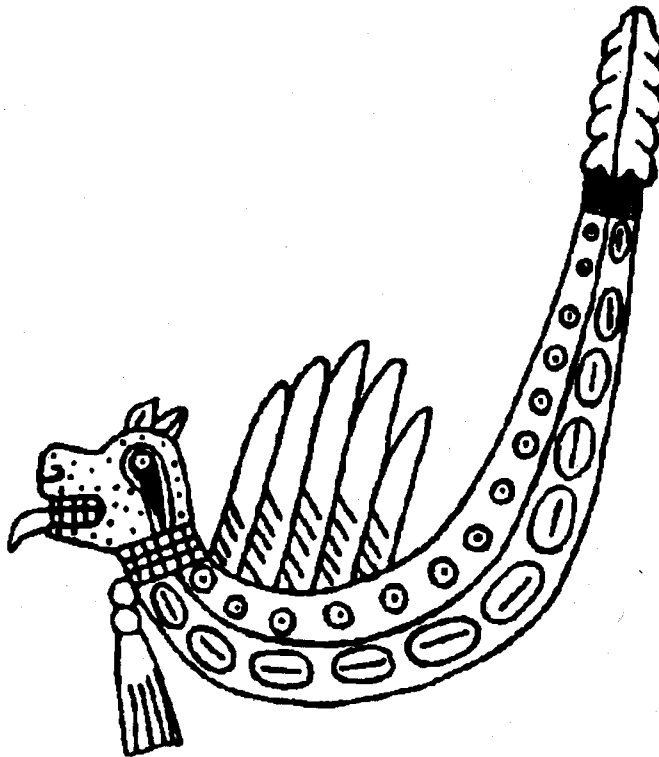


CADDOAN

ARCHEOLOGY

NEWSLETTER



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MEETINGS AND EVENTS

Continuing into 1996 *State Museum of History, Oklahoma City: Saturday Film Series* continues at Wiley Post Historical Building (Lincoln Boulevard near the Oklahoma Capitol; Free). For scheduling information, call (405) 522-5241.

November

3-4 *Candlelight Tour*. Fort Washita Military Park near Lake Texoma on state hwy 199. For more information call (405) 924-6502.

6-10 *Making High Quality Replicas of Museum Objects*. A course offered by The Texas Memorial Museum, in conjunction with International Academic Projects, London. It will be taught by E. Brenner Larsen, international expert on mold making and toolmarks on ancient objects. Participants in this highly developed practical laboratory course will learn the techniques of making high-quality resin replicas for research, exhibition, and conservation purposes. For more information contact Course Coordinator, Materials Conservation Laboratory, Texas Memorial Museum, University of Texas at Austin, PRC#122, 10100 Burnet Road, Austin TX 78758. Telephone (512) 471-7090; fax (512) 471-6092; e-mail jsjohnson@mail.utexas.edu.

8-11 *Southeastern Archeological Conference Annual Meeting*, Hilton Hotel, Knoxville TN. Abstract deadline August 1. Dr. Jefferson Chapman (Local Arrangements), Dr. Gerald Schroedl (Program Chair). For more information, contact SEAC Conference, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville TN 37996-0720; telephone (615) 974-4408; FAX (614) 974-2686.

11 *First Annual Caddo Harvest Arts and Crafts Festival*. Caddo Tribal Complex, Binger OK. For more details, see Caddoan Area News.

11 *Ladies Camp of Instruction*. Fort Gibson Military Park. 19th century clothing, camping, cooking, social skills. For more information call (918) 478-3355.

December

TBA *First Americans, First Oklahomans: Indian Peoples*. Spiro Mounds Archeological Park. TRACKS exhibit. For more information call (918) 962-2062.

8-9 *Candlelight Tour*. Fort Gibson Military Park. Christmas 1848 living history. For more information call (918) 478-3355.

9-10 *19th Texas Infantry CSA Military Reenactment*. Fort Washita Military Park. For more information call (405) 924-6502.

1996

January

2-7 *Society for Historical Archaeology, Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology*, Omni Netherland Plaza, Cincinnati OH. Themes: Bridging Distance: Recent Approaches to Denigration, Migration, and Ethnic Identity; and Forging Partnerships in Outreach and Education. For more information, contact Marcy Gray (Conference Chair), Gray and Pape, Inc., 1318 Main St., Cincinnati OH 45210; telephone (513) 665-6707, Email 76554.3313Xcompuserve.com; or Kim McBride, Program Coordinator, Department of Anthropology, 211 Lafferty Hall, University of Kentucky, Lexington KY 40506-0024, telephone (606) 257-1944, Email KAMCBR004pUKCC.UKY.EDU.

April

10-14 *61st Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology*. Marriott Hotel, New Orleans LA. Abstracts and other submissions are

due September 15! More information will be given later.

May

20-24 *International Symposium on Archaeometry*. University of Illinois. For additional information, contact: S. Wisseman, ATAM Program, University of Illinois, 116 Observatory, 901 S. Mathews, Urbana IL 61801. Telephone: (217)-333-6629; fax: (217) 244-0466; e-mail: wisarc@ux1.cso.uiuc.edu.

June

22-29 *Ninth International Palynologic Congress*. Houston TX. Symposia topics may include: ecology and paleoenvironmental reconstruction; entomopalynology & archeological palynology;

melissopalynology and forensic palynology; new frontiers and applications in palynology; palynomorph preparation techniques; palynomorph sampling; palynostratigraphy & sequence stratigraphy; pre-Quaternary and Quaternary studies; TEM and SEM applications in palynology. There will be a maximum of 700 oral presentations and space for 250-300 posters. For more information contact: D.J. Nichols, U.S. Geological Survey; fax 303-236-5690; e-mail: dnichols@greenwood.cr.usgs.gov.

October

26-29 *Eastern States Archeological Federation, 62nd Annual Meeting*. Wilmington DE. For more information contact: Faye L. Slocum, DE SHPO, #15 The Green, Dover DE 19901; telephone 302-739-5685.

EXHIBITS

Current *Oklahoma State Museum of History*. Native American Gallery features a long term exhibit which gives an overview of Oklahoma prehistory, focusing on the Spiro site. New,

larger exhibit on Spiro in planning, but opening may be several years away. Contact: State Museum of History, 2100 Lincoln Blvd, Oklahoma City, OK 73105. Telephone: (405) 521-2491.

CADDOAN AREA NEWS

CADDO TRIBE OF OKLAHOMA

Cecile Carter, the Caddo Cultural Representative, sends word that the Caddo Tribal Chairman, Noah Frank, is retiring because of ill health. The Vice Chairman, Vernon Hunter, will be Acting Chairman for the remainder of Mr. Frank's term of office.

The Caddo Tribe's NAGPRA director, David Scholes, and tribal representatives have begun consultation visits. In September, they visited the Oklahoma Museum of Natural History at The University of Oklahoma and the Tulsa District Corps of Engineers. Trips to the University of Arkansas, the Texas Archeological Research Laboratory, and Southern Methodist University are scheduled in October. If you would like more information about these visits, contact David Scholes at the tribal headquarters. Address: Caddo Indian Tribe of Oklahoma, PO Box 487, Binger OK 73009; telephone: 405-656-2344 or 656-2345; FAX: 405-656-2892.

