

Kansa Origins: An Alternative *

Since the time of Dorsey's (1885, 1897) linguistic and ethnographic work before the turn of the century, Kansa, the language spoken by members of the Kansa tribe, has been recognized as closely affiliated with Osage, Omaha, and Ponca as the Dhegiha sub-group of the Siouan language family. This relationship has been reaffirmed by the most recent linguistic research on Mississippi Valley Siouans (Rankin 1989).

According to tribal legends, as recorded by Dorsey (1886), Dhegiha origins were in an area east of the Mississippi, near the Ohio, from which point the undifferentiated Dhegihan-speaking group migrated in a westerly direction. During the course of this migration, individual tribes became differentiated eventually taking up residence along a broad arc extending from the mouth of the Arkansas across southwestern Missouri and north along the Missouri to northeastern Nebraska. The timing of the purported migration and period of tribal differentiation is unknown, but had to have been prior to 1700, as by this time French documents place the Dhegihans west of the Mississippi.

A second sub-group of Siouan speakers, including the Iowa, Missouri, and Oto known as Chiwere, also occupied the prairie-plains of the Midwest during the historic period, generally to the north and east of the Dhegihans. Careful application of the direct-historical approach has succeeded in the development of convincing arguments that both the Iowa (Mott 1938) and the Missouri (Henning 1970) are descendent from the prehistoric Oneota culture dating as early as A.D. 1000 (Henning 1970: 153-7). The Oto, a tribal unit closely

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affiliated with both the Iowa and the Missouri during the historic period have also been suggested as descendent from Oneota.

The earliest historical documentation, sufficiently detailed to establish the location of a Kansa village, dates to 1723-4 (Wedel 1959:29). At this time a group of Kansa were living in 150 lodges on a small westerly tributary of the Missouri, 20 leagues north of the Kansas River. Etienne de Bourgmond's visit to this village in 1724 was the first contact between an official of a European nation and the Kansa (Unrau^{au} 1975:26-8). The Missouri tributary, believed to be present-day Independence Creek, flows through the village of Doniphan in the county of the same name in northeastern Kansas. In 1937, in an attempt to precisely fix the location of the Kansa village and to identify the material culture of the Kansa, Waldo Wedel (1959: 98-130) carried out archaeological excavations along the eastern hillslope above Independence Creek and Doniphan. The excavations demonstrated the presence of two occupation components, the earlier attributed to the prehistoric Nebraska variant and the more recent, which includes shell-tempered pottery and historic trade goods, to the Kansa. Although, due to the meager sample of artifacts recovered, Wedel (1959: 130) is cautious, other archaeologists have identified the later occupation of the Doniphan site with Oneota (O'Brien 1984: 67-9; Brown and Simmons 1987: XIV-50).

As another project in 1937, Wedel (1959: 131-171) excavated a portion of the Fanning site also in northeast Kansas, but some 10 miles north of the Doniphan site. Occupational debris recovered was identified as Oneota, with a limited number of small trade items suggesting a late 17th century date. Documentary evidence of the

presence of the Kansa in the area of the Fanning site by late in the 17th century led to the suggestion that Fanning was perhaps a Kansa village. Later in 1963, a salvage project at Fanning (Schock and Bass 1966: 208-219) resulted in the collection of additional data and an interpretation of cultural affiliation and temporal placement in accord with Wedel (1959: 131-71).

In 1966 and 1972, Henning (Raish 1979) directed excavations at King's Hill, situated across the Missouri River from Fanning, and today within St. Joseph, Missouri. Close artifact similarities between Fanning and King's Hill led Henning (1970: 146-7) to suggest a late 17th century Oneota affiliation perhaps attributable to ancestral Kansa.

Previous research, then, has led to the suggestion that three Oneota sites in northeastern Kansas, and northwestern Missouri, Doniphan, Fanning, and King's Hill, may represent the loci of former occupations by the Kansa during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. One of the three, Doniphan is identified with the Kansa village visited by Bourgmond in 1724. The others are in proximity and, based on limited quantities of trade goods, date to a time period of documented Kansa presence in the area.

An Alternative

The remainder of this paper will be devoted to first raising some questions about the accepted interpretation summarized above, and then positing an alternative ancestry for the Kansa based on spatial, temporal, and material continuities with the prehistoric Pomona

variant of eastern Kansas.

