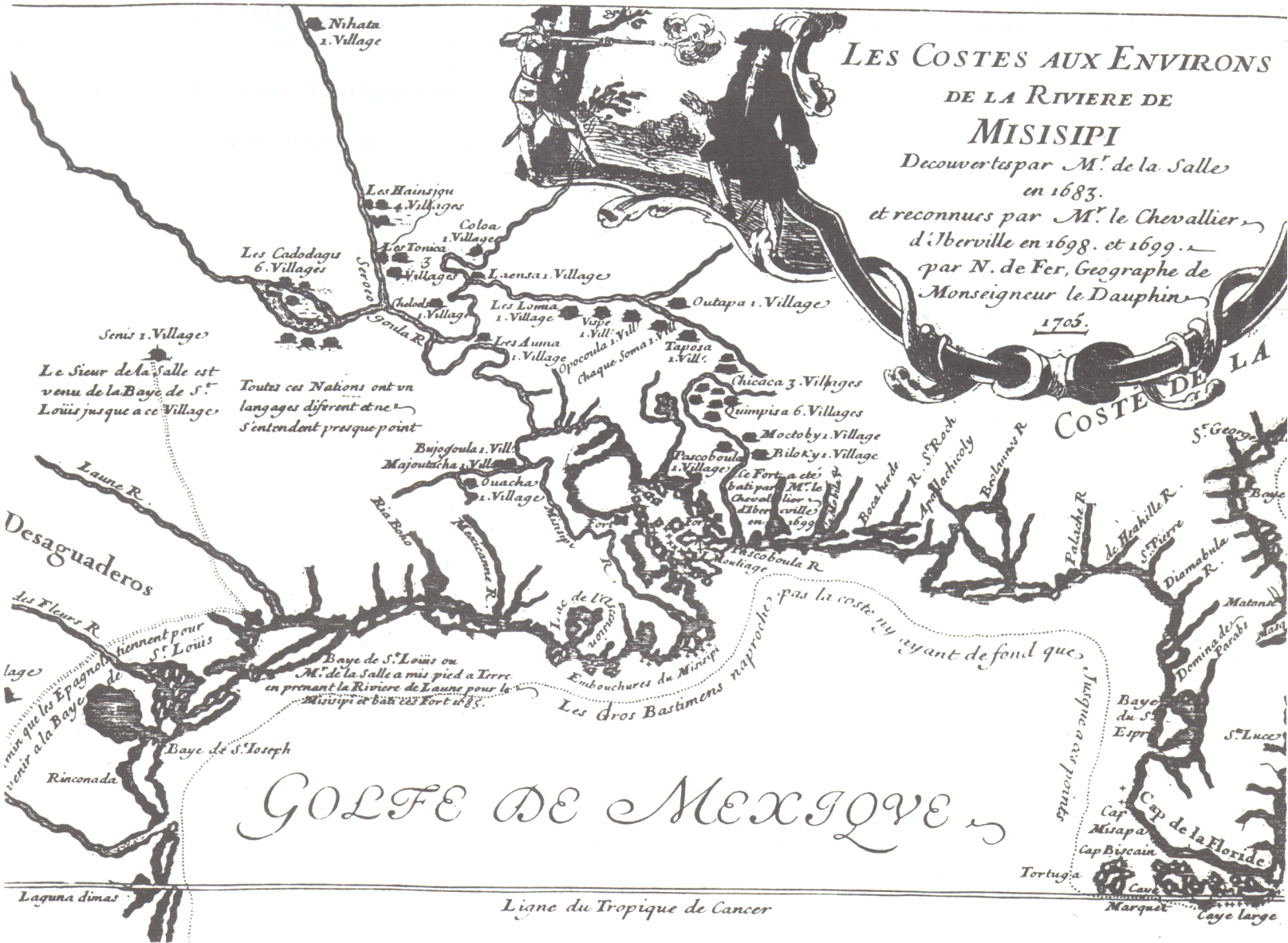


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Les Costes Aux Environs de la Riviere de Misissipi. Decouvertes par M. de la Salle en 1683 et reconnues par M. le Chevallier d'Iberville en 1698 et 1699, par N. de Fer, Geographe de Monseigneur le Dauphin [1705]

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Native American Integration in 19th Century Anglo-American Society: An Archaeological Perspective from Northeastern Texas

Frank Winchell and David H. Jurney

This paper will examine the phenomenon of Native American-Anglo-American integration on the frontier of Northeastern Texas during the 19th century. First, a brief overview of the historic setting will be presented on where and how this integration took place and who were the primary players. Second, we discuss the material cultural manifestations of this interaction, and what problems it presents for interpreting the archaeological record. Finally, we conclude that what have been previously described and defined as typical 19th century Anglo-American frontier homesteads of Northeastern Texas warrant a different interpretive perspective, and in fact, many of these "typical" first wave pioneer Anglo-American homesteads may actually represent mestizo occupations.

Background

Other than the ephemeral traces of the colonial Spanish and French, the period of historic settlement in Northeastern Texas began with the simultaneous arrival of immigrant Native Americans and Anglo-Americans--the majority of whom emigrated originally from the southeastern United States. The culture area of Northeastern Texas is defined by the lands which were traditionally inhabited by tribes affiliated with the Kadohadacho (comprising the Kadohadacho, Nasoni, Upper Natchitoches, and Nadzoos [Nanatsoho]) who were located within the Red River Valley (see Hidalgo 1716; Newcomb 1974:25).

