressure to vacate land, armed conflict, and eventually, by treaty negotiation. Several large Delaware groups moved out of the Delaware and Schuylkill River Valleys and relocated to the area of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River between 1709 and 1742. During the French and Indian War, some Delaware crossed the Allegheny Mountains to settle in western Pennsylvania. In 1768 the Delaware east of the Allegheny Mountains joined those that had crossed west of the mountains (Weslager 1978:13).

The French and Indian War began in 1754. The Iroquois confederacy sided with the English. Many Delaware were living in the Susquehanna River Valley which was Iroquois- controlled land. The Delaware did not, however, side with the English just because the Iroquois, who perceived themselves to be the lords of the Delaware, chose to do so. Weslager reports that in 1752 a group of 250 Delaware families under Shingas settled in the Ohio River Valley in western Pennsylvania (Weslager 1978:17). This group allied themselves with Shawnee warriors, and being supplied by the French, warred upon the English and their colonists (Weslager 1978:18). In 1758 the English took Fort Duquesne, bringing the French and Indian War to a close. The Delaware that opposed the

English made peace with them, thus jeopardizing their land holdings on the Susquehanna River. Anglo encroachment sent these Delaware westward at the invitation of the Wyandot to lands in Ohio along the Tuscarawas and Muskingum Rivers, which feed into the Ohio River (Weslager 1978:24).

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

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

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

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

The Shawnee and Delaware Indians first settled in southeastern Missouri in about 1784. When Colonel George Morgan came down the Ohio in the fall of 1788 to take possession of the extensive grant which he thought he had secured from the Spanish government, he found a small band of about twenty Delaware Indians camped in the bottoms, in what is now Mississippi county, on the west bank of the Mississippi (Houck 1908, I:208).

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

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

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

Lynn Morrow found a reference that notes Kaskaskia merchants “had a well-established winter trade with Delawares near the mouth of the Ohio River during the 1770’s (Morrow 1981:150). Morrow also notes that the Delaware along with Shawnee and Creek settled near New Madrid. She points out that Delaware that had settlements in the Missouri-Arkansas border; before the War of 1812 they began to move further west after the war, settling on Jack’s Fork of the Current River and also the James River (Morrow 1981:151-152). Houck lists other sites of Lenape and Shawnee villages including a Lenape village in 1806 on the White River, near Forsythe, in what is now Taney County; a village on the James’ Fork, in what is now Christian county; and a village on Wilson’s Creek, in what is now Greene county; in addition, Shawnee and Delaware villages were located on the Maramec and Current rivers, and on the headwaters of the Gasconade, and other points in the interior (Houck 1908, I:218). Houck also lists joint Shawnee and Lenape villages on the Castor River, near present day Bloomfield, Stoddard County around 1816, and near present Kennett (Houck 1908, I:217, 231).

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

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

Indiana gained statehood in 1816. Political pressure to remove all Indians from Indiana, and pressure from settlers jeopardized Indian livelihood in the state, according to

Weslager (Weslager 1978:71). President Jefferson had proposed the removal of all Native Americans to west of the Mississippi River into the Louisiana Territory. The Treaty of St. Mary in 1818 provided for the Delaware to relinquish their rights of occupancy in Indiana. Simultaneously the Miami, whose land the Delaware were invited to reside, ceded their lands in Indiana and Ohio to the United States. The Delaware were required to vacate Indiana by 1821 (Weslager 1978:77). The migration was staggered, not all Delaware groups traveled to Missouri Territory at the same time. Some Delaware groups were already living in Missouri. According to Morrow "Governors William Clark of Missouri, and James Miller of Arkansas ... agreed the James River valley would be a good interim reserve" (Morrow 1981:152). When Schoolcraft toured the Ozarks in 1819 he found Delaware villages and camps on the north fork of the White River and was impressed by their cleanliness and organization (Rafferty 1996).

