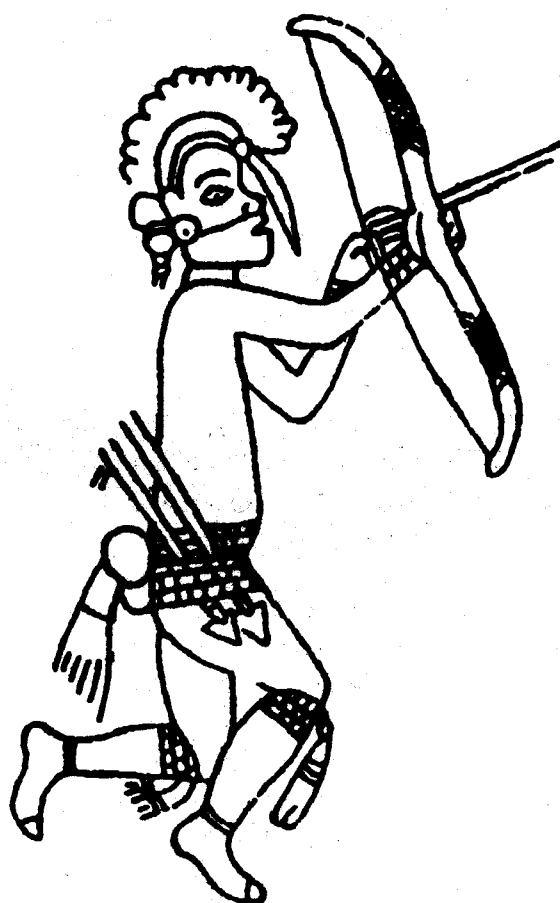


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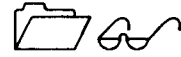
JULY, 1996

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Editor's Page



WANTED!!

The Marine Corps wants a few good men, the ancient Greek philosopher looked for an honest man, and I want (as usual) manuscripts for this publication. Yes, I know that I have been promised some, but I don't have any in hand. I really do appreciate the efforts of those who have sent articles for the past newsletters. I also need people to send in news from the region, and abstracts from recent publications on areal research.



Regional News

OKLAHOMA

On July 1, Dr. Don G. Wyckoff started work as the Curator of Archeology for the Oklahoma Museum of Natural History, and as Associate Professor for the Department of Anthropology at OU. Don had been with the Oklahoma Archeological Survey since it began in 1968. Although we will miss him, OMNH has badly needed a curator for its archeology collection, which is the largest in the museum. With the construction of a new museum (see below) and the need for exhibit preparation for this new facility, this need has become even more urgent. In addition to work on the collections and exhibits, Don will teach classes in the Department of Anthropology and continue research on Paleoindian occupations and late Pleistocene-late Holocene environmental changes.

On February 23, 1996, a groundbreaking ceremony was held on The University of Oklahoma campus (west of the law school building) for the new \$38 million Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History. Present were David Boren, president of OU, Governor Frank Keating, OU regents, several members of the Oklahoma congressional delegation, and numerous other dignitaries, as well as OU faculty, staff, and students and the

general public. At this time, work is well underway. Construction is scheduled to be completed in 1998, with exhibits installation ready for opening in 1999.

Get out your calendars and block off March 13-15 for the 39th Caddo Conference in sunny/snowy/windy (which will it be next year?) Oklahoma! Preliminary planning is underway about facilities, etc. As of now, the Thursday night reception and Friday papers/symposia will be in Norman. On Saturday, we will move to Anadarko for additional papers/symposia (or round-table) and dinner/Caddo dances in the evening, probably at Binger. This schedule is subject to change, however. There are several motels in Anadarko for those who don't want to drive back to Norman on Saturday night. More details will be sent in a preliminary flier soon.

Dr. Lee Bement and Kent Buehler of the Oklahoma Archeological Survey spent the summer teaching an archeological field school, a cooperative effort between The University of Oklahoma, the University of Kansas, and Kansas State University. It was held at the Folsom-age Waugh site (34HP42) in far northwestern Oklahoma. Although this is far from the Caddoan area, there are so

few known, excavated Paleoindian sites that they are of interest to most archeologists. The Waugh site contains a bison kill (area 1), camp (area 3), and an exposure containing mammoth bones (area 2). Most of the work was done in the camp and kill areas. Previous work under the direction of Dr. Jack Hofman (KU) had determined that Folsom people conducted the bison kill and probably inhabited the camp over 10,400 years ago. This summer's work was to add to understanding of the size of the kill, the layout of the landscape around the kill, and the activities conducted in the camp area. At the season's end, they had unearthed parts of two bison (including one nearly complete skeleton) and one flake tool at area 1; several bison bones, one flake tool, and numerous pieces of charcoal from area 3; and a mammoth scapula and ribs from area 2.

Bob Brooks sends the following news

from eastern Oklahoma:

Recent archaeological work in eastern Oklahoma has focused on small scale projects. These include oil and gas wells, gas pipelines, and Indian housing. During the past three months, some 44 surveys comprising 2292 acres and 25 miles have been surveyed with 20 sites being recorded.