As appreciated by Wedel (1974: 28-9), it is possible that the three sites tentatively identified as Kansa were in fact former occupational loci of the Oto. This alternative is suggested by several historical references including the 1718 "Carte de la Louisiane" by Guillaume Delisle which places the Oto below the mouth of the Platte on the west side of the Missouri (Tucker 1942, Pl. 15). In 1721, and apparently on the basis of information obtained from a Missouri Indian, Father Pierre Charlevoix identified the Oto as occupying territory on the west side of the Missouri, north of the Kansa and south of the Pawnee (Charlevoix 1761).

In 1724, Bourgmond dispatched messengers from the Kansa village on Independence Creek to invite the Oto to participate in a council. They returned the following day, having successfully completed their mission, thus suggesting the presence of the Oto in the near vicinity. Wedel (1959: 37-8) calls attention to a letter by Henry L. Ellsworth, written in conjunction with a treaty with the Oto and Missouri in 1833, that states, "the evidence is satisfactory that the Otoes attacked the Kansa at their old village on the Missouri near Independence Creek -- drove them from their village and took possession. The Kansa never afterward occupied that ground but pitched their tents 60 to 80 miles distant on the Kansas River." Although this event is undated, B. Chapman (1974:28) suggests it probably took place in the 1730's as the Oto expanded southward to gain increased hunting territory. By the 1750's, the Kansa are reported to have been occupying a village approximately 20 miles downstream, perhaps near the mouth of Salt Creek just north of Leavenworth, Kansas (Wedel 1959:

While an Oneota ancestry for the Oto has not been proven, it seems highly likely in light of Mott's (1938: 258) observation that, "The Oto, a smaller Chiwere Siouan tribe, shadowed the course of the Ioway across northern Iowa to the Missouri; their villages were either contiguous or were separated by only a few miles." Mott, many years ago (1938) built a strong case for derivation of the Ioway from the Orr phase of the Oneota culture, and the close relationship between the Iowa and the Oto, documented historically, makes it likely that research will eventually demonstrate an Oneota ancestry for the Oto. If early historic Oto culture is derived from Oneota; if the Oto forced the Kansa from their village on Independence Creek and took possession; then, the Oneota artifacts which Wedel (1959: 98-130) obtained from the Doniphan site may pertain to an Oto occupation rather than to the remains of the Kansa village visited by Bourgmond in 1724.

To summarize the direction of the present argument, several early historic references place the Oto on the west side of the Missouri, south of the Platte by the first quarter of the 17th century. Mott's (1938) demonstration of an Oneota ancestry for the Ioway, combined with the long and close association of the Oto with the Ioway, argues for Oto antecedents in the same prehistoric complex. Perhaps, then, the three northeastern Kansas - northwestern Missouri Oneota sites previously identified as Kansa (Doniphan, Fanning, and King's Hill) are in reality former occupation areas of the Oto. If this is the case, the pre- and protohistoric material culture of the Kansa remains to be identified, and it is with a suggestion as to this identification that

this paper continues.

Pomona Variant

Since the 1960's archaeologists working in Kansas have used the term Pomona to refer to an Early Plains village variant situated in the eastern part of the state and extending into western Missouri (Witty 1967: 1-5; Brown 1984). In the presence of a dispersed settlement pattern, agriculture-hunting-gathering subsistence base, lithic tool forms, and cordmarked, globular pottery vessels, Pomona is similar to the Smoky Hill, Upper Republican, and Nebraska variants of the Central Plains tradition. Pomona differs, however, in lacking the characteristic Central Plains earthlodge.

Chronology

As noted above, Kansa legends, collected by Dorsey (1886), have been interpreted as suggesting a late arrival in eastern Kansas, and historic documents demonstrate their presence by late in the 17th century (Wedel 1974). For the Pomona variant, Brown (1984: 121) has carefully evaluated available radiocarbon dates and argues that the range A.D. 950-1350 is most likely. Important, then, to this presentation, is establishment of temporal continuity over the 350 year span separating the documented historic presence of the Kansa in northeastern Kansas (ca. 1700) and the terminal date which Brown (1984: 21) assigns the Pomona variant (ca. A.D. 1350).