The first legitimate immigrant group to settle the lands south of the Red River in Northeastern Texas were the Cherokee (invited by the Caddo and sanctioned by the Spanish authorities) who entered the former Kadohadacho territories in 1819 and briefly established a camp in the area called Three Forks of the Trinity close to what is now Dallas, Texas (Starr 1917; Clarke 1971:14). Before long, they were driven off by an unknown group of Indians (probably the Osage) and were compelled to settle near Nacogdoches in East Texas where they established a permanent settlement north of the town between the Sabine (to the north), Neches (to the west), Angelina (to the east), and the Old San Antonio Road (to the south) (Starr 1917:179). The Cherokee lived there for some twenty years, adjacent to Hasinai Caddo tribes and the Alabama-Koasati Creek, until they were forced out by the Anglo-Americans in 1839 (Clarke 1971:94-111).

Hot on the trails of the migrant Cherokees, and other immigrant Indians from the southeastern United States, were the Anglo-Americans who quickly filtered into Northeastern Texas as early as 1817, and established the first permanent settlements

Oklahoma and Texas (Strickland 1937; Jordan 1981:86-87). These early Anglo-American settlements in Northeastern Texas were known as the "Red River Settlements" and were considered by the Spanish government as illegal encroachments into sovereign territory. Conversely, by 1830 many Anglo-Americans living on the north side of the Red River were forced by the United States government to move south of the river on the basis that they were illegally occupying established Choctaw lands in Indian Territory (Jordan 1981:87).

On the north side of the Red River lived the five so-called "Civilized Tribes", who were considered civilized because they were fully assimilated homesteaders of the American frontier who were governed by native bicameral legislatures, lived in log-framed houses, and practiced agriculture. The five civilized tribes (who had settled parts of Indian Territory by the first quarter of the 19th century) consisted of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole (Doran 1976:47).

In the initial years of joint settlement by both the immigrant Native Americans and Anglo-Americans in Northeastern Texas, it is noteworthy to examine the state of affairs between these various groups in a letter written by the Indian agent John Jamison to the Secretary of War from Natchitoches, Louisiana on May 10, 1817. Essentially, Jamison wrote about a trip he took up the Red River from Natchitoches where at Pecan Point (situated on the Texas side in present-day Red River county) he encountered " a number of [Anglo-American] families squatting on Caddo land" (Carter 1951:302-303). On his return trip down river from Pecan Point, he remarks that there were also villages of Cherokee, Delaware, and Koasati on the Red River. The contingent of Cherokees encountered by Jamison were probably the ones who had entered Northeastern Texas and camped at the Three Forks of the Trinity. Furthermore, Jamison mentions that the Caddo, Choctaw, Cherokee, and Koasati were all at war with the Osage. Less than a year later on January 13, 1818, the explorer Thomas A. Long stated that the Caddo as a group had "dwindled to a mere handful" and lived "on the south side of the Red River" (Carter 1953:4-5).

During the initial period of settlement in Northeastern Texas, somewhere between 1817 and 1860, both the Native Americans and the Anglo-Americans shared a very similar economic base revolving around the herding of cattle (Doran 1976; Jordan 1981:86-102). As pointed out below, the archaeological vestiges of the particular economic pattern would likely fail to show the differences between a Native American or Anglo-American occupation, except for occasional subtle clues. Furthermore, it is possible that some (if not many) of these initial settlements shared both Anglo-American and Native American elements.

Native American and Anglo-American Cattle Herders

Lands north of the Pineywoods in East Texas (which prior to 1839 were jointly inhabited by the Cherokee, the Alabama-Koasati Creek, and the Anglo-Americans) were dominated by a mosaic of riparian hardwood forests and fertile tall grass prairies that were conducive to the grazing of cattle (Jordan 1981:83-87). These lands along the Red, Sulphur, and Upper Trinity River basins attracted both immigrant Native Americans and southeastern Anglo-American cattle herders who had developed a highly efficient practice of frontier animal husbandry based on the open range herding of semi-feral cattle and pigs (Jordan 1969, 1981; Doran 1976:51-53). This economic base was established in the late 17th and early 18th century in the southeastern United States and was characterized by (quoted from Jordan 1969:71):

- 1) "large numbers of cattle,
- 2) open-range herding, branding, and round ups,
- 3) overland driving to market,
- 4) unimproved breeds of cattle,
- 5) extensive land use by cattle herders,
- 6) employment of labor beyond the family unit,
- 7) herd supervision from horseback, [and]
- 8) generally secondary importance of cropping".

By the 1830s, this economic base was fully transplanted by Native Americans living in Indian Territory. Prior to the Civil War they were exporting their herds to markets all over the Midwest (such as Indiana, Missouri, and Illinois) and even as far as California (Doran 1976:52-54). Of the five civilized tribes, the Choctaw and Chickasaw were herding cattle on the Oklahoma side of the Red River at this time (Doran 1976:52). It is of no small coincidence that both Anglo-Americans and Native Americans were both settling the same lands in Southeastern Oklahoma and Texas. This can be attributed to the fact that they were inexorably involved within the same socio-economic tradition, and were part of the same frontier cultural process. It is of no small consequence that the early history of Northeastern Texas just prior to, and after the Texas War for Independence, revolved around a struggle for land between two different ethnic groups of equal economic status.

The Mestizo Phenomenon

The clear cultural dichotomy between Native American and Anglo-American cattle herding societies is clouded by the fact that there was considerable physical integration between the two social groups, and for lack of a better word, this interaction can be termed as "the mestizo phenomenon". The mestizo phenomenon is a result of the intermarriage

both Northeastern Texas and Southeastern Oklahoma was unquestionably high along the frontier zone on either side of the Red River (see Jordan 1981:100; Doran 1976:56-57); this is not surprising given the close proximity of both Native Americans and Anglo-Americans that were part of the same economic system. It is significant to note, however, that mestizos in general were widely accepted within Native American societies living on the frontier (see Starr 1917), while on the other hand, it was less acceptable to be recognized as a mestizo in 19th century Anglo-American society; this latter fact has probably masked the true extent of Anglo-American miscegenation in the frontier regions.

