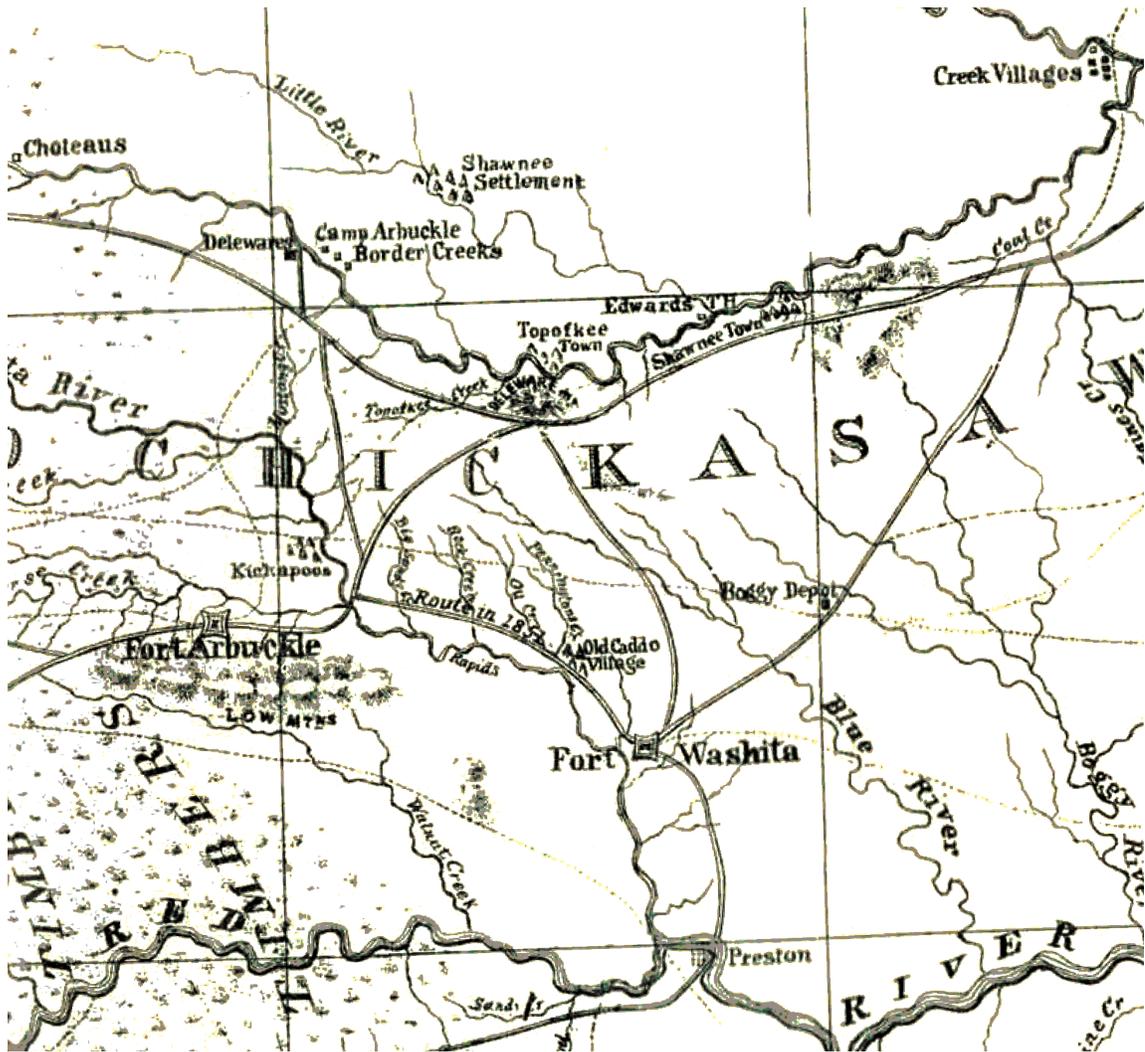


# CADDO ARCHEOLOGY JOURNAL



[Section of Map of the Country Between the Frontiers of Arkansas and New Mexico Embracing the Section Explored in 1849, 50, 51 and 52. Map (1852). Capt. R.B. Marcy]

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# WOODLAND PERIOD ARCHAEOLOGY AS SEEN FROM THE ATTOYAC BAYOU BASIN IN EAST TEXAS

*Timothy K. Perttula*

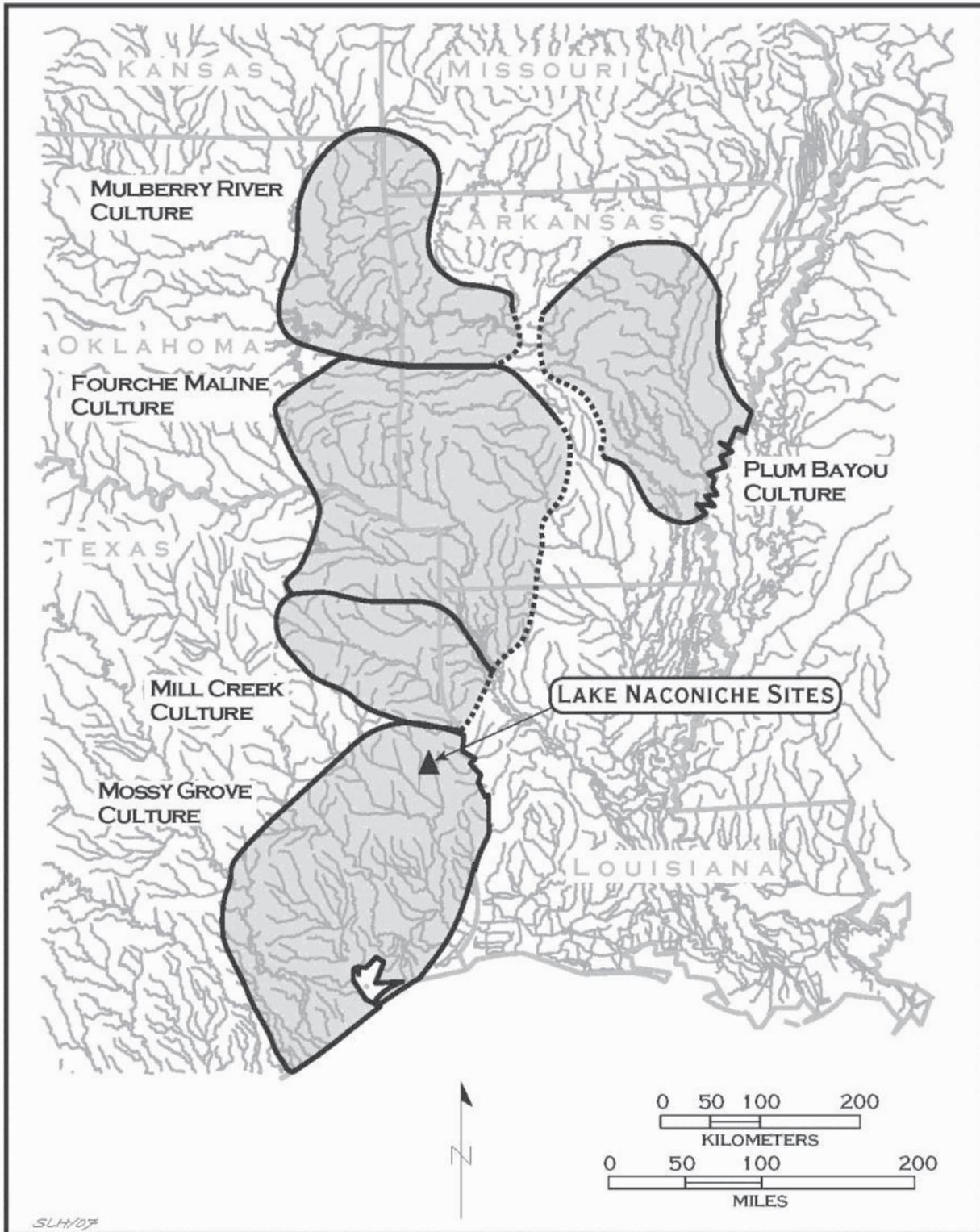
## Abstract

The character of the archaeological record of the Woodland period (ca. 550 B.C.-A.D. 800) in East Texas is discussed in the context of the findings from excavations at four Mossy Grove Culture Woodland period sites at Lake Naconiche in the Attoyac Bayou basin. Of particular concern is information obtained from these sites on local Woodland period settlement patterns and features, and hints of a developing sedentism in the latter part of the period (after ca. A.D. 500/600), subsistence strategies and the use of cultivated plants, their material culture (chipped and ground stone tools and the manufacture and use of ceramic vessels), and evidence in the archaeological record for exchange and interaction between neighboring Woodland groups. The Mossy Grove Culture Woodland period groups that lived at the Lake Naconiche sites were relatively parochial hunting-gathering foragers with a mobile settlement system characterized by intermittently occupied camps, and a material culture dominated by plain sandy paste pottery, dart points and bifaces, and expedient tools.

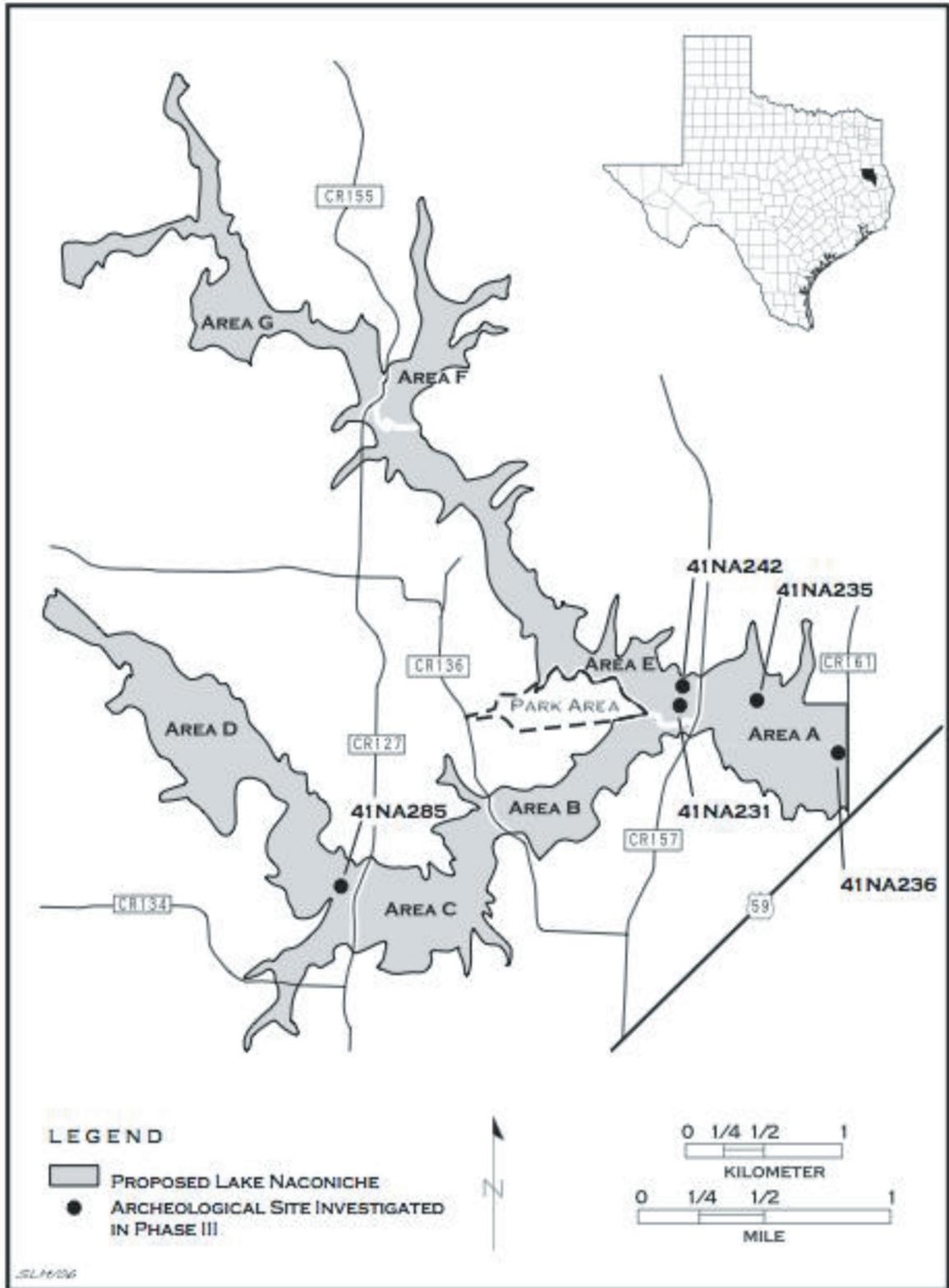
## Introduction

The indigenous Woodland (ca. 2500-1150 years B.P.) period cultures in East Texas and other parts of the Caddo archaeological area are considered to represent the direct ancestors of the Caddo Indian peoples (see Early 2004; Schambach 2001, 2002; Story 1990; Wyckoff 1980). The roots of the Caddo peoples can be traced to several ancestral Woodland period culture groups of varying socio-political complexities, including the Fourche Maline (Schambach 2002), Mill Creek (Perttula and Nelson 2004), and Mossy Grove (Story 1990) cultures (Figure 1). Although the processes involved in the development of the Caddo archaeological tradition are still rather murky (see Girard 2009a, 2009b), it appears to be the case that after ca. A.D. 800, what had been Woodland period communities began to settle down in dispersed communities throughout the region, to manufacture distinctive utility ware, fine ware, and plain ware ceramics for cooking and storage of foodstuffs, and to develop a horticultural way of life based on the raising of tropical cultigens (corn, squash, and later beans) and certain native plants (Early 2004:560-566).

Recent excavations at a series of sites with Mossy Grove Woodland period components at Lake Naconiche in the Attoyac Bayou basin (Perttula 2008, editor) obtained substantial archaeological data on the character of Woodland sites in one part of East Texas (Figure 2). These sites are Tallow Grove (41NA231), Naconiche Creek (41NA236), Beech Ridge (41NA242), and Boyette (41NA285). Excavations were also completed at the Foggy Fork site (41NA235), but only a minimal Woodland period component was identified there. In particular, information is available on their settlement character and whether they had developed a sedentary lifeway, subsistence strategies, the nature of their material culture assemblages, especially the development, adoption, and use of ceramic vessels, and evidence from ceramic and lithic artifacts of interaction with other Woodland period groups.



**Figure 1.** Map of Woodland cultures in the Caddo archaeological area, including the Mossy Grove and Mill Creek Cultures, and the Plum Bayou culture of the Lower Mississippi River basin.



**Figure 2.** The Lake Naconiche project area on Naconiche Creek, and locations of sites that received data recovery investigations.

## East Texas Woodland Period Archaeology

The Mossy Grove Culture encompasses Woodland period archaeological sites from the upper Texas Coast well into East Texas, as far north and east as the Sabine River basin, including the upper part of the Attoyac Bayou basin where the Lake Naconiche sites lie (see Figure 1). At least in some cases, the prehistoric peoples that we refer to conveniently as the inland groups of the Mossy Grove culture are considered likely to be ancestral to the prehistoric Caddo groups living in this part of East Texas after ca. A.D. 800, and as such are also ancestral to their descendants, the modern Caddo Nation of Oklahoma. Certainly not all Mossy Grove culture groups living in southeastern and eastern Texas are ancestral to the Caddo, and Corbin (1989) has suggested—and Story 2000:12, 25) also alludes to the possible contemporaneity of the Caddo and Mossy Grove groups, rather than an ancestral-descendant connection—that Mossy Grove groups were contemporaries of the earliest Caddo to live in East Texas, and that gradually over time these Woodland groups adopted Caddo lifeways.

Extensive excavations have been limited at inland Mossy Grove sites in East Texas, or at least excavations on those sites that have been published (i.e., Corbin 1989, 1998). The Deshazo site (41NA27) on Bayou Loco is probably the most thoroughly excavated and studied Mossy Grove site in East Texas (Story 1982, 1995). There, a large assemblage of stone tools and sandy paste pottery sherds (5% of which were decorated) were found on an alluvial fan above Bayou Loco, a tributary to the Angelina River (Girard 1995; Fields 1995:177-180 and Figure 58c-h). No features or midden deposits were identified in this component, nor were any plant or animal remains recovered that would have been informative about the subsistence pursuits of the Mossy Grove peoples that used the site intermittently more a considerable period of time (Story 1995:237).

Tunnell (1961) encountered similar sorts of Mossy Grove occupations at the Runnells #1 (41SA87), Runnells #2 (41SA86), and Sawmill (41SA89) sites at Lake Sam Rayburn on the Angelina River downstream from the Deshazo site. There were no midden deposits or intact cultural features, and the Woodland period components contained Gary and Kent dart points, plain sandy paste pottery sherds, pitted stones, and a heavy use of local petrified wood and chert stream pebbles.

A contemporary Woodland culture is the Mill Creek Culture (see Perttula and Nelson 2004). The boundaries of the Mill Creek Culture (see Figure 1) suggest that sites belonging to the culture are found in the middle Sabine and Big Cypress stream basins. There have not been many investigated and well-dated Woodland period sites in this part of East Texas (see Story 1990; Rogers et al. 2001; Perttula and Nelson 2004). The Mill Creek Culture is contemporaneous with the Fourche Maline (see Schambach 1982, 1998, 2002) and Mossy Grove cultures to the north and south (see Figure 1). Mossy Grove and Mill Creek Culture sites appear to date between ca. 2400-1150 years ago. Probably the best known Mill Creek Culture site is the Herman Ballew site (41RK222) on Mill Creek (Rogers et al. 2001), a tributary to the Sabine River in the central part of Rusk County, Texas. Although no structures were identified at Herman Ballew, there were numerous features in the Woodland period component, including three fire-cracked rock scatters, seven rock-lined hearths or earth ovens, and seven pits; several of the pits had a charcoal-rich fill, probably from use as cooking pits, while one large pit (2.5 m<sup>3</sup> of fill) may have been originally intended for use as a storage pit (Rogers et al. 2001). Such storage pits hint at the possibility of extended stays by certain Woodland groups that occupied the site; there were no midden deposits here, however. At the Resch site (41HS16), another Mill Creek culture site on a tributary to the Sabine River, apparently occupied between about 400 B.C. and A.D. 300 (see Perttula 1998:330), midden deposits about 1 acre in size were present, as well as four possible post holes, five fire-cracked rock clusters, and eight ash/charcoal stains (Webb et al. 1969). Webb et al. (1969:97) note, however, “an absence of permanent habitations” at Resch, with “brief occupations by small groups, probably no more than family or extended family size, but returning time after time.”

## Lake Naconiche Woodland Period Archaeological Record

The Woodland period occupations at the Lake Naconiche sites are components of the Mossy Grove Culture (see Figure 1) defined by Story (1990). These represent occupations specifically of inland groups of that culture that lived in the Neches River, Angelina River, and Attoyac Bayou stream basins in the Pineywoods of East Texas. The sites were occupied during periods of generally cooler climate with periods of widespread vegetation change, with very dry and cool episodes at ca. 2300 and 2000 years ago (Perttula and Nelson 2004:Figure 4). The period between ca. 1800-1000 years was one of rapidly and widely fluctuating climates, with colder and drier periods at ca. 1700 B.P., ca. 1500 B.P., and ca. 1200-1150 B.P. (see Bradley et al. 2003:Figure 6.13), interspersed with warmer and wetter conditions. Warm periods culminated around 1000 years ago, during the early part of the prehistoric Caddo tradition in the region.

The Woodland period occupations at the Lake Naconiche sites date from as early as 520 B.C. at the Naconiche Creek site and as late as the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D. at the Boyette site, based on 16 calibrated radiocarbon dates (Table 1). Half of the calibrated age ranges of the dates occur in the period after A.D. 400, which temporally correlates with a substantial increase in radiocarbon-dated Woodland period sites across East Texas (Selden 2012).

The archaeological deposits at these Woodland sites are marked by a scattering of lithic tools and debris, some sandy paste ceramic sherds, fire-cracked rocks, and ground stone tools. Features are rare, and midden deposits are absent at this time on even the more intensively occupied Woodland period components. The general dearth of features, no midden deposits, as well as the low density of recovered materials, are indicative of periodic use of the Lake Naconiche sites over the span of more than 10 centuries, certainly by mobile hunting-gathering foraging groups. The presence of ceramics hints at the beginnings of a more settled way of life, as the manufacture and use of ceramic vessels for cooking, storage, and food-serving implies that more extended stays may have occasionally taken place at the sites, perhaps during the latter part (after ca. A.D. 500/600) of the Woodland period.

### ***Settlement Patterns and Sedentism***

Did an increasing sedentism affect the character of material culture remains at the Lake Naconiche sites, the types of features and facilities in Woodland period components, as well as the underlying nature of these settlements? As best as can be discerned in the archaeological records of the Woodland occupations at the Naconiche Creek and Boyette sites, if there is any evidence of increasing sedentism, it is only apparent after ca. A.D. 400 or perhaps even as late as ca. A.D. 650, during the latter part of the period. Even so, these occupations were not sedentary in the sense of them being year-round occupations or even multi-seasonal occupations. The sites do not have accumulations of midden deposits, there is no evidence for the construction of sturdy wood structures, and there are only a very modest assortment of burned rock, pit, or post hole features at the Woodland period sites. It is hard to disagree with Story's (1995:237) characterization of Woodland period settlements in the general area that they reflect "intermittent encampments by a relatively small group or groups over a considerable period of time."

Woodland period sites are widely distributed on many different kinds of landforms, implying the generalized use of a wide variety of habitats for settlements as well as foraging pursuits. Woodland period sites at Lake Naconiche are found in both alluvial and upland settings, and are widely distributed across the Naconiche Creek basin. Without a more fine-grained Woodland period chronology for Mossy Grove culture

sites in East Texas, which we are a long way from achieving, it is not possible to evaluate suggestions by Corbin (1998) that there were subtle shifts on the landscape of Woodland peoples that may have been a response to changes in subsistence (i.e., the possible growing of cultivated plants). The absence of cultigens other than squash from Woodland contexts in the Lake Naconiche paleobotanical record casts some doubt on the assertion that horticultural economies were developed during this time locally, although the number of flotation and fine-screen samples from pre-A.D. 800 contexts is still miniscule (Perttula 2008:Table 2). Thus, the virtual absence of cultigens from Woodland times does not yet constitute a robust evaluation of Corbin's suggestion.

**Table 1. Woodland Period Radiocarbon Dates from the Lake Naconiche Sites.**

Beta No.	Provenience	Conventional Age (B.P.)	1 Sigma, cal (A.D./B.C.)*	2 Sigma, cal (A.D./B.C.)*
<b>41NA231 (Tallow Grove site)</b>				
B-136806	ST 405, 40-80 cm	1680 + 40	A.D. 333-415 (0.62)	A.D. 245-434 (0.95)
B-204778	Unit 90, 40-60 cm	1960 + 70	42 B.C.-A.D. 90 (0.60)	116 B.C.-A.D. 221 (0.93)
<b>41NA236 (Naconiche Creek Site)</b>				
B-183857	Feature 18, 50-65 cm	1380 + 60	A.D. 598-688 (0.68)	A.D. 558-773 (0.95)
B-203667	Feature 5, 50-60 cm	1420 + 90	A.D. 537-689 (0.67)	A.D. 420-778 (0.95)
B-204783	Unit 72/81, 90-100 cm	1470 + 40	A.D. 565-635 (0.68)	A.D. 534-655 (0.94)
B-203666	Feature 4, 44-70 cm	1560 + 40	A.D. 434-495 (0.42) A.D. 504-543 (0.26)	A.D. 415-585 (0.95)
B-204782	Feature 17, 20-40 cm	1830 + 40	A.D. 134-240 (0.68)	A.D. 80-258 (0.93)
B-203669	Unit 57-59, 70-80 cm	1850 + 90	A.D. 61-256 (0.66)	39 B.C.-A.D. 385 (0.95)
B-151097	Unit 3/5, 50-70 cm	1910 + 40	A.D. 52-132 (0.66)	A.D. 5-216 (0.95)
B-203668	Unit 23-24, 31-32, 60-70 cm	2010 + 60	60 B.C.-A.D. 65 (0.61)	174 B.C.-A.D. 90 (0.93)
B-151098	Unit 3/5, 70-90 cm	2370 + 40	510-436 B.C. (0.43) 426-393 B.C. (0.26)	546-382 B.C. (0.87)
<b>41NA285 (Boyette Site)</b>				
B-221421	Feature 1/9, 60-87 cm	1240 + 40	A.D. 690-752 (0.36) A.D. 788-815 (0.13) A.D. 761-783 (0.12)	A.D. 680-882 (0.95)
B-201990	Feature 1/14, 60-80 cm	1260 + 40	A.D. 680-779 (0.68)	A.D. 668-870 (0.95)
B-204786	Feature 1/10, 74-90 cm	1330 + 40	A.D. 652-695 (0.50)	A.D. 643-774 (0.95)
B-151112	Unit 7/12, 40-60 cm,	2090 + 40	166-54 B.C. (0.68)	204 B.C.-A.D. 2 (0.95)
B-201989	Feature 35, 100-108 cm	2150 + 40	210-151 B.C. (0.32) 351-299 B.C. (0.24) 140-112 B.C. (0.11)	260-87 B.C. (0.62) 359-277 B.C. (0.30)

\*Calibrations and probabilities follow Selden (2012:Table 2)

The development of sedentary life along Naconiche Creek appears to have taken place after ca. A.D. 800 by certain successful hunter-gatherer foragers and pottery makers, specifically amongst the earliest Caddo residents of the valley. Neither the adoption of pottery or the adoption of horticultural subsistence strategies (i.e., the cultivation of maize) appear to have been triggering events that led to the ability of these people to maintain multi-seasonal residences in the same places.

Another research concern is the lack of a suitable understanding with regard to the nature of individual dwellings, features, and storage facilities that may be present in excavations in Woodland period components for this part of East Texas. If such features are present, how are they arranged spatially and functionally? These types of data sets may directly address the stability or permanence of the Woodland period occupation(s) over a several hundred year period at these locales.

Only a few cultural features were identified in archaeological deposits that date to Woodland period times at the Tallow Grove, Naconiche Creek, and Boyette sites. These features include fire-cracked rock concentrations, ground stone tool caches, one large pit, small pits, and a few post holes. Those features that have been radiocarbon dated fall primarily in the temporal interval from cal A.D. 430 to A.D. 780 (n=6), with two others from the Naconiche Creek and Boyette sites dating from cal 360 B.C. to A.D. 260 (see Table 1). Although the small number of features—dated or otherwise—is not much evidence to base speculations on settlement permanence or stability by Woodland period groups, the increasing number of post-A.D. 430 dated features at the Lake Naconiche sites suggests that a repeated and somewhat more intensive Woodland period use of the Naconiche Creek valley dates after that time.

The kinds of features identified at the Lake Naconiche sites suggest their use for cooking with hot rocks and plant and animal processing activities, and these appear to have been the principal focus of Woodland occupations. A large 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century pit feature at the Boyette site may have been an earth oven or some sort of outdoor cooking feature; its large size suggests the mass processing of wild plant foods there, or perhaps it was used as a storage feature for bulk foods such as nut meats and oils.

The few possible early post holes uncovered at the Tallow Grove, Naconiche Creek, and Boyette sites leaves open the possibility that structures may have been erected at the time of the Woodland period occupations. It is probably more likely that the post holes represent evidence for stands or racks used to dry meats or hides since there are so few of them, and that the structures that were in use were so temporary as to elude archaeological detection. These hypothetical structures were likely brush and hide-covered affairs that did not require well-set posts to hold them up, and were likely composed of structural or support posts or saplings that probably sat atop the ground surface.

At the Naconiche Creek site, the Woodland period features were identified stratigraphically below the Caddo midden deposits. They were distributed across the block excavations, but formed no recurrent or coherent spatial arrangement. The features in Woodland contexts at the Boyette site are concentrated in the northern part of Block I, where there are relatively deep archaeological deposits in alluvial deposits underlying the Caddo occupation. The three features discovered there have calibrated radiocarbon ages that range (at 2 sigma) from A.D. 650-890, at the very end of the Woodland period.

## ***Subsistence***

What strategies of subsistence resource utilization are represented in the Woodland period archaeological record at the Lake Naconiche sites? It would be important to demonstrate that domesticated plants were being grown and eaten, as Schambach (2001) suggests is the case for Woodland period groups, at least in terms of the cultivation of oily and starchy seeds and squash, if not the cultivation and use of maize. Nuts, seeds, tubers, and roots were likely important to the Woodland period occupants at the Naconiche Creek and Boyette sites. It has been suggested that changes in the density and placement of Woodland period sites across the East Texas landscape may be congruent with evidence that horticultural practices may have been introduced during Woodland period times, or that there were population shifts “tied to . . . moving closer to a significant plant food source (i.e., plants that were restricted to valley margins and/or the floodplain) whose use was facilitated by processing via cooking in ceramic vessels” (Corbin 1998:114-115).

No domesticated plants were recovered in Woodland period contexts at Lake Naconiche, except for a fragment of squash rind at the J. Simms site (41NA290) (Perttula 2002), upstream on Telesco Creek from the Boyette site (see Figure 2). This particular cultigen was recovered in archaeological deposits that post-date ca. A.D. 400. Plant foods found in Woodland period sites are dominated by hickory nuts, indicative of the importance of hardwood nut foraging and processing of hickory nuts for oils and nut meats.

The limited regional scope of the Lake Naconiche archaeological investigations is not sufficient to adequately address the question of whether there were spatial shifts across the landscape in the density and placement of Woodland period sites. Another difficulty that would need to be addressed that is currently hindering Woodland period archaeological studies in East Texas is the very poor understanding of the specific ages of components and how long such components were occupied (or re-occupied). Without better temporal control—comparable to what has been achieved in Caddo archaeological studies in East Texas—it would be futile to attempt to identify subtle spatial and settlement shifts across the landscape during the 1300 year Woodland period.

The fact that more than 94% of the archaeological sites at Lake Naconiche with identifiable archaeological components (see Perttula 2002:Table 11.1) have Woodland period occupations—although none are particularly substantial—indicates that Woodland groups lived broadly but lightly across this part of the East Texas landscape. Woodland sites occur on a variety of landforms, with no hint that particular places or environmental habitats were preferred for settlement and use over another.

What were the most important game animals being exploited by Woodland period populations? A variety of woodland and aquatic animal resources were probably exploited during the early occupations at the Naconiche Creek and Boyette sites. The different kinds of wood represented in the charcoal provide information on the character of the overstory vegetation in the immediate vicinity of the sites.

White-tailed deer was the most important game animal procured by the Woodland period occupants at the Naconiche Creek and Boyette sites, with some meat and/or pelts contributed by medium-sized mammals and turtles; although preservation conditions may be a factor, fish and birds were only rarely taken. It seems that wooded edge habitats—perhaps kept brushy by periodic firings, as was the case among the Caddo living later in the Pineywoods—were a preferred habitat to seek out game, based on the predominance of white-tailed deer in Woodland faunal assemblages at Lake Naconiche (Perttula 2008, editor), as were forested bottomlands.

The wood charcoal found in Woodland period contexts are indicative of a Pineywoods environmental setting, with oak and pine the principal trees in the overstory. This vegetational association is characteristic of the modern overstory along Naconiche and Telesco creeks, and thus the recovered wood charcoal provides only an indication that the most abundant wood sources were exploited for use in fires at that time, and no evidence relevant to ascertaining paleoenvironmental changes, periodic droughts, or fire episodes.

The introduction of the bow and arrow hunting technology after ca. A.D. 700 (Shafer and Walters 2010), and changes in cooking technology with the early use of ceramics, may have affected Woodland period subsistence strategies. It is suspected that both technologies played important roles in structuring and affecting the character of subsistence strategies near the end of the Woodland period in particular. Certainly large game animals were successfully procured by Woodland period hunters, as attested to by recovered faunal remains at the Naconiche Creek and Boyette sites, but we were not able to isolate discrete Woodland period archaeological deposits that contained only Gary and Kent dart points or deposits that contained only early forms of arrow points (i.e., dating after ca. A.D. 700) to compare the range of species procured at these different times, or their relative proportions.

Cooking in ceramic pots versus employing direct heating in open fires or indirect heating using hot rocks or boiling stones may have broadened the range of foods (including both plant foods and game animals) that could be readily or more efficiently cooked by Woodland period groups at Lake Naconiche. That being said, while such a technology could have permitted use of a broader range of foodstuffs, there is no archaeological evidence from Woodland period contexts that a broader range of foods were being procured or processed at that time. However, the familiarity of these peoples with a ceramic cooking technology—even in its infancy in the first millennium A.D.—would have created conditions where such foods could be more efficiently cooked if and when such foods (i.e., cultigens) became known to them or their Caddo descendants. Perhaps even more important for elaborations in cooking technologies than the adoption of a bow and arrow technology in this respect was the maintenance of a diverse ground stone tool kit that was able to successfully finely grind different plant foods that could be cooked in ceramic pots.

These Woodland cultures in the Sabine, Big Cypress, Angelina, and Attoyac stream basins were hunter-gatherers that relied upon the natural abundance of the northeastern Texas woodlands for subsistence, although it is possible that these cultures did grow some cultigens; squash has been recovered in Woodland period contexts among groups living in the upper Sulphur River basin, for example (see Story 1990) and at one site at Lake Naconiche that has a post-A.D. 400 occupation. Seed crops were probably not widely used as stored foods for winter use, as the “relatively mild temperatures [of this part of northeastern Texas] limit the length and severity of the winter season and therefore the degree of reliance on stored foods” (Gremillion 2002:498) in pre-maize Woodland period times.

At the Herman Ballew site, few charred plant remains were recovered in the Woodland period archaeological deposits (see Rogers et al. 2001:94), even though a number of pit features were excavated and their deposits subjected to flotation. These remains included 220+ seeds of bedstraw (*Galium* sp.), goosefoot/pigweed (*Chenopodium* sp.), and grass (Poaceae sp.), hickory nutshells (14.5 g), walnut nutshells (0.8 g), and a small amount of wood charcoal (0.9 grams), including oak wood (Dering 2001). The nut: wood ratio is a very high (17.0:1) in the Herman Ballew component, suggesting a considerable dependence on nut plant foods (e.g., Dering 2002:318).

Farther afield, plant food remains have also been recovered at the Tick (41DT6) and Spike (41DT16) sites in Woodland period components that date from ca. A.D. 50-700 and A.D. 0-800, respectively, in the upper Sulphur River basin in East Texas (Fields et al. 1997). Those deposits were dominated by nutshells—including hickory, acorn, and pecan—along with a few seeds of vetch/peavine and wild plum, and some *Pedimelum* rhizome fragments from roots. Cultivated squash was recovered at another Woodland period site (41HP137) in the same part of the South Sulphur River basin (Fields et al. 1997:Table 11).

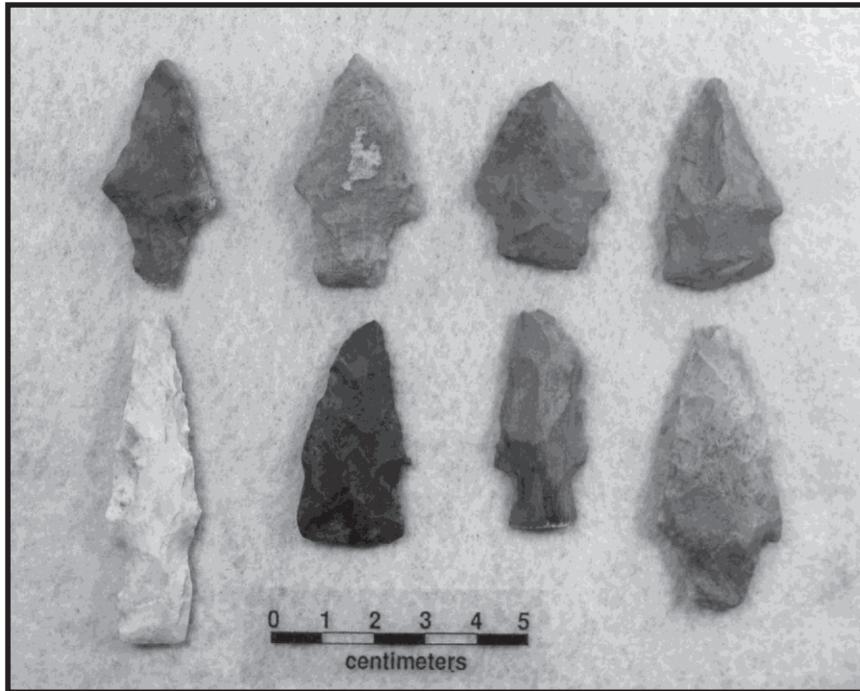
## ***Material Culture***

### **Lithic Assemblages**

What is the character of a Woodland period lithic tool assemblage, and how does its composition and character relate to the emergence of sedentism by Woodland period peoples? The lithic tools and debris from tool manufacture that are found in a contextually discrete Woodland period component are informative about tool use, discard, curation, and raw material procurement, and may be informative in turn about changes in mobility and resource utilization in the latter part of this period.

The Woodland period lithic tool assemblages from the Lake Naconiche sites are dominated by hafted dart points of the Gary and Kent types (Figures 3 and 4), bifaces (including large chipped bifacial knives), gouges of petrified wood, and a variety of expedient and formal flake tools. Ground stone tools were also abundant, particularly pitted stones, pitted stone-manos, manos, and grinding slabs (Table 2). Local lithic raw materials dominated the tool inventory. There is no available archaeological evidence for the use of arrow points before the mid-7<sup>th</sup> to late 8<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D., but their apparent absence in such deposits may simply mean that our measurements of time in the Woodland period with artifacts remains far from satisfactory. Nevertheless, a “pure” assemblage of purportedly early arrow points (such as Friley and Steiner arrow points, cf. Corbin 1998:108 and Figure 2; Shafer and Walters 2010) from dated Woodland period contexts was not documented in the Lake Naconiche archaeological assemblages, although such arrow point styles were relatively abundant at the Boyette site (Perttula 2008:Figure 8-21). These arrow points also tended to have serrated and barbed blades, most likely to insure better penetration in the prey they hunted.

By themselves, the composition of the assemblages of stone tools from the Woodland period components are activities strongly geared towards hunting in small groups (or individually), considerable time spent butchering and processing meat and hides, and a noticeable focus on the consumption of wild plant foods, most particularly hardwood mast. The assemblages are fairly standardized in character, especially the hafted dart points, which is seemingly a notable feature of mobile hunter-gatherers who faced uncertainty in raw material access and technological needs, along with the use of expedient tools at the expense of formalized bifacially hafted tools (Odell 2004:197).



**Figure 3.** Dart points from Woodland period contexts at the Tallow Grove site.



**Figure 4.** Dart points from Woodland period contexts at the Boyette site.

The generally low amounts of non-local lithic raw materials in Woodland period occupations at Lake Naconiche suggests that there were technological constraints that would have to have been overcome by tool knappers. These knappers now had to rely on fewer lithic resource options and had less opportunity to pass through lithic source areas during less wide-ranging foraging trips. These people had to design tools that could be efficiently made with the relatively small size of available source materials and the generally poor quality of some of these same raw materials (i.e., much of the blocky petrified wood and the coarse-grained quartzite); they also had to carefully conserve, curate, and extensively resharpen tools in their assemblage that were made from non-local raw materials. Heat treatment of quartzite (and probably some of the local cherts) was one technological solution, as was bipolar flaking of cores and pebbles, along with the ability to produce Gary and Kent points from flakes struck from small cores rather than having to manufacture them by reducing down a core or bifacial preform; these latter points are marked by cortical remnants on the basal portion of the stem.

In other Mossy Grove Culture sites like Deshazo and several components excavated at Lake Sam Rayburn, the principal dart points are contracting stem Gary points of several different varieties, along with Kent dart points and a few Ellis points. They are apparently made almost exclusively of local raw materials. The distinctively barbed Friley arrow points began to be made and used around A.D. 700; Scallorn arrow points were also present in the Woodland period component at Herman Ballew (Rogers et al. 2001:Figure 15). Other tools in Woodland period deposits, again made primarily of local raw materials, included gouges, perforators/drills, knives, unifaces and other retouched flake tools (i.e., scrapers, graters), expedient flake tools, and a wide assortment of ground stone tools—such as pitted stones, manos, metates/milling basins, and battered tools (i.e., hammerstones)—used to crush, pulverize, and grind plant materials.

In general, Woodland period groups in northeastern Texas relied heavily on local quartzites, cherts, and petrified woods for tool stone, and this is certainly the case at the Lake Naconiche sites. Quartzite and cherts were clearly preferred for tools in Woodland period times, and the Woodland period assemblages at the Naconiche Creek and Boyette sites are dominated by local chert lithic debris (30-50%)—and so are they in Woodland period contexts at Herman Ballew (53-72%, see Rogers et al. 2001)—petrified wood (20-34%), and quartzite (17-32%). Cherts were preferred at the Boyette site in Woodland period contexts; the regular use of petrified wood, however, is characteristic of many Woodland and prehistoric Caddo sites in the Angelina and Attoyac stream basins (cf. Girard 1995; Corbin 1998). A few non-local lithic raw materials were used in tool manufacture (3% of the dart points), and in fact, non-local lithics are slightly more common in Woodland period contexts at the Boyette and Naconiche Creek sites than they are in the later Caddo components at the two sites.

### **Ceramic Assemblages**

Woodland period ceramics in the Neches-Angelina River basins of East Texas, including the Lake Naconiche sites, are sandy paste wares, primarily undecorated Goose Creek Plain, *var. unspecified* (Aten and Bollich 2002), a common upper Texas Coast ceramic type. Lip notched sandy paste ceramics is characteristic of Mossy Grove ceramics in East Texas sites, and this distinctive lip decorated type appears to have been most commonly used prior to ca. A.D. 300 in East Texas (Perttula 2008). Lower Mississippi Valley ceramic types occur in low numbers in Woodland period contexts (see Table 2). Other kinds of decorated sandy paste pottery (incised, punctated, and incised-punctated) have been documented in a late 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century ceramic assemblage in the Attoyac Bayou basin, especially at the Boyette site (Figure 5).

**Table 2. Material Culture Remains on Woodland Period Sites at Lake Naconiche.**

Material Culture remains*	41NA231	41NA236	41NA242	41NA285
Lower Mississippi Valley sherds	-	2	-	9
Sandy paste sherds (Goose Creek Plain, <i>var. unspecified</i> )	14	271	4	1094
Decorated Sandy paste sherds	4	14	4	39
Dart points	25	55	5	123
Large biface	2	-	-	-
Biface fragments	-	13	-	34
Chopper/Shredder	1	1	-	-
Gouge	-	4	-	3
Scraper	1	3	-	4
Perforator	-	-	-	1
Flake tools	-	3	-	18
Ground stone tools	14	41	4	25
Totals	61	407	17	1350

\* Lithic debris and fire-cracked rock were also present in these components



**Figure 5.** Decorated sandy paste Woodland pottery sherds from the Boyette site.

In the Red, Sulphur, and parts of the Sabine River basin (cf. Dockall et al. 2008), the ceramics are primarily plain grog and bone-tempered Fourche Maline wares (i.e., Williams Plain) with flat bases and very thick vessel walls (Schambach 2001, 2002). Woodland period ceramics in other parts of the Sabine River basin as well as in the Big Cypress Creek basin are also primarily plain grog-tempered wares (Rogers et al. 2001:124-130 and Table 21), but there are also plain sherds with laminated and contorted pastes, similar to Tchefuncte-like or Marksville wares that may have been made between ca. 100 B.C and A.D. 200. There are also relatively thick bone-tempered sherds that may be related to Cooper Boneware (see Schambach 1998), another Woodland period ceramic type, as well as sherds with grog temper and a sandy paste, bone temper with a sandy paste, and non-tempered sandy paste sherds. Decorated ceramics with lower Mississippi Valley similarities are notable in these assemblages (including Tchefuncte, Marksville, Troyville, and early Coles Creek types), recently labeled as belonging to the Mill Creek Culture.

The initial appearance of ceramics on Woodland period sites in East Texas after ca. 2500 years B.P. when absolutely dated to establish their temporal context, means that the archaeological study of Woodland period ceramics can contribute new information regarding one of the quintessential Eastern Woodlands research problems: the invention, adoption, and use of ceramics by hunter-gatherer Woodland societies (cf. Rice 1996; Sassaman 2002). That this happened well before the development of agricultural traditions in East Texas is important in examining the practical roles of ceramic vessels in these societies (see Jordan and Zvelebil 2009:54-68). When were ceramics adopted among East Texas Woodland period peoples—was the adoption contemporaneous across the region, and was it a technological tradition (i.e., a new form of container technology that has other technological and social practices, see Jordan and Zvelebil 2009:Figure 1.4) that was shared by different Woodland groups? It has been noted that the prehistoric adoption and initial development of ceramic vessels in general was one best suited, for a variety of reasons, to hunter-gatherer societies that lived in lake and river-edge settings and exploited estuarine and riverine resources (Rice 1999:21; Jordan and Zvelebil 2009:58-59). Perhaps such a technological relationship is apparent in the economic and settlement choices of the earliest ceramic-using Woodland period groups in East Texas.

With respect to the study of Woodland period ceramics, there was a long history (over 1300 years) of use of ceramic vessels among peoples living in the different river basins in the region, but it is not clear if there were changes through time in ceramic manufacture and vessel shapes that represented the evolution of ceramic use for different functional, technological, and social purposes by these groups. It is probably the case that the Woodland period groups in East Texas may have adopted and made use of different ceramic technologies from disparate groups that they interacted with socially.

There appear to be significant variations in the manufacture and use of ceramics (as detected in the simple measure of sherd density) by Woodland period groups. These variations may represent regional differences in food processing and dietary habits between Fourche Maline, Mill Creek, and Mossy Grove Woodland groups that can be detected in the study of ceramic assemblages. It is likely that there were changes in the frequency of boiling food in vessels, along with changes from indirect heating to direct heating using cooking vessels (cf. Sassaman 2002; Nelson 2010), and there may also have been changes from stone to wood preparation tools. All of these technological changes point to an increased consumption of carbohydrate-rich plant foods by some Woodland groups (see Schambach 1998, 2002), and the carbohydrate-rich foods may have included some amount of maize and starchy seeds. The Mossy Grove and Mill Creek Culture groups were primarily hunter-gatherers, with a heavy emphasis on forest mast products and animal resources, with little evidence from either plant or animal remains or the pottery found on sites occupied by these people (cf. Hood 2007) for the consumption or processing of starchy foods or seeds. These plant and animal resources were

frequently processed in large pits and earth ovens using ground stone tools and hot rock cooking (cf. Rogers et al. 2001). Fourche Maline culture sites do not have such pit features or evidence of much use and discard of fire-cracked rock (FCR) (Frank F. Schambach, 2003 personal communication). FCR and FCR features are found in the Woodland period components at the Naconiche Creek and Boyette sites at Lake Naconiche.

Cooking in ceramic pots versus employing direct heating in open fires or indirect heating using hot rocks may have broadened the range of foods (including both plant foods and game animals) that could be readily or more efficiently cooked by Woodland period groups in East Texas. The familiarity of these Woodland period peoples with a ceramic cooking technology would have created conditions where such foods could be more efficiently cooked if and when such foods (i.e., cultigens) became known to them or their Caddo descendants. Are there changes through time in ceramic manufacture and vessel shape, as well as any evidence for the evolution of ceramic use for different purposes by Woodland period groups?

The occurrence of ceramics—albeit not necessarily in large quantities at any Woodland period culture sites in East Texas—point to the development of some occupational redundancy (i.e., a tethering to certain locations and a repeated and consistent use of those locations) in site use in Woodland period times. In a study of the use of ceramics among residentially mobile hunter-gatherers, Eerkens (2003:736) has suggested that “the degree of occupational redundancy in areas with resources suited to mass collecting and boiling [are]... correlated with pottery use.” This occupational redundancy may actually promote long-term trends in decreasing mobility and increasing sedentism, and in such settings the use of pottery may be also “associated with incipient agricultural strategies” (Eerkens 2003:736). Pottery development and use in East Texas Woodland period sites may be related to the mass processing of hickory nuts for their oil, as this was a common subsistence pursuit.

There are sandy paste Goose Creek Plain sherds in the Woodland period component at the Naconiche Creek and Boyette sites, but they are not abundant (see Table 2). Their presence reflects change from Late Archaic times in food processing (i.e., to the direct boiling of foods in vessels and a change from stone to wooden food preparation tools) and dietary habits (i.e., an increased consumption of carbohydrate-rich foods, possibly including maize or small seeds late in the period).

The manufacture and use of sandy paste Goose Creek Plain ceramic vessels in the Lake Naconiche Woodland period sites seems to have remained relatively and remarkably unchanged through more than 1000 years, until the latter part of the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D. The same vessel forms (simple bowls and jars) were made throughout that span of time, and there is no evidence in the East Texas archaeological record to suggest that these vessels began to be made, or changed in any respect (except perhaps in their decoration), due to the adoption of new food stuffs or new forms of cooking technology. Hood (2007:5) reports that organic residue signatures from selected Mossy Grove sandy paste sherds of different ages indicate that pottery vessels were used for processing plant foods, especially on sites located on the coastal margin of the upper Texas Coast, but in upland and interior Mossy Grove culture sites, pottery vessels were used for processing plants and large-bodied mammals. Such use of pottery vessels was likely also characteristic of the Woodland groups that lived along Naconiche Creek.