Ultimately demonstration of this temporal continuity will depend on the accumulation of considerably more data than is currently available. Several lines of evidence are indicative, however:

1. Although excluded by Brown (1984: 92-128) as too late,

Trade beads help date Indian movements in region

Smithsonian archaeologist checks museum's artifacts

By STEPHANIE ZEILSTRA
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St. Joseph News-Press

A Smithsonian Institution archaeologist and anthropologist is in St. Joseph this week to study artifacts excavated from King Hill about 40 years ago and currently stored at the St. Joseph Museum.

Dr. Bill Billeck works in the anthropology department at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C.

He travels to museums around the country as part of his work.

Dr. Billeck, whose specialty is plains archaeology, is researching the trade routes of early American Indian tribes.

Of the St. Joseph artifacts, Dr. Billeck said he's particularly interested in glass trade beads, which were found during an excavation on King Hill in the 1960s. He said that the beads could be from the early 1400s to the late 1600s.

The 200-plus beads he studied are in a variety of shapes, colors and sizes.

Dr. Billeck said the King Hill excavation site is significant for many reasons. One reason, he said, is that the Missouri River was a major trade

 **This is a key site in many ways.**

— Dr. Bill Billeck,
Smithsonian Institution archaeologist



route for American Indian tribes traveling south from the northern region around the Great Lakes.

"This is a key site in many ways," Dr. Billeck said. "That is because there are a variety of glass beads

that occur, especially early ones, that can give us a more defined time that the Kansa tribe was in this area."

It is believed, Dr. Billeck said, that the Kansa tribe was heavily involved in this area. But as with most tribes in the 1700s, he said, a great deal of movement and change occurred to the tribes as Europeans began to travel further west.

Dr. Billeck said the glass beads, such as those found in St. Joseph, are a way to better understand and date the American Indians' direction of trade at a specific point in time.

Dr. Billeck will publish his research in the future, and it will be a complete study of glass bead trading.



Bill Billeck, an anthropologist and archaeologist with the Smithsonian Institution, spent Monday at the St. Joseph Museum going through American Indian trade beads. The small glass beads were recovered during an archaeological dig at King Hill in the 1960s.

IVL LAWHON JR.
St. Joseph News-Press



Presley, 33, and her rock musician fiancé, Hawaiian-born **John Oszajca**, have parted ways, *People* magazine online reported. Presley and Oszajca plan to remain "very good friends," Presley's publicist told *People*, adding that Presley is not currently dating anyone.

Lisa Marie Presley Presley, who has two children, divorced musician **Danny Keough** in 1994 and later married then divorced pop icon **Michael Jackson**.

Today's birthdays

Actor **Marlon Brando** is 77. Actress-singer **Doris Day** is 77. Actor **David Hyde Pierce** is 42. Comedian-actor **Eddie Murphy** is 40.

— FROM AP REPORTS

■ The Friends of the River Bluffs Regional Library will hold its **Spring Book Sale** from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. and from 6 to 8 p.m. at the East Hills Shopping Center in St. Joseph. See Today's entry for more information.

■ The Downtown branch of the River Bluffs Regional library will hold its **Family Nights "Chill Out at the Library" program** from 6:30 to 8:15 p.m. at the library, 927 Felix St. in St. Joseph.

The featured topic will be on reducing stress.

For more information or to register, call 232-3812.

To list an item in *What's Up*, fax a flier or news release to us at 271-8692 or drop a note in the mail and send it to: *What's Up*, St. Joseph News-Press, P.O. Box 29, St. Joseph, MO 64502.

there are five radiocarbon dates from four Pomona variant sites in eastern Kansas which fall in the 15th and 16th centuries. These are: 1425 $\pm$ 80, I-9653, 14CF511; 1430 $\pm$ 145, I-9657, 14CF506; 1445 $\pm$ 110, GaK-597, 14MO308; 1430 $\pm$ 120-1460 $\pm$ 120, GaK598, 14MO308; 1490 $\pm$ 8--1510 $\pm$ 80, 1610 $\pm$ 80, GaK-1736, 14JF303 (conversions following Stuiver 1982).

