

CADDOAN ARCHEOLOGY



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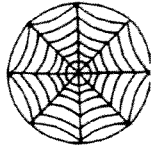
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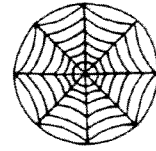
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EDITOR'S PAGE



BIG ANNOUNCEMENT FOR A BIG OCCASION!

This year, 2002, marks the *50th anniversary of the Oklahoma Anthropological Society*. The OAS Spring Meeting will feature a reunion for former members on Friday evening, April 5 in the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History on the University of Oklahoma campus in Norman. Don Wyckoff's bluegrass band, The Cross Timber Ramblers, will play for the occasion. The meeting will continue on Saturday, April 6, at the museum. If you are a former member who has lost touch with the

Society, please contact Paul Ferguson, 3815 East 56th Place, Tulsa OK 74135-4140; telephone (918) 747-8582; or email rcfergusonn@worldnet.att.net. The Society plans to make this a big, gala occasion.

The Society's historian, Charlette Gifford, is collecting stories of the Society's early days for the occasion. If you have reminiscences to share, please contact Charlie at (918) 785-2920.

44th CADDO CONFERENCE

It is almost time for another Caddo Conference. This year, it will be hosted by Jim Corbin and Stephen F. Austin University in Nacogdoches, Texas. The dates are March 14 - 17. Please come and help make this another well attended conference. If you haven't already received a conference announcement from

Jim, they should be arriving shortly. If you think that you may have been dropped from the list because you haven't attended for several years, contact Dr. James Corbin, Box 13047, SFAU Station, Nacogdoches TX 75962; telephone (936) 468-4405; email jcorbin@sfasu.edu

HELP WANTED!!

As usual, we need manuscripts for this publication. Please send your submissions to the editor at the address listed on the

inside front cover. We also would like to print more news and current research items.

NEW PUBLICATIONS (2000 and 2001) ABOUT THE CADDOAN AREA

Some of the publications about the Caddoan Area in the last couple of years are listed below. Obviously, this is not a complete listing. If you know of additional publications, send the information to the editor, and they will be added in an upcoming issue.

TEXAS

Journal of Northeast Texas Archaeology, Volume 15 (2001)

Silica Froth: An Indicator of Thatch Architecture, by David H. Journey and Velicia Bergstrom

Archaeological Investigations and Oxidizable Carbon Ratio Dates from 41RK476, Rusk County, Texas, by Mark Walters

Texas in the Year 1000: What It Was Like Then in East Texas, by Timothy K. Perttula

Prehistoric Ceramic Sherds from 41MM341 on the Little River, Milam County, Texas, by Timothy K. Perttula

Copies of JNTA No. 15 are available for \$7.50 from:

Bo Nelson
344 County Road 4154
Pittsburg, TX 75686;
e-mail: RBoNelson@aol.com]

Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society

Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society 71 (2000). This issue contains of one article about the pioneers of Texas Archeology, including those who worked in the Caddoan Area.

Tunnell, Curtis

2000 In Their Own Words: Stories from Some Pioneer Texas Archeologists. *Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society* 71:1-164.

Bulletin of the Texas Archeological Society 72 (2001). This publication has a special section entitled "Conflict, Migration, and Coalescence: Native Groups in Texas, A.D. 1530-1878" organized by Nancy A. Kenmotsu and Thomas R. Hester. The papers in this section include:

Cultural Fingerprints: The Native Americans of Texas, 1528-1687, by Mariah F. Wade;

The Great Kingdom of the Tejas: The Life and Times of Caddo People in Texas, by Timothy K. Perttula;

The Effects of Epidemic Disease on Caddo Demographic Structure, by Sharon M. Derrick and Diane E. Wilson.

Other articles from this publication about the Caddoan area include a summary paper on the archeological investigations at the Roitsch site (41RR16), Fasken (41RR14), Salt Well Slough (41RR204), and Ray (41LR135) sites during the 1991-1992 Texas Archeological Society Field Schools on the Red River:

Archeological Investigations on the Red River and Tributaries: Summary of the Findings of the 1991 and 1992 Texas Archeological Society Field School in Red River and Lamar Counties, Texas, by Timothy K. Perttula, James E. Bruseth, Nancy A. Kenmotsu, Daniel J. Prikryl, William A. Martin, Larry Banks, Jimmy Smith, Nancy G. Reese, and Sergio Iruegas

The BTAS is available from:

Texas Archeological Society
Center for Archaeological Research
The University of Texas at San Antonio
6900 N. Loop 1604 West
San Antonio, TX 78249
(210) 458-4393
e-mail txarch@onr.com

Texas Archeological Research Laboratory

Another volume has been reprinted in the archival series:

Jackson, A.T., Marcus S. Goldstein, and Alex D. Krieger (with an introduction by Frank Schambach)

2000 *The 1931 Excavations at the Sanders Site, Lamar County, Texas: Notes on the Fieldwork, Human Osteology, and Ceramics*. Texas Archeological Research

Laboratory, The University of Texas at Austin, Archival Series 2. [Originally published 1931 and 1941]

The report may be purchased for \$20.00 [Texas residents add sales tax] plus s/h \$3.00 (make checks payable to *The University of Texas at Austin*) from:

Publication Orders

Texas Archeological Research Laboratory

The University of Texas at Austin

PRC Building 5, R7500

Austin TX 78712-1100

(512) 471-5960

web site: www.utexas.edu/research/tarl/publications/archival.html

Geo-Marine, Inc., Plano TX

Owens, Jeffrey D., with contributions by Sharlene N. Allday, Floyd B. Largent, Jr., and Steven M. Hunt

1999 *Archeological Test Excavations at Five Prehistoric Sites at the Proposed Malden Lake Park Expansion, Wright Patman Lake, Bowie County, Texas*. Miscellaneous Reports of Investigations No. 189. Geo-Marine, Inc., Plano, Texas. [GMI project #1122-001]

Burson, Elizabeth, and Maynard B. Cliff, with contributions by Jeffrey E. Owens, Steven M. Hunt, Sharlene N. Allday, and Floyd B. Largent, Jr.

2000 *Cultural Resources Survey of Six Proposed Timber Cutting Tracts at Wright Patman Lake, Bowie County, and Lake O' the Pines, Marian and Upshur Counties, Texas*. Miscellaneous Reports of Investigations No. 201. Geo-Marine, Inc., Plano, Texas. [GMI project #1700-111/1135-001]

Burson, Elizabeth

2001 *Archeological Test Excavations at Two Prehistoric Sites in the Cedar Springs Recreation Area at Lake O' the Pines, Upshur County, Texas*. Miscellaneous Reports of Investigations No. 219. Geo-Marine, Inc., Plano, Texas. [GMI project #1007-a10]

Each publication can be obtained for \$15.00 at the following address:

ATTN: Ms. Denise Pemberton

Geo-Marine, Inc.

550 East 15th Street

Plano TX 75074

OKLAHOMA

Sisson, Francie

2000 A Cultural Resources Overview and Assessment for Sequoyah National Wildlife Refuge, Oklahoma: A Component of the Refuge Comprehensive Conservation Plan. Report prepared by U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Albuquerque NM.

Prepared by: Francie Sisson, Cultural Resources Consultant
Rt. 1, Box 161 A
Anadarko OK 73005
(405) 966-2302

Oklahoma Archeological Survey

Neal, Larry, and Paul E. Benefield

2001 *An Archeological Survey of the Dirty Creek Basin, Muskogee and McIntosh Counties, Oklahoma*. The University of Oklahoma, Oklahoma Archeological Survey, Archeological Resource Survey Report 44.

The cost of this publication is \$7.00 + \$2.00 s/h. It may be ordered from:
Oklahoma Archeological Survey
111 E. Chesapeake
Norman OK 73019-5111

ARKANSAS

Cande, Kathleen H.

2000 *Spradley Hollow Habitations: Four Rock Shelters and a Historic Homestead*. [Order # RS56; cost \$25.00]

Early, Ann M. (editor)

2000 *Forest Farmsteads: A Millennium of Human Occupation at Winding Stair in the Ouachita Mountains*. [Order #RS57; cost \$25.00]

Guendling, Randall L.

2000 *An Archaic Campsite in the Ozarks: Test Excavations at the Ryan Site (3MA233)*. [Order # RR29; cost \$6.00]

Mainfort, Robert C., Jr. (editor)

2000 *Data Recovery at the Skaggs Site, Madison County, Arkansas*. [Order # RR28; cost \$10.00]

Sabo, George III

2001 *Paths of Our Children: Historic Indian of Arkansas* (revised edition). [Order # PS03; cost \$6.00]

The shipping and handling costs are \$4.00 for the first volume and \$1.00 for each additional volume. They may be ordered from:

Arkansas Archeological Survey

2475 N Hatch

Fayetteville AR 72704

telephone 501-575-3556; fax 501-575-5433

web site: www.uark.edu/campus-resources/archinfo/co.html]

LOUISIANA

Southern Studies Volume 7, Number 1 [Spring 1996 (published 2000)]

Where in the World (System) are the Texas Missions?, by Shawn Bonath Carlson (pp. 1-24)

The Presidio Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes, by Raymond Berthelot (pp. 25-44)

Colonial Dress at the Spanish Presidio of Los Adaes, by Diana DiPaolo Loren (pp. 45-64)

Archival Investigations of the People of Los Adaes, by George Avery (pp. 66-88)

Adaes±o: A Nahuatl Lexicon from Natchitoches and Sabine Parishes, Louisiana, by H.F. Gregory (pp. 89-98)

Conservation and Identification of Metal Artifacts from Los Adaes: An Interview with Jay C. Blaine, by Jay C. Blaine (with George Avery) (pp. 99-119)

This issue can be purchased for \$5 a copy from:

Southern Studies Institute
Dept. of Social Sciences
Northwestern State University
Natchitoches, LA 71497

MEETINGS AND EVENTS

2002

March

14 - 17 *44th Annual Caddo Conference*, Nacogdoches TX. Preliminary plans call for a small reception on Thursday evening (14th), papers on Friday and Saturday (15 and 16th), a party/banquet Friday night, and Caddo dances on Saturday night. If needed, papers will continue on Sunday morning (17th).

20-24 *67th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology*, Denver CO. Deadline for submissions: September 5, 2001; Grace period deadline: September 12, 2001. For more information, see the SAAweb – www.saa.org or email Denver@saa.org

April

5-6 *Oklahoma Anthropological Society, 50th Anniversary Spring Meeting*. Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History, Norman OK. There will be a reunion for active and former members on Friday evening, April 5.

22-26 *33rd International Symposium on Archaeometry*, Amsterdam. Deadline for abstracts is November 1, 2001. For more information, contact: E.A.K. Kars, Rikjsdienst voor het, Oudheidkundig, Bodemonderzoek, PO Box 1600, 3800 BP Amersfoort, the Netherlands. Telephone 31 33 422 76 06; fax 31 33 422 77 99; email e.kars@archis.ml; web site www.archaeometry.vu.ml

May

13 - 17 *Recent Archeological Prospection Advances for Non-Destructive Investigations in the 21st Century*. Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Vancouver WA. This workshop, presented by the National Park Service, Midwest Region, will provide training in the use of geophysical, aerial photographic, and other remote sensing methods as they apply to archeological fieldwork. These may include such techniques as electromagnetics (EM), ground penetrating radar (GPR), metal detectors, electrical resistivity, and seismic. There is a \$475 charge for course tuition. The workshop is limited to 40 participants. For more information, contact Steven De Vore, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Federal Building, Room 474, 100 Centennial Mall North, Lincoln NB 68508-3873; (402) 437-5392, ext 141.

24 - 27 *American Rock Art Research Association Annual Conference*, Dubois WY. The conference format includes two days of papers and one day of guided visits to rock art sites. For more information, contact Sharon Urban at ARARA, Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Tucson AZ 85721-0026; or www.arara.org

25 - June 2 *Oklahoma Anthropological Society Spring Dig*. The site to be excavated will be the Jake Bluff bison kill

site near Woodward in northwestern Oklahoma. If you are interested, contact Lee Bement or Dave Morgan at the Oklahoma Archeological Survey, 111 E. Chesapeake, Norman OK; telephone (405) 325-7211; email lbement@ou.edu.

June

8 - 22 *Arkansas Archeological Society Dig and Training School*. The dig will return to the Grandview Prairie Wildlife Management Area in southwestern Arkansas to continue the work begun in 2001. For more information, consult the Society's web site (www.uark.edu/depts/

[4society](http://www.4society.org)) which will post more details soon, or contact Dr. Frank Schambach, Southern Arkansas University, Magnolia A R 7 1 7 5 3 ; e m a i l ffschambach@saumag.edu

October

23 - 26 *60th Plains Conference*, Biltmore Hotel (I-40 & Meridian), Oklahoma City OK. If you are interested and need more information, contact Kent Buehler (kbuehler@ou.edu), Marjy Duncan (mduncan@ou.edu), or Richard Drass (rdrass@ou.edu) at the Oklahoma Archeological Survey [(405)-325-7211].

Regional Variation and Protohistoric Identity

Introduction

Prior to the 43rd Caddo Conference held last March in Norman, Oklahoma, I contacted several scholars who specialize in Caddo research and asked them to participate in an open discussion on region and identity within the Caddo Area. My objective was somewhat self-serving in that I hoped to increase my own understanding of the Caddo past by attempting to reconcile the archaeological record with interpretations of historical sources and ethnographic research. However, I also knew that a dialogue of this type could be of great interest to researchers other than myself. I volunteered to moderate the session and prepare the manuscript for publication, a task I could not have accomplished without the assistance of Jodie Blair, graduate assistant for the Louisiana Regional Folklife Program.

The participants listed below brought decades worth of research and unique individual perspectives to the table. The discussion was varied and lively, and we covered a lot of territory. We disagreed on some things and achieved detente on others. We all agreed, however, that there is a need to continue this discussion next year with more time allotted and with participation from other researchers and audience members.

Following is a transcript of the discussion session. Each participant edited his or her own comments for content and clarity. Extraneous conversation, incomplete sentences, and so forth have been removed to make the manuscript more readable. We hope that it will generate additional research questions for Nacogdoches.

Dayna Bowker Lee

Participants

Ann Early:	Arkansas Archaeological Survey, Fayetteville
Cecile Carter:	Caddo Tribe of Oklahoma, Mead OK
H. F. Pete Gregory:	Northwestern State University, Natchitoches LA
Dayna Bowker Lee:	Louisiana Regional Folklife Program, NSU, Natchitoches
Mark Parsons:	Texas Historical Commission, Austin
Tim Perttula:	Archeological & Environmental Consultants, Austin
George Sabo:	Arkansas Archeological Survey, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville
Helen Hornbeck Tanner:	Newberry Library, Chicago

George: I'm not 100 percent sure how closely this is going to relate to the themes Dayna hoped to bring out in this group, but I did this in one of my classes, and we can decide whether it does or it doesn't. In any case, it's going to deal with the idea of boundaries.

This pendant (Figure 1)¹ was from the Hatchel-Mitchell complex. It's a world symbol and it reflects a common Native American theme, which is the relationship between This World and the Sky World. The Sky World is the realm of powerful spirit beings, and for the Caddo, of course, the key personage is Ayo Caddi Amay, the Captain of the Sky, the powerful spirit of the Upper World. I am interested in exploring that relationship by examining the famous Terán map which depicts a Kadohadacho community along the Great Bend of the Red River (Figure 2).² The basic question is: What can that tell us about Caddo beliefs in the relationship between This World and the Sky World? For information about the Terán map we can return to Terán's report where there

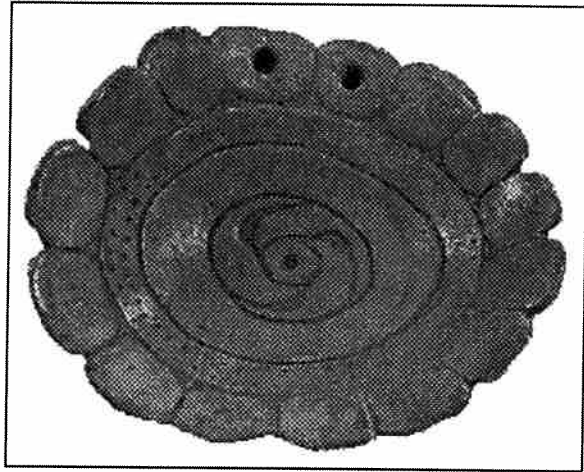


Figure 1. Shell gorget from the Hatchel-Mitchell complex.

are a number of intriguing statements.³ When Terán and his contingent approached the village, they came to the *rancheria* shown on the left or western end of the map. Mildred Wedel believed that this was the location of the Hatchel-Mitchell site complex in eastern Texas.

