Late Prehistoric to Historic Period Transition

Protohistoric Period

Ca. 250 to 200 BP

The Little Ice Age occurred between ca. 500 and 100 BP. Compared to the modern regime this was a period of wetter and cooler conditions on the Plains. Still, the Alberta plains experienced short periods of drought (Vance 1991:153). High abundance and dependability of plant and animal resources likely prevailed until Historic-period over-hunting and exploitation decimated bison herds and other natural wealth.

Protohistoric Old Women’s Phase
(Ca. 250 to 200 BP)

The Old Women’s phase continues in the Protohistoric period in much the same way it did during the Late Prehistoric period. Both Cayley Series projectile points and Saskatchewan Basin Complex: Late Variant pottery continued exhibiting gradual changes through time. A new ceramic type, Cluny pottery, is added to many Old Women’s assemblages (see One Gun section). In terms of material culture, the most obvious change to the Old Women’s phase in the Protohistoric period is the introduction of European goods (Byrne 1973:503). Archaeological proof of European materials in Old
Women’s sites include direct evidence such as metal points, files, axes, assorted metal fragments, glass beads, clay pipe bowls, and horse bone, and indirect evidence such as cut marks purported to have been made by metal objects.

Little has been written about the subsistence and settlement patterns of the Old Women’s phase during the Protohistoric period because there is little data (Vickers 1986). The usual range of site types occur during the Protohistoric Old Women’s phase. The Saamis site is a campsite/processing site near Medicine Hat (Milne Brumley 1978). The Castle Forks bison jump, located along the Oldman River, is a multicomponent bison kill site (Landals 1993). The Blakiston site is a multicomponent campsite at the confluence of the Oldman River and the Crowsnest River (Giering and Peck 1998:20). Regarding site distributions, Landals (2004) noted that river valleys exhibit evidence of greater use in Protohistoric times, possibly relating to the adoption of the horse and all that horse husbandry entailed (see Van Dyke et al. 1990:60).

A certain amount of continuity can be claimed in the belief systems between the Late Prehistoric period and the Protohistoric period Old Women’s phases. Sites such as the Majorville Medicine Wheel (Calder 1977), British Block Cairn (Wormington and Forbis 1965), and Grassy Lake Cairn (Forbis 1960:132, 157) continued to be used. Items of European origin that have been recovered in these sites include glass beads, copper pendants, copper rings with beads, and brass rings. Still, it is very difficult to determine the sentiment behind the placement of items in these structures.

Ammonites continue to be found in Protohistoric Old Women’s sites. Two such fossils were recovered from the Saamis site (Milne Brumley 1978). As with such artifacts found in a Prehistoric period context, it is inferred that the items are Iniskim and were used in a fashion similar to historical accounts (Peck 2002). Rock art images also suggest cultural continuity. For example, for Writing-on-Stone, Magne and Klassen (1991) suggested prehistoric imagery such as shield-bearing warriors continued to be produced into the Protohistoric period. Although the same style was used, new subject matter is portrayed in the images, including horses, guns, and other items relating to influence from Europeans. They argued that the function of these images exhibited continuity; that is, their purpose was to contact the spiritual world and memorialize events (Magne and Klassen 1991).

The fate of the Old Women’s phase is not only of scientific interest, it touches Native people living today. Reeves (1983:20) believed the Old Women’s phase could be “regionally and temporally segregated into variants
which represent the various ‘tribal’ constituents — North Peigans, Blood, Atsina, and Gros Ventre.” The inference is that the Old Women’s phase geographically coincides to the well-documented historical First Nation groups who occupied the region at the time of contact with Europeans. Byrne (1973) considered linguistics, oral tradition, and historic accounts and argued that the Old Women’s phase was most likely produced by ancestors of the Blackfoot. Similarly, Magne and contributors to the Saskatchewan-Alberta Dialogue (1987:220–232) produced a composite map of Aboriginal distributions at A.D. 1700, illustrating that the Blackfoot were roughly co-distributed with the Old Women’s phase. Peck’s (1996; Peck and Ives 2001) redefinition of the Old Women’s phase strengthened the discreteness of the phase and further illustrated its co-distribution with the estimated Blackfoot distribution at A.D. 1700 (Magne et al. 1987:220–232). Peck (2002) further argued that the repeated association of ammonites with the archaeological material of the Old Women’s phase, coupled with the evidence for the antiquity and pervasive traditional use of these fossils as Iniskim among the Nitsitapii (Blackfoot) supported the Nitsitapii–Old Women’s phase correlation. As noted above, Peck’s (2007) argument culminated by further noting documented use of death lodge medicine wheels (Brumley’s Types 3 and 4) by historic Blackfoot, the association of archaeological versions of these medicine wheels with Old Women’s material (Brumley 1988), and the identification of human boulder effigies on the Plains as the Blackfoot trickster, Napi (Vickers 2008), within the geographic distribution of the Old Women’s phase. Peck argued that his series of presentations laid the groundwork for an “archaeology of the prehistoric Blackfoot (Nitsitapii)” (Peck 2007).

The Sites
The following presents Protohistoric period sites that exhibit later radiocarbon dates and/or clear associations with early European trade items. These sites are used to critically evaluate the current view of the Protohistoric Old Women’s phase. (see Plate 28 and Figure 29).

DjOu 22. DjOu 22 is a stone circle in a draw within Forty Mile Coulee (Dau and Brumley 1987:126). In 1986, 10 m$^2$ were excavated at the site (Dau and Brumley 1987:126). Most of the recovered material was bone ($n=164$). In addition, a single Old Women’s phase (Cayley Series) point and nine glass fragments were recovered (Brumley and Dau 1988:238).
The glass fragments exhibited flake scars indicative of working. Some of the fragments were recovered at the same depth and in the same trench as the Cayley Series point (Brumley and Dau 1987:127). The researchers inferred that the materials were contemporaneous.

PLATE 28
Protohistoric Old Women’s points. Illustrated are projectile points and trade items from EgPn 430 (a–h); and the Castle Forks site (DjPm 126) (i–l). Photo credit: Alberta Culture and Community Spirit.
FIGURE 29
Protohistoric Old Women’s sites within Alberta
DjOu 62. DjOu 62 is a site consisting of fourteen stone circles at the base of Forty Mile Coulee (Dau and Brumley 1987:342). In 1986, 88.96 m² of excavation and 9,360 m² of stripping were completed. Stone Circles 1–4, 7–8, 10–11, and 13–14 yielded mainly small bone and/or lithic assemblages. Stone Circle 5 contained a metal fragment (Dau and Brumley 1987:346). A pottery body sherd was recovered from Stone Circle 9 and was considered similar to the Saskatchewan Basin Complex: Late Variant pottery (Dau and Brumley 1987:349). Stone Circle 9 also yielded five Cayley Series side-notched points and six other pottery sherds possibly referable to the Saskatchewan Basin Complex: Late Variant pottery (Dau and Brumley 1987:333).