2. A trend surface analysis, of 20 radiocarbon dates from 19 Pomona variant sites falling between A.D. 950 and 1350, suggests a south to north trend across eastern Kansas (see Fig. _____ for Pomona distribution in Kansas). While there are various ways such a trend can be interpreted, one is a gradual movement into northeastern Kansas where the Kansa are found concentrated along the Kansas and Missouri Rivers during the late 17th and following centuries.

3. The late prehistoric-early historic Great Bend culture of south-central Kansas is reasonably well dated, through Southwestern intrusive pottery associations dendrochronologically placed in the period from ca. A.D. 1540-1750 (Wedel 1982: 142-52). Although the associations are not as exact as one might hope, several Pomona variant sites in eastern Kansas have produced Great Bend sherds, perhaps as a result of trade with ancestral Wichita bands to the west. Included are Walleye (14W0222) and Dry Creek (14W0224) rockshelters at Toronto Lake, southeastern Kansas (Howard 1964: 341-53) and 14MM12 and 14MM543 at Hillsdale Lake in the northeastern part of the state (Blakeslee and Rohn 1986: 351-418; 1028-34).

4. Finally, the complementary distributions of the Great Bend culture and the Pomona variant argue for, at least partial, contemporaneity. Figure _____ is based on a compilation of survey data for the "Kansas Prehistoric Archaeological Preservation Plan"

(Brown and Simmons 1987). The absence of Great Bend sites from the area of the Pomona variant strongly suggests a cultural frontier approximately along the 9⁶th meridian.

In summary, several lines of evidence support a temporal continuity for the occupation of eastern Kansas, rather than a hiatus from ca. A.D. 1350-1700 as currently suggested by the archaeological literature. That cultural continuity, linking the prehistoric Pomona variant with the historic Kansa, is probable during this 350 year span is argued below.

Structures

Following Witty's (1967) original definition of Pomona:

The house type is a structure built on the ground surface some 25 feet long and 15 feet wide of light frame construction covered with thatch and clay daub. The ground plan is probably oval with or without center posts...At two houses evidence of large deeply set posts have been found at either end of the post hole complex. Interior hearths are usually lacking.

Recently, Reynolds (1987a: 169-178) has described the result of replication studies on Late Woodland Grasshopper Falls phase houses as follows:

...perhaps the simplest construction technique, is simply to bend opposing sets of poles over into bow shapes and to then tie them together. In this way, a series of parallel arches are created which can then be tied together by similar arched poles from the long ends and by horizontal rows of poles tied onto the uprights in layers. So long as the height of the arch is at least as long as one-half the lodge width, a true arch is created that has great strength.

It is likely that the majority of the Grasshopper Falls phase houses were covered with a layer of grass thatch and that mud was plastered selectively on those covers where the structures were most vulnerable to the elements.

As the Grasshopper Falls phase is believed to figure in the ancestry of Pomona (Johnson 1984: 277-288), and as ^{Grasshopper falls} ~~the~~ structures are comparable in size ^{to those of the Pomona Variant} (n=12; X=22.2, length; X=17.6 width; Reynolds 1987a, Tables 11-12) a similar construction mode can be posited for Pomona variant houses.

Although on the basis of both historical documentation (James 1823: 120) and archaeological excavations (Wedel 1959: 190) the circular earthlodge has been demonstrated to be a Kansa house form, it is also apparent from the historic record that at least two alternatives were in use. Skin-covered tents, or tipis, were favored for short-term encampments (Bushnell 1922: 96-7), but more important for the argument developed herein are 19th century records describing the construction and use of bark and mat covered lodges (Brooks 1965: 174-5; Townsend 1978: 36) at Kansa villages situated along the Kansas River. Describing a journey made in 1811, Sibley (Brooks 1965: 174-5) writes:

The town, when I was there, contained one hundred and twenty eight houses or lodges, as they are most commonly called. These are generally about sixty feet long and twenty five feet wide, constructed of stout saplings and poles, arranged in form of a common garden arbour and covered with skins, bark and mats. They are commodious and comfortable. The place for fire and cooking, is simply a hole dug in the earth right under the ridge pole of the roof, where a small opening is left to let out the smoke. All the larger lodges (some of them are 80 or 100 feet long) have two, three or four fire places, one for each family dwelling in it. Such dwellings are of course incapable of any long duration. The skeletons are left entirely naked when the indians go off on their great hunts, the covering being needed for their hunting camps, which are built very much like the village as to size & comfort tho with much less strength. These lodges (the best of ~~the~~ them in the town) are to some extent carpeted with mats and skins, and as already remarked, are quite comfortable, and commodious. The town is built without much regard to order. There are no regular streets or avenues. The lodges are set up pretty compactly

together, in crooked rows, allowing barely space sufficient for a man to pass between them. The avenues between these irregular lines, are kept usually, in tolerably decent order. And the whole village is, upon the whole, rather neat and cleanly than otherwise.

