

THE BOLD COUNSELOR PHASE OF THE CENTRAL ILLINOIS RIVER VALLEY: ONEOTA'S MIDDLE MISSISSIPPIAN MARGIN

Duane Esarey and Lawrence A. Conrad

ABSTRACT

The people known to archaeologists as the Bold Counselor phase entered the central Illinois River valley from parts unknown around A.D. 1300 and disappeared from the region before A.D. 1450 along with their Late Mississippian co-residents. Chronological placement is supported by a number of radiocarbon assays, but multiple intercepts on the radiocarbon correction scale throughout the 14th century preclude a radiocarbon-based internal chronology. The Bold Counselor phase is known from surface collections and a number of well-preserved residential and mortuary features at only a handful of sites. Although Bold Counselor phase is easily linked to other Developmental horizon Oneota phases, its close associations with Late Mississippian culture make it unique among Oneota manifestations. The indisputable cohabitation of the Bold Counselor phase people and local Late Mississippians at several sites is perhaps the most distinctive feature of Bold Counselor phase.

INTRODUCTION

Rather than being a full discussion and definition of the Bold Counselor phase occupation of the central Illinois River valley, this paper attempts to address only those aspects of the phase that articulate directly with our efforts to construct a coherent taxonomic assignment.

Because there is strong evidence of an intimate, but highly variable, association between the Oneota society we have named Bold Counselor and the remnant population of the local Middle Mississippian phase sequence, we will stress the description and contextual associations of diagnostic ceramic assemblages and focus on specific archaeological contexts in an attempt to interpret the Oneota/Late Mississippian interaction that characterizes Bold Counselor Oneota. The chronological difficulties related to multiple corrected intercepts of radiocarbon assays in the 14th century will

be touched upon. Finally, the phase's implicit taxonomic difficulties and the concurrent opportunities for understanding this unusually clear case of parallel cultural association must be discussed.

The core expression of the Bold Counselor phase is present at, and apparently nearly exclusive to, five major villages located in a 33 km reach of the western bluff of the Illinois River valley in Fulton County, Illinois (Figure 1). The earliest evidence as to the nature of these unusual late prehistoric occupations was gathered by the University of Chicago through village and cemetery excavations at the Crable site. The association of Oneota and Mississippian material remains at Crable was noted and speculated upon (Smith 1951), but little further attention to the unusual cultural association at Crable and other Bold Counselor phase sites took place until the recognition of the C. W. Cooper site as a closely related, but relatively pure, Oneota assemblage. Specifically, an awareness of the genetic relationship between the minority Oneota ceramics at Crable and the relatively pure Oneota village at C. W. Cooper site provided the required vantage point for interpreting the association of Oneota and Late Mississippian traits at Crable. Thus, Conrad's initial excavations at C. W. Cooper (Conrad 1963) and his surface collections at the nearby Sleeth site provided a context for recognizing the Bold Counselor phase.

Excavated data available for reliable interpretation of the phase currently includes the following: At Crable there have been three controlled excavations (University of Chicago 1934, Indiana University 1964 and associated Morse family excavations, and University of Illinois-Chicago 1969-1970). Also from Crable are numerous large scattered collections resulting from the most extensive and persistent site vandalism and cemetery looting in the Illinois River valley. At C. W. Cooper, test trenches, block excavations, and salvage of burials were carried out by Conrad and Esarey in 1962, 1971, in 1982-1983, and 1989, with the later

Duane Esarey, *Dickson Mounds/ Illinois State Museum, Lewistown, IL 61542, and Lawrence A. Conrad, Western Illinois University, Macomb, IL*

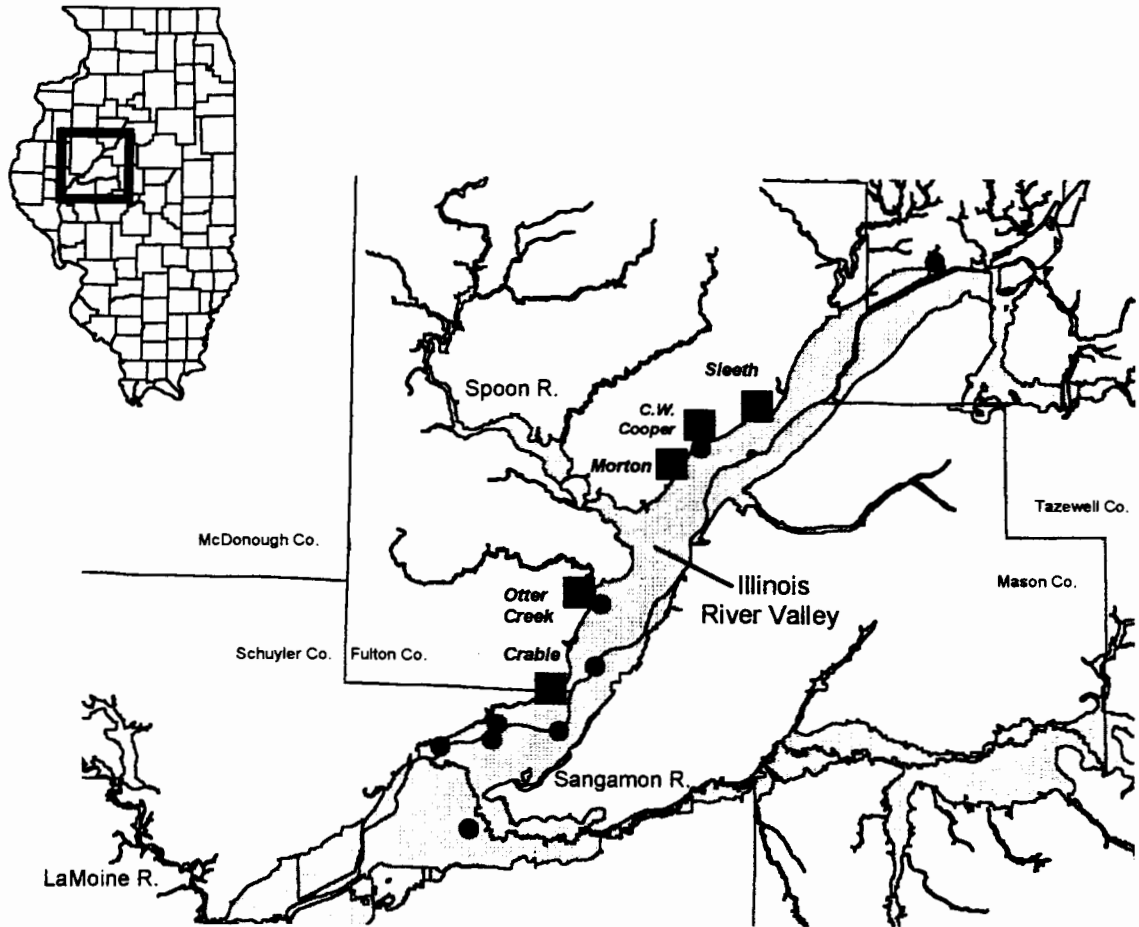


Figure 1. Bold Counselor phase villages and minor components in the central Illinois River valley

projects under the auspices of the Upper Mississippi Valley Archaeological Research Foundation and Western Illinois University. At Morton Village and the Norris Farms #36 cemetery, a large mortuary population and a sizable sample of domestic contexts were excavated 1984-1986 by Dickson Mounds/Illinois State Museum.

CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE OF THE BOLD COUNSELOR PHASE

Oneota ceramics are highly recognizable and there can be no doubt that ceramic traits have

played a central role in the acceptance of Bold Counselor as Oneota. Were it not for the fact that the typical Bold Counselor jar forms and decorations are nearly the archetype of a Developmental horizon Oneota vessel, the unusual ceramic traits of the remainder of the Bold Counselor phase assemblage might render it a taxonomical pariah. This may yet come to pass. Since a description of Bold Counselor vessel forms and decorations and their intersite variations is published by Esarey and Santure (1990:163) citing Conrad and Esarey (1985), only the most important aspects of the vessel assemblage will be reviewed here.

In its purest form, the Bold Counselor ceramic assemblage consists largely of jars and bowls with a minor admixture of deep rimmed plates. The jars are high rimmed, globular vessels with shoulders bearing typical Oneota trailed lines with punctate borders and "stab and drag" vertical decorations. Several variant motifs are present, but the most common motif is three to five horizontal lines bordered by punctates and vertical stab and drag trailing. Bold Counselor jars have a very low incidence of lip stamping and interior lip decoration. Loop handles attached either at or below the lip with a rivet technique are standard on all but the largest jars. Strap handles occur only occasionally.

Deep bowls constitute nearly half of the vessel assemblage and are typically plain. Perhaps half of the bowls have one of several types of lip notching or stamping and a few have exterior trailed designs, usually consisting of three or four horizontal lines near the lip. Bowls with effigy adornos are rare but present. One especially diagnostic bowl form is a broad shallow bowl with flaring, concave flanges or handles that are decorated with Oneota style lines and punctates. The decorations of the occasional deep rim plate found in the purer of the Bold Counselor assemblages vary from their much more common Mississippian counterparts in having designs bordered by punctates and lines trailed into a damp paste rather than scratched into leather hard or fully dried paste.

Thus, the hallmarks of the Bold Counselor ceramics are: 1) a high frequency of jars with horizontal trailing, 2) a very low incidence of lip stamping on jars, 3) a proliferation of bowls, many of which have lip stamping, 4) the presence of a broad, shallow bowl form with flared, concave flanges or handles decorated in Oneota fashion (this vessel form has not been documented in any other phase), and 5) the presence of Mississippian style deep rimmed plates some of which are decorated with Oneota motifs.

CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE OF THE ASSOCIATED LATE MISSISSIPPIANS

The Mississippian assemblages associated with the Bold Counselor phase can be described as late (i.e., post-Cahokia). Taxonomically, these are Middle Mississippian. In this paper we will use the term Late Mississippian to differentiate these

Middle Mississippians from the ancestral Spoon River or LaMoine River Middle Mississippians. We use this abbreviated terminology in spite of being aware that Oneota (which is an Upper Mississippian tradition) is also sometimes generically referred to as simply "Mississippian" (e.g., Gibbon 1979).

We see the Late Mississippian component as being indigenous to the central Illinois River valley. Conrad (1991) has proposed a scenario involving northern (Spoon River) and southern (LaMoine River) traditions within the Illinois River valley. In this scheme the well-known Spoon River tradition of Fulton and Peoria counties is seen as having resulted from the amalgamation of the Late Woodland Maples Mills population (also see Esarey 1997) with American Bottom Mississippians. The Spoon River tradition has been divided into the Eveland, Orendorf, and Larson phases. It has been variously suggested that this local sequence terminated with the Crable phase or with the less completely defined Late Mississippian Marbletown complex (Conrad 1991:124-146; Conrad and Harn 1972; Harn 1978, 1994:10-12).

The more southerly (LaMoine River) tradition of Schuyler, Brown, Cass, and northern Pike counties has been tentatively defined by Conrad (1991:146-154) as the result of amalgamation of Late Woodland Bauer Branch populations and Mississippians. As with the Spoon River tradition, this event seems to have taken place simultaneous to the American Bottom's Stirling phase. Although a lack of controlled excavations has thus far precluded definition of a continuous sequence of phases, continuity of Mississippian occupations is obviously present. Largely on the basis of the collection of the Brown County Ossuary (Snyder 1962), which yielded at least one Crable deep rimmed plate, two spider gorgets, and several other engraved and annular gorgets but apparently no Oneota ceramics, a Mississippian Crabtree phase has been proposed. In Conrad's scheme the Crabtree phase Mississippians are seen as ultimately combining with the Bold Counselor Oneota occupants at Crable and Sleeth sites to form the Crable phase, as opposed to an alternate hypotheses in which the Spoon River sequence of phases ultimately ended up at Crable. Elsewhere it has been suggested that the Larson phase Spoon River people may have moved into the LaMoine River tradition territory (Harn 1978:247, Esarey and Santure 1990:166)

prior to the Crable phase. All these Late Mississippian assemblages (Marbletown, Crabtree, and Crable) are roughly contemporaneous as the latter part of the monolithic Sand Prairie phase of the American Bottom.

Late Mississippian ceramic assemblages in the central Illinois River valley are characterized by cordmarked jars, plain and cordmarked large coarse bowls, plain small bowls, plain and cordmarked large, wide-mouthed water bottles, plain, painted, and negative painted long neck water bottles, effigy bowls, and highly decorated plates with very wide rims. The only significant ceramic difference between the Late Mississippian assemblages to the south of the Bold Counselor phase and the Late Mississippian ceramics associated with Bold Counselor phase are that the latter have much greater numbers of the distinctive deep rimmed plate form and occasionally produce intermediate or "hybrid" vessel forms and decorations. We would interpret this as evidence of the slight temporal precedence of the former.

Having described these two assemblages as the product of two distinct cultural groups and as ideally separate (i.e., the typical Bold Counselor ceramic assemblage and the typical Late Mississippian ceramic assemblage of the Spoon River locality), we will now demonstrate that the two are inextricably linked in some, but not all, archaeological contexts. We present Bold Counselor as a continuum of sites in which the site specific ceramic assemblages of two contemporaneous yet distinct peoples grade between a minor Oneota admixture within a large Late Mississippian temple mound center (i.e., Crable) to an assemblage where Late Mississippian is very minor or absent in an Oneota village (i.e., C. W. Cooper).

THE PHASE COMPONENTS AND THEIR ASSEMBLAGES

Bold Counselor phase occupations are present at five major village sites spaced along a less than 35 kilometer section of the western bluff of the Illinois River valley. To date, two of these (Crable and Sleeth) have been classified as within both the Crable phase (Conrad 1991) and the Bold Counselor phase. The others have been classified only as

Bold Counselor (Conrad and Esarey 1983; Esarey and Santure 1990). Each of the five major Bold Counselor village sites was densely occupied and perched on a defensible bluff top overlooking the Illinois River valley.

C. W. Cooper

This dense midden accumulation probably once covered about one hectare. Excavations at the site were undertaken in 1962, 1971, 1982-1983, and 1989. Several burned Oneota structures were encountered in these excavations. House floors, pit features, midden contexts, and burials provided a large and well preserved assemblage. Of the five Bold Counselor village components, C. W. Cooper shows almost no evidence of any influence or actual presence by the Late Mississippians, and thus provides the archetypical Bold Counselor Oneota core ceramic traits. At Cooper, deep rimmed plates, which occur only infrequently, are generally decorated in Oneota fashion (i.e., trailed in wet paste rather than incised in dry paste).

Norris Farms #36/Morton Village

Best documented of the Bold Counselor phase components, the circa four hectare Morton Village site and its associated cemetery (Norris Farms #36 site) have been the subject of extensive excavation, although the village excavations are only partially analyzed. The Bold Counselor mortuary population of 264 individuals (Santure et al. 1990) and village excavations totaling three complete and four partial Bold Counselor structures and nearly 100 Bold Counselor pit features have been described by Santure (1990), Sank (1993), and Harn and Klobuchar (1991). In terms of Late Mississippian interaction the cemetery is primarily Oneota in identity but shows a significant admixture of vessels (e.g., bottles, including a negative painted vessel, and a beaker) and other artifacts (e.g., a spider gorget and large Mill Creek chert knife or small "dance sword") that are typically associated with Late Mississippian manifestations. In the village area an occasional cordmarked jar, effigy bowl, and Crable deep rimmed plate fragment are found in an assemblage that is largely comprised of Bold Counselor jars and bowls.

Otter Creek

Known only from two surface collected Bold Counselor phase jar shoulders, two large bird effigy bowl adorns, and a 1930s aerial photograph apparently showing a number of houses, this site presents a major opportunity to expand our perspective on Bold Counselor phase. Of course, without excavated contexts, we have no way of knowing what the relationship between Late Mississippian and Bold Counselor Oneota is at the Otter Creek site.

Sleeth

The Sleeth site is a densely occupied village that probably covers less than two hectares. An aerial photograph of the cultivated portion of the site shows a sharply circumscribed midden edge with a right angle corner, suggesting fortification. The site is by far the most fascinating and frustrating of the major Bold Counselor phase villages. It is truly unfortunate that no excavations have taken place here. Surface collections at Dickson Mounds and Western Illinois University (especially the large Tom and Darcy Bainter Collection at WIU) verify that nearly balanced frequencies of both Bold Counselor and Late Mississippian ceramics are present. Deep rimmed plates are common and, perhaps not surprisingly, "hybridized" ceramic forms and "degenerated" design motifs seem to be less common than they are at Crable. It is probably of special note, but of unclear significance, that the deep rimmed plates at Sleeth are nearly all decorated "Mississippian-style" (i.e., incised and without punctate borders). Since Oneota decorated (trailed and punctated) deep rim plates are occasionally found at Crable and are the rule (trailed only) at C. W. Cooper, and the frequency of Bold Counselor Oneota decorated vessels is otherwise relatively high at Sleeth, this aberration must be of significance.

Crable site

From the very beginning of the long research history at the Crable site, archaeologists have been intrigued with the nature of the Oneota traits at this otherwise standard Mississippian temple mound center. Although most of the site's cemeteries were looted by relic hunters (McDonald 1950; also see information in Morse 1962:124), controlled

excavations were carried out in 1933 by the University of Chicago (Smith 1951). In the 1960s, the Morse family and Indiana University excavated a number of pit features and recorded a profile of the platform mound at the head of Crable's plaza (Morse 1964, 1969, unpublished Morse family materials and notes curated at Western Illinois University). In 1969-1970, block excavations of deep midden deposits, pit features, and house basins were completed by the University of Illinois at Chicago (Hall 1991:26; unpublished excavation materials and notes curated at Dickson Mounds Museum).

The only quantification of Oneota versus Late Mississippian ceramics has been by Conrad and Esarey (1985). A sort of 592 vessels represented in 17 pit features excavated by the Morse family shows that 14 percent of the vessels are Bold Counselor and that these were equitably distributed through the features. All other examined contexts (i.e., the University of Chicago excavations, and Hall's 1969-70 excavations, appear to have similar amounts of Bold Counselor ceramics throughout.

Smith observed that Crable was a "mixed site of Upper Mississippian (Oneota) and Middle Mississippian affiliations" and noted that Mississippian ceramic types and Oneota "elements" were roughly contemporaneous with no indication of a time difference. He concluded that the Crable deep rimmed plate provided evidence that, "a transference of technique has taken place, probably indicating a cultural fusion from two separate sources," and stated that "If one is to gain a valid conception of this site, the culture complex must be viewed as a cultural whole (Smith 1951:18, 27-40)." Thus, Smith recognized the heterogeneous sources of the ceramic traits at Crable, but was ambiguous about exactly what social situation was responsible for this "mixed site." Smith's interpretations can probably be linked to changing opinions about Crable held by James B. Griffin. Initially, Griffin (1940) had privately described Crable as having "not only Spoon River Focus material but also pottery that is definitely Oneota, and sherds which indicate a cross over of different pottery types *suggesting simultaneous occupation of the site by two different groups of people*" (emphasis added). Somewhat later, Griffin became more ambiguous in his interpretation, saying only that Crable site ceramics were "an intermixture of two types that had previ-

ously crystalized" (Griffin 1946:87). Still later, he described Crable as having "Oneota pottery decorations placed on local vessel forms" (Griffin 1983:282). As mentioned above, the interpretation that Crable's occupation was by two previously separate groups was not publicly forwarded until after Conrad's 1962 excavations at the C. W. Cooper site.