The itinerary indicates that this particular site was located on a hill which commanded a splendid view of the country. The significant part here is Terán's observation: "This is where there was a temple in which the Indians worshiped and made offerings to their gods." That's an interesting statement. From there they proceeded to the home of the caddi, to a

¹Courtesy of the Texas Archeological Research Laboratory, The University of Texas at Austin.

²Detail from map of "Cadodacho" (Kadohadacho) Indian settlement by Domingo Terán de los Rios, 1691 J.T. Bryan Map Collection, [DT 0108], The Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin.

³Mattie Austin Hatcher, trans.: The Expedition of Don Domingo Terán de Los Rios into Texas. *Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. II, No. 1 (January 1932), pp. 3-62.

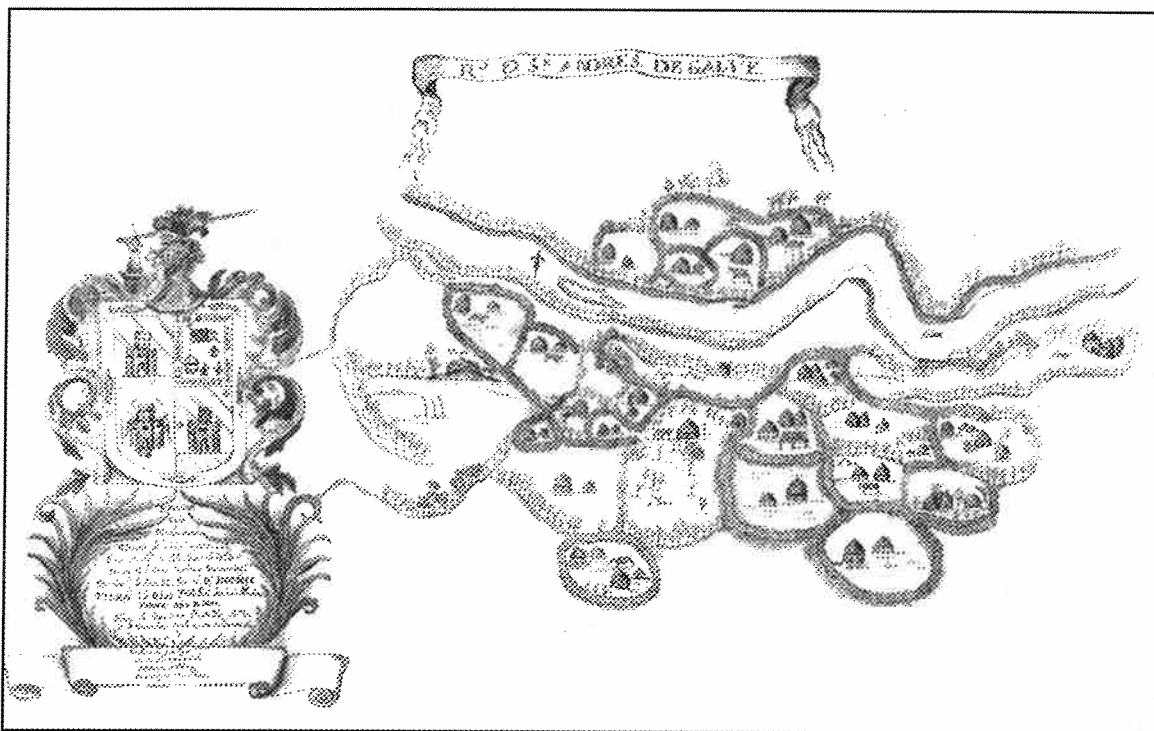


Figure 2. Terán map of Kadohadacho community along Great Bend of the Red River.

place called Santa Galia, which is indicated near the center of the map. Note also that there's a little cross at this site (Figure 3).

Now in the center of the village, they learned that there were similar settlements on both sides of the river. Each contained dwellings, work platforms, and elevated grain bins. Two site types are represented: residential compounds and the temple mound complex. Residential sites appear to be distributed in relation to the Red River soils and the location of the temple mound.

Why is the temple mound located at the far western end of the community rather than in the center? First, we might think

that it represents a gateway through which one might enter into the community. Many European accounts mention travelers being brought into the temple where their arrival is celebrated with the calumet ceremony or a dance or speeches by the leaders. Terán also reported, though, that “the Indian guide who informed us indicated that the temple at the entrance of the village was the one where the Indians worshiped and made offerings to their gods.”

So if the main use of the temple was for worshiping and making offerings to the gods, then perhaps there is another boundary that's being marked by the western location of that temple and that boundary might be the one that separates

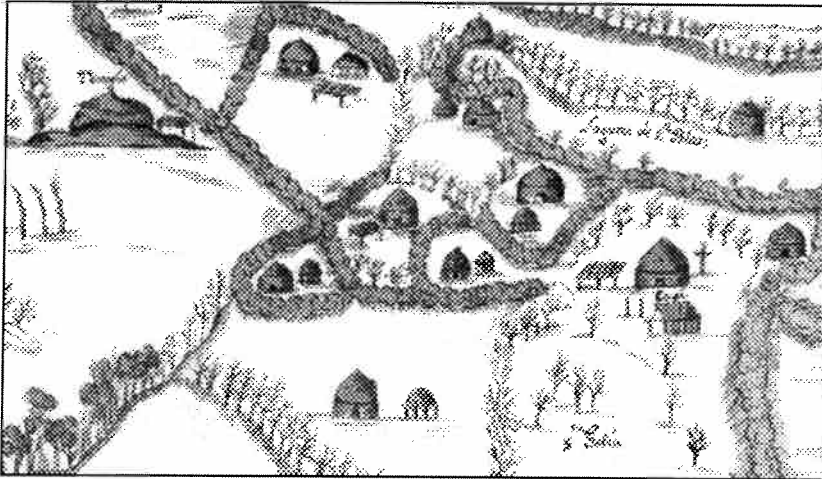


Figure 3. Detail of Teran map.

This World from the Upper World or Sky World. How might we test this hypothesis? First, religious ceremonies performed at the temple might reflect that boundary. Second, some ties should exist to connect the spirit world, the temple complex, and the domestic sites depicted on the map. So the question becomes: Did rituals performed at the temple complex reflect the existence of a boundary separating these two realms - the human and the spiritual realm?

We can turn to Caddo agricultural rituals for evidence. The use of some Hasinai information is a potentially weak link in this whole argument, but if we look at the forecasting ceremony, one of the things that priests do is shelter themselves in a fire temple and make tobacco offerings to the sacred fire, and using the eagle feather to send the communications to the spirit world. The use of that particular device, the eagle feather, seems to me to represent

indirect communication with the Sky World.

In the planting ceremony, the village leader collects offerings made by the women. These offerings are burned in the sacred fire temple. The purpose is to honor the work of the women and to gain the assistance Ayo Caddi Amay. Those offerings to the fire, which consist of mats woven by the women, also represent indirect communication with the Sky World.

In the harvest ceremony, food offerings were received by community leaders. First, they made sacrifices to the sacred fire when the constellation Pleiades moved into alignment with the temple. These offerings, I believe, represent communication across the boundary separating This World from the Sky World.

Next, we need to examine the connection between the temple complex and the community. After one of the harvest ceremony songs have been sung, the celebrants thank the sun for their crops. Now the interesting connection here is that when they are preparing fields and planting their crops, they make offerings in the fire temple to Ayo Caddi Amay to ensure the success of their activities. I want to make it very clear that this doesn't constitute sun worship: Caddos didn't

practice sun worship like Natchez, for example. But there does seem to be this link between the Caddo ideas about the sun, Ayo Caddi Amay, and the sacred fire.

And, what of the connection between the temple and the community households? When one of the fires from a residential household goes out, it is relit with an ember brought from the temple. So, how can we solve the riddle of the temple location shown on the Terán map? The evidence summarized here suggests a connection between the sun and the Supreme Being (Ayo Caddi Amay), and the temple fire through which offerings to the Supreme Being are made. Additionally, we have the connection between the temple fire and the household fires which, when they go out, have to be relighted from the temple fire.

It seems to me that these connections reflect the maintenance of a boundary between This World and the Sky World across which community leaders may communicate via appropriate ritual activity. And what I might suggest relative to Dayna's interest and in the interest in identifying protohistoric, early historic, and late-prehistoric communities is that part of our definition ought to be some accounting for how boundaries are used for inclusionary and exclusionary purposes.

We can translate this in practical material considerations. For example, yesterday morning Louis Vogegele, Marvin Kaye, and Greg Vogel talked about the idea of different dirt offerings coming to the Norman site from subsidiary communities.

That's an interesting suggestion based upon work that Professor Dee Ann Story conducted several years ago at the George C. Davis site (41CE19). So there might be some ways that we can look at artifactual representation or boundary maintenance that served to demarcate community identities. Thank you very much.

Dayna: Thank you, George. The reason I assembled this session is because I had questions, some of which have been addressed in the past, but have never been answered. Maybe we won't discover the answers here, but that's okay, too.

One of the things that I've been looking at is the formation of what have come to be called "confederacies." How do they get to be called confederacies and does the idea of confederacies hold up? And I don't think that it does in the protohistoric period. When I say protohistoric period, I'm not putting a definition on when Caddo history begins, but I'm talking about the time when the written history concerning them begins. It's when we start getting accounts by different chroniclers - religious people, explorers, administrators - with agendas that we all recognize. It's basically the early contact era, and it's just being used here as an organizational tool. But, one of the interests that I have has been to look at this idea of confederacies. Pete Gregory talked about it in his dissertation years ago, Dee Ann Story has talked about it, Stephen Williams, several people have addressed it at one point or the other.

Helen: Not me. I don't believe in it.

Dayna: Nor do I. If we examine linguistic data and the early documents, and look at the way that the Caddo are described when they're first encountered, and also at the bio-archaeological data that Jerry Rose in Arkansas has assembled and synthesized - there is a genetic affiliation that Rose sees with all Caddo - and of course, at Caddo oral tradition which says that Caddo people and culture emanated from the Great Bend of the Red River area and went forward in different directions, it looks like they originally constituted one people and one core area.

So I began to look at different models of confederacies that different people have been working with recently, and one that I think is particularly useful and may apply to the protohistoric Caddo is one that's been developed by Vernon Knight for the Creek.⁴ Instead of confederacy, Knight uses a world-systems model of core and periphery, with the core towns being central, strong, well-populated, and socially-dominant. They received ceremonial deference from the peripheral towns; and for the most part the peripheral towns are what he calls "daughter communities." These were communities that had spilt off from the core for one reason or the other, but remained bound by kinship and other constraints.

⁴Vernon James Knight: The Formation of the Creeks. *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds., pp. 373-392. University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1994.

At the end of the seventeenth century, there are two major divisions among the Caddo: the Kadohadacho and the Hasinai, the two core areas in the east and west. Dee Ann Story has surmised that George C. Davis was founded by a group that came from the middle Sabine River or Red River,⁵ and we know that the people of that area who later become identified as the Hasinai maintained a close relationship with the Red River Caddo after the arrival of Europeans and Americans. All the small communities, the daughter communities, begin with "na-." They are generally identified with resources, as in "the place of or people of cedar" (Nabiti); of salt (Nawidish); of bowwood (Nachawi). And the two dominant protohistoric cores, I'll say villages for lack of a better word, are the Nasoni Kadohadacho in the east and the Hainai in the west. Kadohadacho is generally defined as "the real or strong chiefs" and Hainai, "the one person," who I would assume to be the *tsanisi* [xinesi]. The na-prefix, a locative, seems to indicate daughter communities - pretty much all individual Caddo communities that are in place by the late seventeenth century have that prefix except for the Kadohadacho

⁵Story, Dee Ann: Cultural History of the Native Americans. *The Archeology and Bioarcheology of the Gulf Coastal Plain: Volume 1*, by Dee Ann Story, Janice A. Guy, Barbara A. Burnett, Martha Doty Freeman, Jerome C. Rose, D. Gentry Steele, Ben W. Olive, and Karl J. Reinhard, pp 163-366. Arkansas Archeological Survey Research Series No. 38, 1990.

and Hainai. But rather than individual, autonomous groups, these east/west daughter communities maintain relations to each other, and seem to be affiliated with one core or the other. But, they are kin, not confederates.

I don't know if this can be tested archaeologically, but it's just a different way to look at the way that the Caddo were settled and were organized by the seventeenth century. Their relations don't seem to have been confederated. They appear to be groups related by kinship that may have emanated from one core area prehistorically, and maintained two separate core areas during the proto-historic and historic, each core having specific daughter communities to exploit particular resources. I'd really like to explore archaeological evidence for these relationships. Having said that, I'm throwing it open to discussion.

Helen: I want to say something, because I am uninhibited by archaeological knowledge, so I feel like I speak freely. After thinking about this for about thirty years, there are a couple of terms that I am ready to throw out, maybe two or three. And one of them, well they go together. I don't think we should ever use the term "prehistoric" or "protohistoric" ever anymore, again. That there are lots of different ways of looking at the past and our tools are documents which is as often lies as anything else because its written down. They're written down to fool somebody sometime. There are documents that can lie and then there's the material evidence, which archaeological people

feel that if you don't have the hard evidence, you haven't found out anything at all. And there's something to say for that, except there aren't any thoughts that go along that aren't implicit in the object itself. And then of course, we have the oral tradition and if you try to formulate any type of a theory that flies in the face of oral tradition, it's most likely going to wrong. So we have those three different control factors. And I think that we should talk about approaches, ways of approaching the past. You can ask people, you can read what people coming in said and realize that the people that came in were in many cases extremely naive observers, although some were better observers than others. And then what the people themselves have known all along.

I've got just one more thing to say about this term confederacy. In the United States, it sort of goes along with the War Between the States. And if you say confederacy any time, no matter where you're from, it's a Western European idea that springs up in your head. And Western European state organization is nothing like Indian organization ever was. So I think that we should throw out confederacy and use the term alliances, because all Indian languages had a word for allies and they thought of themselves and their allies. And I think that this is a much more realistic concept. And it was an alliance among individual villages, some of which were more important and stronger than others. And their importance and strength varied over time.

Dayna: Some that would be reinforced by

kinship, and some that would be reinforced by alliance.

Helen: And kinship is the most important – it's kinship that is the mechanism that holds everything together.

Dayna: Exactly. Look at the way that the Caddo are thought to have expanded out from the Red River Valley, and then at the eighteenth century record where they're so impacted by disease and they're stressed also by the strangers moving in around them. When they begin to pull back and consolidate, they seem to pull back along the lines of kinship, and that makes much more sense to me.

Pete: Maybe I should say something about confederacy. I'm probably the first person to disbelieve in confederacies, and for a couple of the same reasons that Helen mentioned. One is it's not a viable concept in Native American culture, alliance is likely a much better term for it. The other thing is that Dr. Robert Bell at my doctoral defense looked across the table at me and said, "How do you feel about the Caddo confederacies?" I made the same utterance that Helen made, hoping it would work, and I said, "I just don't believe it. It just doesn't work." And if you look at what Dayna pointed out, at what the tribal names mean, they are all place names except for those two. And they're basically people who are allied in local geographical areas, at least that's where they were when the Europeans encountered them. And that's a dynamic thing.

In the lower Red River - the lower Red River starting in Shreveport - that's bad geography, but anyway, in Louisiana, the lower Red River starts at Alexandria - between Alexandria, Louisiana, and Shreveport to the Arkansas-Texas line, that's the lower Red River for this discussion anyway. In that area, people have been moving around for a very long time. At least since 1200-1400, those populations have been pretty dynamic. But they kept connections to the Great Bend and they also, to some extent, kept connection to East Texas. But my impression is that along the river - again the lower Red River - people are more aligned with the Kadohadacho than they are aligned to the west. And somewhere in between there is a boundary that's a sort of a loose boundary between the Hasinai and Kadohadacho.

But these boundaries are another thing that bother me. I think, from a Native American perspective, these boundaries between this life and the next life and This World and the Upper World are very philosophical boundaries that don't exist in cultural reality. I'm thinking about David Scholl's paper this morning. Here we are slicing that reality again with our little scalpels, making sense of it in a European perspective that had no Native American reality. It wasn't exactly a boundary or a gateway, it was something that held everything together. The whole concept of unity, that's what the gorgets are about. With the Creek, with the Natchez, with the Caddo, with the Chitimacha, and with the Tunica, that is the fire. And the fire is the thing that holds things together, not a thing that marks

differences between things. And so when we start looking for boundaries, I think that we're looking for an archaeological boundary, we're looking for a data boundary that may have been much more fluid. Things may have gone back and forth with a lot more ease.