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

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

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

From here the Lenape made residence in southwestern Missouri at James Fork, which feeds into the White River. There they established Anderson Village, which was also known as Delaware Village in present day Christian County (Weslager 1972:362;

1978:213). The main body of the Lenape remained here until they were relocated to eastern Kansas. Even though the Delaware and other tribes had settled in Missouri, even though they had spent the past fifty years relocating again and again, American settlers were not yet satisfied. Soon the state of Missouri would seek to remove the Delaware and eventually all Indian people from the state. “The Council Camp treaty on James Fork in September 1829, and the Castor Hill treaty [in St. Louis, 1832] completed the Delaware and Shawnee abrogation of all rights to improvements and land in Missouri” (Morrow 1981:165-166). After this, the Delaware were removed to the junction of the Kansas and Missouri Rivers, though some Delaware attempted to relocate to Texas with Chief Bowles of the Cherokee. This was not to be the final relocation which took the Lenape to Indian Territory, where they later applied to be citizens of the Cherokee Nation.

### **The Shawnee**

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

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

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

With this in mind, Callender asserts that there were two different kinds of subgroups of Shawnee. First, there are five divisions, which appear to be patrilineal and ethnic. These are Chalaka, Kishpoko, Mekoche, Pekowi, and Thawikila or sometimes written

Chawikila. A division was conceived as a distinct territorial unit centering on a town that bore its name. It also constituted a political and ritual unit in a pattern that resembled a Creek or Cherokee town (Callender 1978a:623). The second kind of subgroups seem to have arisen over the historic period due to the ongoing history of conflict, war, dispossession and relocation. Three subgroups would emerge through a long and complex process. These groups are the Eastern Shawnee, the Cherokee Shawnee and the Absentee Shawnee. To reduce and generalize, Callender states that “the Absentee Shawnee are apparently Kishpoko, Pekowi, and Thawikila; the Eastern Shawnee, Mekoche; and the Cherokee Shawnee, Mekoche and Chalaka” (Callender 1978a:624).

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

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

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

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

and Lenape migrated westward, many times a migrating group would contain a contingent of the other people.

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

In 1793 the Spanish regime made a land grant to the Indians near Cape Girardeau. This place became the home of Shawnee, Lenape, and a few Cherokee, Creek and other peoples. Recall that Cherokee were already in the area, from previous migrations west (see above discussion of Cherokee). Houck also records Native American residence in what is now the state of Missouri. As for the Shawnee, Houck records several residences. Houck places the first Shawnee and Delaware settlement in southeastern Missouri in 1784. By this time, Shawnee migrating westward were accompanied by migrating Lenape (Delaware) (Houck 1908, I:208). One of the most significant Shawnee villages was located on Apple Creek above Cape Girardeau (Houck 1908, I:212). He also mentions Shawnee and Delaware villages between the mouth of Cinque Homes creek and Flora creek above Cape Girardeau (Houck 1908, I:209).

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

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

And,

Some of these Indians removed to the borders of Castor and St. Francois rivers, west of White Water, and established villages in that territory. ... The Shawnees claimed the land east of the territory occupied by the Delawares [villages on the James Fork]. The Shawnee claim in that

territory embraced most of the counties of Taney, Ozark, Douglas, Webster, and Wright (Houck 1908, I:236).

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

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

Lankford points out that Shawnee and Delaware expanded westward from their Cape Girardeau settlements to eventually partially relocating along the White River in southwestern Missouri and northern Arkansas (not to be confused with the White River in Indiana where the Shawnee sojourned). There were numerous Shawnee villages along the Current and Jacks Fork rivers in Missouri. Shawnee and Delaware also settled on the Cherokee reservation, which was established in 1817 in present-day Arkansas between the Arkansas and White Rivers.