In other news, study continues on the prehistoric fishtrap recorded by Larry Neal in Pushmataha County. A reexamination of the Peoria quarries in Ottawa County was also conducted in July to coordinate possible preservation efforts for this lithic source area. Lastly, meetings were held with the Ouachita National Forest and the Weyerhaeuser Corporation concerning the exchange of approximately 10,000 acres of land in southeastern Oklahoma and southwestern Arkansas.

TEXAS

Tim Perttula sends the following news from northeastern Texas:

Unfortunately, the news of note for *Caddoan Archeology* readers is dominated by the recent looting of Caddoan sites at Lake O' the Pines on Big Cypress Creek and Lake Sam Rayburn on the Angelina River. Both areas have been hit hard by looters and grave robbers over the years, particularly Lake O' the Pines, but the looters are

continuing their criminal activities.

Looting at Corps of Engineers Lakes

At Lake Sam Rayburn, however, two well-known pothunters/looters were served on May 23, 1996 with a mandatory appearance citation in U.S. District Court by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (COE) for destruction of government property after they were caught in the act of looting a Caddo site

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in Angelina County. One of the looters has a business card describing himself as an Indian artifact collector. The Assistant U.S. District Attorney in Lufkin, Texas, has asked for a continuance of the case and investigation until September 26, 1996, at which time the looters will need to appear in U.S. District Court.

Three Caddo cemeteries at Lake O' the Pines (McKinney [41MR12], Pleasure Point [41MR63], and Sandy Creek [34MR122]) have been looted within the last one to two months. The Sandy Creek cemetery had not been previously known, but the site recording effort by Mr. Bo Nelson (working under an Archeological Resources Protection Act permit issued in 1995 by the COE-Ft. Worth District to Dr. Timothy K. Perttula) defined more than 65 looted burial pits.

Lake Gilmer

The archeological investigations at Lake Gilmer by Horizon Environmental Services, Inc. (Austin, Texas) have been on hold since March 1996. An apparent shortage of funds by the City of Gilmer and Horizon led to the discontinuation of work in the middle of the data recovery effort at 41UR133, a large and well-preserved Middle and Late Caddo site. The lake is scheduled for completion in early 1997, and at this writing it is unclear when, or if, the archeological investigations will be completed. Between March and June 1996, avocational

archeologists from the Northeast Texas Archeological Society led by Mr. Mike Turner have recorded more than 40 new prehistoric and historic sites in the proposed floodpool of the lake that became exposed after it was cleared of timber.

White Oak Creek Wildlife Management Area

GeoMarine, Inc. (Plano, Texas) recently completed test excavations for the COE-Ft. Worth District at two extensive Caddo sites (41BW553 and 41TT670) in the White Oak Creek Management Area. Both contain middens, features, and high densities of ceramics and lithics, as well as preserved faunal remains. The Caddo occupations at the sites range from Formative Caddoan (A.D. 800-1000) to Late Caddoan (A.D. 1400-1680) in age.

One of the more exciting aspects of the Geo-Marine, Inc. investigations was their use of soil samples for Oxidizable Carbon Ratio (OCR) dating (Frink 1994) of features and middens. OCR dating appears to have great potential, because it requires only a small soil sample from features, has standard errors of less than three percent, and the cost per sample for the OCR analysis is about 1/5 that of standard radiocarbon analyses. The 16 OCR dates from the two sites range from 687-1005 B.P. from 41TT670 and 276-1009 B.P. from 41BW553.

Reference Cited

Frink, D.
1994 The Oxidizable Carbon Ratio

(OCR): A Proposed Solution to Some of the Problems Encountered with Radiocarbon Data. *North American Archaeologist* 15(1).

ARKANSAS

The following information was excerpted from Field Notes (newsletter of the Arkansas Archeological Society):

The AAS Annual Training Program in Archeology was held at Parkin Archeological State Park in Cross County, northeastern Arkansas, from June 17-23. They were rained out for several days, but finally got to work at the Graves site (3CS270), a late Woodland period site with lots of pits, and Neely's Ferry (3CS24), a site with plowed down mounds. At Neely's Ferry, a major goal was to profile a moat; postholes were found which are thought to have been part of a palisade. Numerous other features were also excavated. A small, well-preserved (probably by the heavy clay content of daub), charred piece of woven cane basketry was found in one of units. A lot of lab work got done because of the rain. (After our long drought, when did it finally rain? Of course! Just in time for the wheat harvest and archeological field schools... *ed.*)

The Arkansas Highway Department has been busy. Several of their contracted

projects, including work at bluffshelters and other prehistoric site, as well as historic sites, since 1990 have been within the Caddoan area (check David Williamson's article for more complete information).

Although most of the work by Midcontinental Research Associates featured in *Field Notes* was in eastern Arkansas, Bob Lafferty did mention that during the last four years, they have tested 79 sites on the Fort Chaffee Military Reservation. About half of these were prehistoric and half historic, with many found to be significant, with deposits as deep as a meter in the uplands.