Looking at the site distributions in the Red River, there are certain things missing on our end of the lower Red River that are present from Shreveport north. And Jeff Girard and I have been just trying to figure out does this mean that the Caddo got to our area really late? Something happens between, say, Belcher times and Caddo V times on the lower river. And did the Natchitoches - the lower Natchitoches and upper Natchitoches, upper Natchitoches being up at the Great Bend in the Red River for you guys who don't know the river, and lower Natchitoches at Natchitoches on the lower Red River - are they the same people and have the same name? Unfortunately, we don't know a lot about their ethnohistory.

The lower Natchitoches is certainly a trading band, in that they have a long history in the historic documentation in trading salt. And so, Jeff and I have been wondering if they just moved down from the Great Bend when Ann's folks quit making salt in Arkansas. When the salt production in Arkansas kicks down, we have some really big salines in the vicinity of Natchitoches, and the two groups there, the Doustoni and the Natchitoches, are both big salt traders and they both seemed to come there very late, extremely late in terms of Caddo history. And so I think now that Ann's work in Arkansas suggests

to me that maybe there was a need for salt on the Mississippi and people were moving down from the Kadohadacho country to provide that need and become trading bands, pretty stationary trading bands, but trading bands, nevertheless. Their trading partners become Frank Schambach's old buddies, the Tunica. They never quit trading.

But these boundaries, I think, are much more fluid and people are mobile and they're making decisions. But I think that looking for boundaries, sometimes that leads us to think concepts like confederacies, and it's a problem with archaeological phases. I mean, we always have this problem with the phase. Where do the phases start and stop in both time and space. And so here we are chopping up this world again and, culturally, I think that's not something, as Helen was saying, that Native American culture does. It tends to see things that hold things together as a cultural concept and they don't dissect things to understand them. That's a purely European way of doing it, I think.

Helen: Measuring is European.

Pete: Yes, I agree.

Ann: It depends. I have some, I guess, different perspectives. We've thrown out a lot of things all at once here. There are a number of trajectories, phenomena that are occurring that affect our ability to characterize whether the landscape, the cultural dimensions, or the characteristics of cultures, and the most important of these to me is that through this period of

time that we get our second-hand observations or external observations of Caddo lifeways and communities. There are a number of things happening very rapidly that are causing what I think are new situations to which the responses include: dispersion, consolidation, and movement. And that every question we take up like confederacy, I think that we have to disentangle what might have been the case before the first pandemic and/or the first sustained contact with old-world people and eco-systems and what happened after that.

My own personal feeling in terms of the concept of confederacy or confederacies plural is that there may have been two things happening - one, I am sure that the Europeans mis-characterized what they saw and that it was convenient to use that concept to characterize this wide array of peoples that they encountered in this East Texas/Red River area. The second is that among the factors of warfare and population pressures, especially on the northern fringes, catastrophic disease and reduction of communities to the point that they may not have been functioning or functionable, operable, as independent entities either biologically, socially, or in terms of religion and the maintenance of important events in any ritual or economic calendar. The observations of any particular group in any place are a result partly of these external factors and we have a terribly difficult, perhaps impossible, task to recreate accurately the many things that are happening.

The Europeans saw alliances and consolidations and heavy interaction

among certain groups along Red River and characterize this as a confederacy. I think that this is largely an artifact, that some of those relationships were an artifact of the presence of old-world people, plants, and events, rather than the way life was carried on preceding that. So in that sense you could say confederacies may be an artifact of the European contact, not only in the minds of the observers but also in the reality there may have been ties that weren't there a hundred years before.

As far as boundaries go, however, I certainly agree that linkages in unity as expressed in some elements of native culture - cultures - is a dominant fact of life. I think that there have always been boundaries perceived and symbolized in a number of ways. Whether those bounds are related to kin boundaries, whom you could marry and whom you can't, and who are associated with clans or lineages or any other linkages like that, I think that there are material boundaries that we do see and that we do not have random distributions and variations in material culture. Even some elements that we see very perfectly, as in broken pottery and style designs and so forth. There is not a clinal distribution or an uninterrupted distribution of material culture, whether it's structures or any other aspect of the material record.

And I think that in terms of social beliefs, perceptions of self and other, there are levels of commonality and levels of distinctiveness there are marked by some kinds of boundaries. And I still believe that we can seek to seek those kinds of material, results of boundaries, as George

pointed out, in the archaeological material record, and that there are hypothetical boundaries that we can test. Whether we wish to try to link those to the names of any group that was identified in that historic record anywhere is a whole other issue for me that has a whole lot of other things we have to ponder. So whether this is a realistic exercise or there are ways of approaching that other subject of linking historic named groups, kind of what that shows, or other villages or population blocks with any kind of material expression across the landscape.

And the final thing that I thought about a lot when I was writing about this is that in reading some of the new histories, Todd Smith's work in particular, David LaVere's work, have brought out for me a lot of information about what was happening in East Texas and the Great Bend area in the eighteenth century.

I think luck, serendipity, and I'll explain this, has had an effect on what came to be seen by the colonials as dominance and may have been seen by contemporary groups. And I'm thinking particularly of the fortunate longevity and family line of the paramount leaders of the Kadohadacho community, who became dominant social political figures and contacts for the French and other colonials in this area. In contrast, some of the other communities that existed in that general neighborhood, I think, became less visible in the eyes of the people who described them because of inadvertent deaths, disease trajectories that removed coherent lines of authority, family influence, and other factors that would have made one community more

influential and larger network of society than others. And I remarked particularly that in the very earliest observations I've read, we hear about the Nasoni community, for instance, very clearly and then there's a switch and instead we hear about Kadohadacho community in the records. And I think that there is a direct causal relationship with what happened to living family groups and individuals in those two communities as the French sought out and the Spanish sought out individuals and intact families and authority lines with which into interact. And that has come back to us as a perception of one community that, I think that there are external factors we can see that cause that community and people within in it to become the dominant figures in the landscape for much of the eighteenth century.

Dayna: But, even in the late eighteenth century, the dominant lineage still came from the Nasoni Kadohadacho village, and this lineage was maintained at least through the death of Dehahuit. Athanase de Mézières says, in talking about the Nasoni village, that this was Tinhiöuen's village, and in *Athanase de Mézières*,⁶ Tinhiöuen's grandfather was identified as the leader who came to the aid of the French during the Natchez war in the 1730s. And Dehahuit is, we assume, the son or the maternal nephew of Tinhiöuen, so from at least from the time of the

⁶Herbert Eugene Bolton: *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier: 1768-1780*, two vols. Krause Reprint, 1970.

Natchez War until the death of Dehahuit, the seat of power is in or from the Nasoni lineage. And in the early records, they're seemingly considered the same - the Nasoni and Kadohadacho - at that time. Joutel and Terán, when they visit the upper Nasoni village, neither identifies it as a *Nasoni* village, the people are identified as Kadohadacho. And that distinctiveness between the across-the-river Kadohadacho from the west-side-of-the-river Nasoni, at that time seems very nebulous, again a distinction of location - they're all Kadohadacho, but the dominant lineage seems to be from the Nasoni village throughout the eighteenth century.

Ann: I guess my point is that the effect of kinship and authority and how it might have been perceived outside, and which communities or population groups or neighborhoods were associated with the authority the French had, come down to us perhaps as a perception about preeminence that we and the Europeans of the time misconstrued or mis-ascribed. But that also precedes the premature removal of certain individuals who may have been destined for leadership or groups of lineages that have had a catastrophic effect and that sort of thing and so on.

Dayna: I see an interesting question in the two Kadohadacho villages - the one below the Great Bend and the one above the Great Bend - that are seemingly occupied at the same time. But in the early written records when people are coming through the area they never mention the lower village, and I'm wondering about the relationship between those two areas

and if maybe the dominant lineage at one time was seated in that lower village.

Ann: But again, here we have bounded entities for some facets of the world and the whole body of information that we're talking about, some things there are bounds that were perceived and were integral to the operation of society. Others, that's not necessarily the case.

Pete: There's an English word that popped to mind here that I don't hear much about in archaeology or history either one, and that's "permeable." You hear it in biological science, you know, and there's a lot of permeability in these boundaries. I would agree that there are boundaries but they're, well, I've been hanging out with Native American people most of my life and boundaries are very permeable. Things change and things are very flexible and Europeans never understand that. Europeans really get, you're looking for another dimension - a European dimension - and time, we've all joked about Indian time, but time for Europeans is very bound in space and time. For Native American people I think it is a very permeable space. So I'm willing to concede your boundaries, but I want them to be very permeable.

George: I feel slightly compelled to rise to your challenge, and I agree with much of what you say. However, relative to Native American groups like the Caddo slicing things up, if you think about the account that is so wonderfully illustrated on the cover of Cecile's book, painted by Acee Blue Eagle, and the story goes that Moon

found a route from the Below World to This World, but they weren't supposed to look back, and Wolf did and then it closed. And the people who hadn't got out yet were trapped and the people who were there sat down and cried for those that were left below. That's not a very permeable boundary.

Pete: No, it's not.

George: I wouldn't want to over-emphasize the significance of boundaries, but I do believe it's a concept that is part of the thought world of Europeans and non-Europeans. It can be brought into play when necessary, and I think it is both a condition that is necessary for alliances and which makes alliances possible. You'd have alliances with people who were not European. You'd have alliances with people who are by definition different from you and it makes them more like you. And so that's a bounded we-they distinction.

Pete: That's a permeability.

George: That is absolutely permeable. So, sometimes they're permeable and sometimes they're not permeable. And I think they're brought into play. Now I agree wholeheartedly with the notion of throwing out confederacies, but the way some southeastern scholars are using that, and I'm thinking mostly about Pat Galloway's, which is probably the clearest exposition of what southeastern archaeologists and ethnohistorians mean when they talk about confederacies. It is a loose alliance of groups that is brought

into play where an individual or a group rises to a level of authority in telling people what they ought to do when there is some outside stress that is attacking the entire group. Otherwise, in the absence of that stress, they're not a confederacy, so it is a very fluid sort of thing.

And, of course, she has talked about that very nicely in the Choctaw ethnogenesis volume,⁷ plus in the article "Confederacies and the Problem of Chiefdom Disillusion,"⁸ one of her typically glorious titles, that's in that sixteenth century book by Charlie Hudson and Carmen Chavez. But, that same principle, I think, operates among groups that are allied, and the strength of the alliance and what it does on behalf of people who are allied, can be very important in contending with conditions that come and go in the life histories of these societies. So I think some of the work that's been done on confederacies is relevant and applicable to looking at the cultural history of Caddoan peoples, but we need to retool it so it's in terms of alliances and how things like that

⁷Patricia K. Galloway: *Choctaw Genesis, 1500-1700*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1995.

⁸Confederacy as a Solution to Chiefdom Dissolution: Historical Evidence in the Choctaw Case, in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds., pp. 393-420. University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1994.

operate as an element of alliances and not as confederacies.

Pete: Part of the problem with the use of confederacy goes back to Swanton and Hodge and the way southeastern archaeologists were using that word confederacy as regards Creeks. And so we borrowed it in the Caddoan area lock, stock, and barrel from the deep southeast and without Pat Galloway's modifications - a very hard kind of confederacy. Well, there is a lot of literature now about the fact it didn't really work for the Creeks either, in the sense that they thought they perceived it. So I think that you're probably right, we need to retool it a lot if we're gonna keep it.

Dayna: I also think you're also right that it changes through time, because in the late-eighteenth century, early nineteenth century when Dehahuit declared himself to be the leader of a collective of individual groups, he never identified it specifically as a confederacy, of course, but that indeed is what it appears to have been. It included all the Caddo, plus the affiliated but non-Caddoan groups that had come under Caddo protection. So I think we can, at that point, perhaps, label it either a confederacy or an alliance. In the sense that Galloway describes confederacy, that seems to fit the Caddo at that time. Earlier, in the late seventeenth century, it appears to me more an extended kin group, similar to Vernon Knight's model for the Creek. Cecile, would you like to speak to the issue and give a Caddo perspective?

Cecile: When I first started reading what people had written about the Caddo, I didn't know why, but I just really resented the word confederacy. When I first started reading I didn't even know what people meant when they wrote confederacy. Like Helen said, the only association I had was the War Between the States, and it took me a long time to figure out why it was that I resented that idea that all of the Caddo people were divided into maybe one or two confederacies.

I think that all of you are absolutely correct when you say that the core of the whole thing is kinship. It's kinship that makes you a Caddo person, whether you happen to be Hasinai or Kadohadacho or one of the earlier divisions. And remembering, too, as you said Dayna, that those divisions were locatives, that they had nothing to do with people's identities except that was the place where they lived. Just like if you're a Georgian, you live in Georgia, but that doesn't make you any different from your cousin who lives in Oklahoma or Texas or Louisiana. So I believe you will be correct if you think of links mostly based on the fact of kinship. I'm talking about blood kinship, I'm not talking about the sociological-anthropological explanations and extensions of what is kinship or kinship relationships. I'm talking about real kinship.

I think we all agree perfectly, you throw out the idea of confederacy, you focus on the idea of kinship, because that is something that exists even to today with our Caddo people. It's kinship that's there.

And we are also interrelated - it is hard not to meet your cousin.

George was talking about the creation story and, true, you have that boundary between those who were left behind and those who came out into the new world of light. But if you think on forward in that story a little bit, when Moon gets to the top of the hill and he realizes that not everybody is still behind him, some people have sort of cut off and gone a different direction. And yet we are told again and again and again that those people that he did lead out were the progenitors of all of the others.

Pete: So that there's not a boundary.

Cecile: No.

Dayna: One of the things that I've been e-mailing back and forth to Tim about is what happens after the George C. Davis site is no longer occupied, when there's an interim period before the people who come to be known as the Hasinai develop.

Tim: Alright. What I was interested in looking at is archaeologically, we know where there are lots of Caddo people living prior to DeSoto coming in and then after that for maybe a hundred years or so, then we have no record of them at all. We have basically, if I would look at East Texas, literally thousands of archaeological sites that date in the fifteenth-to-mid-sixteenth centuries. If I take all the known archaeological sites in all of East Texas that date from the mid-seventeenth-to-eighteenth century, I'd

probably have less than a hundred. So what I want to know is, in the areas where I'm working where I have these earlier sites, what happened to these alliances? These are people that are living in between the Red River Kadohadacho and the Hasinai.

If we have these linkages where people are kin-related alliances and people that Ann's talking about are dispersing or consolidating and moving, how do I track that with these sites? In this map (Figure 4)⁹ there's just one area of Northeast Texas, sort of between Tyler and Texarkana, but between the Sabine and the Sulphur Rivers. You can see there are a lot of, these are just known Caddo cemeteries that date from 1450 to 1680. There is not a single Caddo cemetery or site known that has European trade goods that you can date after 1700 in this entire area until about 1800. That is more than just dispersion. You don't have evidence, in my mind, of a lot of people consolidating going north or south or moving. What happened to all those folks?

Cecile: Are you saying that the European goods start turning up again after 1800 or did I misunderstand you?

Tim: Right. The only evidence of European sites in this entire area is the site [Timber Hill, 41MR211] that Mark is working on that dates after 1800. I mean

⁹Courtesy of Timothy K. Perttula, Archeological & Environmental Consultants files, Austin, Texas.