The available archaeological evidence suggests that Mossy Grove groups—like those that periodically occupied the Lake Naconiche sites—were more residentially mobile than were Fourche Maline groups living along the Red, lower Sulphur, and Ouachita rivers, with small (at best) middens and settlements, none being occupied for particularly long intervals. To date, no structures have been identified at any Mossy Grove Culture site, and only two burial mounds have been found or recorded in the region (Jelks 1965; McClurkan et al. 1980).

The occurrence of ceramics—albeit not necessarily in large quantities at any Mossy Grove culture sites—does point to the development of some occupational redundancy (i.e., a tethering to certain locations and a repeated and consistent use of those locations) in site use in Woodland period times.

Ceramics are not at all abundant in Mossy Grove Culture sites when compared to Fourche Maline sites—although they began to be used about the same time (ca. 500 B.C.)—as the latter Woodland sites are likely to have thousands of sherds from many vessels (see Schambach 1998, 2002). In extensive archaeological excavations at the Deshazo site, for example, less than 800 sandy paste sherds were recovered, fewer than 5 sherds per m<sup>3</sup> of screened archaeological deposits (Story 1995:Table 1). Similar, if not lower, sherd densities characterize the Lake Naconiche Woodland period archaeological deposits at the Naconiche Creek and Boyette sites.

The ceramics that are present in Mossy Grove Culture sites are sandy paste wares, primarily undecorated Goose Creek Plain, *var. unspecified* (Aten and Bollich 2002; Hood 2007), at least in components that date before ca. the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Lip notched sandy paste pottery is characteristic of Mossy Grove ceramics, and at Lake Naconiche, this distinctive lip decorated type appears to have been most commonly used prior to ca. A.D. 300. Pre-A.D. 400 sandy paste ceramics at Lake Naconiche are almost exclusively plain wares, with the exception of the previously mentioned occasional lip notched rim sherd or incised (Marksville Incised) and rocker stamped Lower Mississippi valley trade wares (Figure 6). The post-A.D. 400 sherds at Herman Bellew are primarily grog-tempered, including at least one thick grog-tempered vessel section; smoothed sandy paste sherds; grog-tempered sandy paste sherds; a possible French Fork Incised, *var. Larkin* sherd; and another incised sherd that resembles Coles Creek Incised, *var. Hunt* or Marksville Incised, *var. Yokena*. At Lake Naconiche, the post-A.D. 400 ceramics remain sandy paste Goose Creek Plain wares, but the frequency of decorated sandy paste wares seems to have increased by the time of the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D. occupation at the Boyette site. There, the decorated sandy paste sherds include simple straight and geometric designs made with incised, incised-punctated, and punctated decorative methods.



Figure 6. Lower Mississippi Valley stamped ceramic sherds from the Boyette site.

It is probably the case that the Woodland period groups in East Texas may have adopted and made use of different ceramic technologies from disparate groups that they interacted with socially, namely the grog and bone tempered Fourche Maline wares with plain flat-based bowls and the non-tempered sandy paste Mossy Grove wares with round-based vessels. The Mill Creek Culture component at the Broadway site (41SM273) in the upper Angelina River basin, for example, had only a few non-tempered sandy paste sherds (n=7) and tempered sandy-paste sherds (n=8) (Perttula and Nelson 2004). Perhaps more likely, given the adoption of ceramics by 500 B.C. by Woodland period groups, was that there was a long history of use of ceramic vessels among peoples living in the different river basins, and there were changes through time in ceramic manufacture and vessel shapes that represented the evolution of ceramic use for different functional, technological, and social purposes by Mossy Grove and Mill Creek Woodland period groups.

### ***Exchange and Interaction with Neighboring Groups***

The presence of non-local lithic raw materials (exotic cherts) in the Woodland period components suggest that patterns of long-distance exchange and interaction can be detected by examining the proportions of local vs. non-local lithic raw materials. These patterns may have broader economic implications relating to the evolution of sedentary life in East Texas.

The occurrence of non-local lithic raw materials—in the form of completed tools as well as pieces of primarily non-cortical lithic debris—does indicate that glimpses of the existence of long-distance trade and exchange relationships can be documented in the Lake Naconiche archaeological record. The evidence from chipped stone tools and lithic debris indicate that although not substantial (ca. 3-10%, respectively, among both lithic categories), obtaining non-local lithic raw materials and finished tools was an important aspect of life for Woodland period groups. Procuring such materials led to broad-ranging contacts between related (both culturally and perhaps genetically) Woodland groups living well to the north of Naconiche Creek and to unrelated groups living in the prairies of Central Texas.

The archaeological record from the Lake Naconiche sites documents a gradual, yet substantial, diminishment in the use of non-local lithic raw materials from Archaic times (ca. 8000-500 B.C.) to the Woodland period. This clearly indicates that if there was an increasingly recurrent and repetitive use of smaller territories by Woodland groups who did not necessarily always move with the seasons, that trend was occupied by an increasing reliance on local sources of lithic raw material, and a more limited access to stone from long-distance sources.

This sparse occurrence of non-local lithic raw materials is perhaps the best available evidence from the sites at Lake Naconiche that its occupants were interacting with their Woodland period neighbors, exchanging tools, raw materials, and ideas concerning all manner of things. Associated with the construction and use of burial mounds at this time at the Jonas Short and Coral Snake mounds (Jelks 1965; Story 1990) were costly non-local raw materials and artifacts, including cherts, copper, and Lower Mississippi valley ceramic vessels that were included as grave goods or caches in the burial mounds, and ended up as trade wares in habitation sites (see Figure 6). Perhaps the non-local raw materials and tools in local Woodland period contexts at Lake Naconiche were procured and disbursed from these sacred mound centers.

The principal non-local lithic raw material in Woodland period contexts is a dark gray chert, most likely available in the Edwards Formation cherts from parts of Central Texas, and probably also available in regional gravel sources (i.e., the Trinity and Neches river valleys to the west of Lake Naconiche, see Girard 1995). Other non-local lithic raw materials in Woodland period contexts include white novaculite, black chert (Big Fork chert), a dark brown chert, quartz, and a greenish-brown chert. On balance, when comparing the use of non-local lithic raw materials as seen in projectile points and lithic debris, there is no significant difference between the Woodland and Caddo procurement and use of non-local lithic raw materials at the Lake Naconiche sites (3-10% in Woodland components and 5-7% in later Caddo components), and the higher frequency of non-local lithics in the tools compared to the lithic debris also suggests that these tools were probably being obtained as completed tools, and perhaps only being resharpened/maintained at the Lake Naconiche sites.

### Conclusions

Sometime after around ca. A.D. 800, the sites at Lake Naconiche were no longer occupied by Woodland period groups making primarily plain sandy paste pottery or living as mobile hunting-gathering foragers. At this time, from ca. A.D. 750-800 to around A.D. 900 (see Perttula and Nelson 2004:Figures 4 and 5), colder and drier conditions began to dominate the local weather, but climatic conditions were not sufficiently extreme to lead to an abandonment of the area. After ca. A.D. 800, were the aboriginal groups living in the Attoyac Bayou basin Caddo peoples or acculturated Mossy Grove folks? Some findings from the Lake Naconiche archaeological investigations may be relevant to this issue of ethnic affiliations and local cultural changes, but that is the subject of another article. Suffice it to say that changes that occurred from Woodland period times to the earliest Caddo period in East Texas represent the start of a momentous series of macro-evolutionary events (e.g., Chatters 2009) at local and regional scales.

The Woodland period archaeological record at Lake Naconiche in East Texas provides few hints of what was to come after ca. A.D. 800. The Mossy Grove Culture peoples that occupied the area from as early as 2500 years ago relied on wild plant and animal foods for sustenance, did not live in large communities nor settle in any one place for long as they ranged year by year through the East Texas Pineywoods. There is archaeological evidence that they had contact with neighboring groups in East Texas, coastal Texas, and Central Texas, and there was interaction between these Mossy Grove Culture people and societies living in the Lower Mississippi Valley. Their technology was based on the manufacture of sandy paste *Goose Creek Plain* cooking jars. The cooking of food stuffs in ceramic pots was a change from an earlier cooking technology that employed direct heating in open fires or indirect heating using hot rocks, and this may have eventually broadened the range of foods (including both plant foods and game animals) that could be readily or more efficiently cooked or processed (such as hardwood nut meats and oil). The stone tools from the Woodland period components at Lake Naconiche suggest that they were used in activities strongly geared towards hunting in small groups (or individually), considerable time spent butchering and processing meat and hides, and a noticeable focus on the processing and consumption of wild plant foods, most particularly hardwood mast.

Radiocarbon dates from the Lake Naconiche sites, a possible storage pit feature, and the regular presence of ceramics hints at the beginnings of a more settled way of life during the latter part (after ca. A.D. 500/600) of the Woodland period. The best archaeological evidence of this process is apparent in the manufacture and use of ceramic vessels for cooking, storage, and food-serving at the Naconiche Creek (41NA236) and Boyette (41NA285) sites, as this implies that more extended stays may have occasionally taken place at them.

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# **THE McDONALD SITE: AN ANALYSIS OF WPA EXCAVATIONS AT A CADDO SITE IN THE GLOVER RIVER DRAINAGE, MCCURTAIN COUNTY, OKLAHOMA**

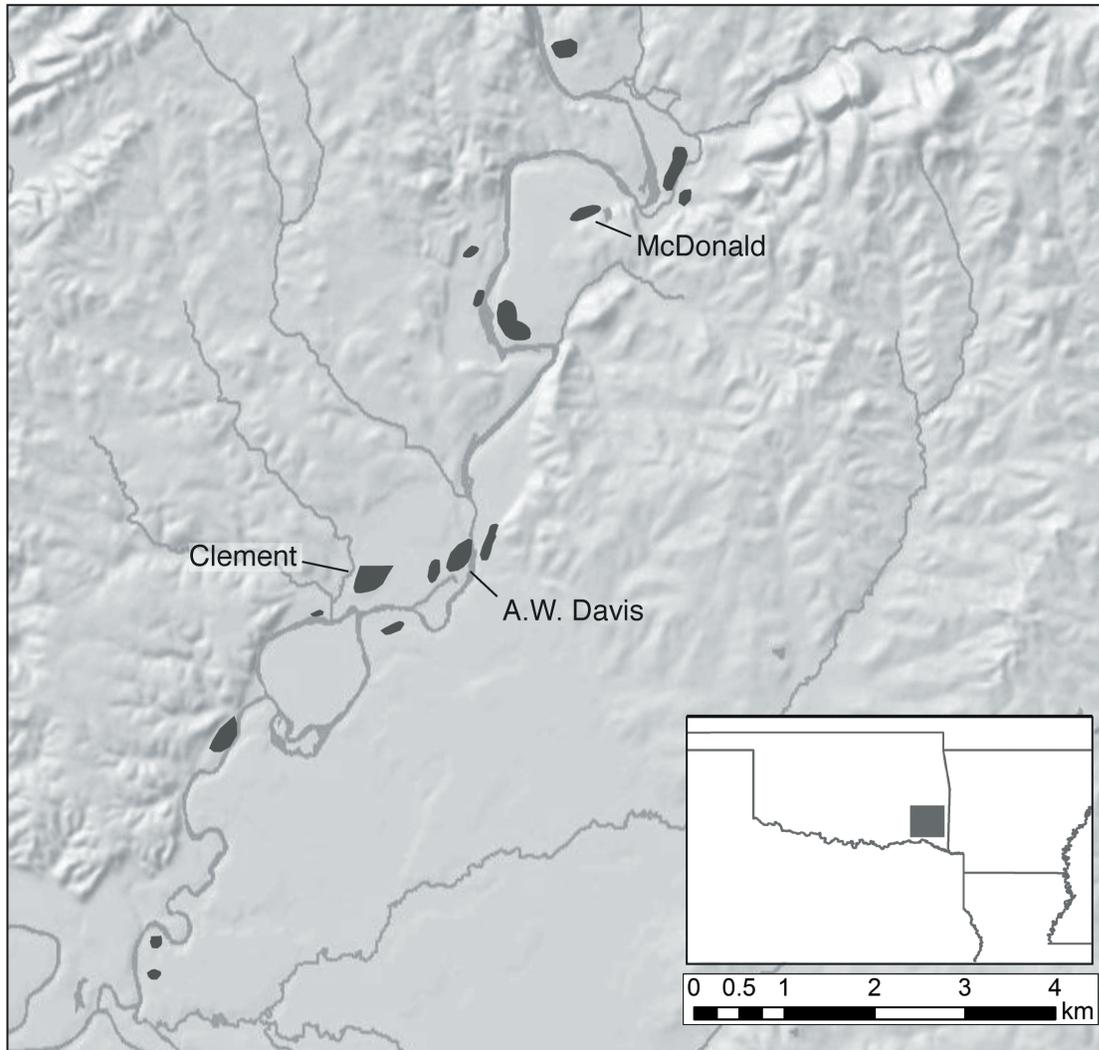
*Amanda L. Regnier*

Between December 1941 and March 1942, the final federally-sponsored WPA excavations in Oklahoma were conducted at the McDonald site, located along the Glover River. Because federal funds for analysis dried up as the country entered into World War II, the recovered artifacts were never fully analyzed. Between 2008-2009, I analyzed the non-mortuary artifacts, which are curated at the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History (SNOMNH) in Norman, and conducted an analysis of recovered stone and ceramic artifacts. Using previously unknown information from a recently unearthed final WPA Quarterly report, in this article I describe excavations and present the results of my analysis. I also incorporate Elsbeth Dowd's (2008, 2010, 2011) previous analysis of the whole vessels recovered from burials into my study and compare the McDonald site material to the assemblages from two downstream mound sites, Clement (Hammerstedt et al. 2010) and A.W. Davis (Wilson 1962).

The analysis identified multiple occupation components at McDonald, including intermittent Late Archaic and Woodland occupations that likely date between 1500 B.C. and AD 600, no evidence of Formative Caddo occupation (AD 900-1100), a possible Sanders phase occupation (AD 1100-1300), and a much larger McCurtain phase (AD 1300-1700) occupation (see Bruseth 1998 for phase descriptions). Based on the whole vessel and sherd assemblage, the site was occupied during the Early (AD 1300-1450), Middle (AD 1450-1650), and Late (AD 1650+) McCurtain sub-phases. The results of this analysis provide a better understanding of Caddo occupation along the Glover drainage. McDonald is approximately 2 miles upstream from the mound sites Clement and A. W. Davis, which have three and one mounds respectively, and is one of a number of sites along the terraces of the lower Glover drainage occupied by the prehistoric Caddo (Figure 1). Ongoing research at Caddo sites along the Glover drainage (see Hammerstedt et al. 2010, Regnier et al. 2013) have determined that the unoccupied mound precinct at Clement was established during the Sanders phase and abandoned during the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, when a new mound was constructed slightly upstream at A.W. Davis. Occupation at McDonald continued through this shift, although there does seem to have been a reduction in the population size in this area of the site by the 17<sup>th</sup> century. On a larger regional scale, the McDonald ceramic analysis has revealed important differences between ceramic assemblages from contemporaneous sites at the edge of the Ouachita Mountains and along the Red River. Further, Dowd's (2008, 2010, 2011, 2012) comparisons of assemblages from the Mountain Fork and Glover drainages also revealed distinct differences between ceramic styles between Caddo potters in these neighboring drainages. The high degree of stylistic variety across McCurtain phase assemblages and through its long chronological span highlights the need to refine this overly broad phase designation.

## **The WPA Excavations**

McDonald is located south of a wide bend in the Glover River on a broad alluvial terrace. The Glover, which is the only undammed river in eastern Oklahoma, originates in the Ouachita Mountains and flows south through a piedmont zone where it joins with the Little River. McDonald is just downstream from the point where at which the Glover transitions from the Ouachita Mountains, with narrow alluvial terraces, to the piedmont zone, with much broader terraces. According to the NRCS soil survey, soils in the area are dominated by well-drained fine sandy loams ideal for agricultural use.



**Figure 1.** Locations of Caddo sites recorded along the lower Glover River, McCurtain County, Oklahoma.

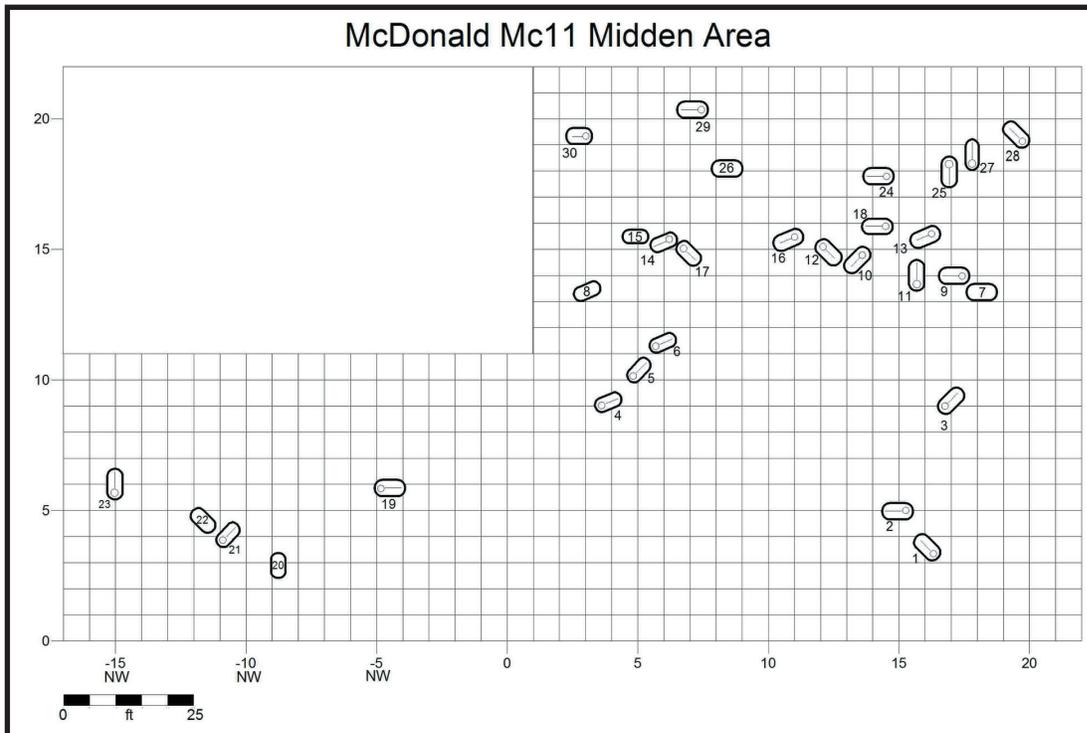
The WPA excavations at McDonald were conducted by a crew of 17 workers under the supervision of McCurtain County supervisor Jess M. Jones (Figure 2). The project was overseen by David Baerreis, who visited the site periodically, but spent most of his time overseeing the analysis in Norman. The excavations are documented via a variety of sources, none of which have a complete narrative of site excavations. The sources include (a) archaeological data sheets (burial and feature forms), (b) maps of the overall site grid and an excavated circular structure, profile data sheets with elevations, (c) journals from Jones and Baerreis, (d) a published synthesis of Oklahoma archaeology by Bell and Baerreis (1951) and (e) the final quarterly report of excavations authored by Baerreis and submitted to the WPA field office on March 31, 1942. The field notes and journals are on file at the SNOMNH. The existence of a final quarterly report containing Baerreis' summary of the excavations at McDonald came to light in the spring of 2010. While I was looking through a box of David Baerreis' old papers given to the Oklahoma Archaeological Survey, I came upon the carbon copies of several drafts of reports Baerreis prepared for the Clement site excavations of 1941. Among these, I found the final quarterly report, which was not on file either at the SNOMNH or in the University of Oklahoma Libraries Western History Collection, where all of the quarterly reports are housed. This report provided crucial detailed descriptions of the McDonald site not found in any of the previously known notes and forms that have changed our interpretation of the site. The report also contains a preliminary analysis of ceramics from the Clement and McDonald site with tentative pottery type descriptions.



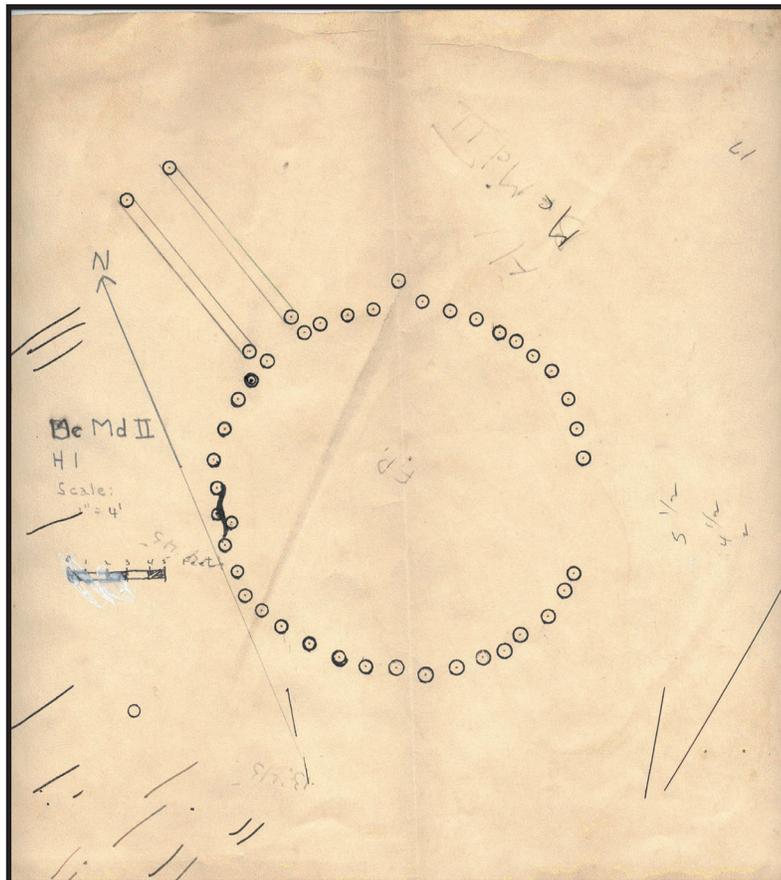
**Figure 2.** Photograph of WPA crew attributed to the McDonald site. (Photograph used with permission of the Sam Noble Museum).

The first mention of the McDonald site is in Jess Jones' survey notebook, in which he describes visiting a site on land owned by George McDonald on July 21, 1941. Jones describes the area as, "a high sandy field" with cultivated corn and cotton where, "worked stone, pottery, an[d] points" were recovered. At the time, the excavation crew was working on the Clement site. After work was completed at Clement, the excavation crew moved to McDonald, where they began excavations in a midden area designated McMdI (later 34Mc11). The midden is described as two to three feet thick, with abundant sherds and worked stone (Bell and Baerreis 1951:55). Units were excavated in 5-x-5 foot squares given row and column designations and 6-inch levels. The main excavation block measured 100 ft. x 100 ft. (approximately 30 x 30 m), with an extension on the southwest side measuring 85 ft. east-west x 50 ft. north-south (approximately 26 x 15 m). Thirty burials described as "intrusive into the midden" were excavated in this portion of the site (Baerreis 1942). Of those, 29 were prehistoric Caddo and had very poor bone preservation and one (Burial 11) was identified as historic, based on the better preservation state and traces of a wood coffin and a silver ring. Figure 3 shows the location and orientation of these burials, as well as the chronological affiliation, based on the vessel assemblage.

The second excavated area was designated McMdII (later Mc12), and was approximately 250 west of Mc11. In this area, the grid size was enlarged to measure 10 x 10 feet. Prior to the discovery of Baerreis' final quarterly report, the scant excavation notes indicated the only features excavated were a circular structure measuring 18 ft (5.49 m) in diameter with a northwest facing entryway and two burials located to the south (Figure 4). Frustratingly, few forms were filled out for this portion of the site, and no notes were recorded in Jones' field book after February 6, 1942, although employee time records in the back of the notebook show excavations continued until March 4, 1942.

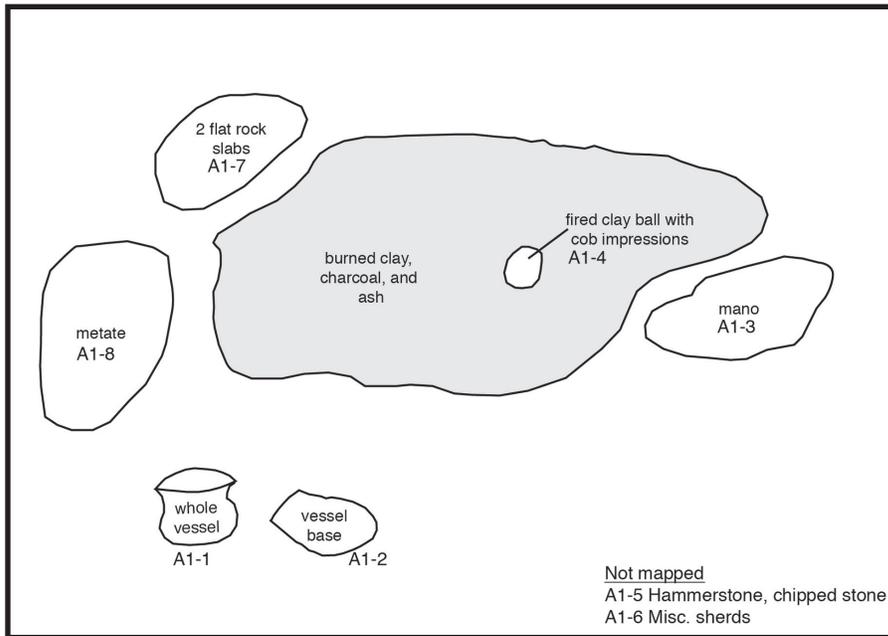


**Figure 3.** Location of grid units and burials excavated in the Mc11 midden.



**Figure 4.** Original map of House 1, the circular structure excavated at Mc12, from WPA notes. (Reproduced with permission of the Sam Noble Museum).

Baerreis' (1942) quarterly report and his field notebook provide the best description of this portion of the site. In his field notebook, Baerreis sketched the central "fire place" in the circular structure, which consisted of a concentration of burned clay and charcoal flanked by a number of whole and partial vessels, sherds, flat stone slabs, and a mano and metate designated Association 1 (A-1, Figure 5). A large fired clay mass with maize impressions was recovered from the center of the hearth (Figure 6). Given the lack of flotation samples, this artifact at least provides evidence the late Caddo McDonald residents cultivated maize, although it gives no indication how central a role it played in their diets. While one vessel, a vessel base, and a cluster of sherds are depicted on the hearth map, five additional vessels in the collection designated A2-1 through A2-5 are attributed to the floor of House 1 on the original 1942 bags. No forms exist for either A1 and A2 and no coordinates or depths are written on the bags. The presence of all of these artifacts on the floor of House 1 indicates it likely was a domestic structure. Unlike the burned circular structure excavated downstream at Clement (Hammerstedt et al. 2010), McDonald House 1 was not cleaned out before it fell out of use. The artifacts in A1 are all associated with food preparation activities expected to occur around a hearth. All five of the vessels from A2 are relatively small; none are taller than 15 cm and two are less than 10 cm. The scant field notes unfortunately provide no clue whether the house had burned, and the assemblage represents what was on the house floor, or whether it was unburned and potentially abandoned.



**Figure 5.** Map of the hearth associations digitized from David Baerreis' field notebook. No scale was included on the original sketch.



**Figure 6.** Fired ball of clay with maize impressions (A1-4) recovered from the hearth of House 1 at Mc12.

In both his field journal and the quarterly report, Baerreis also describes a large “cache pit” near the house. This feature was round and measured 86” (2.18 m) in diameter at the surface. The straight-sided walls tapered down 60” (1.52 m) to a flat bottom measuring 49” in diameter (1.24 m). The base of this pit included a whole vessel and three unworked fragments of quartz, most likely quartz crystals. The two burials excavated at Mc12 were shallower than the cache pit, with depths of 48” (1.21 m) and 45” (1.14 m). It is possible this feature was a burial with extremely poor bone preservation, which Baerreis acknowledges in his field notebook.

In addition to House 1, cache pit, and burials, Baerreis’ (1942) quarterly report states that testing in the same field uncovered portions of both round and rectangular houses. None were excavated, since war efforts brought the WPA programs to a close in 1942. These houses are part of what Baerreis (1942) described as, “a sparse mantle of refuse [that] appears to cover the edge of the same terrace upon which unit I was located, for a least a mile up the river.” Finding this information in the missing quarterly report answered the lingering question of why a cemetery and midden were present at a site where only one house was known. Based on Baerreis’ description, rather than a small farmstead, McDonald appears to be a wide low-density scatter of household clusters, similar to the Hill Farm site on the Texas side of the Great Bend of the Red River documented historically on the 1691-1692 map from the Teran de los Rios expedition and archaeologically by Perttula et al. (2008).

### **Non-burial Artifacts from the WPA Excavations at Mc11/12**

This artifact analysis describes the artifacts recovered from non-burial contexts. These include the midden at Mc11, the floor of House 1 at Mc12, and several “associations” at both sites, which are most likely burial pits in which no bone was evident. In addition, the 80 vessels or portions of vessels still available for study from burial contexts were assigned type designations and chronological affiliations. When possible, descriptions from WPA burial forms are provided for vessels missing from the collections. Photographs and more extensive documentation of these vessels have already been published by Dowd (2008, 2010, 2011). Because the soil was not screened and the recovered assemblage is made up of artifacts spotted by WPA excavators, there is a bias toward large sherds and lithic artifacts. Almost no lithic debitage and few of the small arrow points used by the Caddo are present in the artifact assemblage. Despite the lack of screening, the analysis includes an assemblage of 3,558 pottery sherds, 502 of which are decorated, 5 clay pipe fragments, the single fired clay object with maize impressions, 211 lithic artifacts, and 140 faunal specimens. The faunal remains, analyzed by Sheila Bobalik Savage, are primarily unidentified mammal bones. The few identifiable species are from large domesticated animals, including cow and pig. Possible specimens associated with the Caddo occupation include 2 identifiable elements from white-tailed deer and a single element from a black bear. The collection also includes a handful of early 19<sup>th</sup> century historic transfer-printed and shell-edge decorated ceramics. The historic ceramics and burial and the domestic fauna are likely associated with post-Removal Choctaw inhabitants of the Glover drainage.

#### *Ceramic Vessels*

The assemblage from burials at 34Mc11 and 34Mc12 includes 100 whole and partial vessels. The 80 vessels still available for study have been analyzed by and are pictured in several works by Dowd (2008, 2010, 2011), where they are used in a broader stylistic study of whole vessels from southeast Oklahoma Caddo sites. The vessel assemblage includes 38 jars, 39 bowls, 13 bottles, and 10 vessels whose forms were not listed in the WPA notes. Table 1 lists basic information about each of these vessels, including tentative type identification, along with any available information from WPA notes about the missing vessels. When possible, each burial assemblage was also assigned a chronological affiliation. Twelve whole or partial vessels were recovered from non-burial contexts, and were analyzed as part of the current study. Two were from 34Mc11 and nine were from 34Mc12.

Table 1. Whole Vessels in the McDonald Burial Assemblage

Site	Burial	Vessel	Vessel Form	Type	Chronological Affiliation	Body Motif	Rim Motif	Adornos
Mc11	1	1	Jar	Unclassified Incised	Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Incised Nested Diamonds	Incised Cross Hatching in Band	4 strap handles, vertical applique strip on body
Mc11	1	2	Nash Neck Banded	None		Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 lug handles	
Mc11	1	3	Unclassified Plain	Burnished Plain		N/A	None	
Mc11	1	4	Emory Punctate Incised	Emory Punctate Incised	Late McCurtain (AD 1650+)	Vertical Incising and Fingernail Punctate	Horizontal Fingernail Punctate	4 double lug handles
Mc11	2	1	Keno Trilled	Keno Trilled		Interlocking Scroll	None	None
Mc11	2	2	Unclassified Incised	Unclassified Incised	Late McCurtain (AD 1650+)	Raised Effigy	Incised Cross Hatching	2 Strap Handles, Vertical Applique Strip
Mc11	3	1	Avery Engraved	Avery Engraved		Pendant Scroll	Ticked Horizontal Lines	None
Mc11	3	2	Avery Engraved	Avery Engraved		Triangles in Band	N/A	None
Mc11	3	3	Unclassified Plain	Unclassified Plain	Burnished Plain	Burnished Plain	N/A	N/A
Mc11	4	1	Unclassified Plain	Unclassified Plain		Burnished Plain	N/A	None
Mc11	4	2	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One square top black pot"		Middle McCurtain (AD 1450-1650)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	4	3	Ripley Engraved	Ripley Engraved		Burnished Plain	Scrolling motifs	None
Mc11	4	4	Unclassified Plain	Unclassified Plain		Burnished Plain	None	None
Mc11	4	5	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "Large crushed red pot"		Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	4	6	Nash Neck Banded	Nash Neck Banded		Plain	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 lug handles
Mc11	4	7	Nash Neck Banded	Nash Neck Banded	Burnished Plain	Burnished Plain	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	Three strips of applique at castellations
Mc11	5	1	Ripley Engraved	Ripley Engraved		Burnished Plain	Scrolling motifs	None
Mc11	5	2	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One small square top pot"			Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	5	3	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One large pot (red slip)"		Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	5	4	Emory Punctate Incised	Emory Punctate Incised		Vertical Incising and Fingernail Punctate	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 lug handles and vertical applique strips on body
Mc11	6	1	Nash Neck Banded	Nash Neck Banded	Plain	Plain	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	3 grouped vertical applique strips
Mc11	6	2	Unclassified Plain	Unclassified Plain		Plain	N/A	None
Mc11	6	3	Simms Engraved	Simms Engraved	None	None	Recilinear Engraved	None
Mc11	6	4	Emory Punctate	Emory Punctate		None	Horizontal Fingernail Punctate	Nodes at castellations
Mc11	6	5	Avery Engraved	Avery Engraved	Aches	None	None	None
Mc11	6	6	Bowl or Broken Bottle body	Burnished Plain	None	None	None	None
Mc11	7	1	Emory Punctate	Emory Punctate	Horizontal Fingernail Punctate	Horizontal Fingernail Punctate	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 noded strap handles, vertical applique
Mc11	7	2	Unclassified Plain	Unclassified Plain		Plain	None	None
Mc11	7	3	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One pot"		Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	7	4	Ripley Engraved	Ripley Engraved		Circles and scrolls	None	None
Mc11	8	1	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One medium sized water bottle, black, top broken off"		Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	8	2	Unknown (Eroded)	Unknown (Eroded)		Diagonal incising (eroded)	Possibly Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 nodes on rim, vertical applique on body
Mc11	9	1	Avery Engraved	Avery Engraved	Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Concentric circles	Horizontal lines with filler	4 loop handles
Mc11	10	1	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One smashed pot, red"			Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	10	2	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One smashed pot, black"		Middle/Late McCurtain (AD 1450-1650+)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	10	3	Harleton Applique	Harleton Applique		Diagonal applique	Horizontal Fingernail Punctate	4 lug handles

**Table 1. Whole Vessels in the McDonald Burial Assemblage (cont.)**

Mc11	12	1	Bowl	Unclassified Plain	Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Burnished Plain	None	None
Mc11	12	2	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One small shallow round pot"		Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	12	3	Bottle	Avery Engraved		Concentric circles	None	None
Mc11	13	1	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One large red decorated bell shape" pot		Middle/Late McCurtain (AD 1450-1650+)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	13	2	Bottle	Hodges Engraved		Interlocking Scroll	None	None
Mc11	13	3	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One broken-crushed medium large black pot"		Middle/Late McCurtain (AD 1450-1650+)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	13	4	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One small red pot (broken)"			Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	13	5	Bowl Rim Section	Taylor Engraved	Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	None	Interlocking Scroll	None
Mc11	13	6	Jar (roughly 25% of vessel)	Harleton Applique		Vertical lines in triangle	Horizontal Fingernail Punctate	Nodes at rim
Mc11	15	1	Castellated Jar	Emory Punctate	Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Fingernail impressed arch	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 lug handles and vertical applique strips on body
Mc11	16	1	Jar Rim Section	Unclassified Plain		Plain	None	None
Mc11	16	2	Jar	Emory Punctate	Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Horizontal Fingernail Punctate	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	None
Mc11	16	3	Castellated Jar	Emory Punctate		Horizontal Fingernail Punctate	None	None
Mc11	17	1	Castellated Jar	Unclassified Plain	Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Plain	None	4 loop handles
Mc11	17	2	Effigy Bowl	Unclassified Plain		Plain	None	Round head and flat tail effigies on rim
Mc11	17	3	Rattle Bowl	Unclassified Plain	Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Plain	None	4 round rattles
Mc11	17	4	Castellated Jar	Nash Neck Banded		None	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 Nodes at rim and mouth
Mc11	18	1	Jar Rim Section	Avery Engraved	Late McCurtain (AD 1650+)	Unknown	Concentric Circles	None
Mc11	18	2	Jar	Unclassified Incised		Concentric diamonds	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 nodes at mouth
Mc11	18	3	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One small black pot or shallow bowl"		Late McCurtain (AD 1650+)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	18	4	Carinated Bowl	Simms Engraved		None	Ovals and rectilinear motifs	None
Mc11	18	5	Bottle	Hudson Engraved	Late McCurtain (AD 1650+)	Interlocking Scroll	None	None
Mc11	18	6	Jar Rim Section	Avery Engraved		Unknown	Concentric Circles	None
Mc11	18	7	Bottle Body Section	Hudson Engraved	Middle McCurtain (AD1450-1650)	Interlocking Scroll	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	19	1	Carinated Bowl	Simms Engraved		None	Rectilinear Engraved	None
Mc11	19	2	Carinated Bowl	Simms Engraved	Middle McCurtain (AD1450-1650)	None	Rectilinear Engraved	None
Mc11	20	1	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One small black water bottle"			Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	20	2	Bowl	Unclassified Plain	Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Plain	None	None
Mc11	20	3	Castellated Jar	Nash Neck Banded		Plain	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 pseudo-loop handles
Mc11	20	4	Castellated Jar	Nash Neck Banded	Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Plain	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 pseudo-loop handles
Mc11	21	1	Castellated Jar	Nash Neck Banded		Plain	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 Nodes at lip and mouth
Mc11	21	2	Castellated Jar	Nash Neck Banded	Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Plain	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 lug handles
Mc11	21	3	Castellated Jar	Nash Neck Banded		Plain	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 loop handles
Mc11	21	4	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One medium small square top pot"		Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	21	5	Carinated Bowl	Clark Engraved		None	Circles	None
Mc11	21	6	Carinated Bowl	Clark Engraved	Unknown	None	Scrolling motifs	None
Mc11	22	1	Bowl Base	Unclassified Engraved		Indeterminate (broken at design)	None	None
Mc11	22	2	Bowl Fragment	Unclassified Plain	Unknown	Plain	None	None
Mc11	22	3	Jar Rim Section	Emory Punctate		Unknown	Horizontal Fingernail Punctate	4 strap handles
Mc11	22	4	Castellated Jar (roughly 50% of vessel)	Nash Neck Banded	Unknown	Plain	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	None
Mc11	23	1	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One crushed red slipped pot"			Unknown	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	Unknown
Mc11	23	2	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One black crushed pot"		Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	

**Table 1. Whole Vessels in the McDonald Burial Assemblage (cont.)**

Mc11	24	1	Bottle	Hudson Engraved	Late McCurtain (AD 1650+)	Interlocking Scroll	None	None
Mc11	24	2	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One shallow pot or bowl"			Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	24	3	Jar	Unclassified Applique		Plain	Horizontal Fingernail Punctate	Vertical Applique Triangle
Mc11	26	1	Bottle	Unclassified Plain		Burnished Plain	None	None
Mc11	26	2	Carnated Bowl	Unclassified Plain	Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Burnished Plain	None	None
Mc11	26	3	Broken bottle worked into bowl	Unclassified Engraved		Rectilinear Engraving	None	None
Mc11	29	1	Broken bottle worked into bowl	Unclassified Plain		Plain	N/A	None
Mc11	29	2	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "Small shallow broken pot"		Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	29	3	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One water bottle neck broken"		Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc11	29	4	Broken bottle worked into bowl	Unclassified Plain		Burnished Plain	N/A	N/A
Mc11	29	5	Bowl	Unclassified Plain		Burnished Plain	None	Vertical Applique Strip
Mc12	1	2	Bottle with broken rim	Unclassified Plain		Burnished Plain	N/A	None
Mc12	1	3	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "One small vessel"			Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Mc12	1	4	Bowl	Unclassified Plain		Burnished Plain	None	None
Mc12	1	5	Castellated Jar	Emory Punctate	Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Arches	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 lug handles and vertical applique strips on body
Mc12	1	6	Bowl	Unclassified Plain		Plain	None	None
Mc12	1	7	Castellated Jar	Nash Neck Banded		Plain	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 lug handles and vertical applique strips on body
Mc12	1	8	Bowl	Unclassified Plain		Burnished Plain	None	None
Mc12	2	1	Bowl	Unclassified Plain		Burnished Plain	None	None
Mc12	2	2	Castellated Jar (roughly 50% of vessel)	Nash Neck Banded		Incised Arches	Smoothed Ridge Pinching	4 lug handles and vertical strips of nodes on body
Mc12	2	3	Bowl	Red Slipped Plain	Early McCurtain (AD 1300-1450)	Plain	None	None
Mc12	2	4	Vessel Missing - WPA notes list "Pottery vessel (crushed)"			Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

*Non-NAGPRA Vessels from Mc11*

**Vessel A2-1**, Cat. 34Mc11/159, Stake 9:1 N 11", E 7", Depth: 27", Level 3

Form: Vessel A2-1 is a jar with portions of rim and one side missing. The exterior surface has a few spalls (Figure 7a). Vessel has a slightly elongated, globular body with an excurved, everted rim. The lip is rounded. Vessel height is 11.8 cm. Rim height is 2.7 cm and body height is 9.1 cm (3.3:1 body to rim ratio). The maximum diameter at the lip is 12.6 cm. The diameter at the shoulder is 11.0 cm.

Temper: Limestone

Type: Emory Punctate

Temporal Affiliation: Early McCurtain phase

Rim Decoration: Vertical lines of fingernail punctations and four vertical applique strips

Body Decoration: Vertical lines of fingernail punctations bounded by a single horizontal band of fingernail punctations and four vertical applique strips



**Figure 7a.** Whole vessel recovered from Mc11. (Vessel A2-1)

**Vessel A3**, Cat. 34Mc11/311, Stake 14:16, N 10", E 4", Depth 26", Level 3

Form: Vessel A-3 is a complete castellated jar. The WPA data sheet states, "this pot was found approx. 14" under burial 9 and might have been the burial of a child but no trace of bones were found." The vessel has a large fire cloud on the shoulder (Figure 7b). Vessel has a globular body with an excurvate, everted rim. The lip is rounded. Vessel height is 11.0 cm. Rim height is 2.8 cm and body height is 8.2 cm (2.9:1 body to rim ratio). The maximum diameter, at both the lip and shoulder, is 12.4 cm.

Temper: Shell

Type: Emory Punctate

Temporal Affiliation: Middle McCurtain phase

Rim Decoration: Smoothed ridge pinching with four loop handles just below rim castellations

Body Decoration: Vertical lines of fingernail punctations bounded by a single horizontal band of fingernail punctations. Four vertical lines of five nodes below handles.



**Figure 7b.** Whole vessel recovered from Mc11. (B - Vessel A3)

*Vessels from Mc12*

**Vessel A1-2**, Cat. 34Mc12/18, House 1, South of Hearth, Depth: Not provided

Form: Vessel A1-2 is a castellated jar missing about 1/3 of its rim and body. On Baerreis' sketch map of the fire pit, it was located just south of the hearth next to a complete pot, near flat stones and a mano and metate. The vessel has a globular body with an everted, excurved rim with a rounded lip (Figure 8a). The vessel is 12.1 cm tall, with a rim height of 3.2 cm and a body height of 8.9 cm (2.8:1 body to rim ratio). The maximum diameter of the vessel is 12.0 cm at the lip and 10.9 cm at the shoulder.

Temper: Grog

Type: Nash Neck Banded

Temporal Affiliation: Early McCurtain phase

Rim Decoration: Smoothed ridge pinching. Vertical applique strips at castellations.

Body Decoration: None



**Figure 8a.** Whole vessel recovered from floor of House 1 at Mc12. (A- Vessel A1-2)

**Vessel A2-1**, Cat. 34Mc12/11, House 1, Depth: Not provided

**Form:** Vessel A2-1 is a jar missing most of its rim and about a third of its body. The vessel, which has clearly been reconstructed, has an elongated, slightly globular body with an excurved, everted rim (Figure 8b). The vessel surface is heavily eroded, making it difficult to distinguish any decoration. The lip is missing, making the actual vessel height unknown. The remaining portion of the vessel measures 12.2 cm tall, and the body height is 8.9 cm. The estimated maximum diameter of the vessel is 12.0 cm at the lip and 11 cm at the shoulder.

**Temper:** Shell

**Type:** Indeterminate

**Temporal Affiliation:** Early McCurtain phase

**Rim Decoration:** Indeterminate

**Body Decoration:** Indeterminate, except for a vertical line of three nodes likely present at four points on the vessel body.



**Figure 8b.** Partial vessels recovered from floor of House 1 at Mc12. (B - Vessel A2-1)

**Vessel A2-2**, Cat. 34Mc12/12, House 1, Depth: Not provided

**Form:** Vessel A2-2 is a miniature tall-rimmed, castellated jar. The vessel has a squat, globular body with a straight, everted rim (Figure 8c). The pot is burnished and was clearly fired in an oxygen-reduced environment. The vessel height is 7.0 cm, with a rim and body height of 3.5 cm (1:1 body to rim ratio). The maximum vessel diameter is 7.5 cm at the rim and 6.7 cm at the shoulder.

**Temper:** Grog

**Type:** Unspecified Engraved

**Temporal affiliation:** Early McCurtain phase

**Rim Decoration:** Paired diagonal lines that do not tie into scrolls on body. Red pigment was rubbed into engraved lines. Four small loop handles at rim castellations.

**Body decoration:** Concentric circles executed with paired double lines. Red pigment was rubbed into engraved lines.



**Figure 8c.** Whole and partial vessels recovered from floor of House 1 at Mc12. (C - Vessel A2-2)

**Vessel A2-3**, Cat. 34Mc12/13, House 1, Depth: Not provided

**Form:** Vessel A2-3 is a castellated jar approximately 1/3 complete (Figure 8d). The jar has an oblong body with an excurvate, everted rim and a round lip. Vessel height and diameter are unknown, as the base and most of the rim are missing.

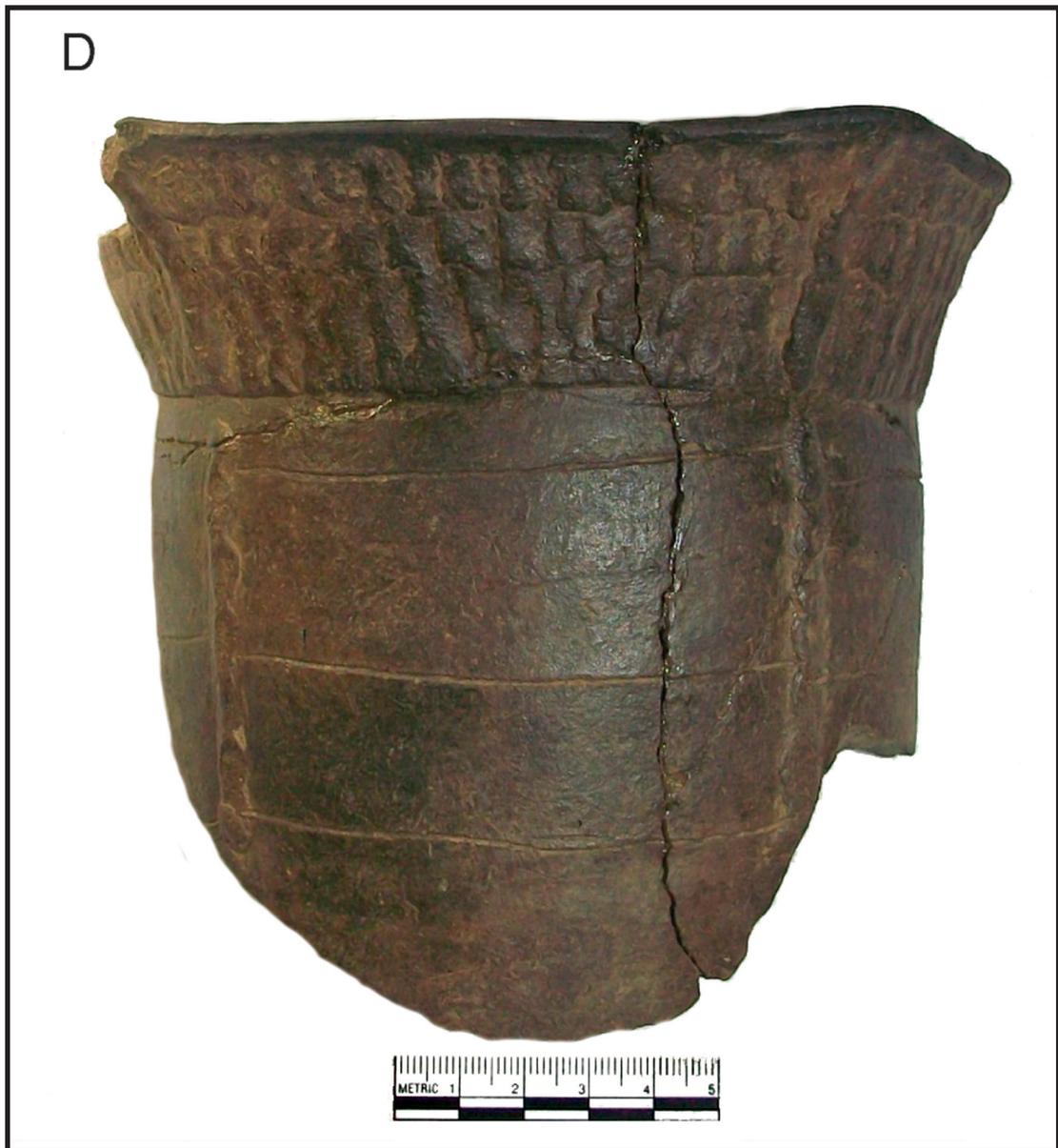
**Temper:** Grog

**Type:** Nash Neck Banded

**Temporal Affiliation:** Early/Middle McCurtain phase

**Rim Decoration:** Smoothed ridge pinching. Four vertical pinched applique strips below the vessel lip.

**Body Decoration:** Three horizontal incised lines encircle vessel. Four pinched vertical applique strips below the vessel lip.