Other Bold Counselor components

In keeping with the social conditions implied by heavily occupied and defensible main villages and clear evidence of chronic warfare (Santure et al. 1990), the Bold Counselor settlement system appears to have very few outlying minor components. Only near the Crable site do we know of outlying Bold Counselor settlements. Evidence of these is very minor. There are one or two Bold Counselor rim or decorated sherds each from five sites on the Illinois River banks and one site along the lower course of the Sangamon River (Esarey 1990 and collections at Dickson Mounds Museum and Western Illinois University). These sites (IAS#s Mn193, Mn196, Mn198, Sc634, Sc642 and Cs4) are all located between five and sixteen kilometers from Crable (Figure 1). Bold Counselor sherds have also been found on the talus slopes directly below the Otter Creek and C. W. Cooper sites (on the Water Pump/IAS-F255 and Whitnah/IAS-F15 sites, respectively).

A probable northerly extension of Bold Counselor phase village distribution may be implied by the fact that two sites are known well upstream of the five main villages. Twenty-two kilometers upstream from the Sleeth site, one probable Bold Counselor stamped bowl rim is known from a bluff-top site near Glasford in Peoria County. Fifty-three kilometers up the valley from Sleeth, there are a handful of probable Bold Counselor sherds (two jar shoulders, two stamped bowl rims, and three "wet incised" deep rimmed plates) among the ceramics from an earlier Mississippian temple town (Ten Mile Creek site) near the shore of Lake Peoria.

OTHER ONEOTA IN THE ILLINOIS RIVER VALLEY

Only a very few other traces of Oneota material dating to the Developmental and Classic horizons are known along the lower 370 kilometers (230

miles) of the Illinois River below Starved Rock (Esarey 1990). From the Starved Rock region upstream, Huber, Fisher, and Langford phase components can be found (Emerson and Brown 1992:87). A few river bank sites between Starved Rock and Peoria have examples of what appear to be Fisher phase (IAS Ma74 and Pm44) and a few Classic or Historic horizon Oneota vessel fragments (IAS Ma67, Ma 59, Pm33, and Pm41). The furthest downstream that Langford phase sherds are known is Putnam (Pm37) and Tazewell counties (Ten Mile Creek site). South of Peoria, a total of three Classic horizon Oneota vessel fragments are known from two river bank sites (IAS F2758 and P355). In this same region, a very limited possible Classic or Historic horizon Oneota presence at the Clear Lake site has been noted by Esarey (1986).

To the south of the Spoon River locality, Lawrenz Gun Club, on the lower reaches of the Sangamon River, 16 kilometers south of Crable, has a fragment of a catlinite disc pipe and an Oneota jar sherd with Classic horizon style filled zones of lines and punctates. Titterington (n.d.) excavated an intrusive burial with a finger trailed Classic horizon Oneota vessel from a Late Bluff burial mound in Jersey County, and Rinaldo (1937) documented a limited Classic horizon Oneota occupation at the mouth of the Illinois River (see also O'Gorman and Farnsworth, this volume).

CONTEXTUAL EVIDENCE FOR BOLD COUNSELOR AND LATE MISSISSIPPIAN ASSOCIATION AND INTERACTION

Our best evidence as to the nature of the Bold Counselor phase's social interactions with non-Bold Counselor peoples, namely their Late Mississippian co-residents of this part of the Illinois River valley, derives from the association of these two sets of ceramic types in archaeological context. Ideally, archaeologists have the luxury of not having to deal with the external relationships of their phases until after the phase itself is identified, but several sets of unusually clear archaeological contexts make it apparent that Bold Counselor phase peoples **can only** be defined with due consideration of their relationship to the Late Mississippian peoples with whom they shared this portion of the Illinois River valley.

The Illinois River valley sequence of Middle Mississippian phases has been discussed and refined in a number of publications and can be accessed through discussions presented most recently by Conrad (1989, 1991) and Harn (1991, 1994). The ceramic diagnostics of the central Illinois River valley Evland - Orendorf - Larson phase sequence closely parallel the ceramics of the American Bottom Mississippian Stirling - Moorehead - (early) Sand Prairie phase sequence, with the end of the Larson phase having generally been postulated as approximately 600 to 650 radiocarbon years B.P.

Conrad's (1991) "Marbletown complex" is defined as possibly later than the Larson phase, but contextual evidence of this is lacking. Unless this complex can be shown to actually date after the Larson phase it may be said that the only defined Late Mississippian assemblages in the Spoon River locality (i.e., the "Crabble phase") must be defined in terms of their interaction with Bold Counselor people.

A selection of excavated contexts at the Crabble and Morton Village sites serves to graphically illustrate the nature of this interaction. First of all, both Late Mississippian and Bold Counselor pottery types have been found in all excavated pit features at Crabble (Smith 1951:5-8; refuse pits excavated by the Morse family; Hall's University of Illinois at Chicago excavations). Figures 2 and 3 show a selection of Late Mississippian and Oncoia rim sherds from refuse pits at Crabble. An even more compelling illustration of exactly what social dynamics might be responsible for this consistent association of two otherwise exclusive ceramic assemblages can be gained by examining the vessel assemblages present on the floors of the two hurned structures (Feature 14 and Feature 117) intersected by Hall's excavations (Figure 4).

Feature 117 was a hurned Mississippian-style wall trench house. About one half of the basin and floor were exposed. The exposed lateral dimension

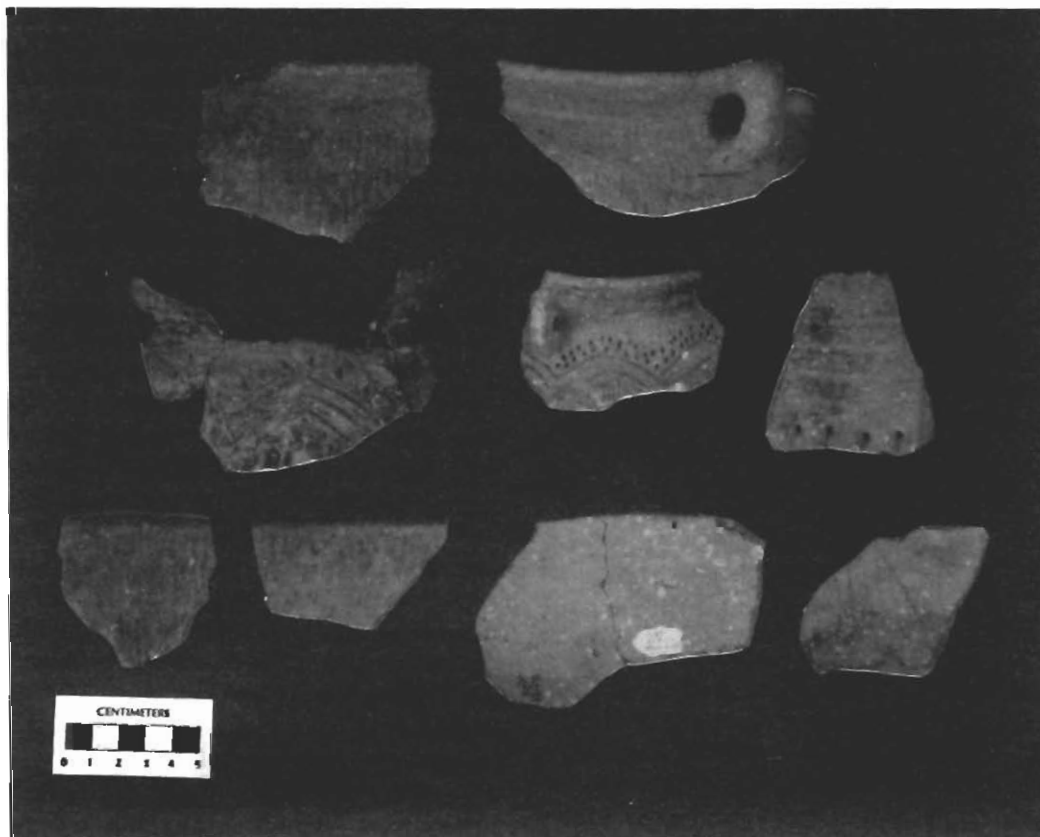


Figure 2. Ceramic assemblage from a Crabble site refuse pit (selected rim sherds from Feature "letter I," Morse Collection, Western Illinois University). Cordmarked jars (Row 1a - b), Oncoia jars (Row 2a - c), cordmarked bowls (Row 3a - b), plain deep bowl (Row 3c), and incised deep rimmed plate (Row 3d).