Carol Spears' company, SPEARS, Inc. has been doing surveys in the Ouachita National Forest, finding both prehistoric and historic sites. SPEARS has also been doing background research for a 130 mile proposed freeway down the western side of the state. Once an alignment is selected from the three possibilities, a survey will be done of the entire route.



**Contents of Quaternary Research,
Volume 46, Number 1, July 1996**



Several papers in the most recent issue of *Quaternary Research* are of immediate interest to archeologists interested in the peopling of America and in paleoenvironments. These include:

Curry, C. Brandon, and Milan J. Pavich
1996 Absence of Glaciation in Illinois during Marine Isotope Stages 3 through 5. *Quaternary Research* 46(1):19-26.

By interpreting ^{10}Be and ^{14}C ages of material from a core from northern Illinois, the authors support previous work stating that the area was ice free from ca. 155,000 to 25,000 years ago. This work has implications for the peopling of North America.

Russ, Jon, Russell L. Palma, David H. Loyd, Thomas W. Boutton, and Michael A. Coy
1996 Origin of the Whewellite-Rich Rock Crust in the Lower Pecos Region of Southwest Texas and Its Significance to Paleoclimate Reconstructions. *Quaternary Research* 46(1):27-36.

This paper looks at calcium oxalate (whewellite) crusts on limestone for paleoclimatic reconstructions. They suggest that the calcium oxalate was formed by a lichen *Aspicilia calarea* in the past, during dry (xeric) cycles. During wet cycles, it would not be present. By dating the crusts from limestones, they suggest a climatic reconstruction which generally agrees with models established by other methods for Texas.

Curtis, Jason H., David A. Hodell, and Mark Brenner

1996 Climate Variability on the Yucatan Peninsula (Mexico) during the Past 3500 Years, and Implications for Maya Cultural Evolution. *Quaternary Research* 46(1):37-47.

The reconstruction was based on changes in ^{18}O in ostracods and gastropods from a sediment core from Lake Punta Laguna, Mexico. Several drought periods were postulated, including one which coincided with the collapse of the Classic Maya civilization. The last arid event ended about 930 ^{14}C yr BP, and conditions have been wetter to the present, except for a dry period around 559 ^{14}C yr BP. These wet/dry episodes may have influenced cultural evolution in Mesoamerica.

Sabin, Ann L. and Nicklas G. Piasias
1996 Sea Surface Temperature Changes in the Northeastern Pacific Ocean during the Past 20,000 Years and Their Relationship to Climate Change in Northwestern North America. *Quaternary Research* 46(1):48-61.

This study is based on radiolarian microfossils in order to reconstruct temperatures for the eastern North Pacific. Regional patterns of ocean circulation have changed through time, affecting temperatures inland in North America. This work also has implications about periods of ice-free conditions and the peopling of North America.



Upcoming Meetings and Events



September

6 Annual Meeting for information and public input for Fiscal Year 1997 Historic Preservation Fund grant applications. 10:30 AM - 5 PM. Oklahoma Historical Society Board Room, Wiley Post Historical Building/State Museum of History, Oklahoma City. Lincoln Boulevard at NE 21st Street.

28 Confederate Living History. 9:00 AM - 5:00 PM. Fort Washita Historic Site, Durant-Madill OK. For additional information, call (405) 924-6502.

October

25 Texas Archeological Society Annual Meeting. San Antonio, Texas.

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.

October 30 - November 2 54th Annual Plains Anthropological Conference. Iowa City, Iowa. Sponsored by Office of the Iowa State Archeologist and University of Iowa. Submission deadlines August 15 for symposia and September 9 for contributed papers. For program information contact Joseph Tiffany, Program Chair, Department of Anthropology, 319 Curtiss Hall, Iowa State University, Ames IA 50010-1050, e-mail jtiffany@iastate.edu. For general information, contact William Green, Office of the State Archeologist, Eastlawn, University of Iowa, Iowa City IA 52242-1411, fax (319) 335-2776, e-mail bill-green@uiowa.edu, web address <http://www.uiowa.edu/~osa/events>.

November

6-9 Southeastern Archeological Conference. Sheraton Civic Center, Birmingham, AL, hosted by the University of Alabama Museum, The University of Alabama Press, and the Department of Anthropology, University of Alabama-Tuscaloosa. Meeting registration \$30.00 (\$35.00 after October 1), students \$20. Deadline for symposium proposals August 1; proposals must include 1) proposal forms for symposium and all papers; 2) registration fees for participants, and 3) membership dues for participants who are not current members of SEAC. There will be a poster session. Program chair: Ian W. Brown, Alabama Museum of Natural History, University of Alabama, Box 870340, Tuscaloosa AL 35487-0340; phone 205-348-9742; fax 205-348-4219.

7-10 American Society for Ethnohistory, 1996 Annual Meeting. Portland, Oregon. For information, contact Jacqueline Peterson, ASE 1996 Meeting Chair, Department of History, Washington State University, 1812 E McLoughlin Blvd, Vancouver WA 98663; telephone (360) 737-2179.

