

**CHANGING PERSPECTIVES**  
on the **ARCHAEOLOGY**  
of the **CENTRAL**  
**MISSISSIPPI**  
**VALLEY**



Edited by

Michael J. O'Brien

Robert C. Dunnell

# Changing Perspectives on the Archaeology of the Central Mississippi River Valley

*Edited by*

Michael J. O'Brien and Robert C. Dunnell



The University of

Tuscaloosa and London

Copyright © 1998

The University of Alabama Press

Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35487-0380

All rights reserved

Manufactured in the United States of America

∞

The paper on which this book is printed meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Science—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Changing perspectives on the archaeology of the Central Mississippi River Valley / edited by Michael J. O'Brien and Robert C. Dunnell.

p. cm.

This volume originated from the 1993 annual meeting of the Society for American archaeology in St. Louis.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-8173-0909-8 (paper : alk. paper)

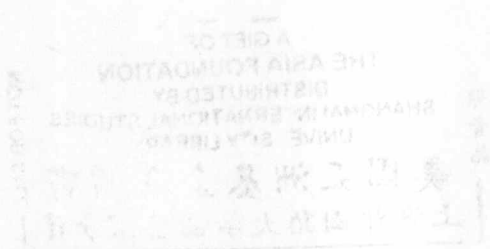
1. Mississippian culture. 2. Excavations (Archaeology)—Mississippi River Valley—History. 3. Mississippi River Valley—Antiquities. I. O'Brien, Michael J. (Michael John), 1950- . II. Dunnell, Robert C., 1942- . III. Society for American Archaeology. Meeting (1993 : St. Louis, Mo.)

E99.M6815C53 1998

977'.01—dc21

97-35595

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data available



## Preface and Acknowledgments

**T**HIS VOLUME HAD its origin in a 1993 Society for American Archaeology symposium. That year the annual meeting was held in St. Louis, and given the venue, it seemed appropriate to focus at least one set of papers on current research in the Mississippi Valley. Although that region played a critical role in the development of American archaeology—the work conducted there became something of a paradigm—it was our impression that the region was still known for its earlier contributions, even though current research had begun to move away from that model, both methodologically and substantively. In proposing a seminar on the archaeology of the central Mississippi Valley, it was our intention to bring some of those changes to the notice of a broad audience.

The present volume is not, however, a more permanent version of the 1993 symposium. Several papers originally presented were dropped as the volume developed, and all chapters have been modified extensively. Although complete coverage of a region as large as the central Mississippi Valley is impossible, as is summarizing the myriad approaches that have been taken toward understanding the prehistoric record, we solicited a number of new works in an attempt to provide a more representative aspect to the collection as a whole. Regrettably, some potential contributors were unable to participate in either the symposium or the present volume.

More than half the chapters focus almost exclusively on that portion of the archaeological record that dates after A.D. 900, traditionally the beginning of what commonly is referred to as the Mississippian period. Perhaps this is to be expected, since, as we note in Chapter 1, it has been this portion of the record, with its mounds and cemeteries, that has long attracted the interest of prehistorians. Certainly more has been written about that part of the central Mississippi Valley record than about all the other parts combined, and there is no reason to expect that trend to change in the immediate future. However, to present somewhat of a more balanced view of the record, we deliberately sought contributions from several archaeologists working with materials from other periods. The chapters that were finally included cover diverse topics—distributions of artifacts across the landscape, internal configurations of large fortified settlements, human-bone chemistry, and ceramic technology, to name a few—and all incorporate the results of new fieldwork and/or analysis. We decidedly

did not want simple recapitulations of older material. In essence, one strength of the volume is the diversity of topics covered and the potential avenues for further research suggested by the various authors.

Another strength—at least we see it that way—stems from the manner in which we handled certain production mechanics. Our intent from the start was to produce a volume that did not look like, nor read like, a willy-nilly assemblage of loosely connected papers. The reader will notice, for example, that all maps in the various chapters carry the same kinds of information and that each can be referenced to the base map presented in Chapter 1. Likewise, the manner in which the chapters themselves were edited was based on establishing consistency. We ended up walking a fine line between editing for style and editing for substance, which in many instances required us to ask the authors to rethink some of their positions. We do not necessarily agree with some of the conclusions presented herein, but we firmly believe that all the authors make reasonable arguments and that their contributions are important to understanding the tremendous variation evident in the archaeological record of the central Mississippi River valley.