A glimpse of this mestizo phenomenon in Northeastern Texas can be noted in one of the life histories of an Anglo-American cattle herder by the name of Kendall Lewis. Lewis was originally a native of Maryland and had "migrated to Georgia" as a boy in 1790 (Jordan 1981:101). From Georgia, he fled "as an outlaw to the Creek Indian Nation in Alabama and became a Creek citizen and married a woman from that tribe" (Ibid.). Lewis then moved "to Oklahoma with his adopted people in 1828 but was not allowed to have title to the land there" (Jordan 1981:101). In 1835, "he moved across the Red River into [Northeastern] Texas and settled a land grant near Prairie Branch in what is now...Titus County, Texas". Once established in Texas, Lewis's family prospered, and his cattle herd increased from 75 to 320 head between the years 1838 to 1844 (Texas Tax lists for Red River County 1834-1844 from Jordan 1981:101).

Unfortunately, the degree of intermarriage between Native Americans and Anglo-Americans is not very well documented in Northeastern Texas during the 19th century, nor is there any information on how the different cultures influenced one another. Nevertheless, archival information such as that cited above has proven to be quite insightful on the subject of integration between Native American and Anglo-American herders.

The Archaeological Record

The remainder of this paper will examine several archaeological sites in Northeastern Texas that appear to reflect the mestizo phenomenon resulting from the interaction of Native Americans and Anglo-Americans. The three examples given below will demonstrate the complexity of the archaeological record during this period of Native American-Anglo-American integration.

The Eldridge Bottoms Site (41FT89)

The Eldridge Bottoms site is located in Freestone County approximately nine miles east of Lake Limestone. This site represents the remains of a 1850-1870 homestead located on a

promontory overlooking a small east-running tributary of the Trinity River called Silver Creek (Jurney 1992).

For all intents and purposes, the material culture of this site is totally Anglo-American in content. The archival records, however, show otherwise. This particular 19th century homestead was inhabited by Eldridge and Eliza Bottoms and their six children (Jurney 1992). Eldridge Bottoms was a 3/4 Native American of Choctaw and Ouachata descent. His wife Eliza was a full-blooded Anglo-American. Sometime prior to 1840, Bottoms left his ancestral lands and traveled west across the Mississippi River into Indian Territory. Bottoms probably left Indian Territory and crossed into Northeastern Texas sometime between 1840 and 1850. It appears that he resided for a short time in Cherokee County (the former lands of the Texas Cherokee) and then moved to Freestone County during the 1850s. There, he married Eliza Self and had six children. Eldridge Bottoms died in 1868; there are over 30 descendants living today who claim ancestry to the Eldridge Bottoms family (Jurney 1992).

The Robert Hanna Site (41DT126)

The Robert Hanna site is located in Delta County, Texas along the South Sulphur River, about 100 miles north of the Eldridge Bottoms site. This site represents a 19th century homestead that was probably occupied by the first recorded landowners sometime between 1840 and 1893.

At first glance, this site also appears to represent a typical Anglo-American homestead. However, upon closer examination, this site has yielded some artifacts of peculiar character. In a pit-like feature on this site, four partial aboriginal earthenware pots were found *in situ* as part of what was first believed to be a disturbed prehistoric Caddoan burial. In association with these broken pots were the fragments of three partial historic artifacts consisting of a flow-blue transitional ironstone plate, a blue-green whiskey flask, and a polychrome transfer print transitional ironstone tea cup. The aboriginal pots displayed obvious signs of post-breakage firing, which could only have occurred when the broken pots were exposed to an open fire. In addition, practically all of the artifacts (both European and aboriginal) within this feature were large pieces, significantly larger than any of the artifacts outside the feature which seemed to represent typical historic sheet refuse. All of this evidence strongly suggested that the aboriginal pots were not: (1) associated with a burial, and (2) that the historic European artifacts were deposited in the pit-like feature (probably a trash pit) at roughly the same time. The historic artifacts found within the pit can be tightly bracketed between 1825 and 1850 with a *terminus post quem* being prior to 1855

The aboriginal vessels in the feature (three of which were carinated) seemed to be no different from other Caddo pots recovered from prehistoric occupations in Northeastern Texas, except for one factor. One of the partial aboriginal pots had punctation marks unlike any known punctated decorations related to Caddo ceramics. Indeed, the punctated designs noted on the aboriginal vessel at the Robert Hanna site were produced by a pinpoint-like stylus, something akin to a metal pin. Furthermore, the pinpoint punctated design on this particular vessel is nothing like any other known Caddo decorative motif. Given these data, it may be speculated that the aboriginal vessels from the trash pit are not prehistoric in age but are possibly historic in age, perhaps also dating to the 1825-1850 period.

Currently, there is very little information available about historic aboriginal potters from east of the Mississippi Valley who continued to produce traditional vessels during the early settlement period in both Texas and Oklahoma. Many of us are just beginning to realize that there are a whole host of historic Native American ceramics which we know little about and still do not always recognize them as such in the archaeological record. Therefore, it is possible that the mysterious pit-like feature at the Robert Hanna site may be associated with another example of an integrated Native American and Anglo-American homestead. To date, there is no archival data to support the contention that a Native American was residing at the Robert Hanna homestead. Nevertheless, it is plausible that someone at this particular homestead was still making traditional, historic aboriginal pottery.

