

The Distribution of Eastern Woodlands Peoples at the Prehistoric and Historic Interface

For the Eastern Woodlands as much as for the rest of the Americas, Columbus's landfall heralded the beginning of an era of Old and New World contact that ultimately devastated Native American peoples and their cultures (Cronon 1983; Crosby 1972; Dobyns 1983, 1993; Milanich 1992; Milner 1980; Ramenofsky 1987; M. Smith 1987, 1994; Thornton 1987). Despite a large body of scholarship on the post-contact period, there remains considerable uncertainty about the magnitude, timing, and causes of profound transformations in sociopolitical systems and population sizes. By A.D. 1700, the loss of people in eastern North America was so great that it was apparent to contemporary observers.¹

A more precise understanding of postcontact changes in indigenous societies requires much work on two scales of analysis. First, fine-grained assessments of particular groups of people are essential for comparative studies of Native American responses to new political, economic, demographic, and ecological settings. Examples of such work, the focus of most archaeologists and historians, include the other chapters in this volume. Second, broader geographical perspectives are also necessary, because postcontact transformations in Native American societies—cultural upheaval, societal dissolution and realignment, and population loss and displacement—were played out across vast regions.

As an initial step toward the second goal, we present three maps (Figs. 2.1–2.3) that summarize what is known from archaeological remains about the distribution of Eastern Woodlands peoples. Regions where information is plentiful are apparent, as are those where data are limited or absent. While there are many inadequacies in existing data, which are as apparent to us as they will be to others, the maps illustrate how the collective efforts of many researchers can contribute to knowledge about the overall distribution of Native American peoples in the Eastern Woodlands.

The dates chosen for the maps—the early years of the 1400s, 1500s, and 1600s—provide distinctly different perspectives on population distribution. The maps show the Eastern Woodlands scarcely a century before Columbus's arrival in the New World; at the time of early Spanish penetrations deep into the interior, when indigenous societies were still populous and powerful; and a century after initial contact, a period of depopulation and cultural disintegration.

Despite an uneven and often inadequate spatial coverage, readily available information is sufficient to address several issues pertinent to hotly debated controversies about the late prehistoric to early historic periods. These topics include gross estimates of population size, the evenness of the spread of newly introduced infectious diseases into the continental interior, and the factors behind different post-contact cultural and demographic trajectories. We emphasize southeastern societies, but the general points we raise are equally applicable to ongoing debates over the timing and impact of epidemics in the northern Eastern Wood-

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lands (Snow and Lanphear 1988, 1989; Snow and Starna 1989; cf. Dobyns 1983, 1989).

Plotting People

Figures 2.1–2.3 include an amalgam of archaeological phase limits, site concentrations, and individual settlements identified by many researchers. Shaded areas indicate places where there is a high likelihood of substantial occupation at particular times. It is also known that some areas lack evidence of occupation, despite considerable archaeological fieldwork. The maps, however, are intended to show only where researchers are reasonably sure people were present at a particular time, not to undertake the much more difficult task of indicating where they were absent or where archaeological work is too poor to tell.

Published information was supplemented by comments on drafts of these maps and by data generously provided to one of us (DGA) by more than 75 colleagues.² Earlier versions of two maps exhibited at regional conferences were based primarily on unpublished information from researchers across the region (D. G. Anderson 1989, 1991a, 1991b). They provided the impetus for developing the more detailed coverages presented here.

Although these maps represent crude approximations of regional population distributions, it does not follow that all shaded areas are equivalent in terms of population size and density.³ Furthermore, we do not intend to imply that there is a one-to-one correspondence between illustrated phase boundaries or site concentrations and discrete societies such as historically known tribes or their immediate predecessors. Such attempts are futile exercises given current understandings of material culture variation, the low archaeological visibility of often ephemeral political relationships, and the highly volatile nature of social and demographic landscapes during the time periods of interest.

Where archaeologists have the advantage of documentary evidence, there are good reasons to believe that political formations sometimes encompassed more than one archaeological phase as defined by site distributions and artifact inventories. For example, the Coosa chiefdom that de Soto encountered in the early sixteenth century incorporated concentrations of sites known archaeologically as Barnett, Brewster, Dallas, Mouse Creek, and Kymulga (Hally, Smith, and Langford 1990; Hudson et al. 1985). Such constellations of affiliated groups seem short-lived when viewed from an archaeological perspective, in which even fine-grained temporal precision generally means that units of time span multiple generations. Certainly this interpretation is consistent with recently acquired evidence for unstable intergroup political relations and shifting patterns of regional occupation in the late prehistoric Southeast (D. G. Anderson 1990, 1994a, 1994b; DePratter 1991; Milner 1990; Peebles 1987; M. Smith 1987; Steponaitis 1991; Welch 1991).

