

# From Dalton to Shamans: Ten Thousand Years of Pulaski County Prehistory

By Dr. Richard Edging

[This article is based on a book on the archaeology of the northern Ozarks by Drs. Steven Ahler, Paul Kreisa, and Richard Edging. The book will be published by the U.S. Army MANSCEN & Fort Leonard Wood, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, the U.S. Army Construction Engineering Research Laboratory, Champaign, Illinois, and the Illinois State Museum Society, Springfield, Illinois.]

The Dalton point (a lance-like spear point dating to 8500-7900 B.C.), and by extension the Dalton period, were named for the owner of the land in Cole County, Missouri, . . . . Judge Samuel P. Dalton, who served on the Missouri Supreme Court from 1950 until his death in 1965.

(Michael J. O'Brien from *Paradigms of the Past: The Story of Missouri Archaeology*, 1996:25).

## Introduction

A few years ago on Roubidoux Creek, a wildlife biologist searching for feral pigs discovered a cave, a rock shelter, a rock mound and embedded within these sites, ancient rock art. Caves on Fort Leonard Wood are not unusual, but the discovery of Native American burial mounds and carvings are unique. A few times of year, I visit these archaeological sites and, whether the dead of winter or deep summer, the feeling is the same, one of wonder, awe, and mystery (Figure 1, above). As the post archaeologist at Fort Leonard Wood, I have spent the last fifteen years excavating archaeological sites and recording their remains across the installation. While this has put us on the archaeological map, nothing compares to the feeling from just sitting and listening to the silenced voices of those who came before. A thousand years ago, this group of sites was a thriving neighborhood. People hunted, fished, and made pottery. The smell of campfires up the valley mixed with laughter, children playing, dogs barking and men and women working. At night, stories were told and sacred rituals were performed. On large boulders overlooking the creek, medicine men carved symbols of Earth Mother, eagle, and clan. And in the caves and mounds, they buried their honored dead. These long-vanished tribes left a legacy of artifacts, sites, and other clues. Come with me now on an archaeological journey through time.

In 1818, Henry Schoolcraft traveled through what is now Phelps and Texas County describing the land as rugged, barely populated, and beautiful. In his recent settlement history of the northern Ozarks, Steven Smith noted the near absence of Native Americans at the beginning of the 19th century. While accurate enough, these descrip-

tions have contributed to a lasting impression of the Ozarks as a region of tremendous natural beauty that supported only limited numbers of people. Missouri archaeologists, based on little evidence, also assumed that our region was unpopulated or primarily a hunting zone for most of prehistory. The Fort Leonard Wood archaeological record tells a different story. It is a story that begins with the earliest inhabitants of Missouri and ends with a unique late prehistoric culture. Our findings contrast sharply with previous ideas, therefore this story can only be told through a careful description of remains left by ancient Native Americans. Whether stone, pottery, or radiocarbon dates, our conclusions explain the longevity and uniqueness of Native American cultures that once thrived in the hollows, bluff tops, and river bottoms of Fort Leonard Wood.

I view our archaeological record as a series of Native American cultures that are linked to, but not derived from, the better-known archaeological remains documented in the major river valleys (Missouri, Mississippi, and Ohio Rivers). There are times when the northern Ozarks were in step with hunting and gathering and agricultural cultures across the Midwest and there were times when our region simply did not conform. These similarities and differences ebbed and flowed across the millennia. That the northern Ozarks were home to several Native American cultures encompassing nearly 10,000 years is no longer debatable. What is subject to debate is how our region fits into the broader picture of Midwest prehistory and how this is reflected in the archaeological record. And that, in essence, is the goal of this article: to chronicle the cultural history of Native Americans at Fort Leonard Wood through time.

Given this perspective, I will review

Figure 1. A Mystical Place Overlooking Roubidoux Creek.



our archaeological record through the identification of stone tools (spear points and arrowheads), food (plant and animal remains), pottery, mortuary (cemeteries), settlements, and radiocarbon dates. Along the way, I will show photographs that beautifully illustrate the material culture of our region. For the first several thousand years, stone tools are the most common item, making it possible to compare our spear and arrow points with the rest of the Midwest. In late prehistory, mound building, pottery styles and the introduction of maize (corn) become important clues in charting autonomy and culture change. Through all time periods, radiocarbon dates provide essential archaeological data for placing our artifacts in time. I will rely on spear and arrow point names because that is what archaeologists do, they name and describe artifacts. I think it is the nerdy side of archaeology but ultimately our goal is to reconstruct the past. To this end, I will also rely heavily on a decade and a half of interpretations and data that hopefully presents an interesting summary of our archaeological remains. If it is not interesting, direct all complaints to Terry Primas. To provide structure to the enormous time span of 10,000 years, I will present our findings in chronological order for five major periods:

**pre Paleo (20-11,000 BC)**  
**Paleo (11-8000 BC),**  
**Archaic (8000-1000 BC)**  
**Woodland (1000 BC-AD 1400)**  
**Proto historic (AD 1400-1690).**

Finally, this article is dedicated to the countless generations of Native Americans who came to our land and settled our continent. Whether bands or tribes or nations, Native Americans live in our blood, place names, and world view. We all share in this legacy.

## The Mysterious First Americans or Pre Paleo (20,000-11,000 BC)

In the field of archaeology, there are several hot topics. The migration into and initial settlement of North America is one of them. This debate is played out through radiocarbon dates, a few stone tools, and finding artifacts below levels that were once deemed the "earliest". Unfortunately, a pre Paleo period is poorly understood due to the time depth involved (11-20,000 years), sparse evidence, and post Ice Age sea levels. Apparently, many archaeological sites may be under water in the Bering Strait and Alaska. Nevertheless, growing evidence supports the hypothesis that a migration of peoples from northern Asia occurred earlier than 12-13,000 BC. This constitutes what archaeologists call a pre Paleo. Positive recognition of these ancient sites still needs to be established; however, several radiocarbon dates and stone tools (lance-like spear points) have been found in Missouri, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and as far away as Chile, South America. In Missouri, the Big Eddy Site, located on the Sac River just north of Stockton Dam, contains pre Paleo through late prehistoric artifacts. The pre Paleo levels date to ca. 13,500-12,000 BC. No Pre-Clovis sites have been reported from the Fort Leonard Wood region, and if they do exist they will be located on terraces that were formed 25-50,000 years ago.

## The Second Americans or Paleo (12,000-8000 BC)

Although archaeological data may support a late Ice Age entry into North America, the Paleo period represents the earliest unequivocal occupation. Paleo migration routes via the outer coasts of Alaska and British Columbia or through ice-free interior corridors occurred between 12,000 and 10,000

BC. This migration includes cultures ancestral to modern tribes and language families that settled what would become the United States. These language and culture groups include Algonquian, Iroquoian, Muskogean, Siouan, Caddoan, Tanoan, and Uto-Aztecan. Recent genetic studies that compared modern Native American DNA across the United States have shown that 95 percent of all Native Americans are related to this group, confirming that the Native American peoples that settled the central and eastern North American continent during the late Ice Age are considered ancestors of our northern Ozark tribes.

The Paleo period represents several broad regional traditions and is synonymous with a spear point known as the Clovis point. These spear points are long lances with narrow flakes removed from the base, forming a characteristic channel or flute that helped with placing it onto bone or wood shafts. Many of the more refined specimens are made from high-quality, non-local flint (chert), indicating a high degree of mobility and incipient trade networks. Early Paleo (12,000-9,000 B.C.) groups (Clovis) were organized into small, egalitarian bands. Their settlements reflected seasonal movements and generalized hunting of locally available large and small game. Another

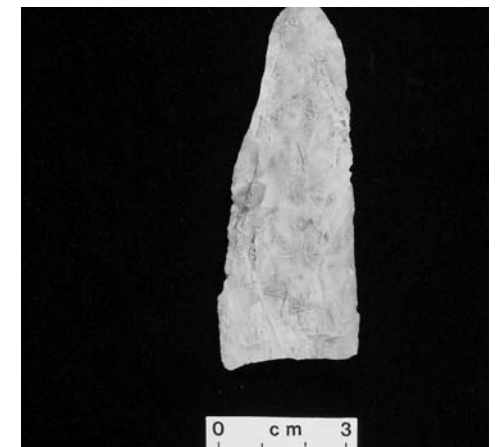
topic dear to archaeologists was the extinction of Ice Age megafauna like the mastodon. While archaeologists have occasionally found Clovis points embedded in the remains of mastodon or mammoth, it is still uncertain if these large creatures were a regular part of the diet. It is more likely that ancient bison, elk, deer, and bear were more accessible. Ultimately, the change in climate, habitat, and predation may have tipped the balance for the mammoth and other Ice Age mammals.