The Sinclair Cemetery (41DT105)

The last site which we will briefly touch upon represents a small multi-family historic 19th century Anglo-American cemetery located in Delta County (not far from the Robert Hanna site) along the Old Jefferson to Bonham road. This site consists of 16 graves, most of which were 1850s-1880s burials with hexagonal wood coffins. Overall, these burials reveal the typical pre-railroad burial material culture and customs of Anglo-American inhumations. Nevertheless, the dentition from the biological remains suggests that some of the individuals buried at the Sinclair Cemetery were mestizo, that is of a "genetic admixture" between Anglo-American Europeans and Native Americans (Winchell and Rose 1990:13-10). Indeed, Mongoloid traits (suggestive of Native American genetic affiliation) such as shovel-shaped incisors, protostylids, maxillary Cusps 5, and mandibular Cusps 6 and 7 (Hanihara 1969) were present in the dentition of many individuals interred there (Winchell and Rose 1990:13-3).

At this particular cemetery, there were no artifacts of Native American origin, suggesting that the individuals were fully assimilated into a typical Anglo-American society

question of whether we are dealing with anglicized Native Americans, or indianized Anglo-Americans living along the frontier in Northeastern Texas. The overriding conclusion is that we are dealing with both in varying shades of gray.

Conclusions

To conclude, we believe that the 19th century frontier region of Northeastern Texas cannot be solely described as an Anglo-American phenomenon. The reality is that this particular region was inhabited by both immigrant Native Americans and Anglo-Americans who were interacting and participating as frontiersmen within the same economic system. Indeed, the three 19th century sites discussed above reveal this integrative process.

It should be pointed out that the identification of these particular kinds of sites in Northeastern Texas and elsewhere is not an easy task for archaeologists, and may suggest that we have underestimated the magnitude of this integrative process between Native Americans and Anglo-Americans. In Northeastern Texas, the three sites used as examples in this discussion actually represents the tail end of this process (ending shortly after the Civil War), further suggesting that many historic sites dating prior to the 1840s may show even stronger characteristics of the integration between Native Americans and Anglo-Americans.

Acknowledgements

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RECENT CONFERENCES

STAR OF THE REPUBLIC MUSEUM

The Star of the Republic Museum held a symposium entitled "Sorrow Whispers in the Winds: Native Americans and the Republic" on September 26, 1992. The symposium's purpose was to create the opportunity for experts, scholars, and Native Americans to discuss the interactions of Indian and Anglo-American settlers during the 1830s and 1840s in Texas; a period of assimilation, accomodation, as well as conflict. The speakers addressed the "acculturation experience" of Texas Native Americans in the Texas Republic period, and examined its impact on contemporary Texas Indians. Papers presented in the symposium included:

- David Edmunds (Indiana University)--Native American Pilgrims: Indian Exiles in Texas
- Helen Tanner (The Newberry Library)--The Caddo People and the Texas Republic
- H. Allen Anderson (Lubbock, Texas)--The Delaware and Shawnee Indians and the Republic of Texas, 1820-1845
- Dianna Everett (Everett Research & Editorial Services)--The Cherokee in Texas
- Dan Flores (University of Montana)--Prairie Dialectic: The Environment and the Texas Plains Indians, 1835-1845
- Michael Tate (University of Nebraska)--People between Two Worlds: Acculturation Patterns of Texas Captives
- Gary Anderson (University of Oklahoma)--The Texas Indians: An Overview
- Richard Schott (Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs)--Native Americans in Texas: Perspectives on the Present

UPCOMING CONFERENCES

The British Museum

The British Museum is holding a conference on "Trade and Discovery": The Scientific Study of Artefacts from Post-Medieval Europe and Beyond on November 12-14, 1992 in London. The preliminary program indicates that several papers will be presented there that consider topics of cultural and technological change relevant to understanding the Historic period in North America (and the Caddoan Area). For example, Kathleen Deagan et al. will be presenting "The first European artifacts in the Americas: La Isabela, Dominican Republic (1493-1498)", R.M. Farquhar and John Wathall will speak about "Identification of sources of metallic lead at 18th century historic sites in central North America, using lead isotope ratios", while Julian Henderson will present a paper on "Scientific investigation of North American trade beads of the 16/17th centuries". Also speaking at the conference will be L.A. Pavlish et al. on "Distinguishing European trade copper and northeastern North American native copper".

For more information, please contact Duncan Hook, Department of Scientific Research, British Museum, London, WC1B 3DG, UK, 071-323-8282.

54TH SOUTHEASTERN ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

The 54th Southeastern Archaeological Conference was held October 21-24, 1992 in Little Rock, Arkansas. The conference was hosted by the Arkansas Archeological Survey.

In addition to the Plenary address by Dr. George Milner on "Tracking the Four Horsemen across the Pre-Columbian Southeast", there were a number of papers presented of interest to Caddoan Area archaeologists. These include three symposia on the Caddo (see below), and these papers:

- * R. Widmer: "Social Organization in the Mississippian Southeast"
- * V.A. Tippitt: "The Natural History of the Pre-Contact American Southeast"
- * M.S. Nassaney and K.E. Sassaman: "Understanding Pre-Columbian Native Encounters"
- * C.R. Cobb and M.S. Nassaney: "Interaction and Integration in the Late Woodland Southeast"
- * A. King and J.A. Freer: "The Mississippian Southeast: A World-Systems Perspective"
- * P. Peregrine: "Networks of Power: The Mississippian World-System"
- * J.A. Brown: "Political Economy and the Problem of 'Complexity' in the Southeast of the Mississippian Period"
- * E.J. Reitz: "Economic Bases of the Archaic Periods"
- * D. Jones and M Shuman: "Progress on Inventory of Prehistoric Mounds in Louisiana"
- * S. Williams: "Challenging Chaos: Emerging Mississippian vs. Late Woodland"
- * G.M. Riser: "The Western Half of the Southeast at the end of Prehistory: Cultural Boundaries and Lifeways"
- * M.D. Jeter: "De Soto: Done to Death? Or, Problematical Protohistory in and near the Arkansas Valley"
- * G. Sabo III: "The Dirst Site and the Origins of Sedentism in the Ozarks"