As with the production of any book, a number of people need to be thanked for their contributions to the process. We greatly appreciate the help and encouragement we received from the University of Alabama Press, specifically from Judith Knight. For their input and attention to detail, we thank Kris Wilhelmsen, who generated many of the line drawings and all of the physiographic maps, and Dan Glover, who made corrections to various maps and also generated several of the line drawings. We greatly appreciate the capable editorial help supplied by Jennifer Smith Glover and Dan Glover, each or both of whom read numerous drafts of the chapters, converted chapters from one word-processing program to another, looked up missing references, and proofread the final manuscript. We thank Mary D. Dunnell for her editing work and Lee Lyman for his comments on the introductory chapter. E. J. O'Brien read the manuscript in its entirety and made numerous suggestions on how to improve wording and avoid needless repetition. Consistency in such things as legends and captions and agreement between text and figures are due in large part to his eye for detail. Kathy Cummins copy edited the final manuscript, and we appreciate her excellent work. Finally, we thank two anonymous reviewers, both of whom suggested numerous changes that greatly improved the manuscript.

# Contents

Figures	vii
Tables	xii
Preface and Acknowledgments	xv
1. A Brief Introduction to the Archaeology of the Central Mississippi River Valley	1
<i>Michael J. O'Brien and Robert C. Dunnell</i>	
2. An Examination of Mississippian-Period Phases in Southeastern Missouri	31
<i>Gregory L. Fox</i>	
3. Pottery, Radiocarbon Dates, and Mississippian-Period Chronology Building in Western Kentucky	59
<i>Paul P. Kreisa</i>	
4. An Overview of Walls Engraved Pottery in the Central Mississippi Valley	80
<i>David H. Dye</i>	
5. Graves Lake: A Late Mississippian-Period Village in Lauderdale County, Tennessee	99
<i>Robert C. Mainfort, Jr., and Michael C. Moore</i>	
6. Landscape Change and Settlement Location in the Cairo Lowland of Southeastern Missouri	124
<i>Robert H. Lafferty III</i>	
7. Nonsite Survey in the Cairo Lowland of Southeastern Missouri	148
<i>Patrice A. Teltser</i>	
8. Powers Fort: A Middle Mississippian-Period Fortified Community in the Western Lowlands of Missouri	169
<i>Timothy K. Perttula</i>	
9. The Langdon Site, Dunklin County, Missouri	200
<i>Robert C. Dunnell</i>	
10. Moon: A Fortified Mississippian-Period Village in Poinsett County, Arkansas	225
<i>David W. Benn</i>	



11. Variability in Crowley's Ridge Gravel	258
<i>Patrick T. McCutcheon and Robert C. Dunnell</i>	
12. Blade Technology and Nonlocal Cherts: Hopewell(?) Traits at the Twenhafel Site, Southern Illinois	281
<i>Carol A. Morrow</i>	
13. Prehistoric Diet in the Central Mississippi River Valley	299
<i>Diana M. Greenlee</i>	
Notes	325
References	329
Contributors	375
Index	379