Clovis finds in the Ozarks are rare and there is no evidence from Fort Leonard Wood. Later middle Paleo (9,000-8,500 BC) finds including fluted Cumberland and Gainey points and unfluted lance points, Quad and Plainview, are also absent. The lack of regional evidence may not mean that the region was devoid of people; rather our study of river terrace formation indicates that the narrow, steeply grading valleys of the northern Ozarks probably scoured or removed soil and artifacts during this period. River valleys like the Sac River have laid down protective sediments sealing Native American occupations for thousands of years until finally eroded by the daily water releases of Stockton Dam. The Big Eddy Site has yielded significant early and middle Paleo artifacts and radiocarbon dates from a fire place that date

to around 10,000 BC. Clovis points and flint flakes were also found. The formation of river terraces do not fully explain the absence of early and middle Paleo sites in upland settings or in caves. It seems our caves were rarely occupied during this time span, maybe because they were a little clammy during this climatically cooler and wetter period.

By late Paleo times (8500-8000 BC), we find our first evidence that Native Americans settled at Fort Leonard Wood. The transition from Ice Age to environments similar to modern Missouri occurred about the time of the extinction of the mammoth. This transition was apparently short-lived but did produce a distinct archaeological expression called the Dalton culture (See quote above), characterized by a lance-like spear point, wood-working adzes, and spurred end scrapers for hide-scraping. Dalton period settlements have been examined in detail in the southern Ozarks and Missouri Bootheel and include a variety of site types including long and short-term base camps, extraction camps, and cemetery sites. The remains at these sites probably represent extended families that coalesced seasonally to form bands. Unfortunately, recovery of actual subsistence remains (plant or animal) from Dalton sites is rare.

Several important late Paleo Dalton sites are located in Missouri including Big Eddy site, which yielded a complete Dalton tool kit (points, drills, adzes, and gravers), hearths, flint-knapping clusters, and hammer stones about 12 feet deep. At Fort Leonard Wood, Dalton sites are located near broad upland creeks (Smith Branch and Musgrave Hollow). A Dalton point was also recovered from Sadie's Cave; however, a radiocarbon date indicates that this point was redeposited out of its original context. In November 2005, while excavating the lower levels of a rock shelter on Roubidoux Creek, we discovered a complete Dalton knife and charcoal (Figure 2). This was our first Dalton find in its original position



Late Paleo 8500 BC Dalton Knife Found at Red Oak Rock Shelter on Roubidoux Creek.

Judge Colin Long

Seda's Gift Shoppe

Pepsi

Sanman's

Farnham Realty

City of St. Robert

or as an archaeologist's term, "in situ". We sent the sample for radiocarbon dating and expect a date of around 8500 BC.

### The Archaic Period (8,000-1,000 B.C.)

Seven thousand years is a long span of time so it is necessary to divide this period into Early, Middle, and Late. During the Archaic Period, there were considerable environmental changes that took place in the mid-continent, as well as cultural trends that were, in part, a response to these environmental changes. Through the millennia, we see population increases, regional spear point styles, the introduction of the spear thrower, larger settlements, some horticulture, long distance trade, and, at the end of the period, the introduction of pottery and the construction of burial mounds. In general, Archaic Native Americans filled in the landscapes, fully adapted to modern habitats, and basically took advantage of a hunting and gathering paradise across the eastern Woodlands, including the northern Ozarks.

### The Early Archaic (8,000-6,000 BC)

By 8000 BC, deciduous forests containing oak, chestnut, and hickory covered most of the lower Midwest. In the mid-continent, the Early Archaic follows the Dalton Period and there is considerable evidence of spear point styles continuing. However, there are also several new types of spear points that appear for the first time. This continuity and change in styles suggests that the Early Archaic may have been a time of rapid innovation in stone tools. Change in spear points reflect better engineering or, simply put, they are less likely to break and easier to throw. Based upon securely dated contexts from Missouri, stemmed points like Hardin Barbed and Hidden Valley are considered the immediate successor to Dalton points. And although some lance spears maintained the Paleo style, many Early Archaic spear points and knives exhibit a reduction in size and distinct hafting called side-and corner notching. Due to their superiority in design and function, hafted points like Thebes, Kirk, Rice Lobed, Cache River and Graham Cave replaced lanceolates around 7000 BC (excluding our lanceolates) and persisted for several thousand years (Figure 3). I should also acknowledge that considerable effort was placed on the systematic and accurate reproduction of spear points over a large region as the Midwest, and even larger, the eastern United States.

Excavations at the Big Eddy site have also documented Early Archaic artifacts. A series of 14 radiocarbon dates (7500-7000 B.C.) along with early lance forms, side notched (Cache River and



Figure 3. Early Archaic Rice Lobed and Kirk Spear Point from Miller Cave and Red Oak Rock Shelter.

Graham Cave) and stemmed (Hidden Valley) comprise a large quantity of finished stone tools. Within Fort Leonard Wood, there are several cave sites with dated Early Archaic components, including our most famous of sites, Miller Cave (Figure 4). In the early 1920s, a St. Louis archaeologist, Gerard

Fowke, excavated a large portion of the cave and took away several "wagon-loads" of artifacts that are now housed at the Smithsonian Institution. The artifacts illustrated in Fowke's report include spear and arrow

points and pottery ranging in age from the Early Archaic to Late Woodland (6500 BC-AD 1400). To determine the extent of his excavations and correct a decades old problem of casual digging by amateurs, we excavated, cored, and stabilized the site in 1992 and 1995. In 1992, excavations produced evidence at opposite ends of the archaeological spectrum. In the front of the cave, we dug a trench that went through layers of Fowke's old excavations until we hit an intact layer, Rice Lanceolate spear points, and charcoal that dated to 6500

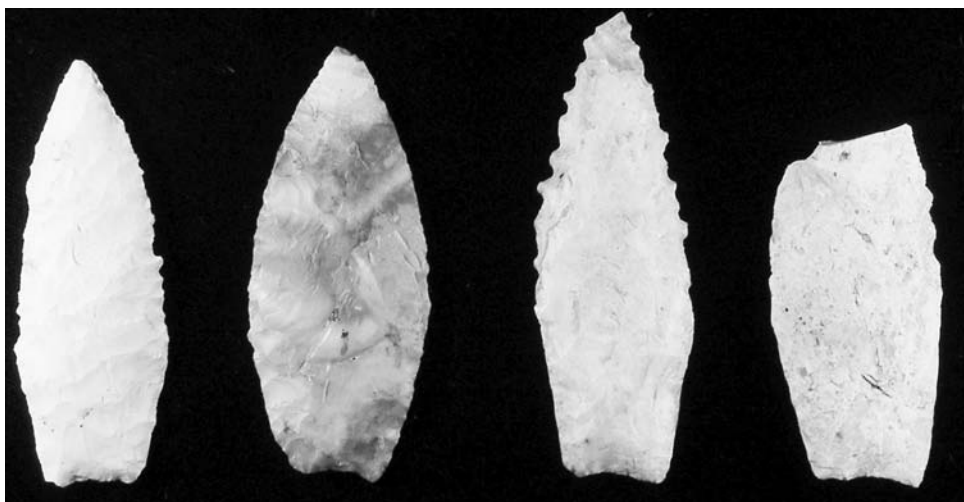


Figure 5. Early Archaic Rice Lanceolate spear points from Miller and Sadies Cave.

B.C (Figure 5).

In the darkened back of Miller Cave, we found two dog burials with pottery that date to around AD 1000. In 1995, we systematically cored the site to determine if anything was left—there wasn't much. That same year, we were fortunate to have the Basic Non-Commissioned Officers Training (BNOC) class smooth the surface of the cave floor and incorporate a hardened surface. We now encourage people to visit Miller Cave and nearby sites like Sadies Cave, since we have interpretive signage that explains their geological and cultural history. Sadies Cave was gated in 1995 to protect intact human remains (Fig-

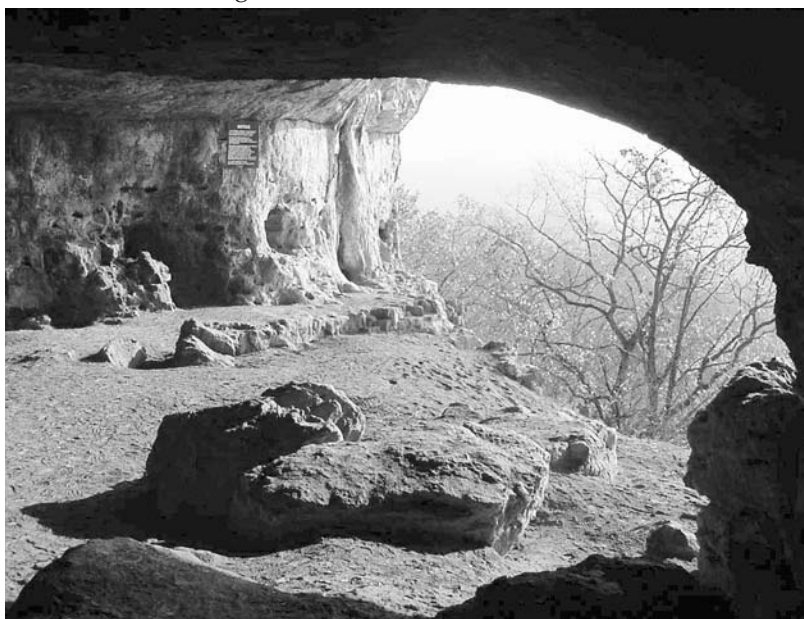


Figure 4. Miller Cave overlooking the Big Piney River.

ure 6).