In 1834, Townsend (1979: 11) described the lodges, made of saplings driven into the ground, bent over and tied at top, and covered with bark and buffalo skins."

The similarities of the Kansa lodges, described in these traveler's accounts, to the structures featured in the previous accounts by archaeologists are striking, and provide one of our strongest current arguments for continuity from the prehistoric Pomona variant into the historic period. It is worth noting that the two southern tribal affiliates of the Kansa, the Osage and Quapaw constructed similar bark, skin, or mat covered lodges (Bushnell 1922: 91), as did the more northerly Dhegihans the Omaha (Dorsey 1896: 271) and the Ponca (Howard 1965: 57).

In an overview of ancestral Pomona, Late Woodland, complexes in eastern Kansas, Johnson (1987: 395), on the basis of amount of intramural floor space in houses, suggests nuclear family dwellings as the norm. As Pomona variant houses are of comparable size (Witty 1967) a similar conclusion can be drawn. The much larger, multi-family dwellings, described by Sibley (Brooks 1965: 174-5) are, then, somewhat of an anomaly in our argument of continuity from prehistoric Pomona to historic Kansa. Viewed, however, in the context of widespread shifts in the Central Plains, during the late prehistoric, towards population nucleation (Wedel 1956: 89-91), increasing house size to accomodate several families is perhaps compatible.

That nucleated settlements were a feature of Kansa life during

the 18th and early 19th centuries is well documented by both French and American sources. La Renaudiere (Wedel 1959: 29) reports 150 lodges at the village on Independence Creek, later visited by Bourgmont^d in 1724; as noted above Sibley (Brooks 1965: 174-5) lists 128 as the number of houses in a single village occupied in 1811; Say in 1819 (James 1819) notes approximately 120 lodges at a village at the junction of the Blue and Kansas Rivers; while, as late as the 1840's Hard Chief's village, one of three in the Topeka vicinity, had an estimated 100 lodges (Reynolds 1987b: 1-3).

Two recent studies have addressed the issue of Pomona settlement patterns. For the Bull Creek drainage (Hillsdale Reservoir) of northeastern Kansas, Blakeslee and Rohn (1986: 1278) suggest seven site types: 1. Extended communities; 2. isolated habitations; 3. small campsites; 4. large campsites; 5. large, linear, limited function sites; 6. small, limited function sites; and, 7. butchering stations. Brown (1984: 437) criticizes the use of differential sizes as criteria for establishing these site types, as larger occupation areas may represent multiple reoccupations. Brown (1984: 448), further, comments on the similarity of Pomona variant settlement patterns and those of the Central Plains tradition, noting that although extended Pomona communities have been identified most sites have isolated structures or groups of two or three. According to Brown (1984: 448), "No nucleated Pomona villages are known."

Herein, the contrast between dispersed Pomona variant settlements and the nucleated villages occupied by the Kansa is viewed as another example of a widespread, and so far unexplained, tendency towards population concentration which characterizes the Central

Plains in general during the 16th and 17th centuries. Previously alluded to in the context of the large size of Kansa mat/bark-covered lodges described by Sibley, it is important, as well, to note that nucleated villages apparently formed only a part of the Kansa settlement system in northeastern Kansas. Kansa settlement pattern variability is clear from the following quotes from Townsend's 1834 visit:

We encamped this evening on a small branch of the Kansas river. As we approached our stopping place, we were joined by a band of Kansas Indians, (commonly called Kaw Indians). They are encamped in a neighboring copse, where they have six lodges. This party is a small diversion of a portion of this tribe, who are constantly wandering...(Townsend 1978: 34-5).