A number of dates were available from stone circles at the site. Stone Circle 7 produced a date of ca. 1,100 BP. Stone Circle 9 yielded a date of 250 BP. Stone Circle 11 produced a date of 230 BP. Lastly, Stone Circle 12 produced a date of ca. 470 BP (see Table 26). The evidence supports a late occupation at this site, and the association of metal with some of the stone circles entices one to think this site may be Protohistoric.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Conventional ¹⁴C Age</th>
<th>¹³C/¹²C Ratio</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Calibration</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DjPm 44</td>
<td>100 +/- 90</td>
<td>-19.1‰</td>
<td>collagen</td>
<td>A.D. 1660–1960 (p = 0.954)</td>
<td>Van Dyke 1994:208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DjOu 31</td>
<td>470 +/- 150</td>
<td>-19.7‰</td>
<td>collagen</td>
<td>A.D. 1200–1850 (p = 0.942); A.D. 1900–2000 (p = 0.012)</td>
<td>Brumley and Dau 1988:241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DjOu 60, SC2</td>
<td>430 +/- 90</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>collagen</td>
<td>A.D. 1300–1360 (p = 0.055); A.D. 1380–1660 (p = 0.899)</td>
<td>Brumley and Dau 1988:242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DjOu 60, SC9</td>
<td>440 +/- 50</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>collagen</td>
<td>A.D. 1400–1530 (p = 0.791); A.D. 1550–1640 (p = 0.163)</td>
<td>Brumley and Dau 1988:242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DjOu 60, SC12</td>
<td>320 +/- 60</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>collagen</td>
<td>A.D. 1440–1670 (p = 0.943); A.D. 1780–1800 (p = 0.011)</td>
<td>Brumley and Dau 1988:243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DjOu 60, SC12</td>
<td>modern</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>collagen</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Brumley and Dau 1988:243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DjOu 60, SC14</td>
<td>modern</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Brumley and Dau 1988:243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site</td>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Isotope</td>
<td>Note</td>
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<tr>
<td>DjOu 62, SC7</td>
<td>1100 +/- 50</td>
<td>20.0‰ collagen</td>
<td>A.D. 780–790 (p = 0.01)</td>
<td>Brumley and Dau 1988:243; Morlan n.d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DjOu 62, SC9</td>
<td>330 +/- 80</td>
<td>20.0‰ collagen</td>
<td>A.D. 1400–1850 (p = 0.94)</td>
<td>Brumley and Dau 1988:243; Morlan n.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DjOu 62, SC11</td>
<td>230 +/- 90</td>
<td>22.5‰ collagen</td>
<td>A.D. 1480–1960 (p = 0.95)</td>
<td>Brumley and Dau 1988:243; Morlan n.d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DjOu 62, SC12</td>
<td>470 +/- 70</td>
<td>20.8‰ collagen</td>
<td>A.D. 1300–1370 (p = 0.11)</td>
<td>Brumley and Dau 1988:244; Morlan n.d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DjPm 80, C2</td>
<td>290 +/- 160</td>
<td>20.5‰ collagen</td>
<td>A.D. 1400–2000 (p = 0.95)</td>
<td>Landals 1993; Morlan n.d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DjPm 126, C1</td>
<td>260 +/- 90</td>
<td>18.3‰ collagen</td>
<td>A.D. 1400–2000 (p = 0.95)</td>
<td>Landals 1993; Morlan n.d.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>DjPm 126, C1</td>
<td>670 +/- 100</td>
<td>19.1‰ collagen</td>
<td>A.D. 1160–1440 (p = 0.95)</td>
<td>Landals 1993; Morlan n.d.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>EaOq 7</td>
<td>165 +/- 75</td>
<td>20.0‰ collagen</td>
<td>A.D. 1630–1960 (p = 0.95)</td>
<td>Milne Brumley 1978:33; Morlan n.d.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>EaOq 7</td>
<td>210 +/- 80</td>
<td>25.0‰ charcoal</td>
<td>A.D. 1490–1960 (p = 0.95)</td>
<td>Milne Brumley 1978:33; Morlan n.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EaOq 7</td>
<td>515 +/- 125</td>
<td>20.0‰ collagen</td>
<td>A.D. 1250–1660 (p = 0.95)</td>
<td>Milne Brumley 1978:33; Morlan n.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EfOp 324</td>
<td>450 +/- 80</td>
<td>? charcoal</td>
<td>A.D. 1310–1360 (p = 0.05)</td>
<td>Adams 1978</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>EfOp 324</td>
<td>275 +/- 80</td>
<td>? charcoal</td>
<td>A.D. 1400–2000 (p = 0.95)</td>
<td>Adams 1978</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>EfPl 226</td>
<td>190 +/- 40</td>
<td>19.6‰ collagen</td>
<td>A.D. 1640–1710 (p = 0.22)</td>
<td>Turney 2004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Radiocarbon dates for the past two hundred years are not reliable.
DjOu 73. DjOu 73 contained thirteen stone circles adjacent to the base of Forty Mile Coulee (Dau and Brumley 1987:443). In 1986, 55.55 m³ were excavated at Stone Circles 3, 6, 8, 9, and 13 (Dau and Brumley 1987:444). Stone Circle 6 produced two small metal fragments and Stone Circle 13 produced four hundred sherds of pottery that could be classified as either Early or Late Variants of the Saskatchewan Basin pottery (Brumley and Dau 1988:244–245). The association of metal with the stone circle was the only reason for inferring any sort of Protohistoric period assignment to this site.

DkOu 48. DjOu 48 consisted of three well-buried stone circles and a cairn on the edge of Forty Mile Coulee (Dau and Brumley 1987:672). The site was not excavated although glass fragments were recovered from auger tests outside Stone Circle 3. As with DkOu 31 (see “Other Sites,” below), the nature of the association between the glass fragments and the stone circle was unclear, making the interpretation of the site difficult.