Everyone is invited to attend the first annual Harvest Arts & Crafts Festival on November

11, 1995. It will be held at the Caddo Tribal Complex, which is located at the junction of highways OK 152 and US 281. Indian and non-Indian vendors can rent a table for \$20 to sell their arts and crafts. There will be Indian tacos, an archery trophy shoot, and a horseshoe tournament. Proceeds from the festival will be used for roof repairs at the Cultural Center at the Tribal Complex. The festival is being sponsored by the Caddo Tribe Heritage Committee, which was established in January 1995. The Heritage Committee has 18 members. They determined that the greatest need at the present time was to repair the Cultural Center. For more details about the festival, contact Marilyn Murrow at 405-728-2878 or Donna Spaulding at 405-966-2343.

The Caddo Heritage Committee has also set up a general fund to accept donations. These donations are tax exempt and should be deductible. The fund is called TASHA, which means *friend of Caddo*. The contact person for the fund is LaRue Parker.

LOUISIANA

Pete Gregory has sent word that the carry-over from this year's Caddo Conference will not be enough to bring the Caddos to Natchitoches for the Caddo Conference next March. Fund are needed desperately. Any contribu-

tions to help cover their travel expenses will be appreciated. Send these funds to Dr. Pete Gregory, Department of Social Sciences, Northwestern Louisiana State University, Natchitoches LA 71497.

HISTORICAL PROCESSES AND THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HASINAI CADDO INDIANS

Daniel A. Hickerson, The University of Georgia
Paper presented at the 1995 Caddo Conference, Austin, Texas

Recent archaeological and ethnohistoric research has begun to reveal the extent of the depopulation that took place among Native American societies as a result of epidemic diseases that were introduced, in some cases, even before direct continuous interaction with Europeans. The research of Henry Dobyns (1983) on native demographic trends in Florida has been particularly influential on recent views of Native American demographic decline. While somewhat controversial, the findings of Dobyns and others have stimulated further research focusing on other areas of North America, including the Caddoan region.

Recently, Timothy Perttula (1991, 1992) has focused on the role of European-introduced epidemic diseases in changes in settlement patterns and sociopolitical organization among the native peoples of the Caddoan region. Drawing largely upon Dobyns' figures and models for native depopulation, Perttula has estimated up to a 95 percent decline among the Caddoan population during the protohistoric period (approximately 1520-1680). According to Perttula, this depopulation had a number of sociocultural consequences, including a general decline in political complexity, and the abandonment of some regions accompanied by a coalescence of groups in several areas, including that occupied by the historic Hasinai of the Neches and Angelina River basins of eastern Texas.

It is not the purpose of this paper to take issue with the points that have been made by Perttula or any other scholar doing research on the effects of introduced epidemic diseases. Indeed, it is

because of such research that it is no longer possible to reasonably deny or overlook the fact that the cultures of the native peoples of North America as they were first described by Europeans had, in most cases, been drastically altered. It is only in the past few years that anthropologists and historians have fully understood the difficulties involved in reconstructing precontact cultures and societies based on European descriptions alone.

However, as important as it is to recognize the impact of introduced pathogens, it is equally important to avoid overstating their impact on native societies. Once the disease factor has been recognized, it is tempting to attribute to it every cultural change, every protohistoric or historic population movement, every shift in settlement or subsistence patterns, or in political or economic life, for which evidence is found. This can be dangerous for at least two reasons: first, because, despite the quality of recent archaeological work focusing on disease, we are still far from establishing the true extent of demographic decline in the Caddoan region; and second, because the protohistoric period in this region (*ca.* 1520-1680) was characterized by a number of large-scale processes of change, each of which culturally impacted local populations over a wide area, and only one of which was the introduction of epidemic diseases to the New World.

In other words, we should view disease within a larger context, as one of several large-scale processes of change that resulted directly or indirectly from European activity in North America and Mesoamerica. Each of these histori-

1520-1685
actually
for the
probable
of
historic
period

cal processes contributed to sociocultural changes among the Caddo and other Native American peoples. Even where disease plays a significant and documented role in a sociocultural change, it can not entirely determine how the change is played out. For example, the spread of disease may have brought about the abandonment of some areas in North America, but other social, political, and environmental factors may have played a role in determining or influencing where the survivors moved after the abandonment.

I will begin with the premise that the Hasinai area of eastern Texas was the site of a protohistoric population coalescence, that the core of the historic Hasinai Confederacy was a combination of groups or communities long resident in the area, and that these were joined by other Caddoan communities during the protohistoric peri-

all these
are
not
controversial

od, possibly during the mid- to late-seventeenth century. The spread of epidemic disease may have been one of the events that brought about pressure for such a coalescence. However, during the protohistoric and early historic periods there were other processes of political and economic change taking place, originating many miles away, with far-reaching impacts. In addition, there were social and environmental factors other than disease that influenced the movements of groups of people, that influenced both whether or not they moved their settlements, and to what destination. In this paper I will briefly discuss the role of disease in protohistoric population movements. I will then focus attention on additional factors such as warfare and trade, and discuss how changes in these factors combined to influence the creation of the historic alliance that is known as the Hasinai Confederacy.

The Role of Epidemic Disease

It is important that regional estimates of native population decline be applied critically and with attention given to regional differences in environment, extent of European contact, and settlement patterns. As noted, a major demographic decline, with a population loss due to introduced diseases of up to 95 percent in the Caddo culture area, has been hypothesized for the protohistoric period, A.D. 1520-1680 (Perttula 1992). But Perttula (1992:77) also reminds us that the archaeological evidence for such a decline is far from adequate to draw firm conclusions about population trends during this period. The specific evidence that does exist for the Caddo area is almost entirely indirect and inferential, based on analysis of generally inadequate regional settlement data, changes in mortuary practices and regional settlement patterns indicating declining sociopolitical complexity, and comparisons with data on population declines in neighboring regions.

Perhaps more important than evidence of large-scale, regional rates of population decline, at

least in the context of the present discussion, is the near certainty that areas throughout the Southeast, including the Caddoan region, were affected differentially by European-introduced epidemic diseases. Of course, local populations were most likely to be devastated by epidemic disease immediately after they experienced direct contact with Europeans. In the long run, differences in the impact of diseases more likely reflect variations in settlement densities, such as those between upland or rural communities and larger riverine or town communities (Perttula 1992:79, 87-89).

When drawing comparisons with the demographic trends elsewhere in the protohistoric Southeast, it must be kept in mind that settlements in the Caddoan area were, in general, more dispersed and less densely populated than the Mississippian period settlement systems of the Southeast, and thus likely to be less susceptible to the spread of epidemics. For the same reason, within the Caddoan culture area, the populations of eastern Texas, particularly those

of the relatively lightly-settled Hasinai area, appear to have been relatively lightly impacted by introduced diseases during the protohistoric period. The de Soto party, which passed through the Caddoan area around the time that the major epidemics in North America would have begun, found settlements that were described as more scattered, and thus less densely populated, than those that it had previously encountered throughout the Southeast. This trend was first noted upon their passage through Naguatex, located on the Red River and their point of entrance into eastern Texas (Gentleman of Elvas, in Smith, 1925:240-245).