Little Freeman Cave, located on the Big Piney River near the eastern edge of Fort Leonard Wood contains artifacts that represent the complete prehistoric sequence (Figure 7). Before our discovery at Red Oak Rock Shelter, the radiocarbon date and artifacts found under a boulder at Little Freeman Cave were our oldest artifacts. As part of the excavation efforts, we were again fortunate to have a BNOC class complete its last

day of training by busting up a large boulder in the front of the cave with jack hammers. The sample of charcoal found just below the boulder dated to 7200 BC. Unfortunately, no spear points were found with the charcoal; however a few pieces of flint and animal bones were found. The animal bones were comprised of birds (ducks, bobwhite, turkey, and prairie chicken), large and small animals (deer, squirrel, raccoon, muskrat, and rabbit) reptiles (snake and turtle) and fish (redhorse, catfish, bass, sunfish, and walleye). Archaeologically, this find is very important in that it clearly shows that our caves were used intensely and that many animal species now prized by hunters and anglers were part of Native American diets thousands of years ago.

While there are a few more Early Archaic sites on post, we did find a remarkable artifact a few years ago in Joy Cave that dates to this time period. During a recent biological and archaeological inventory of Fort Leonard Wood caves, we discovered a complete Kirk corner-notched spear point about 200 feet from the cave entrance in a totally black zone (Figure 8). This spear point was lost by an early explorer of the cave—how early? Try 7000 BC.

The Early Archaic represents our first solid archaeological evidence that Native Americans were here to stay. Although evidence for sites on river terraces is gone, our caves do show that we had an established and permanent population composed of small bands that adapted to changing Midwestern environments, which is good because the next time period brought about rapid climate and environmental change.

### The Middle Archaic (6,000-3,000 BC)

Today's headlines and movies about global warming are scary enough but did you know that our region went through a major warming period several thousand years ago? This warming period is called the Hypsithermal and lasted from 5,500-2,500 BC. The general effects include reduced forest cover, the spread of prairie and oak savanna, increased formation of river terraces, and lower water tables. Secondary effects include changes in local plant and animal communities, and Native American responses to these changes. In the Midwest, the Middle Archaic period is marked by a shift in settlement toward major river valley margins and increasing use of aquatic resources by larger populations. Prairies displaced forests in most upland physiographic zones. Several technological innovations occurred during this period. Manos were used for processing plant foods. Drills, abraders, awls, and needles attest to a



Figure 6 (left).  
Excavation at  
Sadies Cave.



Figure 6a (right).  
Protective Gate at  
Sadies Cave.

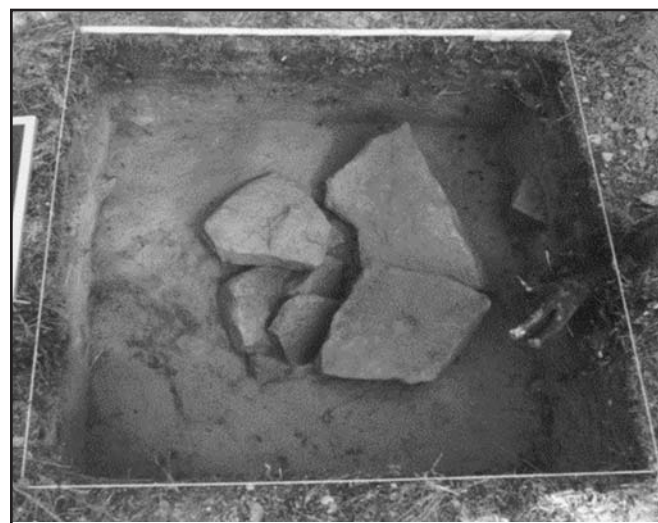


Figure 7. Rock Removal at Little Freeman Cave. Rock-lined Nut Processing Feature above Freeman Cave.

Figure 8. Early Archaic 7000 Kirk Spear Point, Joy Cave.

rich material culture and new adaptations to local environments. New tool types such as ground stone grooved axes, celts, and atlatl weights appear in the Middle Archaic and along with the introduction of the spear thrower otherwise known as the atlatl. Spear throwers spread rapidly across the eastern and middle North America and Native Americans immediately utilized this lethal weaponry on large game that once roamed the forests and prairies like elk, bison and bear. Groups occupying a variety of base and small camps organized subsistence activities in planned seasonal movements producing sites that archaeologists call resource and extraction sites.

While the Middle Archaic archaeological data is based on a few familiar sites, there is evidence from across Fort Leonard Wood that indicates our population was growing. We find Middle Archaic artifacts in most of our caves, rock shelters, bluff tops, and terraces. Middle Archaic artifacts are again dominated by stone tools which tend to be smaller and this trend continues throughout the Archaic. Another trend is the almost exclusive use of local flints. In the early part of the Middle Archaic, there are distinctive points noted such as Jakie stemmed (6,000-5,000 BC) and Godar/Raddatz. The

Godar point, and similar points like Raddatz, Big Sandy, and Osceola (5,500-3,000 BC) have deep notches oriented perpendicular to the blade (Figures 9-10). At the end of the period there seems to be a resurgence in point styles that continue into the Late Archaic, including two corner notched points, Smith and Stone Square, a stemmed spear point called Table Rock, and a side notched point called Big Creek.

A series of excavations at Little Freeman Cave provided numerous Middle Archaic artifacts, radiocarbon dates, and environmental data. The primary use of Little Freeman Cave took place between 5,500-2,000 BC. It was then used sporadically until around AD 900 when Little Freeman, like many of the large caves at Fort Leonard, served as a long-term base camp within a greater neighborhood of sites.

At Sadies Cave, excavations also yielded evidence on the intense use of the cave throughout the Middle Archaic, including the warming period mentioned above. Radiocarbon dates (5,500-3,000 BC) bracket the occupation and several spear points, food remains, and environmental data were recovered from the site. As with Little Freeman Cave, Sadies Cave was part of an

evolving neighborhood of sites that included Miller Cave, a bluff top site, and sites in the valley below.

Returning to the Hypsithermal climatic episode, the same cave excavations described above produced environmental data that proves our region was greatly affected but our local populations did not alter their lifestyle or use of our caves. This is vastly different than the adjustments made in the major river valleys or secondary valleys, like the Pomme de Terre, that contained caves that were abandoned due to prolonged drought. In our area, the Hypsithermal created more extensive oak barrens and available nut trees, which in turn attracted more deer. Archaeological evidence from Little Freeman and Sadies Caves yielded snails, or gastropods, that represent the most drought tolerant species. The Middle Archaic mussel collection includes a greater proportion of shallow water species. Finally, our stream terraces show marked development during the Hypsithermal. Although the Fort Leonard Wood Middle Archaic archaeological record does indicate that major cultural changes occurred as a result of the warming period, the flexibility in adapting to climatic changes seemed to be a characteristic of northern Ozark Native Americans.

### The Late Archaic (3,000-1,000 BC)

In many parts of the Midwest, the Late Archaic period is synonymous with widespread societal and economic changes including population growth, the development of interregional trade, the use of native and tropical domesticated plants, the differential burial of the dead in mounds, the introduction of pottery and the presence of sites across all landscapes. Locally, the Late Archaic represents the beginning of a cultural shift inward. From Late Archaic times to the historic era, the northern Ozarks developed and moved at their own pace and accepted or rejected innovations and cultural trends in the greater Midwest. Although this trend would be more obvious in later prehistoric periods, the beginnings are clearly evident in the Late Archaic.