DjPm 44, Component 4. DjPm 44 is discussed in the section on the Besant phase. The surface deposits that date to the Protohistoric period consisted of two spatially associated stone circles. The smaller of the two stone circles produced a single metal fragment interpreted as a decorative tinkler (Van Dyke 1994:206). This stone circle exhibited a central rock-ringed hearth about 70 × 50 cm in size. Numerous pieces of FBR (n = 45) and bone fragments (n = 285) were also recorded. The larger stone circle also had a rock-ringed central hearth about 100 × 100 cm (Van Dyke 1994:208). A small FBR concentration occurred along the northwest ring wall. Bone recovered from the concentration produced a date of 100 BP (Table 26). Historic items recovered from this stone circle included a metal file, a fragment of a saw blade, five pieces of metal scrap, two pony beads, and a possible metal point fragment. The file, saw blade, and a pony bead were recovered in good context associated with the hearth. Lithic tools recovered include Plains side-notched points (n = 2), core tools (n = 14), and retouched flakes (n = 9). A Besant point was recovered at the base of a unit and was thought to be associated with the underlying Besant occupation (Van Dyke 1994:208). Also recovered in this stone circle were numerous pieces of FBR (n = 194) and pieces of lithic debitage (n = 193). Bone (n = 741) was also recovered. The bison bone present suggested a least two animals (one adult and one fetal specimen) were recovered. A freshwater shell fragment, a canid tooth, and numerous small mammal bones were also recovered.
In view of the recovered historic material, the spatial association of the stone circles, the integrity of the deposits, the shallowness of burial, and a corroborating radiocarbon date, Van Dyke (1994) inferred that the two circles were of similar age and placed them in the Protohistoric period.

**DjPm 100, Component 4.** DjPm 100 is a terrace stone circle site located in Warriner’s Coulee (Van Dyke 1994:232). The site is described in the section on the Old Women’s phase. Of the four Late Prehistoric stone circles, the Protohistoric component consisted of two associated stone circles. Stone Circle B had a central rock-ringed hearth and a secondary hearth in the northwest part of the living floor (Van Dyke 1994:245). Stone Circle C also had a central hearth. Seven points were recovered, including four Plains side-notched, an unclassified corner-notched, and two Plains/Prairie side-notched (Cayley Series) points (Van Dyke 1994:246). Other tools included bifaces (n = 6), end scrapers (n = 6), core tools (n = 6), a hammerstone, an elongate pebble, and retouched flakes (n = 9). A bone awl was also recovered. Historic items recovered included a glass seed bead, bone buttons (n = 2), shell buttons (n = 4), a metal tinkler, a cartridge case, a metal projectile point, an axe head with four square nails in place, miscellaneous metal fragments (n = 4), and pottery specimens (n = 2). Additional historical material was recovered in the second component beneath Stone Circle C.

The fauna from the component was mainly bison (MNI = 4) although beaver, bird, large canid, small/medium canid, large ungulate, and small ungulate were also recovered (Van Dyke 1994:248). Presence of a fetal bison metapodial suggested a late-winter occupation. No dates were available for the component, although a date from the underlying component in Stone Circle B provided an age of ca. 310 +/- 120 BP (AECV 1194C). Van Dyke (1994:248) suggested that the early historic artifacts such as the glass bead, buttons, and metal points fit well with the recovery of late Plains side-notched (Cayley Series) material and support an Protohistoric Old Women’s designation for the site.

**Castle Forks Buffalo Jump (DjPm 126).** The Castle Forks Buffalo Jump is described in the section on the prehistoric Old Women’s phase. In the Protohistoric period component, nine projectile points were recovered, including eight late Plains side-notched (Cayley Series) specimens and one ferrous metal (iron) specimen (Landals 1993:238). The points were made
Light From Ancient Campfires

The faunal assemblage \((n = 16,571)\) was mainly bison \((\text{MNI} = 23)\), although deer and small and large canid were present. A late-term fetal bison humerus was also recovered. Cut marks from metal knives were observed on a number of ribs and vertebral fragments (Landals 1993:246). In addition, shear marks on several pelvis fragments and vertebral columns provided evidence that a metal axe was used to butcher parts of the carcasses (Landals 1993:246). Only three pieces of fbr were recovered. The assemblage was interpreted to represent a holistic approach to butchering. This type of butchering suggested that transportation was of little concern, normally implying that a camp was nearby. Landals (1993:249–251) suggested, however, that the Protohistoric period material might provide the option of horse transport of large amounts of bulk bison parts over distances. Thus, heavy butchering may have been conducted for high- and moderate-utility carcass parts to be transported by horse to relatively nearby camps.

Two dates were obtained for the bone bed, Component 1: ca. 260 BP and 670 BP (Table 26). The earlier date was rejected owing to its conflict with the diagnostic material and the dates from other levels (Landals 1993:237). The later date supports the Protohistoric age inferred for the site.

Saamis (EaOq 7). The Saamis site is located on a terrace of Seven Persons Creek, above its confluence with the South Saskatchewan River. The site was divided into five areas (A–E) based on geography and cultural activities (Milne Brumley 1978). The site is a multicomponent Protohistoric period Old Women’s campsite from which 131 m² were excavated.

Two hundred fifty-nine points were recovered. All were classifiable as Cayley Series projectile points, with the exception of presumably intrusive McKean and Pelican Lake points. Both Saskatchewan Basin Complex: Late Variant pottery (97.8%) and Cluny pottery (2.2%) were recovered at the site (Milne Brumley 1978:109–126). The majority of the Cluny pottery was represented by check-stamped specimens. The site also yielded a metal trade point and five glass trade beads (Milne Brumley 1978:38). Two fossil ammonite septa were also recovered (Milne Brumley 1978:108). Three radiocarbon dates were obtained for the site: ca. 165 BP, 210 BP, and 515 BP (Table 26) (Milne Brumley 1978:33–37; Morlan n.d.). The lack of high consistency in the dates suggested reuse of the site, but the lack of
superimposed features countered this idea. Alternatively, the normalized dates all overlap at about $250-300$ BP, a time period that correlates well with the trade items in the assemblage. The actual number of occupations could not be determined.

EfOp 324. EfOp 324 is a stone circle site on a narrow bluff overlooking Alkali Creek (Adams 1978:32). Eight stone circles were positioned together on a flat bench. A total of 200 m$^2$ was excavated, exposing the floors of four stone circles and much of the intervening area. Trade items were found in three of the four stone circles, suggesting that this site represented a Protohistoric Old Women’s campsite. The excavation was conducted as part of an archaeological study on the lower Red Deer River (Adams 1978:1).