Mapping Problems

Sources of error should be highlighted before covering what the maps can tell us about the distribution of past populations. Among the many difficulties with this sort of undertaking, four problems complicating the compilation of data and the use of these maps are worthy of special mention.

First, archaeological fieldwork has a spotty distribution. Some parts of the Eastern Woodlands are reasonably well known because they have been subjected to major surveys and excavations. For other areas, there is distressingly little information about the disposition of temporally secure sites. To some extent, intensive investigations mirror past cultural realities: big sites have attracted the most attention. Well-known areas elsewhere reflect the presence of nearby universities with active research programs or the requirements of cultural resource management (CRM) work. Thus it does not necessarily follow that regions with many, or few, places of securely dated occupation were more, or less, densely inhabited than other regions of equivalent size.

Second, the relative sizes of the mapped occupational areas do not necessarily reflect past patterns of human land use. In general, there appears to be an inverse relationship between the size of a shaded area and the precision of archaeological knowledge about the distribution and dating of sites within it. Crudely speaking, the smaller the shaded area, the better the data. For example, many parts of the mid-Atlantic states are covered by large shaded areas on the early 1500s map, whereas the separate components of the Coosa paramount chiefdom in Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee appear as small and spatially discrete site concentrations. Large polygons are a function of great uncertainty about the actual distribution of contemporaneous sites. In contrast, intensive recent work has permitted the tight definition of spatially restricted site clusters representing separate elements of the Coosa regional polity (Hally and Langford 1988; Hally, Smith, and Langford 1990; Hudson et al. 1985; Langford and Smith 1990; M. Smith 1989a).

Third, an uneven reporting of information meant that different kinds of data had to be used for plotting purposes. The best data consist of site distribution information for well-defined and temporally narrow phases. Good examples of areas with solid site-distribution data include parts of the central and lower Mississippi River valley; the area encompassing northwestern Georgia, northeastern Alabama, and eastern Tennessee; the upper Oconee River valley of central Georgia; the Savannah River of Georgia and South Carolina; and the states of Alabama and Arkansas (D. G. Anderson 1994b; Anderson et al. 1986; Brain 1988; Fig. 192; Hally, Smith, and Langford 1990: Fig. 9.1; Knight 1988; D. Morse 1990: Fig. 5.2; Morse and Morse 1990: Fig. 13.1; Phillips 1970: Fig. 447; M. Smith 1989a: Fig. 1; Smith and Kowalewski 1980; Williams and Shapiro 1987).