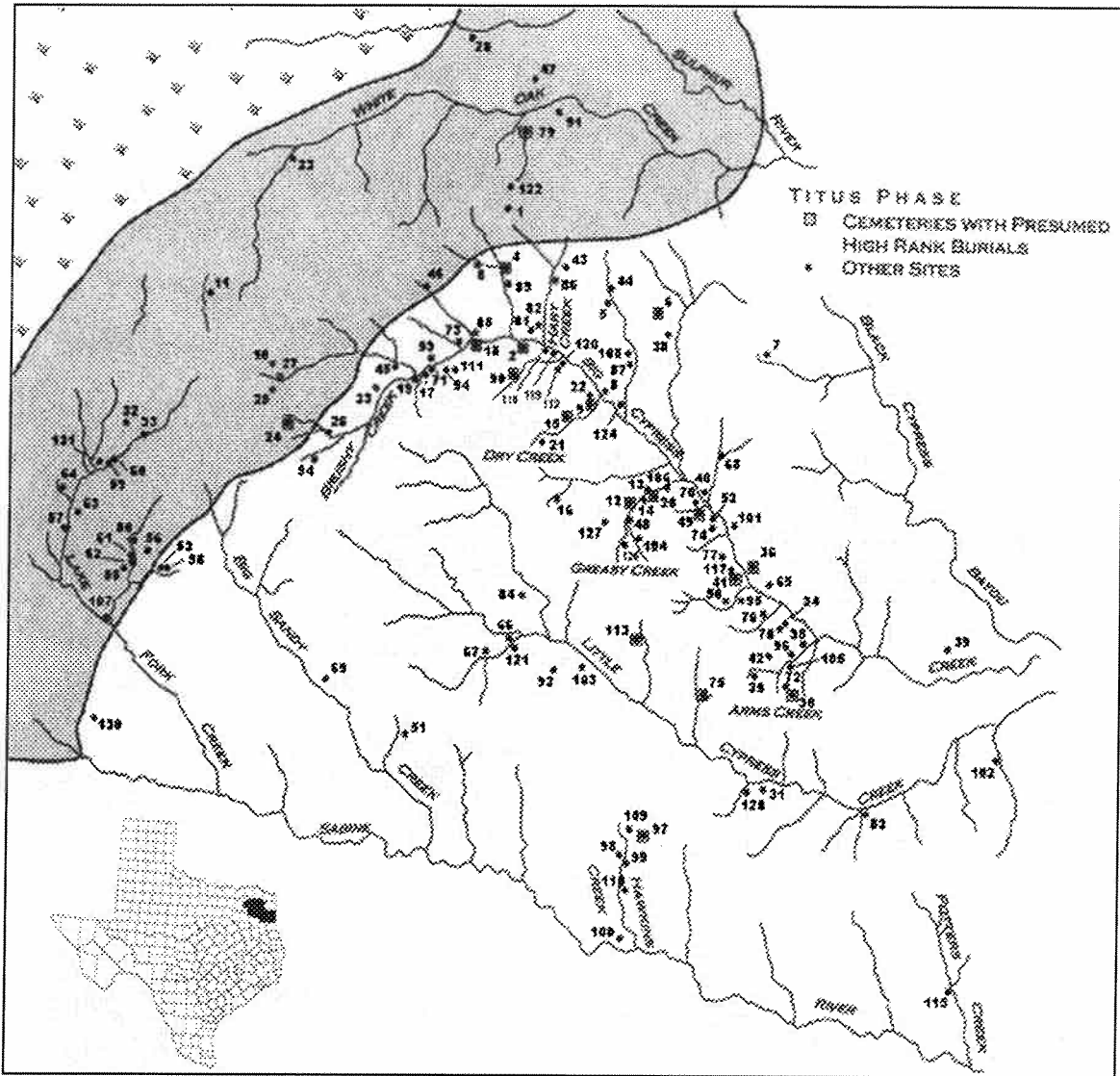


Figure 4. Titus phase sites between the Sabine and Sulphur rivers of Northeastern Texas.

there are a few anecdotal rumors from pot hunters and such things, but it's overwhelming that we have this massive number of people living in this area until the late seventeenth century and then we have nothing. And we can't, unless there is a complete breakdown in the way the material culture looks, we don't see evidence of them moving and linking up

with people to the north or south.

Ann: Well, this corresponds also with the significantly cataclysmic epidemics in 1690 to 1700 or so that contemporarily wiped out one of the four significant Quapaw villages literally over night. So that I think the potential for catastrophic population loss within months, or a year,

existed all through this area at this time, and that may have affected some localities, some valleys more than others. And in the Great Bend area I think we have, if I'm not mistaken, some early written allegations of catastrophic disease. So if you have a simultaneous population loss and you have some survivors moving into other communities, we may not see that as a significant change in the distribution or size of archaeological sites. Our scale of observation may be too crude to catch that in terms of site distribution and numbers.

Tim: Well, here's the problem - I could look at this area and one can clearly count it as abandoned by 1700. The area to the south and the Hasinai area archaeologically doesn't look a whole lot more occupied than this area does.

Helen: Well, if a whole lot of people died in a whole lot of places, survivors move into diminished communities and help to begin to boost population numbers up within that locality. That is what I'm saying, as I think that we can find examples of that occurring in a number of places.

Tim: How would I track that, how would I see that archaeologically or through oral history? There is no mention of this oral historically, of this very large area being abandoned.

Pete: Where is the Kinsloe focus, so-called?

Tim: Well, it would be down here on the

middle part of the Sabine River. Looking at that material, which is a distinct assemblage of a few poorly known archaeological sites, you could make the case that some of those people living up here became what was then later called the Nadaco. That's about the only evidence we have.

Pete: You know we have a similar thing with Belcher, the Belcher phase or focus on the lower Red River, somewhere south of Shreveport likely at the mouth of the Loggy Bayou, a major tributary of the Red River, that sort of pinches out. If you look at the Belcher distributions on Willow Chute, the settlement patterns that Jeff Girard is turning up, they look very much like this without the density of cemeteries. They seem to kind of squeeze to the south, and when you down to Natchitoches, we don't have this kind of Belcher expression at all. The middle Caddo is almost missing down there. We get the late Caddo, and we get the early Caddo, and the middle Caddo we're missing. Again, the Belcher sites date almost to this same time period.

Tim: Well, there is an article that Dan Hickerson did a few years ago¹⁰ where he is addressing the formation of confederacies, and he is using this data to suggest these folks up here moved down and amalgamated and that's what made the confederacy. And I think that there is absolutely no evidence, much less the term

¹⁰Dan A. Hickerson: Historical Processes, Epidemic Diseases, and the Formation of the Hasinai Confederacy. *Ethnohistory* 44 (1), pp. 31-52.

of “confederacy,” but there’s no evidence in the past that would support that anyway.

Dayna: At Belcher you do see something in the last group burial associated with House 5 [burial 15].¹¹ All the group burials up to that time are very organized - the people were laid out very precisely and the grave goods were laid around them very precisely. But that last group burial which dates to, according to Webb, about this time period, a little bit earlier, maybe 1650, it’s real disorganized. One of the members is face down, which is suggestive of something not right, usually witchcraft. And all of the other people are thrown in on top this person and there are more goods than in any other burial. This type of burial and disorganization would suggest to me that this might indicate something like a disease episodes, the beginning of really radical disease episodes at that time.

Tim: There is no evidence of anything like that over here. There is no evidence of disorganization, if anything this whole period of time from Moscoso to La Salle is a florescence in this area. It’s very complex. This is the only area in East Texas at that late time where they’re still building mounds and there’s more of them than there are on the Red River in Northeast Texas.

¹¹Clarence H. Webb: The Belcher Mound: A Stratified Caddoan Site in Caddo Parish, Louisiana, *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology* XXIV 4 (2), 1959.

Ann: I think in some ways you don’t see the immediate effect of a catastrophic disease episode, what you see is what the survivors do. And so, anomalous cultural practices, cultural practices that are uncharacteristic, especially perhaps with regard to identifying individuals or burying the dead, may be one clue that something in a surviving community may have occurred. In a catastrophic area like this, when St. Cosmé arrived at the Quapaw village to find that disease had just ravaged the community, his observation of the Quapaw village is that the dead were still there and that people had not, there was not a mechanism for cleaning, providing proper continuation of ritual or social activity. People fled if they survived. Maybe somebody came back afterwards and continued, but it is just as likely that those ending rituals did not occur and we would not see them, therefore. One individual I know of in this region who my colleague, Jerry Rose, is very confident is the survivor of the small pox epidemic, is from a site near Arkadelphia, that my poorly known, but ceramic estimate was that it was late seventeenth century. One person survived with a malformation of the skeleton that is characteristic of smallpox survival.

That and DNA are the only things that I can think of - genetic or biological analyses that are as yet probably more pie-in-the-sky than reality may - that may be ways to approach that question in a scientific or archaeological manner. Or to seek for more observations of the consequences. What happened to people? Who was in communities in the eighteenth

century?

Cecile: My totally unbased assumption has always been that part of this was created by the fact of that the last big epidemic affected the leadership succession. So that I think that accounts for many things that happened in the following, the late period there. We had fewer leaders. The people had less confidence in their leadership because there was a break in the traditional line. It's about this same time, too, that we completely lose references to the *tsanisi*. And he was, that office was the one totally unifying element of the spirit of the people.

Ann: I think there are chances to get a sense of this disruption in Europe in the plague years, because there we can't read about whether it's at the national level, highest level, or the community level. What happened to families, individuals, circumstances in nations with this effect of the cataclysmic, that the wrong person dies at the wrong time or the wrong group of people die at the wrong time, and many things change from that.

Knowing all the differences between European culture and Native American, I still think that we can get a grasp of the effects of that kind of uncontrollable loss of information, kin, rank, culture, sacred information, and so forth.

Helen: Part of the collapse of the Aztec empire is because all the four or five top people were all gone, and if you think in royalty, if you thought of British royalty, if

you wiped out the top five successors to the British throne, what would be left of royal tradition even in England? There wouldn't be much left any place.

Ann: As Mary Cecile says, with these communities with so much knowledge and obligation imbedded in seniority and special knowledge passed according to certain prescriptions, the loss of certain individuals might be even more cataclysmic than in a very large population within a community or a neighborhood itself.

Dayna: In a disease situation, an epidemic situation, the very old people, who are the repositories of knowledge, and the very young people are the ones who die first. And so population is compressed for the most part to a middle range and these people have some knowledge, but not all the knowledge, and it will take them a while to have more children to assume the responsibility. So what you have, I think, when you see these kind of consolidations, what you might see in action is the people coming together for many reasons, of course - for assistance and for support - but also to share the knowledge that they had in order to perpetuate it.

Ann: I would like to throw out one more thing that I think is happening at the same time, and that is external forces are coming to bear on all these broadly distributed communities, the emergence of the horse culture and the thrust of the Apache and other groups across the Southern Plains, the incursions of the

Chickasaw and English slave traders from the northeast, the expansion of the Osage from the north, and others that we all know about and have read about, but these kinds of stressors are occurring simultaneously. And I cannot but imagine that they would have had an effect on all communities.

George: The time we're talking about here is also the onset of the development of Non-Boreal climatic conditions. Tree ring studies led by David Stahle at the University of Arkansas and some of his colleagues have brought together the evidence that from 1555 until 1915, that interval experienced the worse series of protracted drought conditions for hundreds, if not thousands of years prior to that. You have to go back to the mid-Holocene climatic optimum to get the conditions that severe, so those must have been terribly destabilizing for agricultural communities and brought relocations of people relative to the micro-environmental impacts of those drought conditions. We don't think about that often enough either.

Pete: In the lower Mississippi Valley, in Plaquemine times, in the Catahoula Basin, where we've been working, the big temple mound complexes break down right in that episode. And by the time Europeans get here, that's basically a vacant area and that whole population is on the Natchez bluff. And so they do the same thing, Tim. You get this huge Plaquemine population, I mean hundreds of sites and then suddenly nobody, like overnight. And even down there you don't get all these cemeteries, so you don't have the

population loss, you just have I think the response to the drought and they're moving up closer to the Mississippi River.

George: Well, there are a lot of little refuge zones into which populations dispersed, and then, of course, you have a de-escalation, I guess, of the complexity of social organization and institutions of leadership and so forth as you get large, concentrated groups breaking up into small, more dispersed groups who are able to get along, but at a smaller level.

Dayna: Barbara Burnett and Katherine Murray in the DeSoto book¹² traced the drought phenomena and talked about the radical reduction in reproductive potential that occurred during that time. So, it is very complex situation.

Tim: Well, actually looking at the paleoenvironmental stuff a little bit closer to the Northeast Texas area where we have some tree ring stuff from northwest Louisiana and other indicators, the very worst, driest, but coldest period was 1450 to 1490 when this took off.

Pete: When it was peaked.

Tim: When it was beginning to go.

¹²Death, Drought, and De Soto, *The Expedition of Hernando de Soto West of the Mississippi, 1541-1543*, pp. 227-36. Gloria A. Young and Michael P. Hoffman, eds. Fayetteville, University of Arkansas Press, 1993.

Helen: A refuge area, you think?

Tim: Possibly. There were people there before, so I don't know if it was a refuge area, I think it was just one of those core areas, like the part of the Red River where the Kadohadacho end up, and where the Hasinai are, that's their primary area. These centers were always there, and this was the same way until 1700.

Ann: What about the possibility in this time, it is interesting because the fifteenth century is also the time that I think that the greatest population development and certainly material record in the Ouachita, middle Ouachita region. The development and use of mound centers in the so-called middle Ouachita region/mid-Ouachita phase and the immediate descendants of that, we have what seem to be great and stable populations, perhaps the material results of certain social integrating actions to make the interaction among family groups and neighborhoods within this dispersed community. And the use of ritual centers to also help people help each other, essentially, meant that you had a greater chance of mitigating this less than ideal environmental situation. Through social mechanisms and in turn those come into our visibility through the material correlates of those social mechanisms. And then perhaps what we are thinking of is a reverse relationship here. These were not the best of times, and ritual, political action, kin action, and the resulting material record are what we see.

Tim: The things that I see that relate to that is this is the period when there is a

florescence in mound building in this area that you didn't see before. You see the formation of large, but well-planned, community cemeteries and you also see an increase in trade interaction with other Caddo, with Plains Village folks, with Central Texas hunter-gathers, and with Southeastern folks. And these folks were right there in the heart of it.

Pete: That's about the same time you get the florescence of mound building in the Belcher phase too. And we get late Bossier on in through Belcher, lots of mound construction. And it may be that the stressors, whatever they are, I agree with Ann, are formed in these tighter kinds of consolidations, social and political consolidations anyway.

Cecile: If you have the ecological stress plus, as Ann was pointing out, these other stress factors, then your need for spiritual strength becomes greater and you build more mounds.

Pete: They certainly built cathedrals in the European Dark Ages.

Tim: You use the word consolidation if you just take the beginning, and you are saying the same thing that we were arguing against. This is a period of major alliance building, and it's not recorded at the time of any European being around. You're talking the same thing that everyone else is saying doesn't exist when it really does. You like that term of "consolidation" or "alliance-building" as opposed to "confederation," but it really is the same thing, but this is just happening

prehistorically. You think “consolidation” because of stress, bringing people together.

Pete: Well, what Ann is saying is that they have stronger sociopolitical alliances - I like that word better - but I don’t see that that would be the same as confederacy.

Dayna: I would think this went along the same lines as kinship, primarily.

Pete: Yeah, I’m thinking about something like segmentary lineages. Segmentary lineages develop in response to stressors pretty much world-wide, and when the stressors are gone, the segmentary lineages tend to get more egalitarian - the social anthropological literature is full of that. And so they don’t go away, they just kind of kick them in when they need them. If the stressors weren’t there, then these people might shift to a totally different pattern.

Tim: Then you might say since this pattern basically seems to have continued until the time when there was nobody left, that this was a 250 year period of stress.

Pete: Yes, I think that’s what we are trying to say.

[General agreement from the panelists]

Ann: (183) I think it might be. One of the things that might help us all envision some of this, what I struggle with - one of the many things that I struggle with - is trying to envision with some rational basis the behavioral correlates of the material

records that changes. And seeking out ecological, political, economic situational parallels with the same kinds of social groups we envision, that might help us, especially if there are external written records that help explain these correlations in other cultures in other places. It could bring us insights back into this.

Helen: Have I heard right that amongst you, you have identified a time period in which there seems to have been similar strong developments in this area between the Sabine and the Sulphur Fork in the Belcher phase and in the mid-Ouachita river areas?

Ann: Sounds that way to me.

Pete: Me, too.

Helen: That this would be a florescence all the way across the active Caddoan territory.

Tim: Except south of the Sabine River - which is kind of an important area, given that’s where the Hasinai are.

Helen: At least in three different areas in which there seem to be similar scientific development. I think that’s a major revelation.

Dayna: I want to jump forward for a minute and ask a question to Mark and Cecile, who’ve worked on the Timber Hill site, the second, I think you have identified it as the second Timber Hill site.

Cecile: The second Timber Hill-named

village.

Tim: What was the other one?

Cecile: It was Timber-Hill also.

Tim: The same place?

Cecile: No, not the same place.

Pete: It's permeable.

Dayna: To back up just a little bit, I mentioned earlier these two Kadohadacho villages that were in place at seemingly at the same time, one below the Great Bend, one above the Great Bend. The lower village was called Tall Timber on the Hill because that's where the Caddo are said to have emerged. This is where the group that is later known to Europeans as the Petit Caddo have their village. Would you speak a little bit about that relationship between those two places?

Cecile: Well, you know the first comes from the creation. The people come out into the new world of light, they establish their first village, only it is not called a village. They build their first homes, start to raise their first children in the place that they called Tall Timber on the Hill because it was on a hill and there was a lot of tall timber. And then more than a thousand years later when the Petit Caddo - Petit Caddo of course is a name that was placed upon that particular group of people by the French trade group, not by the Caddo themselves - by that time, because of all of these factors that we have been talking about, all of the people

around the Great Bend of the Red River had pretty well come into one single community and then moved down and gradually came to the last occupied location of Caddo people which they also named Timber Hill. So you have the first and the last carrying the same name Tall Timber on Top of the Hill.