Epidemics of introduced diseases might be sufficient to explain the abandonment of, or significant demographic reduction in, some areas, and the concentration of settlements in others, such as the Arkansas, Ouachita, and Red River regions, during the protohistoric period. However, given available information, comparisons of settlement patterns and epidemic disease trends are not adequate to explain the abandonment of the less densely populated Cypress Creek basin toward the end of the protohistoric or the very early historic period (Thurmond 1985; McCormick 1973:108). Nor

do these factors adequately explain the coalescence of population around this time along the Neches and Angelina rivers, the site of the historic Hasinai Confederacy.

It is reasonable to suggest that the groups that had formerly inhabited the Cypress Creek area were among those that came to comprise the Hasinai Confederacy. If I am correct in this suggestion, then reasons other than epidemic disease must be sought to explain the movement of these people to join their southern neighbors. Previous archaeological research has provided no reason to suppose that the impact of epidemics was any more (or less) severe in the Cypress Creek region than in the Hasinai region. Dobyns (1983:311) has suggested that the amalgamations of surviving populations would take place in the most productive environments for native subsistence technology. I would concede that ecological and demographic conditions would have certainly had some degree of influence, but suggest that economic and political factors must also be sought to account for the coalescence of populations in the Neches River valley area. The interaction of these factors will be the primary subject of the remainder of this paper.

Historical Influences on Population Movements

I suggest that one political factor that influenced population movements during the protohistoric period is warfare -- specifically, the increased aggression by the Apaches in the southern Plains. The aggression of Apache Indians was a major concern for the Hasinai and their neighbors, and violent encounters that frequently took place with the Apaches were noted by nearly all of the European observers who lived for an extended time among the Hasinai. It is important to understand that, although the Spanish priests believed the wars between the Hasinai and the Apaches to be the result of the "ancient hostility between them" (Hidalgo, in Hatcher 1927:55), the rise of the Apaches as a major

threat to the settled tribes at the margins of the plains was actually, as of the late seventeenth century, of quite recent origin. Before the seventeenth century, the Apaches wandered the plains on foot, hunting bison and other game, and trading with the Pueblo peoples who lived along the Rio Grande to the west of the plains. Indeed, it appears that the Apaches only became a significant threat to their eastern neighbors around the middle of the 1600's. The development that created this threat took place several hundred miles to the west, with the introduction of the horse into New Mexico by the Spanish colonists who occupied the Rio Grande valley.

The first horses, and the knowledge required to ride and maintain them, were probably acquired by the Apaches through trade with Puebloan Indians who had been employed, or forced, to care for the horses of the Spanish colonists. The possession and mastery of those first horses gave the Apaches the means to build up their supplies through raiding, and by 1660 Apaches were taking horses in frequent attacks on the Spanish and Puebloan Indian settlements in New Mexico (Newcomb 1961:86-87). It was around this time that the Apaches acquired their reputation among the Spanish as the fearsome and hostile warriors who dominated the southern Plains, a reputation that stayed with them through the eighteenth century.

Horses, along with Spanish weapons acquired in New Mexico, made the Apaches a serious threat to the settled agricultural villages occupied by Caddoan Indians on the eastern fringe of the plains. They became, in the words of one Spanish observer, "enemies of one and all" on and near the plains. Father Damian Massanet, a Franciscan missionary who worked among the Hasinai, reported in 1691 that the Apaches "are at war with all the other nations. . . . they dominate all the other Indians" (Hatcher 1932: 58). Other tribes that had lived on the southern plains, and had served as a buffer between the Apaches and the Caddoan groups, had been driven south and west by the 1680's, as the Apaches expanded across the entire width of the plains (Hyde 1959:43). In 1686, Alonso de Posada (Thomas 1982:36-38) described the Apache nation, "which possesses and is owner of all the plains of Cibola [the southern Great Plains]." Posada noted that the Apaches were at war with the Hasinai, and listed several nations, including the Jumanos, that they had driven from the region of the Nueces River, southward to the Rio Grande.

The Wichita and the Pawnee, Caddoan Indians who lived farther west on the plains in farming villages along the river valleys, thus were more exposed to attack, and seem to have fared worse at the hands of the mounted raiders than did the

Hasinai. In the later decades of the seventeenth century, Apaches began bringing Caddoan captives, mostly Wichita and Pawnee, to sell or trade at trading fairs in Pecos, Taos, and Picuris pueblos. These captives were traded there as slaves, primarily in exchange for Spanish daggers, hatchets, and sword blades of metal (Hyde 1959:20). Posada (Thomas 1982:36-37) noted that the Apaches regularly came to Pecos Pueblo "to sell for horses some Indian men and women, girls and boys, whom they had captured from the Quivira nation in attacks they had made upon their lands." The Quivira have been identified as the Wichita (N.P. Hickerson 1994:24).

The Hasinai began to acquire horses and Spanish weapons of their own some time before the 1680's. This allowed the Hasinai and their allies to meet the Apache on a more equal footing, and occasionally to take the offensive in battle. However, at the same time, they were also actively seeking allies to stand with them in these battles. In the eyes of Hasinai leaders, these potential allies included European newcomers. In 1687, according to Father Douay of the La Salle party (Cox 1973, v. 1:241), a party of Hasinai persuaded some of the French colonists to join them in battle with the Canoaatino, which may have been an Apache group living on or near the Colorado River (Hyde 1959:43). Indeed, military alliance may have been expected, even assumed, of the friends and neighbors of the Hasinai. A few years later, in a letter of 1693, the Franciscan priest Damian Massanet (1964:313) noted among the reasons for the dissatisfaction that the Hasinai had with the Spanish, that "they have said many times that if we do not go with them to their wars and to kill their enemies, that we should return to our land."

The rise of hostility between the Hasinai and the Apache on the southern Plains, and the resulting increased danger from raiding and warfare, are likely to have exerted pressure on the Hasinai and their neighbors, both Caddoan and non-Caddoan, to seek close alliances and in some instances to concentrate their settlements for the benefit of mutual protection. This factor

alone, however, does not explain the selection of the region of the Neches and Angelina Rivers, the homeland of the Hasinai, as the site of a population coalescence. For this purpose, we must look to the environmental characteristics of this homeland, and the possible consequences of the position of the Hasinai within this region. The position of the Hasinai in the woodlands along the Neches and Angelina rivers provided a measure of protection from mounted raiders of the plains, both because of the remoteness and the terrain of the region. The threat from the Apaches, and other real or potential enemies, may have been a significant factor that determined or influenced the movement of populations into this area during the seventeenth century.