CADDO SYMPOSIUM ABSTRACTS

II

"The Native History of the Caddo: Their Place in Southeastern Archaeology and Ethnohistory"

Symposium co-organizers: Timothy K. Perttula and James E. Bruseth (Texas Historical Commission)

This symposium brings new light on the overall significance of Caddoan archaeology and history within the context of Southeastern cultural dynamics. Caddoan native history is usually overlooked or forgotten in current regional syntheses, and it has been years since Caddoan and Southeastern cultural relationships have been discussed. The papers will be thematic, and will focus on *Early Developments*, *Regional Diversity*, and *Cultural Interactions*. They will range spatially from the Arkansas River of Eastern Oklahoma to the Ouachita River Valley in Arkansas and Louisiana, and from the Red River to deep East Texas.

Timothy G. Baugh (Smithsonian Institution)--*Regional Polities and Socioeconomic Exchange: Caddoan and Puebloan Interaction*

The development of a Caddoan interaction sphere may have begun as early as the Woodland period (A.D. 300-800) and continued into the Late Prehistoric period (A.D. 1250 to 1450). A similar system occurred in the Puebloan region during this same period. With the collapse of various regional centers in both areas, interregional exchange began to evolve in the Protohistoric period, but was disrupted to some extent with the arrival of the Spaniards in the seventeenth century. This paper will examine the nature, development, and evolution of regional and interregional interaction of the peoples occupying these areas from A.D. 300 to A.D. 1750.

James A. Brown (Northwestern University)-- *Is the Caddoan Area Part of the Southeast?*

The Caddoan Area holds an ambiguous place in archaeological conceptions of Southeastern culture geography. Some emphasize its separateness out of consideration of its unique history, while others conceive of the area as a cultural and linguistic transitional zone between the core Southeast and the Southern Plains. Of greater merit is a third position, which views it as one of the major variants of the Greater Southeast. A review of Caddoan archaeology with particular reference to Spiro and the Arkansas River Valley argues for the area as having a structure to its social, political, and economic history that is the same as that of the remainder of the Southeast.

James E. Bruseth (Texas Historical Commission)-- *The Western Frontier of the Caddoan Area Along the Red River: Southeastern or Southern Plains Fringe*

Since C.B. Moore's exploration of Caddoan sites in Louisiana and Arkansas, study of Red River Caddo sites has largely focused on northwestern Louisiana, southwestern Arkansas, and the extreme northeastern edge of Texas. This bias has contributed to the idea that Caddoan developments originated and were most complex around and south of the Great Bend of the Red River. This paper examines the Caddoan archeological data from westerly Caddo sites and presents evidence for its in-place development. The cultural affinity of these westerly Caddo are then compared with the cultural geography of the Southeast and Southern Plains to show that the western Red River Caddo are essentially Southeastern in economy, politics, and ceremonialism.

James E. Corbin (Stephen F. Austin State University)-- *The Development of Cultural Diversity in the Southern Caddo Region*

The earliest expression of Caddo Mississippian in the southern portion of the Southern Caddo Region is well known. If Alto phase Caddoan culture had an effect on coeval societies and subsequent cultural developments in the region, it cannot be easily demonstrated. Similarly, what happened after ca. A.D. 1100 in the Southern Caddo Region has been much discussed but the realities of that cultural development are unknown.

I will argue that Caddoan regionalization may be part of a long-standing ethno-environmental adaptation that is as much Woodland or Mossy Grove in its cultural outlook as it is Caddoan. Thus, as the ethnohistoric literature documents, the post-Alto "Caddoization" of Woodland cultures was still viable over a broad area.

Ann M. Early (Arkansas Archeological Survey)-- *Textures and Texts: Reading the Caddo World through Ceramics*

Prehistoric Caddoans developed a complex, highly sophisticated non-representational ceramic decorative tradition. Design motifs and an array of textures unique to specific vessel shapes create distinct drainage basin styles that have gone all but unstudied beyond the narrow pursuits of typology and chronology, and all but undocumented in studies of the greater Southeast. Design structure and pattern analyses of this rich, well-documented data base offers perhaps the best opportunity in the Southeast to explore a grammar of design in a Southeastern culture, and to test whether this structure expresses a more pervasive set of cultural concepts that united regional societies into a Caddoan whole.

Hiram F. Gregory (Northwestern State University)-- *Factions and Fusion: The Louisiana Caddoans and their Neighbors*

Traditionally the Caddo have been modeled into confederacies of small, related tribes. Evidence is accumulating in Louisiana that may alter this model, or at least its applicability to the Red River Caddo.

Both ethnohistorical and archaeological data suggest that the Caddoan groups were much more dynamic and interactive than has often been proposed. The location and relationship between them and their newer neighbors, both European and Indian, offer us new ideas about the Caddoan people. This paper will deal with those inter-group dynamics, and their prehistoric equivalences, on Red River in Louisiana.

Tristram R. Kidder (Tulane University)-- *Caddoan-Lower Valley Interaction in the Southern Red and Ouachita River Valleys*

Although the Lower Mississippi Valley cultures are often thought to have stimulated Caddoan cultural development, the interaction between these two cultural areas is poorly understood. Evidence for contact and interaction is most obvious in the western tributaries of the Mississippi River. Archaeological and ethnohistorical data provide a model of Caddoan-Lower Valley interaction that began with prestige goods economies. Contact took place between politically equivalent groups in the form of exotic goods traded between elites. During later periods, however, economic and social interaction was stimulated by trade in goods and commodities. European contact and colonization in both areas amplified the importance of trade and increased the significance of Caddoan-Lower Valley interaction.