14-17 29th Annual Chacmool Conference. University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada. The theme for the meeting is "The Archaeology of Innovation and Science". The organizers hope to present a conference which reveals how archeologists identify techniques, technologies, and sciences used by past cultures. Participation in the conference is open to all and is not restricted to professional archeologists. Papers are solicited from avocational archeologists as well as students. Some suggested categories and topics are: Communication Systems (writing systems, sig-

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nalling devices, roads); Numerical Systems and Calendrics (mathematics, calendars, computers); Public Works (buildings, earthworks, terracing [landscapes], design techniques); Health & Healing (nutrition, medicine, surgery, pharmacology, shamanism); Domestication (plants and animals); Hydrology (water management, irrigation systems, transportation); Transportation (roads, transportation means [vehicles etc.], navigation); Pyrotechnology (metallurgy, ceramics, casting, glassmaking); Warfare (weapons, fortifications); Archaeology of the Industrial Revolution; Food-gathering, Processing, and Storage. If interested in presenting a paper or organizing a session, contact the Organizing Committee at 403-282-9567. For additional information, contact Catherine Christensen, 1996 Conference Committee, Department of Archaeology, the University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada T2N 1N4; telephone 402-220-5227 (leave message); fax: 403-282-9567; e-mail: 13042@ucdasvml.admin.ucalgary.ca.

20-24 *American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting*. San Francisco CA. Contact: American Anthropological Association, 4350 N Fairfax Drive, Suite 640, Arlington VA 22203. Telephone: 703-528-1902.

1997

February 3 - March 5 (tentative) *America's Smithsonian*. This is a traveling exhibit celebrating the Smithsonian's 150th anniversary. It will

feature everything from dinosaurs to space travel. No other information available at present.

March

14-15 *39th Caddo Conference*. University of Oklahoma (Norman), Warrior Auditorium (Anadarko), and the Caddo Tribal Complex (Binger). A preliminary announcement and call for papers will be sent out soon. For information, contact Robert L. Brooks or Lois E. Albert, Oklahoma Archeological Survey, 111 E. Chesapeake, The University of Oklahoma, Norman OK 73019-0575; telephone (405) 325-7211; fax (405) 325-7604.

April

2-6 *Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting*. Opryland, Nashville TN. Contact: SAA, 900 Second St NW, Suite 12, Washington DC. Telephone: 202-789-8200.

June

4-7 *Symposium on Bison Ecology and Management in North America*. Holiday Inn, Bozeman, Montana. This will be a forum for information and discussion on utilizing various disciplines to understand and manage bison in North America. Sessions will provide insight into how disease, genetics, ecology, management, prehistory, and tribal concerns can affect bison. For information, contact Bison Symposium, Montana State University, 235 Linfield Hall, Bozeman MT 59717; telephone (406) 994-3414.

**"Historical Processes and the Political Organization of
the Hasinai Caddo Indians": A Reply**

*Nancy Adele Kenmotsu and Timothy K. Perttula,
Texas Historical Commission*

In a recent volume of the *Caddoan Archeology Newsletter*, Daniel Hickerson (1995) argues that Apache aggression across the Southern Plains, Apache trade in horses and other European goods, and European-introduced diseases dramatically affected Caddoan populations by encouraging their migration south to the upper Neches/Angelina river basins area traditionally occupied by one segment of the Caddo, the Hasinai groups. In his opinion (Hickerson 1995:12), the Hasinai confederacy was a nascent chiefdom that developed as a direct result of this mid-to late-seventeenth century southern migration. As has been pointed out by Caddoan ethnographers, ethnohistorians, and archeologists for 50 years or more, the Caddo were affected by a number of historical processes that resulted from the European exploration and settlement of the New World, and we would agree with Hickerson that these are worthy of study and continual reexamination. How-

ever, it is our view that Hickerson's consideration of historical processes has only dealt with a fraction of the available archeological and archival/documentary literature on the Caddo peoples, and this reliance on a limited sample of this material has led to a portrayal of Apache aggression and its effects on the Caddo populations in eastern Texas that is overdrawn and misleading. Furthermore, Hickerson incorrectly characterizes the limitations of the eastern Texas environment, leading to depictions of the region, as an impenetrable forest that stood as a defensive barrier, that do not stand up to scrutiny. Finally, a failure to differentiate between the Caddo and Southern Plains Caddoan-speakers causes Hickerson to inappropriately attribute to the Caddo the effects of Apache hostilities directed against the Pawnee and Wichita, close tribal allies (Meredith 1995:20-21).

Caddoan Coalescence and Apache Aggression

Hickerson (1995:7) argues that Apache aggression "was a major concern for the Hasinai" and that "violent encounters" between the two groups were

increasingly common after *ca.* 1650. The fundamental cause of the increased aggression, according to Hickerson (1995:8), was Apache acquisition of

large horse herds and Spanish weapons obtained through trade and also through raids on the Spanish and Puebloan settlements in New Mexico. These horses and weapons enabled the Apache to extend their territories to the north and east where they preyed on the Wichita, Pawnee, and, ultimately, the Caddo. It is Hickerson's (1995:8) opinion that, by 1660, the Apaches had "acquired their reputation...as the fearsome and hostile warriors who dominated the southern Plains, a reputation that stayed with them through the eighteenth century". The Caddoan response, says Hickerson (1995:9), was population aggradation in the territory of the Hasinai Caddo between the Neches and Angelina rivers. This region was apparently chosen because it was at some distance from the Apaches and was heavily forested, a condition that Hickerson believes was a barrier to horse travel.