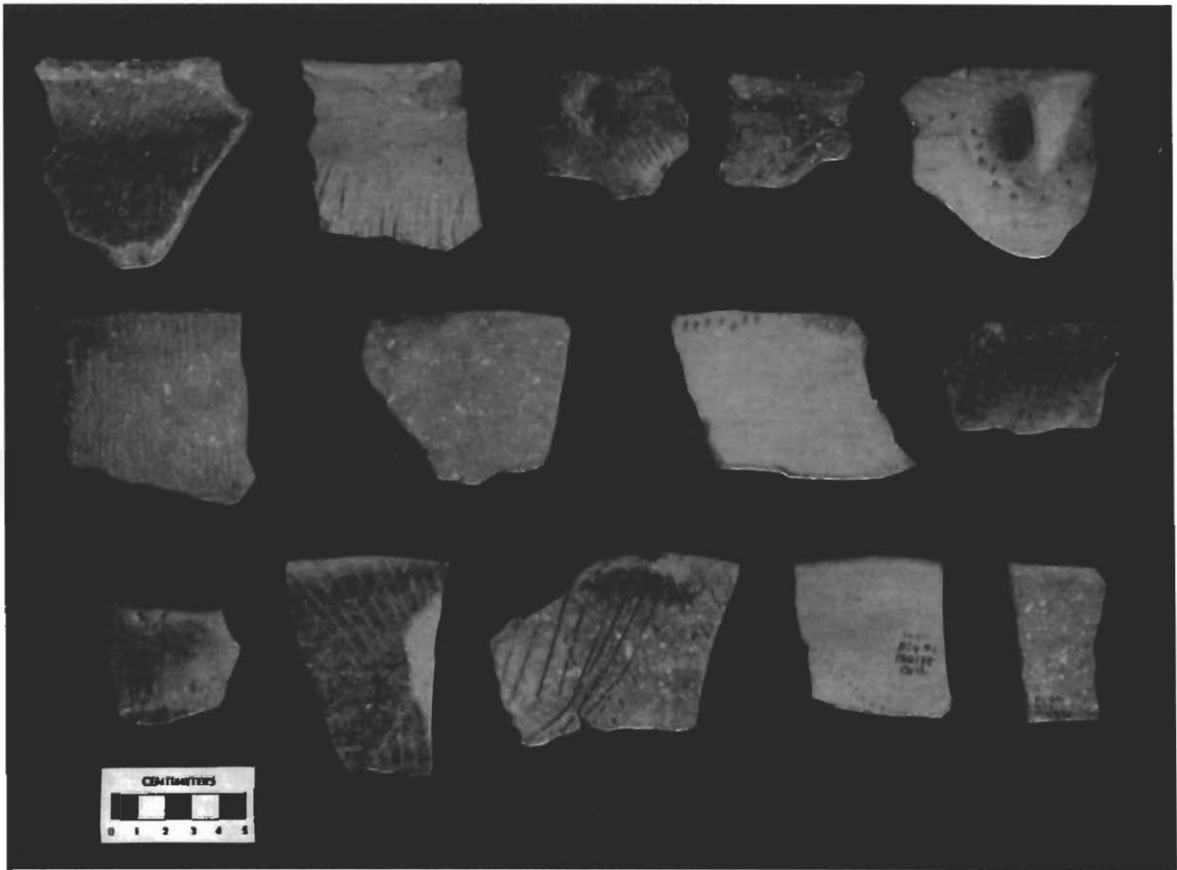


Figure 3. Ceramic assemblage from a Crable site refuse pit (selected rim sberds from Feature "number 1," Morse Collection, Western Illinois University). Cordmarked jars (Row 1a, b, c), Oneota jars (Row 1d, e), cordmarked bowl (Row 2a), Plain bowl (Row 2b), plain bowl with interior lip stamp (Row 2c), bowl with exterior trail and punctate design (Row 2d), cordmarked bottle neck (Row 3a), incised deep rimmed plate (Row 3b), deep rimmed plates with trail and punctate design (Row 3 c, d, e).

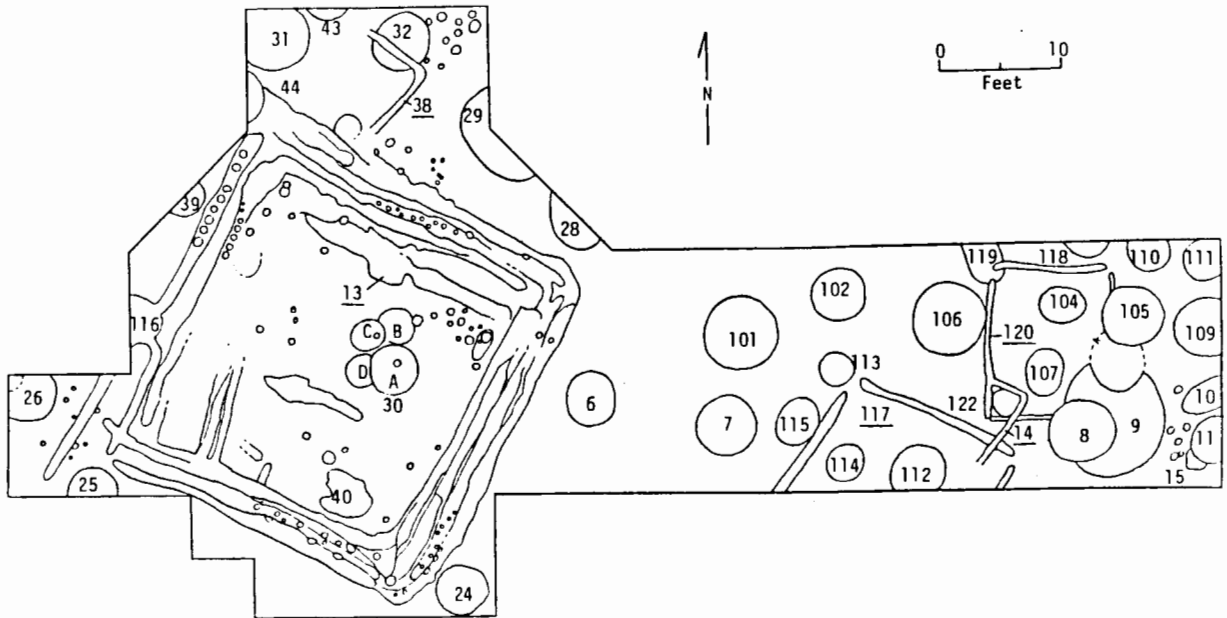


Figure 4. Hall's 1969-1970 Crable site excavation map.

of the house was roughly 5.5 meters; its other dimension was not determined. As in many burned Mississippian structures, an assemblage of reconstructable vessels was preserved on the floor of the burned house. Obviously, such an assemblage constitutes one of the most clearly defined, fully contemporary, and functionally integrated vessel assemblages possible.

The excavated portion of the Feature 117 house floor contained seven whole vessels, including a plain miniature jar, a plain medium sized jar, a large cordmarked jar with a relatively low everted rim and loop handles, and a large Oneota jar with an angular incised line and punctate design. Other vessels on this floor were a plain water bottle with a long neck, a very large plain storage bottle with a wide neck, and a Crable deep rimmed plate with an incised line-filled triangle (Figure 5).

Superimposing the Feature 117 house basin was Feature 14, a less-well-defined wall trench house on a different orientation (only one corner was defined). A number of reconstructable vessels were found on the floor of this burned building. Feature 14's house floor ceramic assemblage consisted of three vessels and a large vessel fragment.

In viewing these ceramics, it may be important to emphasize that Feature 14 superimposed Feature 117. Present were a medium size cordmarked jar with an everted rim and loop handles, and a jar with an unusual Oneota design consisting of three horizontal lines bordered above and below by punctates, but lacking the normal vertically trailed lines below the punctates. A third vessel was a medium-sized Late Mississippian water bottle with a moderately long, plain neck, a cordmarked shoulder, and a smoothed over cordmarked lower body surface. Also present was a large fragment of another crudely executed Bold Counselor jar (Figure 6).

These startlingly heterogenous household assemblages seem to provide a clear view of the social situation at the Crable site. The most likely explanation for these assemblages is that Bold Counselor people (at least women) were present (in one social context or another) as a minority admixture to Crable's overwhelmingly Mississippian-derived population. Furthermore, this admixture seems to represent social integration at the household level over a period of at least two building phases.