Helen: That's poetic.

Dayna: The original Timber Hill is thought to have been in the Spirit Lake locality, Boyd's Hill, I believe it is. Is there a relationship between the material culture from one site to the other, or not?

Mark: Well, the people at Timber Hill were definitely carrying on some of the traditions of those people around the Great Bend who came together as they moved out of that area to escape some of the stresses that we were talking about. Eventually they wound up at Timber Hill number two in Marion County [Texas], moving in there about 1800 and remaining until after the Treaty of 1835, when they split up and went the ways that Helen was talking about earlier. We find traditional Caddo pottery at Timber Hill - not much else carried forward from earlier times - but definitely they're Caddos and they're there and the village is identified.

We don't find or have not found as yet - we've so far dug only one small part of one of the components of what we assume was a pretty extensive village - we don't find some of the types of pottery that we expect in that context. But we do find some of the others and we do find some

pottery that seems a little bit unexpected.

Cecile: But, you see, very little traditional Caddo pottery was still being made at that time, I believe.

Mark: Well, I would say relatively little, sure. But still I think they still had a pretty sophisticated ceramic technology still in place.

Cecile: Oh, certainly. I think that the technology was there, it's just that the need for making everything yourself was, you know, you didn't go to Wal-Mart, you went to the Natchitoches Post.

Mark: But, apparently they were still making traditional wares, at least at some of the components of the village. Tim's worked in the area, too, and he found some sites that seem to have European materials of the right date, but he was not able to find the Caddo pottery with it. So perhaps some of the components had dropped the traditional ceramics.

Tim: You know, there's that example of some of the decorated pottery that you have that is very similar to - Pete, you have those photographs - vessels that were collected from the Brazos reserve in the 1850s. The vessel forms are absolutely, totally unlike anything else ever made by the Caddo, but the designs are very strange, too (Figures 5-7).

Pete: Yeah, the designs are strange.

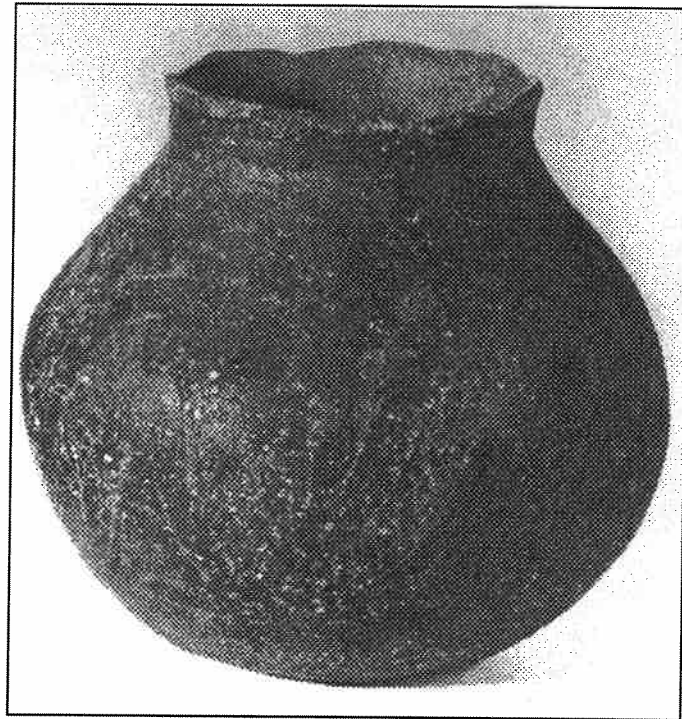


Figure 5.

Those are vessels that were collected on the Brazos by a doctor, a medical doctor who was stationed here. They're in the Brooklyn museum. Claude Medford found them there doing research.¹³ But, your

¹³While preparing this manuscript for publication, I contacted the Brooklyn Museum of Art to see if additional information regarding the Caddo pots could be obtained. Thanks to Dr. Susan Kennedy Zeller and her assistant, Ellen Kuenzel, who provided invaluable assistance by locating information regarding these pieces. The three vessels are from the collection of Dr. Nathan Sturges Jarvis, a surgeon in the U.S. Army during the 1830s. Although the

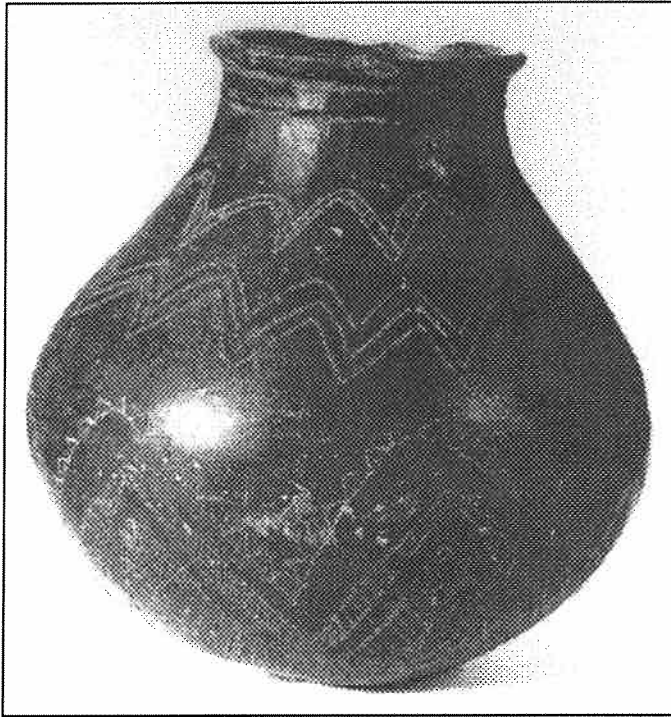


Figure 6.

stuff does look a lot like it, so I'm like, Tim, I've never seen anything else like it. In the eighteenth century sites at Natchitoches, we don't have pottery like that either.

Tim: The designs of two of them look like engraved snakes, but without the rattlesnake head.

pots are not specifically dated, his collection also includes a Caddo cane staff and a bois d'arc bow which, according to the original catalogue listing, was collected at Camp Worth, La., in 1836. Camp Worth was somewhere near Natchitoches.

Mark: The third of the Brazos pots has designs that resemble Hempstead Engraved (Figure 7), and we have some sherds that have designs like that.

Tim: Or Womack Engraved, or something with big triangles.

Mark: Our sherds from Timber Hill were in most cases too small to tell much about vessel form, but the triangular elements we have are hatched rather than cross hatched, and in that respect are more like Hempstead than Womack.

Pete: Before we quit, we have on the lower river pretty well-defined refugia for the Caddo. And by the nineteenth century, late eighteenth century, they're pulling back to places sort of like Tall Timber Hill.

They're going back to the edge of the piney woods to the edge of the terrace uplands, moving out of the alluvial floodplains where the Europeans have moved in. And so they don't move too far away from the major trade stations again. Like Ceil said, you go down to the post. But they moved far enough away from the post so that the post doesn't interrupt Caddoan self-determination. And they're willing to deal with the Europeans, but they don't want the Europeans telling them how to deal. And so they moved back to places that are so marginal that the European farmers and herders really don't want to go there.



Figure 7.

So we have a big concentrations of sites up around Chamard Brake, which was a raft lake swamp, but on the back [west] side of it, very comparable to the relationship between Caddo Lake and Tall Timber Hill. Are there things like that in the Sabine, upper-Sabine?

Tim: Well, there are a few sites that like - Gilbert, Pearson - that are certainly very marginal, I mean, in location. And they're at the edge of the prairie.

Pete: So maybe your prairie is the equivalent to our terrace margins and swamps?

Tim: There is some question about the ethnic affiliation of those particular sites.

Dayna: We've exceeded our time limit and we all need to go out to the Caddo tonight and see what we've all been talking about in action. Thank you all very much.

THE OKLAHOMA PREHISTORIAN

VOLUME 4, NO. 1



Cover: Spiro Shell Gorget

Shell gorgets such as presented in this issue's frontispiece give an insight into prehistoric ceremonies and ceremonial regalia. This gorget from Oklahoma's Spiro Temple Mound portrays two priests in full costume. The ring tail coon is the predominant motif.

BIO-FILE

Kenneth G. Orr

Prospects of the Prehistorian publishing Kenneth G. Orr's article on the Eufaula Mound excavation looked pretty uncertain early one morning this summer when Camp Kincaid burst into flames.

Camp Kincaid is the University of

Chicago's summer camp at the junction of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. It was here that Kenneth Orr spent his summer supervising excavation of two house mounds. His off hours were spent in writing this manuscript for his article in this issue. While Kenneth pounded out copy on the typewriter, his wife did the

drawings used in illustrating this paper.

At dawn on this particular day, the cry of “fire” routed out all occupants of the camp. They say Kenneth came out balancing a steamer trunk under one arm and half dozen suit cases in the other hand.

An inventory showed the Eufaula manuscript and art work had been saved from the ravages of fire.

Following a year and a half as supervisor of excavations at the Spiro Mound Group, Kenneth Orr was transferred to Tahlequah as co-supervisor of the Brackett Site (see Vol. III, No. 1, *Oklahoma Prehistorian* [reprinted in CAN 12(1)]).

Then followed work at the University of Oklahoma’s Department of Anthropology lab in the classification of Spiro ceramics.

It was the summer of 1939 that “Alice and I honeymooned in a graveyard”, Kenneth writes, adding, “this was appropriate because we had met at another “city” of this culture — the Spiro Mounds.”

Kenneth Orr is now attending the University of Chicago, where for the past year, he has studied under Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole.

Muskokee este cate esukfrichv varuhhv eteliketv

The Oklahoma State Archaeological Society joins hands with the Creek Indian Memorial Assn. of Okmulgee, Okla. in

publishing this issue of *Oklahoma Prehistorian*.

It was the Creek Memorial Assn. that sponsored the Eufaula Mound dig and made possible the contributions of another page in the chapter on Oklahoma archaeology.

The association was organized to utilize the Creek Nation council at Okmulgee as a memorial to the Creek Indian tribe. Within the council house are preserved historical records relating to Indian life. Up to 1939, the association had contented itself with historical collection, but management of the association plans similar projects in the near future.

Sponsored by the association, supervised by Dr. F.E. Clements of the University of Oklahoma, and under the direction of Kenneth Orr, WPA’s Eufaula Mound project has yielded the association its most valuable collection of prehistoric objects.

After excavation, the artifacts were sent to the Laboratory of Anthropology at Norman to be restored and classified. Now, however, most of the Eufaula collection is on display in the museum rooms of the Council house at Okmulgee.

Members of the Oklahoma State Archaeological Society are happy to join hands with President Ernest C. Lambert, Vice President Herman Head, Secretary Orlando Swain, Treasurer Nellie T. Kennedy, and members of muskokee este cate esvkfrichv varahhv eseliketv, as the Creek Indians call the association, in publishing this issue of the *Prehistorian*.

THE EUFAULA MOUND: CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SPIRO FOCUS

Kenneth G. Orr

INTRODUCTION: PURPOSE AND SOURCES

The main aim of the paper is the comparison of two archaeological sites, (i) the Eufaula site of McIntosh County [*ed. note*: 34MI45], and (2) the Spiro site of Leflore County, Okla. Purpose of the comparison is to indicate the relationship between the 2 sites, thereby establishing a Spiro Focus, the ramifications and general affiliations of which will be suggested.

The thesis is based on original research coming out of my experience as Project Superintendent of various units of the Oklahoma WPA Project. The Project, sponsored by the university of Oklahoma and directed by Dr. F.E. Clements, has carried on large scale excavations in Oklahoma since 1936. At that time the Spiro Mound group, in the east central part of the state, was opened up. In the two years from 1936 to 1938 a crew of 70 WPA laborers, under the direction of trained archaeologists, unearthed quantities of archeological material. The main bulk of material from the "Great Temple" Mound was excavated under the direction of Mr. Joe Finkelstein.¹ It was my privi-

lege to analyze the material excavated by him. I also excavated the Spiro Village and a series of villages in the vicinity of the Mound group.² Both groups of data will be utilized.

During the summer of 1940 I supervised the excavation of the Eufaula Mound, a site 50 miles west of the Spiro Mounds. This excavation was also under the direction of Dr. Clements. It was sponsored by the Creek Indian Memorial Association, whose museum in Okmulgee, Okla. now displays most of the material. The striking similarity between the Spiro and Eufaula material led to a comparison, the results of which are indicated in this thesis.

Although the Eufaula Component is completely reported here, the Spiro Component is merely outlined and compared. Dr. Clements is, at the present time, preparing a work on the Spiro Mounds which will be completely definitive. Consequently, this thesis must be regarded as a contribution to the Spiro Focus, rather than as a final report on that Focus.

METHOD OF APPROACH

The method of approach is that known as the Midwestern Taxonomic method³, a system for classifying archaeological material on the basis of associated traits. The units of the system are five in number: (1) focus, "made up of a group of communities with a preponderating majority of determinants in common"; (2) aspect, "communities with an approximate majority of traits in common"; (3) phase, "communities with a small but significant number of traits in common"; (4) pattern, "communities with fundamental determinants in common"⁴. The fifth unit is "base", consisting of 2 patterns with "certain general linked traits shared by both"⁵. The term "Community" is defined as "the complete cultural manifestation of a local group or as much of it as is determined by archaeological exploration"⁶. Our components consist of Eufaula and Spiro burial components. Although the burden of proof for the establishment of the focus will rest on a comparison of burial materials, data from the villages of the two sites will be used to supplement and support the argument.

The secondary purpose of the paper, that of suggesting the affiliations of the Spiro

Focus, will be approached by the method suggested by Cole and Deuel, that of building up an aspect unit from a series of related foci units.⁷ The determinants of the Spiro Focus will be compared with the traits of a series of components for the purpose of suggesting an aspect unit inclusive of all. Our data, since it will deal in detail with but one focus, will allow us only to postulate such an aspect. Nevertheless, we may conjecture the ramifications and affiliations of the postulated aspect. However, quite within the bounds of our data is the tentative assignment of the Spiro Focus to a phase and a pattern. The problems of cultural and chronological relationships raised by the comparison of the Spiro Focus with related sites will be briefly dealt with and broadly interpreted.

Briefly, we hope by a detailed study of a single component and its related components to suggest in broad outline (1) cultural developments in the archaeological area now known as "Caddoan"⁸ and (2) the relation of such developments to the problems of Mississippi Valley archaeology.

THE EUFAULA MOUND

The Eufaula Site, a mound surrounded by a village, was located on the north bank of the Canadian River near the town of Eufaula in east-central Oklahoma. At the time of the excavation in the summer of 1940 only the stump of a mound (symbol-

ized as Mi.Gr. 1 and known as the Eufaula Mound) and an area covered by village debris remained on the wind eroded site. The mound was a low shield-shaped structure measuring 174' north-south, 110' east-west, and 4.5' high. The wide, sandy

bottomland of the Canadian River is at this point surrounded by the northern fringe of the Ouachita Mountains, wooded hills with an elevation of about 850'.

Although the mound had undergone random digging in previous excavations, such excavations served the purpose of creating interest in the mound. The Creek Indian Memorial Association of Okmulgee, Okla. secured a lease on the site, and sponsored a unit of the WPA Archaeological Project to excavate the mound. Under the direction of Dr. Forrest E. Clements and supervision of the writer, the mound was completely excavated by the use of controlled methods. A coordinated grid system was placed over the mound. All artifacts and features within the mound were located horizontally in reference to the grid system. Vertical placement was determined by "shooting" with a transit from Station #1 at an elevation of 550'. The records included: profile maps, a site map, maps of all features, data forms, artifact sketches and daily notes, as well as photographs. A crew of 14 WPA laborers carefully excavated about 60,000 ft. of artifact-bearing earth in 40 working days.

A study of the profiles, made at each 5' strip or row, indicated the mound consisted of a main, sand stratum flanked on all sides by a thick stratum of wash which had eroded from the mound (Fig. 1). Originally, the mound must have been at twice as high (10'). Burials with artifacts were found at all levels of the mound. Since the mound lacked artificial stratification, and since the lowest burial was similar in type and contents with the highest, time differences were not present. Of particular inter-

est was the occurrence of five thin, brown soil lines which, running through the burials, extended in a "erratic" manner through the main stratum. It is thought the lines resulted from a filtering out of silt particles following heavy rains. A stratum of clay that underlay the mound had continuously trapped rain water, making the sand "quick". The lines suggested that the mound had been built in stages within a short period of time, since old vegetation lines were absent.