Timothy K. Perttula (Texas Historical Commission)-- *The Character of Late Caddoan Period Societies in the Pineywoods of Northeast Texas*

Scrutiny of the Late Caddoan period archeological record in the Pineywoods of Northeast Texas illustrates the dynamic social, political, and economic character of Caddoan polities during times of significant cultural changes. These Caddoan polities developed a complex socio-political structure akin to that seen among the Kadohadacho on the Red River, especially in patterns of mortuary behavior and mound construction, but did not survive to be more than cursorily described by Europeans. To bring out these intra-regional relationships, I will discuss the development of Late Caddoan period regional diversity in the Pineywoods, and then explore the nature of these group's socio-political and economic organization through time.

J. Daniel Rogers (Smithsonian Institution) and Karen M. Dohm (Smithsonian Institution)--
Stable Isotope Analysis and Diet in Eastern Oklahoma

Over the last decade significant, yet restricted, quantitative information on prehistoric diets has come to light in the Caddoan area. To add to this body of botanical and faunal data, stable carbon and nitrogen isotopes in bone collagen were analyzed from 134 human and faunal samples from the Arkansas Basin and Ozark Highlands in eastern Oklahoma. This was done to examine the dietary role of maize through time and across gender and status dimensions. Spanning the period from A.D. 400 to 1600, the mean delta-13 carbon isotope values decrease from approximately -19 to -11.5 parts per mil, indicating a probable increase in use of C4 plants, most likely maize, by the Spiro phase (A.D. 1250-1450). Other results indicate dietary differences based on gender and status distinctions, especially at Spiro.

Jerome C. Rose (University of Arkansas), Barbara A. Burnett (University of Arkansas), Anna M. Harmon (University of Arkansas), and James E. Barnes (University of Arkansas)-- *Skeletal Biology of the Prehistoric Caddo*

A comprehensive synthesis of the published and unpublished Caddoan skeletal data provides insights into genetic affinities, impact of the adoption of agriculture, the influence of ecology and settlement pattern on the frequency of infectious disease, and the change in disease rates over time. Genetic variation in tooth number suggests that the Arkansas River Caddo are distinct from those residing in the Ouachita and Red River drainages. The adoption of maize agriculture is associated with increased infections only in the upland areas where resources are limited and settlements are nucleated. There are indications that maize consumption was highest in the upland regions. Higher frequencies of degenerative disease in the uplands suggest that work loads were higher here than in the Arkansas and Red River valleys.

F. Todd Smith (Xavier University of Louisiana)-- *The Kadohadacho Indians and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1686-1840*

I will examine the important role the Kadohadachos played in the diplomacy of the Louisiana-Texas frontier, and how the tribe was able to use its geographical position to its benefit. The paper will also examine the effects the Euroamericans had on the tribe itself. My discussion will be divided into three parts: 1686-1731, 1731-1815, and 1815-1840. Part I will examine the establishment of relations with the French and the Spanish. Part II will discuss the Kadohadachos during their most important period--when they were liaisons between the Euroamericans and the non-Caddo tribes on the Red River. Part III looks at the decline of the Kadohadachos, and how they were perceived as being first, unimportant, and then--during the Texas Revolution--a nuisance to the Anglo settlers of the frontier.

Dee Ann Story (The University of Texas)-- *The George C. Davis Site Mounds, Structures, and Burials: Glimpses into Early Caddoan Symbolism and Ideology*

As the most intensively investigated mound/village center in northeastern Texas, the George C. Davis site has yielded a wealth of information pertaining to Early Caddoan lifeways, including behavior in the realm of symbolism and ideology. Particularly revealing in this regard are the well-controlled data on structures beneath, within, and about two of the mounds and burials under and within a third mound. Most notable of the findings are the (1) association of color (especially green) with elaborate burials and other hallowed features; (2) the use of artifacts (mainly celts) to symbolize special construction events; (3) devices (e.g., berms and unusual entranceways) for delineating sacrosanct areas and buildings; and (4) strong contrasts between mound-associated and village-associated

Discussants:

James B. Griffin (Smithsonian Institution)
Stephen Williams (Harvard University)

II

"Fourche Maline and Caddoan Studies", chaired by Jack H. Stewart (Arkansas Archeological Survey)

Michael P. Hoffman and M. Hoffman (University of Arkansas)--*Wooden Effigy Vessels from the Sycamore Creek Mound Group, Sevier County, Arkansas*

David B. Kelley (Coastal Environments, Inc.)--*Recent Excavations at two Late Caddo Farmsteads in Bossier Parish, Louisiana*

George H. Odell (University of Tulsa)--*Travels of a Real Sooner (La Harpe in Eastern Oklahoma)*

Jack H. Stewart (Arkansas Archeological Survey)--*Dug but not Forgotten: The Johnny Ford Site (3LA5)*

Louis Vogeley (U.S. Army)--*Caddoan Mound Construction and Use: The Goforth-Saindon Site (3BE245)*

III

"Early Caddoan Ceremonialism: New Data from Old Excavations at the Crenshaw Site", chaired by Frank F. Schambach (Arkansas Archeological Survey)

James E. Barnes (University of Arkansas)--*Bioarcheology of the Plaza of the Skulls, the Crenshaw Site*

Frank F. Schambach (Arkansas Archeological Survey)--*A Review of the Arkansas Archeological Survey's Excavations at the Crenshaw Site*

Susan L. Scott (University of Michigan)--*Analysis of Vertebrate Remains from the Crenshaw Site*

Mary L. Powell, discussant

The Caddo Indian Village

by
Jacques Bagur

The Kadohadacho, or Great Chiefs, of the Caddo Nation left their home in the Great Bend of the Red River in Arkansas in 1790 because of disease and Osage depredations and moved south, joining a related tribe, the Petit Caddo, on the floodplain of the Red River above present-day Shreveport. In 1800, when the Great Raft began to affect the area, the Caddos moved to higher ground on Sodo Lake (a complex of five lakes that later came to be called Caddo, Clear, Cross, Shifttail, and Soda [Figure 1]). They lived there until the early 1840s, when they sold their land to the United States and moved to a reservation in Oklahoma.