Three projectile points were recovered. The points were assigned to the Old Women’s (Cayley Series) (Adams 1978:45). One of the points exhibited the typical high base of very late side-notched points while the other two are less temporally diagnostic. Other tools recovered included bifaces ($n=4$), end scrapers ($n=3$), a bifacial retouched flake, unifaces ($n=28$), and an elongate pebble. Historic artifacts recovered included large beads ($n=2$), seed beads ($n=28$), an 1866 Henry repeating rifle cartridge, a musket ball, a small piece of brass, a shotgun case, a brass tack head, a brass ring, a metal fragment, and several pieces of melted glass from a medicine bottle (Adams 1978:45).

Features, most notably hearths, were recovered inside and outside excavated Stone Circles 1 to 4. The hearth in Stone Circle 1 was $0.8 \times 0.9$ m and about 8 cm deep. The hearth ($0.8 \times 0.7$ m) in Stone Circle 2 was associated with peg holes. Stone Circle 3 possessed a hearth ($0.65 \times 0.45$ m) immediately adjacent to another hearth ($0.3 \times 0.3$ m). The latter hearth contained seed beads. Similarly, the hearth in Stone Circle 4 contained seed beads. Two hearths were recorded outside the stone circles as well. The researcher identified evidence that suggested the site was occupied more than once. First, the occurrence of two hearths of different depths within a single stone circle is unusual. Second, the historic artifacts appeared to be associated with the shallow hearth stain while the lithic artifacts appeared to be associated with the deeper stain. Two radiocarbon dates were obtained from charcoal recovered from hearths at this site. However, the context of each sample was not disclosed. This is unfortunate, as the dates of ca. $450$ BP and $275$ BP (Table 26) appeared to support the researcher’s interpretation of dual occupations.
Hartell Creek (EgPi 1). The Hartell Creek site is described in the section on the Sonota phase. In terms of Protohistoric period materials, Area B produced three Old Women’s levels, with an upper layer (Level 5) yielding a metal point tip. A Pekisko point was recovered in Level 4. Levels 4 and 5 were organic bands about 20–32 cm bs. Artifacts from these levels were fairly scarce. Lithic artifacts from Level 5 included four utilized flakes and two retouched flakes, while Level 4 produced a utilized flake and a retouched flake (Murray et al. 1976:178). Bone was only recovered from Level 4; it included bison (MNI = 4), elk, canid, and Canada goose (Murray et al. 1976:172). Both levels were interpreted as small processing camps. Level 5 was estimated to have been occupied from about A.D. 1725 on, and Level 4 somewhat earlier (Murray et al. 1976:130).

DLOu 72. DLOu 72 is a multicomponent site on a prominent terrace on the east side of the South Saskatchewan River in the valley bottom, north of the town of Bow Island (Goldsmith 2003:57). Five components were identified in nine excavation blocks totalling 80 m² (Goldsmith 2003:59–63). The components show snapshots of Old Women’s assemblages before and after trade items were introduced into southern Alberta (Goldsmith 2003:72–73).

Component 5, the oldest level, is a typical bison kill/primary processing site that produced a Plains side-notched point and a radiocarbon date of 180 +/- 40 BP (Beta-175619). Two small fragments of pottery lacking any evidence of surface treatment were also recovered from this level. Obsidian from this level was sourced to Obsidian Cliff, Wyoming. The next level, Component 4, represented the remains of an ephemeral campsite. Component 3, radiocarbon dated to 170 +/- 50 BP (Beta-175618), produced a Plains side-notched point in a small camp deposit. Component 2, the second-most recent level at the site, produced a glass bead and ribs that were apparently cut by a metal tool (Goldsmith 2003:130). Obsidian from this level was sourced to Big Southern Butte, Idaho (Goldsmith 2003:123). The most recent level, Component 1, contained the fewest lithic debitage and tools. A drilled tooth root bead and bone that appeared to have been cut with metal implements were found. The recovery of substantial amounts of antelope and medium-sized ungulates was interpreted as a culmination in an apparent shift in diet. Bison were still present in the faunal assemblage, but a more diverse exploitation pattern including antelope, beaver, fox, and perhaps bird was represented (Goldsmith 2003:130). This level was
interpreted as a short-term Protohistoric Old Women’s campsite that was occupied shortly before the demise of the bison and the arrival of European homesteaders near the end of the nineteenth century (Goldsmith 2003:130).

**Flicka (EhPn 45).** The Flicka site is a single-component bison kill site located on a northwest-oriented swale, northwest of Calgary (Vivian and Dow 2006:9). A total of 60 m² was excavated at the site prior to the construction of a subdivision (Vivian and Dow 2006:9).

Five points were recovered from the bone bed, including a flake point, three ferrous metal points, and a copper point (Vivian and Dow 2006:i0–i2). The only other tools recovered were two utilized flakes (Vivian and Dow 2006:i2). The lithic raw materials included quartzite (n = 4), silicified siltstone (n = 2), Top-of-the-World Chert (n = 2), Montana chert (n = 1), and miscellaneous chert (n = 1) (Vivian and Dow 2006:i2).

The faunal assemblage consisted mainly of bison bone (MNI = 24), although elements from what appeared to be a single horse were also recovered (Vivian and Dow 2006:i7). The horse was interpreted as an accidental death, as part of the bison hunt. No canid bones were recovered at the site, possibly indicating that domestic dogs had been functionally replaced by the horse. The lack of fetal bone and the recovery of numerous male skeletons amongst the female and calf remains were interpreted as evidence for a late-summer/early-fall event (Vivian and Dow 2006:22). Preliminary inspection of the bone led the researchers to suggest that both stone and metal implements were used to butcher the animals (Vivian and Dow 2006:23). The site was compared to the Castle Forks site (above), with similarities in the bulk strategy of focusing on hindlimbs, the lack of a processing area, and the possibility of transportation of meat bundles by horse (Vivian and Dow 2006:40).