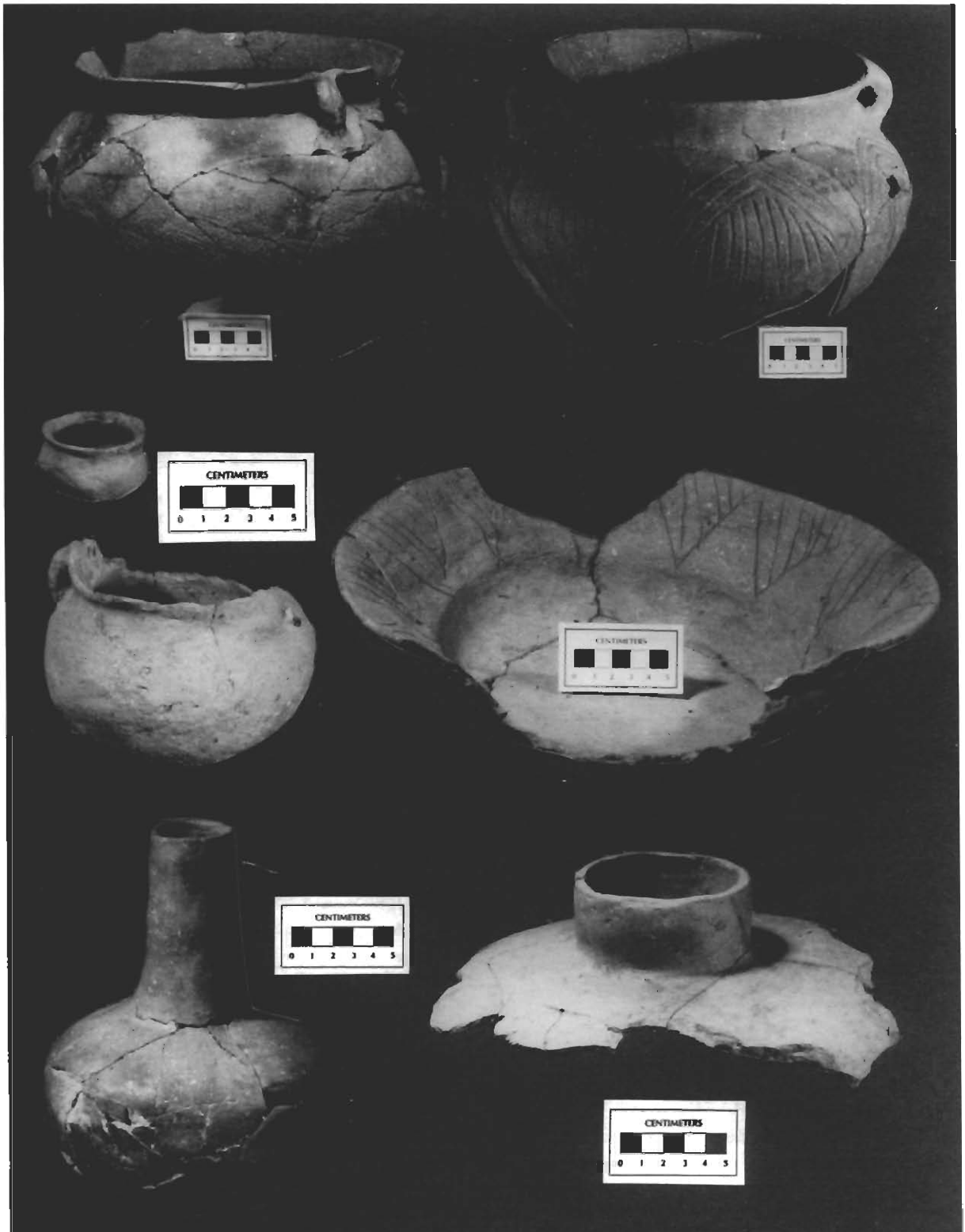


Figure 5. Crable site household ceramic assemblage, burned house floor (Feature 117). Large cord-marked jar, large Oneota jar, two small plain jars, incised deep rimmed plate, plain long-neck hottle, top of unreconstructed large plain wide-mouth storage bottle (at various scales).

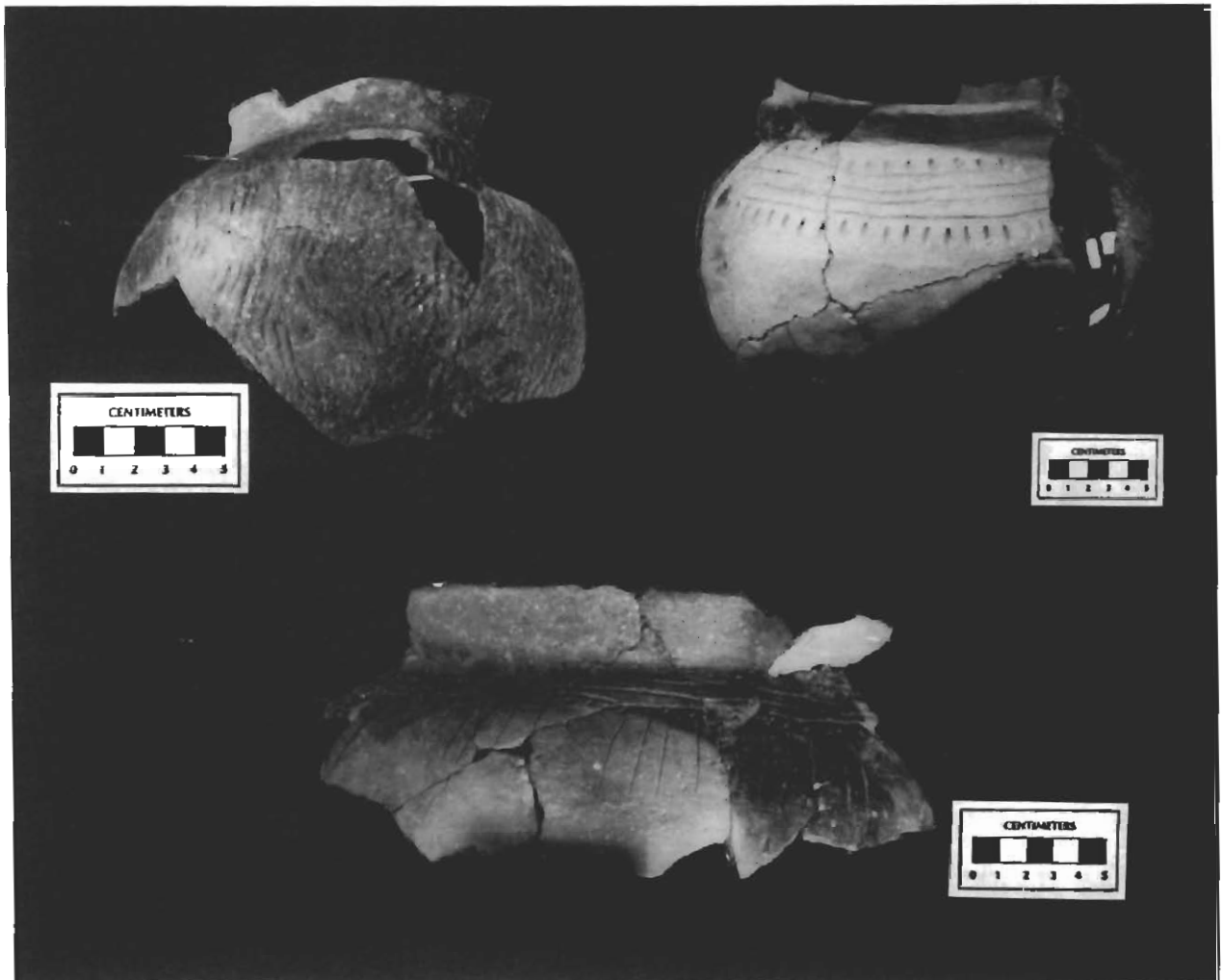


Figure 6. Crable site household ceramic assemblage, burned house floor (Feature 14). Cordmarked jar (unreconstructed), Oneota jar, and large Oneota jar fragment. A cordmarked short-neck water bottle is not illustrated (at various scales).

A trash deposition episode in a pit feature at the Morton Village gives another graphic illustration of the intimate, but highly variable nature of this bi-cultural interaction and certainly illustrates the contemporaneity of typical Bold Counselor and Late Mississippian ceramics (Sank 1993). Feature 93 included the nested fragments of one half of a cordmarked jar, three Bold Counselor Oneota jars (each one being a large fragment of the vessel), parts of two plain effigy bowls (sans effigies), the neck of a plain water bottle, a plain bowl rim with

a horizontal tab, and a hollow “rattle head” human effigy bowl adorn (Figure 7).

Given this deposit, and with reference to evidence marshaled in the reported site excavations for Morton Village and its cemetery (Santure et al. 1990), one can characterize the evidence for social interaction between Bold Counselor and Late Mississippian associated assemblages at Morton as nearly the opposite of that seen at Crable. The majority of diagnostic materials are Bold Counselor Oneota, but a small minority are indicative of



Figure 7. Ceramic assemblage from a Morton Village refuse pit (selected vessel fragments from Feature 93) Cordmarked jar fragment, two Oneota jar fragments, plain water bottle rim and neck, effigy bowl fragment, effigy human head rattle. A very large Oneota jar fragment and two plain bowl rims not illustrated (at various scales).

Late Mississippian influence, or more likely, an admixture of Late Mississippian people.

A well-preserved Dickson Cordmarked jar was excavated from a Bold Counselor pit feature at C. W. Cooper site. Since this type is generally found with earlier (Larson phase) Mississippian occupations, the association is problematical, but possibly significant. Controlled contexts for further evaluating the nature of Late Mississippian and Bold Counselor interaction are lacking at Sleeth or Otter Creek since there have been no excavations.

BOLD COUNSELOR PHASE CHRONOLOGY

The body of radiocarbon assays available for interpreting the Bold Counselor phase derive from Morton/Norris Farms #36, C. W. Cooper, and Crable. These dates have been listed by both Esarey and Santure (1990:164) and Boszhardt et al. (1995:211) and so are not listed here. Further refinement of the radiocarbon calibration scale since the initial publication of these dates (Stuiver and Reimer 1993) does little to alter conclusions previously offered, but the broader context of the Bold Counselor dates within the context of Mississippian chronology in the central Illinois River valley has yet to be explored.

It should be noted that several transcribing errors were incorporated when Bold Counselor phase radiocarbon assays, and their CALIB 3.0 corrections were compiled by Boszhardt et al. (1995:211). Specifically, the Morton Village assays are ISGS-1391 and ISGS-1416 rather than ISGS-1391 and ISGS-1415, and both the assay and the calibrations for ISGS-1416 are incorrectly listed. Also a date listed by Boszhardt et al. as ISGS-1416 under the Norris Farms #36 site is actually ISGS-1415, although the date itself is listed correctly.

Four Bold Counselor phase radiocarbon assays have been rejected (one from Morton Village, two from Norris Farms #36, and one from Crable). In each case, inferior context or less desirable sample material is correlated to less appropriate assay results.

Morton/Norris Farms dates

An eleventh century assay (ISGS-1391) was received on a sample compiled of dispersed charcoal in a Morton Village pit feature in an area where earlier Mississippian features were also

located. In contrast, the thirteenth century Morton Village date (ISGS-1416 is A.D. 1230) is from a small charred wall member in a burned Bold Counselor house (Santure 1990:47). ISGS-1349, like 1348 and 1377 in the Norris Farms #36 cemetery, is from a charred roof member from a grave and therefore contextually reliable. However, in contrast to the two oak grave roof members with assay results in the thirteenth century A.D. (ISGS-1348 is A.D. 1260 and ISGS 1377 is A.D. 1280), ISGS-1349 is the remains of a red cedar pole dated to A.D. 830. The longevity of red cedar as a living or dead tree or a curated pole could conceivably account for this excessively early assay. Likewise, in retrospect, ISGS-1415, which produced a assay of A.D. 1560 was a poor choice for dating, since its context was a charred post (or stump?) either associated with or superimposing a hearth feature near a grave. As with ISGS-1391 and 1349, the assay is probably correct, but context is highly questionable.