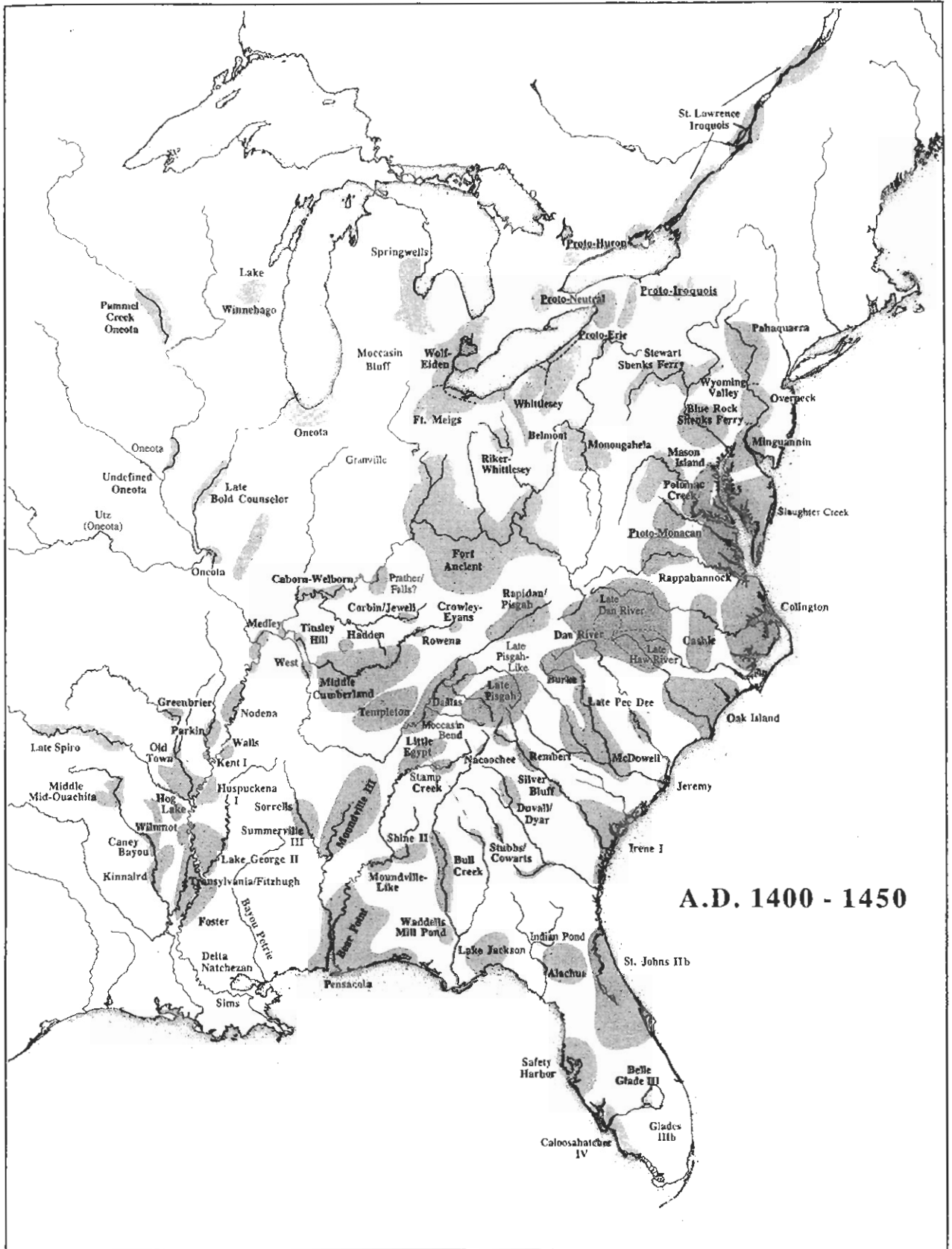


Figure 2.1. Archaeological phases during the early 1400s. Archaeological phases are labeled in boldface; names of groups are underlined. Modified from a map published in D. G. Anderson 1991a.