**Figure 8d.** Partial vessels recovered from floor of House 1 at Mc12. (D - Vessel A2-3)

**Vessel A2-4**, Cat. 34Mc12/14, House 1, Depth: Not provided

**Form:** Vessel A2-4 is a castellated jar. The vessel has an oblong body with an excruciate, everted rim and a round lip (Figure 8e). The vessel height is 14.1 cm, with a rim height of 3.4 cm and a body height of 11.7 cm (3.4:1 body to rim ratio). The maximum diameter is 12.7 cm at the rim and 9.5 cm at the shoulder.

**Temper:** Grog

**Type:** Nash Neck Banded

**Temporal Affiliation:** Early McCurtain phase

**Rim Decoration:** Smoothed ridge pinching. Four grooved strap handles below the rim castellations.

**Body decorations:** Three incised horizontal bands. Four vertical applique strips with finger impressions below handles.



**Figure 8e.** Whole vessel recovered from floor of House 1 at Mc12. (E - Vessel A2-4)

**Vessel A2-5**, Cat. 34Mc12/15, House 1, Depth: Not provided

Form: Vessel A-5 is a miniature bottle with a broken lip (Figure 8f). The vessel has an elongated globular body. The height of the incomplete pot is 9.4 cm. The maximum diameter of the body is 6.7 cm.

Temper: Grog

Type: Unclassified Plain (burnished)

Temporal Affiliation: Unknown

Neck Decoration: None

Body Decoration: None



**Figure 8.f** Partial vessel recovered from floor of House 1 at Mc12. (F - Vessel A2-5)

**Vessel A3-2**, Cat. 34Mc12/6, Stake 4:45, N 79°, E 88°, Depth: Not provided

**Form:** Vessel A3-2 is a castellated jar with portions of one side missing. The WPA data sheet indicates that A3 consisted of a grouping of five artifacts, three whole vessels, a group of sherds, and a chipped stone hoe in a four-inch deep area measuring 26" N-S x 18" E-W. No depth was listed for this feature. The vessel has an elongated, slightly globular body with an excurvate, everted rim (Figure 9a). The lip is rounded. The rim castellations are double rather than single peaks. Vessel height is 11.0 cm. Rim height is 2.5 cm and body height is 8.5 cm (3.4:1 body to rim ratio). Because the vessel is incomplete, the maximum diameter is unknown, but is estimated to be about 15 cm at the lip and about 12 cm at the shoulder.

**Temper:** Grog

**Type:** Emory Punctate

**Temporal Affiliation:** Early McCurtain phase

**Rim Decoration:** None. Diagonal tick marks are present along the lip exterior and the jar has four loop handles just below the rim castellations.

**Body Decoration:** Horizontal lines of fingernail impressions and four sets of three vertical applique strips below handles.



**Figure 9a.** Whole vessels from Mc12, Association 3. (A - Vessel A3-2, Cat. 34Mc12/6, Stake 4:45)

**Vessel A3-3**, Cat. 34Mc12/7, Stake 4:45, N 94°, E 88°, Depth: Not provided

**Form:** Vessel A3-3 is a castellated jar with portions of one side missing. The vessel has a globular body with a straight, everted rim. There is a large fire cloud on the vessel shoulder (Figure 9b). The lip is rounded and the rim castellations are double, rather than single, peaks. Vessel height is 11.2 cm. Rim height is 2.6 cm and body height is 8.6 cm (3.3:1 body to rim ratio). Because the vessel is incomplete, the maximum diameters of 15.0 cm at the lip and 14.0 cm at the shoulder are estimated.

**Temper:** Grog with limestone inclusions

**Type:** Emory Punctate

**Temporal Affiliation:** Early McCurtain phase

**Rim Decoration:** Smoothed ridge pinching with four loop handles at castellations

**Body Decoration:** Perpendicular vertical and horizontal lines of fingernail impressions and four sets of three vertical applique strips below handles



**Figure 9b.** Whole vessels from Mc12, Association 3. (B - Vessel A3-3, Cat. 34Mc12/7, Stake 4:45)

**Vessel A3-4**, Cat. 34Mc12/8, Stake 4:45, N 98°, E 76°, Depth: Not provided

**Form:** Vessel A3-4 is a jar missing most of its rim and about a third of its body. The vessel has a squat globular body with a straight, everted rim (Figure 9c). The vessel surface is moderately eroded. The lip is missing, therefore the actual vessel height is unknown. The remaining portion of the vessel is 9.5 cm in height, and the body height is 6.3 cm. Maximum diameter is estimated to be 14 cm at lip and 12.7 cm at the shoulder.

**Temper:** Shell

**Type:** Emory Punctate

**Temporal Affiliation:** Early/Middle McCurtain phase

**Rim Decoration:** Horizontal bands of fingernail impressions. Portion of a single broken strap handle is present.

**Body Decoration:** Horizontal bands of fingernail impressions. Vertical lines of three nodes below handles.



**Figure 9c.** Partial vessels from Mc12, Association 3. (C - Vessel A3-4, Cat. 34Mc12/8, Stake 4:45)

**Vessel C-1**, Cat. 34Mc12/20, Cache Pit 1, Depth: ~80"

**Form:** Vessel C-1 is an incurvate bowl with a rounded lip that appears to have been made from a broken, reworked jar or possibly a bottle (Figure 10). It was excavated from the base of Cache Pit 1 adjacent to four pieces of quartz. The vessel height is 7.3 cm, with a maximum diameter of 14.0 cm.

**Temper:** Limestone

**Type:** Unclassified Plain (burnished)

**Temporal Affiliation:** Unknown

**Body decoration:** None



**Figure 10.** Whole vessel from Mc12, Cache Pit 1 (C1-1)

*Ceramic Sherds*

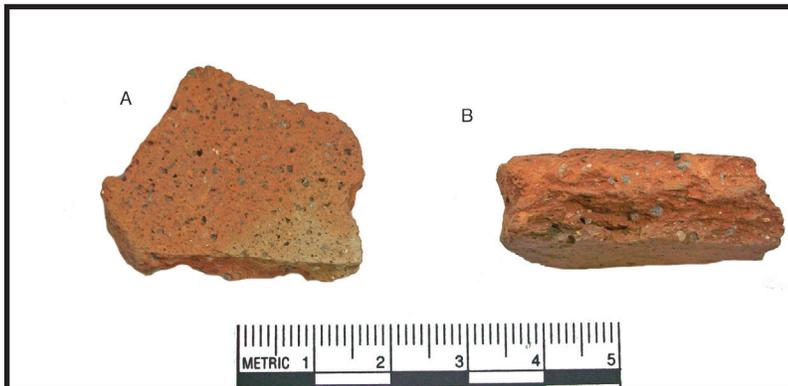
Of the 3,558 recovered sherds, 3,403 were from Mc11 and 155 were from Mc12. In order to make better sense of the activities occurring in both areas of the site, I will treat both decorated assemblages separately, and further separate the Mc11 sherds into midden (n=2,878) and test pit or surface (n=555) contexts. Table 2 provides the breakdown of decorated and vessel landmark sherds by site context. As seen in Table 3, grog was the dominant tempering agent in assemblages from all three contexts, trailed by shell, dolomitic limestone, and bone. Initially, the dolomitic limestone tempering was confused with bone, because particles were white and rounded. However, when examined under 40x magnification, it was became these were not fragments of bone. The tempering agent reacts very slowly with dilute hydrochloric acid, which is typical of dolomitic limestone, which does occur in the Ouachita Mountains. In addition to the sherds with remaining limestone temper particles, a number of sherds had leached temper with rounded voids instead of the flat voids typical of shell, which are also assumed to be limestone tempered (Figure 11). Limestone tempering is also seen in the Clement assemblage. Shell-tempered sherds make up 12.2% of the Mc11 midden assemblage, and only 9.7% of the total assemblage.

**Table 2. McDonald Ceramic Category Counts**

	Mc11 Midden	Mc11 Test Pits/ Surface	Mc12	Totals
Decorated Sherds	422	134	19	575
Plain Body Sherds	1983	341	112	2436
Plain Red-Slipped Sherds	157	35	8	200
Plain Rim Sherds	199	30	13	242
Plain Red-Slipped Rims	18	0	1	19
Plain Base Sherds	68	15	2	85
Plain Red-Slipped Bases	1	0	0	1
Total Sherds	2848	555	155	3558

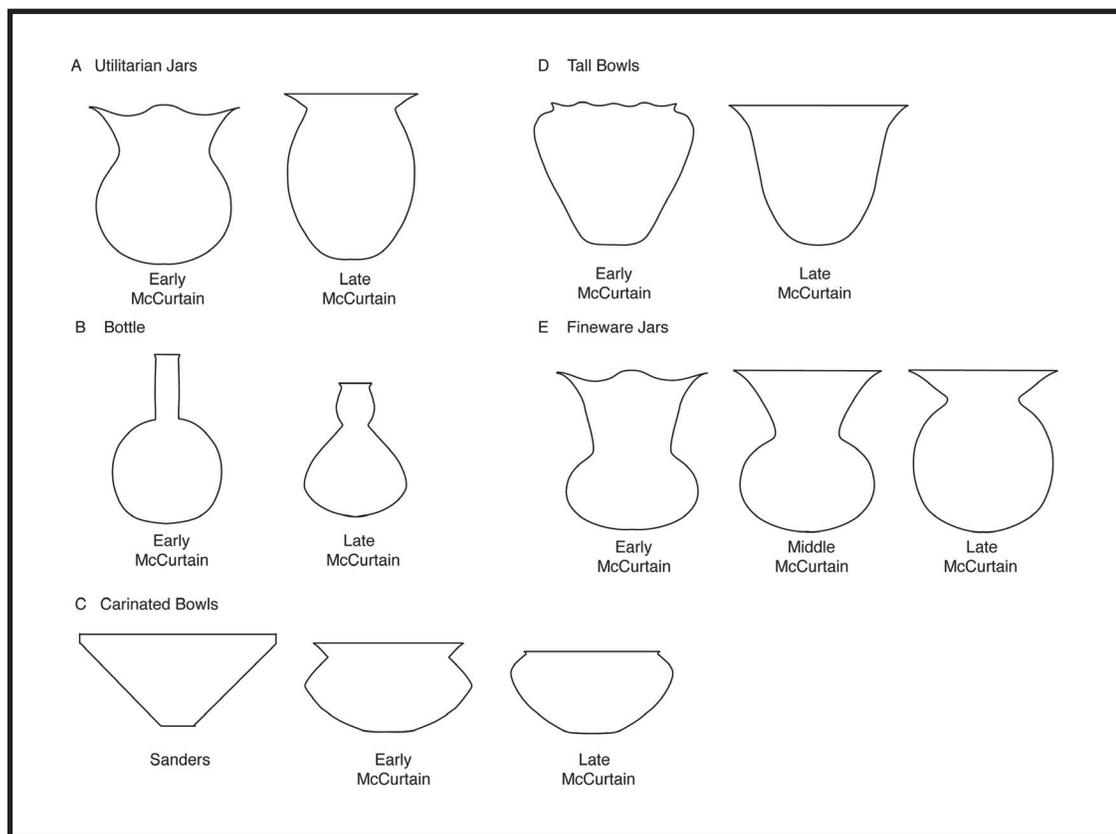
**Table 3. McDonald Ceramic Tempers**

Primary Temper	Mc11 Midden		Mc11 Test Pits/Surface		Mc12		Totals	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Grog	2133	82.7	541	97.5	151	97.4	2825	86.0
Limestone	127	4.9	1	0.2	0	0.0	128	3.9
Shell	313	12.2	10	1.8	0	0.0	323	9.7
Bone	5	0.2	3	0.5	4	2.6	12	0.4
Total	2578	100	555	100	155	100	3288	100

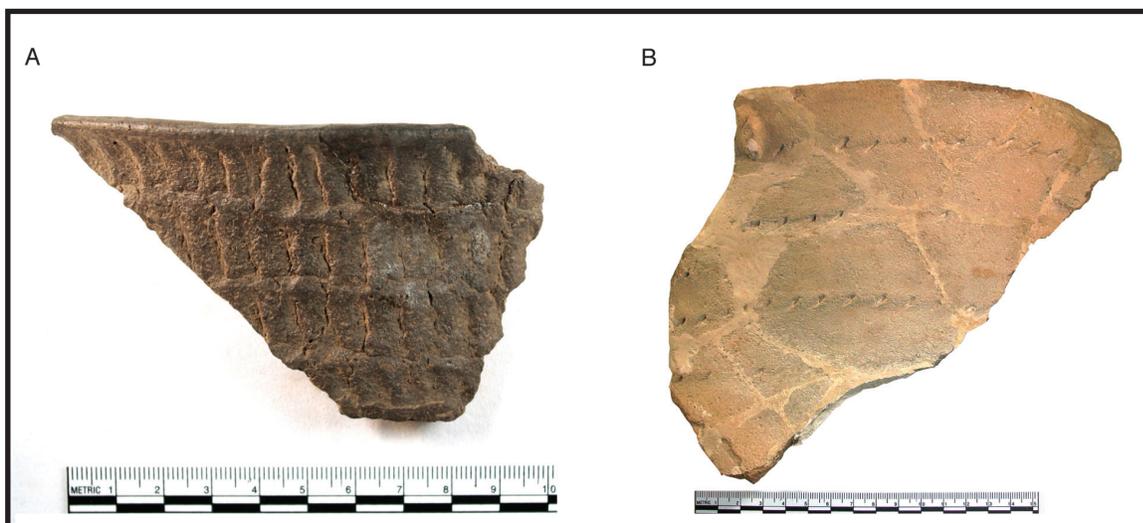


**Figure 11.** Limestone tempered sherds, identifiable by the grayish-white rounded particle that react slowly with hydrochloric acid and round voids from leached particles. Both are from an unknown provenience at Mc12.

Based on his work at sites along the Red River, including Roden (34Mc215), Rowland Clark (41RR77), and Bob Williams (41RR16), Perino (1980) created a basic seriation of changes in vessel forms from the Sanders through McCurtain phases. The seriation was used to assign the dates for the burial vessel assemblages shown in Table 2. These date ranges are relative estimates, given the dearth of secure context radiocarbon dates from Caddo sites in southeast Oklahoma. Based on this seriation of vessel changes, the McCurtain phase can be divided into three different periods, the early McCurtain phase, (~AD 1300-1450), the middle McCurtain phase (~AD 1450-1650), and the late McCurtain phase (~AD 1650+). Perino (1980:53) notes that jar shapes changed through time from a more squat, globular body shape to a more oblong, taller body (Figure 12a). Early jars frequently had four rim castellations and loop or strap handles. Over time, the castellations gradually disappeared and jar handles became lugs or closed handles. Jar body decoration also changes from dashed fingernail impressed lines to tool punctate lines to applied or engraved pendant triangles (Figure 13). The most obvious change in the bottle form occurred in the necks (Figure 12b), which shifted from relatively narrow and elongated to a squat spool-like form by the seventeenth century (Perino 1980:55). Based on the McDonald vessel assemblage, bottles appear to have shifted from a more globular to a low-shouldered version with a slanting upped body. During the Sanders phase, bowls were undecorated, with flat bottoms and tapered v-shaped sides (Figure 12c). Early McCurtain short carinated bowls change over time from a vessel with a taller rim and angular shoulder and rim breaks to having a shorter rim and more curved profile. Many had scalloped rims. The tall bowls of the Late McCurtain (Figure 12d) phase are a variation on an earlier Sanders phase tall carinated bowl with a scalloped rim (Perino 1980:56). Over time, tall bowl rims changed from carinated to outflaring. Early fineware jars had squat bodies and high, castellated rims and four handles (Perino 1980:55). They were decorated on both rim and body fields. Over time, handles and rim castellations disappeared and bottle bodies became taller and more globular (Figure 12e).



**Figure 12.** Changes in McCurtain phase vessel shapes over time.



**Figure 13.** (A) Early McCurtain phase grog-tempered corrugated jar rim from the Mc11 midden and Middle/Late McCurtain phase. (B) Shell-tempered fingernail punctate rim from an unknown Mc12 provenience.

In addition to the Caddo component, 211 of the recovered sherds from the Mc11 midden and 13 sherds from the Mc11 test pits are thick sherds tempered with large chunks of grog indicative of an earlier Woodland occupation. Many of these sherds are thick bases and rims of flat bottomed jars, while others from vessel walls were identified by thickness and the presence of large chunks of grog, grit, and/or bone temper. The Woodland sherds represent 6.2% of the total ceramic assemblage. None are decorated, suggesting a date earlier in the Fourche Maline sequence, possibly the Fourche Maline I phase, spanning 300 B.C. to AD 1 (Leith 2011). The presence of a number of Gary type contracting stemmed points and a chipped stone hoe in the lithic tool assemblage discussed below are further evidence of a Woodland occupation at the site.

Excluding the identified Woodland sherds, the plain to decorated ratio (P:D) for the entire assemblage is 5.79. For the Mc11 midden, where the bulk of the sherd assemblage was recovered, the ratio is slightly higher at 6.11. Both are similar to the ratios calculated from data provided in Dowd's (2012:146-147) analysis of Caddo ceramic assemblages from sites in the Mountain Fork. The similarity in these ratios indicates that the McDonald collection is representative enough of the whole assemblage to draw some conclusions about the potters of the Glover drainage. The single-component fourteenth and fifteenth century assemblages at the fourteenth-century Woods Mound group and the fifteenth-century Biggham Creek site have P:D ratios of 5.21 and 5.5, almost equal to that of the McDonald site. This is a substantially higher ratio of decoration than has been reported at sites along the middle Red River in northeast Texas, where the P:D ratio is as high as 43.7:1 in Late Caddo contexts at the Roitsch site (Pertulla 2008a; 2008b:489), and yet is a much lower ratio of decoration than at sites located farther south in east Texas (Pertulla 2011:52). Based on these comparisons, Caddo groups living in the southern Ouachita Mountains decorated their utilitarian wares with greater frequency than their contemporaries living on the Coastal Plain along the Red River.

Perhaps more tellingly, while the potters in the southern Ouachita Mountains apparently made and used shell-tempered pottery, they did not adopt it to the extent of their middle Red River contemporaries. Pertulla (2008b:349) reported that the decorated and rim assemblage at the Roitsch site along the Red River dating primarily between AD 1300-1450 with a smaller late occupation was nearly 90 percent shell-tempered. Based on the distribution of types, the occupations at Roitsch and McDonald appear to be roughly contemporaneous, but are distinctly different from one another on the basis of tempering and proportion of decorated sherds. Based on the comparison of ceramic data from the Red, Glover, and Mountain Fork drainage sites, the McCurtain

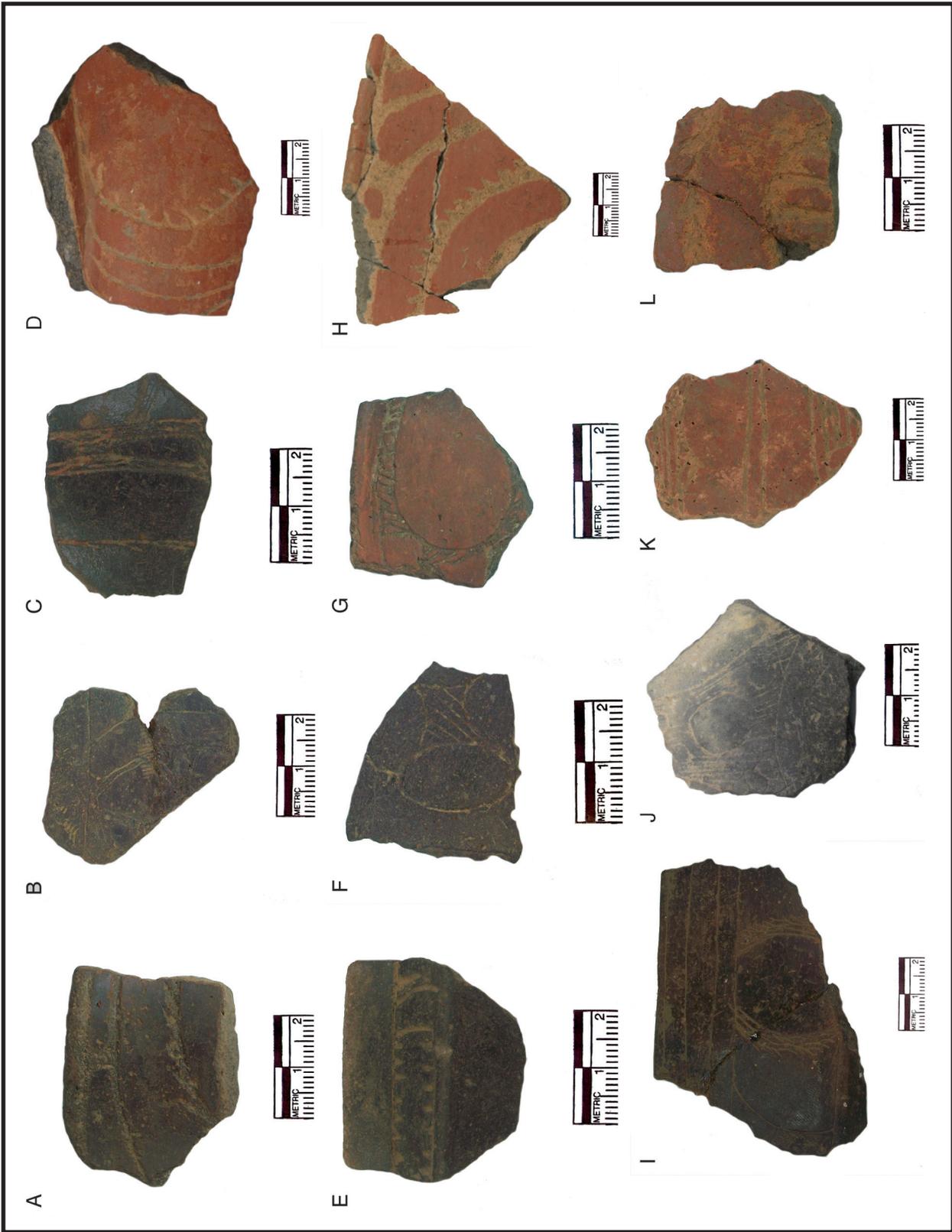
phase designation as currently understood subsumes three clusters of Caddo sites whose potters worked in three distinct potting traditions. It is expected that the ongoing analysis of WPA-excavated assemblages from sites in southeast Oklahoma, particularly the ceramics from the Clement site, will help to better refine our understanding of the Glover drainage pottery style. Even without the completed analysis from the Clement site, the decorated sherds from the McDonald site help fill in some of the gaps in our understanding of Caddo occupations along the southwestern edges of the Ouachita Mountains.

### Finewares

This category includes 292 engraved and red-slipped sherds from bowls and bottles, which represents 8.8% of the total assemblage (Table 4). Red-slipped incised sherds and trailed sherds are also included in this category. Twelve of the engraved and 44 red-slipped sherds are shell tempered. The 200 plain red-slipped sherds and 20 red-slipped rims and bases, the majority of which are grog-tempered, are presumed to be plain sections of decorated Avery or Taylor Engraved or Sanders Plain vessels. Engraving motifs range from simple parallel lines to more complex portions of larger motifs. Curvilinear elements with added rays and/or engraved line filler are present on 26 of the sherds. Most can be identified as Avery, Ripley, Taylor Engraved motifs (Figure 14). Two additional sherds also shown in Figure 14 are from Simms Engraved carinated bowls. A single sherd from a carinated bowl also seen in Figure 14 and two of the burial vessels (B21-5&6) are examples of Clark Engraved, a type created by Perino (1980:57, Figures 13 and 14) based on pottery from the Rowland Clark site, is dated to AD 1300 to 1450. A grog-tempered red-slipped sherd with paired nodes typical of Maxey Noded Redware from an unknown context at Mc12 is the only sherd from a Sanders fineware type (Figure 15).

**Table 4. Decorative Modes in the McDonald Assemblage**

Decorative Mode	Mc11 Midden	Mc11 Test Pits/ Surface	Mc12	Total
Engraved	49	6	2	57
Engraved/Incised	4	1	0	5
Incised	35	27	7	69
Red-slipped Incised	6	2	0	8
Incised/Fingernail Impressed	33	3	1	37
Incised/Applique	10	0	2	12
Incised/Applique/Fingernail Impressed	13	0	0	13
Incised/Applique/Engraved	1	0	0	1
Incised/Fingernail Impressed/Handle	2	0	0	2
Fingernail Impressed	97	12	11	120
Fingernail Impressed/Applique	37	4	2	43
Fingernail Impressed/Applique/Handle	0	1	0	1
Punctate	14	0	0	14
Red-slipped Punctate	1	0	0	1
Applique	39	10	2	51
Red-slipped Applique	1	0	0	1
Handles	2	0	0	2
Noded	0	2	2	4
Smoothed Ridge Pinched	37	7	1	45
Smoothed Ridge Pinched/Applique	10	0	0	10
Smoothed Ridge Pinched/Fingernail Impressed	4	0	0	4
Smoothed Ridge Pinched/Handle	4	0	0	4
Smoothed Ridge Pinched/Applique/Incised	0	0	1	1
Eroded	3	0	0	3
Total	402	75	31	508



**Figure 14.** Engraved finewares from Mc11 and Mc12 (A - Ripley Engraved, B-D - Unclassified Engraved, E - Simms Engraved, F - G - Unclassified Engraved, H - Avery Engraved, I - Clark Engraved, J - Unclassified Engraved, K - L - Unclassified Red-Slipped Engraved)



**Figure 15.** Sanders phase Maxey Noded Redware bottle body fragment from an unknown context at Mc12.

While three Hudson Engraved bottles (B15-5, B18-7, and B24-1) are present in the burial vessel assemblage from the Mc11 midden, no sherds of this type were recovered. As Perttula (2008b:355) noted, Hudson Engraved is a marker of post-AD 1650 occupation along the Middle Red River. A single Keno Trailed vessel (B2-1) and three shell-tempered Keno Trailed sherds (Figure 16) were recovered from the Mc11 cemetery and midden, which further supports a small seventeenth century occupation. A shell-tempered red-slipped Avery Engraved flaring rim, globular bodied jar with pendant scrolls in the burial assemblage (B3-1) also likely dates to this later occupation. Perino (1981:36, Figure 20A) depicts a similarly decorated vessel from a burial with European trade goods excavated at the Roden site.



**Figure 16.** Keno Trailed sherds recovered from the Mc11 midden.

### Utilitarian Wares

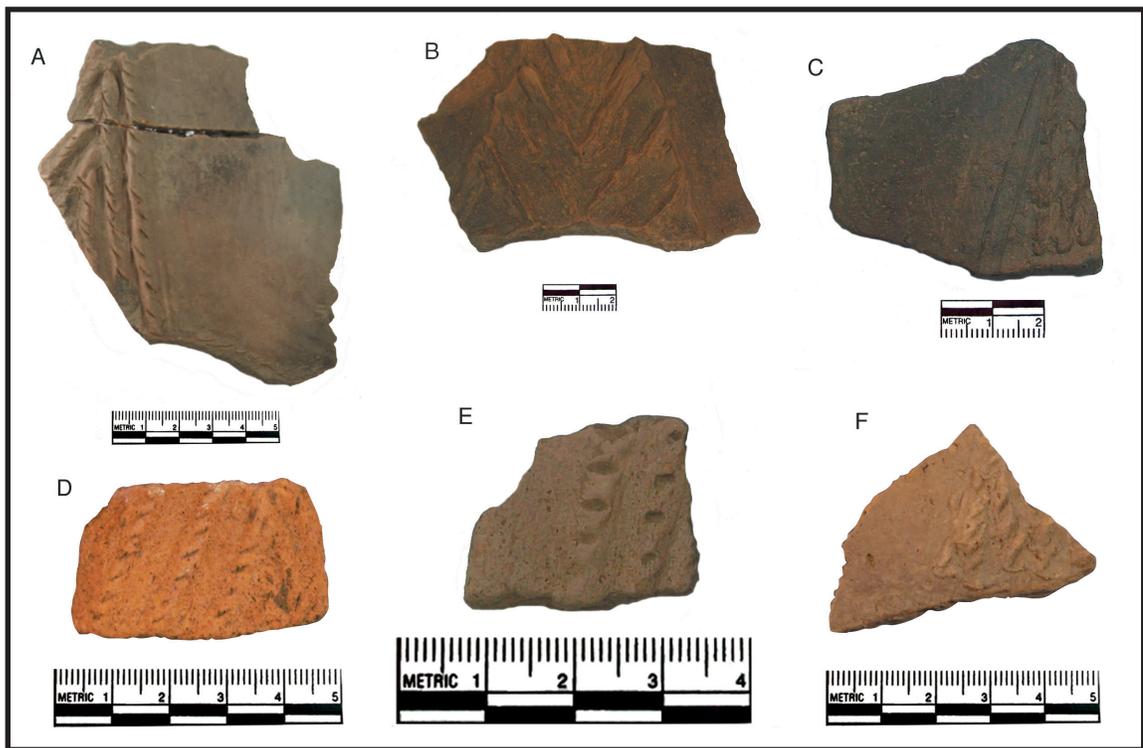
The utilitarian assemblage includes sherds associated with early, middle, and late decorative traditions of the McCurtain phase, reflecting the relatively long occupation at and around the McDonald site. A greater proportion of the utilitarian wares are associated with the Middle and Late McCurtain phase occupation than is true for the fineware assemblage. The most common decorative technique for utilitarian jars is fingernail impressions, which occurred on the bodies of jars during earlier periods and on later jar rims (see Table 4). Fingernail punctations occur along with applique and incising on jar bodies, and are commonly paired with a corrugated rim on early McCurtain phase vessels. The configuration of incised and fingernail punctate lines on jar bodies has a wide degree of variation. The line patterns may be vertical, horizontal, perpendicular, arched, or diagonal (Figure 17). The second most common decorative method is incising, which is found on in horizontal bands on the bodies of corrugated jars, in barred diagonal lines, cross hatching, parallel horizontal and vertical lines, and diamond configurations on jar bodies (Figure 18). Several incised sherds from Mc12 are from Canton Incised jar rims, meaning they likely date to the very limited Sanders phase occupation. When only jar rims were recovered, the most common decorative method is corrugating. On late jars, fingernail impressions are the only decorative mode on certain jar rims, which are typically shell-tempered shorter than their corrugated counterparts. Later utilitarian sherds are also identified by the presence of pendant triangle patterns made from ticked ridges of applied clay on the bodies of jars (Figure 19). One unusual jar sherd recovered from Mc12 has incised interconnected festoon motifs with diagonal lines above and rectangular incising below (Figure 20).



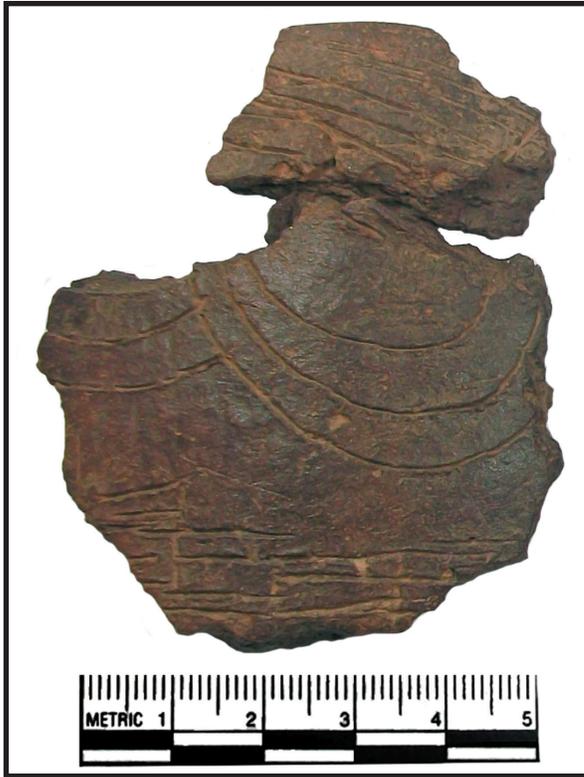
**Figure 17.** Utilitarian jar body sherds from the Mc11 midden and Mc12 that show the variety of incising, applique, and fingernail punctation configurations in the assemblage.



**Figure 18.** Jar body and rim sherds decorated with a variety of incising motifs. (A – grog temper, B – grog/limestone temper, C, D, E, F – grog temper)



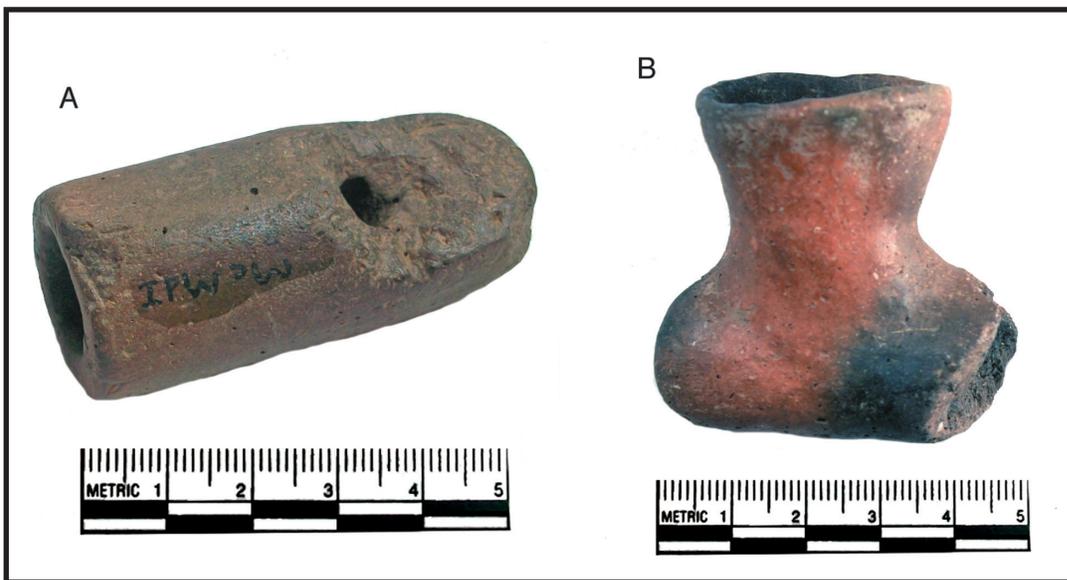
**Figure 19.** A variety of forms of applied triangles found on the bodies of utilitarian jars. (A, B, C - grog temper, D, E - shell temper, F - grog/limestone temper)



**Figure 20.** Grog-tempered jar sherd decorated with a variety of incising motifs recovered from Stake 3:3 at Mc12.

*Pipes*

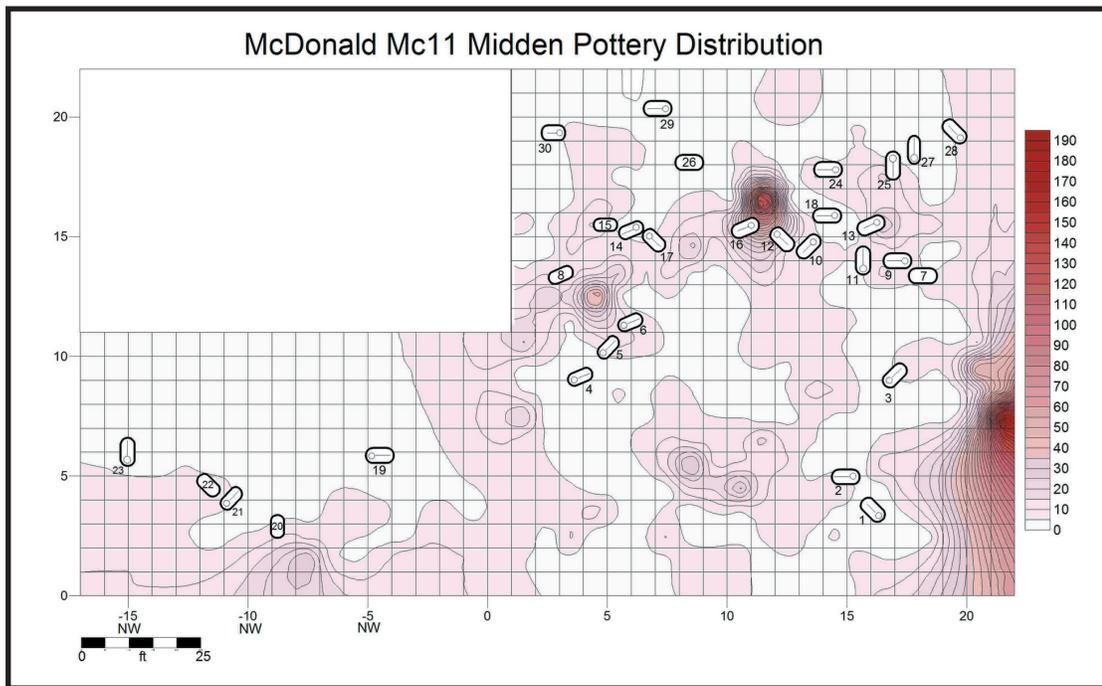
Fragments of five pipes were recovered from the Mc11 midden. This is a relatively low number when compared with other contemporaneous sites (see Perino 1980, 1981, 1983, 1994 and Perttula 2008b:356). Only two (Figure 21) are large enough to be identified via Hoffman's (1967) typology. Both are from elbow pipes, which were first made in the Sanders phase and continued to be made through the McCurtain phase.



**Figure 21.** Elbow pipe bowls recovered from the Mc11 midden.

### Ceramic Distributions at Mc11 and Mc12

The use of a 5-x-5-foot excavation grid by the WPA workers facilitated the creation of ceramic distribution maps for the midden area. The excavated midden area is relatively small, measuring only 30-x-30 m, with a 25-x-15 m extension. The cumulative distribution map of pottery in the midden shows three large concentrations of ceramics in several areas of the site (Figure 22). Each concentration is confined to a 5-x-5-foot square, which suggests crews encountered features, such as refuse pits, in these areas. Unfortunately, no features are mentioned in the notes, and the concentrations are attributed to three different levels. A broader and lower density concentration of materials is present in columns 5-7, rows 9-12. The distributions of shell-tempered sherds and finewares show concentrations in different areas of the site (Figure 23). These may reflect shifts in site use over time. At the outset, I had hoped to look at the distribution of sherds and temper classes by level to determine whether the McCurtain phase occupation was at all stratified by sub-phase. Unfortunately, roughly 75 percent of the midden sherds are from Levels 1 and 2, which at 0-6" and 6-12", places them within the plowzone. The distribution of Fourche Maline sherds is different from the overall pottery distribution (Figure 24). The low-density Woodland occupation is confined primarily to the northeastern and eastern portions of the midden.



**Figure 22.** Density contour of sherds by count in the Mc11 midden.

The sherds from the Mc12 portion of the site, particularly from House 1, are overwhelmingly utilitarian wares. The only finewares recovered from the interior of the house are two engraved sherds and the two miniature vessels. The recovered sherds are from at least three bowls, two are plain and one of the engraved sherds is decorated with horizontal parallel lines below the lip. Rims and body sherds from at least five jars were recovered from the house floor. All of the house floor sherds are consistent with Early McCurtain phase vessel forms and decorative treatments, suggesting the house dates between AD 1300-1450. Apart from the pottery on the house floor, the remaining provenienced Mc12 sherd collection is attributed to only two units. These sherds are from a later McCurtain phase occupation, based on the presence of multiple utilitarian jars with applique triangle patterns on the body and shell tempered sherds with bands of fingernail punctations encircling the rim. The unprovenienced sherds from Mc12, frustratingly assigned to a provenience listed as "unknown", include the only Sanders phase sherds, examples of Maxey Noded Redware, Sanders Engraved, and Canton Incised. Given large size of the artifact scatter and the long occupation sequence, it is possible that the

locations of fields and households on the McDonald terrace shifted over time, and Sanders phase households are located elsewhere. It may also be the case that there was no substantial Sanders phase occupation. Survey along the Red River has demonstrated Caddo occupations dating between AD 900-1300 tend to be clustered around mound sites, and expansion to broad river terraces only occurred when the Caddo began intensively cultivating maize after AD 1300 (Perttula 2008b:267-268).

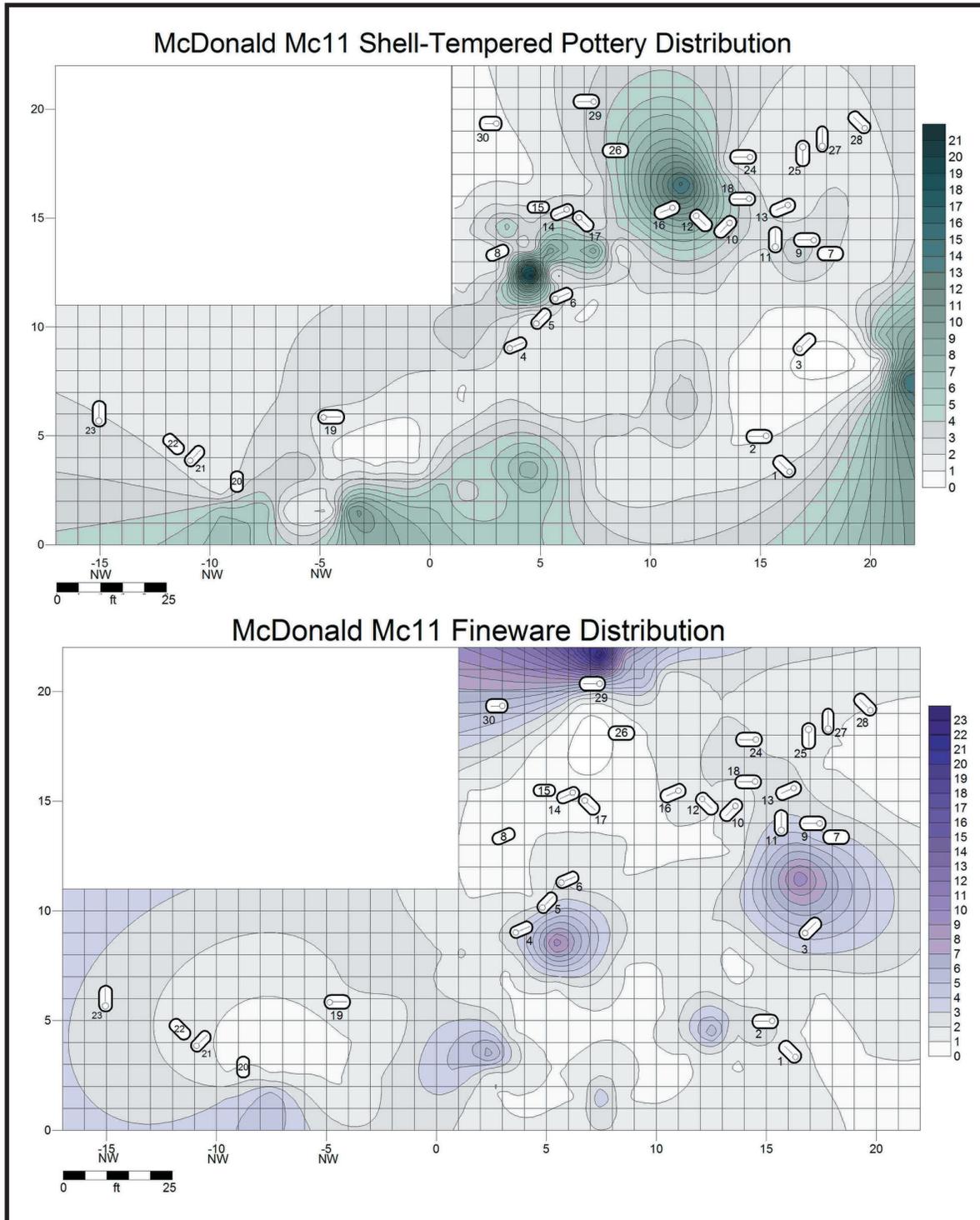
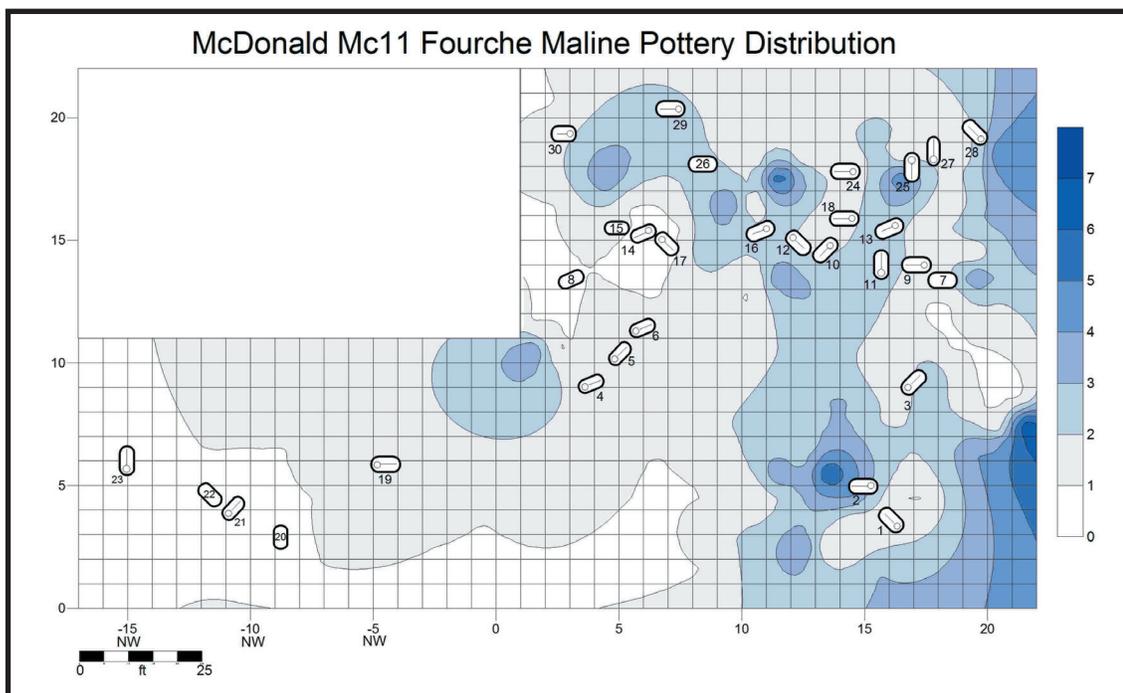


Figure 23. (Top) Density contour of shell-tempered sherds by count in the Mc11 midden. (Bottom) Density contour of fineware sherds by count in the Mc12 midden.



**Figure 24.** Density contour of Fourche Maline (Woodland) sherds in the Mc11 midden.

### *Lithic Artifacts*

All of the 211 lithic artifacts in the McDonald collection were made from locally-available or nearby stone sources, listed in Table 5. Because of the underlying geology of the Ouachita Mountains, knappable stone is abundant in the site area, available as gravels in the nearby Glover, or at outcrops upstream in the Ouachitas. Because the WPA did not screen excavated soil, the chipped stone assemblage consists largely of finished tools, a few large utilized flakes, and no debitage. Therefore, it is impossible to discuss knapping strategies or other technological aspects of stone tool production at McDonald in any great detail. The assemblage of arrow points is also small, which is unfortunate, since the types of arrow points provide another method of refining site chronology. Only seven small arrow points, consisting of two novaculite Agees, one Big Fork chert Alba, two novaculite Massard C's, and one John's Valley chert Scallorn. Following Brown's (1996) Spiro seriation, the Agee and Massard C points date between AD 1000 and 1250, meaning they may be associated with the small Sanders phase occupation. Alba and Scallorn points are common on early McCurtain phase sites (Bruseth 1998:60). None of the unnotched point triangular point types typically associated with later McCurtain phase occupations (Pertulla 2008b:356) were recovered, although this may be due to the selective recovery process.