The skeletal material in the burials was in a bad state of preservation. However, certain facts were obtained from a study of the fragments. One hundred and thirty-nine individuals were unearthed in 101 features. Two main burial types were noted: (1) single burials, and (2) group burials containing from two to seven individuals. The most common type of orientation was the semi-flexed position. Fully flexed burials occurred. Heads were oriented in all directions (Fig. 1-C). Within recent time another type of burial, the coffin burial, was added to the mound (Fig. 1-B).

The aboriginal physical type was barely hinted at by badly decayed, skeletal fragments. The Eufaula Mound people ranged in height from 5' (presumably female) to 5', 9" (presumably male). Antemortem deformation of the cranium was not found. Teeth appeared for the most part free from caries. Associated with the burials were a series of artifacts, the placement of which (excepting earspools, beads, and mask) had no denotable significance.

The Eufaula Mound people were

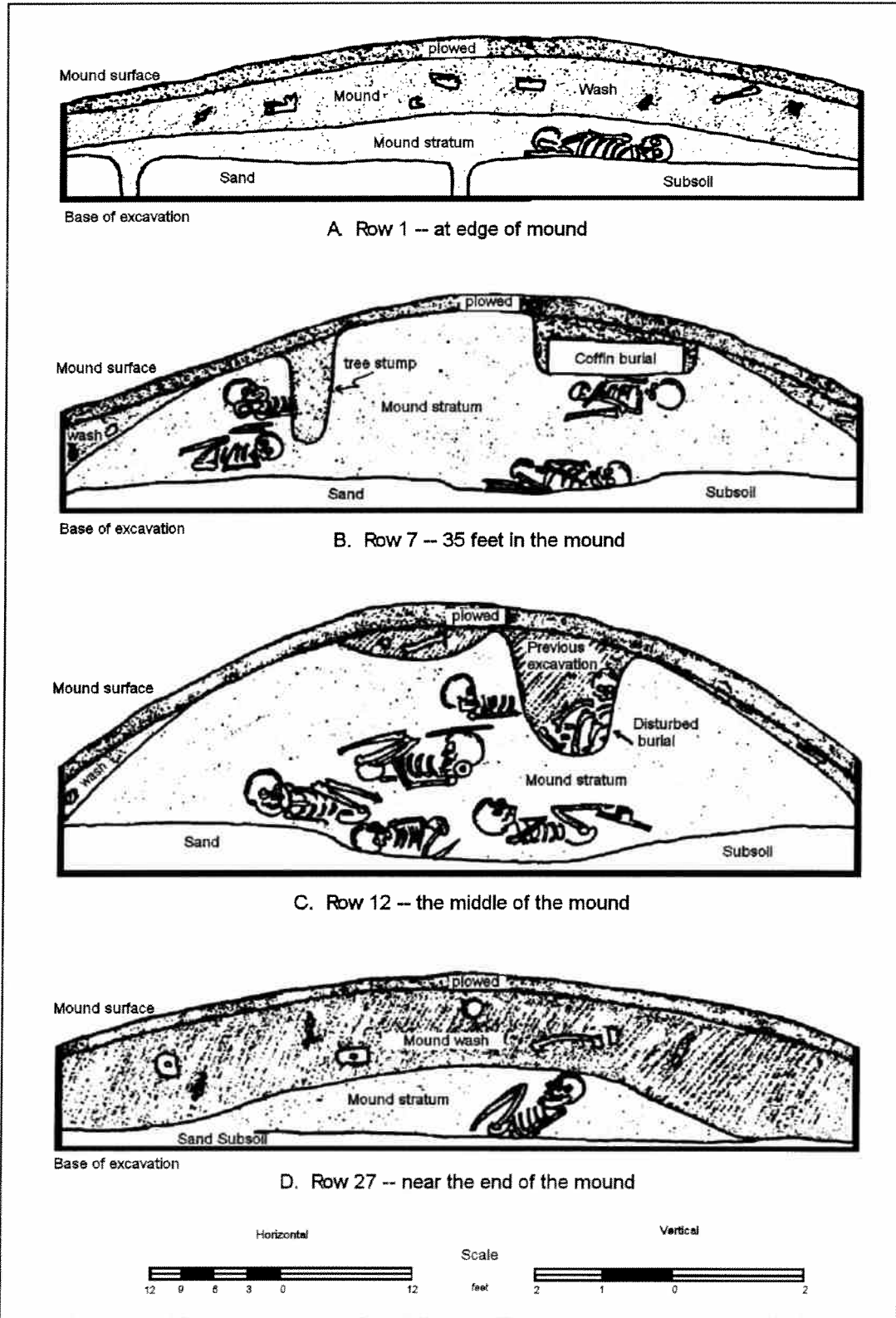


Figure 1. Selected profiles from the Eufaula Mound.

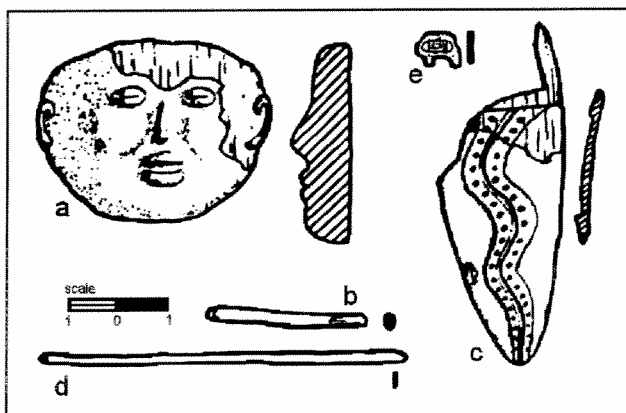


Figure 2. Sundry artifacts from the Eufaula component. a) copper covered mask; b) cylinder tip; c. copper-covered "blade"; d. copper bodkin (no scale); e) Caucasian object (intrusive?).

excellent craftsmen in clay, stone, bone, wood, and copper. Although both clay and stone, being indestructible, were plentiful, only a few bone and wood fragments were found, preserved by association with copper salts. Pottery was made by the coiling technique. The surface of the ware was smoothed with a pebble. Stone was both ground and chipped. Hard, gray limestone and a black, metamorphic stone were first pecked into shape by the use of a hammerstone, then ground and polished. Flint was chipped into small, delicate forms, presumably by pressure flaking. Bone was cut and polished. A few fragments of wood suggested the presence of well developed carving techniques. All the materials, excepting bone, were shaped in a variety of forms, both simple and complex, and bore symmetrical incised designs.

Two main types of pottery were found: (1) a thin, highly polished, brown and black ware with sherd tempering, and (2)

thick (over 0.8 cm), dun or dun-orange ware tempered with both sherds and bone fragments. The former was represented by six restorable vessels and the latter by sherd fragments (Fig. 3). Vessel forms included a wide, cylindrical bowl with a convex base, a hemispherical bowl, a small pot, and bottles with conic necks and tripod bases. Particularly striking were the carefully incised designs found on the vessels. The main design was an "S" scroll which interlocks a number of times in a band (Fig. 3, a,b). Reed punctates were used as an area-filling device.

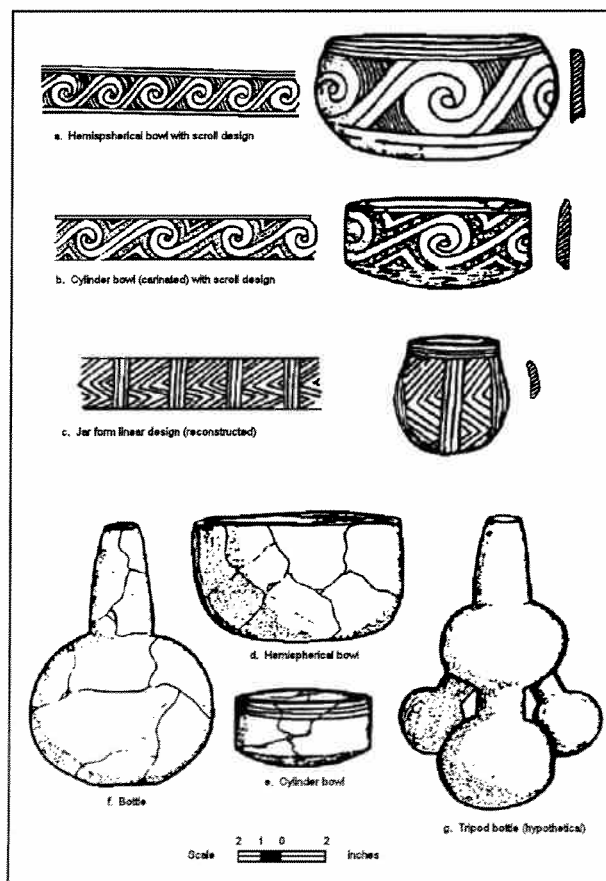


Figure 3. Pottery vessels from the Eufaula component.

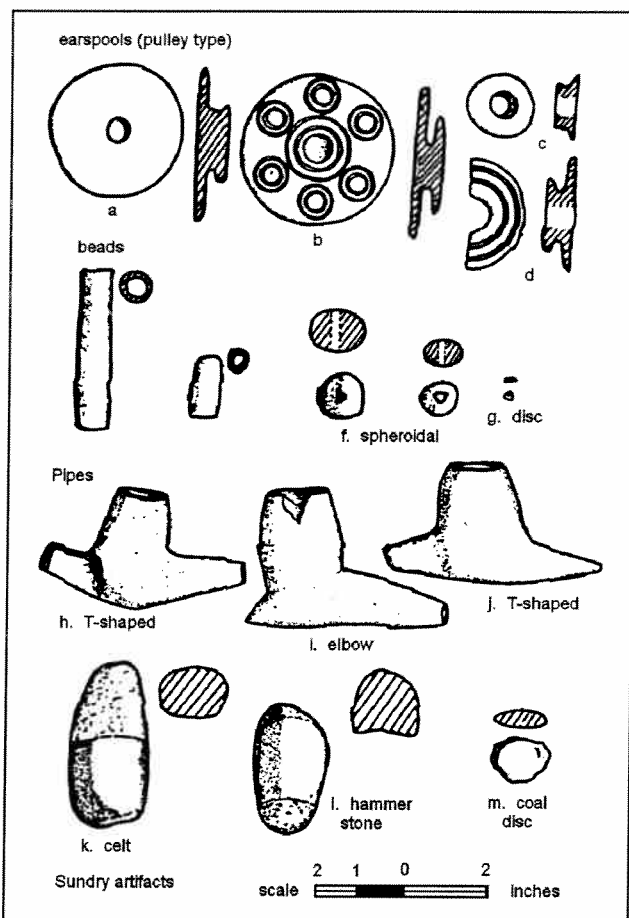


Figure 4. Ground stone artifacts: Eufaula component.

Ground stone artifacts included: earspools of the pulley type, the outer facet of which occasionally was incised with concentric circles and covered by a copper veneer; “T-shaped” and elbow pipes; manos; celts; a hammerstone; a hoe; and spheroidal beads (Fig. 4). Caches of river pebbles were thought to be the “rattlers” of decomposed rattles.

The majority of the chipped flint artifacts were small (average length 2.5 cm), delicately formed points (Fig. 5). Pink, brown, black, and translucent flints were used. The series of forms found were based on

the triangular, notched point and the barbed point with slightly expanding stem. A third well-defined type was the campanulated form. Many of the points had serrated edges, and horizontal notches in the basal section in addition to the body notches. Only five of the total 107 points were large ones (length over 6 cm). The large points were of two forms: (1) shouldered point with contracting, tang stem, (2) barbed point with expanding stem. It was suggested that the large point was a more “utilitarian” point, not frequent in the burials where the unused, small, “ceremonial” points occurred in abundance.

Large blades (21 to 28 cm long) occurred in a cache. There were five of them, delicately chipped into fusi-elliptical and elliptical forms (Fig. 5, V). The wooden artifacts included: a small mask of the human face (Figure 2a); a section of a “blade” with serpentine design (Figure 2c); a fragment of a thin cylinder (Fig. 2b). Attention was called to the unusual find of a previous excavation which consisted of two wooden artifacts, each about a foot in length, exactly simulating large, flint blades.⁹ The only other organic material found was bone, used for disc beads and “wrist guards”. Since the grave soil in most cases was richly discolored, it was thought that the organic artifacts found represented only a small percentage of those originally present. The absence of shell by no means precludes the initial presence of this material in the burials.

A long “bodkin” of exceptionally pure copper was found (Fig. 2d). Copper was

also used as veneer on wood and stone. This metal was evidently native copper which had been cold hammered into shape. Nodules of galena occurred singly and in groups of two to five in the burials. The carbonate covering on the galena balls had possibly been utilized as white paint. Other pigments were red ocre (*sic*), kaolin, and glauconite found in small lumps or as a coating on artifacts (celt with red pigment, blade with green pigment). Perhaps the most controversial object found in the mound was a piece of pewter-like metal of Caucasian origin, bearing the stamped numerals "1618" (Fig. 2e). Due to the liquid nature of the sand following heavy rains, this object may have filtered down into burial #36 from the above intrusive burials (coffins). Although no clear evidence of intrusion was noted in the soil, the object should be regarded with some suspicion.

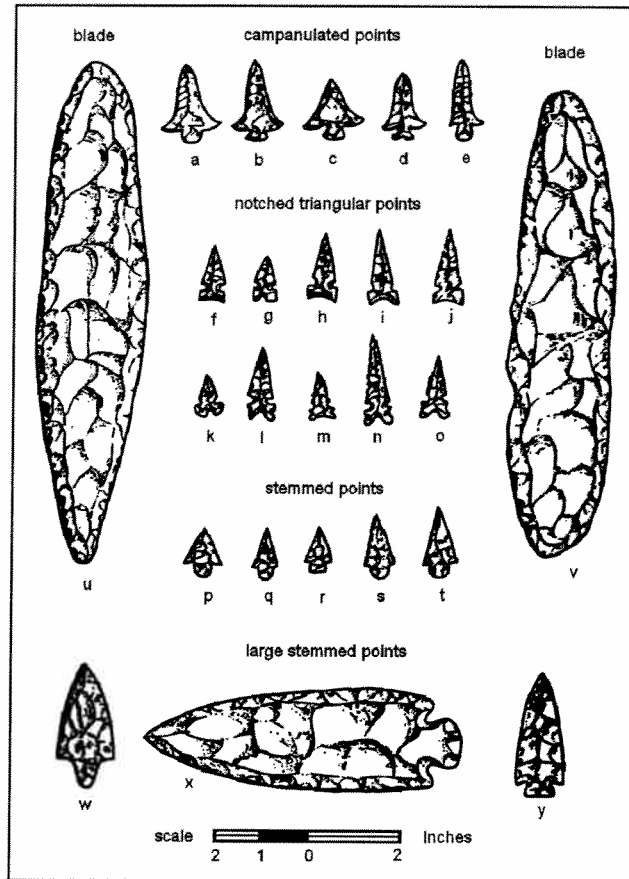


Figure 5. Chipped stone artifacts of the Eufaula component.

In brief:

1. The Eufaula Mound excavation uncovered mortuary part of a single, cultural component. One hundred and thirty-nine individuals were found along with considerable burial furniture.
2. As evidenced by the burial furniture, the Eufaula Site people were skilled in the manufacture of pottery, ground and chipped stone, wooden, bone and metal artifacts. Most outstanding of the artifacts were: wide cylinder vessels incised with symmetric, interlocking "S" scrolls; stone

earspools and pipes; chipped points; and a copper-covered wooden mask and blade.

3. The chronological position of the site may be suggested by the metal fragment which bears the numerals "1618". If in situ, it suggests a proto-historic dating of the site; if not, the site is prehistoric. Evidence of Caucasian contact depends on the doubtful metal fragment.

A COMPARISON OF THE EUFAULA MOUND AND THE SPIRO MOUNDS

Trait List Comparison

The problem of this section is the comparison of two Indian burial mounds situated 50 miles apart. Before noting the details of features and artifacts within the mounds of the two sites, let us note broad similarities. Both are bottom land sites located on the same river system (Arkansas River and its tributary Canadian River). Both consist of burial mounds surrounded by a village.¹⁰ Furthermore, they are in the same physiographic province (Ouachita). As we have indicated, the Eufaula site may be considered as a single cultural component. Although evidence of some cultural admixture was found in the Spiro Mound, the main body of the material was typologically and stratigraphically determined as belonging also to a single

component. We are thus comparing two cultural complexes. Within each complex the artifacts and features are, as far as can be determined, genetically related. Our problem, then, is to determine the degree of relationship which existed between the Eufaula and Spiro components.

The method of comparing the two components is simply by aligning the trait lists¹¹ side by side (Table 1). The Eufaula traits will be presented first, then the presence, absence, abundance or rarity of each Eufaula trait will be noted in the Spiro list. In addition a fairly complete list of Spiro traits not found at Eufaula will be included.