The dense forest that covered most of the land in this area was a barrier to travel by any means, but especially to horseback warriors wishing to strike suddenly and then retreat quickly. The advantages of this protective barrier were noted by European observers. In 1690, Father Massanet (Gomez Canedo 1968:161) described the two roads from the south by which the Hasinai could be reached. The first road, he said, "goes straight north to the Texas. But the Apaches are in the habit of coming to it, and these Apaches are enemies both of the Texas [*i.e.*, the Hasinai] and of the Spanish." The second road ran to the northeast, and was described by Massanet as "more secure, because there are no enemies, nor do the Apaches come to it because of the dense forest and the distance."

The density of the forest was at times a source of frustration to the Spanish, as well as to Indian enemies of the Hasinai. Teran de los Rios, in 1691, expressed such frustration in seeking a place for his army to camp, noting, "no suitable place was found within the radius of twelve leagues; for there is no open country nearby. . . The whole country is wooded to a distance of about twenty-five leagues from this spot" (Hatcher 1932:18). Espinosa (1964:690) commented that "the land is so thickly forested that

I have not discovered any places suitable for irrigated cultivation". And Father Casanas reports that "this province of the Hasinai is very fertile, so much that anything that one might want can be grown in it. . . . It only has one fault, which is that it is so thickly forested with different kinds of trees, and the open places are very few" (Swanton 1942:241).

Historic accounts also indicate that during part of the year the flooding of rivers presented as significant a barrier to travel as did the dense forest. The most difficult period of travel was in the fall. This coincides with one of the two peak rainfall periods for eastern Texas, which is in late September or October, the other peak period occurring in May. In 1689, a Jumano Indian being questioned by Spanish authorities investigating French activity on the Gulf coast, was questioned about the approach to the country of the Hasinai. He replied, "when the rains begin it is not easy to enter or come out of that land because of the flooded rivers and marshes which do not permit passage. . . . After it begins to rain in those parts it is not possible to come out until winter sets in" (Hackett 1926:273). Father Massanet (Gomez Canedo 1964:309) wrote, in 1693, to the Viceroy Conde de Galve, explaining why a promised report from the province of the Hasinai, which he had sent in the care of two soldiers in October, was several months late. "It pleased the majesty of God," he explained, "that the Colorado River would not allow them to pass, nor lessen its flow until the past month of April." Fathers Margil de Jesus and Espinosa similarly wrote in 1722 that "because of the timing of the rise of the waters that for much of the year are an impediment to travel. . . the supply of provisions is not very abundant for the poor missionaries."² And in 1729, several missionary priests working among the Hasinai complained of the passage from San Antonio to the Hasinai, "with two formidable rivers in between, which rarely allow passage without a canoe, and one which frequently exceeds three leagues in width; and another fifteen or more arroyos that make the road impassible."³

The combination of the dense forest and the sometimes impassible rivers made travel in the country of the Hasinai always difficult, and sometimes impossible, for anyone unfamiliar with the territory, whether they be horseback raiders from the plains, or Franciscan priests from New Spain. As the Apaches, supplied with horses taken from the Spanish settlements of New Mexico, expanded their hunting territory on the plains, threatening all challengers, such a country would have provided a particularly attractive homeland for displaced or remnant Caddoan groups from the country farther north and west. This is not to suggest that this is why the location was originally chosen for the Hasinai settlements. Caddoan peoples had occupied that area long before horses were introduced to the plains peoples. However, in the early- to mid-seventeenth century, when those Plains peoples began their rapid expansion, this quality of the country around the Neches and Angelina could hardly have been overlooked by Caddoans who had previously occupied the less densely forested, more exposed territory to the north and west, on the frontier of the plains.

One other aspect of the geographic position of the Hasinai Confederacy may have exerted an equally strong attractive pressure for Caddoan peoples who occupied eastern Texas during the protohistoric period. Although archaeological data is not conclusive on this point, there is strong historic evidence that during the mid- to late-seventeenth century, the Hasinai communities were a gateway for trade in European goods and horses brought from Spanish settlements in northern Mexico and New Mexico.

Evidence exists for trade contacts between the East Texas Caddo and the regions to the west, particularly the Puebloan area of New Mexico, in both the archaeological and the historical records. Timothy Baugh (1992:2) has noted that the search for archaeological evidence of Caddoan and Puebloan interaction has been somewhat frustrating, in light of the tantalizing documentary evidence from the de Soto expedition that the east Texas Caddo possessed Puebloan

textiles and turquoise (Elvas 1925:246). It is likely, however, that the major commodities of this trade were perishable items that do not show up in the archaeological record, such as osage orange bow wood from the Caddo area and, as noted, cotton textiles from New Mexico. Lithics and ceramics of southwestern origin found in the Caddoan area indicate that such trade took place, but they have been recovered in such small quantities that, according to Baugh (1992:3), they are of little help in defining the nature and extent of Southwest-Caddoan interaction.

Alex Krieger (1946:209) has identified three lines of evidence for prehistoric trade between the east Texas Caddoan and Puebloan regions. These are: first, the historical evidence of the presence of trade items from the de Soto narratives; second, the recovery of a small amount of ceramics from Caddo sites in eastern Texas; and third, similarities in Puebloan and Caddoan ceramics during the fifteenth century, possibly indicating the imitation of Caddoan styles in the Puebloan area. Evidence of this prehistoric long-distance trade is most frequently found in Titus focus sites, which correspond to the late prehistoric cultures of the Cypress Creek area of northeast Texas, between the Hasinai and Red River Caddo (Kadohadacho) regions (Krieger 1946:207). The Cypress Creek region was the site of Caddoan settlements organized similarly to the Hasinai and Kadohadacho during the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods, but was abandoned during the seventeenth century, probably by 1680 (Thurmond 1985). As I have noted, groups formerly residing in the Cypress Creek region may have become part of the Hasinai Confederacy, beginning in the mid-seventeenth century.

Story (1981:150) has suggested that the Davis and Sanders sites, located at the western edge of the eastern Texas Caddo region, were strategically placed to control incoming trade from the west, and thus are consistent with Kenneth Hirth's gateway community model (Hirth 1978). Hirth's model suggests that the emergence of social stratification is related to the control of the

Four Fair
Cave below

distribution of resources. When interregional trade is important to the growth of a region, Hirth says, "the most influential communities will tend to develop and be situated at strategic locales for controlling the flow of merchandise." These locales are found at points of passage into and out of the region which serve as "gateways" linking the region to external trade networks (Hirth 1978:37).

Early documentary evidence suggests that the control of such trade gateways may have developed and become important as a basis or source of reinforcement for the status of political elites among the Hasinai by the mid- to late-seventeenth century. In 1676, the Bishop of Guadalajara, Don Manuel Fernandez de Santa Cruz (Bannon 1964:112-113), on a visit of inspection to the northern frontier of New Spain, wrote of eyewitness reports from Coahuiltecan Indians of southern Texas concerning the province of the Hasinai, which had yet to be visited by the Spanish. He noted that the Coahuiltecan had communicated

"with the people of that nation, which they call Texas, and who, they maintain, live under an organized government, congregated in their pueblos, and governed by a casique who is named by the Great Lord, as they call the one who rules them all, and who, they say, resides in the interior. They have houses made of wood, cultivate the soil, plant maize and other crops, wear clothes, and punish misdemeanors, especially theft. The Coahuiles do not give more detailed reports of the Texas because, they say, they are allowed to go only to the first pueblos of the border, since the Great Lord of the Texas does not permit foreign nations to enter the interior of his country. There are many of these Coahuiles who give these reports, and who say that they got them through having aided the Texas in their wars against the Pauti, another very warlike nation."