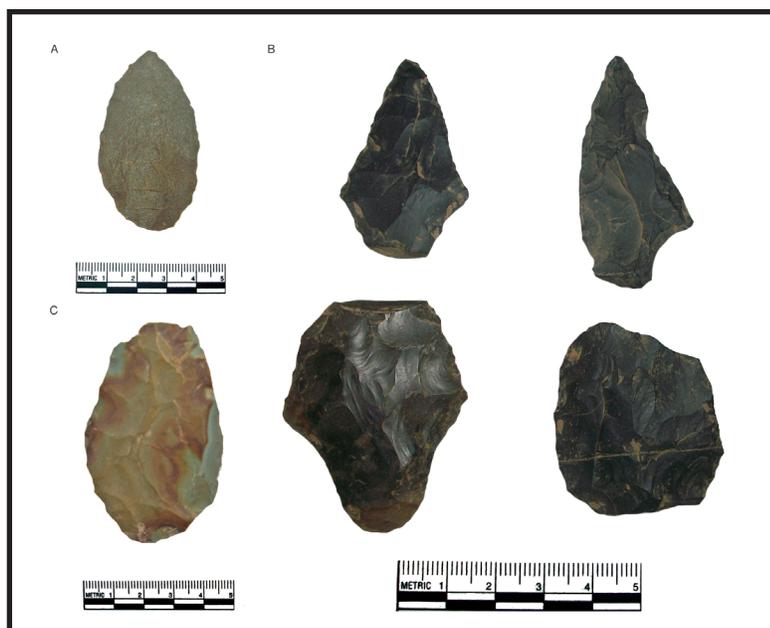
**Table 5. Lithic Material Types**

Material Type	Count	Percentage
Novaculite	46	21.8
Quartzite	38	18.0
Red River Jasper	32	15.2
Big Fork Chert	29	13.7
Argillite	27	12.8
Johns Valley Chert	21	10.0
Chalcedony	6	2.8
Quartz	5	2.4
Antlers Gravel	5	2.4
Green Chert	2	0.9
Total	211	100.0

The overwhelming majority of hafted bifaces (n=47) recovered from the site are contracting stemmed Gary points. They are made from every available knappable stone, and identifiable examples of all three varieties described by Schambach (1982), *vars. gary* (n=12), *leflore* (n=8), and *camden* (n=13), exist in the collection. The presence of the earliest form indicates the site was used, probably intermittently, during the Late Archaic (1500-300 B.C.) as well as during the Woodland. Several other Late Archaic points are present in the assemblage, including two corner-notched and four straight-stemmed points. All but one are made from locally available materials. One of the straight-stemmed points is made from Antlers Gravel, which outcrops on the western edge of the Ouachita Mountains, roughly 50 miles from the Glover drainage.

Several other bifacially-worked tools in the collection are worth noting. The first is a quartzite, leaf-shaped biface, mainly of interest because it was recovered from cache pit C1 along with the reworked bowl and hunks of quartz at Mc12 (Figure 25a). Four Johns Valley chert bifacial tools were recovered from the floor of House 1 (Figure 25b). This includes the base of a Gary *var. Gary* point, two reworked knives, and a scraper. A biface tool recovered from Stake 19:9 in the Mc11 midden is made from an unusual mottled green chert that outcrops along the Kiamichi River (Figure 25c). Other tools in the collection include two drills, a graver, and unifacial and bifacial scrapers.

Sixteen ground and flaked whole and partial stone celts are present in the assemblage. They were made by removing flakes roughly along the margins of oblong pieces of river gravels and then grinding both ends (Figure 26a). Celts were made from argillite (n=9), quartzite (n=5), and sandstone (n=2). Two large argillite flakes that appear to have been knocked off of a single celt also were recovered. These tools are evenly distributed across the midden zone. One chipped sandstone hoe and another possible hoe also were recovered from the Mc11 midden (Figure 26b). Five nutting stones, made from sandstone (n=2), quartzite (n=2), and phyllite (n=1) are in the collection. One of the quartzite stones was recovered adjacent to the hearth in House 1. Three flat groundstone fragments of phyllite from the Mc11 midden appear to be portions of stone gorgets. Finally, two large chunks of bright red pigment-quality hematite were recovered from the Mc11 midden.



**Figure 25.** Selected stone tools in the artifact assemblage (A – Leaf-shaped quartzite biface found in the fill of Cache Pit 1 at Mc12, B – Four Johns Valley chert Bifaces/tools recovered from the floor of House 1, C – Green and gold chert biface recovered from an unknown context at Mc11.

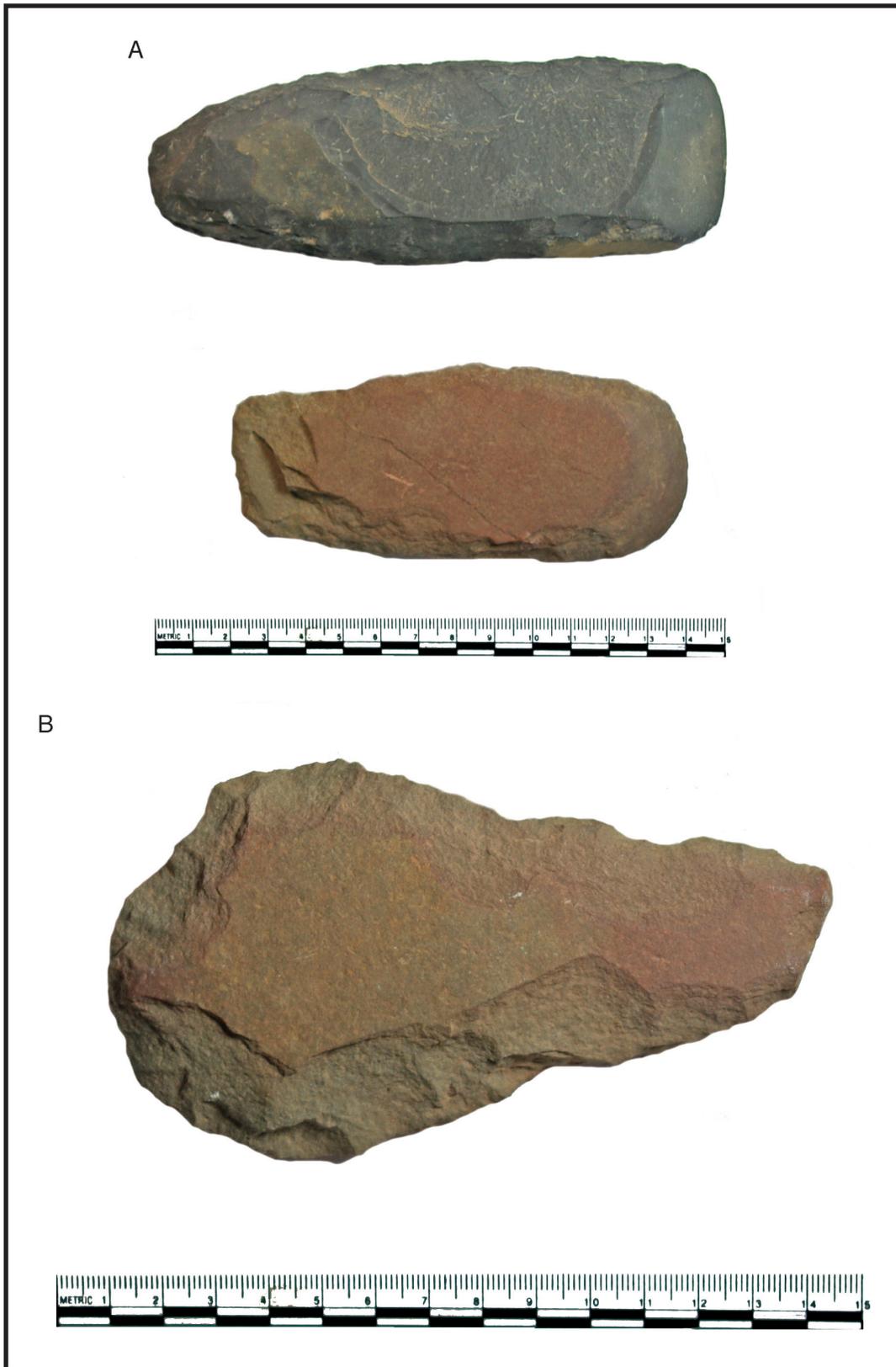


Figure 26. A - Ground and battered celts from the Mc11 midden, B - Chipped stone hoe from A3 at Mc12.

## Reevaluating the McDonald Site

Before beginning this reanalysis, the McDonald site was viewed as a small Caddo farmstead with an associated midden and cemetery. After finding Baerreis' report and analyzing the artifacts, a different picture of the site has emerged. The single structure at Mc12 and excavated midden area at Mc11 are part of a much larger occupation complex that spans nearly a mile along a bend in the Glover. McDonald is at the northern edge of a chain of Caddo occupations that sprawl across the terraces of the lower Glover drainage. Upstream, above McDonald, the Glover is constricted by the Ouachita Mountains and recorded sites are smaller single household settlements on narrow terraces. The artifact analysis has demonstrated that occupation at and around the McDonald site has a considerable time depth, beginning with periodic use during the Late Archaic and ending with permanent settlement lasting through the seventeenth century AD. This late occupation date is somewhat surprising, since it has been assumed that smaller sites in the Ouachita Mountains like McDonald were abandoned as a result of the exceptional drought that occurred in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century (e.g. Perttula 2012:103).

This analysis is also a beginning step in understanding the relationship between outlying sites like McDonald and the mound sites along the Glover. The assemblage in the McDonald midden and household is comprised primarily of utilitarian vessels and stone artifacts made from locally-available materials. Exotic artifacts are not present in any of the burials. The excavated midden is an excellent snapshot of Caddo domestic life along the Glover, but the center of communal religious life along the Glover clearly was elsewhere. In addition to the larger mound centers of Clement and A.W. Davis, located downstream, the Pine Creek mounds are located upstream in the Ouachita Mountains. The site consists of at least two, and possibly three house mounds tested in the early 1970s (Gettys 1975). Like the Woods Mound group along the Mountain Fork, the ceramic assemblage from Pine Creek consists almost entirely of utilitarian wares. Because the mound assemblages at Woods Mound group included very few finewares associated elsewhere with elite status, Dowd (2012) interprets the Woods Mound group as a community gathering place where the dismantling and burying of structures served to reinforce group solidarity rather than social hierarchy. Based on the published ceramic descriptions (Gettys 1975:153-167), this appears to be the case at the Pine Creek mounds as well. In contrast, the presence of the shaft tomb and platform mound and the number of finewares in the collection from Clement and A. W. Davis suggests the emergence of some degree of social and religious differentiation among the Caddo living along the lower Glover.

The burials in the Mc11 cemetery and those at Mc12 do not reflect any sort of emerging social status. Individuals were buried with anywhere from 1-6 vessels and no other grave goods indicative of elevated social status are reported. Stylistically, the early McCurtain phase vessels and sherds in the McDonald burial assemblage have more in common with pots recovered from the Clement site than the noded and incised sherds illustrated for the Pine Creek mounds. One major difference is that engraved and red-slipped finewares are more common in the Clement burials, while utilitarian jars are the modal form for McDonald burials. The later vessels in the McDonald burial assemblage show clear stylistic ties to the whole vessel assemblage at A.W. Davis, illustrated by Dowd (2008) and Wilson (1962).

While the potters at McDonald made many of the same types of ceramics, down to vessel forms and decorative motifs, as their contemporaries along the Red River, they favored different ceramic pastes during the early McCurtain phase. The overwhelming majority of ceramic assemblages dating between AD 1300-1450 at sites along the Red River were shell-tempered. In contrast, the McDonald analysis demonstrates that potters along the lower Glover made the transition to using shell as a tempering agent at a later date. Utilitarian

sherds with early McCurtain phase traits, such as neck banded, castellated jars with loop or strap handles are always grog-tempered. The McDonald assemblage is only 12% shell-tempered. This ratio appears to be slightly higher at Clement, but still only reaches a maximum of 40% in a few contexts. In contrast, the A.W. Davis assemblage, which dates to the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest, is tempered primarily with crushed shell (Wilson 1962:114). While the low ratio of shell tempering at McDonald may simply be due to the fact that the bulk of the midden dates to the earlier part of the McCurtain phase, it is interesting to note that many of the jar sherds with later decorative traits, including v-shaped appliques, are still tempered with grog. This suggests the potters at McDonald were part of a distinct and enduring community where paste recipes remained stable over a long period, even as new decorative techniques and vessel forms were adopted. Even as the potters at related sites downstream were adopting a new paste recipe, the McDonald potters retained their own enduring style.

This analysis of excavations at McDonald have provided an interesting window in the Caddo occupation along the Glover drainage. Although analysis of ceramics from the WPA excavations and the 2008 excavations at the Clement site is not complete, radiocarbon dates demonstrate Clement was initially occupied and mound construction began during the Sanders phase (Hammerstedt et al. 2010). There is very limited evidence of occupation at McDonald during this period. It is unclear whether this is because the excavations simply missed a Sanders phase occupation located elsewhere on the terrace, or whether the Caddo simply weren't extensively inhabiting areas outlying the Clement site until the McCurtain phase. The adoption of maize occurred elsewhere in the Caddo area after AD 1300 (Perttula 2008c). At the same time along the Red River, Caddo residents moved to occupy more dispersed farmsteads, likely to take advantage of soils the soils best suited for cultivation. While no botanical remains were recovered from the site, the fired clay with maize impressions recovered from the hearth in House 1 at Mc12 demonstrates that the McDonald residents did cultivate maize. Based on the burial and ceramic assemblage, the most intensive occupation at the excavated portion of the McDonald site occurred during the early McCurtain phase (AD 1300-1450). The ceramic assemblage at Clement indicates this mound complex was abandoned around AD 1450, and a new mound and occupation area were established just upstream at the A.W. Davis site. While the Clement assemblage includes a number of exotic artifacts typically associated with elevated social status, such as copper clad ear spools and marine artifacts, no exotic artifacts were recovered from the A.W. Davis site, indicating a potential shift in external contacts, social status, a religious life correlated with the abandonment of Clement. It is unclear how these changes, which correspond chronologically to a period of extended drought, may have affected the resident population at McDonald. There are certainly fewer post AD 1450 burials, and only three burials at McDonald can be dated after AD 1650. Because so little of the McDonald site complex is known, these changes may be due less to a decrease in population along the Glover and instead the result of a movement of the McDonald inhabitants to occupy a new area of the terrace.

There is little archaeological evidence that the shift in the religious precinct downstream does not seem to have caused any conflict or an increase in mortality for the residents of the McDonald site. Despite the smaller number of late burials, there does not appear to have been an abrupt break in the use of the community cemetery in the Mc11 midden. Clearly 29 burials is a small number for a four hundred year span, but the ceramic distribution maps make it clear that the artifact scatter, and likely the cemetery, continue in all directions beyond the edges of the grid. Although occupation at McDonald extended well into the contact area, no European trade goods made their way into the few late burials; nor are they present in burials at A.W. Davis. These goods are scarce at sites along the Red River as well. Since all are located above the historic Great Raft, the Caddo of southeast Oklahoma were spared from direct contact with early European expeditions. Unlike the rest of the Southeast, the Caddo were spared the dramatic cultural disruptions wrought by slaving and epidemic disease in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Perttula 2012).

The picture of the McDonald site that emerges from this analysis is that of a large, relatively stable cluster of households that endured in some form over as many as four centuries. While the residents of the McDonald site likely considered the mounds at Clement and later A.W. Davis as a central place for religious ceremonies, the ceramic assemblage, particularly the hesitancy of McDonald potters to adopt shell as their primary tempering agent, indicates they retained some degree of cultural autonomy. The abandonment of the Clement site and the establishment of a new mound center at A.W. Davis during the fifteenth century does not seem to have created a large scale cultural disruption at McDonald, although settlement at the site likely shifted, perhaps in response to drought conditions. Both of these aspects of the McDonald site support the notion that Caddo mound centers in southeast Oklahoma like Clement and A. W. Davis served more as the center of the religious, rather than the political sphere (Regnier 2012). Clement and then A.W. Davis certainly served an essential function of providing a place for the residents of McDonald to interact with the supernatural realm by participating in communal rituals and likely reinforced social ties with among the scattered occupants of the Glover terraces, but the authority of religious leaders does not appear to have extended into a more centralized political authority. In this sense, the political nature of the mounds and outlying sites occupied by the Caddo of southeast Oklahoma are distinctly different from their counterparts in the Mississippian world.

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# LANDSCAPE AS A RITUAL OBJECT: EXPLORING SOME THOUGHTS ON ORGANIZED SPACE IN THE GREAT BEND REGION IN SOUTHWESTERN ARKANSAS

*Duncan P. McKinnon*

## Abstract

This paper proposes a testable model to explore humanistic interpretations of landscapes that have been deliberately arranged, organized, executed, and modified based upon a particular suite of highly integrated political, social, economic, and ideological rules and aspirations about space. This model examines the landscape as a ritual object, embedded with cosmological meaning, purpose, and vision. Using data from archaeogeophysical surveys, excavations, and surface collections, some thoughts on organized space in the Great Bend region in southwestern Arkansas are presented with respect to regional site distributions, cardinal directionality, and intra-site spatial relationships as they exist across the cultural landscape.

## Introduction

The exploration of cultural principles expressed in constructed landscapes has been examined at numerous archaeological sites throughout the world in both 'historic' and 'prehistoric' temporal contexts (Ashmore and Knapp 1999; David and Thomas 2008; Thompson 1995; Wilkinson 2003). In eastern North America, many might already be familiar with various landscape-centric expressions of organized space at numerous Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian period centers. Locations such as Watson Brake (Saunders et al. 2005), Poverty Point (Gibson 2001), Newark (Lepper 2004), Cahokia (Dalan et al. 2003; Emerson 1997), and Moundville (Knight 1998) are but five of the hundreds, if not thousands, of constructed landscapes that were deliberately arranged, organized, executed, and modified based upon a particular suite of highly integrated political, social, economic, and ideological rules and aspirations about space (see Feld and Basso 1996; Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995; Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003).

Within the Caddo Homeland of southeast Oklahoma, southwest Arkansas, northwest Louisiana, and northeast Texas (see Kniffen et al. 1987; Krieger 1946; McKinnon 2011a; Newcomb 1961; Perttula 1992, 2009a, 2012a, 2012b; Webb and Gregory 1986), similar analyses of cultural principles embedded within landscapes have contributed toward more humanistic interpretations of landscapes, their various spatial components, and possible ideological meanings encoded within (see Kay et al. 1989; Perttula 2009b; Sabo 2008, 2012; Sabo and Sabo 2005). These investigations reveal that architectural forms and associated settlement distribution across the Caddo landscape are likely linked to cosmological canons, derived but regionally adapted, from ideological and symbolic principles as part of the larger Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (see Brown 1976; Galloway 1989; Howard 1968; Knight 1986; Knight et al. 2001; Waring and Holder 1945).

This paper explores spatial-cultural components that define a specific Caddo landscape in southwest Arkansas to infer associations and linkages tied to ideological and symbolic principles. In other words, landscape, as a cultural space that contains integrated functional and symbolic components, is treated herein as a ritual object – an object that is embedded with cosmological meaning, purpose, and vision and is fully integrated into the daily lives and functions of the occupants (Anschuetz et al. 2001; Kornfeld and Osborn

2003; Robb 1998). These connected functional and symbolic components are often manifest at a multitude of integrated spatial resolutions and relationships, such as broad-scale regional level distributions of natural and culturally constructed features (Blitz and Lorenz 2006; Girard 2012; Lockhart 2012; Marrinan and White 2007; Perttula 2009b; Pollack 2004; Rafferty and Peacock 2008; Rees and Livingood 2007; Sabo 2008; Vogel 2012), an intra-site or intra-organizational scale reflected as the deliberate spatial orientation of special use structures, activity areas, and delineated spaces (Bailey 1995; Brown 2012; King et al. 2011; Knight 1998; Perttula and Rogers 2007; Sabo 2012; Walker and McKinnon 2012), and micro or small scale resolutions at the individual household or structure level and the examination of interior space (see Deetz 1982; Gasco 1992; Jackson et al. 2012; Schambach 1996; Pluckhahn 2010; Trubitt 2009; Wilk and Rathje 1982).

In this paper, two of these resolutions (broad-scale regional and intra-site organization) are examined using data gathered from archaeogeophysical surveys, archaeological excavations, and surface collections. Through these examinations, a model of organized space is presented in order to explore how cultural principles might be expressed along the Great Bend landscape in southwest Arkansas.

### **Exploring Caddo Landscapes as Ritual Objects**

Similar to elaborately crafted Mississippian period objects, considered ritual in use and embedded with meaning that is symbolically linked to ideology, performance, and ceremony, landscape can also be considered a ritual object, embedded with similar meanings and linked to similar social concepts (see Freidel and Schele 1988; Matthews 2004; Cobb 2003). From a humanistic geography perspective, landscape is “contested both as an actual place and as the figurative site of an ongoing socio-political discourse concerning the relations between community, self, and place” (Olwig 2001:94). But how do we, as archaeologists, ethnohistorians, geographers, and the like, use spatial data, in all its various tabular forms, to provide insight into humanistic concepts of landscape and ritual meaning? One way to approach this is through an examination of settlement patterning to “search for land use patterns and strive to find driving forces behind land use differences to come up with land use classifications that are meaningful in socio-economic and cultural terms” (Moran 2008:100). More so, the examination of patterns in land use and associated “spatial ordering at comparable levels of resolution may thus reveal new insights concerning the use of cosmological principles in pre-contact times and the manner in which these principles persisted or changed over time” (Sabo 2012:446).

Various considerations of Caddo settlement patterning across a landscape have largely been influenced by a map of an Upper Nasoni village located along the Red River created by an anonymous cartographer of the Domingo Terán de los Rios expedition between 1691 and 1692 (see Hatcher 1932; Swanton 1942; Wedel 1978). Known colloquially as the Terán map, the map is one of the few ethnohistorical sources documenting a *synchronic* view of a spatial layout of a Caddo community and provides an historically based model of the organization of a Red River Caddo community and constituent farmsteads, *as documented in 1691* (Schambach 1982). The location of the Nasoni community has been identified as the Hatchel-Mitchell-Moores (41BW3) site complex located in Bowie County, Texas (Perttula 2005; Walker and McKinnon 2012; Wedel 1978). Specifically, the platform mound at the Hatchel site is considered the temple mound depicted in the Terán map (Perttula 2005; Wedel 1978). In addition to the large mound situated on the western edge of the community, a few of the dispersed farmsteads documented in the map have been archaeologically identified and recorded along this portion of the Red River (Perttula 2005; Walker and McKinnon 2012; Walker and Perttula 2007). The large temple mound contains only three constructed components in the immediate vicinity – the mound itself, a *templo* or temple on the mound summit, and an open-air structure at the mound base. Two delineated farmsteads, each separated by a vegetation boundary or fence, are situated directly northeast and east of the mound. Further to the east of the Hatchel mound, and centrally located in the community, is the home of the *Caddi* or community leader (see Bolton 1987; Griffith 1954; Swanton 1942).

The Terán map has been suggested by Sabo (2012) to represent a cosmogram that is embedded in the organization of space at the Hatchel-Mitchell-Moores community. In his analysis, Sabo (2012) suggests that the mound and temple on the western fringes of the Nasoni community functioned as both a physical and symbolic “gateway” where visitors entered the community and were welcomed with various eating, smoking, and cleansing ceremonies and rituals (see Sabo 1995). These rituals served to communicate and connect individuals with both the human realm (This World or Middle World) and the spirit realm (Upper World or Above World) (see Reilly 2004). In terms of spatial patterning, Sabo suggests that the Nasoni community layout represents a “hierarchically-ordered community” with the temple mound, home to the priestly *Xinesi* and serving as the central point for the maintenance of social relationships with the Upper World, and the *Caddi* residence centrally located within the community and serving as the central point for the maintenance of social relationships with members of the This World community. These two centers, and the symbolic constituents they support, were ‘connected’ through the kindling of a sacred fire or ‘axis mundi’ that was continually reaffirmed through ritual. This sacred fire was subsequently ‘shared’ with the individual fires within the community farmsteads, thus maintaining symbolic and community cohesion within a framework of overarching cosmological beliefs and community relationships.

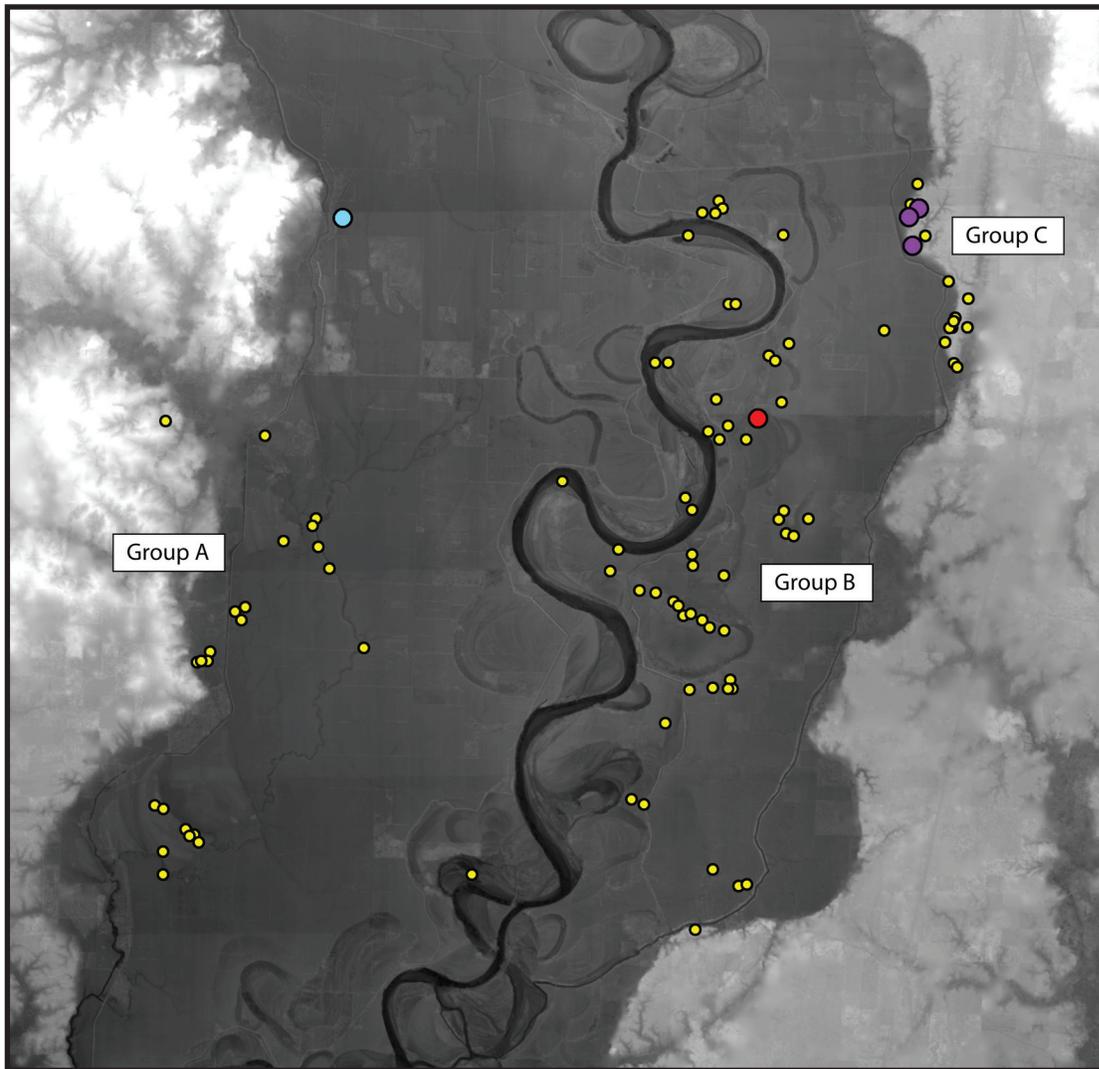
### **The Great Bend Ritual Landscape**

Within the Great Bend region of southwest Arkansas, an examination of the archaeological landscape at a regional scale offers some initial observations that can be considered with regard to settlement distribution and cosmological principles, keeping in mind the potential for site biases related to location-based survey projects and incomplete data gathering throughout the years.

The Great Bend region is fairly centralized within the Caddo Archaeological Area, an area delineated based on archaeological and ethnohistorical data, and the Trans-Mississippi South, a distinct biogeographical area situated between the Lower Mississippi Valley and the southern Plains (see Perttula 1992; Schambach 1982). With agriculturally productive soil deposits, diverse ecology, and navigable waterways, the Great Bend region is host to numerous prehistoric and historic archaeological sites. Principal among them are the many sites left by the ancestors of the Caddo Indians that lived in this area as early as ca. A.D. 900 (see Schambach 1982; Perttula 1992, 2012).

The Great Bend region is a large area with numerous sites spread along the Red River that extend, more or less, at least as far west as the Hatchel-Mitchel-Moores community and at least as far south as the Belcher (16CD13) site Caddo Parish, Louisiana (Webb 1959). As part of this study, a specific area of the larger Great Bend region was selected in order to explore cultural distributions and examples of the organization of space (Figure 1). The area of interest in this study is an approximately 600 square kilometer area bounded to the east and west by the Red River uplands. The large Battle Mound (3LA1) site is centrally situated.

Using the Automated Management of Archeological Site Data in Arkansas (AMASDA) database, sites (n=97) and their recorded attributes were examined for spatial patterns that might reflect cultural principles in the area of interest. Three “groups” or “clusters” of sites are recognizable with the meandering Red River bisecting the river valley on a north-south alignment. As this discussion is a model of landscape organization of space to be explored and tested further, contemporaneity between sites is not specifically addressed in this paper. Such a discussion will require testing in the field to gather additional (or in many cases, some) temporal data.



**Figure 1.** Distribution of recorded sites in the Great Bend region study area. Blue circle in Group A represents the Hensley Mound (3MI123) site. Red circle in Group B represents the Battle Mound (3LA1) site. Purple circles in Group C represent the Spirit Lake Farm Mound (3LA239), Red Hill Mound (3LA21), and Field Bayou Mound (3LA22) sites.

Roughly six kilometers west of the Red River and located along McKinney Bayou (Group A) are several sites ( $n=24$ ) situated along the western edge of the Red River floodplain (see Figure 1). Calculating the presence or absence of individual artifact types at all sites in Group A, lithic debris has been recorded at 97% of the sites, ceramic sherds at 29% of the sites, and faunal remains at 0.04% of the sites (Table 1). At a single site (3MI192), faunal remains were collected. The high occurrence of lithic material and low percentage of ceramics along the McKinney Bayou landscape suggests the possibility that these sites represent examples of specific use activities, such as hunting or resource procurement. There are no extant mounds recorded among these sites, although the Hensley Mound (3MI123) site deviates from this pattern. Unfortunately, the mound was plowed down in the early 1970s and much of the land leveled for agriculture. There are no collections associated with Hensley Mound site. The location of what is left of the Hensley Mound is approximately 6 km (3.72 miles) to the north of the Group A cluster and is also situated along McKinney Bayou.

**Table 1. Great Bend Study Area Sites and Associated Artifacts recorded in AMASDA.**

Sites	Location	Mound	Lithic	Ceramic	Human Remains	Faunal	AMASDA #
3MI0123	GROUP A	1	0	0	0	0	1085
3MI0177	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	0	1121
3MI0113	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	0	501
3MI0127	GROUP A	0	1	1	0	0	501; 1085
3MI0112	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	0	501
3MI0111	GROUP A	0	1	1	0	0	501
3MI0109	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	0	501
3MI0063	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	0	501
3MI0080	GROUP A	0	1	1	0	0	501
3MI0070	GROUP A	0	1	1	0	0	501
3MI0069	GROUP A	0	1	1	0	0	501
3MI0211	GROUP A	0	1	1	0	0	501
3MI0209	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	0	501
3MI0212	GROUP A	0	1	1	0	0	501
3MI0210	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	0	501
3MI0441	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	0	6338
3MI0097	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	0	501
3MI0096	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	0	501
3MI0095	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	0	501
3MI0094	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	0	501
3MI0092	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	1	501
3MI0091	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	0	501
3MI0093	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	0	501
3MI0194	GROUP A	0	1	0	0	0	501
3MI0045	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	1	772; 345
3MI0035	GROUP B	0	0	1	1	1	366
3LA0084	GROUP B	0	0	1	1	1	
3LA0091	GROUP B	0	1	1	1	1	1114
3LA0087	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	1	867; 1114; 3235
3LA0246	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0245	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0302	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	1	3235
3LA0185	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0181	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0180	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0089	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	
3MI0029	GROUP B	1	1	1	1	1	366
3LA0035	GROUP B	0	1	1	1	0	
3LA0306	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	3235
3LA0182	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0001	GROUP B	1	1	1	1	1	224;366; 424; 218; 867; 1114; 2180
3LA0334	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	3235
3LA0126	GROUP B	0	0	0	0	1	903; 772
3LA0085	GROUP B	0	0	1	0	0	
3LA0227	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3MI0046	GROUP B	0	0	1	1	1	345; 772
3LA0121	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	1	903; 772
3LA0127	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	1	903; 772
3LA0133	GROUP B	1	0	0	0	0	

**Table 1. Great Bend Study Area Sites and Associated Artifacts recorded in AMASDA. (cont.)**

Sites	Location	Mound	Lithic	Ceramic	Human Remains	Faunal	AMASDA #
3LA0132	GROUP B	1	0	0	0	0	
3LA0131	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0219	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0220	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0312	GROUP B	0	0	1	0	0	3235
3LA0313	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	3235
3LA0213	GROUP B	0	1	0	0	0	1114
3LA0048	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	1	3235
3LA0207	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114; 3235
3LA0214	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0208	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0215	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0218	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0217	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0209	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0210	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0211	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0136	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	
3LA0041	GROUP B	0	1	0	0	0	1085
3LA0135	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	1	
3LA0221	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0015	GROUP B	1	1	1	1	0	1114; 3235
3LA0320	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	3235
3LA0223	GROUP B	1	1	0	0	0	1114
3LA0339	GROUP B	0	1	0	0	0	3235
3MI0040	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	1	772
3LA0196	GROUP B	0	1	0	0	0	1114
3LA0190	GROUP B	0	1	0	0	0	1114
3LA0206	GROUP B	0	1	0	0	0	1114
3LA0003	GROUP B	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0097	GROUP B	0	1	1	1	1	633; 889
3LA0347	GROUP C	0	0	0	0	0	
3LA0191	GROUP C	0	1	1	0	0	501
3LA0021	GROUP C	1	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0022	GROUP C	1	1	0	0	1	
3LA0129	GROUP C	0	1	1	0	1	
3LA0120	GROUP C	0	1	1	0	0	
3LA0119	GROUP C	0	1	0	0	0	
3LA0244	GROUP C	0	1	0	0	0	1114
3LA0239	GROUP C	1	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0230	GROUP C	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0238	GROUP C	0	1	1	0	0	1114
3LA0103	GROUP C	0	1	1	0	0	
3LA0105	GROUP C	0	1	0	0	0	
3LA0106	GROUP C	0	1	1	0	0	
3LA0104	GROUP C	0	1	1	0	0	
3LA0109	GROUP C	0	1	1	0	1	
3LA0116	GROUP C	0	1	1	0	0	501

Directly east of the Red River, a large group (Group B) of sites (n=56) have been recorded along the current river channel (see Figure 1). Within this group are six recorded mound sites (3MI29, 3LA1, 3LA15, 3LA132, 3LA133, 3LA223). The largest of the mound sites is the Battle Mound (3LA1) site (McKinnon 2009, 2010a; also discussed below). Within Group B, lithic debris has been recorded at 86% of the sites, ceramic sherds at 82% of the sites, and faunal remains at 28% of the sites (see Table 1). Human remains have been found at several sites within this group, as well. The abundance and fairly equal distribution of lithic and ceramic artifacts, and especially the frequency of human remains likely associated with community cemeteries (see Brown 1984:54; Perttula 1992:83; Story 1990:338–339), suggest that many of the sites in this group represent the domestic constituents of a Caddo village or community spread out along the Red River, similar to that represented in the dispersed community recorded on the Terán map (see also Schambach 1982; Trubowitz 1984).

Of interest and noteworthy to mention, is the absence of sites along the immediate west bank of the Red River. A simple explanation might be the destruction of sites over time by the meandering Red River. If so, why are we seeing destruction and absence of sites on the west side of the river, whereas so many are extant on the east side of the river?

Further east is a smaller cluster (Group C) of sites (n=17) that are situated within the upland landscape, peering down, if you will, into the Red River floodplain (see Figure 1). Among this group are three mounds: Spirit Lake Farm Mound (3LA239), Red Hill Mound (3LA21), and Field Bayou Mound (3LA22). In addition to the multiple mound sites in Group C, lithic debris has been recorded at 94% of the sites, ceramic sherds at 71% of the sites, and faunal remains at 18% of the sites (see Table 1). Human remains have not been recorded at any of the Group C sites.

If these initial interpretations of landscape use and activity, as provisionally defined by the archaeological record, are applied to Caddo cosmological principles, some thoughts on the organization of space in the Great Bend region are offered. As Sabo (2012) has emphasized in his analysis of the Terán map and Caddo cosmology, the cardinal directions of east-west correspond to life and death symbolism. The east, with the rising sun, is associated with life-affirming events and rituals, such as renewal ceremonies, whereas the west, with the setting sun, is connected to life-threatening events and rituals, such as hunting and warfare.

Applying these cosmological principles to sites in the study area and considering the north-south meandering Red River as the central element (axis mundi?), might the “lithic-dominant” group of sites located west of the river (Group A) represent specific use or activity associated with life-threatening events, such as hunting? Looking east to the group of sites (Group C) situated along the uplands and the presence of lithics (food processing?), ceramics (large cooking vessels?), faunal remains (feasting?), and a concentration of mounds (ceremonial grounds?), might this group represent specific landscape use or activities associated with life-affirming ceremonial events, such as seasonal cooking and feasting ceremonies purposefully held along the uplands above and overlooking the river valley?

At this point, these are observations and thoughts based on spatial distribution and associated archaeological artifacts (many of which are location-biased as part of levee revetment projects). As such, these observations and thoughts will require further detailed analysis of each site, the artifacts, and intra-site distributional attributes. Nonetheless, these observations provide interesting considerations and a model to test toward exploring regional landscapes and the relationship of sites on a more humanistic perspective rather than simply looking at the regional landscape as clusters of sites.

## An Intra-Site Ritual Landscape

Applying the proposed model to a second resolution, that of the site or intra-site scale, considerations of similar regional-based Caddo cosmological principles can also be explored. To exemplify this, the Battle Mound site will be utilized as a case study - primarily because it is one of the few sites in the Great Bend region that has been recently examined in terms of distributions across the intra-site landscape (McKinnon 2009, 2010a). Additionally, as it relates to the location of sites within the Great Bend study area previously discussed, the site is centrally located within the three groups or clusters of sites situated across the Red River floodplain valley. Undoubtedly, Battle Mound certainly served as a center of population and social organization in the Great Bend region during the Middle and Late Caddo Period from at least A.D. 1200 (Schambach 1982). Radiocarbon dates from mound excavations at the site range from ca. AD 1390-1545 (McKinnon 2011b, 2012a; Valastro et al. 1972).

The most prominent feature at the Battle Mound site is a multi-level platform mound. The large mound is composed of at least three platform levels and a large slope on the eastern side of the mound. Orientation of the mound is north-south (parallel to the direction of the Red River) and directly east of the mound are two very low rises - although it is still unclear at this time if these low rises are deliberate constructions or created by natural riverine processes and subsequently utilized (probably both). It is known that they do contain archaeological features, identified as part of geophysical surveys conducted at the site.

To date, a total of 14.24 ha (35.19 acres) of magnetic gradiometry data have been collected at the site. The corpus of anomalies identified as a part of these surveys are interpreted as a total of at least 19 circular structures, 12 rectangular structures, a dense farmstead area, four possible compound fences, a likely community cemetery, and a buried borrow pit - all of which are interpreted as being Caddo in origin (McKinnon 2009, 2010a).

Additionally, in the early 1980s, a controlled surface collection was undertaken in 10 delineated areas (labeled A-J; see McKinnon 2010a:Figure 3) and those artifacts have recently been sorted and counted (Schambach et al. 1980; McKinnon 2010b). Several of the delineated surface collection areas overlap geophysical survey areas, allowing for more confident interpretations of the subsurface anomalies.

In examining the distribution of cultural features identified in geophysical survey, four areas are of particular interest. First, a survey area (Area C) located directly west of the mound contains very few geophysical anomalies, suggesting a lack of long-term structures or an area of lower activity or use. One of the geophysical anomalies in Area C, situated directly west of the large mound, is interpreted as a circular structure containing an extended entranceway (Figure 2). The proposed extended entranceway is facing east toward the mound. Surface collections in the area west of the mound substantiate considerations of a lower activity use area with a few amounts of daub (n=29), ceramic sherds (n=94), a small amount of lithic debris (n=27), and a single faunal bone (n=1) collected.

A second area (Area E), directly east of the large mound and situated on a low rise, contains numerous anomalies that form concentric circles of low magnetism, suggesting that these anomalies are the result of minimal or minor burning episodes (Figure 3a). Their concentric pattern is interesting in its own right, but why are so many structures clustered together with limited evidence of burning? Surface collections reveal fairly low numbers of daub (n=5), ceramics (n=288), and lithics (n=56) (Table 2), suggesting these might be community structures, rebuilt over time and lacking numerous vessels. When finally disposed, it is suggested that the structures in Area E were not subjected to high heat burning as a result of being partially dismantled

prior to disposal. To compare, excavations on the south platform of the mound document a multiple floor structure (Structure 1) that was associated with community events (Howard 1948; Krieger 1949; McKinnon 2010c). Structure 1 had a construction sequence that consisted of a structural retrofit where the roof was removed and the building reconstructed without burning, which may have been directly related to a frequency of cooking activities in the structure (McKinnon 2012b).

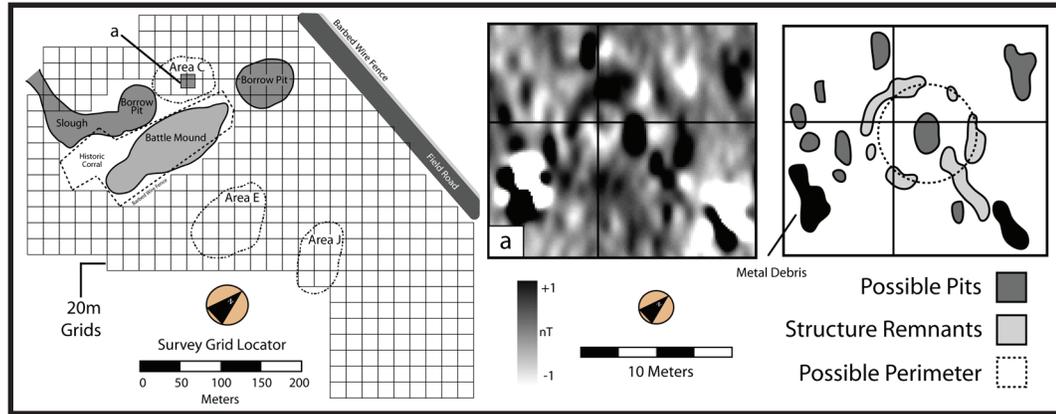


Figure 2. Geophysical results from Area C directly west of the large mound: (a) circular structure with extended entranceway.

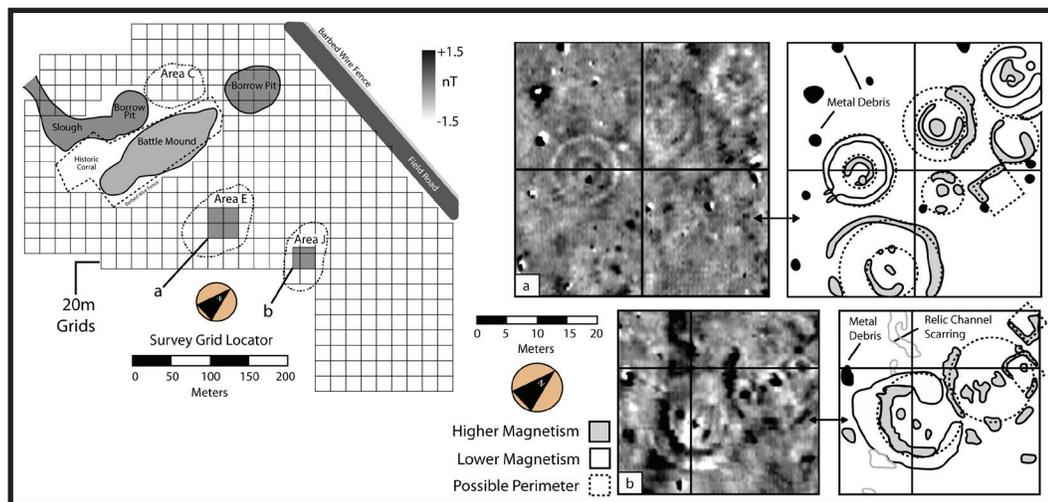


Figure 3. Geophysical results from Area E and Area J east of the large mound: (a) circular structures in Area E directly east of the mound on a low rise; (b) circular structures in Area J 200 m east of the mound on a separate low rise.

Table 2. Surface Collection Areas and Associated Counts of Collected Artifacts.

Area	Ceramics	Lithics	Daub	Bone	Historic
A	1446	474	16	40	70
B	615	80	2	9	8
C	94	27	29	3	5
D	294	73	3	5	1
E	288	56	5	0	2
F	51	18	0	0	0
G	536	151	3	3	5
H	2102	215	150	47	5
I	70	40	4	1	1
J	89	80	13	2	0

A third area (Area J), also on a low rise and a little further east, contains two large concentric circular anomalies and associated structural elements (Figure 3b). Magnetic readings are much higher in this area suggesting that these anomalies represent components of burned structures. Surface collections corroborate this suggestion with large chunks of daub (n=13) collected in this area. However, counts of ceramic (n=89) and lithic (n=80) material collected from the surface are low in quantity. Similar to the structures in Area E, the Area J structures might also represent community structures that lack numerous vessels – the difference being that the large structures in Area J are defined by a different construction sequence where the entire structure was subjected to high heat burning events, rather than dismantled or only partially burned.

Lastly, about 20-meters east of Area J is an area that has been interpreted as a Caddo community cemetery (McKinnon 2009:Figure 6; Walker and McKinnon 2012:Figure 7-17). Investigations by Moore (1912:566–573) east of the large mound located five burials in a low rise. Additionally, numerous excavations in the 1930s and 1940s reported many burials in a cemetery east of the large mound (Lemley Collection Notes). Caddo community cemeteries have been noted to contain numerous individuals, the size of the cemeteries depending on settlement densities of the surrounding populations (Brown 1984:54; Perttula 1992:83; Story 1990:338–339). It is interesting to note that the large cemetery located at the Hatchel site, that is the site containing the temple mound depicted on the Terán map, was located east of the large mound (Perttula 2005).

As with the regional scale interpretations, the distribution of geophysical features at Battle Mound can be examined in terms of cosmological principles expressed across the landscape. Using the same simplified model - the east associated with life-affirming events and rituals and the west associated with life-threatening events and rituals – how might these be manifest at (and in) the Battle Mound landscape?

Foremost is the difference in quantity of anomalies between the east and west sides of the mound. If the north-south orientation of the large mound is considered the central element (*axis mundi*?) that bisects the site - much like the Red River bisecting the floodplain landscape - there is clearly a difference in the number of identified geophysical features between the east and west. West of the mound is sparse, with only five small structures interpreted (see McKinnon 2009:Figure 10; McKinnon 2010a:Figure 11). East of the mound is much more populous, with at least 15 structures interpreted. Many of them are quite large in dimension, suggesting communal or ceremonial use. Comparing the intra-site distribution to the regional scale distribution, might there be a similar relationship between the absence of sites directly west of the Red River and the low number of structures identified in geophysical data directly west of the mound? Could those structures on the west side of the mound be reserved for life-threatening events, such as processing areas for hunted game? If so, the area west of the mound would have certainly contained numerous temporary structures related to processing of meat and hides, such as drying racks – ephemeral architectural features that would be difficult to detect using geophysics.

Additionally, the abundance of structures east of the mound spatially correlates with the abundance of sites east of the Red River. Might these numerous and large structures east of the mound represent locales reserved for communal life-affirming ceremonies? The large size of the Area E and J circular anomalies, their interesting concentric-circle arrangement (see McKinnon 2009:252 for discussion on interpretations of concentric circle anomalies), surface collections containing low amounts of ceramic and lithic debris, and their orientation on two (the only two that can be seen today) low rises suggest structures related to communal or ceremonial activities.

What about the possible community cemetery on the eastern periphery? Going out on an interpretive limb, might the location of the cemetery represent a reciprocal relationship between the Above World and the Below World? Individuals are interred on the life-affirming eastern edge of the community, to then travel to the Above World (a life-affirming renewal, if you will) toward the ancestral realm of the dead.

### Conclusion

As the title of this paper states, these initial observations are thoughts. As presented here, they offer opportunity and direction for future investigations - a model - that can be tested and compared archaeologically and at multiple scales in an attempt to define various spatial components and the ideological meanings encoded within. Clearly, fieldwork with a focus of testing the proposed model and evaluation of artifact collections is necessary. In many cases, sites have only been identified as part of larger cultural resource projects where the extent of the site boundaries (defined in some cases only by a couple of shovel tests) is not understood.

Nonetheless, there should be no doubt that landscapes contain meanings – be they esoteric or commonplace. Our challenge as archaeologists is to use an interdisciplinary approach (ethnography, archaeology, ethnohistory, geography, and the like) when analyzing spatial data to provide insight into humanistic concepts of landscapes that have been deliberately arranged, organized, executed, and modified based upon a particular suite of highly integrated political, social, economic, and ideological rules and aspirations about space.