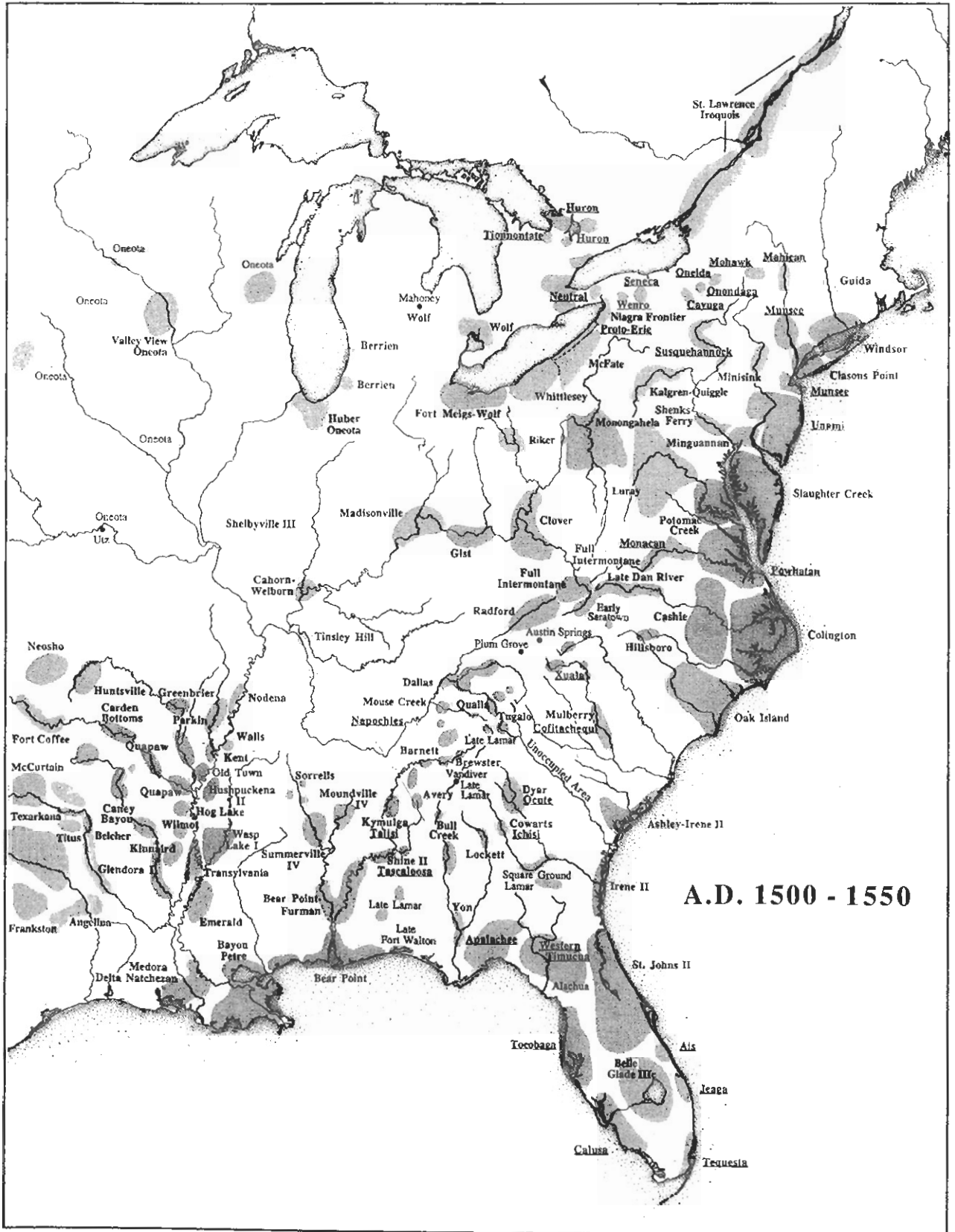


Figure 2.2. Archaeological phases and sites during the early 1500s. Archaeological phases are labeled in boldface; names of groups are underlined.

Most of the other shaded areas mark only the approximate boundaries of concentrations of roughly contemporaneous sites yielding more or less stylistically similar artifact assemblages.

Fourth, the archaeological visibility of people who lived in small, dispersed, or highly mobile groups is low. Although Europeans encountered such groups during the early historic period (e.g., Rogel 1570 in Waddell 1980: 147–151), archaeological evidence for their presence is often scanty.

Discontinuous Populations

All three maps indicate that people were irregularly distributed throughout the Eastern Woodlands. Although the quality of data is uneven and often poor, these distributions are not a function of sampling error alone. Large portions of the region were unoccupied or, at best, saw few permanent settlements.

Archaeologists have recognized for many years that late prehistoric populations tended to focus on areas with fertile and easily tilled soils accompanied by prolific, diverse, and readily acquired resources—that is, principally major river valleys and coastal settings (B. D. Smith 1978).⁴ Even considering the significant strides made in upland-oriented research in recent years, there can be no doubt that highly productive zones, primarily river valleys and coastal settings, were especially favored places for settlement. More importantly, it is clear that not all prime resource zones were occupied to the same extent. Great gaps existed in the distribution of people, as shown by population concentrations scattered along principal rivers like so many beads on strings.

Blank areas, of course, often result from imperfect information. Nevertheless, there are enough unequivocal, archaeologically and historically known examples of places lacking evidence of occupation to support the general observation that settlement was discontinuous across even the most productive land.

One such example of a depopulated but resource-rich area is the Savannah River basin of Georgia and South Carolina. A recent study of more than 7,000 archaeological sites resulted in the identification of several Mississippian chiefdoms defined by the presence of mound centers and outlying support communities that postdated A.D. 1000 (D. G. Anderson 1990, 1994b). These societies experienced individualized histories of florescence and decline, and they were variously located at different times. Several centuries of local chiefdom rise and fall, however, came to an abrupt end at about 1450. At that point, most of the central and lower portions of the Savannah River basin were abandoned, an event caused by a combination of political and environmental circumstances.

Archaeological evidence for a late prehistoric depopulation of much of the Savannah River valley is supported by the experience of early Spanish adventurers. In 1540,

de Soto's expedition passed through this area while marching from Ocute in central Georgia to Cofitachequi in central South Carolina (Hudson, Smith, and DePratter 1984; Hudson, Worth, and DePratter 1990). When traveling between the domains of these traditional enemies, de Soto's army encountered no people, found themselves lost without the benefit of trails, and experienced great hardship from inadequate provisions.⁵ The Spaniards' suffering was relieved only by their arrival at Cofitachequi, where they again discovered dense populations and, more significantly, large food reserves. Other such apparently depopulated areas include the central Tennessee River valley (Welch 1991: 195), the Mississippi Valley near St. Louis (Milner 1990), and much of the Ohio and Mississippi confluence region (Butler 1991; Mainfort, this volume; S. Williams 1990; cf. R. B. Lewis 1990).