C. W. Cooper dates

WIS-639 and 645 are A.D. 1385 and 1395 assays on charred material from house floor context, which Conrad interpreted to be late in the site's internal sequence of features. ISGS-1429 (A.D. 1370) is a rerun of WIS-639 submitted after the surprisingly early dates on Morton/Norris Farms #36 were obtained. This sample thus represents a very satisfactory comparison of the radiocarbon labs at University of Wisconsin and the Illinois State Geological Survey (see Boszhardt et al. 1995 for further discussion of lab comparisons). All the C. W. Cooper dates are assumed to be from acceptable contexts and accurate.

Crable dates

M-556 has an assay in excess of 1100 years before present. The sample, run on mussel shell at the University of Michigan radiocarbon lab, has been discarded out of hand (Griffin 1958). Three more Michigan dates (Crane and Griffin 1959:181) have been retained for plotting and discussion. These dates have intercept dates compatible with other Bold Counselor phase dates but were originally published with large standard deviations (200 years). These standard deviations can be modified to 100 years under a subsequently pub-

lished (Crane and Griffin 1963:228) clarification that previously listed standard deviations can be confidently divided in half. Two of the Michigan lab dates (M-553 is A.D. 1330 and M-554 is A.D. 1420) are from Morse's "Feature Number 1." A selection of sherds from this feature is shown here as Figure 3. Contrary to Griffin (1958:19), this feature has the same evidence of Oneota ceramic traits that is found throughout the site's contexts.

Two other Crable radiocarbon dates derive from Hall's 1969-1970 excavations at the site (Bender et al. 1975:124-125). These dates (WIS-644 is A.D. 1435 and WIS-648 is A.D. 1385) are from 10 annual ring samples from charred timbers on the house floors Feature 117 and 14, respectively, and are assumed to be completely acceptable, although the intercept dates slightly contradict the superpositioning of these houses. Vessel assemblages from these house floors have been illustrated here as Figures 5 and 6.

Dating the Bold Counselor phase

A graph of the assays not rejected and as calibrated by CALIB 3.0.3 (Stuiver and Reimer 1993) plotted within Method A one-sigma age ranges illustrates the general dating of the phase. It can be said that the Bold Counselor phase as a whole can almost certainly (two-sigma probability) be restricted to the calendar year range of A.D. 1225 - 1450. At a lesser level of confidence (less than one sigma) we prefer to interpret the maximum and minimum age ranges of the phase as about calendar A.D. 1275 - 1425.

Figure 8 suggests that the Morton/Norris Farms #36 period of occupation and cemetery use probably (based on one-sigma ranges) took place in the A.D. 1275 to 1390 range with individual intercepts being A.D. 1288, 1295, and 1300.

C. W. Cooper and Crable offer no evidence that they differ significantly in age. Probability ranges of Morton/Norris Farms #36 samples overlap the Crable and C. W. Cooper date ranges significantly, but may indicate that the former site is earlier. Importantly, a consideration of the dating of the preceding Middle Mississippian phase sequence, and an evaluation of the weighted probabilities offered by Stuiver and Reimer's (1993) Method B, lessens the probability that the earlier part of the one sigma range of Morton/Norris Farms #36 dates reflects an actual occupation in the late 1200s.

Bold Counselor articulation with the local Mississippian phase chronology

The radiocarbon evidence supporting the Middle Mississippian phase sequence from Eveland to Orendorf to Larson phases is somewhat ambiguous, enhancing the reliance local archaeologists working with these phases have placed on a sequence defined by chronologically sensitive "markers" within several evolutionary series of vessel forms and decorations (e.g., see Conrad 1991; Harn 1975).

Most recently, Conrad (1991) has assigned these three phases to sequential radiocarbon age periods spanning 900 through 650 B.P. Upon calibration (Stuiver and Reimer 1993), the Eveland samples have intercepts between the mid-1100s and mid-1200s. Even the maximum calendar ages at a one sigma range fall between calendar years A.D. 1038 and 1164. Thus, utilizing calibrated radiocarbon evidence, the Eveland phase begins no earlier than calendar year A.D. 1100 to 1150, and has high probability of lasting as late as calendar A.D. 1200.

The radiocarbon assays from the Orendorf and Larson sites overlap each other entirely and taken as a whole show only scant support that these are sequential phases. Once calibrated, the Orendorf samples show a slight indication of a possible late 1100s calendar year beginning but otherwise completely overlap Larson dates, with there being high probability that these phases continue until the late 1200s. Lacking radiocarbon support for distinguishing between the Orendorf and Larson phases, we must stand largely on faith in seriation features within our ceramic assemblages, yet even there ambiguities are present (e.g., Fishel 1995:72-76). The question of sequential Orendorf to Larson phases aside, it is clear that the 1200s are largely "booked up" with the early portion of the Middle Mississippian phase sequence.

The question of Bold Counselor phase articulation with the preceding Middle Mississippian phase sequence thus becomes one of whether or not to accept the earlier part of the Morton/Norris Farms #36 date ranges. The Morton/Norris Farms #36 radiocarbon intercepts correlating to circa calendar year A.D. 1290 are not necessarily a problem in themselves, but given the Middle Mississippian phase evidence, it is hard to imagine that the Bold

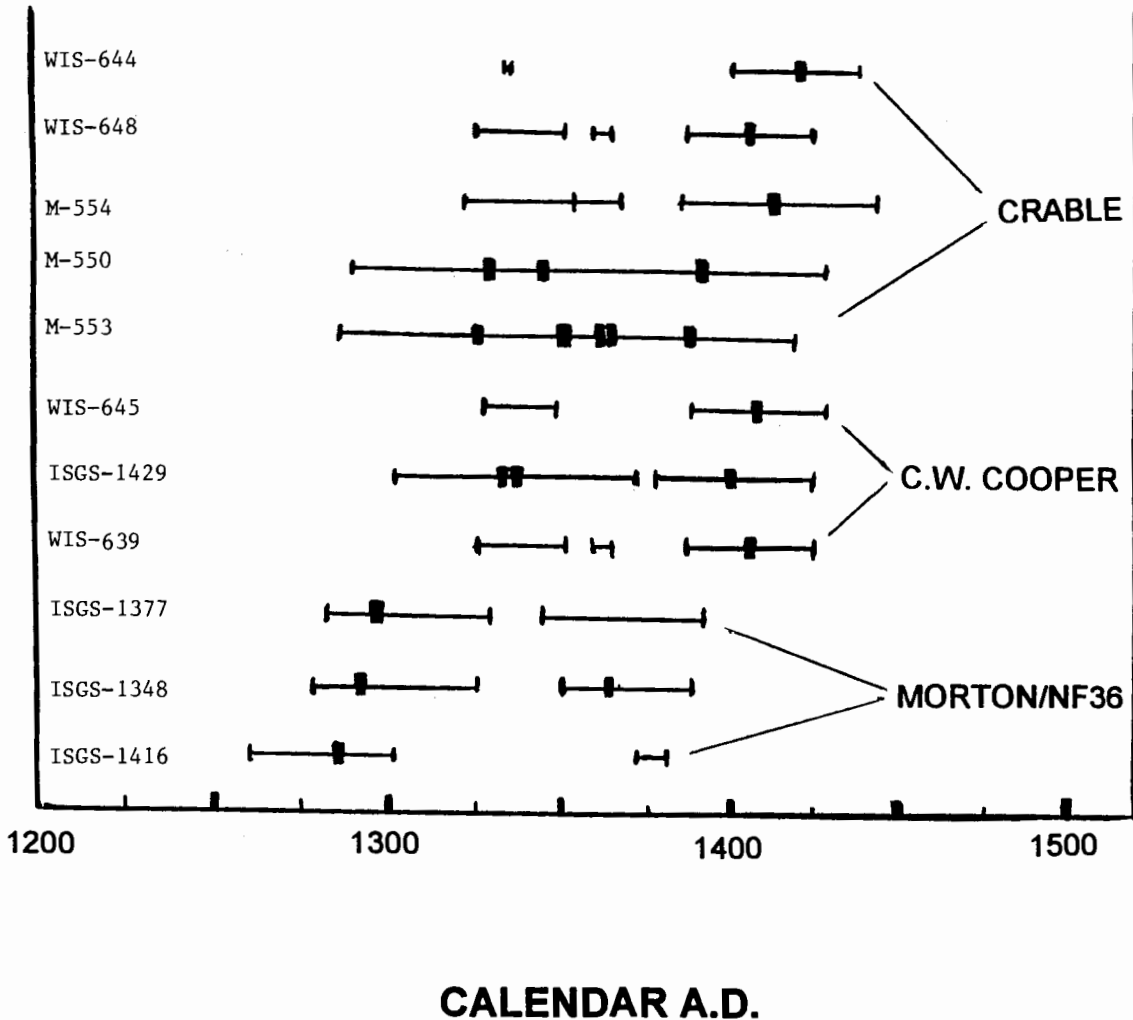


Figure 8. Bold Counselor phase calibrated calendar intercepts and one-sigma ranges (Stuiver and Reimer 1993)

Counselor phase could begin significantly before this.

This dilemma is eased by consideration of Method B (Stuiver and Reimer 1993) calibration results and the accompanying relative areas under probability distributions. With 68.3% of the area enclosed (one-sigma), the later segments of the three Morton/Norris Farms #36 dates (after A.D. 1348, 1349, and 1368, but before 1392, 1391, and 1388, respectively) are weighted as 48%, 42%, and 18%, respectively, and the earlier, slightly more probable ranges still extend well into the early

1300s (i.e., they are listed as 52%, 56% and 69% chances of being after A.D. 1283, 1277, and 1257 and before A.D. 1329, 1328, and 1325, respectively). Further, we can observe from the Method B probabilities for radiocarbon dates from C. W. Cooper and Crable that the occupations of these sites are more likely to date later, perhaps after circa calendar A.D. 1375. The Bold Counselor dates overall extend no later than circa calendar A.D. 1425.