It is our opinion that Hickerson's arguments and conclusions are not well supported by documentary or archeological evidence, although we concur that hostilities did exist between the Caddo and the Apache. For example, the French (Margry n.d., roll 3:348) noted the conflicts with the Apaches in 1687, and, in 1691, Casañas (Swanton 1942:251) listed the Apache as one of the enemies of the Caddo. Hidalgo's (Swanton 1942:269-271) letters offered further support of the enmity between the Apache and the Caddo. Statements of Apache/Caddo hostilities are also present in the writings of Mendoza (AGN 1683),

Lopez (AGN 1684), Paredes (1968:475), Posada (1982:36), Olivares (BA 1719), and others.

There is, however, no archeological or documentary evidence that the level of these hostilities overwhelmed the Caddo or caused their coalescence between the Neches and Angelina rivers. With regard to the archeological data, to date, no sites with abundant evidence of warfare have been identified on the Southern Plains or in eastern Texas. To be sure, only a few historic sites that may be attributable to the Apaches have been identified on the Southern Plains (Spielmann 1982; Habicht-Mauche 1987; Boyd *et al.* 1994:242; Johnson and Holliday 1995), and the paucity of systematic surveys in the region may account somewhat for the lack of evidence of Apache/Caddoan aggression in that region. More likely, the difficulty in identifying Apache sites is a product of Apache mobility, band structure, and limited time depth in Texas (Black *et al.* 1996:56). However, that is not true for the eastern Texas Caddo region where archeological investigations for the last 60+ years for have resulted in surveys of large land masses and in the identification of a wide variety of historic Caddo sites from the Red River to deep eastern Texas (Perttula 1993, 1995). This includes important Caddo sites such as Deshazo (Story 1982, 1995), Mayhew (Kenmotsu 1992), many other Allen phase sites in the Neches and Angelina river drainages (Cole 1975), Kinsloe phase sites on the Sabine

drainage (Jones 1968), the Goode Hunt and Clements sites near the divide between the Sulphur River and Cypress Bayou (Perttula 1992:188-195), and post-1600 Texarkana and McCurtain phase sites along the Red River (Gilmore 1986; Gilmore and McCormick 1980, 1982; Perttula *et al.* 1995). Although arrowpoints have been recovered in quantity from some of these sites, European weaponry (*i.e.*, gun parts and/or knives) is minimal in an archeological context at any Caddo sites before 1740, and those sites with human remains have no evidence of violent deaths.

In essence, then, the archeological assemblages and settlement/community patterns indicate that these historic Caddo sites were the residences of closely interacting and well-integrated small-scale agriculturists. Moreover, the sites in the Angelina and Neches river basins appear to have been occupied as extended family farmsteads (Kenmotsu 1992) or as small hamlets of several farmsteads (Story 1982, 1995; Cole 1975) that were widely dispersed across the landscape around public buildings used by the tribal leaders. Father Douay in 1687, for example, commented that the Caddo in the Neches/Angelina river basins lived in a community "at least twenty leagues (about 50 miles, as a league is equivalent to 2.76 miles) long, not continuously settled, but with rancherias of ten or twelve huts" (Hackett 1931-1946, Vol. I, para. 361). We detect no defensive posture in the

small, dispersed, late seventeenth century Hasinai communities in eastern Texas.

Contrary to Hickerson's thesis, then, there is no archeological evidence that the Hasinai Caddo communities were occupied by large enclaves of migrant Caddos from regions to the north. Rather, the Caddo rancherias were widely separated from one another by unoccupied lands and hunting territories. Although Hickerson (1995:8) contends that the Apache aggression was sufficient to cause the Caddos and their allies "to concentrate their settlements for the benefit of mutual protection", the archeological record does not support his thesis.

In part, Hickerson's assumption of Apache/Caddo warfare stems from his failure to distinguish between the Caddo, a distinct Native American group occupying the Piney Woods and Post Oak Savannah of eastern Texas, northwestern Louisiana, southwestern Arkansas, and southeastern Oklahoma, and Caddoan speakers, notably the Pawnee and the Wichita. Although the latter share a linguistic base with the Caddo, glottochronologists suggest that, for at least 4000 years, the Caddo language had been evolving separately from the Pawnee or Wichita (Chafe 1990). Ethnological (Swanton 1942) and ethnohistorical (Perttula 1992; Smith 1995) studies support the separation of the Caddo as a distinct cultural and tribal entity from the Pawnee and the Wichita. Because Hickerson lumps Caddoan

speakers with the Southern Caddo speakers (the affiliated Hasinai, Kadohadacho, and Natchitoches groups), his conclusions regarding hostilities often rest upon documentary evidence related to the Wichita and/or Pawnee, but not to the Caddo.