The refinement of models concerning interpolity relations and demographic histories requires the determining of population dispositions at different times in the past. Despite many all too obvious imperfections, we believe Figures 2.1–2.3 provide a more accurate picture of human distribution than do most other portrayals of archaeological complexes and historical groups. The latter typically feature contiguous polygons that individually encompass vast areas and collectively blanket the entire Eastern Woodlands. Maps featuring contiguous polygons covering vast areas have had a long history in anthropology—for example, Swanton 1952: Map 5 for the Southeast, Kroeber 1939: Map 1b for all of North America, and, more recently, Dobyns 1983: Map 2 for Florida.

By combining the distributions of actual settlements, of sizable hunting territories, of largely ignored resource-poor areas, and of generally avoided buffer zones between hostile societies, these portrayals give the impression that regularly frequented areas covered all available land. We are reminded of sheets of postage stamps on which the stamps—representing multiple, well-defined social groups in this analogy—cover everything and join one another at well-defined borders, the perforations. Such maps convey little information, if any, on actual land-use patterns other than indicating the general parts of the continent once inhabited by particular groups of people. Furthermore, they give the false impression that people were once widely and uniformly distributed across the land, at least in prime areas. For example, Dobyns (1983: 294, 300), in a controversial but influential study, argued for enormous numbers of Timucuan—a population exceeding 700,000—in Florida during the early sixteenth century. He did so in part by viewing diverse natural habitats as being equally accessible to people distributed among a mosaic of societies filling peninsular Florida. Extrapolating from the Timucuan example, and taking into account gross ecological variation across the continent, Dobyns (1983: 42, 298) estimated that there were 18 million people in pre-Columbian North America. His total is much greater than other currently accepted figures.

For example, it is nine times the size of Ubelaker's (1988) 2 million people, the smallest and most carefully developed of recent authoritative estimates.

Dobyns's (1983) high estimate and the spotty distribution of archaeologically verifiable population concentrations cannot both be correct. If each of them accurately depicts prehistoric conditions, then occupied areas would have been saturated with people at impossibly high levels given available resources and technology. Such high population densities far surpass estimates for the inhabitants of organizationally complex late prehistoric societies in the Eastern Woodlands, including Coosa and Cahokia (Hally, Smith, and Langford 1990; Milner 1990), and those for tribal- to chiefdom-scale societies in general (Feinman and Neitzel 1984: 70).⁶ Even if a considerable margin of error is allowed for missing data, the overall archaeological picture indicates that population levels fell far below Dobyns's figures.

The central to lower Mississippi River valley seems to be the only place in eastern North America where it might be argued that a sizable region was for the most part filled with clusters of sites representing a series of more or less discrete groups of people. Archaeologically speaking, relatively dense occupation is shown by numerous separable archaeological phases and site concentrations (e.g., Brain 1988:Fig. 192; D. Morse 1990:Fig. 5.2; Morse and Morse 1990:Fig. 13.1; Phillips 1970:Fig. 447). Even in the valley, however, buffer zones existed, though they appear to have been narrower than they were elsewhere, which is not surprising considering the area's topography and resource distribution.

It will be difficult to identify buffer zones consistently because of problems with ensuring adequate spatial coverage and developing sufficiently fine-grained temporal controls. Existing archaeological information, however, conforms to the experiences of early Spanish adventurers. De Soto and others encountered unoccupied, generally avoided, and frequently contested areas between polities in the sixteenth century Southeast (DePratter 1991: 30–32). Historical references to these areas often take the form of complaints about problems experienced in ensuring adequate provisions while traversing unoccupied, indeed avoided, areas.

Archaeologists should consider further the possible significance of the numerous archaeological phases or site concentrations in the vicinity of de Soto's path. If the overall pattern of archaeologically known early sixteenth-century population aggregates is merely a function of scholarly interest in de Soto, then it could be argued that the expedition-route sample is representative of what would be found in similarly sized areas if they were subjected to the same level of scrutiny. Thus, the great number and disposition of these archaeological complexes are not particularly interesting except as incentives for researchers to fill in the many gaps elsewhere in the Eastern Woodlands.