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# PRELIMINARY COMMENTS ON DOG INTERMENTS FROM ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES IN NORTHEAST TEXAS: FOLKLORE AND ARCHEOLOGY

*Jesse Todd*

## Introduction

Dogs have been associated with humans for thousands of years, and dog interments—either associated with human interments or as separate interments—also have an antiquity of thousands of years. This brief paper will summarize dog burials in a worldwide context, and then focus on the folklore, ethnology, and archeology of dogs among the Caddo. The information for the dog in Caddo culture will be summarized from George A. Dorsey's (1905) *Traditions of the Caddo* and John R. Swanton's (1942) *Source Material on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians*. Then, dog interments from northeast Texas will be listed and discussed. By examining the folklore, ethnology, and archeology of the dog in Caddo contexts, it is hoped that a greater understanding of the role of dogs in prehistoric Caddo culture might be attained.

## Dog Burials and Ethnology outside the Caddo Area

Dogs are thought to have first evolved from wolves roughly 16,000 years ago in China, but recent research based on DNA has suggested that dogs may have evolved from wolves in different places at different times. It is suggested that dogs also evolved from wolves in North America, but later than in China. The oldest recorded dog burial is located in Germany and dates to approximately 14,000 years ago. A dog was buried with two humans (Lobell and Powell 2010).

The domestication of dogs may be related to their hunting/herding capabilities, their companionship, vigilance and/or perhaps for their utility as a food resource. The earliest recorded genetically identified dog (ca. 9260±170 B.P.) in Texas was used as food by Paleoindian inhabitants of the Hinds Cave site (41VV456) in Val Verde County which is located in southwestern Texas (Tito et al. 2011). Dogs have been sacrificed in ancient Greece and used as offerings in ancient Egypt. They have been used as “war dogs” by the 16<sup>th</sup> century Spanish in the Americas, and the ancient Greeks and Romans believed that the entrance to Hades was guarded by a three-headed dog. The Aztecs believed that one could enter the afterlife by hanging on the tail of a dog. In the prehistoric American southwest, dogs were perceived as guides to the spirit world. Rock art in Utah dating before A.D. 1300 suggests an association of the dog with shamans. Prior to A.D. 1300, dog burials in the southwest are prevalent, but not so much later in time. It is suggested that there was a change in the belief system circa A.D. 1300, from shamanistic beliefs to the kachina cult. With this change, dogs were no longer perceived as spiritual escorts and, therefore, were not as commonly interred with humans (Lobel and Powell 2010)

## Folklore and Ethnology

According to George A. Dorsey (1905) in his study of Caddo folklore, dogs were familiar to and trusted by all of the first inhabitants of the Earth. The dogs guarded the house, were truth-tellers and were even a little bit of a gossip. They appear to be associated with men and hunting. A special relationship existed between one man and his dog because they both turned themselves into stars to escape this dangerous world Dorsey (1905:25).

Dorsey [cited in Swanton (1942:307-308)] learned the following from the Caddo informant, White-Bread:

“There are six bad places on the way to the spirit-land. The first place is where the dogs stay. If you whip or mistreat or kill a dog, the dog, when it dies, goes to its people and tells what you have done. When you die, you have to pass the place of the dogs, and the chief of the dogs goes and sits by the road and waits for you. When you come he tells you to look for fleas on his head, and when you find one he tells you to bite it. When you bite it, you become a dog. Then he takes you to where the dogs stay, and there they mistreat you as you mistreated them on earth. They keep you there and never let you get away, so that you can not continue your journey. For this reason, we place a bead on the little finger of a dead person, so that he may bite it instead of the flea, and so fool the dog and escape him.”

Swanton relates that dogs were the only domesticated animal which the Caddo possessed at the time of European contact, and that dogs were eaten in times of famine, or as part of ceremonial occasions. Father Solís [cited in Swanton (1942:123)] notes that the dogs of the Caddo were called “*jubines*.” These dogs had long, pointed snouts, and are described as being “. . . very intelligent and cunning as well as great thieves” (Swanton 1942:134).

## Archeology

Burial information for deliberate dog (*Canis familiaris*) interments recovered from ten Caddo archeological sites in northeast Texas is provided in Table 1. Counties where the interments were discovered are presented in Figure 1.

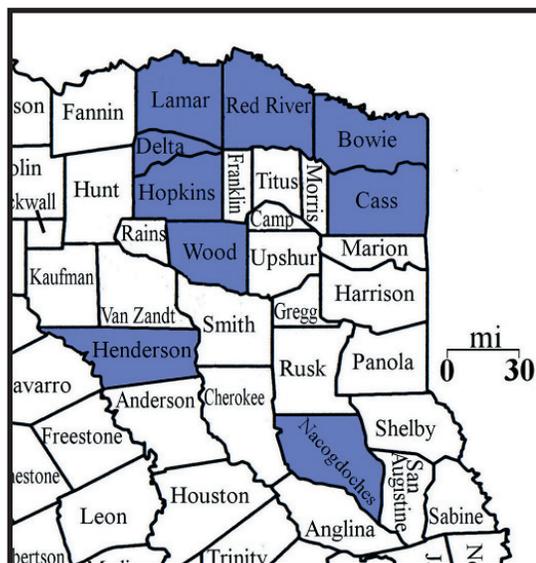


Figure 1. Counties in northeast Texas where dog interments have been discovered.

**Table 1. Burial information concerning dogs recovered from interments in Caddo sites in Northeast Texas.**

Site	County	Site Date	# of Burials/ Dogs	Age	Burial Orientation	Side	Reference
Lacy (41HE70)	Henderson	Late-Archaic-Middle Ceramic?	1/1+	?	?	?	Story 1965
Gossett Bottoms (41KF7)	Kaufman	Late Archaic-Middle Caddo?	1/1+	?	east	?	Story 1965
Manton Miller (41DT1) Arnold (41HP102)	Delta Hopkins	Archaic-Middle Caddo? Woodland to Early/Middle Caddo	1/1 3/4& young adult 6 months	? elderly	north ?	right ?	Johnson 1962 Henderson 1978
Cox (41HP105) T. M. Sanders (41LR2)	Hopkins Lamar	Middle Caddo Middle Caddo	2/2 1/1 (+)	? ?	?	?	Hyatt et al. 1974; Butler 1975 Jackson 1932a
Hurricane Hill (41HP106) Steck (41WD529) Bob Williams (41RR16)	Hopkins Wood Red River	Middle Caddo Late Caddo AD 1550-1700	1/1^ 1/1 4/4^&	? adult (?) adult adult 2-3 years	south north south east/northeast south	left left right ?	Jackson et al. 2000 Perttula 1999 Butler and Perttula 1981 Perino 1983; Parnalee and Opperman 1983
Tallow Grove (41NA231)	Nacogdoches	Late Caddo (AD 1200-1400)	1/1	?	?	?	Perttula 2008c
Roitsch (41RR16)	Red River	Late Caddo (AD 1300-1700) McCurtain phase ca. AD 1300/	4/5^	adult adult 6 weeks	east south	?	Perttula 2008a Yates 2008 Perttula 2008b/Yates 2008 Jackson 1932a
Goode Hunt (41CS23)	Cass		1/1	?	?	?	Jackson 1932a
E. H. Moores (41BW2) DeShazo (41NA27) Roseborough (41BW7 )	Bowie Nacogdoches Bowie	AD 1570 early 1700s ca. 1750/Late Contact Period	1/1 1/1 1/2^ puppy(s)	? elderly 5+ years	?	?	Jackson 1932b Good 1982 Gilmore 1986
Tunier Farm (41HP237) R. A. Watkins (41HP238) Anglin (41HP240) Clements (41CS25)	Hopkins Hopkins Hopkins Cass	16 <sup>th</sup> -17 <sup>th</sup> Century 16 <sup>th</sup> -17 <sup>th</sup> Century 16 <sup>th</sup> -17 <sup>th</sup> Century late 17 <sup>th</sup> -early 18 <sup>th</sup> Century	3(/)3+ 1(/)1+ 5(?)5+ ?	? ? ? ?	?	?	Schniebs 2009 Schniebs 2009 Schniebs 2009 Jackson 1932a; Perttula et al. 2010

\* Dates based upon the pottery types present.

^ Associated with human burials or structures

& Dog cemetery

Dog interments sometime occur in groups. For example, four dogs were uncovered at the Bob Williams site (41RR16) in a special cemetery between House patterns 2 and 4 (Perino 1983:47). Burial 3 was about 30 centimeters from a human child in or near House 4. Dog interments 1, 2 and 3 were close together north the human burial Number 36 in House complex 2 (Perino 1983:47).

Esteem for dogs is indicated by the presence of burial furniture or special treatment. The puppy in Burial 3 at the Bob Williams site was buried with a small, shallow bowl that may have contained food (Parmalee and Opperman 1983:79, 81). Parmalee and Opperman (1983:81) mention that the burial of the puppy was unusual if not unique and the puppy may have been the pet of a child. A dog interment from the Goode Hunt Farm site (41CS23) in Cass County contained a small jar (Jackson 1932a:15). Jackson and others state that the jar probably was a mark of esteem from the dog's owner. In a Late Caddo burial at the Roitsch site, a small ceramic sherd was found near its eye which might be a form of burial furniture (Figure 2) (Yates 2008:474). Perttula (2008b:372-373) writes that the burial of a puppy adjacent to a Late McCurtain phase human cemetery was special. The burial was overlaid by a clay cap that may have been a result of a house floor, but may have been a deliberate capping as a special treatment. The puppy would have been approximately 6 weeks old at death (Yates 2008:474). Possibly more than one puppy was in the grave.

Other dog interments have been discovered near residences and human cemeteries. During the excavation of the Middle Caddo component of the Hurricane Hill site (41HP106), a dog interment was discovered outside of and near the southeast corners of two houses (Perttula 1999:101). Also within the Late McCurtain portion of the Roitsch site, two dogs were super-imposed in a double burial. The later interment had an outstretched leg which may indicate a difference in the disposal ritual due to either temporal or ritualistic changes. The dog interments were located west of and adjacent to the human cemetery.

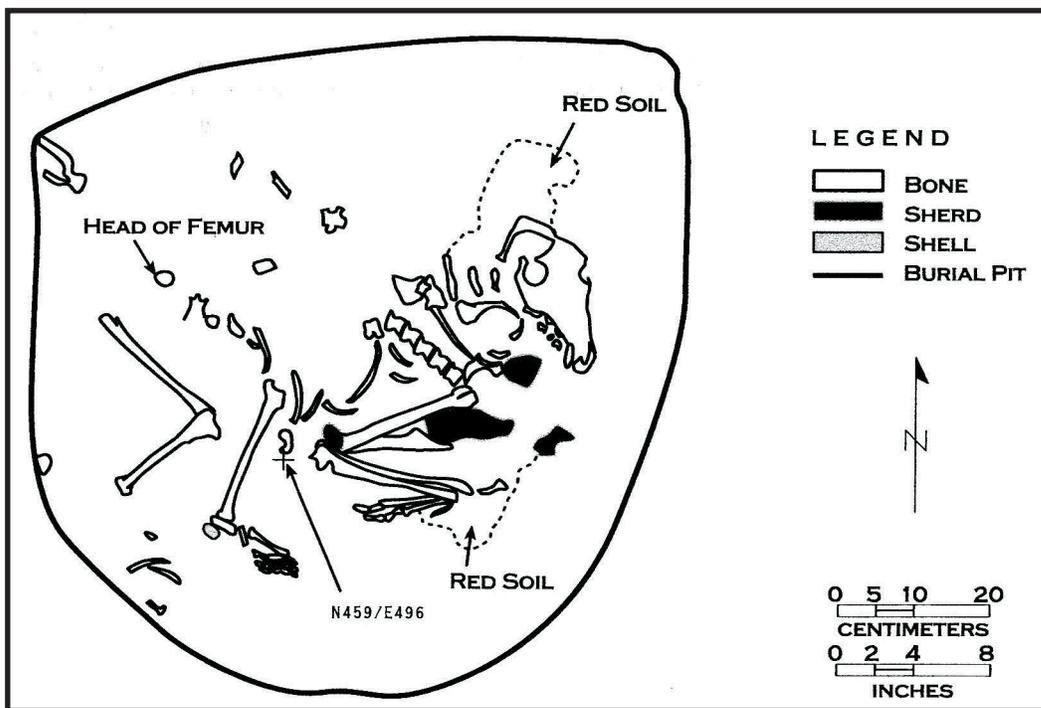


Figure 2. Dog interment from Feature 346 of the Roitsch Site (41RR16) (Perttula 2008a:347).  
 Reproduced with the permission of the Texas Archeological Society.

Jackson (1932b:7) describes the dog burial at the E. H. Moores Plantation site (41BW2) as if it was hurried. The dog was crumpled as if the dog was forced into a small hole. At the Roseborough Lake site (41BW7) in Bowie County a female dog apparently died during the whelping process because at least one puppy's skeletal remains were found in the burial (Gilmore 1986:118-120). Interestingly, the dog was buried near a smudge pit which is considered a female activity area. Gilmore states that the dog may have been a favorite pet of a Native American woman and the woman buried the dog near her working area, or possibly, in addition, her house.

### **Discussion**

In Caddo folklore, the dog has “supernatural” powers. It has the ability to become a star and lives in a village similar to the Caddo. The Chief-of-the-Dogs also can transform a human into a dog. Interestingly, in the tale, there is a moral lesson on how to treat dogs on Earth, further indicating that they are regarded as special. The dogs have the potential for “payback” which is a human emotion.

Based upon the excavations of the Bob Williams site (41RR16), Perino (1983:49) writes that there must have been a special relationship between the Caddo and their dogs or they would not have buried them in specially prepared graves and, especially, next to children. He further lists the importance of dogs to the Caddo for hunting, acting as sentinels, as pack animals and as food during famine. Henderson (1978:105) states that the dogs discovered during the excavations at the Arnold site probably were pets and were not used for food. Hill (2000:387) states that burials of dogs in cemeteries may reflect their social behavior in life—their closeness to each other as well as humans formed the basis for their interments in groups.

It appears that dog interments have been found from archeological sites that possibly range from Early Caddo to post-European contact times in northeast Texas. Most of the interments, however, appear to be from Middle Caddo to post-contact sites. This may be due to a preference for excavating sites from this time period; however, no dog interments were reported from the George C. Davis site (Newell and Krieger 1949; Story 1981) which generally dates from circa A.D. 700 to 1300. Interestingly, separate dog interments have been found from the Middle Caddo and possible Late Caddo times. It also appears that dogs are associated with human burials and structures during Middle Caddo to later times.

Butler and Perttula (1981:123) state that according to Jackson, dog burials are common in the Lake Fork area during Late Caddo times. The dogs range in age from puppies to elderly adults. The preferential burial direction appears to be south, but which side the dog was laid on appears not to be important. Dog interments are not plentiful when compared to the total number of archeological sites excavated in Northeast Texas. Two-thirds of the interred dogs in this study come from two counties, Red River and Hopkins. Two sites in Red River County, the Roitsh and Bob Williams sites—which are adjacent to each other—total nine burials. Five burials are from Hopkins County, four burials from the Arnold site and one from the Hurricane Hill site. The rest of the counties only have one or two recorded burials. According to Figure 1, most of the interments were found in northern northeast Texas, the exception being the Deshazo site in Nacogdoches County and the Lacy site in Henderson County.

### **Conclusions**

The archeological evidence does support the importance of the dog to the Caddo. Although the archeological evidence is scanty, puppies may have been revered more than adult dogs since one puppy was buried possibly with food and one may have had a clay cap over the interment. There may have been a change in the burial practices for the dog over time, but further information is needed to support this. Unfortunately, at this stage, no relation between the archeological information and the folklore can be presented, except, as previously mentioned, the importance of the dog to the Caddo.

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# **BIBLIOGRAPHY ON WOODLAND AND CADDO INSTRUMENTAL NEUTRON ACTIVATION ANALYSIS AND PETROGRAPHIC ANALYSIS STUDIES IN EAST TEXAS, NORTHWEST LOUISIANA, EASTERN OKLAHOMA, AND SOUTHWEST ARKANSAS**

*Timothy K. Perttula and Robert Z. Selden, Jr.*

Characterizing the chemical and mineralogical composition of ceramic vessels and sherds from Woodland and Caddo sites by means of instrumental neutron activation analysis (INAA) and petrographic analysis provides a unique opportunity to gather and investigate empirical evidence from ceramic vessels (and perhaps their contents?) on their trade and exchange at varying scales conducted by ancestral Caddo people with their neighbors, both near and far (i.e., other ancestral Caddo groups as well as non-Caddo communities) (see Perttula 2002a). This evidence in turn can be used to explore changes in the nature of social and economic relationships between particular Caddo groups and other prehistoric populations. Identified compositional and paste differences that have been identified between the different wares made by Caddo groups (i.e., plain wares, utility wares, and fine wares) have also been employed to explore functional and technological differences in vessel function and form (see Perttula 2000i:138).

According to Ferguson et al. (2012a:224), the database of INAA samples of ceramic sherds from Woodland and Caddo sites that have been analyzed at the University of Missouri Research Reactor Center at the University of Missouri-Columbia, “consist[s] of more than 1000 ceramic samples...[and] is one of the largest samples from any region in the world. It is also one of the most complicated. Over the past decade the compositional group structure has undergone numerous modifications, as well as a complete reanalysis [Ferguson et. al 2010]. The most recent interpretation of the East Texas Caddo database divides the region into 11 sub-regions.” Each of these sub-regions (Figure 1) has then been treated as an individual dataset, and for most sub-regions, a core group has been defined and identified. This INAA sample has been gathered from more than 200 Woodland and Caddo sites/ceramic assemblages in the Caddo area, and the petrographic sample is almost equally as robust.

A considerable amount of work has been completed in Caddo area ceramic studies over the last 15 years—although the first contributions to this manner of analysis occurred more than 40 years ago (see Bareis and Porter 1965; Porter 1971)—that have focused on issues of technological organization and ceramic provenance and whether particular vessels and sherds from vessels from Woodland and Caddo sites were manufactured locally or were the product of trade and exchange from non-local production sources. However, most of this work has been conducted in contexts—especially cultural resource management projects—where the results of these studies are to be found only within in very limited distribution reports and publications. Thus, many archeologists that currently work in the Caddo area may not be aware of the scope and breadth of the research that has been accomplished to date, nor are they aware of the primary published (and unpublished) literature on the subject. Consequently, we have assembled a bibliography of all known (current through October 2012) reports and publications that address with INAA and petrographic analyses of ceramic vessels and ceramic vessel sherds in the Caddo area.



As evidenced by the bibliography shows, the vast majority of the INAA and petrographic analysis studies completed to date on Woodland and Caddo sites in the Caddo area have been conducted on ceramics from sites in East Texas. We think it is important that comparable studies be completed on Woodland and Caddo vessels and vessel sherds from assemblages in adjoining states, and this article is a plea to Caddo archeologists working in all parts of the Caddo area that they strongly consider undertaking their own INAA and petrographic research. Such research can (1) help to better clarify the compositional nature of these ceramic wares across the entire Caddo temporal and geographic landscape, not being limited to just one part of the Caddo world; (2) help pinpoint other ceramic manufacturing locales and chemical/mineralogical compositional groups, but also to assess their apparent technological complexity; and (3) lead to better evaluations of the regional character of prehistoric and historic Woodland and Caddo trade and interaction networks (which crossed our modern political boundaries) that existed, and more definitively establish whether there were changes through time in the direction and intensity of local and long distance trade and interaction. The disparate pieces of information contained within the sherds and vessel fragments of Woodland and Caddo ceramics found on many prehistoric and early historic sites throughout a broad region have the potential to address these questions and research issues, and can contribute unique information concerning those relationships that existed in the distant (and not-so-distant) past between Woodland groups and Caddo farmers and other aboriginal groups in the Southeast, Midwest, and Southern Plains.

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# SPATIAL PATTERNING OF MATERIAL CULTURE REMAINS AND ANIMAL BONE AT AN EARLY 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY CADDO SITE IN EAST TEXAS

*Timothy K. Perttula, Bo Nelson, and Mark Walters*

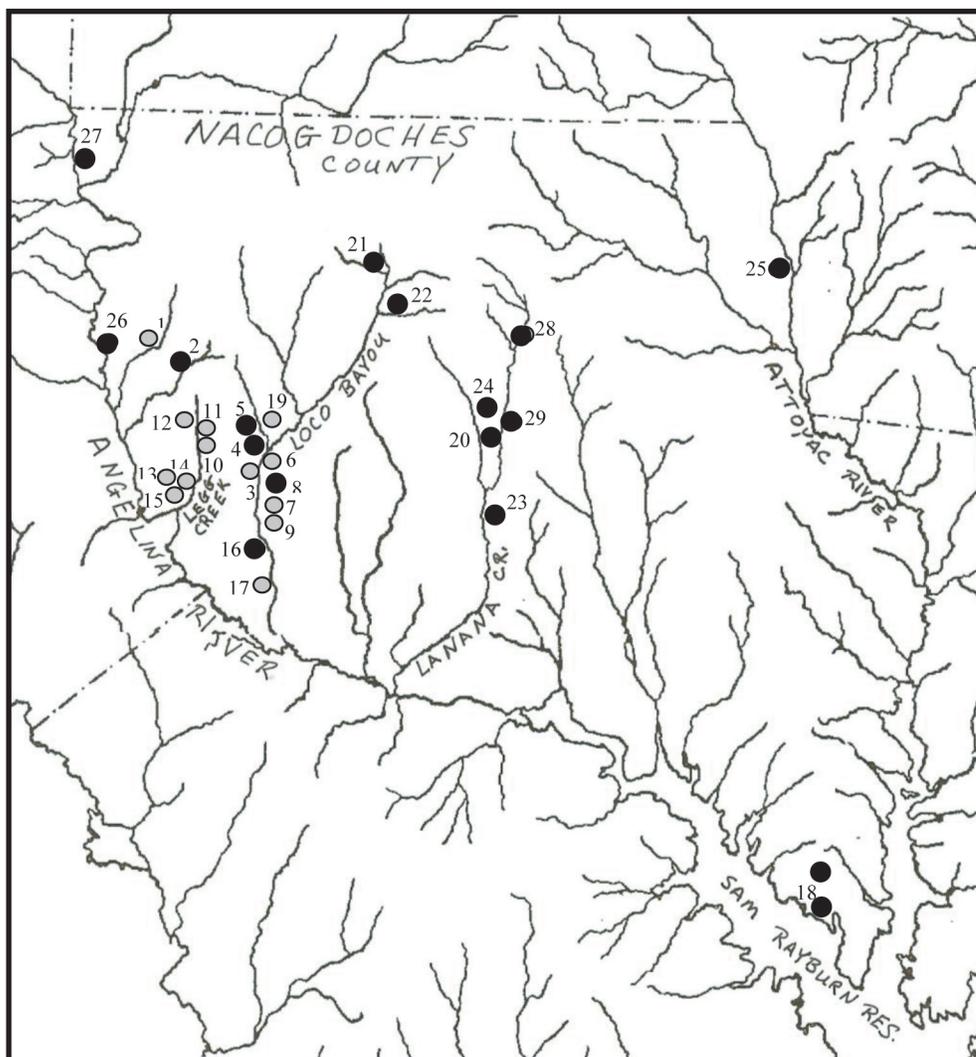
## Introduction

The J. T. King site (41NA15) is an early 18<sup>th</sup> century Caddo habitation site on King Creek, a tributary to the Angelina River (Figure 1). It is situated on the northern route of El Camino Real de los Tejas, about 5 km east of the Camino Real's crossing of the Angelina River. This is an area where Historic Caddo sites are relatively common, and there are sites generally contemporaneous with the J. T. King site both north and south some distance along King Creek (Middlebrook 2007; Perttula et al. 2011a, 2011b).

Archaeogeophysical and archaeological investigations were conducted intermittently at the J. T. King site since May 2008, following the relocation of the site by Tom Middlebrook in 2006. The archaeogeophysical work was led by Dr. Chester P. Walker, and covered a 6.1 acre area of the site (see Walker and Perttula [2010, 2011], and Walker et al. [2009] for details on the methods and results of the magnetometer survey). During that work, a considerable number of geophysical anomalies were defined, including 10 circular to sub-round anomalies (Anomalies A-J) that range from 3.7 to 12.5 m in diameter (Figure 2). A number of them have smaller anomalies situated in or near their centers that are likely central hearths or large post holes (i.e., center posts) inside Caddo structures (Walker and Perttula 2010:315).

The archaeological investigations at the J. T. King site have included the excavation of numerous shovel tests (n=59) and a total of 17 1 x 1 m units (Figure 3). The main goals of the shovel testing and had excavation units were to (a) establish the specific spatial distribution and density of Historic Caddo artifacts and plant and animal remains across the site as a whole, (b) establish their distribution in relationship to previously defined geophysical anomalies, especially those that have been inferred to represent structural anomalies, and (c) archaeologically ground-truth certain geophysical anomalies—particularly anomalies that may represent domestic structures (or portions of them)—using carefully placed suites of closely-spaced shovel tests across specific areas of anomalies, as well as hand-excavated units situated atop or within the boundaries of these anomalies.

Our focus in this paper is to examine the distribution of material culture remains and animal bones at the J. T. King site. The spatial patterning and density of various kinds of artifacts, including European trade goods, ceramic sherds, chipped stone tools, lithic debris, and animal bones on the J. T. King site should provide a singular archaeological view of the distribution of material culture remains that cluster and are concentrated in different parts of the site. This variability in spatial patterning can then provide hints as to the intra-site organization of the Historic Caddo community that occupied the site (probably only for ca. 20 years, see discussion in Good [1982] above the longevity of Caddo wood structures), especially the location of midden areas and possible outdoor activity areas. This information, when viewed in conjunction with the locations of different kinds and sizes of geophysical anomalies identified on the site, including an area suspected to represent a possible courtyard, and identified cultural features that have been exposed in hand excavations (Walker and Perttula 2011:40-43), leads to definitive insights into the overall spatial character of the Historic Caddo community at the J. T. King site.



**Figure 1.** Known and possible Historic Caddo sites in Nacogdoches County, Texas (from Middlebrook 2007:Figure 1). Black circles are locations of Historic Caddo sites; gray circles are location of possible Historic Caddo sites: 1, Dorsey (41NA6); **2, J. T. King (41NA15)**; 3, 41NA18; 4, Mayhew (41NA21); 5, Iron Rock (41NA22); 6, Loco Bottom (41NA23); 7, 41NA26; 8, Deshazo (41NA27); 9, Perkins (41NA29); 10, 41NA33; 11; Chayah (41NA44); 12, 41NA47; 13, 41NA53; 14, Cecil Sparks (41NA54); 15, 41NA55; 16, Henry M. (41NA60); 17, 41NA65; 18, 41NA67; 19, Dick Shipp (41NA111); 20, 41NA113; 21, Loco Fork (41NA187); 22, Stephens (41NA202); 23, Spradley (41NA206); 24, Guadalupe Pilar (41NA223); 25, Joe Little; 26, A. L. Self; 27, W. T. Williamson; 28, Appleby Bead; 29, Nacogdoches East Bead.

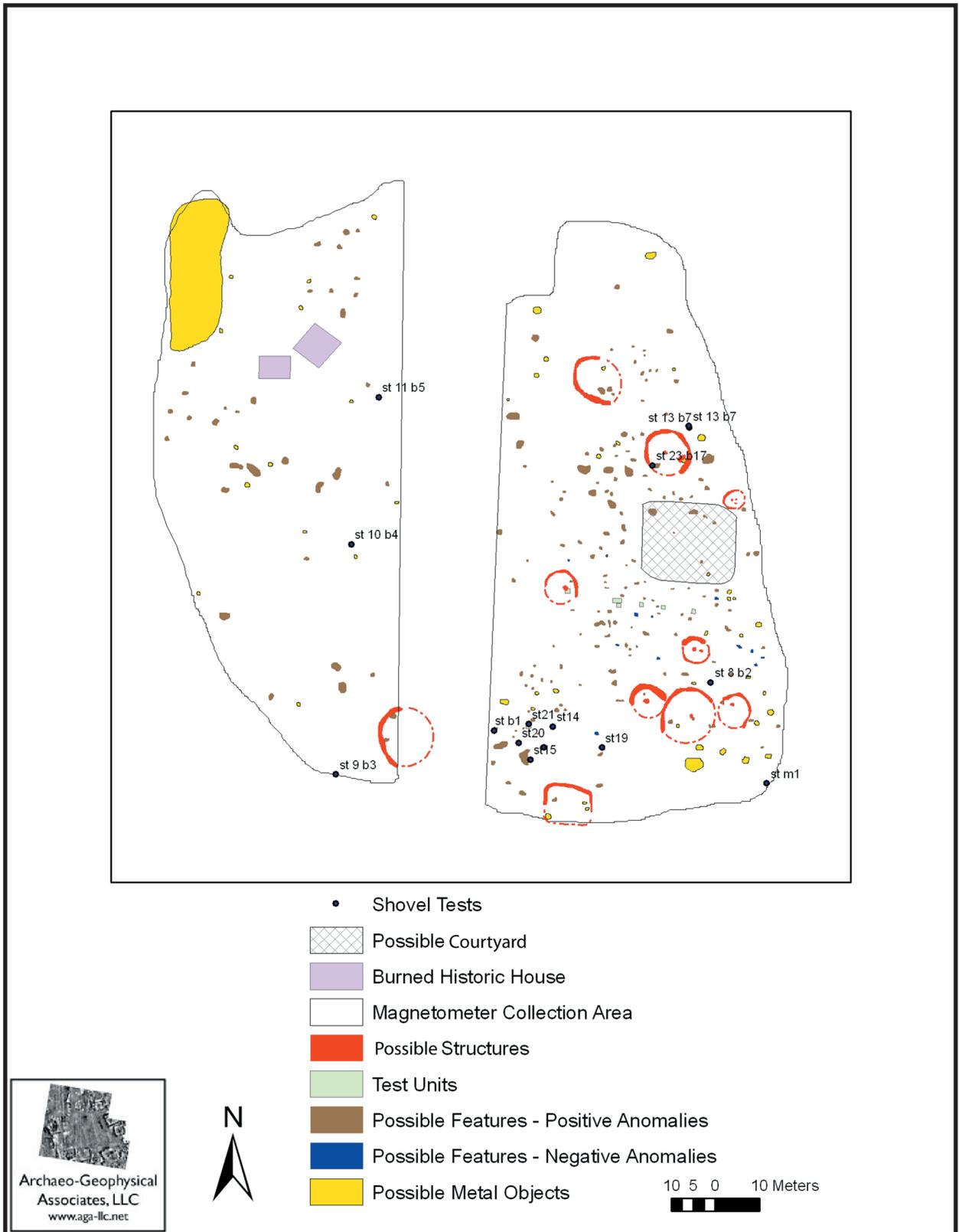
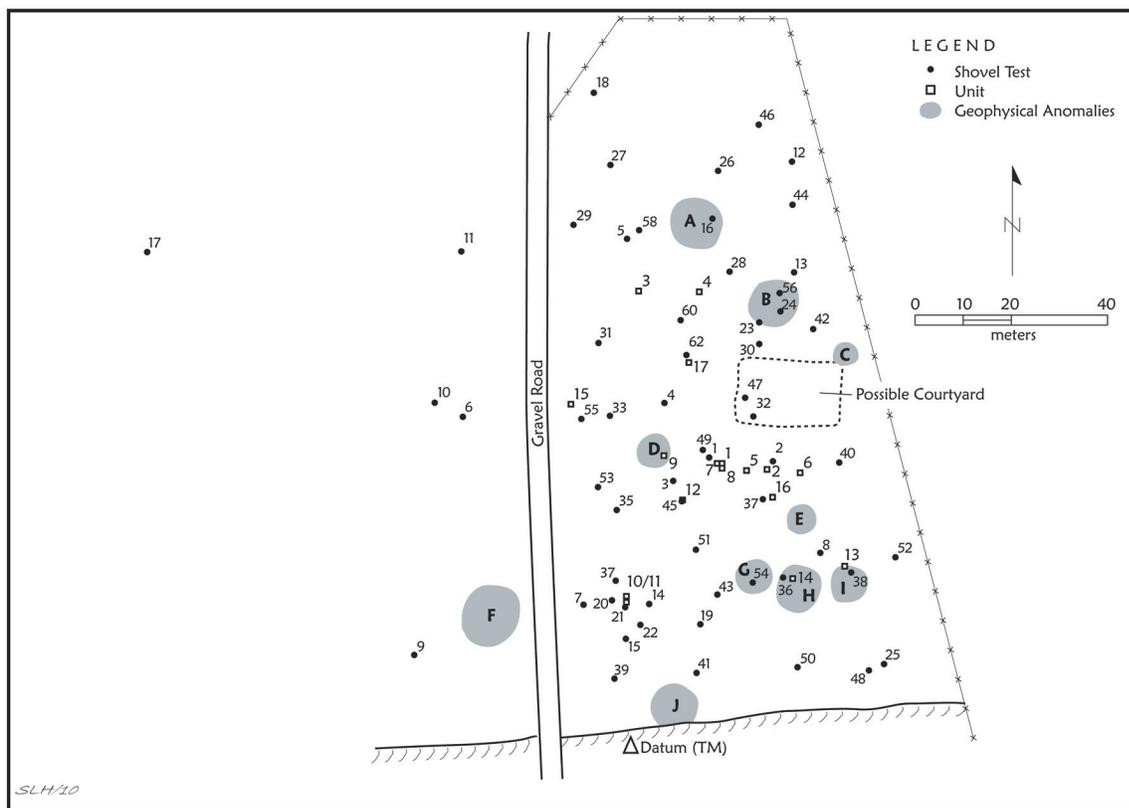


Figure 2. Preliminary interpretive map of the J. T. King site based on the magnetometer findings.

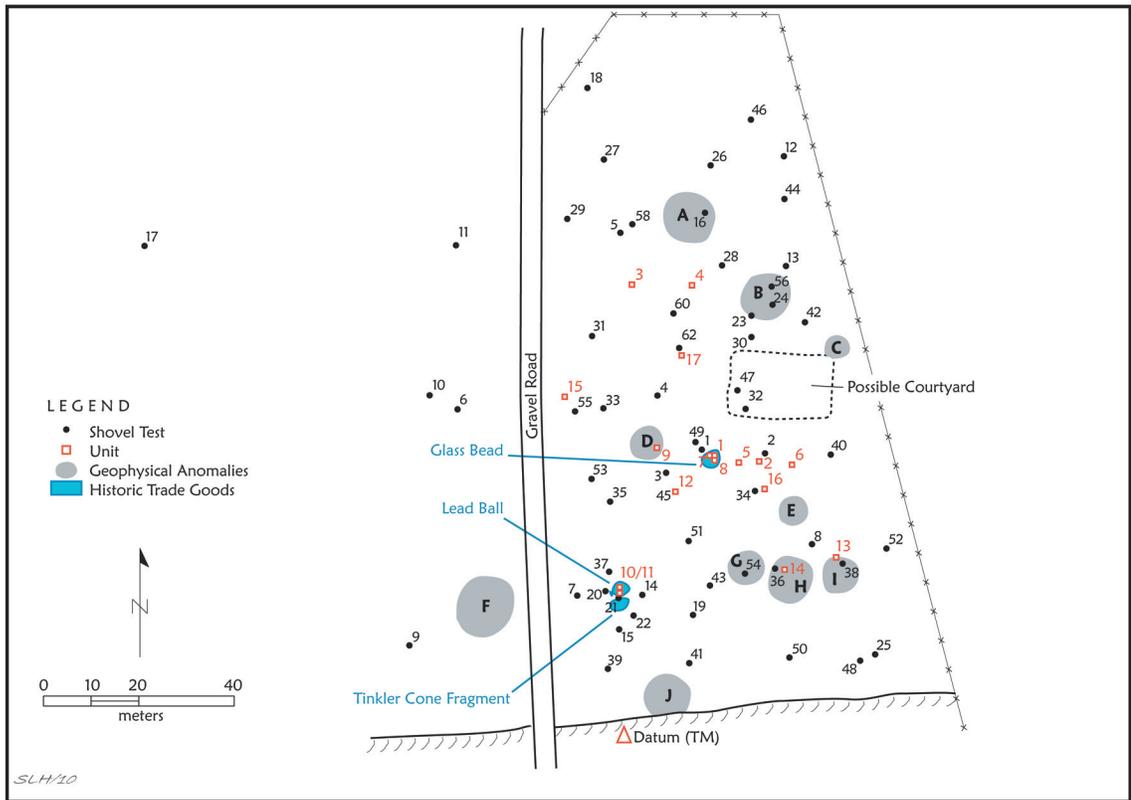


**Figure 3.** Map of the J. T. King site showing the locations of shovel tests, hand excavation units, and primary geophysical anomalies (A-J).

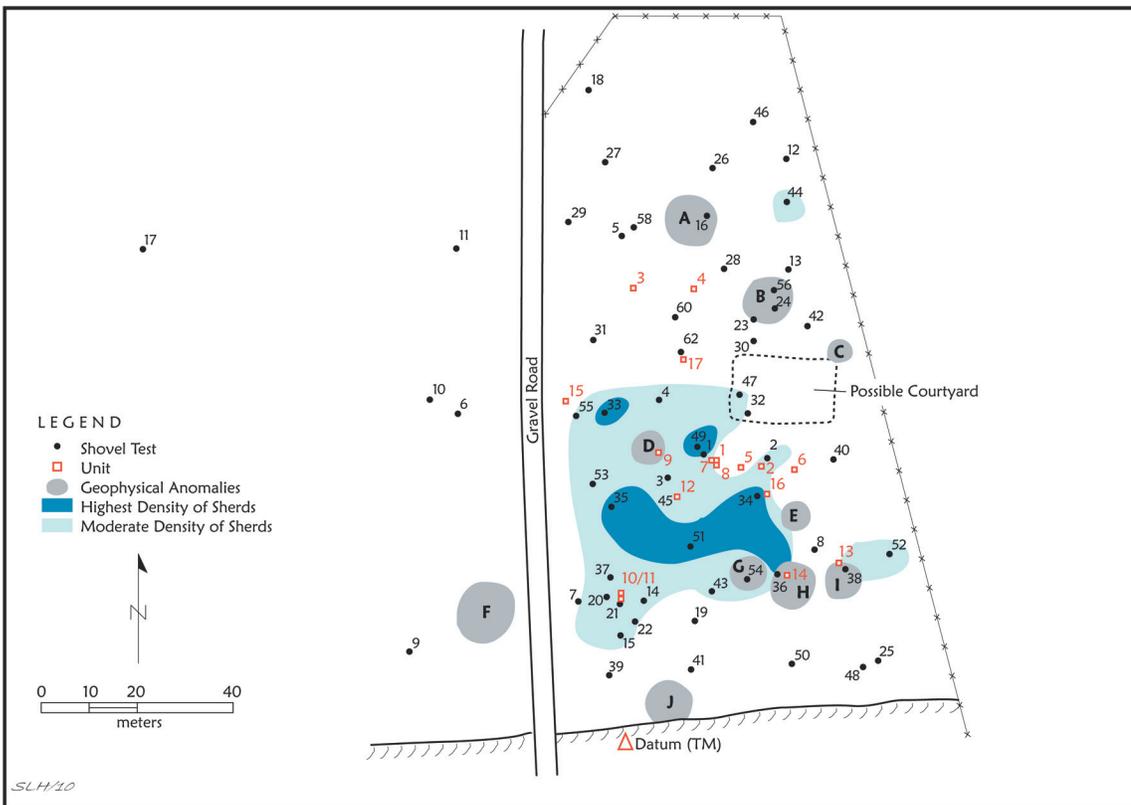
### Spatial Patterning of Material Culture Remains

Including the results of earlier archaeological investigations as well as the last round of work in 2010, Historic European trade goods are rare ( $n=4$ ) in habitation contexts at the J. T. King site (Figure 4). These goods include a glass bead found east of geophysical anomaly D, a lead ball between geophysical anomalies F and G, a cupreous or copper-base tinkler cone fragment from Unit 5, midway between geophysical structural anomalies D and E, and a second cupreous or copper-base tinkler cone fragment from the same area as the lead ball. None of these trade goods were found in feature contexts, nor were they within the larger geophysical anomalies of structure-size. The concentration of features in these same areas, however (see Walker and Perttula 2011:Figure 21), suggest that there may have been structures—perhaps ramadas, arbors, or elevated work areas—in these areas as well as outdoor work areas.

The shovel testing defined moderate (greater than 80 sherds per  $m^2$ ) and high densities (greater than 135 sherds per  $m^2$ ) of ceramic sherds in several areas of the site (Figure 5). The largest area, and including shovel tests with moderate to high densities of sherds, is a ca. 40 x 40 m area in the south central part of the site; this area has numerous positive geophysical anomalies (see Figure 2), and is situated between geophysical structural anomalies D, G-H to the east, and geophysical anomalies F and J in the southern part of the site. In the main, this density of sherds appears to mark an outdoor work area, where vessels were used and broken, rather than an accumulation of sherds from inside habitation structural features. There are apparent midden deposits in the western part of this sherd distribution area. A second area of moderate sherd density is specifically noted from shovel tests within and outside the boundaries of geophysical structural anomaly I (Figure 5); this may represent a smaller accumulation of sherd from the occupants of this structural anomaly. The last area of moderate sherd density is from a single shovel test about 20 m east of geophysical structural anomaly A (Figure 5), and these sherds are also not apparently from a structural context.



**Figure 4.** Distribution of Historic European trade goods at the J. T. King site.



**Figure 5.** Distribution of moderate density and highest density of ceramic sherds in the shovel testing at the J. T. King site.

It may be significant that there are not moderate or high densities of sherds in the area identified by Walker and Perttula (2010, 2011) as a possible courtyard (see Figure 2). The absence of significant densities of artifacts or animal bones (see below) in the possible courtyard area may reflect its limited use for mundane domestic activities, although it may also be a product of the fact that few shovel tests were excavated there. However, most shovel tests to the immediate north or south of the possible courtyard also do not have many artifacts.

Stone tools (both chipped and ground stone) from the shovel tests are concentrated in only one area of the J. T. King site: shovel tests immediately south of and from within geophysical structural anomaly B (Figure 6), north a short distance from the possible courtyard. It is notable that these stone tools were not discarded in the one large and apparent outdoor work area south and west of the courtyard—where the ceramic sherds are concentrated, as are animal bones and midden deposits—but in a restricted area around geophysical anomaly B, suggesting this area was a specific focus of stone tool use and discard of broken tools.

Evidence of chipped stone tool manufacture at the J. T. King site is marked by the distribution of pieces of lithic debris; the overall density (see Walker and Perttula 2011:Tables 1 and 2) of lithic debris suggests that chipped stone tool manufacture was not a common activity at the site, with only 39 pieces recovered in the 2010 shovel testing (1.15 pieces per shovel test) and 130 pieces from Units 11-17 (18.6 pieces per 1 x 1 m unit). There are two areas at the site with higher densities (ca. 24-32 pieces per m<sup>2</sup>) of lithic debris, one between the possible courtyard and geophysical structure anomaly D (Figure 7), in an apparent outdoor work and trash disposal area (see Figure 5), and the other at the southern end of the site. This latter area, about 40 x 20 m in size, partially overlaps with geophysical structural anomalies H and I. Consequently, it may mark the chipped stone knapping activities of the occupants of geophysical structural anomalies G-I.

Burned and unburned animal bone was also relatively abundant in a number of shovel tests, particularly in non-geophysical structural anomaly areas (Figure 8). This would seem to indicate that the distribution of bone may mark the locations of midden deposits or more concentrated trash disposal areas. The highest densities (ca. 60 bones per m<sup>2</sup>) of bone occurs between geophysical structural anomaly D and geophysical structural anomalies E and G. The area of ST 55 (and Unit 15), northwest of geophysical structural anomaly D, also has a substantial density of animal bones in the archaeological deposits.

Of the 59 shovel tests that have been excavated at the J. T. King site between 2008-2010, four of them (ST 24, 36, 38, and 54) have animal bone from within geophysical structural anomalies (i.e., B, G-I), while another 24 shovel tests outside of structural anomalies have animal bone. As previously mentioned, most of the latter are in the area between geophysical structural anomalies D and G, or are in an area about 10 m south of geophysical structural anomalies H and I (see Figure 8). This clearly suggests that animal bone was discarded as trash in outdoor contexts, such as a midden or work area, but not far from domestic structures.

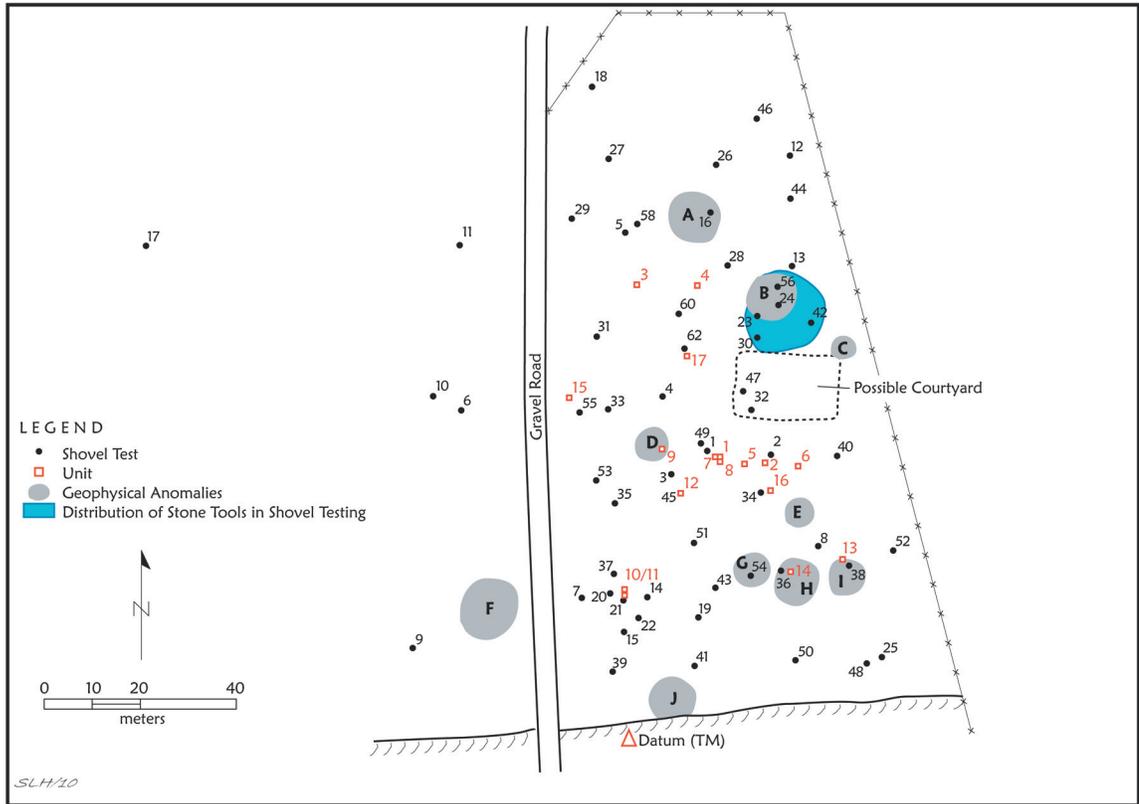


Figure 6. Distribution of stone tools in shovel testing.