There is no evidence, radiocarbon or otherwise, of any other substantial prehistoric populations in

the central Illinois River valley after the abandonment of Crable, Cooper, and whatever other Bold Counselor and Late Mississippian occupation sites may have been coeval with them. In summary, the calendar year assignments of defined phases in the central Illinois River valley are currently judged to be:

PHASE	Begins	Ends
Eveland phase	A.D. 1100	A.D. 1175 - 1200
Orendorf phase	A.D. 1175 - 1200	A.D. 1250?
Larson phase	A.D. 1250?	A.D. 1300?
Crable and Bold Counselor phases	A.D. 1300 - 1325	A.D. 1425

Group continuity in the form of retained and progressively evolving traditional cultural elements is apparently maintained throughout this local sequence. Bold Counselor phase is simply the addition of an extraneous cultural unit that interacts with the contemporary local inhabitants differentially on a site by site basis.

INTERPRETING BOLD COUNSELOR AND LATE MISSISSIPPIAN ASSOCIATIONS

Given the chronological relationships of the various sites, what are the possible interpretations of the contextual associations between the diagnostic material of the Bold Counselor Oneota and Late Mississippian people? When only Crable had to be accounted for, it had been assumed that Late Mississippian society was adopting mature Oneota traits as part of a shift towards the latter lifeway (Smith 1951, Griffin 1946). With the definition of Bold Counselor, it became clear there were two separate societies occupying these sites (Conrad 1963; Conrad and Esarey 1983; Esarey and Santure 1990). If we had only surface collections from the five major sites, we still might well assume these were occupations separate in time, with some connection being expressed in "cross over" traits such as Bold Counselor designs on deep rimmed plates. Given that the two societies are indeed coeval on these sites, interpretive venues are more limited.

A review of ethnographic analogies shows that cohabitation of a single site by two distinct peoples is not at all unusual. Obviously, separate but closely related ethnic groups, such as the Sauk and the Fox, or the various subgroups of the Illiniwek, often lived together in common villages for years.

However, many cases of cohabitation of major village sites by disparate ethnic groups can also be found by skimming Temple's (1958) overview of Historic Period Indians of Illinois. Aside from instances of cohabitation for specific resource exploitation (e.g., fishing stations) or at European establishments (e.g., forts, missions, trading establishments), there are many cases of cohabitation of fully separate tribal groups throughout the 17th and 18th century records. While most references are to combinations of various Central Algonquians (e.g., Temple 1958:38, 58, 93, 128, 157, 158, 160), there is also reference to the Siouan (Chiwere-related) Winnebago taking refuge from the Algonquian Fox in a village of the Algonquian Mascouten (Temple 1958:187) and the Algonquian Illiniwek living with the Siouan (Dhegiha) Osage on the Missouri River (Temple 1958:27). Considerable disparity in ethnicity was no barrier to cohabitation of a single village.

Regardless of internal chronology of the Bold Counselor phase, we might assume that variable levels of cohabitation between Bold Counselor and Late Mississippian people were the simple explanation for the situation at the five sites hosting Bold Counselor occupations. Intra-site exchange and refuse deposition patterns could clearly account for substantial mixing of material from each group. We have seen that the Crable household ceramic assemblages include Bold Counselor and Late Mississippian vessels. It would not be difficult to imagine that vessels would be exchanged in a cohabitation setting. Yet at Crable, not only were both household assemblages mixed, but the fill of every pit feature and every house basin yet examined has contained both Bold Counselor and Late Mississippian pottery. The Bold Counselor ceramic assemblage at Crable is very definitely a minority (our estimate is no more than 15 percent). Would not "two villages within one" reflect some spatial discretion within the patterns of artifact deposition? Certainly, a minority of ceramics, if produced and used in a pattern that was at all spatially discreet, could not be evenly distributed throughout all excavated contexts of the site.

It may be that for the Crable site, the minority Bold Counselor population was integrated not as a political unit, but as marriage partners, individual refugees, or captives. The subtle implications of these various scenarios are brought out when it is seen that, at other sites with both Bold Counselor

and Late Mississippian cohabitation, the relative proportion of each group present is highly varied. We have an essentially pure Bold Counselor site (C. W. Cooper), a Bold Counselor site with a minor admixture of Late Mississippian diagnostic material (Morton/N. F. 36), a Bold Counselor and Late Mississippian site where there is apparent equity of material (Sleeth), one site we know almost nothing about (Otter Creek), and a Late Mississippian town with a minor admixture of Bold Counselor ceramics (Crabble). The major interpretive difficulty rests on whether the sites with various social situations are coeval or sequential. Even more than usual, interpretation rests heavily on chronology.

Because the chronological evidence seems to show that both C. W. Cooper and Crabble are later than Morton/N. F. 36, a interpretive difficulty emerges. It would not be difficult to imagine that the purest Bold Counselor site occupation (C. W. Cooper) is coeval with the site showing the most social amalgamation (Crabble), if there were little previous history between the respective populations. But to all appearances, Morton/N. F. 36, with its evidence that Bold Counselor people were already engaged in minor interaction with the Late Mississippians, was occupied earlier than C. W. Cooper. Is it possible that the Bold Counselor population at C. W. Cooper could revert to showing no evidence of Mississippian interaction?

The current status of chronological evidence not only limits our ability to interpret the social context of Bold Counselor and Late Mississippian interaction, but also serves to emphasize our major caveat regarding this taxonomic dilemma. The Bold Counselor and Late Mississippian peoples cannot be forced into one overarching taxonomic phase, nor can they be divided into numerous site-specific phases. They are two separate peoples living in one locality at the same time. They have intertwined, but separate histories.

ETHNIC AFFILIATIONS

To date no identification of the ethnicity of the Oneota or Late Mississippian manifestations in central Illinois has been broadly accepted. Our natural curiosity regarding this point is enhanced by evidence of interaction and co-occupation of these two groups, and by the apparently abrupt

termination of their occupations during the early fifteenth century. Although one tentative ethnic identification has been repeatedly offered, we are of the opinion that it is seriously flawed.

Wray and Smith (1944) identified the inhabitants of Crabble and the other Illinois Valley Mississippian towns, as well as the rest of the Mississippians in Illinois, as ancestral to the Central Algonquian Illiniwek (Illinois). However, their identification was largely based on coincident geography and an exceedingly poor (pre-radiocarbon) chronology. For example, Wray and Smith (1944:26) correlated the development of "Plains horse culture and the shifting tribal locations it brought about" to the withdrawal of Old Village Mississippian culture from Wisconsin and northern Illinois. Regardless of our changed interpretations of the social processes involved, we now know that these two developments took place nearly 500 years apart.

Wray and Smith's hypothesis was immediately challenged by Wedel (1945:383-386), being characterized as "assumptions, poorly reasoned inferences, and outright conjectures," but their hypothesis has continued to be echoed, despite progressively fewer illusions about temporal issues (Faulkner 1972:175; Griffin and Morse 1961:563; Griffin 1952:364, 1960:855). At one time, Griffin (1952:364) went so far as to identify "the southern members of the Illinois Confederacy" as the Cahokia sphere late Mississippians, "while the northern Illinois [Confederacy] were more closely allied archaeologically to the Siouan Oneota to the north." We take this to have been an obvious reference to the Late Mississippian/Oneota archaeological situation at the Crabble site.

A closely linked problem has been the excessively definitive identification of the Oneota Huber phase of northern Illinois as the early historic remains of the Illiniwek's very close relatives, the Miami (Faulkner 1972:165-180; Munson 1972; Munson and Munson 1969a, 1969b). As in the putative correlation between the prehistoric Mississippians and the Illiniwek, this identification rests heavily on the correspondence of the Huber archaeological sites with the historically documented occupation area of the Miami in the late 1600s. Munson and Munson's identification of the Oneota Huber phase as the Miami was based almost entirely on their assumption that the occupation could be rather confidently placed late in

the 1600s when the Miami were the only tribe having major settlements in the region (Munson 1972:1; Munson and Munson 1969b:187). Faulkner's argument for Huber being the Miami is considerably more detailed, but, like Wray and Smith's hypothesis for the Illiniwek, rests heavily on these Central Algonquian tribes having absorbed Oneota traits (Faulkner 1972:173, 175-176). Based on unspecified shared traits with the "Prairie Siouans, particularly the Chiwere" and apparently following Faulkner's logic, Callendar (1978a:673-677) identifies the precontact Illiniwek as probably "an Upper Mississippian culture of the Fisher tradition."

None of the identifications linking the Late Mississippians, Bold Counselor Oneota, Huber Oneota, or the Fisher tradition to the precontact Illiniwek or Miami are convincing. In each case geography and very general chronological evidence rather than archaeologically demonstrated continuity or anything other than the most general similarities in material culture (viz., shell tempered pottery, triangular arrowheads) have been the primary bases of ethnic identification. Unfortunately, after recognizing the numerous flaws in Wray and Smith's argument, Emerson and Brown (1992:108) inexplicably still accept a probable correlation between the Illinois Valley Mississippians and the Illiniwek.