There is, however, an alternative interpretation. To a large extent, de Soto purposefully moved through the Southeast

in directions that maximized his chances of finding large numbers of settled and hierarchically organized peoples (Hudson, Smith, and DePratter 1984). Spanish accounts show that de Soto's followers often were threatened by hunger, lived off the people they encountered, moved on when local stores were exhausted, and placed great emphasis on finding important towns with food reserves when they entered new provinces. Native American guides threatened with bodily harm for unsatisfactory performance were certainly motivated to lead the Spaniards to settled areas.⁷ Leading figures were abducted to ensure the receipt of food from subsidiary towns along the route and sufficient numbers of porters to carry it (e.g., Bourne 1904, 1: 70, 83; Varner and Varner 1951: 307). Considering the generally oppressive behavior of the Spaniards, chiefs would have seen some advantage in sending the expedition along as quickly as possible to other settled areas, literally shifting the burden of their presence to other places.

New Infectious Diseases

Estimates of population distribution across broadly defined geographical areas represent an important source of information for studies of the effects of newly introduced Old World diseases on early postcontact period Native Americans. Dobyns (1983) has argued forcefully for the frequent and uniform diffusion of pathogens across vast regions from distant places such as Mexico. The sixteenth-century Indians of Florida, therefore, are said to have suffered from multiple high-mortality epidemics corresponding to known outbreaks of disease recorded by Europeans in far-off places. It is more likely, however, that physical and social barriers impeded the geographically broad dissemination of new diseases, including those passed directly between humans. As far as infections transmitted by human contact are concerned, including the great killers measles and smallpox, the spotty distribution of population aggregates, the common occurrence of infrequently traversed buffer areas separating often hostile societies, and the irregularity of communication among such groups would have interrupted their uniform dissemination among susceptible populations. Once a disease such as smallpox was introduced to eastern North America, the likelihood of its being passed from one group to the next, far into the interior, depended on the frequency of contacts among members of spatially separate and often culturally distinct populations.

The members of different sociopolitical groups in the Eastern Woodlands were certainly in occasional contact with one another. Such communication is shown archaeologically by the movement of distinctive artifacts across long distances. Exotic prestige goods that ended up in the hands of important people in southeastern chiefdoms are a particularly well-known component of the exchange of goods among pre-Columbian populations. Periodic elite-mediated transactions promoted the donor's prestige, so-

lidified support constituencies, and fulfilled obligations to important people elsewhere. As noted in other chapters of this volume, during the early historic horizon European-produced items such as glass beads and metal objects moved into the interior far in advance of direct European occupation. The overall pattern, however, was one of sporadic movement through different populations of small amounts of material, much of it invested with some special significance and used to discharge social obligations on special occasions.

These intergroup communication networks served as avenues for the widespread transmission of human-borne diseases such as measles and smallpox only to the extent that contacts happened to bring sick people and susceptible people from separate populations together at the right time.⁸ In contrast, Dobyns (1983: 324) argued that there was sufficient regularly occurring intergroup communication to characterize the entire Eastern Woodlands as a single "epidemic region."

There can be little doubt that during the early historic period new pathogens were transmitted to people in areas well beyond the territories of those who had direct face-to-face contact with Europeans (Dobyns 1983, 1993; Milner 1980; Ramenofsky 1987; M. Smith 1987, 1994). When a disease such as smallpox was introduced to a community or a group of affiliated settlements, it would have proved devastating to these unfortunate people. Physical and social barriers, however, separated individual communities and, especially, more inclusive social groups such as the southeastern chiefdoms. Such gaps in population distribution, including social impediments to contact among traditional enemies, produced something far less than Dobyns's (1983: 324) essentially uniform dissemination of diseases across vast regions—his single "epidemic region."

Differential Impact of New Circumstances

The irregular spread of deadly diseases would have resulted in a mosaic of affected and unaffected peoples, upsetting previous balances of power. Such situations would have provided ideal opportunities for traditional enemies to wreak vengeance on suddenly weakened foes, triggering movement to safer locales and prompting the formation of alliances among decimated groups desperately struggling for survival. Unpredictable and drastic shifts in the relative strengths of societies would have increased uncertainty about the intentions of neighboring groups in an already volatile sociopolitical arena. Unfortunately, archaeologists have directed only sporadic attention toward the role of warfare as a population spacing mechanism, its part in the development of social inequality, and its impact on the lives of Eastern Woodlands peoples, although hard-pressed communities suffered greatly in precontact times (D. G. Anderson 1994a, 1994b; DePratter 1991; Dye 1990; Gramly 1977; Larson 1972; Milner, Anderson, and Smith 1991;

Turner and Santley 1979). Nevertheless, it is clear that hostilities often erupted into outright warfare in late prehistoric times, and postcontact alliances and antagonisms were played out within the context of long histories of intergroup cooperation and enmity.