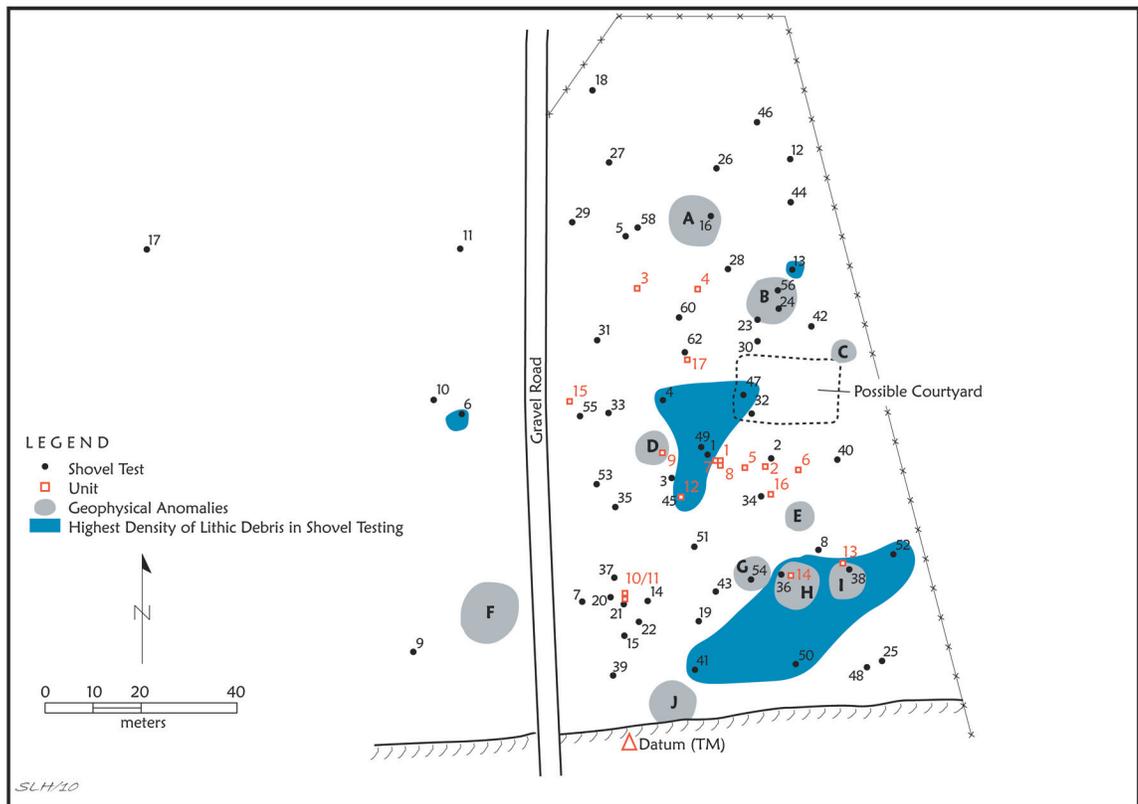
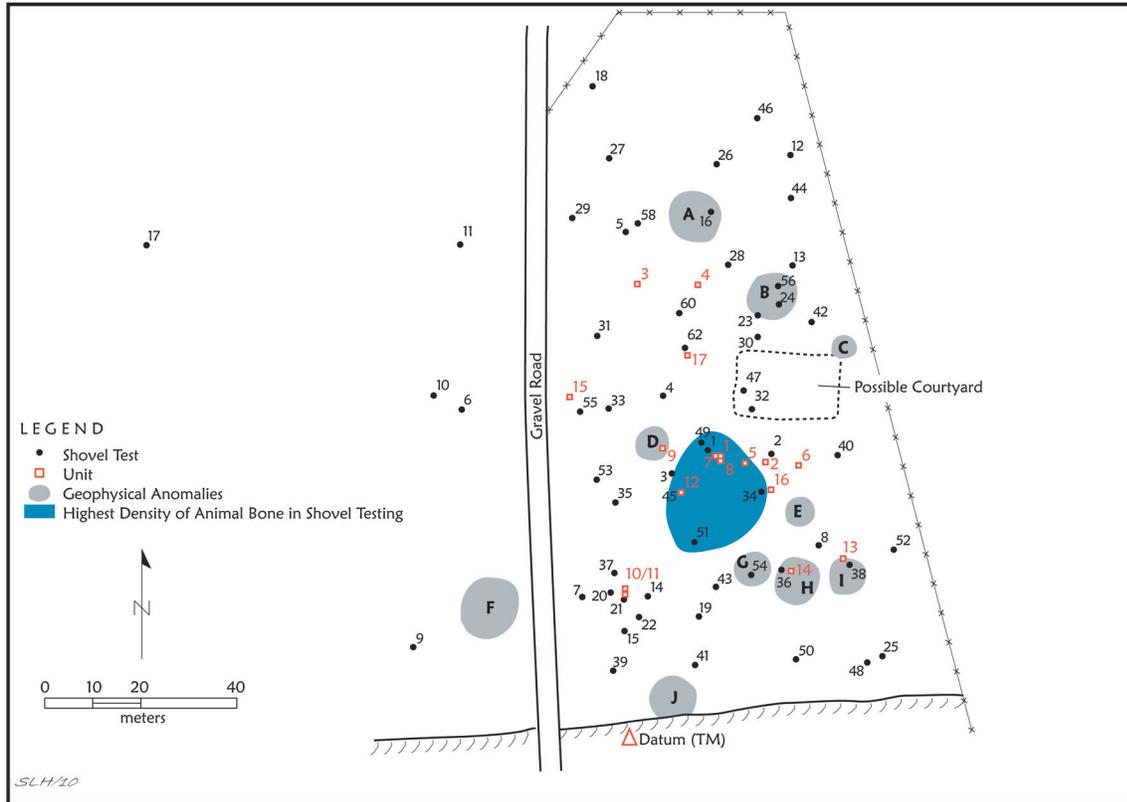


Figure 7. Highest densities of lithic debris in shovel testing.



**Figure 8.** Distribution of the highest density of animal bones in shovel testing.

## Conclusions

Taken together, the archaeological and archaeogeophysical investigations at the J. T. King site suggests that the early 18<sup>th</sup> century settlement here was comprised of house structure clusters flanking an open area that may be a courtyard or open community area. Possible midden deposits, work areas, and accumulations of trash are situated in the vicinity of, or between, geophysical structural anomalies: the concentrations of sherds and animal bones in one main area suggests that there was one principal area of trash accumulation used by the entire community. Comparable patterns of settlement organization appear to be present in archaeological deposits at other investigated sites in the Angelina River basin in East Texas that date from the 14<sup>th</sup> century A.D. to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century A.D., including the Walter Bell site (41SB50) (Jelks 1965:Figure 20), Tallow Grove (41NA231) and Beech Ridge (41NA242) (Pertulla 2008:232-273), and the Deshazo site (41NA27) (Story 1982, 1995:Figure 82).

## Acknowledgements

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# DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY LOCATION OF THE ADAES INDIANS

*Darryl Pleasant*

## Introduction

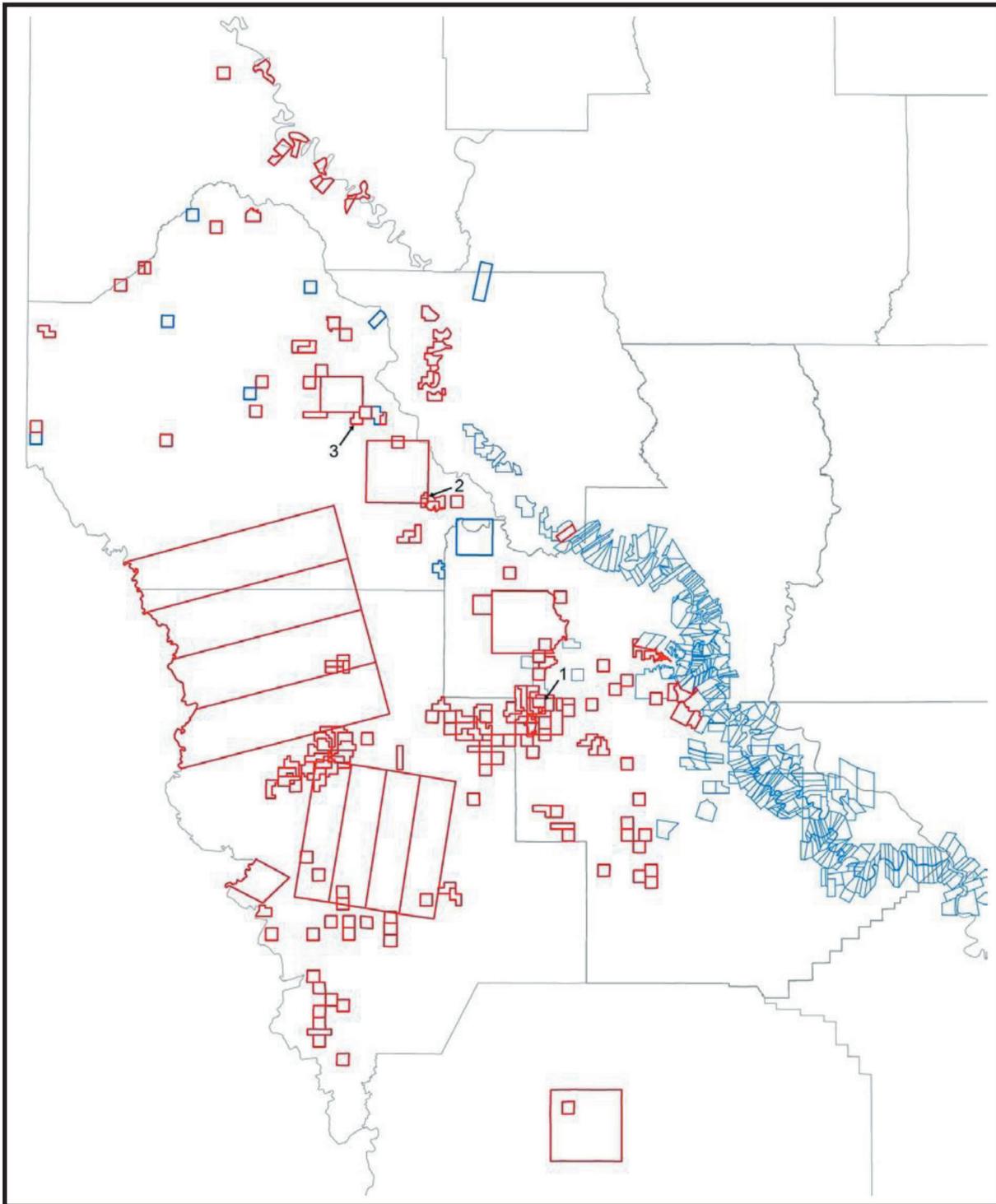
The location of the habitation sites of the Adaes Indians has not been thoroughly investigated by archaeologists and historians. Most researchers have placed Adaes habitation sites in the general vicinity of Los Adaes simply because the presidio and mission were named after the Adaes Indians [e.g. Hodge (1907:13), Glover (1935), Swanton (1946:196), Webb and Gregory (1986:28), Smith (1995:59), LaVere (1998:79), Avery (1998, 94-95), Los Adaes Exhibit, Texas Beyond History (2006)]. This paper will focus on historical documentation to provide a better understanding of the location of the habitation sites of the Adaes Indians during the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The earliest accounts presented are narratives of travels along the Red River in the early 18th century. While they unfortunately have no definitive geographical data such as plat maps or land claims, they still provide relational information which can be interpreted along with the more precise geographical documentation of the latter 18th century. All of the late 18th and early 19th century documents reviewed for this paper are primary sources such as conveyances, successions and land claims.

The evidence presented in this paper will reveal that the “homeland” of the Adaes was in southern Desoto Parish, Louisiana and extreme northern Natchitoches Parish. This area is approximately twenty miles north of Los Adaes, which agrees with the Spanish documents and with John Sibley’s (1807) location of the Adaes. Archaeologically, there is an abundant sample of historic sites that date to the 18th and 19th centuries in that region. These appear as pure aboriginal sites or mixtures of aboriginal and European components.

## Land Claims

The land claims mentioned within this article must be described in some detail in order to understand the associated terminology when discussing individual land claims. Throughout the remainder of this article mention of land claims will refer to *Old Board, Register* and to *Rio Hondo* claims (Figure 1). These will refer to specific instances of congressional overview of land claimed within former foreign-owned territory in what would become the state of Louisiana.

After the Louisiana territory was purchased by the United States in 1803, and again in 1821 when the Neutral Strip became part of the United States, private property ownership in the newly acquired territory was an unknown factor facing the government of the United States (Haggard 1945). There was great debate over how to deal with the ownership of *Public Land* and who had authority within the foreign governments to issue land patents. Public Land in this case was identified as land acquired from a foreign government through purchase such as the Louisiana Purchase or through treaties such as the territory acquired by the Adams-Onis treaty within the former Neutral Strip.



**Figure 1** Land claims in northwestern Louisiana. Rio Hondo claims are red and Old Board-Register claims are blue. (1) indicates the Los Adaes presidio. (2) is the Prudhomme and Dolet claims (Tacuachil). (3) is the Valentine, Procello and DeSoto claims (Anadehes). This map represents portions of 9 different volumes of land claims just for the area west of the Red River.

A series of congressional acts were passed into law starting in 1805 and continuing up to the 1850s and beyond to deal with the question of land ownership. These dealt primarily with ownership of land during the period that Louisiana was part of Spain and France. Several additional acts were later passed that dealt with the land claims within the Neutral Strip. The documentation of the claims was under the review of the board of commissioners but actual confirmation of all claims was under the authority of congress.

During the first half of the nineteenth century over a half dozen acts of congress were passed that dealt with land claims in the present state of Louisiana. The Acts of 1805 and 1823, and the supplemental acts associated with each, encompass nearly all land claims in the Orleans territory (Louisiana) and the Neutral strip. Land claims in regions such as Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, and Opelousas and later the Neutral strip were all encompassed in some form by at least one of the acts of congress.

#### *Act of March 2, 1805*

The first act relates to the claims in the Louisiana District and the Orleans territory and is "*An act for ascertaining and adjusting the titles and claims to land, within the territory of Orleans, and the district of Louisiana*" passed on March 2, 1805 (Statutes 1805). The land claims documents generated by this act and the act of March 3, 1807 have come to be known as the "Old Board" claims. A series of supplementary acts were passed on March 10, 1812, February 27, 1813, April 12, 1814, March 3, 1819, May 11, 1820 and February 6, 1835. At various times these are referred to as "Register" or "Register and Receiver" documents.

In 1804, the Louisiana Purchase had already been divided into the Orleans Territory—that eventually became the state of Louisiana—and the Louisiana District which encompassed the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase. In the act of 1805 the Orleans territory was further divided into two districts. Each of these new districts had a register and two commissioners that together comprised a board of commissioners, from here on referred to as the *Board* or the *Register*, which oversaw land titles.

The 1805 act required that claimants with complete titles from the Spanish or French as of October 1, 1800 should file those claims in writing with the register of their district. Those with incomplete title were required to be in possession of the land by October 1, 1800 and should have been eligible for a complete grant by either the Spanish or the French. Also allowed were those claimants with incomplete title who simply had permission from the Spanish authorities to occupy their lands on December 20, 1803. All claims with incomplete title were required to be inhabited and cultivated on the specified dates and the claimant was to be a head of a family or at least twenty-one years of age. Their notices were to be delivered to the register along with descriptions and survey plats of the land claimed. The 1807 supplementary act removed the head of household and the age stipulations.

Along with the actual statements from claimants, witness testimony was taken into evidence for the lands claimed. The question asked of witnesses in the original act included 1) Are you acquainted with the claimant named in the commission, and do you know and can you describe the situation of the land claimed 2) Do you know that the said tract of land has been inhabited and cultivated, and how early and how long continued 3) Do you know the age of the claimant and what is his age (witness) 4) Is the claimant the head of a family and if so how long has he been so (LSLO 1815b:4). The answers to these questions are the information that is seen in some form in all the *Old Board* and *Register* land claim documents.

The act of March 2, 1805 set up the framework for the subsequent land survey of the Orleans territory and the process of land claims and the confirmation of those claims. Unfortunately this was a very flawed approach that as Harry Coles (1979:76) states:

*... established a system of dealing with private land claims that was to cause an infinite amount of administrative difficulty and to delay the final settlement of foreign land titles for nearly a century.*

Evidence of this can be seen in the fact that as late as 1969 the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) was still issuing land patents for claims nearly a century and a half after they were initially filed.

#### *Act of March 3, 1823*

The second act relates only to those claims in the Neutral Strip and is “An act providing for the examination of the titles to land in that part of the state of Louisiana, situated between the Rio Hondo and the Sabine river” passed on March 3, 1823. A supplementary act was passed on May 26, 1824 and a third act that revived the first two acts for two years was passed on August 3, 1854.

The Act of March 3, 1823 set up what has come to be known as the *Rio Hondo* claims. A vast majority of the claims in the Bayou Pierre settlement are Rio Hondo claims filed under the first two acts in 1823 and 1824. Only a few claims, all within the Bayou Pierre settlements were filed under the 1854 Rio Hondo act. Within the Neutral Strip several claims had already been filed under the Old Board but were also filed much later under the Rio Hondo acts.

The *Rio Hondo* act was to establish title to lands within the old Neutral strip as of the date of the signing of the Adams-Onis treaty on February 22, 1819. The treaty finally set the boundary of the United States at the Sabine River and as a result all the territory within the Neutral Strip became part of the United States. The Rio Hondo claims were separated into four classes. The first class was based on complete title to land and the second class was based on incomplete titles but with provisions that they would meet guidelines for complete title to the land according to the laws of the Spanish government. The claims of the third class had no titles but instead were based on occupation, habitation and cultivation of a claim prior to and on February 22, 1819. Claimant and witness statements had to show that the claimant not only owned the land in question but also had to be occupying it and actually cultivating the land. Land owners did not have to personally do this as they could have others working the land for them as tenants. It is fairly obvious that these classes mimic the guidelines of the act of March 2, 1805.

The fourth class was those claims that were not confirmed. Some claims were denied due to their being multiple filings by land owners, in essence only one claim per person was allowed [see Rio Hondo claim #53, 174, 191, 206 (ASP 1859:100, 122, 126, 130)]. Many claims were not confirmed due to the land being unoccupied for a length of time after initial occupation by either an owner or a tenant. Since there was no title to these lands this broke the chain of occupation and cultivation and the land once again became part of the public domain [see Rio Hondo claims #121 and #123 (ASP 1859:113)]. An exception to this rule was made for some of those who were expelled from their lands by force. The board ruled under Rio Hondo claim #217 that when the United States expelled Andrew Franks from his lands in 1812 and burned his house he did not voluntarily abandon his claim but was coerced to leave by “superior authority” (ASP 1859:132) as such his claim was confirmed.

The Neutral Strip which is so essential to the whole idea of Rio Hondo claims has often been mentioned as being between the Sabine River and Young's Bayou near Hagedwood, Louisiana. Evidence from the land claim documentation reveals the borders of the strip to be slightly different than usually reported. The Neutral Strip ran from the Gulf of Mexico along the Calcasieu River to Kisatchie Bayou and up Old River into Sibley Lake and then northward along Bayou Hondo toward Bayou Pierre. This is unquestionably an accurate boundary description as there are several land owners within the city limits or just outside of Natchitoches, Louisiana who claimed land under the Rio Hondo act. Also in the Kisatchie Creek area the claims on the west side of the creek are Rio Hondo claims while those on the east side are not.

The congressional acts and the resulting documentation account for nearly every single land claim within western Louisiana. The *Old Board* and *Register* acts also involve claims in other regions of Louisiana as well but these were not relevant to our subject. The Rio Hondo acts only involve the claims within the Neutral Strip. [For a very detailed account of the land claim process see Coles (1979)].

The Acts of Congress and the resulting land claim documents were all brought about due to the acquisition of foreign land by purchase and treaty. Much of this new *Public Land* was already occupied by current or former French and Spanish citizens that essentially made it *Private Land*. All of the land settled or a bulk of it was granted by either of those foreign governments. Congress sought to deal with these lands by passing the series of acts which obviously did not result in an adequate method of confirming claims.

All of the congressional acts and the resulting documentation of land claims in the western district of Louisiana are readily available at the Library of Congress website (see references). Within this article the claim numbers from all claim reports are labeled by a pound sign. Numbers within parentheses are the actual numerical number or catalog number in that individual report and not an actual claim number.

It must be noted that oftentimes information within claim documents is different in the official published Library of Congress documents as compared to the hand written version of the same document on file at the Louisiana State Land Office. In some cases information is omitted in the official published documents. As a result both instances are used at various times as source material accordingly.

Also when reviewing the Old Board or Rio Hondo claims care must be taken to make sense of the claim statements. The entirety of the claim document must be read to realize the complete picture of succession or conveyance of a claim. Many times the person applying for the land is a very recent owner who purchased the land after an act of congress was passed. This is especially true of the Rio Hondo claims. Some claimants had only recently purchased lands before filing their claims. So to gain a clear picture of settlement the entire history of individual claims must be analyzed.

### **Geography**

The two major geographic regions important in the location of habitation sites of the Adaes Indians include the region around Los Adaes near Robeline, Louisiana, and the Bayou Pierre region south of Shreveport, Louisiana. A short description of each region will hopefully make the basic theme of this paper clearer to the reader.

### *Adaes Region*

The term “Adaes” has been used for many different objects, places and peoples. It is clear that when the term Adaes is used there are geographical, cultural and temporal differences involved, which in many cases are completely unrelated. We can narrow the meanings down to what are important within the scope of this narrative and how it is used within the research and the documentation presented within this article. There are four specific instances of the use of Adaes that must be made clear.

The first is that during the time that the Los Adaes presidio was in full operation and for many decades afterwards the geographical region around the presidio was known as the Adaes. Many spellings of Adaes are found in the documents from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—examples include Adais, Adaize, Adayes, Adayas and Adyies. This geographical term as used within the historical documents is in my opinion based more on the presence of the presidio than any continual recognition of the presence of the Adaes Indians. Once the presidio and missions were named after the Adaes Indians the region came to be known as Adaes due to the presidio especially since it was the capital of the province Texas for over 50 years. Any phrase such as “going to the Adaes” meant going to the region of Los Adaes. At no point should the terms Los Adaes and the Adaes (Region) be exclusive. Based on documentation the general region appropriately called Adaes would be the Bayou DuPont drainage basin from the headwaters of Spanish Lake over to the Three Prairies and the uplands between.

Secondly the Village of Adaes is not associated with Los Adaes or the Adaes Indians in any manner other than geography (Pleasant and Pleasant 1990). The presidio had been abandoned for approximately 40 years when the Spanish Village of Adaes was founded in 1813. Any mention of the village is always either stated as Village of Adaes or Spanish Village of Adaes. A comment in a National Park Service brochure (NPS 2011:162-163) referred to the village as “Los Adaes Village”; this is not an accurate description of the village as it implies association with Los Adaes. The refugee population that would inhabit the Village of Adaes was familiar with the region and that is the reason they immigrated here rather than elsewhere. The refugee populations that founded the village were referred to as Spanish (ASP 1859:110).

Third are the Adaes Indians. In typical Spanish style the mission and presidio were named for the Indians and it is always presumed they were inhabitants of the Los Adaes area. Evidence to the contrary is found in the land claims from the Spanish and American periods. As time progressed they seemed to have played a smaller role in the area. As such it is not surprising that in all the late eighteenth and nineteenth century land claim documents reviewed concerning the Adaes region from approximately 1775 to 1900 there is no mention of the Adaes Indians. With very few references to the Indians—especially for the post-1803 time period—two things are possible. First they may not have been present in the Los Adaes region and secondly they did not play a substantial role in the events of the region in the years after the presidio was abandoned. [One notable exception is found in John Sibley’s Report from Natchitoches in 1807 where he relates that the great Caddo chief had arrived in Natchitoches, and that around 300 Indians of various Nations would be arriving the following day; among those Nations mentioned were the “Adaize” (Sibley 1922:49). The “Adaize” were also among those who were considered to be potential recipients of gifts of provisions and cooking utensils (Sibley 1922:50.)

We do have an adequate collection of land claims in the Bayou Pierre region that are associated with the Adaes Indians. More importantly we also have evidence of historic archaeological sites in the same region that signify habitation by historic Native Americans, most likely the Adaes Indians. But not a single historic archaeological site recorded within the Los Adaes region and outside the presidio boundaries can be attributed to any historic Native American occupation.

Lastly, there are multiple drainages named Adaes. This includes the Sabine River which at times was called Rio Los Adaes, the small bayou near the Los Adaes presidio which was called Bayou Adaes and there is the “arroyo aday” or Bayou Adaes within the Bayou Pierre region. As stated earlier there is evidence that the term Adaes was a geographical reference and this is directly responsible for the drainage names near Los Adaes and for the Sabine River. It appears that each drainage name was a direct result of the association with Los Adaes and not to any Native Americans as there is never any archaeological or documented evidence that the Adaes were in any of these other areas. On the other hand there is direct evidence that the Bayou Adaes in the Bayou Pierre region had Adaes Indian habitation sites situated along its course.

### *Bayou Pierre Region*

The Bayou Pierre region as a whole was the center point for much of the important history of this part of Louisiana. It had a long history of French occupation in the form of traders. It is likely that many of these traders simply stayed in place through the changes in government. Also many of the French within this study are descendants of those early traders.

The Bayou Pierre boundaries were not known except for a general placement somewhere along modern Bayou Pierre. Present day Carmel, Louisiana was often noted as the general region of Bayou Pierre. Evidence from the land claims presents a clearer picture of the boundaries, due to who was considered as living within the settlement and who was considered as outside of the settlement (ASP 1859). The Bayou Pierre settlement was not simply a small community of settlers, it was a large area of dispersed settlements in which several clusters appear in various areas. Overall the Bayou Pierre settlement covered an area around 35 miles north-south and 15-20 miles east-west. This is an area approximately 700 miles square, so this is hardly a condensed settlement.

The southern boundary of Bayou Pierre appears to be Halls Brake and its tributary Rocks Creek just north of Allen, La. Several land claims in this area are listed as being in the Bayou Pierre settlement. The Wallace Lake area just south of Shreveport, La. is the most northerly area of Bayou Pierre; it is around the lake and its tributary Keatchie Bayou that the Bayou Pierre land claims end. There are land claims farther north within the Shreveport, Louisiana city limits but these are not mentioned as being within Bayou Pierre. Most settlements are located along the upland prairies adjacent to the Red River valley and overlooking various Raft Lakes.

### **Traveler’s Accounts**

The first geographical evidence for the location of Adaes Indian habitation sites is from the early and middle 18<sup>th</sup> century, and represents the period before 1780, which is an arbitrary date for the appearance of the documented land claims by French settlers from Natchitoches. The difference between the claims after 1780 is that many were still occupied well into the American period when survey plat maps were being produced. It is probable that earlier claims could be located by following the chain of ownership into the American period, especially for the Bayou Pierre Lake region where known French traders were present very early, but that is beyond the scope of this paper. It is also obvious that many claimants that we have information for are not the initial settlers of their claims. So there is a period when some early claims were occupied, but left no available document trail and these probably pre-date the 1780s.

These following are accounts of various travelers which have little or no direct geographical information other than general descriptions of distances and directions that have to be inferred by the reader. Based on these descriptions and by the addition of later sources using the same travel routes, the locations mentioned can be determined. These can be followed somewhat accurately and locations can be attributed to a particular region if not an exact location. These documents are important due to their early nature as they show that even during the early eighteenth century the Adaes Indians were already well established in the Bayou Pierre region.

*Bernard de LaHarpe*

The first notable traveler that mentions the Adaes was Bernard de LaHarpe who travelled from New Orleans to Natchitoches in 1719, after receiving the right from the French government to establish a trading post among the Caddo Indians along the Red River in Northeast Texas (Wedel 1978). He headed northward from Natchitoches and crossed a series of lakes, most likely Spanish Lake and other raft lakes paralleling Red River. After he left Natchitoches and traveled 3 days he finally encountered the Adayes for the first time. He states the following:

*We camped on the high ground, which is on the left going up, which is the country of the Adayes... At three o'clock we entered the big river [Bayou Pierre] upon which we made a league to the north-northwest; we camped then near an Adaye establishment. At the right there were two or three wretched huts scattered about [Smith, 1958:247]*

By the time he reached the first Adaye settlement he had travelled almost twelve leagues distance, and with the French league equaling 2.76 miles (Wedel 1978:2; Ekberg 1998:178), he had traveled over 33 miles in a north-northwest direction. If we understand that LaHarpe traveled around the Grand Ecore bluffs from Natchitoches and then headed northwest on the lakes and bayous along the western valley, this distance puts him in the general region of Evelyn, Louisiana.

LaHarpe obviously was following the western valley wall northwest which carried him into Spanish Lake and onto the Bayou Pierre area. LaHarpe states that his Indian guides were intentionally following the high bank on the left or the uplands to the west so they could hunt and find suitable camping areas since it was high water in the Red River (Smith 1958:248).

On his return trip from the Caddo villages in 1720 LaHarpe took ill and was stranded for a period of time before receiving aid from the Natchitoches and Adaes Indians. He was at an Adaye village during most of his illness and was soon nursed back to health. After he left the Adaye village he headed back to Natchitoches. He states:

*They embarked me in a pirogue a little larger than the preceding one. We crossed several lakes, and after having made ten leagues, we arrived at the portage of Natchitoches, two leagues from this post [Smith 1958:539]*

LaHarpe, at the time of his illness, was around 16 leagues north of Natchitoches. The Adaye village mentioned was 12 leagues north or approximately 33 miles north of Natchitoches and this places the village in the same general region of Evelyn, Louisiana. This area is the exact vicinity where later French settlers would claim lands within Adaes villages.

This account along with the accounts of the Aguayo expedition (Buckley 1911:51) having to go and find the Adaes Indians show that even within the early eighteenth century the Adaes were not living in the region of Los Adaes. It seems obvious that they were settled in the same region for most of the eighteenth century.

*Fray Miguel Santa María Y Silva*

The next account is by a priest in 1770 (Bolton 1914:69). Fray Miguel Santa María Y Silva travelled with the commandant of Natchitoches, Athanase De Mézières, from Los Adaes to the Kadohadocho. In a letter to the Viceroy about his travels Fray Silva does give some generalized geographic evidence. The letter states:

*First I set out on the third or fourth of October of the year 1770 from the presidio of Los Adaes with the commandant of the post of San Juan Batista de Natchitoches Don Atanasio de Mecieres . . . We arrived the following day at the rancheria of the Adays nation . . . at this next village or nation [Yatasi], most excellent Sir, we arrived, as I remember, on the third day. [Bolton 1914:69, 71]*

This account shows that the “rancheria of the Adays nation” was at least one day travel from Los Adaes. It also shows that the party was heading north because after they left the Adays villages they arrived at the Yatasi village and then continued on to the Kadohadacho. It is generally known and the land claim documentation give supporting evidence that the Yatasi villages were around the Bayou Pierre Lake region in southern Desoto Parish.

*François Grappe*

An account by François Grappe (LaVere 1998) several years later in 1783 describes a similar route from the Los Adaes region to Bayou Pierre, though the Adaes Indians are not specifically mentioned. In this account François Grappe describes his travels to the Kichai Indians as part of an expedition with the commandant of Nacogdoches Gil Ybarbo. At the Adayes (region or post) he meets Ybarbo and travels the next day northward along presumably the same road travelled by Athanase De Mézières and Fray Miguel Santa María Y Silva in 1774.

The group leaves Adayes early in the morning and after several hours travel they stop at a ranch of M. Labery (LaVere 1998:72). This ranch is probably in the region of Allen, Louisiana. Jean Baptiste LaBerry had married Jeanne Guedon in 1760 who was the widow of Charles Totin. According to various documents the Totins had resided in the Allen, Louisiana region from the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and up to at least 1835 (see the Lac Macdon discussion). It is possible that the Totins and LaBerrys had already settled in the general region of Allen, Louisiana by 1774. Also in this area situated along the actual road from Los Adaes is the ranch of François Morvan along Rocks Bayou. His ranch borders the western end of the lands claimed by the Totins. So this party of travelers at this point must be situated somewhere between the Morvan claim and the Totin/Laberry lands.

After the party left M. Laberys ranch they stopped for the night at the ranch of Sgrn. Dolet, obviously this is Pierre Dolet who had a vacherie just north of Evelyn, Louisiana. This is probably the land that would be granted to Pierre Dolet in the 1790s and called “San Pedro de los Adaes”; it is apparent that Pierre Dolet was already living in Bayou Pierre by the 1780s. The location of this grant is indisputable based on plat maps and documentation (Figure 3). It is noted that the Grappe party travelled six leagues from the last ranch (LaVere 1998:72). This would place Labery’s ranch about 16-17 miles south of Dolet’s ranch which definitely places it in the Allen, Louisiana area.

As previously noted the Adaes Indians are not mentioned in François Grappe's diary but the general description of the travels showed that Grappe's party followed the same path that Athanase De Mézières travelled a few years earlier. LaHarpe was probably in the same general region decades earlier as he made his way from Natchitoches across the lakes, but took a more northerly route from Natchitoches toward the region north of Spanish Lake. Most likely he at times traveled the same road, but accessed it at a point farther north than where the later travelers began their journeys. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century the road from Los Adaes that ran through the Bayou Pierre settlements and northward was known on various plat maps as the "Road from Natchitoches to Bayou Pierre and Pecan Point". It is probable that this was the same road travelled by these early explorers.

These accounts were general travel accounts with no hard evidence for the location of Adaes habitation sites, but taking into account the direction and distances travelled we can assume the habitation sites were in southern DeSoto Parish, Louisiana. Obviously more primary documentary evidence exists on the Adaes, (see Avery 1995-1998 for a list of documents), although Avery (1997:80) does note, "specific mention of the Adaes is otherwise scanty in the documents dating from 1721 to 1773".

### **Primary Documentation**

The evidence from this point forward is from primary sources. The documents are a combination of archives and conveyances as well as government documents. This includes hard geographical evidence such as Plat maps with associated claim numbers. These maps correlate directly with the Library of Congress documents and the various historic conveyance documents in which many native land purchases are described. Between the plat maps and their correlation with the historic documents we have a very clear picture of the Adaes habitation sites.

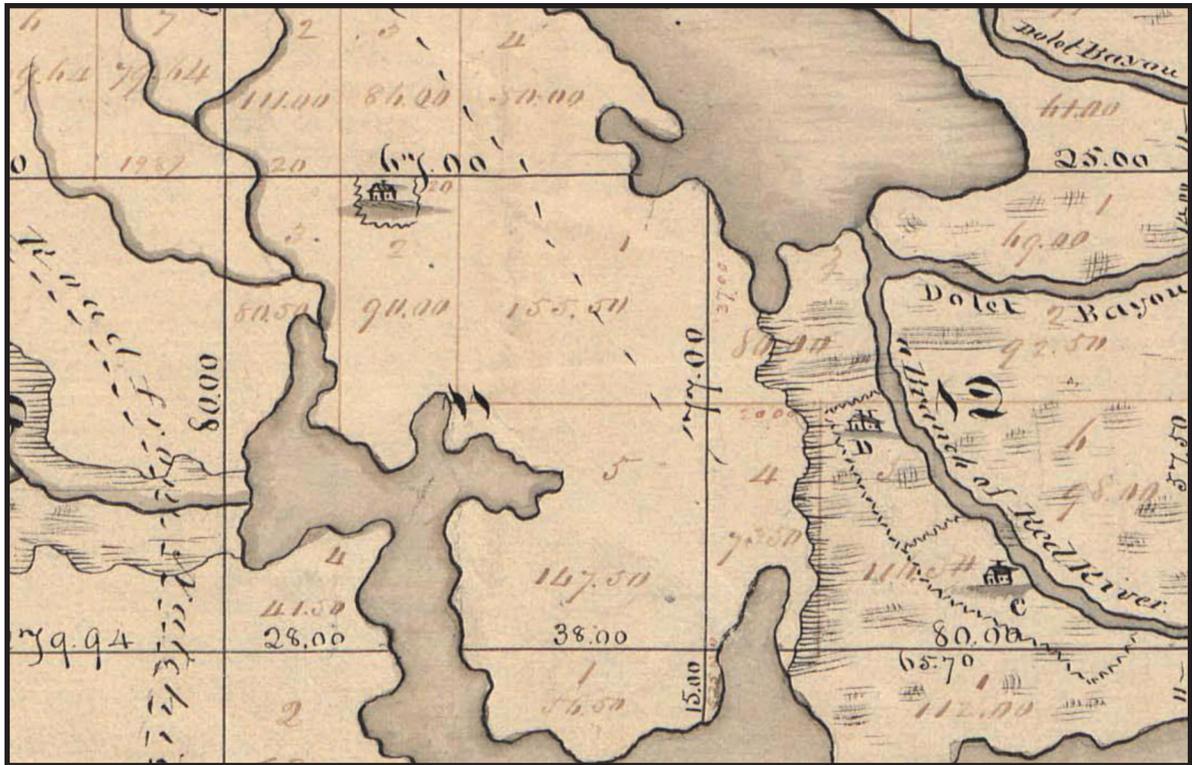
The land claims within the Adaes Indian settlements can best be described by discussing each set of claims independently. The goal is to narrow the location of Adaes settlements to specific regions as it seems virtually impossible to specify individual habitation sites without maps of those habitation sites. We also will narrow which modern drainages or lakes were called Bayou of the Adaes, Bayou Macdon and Lac Macdon. These names are found in various documents of the region and determining which modern water body correlates with each historic water body is important in the context of this research.

#### *Prudhommes and Rambins*

The earliest document examined for this study regarding Adaes land claims is a sale from the tribe in 1789 to Athanase Poisot. The document mentions the "Nation Adayes" and more specifically their chief Quincy, along with his brother Quiouant who seems to have actually been the one who sold the land to Athanase Poissot. The land was named "Tacuachil" and was situated in "bayou au pierre" approximately 15 leagues from the post of Natchitoches (Colonial Archives 1789). Athanase Poissot and his family are often noted in later documents as living among the Yatasi Indians north of Bayou Pierre Lake (ASP 1834:210; LSL0 1835:41-43). There was no indication of any land claims by him south of that area, and no maps were located which showed the area mentioned in the land sale, however, documents from 21 years later present solid evidence for the location of Tacuachil.

In 1810 a list of ranches within the jurisdiction of Nacogdoches was prepared by Spanish authorities which mentions a ranch named "Tacuachilla". María Rambere (Rambin) who was the widow of François Prudhomme (Bexar Archives 1805, 1809) is listed as owning the ranch which is called "Bayou Pierre" and

“Tacuachilla” (Bexar Archives 1810). The location is simply listed as being 40 leagues from Nacogdoches, Texas however we can determine that François Prudhomme and María Ramin’s land claims were located in T11N R11W specifically in sections 11 and 12 as shown in Figure 2.



**Figure 2** Land claims of Andre Ramin (C) and François Prudhomme (D) along Dolet Bayou in Desoto Parish, Louisiana. The structure in the upper left is also on Andre Ramin’s claim. Louisiana State Land Office Plat Map of Township 11 North Range 11 West.

The fact the Bexar Archives (1810) document also refer to the ranch as “Bayou Pierre” confirms that they are indicating that the “Tacuachilla” ranch owned by María Rambere (Ramin) is located within the Bayou Pierre settlements. Along with the plat maps this give a definitive location of Tacuachilla on Dolet Bayou. The association of María Rambere’s “Tacuachilla” claim reveals definitive evidence for the actual location of Athanase Poissot’s “Tacuachil” claim.

In a 1797 list of ranches within the jurisdiction of Nacogdoches François Prudhomme is listed as living in the “Pueblo de los Yndios Adaes” (Bexar Archives 1797) This, along with the later document from 1810 stating that his widow is living at “Tacuachilla”, places the Prudhommes within the heart of the Adaes settlements. While there are no plats of the actual locations of “Tacuachilla” or the “Pueblo” we do have consistent evidence for the Prudhomme lands along Dolet Bayou.

François Prudhomme died in 1807 so it is obvious the claimant shown in Figure 2 is his son, also named François Prudhomme. The younger François Prudhomme filed two land claims some time before 1816 which were claim #582 (Cat. 727) for one league square of land and claim #585 (Cat. 729) for 640 acres while Mary (María?) Prudhomme filed claim #580 (Cat. 725) for one league square of land (ASP 1834:196). It is possible that the three claims were for the same general tract of land. This type of multiple filing is not unknown within the land claim documents. All three claims were noted as being within the Bayou Pierre settlement.

Unfortunately, there were no maps located that showed any of the claims mentioned above. We do however have evidence of the location due to a much later geographical description of the lands claimed. The younger François Prudhomme and other heirs of the elder François Prudhomme filed for the square league of land in November 1835. In claim #177 (US Serial 1842:74) Prudhomme states the claim was two miles north of Wallace Bayou which places it within the same exact location as seen on the plat map in Figure 2. It is stated that the Vacherie had been continually occupied since at least 1793. Further evidence is presented by John Sibley in his Rio Hondo claim # 118. He states that his land claim which was the old Jacob Wallace grant is on Bayou Wallace and is bound on the north by the heirs of François Prudhomme (ASP 1859:112). The Prudhomme land to the north is obviously the same land that was claimed in 1835.

The younger François Prudhomme filed Rio Hondo claim #80 (Figure 2) in the 1820s which was situated along the Bayou of the Prairie Winsy (Winsey) which is possibly modern Dolet Bayou in southern Desoto Parish (ASP 1859:104). This claim is in T11N R11W in sections 11 and 12. The bayou mentioned is not the modern Bayou Winsey which is a small tributary of the Red River in Red River Parish unless the entire floodplain from Dolet Bayou to Red River was considered Prairie Winsy. It is likely this 640 acre Rio Hondo claim was for the same lands claimed previously in the Register documents for a league. Within the land claim documents there are many accounts of league size grants being confirmed for only 640 acres.

In 1801 the younger François Prudhomme purchased a tract of land from an Indian named Octone that is located along “arrollo de los Aday” (Melrose Collection Folder 579). This document is presumed to refer to the land he had already settled with his family along Dolet Bayou as the document stated he lived with his father. It is presumed again that this is all part of the larger grant of the elder François Prudhomme.

Evidence of the location is found in the fact that in 1802 François Prudhomme's brother-in-law Andre Rambin who along with his young son François Rambin also purchased land from the same Indian on “arrollo aday... on the two sides adjacent to François Prudhomme” (Melrose Collection Folder 579). Rambin's Rio Hondo claim #193 (ASP 1859:127) is shown on plat maps of T11N R11W as adjacent to François Prudhomme's in sections 11 and 12 and Rambin's claims surrounds Prudhomme's claim. So these two land purchases by Prudhomme and Rambin are the tracts of land they would later claim under Rio Hondo claim # 80 and claim #193 respectively. François Rambin would file his own Rio Hondo claim #192 in the 1820s, but this would be over twenty years after this purchase.

We can ascertain from the location of François Prudhomme's land claims that they were situated along Dolet Bayou and that María Rambin's ranch called “Tacuachilla” was literally the same as the league square of land they claimed in various filings with the land boards. As such we have adequate information regarding the location of Athanase Poissot's 1789 purchase of “Tacuachil” from the Adayes Indians and can place the claim as along modern Dolet Bayou near Evelyn, Louisiana. We have overwhelming evidence that François Prudhomme and María Rambere (Rambin) were living within the Adaes settlements and were there in the 1790's and probably much earlier. Also, Andre Rambin's claim purchased from an Indian is situated in the same exact region as Prudhomme's claim. Both claims are along Dolet Bayou which can only suggest that the bayou must be the one known as “arrollo de los Aday” (Bayou of the Adaes) mentioned in several documents concerning the Adaes Indians and the surrounding region.

Pierre Dolet

Pierre Dolet was one of the more notable residents of the Bayou Pierre settlement and his Spanish land grant (Figure 3) and subsequent land claims play a very important role in the history of the region, not because of specific mention of the Adaes Indians but because of the overwhelming evidence concerning the locations of the Bayou of the Adaes and the location of neighboring claimants such as Joseph Valentine and François Serpentine. Pierre Dolet's claim is still marked on modern USGS topographic maps and there is substantial available information regarding the claim including plat maps, land claim documents, court cases and congressional documents. The document trail leaves no doubt as to the exact location of this claim. As such, all the documents that mention the Adaes Indian villages and have no details regarding location, but reference Dolet's claim can be relegated to a general area within or near his land grant.

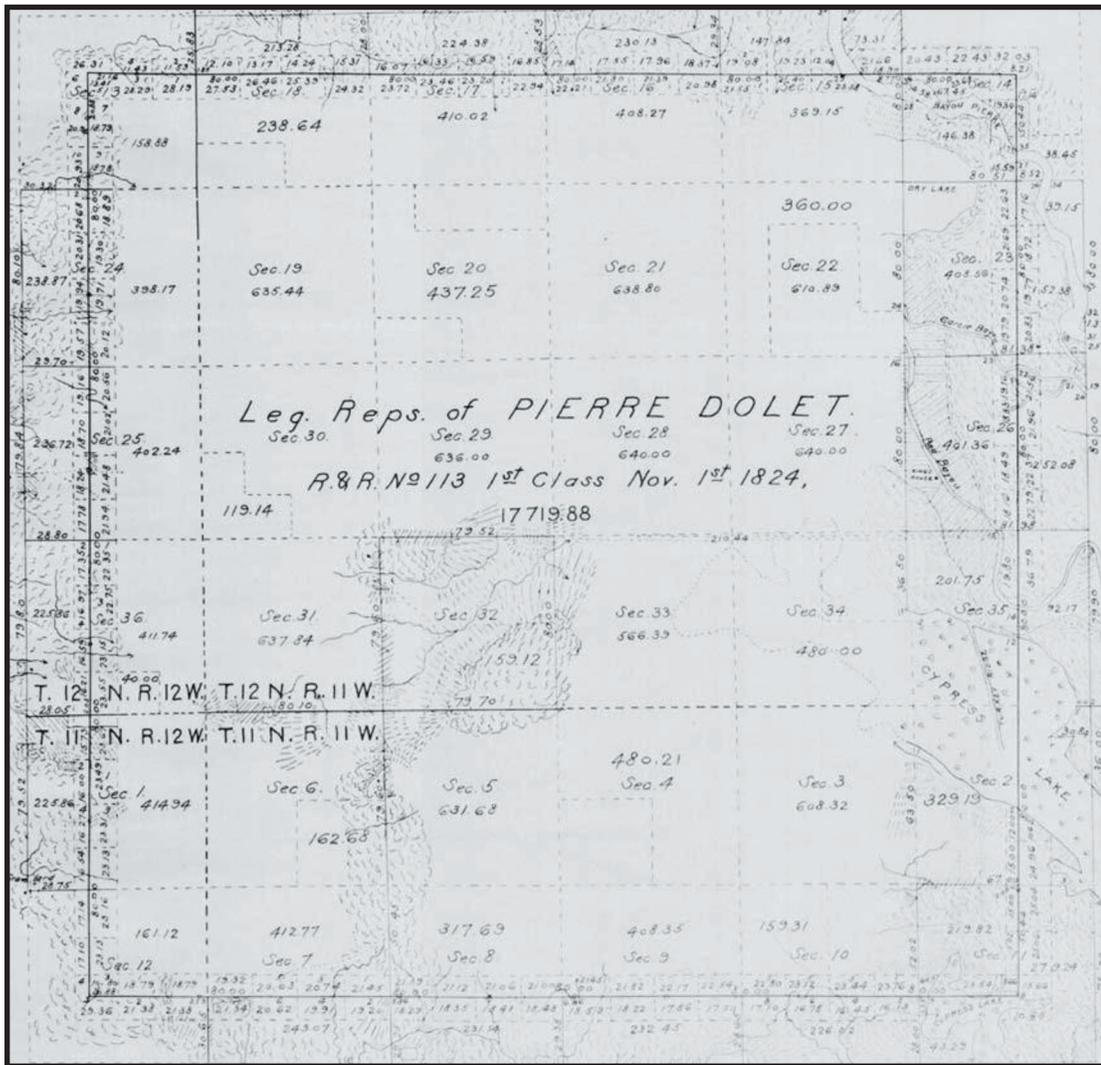


Figure 3 Plat map of Pierre Dolet's Spanish land grant in southern Desoto Parish. This is the grant named *San Pedro De Los Adaes* by Spanish authorities and filed as Rio Hondo claim #113.

Pierre Dolet was already settled in the Bayou Pierre area as early as 1783 as his ranch is mentioned by François Grappe on his travels to the Kichai Indians (LaVere 1998). It can only be presumed that in 1783 he was situated in the region near where he would later obtain the Spanish land grant. It would be 1795 when he formally petitioned for title to this claim, and 1796 when he received it as a Spanish land grant from the Lieutenant Governor of Nacogdoches.

Pierre Dolet filed Register claim #583 (Cat. 1102) in 1816 for the land on Bayou of the Adaise (ASP 1834:205) but with minimal information contained in the claim. He died in 1822 but the heirs filed land claims afterwards for the Spanish land grant. The Legal Representatives of Pierre Dolet filed Rio Hondo claim #113 for the two square leagues of land along the Bayou of the Adaise. The Adaes Indians are not specifically mentioned within Pierre Dolet's land claim, but the association with Bayou Adaise and the name given to the grant, all indicate a probable connection to the presence of the Adaes Indians in the region. The main body of the grant is as follows:

*situated on the Bayou Adaise, in the settlement of Bayou Pierre, containing one square league around the compass, taking for center the house in which they live, so that the whole tract may form a square of two leagues on each front. that he has made a settlement on one of the margins of the bayou of the Adaise. Whereas Pierre Dolet has made a settlement on the margin of the Bayou Adaise. to the place called bayou of the Adaise where the petitioner claims, and has built his house. being at the designated place on the bayou of the Adaise. he went as he pleased on the said land on the Bayou of the Adaise. I have designated the aforesaid tract of land by the name of San Pedro de los Adaise, so that it may forever go by that name. [ASP 1859:RH113]*

The claim covers two square leagues centered on the house as shown in figure 2 and can be pinpointed due to an archive of numerous maps and documents. In fact the claim boundary is still highlighted on modern USGS topographic maps. The Dolet grant spawned several court cases in the mid to late nineteenth century and several additional acts of congress for the relief of the Pierre Dolet heirs.

Rose Dupré, the widow of Pierre Dolet filed Register claim # 175 (US Serial 1842:73-74) after 1835. The act of congress passed on February 6, 1835 was one of the last relevant acts for the western district of Louisiana. It would include many claims that did not get filed as part of the earlier acts of congress. Rose Dupré's claim was basically a condensed version of Rio Hondo claim #113 (ASP 1859:111-112) from the 1820s but it did include witness testimony that shed light on some aspects of the Dolet claim.

The 1835 claim document presented testimony by Bertrand Plaisance from 1815 before the land claims board (US Serial 1842:74). Plaisance stated that Pierre Dolet was already settled on the land at least 35 years prior to 1815 which would be around 1780. This is in agreement with the general pattern of settlement of Bayou Pierre, where by the 1780s many French inhabitants from Natchitoches were staking claims. These include Paul Bouett Lafitte in 1784, Marcel Desoto in 1783 and Pierre Dolet in 1780. It is obvious that some were there much earlier especially in the region where the Yatasi Indians lived around Bayou Pierre Lake. Baptiste Grappe testified in 1805 that French traders such as a Mr. Verge (Etienne Verger) and a Mr. de Coto (Bermuda DeSoto) were living at Yattassee Point by at least 1770 and had been there many years before (Annals of Congress 1852:1211-1212).