As Trigger (1978:802) has observed, the Central Algonquians are part of a cultural pattern that is very different from Mississippian. For us, the identification of Danner and Danner-related ceramics as definitely Illiniwek (c.f., Grantham 1993) is in itself sufficient to preclude any link between the Illiniwek and Illinois Valley Mississippian or Bold Counselor Oneota. No prehistoric pottery remotely like the Danner series has been identified in Illinois, but such vessels are consistently seen among the highly varied ceramic assemblages of Ohio (e.g., Brose 1994:53-56, 70-79, 1976:32-38; Fitting 1964:170; Griffin 1943: Plates 70 and 74; Stothers, et al. 1994). Such ceramic types as Wellsburg Simple Stamped, Tuttle Hill Notched, South Park Notched (var. South Park and Greenwood), and Reeve Filleted (var. Eastlake) have many of the attributes of the Danner Series. An almost exact match for the Illiniwek Danner series ceramics is present in the Fort Meigs phase type Fort Meigs Notched Applique (Stothers, et al. 1994:148-149, and 1998: 65, 80). In fact, some Fort

Meigs Notched Applique vessels are indistinguishable from seventeenth century Danner vessels. Not coincidentally, the Late Whittlesey and the Fort Meigs phases terminated just prior to historic contact. Some remnants of the Late Whittlesey phases were apparently absorbed by the subsequent and dissimilar occupants of northeast Ohio, while others are assumed to have moved south into the upper Ohio River valley (Brose 1994:56, 177, 182). Likewise, Madisonville, latest of the Fort Ancient sites was apparently abandoned by A.D. 1600 (Drooker 1996:173). Fort Meigs phase ends circa A.D. 1550 and Fort Meigs Notched Applique is not typical of the ensuing Indian Hills Phase (Stothers, et al. 1994:137, 156 and, 1998:87). We suggest the Illiniwek and the Miami tribes departed the northwest Ohio area and entered Illinois no earlier than in the 1550 to 1600 period.

As we have noted, the identities of the precontact Illiniwek and Miami are a linked problem. Even if the Late Mississippians or Bold Counselor or Huber Oneota could be tied to either the Illiniwek or Miami, it is inconceivable to us that archaeological ceramic assemblages as disparate as Huber and Danner, or Huber and Illinois Valley Mississippian/Bold Counselor, or Danner and Illinois Valley Mississippian/Bold Counselor could possibly be the product of ethnic groups so closely related (i.e., so recently separated from common origin) as the Illiniwek and the Miami. This may well explain why Callender (1978b:686), who was well aware of the common origin of the two groups and accepted the Huber phase as precontact Miami, was compelled to identify a closely related Fisher tradition component as the Illiniwek.

To summarize, for us it is inconceivable that the precontact Illiniwek are related to the Illinois Valley Mississippians and/or the Bold Counselor Oneota. These phases are a full 200 years separate from the earliest Danner material in Illinois and their ceramics are unconnected to the Danner materials. Likewise, because it is almost certain that small quantities of European trade goods were reaching the tribes of the western Great Lakes as much as 50 years in advance of Jolliet and Marquette's 1673 expedition (Peyser 1992:12-32), and allowing for Brown's (1990:159) re-evaluation of the Oak Forest site Huber phase dates as very early in the 1600s, a Miami identification for the Huber phase is far less reasonable than that phase being all or part of the Winnebago (also see Hall

1962:156, 1993:54-58; 1997:173, fn 8). Prior to the late 1600s, we have no indication that the Miami ever lived in the area of the Huber phase.

While the latest prehistoric Illiniwek and Miami occupations have yet to be isolated as uniform and exclusive archaeological assemblages, it is quite clear that their histories are further east, not with the late prehistoric societies of Illinois. We are confident that broad Dhegiha and Chiwere/Winnebagosian ethnic identifications will ultimately be demonstrated for all of the Mississippian and Oneota inhabitants of Illinois. More specific (i.e., tribal) identifications of the Late Mississippian and Bold Counselor Oneota occupations in the Illinois River valley, which predate the region's historic records by over two centuries, are likely to remain problematical.

CONCLUSION: TAXONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS AND QUANDARIES

It has been proposed by the authors, both separately and together (Conrad 1973:10; Conrad and Esarey 1983; Esarey and Santure 1990) and accepted by others (e.g., Henning 1995; Hollinger 1993), that Bold Counselor, however unorthodox certain parts of its material assemblage may be, can be classified within the Oneota tradition. The saving grace of Bold Counselor phase, as far as getting under Oneota's big tent (or long house, as it were), has been that it displays many familiar Developmental Oneota horizon markers such as sheet copper serpents and ceramic design elements such as trailed lines with punctate borders, angled rims, and a predominance of loop handles. These traits clearly link Bold Counselor to other Oneota phases of the Developmental horizon. Divergent traits, such as a proliferation of ceramic vessel forms and a tendency to consort with non-Oneota social elements, are known in less flagrant forms among other Oneota manifestations and thus have been taxonomically tolerated.

The guidelines and definitions promoted in Henning's "Managing Oneota" (this volume) offer an opportunity to examine several of the Bold Counselor phase's most interesting aspects in terms of ramifications for uniform and explicit description and coherent taxonomic classification. In other words, we begin this discussion by validating

that we are in need of such guidelines and definitions.

Because of its inter-traditional ceramic identity, its poorly resolved internal chronology, its unusually circumscribed spatial distributional pattern, and its clear information on social interactions and inter-societal stress, Bold Counselor phase presents a number of challenges to our taxonomic devices, as well as our interpretive archaeological frameworks. Some of the taxonomic problems associated with the Bold Counselor phase derive from the fact that it is intrusive. Bold Counselor phase culture was different from, and clearly had no antecedent in, the pre-existing Mississippian phases in the central Illinois River valley, *but neither was the pre-existing local sequence extinguished with the introduction of Bold Counselor*. If no other phase may simultaneously exist in a locality where an extraneous cultural unit has intruded (Henning 1995), then it would seem reasonable to insist that the Crable phase, as defined by Conrad (1991), must be subsumed into Bold Counselor or vice-versa.

However, can we logically use one phase name for all the site occupations where the terms Bold Counselor and/or the Late Mississippian Crable phase have been used to date? The inhabitants of the Crable site are to all appearances "mound center" Mississippians who have a minority admixture of Bold Counselor Oneota people included in their town's population. In contrast, the population at C. W. Cooper is an essentially pure Oneota cultural expression (in as much as Bold Counselor itself is Oneota). What is the utility of a phase designation that would obscure such strikingly discontinuous cultural variation? Used as separate taxa, the Crable and Bold Counselor phases presently describe two different people who are simply occupying the same region at the same time. As such, interaction is to be expected.

Two ethnic groups at each of several villages, such as are in evidence at Crable and Sleeth (and possibly Otter Creek and Morton Village), are at the root of the taxonomic problem here. It might seem quite reasonable to consider only the C. W. Cooper site as Bold Counselor phase and classify the other sites' occupations as a separate cultural expression characterized by heterogenous populations. After all, we have shown that the Oneota ceramics at the Crable site (and thus presumably their makers) are incorporated at the household

level. But if, in an effort to recognize this aspect of taxonomic propriety, we were to define the sites with mixed Bold Counselor/Late Mississippian occupations as one, two, or three phases, they would differ significantly in terms of the percentage of each population present and would strongly overlap in space, time, and cultural content with each other and with the essentially Oneota population at the C. W. Cooper site, thus violating other guidelines of proper phase definition.

Since the "pure Oneota" Bold Counselor occupation at C. W. Cooper is evidently coeval with Bold Counselor people's cohabitation with Late Mississippians at other sites and since Bold Counselor phase is typified by an on-going but highly variable process of cross-cultural interaction at each site, how can we resolve these implied contradictions? In short, how will we "manage" Bold Counselor?

At this point we fear Oneota scholars may find it easier to revoke Bold Counselor's Oneota membership than integrate it into a "managed" Oneota tradition. Of course, the taxonomic dilemma persists regardless of Bold Counselor's integration into Oneota. Unless a taxonomy can be suggested that fully accounts for the dual ethnicity, cohabitation, and cross-cultural interaction that are all apparently present in this particular set of Oneota/Late Mississippian occupations and that is reflected in our current ethnically-based phase definitions, we are forced to define Bold Counselor imperfectly in one way or another.

The Bold Counselor phase as currently defined represents an ethnic group operating within a specific chronological period and locality. Modifying the current taxa to include their cohabitants at several sites would transcend that ethnic specificity. If Bold Counselor phase afforded more evidence of temporal depth or if we were in possession of a more in-depth sample of internal site contexts, we might be able to demonstrate that a process of cultural convergence was underway for these two cultures. Indeed, at Crable, with its households of heterogeneous ceramics and occasional evidence of incipient hybridizing of vessel formats, the conclusion that such a convergence was underway is strongly supported. Obviously, such a process of multiple source ethnogenesis (e.g., Hoffman 1990:221) would ultimately result in a single cultural expression. That cultural expression would

be a phase in our parlance. However, there must have been many times this process did not proceed to its logical conclusion. Would two distinct groups, prior to cohabitation, be two phases, then one phase for, say a period of five years, then two phases again? In the Bold Counselor/Crable phase interactions we may well have the incipient stages of multi-ethnic ethnogenesis but lack evidence that the process progressed.

We know from the archaeological data at the Norris Farms #36 cemetery (Santure et al. 1990) that the Bold Counselor phase people were suffering a very high mortality rate from warfare and were considerably afflicted with disease. Even without this information, we could perhaps imply from their abrupt entry into the local sequence, their unorthodox ceramic evolution, the abrupt appearance of an identical splinter group at a distant location (e.g., Sponemann - see Jackson, this volume), and from their ultimate disappearance from these parts without any trace, that these people were not living a quiet and secure existence. Real life cannot be expected to conform to taxonomic models designed to express typical patterns of cultural evolution and interaction.

Because of graphic contextual associations and extensive and controlled data samples, we appear to be in the position of knowing a great deal about the probable history of the people of the Bold Counselor phase. Yet, we do not know the answers to the taxonomic quandaries we discuss here. We recognize this as an unsatisfactory state of affairs but are nonetheless content with this ambiguity. We greatly prefer an excess of "messy" data to a lesser body of data that falls into perfect accord with extant taxonomic models. Meanwhile, we continue to look forward to any new data or fresh interpretive venue in our attempts to understand one of the more instructive historical developments in the late prehistory of the Prairie Peninsula.

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