Spanish and French documents dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries do, as noted above, support the notion of Apache/Caddo hostility. However, our interpretation of the data from those documents differs significantly from the position taken by Hickerson. It is our opinion that the documentary record indicates: 1) that the Caddo were cautious, but not overly concerned about the Apache; 2) that the Apache were only one of several groups with hostile relations with the Caddo, but that this hostility did not prevent the Caddo from regularly hunting and trading across central and southern Texas before and after they had the horse; 3) that the East Texas forest never imposed a barrier to horse travel; and, 4) that while the Apache certainly were actively hostile to eastern groups, their push to the east was largely forced upon them by the arrival of the Comanche in the Southern Plains, interrupting the Apache-Spanish commerce in New Mexico in the early eighteenth century (Kavanagh 1986:60-64; John and Wheat 1989:76; John and Wheat 1991:157, 170). Each of these points is discussed below.

The documentary evidence indicates that the Caddo were not overly

concerned about the Apache as a hostile force. We believe that this lack of fear relates to their own fighting abilities, their acquisition of the horse, and their large population base. When the French first encountered the Caddo, they noted that the Caddo raided to the west (across the Trinity and Brazos rivers), often returning with Apache captives whom they subsequently tortured to death (Margry n.d., roll 3:363). A few years later, the Spanish priests Espinosa (Swanton 1942:294) and Casañas (Swanton 1942:251) wrote that the Caddo undertook war parties to the west to seek out their enemies. Although each of these authors acknowledged the enmity between the Caddo and the Apache, none described large numbers of casualties on either side resulting from the hostilities, and none indicated that the Apache were the "major concern" for the Caddo that Hickerson (1995:7) has portrayed.

Hickerson (1995:8) believes that horses were important in the Apache's success against the Caddo. However, this position fails to acknowledge that, by the late seventeenth century, the Caddo themselves acquired horses in quantities that facilitated their ability to procure bison hides and meat, that were a boon in their trade with the French and Spanish, and that granted success in their raids of enemies. By the late seventeenth century, most Hasinai families had three or more horses (Margry n.d., roll 3:298, 325, 333). Throughout the eighteenth century, Gregory (1973:292) has further

documented that the Caddo continued to supply horses and hides (deer and bison) in large numbers to the Europeans (see also Perttula 1994). In 1744, more than 100,000 hides passed through Louisiana, many through the French post at Natchitoches (Gregory 1973:239). The Caddo obtained some horses by raiding Apache camps (Margry n.d., roll 3:325); others were acquired through trade with Native American groups other than the Apache (Smith 1995:16), particularly the Jumano and Wichita groups. In short, another look at the documentary record clarifies that the presence of the Apache to the west was insufficient for cessation of Caddo travel to the west, south, and northwest, areas that Hickerson (1995) considered to be the strongholds of the Apaches, to obtain the hides that they traded to the French in Natchitoches.

The Caddos' confidence appears to have been partly based on their population. Seventeenth century descriptions of the Caddo by both the Spanish (AGN 1684; Posadas 1982:36; Paredes 1968:467; Massanet 1957; Casañas [Swanton 1942]) and by other Native Americans (*e.g.*, AGN 1683, 1684) indicate that they were a large, populous nation living securely in their homeland. Fray Nicolas Lopez (AGN 1684) wrote of the "vast and powerful kingdom of the Tejas (Caddo)" when he met their ambassadors in west-central Texas. Several months earlier, a Jumano Indian in El Paso stated (AGN 1683) that the Tejas often visited each other's settlements and were a large, powerful,

and populous nation. This general impression of the Caddo held, and in 1686, Paredes (1962:467) wrote in his overview that the explorations of Martin and Castillo in 1650 had not penetrated the lands of the Caddo "because it was recognized as being expansive and filled with many people". This impression is supported by Joutel's statement in 1687 on Caddoan fighting policy:

For that is their way of making war, in Turkish fashion, giving no quarter; they bring back these scalps as trophies, so that the huts of the warriors and brave men are known by the number of scalps in them (Margry n.d., roll 3: 340).

The impression, then, is one of a large, confident Indian nation that neither feared, nor underestimated, their western enemies, and that was known to initiate attacks on their own accord (Margry n.d., roll 3:284).

The documents also illustrate that the Caddo had other enemies. In 1691, Casañas (Swanton 1942:251) wrote that their enemies included "Apaches, Caaucozi, and Mani." Espinosa (Swanton 1942:286) added the Yojuanes to this list, and Joutel wrote in 1687 that the Choumanos (Jumanos), friends of the Cenís (Hasinai), often joined the Hasinai in attacks on the Ayano or Canohatino. The Caddo also had long-standing hostilities with the Osage, Choctaws, and Chickasaws (Smith 1995:14). Smith

(1995:15) further points out that while "the Apaches quickly earned the enmity of all the Indians of Texas by stealing from the other, more established tribes", it was the Osage who "struck terror in the hearts of the Caddos" (Smith 1995:14). In sum, the documents do not substantiate Hickerson's contention that the Apache represented the most feared, or even the only, enemy of the Caddo.