The reason given by these Indians for having visited the Hasinai was that of aiding them in their wars. This may well have been the case. However, it is very likely, as Swanton (1942:36) notes, that an additional, and perhaps the more frequent, reason for the visits was to trade Spanish horses and merchandise. These two activities, trade and military alliance, were probably related. The Hasinai actively sought allies for warfare, and trade relationships probably served at least in part to establish military alliances. Indeed, it may have been expected that a partner in trade would also be an ally in war.

The Jumanos are most frequently mentioned as middlemen who brought Spanish goods to the Hasinai. However, there is no reason to suppose that other groups, including the Coahuiltecan, were not involved in this trade network as well. Jumano groups, displaced from the southern Plains, are known to have been present in northern Coahuila around the time of the report cited above (Campbell 1983:348; N.P. Hickerson 1994:178), and Coahuiltecan groups resident in that area may have accompanied the Jumanos on their trading visits to eastern Texas. Indeed, the "Coahuiles" mentioned by the Bishop of Guadalajara may have even included Jumanos. European observers, including the members of the Teran de los Rios expedition of 1691-92, noted the presence of members of a number of other tribes, probably "Coahuiltecan", who accompanied the Jumanos on their journeys to the Hasinai around 1690 (Teran 1932: 15; Massanet 1932: 57).

If the reports concerning the Hasinai made to the Bishop of Guadalajara by the Indians were accurate, which we have no reason to doubt, then it would appear that the Xinesi (the "Great Lord" mentioned in the quote above) maintained strict control of the border regions of the Hasinai territory. The local chiefs, the Caddices, of the outlying provinces or communities of the Hasinai Confederacy, appear to have been instrumental in maintain this border control. These Caddices, or "casique(s). . . named by the Great Lord", were probably members of the same lineage as the

Xinesi. There is no direct evidence from the historic descriptions of the Hasinai, other than this one indirect account, that the Xinesi appointed the Caddices. It is more likely that the Xinesi rose from the ranks of the Caddices, either through seniority or through personal influence - he may have been, as Kathleen Gilmore (1983:67) termed it, the "biggest big man"

among big men. However, it is quite likely that the Xinesi could direct the placement of Caddices, who were probably younger relatives, among the Hasinai villages. The purpose of their control of the frontier and the points of entry into the Hasinai territory would have been, at least in part, to control the inflow and distribution of incoming trade goods.

Conclusion

Identification of the historical processes taking place in the material and social environment are important to any understanding of the influences on sociocultural changes, such as those that created the late seventeenth-century Hasinai Confederacy. It is also important to remember that such historical processes can have their origins in far-flung locations, hundreds or even thousands of miles distant from the point of observation. This paper has addressed three separate historical factors that, at the end of the protohistoric period and beginning of the historic period, were present and which exerted significant pressure on the Caddoan peoples that comprised the Hasinai Confederacy. These three processes were: the rise of Apache aggression and hostility on the southern Plains, the development of a regular trade in European goods and horses from Spanish colonial settlements in northern Mexico and New Mexico, and demographic declines due to introduced disease. I believe that all three of these processes contributed to a fourth, the migration of Caddoan populations south to the Hasinai region. This migration provided the foundation for the subsequent development, during the late protohistoric period, of a formal political alliance and nascent chiefdom that Swanton (1942) first called the Hasinai Confederacy.

The archaeological evidence for the movement of Caddoan groups from the Cypress Creek or Sabine River region to the Hasinai region is inconclusive at best, although the abandonment of the former area is well established archaeo-

logically (Thurmond 1985). However, there is documentary evidence for this movement. Some of the groups found by the de Soto party near the Cypress Creek or Sulphur River appear to have moved into the Hasinai territory by the eighteenth century. These include the provinces of Nissohone, in the Sulphur River basin, and Nondacao, on the Cypress Creek (Hudson 1993: 150-151) visited by the de Soto party (Gentleman of Elvas 1925:242-243), which seem to correspond with the late-seventeenth century Hasinai communities of Nasoni and Nadaco, respectively.⁴

Such movements and combinations of communities would not have been particularly unusual. Ewers (1973) emphasizes that the movement of groups and their combination with other communities was a frequent response to demographic decline among the historic period Caddo, and notes that the population of a Caddo community rarely dropped below 150 before it would leave its territory and join another group. Of course, the population of a village would not have to drop to this critical level. Other pressures besides disease could have made it advantageous for communities to move nearer to more well-positioned allies and trading partners, and thus might have been responsible for population movements.

The Spanish occupation of northern New Spain, accompanied by the introduction of Spanish goods and horses, encouraged the creation of a native trade economy centered on the movement of European goods and horses across the South-

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ern Plains, from New Mexico and far western Texas to the Caddoan region of eastern Texas. The groups involved in this trade network probably included many of the same peoples who were involved in an earlier exchange in native objects, which had brought goods from the Puebloan region to the Caddoan villages along the Red River.

However, during the late seventeenth century, middleman groups, notably the Jumano, began to follow a more southerly route across the plains than did the earlier traders, a development that was almost certainly a response to Apache expansion and aggression. As a result of this southerly shift in the native trade route across the Plains, the Hasinai communities of northeastern Texas became the eastern terminus of this route, and thus were a regional gateway for the entrance of trade goods into the Caddoan region.

Apache hostility also made it advantageous for Caddoan peoples to concentrate their settlements near the Hasinai, for its relatively protected position, for the safety to be found in numbers, and for the Spanish horses and weapons to be found there, which allowed them to meet the Apaches on relatively equal ground. The Hasinai leaders were able to use their position as a gateway for the distribution of trade goods to help them to gain a close circle of Caddoan allies, the Hasinai Confederacy, as it is now known to historians and anthropologists. They were also able to attract a looser, less formal, confederation of groups, both Caddoan and non-Caddoan, that they could count on as allies and trade partners. The desire of Hasinai and Jumano Indians, and their allies, to maintain open trade routes across the Southern Plains in the face of increasing Apache raiding would, by the late 1600's, lead the Hasinai to encourage the establishment of Spanish missions in their territory.

Endnotes

1. Don Juan de Olivan Rebolledo, report of December 24, 1717. Bexar Archives microfilm, reel 8.
2. Letter from Fray Antonio Margil de Jesus and Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa to the Viceroy marques de Valero, June 23, 1722. Archivo del Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Queretary, K Legajo 1 no. 18. Photocopy of transcript in Catholic Archives of Texas 2.4.11.1.
3. Fray Gabriel Vergara, *et al.* Representacio de

los Religiosos, July 20, 1729. University of Texas, Center for American History. Transcript of original in Archivo General de la Nacion de Mexico, Box 2Q177.