One of the hallmarks of the Late Archaic is population growth. The quantity and kinds of sites indicate population increases across the Midwest but it also gives us a glimpse into the kinds of hunter gatherer lifestyles prevalent in the eastern Woodlands. For example, a possible Late Archaic hunting and gathering year would include wild plant harvests, with fish, aquatic animals, and small game con-



sumed in the summer season. Several bands would probably unite to perform rituals, trade, affirm alliances and marriage possibilities. During the fall, nuts, wild plants, and the hunting of white-tailed deer, bear, and elk would be harvested. Upland plant and animal species took Native



Americans to their greatest range from bluff top caves and river terrace base camps. In the winter, cave base camp inhabi-

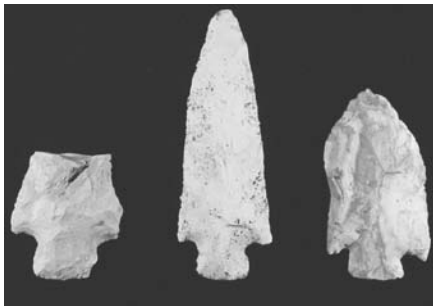


Figure 9. Middle and Late Archaic Spear Points: Top row - Radatz and Godar Spear Points from Little Freeman Cave; Middle and Bottom Rows - Stone, Smith, and Etley Spear Points from Little Freeman Cave.

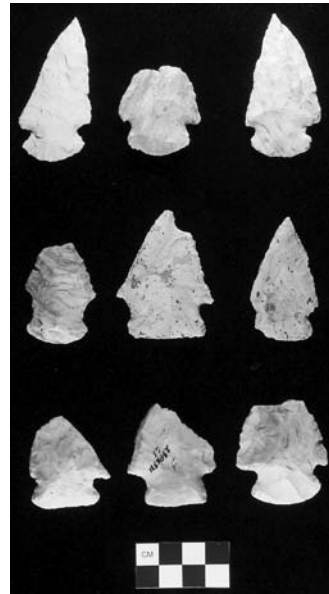


Figure 10. Big Creek Spear Points from Various Sites on Fort Leonard Wood.

tants utilized stored foods and hunting. With spring, the cycle began again with special task groups reoccupying upland habitats. Floodplain resources, largely dormant in the winter, again supplied settlements with a variety of wild and cultivated plants, small game, and aquatic species.

Archaeologically, we have evidence at Sadies, Little Freeman, Kerr, Joy, Salt-peter, and Proffitt Caves, Albertson, Jacke, Surprise, and Red Oak Shelters, and numerous base camps and smaller camps spread across the Fort Leonard Wood landscape. New ground stone axes, made of diorite or rhyolite, celts, pitted cobbles, grinding stones, and manos coincide with the more frequent occurrence of plant remains. In some areas, banner stones, (spear thrower weights), become much fancier through the use of banded slate. When bone preservation is good like in our caves, we find a variety of bone tools such as awls, fish hooks, hide scrapers, and gouges.

Not surprisingly, chipped stone tools dominate all stone tools. Spear points are generally smaller with more variation in notching, however, larger points that may have functioned as knives or in ceremonial contexts are also found across the Midwest. At Sadies and Little Freeman Caves, vari-

ous kinds of spear point styles were made including side and corner notched (Stone and Smith ca. 3,000-1,000 BC) expanded and contracting stemmed (Big Creek and Table Rock) and the most ancient of styles, the lance. Apparently point styles, like our wide or narrow ties and lower or higher hemlines, went in and out of fashion. This time, the beautifully made Sedalia point carried on the tradition of the lance. The point type found most frequently at Fort Leonard Wood and seems to have been popular for about 3,000 years is the expanded stemmed point called Big Creek.

The effects of the Hypsithermal are obvious at the Big Eddy site with relatively few Middle Archaic artifacts, but occupations were reestablished in the Late Archaic. The earliest Late Archaic level is called Williams (2,400-1,600 BC) after a spear point similar to our Big Creek. Next, a level contains the corner notched Smith and a new spear point called Etley (2,100-1,600 BC), which we have found at Little Freeman Cave and other sites. Etley points were very popular across Missouri and western Illinois. Next, the Stealth level, appears to be only associated with deposits that date to 1,500 BC. We found a similar point at Little Freeman Cave. The Kings level contains a large number of Kings Corner notched points which

dates to around 1,800-1,000 BC; however, our version of this point is found in this period and subsequent time periods like the Early and Middle Woodland. Finally, a terminal Late Archaic point called the Afton point was found above the Kings level and was recovered at Miller and Sadies Caves with radiocarbon samples that date to 1,700-1000 BC.

As you can see, the dated contexts from the Big Eddy site align nicely with the diagnostic point types found at our cave sites. While our sites do not contain radiocarbon samples within sealed soil layers, we do have stratigraphic positioning and radiocarbon dates associated with our spear points. At Sadies Cave, we have four radiocarbon dates that range from 2,400-1,800 BC and are associated with Big Creek and Afton points. The quantity and kinds of artifacts suggest that Sadies Cave and possibly Miller Cave continued to be used in much the same way as the Middle Archaic. At Little Freeman Cave, there is evidence of occupation from the Middle into the Late Archaic without any break with Stone and Afton points, and radiocarbon dates that range from 3,800-2,100 BC. On the ridge crest above Little Freeman Cave is a large open base camp with extensive Middle and Late Archaic archaeological evidence including

Stone, Smith and Big Creek spear points, hearths, and stone lined pits. The presence of stone metates and nutting stones indicate that this site served Little Freeman cave dwellers as a fall nut/plant processing site (See Figure 7).

Twenty other archaeological sites on Fort Leonard contain Late Archaic artifacts, radiocarbon dates, intact stratigraphy, and plant and animal remains. Perhaps one of the more interesting finds is the Benton spear point found near charcoal dated at 1,800 BC (Figure 11). Overall, the archaeological investigations at these sites have shown that the Middle to Late Archaic settlements in the Fort Leonard Wood area are widespread and occupy all landscapes.

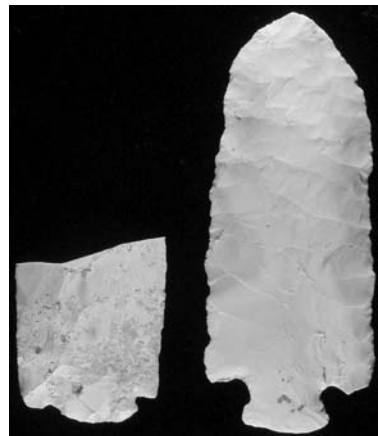


Figure 11. Benton Spear Points from Albertson Rock Shelter.

Late Archaic wood use reflects patterns that began in the Early Archaic. Oak species are the most prevalent fuel wood followed by cedar, pine, and hickory, although some bottomland species such as maple, black gum, and elm occur infrequently. Nut species, a regular part of our plant remains, are mostly hickory and black walnut with minor amounts of hazelnut, and oak. Occasional seed plants like goosefoot, amaranth, and grape are found but make up a very low percentage. In many parts of the Midwest, the use of tropical (squash and gourd) and native (goosefoot, sunflower, marshelder) plants would increase in the terminal Late Archaic period to a fully developed horticultural complex. This trend is not applicable to the northern Ozarks. The behaviors required to commit to a horticultural complex and

later maize agriculture is not evident at Fort Leonard Wood. This brings me back to the Pomme de Terre, which experienced severe drought during the preceding Middle Archaic. A major rebound occurred evidenced by the excavations at the Phillips Springs site that produced a series of hearths, pits, and house floors. The site is also remarkable for the preservation of botanical remains including edible seeds and rinds of bottle gourd and squash, wooden digging sticks, and Sedalia points. Radiocarbon dates of 2700 BC make the discovery of gourd and squash remains some of the earliest evidence for plant domestication on the continent.

#### General Trends in the Archaic

Excavations across the Midwest allow us to determine how the region functioned through time. We know that population increased, we know that clearly defined regional cultures took hold, and we know that by the end of the Late Archaic, long distance trade of shell and copper, horticulture, mound building, and the introduction of pottery were in place. All of these changes may have altered the nature of settlements and how Archaic groups occupied the landscape. From our comparisons of archaeological data with the greater Midwest, we can then propose

trends that typify the northern Ozarks. The first is that spear point styles decrease in size and in geographic distribution; the latter a reflection of clearly defined regional cultures. Second, although affected by the Hypsithermal, northern Ozark Native Americans did not change lifestyle or settlements. Third, the number of sites and intensity of site use increases through time reflecting population increase. Fourth, from the Late Archaic onward, there appears to be an attempt towards continuity and conservatism. Artifacts from the well-known regional artifacts such as Sedalia and James River are rare. The cultural elaboration cited above (trade, horticulture, mound building, and pottery) is also not found in our region. Hunting and gathering paradise aside, it is doubtful given the widespread communication throughout most of the Archaic that northern Ozark Native Americans were unaware of the major changes that were beginning and would continue to unfold over the next three thousand years. Their response to these changes reflects selective isolation. This topic sets the stage for the next major time period in Midwest and northern Ozark prehistory known as the Woodland Period.

**The Woodland Period  
(1000 BC-AD 1400)**

**Continuity and the Late Woodland Transformation**

Across the Midwest, major changes occurred that would have implications that would last into the protohistoric. Extensive archaeological investigations at Fort Leonard Wood reveal that during the Early and Middle Woodland periods our region had a permanent population and willfully employed a selective isolation. In other words, they worked hard to maintain cultural traditions but from time to time borrowed ideas and innovations from the major river valleys.