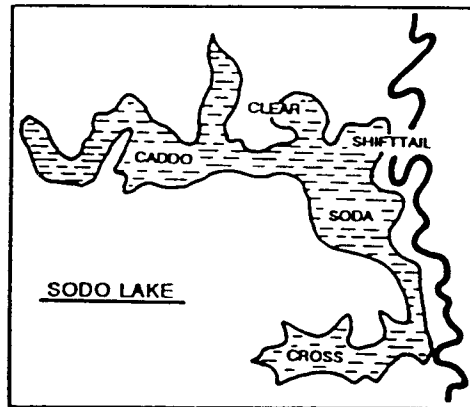


Figure 1. Great Raft Lakes on the Red River, ca. 1800

In 1805, the Caddo Village was composed of 100 warriors, 100 old men and strangers, and 250 women. Adding children, the village would have been sizeable. In spite of its importance, there are few records of a white man ever having visited it, and no contemporary accounts give its exact location. As a consequence, the village site was sought for many years without success.

All of the Caddoan tribes of the 1800s were agriculturists who raised such things as corn, beans, and pumpkins, using pointed sticks, rather than hoes, to punch holes in the ground to plant seeds. They also fished and traveled and hunted by horseback. They lived in thatched wattle and daub huts supported by wooden poles. These huts were widely dispersed over many miles, sometimes forming small clusters, which was compatible with agricultural practices. They also traded heavily with distant white settlers, exchanging furs and hides for guns, riding equipment, and a wide variety of household items. Earlier traditions of pottery making and arrowhead manufacture were abandoned.

Beginning in 1991, Claude McCrocklin, a Shreveport archeologist, conducted a preliminary survey of an area north of Caddo Lake on James Bayou and found a number of house sites spread out over four miles from Monterey Lake west (and therefore mostly in Texas). These sites contained the right types of artifacts from the 1800-1840 period to indicate that they could be components of the Caddo Indian Village (see McCrocklin, this issue), and there are no records of white settlers having been in that area during that period. McCrocklin found chipped tools made from European ceramics and bottle glass that were obviously of Indian making. In addition, he found colorful polished pebbles that were unique to other Caddo Indian villages that have been investigated.

These preliminary findings suggest that the Caddo Indian Village has been located. However, since there were many Indian tribes in the Sodo Lake area, the James Bayou site may not be Caddoan, and if Caddoan, not Kadohadacho. For a clearer indication that this is

the correct site, it is necessary to turn to seven pieces of evidence presented in accounts that were written in the early 1800s:

1. All contemporary accounts agree that the village was on Sodo Lake.
2. Most speak of it as being distant from the Red River, and two say that it is on the western portion of Sodo Lake, which suggests a location on Caddo Lake.
3. Two say that it is located on a small creek, with one of these saying that the creek is pirogue-navigable in the rainy season. James Bayou is the only stream entering Caddo Lake that fits this description.
4. William Darby's 1816 map of Louisiana shows the village in Texas on James Bayou, but on the south side (Figure 2).

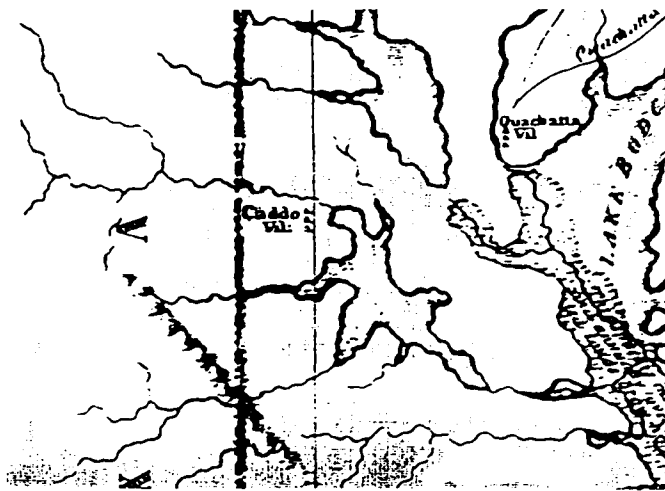


Figure 2. William Darby's 1816 map

5. The village was called Sha-childni-ni, or Timber Hill. There is a prominent timbered hill on the James Bayou site.
6. One account says that the agricultural activities took place on a flat prairie of white clay soil. The James Bayou site is the only place near Caddo Lake that has such a prairie.
7. Maps and contemporary accounts indicate that there was a trail from the Caddo Village to the Coushatta Village on the Red River. The surveyors who established the boundary between the United States and the Republic of Texas in 1841 pinpoint this trail as leading into the James Bayou site.

When the archeological and historical evidence is taken together, it is obvious that the James Bayou site is the Caddo Indian Village. Further investigations are needed to determine the extent of the site and its exact composition.