The recovery of metal trade points and a horse element places the site within the Protohistoric period. Pyszczyk (1999) has argued that trade points increase in length and neck width through time, and measurements from the Flicka site exceed the values for points made in the early nineteenth century (Vivian and Dow 2006:43). A mid-nineteenth century date for the site was suggested by the researchers. Although the cultural affiliation could fall amongst any of the groups known to have been in the area (i.e., Blackfoot, T’suu Tina, and Stoney), a Blackfoot affiliation was suggested owing to lithic raw materials that reflect traditional trade networks to Montana and British Columbia (Vivian and Dow 2006:43–44).
Other sites. Other Protohistoric period sites have been excavated but they do not provide evidence of their archaeological cultural affiliation. They may well be Protohistoric Old Women’s sites, although they lack diagnostics. DjOu 23 is a deeply buried, single stone circle in the bottom of a draw within Forty Mile Coulee that yielded bone \((n = 112)\), a metal can fragment, a glass fragment, and lithic debitage \((n = 6)\) (Dau and Brumley 1987:132). DjOu 31 is a site consisting of six stone circles adjacent to the wall of Forty Mile Coulee. The site contained bone \((n = 242)\), FBR \((n = 42)\), and debitage \((n = 36)\) along with eight pieces of glass from Stone Circle 3, and four pieces of glass and one piece of metal found inside and outside Stone Circle 5 (Dau and Brumley 1987:169). A radiocarbon date on bone recovered from Stone Circle 3 produced a date of ca. 470 BP (Table 26). DjOu 60 is a site consisting of seventeen stone circles along the west valley wall of Forty Mile Coulee. The stone circles produced small amounts of bone and/or lithics, with Stone Circle 17 yielding four small, thin metal fragments (Dau and Brumley 1987:241). DjOu 70 is a well-defined single stone circle that is deeply buried within the bottom of a draw near the wall in Forty Mile Coulee. It yielded a knife blade and a hinged metal handle outside the circle (Dau and Brumley 1987:427). DkOu 31 is stone circle site on the edge of the Forty Mile Coulee valley. Auger tests outside the stone circle produced glass fragments (Dau and Brumley 1987:618). Similarly, DjOu 48 consisted of three buried stone circles and a cairn on the edge of Forty Mile Coulee, with glass recovered from auger tests outside the circles (Dau and Brumley 1987:672).

DjPi 26 and DjPi 28 are located on a low bench of the McBride Lake Uplands, south of Fort Macleod (Reeves 2005). The sites consisted of horse travois trail segments and associated trail markers. At DjPi 26 the scars extend 200 m while at DjPi 28 there are two segments: a 200-metre-long trail segment associated with four cairns and two stone circles and a 200-metre-long trail segment associated with twenty-four cairns. Lichen growth on the cairns was minimal, suggesting that they were as recent as the 1800s (Reeves 2005:6). DjPl 100 is a stone feature site on a low terrace on the north bank of the Oldman River below the dam site. Here, a single glass trade bead was recovered below a cobble that formed part of the stone circle (Van Dyke 1994:103). EgPn 430, Area 6, is a very large multicomponent kill/processing site on the northwest slopes of the Paskapoo escarpment in west Calgary (Vivian et al. 2005, vol. 2:1). Eleven copper points, seven iron points, one iron knife, one iron file, one iron clasp, one brass button,
and one glass bead were recovered. Only twenty-three stone tools were recovered in the excavation, including Pelican Lake points (n = 6), one Late Side-notched point, one McKean point, non-diagnostic point fragments (n = 5), bifaces (n = 2), one end scraper, retouched flakes (n = 4), a chopper, and a pebble core. An additional 172 pieces of lithic debitage were recovered. The faunal evidence suggested a summer kill (Vivian et al. 2005, vol. 38).

In view of the large amount of European trade items recovered from the site, Vivian, Dow, and Reeves (2005, vol. 2:66) suggested that the event took place after direct contact with traders had been established. Pyszczyk (1999) established a sequence of chronological changes in metal points in Alberta. The EgPn 430, Area 6, points are most similar to those dating about A.D. 1830. Incidentally, Pyszczyk (1999) noted that the use of copper points falls off dramatically after A.D. 1834. Lastly, EhPl 27 is a small transitory campsite along Nose Creek north of Calgary (Vivian 2005). Six stone circles were found in proximity to each other, with one producing a metal point. Vivian (2005) suggested that the placement of the stone circles and the distribution of materials within each lodge reflected a well-defined social code.

Still other items from the Protohistoric period have been recovered. Metal projectile points have been found at a number of sites but their association with the other archaeological materials appears to be fortuitous. For example, at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, a metal point was recovered (Van Dyke 1994:223). Reeves (1978:166) noted that metal points and other trade goods were recovered from the latest component of the kill site, and inferred that the site was used until the mid-1800s. Metal points (n = 7) were also recovered from the upper two levels of the Morkin site (DIPk 2) (Byrne 1973:614). Byrne (1973:247) noted that these points were triangular in outline but appear to have been pounded from metal acquired in some other form and reshaped by Aboriginal people under the influence of European point forms. DgOv 94, a campsite along the Milk River in Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park, produced two metal points in association with a hearth (Brink 1979:41). The Little Bow site (EaPh 4) yielded a thin triangular piece of iron (likely a portion of a metal point) high in the stratigraphic profile of the site (Fedirchuk 1986:95–97, 111). The fragment may or may not be associated with the deeper Old Women’s material. A metal trade point was recovered in a ploughed field at DjPm 36 in the area of the Snyder Locality (Van Dyke 1994:116). At the H.M.S. Balzac site (EhPm 34) a metal point was found in Regisol 2 of Block 2;
Old Women’s points occurred in the next five regisols beneath the metal point (Head 1985:103). EgPn 506 is a large bison kill site and campsite on the Paskapoo Slopes in Calgary. Thirteen metal trade points were recovered in mixed association with Hanna, Avonlea, and Cayley Series projectile points (Vivian et al. 2003:89–121). One radiocarbon date (amongst many) produced an age of 200 +/- 60 BP (Beta-151633), presumably dating the Protohistoric period material at the site (Vivian et al. 2003b:89). A metal point was recovered from the uppermost level at EgPm 27, a multi-component bison kill site in Fish Creek Park (Crowe-Swords and Hanna 1980:48–51). EgPn 383 and EgPn 381 are surface scatters that produced a copper point each.

At DgOv 2, in Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park, excavation in front of rock art Panels 6 and 7 recovered glass seed beads from the surface and in the upper 10 cm BS (Brink 1979:20–22). A tinkle cone was recovered from a shovel test in a stone circle at the Pincher Creek Buffalo Jump (DjPl 1) (Ball 1987:27–28). A glass bead was found at EgPn 228; it is possibly in association with the Old Women’s occupation (Vivian et al. 2006). At EgPn 430, Area 4, a trade bead and a possible gunflint were found in possible association with Old Women’s material (Vivian and Reeves 2001).