**Early Woodland  
(1,000 BC-200 BC)**

The Early Woodland period Midwest is recognized by the initial appearance and widespread use of pottery. It is

also a time when horticulture became more elaborate and more earthen mounds were built to bury honored dead. In our region, the entire Early Woodland period is devoid of pottery or other cultural markers like burial mounds. The first Midwestern Early Woodland culture is called Marion, easily identified by thick walled fiber pottery and Kramer corner notched spear points. Aquatic resources were important and we find more evidence for a growing horticultural base including goosefoot, maygrass, knotweed, little barley, and marshelder.

The Midwestern Black Sand culture follows shortly after Marion and is recognizable by thinner, more decorated pottery, spear points called Dickson, Gary or Langtry, and radiocarbon dates to range from 500 BC to AD 0. The presence of Marion and Black Sand cultures makes for a distinctive Early Woodland archaeological expression encompassing parts of northern Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, Iowa, and Wisconsin. In the southern Midwest, we find similar dated expressions in the Crab Orchard, Alexander, and Baumer cultures of southern Illinois, western Tennessee, and Missouri respectively.

On Fort Leonard Wood, Albertson Rock Shelter yielded artifacts and radiocarbon dates of 770 BC. The key here is no pottery was found. Other Early Woodland Roubidoux Creek include the Renoir Site, a small cave, with an ash lens dating to 100-160 BC. Again no pottery was found; however, bone, shell, and spear points, similar to Vercamp Stemmed, and turtle, birds, and bowfish bones (Figure 12). Proffitt Cave, located on Smith Branch, revealed an undisturbed series of layers that date to 140 BC, Big Creek spear points, and a high density of stone tool debris.

Our most complete evidence comes from Freeman Cave, and includes radiocarbon dates of 700-550 BC, distinctive large and small corner-notched spear points (Stealth and deep notched expanded stemmed), and high densities of bone, mussel shell, and stone artifacts (Figure 13). The stone tool debris found on every site appears to be like Late

Archaic artifacts suggesting again similarities in site function and duration. Food remains from Freeman, Kerr, and Proffitt Caves, and Red Oak, Turnbull, and Albertson Rock Shelters do not reveal any major differences in hunting, fishing, or gathering strategies and overall look like preceding periods. Nuts often comprise the single largest category of plant foods. Keep in mind this is one thousand years before maize would take hold across North America. We do find the presence of seed plants but this is not comparable to the larger numbers of wild and domesticated plants found in the horticultural societies of the major river valleys. Generally, animal remains reflect some diversity with an adherence to earlier Archaic patterns such as low fish remains and a high emphasis on upland and bottomland animals.

The artifacts from Fort Leonard Wood demonstrate that there was a permanent Early Woodland population; however, our version is different than other regions from a variety of perspectives. We have no pottery, we have no mounds, we have no long distance trade items or exotic raw materials, and we have little change in subsistence and settlement from the preceding Late Archaic. None of the pottery related to the Marion or Black Sand cited above have been found in any of the dated contexts in the region. In addition, many Early Woodland spear points have their origins in the Late Archaic, although we do have a few distinctive types (Stealth and Expanding Stemmed-ES2) and some side notched points are similar to finely flaked Black Sand points. Nevertheless, while we lack the items mentioned above, our evidence points for a strong tradition of cultural stability and continuity. Early Woodland peoples in our region were aware of the changes taking place in the major river valleys but chose not to interact, willful isolation that would even be more profound in the subsequent Middle Woodland Period.

**Middle Woodland Period  
(200 BC- AD 400)**

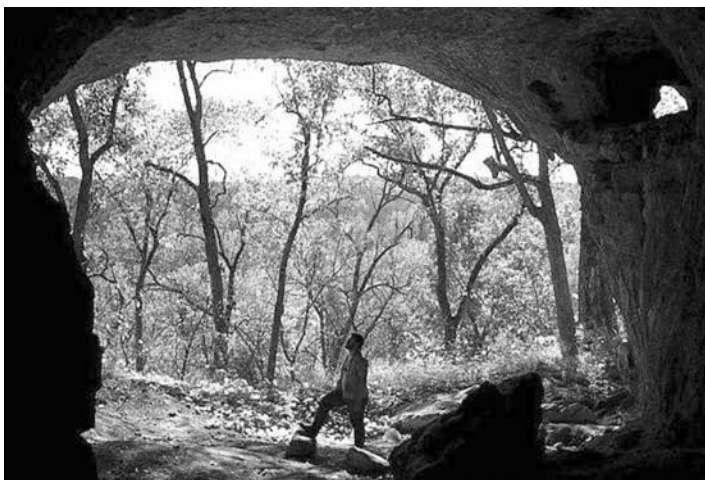
Throughout the eastern United States, the Middle Woodland period is viewed as a time of great cultural change. The elaboration of decorated pottery, the use of native and domesticated plants, increased intercontinental trade, mound building, geometric earth-

works, elaborate tomb burials, and changes in society are best represented in Ohio and Illinois. In these areas, some members of society achieved great status, and this is reflected in their deaths since many of their tombs contain exotic flints, pottery, copper, shell, and obsidian works of art. Similar to the Early Woodland Period, archaeologists have been uncertain as to the occupation of the northern Ozarks during the Middle Woodland period. The few diagnostic Middle Woodland pottery fragments found hint to ties to the Mississippi River Valley, but the low numbers also suggest that the northern Ozarks was not part of a greater Midwest cultural phenomenon. Many Missouri archaeologists embraced this interpretation since the region was not close to a Middle Woodland mound center in the lower Illinois Havana Hopewell, Central Mississippi River American Bottom, the Big Bend Missouri Valley, or Kansas City regions. The lack of distinctive pottery, mound building, or pan-regional exchange made it easy to proclaim our region as devoid of people.

What we do have are artifacts and radiocarbon dates that prove we had a permanent population. Roubidoux Creek sites, Renoir and Chuck's Caves, and Red Oak Shelter produced dates of 160 BC-AD 230. All of the sites contained a variety of food remains, stone tool debris, and spear points like the Verkamp stemmed. Located across Roubidoux Creek, Davis and Saltpeter Caves also produced Middle Woodland artifacts and dates of 100 BC-AD 390. Other sites on the Roubidoux include Surprise and Albertson Rock Shelters that produced Middle Woodland radiocarbon dates and an exotic pottery fragment similar to styles in the lower Illinois Valley, called Havana Hopewell.

Above the golf course, Farview Rock Shelter is located on the trail between Little Freeman and Freeman Caves (Figure 14). Mussel shell, nut remains, and stone tool debris, a stone lined pit, a Kings corner notched spear point, and a radiocarbon sample that dates to AD 280 were found. Given its location and kinds of artifacts, the site appears to be a resource station associated with the Little and Freeman Caves.

Although Middle Woodland spear points and pottery are not abundant in our area, they do exist. Many of our



Figures 12-13. Freeman Cave and Early Woodland Verkamp Stemmed, Expanding Stemmed (ES2), and Stealth Spear Points from Renoir, Chuck's and Freeman Caves

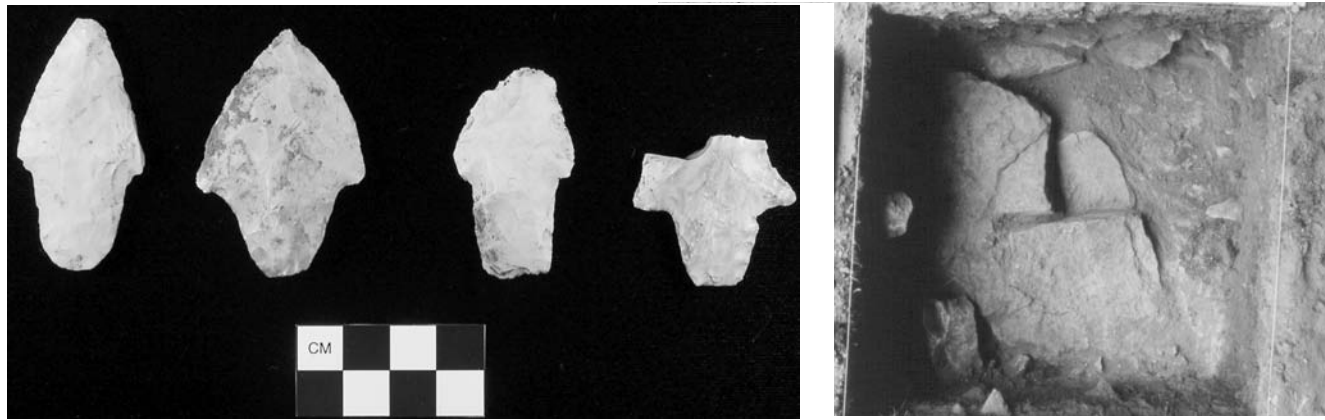


Figure 14. Early and Middle Woodland Gary and Langtry Spear Points from Miller and Freeman Caves.