# Illustrations

## Figures

1-1. Map of the central Mississippi River valley showing physiographic features and locations mentioned in the text	2
1-2. Map of the central Mississippi River valley showing the distribution of different kinds of surface sediments	6
1-3. In situ mandible of a Pleistocene-age llama, Buffalo Slough, Dunklin County, Missouri	9
1-4. Aerial photograph taken in 1950 of southern Dunklin County, Missouri, showing the contact between the Malden Plain and the Little River Lowland to the east	11
1-5. Aerial photograph taken in 1967 showing ridge-and-swale topography in Cross County, Arkansas, that is typical of the modern Mississippi River meander belt	12
1-6. Map of a portion of the central Mississippi River valley showing locations of archaeological sites mentioned in the text	14
2-1. Map of southeastern Missouri showing physiographic features and locations of archaeological sites mentioned in the text	32
2-2. Cluster analysis of Brainerd-Robinson coefficients of ceramic assemblages from sites surface collected by Stephen Williams	47
2-3. Averaged Euclidian distances of sites surface collected by Stephen Williams	48
2-4. Results of multidimensional scaling (two dimensions) of surface-collected ceramic assemblages from twenty-six sites surveyed by Stephen Williams	49
2-5. Cluster analysis of Brainerd-Robinson coefficients of excavated ceramic assemblages from fourteen sites in southeastern Missouri and one in northeastern Arkansas (Parkin)	53
2-6. Results of multidimensional scaling (two dimensions) of excavated ceramic assemblages from fourteen sites in southeastern Missouri and one in northeastern Arkansas (Parkin)	54
2-7. Cluster analysis of Brainerd-Robinson coefficients of excavated ceramic assemblages from fourteen sites in southeastern Missouri and one in northeastern Arkansas (Parkin), with Neeley's Ferry Plain and Bell Plain sherds removed	55
2-8. Results of multidimensional scaling (two dimensions) of excavated ceramic assemblages from fourteen sites in southeastern Missouri and one in northeastern Arkansas (Parkin), with Neeley's Ferry Plain and Bell Plain sherds removed	56



3-1. Map of western Kentucky showing locations of Mississippian-period sites mentioned in the text	61
3-2. Comparison of Mississippian-period phases for western Kentucky proposed by Barry Lewis and Kit Wesler	62
3-3. Radiocarbon dates from Rowlandtown, Twin Mounds, Adams, and Turk, in order of listing in Table 3-2	67
3-4. Cluster-analysis dendrogram of ceramic assemblages from Adams, Turk, Twin Mounds, and Rowlandtown	71
3-5. Multidimensional-scaling scatterplot of ceramic assemblages from Adams, Turk, Twin Mounds, and Rowlandtown	72
3-6. Geographic and temporal trends in percentages of Wickliffe Thick and Kimmswick Fabric-Impressed sherds in western-Kentucky assemblages	74
3-7. Geographic and temporal trends in percentages of Mississippian decorated-pottery types in western-Kentucky assemblages	75
3-8. Geographic and temporal trends in percentages of Old Town Red and total decorated pottery in western-Kentucky assemblages	76
4-1. Distribution of Walls Engraved, <i>var. Walls</i> , and Walls Engraved, <i>var. Hull</i> , sherds in the central Mississippi River valley	86
4-2. Distribution of Walls Engraved, <i>var. Walls</i> , and Walls Engraved, <i>var. Hull</i> , vessels in the central Mississippi River valley	87
4-3. Vessel forms associated with Walls Engraved designs	94
4-4. Scroll types found on Walls Engraved vessels	96
5-1. Map of western Tennessee and environs showing locations of sites mentioned in the text	100
5-2. Topographic setting of Graves Lake (40LA92) and site 40LA83, Lauderdale County, Tennessee	101
5-3. Topographic map of Graves Lake showing grid lines and tested localities	104
5-4. House 2 area at Graves Lake showing locations of burial pits, hearths, miscellaneous features, and post molds	105
5-5. House 3 area at Graves Lake showing locations of burial pits, miscellaneous features, post molds, and several artifacts	107
5-6. Ceramic vessels from Graves Lake	112
5-7. Distribution of surface-collected shell-tempered sherds by weight (grams per 10 × 10-meter unit) at Graves Lake	115
5-8. Distribution of surface-collected primary flakes by weight (grams per 10 × 10-meter unit) at Graves Lake	116
5-9. Distribution of surface-collected chert cobbles by weight (grams per 10 × 10-meter unit) at Graves Lake	117
5-10. Radiocarbon determinations for Graves Lake (calibrated using CALIB 2.0)	119