A number of sites obtained “modern” or Protohistoric age radiocarbon dates but did not contain trade items to corroborate the age. For example, DjOu 42, DjOu 44, and DjOu 64 all yielded modern radiocarbon dates on material associated with a stone circle or an underlying occupation (Dau and Brumley 1987:238, 242). EfPl 226 is a multicomponent kill site on the north side of the Bow River, southeast of Calgary. The upper component contained numerous bones (n = 14,130), some FRB (n = 30), an antler tool, and a few pieces of debitage (n = 4). Two radiocarbon dates were associated with this material: 190 +/- 40 BP (Beta-190211) and a modern date (Beta-190212) (Turney 2004). Other sites dating to the Protohistoric Old Women’s phase have unusual Protohistoric period artifacts in them. For example, EgPm 124 included, among other things, a shattered plate glass from which one piece had been worked into an end scraper (Vivian et al. 2005:395; Wilson 1977:42). The Blakiston site (DjPm 115) is known to have a substantial Protohistoric period component including metal points, iron fragments, musket balls, ceramic beads, glass, beads, and glass fragments, amongst other items (Dau 1993).
Protohistoric Old Women’s: Continuity and Change

The Protohistoric period is a very brief segment of time in the archaeological record. Its brevity, however, is made up for in its enhanced archaeological visibility, as more sites are likely to have survived the short time since their deposition. Still, a recurring problem in interpreting Protohistoric sites rests in the ability to demonstrate a single unmixed occupation. The reoccupation of Old Women’s sites by people with European trade goods might produce mixed assemblages difficult to differentiate from a “true” Protohistoric period site. Perhaps the only defense against this pitfall is the demonstration of unique but repeated patterns within Protohistoric sites. This would include patterns concerning how and when European artifacts were used by Aboriginal people and how these items influenced their movement on the landscape.

The former topic — landscape use after contact with Europeans — has long been an interest of Northern Plains archaeologists. Arguably, the largest single influence on landscape use of Aboriginal people on the Northern Plains in the Protohistoric period was the acquisition of the horse. Exactly when the horse arrived in Alberta is not known for certain. Dempsey’s (1994:27) Blackfoot informants indicated that the horse arrived among their people about A.D. 1725 (see also Ewers 1955:18–19). Ewers (1955) placed the Blackfoot acquisition of the horse in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Of course, the Blackfoot were aware of the horse (or Big Dog) immediately before this time period, as it was in the hands of their enemy, the Snake.

The apparent instantaneous adjustment to horses was remarkable. Landals (2004) presented some insights into the pros and cons of horse husbandry on the Northern Plains. In essence, she provided a discussion on the differences between horses and dogs in terms of their behavioural and physiological abilities with regard to transportation, traction, hunting efficiency, and raiding (see also Wissler 1914; Wilson 1924; Haines 1938; Ewers 1955; and Roe 1955). After a series of comparisons between horses and dogs, Landals (2004:246) summarized the horse-dog comparison by stating that pound for pound, horses are eight times more efficient than dogs; that is, they can move four times as much, twice as far. This ability comes at the cost of heavy water requirements and substantial husbandry knowledge. In terms of landscape use, she suggested that a shift favouring more intensive use of the river valleys and major coulee systems should accompany the transition to an equestrian lifeway (Landals 2004:250).
To a certain degree, Landals (2004:251–253) documented the equestrian shift in landscape use by comparing and contrasting the results of an upland 300-kilometre-long pipeline impact assessment study with those of three reservoir studies (Oldman, Little Bow, and Forty Mile Coulee). The reservoir projects all produced numerous Protohistoric period sites while the upland project produced only one Protohistoric period site. This was despite the fact that the pipeline project produced more sites than any one of the reservoir projects. Indeed, many Late Prehistoric sites were recorded during the pipeline project at locations that were many days from water (Landals 2004:253).

With regard to changes in hunting, the material at the Crowsnest River kill site suggests that mounted hunters drove bison over a precipice that would have otherwise been unorthodox. The Flicka site might represent a mounted surround. EgPn 430, Area 6, appears to have been an ambush at a spring. While the Castle Forks bison kill appears to be a more traditional jump with mounted participants mimicking driving lanes. Without a doubt, there was a wide range of bison procurement strategies being employed during the Protohistoric period.

The butchering process at these recent kill sites exhibited some divergent patterns from earlier times. At the Castle Forks bison kill and the Flicka site, arguments have been made that meat bundles and fetuses were being removed by horse to nearby camps. This removal of butchering units left a signature on the faunal assemblage at the site. This signature should be demonstrable when compared to earlier Old Women’s faunal assemblages.

Large campsites such as Saamis and Blakiston are not particularly novel to Alberta’s archaeological record, although they should take on different flavour in the Protohistoric period. The sites show signs of extended occupations. As predicted by Landals (2004), these sites are in sheltered valleys near rivers. Even small sites such as EhPl 27 and Hartell Creek are associated with flowing bodies of water. Despite the horse’s utility, Landals (2004:252) asked an intriguing question: Did the horse extend the use of a favoured area or actually mandate the extended use?

The horse undoubtedly had an impact on Aboriginal people, but what of other European items? Pyszczyzk (1997) argued that Native people of the Alberta plains, living in the indirect trade zone, acquired relatively few European goods and retained much of their traditional material culture during the Protohistoric period. In contrast, Ray (1974) suggested that fur trade middlemen, such as the Cree and Assiniboine, traded European
Chapter Seven: Late Prehistoric to Historic Period Transition

goods inland a considerable distance to the Aboriginal people of southern Alberta as indirect trade. The high volume of indirect trade, he argued, would not show up in the archaeological record because of spatial diffusion of the material over a large trade area. Pyszczyk (1997:50–54) reviewed historic documents and illustrated that the material reaching the Alberta plains was minimal. As well, the dependence of Aboriginal people in southern Alberta on indirect trade was low; much of their traditional material culture was retained during the Protohistoric period (Pyszczyk 1997:53).

Addressing how European materials entered Aboriginal material culture, Pyszczyk (1997:72–77) listed the types and quantities of European and traditional artifacts for Late Prehistoric, Protohistoric, and Historic sites, stating that “if Native people were simply replacing traditional articles with equivalent European goods, then the proportions of traditional goods should decrease in assemblages from the Protohistoric and Historic periods when compared to the Late Prehistoric period.” In fact, he found European goods did not initially replace traditional articles; rather they may have even performed a different role beyond their intended European utilitarian role. In other words, Aboriginal people were simply adding European goods to their traditional material (Pyszczyk 1997:77).