Middle Woodland sites have the diagnostic spear points Snyder and narrower versions such as Manker and Ansell (Figure 15). We also have carry-overs like Gary and Langtry that begin in the Early Woodland and continue into the Middle Woodland. However, the lack of Middle Woodland locally made pottery separates our region from the larger Midwest. We do have a few imported specimens of Havana Hopewell (Illinois) style pottery, and a plain-surfaced and cordmarked pottery most likely from the Bootheel region. Chuck's and Miller Caves, and Albertson Rock Shelter contained these artifact types; however, they were imported suggesting that the Middle Woodland resident population had some contact with the major river valleys.



Figure 15. Middle Woodland Snyders Spear Points and Exotic Imported Pottery from Miller and Chuck's Cave.

In general, the suite of archaeological evidence such as subsistence, settlement, and mortuary behavior points to little change from the preceding Early Woodland period or, for that matter, the Late Archaic period. Whereas, the Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri River Valleys contained horticultural communities that supplemented their hunting and gathering, we find little evidence throughout the northern Ozark. Regardless of our region's lack of participation in the greater Midwest cultural florescence, we can definitely state that a resident population did coexist with the great mound building cultures to the east. Again, our caves, rock shelters, and open sites provide substantial archaeological evidence that refutes long-held beliefs that our region was abandoned, or, at best, a hunting zone. Based on a review of archaeological site files at the University of Missouri, it is also clear that Middle Woodland peoples lived along the course of the Gasconade and traded frequently with cultures to the east and south. This seems to be a pattern that will last for the next several centuries and sets the stage for the last and most unique prehistoric archaeological culture recorded on Fort Leonard Wood known as the Late Woodland.

**Late Woodland  
(AD 500-1400)  
or  
the Transformation**

*The Shaman is above all a connecting figure, bridging several worlds for his people, traveling between this world, the underworld, and the heavens. He transforms himself into an animal, talks with ghosts, the dead, the deities, the ancestors. He dies and revives. He brings back knowledge from the shadow realm, thus linking his people to the spirits and places which were once mythically accessible to all.*

(Barbara Meyerhoff in *Archaeology* 55(1), "The Flight of the Shaman" by Christine Van Pool)

By the end of the Middle Woodland period (AD 400) all of the major Hopewell centers, mound building, and trade networks were in decline or ceased to exist. The general Late Woodland period across the Midwest and the eastern United States appears in contrast to be a time of reorganization. The Late Woodland is now considered by archaeologists as the beginning of a new cycle of growth, florescence, and in our case, transformation.

The Late Woodland transformation lasted about a century (AD 400-500). After that point, the northern Ozarks settled in, sometimes dealing with more complex cultures to the east and often not. The Late Woodland transformation and succeeding centuries contains the first evidence for widespread use of locally-made pottery (AD 500) several centuries after its first appearance in the Midwest. The earliest pottery vessels are typically smooth or cord marked. Archaeologists call them jars but they are pots (Figure 16). There are some incremental changes through time such as change in form, decoration, or technology. After AD 1000, changes are noted in new forms (bowls, plates, and occasional bottles) and in the kinds of clay and elements (temper) used to make pottery.

One of the most profound changes that swept across the continent was the introduction of the bow and arrow. Around AD 700 in most regions of the Midwest, we begin to find arrow points along with spear points. The earliest arrow points were large but well made and called Lowe and in our



Figure 16. Late Woodland Pot from Wilson Cave.

region the Rice side notched (Figure 17). Bow and arrow technology became more and more efficient and the points became smaller and better made. Locally, the Scallorn arrow point is found at every site after AD 1000 until the end of the prehistoric period.

Subsistence trends in the Midwest during the early part of the Late Woodland period reflect even greater emphasis on seed plants that set the stage for full blown maize (corn) agriculture. Although archaeologists have found maize at a few Middle Woodland sites in Ohio and Illinois, its use was sporadic. We now know that maize began its dominance across the eastern United States as early as AD 700. By AD 1000, maize was the major plant staple across North America; however, its development and entry into the eastern United States is controversial since maize supposedly came from the Southwestern U.S. and was grown there much earlier. A reanalysis of Southwestern maize radiocarbon dates and the early recorded maize from the east shows that maize introduction in both areas was not that different. This in turn has altered our views on how maize came into eastern North America and how it could be adapted to grow from southern Canada to Florida. In the Gasconade drainage, it is likely that maize and new pottery techniques arrived in the northern Ozarks around AD 1100. Although our Late Woodland botanical data clearly shows that a maize-based horticultural system existed, evidence for a continued heavy reliance on nuts, in association with low numbers of these plants, points to some level of conservatism.

While there is no doubt that Native Americans in our region buried their dead in caves for thousands of years, the early Late Woodland period marks the beginning of mound building. In our region, the burial mound was exclusively made of rock (Figure 18). In the early 1980s, archaeologists at Fort Leonard Wood excavated portions of 11 rock mounds across the installation. They found that human remains were placed on bedrock and stones were piled up to form a mound. Later, burials were placed at the periphery of the original mound, creating an accretional group of rocks with multiple construction stages. They also discovered that all of our rock mounds had



Figure 17. Late Woodland Rice Side Notched and Scallorn Arrow Points from Various Sites Across Fort Leonard Wood.

fragmentary skeletal material or bundle burials. This meant that the burial was a portion of an elaborate mortuary process in which the individual was placed on a scaffold or in the open for a period of time, wrapped in a bundle, and then placed into the mound. Bundle burials, therefore, represent a long process of mourning that tied the community together. In neighboring regions to the north and west, burial mounds were often constructed of a combination of rock and earth, while earth mounds are more common back east (like the Adena and Hopewell mounds). As important as they were to the functioning of society, rock mounds were only one part of a mortuary system that included caves, rock shelters, and village areas.

The last major aspect of the transformation involves settlements. In many areas of the Midwest, larger communities fragmented during this period only to reform into the larger and larger settlements, a dispersal and regeneration that would result in large towns and mound centers along the Mississippi, Ohio, and Tennessee Rivers after AD 900. Our region shows an aggregate trend. First, large villages are found throughout the Gasconade drainage often located on high river terraces near the confluence of permanent tributary streams and rivers like the Gasconade and Big Piney. Second, other sites, including base camps and upland resource sites, were essential to hunting and collecting. These base camps included both caves and rock shelters and large sites above these caves and in the valley below. Third, rock mounds located on bluff tops overlooking caves and rock art completed a neighborhood of sites, that we now call the site complex. Site complexes are clusters of sites related by time and function. Caves, rock mounds, and rock art served as the focus of ritual activity and these ritual sites are fully integrated with the secular habitation and resource sites nearby. The difference between our region and similar regions is that our diverse sets of sites function in a complementary fashion intentionally incorporating a variety of secular and ritual sites

By AD 1000, there are significantly more sites with Late Woodland artifacts and cultural layers than are represented in earlier time periods. Nowhere is this better represented

than the site complex. In the last few years we have discovered six site complexes, including Miller, Ramsey, Lohraff, Wilson, Kerr, and Davis. Many of these complexes contain the cave sites that I have mentioned before with Archaic and earlier Woodland components. However, the emergence of the site complex as the fundamental type of settlement is very different than previous periods. This shift towards an aggregated system represents a new innovation in the region and stands in contrast to the settlements that seemed to be extremely stable that lasted for several thousand years. Such a new system, without any prior evidence, may have come about through the introduction of people into our region. With these exciting implications, I would now like to return to the neighborhood of sites I began this article with, known as the Lohraff Complex. Lohraff, and all of the site complexes, constitute a unique settlement and ritual system that may have been ancestral to historic tribes.

Lohraff Complex consists of a rock mound, rock art site, a large open-air habitation site, a cave, two rock shelters (one is Albertson Rock Shelter), and an extensive open-air site on a terrace nearby called Lohraff Base Camp III (Figure 19). The array of sites that comprise the "secular" component of the Lohraff Complex yielded an impressive array of stone tools, pottery, food remains and radiocarbon dates. A wide variety of vessel forms and decorated ceramics were recovered from levels that date from AD 900 to 1400. In keeping with the pottery tradition that began around AD 500 in our region, nearly all of the pottery found at Late Woodland sites, including our complexes, is well-made thin walled pots (jars, bowls, and occasional bottles). Occasionally, we find unique pottery fragments indicative of trade with the outside. One example found at Albertson Rock Shelter (in the Lohraff Complex) is a flared-rim fragment from a globular jar that dates to AD 1370. Its shape and technological attributes suggest interaction with prairie cultures in northern Missouri and southern Iowa.