Warfare between the Osage and the Cherokee became constant with occasional events of heightened intensity. Cherokee allegiances with Shawnee and Delaware increased the possibility of escalation in the eyes of Agent Graham, who sought ways to preserve the peace in his territory. For example, Delaware Chief Anderson, wishing to avenge the murder of his son at the hand of Osage warriors, so he thought, gathered Delaware warriors, and invited Kickapoo and Cherokee warriors to join in the expedition against the Osage in March 1826 (Richard Graham Papers). Graham tried to encourage peace in the matter. As with the Lenape, the Shawnee were relocated to Kansas and later on to Indian Territory.

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Zedeño, Maria Nieves

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## SELECTED ANNOTATIONS

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*Report of the only emergent Mississippian mound site found in the eastern Ozarks; contains information on key transitional ceramic.s*

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

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

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1978 History of the Illinois Area. In Handbook of North American Indians. B. Trigger, ed. Pp. 594-601, Vol. 15, Northeast. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

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

Brain, J. P., A. Toth, and A. Rodriguez-Buckingham  
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*Only comprehensive work on the archaeology and history of the Tunica people.*

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Chapman, Carl H.  
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Fayetteville: Arkansas Archaeological Survey Research Series 41.

*Excellent summaries of excavation and analysis of two of the most significant multi-component sites in northern Arkansas, which have occupations dating as early as the Paleoindian period.*

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

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

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Esarey, Duane and Lawrence A. Conrad

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

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

Fletcher, Alice and Francis La Flesche

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

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

Foley, William E. and C. David Rice

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1996 History of the Northern Cherokee. Lyndon: Privately Published.

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

Gilliland, J. Eric and Michael J. O'Brien

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

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Graham, Richard

1819-1829 Papers. St. Louis.

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

Guendling, Randall L., George Sabo III, Margaret Guccione, Sandra L. Dunavan, and Susan L. Scott.

1990 Archaeological Investigations at 3MR80-Area D in the Ruch Development Area, Buffalo National River, Arkansas. Santa Fe: Southwest Cultural Resources Center Professional Papers 50.

*This report presents detailed description and analysis of a substantive prehistoric occupation in the Buffalo River. The early Mississippian component here is of particular significance.*

Haas, Mary R.

1950 Tunica Texts. University of California Publications in Linguistics 6(1):1-174.

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

Henige, David

1993 Proxy Data, Historical Method, and the De Soto Expedition. In *The Expedition of Hernando De Soto West of the Mississippi, 1541-1543*. Gloria Young and Michael Hoffman, ed. Pp. 155-172. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press.

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

Henning, Dale R.

1993 The Adaptive Patterning of the Dhegiha Sioux. *Plains Anthropologist* 38(146):253-264.

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

Hoffman, Michael P.

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

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

—

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

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

—

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

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

—

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

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

—

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

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

—

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

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

Hoig, Stanley W.

1998 *The Cherokees and Their Chiefs*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press.

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

Houck, Louis

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

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

—

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

*Contains translations of Spanish colonial documents on Indian affairs.*

Hudson, Charles M.

1985 *De Soto in Arkansas: A Brief Synopsis*. *Field Notes* 205:3-12.

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

Jeter, Marvin

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

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

Jeter, Marvin

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

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

Klinger, T. C., J. Smith, D. Dickson, M. Guccione, and S. Imhoff

1993 Dry Ford. Fayetteville: Historic Preservation Associates Report 93-02.

*Large descriptive report with data on the cultural history of Dry Ford sites in the Buffalo River.*

La Flesche, Francis

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

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

Lafferty, Robert H., III and James E. Price

1996 Southeast Missouri. In *Prehistory of the Central Mississippi Valley*. Charles H. McNutt, ed. Pp. 1-46. Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press.

*Contains detailed tables of chronometric assays for the area.*

Lafferty, R. H., III, N. Lopinot, and Colleagues

1988 Tracks in time, Archaeology at the Elk Track Site (3NW205) and the Webb Branch Site (3NW206), Erbie Campground Project, Buffalo National River, Newton County, Arkansas. Springdale, Ark.: Mid-Continental Research Associates.