6-1. Map of the Cairo Lowland, southeastern Missouri, showing the location of the New Madrid Floodway and sampling areas relative to major physiographic features and modern soil associations	125
6-2. Map of the northern portion of the New Madrid Floodway project area showing the locations of Mississippi River channels mapped and labeled by Harold Fisk	129
6-3. Map of the northern portion of the New Madrid Floodway showing the areas surveyed	130
6-4. Map of the northern portion of the New Madrid Floodway showing the proposed reconstruction of the landscape about 2000 B.C. (Late Archaic period) and the distribution of sites across the landscape	133
6-5. Map of the northern portion of the New Madrid Floodway showing the proposed reconstruction of the landscape about A.D. 500 (early Late Woodland period) and the distribution of sites across the landscape	137
6-6. Map of the northern portion of the New Madrid Floodway showing the proposed reconstruction of the landscape about A.D. 1000 (Early Mississippian period) and the distribution of sites across the landscape	138
6-7. Map of the southern portion of the New Madrid Floodway showing the distribution of sites on Barnes and Sugar Tree ridges	140
6-8. Map of the southern portion of the New Madrid Floodway showing the proposed reconstruction of the landscape about 1000 B.C. (terminal Late Archaic period) and the distribution of sites on Barnes and Sugar Tree ridges that contained Poverty Point objects	141
6-9. Map of the southern portion of the New Madrid Floodway showing the proposed reconstruction of the landscape about A.D. 1 (Middle Woodland period) and the distribution of sites on Barnes and Sugar Tree ridges that contained sand-tempered pottery	142
6-10. Map of the southern portion of the New Madrid Floodway showing the proposed reconstruction of the landscape about A.D. 1000 (Early Mississippian period) and the distribution of sites on Barnes and Sugar Tree ridges that contained shell-tempered pottery	143
7-1. Map showing the locations of the Sandy Woods site, the Cairo Lowland, and major physiographic features in southeastern Missouri	149
7-2. Nineteenth-century map of the Sandy Woods site, prepared by W. B. Potter for the Academy of Science of St. Louis, showing the locations of mounds, enclosures, and house depressions	152
7-3. Outlines of the three fields surveyed around Sandy Woods, superimposed on soil data from the Scott County soil survey	156
7-4. Survey map of Field CB at Sandy Woods	157
7-5. Survey map of Field JM at Sandy Woods	158
7-6. Survey map of Field RM at Sandy Woods	159

7-7. Comparison of artifact density (artifacts per 4 × 4-meter unit) across the clusters identified in the survey around Sandy Woods	160
7-8. Biface-to-debitage ratios for assemblages from fields RM, JM, and CB at Sandy Woods	162
7-9. Pottery-to-debitage ratios for assemblages from fields RM, JM, and CB at Sandy Woods	163
8-1. Location of Powers Fort relative to physiographic features in southeastern Missouri	170
8-2. Map of the sand-ridge system in the Little Black River watershed in the vicinity of Powers Fort showing locations of Powers-phase sites	171
8-3. Plan map of Powers Fort made by Col. Philetus W. Norris for the Bureau of (American) Ethnology, Division of Mound Exploration	174
8-4. Cross section of Mound 1 at Powers Fort as depicted by Col. Philetus W. Norris	175
8-5. Topographic map of Powers Fort showing mounds, surface-collected areas, locations of excavations in the 1960s, and burials 2 through 6	177
8-6. Plan maps of excavated burials at Powers Fort	179
8-7. Plan map of Structure 1 at Powers Fort	182
8-8. Large sherd and vessels from Powers Fort	192
8-9. Locations of large Middle Mississippian-period sites in southeastern Missouri that contain mounds and/or palisades	196
8-10. Plan of the internal structure of Powers Fort	198
9-1. Map of the central Mississippi Valley showing locations of physiographic features and archaeological sites mentioned in the text	201
9-2. Stephen Williams's map of the Langdon site, 1954	204
9-3. The 1985–1987 Langdon topographic map showing the location of recent investigations	206
9-4. June 1937 Soil Conservation Service black-and-white aerial photograph showing Langdon as a walled rectangle	208
9-5. Soil Conservation Service black-and-white aerial photographs showing the Langdon site in November 1950 and July 1959	210
9-6. Artifact frequencies along the south-to-north transect west of the road at Langdon	212
9-7. Magnetic transect across the northernmost mound in the three-mound structure at Langdon	213
9-8. Grain-size and chemical characteristics of a core through the northernmost mound in the three-mound structure at Langdon	214
9-9. Projectile points from Langdon	218
9-10. Plain shell-tempered rimsherds from Langdon	219
9-11. Whole vessels from Langdon	220