One Gun Phase (ca. 200 BP)
The One Gun phase was named by Byrne (1973:478) in remembrance of a Blackfoot informant who originally showed archaeologists to the Cluny site. The One Gun phase is considered coeval with the Old Women’s phase in the South Saskatchewan River Basin of Alberta during the Protohistoric period. It is apparently absent, however, to the south in the Milk River Basin and to the north in the North Saskatchewan Basin (Byrne 1973:366–367, 399; Vickers 1986:106). The phase is defined by projectile points of the Plains side-notched type (Byrne 1973:473–374; Forsis 1977:51–57; Kehoe 1966b), Cluny pottery (Byrne 1973:335–374), scapula squash knives, pitted handstones (nutstones), grinding slabs, and bell-shaped pits. The recovery of Cluny pottery from two sites, the Cluny site and the Morkin site, has provided the basis for defining the One Gun phase, although its recovery was noted at DkPj 2 (Level 1) and EaPk 17 (Byrne 1973:336).

The Cluny site (EePf 1) consists of a semicircular ditched area that presumably encircles a habitation zone, and is dated to the Protohistoric period. The Morkin site (DlPk 2) is an open-air campsite in the Porcupine Hills of southern Alberta (Byrne 1973:471–504). It is similar to most prehistoric
campsites except for the recovery of a bell-shaped pit (Byrne 1973:20), some Cluny pottery, items reminiscent of scapula squash knives, and pitted handstones (Byrne 1978:254). Beyond the Cluny and Morkin sites, small quantities of Cluny pottery have been found in sites that are otherwise characterized by Old Women's material culture such as substantial amounts of Saskatchewan Basin Complex: Late Variant pottery (Byrne 1973:477).

Byrne (1973:335–338) defined the distinctive Cluny pottery. Vessels have relatively thin walls and are globular in shape with no flattened bases (Byrne 1973:337). “Necks are frequent and of two forms; 1) short and very sharply curved, producing external concave vertical profiles with arcs of 90° to 130°, and 2) long and shallow, curving gently out of the body area to form a tall, vertical-to-slightly-flaring section” (Byrne 1973:337). The interior of Cluny pottery is usually smooth with the exterior often padded by a grooved object that left check or simple stamp impressions (Byrne 1973:336). In terms of decoration, linear dentate stamping is most common, as are impressions left by very fine-cord-wrapped objects while less common are punctates, fine-line incision, and plain impression. Byrne (1973:337–338) further stated that “Most motifs are fairly complex in composition, with oblique lines across the lip plus numerous closely spaced lines of horizontal or oblique orientation located just below the outer lip edge, on the collar, and/or in the neck region being a frequently seen combination.”

While the pottery of the One Gun phase is very distinctive the same is not true for the projectile points. The projectile points associated with the One Gun phase were classified using the typology developed by Forbis (1962, 1977). Surprisingly, the points excavated from both the Cluny and Morkin sites cannot be distinguished from the Cayley Series projectile points. Peck (1996; Peck and Ives 2001) suggested that the brevity of the One Gun occupation may have permitted conflation of Cayley Series projectile points of the Old Women's phase with One Gun assemblages such that the assemblages representing the different phases cannot be stratigraphically separated.

In terms of other tools, Byrne (1973:479) noted a number of similarities between One Gun and Old Women's artifacts. He found correspondences between scrapers, drills, grooved shaft smoothers and mauls. With respect to bone artifacts Byrne (1973:479) found similarities among beads, pendants, punches, awls, quill flatteners, and hide grainers.

Concerning the origins of the One Gun phase, Forbis (1977) suggested that the materials derived from the Middle Missouri area. Byrne (1973:535)
also suggested that “the One Gun phase probably represents the result of a migration of a group or groups from the area [Middle Missouri] through southern Saskatchewan to southern Alberta.” Forbes and Byrne supported their claims by illustrating substantial similarity between the Cluny site structures, the Cluny pottery, and numerous tools and features (scapula squash knives, pitted handstones, grinding slabs, and bell-shaped pits) and their Middle Missouri counterparts.

Specifically, Byrne (1973:478) argued that Cluny pottery was much like contemporary Mortlach pottery in southern Saskatchewan. Vickers (1994), too, considered the possibility that the One Gun phase and the Mortlach phase might represent the most western extension of a movement out of the Middle Missouri area. In contrast, Kehoe and Kehoe (1968:33) disagreed with the suggestion that a strong similarity between Cluny and Mortlach pottery exists. Kooyman (1996) provided an analysis of the Cluny pottery largely based on the artifacts themselves and oral tradition. He noted that Cluny pottery is relatively unique. Dentate stamping is more common at Cluny than at other sites: Cluny (42%), Mortlach (10–12%), Hagen (3%), and Middle Missouri Wares (2%). Similarly, check-stamping is more frequent in Cluny pottery: Cluny (38%), Mortlach (6%), Hagen (6%), and Middle Missouri area (< 6%). He concluded that Cluny pottery is most like Mortlach pottery and material from the Hagen site. Further, Kooyman (1996) considered the nature of the ditch and palisade, noting similarities to Dakota and Ojibwa defensive structures in Manitoba (Historic Resources Branch 1997:9–11).

Bone and stone tools were also reviewed. Lithics were almost entirely local in origin and no digging implements were recovered, which would suggest horticulture (Kooyman 1996). The sparse remains suggested the occupation was very temporary. Kooyman (1996) suggested that the Cluny site represented a trading site of people of Mountain Crow or Hidatsa origin. Walde (2003:61–62, 2004:45) noted that Cluny ceramics and Mortlach ceramics were similar, but suggested that their resemblance was owing to a derivation from a common Woodland ceramic tradition. Rather than making direct comparisons to Mortlach ceramics in the east, he found more comparable materials to the south.

Peck (1996; Peck and Ives 2001) has demonstrated that a distinctive projectile point style (Mortlach Group) is associated with Mortlach assemblages in Saskatchewan. These points are not found in association with Cluny pottery, further supporting the suggestion that Mortlach and One
Gun materials are not directly related. Furthermore, the lithic raw materials used were all local in origin, again dissimilar from Mortlach phase use of lithic raw materials (Peck 1996; Peck and Ives 2001).

The fate of the One Gun phase is not well understood either. Forbis (1977:74), the original excavator of the Cluny site, outlined a number of possibilities. He suggested the Cluny peoples may have been decimated by disease or overrun by enemies, although he noted the lack of human skeletal remains does not support such interpretations (Forbis 1977:74). Alternatively, he suggested the Cluny inhabitants abandoned their distinctive culture and merged with the local Old Women’s phase (Forbis 1977:74). Cluny pottery is known from a number of sites otherwise attributable to the Old Women’s phase (Byrne 1973:477), providing support for this hypothesis. Finally, Forbis (1977:74) suggested the inhabitants of Cluny may have simply returned to the Middle Missouri area.