*Report contains detailed description and analysis of Archaic and Mississippian components of these Buffalo River Sites.*

Lankford, George E.

1999 Shawnee Convergence: Immigrant Indians in the Ozarks. Arkansas Historical Quarterly.

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

Lynott, Mark, Susan Monk, and James Price

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

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

Lynott, Mark

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

*Report of two large emergent Mississippian sites in the park*

—

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

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

Lynott, M., H. Neff, J. E. Price, J. W. Cogswell, and M. D. Glascock

2000 Inferences About Prehistoric Ceramics and People in Southeast Missouri: Results of Ceramic Compositional Analysis. American Antiquity 65(1):103-126.

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

Lynott, Mark and James Price

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

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

Markman, R.

1972 *The Arkansas Cherokees: 1817-1828*. Ann Arbor: university Microfilms.

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

Mathews, John Joseph

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

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

Mochon, Marion J.

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

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

Mooney, James

1975 *Historical Sketch of the Cherokee*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

*Classic reference for eastern Cherokee trajectory.*

Moore, John H.

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

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

Morrow, Lynn

1981 *Trader William Gillis and the Delaware Migration in Southern Missouri*. *Missouri Historical Review*.

*Contains information on Delaware presence in the park.*

Morse, Dan F.

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

Archaeological Report 18.

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

---

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

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

Morse, Dan F.

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

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

Morse, Dan F. and Phyllis A. Morse

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

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

Nasatir, Abraham Phineas

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

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

Newcomb, William W. Jr.

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

*Classic source for reconstructing the trajectory of emigrant Delaware.*

O'Brien, Michael J.

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

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

O'Brien, Michael J., and Gregory L. Fox

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

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

O'Brien, Michael J., and W. Raymond Wood

1998 *The Prehistory of Missouri*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

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

—, ed.

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

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

Perttula, Timothy K.

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

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

Phillips, P., J. A. Ford, And J. B. Griffin

1951 *Archaeological Survey in the Lower Mississippi Alluvial Valley, 1940-1947*. Cambridge: Harvard University, Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology Papers No. 25.

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

Price, James E.

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

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

Price, J. E., C. R. Price, R. Saucier, and T. K. Perttula

1983 Archaeological Investigations in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, 1981-1982. Springfield, Missouri: Southwest Missouri State University, Center for Archaeological Research Report 447.

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

Price, James E.

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

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

Price, James E. and Cynthia R. Price

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

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

Rafferty, Milton D.

—, ed.

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

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

Rankin, Robert

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

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

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

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

Rollings, Willard H.

1992 *The Osage: An Ethnohistorical Study of Hegemony on the Prairie-Plains*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

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

Royce, C.C.

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

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

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

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

Sabo, George, III, R. Guendling, and Colleagues

1990 *Archaeological Investigations at 3MR80-Area D in the Rush Development Area, Buffalo National River, Arkansas*. Santa Fe: Southwest Cultural Resources Center Professional Papers, 38.

*Extensive cultural historical and regional comparative analysis the Dirst Site and other sites in the Rush Development area. Sabo's discussion of emergent Mississippian contexts and significance is particularly useful for cultural affiliation.*

Shea, John G., ed.

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

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

—, ed.

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

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

Swanton, John Reed

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

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

Tixier, Victor, John Francis McDermott, and Albert Jacques Salvan

1940 *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

*Contains detailed description of Osage life in the Kansas Reservation.*

Tucker, Sara J.

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

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

Vehik, S. C.

1993 *Dhegiha Origins and Plains Archaeology*. *Plains Anthropologist* 38:231-252.

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

Verwyst, Chrysostom

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

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

Wedel, Mildred M.

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

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

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

Williams, Stephen

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

*Contains original phase definition and description for southeast Missouri.*

Yelton, Jeffrey K.

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

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

Young, Gloria A., and Michael P. Hoffman

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

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