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**An Intermediate Report on the
James Bayou Survey, Marion County, Texas:
A Search for Caddo Village**

by

Claude McCrocklin

Introduction

This is a brief report on an archeological survey of James Bayou in East Texas that was organized to find the site of a large Historic Caddo Indian village that was reported to be in the area. Much is known about the village people. They were Kadohadacho Caddo from the Great Bend region of the Red River in Southwest Arkansas who had migrated to the area now known as James Bayou about 1800 (Bagur 1992, and this issue). The population of the village they established was reported to be near 500 people, and they stayed in the East Texas and Northwest Louisiana area into the early 1840s. However, none of the early contemporary writers who provide this information reported the exact location of the village, and thus the site's location was unknown when the survey was initiated.

As of this report, we have surveyed both sides of James Bayou from the Louisiana line to near Stratford Lake. This was our target area since the lower Louisiana part of the Bayou had been surveyed in 1986-1987 under my direction by Shreveport members of the Louisiana Archaeological Society. In all of this vast area the only sites found on both surveys old enough to be components of the Caddo village were in a four mile area along the 200-250 foot contour on the north and east sides of James Bayou. The ten sites found and tested seemed to have a date range of 1790 to the 1840s, which is the same as the occupation range of the Caddo village. These sites could well be components of the village since no records that we can find report anyone else in that part of Spanish East Texas through the entire period.

The Sites

The sites old enough to be components of the Caddo village will not be described individually, but will be referred to as the "East" and "West" sites. With the exception of the large site 41MR77 (Monterey Lake #1) described in a separate report in preparation, all of the sites are small with sparse European trade goods.

Some of the site observations we have made are:

1. Only 41MR77 had table knives, forks, and spoons.
2. There were no farming tools on any sites.
3. Horse-riding equipment, including bridle bits, buckles, spurs, and stirrups, were common.
4. The "West" sites have daub, thin middens and few domestic animal bones.

It is my impression that the "West" sites were earlier in time than those in the "East", and that the dwellings were simple wattle and daub structures instead of log cabins. This is based upon daub with twig, stick, and split board imprints, dirt floors, and very few square nails in the "West" sites. There were also no large, flat rocks on the "West" sites such as marked those in the "East".

No chimney falls were found in the "West" sites, but instead there were shallow cooking or fire pits in the dirt floors. The "East" sites, although similar in layout to the "West" site group, appear to have had log cabins with stone fireplaces. This is indicated by lots of flat stones in fire areas, an abundance of square nails of all sizes, as well as daub or chinking to fill the spaces between logs of a cabin. No window pane glass was found on any site, or any evidence suggesting the use of a board floor.

Other than similar European-manufactured ceramics, and other trade goods, the main types of artifacts that tie the sites together are chipped European ceramics, chipped bottle glass, and polished pebbles. Of these, the polished pebbles are the most curious, because we had found chipped European materials on other Historic Indian sites and were not surprised to find them on the James Bayou sites. No native pottery sherds were found on any of the sites, however. Some glass beads were found during troweling, but we did not specifically screen for them.

For those who say, "no pot sherds, no Indians", then somehow it must be explained what Anglo-Americans were doing in that time and place chipping European ceramics and polishing pebbles. It just might be that the results of the James Bayou survey may "change some thinking" of what to expect from late Historic Caddo sites, especially since none have been found previously to compare with the James Bayou artifacts.

The Artifacts

The large amount of artifacts from the survey have a different "look" than those we have found on contemporary Red River sites. Most of the European ceramics have a different design and pattern, and there are also some new bottle types; even the utensils look different. For instance, the large round-pointed curved table knives of British army type have not been found on any previous site I've worked on. Also, the bridle bits, the spur, and the stirrup found on 41MR77 appear to be of British design (the identification of these items came from the 1975 publication **Collectors Illustrated Encyclopedia of the American Revolution** by George C.

Neumann and Frank Kovic). This difference in trade materials suggests another source of trade other than the U.S. trading posts along Red River. This in itself is intriguing, and would make an interesting study.

All of the artifacts from the survey are currently being studied by Dr. Timothy K. Perttula of the Texas Historical Commission in Austin, Texas. Please check with him for further information.

Summary

Whether or not we have found part of the Caddo village is open to debate. However, let us look at the results of the survey: (a) the sites are where they were supposed to be based upon the available research material, (b) they are of the right time period, (c) they have similar artifact types, and (d) no other sites early enough to be components of the village were found anywhere else in the James Bayou area.

It was not our intention to try and find all of the sites expected to be in the reported 500 person village. We did want to find enough of them to verify its location; we think that the 10 sites found did this. They, along with other probable sites found but not confirmed by testing (because they were either in people's yards or mostly destroyed by development), show a large dispersed line village emerging on the north side of James Bayou.

The James Bayou area is mostly dense woods and cut-over hill country grown up into thickets. This makes it difficult to survey, and we feel that we missed far more sites than we found. Those missed sites, along with the rest of the Caddo village, will remain for archeologists of the future to find. At least as the result of our survey, they will know where to look.

Acknowledgements

First, I want to thank the landowners who made the survey possible by granting permission to survey their land. They are John Haygood, Johnny Fitzgerald, Robert Harrell, George Parker, Danny Stanfield, C.C. Jones, John Corley, Chubby Jones of the Shingle Mill Hunting Club, and others. Those who helped with the field work were Harold Brice, Danny Stanfield, Craig Kennedy, David Stanfield, Pam Stanfield, Ruth Rainey, and Jean Robbins.

The professional archeological advisors were Dr. Timothy K. Perttula of the Texas Historical Commission and Dr. Frank Schambach of the Arkansas Archeological Survey. Dr. H.F. Gregory of Northwestern University in Natchitoches, Louisiana identified some of the artifacts.

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