4. Nasoni, during the protohistoric period, apparently split into two communities, one of which migrated to the Neches River drainage and became part of the Hainai Confederacy, and the other which became part of the Kadohadacho Confederacy on the Red River. The two communities are sometimes referred to as the Upper and Lower Nasoni.

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PRELIMINARY REPORT ON A STRATIFIED LATE ARCHAIC-WOODLAND ERA ROCKSHELTER IN ROGERS COUNTY, OKLAHOMA

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Introduction

In northeastern Oklahoma, very little is known about the transition from the Late Archaic to the Woodland period (Wyckoff and Brooks, 1983: 55). To date, most of the archeological evidence documenting this time period has been derived from sites with mixed or otherwise uncertain components (Vehik 1984:178). In this report, we present a preliminary description of a small rockshelter, 34RO252, which has a Late Archaic deposit stratigraphically below a Woodland era cultural deposit. These two deposits are unmixed, discrete, and are physically separated by an apparently sterile clay soil horizon. It is anticipated that the stratified cultural deposits at this site will help characterize the transition from the Late Archaic to the Early Woodland period along the Verdigris River in northeast Oklahoma.

This site was first reported in April 1994 by

two men who had discovered partially exposed human skeletal remains located in the rear remnant of a rockshelter at Oologah Lake in Rogers County, Oklahoma (Figure 1). The two men illegally excavated the remains and removed them from the site.¹ The rockshelter where the remains originated was subsequently examined by the authors and additional skeletal material was identified, *in situ*, in an exposed soil profile (Figure 2). A series of three radiocarbon assays, described below, placed the cultural deposit and the human remains within the Late Archaic-Woodland period (*circa* 780 B.C. to A.D. 900).² This site is provisionally classified as corresponding to a cultural sequence that includes the old Grove C (Delaware A)/Woodland II (Cooper foci) described by Purrington (1971:11, 531ff) and Vehik (1984:178-179; 1994:239ff).

Environmental Setting

Site 34RO252 is located in the Claremore Cuesta Plains on the side of a fossiliferous limestone bluff which is on the west bank of and overlooks the old Verdigris River channel. The Verdigris River is currently under Oologah Lake. The base of the rockshelter stands at 680 feet National Geodetic Vertical Datum. Above the rockshelter, sediments overlying the limestone

uplands consist of a silty clay loam of the Newtonia-Sogn-Summit association which had originally developed under a cover of tall prairie grasses (Polone 1966:2). Today, the uplands in this vicinity are predominantly forested with oak and hickory. On top of the bluff above the rockshelter there is a small stand of cedar trees.

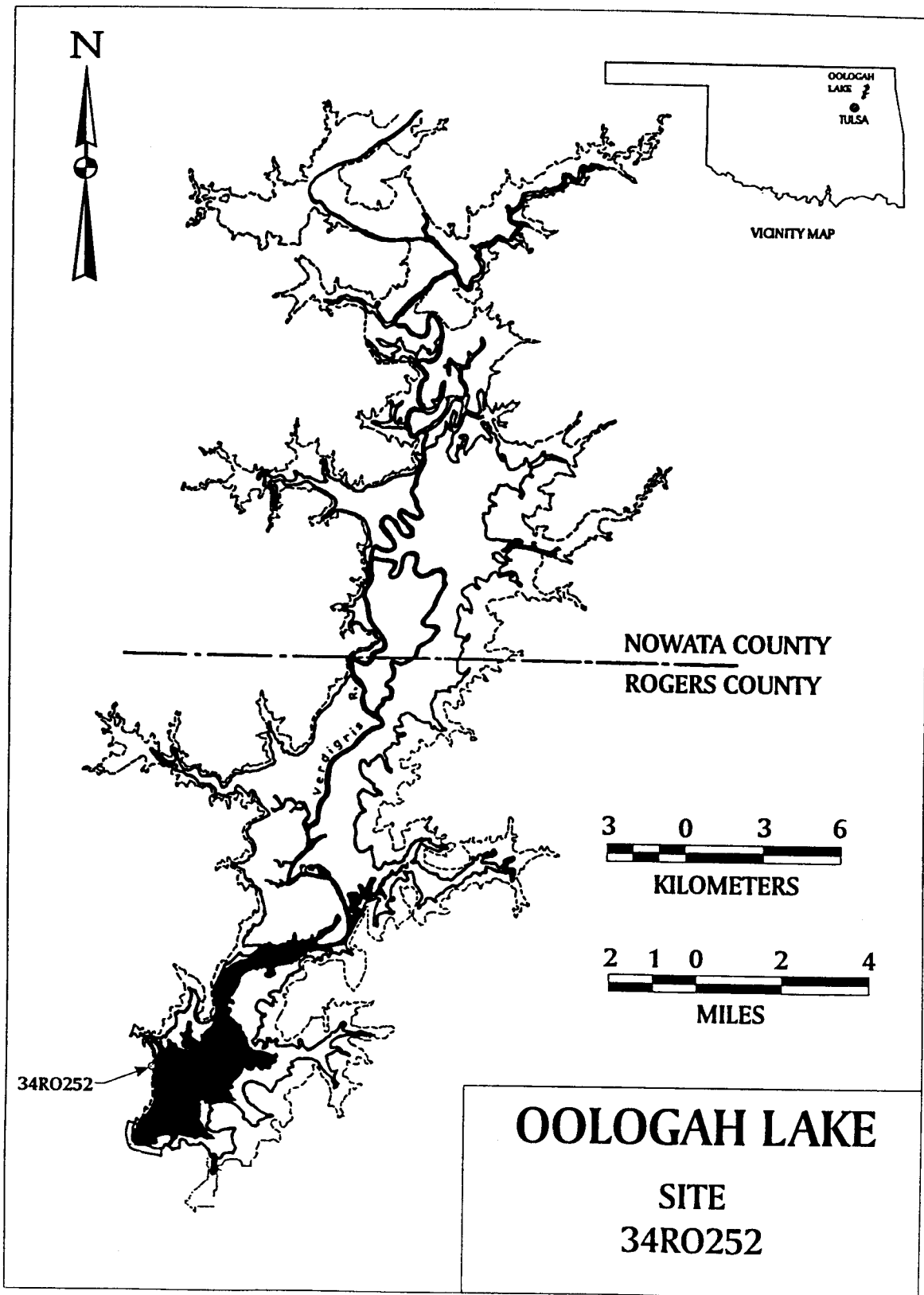


Figure 1. Location of Rockshelter Site (34RO252).