Lohraff, and the other site complexes, represent the remains of prehistoric communities, therefore sites such as caves, rock mounds, and rock art are archaeological evidence of prehistoric



Figure 18. Late Woodland Rock Burial Mound (Glueck's Cairn). Note the central damage by looters.

rituals that helped maintain these communities. The ritual significance of each of these site types is related to both their function and the placement on the landscape. The ritual elements that comprise the Lohraff Complex include Lohraff Cave, Rock Mound and Rock Art (Figure 20). Lohraff Cave contains multiple chambers and nearly whole Late Woodland pots on the surface. Two low, oval earth/rock mounds within the southeast chamber strongly suggest human burials. Only mapping was completed at this site, due to its pristine nature and human remains. The Lohraff Rock Burial Mound, located

on the bluff crest above Lohraff Cave, was recorded but no excavations attempted due to the sensitivity of unearthing human remains. Rock mounds are linked directly to Late Woodland mortuary ritual. Thus rock mounds were likely focal points for religious and social ceremonies in addition to being mortuary sites.

The Lohraff Rock Art site, located on two large boulders (Figure 20), is a very significant ritual space. The symbols can be divided into two groups representing earth and sky (Figure 21). The earth motifs are found on the

largest boulder and are primarily bisected ovals or fertility symbols, representing the Earth Mother or Mother Corn, a deity represented in the pantheon of many historic Midwest prairie and Plains tribes. Rock art experts also suggest that the bisected oval may represent a mortar and pestle or Ho'-e-ga, the Osage ritual name for earth.

Located on the same rock is a figure identified as a shaman or medicine man, the mediator between earth and sky. This figure is positioned with elbows bent and arms raised. The head seems to be in profile and its shape indicates either a hair knot at the back or a 'beak' if the figure is wearing a mask or headdress. There is an object in the raised hand to the left that could portray a rattle, and the right hand appears to hold a baton or rattle. In the spring of 2004, 3-D mapping specialists

scanned the rocks at Lohraff Complex and revealed that the shaman is wearing a mask and headdress.

The most prominent sky symbols are located on a separate rock to the north and are a bird with a spotted breast that represents a hawk or eagle, and bird prints (Figure 22). Many North American oral traditions describe twin sons of the Earth Mother called the "thunderers", one of which is civilized and the other wild. In several accounts, the wild boy is killed and then resurrected as a spotted hawk or eagle. The presence of this motif could symbolize a vision quest in which a person seeks a guiding spirit or signify a territorial marker for a sky-related clan group.

Based on the images and placement of rock art at Lohraff, it is likely that the site was the actual location of death,



Figure 19. Lohraff Complex. The Rock Art Boulder is thrusting to the sky.



Figure 20. Lohraff Cave, and Boulder Containing Rock Art. The Complex also contains a Rock Mound.



**I**t was a cold and icy evening in 1914, when Ivan was born, the 5th son, of 7 children, to Henry and Nora Bowling. At birth, the doctor spanked and rubbed Ivan to no avail. Sadly, he pronounced Ivan dead to Nora, but Nora, a woman of great faith, knew that this son was destined to serve her God and directed the doctor to hand the baby over to her. Whereupon, Nora, without having had any knowledge or training, revived her son with mouth to mouth resuscitation, Ivan grew to be a strong and healthy boy.

Ivan first met Irene when he was four years old. Irene planted a kiss on Ivan and he promptly pushed her away and said, "I like you Irene, but I don't like you that much." Little did the two know they were destined to be together for the rest of their lives.

Ivan attended Pleasant Grove Country School, where after graduating from the 8th grade, he went on to attend Waynesville High School, graduating in the class of 1933. During high school, Ivan played on the basketball team. He credits his coach, Tom Turpin, for having had a positive influence on his life. Times were tough; Ivan borrowed \$80.00 from his brother so that he could go to high school and participate on the team. Ivan walked 12 miles to Richland, the nearest store, to purchase clothing and school supplies such as a pair of shoes, 2 pairs of socks, 2 pairs of slacks and jockey shorts. When he went to ball trips and they stopped to eat, Ivan would sit at a table with Catsup, order a bowl of Chili and stretch it out by adding to it lots of catsup.

When Ivan graduated from high school, the country was still suffering from the Great Depression and jobs were few and far between. Ivan was fortunate to get a job working at filling station, where he received \$0.25 for a 12 hour workday, in addition to a place to sleep and food to eat.

In November 1933, Ivan traveled to Glasgow, Montana to work with his older brother Adrain on the Fort Peck Dam. Shortly after Ivan had been working in Montana, a law was passed where only Montana residents could work on the dam, forcing Ivan to lose his job. Ivan hopped a train to California where he lived with his uncle's family and worked on a farm. Later he picked oranges and lemons in the San Joaquin Valley. At Christmas time, he hitchhiked back to Missouri to see his family where he and Irene started their courtship. When Ivan returned to California, he took a job in Los Angeles, making tires for \$1.25 an hour. During this time, he and Irene wrote letters to each other.

In 1937, Irene, her parents and her brother Warford and his wife, drove to California where on 22 May 1937 they were married. Ivan got on the Los Angeles Fire Department where he faithfully served as a firefighter for 26 years. Ivan and Irene have 3 children, 7 grandchildren and 9 great grandchildren. Ivan gardens, fishes and advises friends on how to use herbs and other healthful foods. He and Irene exercise daily. Ivan walks 2-3 miles a day and he recently walked the entire 9 miles for Genesis, leaving many much younger men and women in his 91 years of dust. He and Irene attend Westside Baptist Church, where they will be celebrating their 70th wedding anniversary with family and friends on 23 June 2007.

In a time when the average marriage lasts between 5-8 years, Arthur Ivan Bowling (Ivan) and Hazel Irene Bowling (Irene) recently celebrated their 69th wedding anniversary. Happy 69th anniversary to Ivan and Irene Bowling. You continue to be a blessing in this community and in our church. We thank you and we love you!

To all of our Firemen, we are greatly indebted to your selfless and dedicated service to us. May God keep a hedge of protection around you and your families. GOD BLESS AMERICA!

**DEBORAH A. HOOPER**  
Attorney at Law  
119 N. Benton Street  
Waynesville, MO 65583

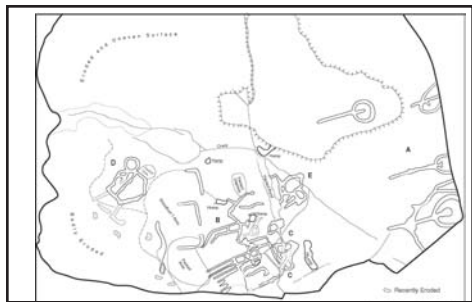


Figure 21. Line drawing of bisected ovals and photograph of shaman.

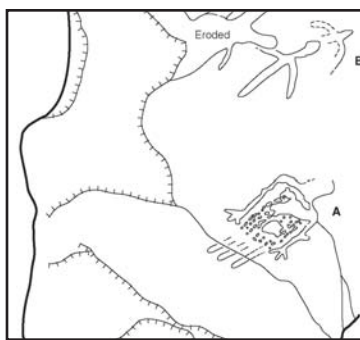
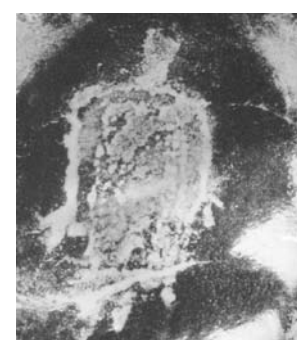


Figure 22. Line Drawing, Photograph, and Photograph of Snowy Hawk or Eagle.



identity, fertility, clan, or vision quest rituals, a central focus of the lives of Native Americans. Rock art sites are found on prominent ridge crests, that when viewed from below appear to thrust into the sky representing (ritual) access to the sky. These same ridges have caves in their slopes, where there is easy access to the earth. Creation of both earth- and sky-related rock art images near caves and rock mounds indicates that both concepts were important as a ritual duality where neither earth nor sky can exist without the other, and both earth- and sky-related rituals were necessary elements in the lives of our Late Woodland peoples. Such dualities are expressed in the social organization, kinship, and cosmology of many native historic North American groups, including the Osage. In this regard, the presence of earth and sky motifs suggests Osage social and political structure which was created as a model of the cosmos with the earth and sky as the two main divisions. This duality is reflected in village plan, organization of the clan system, and clan/tribal priesthoods.

Late Woodland spiritual and secular worlds were intertwined with secular sites (short-term occupation, special-function/processing, and long-term habitation), intentionally interspersed with ritual sites (caves, rock mounds, and rock art). Site complexes, therefore, are the archaeological remnants of local Late Woodland settlement and ritual systems and my interpretation of the rock art images as an earth/sky duality with well-dated archaeological deposits indicate that this dualistic cosmology has considerable antiquity.