10-1. Map of the central Mississippi River valley showing physiographic features and the location of Moon and other archaeological sites mentioned in the text	226
10-2. Environmental setting of Moon and Priestly based on modern soil surveys and General Land Office survey notes	228
10-3. Excavation plan of Moon (November 1989) superimposed on the 10-meter grid	230
10-4. Density (objects per 10 × 10-meter unit) of surface-collected artifacts in all classes at Moon	233
10-5. Density (objects per 10 × 10-meter unit) of surface-collected shell-tempered sherds at Moon	236
10-6. Density (objects per 10 × 10-meter unit) of surface-collected daub at Moon	235
10-7. Locations of projectile points and other lithic artifacts in 10 × 10-meter surface-collection units at Moon	236
10-8. The excavated Moon community pattern superimposed on the 10 × 10-meter grid	237
10-9. Plan of all features at Moon	239
10-10. Plan of rectangular Structure 15 at Moon showing the location of carbon smears, pits, and post molds	240
10-11. Plan of the Moon site showing locations of structures, courtyards 1 and 2, and radiocarbon-dated wood samples	242
10-12. Excavation plans of square wall-trench structures 1030/1042 and 1036 at Moon	245
10-13. Locations of structures with deep basins and courtyards 1 and 2 at Moon	247
10-14. Locations of burned structures and courtyards 1 and 2 at Moon	248
11-1. Map of the central Mississippi River valley showing the locations of physiographic features, chert-gravel sources that were sampled, and sites mentioned in the text	259
11-2. Research design used to examine Crowley's Ridge gravels	261
11-3. Plots of impact-testing results by rock groundmass	276
11-4. Plots of impact-testing results by solid inclusions	277
11-5. Plots of impact-testing results by void inclusions	278
11-6. Plots of impact-testing results by solid-inclusion distributions	279
11-7. Plots of impact-testing results by void-inclusion distributions	280
12-1. Map of western Illinois and eastern Missouri showing the locations of Twenhafel and chert quarries mentioned in the text	282
12-2. Identification protocol used to sort chert artifacts from Twenhafel	290
12-3. Line graph showing general technological trends in assemblages from Twenhafel	293

13-1. Map of the central Mississippi River valley, showing the locations of previously acquired and newly acquired stable-carbon-isotope data	302
13-2. Plot showing previously acquired stable-carbon-isotope ratios versus estimated age	303
13-3. Plot showing the percent yield for the two independent replicate extractions	317
13-4. Atomic carbon/nitrogen ratios of "collagen" plotted against the mean extract yield of replicate extractions	318
13-5. Carbon and nitrogen concentrations in "collagen" plotted against the mean extract yield of replicate samples	319
13-6. Newly (and previously) acquired stable-carbon-isotope ratios versus estimated age	322
13-7. Variance in stable-carbon-isotope ratios versus number of individuals for four central Mississippi Valley skeletal samples	323

## Tables

2-1. Southeastern Missouri Mississippian-period phases, cultural periods, and ceramic types	34
2-2. Archaeological sites forming the data base for statistical comparisons	39
2-3. Provenience of analytical units for Crosno	42
2-4. Similarity matrix of Brainerd-Robinson coefficients of analytical units derived from excavations at Crosno	44
2-5. Similarity matrix of Brainerd-Robinson coefficients of twenty-five surface-collected sites and the excavated Crosno assemblage	46
2-6. Similarity matrix of Brainerd-Robinson coefficients of excavated ceramic assemblages from fourteen sites in southeastern Missouri and one in northeastern Arkansas	51
3-1. Frequencies and percentages of selected ceramic types from four Mississippian sites in western Kentucky	65
3-2. Radiocarbon dates from Rowlandtown, Twin Mounds, Adams, and Turk	66
4-1. Sites in the central Mississippi Valley producing Walls Engraved sherds	88
4-2. Sites in the central Mississippi Valley producing Walls Engraved vessels	90
5-1. Frequencies of shell-tempered sherds from Graves Lake and Richardson's Landing	109
5-2. Calibrated radiocarbon dates from Graves Lake	118
5-3. Frequencies of interior beveling on rimsherds from sites in western Tennessee and southeastern Missouri	120