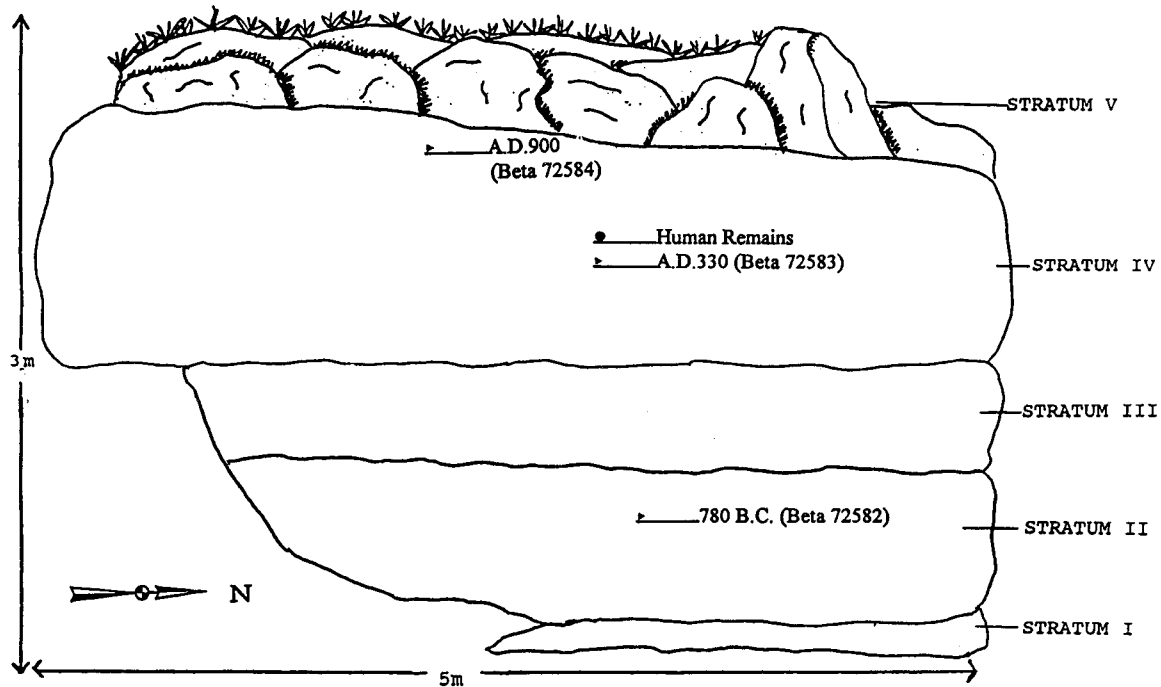


Figure 2. Soil Profile Schematic, 34RO252.

Archeological Background

Little is known about the time leading up to and during the Delaware A Focus in northeastern Oklahoma. Because of limited data and mixed or otherwise uncertain assignments distinguishing differences between the Late Archaic and the Early Woodland period in northeast Oklahoma has been difficult (Vehik 1984; Wyckoff and Brooks 1983:55). Purrington (1971) and Vehik (1984) suggest, however, that the Delaware A Focus emerged gradually from the Late Archaic Grove C Focus. The gradual transition out of the Late Archaic is marked by a shift in the frequency from barbed points to Late Contracting Stemmed points (Purrington 1971:535). Contracting stemmed points, such as Gary, Langtry, and Standlee predominate the chipped stone assemblage of the Delaware A Focus. These points are linked to the Late Archaic and post-Woodland occupations, however, and as a result, dating

sites based on these artifacts is difficult. Grit ceramics consisting of bowl and jar forms with conoidal-flat disc bases are present in small amounts and resemble Woodward Plain ware forms of the later Neosho Focus. Nonceramic Delaware A deposits are not uncommon, however. While dating this transition has been extremely poor, Vehik (1984) proposes that the Delaware A Focus begins at about A.D. 1.

Delaware A deposits are found in both rockshelters and open air sites. Because there is a narrower range of artifacts found at rockshelters than at open air sites, it has been suggested that the rockshelters were used for specific functions like hunting. This observation might also account for the absence of ceramics in these deposits. At one Delaware A site, mussel shell makes up 80% of the faunal assemblage, suggesting a limited

resource base (Vehik 1984). In some deposits, an increased frequency of milling equipment and tools associated with horticulture indicate a shift towards subsistence based on cultigens.

Most of the basic changes, or lack of changes as the case may be, in northeast Oklahoma does suggest however, that the early Woodland period and the later cultural sequences correspond to an

in situ development rather than migration into the territory (Vehik 1994:156). Consistent with Vehik's thesis that the southern Plains Caddoan-Wichita tradition developed in place over a long period of time (1992;1993;1994), we think that site 34RO252 is part of that in place development and that those cultures identified during the Woodland and post-Woodland era were established at a much earlier time.

Site Description

It is emphasized that this is a preliminary report on 34RO252. All descriptions here are based on what was observed on the surface of the site. Additional work at 34RO252 may, and probably will, change some of the description presented in this report.

Site 34RO252 consists of a small rockshelter just below the crest of an east-facing, precipitous bluff overlooking the submerged Verdigris River channel (Figure 1). At its closest point, it is estimated that 34RO252 is 100 meters west by southwest of and raises 35 meters above the Verdigris River. The rockshelter itself is no more than 20 meters long (north to south) and 5 meters wide (east to west). A large section of the roof of the shelter has collapsed and lays down slope just below the remaining intact cultural deposit. Most of the cultural deposit has slumped down slope.

The principal evidence of human activity at this site is the presence of human remains. The skeletal remains come from a single individual. Some of the skeletal remains were observed *in situ* in the exposed soil profile (Figure 2). Most of what remains at the site, however, consists of two small vertically stratified cultural deposits. These deposits have lenses of ash and flecks of charcoal. There is a great deal of mussel or clam shell embedded in the matrix of the cultural deposits at this site. Small fragments of turtle carapace are also present. Chert flakes are present in low density. To date, no ceramics or

formal stone tools have been identified at this site.

There are two apparently intact and unmixed cultural strata sandwiched in between three apparently sterile soil horizons present at the site. Figure 2 illustrates the strata described here. Stratum I is approximately 5 cm thick and consists of a red clay non-cultural horizon that forms the basement of this stratigraphic sequence. Stratum II rests immediately on Stratum I. Stratum II is a discrete cultural deposit approximately 70 cm thick. It consists of a dark brown to black clayey loam. There are flecks of charcoal in this deposit. Freshwater mussels or clam shells appear to be embedded in Stratum II. The upper third of Stratum II was dated to *circa* 780 B.C. Stratum III rests immediately on Stratum II. Stratum III is approximately 15 cm thick and consists of a noncultural brownish red clay horizon. Stratum IV rests immediately on Stratum III. Stratum IV looks very much like Stratum II. It consists of a carbon rich, dark brown to black clayey loam. The human remains originate in Stratum IV. Stratum IV has a great deal of mussel or clam shell embedded in its matrix. One small piece of turtle carapace came from Stratum IV. A radiocarbon sample taken from soil tangent to the *in situ* skeletal remains yielded a date of *circa* A.D. 330. A radiocarbon sample taken from the top of Stratum IV yielded a date of *circa* A.D. 900. Stratum V is a non-cultural horizon of roof fall/detritus that caps the entire deposit.