### Cahokia and the Gasconade Autonomy

After about AD 900 to 1000 in portions of the Midwest and Southeast, a new cycle of cultural florescence would eclipse the Hopewell, known as Mississippian. This period is marked by the commitment to maize agriculture, large mound centers, the development of social and political hierarchies, technological changes (elaborate pottery in diverse forms), and elite burial ceremonialism. Nowhere is this cultural florescence better represented than at the site of Cahokia, the largest prehistoric archaeological site in North America (north of Mexico). Located two hours from Fort Leonard

Wood, Cahokia was the first, largest, and most spectacular. It is also the most puzzling. While the largest Mississippian mound groups in the U.S. contain twenty to thirty round and platform mounds, Cahokia contains over a hundred. While most major towns contained hundreds and perhaps a few thousand people, Cahokia grew to hold up to ten thousand and, if you count the suburbs, upwards to twenty thousand people. There would not be another city of Cahokia's size in North America until Philadelphia in the early 1800s. Immense flattop mounds, like Monks Mound, rival the pyramids at Giza in size and we now know Cahokians had their version of Stonehenge called Woodhenge.

According to some archaeologists, Cahokia became a vortex of native social, political, economic, and religious activity. And Cahokia, like many of the northern Mississippian centers, was removed in time and space from European intrigues. This means its rise and fall has to be explained by pre-Columbian causes. Regardless, some of its prominence and meteoric rise was due to its location. Located at the confluence of the Mississippi, Missouri and Illinois Rivers, Cahokians utilized the rivers, oxbows, fertile soils, and abundant game. They undoubtedly were in a position to manipulate trade routes as the nexus for the middle and eastern half of the country.

If one looks at a road map today, the distance from Fort Leonard Wood to Cahokia is around 195 km by canoe. The relatively short distance and navigable rivers made interactions with Mississippian cultures to the north, east, and south not only possible but almost inevitable. It is inconceivable to think that people living in the Ozarks were not aware of Cahokia, or, for that matter, the large Mississippian mound centers in the Bootheel. Nevertheless, the archaeological evidence again points to a very limited degree of interaction. Obviously, maize and pottery styles were slowly entering into our region. We do have a very suspicious water bottle fragment found in Laughlin Cairns above Laughlin Cemetery. However, what are profoundly absent are the social and organizational principals, ceremonialism, and widespread trade of Mississippian material culture. The awareness of Mississippian cultures so close to our region begs the

question of why the Gasconade drainage remained apart. One explanation is that Cahokians and others were not interested in an established Late Woodland culture. Another explanation could be the geographic separation. Still another explanation is that our region did trade and interact intensely with adjacent regions like the Meramec River and with the Late Woodland Boone culture located to the north. These areas, in turn, probably had steady contact with their eastern neighbors.

Maintaining lifestyles and beliefs, while larger and more complex cultures swirled around you for almost 500 years, means that our region took great lengths to maintain traditions. The site complexes described above is one example of a culture that maintained their own traditions and identity. Undoubtedly, geographic separation helped but we think it also had to do with incompatibility of cultures. Regardless, there seems to be some well defined boundaries between our Late Woodland culture and the Mississippian World.

It is clear that we have an established and distinctive Late Woodland culture that began around AD 500 and lasted until AD 1430. The transformation, including the introduction of pottery, burial mounds, and unique settlements, indicates that new populations came into the northern Ozarks, settled in, and then persisted for a thousand years. During this time, our region definitely communicated with the outside world while maintaining its traditions until abandonment around AD 1450. I have refuted the term abandonment when describing our region because it simply does not apply during our great span of time. After AD 1450, it does apply. This leads me into my final discussion on our Protohistoric period (AD 1400-1690).

### Protohistoric Period (AD 1400-1690) or the Mysterious Period Redux

Of all the Prehistoric periods, excluding pre-Paleo, the Proto historic is the most mysterious. In many parts of North America, especially the northern Mississippian communities, change was in the air. Whether it was brought about by social or environmental caus-

es or a combination of the two, many areas were simply abandoned. Although the De Soto entrada documents numerous mound centers in the Southeastern United States, our region and the northern Mississippian areas including Cahokia, were not occupied. The disconnect between solid archaeological evidence for the Late Prehistoric Period and zero archeological evidence for the protohistoric caused archaeologists to throw in the towel regarding links between prehistoric cultures and historic era tribes. All of our investigations at Fort Leonard Wood have failed to record even one site with artifacts or radiocarbon dates that post date AD 1430; however, a proposed link to historic tribes is difficult but not impossible.

At this point allow me to speculate. Until now, I have relied on solid archaeological information to tell the story of longevity and uniqueness. The lack of archaeological data for the protohistoric presents me with an opportunity to hypothesize and push the envelope, so to speak. The northern Ozarks are often referred to as historic Osage jurisdictional territory, although this assumption should take into account linguistic data and population dispersal during the Late Prehistoric. First, the Dhegiha Siouan speaking peoples (Osage, Kaw, Omaha, Ponca, and Quapaw) tell of an eastern origin and migration across the Mississippi River. Second, the migration stories and linguistic data point to one Siouan-speaking entity during this period. Third, our Late Woodland transformation dates to AD 400-500. This is a time of great change in the northern Ozarks, a time of population movement into our region. I suggest this population was the Dhegiha. Fourth, ritual clusters within site complexes, including rock mounds, rock art and caves, provide clues that suggest Siouan social and religious structure. And, finally, our region was abandoned in the early 1400s. In 1690, we find the Osage and Kaw in western Missouri.

It is not satisfying to end my discussion of ten thousand years of prehistory on a note of uncertainty and speculation. But for now, that is good enough. The abandonment of our region and lack of archaeological evidence is not especially disturbing to me. The archaeological record of North

America is replete with abandonments from Chaco to Mesa Verde or Cahokia to the Ohio River Valley. I find it ironic, to say the least, that I know more about ten thousand year old Dalton points than I do of how our region was occupied only four hundred years ago. The protohistoric has caused a lot of heartburn in archaeology across the country and like any other time period, it will take archaeological evidence and creativity to fill in the gaps that puzzle us. Unfortunately, the linkage between archaeological cultures and historic remains is also political and in that world speculation and not evidence may rule.

### Conclusions

Our archaeological record shows that for several thousands of years our Native American cultures were part of a vast hunting and gathering paradise. Communication with the drainages to the east and south was constant. However, once pronounced regional traditions were formed, our region began to turn inward. Some of it had to do with geographic separation, but, later in time it, was willful. And it ebbed and flowed. Sometimes interaction and innovation were accepted and sometimes they were not. Communication seemed to be constant since our region was clearly aware of both of the two

major cultural climaxes in the east known as the Hopewell and Mississippian.

As post archaeologist, I am often asked two questions. How long have Native American tribes been at Fort Leonard Wood and who were they? The first question is 10, 000 years with almost continuous occupation. As you have read, the second question is more difficult. For thousands of years, the highly adaptable and successful ancestors to our historic tribes were not recognizable as a tribe. They probably spoke an ancestral Siouan language but the time depth is too great to think about real connections. From the Late Woodland transformation onward, the links are more plausible, thanks to our enormous data base that includes the rock mounds and rock art.

The goal of an archaeologist is to gather evidence and tell a story of the world as it was. I have been fortunate to work at an installation that takes pride in its history: Native American, American settler, and military. As an archaeologist, I have tried over the years to excavate important sites when necessary, preserve when possible, and simply avoid archaeological sites that do not need our help or, by their sensitivity, should remain untouched. Over the years, we have generated an enormous

data base that allows us to tell a nearly complete story of our Native American people. I think it is incredibly cool that we have artifacts that date to the end of the Ice Age and rock art that offers glimpses into prehistoric ritual. Along the way, we felt it also important to move beyond the sheer beauty of our artifacts and tell a story that sounds familiar to most Ozarkians. The themes of adaptation, longevity, uniqueness, and resilience resonate across time and link our ancient Native Americans with their historic American counterparts. It also provides us with a frame of reference for comparing and contrasting our region with the greater Midwest. To me, this is what archaeologists do best

They count and study artifacts to chronicle minute and long-term change. And, in the end, they tell a story of a particular region, especially a region that is as rich and diverse as the northern Ozarks.

Finally, it is my hope that you will travel to Cahokia or visit a mystical place like my neighborhood of sites. The voices of the past are not really silent. They are out there whispering on a windswept bluff, or in a museum, on a dig, or maybe your backyard!. Take the time to enjoy Missouri's bountiful prehistorical and historical heritage!



Looking at Miller Cave from across the Big Piney River

Meeks

Country Corner  
Accounting

Downtown Beauti-  
fication

Smith and Turley

Dianna Linnenbringer