By the 1600s, major changes in the distribution of people had taken place. From this point forward, precise temporal controls become an especially critical element of attempts to trace patterns of occupation, because groups tended to move often and over great distances (Brain 1988; M. Smith 1989a, 1994).

From an archaeological perspective, a depopulation of the lower Mississippi River valley is one of the most readily apparent of the early postcontact discontinuities in regional occupational histories (Brain 1988; Mainfort, this volume; Williams 1990, this volume). From late prehistoric times well into the sixteenth century, archaeological sites corresponding to more or less contemporaneous phases were distributed throughout much of the wide valley. Yet occupation was sparse when Europeans again entered the area toward the end of the seventeenth century. When there is some reason to believe that continuities can be traced across the prehistoric-to-historic interface in the valley and elsewhere (Brain 1988; M. Hoffman 1986; M. Smith 1987, 1989a, 1994), it seems that surviving people moved in response to an opening of the land, to new pressures from antagonistic groups, and, eventually, to the opportunities and threats of unprecedented relationships with the newcomers to the Americas.

Many of the most organizationally complex chiefdoms those newcomers encountered early in the sixteenth century seem to have been among the first societies to collapse. This process is indicated by a depopulation of the central and lower Mississippi River valley, as well as the different experiences of the de Soto expedition and Spanish adventurers about a quarter century later at Coosa and Cofitachequi (Hudson 1990; Hudson et al. 1989; M. Smith 1987, 1994).

Formally established, elite-mediated links among spatially separate constellations of settlements, the principal components of paramount chiefdoms such as sixteenth-century Coosa, would have facilitated the spread of human-transmitted diseases through the periodic interaction of members of distinct population aggregates. Social ties enhancing a disease's chance of crossing sparsely occupied zones would have made paramount chiefdoms likely routes through which pathogens were transmitted to the continental interior from initial, and perhaps distant, foci of introduction.

Once a pathogen like smallpox was introduced to a multicomunity society, the likelihood of its spread from one settlement to another would have been greater in a close-knit chiefdom than in an atomized social system of loosely allied communities. Interruptions in disease transmission, which would have led to inadvertent containment, must have occurred more often in situations where linkages be-

tween settlements were weak than in tightly integrated societies featuring regular communication among villages.

Mississippian chiefdoms in the best of times were unstable, at least when viewed in terms of the several-generation-long periods that archaeologists typically use (D. G. Anderson 1990, 1994a, 1994b; DePratter 1991; Milner 1990; Peebles 1987; M. Smith 1987; Steponaitis 1991; Welch 1991; Williams and Shapiro 1987). In the postcontact era, such sociopolitical formations were highly vulnerable to collapse in the wake of disorder brought about by a sudden horrific loss of life from hitherto unknown and greatly misunderstood maladies (also see Zubrow 1990). The loss of leading figures would have left delicately balanced relations among powerful lineages in disarray. Inexplicable, uncontrollable, and demoralizing catastrophes would have seriously undermined the authority of surviving claimants to high-status positions. Many deaths, by disrupting ideal successional sequences and severely eroding chiefly authority, undoubtedly increased the likelihood of infighting among rival factions presented with unexpected opportunities to grab positions of influence.

The situation seems to have been different in other southeastern interior societies that initially were less populous or less hierarchically organized than those that so impressed de Soto's men. In the North Carolina piedmont, evidence for significant disruptions in earlier ways of life dates to the late seventeenth century (Ward and Davis 1991, 1993, this volume). These groups of people were initially smaller and more socially isolated than the powerful chiefdoms that existed elsewhere, including Coosa and the Mississippi River societies. Because of the nature of intercommunity ties among spatially separate population aggregates (represented archaeologically by discrete site clusters), the likelihood of disease containment would have been greater in places such as interior North Carolina than in areas dominated by large chiefdoms. Moreover, loose alliances among villages would have been more likely to survive high-mortality catastrophes or to be reestablished later in one form or another than would ranked social relationships featuring great inequalities in authority and prestige. It should also be noted that the loss of a few villages in tribal-scale societies would be much more difficult to detect archaeologically than would a disintegration of chiefdoms accompanied by an abandonment of mound centers and the disappearance of people with the trappings of high office.