6-1. Numbers of hectares surveyed and sites found in high- and low-probability areas in the northern portion of the New Madrid Floodway	131
6-2. Radiocarbon dates from archaeological sites in the New Madrid Floodway	135
6-3. Frequencies of components identified during the New Madrid Floodway Survey	144
6-4. Frequencies and weights of artifacts from test units at Rinaud	145
7-1. Frequency of eroded sherds from Cluster RMA by temper	166
8-1. Position, orientation, age, sex, and associated artifacts of Powers Fort burials	180
8-2. Vertical distribution of cultural materials in Structure 1 at Powers Fort	184
8-3. Concentration indices of excavated artifacts from Structure 1 at Powers Fort	184
8-4. Frequencies of shell-tempered sherds and other ceramic items from Powers Fort	188
8-5. Occurrence of vessel forms, rim and body decoration, and appendages and bases in the Powers Phase ceramic assemblages	189
8-6. Decorative elements on shell-tempered pottery from Powers Fort	190
8-7. Percentages of raw materials in lithic assemblages from five surface-collected areas at Powers Fort	193
8-8. Lithic artifacts from excavated contexts at Powers Fort	194
8-9. Powers Phase lithic tools from surface contexts at Powers Fort	195
10-1. Radiocarbon dates from Moon	231
10-2. Decorated pottery and special artifacts from Moon	251
11-1. Dimensions and attributes for the rock physical-properties classification	264
11-2. Results of <i>t</i> -tests for gravel collections comparing size to rock physical-properties-classification dimensions	268
11-3. Chi-square results comparing archaeological assemblages to nearest gravel sample along rock physical-properties-classification dimensions	273
11-4. Brainerd-Robinson coefficients for rock physical-properties-classification dimensions comparing archaeological assemblages and gravel samples	274
11-5. Mean and standard deviation of failure loads and weight loss for Crowley's Ridge gravel specimens	275
12-1. Frequencies of lithic pieces by period at Twenhafel	292
12-2. Technological use of Cobden/Dongola chert through time at Twenhafel	294



12-3. Percentage of Cobden/Dongola chert used in each technology by period at Twenhafel	294
12-4. Frequencies of items of Crescent and Grimes Hill chert in each technology by period at Twenhafel	295
13-1. Summary of skeletal specimens from southeastern Missouri included in the analysis	314
13-2. Collagen-extract yield, percent carbon, percent nitrogen, and carbon/nitrogen ratios for new samples from southeastern Missouri	316
13-3. $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ Values for new skeletal samples from southeastern Missouri	321

# 1 A Brief Introduction to the Archaeology of the Central Mississippi River Valley

*Michael J. O'Brien and Robert C. Dunnell*

THE CHAPTERS IN this volume summarize a series of recent investigations of the archaeological record of the central Mississippi River valley, which, following Morse and Morse (1983; see also Williams 1956), we take to be that portion of the greater Mississippi Alluvial Valley (Fisk 1944) lying between the Arkansas River and its deposits on the south and Thebes, Illinois, on the north (Figure 1-1). This is not a wholly arbitrary area, even though the southern boundary of the central valley is less marked than the northern, eastern, and western boundaries (see below). North of Thebes, the Mississippi flows in a narrow valley only a few kilometers wide and deeply incised into Paleozoic bedrock. South of Thebes, the river occupies a major structural depression—the Mississippi Embayment—that is filled largely with poorly consolidated or unconsolidated sediments of Cretaceous and later age. There, the valley often is 200 kilometers wide; its eastern and western boundaries are Paleozoic bedrock, deeply buried by loess in the east.

One would be hard pressed to find another region of the United States, unless it is the Southwest, that has witnessed such a long-standing interest on the part of prehistorians. Given the high visibility of segments of its archaeological record—especially mounds—why *wouldn't* the region attract the attention of those interested in the past? Alban Jasper Conant, an amateur prehistorian writing in the *Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis* in 1878, prosaically characterized the southeastern Missouri portion of the valley as an archaeologist's paradise:

There is, doubtless, now no richer field for archaeological research in this great basin of the Mississippi Valley than is to be found in [southeastern] Missouri. The wonderful extent and variety of the ancient works and monuments therein, the relics they disclose, the huge burial mounds filled with the bones of the dead, disposed in orderly array, as though by loving hands, along with vessels of pottery of graceful forms and varied patterns, often, too, skillfully ornamented,—all bear witness to a settled and permanent condition of society and government and obedience to law, and to certain convictions of a future life. (Conant 1878:353)