The general site of Pierre Dolet's house has been archeologically located and designated 16DS274 (Louisiana State Site Files). This claim has been mistakenly considered a probable Yatasi site for many years.

This is an obvious error as we have ample proof that this site was occupied by at least the 1780s by Pierre Dolet. As will be discussed later, this is not the only known site that was mistaken for an Indian occupation. The detailed location of Pierre Dolet's claim is important due to the fact we now have a starting point for other claims that mention the Adaes Indians, but could not be accurately located. The claims of Joseph Valentine and others mention the Adaes Indians in various conveyances, but the claims are not plotted on plat maps and can only be located by reference to Pierre Dolet's claim.

#### *Joseph and Andre Valentine*

Joseph Valentine and his father Jean Andre Valentine are integral figures in the search for the villages of both the Adaes and the Yatasi. Jean Andre Valentine and Pierre Dolet were half-brothers, which could explain why many of the Valentine claims are situated near or within Pierre Dolet's land grant. As we detail the Valentine's claims they will intertwine with Pierre Dolet's lands. We also must briefly stray from the Adaes Indians for a short time as the land claim history of the Valentine's should be addressed thoroughly and this includes some claims within the Yatasi Indians lands around Bayou Pierre Lake.

Andre Valentine had been living in the Bayou Pierre region probably since the 1780s. He purchased land from the Yatasi chief Cocais (Cocay), but the date of the purchase is unknown as we only have a partial document for the sale (Melrose Collection Folder 579). It is possible that Andre Valentine was the original owner of the tract of land claimed by Louis Procella in Rio Hondo claim #239 (ASP 1859:136) in section 2 of T12N R12W. It is also possible that the Louis Procella archaeological site (16DS212) in DeSoto Parish is actually associated with Valentine's occupation and not Louis Procella. All plat maps of T12N-R12W show Procella as living on the western side of Mundy Bayou nearly  $\frac{3}{4}$  miles from the area of 16DS212.

It is also apparent that the Procella family probably evacuated Nacogdoches, Texas in 1813 as a result of the failure of the Gutiérrez-MaGee Expedition. The entire town fled the Spanish forces that were heading toward Nacogdoches and many of these refugees settled in the Bayou Pierre settlement while most were settled around the Adaes region near Robeline, Louisiana and over to the Bayou Scie settlement (Pleasant and Pleasant, 1990). Louis Procella's Rio Hondo claim states he had been on this claim since 1814 along with his father and mother. It is obvious that by 1824, the Procellas are back in Nacogdoches along with a large contingent of those who fled the town in 1813; this was due to Mexican independence in 1821. Regardless, the Procellas were late arrivals to Bayou Pierre or at least to this tract of land.

In the 1797 inventory of ranches in the Nacogdoches jurisdiction, Andre Valentine is listed as living at "*Laguna de Arroyo de las Piedras*" or Bayou Pierre Lake (Bexar 1797). This is possibly the location of the land he purchased from the Yatasi and is possibly part of the Yatasi village "Anadehes". This area is adjacent to the claim of Marcel Desoto who petitioned for land along Bayou Pierre Lake in 1783. Desoto's petition states that he claims "*une Vacherie aux yatasses dans un endroit nomme anadehes vacant*" (Melrose collection Folder 579). Basically he was claiming an abandoned Yatasi ranch in an area named "Anadehes". The location of Marcel Desoto's Rio Hondo claim #238 is known from many plat maps of T12N R12W and T13N-R12W.

Valentine's claim could be not located on any plat maps and this is probably due to it being occupied and then possibly abandoned well before the United States gained possession of the Louisiana territory and survey plat maps began to be produced. The claim attributed to Andre Valentine was noted on maps within a publication by Louis Nardini. While the integrity of Nardini's work has been questioned due to a general lack of references for his data, the maps seem to be legitimate. A careful examination of the maps reveals that each known claim is situated in the correct area. We can only assume that perhaps Andre Valentine's claim is also

plotted correctly, but from some unknown source map. The inventory of ranches in 1797 lists him as having a ranch on Bayou Pierre Lake, and that is where this map shows his claim to be located. If this is correct then we have to presume that Valentine's claim was also part of "Anadehes" along with Marcel Desoto's adjacent claim. The Louis Procella site (16DS212) must also be regarded as possibly being remains of that Yatasi vacherie.

Andre Valentine received a Spanish land grant in 1791 within the Adaes villages, however, this grant had a peculiar history. It was claimed by Joseph Valentine in his Rio Hondo claim #87 (ASP 1859:105-106) in the 1820s but in a conveyance between Joseph Valentine and William Buford in 1819 the grant was mentioned as:

*being the same as granted to Andrew Valentine by the Spanish Government and by the said Andrew Valentine transferred to the present vendor [NPC 1819].*

This indicates that Andrew Valentine signed over the rights to the land to his son Joseph Valentine at some point between 1791 and 1819.

Joseph Valentine was born on December 3, 1791 but is recorded in his Rio Hondo claim as receiving the Spanish land grant in 1791 which is obviously impossible. The grant petition was submitted on August 5, 1791 approximately four months before Joseph Valentine was born. I believe it is fairly obvious that it was his father Andre Valentine that originally received the land grant and during the Rio Hondo claims Joseph submitted the claim as his. The name on the grant was conveniently torn on the English translation.

Regardless of who received the grant from the Spanish authorities the information within the claim is important. A handwritten translation of the grant is located in the Rio Hondo files at the Louisiana State Land Office and is basically the translation presented in Joseph Valentines Rio Hondo claim #87 which states:

*whereas [torn] has appeared by petition, bearing date the 5th of August, in the present year, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, praying, with due submission, that the tract of land called Adaes, because the tribe of Adaes occupy it, may be granted him, I do grant it to him for the object of his petition mentioned [ASP 1859:105-106]*

The claim is stated to be located south of Bayou Pierre with Bayou Macdown as its northern boundary and Red River as its eastern boundary and the claim was a mile and a half square. This is essentially the same text as the conveyance to William Buford mentioned earlier indicating we are dealing with the same tract of land. The 1819 conveyance from Joseph Valentine to William Buford described the land as being:

*on the Bayou Pierre branch of Red River in the settlement of Bayou Pierre to wit: one certain tract on the south settlement side of said river having Bayou McDown for its northern boundary: its eastern boundary being Red River one mile and a half square [NPC 1819]*

Once the area for Bayou Macdown is defined, this will narrow the possible locations for the Valentine grant and the location of the Adaes villages mentioned. This is possible by cross referencing Pierre Dolet's claim and Bayou Macdown.

A purchase of land by Joseph Valentine from François Serpentine in 1820 gives a good boundary description, and this time it is possible to connect the Dolet claim and Bayou Macdown or Macdonald (Macdon).

The conveyance states the claim is “bounded on the west by lands belonging to Pierre Dolet. On the south by Bayou McDonald, the east by Bayou Pierre [NPC, 1820].” This narrows this tract of land down to a small area on the east side of Pierre Dolet’s claim and also narrows the location for the bayou named McDonald (Macdon) as being within or adjacent to his grant.

Joseph Valentine sold a tract of land to an Andrew Valentine who was either his father or brother both of whom was named Andrew (Andre). The document suggests this is the actual home of Joseph Valentine and it is situated along Bayou Adaes. The document states:

*A certain portion of land situated and being on the Bayou des Adayes in the parish aforesaid; containing twelve arpens front on said bayou with the depth of forty arpens be the same more or less with all the Buildings and improvements thereon being; bounded on the upper side by lands belonging to the heirs of Pierre Dolet and below by land of Vendor; it being the same plantation on which said Vendor now resides; and being in the Bayou Pierre settlement”. [NPC n.d.]*

As stated earlier the location of Pierre Dolet’s claim is indisputable. Any claim that references Dolet’s claim can be relegated to a small area. It has already been concluded that Dolet Bayou was referred to as the Bayou of the Adaes. Pierre Dolet as well as François Prudhomme and Andre Rambin are all stated to be living along the Bayou of Adaes. The difference is there are definitive locations of their claims due to plat maps and various other documents.

In the last of Joseph Valentine’s conveyances the Adaes Indians and Pierre Dolet’s claim are directly associated for the first time. In 1819 Pierre Roblot sold a tract of land to Joseph Valentine in which the document states:

*being in the parish of Natchitoches in the Ancient Village of Adyies. Received by declaration of Pierre Dolet by deed bearing date of August A.D. 1809 bounded above by lands belonging to said Pierre Dolet and below also by the said Pierre Dolet. [NPC, 1819]*

Though this conveyance states the land is in Natchitoches Parish it should be noted that Natchitoches parish at that time included the area of southern DeSoto parish. This once again associates the presence of Adaes villages with the area around Dolet Brake and Chamard Brake as well as along Dolet Bayou.

It can once again be inferred that Valentine’s claim was located adjacent to or perhaps within Pierre Dolet’s claim, as it was often the case that grants overlapped. It is also clear that Bayou Macdon, Bayou Macdown and McDonald are the same bayou, simply spelled differently in the various documents. What is not definitively known is whether Bayou of Adaes and Bayou Macdon are one and the same, or whether they are two different bayous in the same general area. At this point it can only be suggested that Dolet Bayou, or a smaller bayou such as Bois D’arc bayou, is Bayou Macdon.

### Lac Macdon

In 1805 Doctor John Sibley the Indian agent at Natchitoches, Louisiana described the locations of various tribes west of the Mississippi River and north of the Rio Grande. This was ultimately included by Thomas Jefferson in a report on the travels of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The description of the Adaize Indians is somewhat limited but it has caused endless speculation for two centuries. In his report Sibley states the Adaize:

*Live about forty miles from Natchitoches, below the Yatassees, on a lake called Lac Macdon, which communicates with that division of Red River that passes by Bayou Pierre. they live at, or near, where their ancestors have lived from time immemorial. They being the nearest nation to the old Spanish fort or mission of Adaize, that place was named after them, being about twenty miles from them, to the south. [ASP 1832:722]*

If the earlier evidence suggesting that Lac Macdon was Dolet Brake is correct, then we can verify Sibley's description of the location of the Adaize as being approximately twenty miles north of Los Adaes. Webb and Gregory (1986) had suggested a possible location for this village on Allen Plantation, and while there is definitely a historic component at the site which possibly represents an Adaes occupation, this component is clearly not the Lake Macdon site mentioned by Sibley.



**Figure 4** Excerpt of the Barthelemy Lafon 1806 map showing Lake Maldonne between *Lac Espagnol* (Spanish Lake) and Bayou Pierre. It is obvious that this is the same body of water known by various names such as Lake Macdon, Lake McDown and Lake McDonald. The lake is presumed to be Dolet Brake.

The Allen (16NA4) site is eight miles south of Lac Macdon (Figure 4) and overlooks modern Topicote Bayou. This is the closest historic Indian site to Los Adaes discovered so far. Beginning in the 1780s the immediate region was claimed as a vacharie by Remy Totin Sr. and after his death by his son Remy Totin Jr. and later by Bernard Pantaleon dit Issura. In the 1790s Bernard Pantaleon dit Issura married the widow of Remy Totin Sr. and claimed four square leagues of land under Register #A29 (ASP 1859:498) at *Tapalcot* and had a Spanish concession for the land dating to April 20, 1798. The witness testimony by John Sibley states that the land was occupied in 1804 and for 20 years previous to the date of the concession by Pantaleon and the late Remy Totin Sr. (ASP 1859:498). The land along Topicote Bayou was claimed in the 1820s by Remy Totin Jr. in Rio Hondo claim #227 (ASP 1859:134). The land was held until the mid 1830s when Remy and Charles Totin sold their combined lands which essentially consisted of all the holdings of the Totins in the immediate area. A history of the land conveyances is described under claims #106 by the legal representatives of Bernard Pantaleon and #172 by the widow and heirs of William Bullitt (US Serials 1842:51-53, 72).

It is obvious the Allen Plantation site was settled by the Totin family during the same general time the Lac Macdon site is settled by the Adaes Indians. The only logical manner for the historic Allen site to be contemporary to the Vacherie is for the Totins to have Native farm hands or allowed natives to encamp upon their property. It is also plausible that the site pre-dates the Vacherie; this is unknown in part due to a lack of real diagnostic remains.

### **The Village of Adaes Confusion**

The name of this settlement has created confusion as to whether it refers to a village of Adaes Indians or to a village located in the geographic region of the former presidio and mission named after the Adaes Indians. The Village of Adaes (Pleasant and Pleasant 1990) was first inhabited around 1813 by refugees from East Texas, specifically the Nacogdoches region. There were inhabitants in the surrounding area before this, but the founding of the village occurred because of the influx of new people. These immigrants settled on Emmanuel Prudhomme's Spanish land grant in western Natchitoches Parish surrounding present day Robeline, Louisiana. John Cortes acting as a witness in Emmanuel Prudhomme's Rio Hondo claim #110 states:

*in the year 1813 he was on the land claimed, with the claimant, at the time of the emigration of a number of Spaniards from Texas and that while there a number of Spaniards demanded of the claimant permission to reside on the land claimed, which was granted on condition that, when they quit, their improvements and houses should belong to the claimant; and that under said permission said Spaniards settled, and have lived on, and cultivated said land ever since to the present time[ASP 1859:110].*

The descriptions of the village within the succeeding Rio Hondo land claims reveal a definite Spanish cultural orientation to the village.

One particular immigrant from Nacogdoches Manuel Bustemento (Bustamente) on whose claim the village was actually situated was from Jalapa, Mexico (Bexar Archives 1805). Manuel Bustemento claimed "a tract of land lying within the late neutral territory, situated in the village of the Adais" [ASP 1859:121]. Manuel Bustemento's neighbor within the village was Trinidad Candido, who was also from Nacogdoches and along with several other residents of the village lists identical descriptions of their claims.

Another well-known inhabitant of the village—also a refugee from Nacogdoches—was José Antonio Sepulveda. Many of Sepulveda’s descendants live in Sabine Parish today. Rio Hondo claim #188 was filed by Pavie and Noyrit with José Antonio Sepulveda as the assignee, which meant Sepulveda sold the land to Pavie and Noyrit at some point previous to the claim filing. The date of the filing was in 1824 and it is probable that he had already returned to Nacogdoches by that time as had other refugees such as Louis Procella. Another document from 1836 gives more detail about the claim around the village. In a request for a certificate for the tract of land Pavie and Noyrit state:

*said claim is situated about 16 miles from the town of Natchitoches at a Spanish town called the Adyas [LSLO 1836:35-36]*

There is another statement indicating that the village is inhabited by people considered Spanish. What is interesting about José Antonio Sepulveda is that in a grant document for his ranch in Nacogdoches County Texas he is listed as being from Mexico. The grant states:

*José Antonio Sepulveda originario de la villa de San Carlos Capital de la colonia el Nuevo Santander [TGLO 1825]*

Nuevo Santander is now the Mexican state of Tamaulipas in the Northeastern part of the country just south of the Brownsville, Texas. The small town of San Carlos was once its capital. Genealogical documents state he was also a Spanish soldier around the Rio Grande area before he migrated to Nacogdoches.

Many of the so called Adaeseños in western Louisiana are descendants of either Manuel Bustemento or José Antonio Sepulveda, including the author. It is evident, however, that the original nationality through Bustemento and Sepulveda was Spanish. Sepulveda’s father-in-law José Ramon Chavana was originally from Lampazas, Nuevo León before migrating to Nacogdoches (NCRP1809).

The probable house sites of Trinidad Candido and José Antonio Sepulveda were found and archaeologically recorded in 1989 (Pleasant and Pleasant 1990). The sites on the surface and in test units yielded only European artifacts, with the exception of a few prehistoric points and ceramics dating several hundred years earlier. Manuel Gonzales filed a claim just to the west of the village in what is today Sabine Parish. This claim is immediately adjacent to Manuel Bustemento’s claim and is described as

*a tract of land lying within the late neutral territory, situated on the road leading from Natchitoches to Ormegas, about one mile west of a Spanish village [ASP 1959:107]*

Another Rio Hondo land claim to the east of the village belonging to María Conception De Leon described a similar setting. It states “*a tract of land lying within the late neutral territory, and situated in a Spanish village*” (ASP 1859:103).

In addition to land claim descriptions, the village was subsequently mentioned by several people who passed through in the early 1800’s including soldiers from Ft. Jesup and various travelers. Timothy Flint on his journeys to the Spanish frontier passed through the village in 1824 on his way from Natchitoches.

*We went out of the great road, Camino Real, as it used to be called, to visit the Spanish village of Adayes. It is a curious collection of great, upright log houses, plastered with mud, and having an appearance very different from a French village of the same character. [Flint 1826:370-371]*

What is apparent is the absence of any mention of the Adaes Indians or any Native Americans within the Rio Hondo claims for this region. As noted throughout this paper all references to the Adaes Indians locate them in Desoto Parish or northern Natchitoches Parish. With the above statements from claimants and witnesses there should be no mistaking the Village of Adaes for a Native American village. It is indisputably a Spanish settlement.

These people are referred to as Spanish in the above citations and in the many Rio Hondo claims. During the span of the Village of Adaes and afterwards it is known as “Old Spanish Town” and the new settlement a few miles north was known as “New Spanish Town”. We need to understand the commonly used term “Adaes” or “Adayes” as being a geographical reference to the area around Los Adaes and not a reference to the presence of the Adaes Indians. No different than Natchitoches being a town and not a tribal location.

### **Discussion**

The historic location of the Adaes Indians can finally shed some light on the affiliation of the historic archaeological sites around Dolet and Chamard Brakes and the surrounding region. These historic sites are near where the land claims revealed the Adaes to be living. This can provide a stepping stone into further studies of the historic Indians of the region now that we know where they were.

There will remain lingering questions regardless of the evidence put forth in this article. These include 1) Is there any trace of an historic Adaes Indian site near Los Adaes? 2) Is the site of the presidio or mission masking a pre-Spanish Indian village site? At this point in time, there is no evidence of a village outside of the presidio and mission area, and it is also not known if a village was present within the mission or presidio. If one was there it is surely mixed and became part of the greater historic archaeological site.

The artifact remains of the historic Indians in the northwest Louisiana region literally show no change during the eighteenth century, despite claims by others such as Schambach and Miller (1984) and Perttula (1992) of great cultural transition during this period. Basically the ceramics recovered from early eighteenth century sites reveal no real change in ceramic types and only minimal changes in varieties when compared to later sites. All definitive historic Native American sites have a similar ceramic content throughout the region of northwest Louisiana with the exception of sites associated with later immigrant tribes. This is best viewed from the evidence from Los Adaes where there is no traceable change in ceramic types during the 50 year occupation at the site. There is variation in ceramic types at Los Adaes but this is due primarily to the fact there was so much cultural interplay at the site. There are a vast number of tribal groups represented in the cultural remains at Los Adaes. Regardless of the variation within the remains none can be relegated to a pre-Spanish occupation at this time.

We know from the documentary evidence presented earlier that the Adaes Indians were centered on Dolet Bayou and the surrounding area, quite possibly from first contact, until they are no longer mentioned in the documents. We also know that currently there is no evidence of historic Native American sites around the presidio of Los Adaes and the surrounding region. In all the research of the area near Los Adaes since the 1960s there has been no historic sites found that can be described as an Adaes Indian village.

The Adaes are mentioned within the land claim documents but they are always far to the north of the Los Adaes region. Conveyance records which mention the Adaes Indians are also always for tracts of land to the north as well. Historical accounts of travelers in the years after Los Adaes was abandoned never mention

any Native Americans within the region of Los Adaes. Until archaeological sites are found or until archival documents are discovered which indicate historic Native American sites in the region, there is no proof that the Adaes were ever residents of the region around Los Adaes.

Without getting too deeply embroiled in the history of the Los Adaes presidio, it does appear that perhaps the mission and presidio were situated in a more political setting than a cultural one. Did the Spanish place the mission and presidio amongst the Adaes Indians or did they place the mission and presidio in a politically strategic locale and coax the Adaes Indians to the area? That is a topic I will leave to others to determine. My opinion on this subject has been presented within this paper.

Dolet Bayou and the surrounding area in southern Desoto Parish and northern Natchitoches Parish have an ample concentration of historic sites that can be attributed to eighteenth and early nineteenth century Indians. Some sites can be dated early within the historic period based on the European ceramics recovered. The Wilkinson Site (16NA3) has evidence of an early historic occupation as there is Puebla Polychrome II Majolica in the Williamson Museum collections at Northwestern State University. Puebla Polychrome II dates before 1725 (Fox and Ulrich, 2008:72). The presence of this ceramic type indicates that the occupants of the site were there during the same general time that Los Adaes was actually first settled.

There are issues with labeling sites as Native American within the Bayou Pierre region. Several sites that were long thought to be Indian sites are probably European sites. The most prominent was Pierre Dolet's Spanish land grant which was thought to be remains of a Yatasi village. The vast amount of documents available for this claim reveals this not to be the case. The archaeological site known as 16DS274 is indisputably the house and Vacherie of Pierre Dolet. The documents mention that the claim is actually centered upon the house of Pierre Dolet and 16DS274 is situated in the same area as his house. The cultural remains agree with the time frame of occupation by Pierre Dolet.

Another site farther to the south known as Rocks Bayou (16NA1) was reported by James Ford (1936) and has always been considered a historic Indian site. The site contained an array of historic materials both European and native. Research documents revealed that this too is probably a European site, more specifically the Spanish land grant acquired by François Morvan in 1799. He was living here possibly as early as the 1770s well before he received the grant from the Spanish authorities. The fact he was a known Indian trader and had several native women with him at times, and was reportedly married to one of the native women only makes the presence of Native American artifacts logical. These two sites reveal what will be an obstacle concerning archaeologically locating any Adaes Indian sites in the field. This is how to actually separate a Native American site from a European site if all contemporary peoples were potentially using the same goods etc. It may be that the only place they can be separated is within the documents available.

The last issue that comes to light when discussing the Adaes and also the Yatasi "ancestral grounds" is the following: "Where are the late proto-historic sites associated with either tribal group?" We know where each group was historically located within the Bayou Pierre area but there are no known proto-historic sites in the entire region. Why are there proto-historic sites in the vicinity of Shreveport and Bossier City, Louisiana but no historic inhabitants in the region? If the groups encountered along the Red River by Bienville were associated with the Yatasi or the Adaes then it almost seems as if they simply crossed the Red River valley to where they are historically known to have lived. There is definitely a lack of legitimate historic sites near Shreveport and Bossier City, those peoples encountered in that region moved somewhere and it is plausible they moved to the Bayou Pierre region.

This same issue also concerns the Natchitoches Indians farther south. There is a nice sample of historic sites along Cane River and also in the uplands around Natchitoches, Louisiana that can be attributed to the Natchitoches Indians. However there is a paucity of evidence for proto-historic occupations in the area.

We know where the Yatasi and Adaes were located during the eighteenth century—the only question remains is where are the archaeological remains dating between Belcher times and these Historic tribes? We have a starting point for the local historic period around 1721 when the Spanish arrive en masse—now we just have to work our way backwards to find where each tribal group actually came from. This is a potentially contentious topic that will be addressed at a later time.

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1819 Act of March 3, 1819, ch. 86, 3 Stat. 517  
1820 Act of May 11, 1820, ch. 87, 3 Stat. 573-575  
1823 Act of March 3, 1823, ch. 30, 3 Stat. 756-757  
1824 Act of May 26, 1824, ch. 182, 4 Stat. 65  
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1854 Act of August 3, 1854, ch. 204, 10 Stat. 347

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# THE CADDO NATION BEGINS TO REASSEMBLE, 1840-1851

*Jim Tiller*

## Introduction

In July 1835 the Caddo Nation, which at the time was comprised of approximately 500 individuals, sold their Louisiana homeland to the United States and returned to their villages in eastern Harrison County, Texas where they remained until the opening of the Republic of Texas Land Offices in February 1838. At that point, deluged by squatters and Republic surveyors, the Caddo abandoned their villages and migrated to the prairies of frontier Texas. Approximately one-third of the tribe (some 165 individuals) under Chief Tsauninot returned to Shreveport in late September 1838 to collect the annuity for that year as called for in the land cession. Due to Indian wars then raging in Texas this group, hereafter referred to as the Shreveport Caddo, was unable to rejoin their fellow tribesmen in Texas.

During the early spring of 1840 the Shreveport band left their village(s) north of Cross Lake and migrated to Indian Territory, initially settling near Fort Towson. The removal of this group to Indian Territory opened a new phase in the history of the Caddo Nation, one that is beyond the interest of the author. That said, in developing material related to the Shreveport band's migration to modern-day Oklahoma a number of sources were examined that appear to contradict traditional 1840s Caddo history. For instance, it is very clear from the period literature that in October 1841 approximately one-half of that segment the tribe *then* residing in Texas, under the leadership of Chief Chonena (the father of later-Chief George Washington), secured permission from the Choctaw Nation to settle in Indian Territory. The Chonena/Washington and Shreveport bands at that point represented some two-thirds of the Caddo tribe (approximately 330 men, women and children). While these two groups appear to have lived in relative peace along the Boggy and Caddo Creek-Washita Rivers in present-day Oklahoma during the decade of the 1840s, they have been almost totally ignored by modern Caddo scholars.

The purpose of the material which follows is to place in the contemporary literature a number of sources that bear upon the reassembly of the Caddo Nation in Indian Territory during the 1840s. As the writer admittedly possesses relatively little knowledge of Oklahoma history and sources, perhaps any misinterpretations of the 1840-1850-period in Caddo history advanced within these pages will spur a colleague to correct my reading of the record.

## Sources

1. 1840. May 22. Caddo Account with Charles A. Sewall & Co.

[Entry, Cash for ferriage, \\$22.00.](#)<sup>1</sup>

2. 1840. August 28. Letter from Superintendent William Armstrong to Commissioner T. Hartley Crawford.

[I am informed that there is in the neighborhood of Fort Towson about 100 of the Caddos. They are from the neighborhood of Shreveport.](#)<sup>2</sup>

3. 1841. May 26. Letter from Superintendent Armstrong to Commissioner Crawford.
 

The Caddos from Shreveport are now near the Washita waiting for the annuity of \$10,000 being the last due them. The balance of the tribe are on the Trinity and were to be in when the money should be paid which they expected I would bring with me from Washington.<sup>3</sup>
4. 1841. June 20. Report of Capt. B.D. Moore to Gen. Matthew Arbuckle.
 

The Caddoes numbering about two hundred men, women and children are located in the vicinity of Fort Towson.<sup>4</sup>
5. 1841. September 20. Letter from Superintendent Armstrong to Commissioner Crawford.
 

The majority of the tribe who are now in the Choctaw Nation on Kiamichi and Blue have not received any portion of the money, or if any, very little – those around Shreveport getting what little has been paid them in goods by the agent who received the money.<sup>5</sup>
6. 1841. October. The Chonena/Washington band is granted permission to settle in Indian Territory.<sup>6</sup>
7. 1841. November 6. Letter from Agent Charles A. Sewall to the Office of Indian Affairs.
 

Ex-Governor Butler writes me that the indemnity due the Caddo Indians remains in the Treasury recommended to be paid to the Indians individually. I have a claim against those Indians for about \$4500 which I will be unable to get if that course is adopted as that tribe is scattered in Arkansas and Texas.<sup>7</sup>
8. 1841. Late December (or early January 1842). Letters from Superintendent Armstrong to Commissioner Crawford.
 

I have therefore concluded to go to Red River and pay the Caddoes. . . . I was detained at Boggy paying the annuity to the Caddoes.<sup>8</sup>
9. 1842. Late February. Statement of Gen. Ethan A. Hitchcock paraphrasing Chickasaw Agent A.M.M. Upshaw.
 

The Caddos were reduced he thought to about 250; that 167 were in the Choctaw Nation and that the last annuity due them was paid this year and now they are without a country and without an annuity and are living here by sufferance of the Choctaws.<sup>9</sup>
10. 1842. July 10. Letter from Chief Red Bear to the Muscogee Tribe.
 

I am with my people situated 1/2 mile east of the Keachies in the Grand Prairie west of the Cross Timbers and south of Washita. With my people are the Tawakonees and Ionies, and we are all as one people ... As you know very well that we formerly have been on unfriendly terms with Texas and its citizens, but at length seeing and knowing our wrong ways, I determined to lay down the hatchet against all White and Red men and seek a country of peace. Accordingly, I crossed and settled north of Red River where we now are, and since that time have lived ourselves in peace and harmony . . . our women have worked hard to make our little crops of corn which now is nearly in roasting ears. If we should leave our homes, the Texians would come and find our town evacuated and consequently consider us turned enemies and destroy our little crops which would be a great loss to us.<sup>10</sup>
11. 1842. August 18, 1842. Letter from James Riley to J.C. Spencer.
 

He [Pierce M. Butler, one of the Arkansas Indian agents] gave me the additional information that the Caddoes had been incorporated among the Chickasaws.<sup>11</sup>

12. 1842. August 15-24. Commissioners Stroud, Williams and Durst to Sam Houston.

We met four of the principal chiefs with other head men and warriors of four different tribes at a small Caddo village above the Chickasaw nation.<sup>12</sup>

13. 1845. April 8. Remarks by Lt. A.R. Johnston to the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geologists and Naturalists.

After crossing the Washita at the Caddo village, the first strata of lime and sandstone bore S. 10°E. and on the line of one outcrop of sand-rock was a belt of timber of the exact width of the stratum. A few miles further on, the strata became warped around until they stood east and west, and to the south a few miles was a high hill produced by the granite in its westward course.<sup>13</sup>

14. 1845. April 8. Map to Accompany Lt. A.R. Johnston's paper to the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geologists and Naturalists (Figure 1).<sup>14</sup>

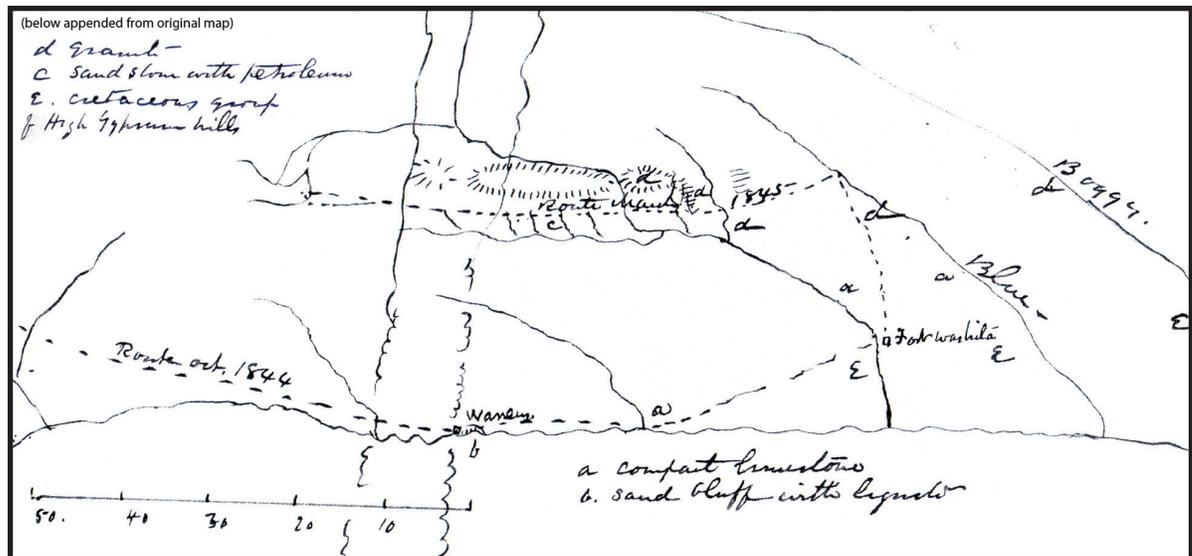


Figure 1. Sketch map, Lt. A.R. Johnston, 1845<sup>14</sup>.

15. 1845. August 16. Letter from Agent Upshaw to Superintendent Armstrong.

In the extreme western part of the Chickasaw District, there are several tribes, or parts of tribes, settled, which are generally called the wild Indians, viz: The Kechi, the Taw-a-ash, the Witchataw, the Wacoos, and on Washita, about ten miles from the [Chickasaw] agency [at Fort Washita], three-fourths of the Caddo Indians have settled.<sup>15</sup>

16. 1845. September 21. Letter from Superintendent Armstrong to Commissioner Crawford.

The Caddoes unlike the other bands mentioned, have no regular homes of their own. A few of them have settled among the Choctaws by permission of that tribe. They endeavor to support themselves by labor, the rest, like the Kickapoos, depend on the chase, and lead a wandering life.<sup>16</sup>

17. 1849. *Topographical Map of the Road from Fort Smith, Arkansas to Santa Fe, New Mexico and from Dona Ana, New Mexico to Fort Smith* (Figure 2). Map. 1849. Capt. R.B. Marcy.<sup>17</sup> Marcy's map indicates the presence of a "Caddo vill" on the east bank of the Washita north of Fort Washita.

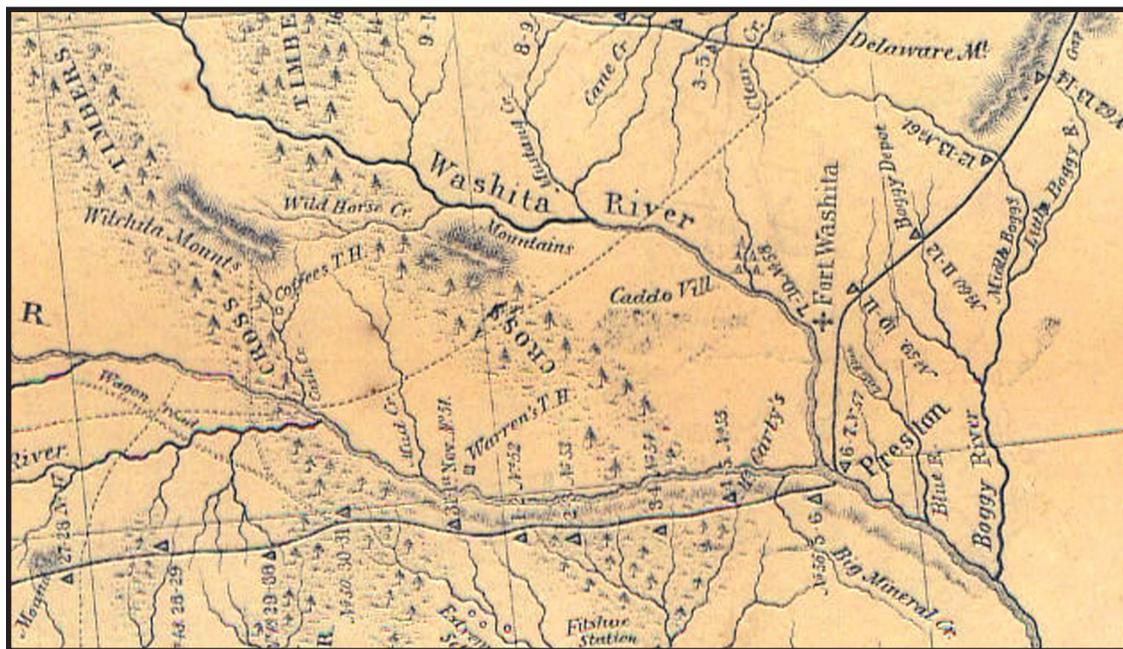


Figure 2. 1849. Capt. R.B. Marcy map, indicating presence of Caddo Village<sup>17</sup>.

18. 1849. November 10-16. From the Report of Lt. Nathaniel Michler.

We have passed several Indian villages, principally belonging to the Caddo and Bilusi tribes; they have settled down to raising corn, and with their cows and poultry seem quite domesticated.<sup>18</sup>

19. 1849. *Reconnoissances of Routes from San Antonio de Bexar, El Paso Del Norte, etc.* (Figure 3). Map. 1849. Lt. Nathaniel H. Michler.<sup>19</sup> Michler's map depicts his route west out of Fort Washita (and south of Caddo Creek).



Figure 3. 1849. Lt. Nathaniel H. Michler. map. Caddo Villages were noted south of Caddo Creek<sup>19</sup>.

20. 1850. September 6. Memorial to the President of the United States from the Chickasaw General Council.

Your memorialists the Chickasaws in General Council assembled respectfully inform you that they are annoyed by the intrusion of bands of wild Indians who infest their District and commit many depredations upon them such as stealing their horses, hogs, cattle and other property ... Therefore we respectfully memorialize the President of the United States, our Great Father, to cause to be removed out of and to be permanently kept from within our limits, the Tonquarrays, Caddos, Keechies, Kickapoos, Quappaws, Boluxies, Cherokees, Shawnees Haynis, Wacoes and Wichitaws who are intruders upon them. . . . Be it further enacted that the Indians whose names are mentioned in the act of the Choctaw council approved October 1844 providing for the removal of some Indians in the Nation are excepted from the operation of resolutions.<sup>20</sup>

21. 1851. February 23. Col. Dixon Miles to Gen. Thomas Jesup.

Within this district [Fort Washita area] is located the Caddoes, about 300 in all, near the oil spring and not over 15 miles from where Capt. Marcy is ordered to locate a post on Wild Horse Creek [Fort Arbuckle]. They are disposed to cultivate the soil and live peaceably and friendly.<sup>21</sup>

22. 1851. June. Special Agent Jesse Stem to Commissioner Luke Lea.

While among the [Texas] Indians I endeavored to ascertain their exact numbers, and with this view induced the chiefs to go among their people and count them. Having no system of numbers, they enumerated only with their fingers, or by means of bundle of sticks. They brought me a bundle of sticks for each tribe . . . The following is the enumeration furnished me as above, which I consider very accurate [Caddoes, 161].<sup>22</sup>

23. 1851. *Map of the Country Between the Frontiers of Arkansas and New Mexico Embracing the Section Explored in 1849, 50, 51 and 52.* Map (1852). Capt. R.B. Marcy.<sup>23</sup> Marcy's map indicates the presence of an "old Caddo village" on Pennington Creek near present-day Tishomingo (Figure 4).

24. 1851. September 22. Chickasaw Agent Kenton Harper to Commissioner Lea.

It appears that one of the tribes [George Washington's Caddo band] has heard of the complaint made against them . . . [that Chonena had asked for and was granted] a strip of country on the Washita, about thirty miles above this, where the portion of the tribe that kept together now live. [Harper continued that he] had just learned though, that they were not all exactly on the land that was assigned them – that some of them were living on the other side of the river. This was not right nor would it be allowed. They must keep within their limits ... The character I get of these people from Chickasaws who know them best is that they are well disposed and remarkably honest for Indians who pursue so old a life. Indeed some of the Chickasaws contend that their presence so far has been rather a benefit – that they have served to check the inroads of other wild tribes of less scrupulous habits and that they would be sorry to see them removed. The number of Caddos now settled together, I could not satisfactorily ascertain; but it is small, from three hundred to four hundred. A portion of the tribe is among the Choctaws on Boggy, and I understand they are industrious, worthy people.<sup>24</sup>

25. 1883. January 22. Testimony of George Washington before the General Council of the Wichita Indians and other affiliated tribes.

I am 70 years old. I came with my people from Louisiana to Texas, where we remained until the war with Mexico. We were then invited by one of the principal chiefs of the Choctaws to come up to their country, and about one-half of my people accepted the invitation and moved up into the Choctaw country and settled on Caddo Creek. After the war we were asked to go to Houston to have a council, and my people went there, and at that council a treaty of peace was made, and afterwards we came back to the Choctaw country on Caddo Creek, where we remained until the council at Arbuckle in 1859.<sup>25</sup>

### **Summary Comments**

Cecile Carter devoted a substantial part of the final chapter of her book to the reflections of 78 year old (in August 1979) Julia Edge, who suggested that after the land cession the Caddo left (“started out from”) their East Texas homeland in three distinct waves.<sup>26</sup> Are these three migrations from Louisiana the same as the three migration waves into Indian Territory described in the above paragraphs? That’s hard to say. Almost surely the group Ms. Edge identified as the Kiamichi band was the Shreveport Caddo who we know initially settled on the Kiamichi River near Fort Towson in 1840. Very probably the “Whitebead bunch” was the Chonena/Washington band – certainly Washington was known to be a Whitebead in his later years. While this band did not come directly from East Texas to Louisiana as suggested by Ms. Edge, they did initially settle along the lower Washita River in the fall of 1841. Finally we have the third group Ms. Edge described as having gotten “lost in the mountains.” The reader will note that Ms. Edge did not offer a name for the band remaining in Texas after 1841. Were they the group that “got lost in the mountains?” Possibly, if we interpret “lost in the mountains” as “lost” to the majority of the tribe up until they were reunited with the Indian Territory Caddo on Sugar Creek in the late summer of 1859.

A lot of questions remain regarding the early history of the Caddo in Indian Territory.

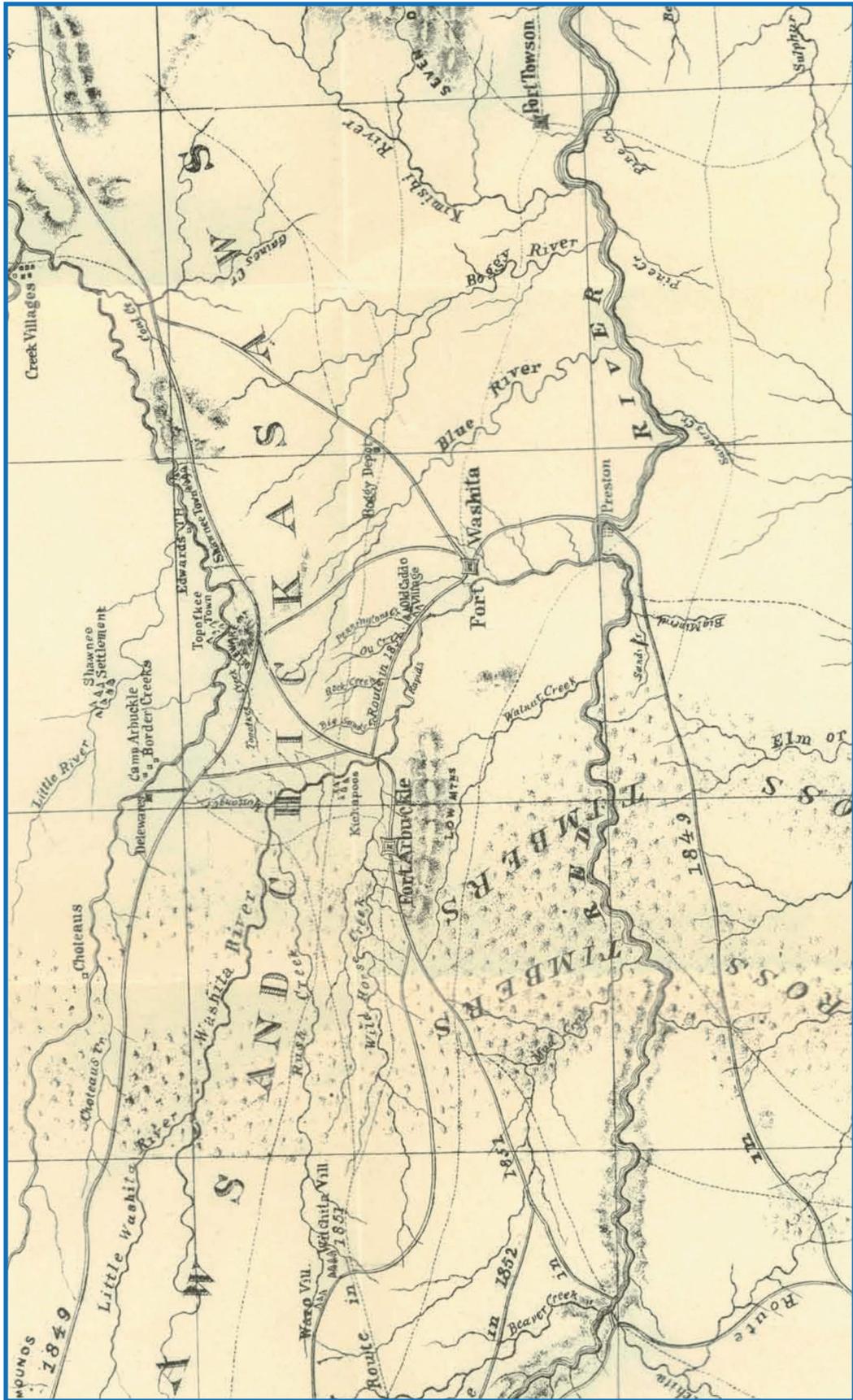


Figure 4. 1851 map of Capt. R.B. Marcy showing old Caddo village <sup>23</sup>.

## Endnotes

### Abbreviations

1035 – 27th Cong., 2nd sess. *House Report 1035*.

*LRCaddo* – *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1880*. Caddo Agency. Roll 31. National Archives and Records Administration. Washington, DC.

*LRRed* – *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1880*. Red River Agency. Roll 727. National Archives and Records Administration. Washington, DC.

*LRWestSuper* – *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1880*. Roll 923. Western Superintendency, 1832-1851. National Archives and Records Administration. Washington, DC.

*TillerVol.2*. Tiller, Jim. *Before the Line*. Vol. 2, Letters from the Red River, 1809-1842. Huntsville, YX: The START Group, 2012.

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1. Sewall, Charles A. & Co. Account of Caddo Indians. December 29, 1839 through July 9, 1841. *LRCaddo* (same as *TillerVol.2*, Item 634). The July 9 entry was the last item directly associated with the Caddo in the books of Shreveport merchant Charles Sewall. This was almost surely a bill paid upon receipt from the ferryman for work previously chargeable to the tribe. The majority of the entries in the Caddo account were from mid-February to mid-March. The date of the last trade goods sold on the account was April 21.

2. Armstrong, William. Letter to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. August 28, 1840. *LRCaddo* (same as *TillerVol.2*, Item 642). With so few documents available, any attempt to distinguish one band from another requires the reader to give careful consideration to dates, location and the number of Caddo referenced by period writers. Certainly the numbers provided by these writers do not always match the groupings suggested. It is a given that each group was likely comprised of several bands, and it appears from available estimates the bands did not remain together in every instance. Assuming the Shreveport band was comprised of approximately 165 individuals (see below), it is not clear where the balance of this group made their home during the 1840 crop year although, based on numbers alone, it is apparent they were not all in the Fort Towson area.

Regarding the population of the Caddo Nation in the late 1820s-early 1830s period: (1) Agent Gray's October 1824 census noted a population of 450;<sup>2.1</sup> (2) Col. Many's January 1835 report stated that the Caddo population "cannot exceed 600;"<sup>2.2</sup> (3) in June 1835, Commissioner Brooks estimated the population of the Caddo Nation on the treaty grounds at 489 men, women and children.<sup>2.3</sup> It is probably safe to say that approximately 500 Caddo were expelled from eastern Harrison County in late February 1838.

The number of individuals in Tsauninot's band (the Shreveport Caddo) was estimated at between 100 and 166. It is likely that the band was comprised of approximately 165 individuals.<sup>2.4</sup>

Assuming the Shreveport Caddo numbered 165, the two-thirds of the tribe that did not return to Shreveport in the fall of 1838 but who remained on the western prairies (the Texas Caddo) would have numbered approximately 330 in the late 1830s and early 1840s.<sup>2.5</sup>

Caddo chief George Washington testified in 1883 that approximately one-half (165) of the Texas Caddo (the Chonena/Washington band) separated themselves from that group and migrated to Indian Territory in late 1841.<sup>2.6</sup>

Thus by early 1842, the Caddo Nation was divided into three distinct bands, each comprised of approximately 165 individuals.

2.1. Gray, George. Letter to Thomas McKenney, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. October 1, 1824. *LRRed* (same as *TillerVol.2*, Item 302).