The structure and age of this site suggests that there are two discrete cultural components present at this site. They are physically separated by a well defined non-cultural soil horizon (Stratum

III in Figure 2). The lower component dates to the Late Archaic. The upper component spans the Woodland period.

Radiocarbon Dates and Chronological Placement

Based on a series of three radiocarbon assays the occupation of the rockshelter dates between 810 B.C. and A.D. 1010 (Table 1). These assays are within two standard deviations (2σ) with a 95% probability that the site dates to this range. The radiocarbon dates were derived from carbon-rich sediments within Stratum II and Stratum IV. The earliest date (Beta-72582) was recovered from Stratum II and has a 2σ range from 810 B.C. to 420 B.C., with a mean date of 780 B.C. The remaining dates were taken from Stratum IV. Beta 72583 was recovered immediately below and tangent to the *in situ* human remains exposed in the soil profile. This sample has a range, within 2σ , between A.D. 210 and A.D. 420, with a mean date of A.D. 330. The youngest date, (Beta 72584) was recovered from the top of Stratum IV and ranges, within 2σ , be-

tween A.D. 780 and A.D. 1010, with a mean date of A.D. 900.

Among the three radiocarbon dates there is no overlap, even within a range of 2σ . It appears that Stratum II is, at the very least, 600 years earlier than Stratum IV. In Stratum IV, the two assays are separated by at least 350 years.

Chronologically, the occupation of Stratum II dates to the late Archaic, while Stratum IV fall predominately within the Woodland period. Along this portion of the Verdigris River the cultural chronology is vague. However, based on the dates and geographic placement of the site, 34RO252 appears to have been occupied during the old Grove C (Delaware A)/Woodland II (Cooper foci) described by Vehik (1984:178ff).

Table 1. Radiocarbon Assays From Samples Recovered at 34RO252.

Sample	Conventional Radiocarbon Age BP (1σ)	Calibrated Age (1σ)
Strat. II (Beta 72582)	2540 \pm 60	810 - 420 BC (x = 780 BC)
Strat. IV (Beta 72583)	1740 \pm 50	AD 210 - 420 (x = AD 330)
Strat. IV (Beta 72584)	1140 \pm 50	AD 780 - 1010 (x = AD 900)

Summary and Conclusions

To conclude, 34RO252 is a stratified rockshelter that has two discrete unmixed components that were deposited during the Late Archaic and the Woodland periods. In contrast, most of the sites that date to this transitional period have had mixed deposits or doubtful assignments (Vehik 1984). Thus far, observations of 34RO252 seems consistent with Vehik's (1984) characterization of a hard to see and difficult to define Delaware A Focus described for the Neosho River drainage just to the east. The site chronologically spans the Early and later Woodland period but, thus far, no ceramics have been identified at the site. Like other rockshelters that date to the Delaware A Focus, there is a great deal of mussel or clam shell present at 34RO252. Thus far, the burial present at this site does not have observable grave furniture,³ a characteristic of the Delaware A Focus noted by Vehik (1984).

One of two outcomes can be expected from further examination of 34RO252. If there is no difference between the earlier and later deposits, this would appear to support the proposition that there was very little change or that the change was very gradual between the Late Archaic and Woodland periods for this part of Oklahoma. A

gradual change may argue for a conservative *in situ* cultural transition. If the two deposits are measurably different from one another, for example, in terms of ceramics, cultigens, and faunal remains, *inter alia*, these differences may help illustrate the nature of the transition from the Late Archaic to the Woodland period for this part of Oklahoma. A pronounced or punctuated change might argue for immigration or invasion.

As it stand now, site 34RO252 is consistent with other Delaware A/Woodland II era sites and appears to reflect a gradual, conservative in place transition from the Late Archaic to the Woodland era. If that is the case, then an argument could reasonably be made that the cultural affiliation of this site is ancestral to the late prehistoric and early historic era Wichita-speakers that occupied this territory. This is an idea consistent with Vehik's argument for an *in situ* development of the pan-Caddo/Wichita-speaking people in the central and southern Plains.

Salvage excavation of this site is underway and a more detailed picture of the material present will be forthcoming.

ENDNOTES

1. The two men subsequently turned the remains over to law enforcement officials, who turned the remains over to the Medical Examiner's Office, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

2. The Medical Examiner's Office would not release the remains to Tulsa District unless there was evidence that the remains were not the result of recent wrong doing. After one of us (Jobson) examined the remains at the Medical Examiner's Office, it was concluded that it was extremely

probably that the remains were Native American and ancient. The three radiocarbon dates were taken to convince the Medical Examiner's Office that the remains were in fact ancient and Native American. Based on these dates, the remains were released to Tulsa District.

3. The two men who excavated and removed the remains did not report finding any grave furniture.

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AltaMira Press Announces New Publications

by Prof. Brian Fagan and Harry F. Wolcott

AltaMira Press, a division of Sage Publications, Inc., announces the publication of a new book in archaeology, **SNAPSHOTS OF THE PAST**, by Prof. Brian Fagan, University of California at Santa Barbara, available in mid-September. **SNAPSHOTS** informs the reader, in the framework of 30 brief essays, about the leading issues in archaeology today. Orders for this book (\$14.95 paperback, \$32.00 hardcover) can be placed through the AltaMira Press Order Department, 2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks CA 91320. Telephone: 805-499-0721; fax: 805-499-0871.

In this new work, Fagan collects many articles from his regular *Timelines* column in *Archeology Magazine*, as well as several new articles, into a single volume. He leads the reader on a tour through time and space ranging from the ascent of the human species to public controversies that concern today's archeologist. Fagan offers his readers "snapshots" of issues of greatest contemporary interest: the Eve hypothesis, the peopling of the New World, site looting, the impact of feminism on archaeology, the archaeology of slavery, the spectacular cave art finds at Chauvet Grotto in France, among many others.

Another new book, **THE ART OF FIELDWORK**, was published in September [288 pages; hardcover \$42.00, softcover \$19.95]. The author, Harry F. Wolcott, teaches anthropology at the University of Oregon, and is one of the premier writers on fieldwork methodology. In this publication, he "looks at the essential elements that constitute the art of his discipline. He compares the fieldworker to the artist, while recognizing the inherent differences between the labors of each. Like artists, fieldworkers must forego simple solutions and the by-the-numbers approaches, and deal with the subject in all its complexity. It is in understanding and addressing this complexity that fieldworkers perfect their art - the basic arts of technique, the darker arts of ethical and personal dilemmas, and the lighter arts of understanding and reward. Wolcott links fieldwork to building theory, to analysis, and to the writing process, providing a guide to the important mindwork associated with the process. While avoiding platitudes and simple prescriptions for a successful field experience, Wolcott's wisdom of decades in the field comes through on every page, providing guidance to the novice ready to enter the field and reflective questions for seasoned veterans. Written with Wolcott's typical wit and style, **THE ART OF FIELDWORK** is essential reading for anyone seeking to understand what 'going to the field' really means. Be sure to read it before you go and again when you return."

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