We also take exception to Hickerson's (1995:12) statements that the dense forests of eastern Texas served as protection against savage Apaches because they represented a barrier to travel. As noted by Joutel (Margry n.d. roll 3:290), Casañas (Swanton 1942), and all subsequent observers, the Caddo had their own horses which, as Smith has noted (1995:14), thrived and multiplied in the eastern Texas environment. The ability of horses to negotiate and maneuver in this setting is further underscored by the quantity of horses brought by Moscoso, De Leon, Terán, and others to the region in Spanish exploration and colonizing efforts. To be sure, as Hickerson (1995) notes, difficulties were encountered in these expeditions. However, the diaries indicate that the difficulties centered upon the problems attendant in crossing large, flooded rivers, and that flooded rivers were common not only in eastern Texas but also central and southern Texas. Terán (AGI 1692; Foster 1995:69) had to wait 12 days to cross the Trinity, and, on the same return to Mexico, was forced to wait at the Rio Grande because

of floods. Governor Gregorio de Salinas Varona, traveling in 1693, was also forced to deal with swollen rivers (Foster *et al.* 1993), as were other expedition leaders. In other words, the rivers were temporary barriers to travel, but the forests were not.

It is unreasonable for Hickerson (1995:9) to characterize the Hasinai territory as remote. Existing aboriginal trade routes, trails, and later Spanish trails across Texas all led to the Hasinai, in particular to the Nabedache Caddo on San Pedro Creek, and then on across the Neches River. Not coincidentally, this location is also marked by the earliest, largest, and probably most important prehistoric Caddo mound center south of the Sabine River, the George C. Davis site (Story 1990:325, 340-341). The Caddo construction and use of this mound from as early as A.D. 800/900 indicates that this part of the upper Neches River had been an significant population center long before the protohistoric era as Hickerson suggests.

Finally, we argue that the reason for Apache aggression against the Caddo and a number of other Southern Plains groups did not stem from their acquisition of the horse and Spanish weapons. Rather, their aggression stemmed from the inexorable push of the Comanche into the Southern and rolling Plains. Summaries of the shifts in Comanche and Apachean territories can be found in Kessell (1979), John (1975), John and Wheat (1989), and Kavanagh

(1986). These researchers point out that once the Spanish recognized the prominence of the Comanche newcomers, they found it expedient to negotiate trading pacts with the Comanche and abandon a century of Apache alliances (John and Wheat 1989; Jackson 1995:226-227). Left at the mercy of the Spanish and the Comanches, the Apaches moved south and east. By 1700, they were in La Junta de los Rios, Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila, and, occasionally, central Texas (Kenmotsu 1994:270), locations well to the south and east of their earlier range. Four years later, groups of Apaches pleaded for peace in El Paso following retaliatory raids by Spanish forces (AHP 1704; NMA 1710). In 1712, they were introduced to Ramirez in La Junta, and they indicated that they sought amicable relations with both the Spanish and the resident native groups (AGI 1716). Other reports of their requests for peace and/or alliances with native groups along the Rio Grande in Texas (Salinas 1990), and with Spanish military commanders in Mexico, are relatively common in the Parral archives. Those pleas for peace were a dramatic reversal of the regular and consistent small raids that they had previously undertaken against the natives in those regions.

As Kessell (1979), Kavanagh (1986), and John and Wheat (1989) have demonstrated, the reversal can be attributed to their replacement by the Comanches at the nexus of the Plains/Spanish relations and trade

networks, and to the Comanches' military dominance of the Southern Plains within a few decades of their arrival in the early eighteenth century. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Comanches pushed the Apaches into regions, such as the fringes of eastern Texas, where their presence had been merely sporadic. The Apache themselves became "refugees driven...by the even more formidable Comanches" (Adams 1991:211). Indeed, the Comanche and Apache were implacable enemies, as Cortes indicated in his 1799 report:

The most irreconcilable hatred that the Apaches hold, and the war that they carry on most tenaciously, are against the Cumanche Indians. This hatred is as old as the nations themselves, and the war is waged with utmost vigor by the groups nearest to them, that is, the Faraones, Mescaleros, Llaneros, and Lipanes. There is no other apparent origin than that both the Cumanches and the aforementioned nations seek to have certain exclusive rights to the buffalo which abound to an astonishing degree on the lands of both sides (John and Wheat 1989:76).

As the Apache moved east and south out of the eastern Apacheria, conflicts with native inhabitants resulted. In La Junta and other southern regions, the Apaches sought to resolve the conflicts

through peace. The Coahuiltecan groups, however, were displaced by the Apache after 1680 as the latter moved across the Edwards Plateau in search of sources of horses (Campbell 1983:345). On the

eastern margins of the Blackland Prairie, however, the Apache either could not, or were not able to, find resolution through peace. Instead, they raided the Caddo and were, in turn, raided by the Caddo.

Populations and Demography

Hickerson (1995:6-7) argues that the Caddoan area, the Hasinai and Cypress Creek basin areas included, was more dispersely settled and less densely populated than Mississippian settlements in the Southeast, thus less susceptible to the spread of epidemic diseases. This runs counter to much recent archeological work on Mississippian communities, where there is actually little uniformity but much diversity among these polities in the character of settlement systems and settlement amalgamations, as well as in relative population densities (Rogers 1995:23-25). Thus, Caddo settlements and population densities in East Texas were likely comparable to Mississippian groups in much of the interior Southeast.