Once people with an interest in antiquities began poking in and around the mounds, they were immediately rewarded for their efforts. By the end of the

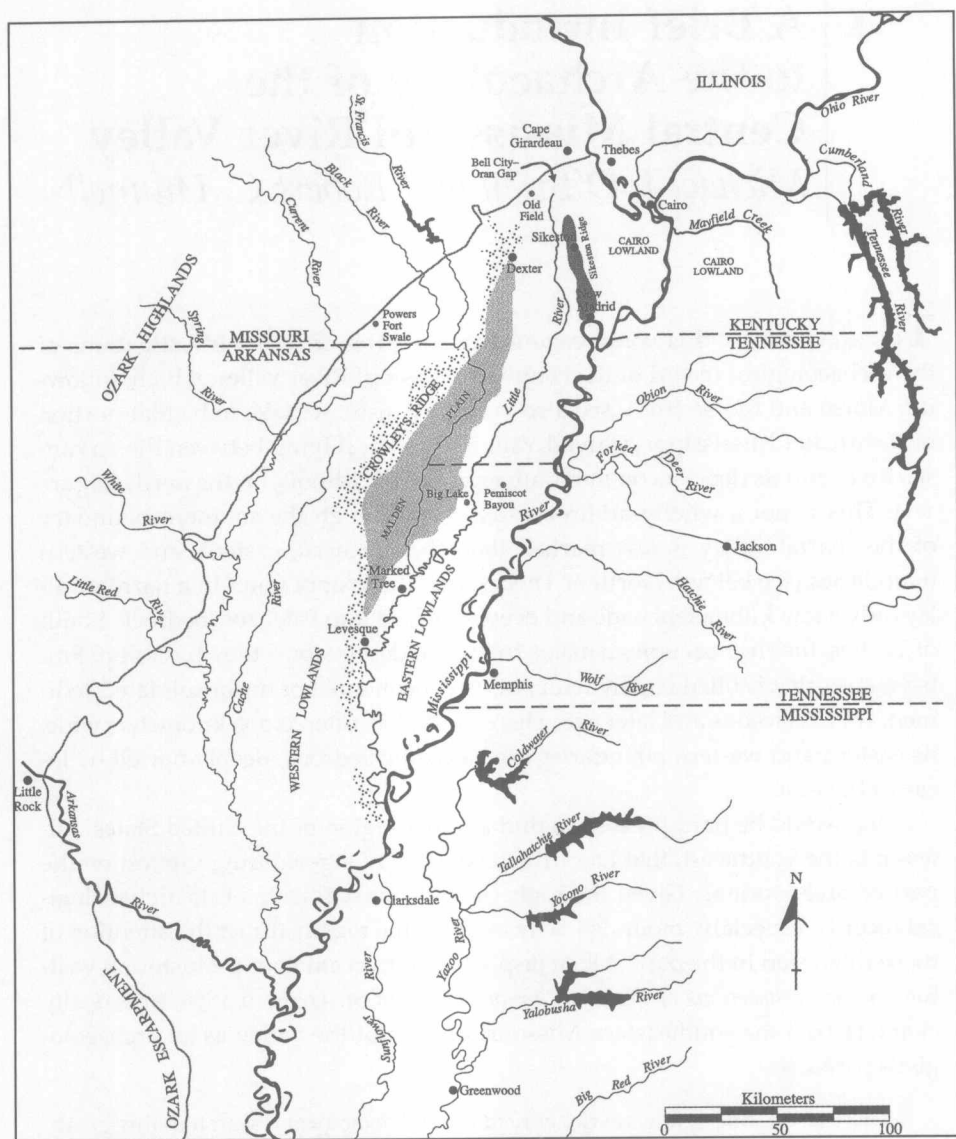


Figure 1-1. Map of the central Mississippi River valley showing physiographic features and locations mentioned in the text.

nineteenth century, thousands of magnificent ceramic bowls, bottles, and jars that had lain hidden in the large prehistoric cemeteries along the Mississippi and St. Francis rivers and neighboring streams such as Little River and Pemiscot Bayou had been mined, many of them ending up in museums in the East. In a very real sense, it is a wonder that anything was left of the archaeological record