Table 1. Trait List.

Trait type		Eufaula	Spiro
Burial:	type	group	abundant
		single	present
	orientation	semi-flexed	abundant ^a
		full-flexed	present
physical type	unknown	unknown	
Ceramics:	temper	sherd	abundant
		bone and sherd	abundant
		shell (rare)	rare ^b
	ware	thin, polished brown	abundant
		thin, polished black	abundant
		thick, dun (rare)	rare (abundant in village)
		red slip	Present ^c

Trait type		Eufaula	Spiro	
	form	cylinder bowl	abundant	
		hemispherical bowl	present	
		jar (type Fig. 2-c)	present	
		bottle, conic neck	abundant	
		bottle, tipod base	absent ^d	
	designs:	techniques	incised	present
			engraved	abundant
			punctate	present
			applique	present
			precise execution	abundant ^e
		motif	“S” scroll	abundant
			reed punctates	present
			“Zig-zag”	present
			three parallel lines	abundant ^f
		arrangement	bands around body	abundant
			interlocking scrolls	abundant
			rectangular panels	abundant
			grooved lips	present ^g
		pipe		footnote ^h
Ground stone:	pipe	T-shaped	abundant	
		elbow	present	
		effigy (?)	present ⁱ	
	earspools	pulley	abundant	
		with copper veneer	abundant	
		with concentric circles	present ^j	
	mano	rectangular, finger holds	present	
	celt	elliptical celt	abundant ^k	
	additional	“whetstone”	present	
		quartzite, pecking stone	present ^l	
		coal disc	present	
		“hoe” (village)	present	
		rattle pebbles	present ^m	

Trait type			Eufaula	Spiro
	bead		of quartz crystal	absent
			spheroidal of black stone	abundant
Chipped stone:	points:	small	notched triangular	abundant
			with serrated edges	present
			with "pike" point	present
			basal part notched	absent
			stemmed with barbs	abundant ⁿ
			above with serrated edges	present
		campanulated	broad	absent
			long, narrow	rare
		large	shouldered, long stem	rare
			expanding stem	rare
	blades		long, fusi-elliptical	abundant
			elliptical, rounded ends	abundant
Wood			human face mask	present
			"flint" blades	absent
			section of thin cylinder	present ^o
Bone			disc beads	present
			"wrist guards"	absent ^p
Shell			(none found)	footnote ^q
Metal			copper bodkin	present
			vener on wood and stone	abundant
			Caucasian fragment (?)	absent
			galena nodules	abundant ^r
Miscellaneous:	pigments		red ocre (<i>sic.</i>)	present
			glaucanite (traces)	abundant
			kaolin	present
			white carbonate	present ^s
	other		footnote ^t	

1. other Spiro burials are urn, cremation, and crib.
2. some Spiro vessels are tempered with quartz grit.
3. add thin brown and thin red-orange (shell) ware to Spiro list.
4. the writer has distinguished 6 bottle types, 10 bowl types, and 6 jar types of vessels in addition to those mentioned above.
5. rarely, red pigment is found in the incisions on Spiro vessels.
6. other Spiro designs: evolving spirals, "waves", concentric circles; bands of cross-hatching (rare); negative circles; overhanging lines; triangular punctates.
7. a rare Spiro trait is designs on the inside of bowls.
8. no ceramic pipes at Eufaula; at Spiro, long thin stems with conic bowls.
9. human effigy in kneeling position; animal effigy; double bowl pipes.
10. cross design.
11. polished flint celts; spatulate; long, thin celts.
12. spherical hammerstone (village).
13. locust boatstone of crystal; boatstone; discoidal; plummet; "button"; elliptical metate with concave bowl; elliptical blade.
14. stemmed point with double set of barbs, of extraordinary length.
15. bird on staff; cedar logs in burials; buttons; pulley earspools; eagle head; figurine.
16. antelope jaw.
17. conch shell containers; engraved conch shells with realistic designs; engraved gorgets; seven types of beads including pearls; human figurine; inlay in stone and wood; hoes (lowest level).
18. "breastplates" of copper resembling bird figures (repouses); copper celts (Hyde Museum, N.Y.).
19. yellow pigment; black pigment.
20. cordage; haircloth; feather cloth; textiles; matting (plaid); baskets (coiled); worked leather; quartz crystals; bullet-shaped pyrites; mica fragments.

In comparing the material from Eufaula with that from Spiro certain allowances must be made. While the Eufaula Mound was a small structure containing the remains of a little over 100 individuals, the Spiro Mounds contained the remains of nearly 1000. Two years were spent in excavating the six mounds and the village site of the Spiro group. Consequently, a much greater volume of material came from this site. We would therefore expect, and rightly so, to find certain artifact types at Spiro that were either unknown to or not manufactured by the Eufaula Mound people. The very size of the site intimates a "village vs. city" situation in which the "city" (Spiro) would have more and perhaps different artifact types. An

example of this difference is most strikingly presented in the presence of shell in quantities at Spiro and the complete absence of this perishable material at Eufaula. It is thought that shell, originally present at Eufaula, had decomposed away. The people of the larger site (Spiro), however, were able to amass such quantities of shell (mainly conch) that water leaching at the outer surfaces of the masses produced a local calcium saturation, thus protecting the inner core.

Keeping such data in mind, we may expect by the use of the trait lists to determine the probable relationship of the Eufaula Mound to the Spiro Mounds.

SUMMARY

From a study of the Eufaula and Spiro sites trait lists, the following quantitative facts are apparent:

- 1) Eufaula traits total 78; Spiro traits total 177.
- 2) Seventy-one of Eufaula's 78 traits are present at Spiro.
- 3) Of the 71 Eufaula traits at Spiro 24 are abundant or "diagnostic". These are also abundant at Eufaula.
- 4) Six Eufaula traits found at Spiro occur rarely both at Spiro and Eufaula.
- 5) Only one trait (engraved designs), occurs rarely at Eufaula and abundantly at Spiro.

One of the first facts apparent is that the Spiro traits number well over twice as many as the Eufaula traits. The relative size of the sites would of course be accountable for a portion of the difference. For example, while the six vessels and relatively few sherd fragments found at Eufaula yielded five vessel types (traits), over 300 vessels and vessel fragments at Spiro presented over 38 types. The fact that the Eufaula vessels are all found in abundance at Spiro is a strong point in favor of a close relationship between the two sites. The negative information presented by the lack of some 23 vessel types at Eufaula is purely a quantitative statement, understandable on the basis of the relative size of the sites. It is, therefore, without particular significance in answer-

ing the question of the relationship of the two sites. Again, many of the traits found at Spiro are of organic materials which had suffered heavily at Eufaula. Spiro's 15 shell traits may have been present at Eufaula originally. The organic materials such as cordage, textiles, matting, and feather cloth, absent at Eufaula, are represented at Spiro by only a few fragments.

The absence of certain Spiro traits in the Eufaula Mound undoubtedly has some significance. For example, the abundance of engraved designs over incised designs (most common at Eufaula) appears significant. We also find on close scrutiny of the design motifs, that those of Eufaula, though nearly identical in arrangement, are more precisely done than those at Spiro. We may suppose that the absence of the ground stone spatula mace, abundant at Spiro and lacking at Eufaula, may have cultural significance. However, the absence of such Spiro traits as the quartz crystal, boatstone (locust effigy), and the large double bowl, monitor pipe type may have no great meaning for our problem. Such artifacts due to their extreme rarity not only at Spiro but everywhere, must be regarded as local phenomena or trade articles. It is felt that the other differences may be accounted for on the basis of local specialization.

Another set of traits found rarely at Spiro and not at all at Eufaula may have an entirely different significance. Such traits are: shell tempered, thin brown or red-orange ware; long stemmed pipes with

small, conical bowls; designs based on cross-hatched bands, spurred lines, and negative circles in hatched areas; red pigment in incisions; and perhaps urn burials in large, shell tempered jars. These traits seem to contrast sharply with the main run of materials and may represent a second component within the Spiro Mound site. Such material closely resembles that found in villages in the vicinity of the Spiro Mound. At the present time the writer is working on a clearer definition of this second, well-represented culture, which might be called the Fort Coffee focus.

The Eufaula traits absent at Spiro (seven in number) may be readily accounted for. Two of the traits, wooden "flint" blades, and bone "wrist guards", are of organic

materials that might easily have disappeared in the Spiro site. The two point types, broad campanulated, and triangular, notched with additional horizontal notches in the basal portion, are Eufaula specializations, the basic types of which are found at Spiro. The absence of Caucasian metal at Spiro throws suspicion on the already doubtful metal fragment from Eufaula. Although quartz crystal beads are lacking at Spiro (one from Eufaula) unworked crystals occurred in quantities, and one worked specimen (locust boatstone) is listed. The seventh Eufaula trait absent at Spiro is a bottle type with a hollow, tripod base. The seriousness of this absence is somewhat modified by the presence of solid, tripod bases on other forms (jar). However, it may have some significance.

CONCLUSION

It has been indicated that fully 71 of Eufaula's 78 traits are present at Spiro. Furthermore, 24 of Eufaula's traits, diagnostic at that site, are also diagnostic at the Spiro site. It has been pointed out that while quantitative and qualitative differences do exist between the two sites, they are due to (1) difference in the relative size of the sites, (2) presence or absence of highly perishable organic materials, (3) local specialization. They are consequently of minimum significance

to our problem. Certain traits, however, are present in small numbers at Spiro and absent at Eufaula. These traits may belong to a different component, the focus (Fort Coffee Focus) of which is being defined at the present time. Since the evidence indicates a near-identity relationship between the two components, we feel justified in grouping them in accordance with the principle of the Midwestern Taxonomic System into one focus which may be called the Spiro Focus.

DISCUSSION

Certain sites bear so striking a similarity to the Spiro Focus as to be included within

it. The Brackett site of northeastern Oklahoma has a house, pottery and burial

types identical with Spiro.¹² Gahagan Mound of northwestern Louisiana differs significantly in only a few ceramic traits.¹³ The Mineral Spring sites of southwestern Arkansas have striking similarities, particularly in the ceramic traits.¹⁴ Again, in northwestern Texas, Sanders' Place contains traits which even, to shell gorgets, might have come from the Spiro Mounds.¹⁵ Finkelstein notes the close relationship between the Norman site of eastern Oklahoma and Spiro, which he unhesitatingly places within the same aspect.¹⁶ The writer suggests that a detailed comparison of trait lists might place the Norman Site in a focus relationship to the other sites listed above.

The aspect affiliation of the Spiro Focus is suggested by a comparison of its traits with those of sites that have been called "Caddoan". Although much abused in the literature, this inappropriate, linguistic term may be said to include Harrington's southwest Arkansas sites, Moore's Red River sites, Ford's Caddo pottery horizon, as well as the sites of northeastern Texas. The similarity of these sites to each other and to the Spiro Focus suggests an aspect grouping. Such a group might be termed the "Caddoan Aspect". Within this large category foci other than Spiro would appear. A "Glendora Focus" might embrace Moore's contact sites on the Ouachita River as well as Ford's and Walker's Louisiana Caddo. The villages surrounding the Spiro Mounds (Moore, Skidgel, Bowman) could be grouped within a "Fort Coffee Focus", and Harrington's Ozan, Washington, and Hot Springs sites could be grouped within an "Ozan Focus". Although entirely

speculative at present, a "Caddoan Aspect" consisting of several foci is strongly suggested by the "Caddoan" material. The plausibility of such a setup has been stressed in the unpublished worked of Deuel¹⁷ and Bennett¹⁸.

The broad Mississippi pattern traits as outlined by Cole and Deuel¹⁹ easily embrace the Spiro Focus. We note that the Upper Mississippi forms are similar, but entirely too simplified to account for the richly variegated culture of the Spiro Focus. The list of determinants for the Middle Mississippi more closely resemble those of our Focus²⁰. With the exception of pottery trowels, all traits listed are present or abundant at Spiro. However, while mounds of the Middle Mississippi are used primarily as substructures, Spiro mounds are mainly burial receptacles. Again, the Middle Mississippi pottery seems to be less "ornate" than that of the Caddoan area. Such differences might contribute to the controversy as to whether or not a "lower" phase of the Mississippi would, of necessity, reopen the problem of phase affiliation.

It must always be remembered that a classification of cultures is merely a tool with which to reconstruct the past. It is, nevertheless, a most necessary tool. The material facts of aboriginal groups must be established before temporal and spatial (*sic.*) questions concerning them can be answered. For this reason, the Midwestern Taxonomic System, embracing as it does total material cultures, is an excellent device for working out uncharted histories. The continued use of this system will solve many problems of cultural

relationships in the "Caddoan" area in particular, and in the New World, in

general. To this vast task this paper may represent a small contribution.

END NOTES

- ¹ Fred Carder, David Baerreis, Lynn Howard, and Carl Ball also supervised the work on the "Great Temple" mound.
- ² Orr, K.G., "Field Report on Excavation of Indian Villages in the Vicinity of the Spiro Mounds", *The Oklahoma Prehistorian*, Vol. II, no. 2, July, 1939.
- ³ McKern, C.W., "The Midwestern Taxonomic Method as an Aid to Archaeological Culture Study", *American Antiquity*, Vol. IV, no. 4, pp. 3301-313, April 1939.
- ⁴ Cole, Fay-Cooper, and Deuel, Thorne, *Rediscovering Illinois*, p. 207, University of Chicago Press, 1937.
- ⁵ McKern, op. cit., p. 310.
- ⁶ Cole and Deuel, op. cit., p. 278.
- ⁷ Cole and Deuel, op. cit., p. 207.
- ⁸ Swanton, J.R., "Archaeological Culture Areas" in Conference on Southern Prehistory, National Research Council, Dec. 1932, Fig. 7.
- ⁹ This excavation was undertaken by the Okmulgee Museum in the summer of 1939. Mr. Otto Spring directed the dig.
- ¹⁰ Although both the village and the mounds of the Spiro Site were excavated, only the material from the mounds will appear in the trait list.
- ¹¹ "Trait" is used as defined by Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole: any feature, artifact, or artifact characteristic (in short, anything found in a site) which may be of use in cultural diagnosis. A "diagnostic trait" is one which occurs a number of times, indicating its importance in a complex of traits. F.C. Cole, lecture in North American Archaeology, University of Chicago, Nov. 26, 1940.
- ¹² Howard, Lynn, "The Brackett Site", *The Oklahoma Prehistorian*, Vol. III, no. 1, p. 2, Jan., 1940.
- ¹³ Webb and Dodd, "The Gahagan Mound", *TAPS*, Vol. II, pp. 92-125, 1939; and Moore, Clarence B., "Site on the Red River", *JANS*, Vol. IV, 1912.
- ¹⁴ Harrington, M.R., "Caddo Site in Arkansas", *MAI*, p. 23, 1920.

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- ¹⁷ Deuel, Thorne, "Pictorial Survey of the Mississippi Valley", Unpublished MS, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Chicago.
- ¹⁸ Bennett, John, "The Caddoan Problem", Unpublished MS, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Chicago. The writer wishes here to acknowledge the aid so generously given by Mr. Bennett during the preparation of the Eufaula Mound paper.
- ¹⁹ Cole and Deuel, op. cit., p. 36.
- ²⁰ Ibid, Table 2.

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ABSTRACTS OF THE 43RD CADDO CONFERENCE/23RD FLINT HILLS CONFERENCE

*Norman, Oklahoma
March 15 - 18, 2001*

Bevitt, C. Tod (Kansas State Historical Society)

The Johnson-Zahm Cache: Insight into Great Bend Aspect Lithic Acquisition and Utilization

In November 1971, a collection of approximately 55 medium to large-size flakes and five bifaces was donated to the Kansas State Historical Society after being recovered from a cache exposed by clearing of a terrace on Little Deer Creek north of Iola, Kansas. The cache was part of a larger site (14AN401) which spanned much of the formerly timbered terrace. Artifacts from the terrace indicate a Late Ceramic, Great Bend cultural affiliation. The cache provides a unique opportunity to discuss Great Bend lithic acquisition and utilization due to its peripheral setting in relation to the core distribution of major Great Bend Aspect habitation complexes. This paper will discuss the characteristics of the lithics from the cache as well as offer some comparisons with similar caches and general raw material procurement and utilization practices identified in the complex of sites in the Marion, Kansas vicinity.

Curtin, James (Haskell Indian Nations

University)

Using ArcView GIS to Catalog Archeological Sites on Caddo Homelands

Caddo archeological sites are being catalogued in Arc View GIS to generate maps and organize detailed information on site attributes. Fort Polk and Barksdale Air Force Base provided initial data for this research, but the goal is to consolidate archeological data throughout the four-state area of original homelands of the Caddo Nation. Archeological surveys and historical research at Fort Polk demonstrated that Caddoan people had used the area continually for centuries to hunt and collect resources. Using Arc View GIS will assist cultural preservation and could serve as a model for other Indian Nations to follow.