It is interesting that Hickerson (1995:7) asserts that the Hasinai area was lightly settled. When the DeSoto-Moscoso entrada came through the Caddo province of Guasco ("an island of relative plenty" in the upper Neches/Angelina river basin according to Hudson [1996]), the Spanish were provisioned three times in a single year, a considerable achievement for a "lightly settled" province. Furthermore, the Cypress Creek basin was not sparsely populated; rather, it was perhaps the most densely populated region of northeastern Texas until at least the early 1600s, as large settlements and community cemeteries abound along Big and Little Cypress creeks and tributaries.

Caddo Archeology in the Neches/Angelina River Basin

Although this is not the place for a detailed review of the archeology of the upper Neches and Angelina river basins, the ancestral homeland of the Hasinai Caddo groups, the most current consideration of prehistoric and early historic sociopolitical organization provides no support for Hickerson's (1995:12)

argument that the formation of a Hasinai confederacy was strongly influenced by the migration of Caddo groups from north and west (apparently the Nasoni and the Nadaco, according to Hickerson). Rather, the archeological record of the Anderson Cluster (the Frankston and Allen phases) indicates that:

[t]he Allen Phase [ca. A.D. 1600-1750] is believed to have developed out of the Frankston Phase [ca. A.D. 1400-1600] and, more importantly, to have shared the same form of organization, kinds of intergroup interaction, and settlement patterns. In sum ... Late Caddoan groups in the upper Neches and Angelina drainages were socio-politically united, and this unity prevailed with only minor changes from perhaps A.D. 1400 into early historic times (Story and Creel 1982:34).

The archeological evidence summarized by Story and Creel (1982) does not suggest that the historic Allen phase is the product of the incorporation of Caddo groups from north of the Sabine River, or for that matter from any other part of the eastern Texas region. In fact, the distribution of known Allen phase archeological components (Story 1990: Figure 56) encompasses a larger area than that recognized by the Spanish for the different Hasinai groups.

If Caddoan groups from the Cypress Creek and Sulphur River basins moved into the Hasinai Caddo region beginning in the mid-seventeenth century, as Hickerson (1995:10) asserts, then we

may posit that there should be some indication of a sharing of ceramic styles and technology between the post-1650 Hasinai components (the Allen phase) and the antecedent Nasoni and Nadaco groups north of the Sabine River. In general, this part of eastern Texas was occupied by Titus phase groups after ca. A.D. 1450 (Thurmond 1985; Perttula 1995:Figure 10), and distinctive Titus phase engraved ceramic styles and vessel forms are well known. If we examine the ceramic assemblage from the early eighteenth century Deshazo site, the best known historic Caddo site in the upper Neches/Angelina river basin, it is readily apparent that Titus phase ceramics (Perttula 1995:Figures 11 and 18) are not present and, in fact as Fields (1995:228) notes, "there are no apparent nonlocal ceramics in the Deshazo collection". As with other Allen phase assemblages throughout eastern Texas, the Deshazo ceramics are dominated by Patton Engraved bowls (Story 1995:242). Ripley Engraved, the most recognizable Titus phase ceramic style, is absent, as are engraved bottle forms (Perttula 1995:Figure 11d-e, h), another distinctive vessel form that is common in Titus phase assemblages. From this evidence, there appears to have been little sharing of ideas or interaction between the Hasinai Caddo households at Deshazo and any Cypress Creek Caddo groups.

Conclusions

In sum, Hickerson (1995:20) is correct in stating that "identification of the historical processes taking place in the material and social environment are important to any understanding of the influence on sociocultural change". However, by focusing on Apache aggression, Hickerson's article does not serve to better identify those processes that shaped Caddo lifeways after European contact, nor does it accurately reflect current archeological and documentary literature on the Apache or the Caddo, perhaps because it largely relies on only a few Spanish documents out of the hundreds available that are relevant.

Hickerson's statements that the Apaches had a reputation as fearsome and hostile warriors "that stayed with them through the 18th century" is misleading. It is fair to characterize the Apache in the eighteenth century as a series of bands that were to be approached with caution and not to be ignored. Moreover, they

were more actively fighting with eastern groups, including the Caddo and the Wichita groups, during the early to mid-eighteenth century (BA 1719). Significantly, this was the time that the thriving traffic in Apachean slaves began to develop between the Wichita, Hasinai Caddo, Comanche, and the French and Spanish markets at Natchitoches and Los Adaes, respectively, fueled principally by Wichita and Comanche raiding for horses among the Apache (Gregory 1973:261-268, 287). Thus, to depict the Apache as fierce and successful warriors throughout the eighteenth century, killing hordes and forcing Caddoan coalescence in the Neches and Angelina river basins, fails to recognize the lack of archeological evidence of either Apache aggression or Caddoan coalescence in those river basins, but moreover also ignores the documentary evidence that strongly supports the notion that the Caddo were recognized by other Native American groups as a powerful nation that could, and did, undertake their own punitive expeditions against their enemies.

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