Johnson's (1991a, 1991b) recent work in northeastern Mississippi is also consistent with the epidemic and social organization scenario presented here. During de Soto's time, this area was inhabited by people living in small and widely scattered settlements. By reducing the likelihood of interindividual contact, this settlement pattern, along with a more atomized society than the tightly integrated chiefdoms packed into the Mississippi River valley, would have put these people at an advantage when epidemics first arrived. Differential survival of various groups in this region

presumably played a significant role in the eventual ascendancy of the historic Chickasaw, the descendants of people encountered by de Soto in this area. They became major players in the political maneuvering of the eighteenth century, a marked contrast to the situation in de Soto's day, when the most powerful polities were located in the Mississippi River valley to the west.

Conclusion

We close with a call for additional attention directed toward the study of human distributional patterns across vast areas and, furthermore, for a shift to the study of actual site distributions whenever possible (see Knight 1988; Morse and Morse 1990). During the 1960s, there was much talk in archaeological circles about changing research foci from single sites to what were called regional research universes. Yet the few completed studies have shown that even the latter are not large enough to capture much of the information about the behavior of prehistoric peoples that interests archaeologists (D. G. Anderson 1990, 1994a, 1994b; Peebles 1987; Steponaitis 1991). The problems posed by dealing with geographically broad expanses of land are admittedly immense—some will argue insurmountable—but immense, too, are the potential returns from such work. Stated differently, we can wring our hands and lament that geographically broad-scale perspectives on human occupation and interaction are forever beyond us, or we can initiate the first steps toward that admittedly distant goal.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1. The loss of life among the Indians of the mid-Atlantic states prompted one early eighteenth-century writer to note that "Small-Pox and Rum have made such a Destruction amongst them, that, on good grounds, I do believe, there is not the sixth Savage living within two hundred Miles of all our Settlements, as there were fifty Years ago. These poor Creatures have so many Enemies to destroy them, that it's a wonder one of them is left alive near us" (Lawson 1966: 224). Similar statements were made by other contemporary writers, and their comments are supported by archaeological findings (Ward and Davis 1993).
2. Specific information and source materials for the mapped

- areas are available from the authors. The job of assembling distributional data is immense; therefore, we invite comments from regional specialists.
3. Future work with distributional maps could incorporate a ranking of areas by the numbers and kinds of sites or by other measures of population density and organizational complexity.
 4. This pattern was recognized many decades ago during the first large-scale projects initiated during the New Deal, when many highly productive sites in river floodplains were selected for excavation (Milner and Smith 1986: 11, 30–32). The results from these early, and typically hurried, digs were used to bolster arguments for the initiation of post–World War II river basin salvage efforts that eventually matured into the CRM work of today.
 5. At one point in their travels, the Spaniards recorded that the “Christians now were without provisions and with great labour they crossed this river and reached some huts of fishermen or hunters. And the Indians whom they carried had now lost their bearings and no longer knew the way; nor did the Spaniards know it, or in what direction they should go; and among them were divers opinions” (Ranjel 1922: 94). A description of the trip from Patofa to Cofitachiqui says: “He took maize for the consumption of four days, and marched by a road that, gradually becoming less, on the sixth day it disappeared” (Elvas’s narrative in B. Smith 1968: 58). Biedma adds that the chiefs of Ocute and Cafaqui “said if we were going to make war on the Lady of Cofitachique, they would give us all we should desire for the way; but we should understand there was no road over which to pass; that they had no intercourse, because of their enmity, except when they made war upon each other” (B. Smith 1968: 237).
 6. We discount the greatly inflated and wholly unsupported population estimates for the Cahokia site in Illinois, as well as correspondingly high extrapolations from the major center to this sociopolitical system as a whole (see Milner 1990). Dobyns’s (1983: 141, 183, 199, 205) estimates include a Florida town with 60,000 inhabitants, a figure half again as large as the most exaggerated claim for the number of people at Cahokia, 43,000 inhabitants (Gregg 1975). Cahokia, in contrast to Dobyns’s (1983) settlement, was a large site with many examples of monumentally proportioned architecture, including huge mounds.
 7. The Spaniards clearly threatened guides who gave false directions: “The Governor [de Soto] menaced the youth [their guide], motioning that he would throw him to the dogs for having lied to him in saying that it was four days’ journey, whereas they had travelled nine” (Elvas in B. Smith 1968: 59). The same passage indicates that the expedition was then suffering greatly for lack of food; the “men and horses had become very thin, because of the sharp economy practised with the maize” (Elvas in B. Smith 1968: 59).
 8. It could be argued that smallpox is an exception because the virus can remain viable for a time outside of the host. Indeed, infected goods were purposefully given to Native Americans by later colonists. Nevertheless, some form of contact was still necessary to transport such items among different groups.

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