Since 2007, Dale Walde has operated the field school for the Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary, at the Cluny site. This is the first archaeological work at the site since Forbis’ excavations. No doubt, the excavation will answer a number of questions and raise many more.

The Sites

One Gun sites exhibiting Cluny pottery are summarized below. These sites are used to critically evaluate the current view of the One Gun phase (see Plate 29 and Figure 30).

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PLATE 29

One Gun points. Illustrated are nine projectile points from the Cluny site (EePf 1). Photo credit: Dale Walde.
FIGURE 30
One Gun sites within Alberta
Cluny (EcPf 1). The Cluny site is located along the Bow River near Cluny, Alberta. It consists of a semicircular ditch (250 m long by 2.5 m wide by 1 m deep) that is bridged by three or four causeways. The ditch terminates at a terrace edge produced by a former position of the Bow River (Forbis 1977; Byrne 1978). Parallel to and inside the semicircular ditch is a series of 9–10 pits (ca. 3 m in diameter) about 20 m apart. These pits may be earthlodges or bastions inside a palisade. Around the pits lay a thin scattering of archaeological material and numerous storage pits (Byrne 1978:251). A few metres behind the pits, again parallel to the ditch, is a palisade constructed of poplar posts. Inside the palisade were a number of hearths possibly marking locations of skin tents (Forbis and Huscher 1961:102). Cluny pottery and numerous Late Side-notched projectile points were also recovered (Byrne 1973; Forbis 1977; Forbis and Huscher 1961). Bone tools included punches, awls, scapula knives, quill flatteners, grainers, and bone beads (Forbis 1977; Forbis and Huscher 1961). The site was dated to the Protohistoric period based on two pieces of brass slotted into ribs as knife blades, two horse bones, and an appropriately recent radiocarbon date of 60 +/- 70 BP (HA-534).

Morkin (DlPk 2). The Morkin site is a multicomponent open-air campsite in the Porcupine Hills of southern Alberta (Byrne 1973:471–504). Five cultural levels were distinguished. Besant material was focused in the lowest level, 5. Avonlea was best represented in the overlying cultural Level 4. Levels 3 to 1 produced the most Late Side-notched material, with Levels 2 and 1 yielding Protohistoric period material.

The site is similar to a prehistoric campsite; it lacks the unique structural features of the Cluny site with the exception that it contains a bell-shaped pit similar in shape to those found in the Middle Missouri area (Byrne 1973:20). However, Morkin also contains some Cluny pottery. In addition, the site exhibits items reminiscent of scapula squash knives and pitted handstones also of the Middle Missouri area (Byrne 1978:254). As well, small quantities of Cluny pottery have also been found in sites that are otherwise characterized by Old Women’s material culture; that is, they contain substantial amounts of Saskatchewan Basin Complex: Late Variant pottery (Byrne 1973:477).

One Gun: More Migrants from the Middle Missouri Area
There can be little doubt that the Cluny site represents an intrusive group, likely from the Middle Missouri area, into southern Alberta. Byrne (1978) used a number of lines of evidence to demonstrate a Middle Missouri
movement of people to southern Alberta. The Cluny site exhibits numerous traits from the Middle Missouri area not found in the contemporary Old Women’s material culture. The ditch with the associated palisade and large pits are unique in Alberta archaeology. The pottery most closely resembles pottery of the Middle Missouri type but is similar to Mortlach pottery. The bone tools are somewhat unusual including possible “scapula knives.” The projectile points are all made of local materials and are classifiable as Cayley Series projectile points of the Old Women’s phase. Not surprisingly, there is no consensus regarding the function of the site or the exact ethnic affiliation of the site.

The Morkin site has been considered to exhibit features similar to the Cluny site. These similarities include Cluny pottery, pitted handstones, and grinding slabs. Similarities that the Morkin site has to the Middle Missouri area are bell-shaped pits and possible scapula knives. With regard to the pottery, Kooymans (1996) outlined the distinctiveness of the Cluny pottery. Dentate stamping is more common at Cluny than other sites: Cluny (42%), Mortlach (10–12%), Hagen (3%), and Middle Missouri Wares (2%); and check-stamping is more frequent in Cluny pottery, with Cluny (38%), Mortlach (6%), Hagen (6%), and Middle Missouri area (<6%). In contrast, at the Morkin site dentate stamping occurs at a rate of 30 percent in Level 2 and 33.3 percent in Level 1. Check or simple stamped pottery accounts for 7.7 percent of the pottery in level 2 and none in level 1 (Byrne 1973:628). Morkin does not appear to exhibit Cluny pottery; rather it exhibits traits common in Cluny pottery.

Understanding the One Gun phase must take into account a range of variables. First, there can be little doubt the Cluny site represents an intrusive group of people from the Middle Missouri area. These people brought with them a distinctive pottery as well as other implements. The Cluny site appears to be defensive in nature. The outer trench defines a perimeter. The “house pits” are very small and located on the outside of the palisade. Their vanguard position and size suggests they may have been defensive pits. In fact, post-moulds at the outward edge of the pits might represent “screens,” reinforcing their interpretation as part of a defensive structure (Forbis 1977, fig. 21). Also, the palisade is behind the pits; it is not inside the walls. Importantly, the palisade often cuts across the interior margin of the pits, thus providing access into and out of the palisade. Within the palisade are the hearths, suggesting the location of daily life activities (Forbis and Huscher 1961:102). The projectile points found within the Cluny
Light from Ancient Campfires

site itself are of local stone and classifiable as Cayley Series projectile points. Given the local stone and the defensive nature of the structure, it is possible to infer that the points were launched into the compound from the outside. Old Women’s people would have defended their territory from intruders. Thus, excavations well outside the compound might find stylistically different arrow points or perhaps lead balls. The defensive “rifle” pits suggest that muskets requiring reloading in the standing position with a rod possibly being used. Thus, the people reloading the weapon had to stand and expose themselves to the line of fire if they were not positioned within a pit. A reasonable date of ca. A.D. 1750 has been assigned to the site. The survivors of this confrontation with the people of the Old Women’s phase would have been kept as slaves to carry out menial tasks. This provides a mechanism for Cluny pottery or traits from Cluny pottery to be found in Old Women’s sites. Morkin might be an example of one such site.