Fair, Rhonda S. (University of Oklahoma)

The Culture and History of the Kichai

Of all the Caddoan-speaking groups, the Kichai have proven the most elusive. Historically, they attached themselves to other tribes, such as the Caddo and later the Wichita. Then, during the mid-1800s, the Kichai ceased to exist independently from the Wichita. After the Civil War, the number of Kichai was so small and their

intermarriage and contact with the Wichita so great that they became an “affiliated tribe”. By the time anthropologists began to intensively study Caddoan groups, only a handful of Kichai remained. This paper reviews our current knowledge of the Kichai’s culture and history.

Feagins, Jim D. (Grandview, Missouri)
Nonintrusive Documentation of Selected Burial Artifacts by the Use of CAT Scans and X Rays: Example from a NAGPRA/UBS Enhancement and Compliance Study in Kansas

Nine artifacts, from five Native American burial sites, were selected from the collection managed by the Kansas Unmarked Burial Sites Board, to determine the effectiveness of CAT scan and/or X ray documentation. These artifacts include: a can of percussion caps, plant material, a German silver hair tube with a braided hair extender, an iron bit, marine shell beads, tinklers, and stone pipes. With the ongoing repatriation of Native American burial artifacts, it is paramount that these materials be described and documented. In some cases, it is impossible to fully document certain types of artifacts with ordinary light photography. This nonintrusive experiment is part of the ongoing NAGPRA/UBS compliance and enhancement study funded by the state legislature and administered by the Kansas State Historical Society.

Green, Debra K. (University of Oklahoma)
Geoarchaeology of a Late Archaic Bison Kill Site: Preliminary Results from the

Certain Site (34BK46)

Late Archaic Southern Plains bison hunters lived on landscapes that were dynamic and continually changing. Current research at the Certain site (34BK46) in western Oklahoma suggests that the landscape was highly unstable during the Late Archaic period on into the present time. The site has undergone numerous gully cut and fill cycles with the last filling episode occurring 2000 B.P. Soil analyses of the gullies indicate weakly developed A horizons. There are no distinct deposit boundaries, suggesting that sedimentation was continuous with short periods of landscape stability. The use of modern gully analogs downstream from the kill site provides a basis for interpretations of the geomorphological history of the site.

Kay, Marvin (University of Arkansas - Fayetteville)
Norman Site (34WG2) Chronology and Ritual

Four new radiocarbon and two archeomagnetic assays are now available for Mound I-1. These largely are consistent with the existing radiocarbon chronology from (mostly) other Norman site mounds. Viewed as a whole, the site appears to have developed first during the Harlan phase (ca. A.D. 1000 - 1250), with construction continuing during the subsequent Norman phase (ca. A.D. 1250 - 1400). Mound I-1 may have been built during a relatively brief period early in the Norman phase, or roughly the 13th century. Its conjoined mound I-2 appears to have begun during the Harlan phase. Mound building and remodeling appear to define

ritual cycles, perhaps on an annual scale.

Kelin, Zachecee (Cornell College, Iowa)
Native American Self-Determination

An extensive literature review and a series of in-depth interviews were carried out to analyze Native American self-determination. Indian professionals concerned with Native American affairs at a national level and tribal leaders focused on self-determination on a local level were interviewed. Legal relationship that has evolved between Native Americans and the United States government, Native American efforts to enlarge implementation of tribal self-determination, and exercise of self-determination at a tribal level were explored. When Native Americans pursue determination, they are making a political demand. Specifically, they are demanding tribal control over Native American social, economic, and cultural development.

Lafferty, Robert H., III (Mid-Continental Research Associates, Inc.)
Cultural Affiliation Study of the Buffalo National River, Arkansas

Mid-Continental Research Associates, Inc., is currently conducting a cultural affiliation study for the National Park Service. The study area is the Buffalo National River in the south central Ozark Mountains of Arkansas. This multidisciplinary project involves historians, linguists, ethnohistorians, and archeologists. The team is attempting to determine the tribes potentially affiliated with the park and burials in its collections. The early explorers kept to the river valleys, and it was not until 1850 that the

Buffalo River was accurately mapped. While data from the protohistoric period is even scarcer, there are hints of a Caddoan connection in that period.

Lafferty, Robert H., III, and M. Cassandra Hill (Mid-Continental Research Associates, Inc.)

Community Involvement and Bioarcheology at the Helm Site, Hot Spring County, Arkansas

In 1998, the Arkansas Highway and Transportation Department contracted with Mid-Continental Research Associates, Inc. to conduct systematic archeological excavations in the right-of-way for a new bridge near Malvern, Arkansas. Previous archeology and the initial survey for the project indicated the probability of excavating human graves. This paper reviews the entire project, from initial survey, excavation, interdisciplinary analysis, to the final report. Community involvement by the Caddo Nation's representatives and consultants were important throughout the project. The project serves as an example of successful cooperation among all concerned parties.

Lancaster, Scott (University of Oklahoma)

Fourche Maline Complexity

This study tests Hayden's (1995) archaeological expectations for types of organization by using Fourche Maline sites and materials in Oklahoma and Arkansas. He proposes a framework to understand sociopolitical change in transegalitarian societies. Hayden's theory classifies communities into different

categories, with types of aggrandizing behavior as differentiation between them. Expectations are related to the different behaviors that aggrandizers use to increase debt from individuals. Warfare and possibly public architecture can be seen in Fourche Maline remains. Additionally, the possibility that a feasting assemblage can be identified out of Fourche Maline materials is explored.

Latham, Mark A. (Burns and McDonnell)

Late Plains Woodland in the Middle Little Arkansas River Valley

Archaeological research of Plains Woodland cultures in Kansas has been essentially nonexistent in recent years. The goal of this paper is to give a preliminary overview of a Plains Woodland manifestation in south central Kansas. This paper discusses a portion of an ongoing study that examines the possibility of Plains Woodland migration, as precursors to the Central Plains tradition. During the current investigation, a series of campsites containing similar technology and settlement patterns were identified. These sites are typically small campsites, but large base camps have also been identified. During this overview, the preliminary interpretations of the settlement patterns, lithic technology, raw lithic sources, and ceramic technology will be discussed.

Levy, Robert Brian (Executive Director, Kiwat Hasinay Foundation)

Kiwat Hasinay Foundation: Helping to Preserve Caddo Language and Oral

Traditions

The Kiwat Hasinay Foundation, which received federal 501(c)(3) tax-exempt status earlier this year, has as its mission the preservation and perpetuation of Caddo oral traditions, especially language. This paper will focus on some of the history of our work as well as on the scope of our current activities, followed by a discussion of our need for additional support from more individuals, both in terms of financial contributions to help fund our work, and time spent doing the work needed to prevent so much of this rich culture from disappearing.

Marshall, James (Kansas State Historical Society)

A Review of the Stone Implements of the Lower Walnut Focus

A major archeological salvage project in Cowley County, Kansas, has impacted two of the type sites of the Lower Walnut focus of the Great Bend aspect: the Larcom-Haggard site and the Country Club site. Some 400 midden-filled pits were excavated at the two type sites and at six other newly defined components. A study of the large collection of recovered artifacts is in progress. The stone implements that define the archeological culture is reviewed, along with some examples of pottery, which include Caddoan types, and a few rather exotic artifacts.

Analysis of the collection forces us to think about a new definition of the Lower Walnut focus as a marginal Mississippian phase that is integrated in the Mississippians tradition by a Nodena

horizon. Two communities, both devoted to bison hunting, seem to have flourished. The periods of intense occupation were the mid-sixteenth century and the late-seventeenth century.

Neal, Larry (Oklahoma Archeological Survey)

Kubik's Cubes: An Update

The Kubik site (34Ka354) is a deep, somewhat stratified site located near the southern end of the Flint Hills. The site is situated in a bend of Little Beaver Creek where the flow of the water is undercutting the bank during flood episodes, taking as much as 40 - 60 cm of the horizontal extent of the site per year. In 1995, 1998, and 2000, two-meter test units and backhoe trenches were excavated, both near and away from the stream, to test for the extent of the deposits and for stratigraphic studies. Evidence for the use of the site over at least five periods has been recovered, along with features, mid-Holocene radiocarbon dates, and clues to the uses of plants and animals in north central Oklahoma by some of these occupants. Some of our information seems to indicate that the majority of the older occupations are located nearest the stream, and are endangered by the continuing erosion.

Obermeyer, Brice (University of Oklahoma)

The Significance of Historic Roads in Understanding the Protohistoric Period on the Southern Plains

This presentation will discuss the southern Plains trade system through an

investigation of historic documents. I focus on the struggle between the Caddo, Wichita, and Osage groups for control of the eastern prairie-plains margin of Kansas and Oklahoma. I argue, with reference to historic maps and documents, that this area was a crucial position for the control of the east-west trade that flourished along three primary routes – the Santa Fe Trail, the Osage Trail, and the Red River trail – that connected New Spain with the French-British Frontier. This critical “middle-man” position afforded those in control with the political leverage and economic security that is evident in the historic accounts.

O'Brien, Patricia J. (Kansas State University)

The Pawnee's Stoneman Animal Lodge

Pawnee myth indicates the location of a medicine or animal lodge far to the west where hot water pools are found. It is argued that this sacred place is associated with Old Man Mountain just west of Estes Park in Colorado.

Peel, Reeda (Texas Historical Commission Steward)

Griddle Stones

Experimental replication of ancient cooking methods conducted during a recent field school focused attention on some interesting observations. Several archeologists noted that Native American of the Southwest used stone griddles (piki stones) to cook foods. One archeologist stated, “Despite ethnographic accounts of ash cakes and other toasted food items among Texas Indians, little to no effort has been made to identify such piki stones

in Texas sites surely they exist, but we have been so accustomed to tossing all pieces of burned rock without close scrutiny, that we have probably denied ourselves this potentially important piece of information". This paper details information already gathered and a research plan to gather and compile data that will include ceramic as well as stone griddles in Texas and surrounding states.

Ray, Jack H. (Southwest Missouri State University)

Exotic Eastern Plains Cherts at the Dahlman and Big Eddy Sites in Southwest Missouri.

Recent excavations at the late prehistoric Dahlman site and early prehistoric Big Eddy site in southwest Missouri have yielded small quantities of various types of exotic chert artifacts from the eastern Plains. The Dahlman site yielded a near-single component late prehistoric Neosho phase assemblage, whereas the Big Eddy site contains multicomponent Paleoindian-Mississippian assemblages. Exotic cherts at both sites derive from the Kansas City area, the Flint Hills area, and central Texas. Implications for direct procurement vs. exchange at each site are addressed.

Roper, Donna C. (Kansas State University)

Guy and Mabel Whiteford: Early Kansas Avocational Archaeologists

The Whiteford family of Salina were the excavators of the Salina Burial Pit, the Smoky Hill phase cemetery operated as a tourist attraction for so many years. The Whiteford's archaeological career goes well beyond this one site, however, and

includes the excavation of five Smoky Hill phase houses, extensive photodocumentation of some central Kansas rock art sites, and other miscellaneous investigations. All this work is reviewed and the conclusion is drawn that they, more than anyone else, are responsible for gathering the information Wedel used in recognizing the Smoky Hill phase.

Sabo, George III (Arkansas Archeological Survey)

The Teran Map and the Caddo Sky World (in "Regional Variation and Protohistoric Identity")

The well-known Teran Map, produced in connection with the 1690 - 1691 reconnaissance of Texas by Don Domingo Teran de los Rios, depicts a Caddo settlement along the Great Bend of the Red River. A noteworthy element of the map is a temple mound located at the western end of the community. Caddo temple ceremonies suggest that the mound's "edge" placement served to represent a perceived boundary separating human communities in This World from spirit communities in the Upper World. Extension of ceremonial symbolism linking the sun, temple fires, and the Supreme Being to individual household fires provided a mechanism that conferred a sense of identity upon ceremonial centers and affiliated households in relation to such externalizing boundaries.

Scholes, David (Caddo Nation of Oklahoma)

Deconstructing the Dushdoah and Archaeology*

This paper looks at the meaning and parameters of Science. What is science in its pure form and does the Caddo Conference adhere to its rules? Of course, science is hardly ever performed in real life. We are all caught up with agendas and the needs of everyday life.

The smaller, but more pertinent, question then is what are the conferences about? What are we trying to discover? Do we really want to know who the Caddo of old were? How do site reports add to the big picture, and what is the big picture, anyway?

*The dushdoah is a hair ornament Caddo women wear while performing the Turkey Dance.

Sundermeyer, Scott A., Natalie Neustaedter, and Casey Carmichael (University of Oklahoma)

The Prehistory of Kingfisher County: The Chisholm Trail Museum Make-over

In the fall semester, 1999, graduate students in Dr. Don Wyckoff's Museum Anthropology class were asked to choose a portion of the Chisholm Trail Museum located in Kingfisher, Oklahoma, and modify an exhibit to adhere to current museum standards. Observing the erratic and uninterpretable arrangement of the prehistoric artifacts in the museum, the students chose to construct an exhibit that would maintain the preservation of the artifacts, interpret the prehistory of Kingfisher County, and stimulate the visitor's interest in the indigenous peoples of Oklahoma. Analysis of over two thousand artifacts revealed a long-term

prehistoric occupation of Kingfisher County.

Tanner, Helen H. (The Newberry Library)

Caddo at Nacimiento, 1843

A Mexican document in the archives at Saltillo reports the presence of twelve hundred "Nadaco" and "Ainai" (Hainai) men at arms in the province in 1843. At that time, thousands more Indian allies were expected from the Texas country. The two important villages, associated with the Hasinai group of eighteenth century East Texas, were considered well established in Mexico by 1843. This is rare documentation of ancestors of present day Caddo in the Nacimiento region at that period, an event reported in Caddo oral history. Few records of the turbulent period, 1836 - 1850, in northern Mexico have survived. By 1850, Seminoles were recognized as chief occupants of the Nacimiento area where they were given land in return for guarding the frontier against raids of Comanches and Apaches. Slides show the terrain of Nacimiento, now occupied by Kickapoo and nearby Black Seminoles, identified as "Mascogos".

Vehik, Susan C. (University of Oklahoma)

Very Large Projectile Points in Little River Focus: A Discussion

Within the large council circle houses of Little River focus, there are sometimes found very large stemmed bifaces. Most of these are side-notched and look very much like Washita points – except for the fact that they are many times larger.

Occasionally, one of these points is corner-notched. These points are very similar to some found in Arikara and Omaha sites. This paper discusses these points and their context of occurrence. It is also a request for information on similar items.

Vogel, Gregory (University of Arkansas - Fayetteville)

The Mound I-1 Profiles at the Norman Site (34WG2), August and September 2000

As preparation for Mound I-1 stabilization by U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Tulsa District, we used point-specific matrix, radiocarbon, and archeomagnetic sampling and high-resolution digital photography to document an erosion-created, nearly vertical profile through its center. Digital photography proved to be not just a quick and effective way, but the best way to evaluate an exceedingly complex cultural stratigraphy. Prominent among the details are the construction of large structures on flat-topped mound surfaces, cyclical mound building stages, deep pits, intentional burning, and mound fill loading of highly contrasting matrix.

Vogele, Louis (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Tulsa District) and **Marvin Kay** (University of Arkansas - Fayetteville)

Present and Past Investigation of the Norman Site (34WG2), an Administrative Overview

This Caddoan civic ceremonial center along the Neosho River in eastern Oklahoma has one remaining mound (Mound I-1), now an island in Lake Fort Gibson, a federal impoundment. Changing lake levels and wave action have destroyed about two-thirds of this mound, while exposing basal portions of the conjoined mound I-2. The conjoined mound was originally investigated in the 1930s and in 1948. We briefly review these earlier investigations and present research goals.

Wallis, Charles S., Jr. (Oklahoma Conservation Commission)

The Ashland and Bohannon Sites, Hughes County, Oklahoma

Mitigation work conducted at the nearby Bohannon (34HU61) and Ashland (34HU62) sites, Hughes County, Oklahoma, yielded evidence for a minimum of five components for 34HU62, ranging in age from late Archaic, through Woodland (A.D. 680 \pm 70), into Late Prehistoric times (A.D. 980 \pm 70 and 1230 \pm 70). Dates for the Bohannon site support repeat, intense use during Late Prehistoric times only (A.D. 1047 \pm 70 to 1335 \pm 80). This location presented evidence of 33 storage pits, seven fire basins, and three burials. Post molds were identified, but due to historic loss of up to 40 cm of topsoil, are under-represented for what would have been present originally.

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