## Endnotes (cont.)

- 2.2. Many, Col. James B. Letter to D. Kurtz, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs. January 6, 1835. *LR Caddo* (same as *TillerVol.2*, Item 569).
- 2.3. 1035. p. 116. It is not possible to accurately determine the Caddo population in the late 1830s. While a figure of 1000 was suggested in testimony provided in the Grappe matter as being in attendance at the land cession,<sup>2.3.1</sup> based on several later estimates this figure almost surely indicates that in addition to the Caddo a number of non-Caddo Indians were also in attendance at the 1835 treaty signing.
- 2.3.1. 1035. p. 85. Brooks indicated in the Treaty Journal (1035. p. 116) that precisely 489 men, women and children assembled on the treaty grounds on June 25, the day before the treaty council was convened.
- 2.4. In January 1840, T.G.H. Scott estimated the Shreveport Caddo band to number “at this time not exceeding one-fourth of the said Caddo tribe of Indians in the United States.”<sup>2.4.1</sup> In January 1839, a statement was made in conjunction with Gen. Thomas Rusk’s “invasion” of Shreveport in which the Shreveport Caddo were estimated to number 166.<sup>2.4.2</sup> Col. Many’s report in April 1839 estimated this same band to number 162.<sup>2.4.3</sup> H.G. Rind, the emissary sent by William Armstrong to assess the situation of the Caddo, estimated the number of Shreveport Caddo at 160.<sup>2.4.4</sup>
- 2.4.1. Scott. T.G.H. Statement Protesting the Meeting of Tsauninot and others with H.G. Rind. January 23, 1840. *LR Caddo* (same as *TillerVol.2*, Item 631/637).
- 2.4.2. Citizens of Shreveport. A Statement of the Facts Connected with the Recent Outrage Perpetuated by General Thomas J. Rusk of the Army of Texas by his Invasion of the Territory of the United States. January 8, 1839. *LR Caddo* (same as *TillerVol.2*, Item 616).
- 2.4.3. Many, Col. James B. Letter to Joel R. Poinsett, Secretary of War. April 19, 1839. *LR Caddo* (same as *TillerVol.2*, Item 621).
- 2.4.4. Rind, H.G. Letter to William Armstrong, Superintendent of Indians, West. February 5, 1840. *LR Caddo* (same as *TillerVol.2*, Item 632/633).
- 2.5. In an August 28, 1849 letter to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William Armstrong, Superintendent for the Western Territory, said of the Texas Caddo band  
[I am satisfied that with Tarshar there are perhaps one-half if not more of the tribe.](#)<sup>2.5.1</sup>  
In March 1841, Armstrong observed  
[that the Caddo of Texas, who have not participated in the annuity ... constitute at least two-thirds or three-fourths of the tribe.](#)<sup>2.5.2</sup>
- 2.5.1. Armstrong, William. Letter to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. August 28, 1840. *LR Caddo* (same as *TillerVol.2*, Item 642). In this same letter, Armstrong estimated the Shreveport band, then at Fort Towson, to number about 100.
- 2.5.2. Armstrong, William. Letter to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. March 5, 1841. *LR Caddo* (same as *TillerVol.2*, Item 653).
- 2.6. The accuracy of Washington’s estimate was generally confirmed by Jesse Stem, Special Agent for the Indians of Texas in June 1851 (see Endnote 25).
3. Armstrong, William. Letter to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. May 26, 1841. *LR Caddo* (same as *TillerVol.2*, Item 654). Clearly Armstrong (who had only recently returned from Washington) was not aware of the 200 Caddo then in residence near Fort Towson (see Endnote 4). His reference to the Shreveport Caddo being “near the Washita” is very likely based on information he had about that band before he left for Washington during the winter of 1840-1841.<sup>3.1</sup> For additional sources regarding the possible location of Shreveport Caddo settlements in the 1840-1842 period, see Endnotes 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 24 and 25.

## Endnotes (cont.)

3.1. It is the view of the writer that the Shreveport Caddo moved west from the Fort Towson area (see again Endnote 2), probably to the Blue and/or Washita Rivers, during the winter of 1840-1841. This belief is based on the fact that Armstrong almost surely left Indian Territory for Washington shortly after January 28, 1841.<sup>3.1.1</sup> He was in Washington at least as late as March 30 of that year<sup>3.1.2</sup> which means he most likely did not return to the Choctaw Agency until the first part of May. His belief that the Shreveport Caddo were “near the Washita” and the “balance of the tribe are on the Trinity” (as opposed to being around Fort Towson (see Endnotes 4, 5 and 6) indicates he had no knowledge of the presence of the 200 or so Caddo then living around Fort Towson. Thus the writer assumes that his knowledge of the Shreveport Caddo residing near the Washita was probably based on information he had of the tribe prior to his having left Indian Territory in late January-early February 1841.

3.1.1. Armstrong, William. Letter to unknown recipient. January 28, 1841. *LRWestSuper*.

3.1.2. Armstrong, William. Letter to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. March 30, 1841. *LRWestSuper*.

4. Moore, Capt. B.D. Letter to Gen. Matthew Arbuckle. June 20, 1841. *LRWestSuper*. The 200 Caddo were probably comprised of members of the Texas band who had come to Indian Territory to collect the final annuity.<sup>4.1</sup> The Chickasaw frontier was so unsettled during the spring of 1841 that a general Indian war was threatened.<sup>4.2</sup> If a segment of the Texas band had come to the area that spring expecting to receive payment, they may well have chosen to make their temporary camp near Fort Towson so as not to be mistaken for more hostile groups to the west.

4.1. Armstrong, William. Letter to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. March 5, 1841. *LRCaddo* (same as *TillerVol.2*, Item 653).

4.2. The following from *LRWestSuper*: Upshaw, A.M.M. Letter to Gen. Matthew Arbuckle. February 5, 1841; Armstrong, William. Letter to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. March 30, 1841.

5. Armstrong, William. Letter to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. September 20, 1841. *LRCaddo* (same as *TillerVol.2*, Item 656). Because Armstrong did not bring the final annuity with him when he returned from Washington in the spring, it appears a substantial segment of the Texas Caddo may have remained in Indian Territory until late December-early January 1842 when Armstrong was finally able to make the payment (see Endnote 8). His comment regarding the “majority of the tribe” appears to be a reference to the 200 members of the Texas band (see again Endnote 4) and the Shreveport band on the Blue River (see again Endnote 3). At this point the Chonena/Washington band had not secured permission to settle in Indian Territory (see Endnotes 24 and 25).

6. Harper, Kenton. Letter to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. September 22, 1851. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Chickasaw Agency. Roll 140. National Archives and Records Administration. Washington, DC; 48th Cong., 1st sess. *Senate Executive Document 13*. p. 34. See Endnotes 24 and 25.

7. Sewall, Charles A. Letter to the Office of Indian Affairs. November 6, 1841. *LRCaddo* (same as *TillerVol.2*, Item 665/666). See again Endnote 2.4.1. Sewall's concern here was solely with the Shreveport Caddo. It was to this group that he had paid the 1838 and 1839 annuities and probably advanced goods against the anticipated 1840 annuity. His reference to Arkansas is almost surely to Miller County, Arkansas which at one time had extended into southeastern Oklahoma and northeastern Texas.

## Endnotes (cont.)

8. The following from *LRWestSuper*: Armstrong, William. Letter to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. December 21, 1841; Armstrong, William. Letter to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. January 25, 1842. In these two letters, Armstrong indicated his intention to pay the Caddo their fifth and final annuity (letter of December 21), and the fact he did pay them (letter of January 25). At this point the Caddo were on their own – no land of their own, and no more payments from the government.

9. Hitchcock, Gen. Ethan A. Hitchcock (edited and annotated by Grant Foreman). *A Traveler in Indian Territory: The Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Late Major-General in the United States Army*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996. p. 181. From this statement it appears that at the time Superintendent Armstrong paid the final annuity to those segments of the tribe then in Indian Territory in late December 1841 or early January 1842, the Texas, Chonena/Washington and Shreveport Caddo bands were not united. The 167 Caddo then in the Choctaw Nation (as opposed to the recently approved Chickasaw District lying east of the Washita, a fine distinction Agent Upshaw would almost surely have been sensitive to and likely noted in his comments to Hitchcock) were almost exactly the number of Shreveport Caddo known to have migrated from Shreveport in the spring of 1840. Upshaw was very precise in his count of these Caddo – not 150, 160 or even 165, but exactly 167. As Upshaw had been responsible for overseeing this band for almost two years, it is very likely he had considerable first-hand knowledge of the Shreveport band. One can only wonder who and where the other 83 Caddo were. No mention is made of the Chonena/Washington or Red Bear band(s) which by this time were living in Indian Territory (see Endnote 10).

10. Red Bear. Letter to the Muscogee Tribe. July 10, 1842. *LR Caddo* (same as *TillerVol.2*, Item 673). The Red Bear band was clearly living on the Grand Prairie north of the Red River. In fact, later comments by Red Bear indicate that at the time the above was written he was probably living at the Tawehash village near the head of Cache Creek.<sup>10.1</sup> Was the Red Bear band part of the missing 83 Caddo of the Chonena/Washington band noted by Upshaw (see again Endnote 9)? The answer is probably yes. Notice in the comments of Red Bear the women have “little crops of corn which is now nearly in the roasting ears.” The stage of the corn crop and the work that would have been necessary to prepare the fields for planting suggest the Red Bear band had been living in the Tawehash village since late winter of 1841 or very early spring of 1842, very near to the time Hitchcock was passing through the Chickasaw District.

10.1. Winfrey, Dorman H. and James M. Day. *The Indian Papers of Texas and the Southwest, 1825-1916*. Vol. II. Austin, TX: The Pemberton Press, 1966. p. 42. Tawehash (Taovayas) are names associated with the principal tribe of the Wichita Confederacy. The writer assumes, based on Red Bear’s statements on the subject and the known presence of both old Keechi and Wichita<sup>10.1.1</sup> settlements in close proximity to the Cross Timbers-Grand Prairie contact zone, that in July 1842 the Red Bear band was located at the eastern end of the Wichita Mountains north of Cache Creek near modern-day Fort Sill.

10.1.1. 32nd Cong., 2nd sess. *Senate Executive Document 54*. Map on un-numbered page. See Marcy’s description of the immediate area of the villages on p. 72.

11. *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1907*. Vol. II, Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1908. p. 594. With this comment, Riley confirmed that at least some of the Caddo tribe had found a home among the Chickasaws.

### Endnotes (cont.)

12. Winfrey, Dorman H. and James M. Day. *The Indian Papers of Texas and the Southwest, 1825-1916*. Vol. I. Austin, TX: The Pemberton Press, 1966. p. 139. It is not possible to say if the village mentioned was in fact located above the Chickasaw District proper or if this is a reference to a location above areas then *settled* by the Chickasaw. Period accounts of the meeting are in conflict. A September 3, 1842 account in the *Northern Standard* newspaper indicated the “treaty of friendship was concluded in the Grand Prairie.”<sup>12.1</sup> A week later the same newspaper carried an article, seemingly written as a first-hand account, that stated “This desirable object [the treaty] was effected at the Chickasaw Depot in the Chickasaw Nation.”<sup>12.2</sup>

12.1. *Northern Standard*. Newspaper. Clarksville, Red River County, Texas. September 3, 1842.

12.2. *Northern Standard*. Newspaper. Clarksville, Red River County, Texas. September 10, 1842.

13. Johnston, Lt. A. R. “Remarks on the Geology of the Vicinity of Fort Washita.” *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geologists and Naturalists*. New Haven, CT. April, 1845. p. 75-77. The original text sent by Johnston to the Association for presentation/publication is dated April 8, 1845. Collection 305, Box C:T-D, Folder 11. Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, PA. The geology described in Johnston’s statement should be of some assistance in determining the approximate location of the Caddo village on the Washita north of Caddo Creek (see Endnote 14 for the map of Johnston’s route of return to Fort Washita).

14. Johnston, Lt. A. R. Map Accompanying Johnston’s “Remarks on the Geology of the Vicinity of Fort Washita.” *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geologists and Naturalists*. New Haven, CT. April, 1845. p. 75-77. Collection 305, Box C:T-D, Folder 11. Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, PA. Clearly Johnston’s return route to the Washita took him north of Caddo Creek. Whether the Caddo village mentioned in his report (see again Endnote 13) was on the east or west bank of the Washita remains to be archeologically determined, however, it appears the site may well be found on the west side of the river (see Endnote 24).

15. 29th Cong., 1st sess. *Senate Document 1*. p. 525. In his letter, Upshaw sequentially described first the eastern Chickasaw District and then the Cross Timbers and finally the western portions of the District. The above statement describing the location of the Caddo on the Washita some 10 miles from the Chickasaw Agency, coming as it does *after* his description of the eastern Chickasaw District and Cross Timbers, seems to place the majority of the Caddo then under his jurisdiction to the west of the Washita River with the “wild” Indians. By inference (see Endnotes 16 and 24), the balance of the tribe, i.e., the remnants of the Shreveport Caddo, were probably located on the Blue and Boggy Rivers in Choctaw country.

16. Armstrong, William. Letter to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. September 21, 1845. *LRWestSuper*; same as 29th Cong., 1st sess. *Senate Document 1*. p. 508. This statement suggests that the *majority* of the Caddo, like the roving Kickapoos, “lead a wandering life” as distinguished from the more sedentary segment of the tribe (probably the Shreveport Caddo) then settled among the Choctaws.

17. 31st Cong., 1st sess. *House Executive Document 45*. p. 77 and the un-numbered page for the map. At the time Marcy compiled his 1849 map, he had not visited the Caddo village on Pennington Creek (he had only gotten as close as Fort Washita. See page 77 for his account while in the area) and thus his notation as to the village’s location was very likely based on second-hand information.

### Endnotes (cont.)

18. 31st Cong., 1st sess. *Senate Executive Document 64*. p. 32. This statement, along with Michler's map (see Endnote 19) confirms the presence of Caddo villages on the west side of the Washita south of Caddo Creek. These villages almost surely belonged to the Chonena/Washington band (see Endnote 24).

19. 31st Cong., 1st sess. *Senate Executive Document 64*. Map (p. 252). This map is also available as *Reconnoissances of Routes from San Antonio de Bexar to El Paso del Norte*. 1849. Lt. W.H.C. Whiting, United States Topographical Engineers. Map Number 1529, Map Collection. Texas State Library and Archives Commission. Archives and Information Services Division. Austin, Texas. Michler's route as depicted on his map confirms the presence of Caddo villages on the west side of the Washita south of Caddo Creek (note his route, the direction of stream flow south to the Red River and the location of Hickory Creek).

20. Chickasaw General Council. Memorial to the President of the United States Regarding Intruders. September 6, 1850. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Choctaw Agency. Roll 171. National Archives and Records Administration. Washington, DC. While the Caddo were enumerated in the memorial itself, the Chickasaws were careful to except those tribes (including the Caddo) who had by an earlier Council been granted permission to occupy their lands.

21. Foreman, Grant. *The Five Civilized Tribes – Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934. p. 128. This comment by Miles seems to suggest that the Caddo were clustered "near the oil spring" (now under the lake on modern-day Goddard Ranch). Such a location would place them on the east side of the Washita River almost due east of the modern community of Gene Autry. The fact the Chickasaws only a few months before (see again Endnote 20) suggested at least a part of the tribe was on the west side of the river may indicate that the 300 were settled on both sides of the Washita in the general area of Caddo Creek. If that were the case, then those to the east of the Washita near the oil spring itself would probably have been there in contravention of the original permission given them by the Chickasaws (see Endnote 24).

22. 32nd Cong., 1st sess. *Senate Executive Document 1, Part 3*. pp. 522-523. Despite what were doubtless any number of cross-Red River movements, the number of Caddo in the Texas band appears to have held remarkably stable across the decade of the 1840s. One can but wonder what caused this segment of the tribe to remain in Texas. After all, the Shreveport and Chonena/Washington bands, representing some two-thirds of the tribe, had been living in relative peace in Indian Territory at the invitation of the Choctaws since late 1841.

23. 32nd Cong., 2nd sess. *Senate Executive Document 54*. Map (un-numbered page). In his route north out of Fort Washita in 1851, Marcy indicated he passed through an "old Caddo village" on Pennington Creek near present-day Tishomingo. (see [http://www.unco.edu/library/gov/middle\\_ground/Maps/calhoun4.pdf](http://www.unco.edu/library/gov/middle_ground/Maps/calhoun4.pdf)) This is doubtless the same village he noted on his 1849 map (see again Endnote 17). Interestingly, Marcy did not comment on the presence of a Caddo village on either the east or west bank of the Washita in the area of Caddo Creek (see again Endnotes 13, 14 and 21) even though, at least according to Dixon Miles, there were at the time some 300 or so Caddo located in the general vicinity of the oil spring (on Goddard Ranch). This suggests that the village noted by Johnston (see again Endnote 14) may have been located on the west side of the Washita.

## Endnotes (cont.)

24. Harper, Kenton. Letter to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. September 22, 1851. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Roll 140 Chickasaw Agency. National Archives and Records Administration. Washington, DC. It appears from the statements made by Chief George Washington to Harper (1851) and later (1883) to the General Council of the Wichita Indians and other affiliated tribes (see Endnote 25) that at the time the Choctaw granted the Caddo the right to settle upon their lands, they considered the Shreveport and Chonena/Washington bands as separate entities. Were the two bands granted permission to settle separately – the Shreveport Caddo on the Blue and/or Boggy River and the Chonena/Washington band on the Washita? The record is not clear, although it appears that in fact they may well have been (see Endnote 25).<sup>24.1</sup>

24.1. It is the view of the author that the Choctaw probably gave the Chonena/Washington band permission to settle west of the Washita along Caddo Creek as noted by George Washington (see Endnote 25). Consider that in September 1850 the Chickasaws had petitioned the United States to remove a number of intruding bands, including the Caddo, from west of the Washita (see again Endnote 20). It was likely this petition that moved Chief Washington to meet with newly appointed Chickasaw Agent Harper to prove the case that his tribe had the right to settle west of the Washita. The fact Harper indicated that “they were not all exactly on the land that was assigned them – that some of them were living on the other side of the river” seems to suggest that those on the east side of the river around the oil spring proper (see again Endnote 21) were in fact out of their assigned area.

25. 48th Cong., 1st sess. *Senate Executive Document 13*. p. 34. Washington’s statement, when combined with comments attributed to him by Harper (see again Endnote 24), make it clear that the Chonena/Washington band came to Indian Territory in the fall of 1841 at the invitation of Choctaw District Chief George Folsom, and that the band was given permission to settle on Chickasaw lands. There is very little period material the author is aware of that can be construed as relating to the Shreveport band that places that group anywhere except on Blue River, Boggy River or possibly in the Fort Towson area. It appears the villages and settlement concentrations described by Stroud (see again Endnote 12), Johnston (see again Endnotes 13 and 14), Upshaw (see again Endnote 15) and Marcy (see again Endnotes 17 and 23) were probably established by the Chonena/Washington band and, for reasons unknown, they were likely east of the boundaries established for them by the Choctaw). These villages appear to have been abandoned by the late 1840s in favor of sites on the west side of the Washita (see again Endnotes 18 and 19).<sup>25.1</sup>

25.1. There is a town in modern-day Bryan County named Caddo. To those familiar with the history of this area, the presence of such a name must seem a bit odd – sort of like a town in East Texas being named Navajo. The *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture* indicates the town was

[named for the nearby Caddo Hills, site of an 1808 battle between the Caddo and Choctaw, in a low range of hills two miles southeast of the town.](#)<sup>25.1.1</sup>

The author suspects a detailed history of the tribe in Indian Territory will probably determine that the area in the vicinity of the Caddo Hills was the home of the Shreveport Caddo band in the years following their migration to Oklahoma. Interestingly, one of the sources cited by the *Encyclopedia* was Cullberson’s “Indian Against Indian” article in the June 1929 *Chronicles of Oklahoma*. In the article, Cullberson, who apparently relied heavily on the personal recollections of Cornelius Jones (born in 1837), recounts how

[Some fifteen years after the Choctaws removed to this country they organized themselves, so as to rid their country forever of these horse stealers \[the Caddo\].](#)<sup>25.1.2</sup>

### Endnotes (cont.)

While the author's survey of the Oklahoma literature was admittedly superficial, no evidence was found for the Choctaw removing the Shreveport Caddo from their lands during the 1840s. In fact, as late as September 1851 Chickasaw Agent Harper in describing the Caddo in Indian Territory noted that

A portion of the tribe is among the Choctaws on Boggy, and I understand they are industrious, worthy people.<sup>25.1.3</sup>

More likely, based on the author's experience with recollections, the story recounted to Cullberson probably contains the seeds of the reason for the abandonment of Marcy's "old Caddo village" on Pennington Creek near Tishomingo.

25.1.1. Brimage, Lucille. "Caddo." *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*. Published online by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

25.1.2. Cullberson, James. "Indian Against Indian." *Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Vol. 7, No. 2 (June 1929). p. 165.

25.1.3. Harper, Kenton. Letter to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. September 22, 1851. *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881*. Chickasaw Agency. Roll 140. National Archives and Records Administration. Washington, DC.

26. Carter, Cecile Elkins. *Caddo Indians: Where We Come From*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. p. 356.



# REPORT ON THE 54TH ANNUAL CADDO CONFERENCE

*Jeffrey S. Girard*

On March 16 and 17, 2012, the 54<sup>th</sup> Annual Caddo Conference took place at Northwestern State University of Louisiana in Natchitoches. The conference was organized by Jeffrey Girard and Pete Gregory of Northwestern State University (NSU), with David Jeane of Springhill, Louisiana serving as program chair. Curtis Desselles of the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training operated the audiovisual equipment. Others who assisted with planning, facility use, and promotion at NSU included the Creole Heritage Center, the Friedman Student Union, the Department of Criminal Justice, History, and Social Science, the Native American Student Organization, and the Williamson Museum. A grant from the Cane River Heritage Area provided travel funds for the Caddo Culture Club.

A total of 83 people registered. The 25 presented papers represented each of the four states in the Caddo Area. Presentations were made regarding recent investigations at specific sites, analyses of stone and ceramic materials, and the history and literature of the Caddo people. Also on the agenda was a discussion session regarding Caddo Area - Lower Mississippi Valley interactions that greatly benefitted from the participation of Dr. Vincas Steponaitis of the University of North Carolina and Dr. Ian Brown of the University of Alabama. A business meeting of officers of the Caddo Conference Organization was held to discuss issues regarding membership dues, journal distribution, elections, and plans for next year's conference. The passing of one of the Caddo elders at the time of the conference resulted in cancellation of the traditional Caddo dance. Donations were provided to assist the family by the Cane River Heritage Area and the Caddo Conference Organization.

## 54<sup>th</sup> Annual Caddo Conference Schedule

### Thursday Evening (March 15) Welcoming Reception

(6-8 pm, Williamson Museum, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor, Kyser Hall, Building 81, see map)

### Friday Morning (March 16) Session

(Student Union, Building 77, see map)

- 8:00** Welcoming Remarks
- 9:00** Elsbeth Linn Dowd, *The Many Meanings of Buried Structure Mounds*
- 9:20** Simone Rowe, *From Middens to Mounds: Reconceptualizing Fourche Maline*
- 9:40** Scott W. Hammerstedt and Sheila Bobalik Savage, *Ceremonialism in the Neosho River Valley of Northeastern Oklahoma*
- 10:00** Stephanie M. Sullivan and Duncan P. McKinnon, *The Collins Mound Site: Exploring Architectural Variation within the Ozark Highland Region*
- 10:20** BREAK
- 10:40** Eric S. Albertson, *Archaeological Data Recovery at Site 3PL576: A Caddo Lithic Workshop in the Ouachita National Forest*

- 11:00** Amanda Regnier, Scott Hammerstedt, and Nicholas Beale, *Vacant Ceremonial Center or Teran Style Compound? Geophysical Survey of the Grobin Davis Mound Center, McCurtain County, Oklahoma*
- 11:20** John R. Samuelsen, *AMS and Radiocarbon Dating of the Crenshaw Site (3MI6)*
- 11:40** Anna Wieser, *Coring at Crenshaw (3MI6): Soil Science Applied to an Archaeological Site*
- 12:00** LUNCH

#### **Friday Afternoon Session**

- 1:20** Charles Allen, *Edible Plants of the Caddo in Louisiana*
- 1:40** Robert Brooks, *Implications for Agricultural Practices in Northeastern Oklahoma: A Sample of Chipped Stone Hoes from Mayes County*
- 2:00** Rachel Fauchier Tooman, *Applying Ceramic Petrography to Fourche Maline Pottery*
- 2:20** Ann M. Early, *Progress Report on the Documentation of Caddo Pottery in the Central Arkansas River Valley*
- 2:40** BREAK
- 3:00** Duncan P. McKinnon, *Zoomorphic Effigy Pendants: Style, Form, and Distribution*
- 3:20** Robert Z. Selden Jr., *Toward an Actualistic Petrofacies Model for the Angelina River Basin in East Texas*
- 3:40** Fred Tarpley, *Love Among the Caddo*
- 4:00** Guyneth Bedoka Cardwell, *Oral History Is the Traditional Form of Caddo History: The Poems I Have Created From Caddo Oral History Preserve Caddo Traditions for Future Generations*

#### **Saturday Morning (March 17) Session**

- 9:00** George Avery, *Five Management Projects at the Washington Square Site (41NA49) from 2008 to 2010*
- 9:20** Mary Beth Trubitt, *Hedges, a Late Caddo Mound Site on the Ouachita River*
- 9:40** C. Andrew Buchner, *The Foster Site (3LA27) Revisited*
- 10:00** Ross C. Fields, *Archeology of the Nadaco Caddo: the View from the Pine Tree Mound Site*
- 10:20** BREAK
- 11:00** Jim Tiller and Gang Gong, *The July 1, 1835 Caddo Land Cession*
- 11:20** Robert Caldwell, *Choctaw Come to the Caddo Homeland*
- 11:40** Ryan M. Seidemann, *Twenty-Plus Years from NAGPRA: What Have the States Done? - A Comparative Review of Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma Burial Site Protection Laws*
- 12:00** LUNCH

#### **Saturday Afternoon Session**

- 1:20** Vanessa N. Hanvey, Jessica R. Howe, Bob Scott, and Jami Lockhart, *The Borderlands Project: A Closer Look at the Transitional Zone between the Caddo and Mississippian Cultural Regions*
- 1:40** Vincas P. Steponaitis, John W. O'Hear, and Megan C. Kassabaum, *A New Look at Coles Creek Mounds and Ritual: Recent Excavations at Feltus*
- 2:00** Discussion: *Caddo and Lower Mississippi Valley Interaction*
- 3:30** Business Meeting

## 54<sup>th</sup> Annual Caddo Conference Abstracts

March 16-17, 2012

Northwestern State University of Louisiana

### **Archaeological Data Recovery at Site 3PL576: A Caddo Lithic Workshop in the Ouachita National Forest**

*Eric S. Albertson, Panamerican Consultants, Inc.*

Results of a 2011 archaeological data recovery at Site 3PL576 located in the Mena Ranger District, Ouachita National Forest are presented. Extensive excavations at the site revealed a large, intensively utilized, Caddo lithic workshop situated along a broad terrace above the Saline River in the Ouachita Mountains. Artifact recovery from the site was substantial, totaling over 40,000 individually counted lithic specimens. The assemblage contains a wide variety of chipped stone tool types and a large number of Caddo Period diagnostics.

### **Five Management Projects at the Washington Square Site (41NA49) from 2008 to 2010**

*George Avery, Stephen F. Austin State University*

Starting in 2008 through 2010, SFA was asked to conduct archaeological investigations associated with five management projects on the campus of Thomas J. Rusk Elementary School. Much on the campus is included within the boundaries of the Washington Square site (41NA49), known for a Middle Caddo mound complex. The archaeological investigations were required by the Antiquities Code of Texas which stipulates that such investigations must be part of any land disturbing activity on archaeological sites located on public land. The five projects summarized in this presentation include the installation of a fence line around the athletic field, a basketball court in the athletic field, a flagpole, a waterline trench, and three pergola shade structures. Most of the areas investigated were disturbed, but the excavation of the post holes around the athletic field suggests that intact deposits may be located beyond the southwestern boundary of the site as it is currently understood.

### **Implications for Agricultural Practices in Northeastern Oklahoma: A Sample of Chipped Stone Hoes from Mayes County**

*Robert Brooks, University of Oklahoma*

Not a great deal of attention has been focused on the evolution of agricultural practices in the prehistory of northeastern Oklahoma for a variety of historical and methodological reasons. This paper hopes to stimulate renewed interest in this research area by presentation of preliminary data on a sample of chipped stone hoes from four sites at Lake Hudson in Mayes County, Oklahoma. The context and attributes of these chipped stone items is presented as well as their implications for agricultural practices. Concluding comments address the need for greater focus on the study of agricultural practices in northeastern Oklahoma.

### **The Foster Site (3LA27) Revisited**

*C. Andrew Buchner, Panamerican Consultants, Inc.*

The Foster site is a large (48 ha) multi-component site in the heart of the Southern Caddo culture area that is probably best known for C.B. Moore's (1912:591-619) investigation of three mounds there that produced a treasure trove of Caddo mortuary goods. This paper reviews 2011 excavations at the site that were conducted as a part of a Corps of Engineers levee rehabilitation project. Work was conducted at three discrete loci within the site, and included a geophysical survey, formal excavation of sixteen 2-x-2 m units, and mechanized striping of 4,980 sq. m. In the core area of the site—adjacent to a Red River oxbow known as the 1927 Cutoff Lake—a deep, stratified midden was documented, and four round structures and two burials were identified. Approximately 1 km to the south, a Caddo farmstead was identified on the periphery of the village, and a complex set of features was documented there that includes four round structures and one burial. Excavations at the third loci revealed an intriguing mixture of early nineteenth century historic period artifacts with Native American artifacts.

### **Choctaw Come to the Caddo Homeland**

*Robert Caldwell, University of Texas at Arlington*

This paper considers Choctaw migrations into the Texas-Louisiana borderland region after the arrival of Euro-Americans and before 1821. Archival reports of these Choctaw incursions into Caddo homelands indicate a broad range of interactions including instances of cooperation and episodes of violence. An examination of these primary sources illuminates Caddo grievances brought to Indian agents and other Spanish and American leaders against unruly Choctaw behavior. This portrayal of Choctaw as “wild” Indians offers provocative contrast to the dominant Anglo-American narrative of the Choctaw as a “Civilized tribe.”

### **Oral History Is the Traditional Form of Caddo History: The Poems I Have Created From Caddo Oral History Preserve Caddo Traditions for Future Generations**

*Guyneth Bedoka Cardwell, Kadohadacho Historical Society*

What oral history means to the Caddo people. A history is essential to identity, which is essential for a future. The only people in the world who can adequately and appropriately represent the Caddo past are the Caddo people. As opposed to written history which is recorded, oral history is a history that is lived. An oral history will tell stories that the written record usually does not. It is dangerous and a sign of powerlessness to let an outsider tell you your history or culture. Oral history is as viable as any other history and it is more personal and meaningful to the Caddo. The poems I have created are from the voices of Caddo people. I am of the Fort Cobb Caddoes who lived by the fort in the early days. We were called the “kee whut nah sundah people” those who lived by the fort or soldiers. My poems tell about the “kee whut nah sundah people” and their life journey.

### **The Many Meanings of Buried Structure Mounds**

*Elsbeth Linn Dowd, University of Oklahoma*

Mound sites in the Caddo area have traditionally been interpreted as ceremonial centers, places where powerful leaders brought people together to conduct rituals and periodically work on mound construction projects. A great deal of diversity likely existed in the activities that lead to mound construction, however, and in the role that mound-building played in particular places. This paper explores diversity among buried structure mound sites in the Caddo area, focusing on two Ouachita Mountain sites: Woods and Biggham Creek.

### **Progress Report on the Documentation of Caddo Pottery in the Central Arkansas River Valley**

*Ann M. Early, Arkansas Archeological Survey*

During the last two years, teams from the Osage and Caddo Nations, the U. of A., and Survey staff have travelled to the National Museum of the American Indian, and to the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, to document pottery and other artifacts from the Central Arkansas River Valley. Most of these were reportedly from the Carden Bottoms area of Yell County. A small group attributable to Carden Bottoms in the LSU Museum collections was also documented, and we are now documenting the 500+ companion vessels in the U of Arkansas collection. Our database is currently over 700 vessels, and will top 1000 items when this phase of the project is done. A small proportion of these vessels can be classified as Caddo, and they are a narrow range of types. They show a narrow range of time and geographic source information.

### **Archeology of the Nadaco Caddo: the View from the Pine Tree Mound Site**

*Ross C. Fields, Prewitt and Associates, Inc.*

This paper summarizes what we learned from excavations in 2004 and 2006–2007 at the Pine Tree Mound site, a mound complex with surrounding village, in Harrison County, Texas. These excavations documented the archeology and history of a community of Caddo Indians whose homeland was in the Potters

Creek valley of the middle Sabine River basin, starting in the A.D. 1300s and continuing till at least the mid-1600s, and perhaps through most of the 1700s. This community was first documented, as the Nondacao province, by the remnants of the Hernando de Soto expedition in 1542. This group was known as the Nadaco Caddo by the eighteenth century, and we equate the Pine Tree Mound community with the home territory of that group, the descendants of which live in Oklahoma today.

### **Ceremonialism in the Neosho River Valley of Northeastern Oklahoma**

*Scott W. Hammerstedt and Sheila Bobalik Savage, University of Oklahoma*

Mound sites in eastern Oklahoma have been largely neglected in the archaeological literature. Here we discuss the Reed site, a multiple mound site located in the Neosho/Grand River valley in northeastern Oklahoma. Reed was excavated by the WPA ahead of inundation created by the Grand River Dam in the 1940s but has not yet been fully analyzed. Recent collections work has identified numerous ceremonial items, including sheet copper, copper-covered earspools, and ceramic vessels (both local and imported).

### **The Borderlands Project: A Closer Look at the Transitional Zone between the Caddo and Mississippian Cultural Regions**

*Vanessa N. Hanvey, Jessica R. Howe, Bob Scott, and Jami Lockhart, Arkansas Archeological Survey*

The eastern boundary of the Caddo cultural region has yet to be fully defined. This boundary serves as a transition zone between Caddo and Mississippian cultures, and little is known about this area. This borderland roughly lies along the Saline River valley, which happens to be in the Arkansas Archeological Survey HSU, UAM, and Magnolia Research Station territories. The Borderlands Project is an ongoing effort between the three stations to gain more information on the sites in this region, with the future goal of better understanding the eastern boundary or transition zone between Caddo and Mississippian cultural regions. In this paper, we will give an update on the Borderlands Project. We will discuss the nature of the sites within the region, our current work, and what we hope to accomplish in the future.

### **Zoomorphic Effigy Pendants: Style, Form, and Distribution**

*Duncan P. McKinnon, University of Arkansas*

Zoomorphic effigy pendants made from mussel and conch columella shell, bone, and various types of stone have been recorded at sites along the Red River in southwest Arkansas and northwest Louisiana and along the Black Bayou, Big Cypress, and upper Sabine River basins in east Texas. This paper explores characteristics of the style and form of two artistic categories and how these categories differentially manifest across the Caddo landscape. Results reveal north-south heterogeneity in style and form, suggesting underlying spatial-cultural rules or traditions related to the creation of these intricate and fabulously crafted pendants.

### **Vacant Ceremonial Center or Teran Style Compound? Geophysical Survey of the Grobin Davis Mound Center, McCurtain County, Oklahoma**

*Amanda Regnier, Scott Hammerstedt, and Nicholas Beale, University of Oklahoma*

Of all the recorded Caddo mound sites in southeast Oklahoma, the Grobin Davis site (34Mc253) is probably the best preserved. Unlike many sites in the region, the seven mounds at Grobin Davis, have not been disturbed significantly by looters. Limited archaeological testing conducted in the early 1980s revealed information about the nature of the mounds and suggested the presence of discrete areas of midden deposition. During the winter of 2011/2012, geophysical survey was conducted at the site in order to better understand off-mound occupations. Results and implications about the nature of Caddo mound centers in southeast Oklahoma will be presented.

### **From Middens to Mounds: Reconceptualizing Fourche Maline**

*Simone Rowe, University of Oklahoma*

The “black midden” mounds of southeastern Oklahoma contain a wealth of artifacts, faunal remains, and burials. Despite the high concentration of burials in these mounds, they are routinely referred to as middens, or midden mounds. How is it that these Fourche Maline mounds with hundreds of burials and associated grave goods are dismissed as trash heaps? I argue that conceiving of these mounds as middens instead of burial mounds is not only disrespectful and inaccurate, but actually hinders analyses and understanding. I suggest alternative theoretical approaches and offer suggestions for future analyses.

### **AMS and Radiocarbon Dating of the Crenshaw Site (3MI6)**

*John R. Samuelsen, University of Arkansas*

The Arkansas Archeological Survey submitted 26 samples from the Crenshaw site, in Miller County, Arkansas, to be AMS radiocarbon dated in 2010. These dates supplement the 12 standard radiocarbon dates taken in 1969. This total of 38 dates makes the Crenshaw site the most dated site in the state. The results reveal that the skull and mandible deposits in the West Skull Area and the North Skull Area date to the middle to late A.D. 1200s. The skull deposit referred to as the “Rayburn Cluster,” date to sometime in the A.D. 1300s. The antler temple is shown to date earlier than these deposits, dating to around A.D. 1190. The mass grave below Mound F is shown to date most securely in the A.D. 900s, suggesting that the end of the Crenshaw phase (A.D. 700-900) and the start of the Lost Prairie (A.D. 900-1200) phase should be extended to A.D. 1000. The results suggest that the skull and mandible deposits are separate in time from the antler temple and therefore may represent a later practice. These dates firmly establish that the Crenshaw site was being heavily used during the Haley phase (A.D. 1200-1400), at least for burial purposes, and that the site was not abandoned prior to roughly A.D. 1400.

### **Twenty-Plus Years from NAGPRA: What have the State Done? A Comparative Review of Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma Burial Site Protection Laws**

*Ryan M. Seidemann, Louisiana Department of Justice, Southern University Law Center*

We are now in the third decade since the enactment of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). That federal law has garnered much attention and comparatively little application over the past two decades. Perhaps more important is what the states have done as a reaction to NAGPRA. This presentation reviews the state-level human burial sites protection laws of Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma to assess how those states handle human remains and to understand what impacts (if any) NAGPRA has had on those states’ perspectives.

### **Toward an Actualistic Petrofacies Model for the Angelina River Basin in East Texas**

*Robert Z. Selden Jr., Texas A&M University*

Ceramic provenance studies remain the basis of worldwide archaeological research concerned with reconstructing exchange networks, tracing migrations, and informing upon ceramic economy. Unfortunately, archaeology in Texas has been plagued with an inability to trace ceramic production sources to the same extent that researchers have within other regions of North America. Ceramic petrofacies models have been employed successfully within the archaeological contexts of the San Pedro Valley, Tonto basin, Tucson basin, Agua Fria, and Gila and Phoenix basins in Arizona, but have not yet been employed east of New Mexico. Data resulting from the construction of an actualistic petrofacies model in East Texas could provide the necessary foundation for archaeologists to begin expanding upon the current dialogue regarding the provenance of ceramic vessels utilized by the prehistoric Woodland and Caddo populations. The goal of this effort is to (1) test the viability of constructing a petrofacies model in the Angelina River basin, and (2) explore the degree to which correlations

may be made between the model and prehistoric ceramics from local excavations. This presentation focuses upon the development of a predictive petrofacies model based upon zones of variable geologic composition that inform the current sampling strategy.

### **A New Look at Coles Creek Mounds and Ritual: Recent Excavations at Feltus**

*Vincas P. Steponaitis, UNC-Chapel Hill, John W. O'Hear, University of Mississippi, and Megan C. Kassabaum, UNC-Chapel Hill*

Three seasons of excavations at the Feltus mounds (22Je500) in Jefferson County, Mississippi have focused on Coles Creek mound building and ritual in the period AD 700-1100. The four mounds at Feltus appear to have very different histories and uses: Mound A has no clear evidence of summit structures and was built in two massive stages; Mound B was built in multiple, smaller stages, with evidence of structures and burning on top; and Mounds C and D were used for burials. Our excavations have also found evidence of large free-standing posts, massive borrow areas later re-filled, and public feasts.

### **The Collins Mound Site: Exploring Architectural Variation within the Ozark Highland Region**

*Stephanie M. Sullivan and Duncan P. McKinnon, University of Arkansas*

Little is understood regarding architectural variation within the Ozark Highland region, although some investigations have been conducted throughout the region. A site that has received renewed attention is Collins Mound (3WA1), a possible Early and Middle (ca. AD 900-1400) multi-mound site on the White River in Elkins, Arkansas. A geophysical survey at Mounds B, C, and surrounding area offer a preliminary distributional view of architectural features, such as mound top enclosures and off-mound rectangular and circular structures. Results from this survey offer a first glimpse of architectural distribution and variation at a multi-mound site in the Ozark Highland region.

### **Love Among the Caddo**

*Fred Tarpley, Texas A&M University-Commerce*

I am founder of the twenty-seven-year-old Commerce Bois d'Arc Bash, earning Commerce the Texas legislature designation of Bois d'Arc Capital of Texas and old the office of prime minister, the only place in the world where the tree still grows in a small natural habitat. The Bois d'Arc Bash is held in Commerce on the third weekend in September, and the region has become a center for bois d'arc crafts. This story researches the Spiro Mounds of Oklahoma and the Sander Site at the mouth of Bois d'Arc Creek on Red River. The effort to portrait Caddo life in 1450 A.D. is based on information from history and archeology, visits to the Sanders Site site, and the Spiro Papers at Oklahoma University to create an understand of the lifestyle of bois d'arc traders during the late Mississippian trade period.

### **The July 1, 1835 Caddo Land Cession**

*Jim Tiller and Gang Gong, Sam Houston State University*

In this paper we will present a case that, *from the Caddo perspective of the mid-1830s*, the tribe knew *exactly* what they *intended* to sell the United States, and that ultimately the *per-acre* price paid to them was *greater* than they proposed to the treaty negotiator. Certainly in hindsight the Caddo got the short end of the stick, but in terms of conditions on the ground at the time, period materials suggest that the deal made was fair, reasonable and clearly desired by both sides.

### **Applying Ceramic Petrography to Fourche Maline Pottery**

*Rachel Fauchier Tooman, University of Arkansas*

Thin section analysis of ceramic materials (ceramic petrography) is a useful technique in which to investigate questions on pottery provenience, foreign versus local pottery, clay sourcing, and temper and paste recipes. While this method of analysis has been used quite frequently in Europe and the Classical World, Southeastern archaeologists have only recently integrated ceramic petrography into their research plans. This paper will discuss briefly how petrographic results have informed Southeastern archaeological research and how this method has been applied to the Caddo area. A research design will then be presented that outlines how ceramic petrography can be used on a collection of Fourche Maline pottery sherds.

### **Hedges, a Late Caddo Mound Site on the Ouachita River**

*Mary Beth Trubitt, Arkansas Archeological Survey*

The Social Hill phase (A.D. 1500-1650) was a time of intensive Caddo habitation in Arkansas's Ouachita River valley as well as increased interactions with outsiders. The phase was defined based partly on the Hedges site, where burned buildings and midden deposits were uncovered next to the main mound in 1970s excavations. As part of a fresh analysis, we obtained a new radiocarbon date from Hedges that provides us with one of the few absolute dates on the Social Hill phase. In this talk, I review the context for this date and the characteristics of the associated ceramic assemblage, and draw comparisons with contemporaneous sites in the region.

### **Coring at Crenshaw (3MI6): Soil Science Applied to an Archaeological Site**

*Anna Wieser, University of Kansas*

Soil science and geomorphologic studies have been applied to archaeological research throughout the Southeastern United States but few specifically to Caddo sites. These studies complement traditional methods of excavation and environmental research by establishing the depositional environment and post-deposition soil forming factors that embody the context of the archaeological deposits. This paper reviews such work accomplished at other sites in the Southeastern U.S. and presents preliminary results from a recent coring project at the archaeological site of Crenshaw (3MI6).



## 2012 CADDO CULTURE CLUB ACTIVITIES REPORT



*Michael Meeks II*

**Caddo Culture Club Vice-Chairman**

*Founded in 1988, the Caddo Culture Club is a non-profit organization devoted to the preservation of Caddo tribal songs and dances. The Caddo Culture Club was the first known group established to help preserve the songs and dances of the Caddo Indians. The Culture Club finds it very humbling being able to perform the very songs and dances that their ancestors once performed. Over the course of a year, the Caddo Culture Club travels to different parts of Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana (the original homelands of the Caddo people) to perform for the general public. The following are the different events and functions that the Caddo Culture Club has performed at in the past year.*

### **54th Annual Caddo Conference**

Every year, the Caddo Culture Club is invited to perform at the annual Caddo Conference event. This past year, the event was held on the Northwestern State University campus in Natchitoches, LA. This year, the Caddo Culture Club was unable to attend the event due to the death of Mrs. Sharon Silago. Mrs. Silago was an avid member of the Caddo Culture Club and she always enjoyed attending different Caddo events and activities. The Caddo Culture Club would like to thank the Caddo Conference Organization for their support during this tough time. Mrs. Silago will be greatly missed by all who knew her.

### **Annual Red Earth Festival**

At the 2012 Red Earth Festival, the Caddo Culture Club was able to perform many traditional Caddo songs and dances for the hundreds of people in attendances. Some of the dances that were performed were the Duck Dance, Stirrup Dances, and Bell Dance. A demonstration of the Turkey Dance, a sacred dance of the Caddo people, was also performed.

### **20th Annual Caddo Culture Club Dance**

On Friday and Saturday, June 1-16, 2012, the Caddo Culture Club held their 20th annual dance at the Caddo Nation dance grounds. On the first night, the club performed many Caddo tribal social dances such as the Fish Dance, Duck Dance, Swing Dance, and Bear Dance. Saturday's portion of the dance began in the early morning with a flag raising ceremony. The Caddo Culture Club sang the Flag Song while the flag of the late Buntin Williams was raised. The dance then began in the late afternoon with the Caddo Culture Club performing the Turkey Dance, a sacred dance of the Caddo people. After the Turkey Dance, there was a short supper break. The Club then performed many social dances followed by stomp dancing. Invited guests at this year's dance were the Delaware performers from Bartlesville, OK. The invited drum group was Max "Hooley" Watan and Red Moon Drum.

### **Murrow's Annual Dance**

The Caddo Culture Club had the opportunity to co-host this annual event. The Caddo Culture Club sang many traditional and social dances throughout the dance, while fellow co-hosts, the O-Ha-Ma Lodge performed traditional war dancing.

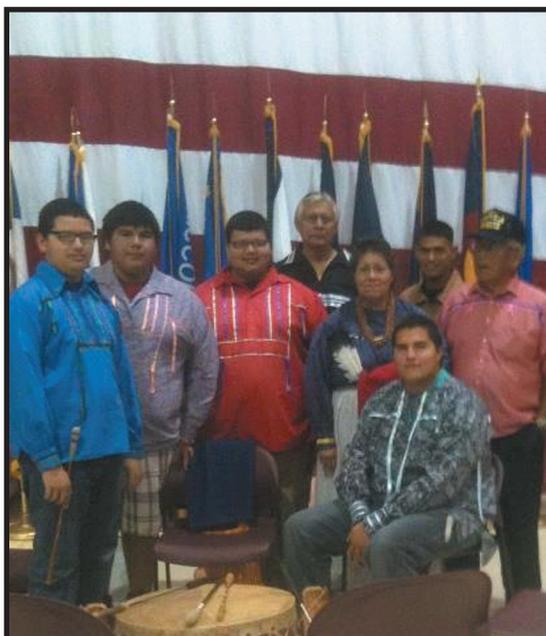


**81st Annual American Indian Exposition**

The Caddo Culture Club was honored to take part in the Indian Expo's annual opening and closing parades. The Caddo Culture Club performed different social dances throughout the parade and placed second in the Performance Group Category.

**Caddo Culture Club Benefit Dance**

In late September, the Caddo Culture Club held a benefit dance to help honor the men and women who have devoted themselves to serving our country. There were a large number of veterans in attendance, all of whom were honored by the Club. The Caddo Nation Elder program was also honored. The Club also held a Men's Straight Dance contest in which the winner was given \$300.00 and runner up was given \$200.00.



**Diversity Luncheon at Tinker Air Force Base**

In September, the Caddo Culture Club had the honor of performing at a Diversity Luncheon held for Strategic Communications Wing 1 on Tinker Air Force Base. The event was held to help promote cultural awareness. There were many groups invited to perform at the event and the Caddo Culture Club was the only Native American group invited to perform.

### Annual Caddo Culture Day at Caddo Mounds Historic Site

Every year, the Caddo Mounds Historic Site holds a “Caddo Culture Day” to honor the traditions and archeology of the Caddo Indians. Despite the gloomy weather, the Caddo Culture Club was able to perform many different traditional and social dances for the interested general public that attended the event.



### 22nd Annual Caddo Adais Powwow

Once a year, the Caddo tribe is invited to travel to Robeline, LA to come together with a band of Caddoes known as the Adais to perform different traditional and social dances. This year, many different dances were performed such as the Fish Dance, Bear Dance, and Round Dance. Also sung were different tribal and honor dances to honor different individuals.

### 3rd Annual Blanket/Toy Drive

Every year, the Caddo Culture Club holds a Toy/Blanket Drive in which the toys that are collected are given to the OU Children’s Hospital and the blankets are given to our local nursing home. The Culture Club finds it a humbling experience of being able to help give to those who are not able to be home for the holiday season. This year, the Caddo Culture Club collected over \$150 worth of toys and enough blankets to provide each nursing home resident with their own blanket.



### Fundraisers & Practice Sessions

Throughout the year, when the Culture Club isn't performing at different functions, they schedule different practice sessions to help refresh their memory of the Caddo songs and dances. Since the Caddo Culture Club is a non-profit organization, it also tries to have different fundraiser to help offset the costs of different things whenever they travel such as fuel for cars, hotel rooms, etc.



### Discs from Tony Isaac

In September of last year, the Caddo Culture Club received a collection of CDs from Mr. Tony Isaac and they all contain different types of Caddo songs such as traditional songs, social dance songs, and various family songs. There are only a limited number of these discs in existence and the Caddo Culture Club is very lucky to have a collection of these discs and the Club would like to thank Mr. Isaac for his generous contribution!

*The Caddo Culture Club holds meetings on the first and third Thursdays of each month to discuss upcoming events and activities and to practice Caddo singing and dancing. Our officers are: Travis Threlkeld, Chairman; Michael Meeks II, Vice-Chairman; Charlene Wright, Treasurer; LaRisha Wabaunasee, Secretary. Our contact information is: P.O Box 231 Binger, OK 73009 and our email address is CaddoCultureClub@yahoo.com. We also have a page on Facebook.*

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