We were on the move early the next morning, and at noon arrived at the Kansas river, a branch of the Missouri. As we approached it, we saw a number of Indian lodges...These lodges, or wigwams, are numerous on both sides of the river (Townsend 1978: 36-7).

On the 20th [May, 1834] in the morning, we packed our horses and rode out of the Kaw settlement, leaving the river immediately, and making a N.W. by W. course -- and the next day came to another village of the same tribe, consisting of about thirty lodges, and situated in the midst of a beautiful level prairie (Townsend 1978: 38).

It is apparent from these quotes that population nucleation is only a part of the picture of Kansa settlement patterning, and that dispersed settlements were also present as late as the 19th century. Archaeological remains of the settlements described by Townsend (1978: 34-9), might well correspond to one or more of the Pomona site types as defined by Blakeslee and Rohn (1982: 1278) for Hillsdale Lake.

Summary

This paper has questioned the interpretation that three Oneota sites, situated in northeast Kansas and northwest Missouri (Doniphan,

Fanning, King's Hill), are early historic (ca. A.D. 1700) Kansa villages. Rather, it is suggested that the archaeological remains recovered from late components at all three sites can be attributed to the Oto. Acceptance of this interpretation opens for debate the issue of Kansa origins, an issue whose solution, from an archaeological standpoint, depends on the identification of diagnostic elements in the early historic or prehistoric material culture of the Kansa. This remains to be done. Excavations in sites securely identified as Kansa, and these do not date before the 1830's, produce Euro-american trade goods and only occasionally items of traditional material culture (Wedel 1959: 187-197; Reynolds 1987b: 1-3).

If, as is argued herein, the ancestry of historic Kansa culture is not to be found in Oneota, a possible alternative is the Pomona variant of eastern Kansas and western Missouri. In support of this contention is evidence for a Pomona presence considerably later than the A.D. 1350 terminal date assigned by Brown (1984: 121). In addition architectural and settlement pattern similarities connect prehistoric Pomona with historic Kansa.

If, through future research, it becomes possible to more conclusively demonstrate a Pomona-Kansa connection, general questions of Dhegiha origins, time depth in the Prairie-Plains, and inter-ethnic relationships are brought into focus. Among the implications are the following:

- 1) If Pomona is ancestral to Kansa then an in-situ development dating at least to A.D. 750 is likely. Pomona origins are in local Late Woodland expressions (Johnson 1984: 277-88);

- 2) This interpretation accords with C. Chapman's (1974: 221)

reading of the Osage data:

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

- 3) Regional specialists writing on the origins of the Quapaw seem also to favor indigenous development over a late movement from the Ohio River area as in the following quotes:

This writer is inclined to believe that the Quapaw actually are descendants, with Caddoan influence, of the northeastern Arkansas Mississippian groups encountered by DeSoto (McGimsey 1982: 14).

The Quapaw phase is a significant archaeological manifestation that begins within the protohistoric and extends into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the historic Quapaw tribe...the Quapaw probably were composed of remnants of the greatly reduced Central Valley [Mississippian] population...(Morse and Morse 1983: 300-1).

- 4) Excavations in northeastern Nebraska sites, historically identified with the Omaha, produced Great Oasis pottery (Champe 1949: 14-15), undoubtedly indicative of much earlier prehistoric components of occupation (Henning 1970: 147-8). As in the case of the other Dhegian groups mentioned above prehistoric diagnostics have not yet been identified for the Omaha. As noted above, there are similarities between Pomona pottery and that produced by potters of the Central Plains tradition, including the Nebraska variant. If the Pomona-Kansa connection advanced herein has merit, perhaps then consideration should be given to the range of variability within the Nebraska variant as a possibility for the origin of the Omaha.

5) Wood's (1965) analyses of data excavated from the Ponca Fort and other putative Ponca sites in northeastern Nebraska identified pottery styles similar to those of ancestral Arikara-Pawnee groups from the Middle Missouri region as predominant. A few Oneota sherds were also present, but probably broken from trade vessels (Wood 1965: 122-3). Once again, pottery seemingly produced by early Dhegihans is identified as similar to that of the Central Plains tradition, suggesting that if Dhegihan origins are indigenous to the Prairie-Plains they are to be identified in the range of variability incorporated in the Central Plains tradition or related complexes such as the Coalescent or Pomona.

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